

POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
INSTITUTE OF HISTORY

# HISTORICAL ATLAS OF POLAND

POLISH LANDS OF THE CROWN  
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

PART II

COMMENTARY

LISTS

INSTITUTE OF HISTORY PAS

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IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
INSTITUTE OF HISTORY

**HISTORICAL ATLAS  
OF POLAND**

*Edited by*  
HENRYK RUTKOWSKI  
and MAREK SŁOŃ

DETAILED MAPS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY  
**COLLECTIVE EDITION OF THE SERIES**

**PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORY PAS**

POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
INSTITUTE OF HISTORY

**POLISH LANDS OF THE CROWN  
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE  
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COLLECTIVE EDITION**

*Edited by*

MAREK SŁOŃ *and* KATARZYNA SŁOMSKA-PRZECH

*contributors*

Marian Biskup, Arkadiusz Borek, Krzysztof Boroda, Andrzej Buczyło, Krzysztof Chłapowski,  
Roman Czaja, Paweł Dembiński, Jerzy Duma, Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, Wiesława Duży,  
Kamila Follprecht, Marcin Frańś, Irena Gieysztorowa, Michał Gochna, Piotr Guzowski,  
Marcin Hlebionek, Józef Humnicki, Tomasz Jaszczółt, Wojciech Kalinowski, Dariusz Karczewski,  
Lucjan Koc, Dariusz Kram, Marta Kuc-Czerep, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Andrzej Kwiatkowski,  
Jacek Laberschek, Marzena Liedke, Zofia Maciakowska, Tomasz Michalski, Zdzisław Noga,  
Tomasz Nowicki, Anna P. Orłowska, Kazimierz Pacuski, Władysław Pałucki (editor),  
Tomasz Panecki, Marta Piber-Zbieranowska, Zenon Piech, Elżbieta Rutkowska,  
Henryk Rutkowski (editor), Wiesław Sieradzan, Michał Sierba, Ryszard Skowron,  
Katarzyna Słomska-Przech, Michał Słomski, Marek Słoń (editor), Urszula Sowina,  
Milena Stępniaak, Jarosław Suproniuk, Paweł Swoboda, Bogumił Szady, Wanda Szaniawska,  
Patrycja Szwedo-Kiełczewska, Stanisław Trawkowski (editor), Małgorzata Wilska,  
Stefan Wojciechowski, Urszula Zachara-Związek, Michał Zbieranowski, Marek G. Zieliński,  
Tomasz Związek

**PART II**

**COMMENTARY**

**LISTS**

**WARSAW 2021**

Translation

*Katarzyna Bartkowiak, Karolina Frank, Tristan Korecki,  
Agata Staszewska, Guy Russell Torr, Paulina Waclawik*

Editorial assistance

*Martha Brozyna*

Layout and cover

*Dariusz Górski, Marcin Szcześniak, Jacek Świerzyński*

Editing and proofreading

*Arkadiusz Borek, Wiesława Duży, Michał Gochna, Tomasz Panecki,  
Michał Słomski, Jarosław Suproniuk, Bogumił Szady*

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ISBN: 978-83-66911-17-8

Research financed by the Minister of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland, in 2015–2021,  
as a part of the National Programme for the Development of Humanities. Project no. 1aH15037383,  
“Historical Atlas of Poland in the Sixteenth Century – Complement of the Series”,

Head: Dr. Hab. Prof. IHPAN Marek Słoń



**NARODOWY PROGRAM  
ROZWOJU HUMANISTYKI**

First edition, Warsaw 2021

Instytut Historii PAN  
Rynek Starego Miasta 29/31  
PL 00-272 Warszawa  
+48 22 831 02 61–62, ext. 44  
wydawnictwo@ihpan.edu.pl  
www.ihpan.edu.pl

<http://rcin.org.pl>



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AAG – Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie (the Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno)  
AAG, ACap. – Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej  
AAG, ACons. – Archiwum Konsystorza Generalnego w Gnieźnie (the General Consistory Archives in Gniezno) (Wizytacje)  
AAP – Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu (the Archdiocesan Archive of Poznań)  
AAP, AE – AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Episcopalia  
AAP, CP – AAP, Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej  
AAWarm – Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej (the Archive of the Archdiocese of Warmia)  
ABCz – Akta Braci Czeskich (AP Poznań)  
ABMK – ‘Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne’  
Acta Tomiciana – *Acta Tomiciana: [epistole, legationes, responsa, actiones, res geste serenissimi principis Sigismundi [...]. vol. 1- / [sub. rev.: Mathia Drzewiczki [et al.] scripta; per Stanislaum Gorski [...], ejusdem Petri Tomicii [...] secretarium, collecte, et in tomos XXVII digeste]*, Poznań–Wrocław–Cracow 1852 nn.  
ADP – Archiwum Diecezjalne w Płocku (the Diocesan Archives in Płock)  
ADPelplin – Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie (the Diocesan Archives in Pelplin)  
ADS – Archiwum Diecezjalne w Siedlcach (the Diocesan Archives in Siedlce)  
ADWł – Archiwum Diecezjalne we Włocławku (the Diocesan Archives in Włocławek)  
AFCh – Archiwum Fary Chełmińskiej  
AGAD – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw)  
AGAD, dok. pap. – Zbiór dokumentów papierowych (AGAD)  
AGAD, dok. perg. – Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych (AGAD)  
AGZ – *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z ksiąg Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*, vol. 1–25, Lwów 1865–1935  
AHMP Chełmno – *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 1: *Prusy Królewskie i Warmia*, ed. A. Czacharowski, no. 3: *Chełmno*, historical comp. Z.H. Nowak, cartographic comp. Z. Koziół, Toruń 1999  
AHMP Cracow – *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, ed. R. Czaja, vol. 5: *Małopolska*, ed. Z. Noga, no. 1: Cracow, ed. Z. Noga, Cracow 2007  
AHMP Elbląg – *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 1: *Prusy Królewskie i Warmia*, ed. A. Czacharowski, no. 1: *Elbląg*, historical comp. R. Czaja, cartographic comp. Z. Koziół, Toruń 1993  
AHMP Malbork – *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 1: *Prusy Królewskie i Warmia*, ed. A. Czacharowski, R. Czaja, no. 5: *Malbork*, historical comp. W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan coop. M. Mierzwiński, cartographic comp. D. Chwiałkowski, A. Noryśkiewicz, W. Sieradzan, Toruń 2002  
AHP – The Historical Atlas of Poland. Detailed Maps of the Sixteenth Century (series)  
AHP Cracow – *Województwo krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 1–2, ed. H. Rutkowski, comp. K. Chłapowski et al., Warsaw 2008 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe XVI wieku, vol. 1)  
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AHP Lublin – *Województwo lubelskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, ed. W. Pałucki, comp. S. Wojciechowski, Warsaw 1966 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe XVI wieku, vol. 3)  
AHP Mazovia – *Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 1–2, ed. W. Pałucki, comp. A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa et al., Warsaw 1973 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe XVI wieku, vol. 7)

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- AHP Prussia – Prusy Królewskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku. Supplement, ed. vol. Panecki, M. Słoń, comp. R. Czaja et al., Warsaw 2021 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe XVI wieku, Supplement)
- AHP Sandomierz – *Województwo sandomierskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 1–2, ed. W. Pałucki, comp. K. Chłapowski et al., Warsaw 1993 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe XVI wieku, vol. 2)
- AHP Sieradz – *Województwo sieradzkie i województwo łęczyckie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 1–2, ed. H. Rutkowski, comp. K. Chłapowski et al., Warsaw 1998 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe XVI wieku, vol. 5)
- AKap. – Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej w Krakowie
- AKH – „Archiwum Komisji Historycznej”
- AKM – Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie
- Akt rew. – T. Związek, *Rewizja komór celnych i stacji mytniczych województwa kaliskiego z 1571 r. Edycja „Aktu rewizorów ziemskich”*, SŻ, vol. 54, 2016, pp. 129–149 (orig.: AGAD, MK Lustracje dz. XVIII, sign. 4, ff. 301–309)
- AMCh – Akta miasta Chełmna (APT)
- AmD – Akta miasta Dolska (AP Poznań)
- AmGn – Akta miasta Gniezna (AP Poznań)
- AmK – Akta miasta Kalisza (AP Poznań)
- AmPl – Akta miasta Pleszewa (AP Poznań)
- ANK – Archiwum Narodowe (National Archives) in Cracow
- AP – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive)
- APB – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Białystok
- APGd – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Gdańsk
- APL – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Lublin
- APT – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Toruń
- APZG 363 – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Zielona Góra, Akta Miasta Wschowy, no. 363
- AR – Archiwum Radziwiłłów (AGAD)
- Archiwum ks. Sanguszków – *Archiwum ks. Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, vol. 5, pub. Z. Radziwiński, P. Skobielski, B. Gorczak, Lwów 1897
- ASDCh – Akta Seminarium Duchownego w Chełmnie (ADPeplin)
- ASK – Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (Archives of the Royal Treasury) (AGAD)
- ASL – *Die Synoden der Kirche Augsburgischer Konfession in Großpolen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, pub. G. Smend, Posen 1930 (Jahrbuch des Theologischen Seminars der Unierten Evangelischen Kirche in Polen, vol. 2)
- ASR – *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce*, vol. 1–4, comp. M. Sipayłło, Warsaw 1966–1997
- AUPL – *Akta unji Polski z Litwą 1385–1791*, pub. W. Semkowicz, S. Kutrzeba, Cracow 1932
- AV – Acta Visitationis (AKM)
- AV Cap. – Acta Visitationis Capituli (AKM)
- AV Cons. – Acta Visitationis Consistorii (AKM)
- AWAK 14 – *Акты издаваемые Виленскою Археографическою Коммиссиею*, vol. 14: *Инвентари имѣній XVI-го столѣтя*, Вильна 1888
- AWAK 33 – *Акты издаваемые Виленскою Археографическою Коммиссиею*, vol. 33: *Акты, относящиеся к истории Западно-русской церкви*, Вильна 1908
- AWor. – Archiwum Woronieckich z Huszlewa (APL)
- Bąk, Wałcz – L. Bąk, *Ziemia walecka w dobie reformacji i kontrreformacji w XVI–XVIII w.*, Piła 1999
- BCzart – Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Library of the Princes Czartoryski in Cracow)
- BDOT10k – Baza Danych Obiektów Topograficznych (Topographic Objects Database) (in Geoport.gov.pl)
- BHS – „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” („Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury” in years 1933/1934–1949)
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- Biuletyn ŻIH – „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego” (1951–1971), „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce” (1971–1993), „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego – Instytutu Naukowo-Badawczego” (1994–1995, no. 4/94–2/95 [172–174]), „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego” (1995–2000, no. 3/95–2/96 [175–178] – no. 4, 2000 [196]), „Kwartalnik Historii Żydów” (from 2001, no. 197)
- BJ – Biblioteka Jagiellońska (Jagiellonian Library in Cracow)
- BK – „Biblioteka Krakowska”
- BN – Biblioteka Narodowa (the National Library) in Warsaw

- BNANU – Національна академія наук України, Библиотека (Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine)
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- BOss – Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (Ossoliński National Institute Library) in Wrocław
- BRacz – Biblioteka Raczyńskich (Raczyński Library) in Poznań
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- BUW, Ławn. Brz. – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (University of Warsaw Library), sign. 19, Księga ławnicza miasta Brzeźcia Kujawskiego 1418–1476
- BUWil – Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka (Vilnius University Library)
- BVM – Blessed Virgin Mary
- c – Church property
- CDW – *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands. Gesammelt und im Namen des historischen Vereins für Ermland*, vol. 1: *Urkunden der Jahre 1231–1340*, ed. C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, Mainz 1860
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- cn – Church-nobility property
- Constitutiones – *Constitutiones synodi archidioecesis Gnesnensis, presidente [...] Joanne Wężyk [...] A.D. 1628 die 10 Mai celebrato*, Cracoviae 1630
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- ct – Church-town property
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- ESHPI – *Elektroniczny słownik hydronimów Polski (the Electronic Dictionary of Polish Hydronyms)*, eshp.ijp.pan.pl
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- GIS – System Informacji Geograficznej (Geographic Information System)
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- GStA PK – Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem
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- gzn – Gniezno district
- Heldensfeld – A.M. von Heldensfeld, *Karte von West-Gallizien*, [1:28,800], microfilms in the collections of ZAH
- HerKM – *Herbarz Ignacego Kapicy Milewskiego (dopełnienie Niesieckiego)*, Cracow 1870
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- Inw. 1582 – *Inwentarz dóbr stołowych biskupstwa wrocławskiego z roku 1582 / Revisio bonorum episcopatus Wladislaviensis facta a. 1582*, pub. L. Żytkowicz, Toruń 1953 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 37)
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- Jednowiorstówka – *Одноверстовая карта западного пограничного пространства, 1880–1917*, [1:42,000]
- Kalisz Gr. – Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego w Kaliszu (AP Poznań)
- Kalisz Ziem. – Księgi sądu i urzędu ziemskiego w Kaliszu (AP Poznań)
- Kapicjana – Zbiór Ignacego Kapicy Milewskiego „Kapicjana” (AGAD)
- Kartoteka SHGM – Kartoteka Słownika Historyczno-Geograficznego Mazowsza w Średniowieczu (in the collections of ZBHG)
- kcn – Kcynia district
- KDKK – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej*, vol. 1–2, pub. F. Piekosiński, Cracow 1874–1883
- KDMaz. — *Kodeks dyplomatyczny księstwa mazowieckiego*, pub. J.T. Lubomirski, Warsaw 1863

- KDMK – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa 1257–1506*, part 1–4, pub. F. Piekosiński, Cracow 1879–1882
- KDMłp. – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, vol. 1–4, pub. F. Piekosiński, Cracow 1876–1905
- KDP – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Polski / Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, vol. 1–4, pub. L. Rzyszczewski, A. Muczowski, A. Helcel, Warsaw 1847–1887
- KDW – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 1–11, pub. I. Zakrzewski, F. Piekosiński, S. Kutrzeba et al., Poznań 1877–1999
- KdWR – *Karte des westlichen Russlands*, 1914–1921, [1:100,000]
- KH – „Kwartalnik Historyczny”
- KHKM – „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”
- KŁK – *Księga ławnicza kazimierska 1407–1427*, pub. B. Wyrozumska, Cracow 1996
- klś – Kalisz district, Kalisz Voivodeship
- KMP – „Kronika Miasta Poznania”
- Knapiński, Notaty – W. Knapiński, *Notaty do historii diecezji warszawskiej z archiwum Konsystorza Warszawskiego*, MS in Ośrodek Dokumentacji Zabytków in Warsaw
- knn – Konin district
- Kondratiuk – M. Kondratiuk, *Nazwy miejscowe południowo-wschodniej Białostoczczyzny*, Wrocław 1974 (Monografie Slawistyczne, vol. 29)
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- KRK – *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 do 1400*, pub. F. Piekosiński, J. Szujski, Cracow 1878
- KRSW – Komisja Rządowa Spraw Wewnętrznych Królestwa Polskiego (AGAD)
- ksc – Kościan district
- Kujawski, Parafie – W. Kujawski, *Parafie diecezji włocławskiej. Archidiakonaty: kruszwicki i włocławski*, Włocławek 2014
- KUL – Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II (the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)
- Kumor, Dzieje – B. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. 1–4, Cracow 1998–2002
- Kwatermistrzostwo – *Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego*, [1:126,000], Warsaw 1843
- KWiD – Kamera Wojny i Domen (APB)
- KZS – Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce
- KZS sn – Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, new series
- KZSP Gdańsk – *Miasto Gdańsk*, part 1: *Główne Miasto*, ed. B. Roll, I. Strzelecka, [volume comp. J. Barton-Piórkowska et al.], Warsaw 2006 (Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, vol. 8)
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- LBG – *Liber beneficiorum archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, vol. 1–2, pub. J. Łukowski, Gniezno 1880–1881
- LBP – *Księga uposażenia diecezji poznańskiej z r. 1510*, pub. J. Nowacki, Poznań 1950
- LDK – *Lustracja dróg województwa krakowskiego z roku 1570*, pub. B. Wyrozumska, intro. K. Buczek, Wrocław 1971
- Leksykon/Lexicon – L. Kajzer, S. Kołodziejewski, J. Salm, *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, Warsaw 2001
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 cz. 2: Akta przechowywane w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie: no. 2: sign. 21–50: akta z lat 1775–1820, ABMK, vol. 33, 1976, pp. 71–223  
 cz. 3: Akta przechowywane w Częstochowie, Łodzi, Łowiczu, Pelplinie, Poznaniu i Warszawie, ABMK, vol. 34, 1977, pp. 5–150  
 cz. 4: Indeks geograficzno-historyczny: no. 1: index to part 1: (zasób włocławski), ABMK, vol. 37, 1978, pp. 53–174
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- LK 1617–1620 – Lustracja województwa krakowskiego 1617–1620, AGAD, MK L.XVIII 21
- LK 1659–1664 – *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego 1659–1664*, part 1–3, pub. A. Falniowska-Gradowska, F. Leśniak, Warsaw 2005
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- LKMC 1565 – *Lustracja województw malborskiego i chełmińskiego 1565*, pub. S. Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1961 (Lustracje dóbr królewskich XVI–XVIII w. Prusy Królewskie)
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- LM 1565 – *Lustracja województwa mazowieckiego 1565*, pub. I. Gieysztorowa, A. Żaboklicka, part 1–3, Warsaw 1967–1971
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- LMAVB – Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka
- LP – *Lustracje województwa płockiego 1565–1789*, pub. A. Sucheni-Grabowska, S.M. Szacherska, Warsaw 1965
- LR 1529 – *Księga dochodów beneficjów diecezji krakowskiej z r. 1529 (tzw. Liber retaxationum)*, pub. Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, Wrocław 1968
- LR 1789 – *Lustracja województwa rawskiego 1789 r.*, pub. Z. Kędzierska, Wrocław 1971
- LR XVI – *Lustracje województwa rawskiego 1564 i 1570*, pub. Z. Kędzierska, Warsaw 1959
- LR XVII – *Lustracje województwa rawskiego XVII wieku*, pub. Z. Kędzierska, Warsaw 1965
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- LS 1660/1664 – *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego 1660–1664*, vol. 1–2, pub. H. Oprawko, K. Schuster, Cracow–Wrocław 1971–1977
- LS 1789 – *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego 1789*, pub. H. Madurowicz-Urbańska, part 1–3, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1965–1968
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- Lustracja ceł 1564/1565 – Myta i cła na wodzie, jako promy, mosty, a na ziemi, jako groble, gaci, burki i naprawowanie dróg... (w województwach małopolskich, r. 1564/65), AP Cracow, Archiwum Sanguszków, no. 19
- LVIA – Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuanian State Historical Archives in Vilnius)
- LWP 1570, 1576 – *Lustracje województwa podlaskiego 1570 i 1576*, pub. J. Topolski, J. Wiśniewski, Wrocław–Warsaw 1959
- LWP 1602 – *Lustracja województwa podlaskiego 1602 roku*, pub. M. Sierba, Warsaw 2017
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- LWWK 1569 – *Lustracja województw wielkopolskich i kujawskich 1569 r.*, orig.: AGAD, ASK XLVI, sign. 103d
- LWWK 1616 – *Lustracja województw wielkopolskich i kujawskich 1616–1620*, part 1–2, pub. Z. Górski, R. Kabaciński, J. Pakulski, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1994
- LWWK 1628 – *Lustracja województw wielkopolskich i kujawskich 1628–1632*, part 1–2, pub. Z. Guldon, Wrocław 1969; part 3, pub. Z. Guldon, Bydgoszcz 1967
- LWWK 1659 – *Lustracja województw wielkopolskich i kujawskich 1659–1665*, part 1: *Województwa poznańskie i kaliskie*, pub. C. Ohryzko-Włodarska, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1978
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- LWWK 1789 – *Lustracja województw wielkopolskich i kujawskich 1789*, part 3: *Województwa łęczyckie i brzesko-kujawskie*, pub. Z. Kędzierska, A. Tomczak, Poznań–Warsaw 1977
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- Materiały MWK – *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788–1792)*, ed. W. Semkowicz, comp. K. Buczek et al., Cracow–Warsaw 1939–1960
- MCV – „Mitteilungen des Copernicus Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”
- MDKSBR – „Materiały do Dziejów Kultury i Sztuki Bydgoszczy i Regionu”
- MHDW – *Monumenta historica dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*, vol. 1–24, Wladislaviae 1881–1910
- MHDW 1 – *Monumenta historica dioeceseos wladislaviensis*, [vol. 1], Wladislaviae 1881
- MHDW 15 – *Visitatio Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae per (...) Franciscum Łącki Archidiaconum, anno Domini 1597. Reddita (...) Hieronymo Ep. Rozdrażewski Wladislaviae die 2 Januarii in anno 1598*, Wladislaviae 1897 (*Monumenta historica dioeceseos wladislaviensis*, vol. 15)
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- MK – Metryka Koronna (the Crown Metrica) (AGAD)
- MNK — Muzeum Narodowe (the National Museum) in Cracow
- Moritz, Mittelalter – H. Moritz, *Geschichte Fraustadts in Mittelalters*, „Zeitschrift der historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen”, vol. 19, 1904, pp. 195–244
- Moritz, RuG 1–2 – H. Moritz, *Reformation und Gegenreformation in Fraustadt*, part 1–2, Posen 1907–1908
- MPH – Monumenta Poloniae Historica
- MPwB – Muzeum Podlaskie w Białymstoku
- MRK – Muzeum Regionalne w Kościanie
- MRP – *Prusy Królewskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 1–2, ed. S. Herbst, comp. M. Biskup, L. Koc, Warsaw 1961 (*Atlas Historyczny Polski. Seria B: Mapy przeglądowe*, vol. 1)
- MRPS – *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*, vol. I–V/1, pub. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw 1905–1919; vol. V/2, pub. J. Płocha et al., Warsaw 1961; vol. VI, pub. M. Woźniakowa, Warsaw 1999
- MTB – *Messtischblätter* (Topographische Karte), ca. 1880–1945, 1:25,000
- Münch – H. Münch, *Geneza rozplanowania miast wielkopolskich XIII i XIV wieku*, Cracow 1946
- Münch, ZAH – glass copies of archival maps used as the basis for H. Münch during the preparation of a monograph on the genesis of city planning in Greater Poland, in the collections of ZAH
- MWK – *Mapa województwa krakowskiego z doby Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788–1792)*, ed. W. Semkowicz, comp. K. Buczek, coop. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, T. Czort, H. Münch, A. Szumański, Cracow 1930 (*Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe*, vol. 1)
- MZCh – Muzeum Ziemi Chełmińskiej
- n – nobility property
- NGAB – Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі (National Historical Archives of Belarus)
- nkl – Nakło district
- NLS – Kungliga biblioteket (National Library of Sweden)
- NMP/NMPol – *Nazwy miejscowe Polski: historia – pochodzenie – zmiany*, vol. 1–16, ed. K. Rymut et al., Cracow 1996–2019
- NMP – pw. Najświętszej Marii Panny, see BVM
- Noga, Słownik – *Słownik miejscowości księstwa siewierskiego*, comp. Z. Noga, Katowice 1994
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- Nowowiejski – A.J. Nowowiejski, *Płock. Monografia historyczna*, pub. 2, Płock 1931
- OiRwP – „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”
- Olszewski – W. Olszewski, *Obrazek historyczny miasta Dolska*, Poznań 1902 (reprint: 2009)

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- P. Mazowsze – *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 5: *Mazowsze*, comp. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1895 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 16)
- P. Prusy Królewskie – *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 12: *Prusy Królewskie*, pub. I.T. Baranowski, Warsaw 1911 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 23)
- P. Wielkopolska – *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1–2: *Wielkopolska*, comp. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1883 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 12–13)
- PAN – Polska Akademia Nauk (Polish Academy of Sciences)
- PAN BG – PAN Biblioteka Gdańska (Gdańsk Library)
- Panske – *Monumenta vetustiora ad Archidiaconatum Camenensem pertinentia: Visitatio Archidiaconatus Camenensis Andrea de Leszno Leszczyński Archiepiscopo a. 1652 et 1653 facia*, pub. P. Panske, Toruń 1907–1909 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 11–13)
- par. – parish
- Parczewski – A.J. Parczewski, *Rejestr poborowy województwa kaliskiego 1618–1620*, Warsaw 1879
- PAU – Polska Akademia Umiejętności (Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences)
- Pawłowska, Bernardyni – J. Pawłowska, *Zabiegi Hieronima Radziejowskiego o powrót bernardynów wschowskich do Wschowy w świetle ich kroniki*, [in:] *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, ed. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa–Leszno 2009, pp. 363–369
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- PDP – „Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski. Materiały i Studia”
- Perthées, Brześć – K. Perthées, *Mappa szczegulna województwa brzeskiego kujawskiego i inowrocławskiego, 1785*, [1:225,000], copy in the collections of ZAH
- Perthées, Kalisz – K. Perthées, *Mappa szczegulna województwa kaliskiego, after 1804* [1:225,000], copy in the collections of ZAH
- Perthées, Płock – K. Perthées, *Mappa szczegulna województwa płockiego i ziemi dobrzyńskiej, 1784*, [1:225,000], copy in the collections of ZAH
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- PKHBTN – „Prace Komisji Historii Bydgoskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego”
- Plany miast – *Plany miast polskich w archiwach państwowych. Katalog*, comp. M. Lewandowska, M. Stelmach, ed. A. Tomczak, Warsaw 1996
- Płockie grodz. wiecz. – *Płockie księgi grodzkie wieczyste* (‘Real-estate register of Płock’) in AGAD
- PMT – Pomorskie Monografie Toponomastyczne
- Podlasie I – *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 6, part 1: *Podlasie (województwo)*, comp. A. Jabłonowski, Warsaw 1908 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 17, part 1)
- Podlasie II – *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 6, part 2: *Podlasie (województwo)*, comp. A. Jabłonowski, Warsaw 1909 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 17, part 2)
- Podlasie III – *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 6, part 3: *Podlasie (województwo)*, comp. A. Jabłonowski, Warsaw 1910 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 17, part 3)
- Podymne 1631 – Summariusz podymnego z województwa poznańskiego wybranego przez P. Macieja Nowowiejskiego obranego poborcę na seimiku szredskim Anno 1631 (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sign. 334/II, ff. 1–68v, microfilm in BN, no. 4260)
- Podymne 1634 – *Registr fumulium palatinatus Brzestensis triplae in conventu generali Warszeviensi laudatae anno 1634 pro festo s. Michaelis Archangeli per manus generosi Ioannis Moszczynsky utriusque*

- palatinatus Cuiaviensium exactoris (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sign. 334/II, ff. 81r–107v, microfilm in BN, no. 4260)
- Podymne 1635 – Regestrum contributionum fumaliorum duplae in conventu particulari sredensi pro milite districtuali et expeditione Prussica laudatarum Anno 1635, Districtus Kcynensis (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sign. 334/II, ff. 71–80, microfilm in BN, no. 4260)
- Pogłówny kal. 1673 – Regestrum subsidii charitativi in comitiis generalibus Varsaviae Anno Domini 1673-tio laudati per generosum vero Joannem de Chomęcice Morawski exactore pallatinatus Calissiensis exacti (AGAD, ASK I 74, ff. 1–116)
- Pogłówny kal. 1674 – Regestrum subsidii charitativii alias pogłównego palatinatus Calissiensis et districtuum eius per generosum Petrum Zelencki vicepalatinum generalem Calissiensem eiusdem contributionis vigore laudi palatinatum Maioris Poloniae exactore exactae (AGAD, ASK I 74, ff. 125–263)
- Pogłówny poz. 1673 – Regestrum subsidii charitativi in comitiis generalibus Varsaviae Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Septuagesimo Tertio laudati per generosum vero Stanislaum de Hiempart Rosnowski exactore pallatinatus Posnaniensis exacti (AGAD, ASK I 68, pp. 1143–1320a)
- Pogłówny poz. 1676 – Subsidium Charitativum duplex primae rathae palatinatus Posnaniensis in comitiis Regni coronationis S.R.M. Cracoviae laudatum et diebus Mai Anno praesenti ad extradendum iniunctum generoso Samuele a Gurowo Gurowski contributionum publicarum eiusdem palatinatus exactore 1676 (AGAD, ASK I 68, pp. 1321–1476)
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- Popis 1565 – *Rejestr popisowy wojska Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego z roku 1565*, [in:] *Popisy wojskowe pospolitego ruszenia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (1524–1566)*, intro. and comp. G. Lesmaitis, transl. B. Piasecka, ed. K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2016, dok. no. 38, pp. 133–379
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- PRNG – Państwowy Rejestr Nazw Geograficznych (National Register of Geographical Names) (in Geoportal.gov.pl)
- PSB – *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1–52, Cracow 1935–2019
- PTPN – Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk (the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences)
- PZ – „Przegląd Zachodni”
- pzd – Pyzdry district
- pzn – Poznań district, Poznań Voivodeship
- r – royal property
- Rach. kom. cel. – Rachunki wielkopolskich komór celnych, sign. C1–C12 (AP Poznań)
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- rc – royal-Church property
- rcn – royal-Church-nobility property
- RDSG – „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych”
- Rej. pob. 1595 – Księga poborowa województwa krakowskiego roku 1595 (BCzart, MS 329)
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- Repertorium 68 – W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Włocławku*, part 1 : *Wizytacje XVI i XVII wieku*, ABMK, vol. 68, 1997, pp. 27–161
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- Repertorium 77 – W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie*, part 1, ABMK, vol. 77, 2002, pp. 149–268
- Repertorium 78 – W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie*, part 2, ABMK, vol. 78, 2002, pp. 71–159
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- RH – „Roczniki Historyczne”
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- RK – „Rocznik Krakowski”
- RMZDR – „Rocznik Muzeum Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w Rypinie”
- rn – royal-nobility property
- Rocz. Plesz. – „Rocznik Pleszewski”
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- RTNT – „Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”
- Rybarski, Handel – R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, vol. 1: *Rozwój handlu i polityki handlowej*, Poznań 1928
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- SG – „Studia Geohistorica”
- SGKP – *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 1–15, Warsaw 1880–1902
- SHGK – *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, part 1–4/1, ed. J. Wiśniewski, A. Gąsiorowski, W. Bukowski, Wrocław–Cracow 1980–2006
- SHGKart – Kartoteka w Pracowni Słownika Historyczno-Geograficznego Wielkopolski (Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland) IH PAN, Poznań
- SHGP – *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, ed. T. Jurek, comp. inform. S. Prinke, on-line: [www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl)
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- SMDWP – „Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza”
- SMK – Sumariusz Metryki Koronnej (with the number of the volume)
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- Suraż 1562 – J. Kazimierski, *Rejestr pomiarowy miasta Suraża z roku 1562*, „Z Dziejów Odrodzenia w Polsce. Teki Archiwalne”, vol. 2, 1954, pp. 138–191
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- ŚZ – „Studia Źródłoznawcze”
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- Szkice Perthéesa – *Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego z roku 1796 przez K. Perthesa [Perthéesa] geografa króla Stanisława Augusta*, BNANU, sign. I 5975
- t – town property
- Tabela 1827 – *Tabella miast, wsi, osad Królestwa Polskiego z wyrażeniem ich położenia i ludności*, vol. 1–2, Warsaw 1827
- Taryfy 1767 – Z. Góralski, *Taryfy mostowego i grobelnego Wielkopolski z 1767 r. Województwo poznańskie i kaliskie*, SMDWP, vol. 5, 1959, no. 1, pp. 225–307
- Taryfy 1789–1790 – K. Buczek’s excerpts from the Mazovia hearth tax from years 1789–1790 (in the collections of ZBHG)
- Teki Dworzaczka – Teki Dworzaczka. Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne do dziejów szlachty wielkopolskiej XV–XX wieku, [www.teki.bkpan.poznan.pl](http://www.teki.bkpan.poznan.pl)
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- UdR. Spisy – *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, vol. 1–6, Wrocław 1985–1990
- Ujście 1627 – Akta miasta Ujście, I/1, Revisia starostwa Viskiego a. d. 1627 (AP Poznań)
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- Ulanowski, Visitationes – *Visitationes bonorum archiepiscopatus necnon capituli Gnesnensis saeculi XVI*, pub. B. Ulanowski, Cracow 1920
- UMTB – *Urmesstischblätter (Gradabteilungskarte)*, ca. 1830, [1:25,000], Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, sign. N 729
- Urzednicy I/2 – *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. A. Bieniaszewski, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Wrocław 1987 (Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku, vol. 1, no. 2)
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- Urzednicy podlascy – *Urzednicy podlascy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz et al., Kórnik 1994 (Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Spisy, vol. 8)
- Urzednicy VI/1 – *Urzednicy kujawscy i dobrzyńscy XII–XV wieku. Spisy*, comp. J. Bieniak, S. Szybkowski, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 2014 (Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku, vol. 6, no. 1)
- Urzednicy VI/2 – *Urzednicy kujawscy i dobrzyńscy XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. K. Mikulski, W. Stanek, coop. Z. Górski, R. Kabaciński, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1990 (Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku, vol. 6, no. 2)
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- VC – *Volumina constitutionum*, vol. 1–4, comp. S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, W. Uruszczak, M. Kwiecień, A. Karabowicz, K. Fokt, Warsaw 1996–2017
- VL – *Volumina legum*, vol. 1–8, pub. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1859–1860
- von Pfau – T.P. von Pfau, *Militärische Karte von Gross-Pohlen*, [1:87,500] Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, sign. Q 16.939/6–Q 16.939/10
- von Stein – *Krieges Karte der Provinz Neu Ost Preussen enthaltend das nunmehrige Plocker und Bialystoker Cammer Departement Angefertigt in den Jahren 1795 bis 1800*, [1:33,333], Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, sign. Q 17030, cf. [https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/islandora/object/kolekcijos%3AVUB01\\_000405159#00001](https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/islandora/object/kolekcijos%3AVUB01_000405159#00001) (access: 16.06.2021)
- WAP – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archives, earlier Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe)
- wch – Wschowa district
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- Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia – J. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Poznania*, Warsaw–Poznań 1982 (Poznań 1997)
- WIG – topographic map of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (Military Geographic Institute), [1:100,000], copies in the collections of ZAH
- Wiz. 2 – ADP, Collection: Akta biskupich i dziekańskich wizytacji parafii: [*Akta wizytacji archidiaconatu dobrzyńskiego 1599*], sign. 2
- Wiz. 255 – ADP, Collection: Akta biskupich i dziekańskich wizytacji parafii: [*Wizytacja generalna parafii w dekanatach: górzeńskim, wyszkowskim, pultuskim, wizneńskim, gostynińskim, szreńskim, stanisławowskim, wąsowskim, lipnowskim, rypińskim, radzyminskim, bieżeńskim, ostrowskim, kamieńczycykim, przasnyskim, andrzejewskim, łomżyńskim, bodzanowskim, janowskim w latach 1713, 1720, 1724*], sign. 255
- Wiz. 4 – ADP, Collection: Akta biskupich i dziekańskich wizytacji parafii: [*Akta wizytacji przeprowadzonej w parafiach diecezji plockiej w roku 1605*], sign. 4
- Wiz. 46 – ADP, Collection: Akta biskupich i dziekańskich wizytacji parafii: [*Akta wizytacji dziekańskich i generalnych przeprowadzonych za rządów bpa Ludwika Żaluskiego w latach 1701–1719 w wybranych parafiach dekanatów Andrzejewo, Bielsk, Ciechanów, Gostynin, Górzno, Janowo, Łomża, Mława, Pultusk, Raciąż, Radzymin, Rypin, Sierpc, Stanisławów, Szreńsk, Wąsosz, Wizna, Wyszaków, Wyszogród, Zakroczym*], sign. 46
- Wiz. 9 – ADP, Collection: Akta biskupich i dziekańskich wizytacji parafii: *Episcopalia*, sign. 9
- Wiz. arch. warsz. 1598–1603 – *Visitatio generalis ecclesiae collegiatae [...] S. Joannis Baptistae infra muros antiquae civitatis Varsaviensis [...] 1598; Visitatio generalis omnium ecclesiarum [...] in toto archidiaconatu Varsaviensi [...] 1603* (AAP, no. AV 1, microfilm IH PAN Library in Warsaw)
- Wiz. B1 – AAWarm, Collection: Wizytacje biskupie: *Descriptio episcopatus Varmiensis actore Martino Cromero epo Varmiensi 1583*, sign. B1
- Wiz. B3 – AAWarm, Collection: Wizytacje biskupie: *Acta visitationum ecclesiarum episcopatus Varmiensis 1565–1572*, sign. B3
- Wiz. B7 – AAWarm, Collection: Wizytacje biskupie: *Acta Visitationis Generalis anno 1622*, sign. B7
- Wiz. C12 – ADPelplin, Collection: Culmensia et Pomesaniensia: *Acta curiae 1635–1639*, sign. C12 [*Puncta ex visitationibus Ecclesiarum Dioecesis Culmensis Anni 1635 excepta*, ff. 78v–84v]
- Wiz. C13 – ADPelplin, Collection: Culmensia et Pomesaniensia: *Acta curiae 1639–1646*, sign. C13 [an approved visitation by bishop Kasper Działyński in 1640., ff. 219–265v]
- Wiz. C14 – ADPelplin, Collection: Culmensia et Pomesaniensia: *Inventaria ecclesiarum, parochiarum Archipresbyteratui Culmensi subiectarum per (...) Alexandrum Radoszkowski Concionatorem Cathedralem, Commendarium perpetuum et Archipresbyterum Culmensem conscripta et diligenter connotata in visitatione die 17 X 1641*, sign. C14
- Wiz. C16 – ADPelplin, Collection: Culmensia et Pomesaniensia: *Compendium ecclesiarum dioecesis Culmensis et Pomesaniae 1647*, sign. C16
- Wiz. C19 – ADPelplin, Collection: Culmensia et Pomesaniensia: *Visitaciones episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Culmensis et Pomesaniae episcopo, anno 1667–1672 factae*, sign. C19

- Wiz. Czr. 1640–1641 – Akta wizytacji dekanatu czarnkowskiego i obornickiego archidiaconatu poznańskiego oraz dekanatów grodzkiego, lwóweckiego i zbąszyńskiego archidiaconatu pszczewskiego, 1640–1641 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 10)
- Wiz. G11 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio Ecclesiarum Pomeraniae sub (...) Nicolao Alberto Gniewosz episcopo Vladislaviensi et Pomeraniae A.D. 1649 peracta*, sign. G11
- Wiz. G1a – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio per totum Pomeraniae Archidiaconatum, qui rurales decanatus habet decem, ex voluntate (...) Hieronymi Comititis a Rozdradow, Dei gratia episcopi Vladislaviensis et Pomeraniae, per Sebastianum Liwierzki SRP capellanum (...) facta. [1583–1598]*, sign. G1a
- Wiz. G1b – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitationes Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae sub (...) Hieronymi Rozdrzewski Episcopo Vladislaviensis tam per ipsum et Illmi Episcopum quam per visitatores ab eodem destinatos factae ex libro originali in Archivo Capituli Cathedralis asservato omnia tantummodo supellectili eodem fideliter transumptae. Cura (...) Cypriani Casimiri de Komorze Wolicki Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopi Sinopensis (...) pro usu Venerabilis Consistorii Gedanensis et comoditate Dioecesis Pomeraniae Anno 1767*, sign. G1b
- Wiz. G20a – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae sub felicissimis auspiciis (...) Bonaventurae de Niedzielsko Madaliński, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopi Vladislaviensis et Pomeraniae a (...) Andrea Albinowski, Archidiacono Pomeraniae, Cantore Premisliensi, Praeposito Volboriensi Anno 1686 et 1687 peracta*, sign. G20b
- Wiz. G24 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Acta visitationis (...) Christophori Antonii de Słupow Szembek IUD Archidiaconi Pomeraniae, Officialis Gedanensis, ac per Pomeraniam Generalis A.D. 1701 et 1702 expeditae*, sign. G24
- Wiz. G26 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae sub auspiciis (...) Constantini Feliciani de Szaniawy Szaniawski Episcopi Vladislaviensis et Pomeraniae per Joannem Casimirum Jugowski, Archidiaconum Pomeraniae visitatus A.D. 1710 et A.D. 1711*, sign. G26
- Wiz. G40 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio nonnullarum ecclesiarum in Archidiaconatu Pomeraniae sitarum per (...) Iosephum Ignatium Narzyski, Archidiaconum Pomeraniae in anno 1728 /et 1729/ peracta*, sign. G40
- Wiz. G56 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio per (...) Augustinum Kliński Archidiaconum Pomeraniae in anno 1746 [1750] expedita*, sign. G56
- Wiz. G61 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio generalis ecclesiarum Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae tribus decanatibus Gedanensi, Starogardensi et Drischoviensi distinctarum per (...) Bartholomaeum Franciscum Xaverium Trochowski, Ins. Collegiatae Crusvicensis Canonikum, Officialem Svecensem, Praepositum Serocensem, ab (...) Antonio Casimiro Ostrowski Episcopo Vladislaviensi et Pomeraniae delegatum commissarium et deputatum visitatorem generalem n A.D. millesimo septingentesimo sexagesimo quinto expedita [1765–1766]*, sign. G61
- Wiz. G62 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio Ecclesiarum Decanatus Svecensis in Archidiaconatu Pomeraniae consistentium et quidem binarum parochialium in Świekatowo et Gruczno per Ipsummet (...) Antonium Casimirum de Ostrow Ostrowski Episcopum Vladislaviensem et Pomeraniae... reliquarum vero per (...) Lucam Płachecki Canonikum Lublinensem, Praepositum Iunivladislaviensem peracta et expedita A.D. 1766*, sign. G62
- Wiz. G63a – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio generalis decanatum Pucensis et Leoburgensis, Mirachoviensis et Büttoviensis in dioecesi Pomerana consistentium sub felici regimine (...) Antoni Casimiri de Ostrow Ostrowski episcopi Vladisl. et Pomeraniae, officialatu vero (...) Cypriani Casimiri de Komorze Wolicki suffraganei Pomeraniae, vicarii in spiritualibus generalis ac parochi Gedanensis per me Basilium Złocki Archidiaconi Pomeraniae (...) visitatorem generalem expedita A.D. 1766*, sign. G63a
- Wiz. G63b – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio Generalis /Ostrawiana/ decanatum Pucensis et Leoburgensis, Mirachoviensis et Büttoviensis in Dioecesi Pomerana consistentium per me Basilium Złocki Archidiaconum Pomeraniae, praepositum Skarszeviensem, visitatorem generalem expedita A.D. 1766*, sign. G63b
- Wiz. G69 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio generalis Ecclesiarum decanatum Büttoviensis, Leoburgensis et Mirachoviensis ex mandato (...) Iosephi Rybiński episcopi loci-ordinarii Vladislaviensis et Pomeraniae per (...) /Joannem Iosephum/ Gręca decanum praepositum Pucensem, praedictorem decanatum ecclesiarum visitatorem generalem deputatum expedita anno 1780*, sign. G69
- Wiz. G70 – ADPeplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiaconatu pomorskiego: *Visitatio generalis ecclesiarum decanatum Dirschaviensis et Starogardensis ex mandato (...) Iosephi Rybiński episcopi*

- Loci-ordinarii Vladisl. et Pomeraniae per PAR. Lucam Joannem Krzykowski canonicum Crusvic., notarium apostolicum, visitatorem delegatum peracta anno 1780, sign. G70*
- Wiz. G71 – ADPelplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiecezji pomorskiego: *Visitatio generalis ecclesiarum parochialium decanatum Neoburgensis et Mewensis ex mandato (...) Josephi Rybiński episcopi Vladisl. et Pomeraniae per (...) Andream Schultz, canonicum Crusvic., decanum foraneum Dirschaviensem visitatorem generalem deputatum in anno 1780 et 1781 expedita, sign. G71*
- Wiz. G72 – ADPelplin, Collection: Gedanensia – akta archidiecezji pomorskiego: *Visitatio generalis ecclesiarum parochialium in decanatu Gedanensi et Pucensi consistentium ex commissu (...) Josephi Rybiński episcopi Vladisl. et Pomeraniae per (...) Joannem Bastkowski canonicum cath. Livoniae, decanum foraneum et praepositum Starogardensem, generalem deputatum visitatorem ab a. 1782 inchoata et eodem anno expedita, sign. G72*
- Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej 1608–1609 (ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, AAG, Wiz. 3; Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 3812)
- Wiz. K14 – ADPelplin, Collection: Kamenensia – akta archidiecezji kamieńskiego: *Visitatio ecclesiarum ac sacerdotum in archidiaecesi Gnesnensi, archidiaconatus Camenensis sub felicibus auspiciis (...) Andreae de Leszno Comitis [Leszczyński], archiepiscopi Gnesnensis... per (...) Stanislaum Trebnic, archidiaconum et officialem Camenensem expedita anno 1653, sign. K14*
- Wiz. K15 – ADPelplin, Collection: Kamenensia – akta archidiecezji kamieńskiego: *Visitatio /archidiaconatus seu officialatus/ Camenensis sub felic. auspiciis (...) Michaelis /Radziejowski/ ... archiepiscopi Gnesnensis... per (...) Remigium Michaelem Lewaldt Jezierski, archidiaconum et officialem Camenensem, Conecensem, Tucholiensem praepositum facta et expedita A.D. 1695, sign. K15*
- Wiz. K16 – ADPelplin, Collection: Kamenensia – akta archidiecezji kamieńskiego: *[Opisy kościołów i beneficjów archidiecezji kamieńskiego sporządzone w l. 1743–1744 – z polecenia prymasa Krzysztofa Antoniego Szembeka – przez proboszczów parafii, uznane przez władzę diecezjalną za akta wizytacyjne], sign. K16*
- Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji kaliskiego 1603–1607 (ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, AAG, Wiz. 2; Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 3811)
- Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji kaliskiego 1610–1611 (ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, AAG, Wiz. 4; Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 3813)
- Wiz. Kal. 1719 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji kaliskiego 1719 (ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, AAG, Wiz. 11; Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 3820)
- Wiz. Kal. 1728–1730 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji kaliskiego 1728–1730 (ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, AAG, Wiz. 14; Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 3823)
- Wiz. Krk. 1599 – *Akta wizytacji dekanatu krakowskiego 1599 roku przeprowadzonej z polecenia kardynała Jerzego Radziwiłła, part 1, pub. C. Skowron, Lublin 1965*
- Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619 – Akta wizytacji kościołów miasta Poznania i archidiecezji śremskiego 1610–1619 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 4; Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 366)
- Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji poznańskiego 1628–1629 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 7; Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 367)
- Wiz. Poz. 1695–1696 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji poznańskiego 1695–1696 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 18)
- Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji poznańskiego 1726–1728 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 20)
- Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji poznańskiego 1737–1738 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 23)
- Wiz. Poz. 1777–1784 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji poznańskiego 1777–1784 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 31)
- Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607 – Wizytacja archidiecezji pszczewskiego, 1603–1607 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 3)
- Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji pszczewskiego, 1724–1725 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 22)
- Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji śremskiego, 1672–1685 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 17)
- Wiz. Śrm. 1725–1728 – Akta wizytacji archidiecezji śremskiego, 1725–1728 (AAP, Biskupi Poznańscy, Acta Visitationum, 21)
- WKL – Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie (Grand Duchy of Lithuania)
- wlc – Wałcz district
- Wolff – A. Wolff, *Studia nad urzędnikami mazowieckimi 1370–1526*, Wrocław 1962

- WP – *Województwo płockie około 1578 r.*, ed. S. Herbst, comp. I. Gieysztorowa et al., Warsaw 1958 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe, vol. 2)
- Wróblewska, Mury – G. Wróblewska, *Mury obronne Wschowy*, PZ, vol. 10, 1954, no 11–12, pp. 583–599
- Wróblewska, Wschowa – G. Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, [in:] *Studia nad początkami i rozplanowaniem miast nad Środkową Odrą i Dolną Wartą (województwo zielonogórskie)*, vol. 2, ed. Z. Kaczmarczyk, A. Wędzki, Zielona Góra 1970, pp. 435–463
- WUOZwB – Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków w Białymstoku
- Wuttke, Städtebuch – H. Wuttke, *Städtebuch des Landes Posen*, Lipsk 1864
- ZAH – Department of the Historical Atlas IH PAN (formerly Department of Historical and Geographical Research, see ZBHG)
- Zajązkowscy – S. Zajązkowski, S.M. Zajązkowski, *Materiały do słownika geograficzno-historycznego dawnych ziem łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej do 1400 roku*, part 1–2, Łódź 1966–1970
- Zajązkowski, O kształtowaniu się – S.M. Zajązkowski, *O kształtowaniu się granic dawnych ziem łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej do XVI w.*, „Slavia Antiqua”, vol. 18, 1971, pp. 123–172, and a map
- Zajązkowski, Sieć osadnicza – S.M. Zajązkowski, *Sieć osadnicza i struktura własnościowa osadnictwa dawnych ziem łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej w początkach XVI w.*, „Slavia Antiqua”, vol. 19, 1972, pp. 21–80
- Zb. Kart. – Zbiory Kartograficzne
- ZBHG – Zakład Badań Historyczno-Geograficznych IH PAN (Pracownia, następnie Zakład Atlasu Historycznego Polski, see ZAH) (Department of Historical and Geographical Research IH PAN (Section, next Department of the Historical Atlas))
- ZD – „Ziemia Dobrzyńska. Zeszyty Historyczne Dobrzyńskiego Oddziału WTN”
- ZDM – *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, vol. 1–8, ed. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, pp.–Wrocław 1962–1975
- ZH – „Zapiski Historyczne”
- Zieleniewski, Powstanie i rozwój Bielska – J. Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój układu przestrzennego Bielska Podlaskiego w XIV–XVIII wieku*, „Studia Podlaskie”, vol. 1, 1990, pp. 47–70 + 4 plans: *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w 1563 roku*, *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w XVIII wieku*, *Zaplecze gospodarczo-handlowe Bielska w XVI wieku*, *Obszary leśne trzebione i kolonizowane przez Bielsk w XV i XVI w.*, [https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/4739/1/Studia\\_Podlaskie\\_1\\_Zieleniewski\\_Powstanie\\_i\\_rozwoj\\_ukladu\\_przestrzennego\\_Bielska\\_Podlaskiego\\_w\\_XIV-XVIII\\_wieku.pdf](https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/4739/1/Studia_Podlaskie_1_Zieleniewski_Powstanie_i_rozwoj_ukladu_przestrzennego_Bielska_Podlaskiego_w_XIV-XVIII_wieku.pdf) (access 20.04.2020)
- Zierhoffer – K. Zierhoffer, *Nazwy miejscowe północnego Mazowsza*, Wrocław 1957 (Prace Onomastyczne, vol. 3)
- ŽIH – The Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute
- ZK – „Ziemia Kujawska”
- ŽK – *Źródła kartograficzne do dziejów Poznania. Katalog wystawy, wrzesień – październik 1978*, intro. A. Rogalanka, T. Ruszczyńska, coop. U. Puckalanka, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, Poznań 1978
- ZK-D – „Zapiski Kujawsko-Dobrzyńskie”
- Žmidziński – F. Žmidziński, *Osadnictwo w starostwie ujsko-pilskim do 1772 roku*, „Rocznik Nadnotecki”, vol. 1, 1966
- ZZG – Zbiór Zygmunta Glogera (ANK)

Abbreviations used in P. Swoboda, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia in this edition

IE	Indo-European
n.	name
gen.	genitive case
ca.	circa
Gmc	Germanic
OP	Old Polish
suf.	suffix
PS	Pre-Slavic
p.n.	personal name

# I. INTRODUCTION

## I.1 FOREWORDS TO THE SERIES

### I.1.1 FOREWORD TO THE SERIES' COLLECTIVE EDITION: HISTORICAL ATLAS OF POLAND. DETAILED MAPS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Marek Słoń*

The idea of a historical atlas of Poland goes back over 140 years. The formation of a Research Group (today, Department) for the Historical Atlas over seventy years ago, initially at the Warsaw Scientific Society (TNW), which was tasked with preparing the AHP series apparently marks the initiation of the project. The idea and history of the AHP have been discussed several times, including as part of this publication.<sup>1</sup> The switch into digital work and the process of integration of the volumes into one database and book-format edition, starting with the English-language edition from 2014, have also been discussed.<sup>2</sup> These subjects will be covered also by a dedicated forthcoming publication. Thus, the rationale behind the present edition and its form calls for a justification.

The need to produce one map in lieu of cartographic representations of individual voivodeships seems obvious. The reader thereby receives a comprehensive picture of the settlement network, including the ownership relations, administrative (state) and ecclesiastical divisions, roads, and natural environment elements. This is true for the main map, scale 1:250,000, and the reference maps twice smaller in scale. Hence the need for a possibly comprehensive and coherent commentary. We have decided not to compile the entire text anew. Such a task would exceed the team's potential as it would require considerable reworking of the wide-ranging subject-matter in line with the current state of research. Such an attempt has been partly made, though. Instead of the original sections on the sources, the 2014 English edition contained synthetic texts prepared for the purpose by the authors of most of the comments thitherto written. Yet, the compilation arouses doubts from the perspective of the few years. Those summary representations prove to be overly modest as portions of original content have been removed in an attempt to avoid redundancy. Moreover, with the generational shift in the team and with the digitalisation of the research techniques, the texts were written by new authors and in a different way. Therefore, we have quit the idea to extend the aforesaid solution to the volumes published after 2014; also the section on sources will contain the original chapters.

Similarly to the 2014 English edition, the present publication is arranged by subject rather than geography. Since this arrangement is preserved in the consecutive volumes and thus required no essential intervention in the division within each of them, all the more that the readers have been accustomed to it. The arrangement is explained in the introduction to the said edition. Only the commentaries to the plans of towns have been modified. The earlier edition had fifteen of them, attached to the respective volumes. In this edition, their number doubled to thirty-four, and we have decided that the alphabetic arrangement would facilitate the reader's ability to find the appropriate chapter (which seems of special importance for foreign readers).

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<sup>1</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Atlas historyczny Polski*, [in:] *Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie. Sto lat działalności*, ed. E. Wolniewicz-Pawłowska, W. Zych, Warsaw 2009, pp. 121–122; idem, *Work on the Historical Atlas of the Sixteenth-Century Poland*, „Polish Cartographical Review”, vol. 50, 2018, no. 4, pp. 223–231; B. Konopska, *Polskie atlasy historyczne. Koncepcje i realizacje*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 128–132; W. Pałucki, *Foreword*, [w:] AHP Lubelskie, I.1.3 in this edition; M. Słoń, *Foreword to the British Edition*, [in:] *Historical Atlas of Poland in the 2nd Half of the 16th Century. Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Rawa, Płock, and Mazovia*, ed. M. Słoń, Frankfurt am Main 2014, I.1.2 in this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem; M. Słoń, *Digitale Edition der Ausheberregister aus der Wojewodschaft Kalisch des 16. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Quellen kirchlicher Provenienz. Neue Editionsprojekte und aktuelle EDV-Projekte; Editions-wissenschaftliches Kolloquium 2011*, hrsg. von H. Flachenecker, J. Tandecki, bearb. von K. Kopinski, Toruń 2011, pp. 393–406.

For Royal Prussia, it was necessary not only to prepare a supplement to complement selected issues but also to alter the order and attach the content absent in the series of detailed maps to the relevant chapters.<sup>3</sup> The method of integrating the work done by Professor Marian Biskup into the edition is detailed in the table below.

**Table 1. MRP volume incorporated in the *Detailed Maps* series:**

Arrangement of MRP volume	Arrangement of the series
INTRODUCTION	I. INTRODUCTION, Part 1
I. SOURCES	II. SOURCES
A. Written sources	1. Written sources
B. Cartographic sources	2. Cartographic sources
II. METHOD OF WORK APPLIED AND DESCRIPTION OF THE OUTCOME	III. METHOD AND RESULTS
A. General remarks	I. INTRODUCTION, Part 2
B. Geomorphological outline of Royal Prussia	III.1. Geographic environment
C. Main map	Geographic environment
1. Geography	Geographic environment
a. Terrain	Geographic environment
b. Hydrography	Geographic environment
c. Vegetation	Geographic environment
2. Settlement and its aspects	III.3. Settlement
a. Administrative division	III.2. Administrative divisions
b. Settlement density	III.3.1. Localisation of settlements
c. Road network	III.5. Roads
d. Other elements of the map	III.3.2. Character and size of settlements, Part 2
D. Maps 1—2. Arable land and land property	I. INTRODUCTION, Part 3
1. Ownership affiliation of settlements	III.3.3. Ownership affiliation of settlements
2. Soil diversity and agricultural use of land	Ownership affiliation of settlements
E. Thematic maps 3—10. Demography	III.3.2. Character and size of settlements, Part 1
3. Village population density	Character and size of settlements, Part 1
4. Relative village population density	Character and size of settlements, Part 1
5. The size of rural and urban settlements	Character and size of settlements, Part 1
6. Distribution of smallholder and cotter population	Character and size of settlements, Part 1
7. Demography and social structure of village population	Character and size of settlements, Part 1
8. Holdings and social structure of the nobility	Character and size of settlements, Part 1
9. Distribution of craftsmen population	Character and size of settlements, Part 1
10. Location of the key industrial facilities	Character and size of settlements, Part 1

The relation between the volume published in 1961 and its 2021 supplement is specified in the introduction to the latter.<sup>4</sup> At this point, attention should be paid to the differences between the naming used in the atlas edited by Marian Biskup and in the series of detailed sixteenth-century maps. While

<sup>3</sup> MRP; AHP Prussia.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter I.1.2 in this edition.

reconstruction of the toponymy was marginal for the former, it was a basic issue for the latter. This aspect has therefore been complemented by presentation of the completed material on the map, in the index and in the commentary with an extensive section on geographic nomenclature. This did not affect the re-edition of the 1961 volume, though. The reprints of the maps from the Biskup volume gives the names used by its authors, usually the contemporary ones. The commentary volume shows a lesser difference, for the use of modern naming has been adopted for the whole series, with the sixteenth-century form added to the first mention of a given locality or settlement. The 1961 atlas of Royal Prussia has the German name attached in a similar manner; such names might have been, but did not have to be, dominant in the period. The list of settlements of this collective edition usually specifies these forms as variants, sometimes with a different spelling (e.g., 't'/'th', or '-e' as the final letter). The contrast between the sixteenth-century toponymy, reconstructed and shown in the 2021 Prussia volume supplement and the naming applied by Marian Biskup appears most clearly in the annexes listing the parishes.<sup>5</sup>

There are two issues that were discussed in the 1961 volume in a way not satisfying the series' requirements and hence they have been newly elaborated on in the 2021 supplement – namely, the roads and the territorial divisions of the Catholic Church. The respective section opens with texts by Marian Biskup which are followed by chapters penned by Tomasz Nowicki and Tomasz Związek. Despite minor repetitions, they prove mutually complementary.

As was the case with the English edition of seven years ago, this collective edition is not corrected or updated. The current state of research has not been reflected and a number of terms unmodified. The reader may be stricken today by mentions of the Soviet Union as an existing country in the Prussia volume. Such was the state-of-affairs, the political situation at the time these publications first appeared in print<sup>6</sup> and we have decided replacing these items with names or forms corresponding with a twenty-first century map and present-day language convention would have been an unauthorised intervention in the original text.

Due to the size of this edition and the amount of references between the texts we have resolved not to use the references by page number, but only by chapters. Given the digital form of this publication, searching such content items should pose no problem to the reader.

The title page and the table of contents do not fully reflect the contributors' share in the preparation of this collective edition. The project has basically been a common effort of the entire Department of Historical Atlas at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN). This is particularly true for the decision to meet the challenge and then resolve through open discussion any doubts related to the conceived edition. In the aftermath of those decisions, the team assumed the specified tasks with unceasing support from the IH PAN, particularly its Publishing House. Krzysztof Kubik prepared the OCR of the earlier volumes and initially proofread it; an integrated list of abbreviations and acronyms for the first six volumes has been compiled by Wiesława Duży. Both tasks were completed by Jolanta Rudzińska. Compilation of an index encompassing the eight elements for more than 25,000 entries posed quite a challenge; this effort was mainly tackled by Michał Gochna and Arkadiusz Borek (*List of settlements*), and Tomasz Panecki (*List of natural landscape elements*). Both the index and the maps, the fundamental element of this atlas, would not have been compiled without the spatial database that has been gradually developed and extended over the years. Bogumił Szady and Grzegorz Myrda have excelled in this team effort. Dawid Maciuszek requires a mention among the main map contributing cartographers and editors.

This present English edition comes out in parallel with the collective Polish edition and reflects its content.

The series' first five volumes were published in English 2014, a few years after the last original volume was issued, with only one translator involved. Now, the situation was entirely different. Owing to the need to almost simultaneously submit the three final volumes for print and prepare both language versions of the collective edition, the tasks had to be gravely delivered in large measure in parallel,

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. annexes at the end of the MRP, here III.3.2.9a and at the end of the chapter: T. Nowicki, *Church administration borders* [in:] AHP Prussia, III.2.2.9b in this edition.

<sup>6</sup> The chronology of publication of the consecutive volumes is broken down in M. Słoń, *Afterword* [in:] AHP Podlasie, IV.1.8 in this edition); MRP came out in 1961, AHP Prussia in 2021.

rather than consecutively. Problems with execution of the translation contract for the Greater Poland volume caused that the work on this particular volume continued throughout the year 2021. Hence the need to involve a team of five translators in order to have the four volumes translated. The previous schedule primarily assumed that the original version be completed on time, which eventually did not succeed. This caused delay and considerable pressure of time at the final stage as well as the need to retranslate some parts of the text which have been modified or added by the authors after their chapters were submitted to the editors. Another consequence is the stylistic differences that could not be completely eliminated by the editorial team. The team composed of the translators, a native speaker language editor and several editors cyclically met and discussed online, exchanged email messages, and a table of the most challenging terms contributed to by all. These terms included the source form, the version from the 2014 edition, suggestions proposed by the translators, authors or editors (sometimes with a comment), and the version finally accepted by the language editor. Once translated, every text was submitted to the author's proof and then verified by its translator and the language editor. After the typesetting, it would be finally approved by the author(s) and editors. Applied as a standard with academic publications, this procedure posed a real challenge owing to the number of contributors, diversity (maps, texts, lists) and volume of the material processed, and lack of an earlier-completed model in the form of a complete Polish edition. In this volume, we have decided to make editorial corrections to the 2014 edition by placing the footnote numbers after the punctuation marks, standardising the specification of centuries and dates, using the correct specification of map scales (e.g., 1:250,00) and numerals. The identified errors and inconsistencies in the equivalents of some terms have been rectified. One example of such standardisation is the adoption of the term 'district' as a uniform equivalent of the Polish administrative unit of *powiat* (in Latin *districtus*). Moreover, the titles of three chapters have been altered – *Index of settlements* into *List of settlements*, *Index of physiographic names* into *List of natural landscape elements*, and *Nomenclature* into *Geographic nomenclature*. All these actions, including the approval procedure and fluent communication between the translators and volume editors, is the merit of Katarzyna Słomska-Przech.

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

## I.1.2 FOREWORD TO THE BRITISH EDITION, VOL. 1-3, 5 AND 7 (2014)

*Marek Słoń*

This work consists of five volumes of the series of *The Historical Atlas of Poland, Detailed Maps of the sixteenth century* edited by Władysław Pałucki, Stanisław Trawkowski, Henryk Rutkowski, Małgorzata Wilska. The volumes included were:

- Vol. 3: Lublin Voivodeship in the Second Half of the sixteenth century*, edited by Władysław Pałucki and published originally in Warsaw in 1966;
- Vol. 7: Mazovia in the Second Half of the sixteenth century* by Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, Irena Gieysztorowa, Józef Humnicki, Wojciech Kalinowski, Wanda Lewandowska, Kazimierz Pacuski, Henryk Rutkowski, and Wanda Szaniawska, edited by Władysław Pałucki and published in Warsaw in 1973;
- Vol. 2: Sandomierz Voivodeship in the Second Half of the sixteenth century* by Krzysztof Chłapowski, Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, Wanda Lewandowska, Kazimierz Pacuski, Henryk Rutkowski, edited by Władysław Pałucki and published in Warsaw in 1993;
- Vol. 5: Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships in the Second Half of the sixteenth century*, by Krzysztof Chłapowski, Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Kazimierz Pacuski, Elżbieta Rutkowska, Stanisław Trawkowski, Małgorzata Wilska, edited by Henryk Rutkowski and published in Warsaw in 1998;
- Vol. 1: Cracow Voivodeship in the Second Half of the sixteenth century*, by Krzysztof Chłapowski, Jerzy Duma, Kamila Follprecht, Jacek Laberschek, Zdzisław Noga, Marta Piber-Zbieranowska, Zenon Piech, Elżbieta Rutkowska, Ryszard Skowron, Jarosław Suproniuk, Małgorzata Wilska, Michał Zbieranowski, edited by Henryk Rutkowski and published in Warsaw in 2008.

The original edition in Polish available free on the internet:

<http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/publication/1074> (the volume of Lublin)

<http://rcin.org.pl/ihpan/publication/6733> (the other volumes)

The numbering of volumes was established in the 1960s, and did not determine the order in which the subsequent parts were prepared. Each volume consists of maps, being the first part, and the commentary – the second part. Only Lublin Voivodeship was presented in a slightly different manner; given the smaller size of the commentary, and the fact that in the beginning of the work on the Atlas the rules were still not set, the volume was not divided into parts, and the map was an inset in the commentary.

The structure of this edition is different, as it was not divided into volumes presenting individual voivodeships. The first volume of the work contains maps, the second the commentary, and the third bibliography and lists. Each of the parts covers the entire territory prepared so far: Mazovia (Mazovian Voivodeship with the capital in Warsaw and the Voivodeships of Płock and Rawa), Lesser Poland (Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz and Lublin), and Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships.

The task to prepare one, uniform main map proved a real challenge. In the course of over 40 years which passed between the publications of the first and the last volume, cartography changed beyond recognition. Even though the authors tried to refer to the work of their predecessors, numerous cartographic elements differed significantly: e.g. the way borders were marked, or the saturation of colour of forests, rivers and lakes. As such, the entire map had to be drawn once more, with the

use of already existing content. The map was divided into three basic parts: 1. Symbols and labels for settlements, 2. Borders, roads, hydrography, forests, 3. Contour lines. Our work on the maps of Mazovia and the Voivodeships of Lublin and Sandomierz, had to be based on scans of printed maps. For two latter maps we had vector files for each layer. Maps were placed in geographic space by means of GIS software. Chosen parochial churches, around 30–40 for each of nine sheets, served as a base for calibration. Settlement points from three older volumes were marked on this basemap. Parameters were ascribed to each settlement. They were based on the data recorded on the map and in the lists included in the commentary, and allowed us to mark settlements correctly (including name, type of ownership, size and central functions). The second group of layers, which contains mostly linear (e.g. borders, roads, rivers) and spatial elements (e.g. lakes and forests), was vectorized. However, we decided not to use in our five volumes the hypsometry prepared for main maps. The vectorization of this layer proved so complicated and time-consuming that it exceeded our capabilities. We considered including the modern depiction of the lay of the land, but the inexactness of the map, particularly its older sheets, prevented us from completing this goal. Already the cartographic base of the series (maps of WIG, the Military Institute of Geography, from 1919–1939) was not fully accurate. In the second half of the twentieth century, such precision was technically not feasible, and so it was not a priority. The purpose of the map was to present relative location of presented objects, and the exchange of individual layers and superimposing them on satellite images was not taken into consideration. To this we must add certain slips which occurred during printing. Also, it seems quite possible that prior to 1989 the censorship purportedly introduced various changes to the work. These inaccuracies were only partially corrected through the calibration of maps. As a result, the contour lines were only an approximate representation, their error equalling even several hundred meters. When superimposed on the modern, precise hypsometry, it often turns out that lakes are situated on slopes, and rivers flow upwards. Such mistakes were too numerous to be corrected in this edition. As such, we decided to move the relief to one of the reference maps at a scale of 1:500,000, which shows the road network. There are some obvious drawbacks in this solution: it offers no information about the lay of the land around a given settlement, but it can be viewed on the internet for free at the above-mentioned links. Still, it allows for a better orientation as to the nature of individual regions, what is particularly important for readers less familiar with the physical geography of Poland. Elevation points remained on the map at a scale of 1:250,000.

Individual sheets of the map were joined forming one, main map of eight old Voivodeships: of Lublin, Mazovia, Płock, Rawa, Sandomierz, Łęczyca, Sieradz, and Cracow. Even though it does not cover all Polish lands of the old Crown, the whole area is around 107,540 km<sup>2</sup>, spanning 385 km from the East to the West and 520 km from the South to the North. The printed map at the scale of 1:250,000 is 154 × 208 cm. For practical reasons, it was divided into four sheets.

It was agreed that thematic maps in the series would be prepared at a scale of 1:500,000, which allowed us to put each of them on one A0 sheet. For the majority of voivodeships, three topics (Church divisions, location of landed property, roads) were presented on separate sheets or maps in the text, and in case of Lublin Voivodeship almost all the necessary data (ecclesiastical borders were completed for this edition by B. Szady) was included in the main map. Here, these elements were presented on a uniform image showing the entire territory of our Atlas. These maps were not created from sheets from individual volumes, but were generated from the joint main map. The map of roads shows also the lay of the land. Other thematic maps were reprinted on the basis of the original edition with added English translation. This also refers to city plans.

The preparation of these maps was an extremely difficult task, requiring not only enormous effort, but also mastery of graphic software, calculation sheets, GIS software, as well as good cartographic intuition. This work required cooperation of a multidisciplinary team of experts and participation of the majority of employees and co-workers of the Department of the Historical Atlas of the Institute of History of Polish Academy of Sciences. The main part was done by Piotr Kann. Other tasks were completed by the following: Elżbieta Rutkowska, Anna Faliszewska, Bogumił Szady (maps), Arkadiusz Borek, Marta Kuc-Czerep, Michał Gochna (indices), Tomasz Związek, Jarosław Suproniuk (redaction), Henryk Rutkowski, Kazimierz Pacuski, Hanna Dunin-Wąsowicz, Krzysztof Chłapowski, Marta Piber-Zbieranowska, Małgorzata Wilska, Michał Zbieranowski i Jerzy Duma (corrections).

Also the commentaries were combined into one, relating to all voivodeships included in the Atlas. Here it was necessary to divide original volumes according to five main sections (Introduction, Sources, Method and Results, City Plans and List of Settlements), and partially also according to chapters and subchapters. The introductions were arranged in chronological order: this text and the introduction to the entire series (published in 1966) is followed by the introduction from the Lublin volume (1966), then Mazovia (1973), Sandomierz (1993), Sieradz and Łęczyca (1998), and Cracow (2008). It was decided that the part on Sources should be rewritten, as subsequent volumes discussed the same categories of historical monuments, or even the same records, especially cartographic ones. This was possible, as the authors of original texts agreed to prepare the new one. Krzysztof Chłapowski described written sources in three of the five volumes, and Henryk Rutkowski presented cartographic records in all volumes, except for Lublin Voivodeship. The section on 'Method and Results' is the most complicated. It was divided into five basic chapters (geographic environment, administrative division, settlement, geographic nomenclature, roads), and two of those chapters have also subchapters, in all volumes: State and Church division was described separately, and as for settlement – the localization, character and size of settlements and their ownership affiliation. In this section, like in the next one (city plans), the order depended on the numbering of volumes, not the date of printing. Hence the first fragment presents materials on Cracow (vol. 1), next is Sandomierz (vol. 2), then Lublin (vol. 3), Sieradz and Łęczyca (vol. 5), and then Mazovia (vol. 7).

Obviously, the List of Settlements had to be prepared from scratch. It has the same structure as individual volumes of the Polish edition, and similar form of description, both explained in details in the introduction to the List. The most important change concerns letter and number coordinates which were replaced with approximate geographical coordinates, thanks to which the List will be more universal, and not limited to this publication, and finding a given location will be much easier. As said, lists of subsequent volumes were used to ascribe proper symbols to items presented on the map. For this purpose, each of the lists was turned into a database and linked with the point layer of the map.

Thus prepared data, later confronted with maps and lists printed in individual volumes, formed the foundation for the general list. The List of natural landscape elements on the other hand, did not cause such difficulties for us, and is a simple joint version of original lists from the volumes of the Polish edition. We only changed the method of marking location: like in the List of Settlements we introduced geographic coordinates. In case of linear object, like rivers, we provide the coordinates of the beginning and end, i.e. source and estuary, or the edges of the map. For spatial objects – forests in particular – the coordinates mark the centre.

New section, which was not included in the original edition, is the Bibliography, prepared by Urszula Zachara. The form of bibliographic description commonly used in Poland was replaced with the Oxford system, with which an English-speaking reader will be much more familiar. We were therefore able to reduce the size of the publication slightly, and above all – gather the English versions of all titles in one place. The list of abbreviations and full bibliographic description with translated titles was arranged in alphabetical order of the abbreviations.

Despite these changes in relation to the Polish original, the English edition is not a revised edition. The map and the commentary reflect the state of research from the time of the publication of subsequent volumes. Minor corrections were introduced only in several cases. Works described in the original edition as 'in print' were given a full bibliographic description, although they were published later. We also included the erratum to Mazovian volume published in the next volume on Sandomierz Voivodeship. In case there were any inconsistencies between volumes, we accepted the version included in the more recent publication. This particularly concerns areas situated on the edges of successive maps. The revision of the List disclosed quite numerous inconsistencies between the List and the map, which were also corrected. However, content-related errors, revealed by newer research, were not changed. It would have been impossible to do that for the entire Atlas, and selective actualization would confuse the reader as to the character of this edition.

The work was translated by one person, Agata Staszewska, and then proofread by Martha Brożyna, a native speaker of English fluent also in Polish. The authors of original texts were asked to review the translation. Naturally, not in every case was this possible. Władysław Pałucki, the editor of the volumes on Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeship, Stefan Wojciechowski, the author of Lublin volume, as well as some other authors, already passed away. Also, some of the living

authors did not verify the translation. In total, the author's proof-reading covered some two-thirds of the text (66%).

In the commentary, we decided to translate everything, which could possibly be translated into English. For some old Polish words, of key importance for our work and lacking an unambiguous, precise equivalent in English, the original term was also given in brackets next to the first appearance of a given word. As for maps, only the necessary elements were translated. The majority of names on maps are sixteenth century proper nouns. In the original version it was not modern form, but the form confirmed in the sources, which was accepted. Likewise, what was important in the English version of the maps was not an English equivalent (e.g. Warsaw, Vistula), but its conformity with the sixteenth century nomenclature practice (Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa, Wisła).

English edition was possible thanks to the kindness of all authors of the volumes published so far, or their heirs. As the editor of this work, I would like to thank them once more. My gratitude goes also to Polish Scientific Publishers PWN, which – owning the rights to Lublin and Sandomierz Volumes – granted us permission to translate them.

The Historical Atlas of Poland is not a complete work. Two Voivodeships – of Poznań and Kalisz, which form the Greater Poland region – are currently being prepared. The end of the works is planned on 2017. Then, only two volumes will remain – Cuyavia and Podlasie. The current method of work on these volumes gives us hopes that adding those new territories to our map will not be too costly. The Department of the Historical Atlas of Poland intends to translate the three next volumes and publish them also in English in the full, completed series, at least in electronic format, however this still remains only a desire and a dream, and not a plan with means for its realization.

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### I.1.3 FOREWORD TO THE SERIES (1966)

*Władysław Pałucki*

Historians have long been fascinated by the political, social and economic changes which occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century, just as they have been drawn to the abundance of statistical and geographical sources from this period.

These circumstances led A. Pawiński and A. Jabłonowski to publish the voluminous *Źródła dziejowe* ('Historical Sources') on this period, of which the most important series was *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym* ('Sixteenth century Poland with Regard to Statistics and Geography').

Following publication of the last volume of the series, the publishers found it necessary to chart the printed source materials and prepare a grand historical atlas of sixteenth century Poland. In consideration of their personal interests, scholarly backgrounds and their division of roles during the works on *Źródła dziejowe*, Pawiński was to cover the Polish territories for the atlas, and Jabłonowski was to cover the Ruthenian.

Pawiński's untimely death (1896) prevented him from realizing his goal. Jabłonowski on the other hand, using volumes XVIII–XX of *Źródła dziejowe* that he had published, prepared *Ziemie ruskie* ('Ruthenian lands') from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and published it in 1904 on 17 coloured sheets at a scale of 1:300,000, which constituted Part II of the Historical Atlas of the Republic of Poland.<sup>1</sup>

Critical assessment of this pioneering work in Polish historical cartography was not positive, although F. Bujak highlighted the author's merits and gave high praise to his efforts, citing the publication as an example to follow for those who would so cover the Polish lands of the Republic.<sup>2</sup> However, prior to the First World War, despite Jabłonowski's warm encouragement aimed particularly at Bujak, no one made the decision to continue working on the Polish territory.

Later, on Poland's regaining its independence in 1918, the fortunes of the Atlas went in a different direction. The first decade (1922–1931) of the Committee of the Historical Atlas of Poland appointed at the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences was a period of trials, when the scientific program of works crystallized.<sup>3</sup> The Warsaw Committee did in fact begin to put together working materials concerning Mazovia and Podlasie in the sixteenth century. Later it turned its attention to a different period.

When it comes to the chronology of the Atlas, three periods were considered: the second half of the fourteenth century, then the sixteenth century, and finally the eighteenth century. Finally, it was decided that the works would begin with the preparation of detailed maps of voivodeships from after the Partitions of Poland. When this task was finished the maps of the seventeenth century, sixteenth century, etc., would be prepared by reverse chronology.<sup>4</sup>

It must be admitted that the assumptions of this program, agreed upon by the distinguished scholars specializing in geographical history, W. Semkowicz of the older generation and S. Arnold

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<sup>1</sup> AHRP.

<sup>2</sup> KH, vol. 20, 1906, pp. 489–490.

<sup>3</sup> PKAHP, vol. 3, p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 335.

and K. Buczek of the younger, were at the time fully justified. The statistical and geographical source materials for the second half of the eighteenth century were abundant, such as the hearth tax rates, censuses, and the *Statystyczno-geograficzne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego z 1791 r.*, or the modern cartographic representations, to mention just a few.

Even though the work on any selected chosen chronological period was conducted at several university scientific centres (the committees in Cracow, Warsaw, Poznań, Lwów and Pomerania), the Cracow committee made the fastest progress, finishing and publishing 'The Map of Cracow Voivodeship at the Age of the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792)' already in 1930.<sup>5</sup> This map (abbreviated as AHP 1930) along with its working methods were to be used for maps of the remaining voivodeships in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Second World War interrupted all work in this period. They were in various stages of development, and – to make matters worse – the bulk of basic manuscript sources kept in the Central Archives and the National Library in Warsaw was completely destroyed in 1944.

It was for this reason that following the reconstitution of Poland, in the newly-created Department of the Historical Atlas at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences as the works on the AHP commenced for the third time, the controversies about the program and its methodological assumptions reignited.<sup>6</sup> 'As the materials on the historical geography of eighteenth century Poland were destroyed in the Warsaw uprising of 1944, we decided to abandon the rule accepted correctly for the works on the *Map of Cracow Voivodeship at the Age of the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792)* published in 1930 according to which the works started with the eighteenth century. At the time this was the most certain base for retrogression. It was agreed that the work would recommence with the end of the sixteenth century, for which a rich stock of historical sources survived'.<sup>7</sup>

It was also decided that the traditional range of the atlas would be broadened, and several thematic and choropleth maps would be prepared for each voivodeship other than the main map, in order to present the dynamics of social and economic processes. On the other hand, because of the smaller scale of the map, namely 1:500,000, the graphical representation of settlements presented on the map became less precise, as the scale allowed the authors to depict only important settlements and parochial seats. In short, it was decided that a second series of the Atlas of the second half of the sixteenth century, series B, consisting of reference maps, would be prepared, which would – in accordance with the best intentions of the work's supervisors – allow the work to be finished through the efforts of one generation.<sup>8</sup>

In 1961 the map of *Royal Prussia in the Second Half of the Sixteenth century* (abbreviated MRP) was published in this series. It was prepared by M. Biskup with L. Koc, and consisted of a vast analytic commentary along with 11 choropleth maps.<sup>9</sup> MRP was preceded by a preliminary experimental study, the map of *Płock Voivodeship around 1578* (abbreviated as AHP 1958), which was a joint effort also containing a substantial analytic commentary and nine choropleth maps, published in 1958 in the series A, detailed maps of the AHP, as the main map was prepared at a scale 1:200,000.<sup>10</sup>

This was the situation until 1964, while the work on the map of Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century continued in accordance with the rules accepted for the series of reference maps. Advanced work on the reference map of Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century was stopped for a time for two reasons. Firstly, the small team preparing this map (in the Warsaw Department of the Historical Atlas of Poland) was burdened with cartographic works on subsequent volumes of the *History of Poland* and *The Inspection of Royal Estates*. Then, given the increased interest in the history of Mazovia, or incoming requests that a simplified version of the map of this

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<sup>5</sup> *Mapa województwa krakowskiego z doby Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788–1792)*, ed. W. Semkowicz, comp. K. Buczek, Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, T. Czort, H. Münch, A. Szumański, Cracow 1930 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy Szczegółowe, vol. 1); and separate volume K. Buczek, *Mapa województwa krakowskiego z doby Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788–1792). Źródła i metoda*, Cracow 1930.

<sup>6</sup> S. Herbst, *Prace nad Polskim Atlasem Historycznym*, KH, vol. 60, 1953, no. 3, pp. 329–334.

<sup>7</sup> WP, p. 10 (Introduction by S. Herbst).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> MRP.

<sup>10</sup> See above footnote 7.

province in the sixteenth century – yet still showing the complete settlement network – was to be delivered to the scholars, the authors decided to prepare this map, planning to finish it in 1963, and publish it in 1964.

Following the publication of AHP 1958 and MRP the few published reviews did not satisfy the authors of the atlas, as they did not express a full approval of the accepted assumptions of the MRP, even though the obtained results were highly regarded.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, criticism of some of thematic maps in AHP 1958 made this study controversial.<sup>12</sup>

All this, regardless of the substantial aspects of the issue, had a significant influence on the progress of work on the atlas. Apart from substantial publishing costs, the preparation of the thematic map required as much time – if not more – as the main map. This fact together with the small number of authors on the one side and the vast territory on the other could raise concerns over the fate of the AHP. Still, the most important opinions, which could influence the future fate of the AHP, claimed that the reference series of the atlas, prepared at a scale 1:500,000, was of little use and did not fulfil its task. It failed to provide a useful research tool for the historians because it could not offer them maps which would contain a named network of settlements for a given chronological period. It was also confirmed that – contrary to anticipation – detailed maps relatively did not require more time than reference maps at a scale 1:500,000. While working on the latter, one had to mark all settlements on working maps at a scale 1:100,000, and only then was this element reduced, at the last stage of the work, when the initial drafts of the maps are made. In brief, the same time and effort brings much less benefit for the users of such maps.

In this situation, the authors decided to revise the previous assumptions of the atlas work and discuss them in a broader circle of specialists and interested individuals. The issue was quite urgent as the reference map of Lublin Voivodeship in the sixteenth century and the simplified map of Mazovia were almost finished. The time had come to prepare and publish that series of the AHP which begins with Lublin Voivodeship in one form.

In 1964 the revised program of this series of the AHP was approved by the mixed committee of historians and geographers. In the first place it eliminated thematic maps (choropleth maps). This does not mean that the authors abandoned work on this type of maps, but they were to be prepared in another series of the AHP, or by the Committee of the Historical Atlas, as thematic maps usually, by nature, require detailed historical study.

The accepted chronological period of this series of the AHP – the second half of the sixteenth century – requires a certain amount of explanation. Namely, based on the experimental study, *The Map of Płock Voivodeship around 1578*, it should be understood that this means the period close to the end of this century, according to our present assumptions. As a result, should an important phenomenon have either occurred (a new settlement) or changed (a village turned into town, the foundation of a new parish) in that half of the century, the map will show the latter situation. This rule does not apply to the existence of a settlement itself – if a settlement was liquidated in the second half of the sixteenth century, it still appears on the map.

S. Wojciechowski's *Województwo lubelskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* ('Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century') is slightly different in terms of chronological assumptions as it reflects the situation from 1564–165, with minor updates from later years. This is because the preparation of this map took many years and the author worked using different assumptions. Adjusting the map to the new, now-accepted rules would require too much time and effort.

The territorial range of this series of the AHP was defined by both historical and practical reasons. Generally, the atlas should include all lands of the Polish State in this period, which means the kingdom within the borders following the 1569 Union of Lublin as well as the ethnically Polish territories in the west and north lost in the Middle Ages and regained in 1945. This is how the matter should have been treated if we were just commencing work on the atlas for the second half of the sixteenth century. In reality we must consider the scientific and publishing achievements of the past.

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<sup>11</sup> A. Mączak, *Obraz statystyczny Prus Królewskich w XVI wieku: Prusy Królewskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, comp. Marian Biskup with Lucjan Koc, *Atlas Historyczny Polski, seria B: Mapy przeglądowe, 1*, Warsaw 1961, PH, vol. 53, 1962, no. 1, pp. 164–174.

<sup>12</sup> KHKM, vol. 8, 1960, pp. 251–256 (review of K. Górska-Gołaska).

As such, our territorial range of this series of the AHP will be somewhat limited, and the preparations possible in present conditions.

Therefore, in the first place Jabłonowski's *Ruthenian lands*, covering Ruthenian Voivodeship with Chełm land, and the Voivodeships of Bełcz, Podole, Wołyń, Kijów and Braclaw, will be excluded from this series of the AHP. Still, his *Atlas* shows, more or less correctly, the three basic elements in 50 years at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, which – we should add – is somewhat too long a period. The elements are the named and localized settlement network, details of ownership marked as to locality, and the political and administrative borders. Thus, these are charted facts which are the most useful for the scientific work of historians. That is why, having accepted our limited means and capabilities we decided to exclude Ruthenian lands from our atlas, even despite all the imperfections of Jabłonowski's work, prepared 60 years ago on the basis of different methodical and methodological assumptions, and with the foundation of an outdated map of Poland by W. Chrzanowski, published in 1859 at a scale 1:300,000. This was, after all, consistent with A. Jabłonowski's intentions, as he treated his work as Part II of the *Historical Atlas of the Republic of Poland*, postulating that other voivodeships of the Crown be compiled as Part I of the Atlas.

For practical reasons we must exclude Royal Prussia (Voivodeships of Chełmno, Malbork and Pomerania) from this planned series of the AHP, because the maps of this territory have already been finished in several variants, although on the basis of a slightly different program: in the series B of reference maps of the AHP at a scale 1:500,000<sup>13</sup> and analytical maps at a scale 1:300,000. These contain the most valuable elements for research, which are the named, complete settlement network, political, administrative and Church borders, including parochial borders, and ownership status.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the presentation of the sixteenth century western and northern lands recovered in 1945 should be prepared in a different manner, as for these territories we possess no uniform sources such as tax registers, Church visitations or inspections of royal property. As such, without settling the methods and forms of solving this issue (which might require – as an analogy to the *Historical Atlas of Silesia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century* currently being finished – a reference map at a scale 1:500,000) the preparation and publication of maps of western and northern lands in the sixteenth century must be moved to another series of the AHP.

As a result, this series A of detailed maps of the sixteenth century is limited to Polish lands of the Crown. We offer our readers the first part of this series: *Lublin Voivodeship*.

When it comes to the scope of the Atlas, we followed the rule according to which our reference maps had to contain the highest possible number of the most important elements, as well as the connections between them, and yet still remain readable.

As such, the maps consist of the following elements: full, named and localized settlement networks outlining the characteristics and size of urban and rural settlements, their ownership affiliation, administrative and political aspects, (borders of the State, voivodeships, lands and districts) and Church division including parishes, which – as we know – fulfilled administrative, judicial and fiscal purposes, and finally: important roads. All this information was marked on the reconstructed physiographic base, the main elements of which, such as bodies of water (rivers, lakes, and important swamps) and forests were attested to by cartographic sources, (Prussian and Austrian), from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century or from around 1830 (according to the Quartermaster's map). The relief (contour lines) was copied from modern maps.

The contents of the maps determined the scale on which they were published. By trial and error we decided on the scale 1:250,000, which offered many advantages for this series of AHP maps. In the first place the scale allows us to mark the entire network of settlements, even in the areas where the density of settlement was highest, for example. eastern Mazovia and Podlasie, without distorting the readability of the map. Also, the scale has some potential benefits for the future, as it could be

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<sup>13</sup> See above footnote 9.

<sup>14</sup> M. Biskup, *Mapa rozmieszczenia własności ziemskiej województwa pomorskiego, okręgu bytowskiego i lęborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.* and A. Tomczak, *Sieć parafialna województwa pomorskiego, okręgu bytowskiego i lęborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, [in:] M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1955 (RTNT, vol. 58, no. 1); M. Biskup, *Podziały administracyjne województwa chełmińskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, SMDWP, vol. 1, 1956, no. 2, pp. 105–127; M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1957 (RTNT, vol. 60, no. 2).

conveniently converted for the reference series of the AHP at a scale of 1:500,000, and later – when the entire work is finished – would facilitate the reduction by four times of detailed maps into one, synthetic map of Poland in the sixteenth century at a scale of 1:1,000,000.

The preparation and publication of detailed scale maps of such a large area had to involve division into smaller sheets. In case of the AHP however, we could not follow the classic rules used in cartography, as this would mean territories which had a common past and administrative affiliation would have been cut. In analogy to the plan accepted by the editors of *The Historical and Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages*<sup>15</sup> at the Institute of History of PAN, our AHP was divided into sheets, or issues, for scientific and practical reasons. Specifically, as territorial units differed in terms of size and geographical configuration, we decided that some of the voivodeships (e.g. of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin) should be presented on separate maps. Other voivodeships, constituting parts of provinces (e.g. Mazovia) and in more centric shape, would be presented on one map sheet.

Thus, the following volumes comprise our printed series of detailed maps of the sixteenth century:

1. Cracow Voivodeship,
2. Sandomierz Voivodeship,
3. Lublin Voivodeship,
4. Greater Poland (Voivodeships of Poznań and Kalisz),
5. Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships with Wieluń land,
6. Cuyavia (voivodeships of Brześć Kujawski and Inowrocław and Dobrzyń land),
7. Mazovia (Voivodeships of Płock, Rawa and Mazovian),
8. Podlasie.

Each volume of the AHP will consist of three basic parts: the map, the commentary (more or less extensive) and the List of settlements. The purpose of the list, which provides variants of site names, type of settlement (village, town), district and parochial affiliation, and location coordinates, is to help the users find a given settlement on the map.

Naturally, the presentation of so vast, though limited, a territory (13 voivodeship and two historical lands) in the AHP, based on the methodology described in this foreword, is no easy task. It must be made clear that this is a continuation of a large-scale effort of a small group of scholars geared up for such a task. By continuation we mean here that although this series of the AHP will be prepared according to the new scientific methodology that was refined based on previous, experimental studies in some form or other; the AHP 1930 from the Interwar period and the AHP 1 and PV published after the Second World War.

Below, in a brief commentary on the map of *Lublin Voivodeship in the Sixteenth century*, Dr. Stefan Wojciechowski describes the source basis, the work methodology and the results obtained. Naturally, in the commentary the author focuses on details of settlements, which dominate the map. It should be added here that Dr. Wojciechowski was uniquely qualified for this task due to his earlier historical and geographical research over many years of the old Lublin Voivodeship. He successfully used the results of this research in the work on the atlas and this made it easier for him, for example, to identify and position many settlements which no longer exist.

However, particular attention should be paid to those parts of the commentary in which the author describes – in broader terms than was previously done – the geographical environment of the territory and the changes undergone. As W. Semkowicz once noted, without knowledge of geographical, and especially topographical, conditions it would be difficult to prepare a map on a bigger scale, and historians – the main recipients of this Atlas – would not be able to grasp or determine many spatial historical phenomena.

The analysis of cartographic sources from the turn of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, or descriptive sources from the chosen chronological period, or even earlier ones, (such as *Chronografia* by Jan Długosz), allowed the author to reconstruct certain physiographical elements, particularly rivers and lakes conforming to their sixteenth century reality. It also offered him the opportunity to correct details on many lakes mentioned in Długosz's *Chronografia* and erroneously identified and positioned by J. Kornaus. Observed shifts of river channels (oxbow lakes), often significant, for

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<sup>15</sup> SHGP, vol. 7, part 3; *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi wieluńskiej w średniowieczu*, comp. R. Rosin, Warsaw 1963, pp. 12–13 (foreword by K. Buczek).

instance of the Vistula or the Wieprz, explained why certain settlements disappeared or changed their location in relation to the river. The depiction of the patterns and density of settlements and their connection with physiographic conditions was also clarified.

Having emphasized the values of Dr. Wojciechowski's work, we should add here that it opens the series of detailed maps of the sixteenth century, and as the first of the series is in fact a kind of a test. As such, should it be decided in the course of scientific debate that certain changes or methodological – or even factual – corrections are needed, they will be introduced in subsequent volumes of the Historical Atlas of Poland.

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

## I.2 INTRODUCTIONS TO VOLUMES

### I.2.1 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 1: CRACOW VOIVODESHIP (2008)

*Henryk Rutkowski*

In the sixteenth century the Voivodeship of Cracow covered the south-western borderland of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In this voivodeship lay the capital of Poland, and as such it occupied the first place in the honorary hierarchy of the lands of the State. Already in the eleventh century Cracow began to play the role of the most important centre of the Piast monarchy. Later, during the period of feudal fragmentation, the city was a symbolic capital. In the beginning of the fourteenth century it became the actual capital city. However, the sixteenth century witnessed opposite changes. Given the development of the Nobles' Republic, the need to rule a vast country required that the political centre be gradually moved. Piotrków became the first place where the General Sejm usually met. The breakthrough occurred in 1569, when the Real Union between the Kingdom of Poland (commonly called the Crown) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was sealed. Warsaw was then chosen as a place for the common sejms, and later – after several decades – it became also the permanent residence of the king. Hence, towards the end of the sixteenth century, Cracow lost its status of the capital city, although it still kept the title of capital city and the privilege of a place of coronation of kings.

The voivodeship, being a continuation of the Duchy of Cracow from the feudal fragmentation period, was a neighbour of the Kingdom of Hungary in the south. In the second half of the sixteenth century the Kingdom already lost the majority of its territory to Turkey. In the west, the voivodeship bordered on Silesia, which belonged to the Bohemian Kingdom (except for the Duchy of Siewierz). Both Kingdoms were ruled by the Austrian Habsburgs, who also ruled – more nominally than actually – over the Holy Roman Empire. (Hungary did not belong to the Empire). In the Crown, on its northern and eastern side, Cracow Voivodeship was a neighbour of the Voivodeships of: Sieradz, Sandomierz and Ruthenia (see the map of state and ecclesiastical borders). As we know, the Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz and Lublin formed Lesser Poland (in the original, narrower meaning of this name).

The borders of Cracow Voivodeship were finally formed between 1563 and 1564, and in this shape they survived until the First Partition of Poland (1772), when the duchies of Zator and Oświęcim were incorporated into the Crown and the voivodeship. The duchies comprised the district of Silesia, though they kept their titular name of duchy. Before, these were separate lands, bought by kings of Poland in 1457 (the Duchy of Oświęcim) and in 1494 (the Duchy of Zator). Except for the Silesian district, the voivodeship consisted of six fiscal (administrative) districts and the same number of judicial districts. These territorial units differed (see below p. 124–137).

Apart from Cracow Voivodeship, this volume of the Atlas encompasses also the Duchy of Siewierz. In 1443 the Bishop of Cracow bought this small land, which later merged with Poland, from the duke of Cieszyn. The bishops enjoyed the sole authority in the Duchy of Siewierz until 1790, when the Duchy was incorporated into the Crown.

In 1412 the King of Hungary pawned part of Spisz territory to the King of Poland. The lands were not bought back, and so the area consisting of several small separate territories remained related to Poland. It constituted a part of royal property, i.e. State property, and was organized as a starosta's lease of Spisz, included in the inspections of royal property in Cracow Voivodeship. However, this did not change the legal reality: the entire Spisz territory lay within the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary. That is why the starosta's lease of Spisz was not shown on the map of Cracow Voivodeship, but was presented on a separate, textual map.

Detailed maps of the Polish lands of the Crown in the second half of the sixteenth century form the main element of this volume, just as in the entire series. The main map, at a scale of 1:250,000, shows all settlements which existed in the second half of the century, differentiated by means of their character (towns, villages, mill settlements, etc.), size, and type of ownership. Site names were given in their sixteenth century wording but modern spelling. The maps show the borders of State and Church administration, and important roads. The end of the sixteenth century was treated as the main chronological period. If a change occurred in this 50 years in, e.g. an ownership, or parochial, affiliation of a given settlement, then the later situation was presented on the map (this rule does not apply to settlements that disappeared). Elements of the natural environment (water bodies and forests) were marked according to the state from the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, as it was impossible to depict older reality with enough precision. For practical reasons, the main map was printed on two sheets, showing the northern and the southern part of our territory.

Additional maps at reference scale 1:500,000 depict selected themes: the Church division, communes of other denominations, location of landed property, the network of major and secondary roads. Several other themes were shown on small textual maps. Plans of selected towns, at a scale of 1:10,000 – accepted for the entire series – were included in Part I. There are six such plans, more than in any other volume (originally only plans of capital cities were included). The plans show: the capital city of Cracow, two district capitals at the same time being the seats of gord starosta's districts (Biecz and Nowy Sącz), the town where salt was mined (Wieliczka), pilgrimage centre (Częstochowa), and the capital of the bishopric duchy (Siewierz). The central area of Cracow was also described in details inside the city walls, and the plan of the Wawel hill was also included, both plans at a scale of 1:2,000.

The main part of the commentary was devoted to our source basis, obtained in large part from querying manuscript sources. This series of the Atlas utilizes the type of the sources which allows for the series' program to be fulfilled, and the basic theme of the main map is the reconstruction of the settlement network. The commentary describes our working methods, explains selected detailed issues, provides statistical data, and characterizes the results obtained. It is limited to the sixteenth century, and does not cover any medieval changes within State and Church administration, or the process of town foundation, etc. Unlike the maps, or the List, the commentary uses modern names of settlements (just like the town plan, which uses the name 'Nowy Sącz', not 'Sądecz Nowy'). When a sixteenth century site name had more than one version, the List lists its variants next to the name shown on the map. When an old name differed from the modern name, the List provides the latter as well. Additionally, the List provides information concerning the district and parochial affiliation of settlements, as well as their ownership affiliation, and approximate localization. It also lists unlocalized settlements. The List of natural landscape elements resembles the List of Settlements.

The contribution of individual authors was marked in the Table of Contents. Below we provide the list of authors who took part in the preparation of the cartographic part and the lists. The term 'settlement' means here the localization of settlements, their name, type and ownership affiliation.

Krzysztof Chłapowski	– settlement and borders of the districts of Biecz, Proszowice, and Szczyrzyc, – participation in the work on Lelów district – checking the ownership affiliation of settlements – map of landed property – map of the communes of other denominations – List of Settlements (with M. Piber-Zbieranowska)
Jerzy Duma	– checking names in the List of Settlements
Kamila Follprecht	– co-author of the plan of Cracow in 1598
Jacek Laberschek	– the plan of Cracow and its surroundings
Zdzisław Noga	– co-author of the plan of Cracow in 1598
Marta Piber-Zbieranowska	– settlement and borders of Silesian district and participating in the works on Lelów district – checking parochial affiliation of settlements – map of Church division – city plan of Nowy Sącz

- Zenon Piech
  - Elżbieta Rutkowska
  - Henryk Rutkowski
  - Ryszard Skowron
  - Jarosław Suproniuk
  - Małgorzata Wilska
  - Michał Zbieranowski
- List of Settlements (with K. Chłapowski)
  - coats of arms
  - forests and bodies of water
  - physiographic nomenclature
  - cartographic work on maps and plans
  - List of natural landscape elements
  - supervision over the entire volume
  - plan of the Wawel Hill
  - settlement and borders of the districts of Książ and Nowy Sącz, participating in the works on Lelów district
  - determining the size of settlements
  - list of castles
  - city plan of Biecz
  - settlement and borders of the Duchy of Siewierz and participating in the works on Lelów district
  - roads
  - additional map of roads
  - city plans of Częstochowa and Siewierz
  - preliminary query of Silesian district
  - city plan of Wieliczka (including cartographic documentation)

Members of the team working on the main map (K. Chłapowski, M. Piber-Zbieranowska, E. Rutkowska, J. Suproniuk, M. Wilska) consulted each other and offered source information. Apart from the team, Marta Kuc made the planimetric calculations, provided us with technical assistance in editorial works, and helped us correct the commentary and the lists.

We would like to express our gratitude to Professor Stanisław Trawkowski, patron of the works on the atlas of Poland in the sixteenth century, for overseeing the names of settlements in the files.

Finally, we would like to thank Professor Feliks Kiryk who familiarized himself with the penultimate stage of our study, and reviewed it, thus pointing out any errors. We thank Professors Stanisław Alexandrowicz, Maria Koczerska and Henryk Samsonowicz for their opinions which played a role in the publication of this volume.

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

## I.2.2 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 2: SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP (1993)

*Władysław Pałucki*

This third – second, according to the program – volume of this series of the *Historical Atlas of Poland* for the second half of the sixteenth century was brought to the readers later than we had expected.

During our works on this voivodeship we met with some source-related difficulties (insufficient number of direct sources, which had to be replaced with different, carefully selected materials) which caused significant delay. On the other hand, we thought it necessary to broaden the scope of the map and the commentary to include information on the relations between different denominations (defining the course of the borders of Catholic parishes more precisely) and ownership relations (their spatial presentation on an additional map at a larger scale) – and this also required more time.

In the first case we had to resort to manuscript sources of Church origin (visitations) from the end of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, as parochial borders were at the time somewhat complicated owing to the Reformation which encompassed the majority of the Crown's land in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially in Sandomierz Voivodeship, home to several important dissident centres, including the Arian Raków.

In the second case, following suggestions by many consultants who wanted to use a map which would also depict territorial range and size of landed property, we prepared such a map at a 1:500,000 scale. The basic type of historical sources for this kind of map, land and gord court books, was destroyed in the entire Sandomierz Voivodeship (except for the district of Pilzno). Therefore we were forced to use other sources. Our methodology is described later in the commentary.

This forced us to introduce certain changes in the way we present several other maps. We decided to print them in this volume. In case of the map of Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century these maps were included in the text of the commentary, or shown as sections on the main map. So the map of important roads in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century, placed in the commentary in the previous edition, was now prepared at a scale of 1:500,000 in the form of an appendix to the main map. Two other maps: 1) property presented in dots, and 2) administrative division, added to the main map of Mazovia – were omitted.

In the case of Sandomierz Voivodeship these maps were replaced with: 1) the aforementioned, more useful additional map offering spatial depiction of ownership relations; 2) map of the divisions of Church administration in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century at a scale of 1:500,000. One more map at this scale was also included in this volume, namely the map of *Communes of Other Denomination in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the Sixteenth century*. These maps present the borders of administrative and political division of the voivodeship and the districts.

General assumptions and working plans on the series of detailed maps of Poland in the sixteenth century were presented in the *Introduction to Lublin Voivodeship in the Second Half of the Sixteenth century*. Methods described in this introduction, specified and utilized in the preparation of the map of Mazovia, were not changed – with one addition, important in my opinion in this type of work. Namely, after several years of experience and practice acquired with subsequent volumes of the *Historical Atlas of Poland* we decided that if we wanted to obtain a realistic picture, (though incomplete, given the source basis and the four-century gap) we could not disregard any historical source, from an earlier or later period, even though at first glance, or according to registrators' opinion it should be

rejected. Such an approach naturally prolonged our work, still at the same time it eliminated uncertain or hypothetical solutions.

Our methodological assumptions require that the main map contains only certain elements, well-attested by the sources. As it was impossible to present all elements which could have been shown on the map with full objectivity, much effort was applied so as to avoid any hypothetical elements. Thus, we will agree with an old claim that such a study, based on all available sources, bears much resemblance to published sources.

It should be added here that – as in the commentary to the map of Mazovia – certain issues which occurred unexpectedly during our work on the Voivodeship of Sandomierz, and which will probably arise in subsequent volumes of this series of the *Historical Atlas of Poland*, were sufficiently described in the commentary. And although we tried to make this commentary as brief as possible, we thought it necessary to inform our readers and users of all major difficulties and the ways we dealt with them. Only then can one fully understand why certain long-accepted findings were corrected on our map, or presented in a different manner for the first time.

The form of publication used for this series of the *Historical Atlas of Poland* was not changed in any way for this volume. It consists of two parts: the cartographic and the textual, and the main map. Given the shape of the Voivodeship of Sandomierz and in order to make the use of the map easier, the main map was printed in two sheets, in the same way as the map of Mazovia. The first sheet shows the northern part of the voivodeship, and the second shows the southern.

The authors of specific chapters of this extensive commentary were listed in the Table of Contents. The cartographic part and the lists were prepared by:

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Władysław Pałucki      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– supervising the entire work</li><li>– settlement, borders and nomenclature in Wiślica district</li><li>– borders, political and administrative division</li><li>– ownership affiliation of settlements</li><li>– detailed check of nomenclature</li></ul>   |
| Krzysztof Chłapowski   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– settlement, borders and nomenclature of Opoczno and Pilzno districts</li><li>– map of the communes of different denominations in Sandomierz Voivodeship</li><li>– nomenclature of forests and bodies of water</li><li>– castles</li><li>– participating in technical preparation of the List of Settlements and List of natural landscape elements,</li><li>– participating in statistical calculations</li></ul> |
| Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– settlement, borders and nomenclature of Radom land and Stężycza land</li><li>– size of settlements</li><li>– borders of Church administration</li><li>– map of landed property (layer method)</li></ul>   |
| Wanda Lewandowska      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– forests and bodies of water</li><li>– cartographic work on the maps (basic carbon papers and first drafts)</li><li>– cartographic work on the city plan of Sandomierz</li><li>– graphic design of coats of arms</li></ul>   |
| Kazimierz Pacuski      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– settlement, borders and nomenclature of Sandomierz district</li><li>– city plan of Sandomierz</li><li>– participating in technical preparation of the List of Settlements and the List of natural landscape elements</li><li>– participating in statistical calculations</li></ul>  |
| Henryk Rutkowski       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– preliminary work on settlement and borders in Sandomierz Voivodeship on the basis of tax registers published by A. Pawiński and some of the Church sources</li><li>– settlement, borders and nomenclature of Chęciny district</li><li>– roads</li><li>– coats of arms</li></ul>   |

Given the above division of work, based on two intersecting criteria – the geographical and the factual – the authors provided each other with source information and offered consultation, which was not always noted in the commentary.

Between 1954 and 1955 Colonel Adam Borkiewicz marked selected elements from Perthées's, Liesganig's and Quartermaster's maps on WIG maps at a scale of 1:100,000 including the territory of the old Voivodeship of Sandomierz. We used his work to present forests and water bodies on our map according to the Quartermaster's map (the area north of the Vistula upstream of Sandomierz). It also helped us with settlement localization and reconstruction of the road network.

Doctor Małgorzata Wilska calculated the area of districts and parishes, and like all the authors participated in checking maps and lists.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all institutions which made their scientific collections available to us and offered us kind advice during our work on this volume of the Atlas, particularly to the management and workers of the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) and the National Library in Warsaw, the Archives of the Archdiocesan Archive of Cracow, the Jagiellonian Library, the Library of Princes Czartoryski, and the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, the Institute of the Historical Geography of the Church in Poland and the Institute of Church Archives, Libraries and Museums at the Catholic University of Lublin. Among the people whose assistance was particularly helpful in continuing and finishing this strenuous work, we should list in the first place our colleague and permanent consultant, the late lamented Professor Jerzy Wiśniewski, who passed away in 1983. To the very end he offered us his precious advice, carefully reviewed our map, commentary and lists. We remember Doctor Maria Sipayło's helpfulness. She died in 1989 but before then shared her outstanding knowledge on communes of different denominations with us. We thank Professor Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko for her valuable toponymic suggestions, Professor Wojciech Kalinowski for his consultations concerning the city plan of Sandomierz, Professor Stanisław Litak for his kind remarks and for making his source notes available, and Doctor Stefan Krzysztof Kuczyński for his help regarding the coats of arms. We are also grateful to Professor Andrzej Wyczański, the author of the second review.

We should finally mention that the work on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century was finished in the middle of the 1980s. Because of various obstacles, seven years had to pass before publication became possible. However, we were unable to utilize studies published after 1984.

Professor Władysław Pałucki (12 March 1905 – 19 December 1989) passed away after the work on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century was completed. Since 1962 he supervised the work on the Atlas in the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He accepted the program for detailed maps in the series about maps of sixteenth century Poland, organized all work on the maps, supervised this work and participated in it actively. Władysław Pałucki combined thoroughness of source queries, the ability to read maps both old and modern, developed particularly during his military service (first in the cadetship, then during the Second World War: first in Poland in the September Campaign and later in France and England), with care for details. These features of a scholarly character, of vital importance to our work on the Atlas, could also be seen in his own, private research, of which we should mention at least the publications on the history of the Polish fiscal system: *Studia nad uposażeniem urzędników ziemskich w Koronie do schyłku XVI w.* (1962, the studies on the salaries and endowments of land officials of the Crown until the end of the sixteenth century), and the monograph *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII w.* (1974, the history of Polish fiscal system in the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century). Until the very end, despite his old age and poor health, Władysław Pałucki paid close attention to the work on the Atlas of Poland in the sixteenth century, keeping an eye on our progress.

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### I.2.3 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 3: LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP (1966)

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

The map of Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century and the accompanying commentary are the result of our research on this territory as part of the work on the Historical Atlas of Poland. The research was conducted by only one person, and therefore the progress made was quite slow. The general assumptions were formulated by the Committee of the Historical Atlas of Poland at the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow soon after the First World War, and were later modified according to the new research program. The materials collected over the years were used to prepare the map of settlement on a physiographic base, set finally at a scale of 1:250,000 in order to include all settlements with their names and ownership affiliation on the smallest possible surface. We thus obtained a detailed map, largely similar to the map of Płock Voivodeship (1:200,000),<sup>1</sup> but differing from the reference map of Royal Prussia (1:500,000).<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the main map, maps of certain themes, on a smaller scale, were also prepared. They depict various demographic and economic phenomena, just as in the aforesaid publications. However, following the assumptions of this series of the AHP, these theme maps were included in the commentary.

The period presented on the map was described in the title – it is the second half of the sixteenth century, but more precisely around 1564. This means that although settlements which appear in the sources only in 1564–1580 were shown on the map, the ownership and administrative division was depicted rather according to the situation from 1564. Still, important changes in the course of the borders, or character of settlements, which occurred before the end of the sixteenth century were described in the commentary. It is also worth noting that the presentation of water bodies and forests was prepared on the basis of the nineteenth century sources, so especially in case of the forests they are only hypothetical.

The commentary describes the sources basis first, then it explains our work method and provides information on our territory, a necessary supplement to the settlement map. Its aim is to sum up the detailed data included in our cartographic presentation. An list of of natural landscape elements found on the map was placed at the end.

The cartographic work on the map was done by geographer Wojciech Szczawiński, MA, who created the initial draft on the basis of the author's sketches and provided List of settlements, as well as some other maps, both old and new.

We would like to thank all those whose assistance, advice, or encouragement helped us finish this task: Professor Tadeusz Manteuffel, Professor Stanisław Herbst, and Dr. Władysław Pałucki. We thank Dr. Stanisław Litak and the workers of the Department of the Historical Atlas of Poland in Warsaw, especially Henryk Rutkowski, MA, for all their editorial work.

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>1</sup> WP.

<sup>2</sup> MRP.

## I.2.4 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 4: GREATER POLAND (2017)

*Krzysztof Chłapowski, Marek Słoń*

This work is the fourth volume of the Historical Atlas of Poland series, which is primarily composed of detailed maps of Polish Crown lands in the second half of the sixteenth century at a 1:250,000 scale. The entire series will be composed of eight volumes.<sup>1</sup> This is the sixth volume to be published, with the remaining two (no 6 – Kuyavia and no 8 – Podlasie) in active development. This is the third volume to cover more than one voivodeship.<sup>2</sup>

This volume covers the historical region known as Greater Poland proper. The Latin term *Polonia Maior* came into use in the thirteenth century, with its Polish counterpart appearing in the mid-fifteenth century. It was composed of two voivodeships: Kalisz and Poznań. The genesis of this district of the Crown dates back to the twelfth century and the emergence of two units was derived from the division into two duchies in the second half of the thirteenth century. After Greater Poland was properly incorporated into the reborn Polish Kingdom (1313–1314), this divide found itself reflected in the establishment of two hierarchies of voivodeship administrations.<sup>3</sup> Greater Poland's borders remained virtually unchanged until 1768, when at the behest of the Tsar and an unofficial order of the Russian ambassador, the Gniezno Voivodeship was formed, and encompassed two districts from the Kalisz Voivodeship – Gniezno and Kcynia.<sup>4</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century, the meaning of the term Greater Poland was broadened. It happened once again in 1578, as a result of the creation of the Greater Poland Province as part of the Commonwealth under the jurisdiction of the Crown Tribunal in Piotrków.

Greater Poland's unique history from the thirteenth century onward is a result of multiple factors, mainly its geography, its proximity and relations with Silesia, Pomerania and Brandenburg, which belonged to the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation from the fifteenth century and the gradual forming of a local society and economy.<sup>5</sup> The external borders of the region were stabilized in the first half of the fifteenth century, and did not undergo any major changes until 1668, when the Margrave of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm I, known as the Great Elector, annexed the Drahim starosta's district, the most northern part of the Poznań Voivodeship. Despite the Crown's best efforts, this territorial change turned out to be permanent.<sup>6</sup> Greater Poland bordered other Crown lands

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<sup>1</sup> As part of the current NPRH project „Historical Atlas of Poland. Complement to the series”, Krzysztof Mikulski is preparing a volume on Royal Prussia, which will be number 9. It was not initially part of the plan as it was previously included in a series of overview maps, MRP. Moreover, a draft of the next issue for Warmia is being prepared; if it receives funding, it will be volume 10 of the series.

<sup>2</sup> W. Pałucki, *Foreword* [in:] AHP Lublin, I.2.3 in this edition.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Gochna, *Borders of the state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.2.1.4. in this edition; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 5, issue 3, pp. 578–601; H. Rutkowski, *Jednostki terytorialne Królestwa Polskiego w „Annales” Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz: 600. lecie urodzin. Region, Polska, Europa w jego twórczości*, ed. J. Maciejowski, P. Oliński, W. Rozynkowski, S. Zonenberg, Toruń 2016, pp. 116 f.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Chodyła, *Utworzenie i początki funkcjonowania województwa gnieźnieńskiego (1768–1774–1776)*, [in:] *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 2, ed. J. Topolski et al., Warsaw–Poznań 1987, pp. 5–69.

<sup>5</sup> J. Topolski, *Wielkopolska jako region historyczny*, [in:] *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1793*, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, pp. 23–37.

<sup>6</sup> J.M. Roszkowski, *Utrata starostwa drahimskiego przez Polskę i próby jego odzyskania 1657–1773*, „Koszalińskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, vol. 14, 1984 (1986), pp. 61–80; concerning the revision of the western border, see M. Gochna, *Borders of the state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.2.1.4 in this edition.

from the south, west and north (to the north it had a short border with the Pomeranian Voivodeship). The southern border had not changed since 1343, when the Wschowa area was integrated into Greater Poland. To the east, it bordered the Inowrocław, Kuyavian Brest, Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships, which were often included into a broader understanding of the term Greater Poland.

In the hierarchy of Polish regional administrations, the Poznań Voivodeship was second only to Cracow, with Kalisz also being quite significant.

The idea of compiling sixteenth-century maps was first put forward in 1880 during the first congress of Polish historians by Stanisław Smolka.<sup>7</sup> The goal of such an undertaking was, besides its direct informational value, to create new tools for historical research. This was not to be limited solely to the creation of a map and publishing it as an atlas. "These maps of Polish lands were to be blind or mute, with accurate hydrography and mathematical divisions, so that topographical dates could be easily transposed to suit the need of the research being done. As for the scale of such a map, in my opinion a 1:300,000 scale would be the most appropriate (as in the case of Chrzanowski's famous map). These maps should be published for the lowest possible price, on cheap paper, in an autographical manner, so that everyone could have access to copies. Anyone involved with historical geography is in dire need of such a basis to note his observations on the map".<sup>8</sup> Smolka's intent was to create a foundation for the historian's spatial thinking at the stage of the research query. Newly discovered facts were to be instantly written down onto the geographical base appropriate for a given era. This visionary idea – geographical flashcards for historians – lay untouched for a century. Even this series, launched in the mid-twentieth century and constituting the fulfillment of the substantive aspect of Smolka's concept, did not reference his statement.

Only recent advancements in technology contributed to a renewed interest in the creation of spatial notes in a new form. The "cheap printouts" have been replaced by digital maps onto which a researcher could transpose his observations. Furthermore, geographic information systems (GIS) expand one's ability to collect, analyze and publish geographical data. They can be helpful during the preparation of the atlas, as well as during the study of the sources and editorial work. The data added to them can serve not only the researcher, but also be made available for broader use. The space mapped with appropriate IT tools becomes a platform for the exchange of information about the past. Atlas preparation can and should be based around the creation of an environment in which a historian can search for and gather the required information, in which he can find tools that will facilitate a more in-depth analysis, where he could share his discoveries and present his conclusions.<sup>9</sup> The function of the atlas understood in this way guided the authors of this volume.

The publishing of a paper copy of the maps, comments and index is not only ceasing to be the sole, but also the primary goal of the project. It remains necessary though. This is not only due to a need for continuity in the series, but also a result of the limitations and divergent functions of digital maps. Only careful editing in a specific scale and range allow to harmoniously present a variety of content. It is a conclusion of a particular stage of work. It requires one to make final decisions and allows for a holistic assessment and the drawing of conclusions, in the form of statistics, for example. A similar role is fulfilled by the drafting of a commentary and preparing it for publication. It requires to gather one's thoughts, verify one's theses and present them in the form of a closed, coherent whole. The publication of the volume in a traditional form provides an opportunity for external evaluation of the work performed, which is a necessary part of the research process.

The volume presented to the reader is, however, merely a stage in the process and only one means of presenting the results. The fruits of the team's work are primarily gathered in a relational database. It is composed of a few basic elements. The main element linking the tables is an identifier assigned to each settlement. Its constitutive feature is uniqueness: every settlement must have a different one. Every time a settlement point appears in the database, it must have its identifier. This usually appears in three types of tables. The first determines the spatial location of an object. Apart from the ID, there

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<sup>7</sup> S. Smolka, *O przygotowawczych pracach geografii i historycznej Polski*, [in:] *Pamiętnik Pierwszego Zjazdu Historycznego Polskiego imienia Jana Długosza, odbytego w Krakowie w czterechsetną rocznicę jego śmierci*, ed. M. Bobrzyński, M. Sokołowski, Cracow 1881 (*Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 6), pp. 133–139.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, quote from: SG, vol. 1, 2013, pp. 7–13 (ed. J. Kurowiak, commentary M. Filipowicz), quote from p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> This is gradually implemented on the site: atlasfontium.pl.

are columns (fields) containing geographic coordinates: one pair (length and width) for a point, and for linear or spatial features (polygons) many pairs – one for each point. In the reconstruction of the network of settlements found in the Polish Crownlands in the sixteenth century, settlements are represented via a point topology, i.e. are treated as having no dimensions on the map. Lines are used to demark roads, rivers and part of the borders if a given unit is not shown in its entirety on this map. Larger rivers, lakes and, most importantly, state and Church territorial are recorded as surface features. This system was used to gather data about the location and reach of the researched geographical and historical subjects. Data about them was collected during the query and was stored in source tables. Other than the identifier, they contain information about the source, e.g., its archival signature and the page of the manuscript, as well as its contents, such as transcribed names, numerical values, categories and additional entries. If possible, hyperlinks to the source's facsimiles, map applications and sometimes other databases are also included. For this atlas, the most important set of source tables is the edition of the tax registers. Other data was also gathered in such a manner but is not currently designated for publication.

These materials, along with other datasets and the literature on the subject, were used in the creation of the critical assessment, that is the record of the findings made during the course of the research. The collection of the various versions of a name in sources allows for the determination of its form in the sixteenth century. Information on the taxation of a village, along with its number of *lans*, allow for the assessment of the demographics and for their classification as large or small. Such a summary table contains columns corresponding to subsequent elements of the index (the name along with its variants and modern iteration, the settlement's character and size, its affiliation to a parish and district, the type of land ownership), which also determine its symbolization on the main map. The basic scope of the information of the map, i.e. the presentation of the settlement network, is a cartographic representation of this table, and the index – its properly formatted printout. Some of the other contents of the main and overview maps are also an edited presentation of this data.<sup>10</sup> They are used as the basis to determine the borders of territorial units and the central functions of different settlements. The ownership map is created using additional columns with information about the owners and, in the case of landed property, whether it belonged to the category of large holdings. The data concerning other subjects, such as the location of communes of other denominations or of customs chambers, can be gathered in other tables, but must be separated into source materials and critical texts and, of course, be marked with the proper identifiers. Source information usually relates to a specific date, e.g., daily or annual, while the critical one to a specific time frame. In the database created for this project, the second half of the sixteenth century is the default time frame, but it can be narrowed, e.g., in the cases of newly established villages (starting date) or those that disappear (with the final mention of it serving as the end date).

The GIS software allows for the presentation of numerical, qualitative and even textual data in cartographical form, and, simultaneously, for their statistical and spatial analysis. The main limitation here is the user's experience. Basic data is provided on the atlasfontium.pl website – for initial viewing in a browser and for downloading to your own device in the most universal formats. The use of the system of space and identifiers as the primary points of reference allows for the integration of this data with external materials, such as official space databases including geoportal, as well as using them as a starting point for new queries. In this way we tried to implement Stanisław Smolka's original idea; allowing a historian to immediately transpose newly discovered information onto the map, allowing him to use it to find previously compiled data, also in the form of source editions, and analyze it with the assistance of programming tools, as well as share his discoveries, once again including source editing.

The data presently compiled for this AHP volume will be, therefore, constantly corrected and expanded. In addition to the currently available edition of tax registers and the basis of the settlement network (index data and geographical coordinates of settlements),<sup>11</sup> this will be the content of the overview maps, including territorial units and roads, and hydrography and afforestation. Up to and

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<sup>10</sup> This list in the form of a spreadsheet and a geodatabase with spatial data can be downloaded from the website: atlas-fontium.pl.

<sup>11</sup> RPWK, RPWP, Polish Lands of the Crown in the sixteenth century. Spatial database, IH PAN, atlasfontium.pl (access 25.07.2017).

including 2018, they will be presented as downloadable files (database files with geographic coordinates in standard GIS formats such as Shapefile, GeoJSON, MDB or spreadsheets) and as WMS (Web Map Service) or WFS (Web Feature Service) services, enabling the presentation of the map on one's own website or in one's own application. Independently of this, the atlas team is also working on further topics concerning the geography and history of Greater Poland at the turn of the Middle Ages and Early Modern period. We also hope to encourage external researchers to publish source editions and studies in a format enabling integration with the above-mentioned resource. The digital version of the atlas is thus expected to constantly evolve; however, this published volume is a record of the current state of research at the turn of 2016 and 2017.

As is standard practice in this series, the format of the commentary and the rules used for its preparation are explained in the introduction. These are consistently maintained between volumes, so their description is similar and, at times, identical. The directions must be repeated each time, as they offer the reader essential advice that cannot be relegated to another book. The parts that remained mostly unchanged will retain their text and be directly quoted from the *Foreword to the Cracow Voivodeship in the sixteenth century*, written by Henryk Rutkowski. This is an expression of our admiration for his excellent prose, which we have no intent of editing, and a marker of the series continuity. The latter is quite important, considering the deep changes to the production and publication processes that occurred over time.

The structure of this volume resembles that of the entire series. The main map, at a scale of 1:250,000, shows all settlements that existed in the second half of the sixteenth century, differentiated in terms of their character (towns, villages, mill settlements, etc.), size and type of ownership. Site names were given in their sixteenth-century wording but modern spelling. The map depicts the borders of State and Church administration, major roads, elements of the geographical environment (bodies of water and forests according to their state from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as their earlier situation cannot be precisely reconstructed). If any changes happened over the aforementioned half-century, e.g., a settlement changed its ownership affiliation or changed parishes, the map will display the later state (except for a population center disappearing or losing town status). For practical reasons the main map was printed in two sheets, splitting the region into its eastern and western half, containing the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships respectively.

Additional maps at a scale of 1:500,000 repeat some of the themes included earlier, especially in the volume dedicated to the Cracow Voivodeship: Church division, the structure of landed property, the network of major and secondary roads. The first volume contains seven town plans – the most in all the series – at a scale of 1:10,000: two voivodeship cities, Poznań and Kalisz; Gniezno, the capital of the Catholic Church's metropolis; Wschowa, the land's capital and second largest town of Greater Poland; the center of one of the Crown's largest districts – Kościan; and two typical examples of local urban networks, a Church one – Dolsk, and a private one – Pleszew. Certain other themes are presented on smaller maps included in the commentary volume.

The commentary describes mainly the source base, gathered mostly on the basis of thorough and extensive query of manuscript sources. Next, the text focuses on our working methods. It explains selected issues, provides statistical data and describes the obtained results. The general layout of the volume is similar to that found in the rest of the series, with the internal structure of some chapters deviating from convention. The borders of the Church administrations are discussed by two authors, separately for the east, including the archbishopric of Gniezno and parts of Włocław one, and for the west, with the Poznań diocese and the outskirts of the Wrocław one. This is a result of the varying reach of the Reformation in both parts and the accompanying differences in the state of the source material. The chapter on the character of the ownership of settlements is similarly comprised of separate texts written by three authors. The available sources made it possible to address a subject omitted in previous volumes – the presence of Jews in the cities. The commentary is limited to the sixteenth century. It does not describe the medieval changes in the borders of state and Church administration, or the process of town foundation, etc. The commentary, unlike the maps or the List of settlements, uses modern settlement names most of the time. If a given sixteenth century name had more than one version, the index provides its alternative variants next to the name which appears on the map. When an old name differs from the modern name, the latter was also included in the List. Moreover, the index provides information concerning the parochial and district affiliation of settlements, as well as

their ownership affiliation. It also indicates approximate location of settlements and includes unlocalized settlements. This volume also contains mill and demesne settlements with approximate location, which are not marked on the main map. A separate list contains physiographic names

The contribution of particular authors was shown in the Table of Contents. Below we specify their part in the preparation of the cartographic section and the Lists. The term 'settlement' means here the localization of settlements, their name, character and ownership affiliation.

Arkadiusz Borek	Settlement in the Kcynia district (with M. Piber-Zbieranowska), in the Kościan district (with B. Szady and J. Suproniuk) and in the Wschowa land, verification of the localization of the settlements in the Kalisz voivodeship, map of the Church divisions (with B. Szady), the map of Wschowa, oversight of atlasfontium.pl
Krzysztof Chłapowski	Settlement in the Pyzdry district (with T. Związek), settlement ownership affiliation, preliminary bibliography of the sources and secondary literature, edition of the volume (with M. Słoń)
Paweł Dembiński	Map of Poznań (with E. Rutkowska)
Michał Gochna	Settlement in the Nakło district (with M. Zbieranowski), the borders of the state territorial units, the character and the size of villages, map of Pleszew (with M. Stępnik), coats of arms (with E. Rutkowska)
Dariusz Kram	Map of Kościan
Marta Kuc-Czerep	Settlement of the Konin district (with M. Słomski) and the Wałcz district, communes of other denominations, development of the Index of Settlements (with J. Suproniuk)
Anna Orłowska	Map of Gniezno
Tomasz Panecki	Main map (with E. Rutkowska), cartographic edition of the map of Gniezno, Wschowa, Kościan, Dolsk i Pleszew, map of Kalisz (with U. Sowina and T. Związek), overview and text maps (with K. Słomska)
Marta Piber-Zbieranowska	Settlement of the Kcynia district (with A. Borek)
Elżbieta Rutkowska	Main map (with T. Panecki), forests and bodies of water, physiographic names with the index, comprehensive (with P. Dembiński) and cartographic development of the map plan Poznań, coats of arms (with M. Gochna)
Katarzyna Słomska	Overview and text maps (with T. Panecki)
Michał Słomski	Settlement of the Poznań district (with T. Związek and M. Słoń) and Wałcz (with M. Kuc-Czerep), verification of the localization of the settlements in the Poznań voivodeship, list of castles and abbeys, map of Dolsk
Marek Słoń	Settlement of the Gniezno and Poznań districts (with M. Słomski and T. Związek), edition of the volume (with K. Chłapowski)
Urszula Sowina	Map of Kalisz (with T. Związek and T. Panecki)
Milena Stępnik	Map of Pleszew (with M. Gochna)
Jarosław Suproniuk	Settlement of the Kalisz district (with A. Borek and B. Szady) and the Kościan district, development of the Index of Settlements (with M. Kuc-Czerep), summary and size of cities, the Jewish population in the cities
Paweł Swoboda	Verification of names in the settlement database
Bogumił Szady	Settlement of the Kościan district (with A. Borek and J. Suproniuk), map of the Church divisions (with A. Borek), construction of the database
Michał Zbieranowski	Settlement of the Nakło district (with M. Gochna)
Tomasz Związek	Settlement of the Pyzdry district (with K. Chłapowski) and the Poznań district (with M. Słomski and M. Słoń), roads, map (with U. Sowina and T. Panecki) and the coat of arms of Kalisz, development of the list of abbreviations and the rules of editing

The abovementioned table does not include the work done on the digital edition of tax registers, which included members outside of the primary team. They are included in the table of contents of

that publication.<sup>12</sup> We must also mention Urszula Zachara-Związek, who took on the difficult task of proofediting the annex to the chapter regarding ownership affiliation.

The team members who worked on the main map (A. Borek, K. Chłapowski, M. Gochna, M. Kuc-Czerep, T. Panecki, M. Piber-Zbieranowska, E. Rutkowska, M. Słomski, M. Słoń, J. Suproniuk, B. Szady, M. Zbieranowski, T. Związek) exchanged source information and provided consultations.

The work on the Greater Poland volume began under the guidance of Małgorzata Wilska, who passed away shortly before its completion. We also received immense help from Henryk Rutkowski, the doyen of Polish historical geography, who is the series' co-author and the editor of two of its volumes. He read the entire volume and added valuable comments.

An important element of the research on settlements was personally acquiring the most intimate knowledge of these terrains as possible. For this purpose, we organized six research trips by bicycle. We drove through several thousand kilometers of Greater Poland roads; we saw dozens of cities and hundreds of villages. We conducted dozens of discussions with local historians and history enthusiasts. We would like to express our sincere thanks to local administrations, cultural institutions and generous people, who organized these meetings and hosted us. We benefitted greatly from their historical knowledge; we were always offered competent guided tours, free accommodation and, often, meals.

The preparation of this volume in its current form would not have been possible without the kind help of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych), as well as the State Archive in Poznań, and especially their directors, Hubert Wajs and Henryk Krystek.

We would like to thank the team of the Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland IH PAN for all the numerous consultations and files of both voivodeships that were afforded to us. We would especially like to thank their head, prof. Tomasz Jurek, who read nearly the entire book and shared his thoughts with us. We would also like to thank the reviewers of this atlas: prof. Marek Górny, prof. Zdzisław Budzyński and Jerzy Łojko.

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>12</sup> RPWK, RPWP.

## I.2.5 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 5: SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS (1998)

*Henryk Rutkowski*

The Voivodeships of Sieradz and Łęczyca lay between Greater Poland (bordering on Kalisz Voivodeship), Cuyavia (Brześć Voivodeship), Mazovia (Rawa Voivodeship), Lesser Poland (the Voivodeships of Sandomierz and Cracow) and Silesia, which was situated outside the borders of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>1</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century Marcin Kromer remarked that contrary to the lands surrounding it, the territory of Sieradz and Łęczyca did not have a common name. It only went by the name of Greater Poland understood in its broader meaning – as a province united by the general *sejmik* (dietine) in Koło.<sup>2</sup> The two voivodeships were formed in the Middle Ages. There could have existed a province, subject to a governor (*komes*) who resided in Łęczyca, before Poland was divided into duchies in 1138. The Duchy of Łęczyca was created in the first half of the thirteenth century. Around 1262 it was divided into two duchies: the smaller duchy of Łęczyca, and the duchy of Sieradz, twice its size. After the Kingdom was united in the following century, both duchies became voivodeships. In the fifteenth century Wieluń land, earlier called Ruda land, was annexed to Sieradz Voivodeship. In the hierarchy of Polish lands established at the time, the Voivodeship of Sieradz occupied a higher position than the Voivodeship of Łęczyca. Because of the conservatism of the nobility, both these voivodeships survived unchanged in size until the Second Partition of Poland in 1793.<sup>3</sup>

The following study constitutes another volume of the Historical Atlas of Poland series. The main element of the AHP are the detailed maps of the Polish lands of the Crown in the second half of the sixteenth century at a scale of 1:250,000. According to the program of the series, presented by Władysław Pałucki, eight maps are to be published, and each volume was given a specific number.<sup>4</sup> Three volumes have already been published, all under the supervision of Władysław Pałucki. The first volume was no. 3, consisting of Lublin Voivodeship (1966), then volume 7 – Mazovia (1973), next volume 2 – Sandomierz Voivodeship (1993, since then the series is supervised by Stanisław Trawkowski). The publication of the fifth volume marks the fulfilment of half of the program. The following territories remain to be published: 1 – Cracow Voivodeship (in progress), 4 – Greater Poland, 6 – Cuyavia, 8 – Podlasie.

The structure of this volume resembles that of the entire series. The main map shows all settlements that existed in the second half of the sixteenth century, differentiated in terms of their character (towns, villages, mill settlements, etc.), size and type of ownership. Site names were given in their sixteenth century wording but modern spelling. The map depicts the borders of State and Church administration, major roads, elements of the geographical environment (bodies of water and forests according to their state from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as their earlier situation

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<sup>1</sup> See map of state and ecclesiastical borders.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that Kromer incorrectly appropriates Rawa Voivodeship to the Voivodeships of Sieradz and Łęczyca, failing to realize Rawa Voivodeship belonged to Mazovia. M. Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urzędach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie*, transl. S. Kazikowski, foreword and comp. R. Marchwiński, Olsztyn 1977, p. 22, see also pp. 122, 141, 157 f.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Borders of state territorial units* [in:] AHP Sieradz, III.2.1.5 in this edition.

<sup>4</sup> W. Pałucki, *Foreword*, [in:] AHP Lublin, I.1.3 in this edition.

cannot be precisely reconstructed). For practical reasons the main map was printed in two sheets: showing the southern and the northern part of our territory.

Additional maps at a scale of 1:500,000 repeat some of the themes included earlier, especially in the volume dedicated to Sandomierz Voivodeship: Church division at the close of the sixteenth century, the structure of landed property, the network of major and secondary roads. New themes were also presented: Gniezno diocese in the Voivodeships of Sieradz and Łęczyca in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the area of Łódź in the second half of the sixteenth century (at a scale of 1:125,000). This volume contains four city plans at a scale of 1:10,000: the two voivodeship capitals, the capital of Wieluń land, and the most important urban centre in this territory – Piotrków.

The commentary describes mainly the source base, gathered mostly on the basis of thorough and extensive query of manuscript sources. Next, the text focuses on our working methods. It explains selected issues, provides statistical data and describes the obtained results. The commentary is in fact limited to the sixteenth century. It does not describe the medieval changes in the borders of State and Church administration, or the process of town foundation, etc. The commentary, unlike the maps or the List, uses modern settlement names most of the time. If a given sixteenth century name had more than one version, the List provides its alternative variants next to the name which appears on the map. When an old name differs from the modern name, the latter was also included in the List. Moreover, the List provides information concerning the parochial and district affiliation of settlements, as well as their ownership affiliation. It also indicates approximate location of settlements and includes unlocalized settlements. The List of natural landscape elements resembles the List of Settlements.

The contribution of particular authors was shown in the Table of Contents. Below we specify their part in the preparation of the cartographic section and the lists. The term ‘settlement’ means here the localization of settlements, their name, character and ownership affiliation.

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|------------------------|--|
| Krzysztof Chłapowski   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– settlement and borders of Brzeziny, Sieradz, Szadek and Piotrków districts (the last one with H. Rutkowski)</li><li>– determining the size of settlements</li><li>– ownership affiliation of settlements (with A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa)</li><li>– castles</li><li>– technical work on the List of Settlements (with E. Rutkowska).</li></ul>  |
| Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– settlement and borders of Łęczyca district</li><li>– ownership affiliation of settlements (with K. Chłapowski)</li><li>– map of landed property</li><li>– city plan of Sieradz (with H. Rutkowski)</li></ul>   |
| Stefan K. Kuczyński    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– coats of arms</li></ul>  |
| Kazimierz Pacuski      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– settlement and borders of Orłów district</li></ul>   |
| Elżbieta Rutkowska     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– forests and bodies of water</li><li>– physiographic nomenclature</li><li>– cartographic work on maps and plans</li><li>– technical work on the List of Settlements (with K. Chłapowski), the List of natural landscape elements and the Tables</li></ul>   |
| Henryk Rutkowski       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– supervisor and editor of the entire volume</li><li>– participation in the works on the settlement and borders of Piotrków district</li><li>– checking borders</li><li>– participation in road presentation</li><li>– maps: Church division at the close of the sixteenth century, part of Gniezno diocese in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the area of Łódź</li><li>– plan of Piotrków, participation in plan of Sieradz</li></ul> |
| Stanisław Trawkowski   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– detailed check of the nomenclature</li></ul>   |
| Małgorzata Wilska      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– settlement and borders of the district of Radomsko, Wieluń and Ostrzeszów</li><li>– roads (with H. Rutkowski)</li><li>– additional map of roads</li><li>– plans of Łęczyca and Wieluń</li></ul>  |

Apart from the team, Michał Zbieranowski helped us prepare the nomenclature of physiographic elements and participated in the technical work on the lists, while Jarosław Suproniuk and Marta Piber helped in the proofreading of both parts of the volume: the cartographical and the textual.

Given the accepted division of work, based on two intersecting criteria: the geographical and the factual, the authors provided each other with source information and offered consultation. Stanisław Trawkowski's expertise was particularly helpful in this commentary.

Here we would like to offer our thanks to Professor Jan Szymczak, who familiarized himself with our study thoroughly, pointed out certain errors and provided us with further information from archival sources. We thank Professor Stanisław Litak for reviewing the chapters on Church organization, and Professor Andrzej Tomczak – for consulting on some of the detailed issues. We owe gratitude to Professor Antoni Mączak and Professor Andrzej Wyczański for their opinions suggesting that this study should be published. We would also like to express our gratitude to the sponsors, who made the publication possible – they are listed on the editorial page.

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

## I.2.6 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 6: CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND (2021)

*Wiesława Duży*

Sixth in the series of *The Historical Atlas of Poland. Detailed Maps of the Sixteenth Century*, the present volume is one of the two final AHP parts. Together with the volume on Podlasie, edited by Bogumił Szady and Michał Gochna, and published parallel hereto, it brings the series to a close.<sup>1</sup>

This volume covers Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. Such territorial range follows from the plan outlined for working on consequent volumes of the AHP series,<sup>2</sup> yet it ought to be explained that Dobrzyń land has earned separate mention also in the volume's title. This decision is justified by the public official structure of sixteenth-century Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, which indicated the independence of the latter, as well as by the source base. And so we elaborated on the specific features of tax registers for Dobrzyń land in the chapters on written sources and rural settlements. The grounds for discussing Dobrzyń land separately from Cuyavia are also formed by historical administrative divisions, presented in more detail in the chapter on the borders of state administrative units. The borders and administrative division of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land emerged only after a lengthy process, with Cuyavia's division into the voivodeships of Brześć and Inowrocław solidifying since the fifteenth century. What is characteristic of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land of the second half of the sixteenth century is the absence of state borders. The said area was surrounded by other voivodeships of the Crown. In the period of interest, the border with Royal Prussia was beyond doubt a voivodeship border. Throughout this volume, we consistently use the term 'Brześć Voivodeship', thereby following the historical practice of referring to this area by this name, which ignores the fact that the same designation denotes the Lithuanian voivodeship of Brześć.

It ought to be added that the lack of large municipal centres (with populations of more than 5,000 residents) was typical of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. Brześć Kujawski, Włocławek, Kowal, Przedecz, Radziejów, Bydgoszcz, Koronowo, Inowrocław, Pakość, Nieszawa, and Rypin were the largest towns boasted by this region in the second half of the sixteenth century. Scantly populated towns with no more than a thousand residents accounted for a major part of the region's urban development, among them the capital, Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń, r). The network of urban settlement has been described in a separate chapter of this volume. Brześć Kujawski, Inowrocław, Włocławek and Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula have been presented in greater detail in separate chapters accompanying the plans of those cities.

The list of chapters and contents of this closing volume is congruent with the guiding principles adopted for the AHP series, save for necessary supplementations. The whole team sought to ensure the cohesion of the contents hereof. This volume was written in accordance with the methodology proposed and implemented as part of preparing the AHP Greater Poland volume. The changes introduced between 2015 and 2017, thanks to the GIS software, paved the way for fuller use of data presentation options and, paradoxically, for returning to the original concept of the Atlas put forward by Stanisław Smolka back in the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I intentionally refrain from mentioning the volume on Royal Prussia, as originally it was not part of the AHP series concept. The said volume is being reviewed by Marek Słoń and Krzysztof Mikulski, aided by their team, on the basis of the work already conducted by M. Biskup and J. Koc.

<sup>2</sup> W. Pałucki, *Foreword*, [in:] AHP Lublin, I.1.3 in this edition.

<sup>3</sup> For more information on this subject, see: M. Słoń, K. Chłapowski, *Introduction*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, I.2.4 in this edition.

Maps form the crucial element of this AHP volume, as is true for the entire series. They make up the bulk of the first part of this volume. The 1:250,000 main map presents the network of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land settlements in the late sixteenth century. All settlements have been described in terms of their character, size, and ownership type. They have also been assigned their sixteenth-century names. It needs to be clarified here that we use the contemporary name of Raciążek settlement (Raciąż in the sixteenth century) to distinguish this locality from Raciąż in Mazovia. The map outlines the borders of state and Catholic Church administration, as well as the major roads. Physiographic objects (hydrography and forestation) were restored on the basis of information dating back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, yet again proving that previous network condition cannot be determined in sufficient detail owing to limited extant source material. Maps at the scale of 1:500,000 resemble the maps presented in previous volumes in terms of the content covered. They show Catholic Church division, communities of other denominations, gord starostys, and the road network. The above-mentioned plans of four cities in the discussed area supplement the cartographic material. In selected chapters, we have provided small text maps as well.

Lists of settlements and natural landscape elements form an integral part of each and every AHP volume. The former gives insight into the ownership affiliation of settlements to districts (*powiaty*) and parishes, and ownership character. It covers all identifiable settlements, including those whose location could not be ascertained.

This volume is the result of efforts taken not only by the authors of individual chapters. The division of preparatory work, which has yielded the individual parts of the Commentary and the Maps, was as follows:

Arkadiusz Borek	settlement in Brześć and Kowal districts of Brześć Voivodeship, borders of Catholic Church administrative units, territorial reach of Reformation, description of written source base, supervision over Włocławek town plan, volume editing
Wiesława Duży	settlement and verification of settlement location in Dobrzyń land, Dobrzyń town plan, supervision over Brześć and Inowrocław town plans, volume editing
Dawid Maciuszek	cartographic work on the town plans of Dobrzyń, Brześć, Inowrocław, and Włocławek; work on selected coats of arms
Tomasz Panecki	main map, text maps (with K. Słomska-Przech)
Katarzyna Słomska-Przech	(small-scale) general and text maps (with T. Panecki), forestation and hydrography, physiographic nomenclature
Michał Słomski	settlement and verification of settlement location in Inowrocław Voivodeship, preliminary bibliography of sources and publications, list of castles and abbeys, ownership affiliation of settlements, volume editing
Paweł Swoboda	verification and determination of names in settlement database
Marcin Woźniak	consultation and archaeological comments to Inowrocław town plan
Tomasz Związek	settlement and verification of settlement location in Kruszwica, Przedecz and Radziejów districts of Brześć Voivodeship

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

## I.2.7 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 7: MAZOVIA (1973)

*Władysław Pałucki*

This map of Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century is chronologically the second (after the Voivodeship of Lublin) – and the seventh volume in editorial plan of the series of detailed maps comprising the Historical Atlas of Poland. It should be mentioned here in this introduction that the territorial and factual range of the AHP, and the position of the map of Mazovia within the entire series, I described in the Foreword to Lublin Voivodeship.<sup>1</sup>

I would like to remind the readers of our desire that the subsequent volumes of the AHP series should present the cartographic picture of Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century, containing all important information on the spatial arrangement of the following selected elements: a) the complete, named network of settlements, showing the size, character and ownership affiliation of settlements, b) State and Church administrative divisions, including parishes, c) major roads and d) basic geographical elements (the lay-out of the land, water bodies and forests) confirmed by cartographic sources from the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the Introduction to Lublin Voivodeship we justified our choice of the chronological period – the second half of the sixteenth century. It is the period of the greatest prosperity of the Polish State. Moreover, we possess a rich supply of historical sources (geographical and statistical) from those times, which witnessed important systematic, economic and social changes.

It is a widely known fact that scientific needs, or even the source basis determine the chronological period and the possibility of preparing a historical map.<sup>2</sup> In the case of Polish lands, such favourable conditions occur precisely for the second half of the sixteenth century. It would be impossible for the later period, until the end of the eighteenth century, given the fact that the analogous archival collection of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, where geographical and statistic sources (hearth tax rates from 1789–1791 and census records from 1787–1791) were kept, was destroyed in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944.<sup>3</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century basic settlement processes were finally complete, and the following centuries witnessed few new settlement foundations. In certain areas the number of new settlements was smaller than the number of those which disappeared, either because they were turned into demesnes, destroyed by natural catastrophes, perished during a war, or were bought and consolidated into a larger property.

Comparable official fiscal sources seem to confirm such assumptions. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century the number of taxed settlements in Mazovia was lower than the one found in the registers from 1576–1578 published by A. Pawiński.<sup>4</sup> We must therefore agree with H. Rutkowski, who also noticed that the sixteenth century could be described as ‘the best period for preparing a detailed picture of Polish lands before the great changes of the geographical environment’.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. Pałucki, *Foreword*, [in:] AHP Lublin, I.1.3 in this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Atlas historyczny ziem polskich drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, KH, vol. 74, 1967, no. 1, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>4</sup> P. Mazowsze, pp. 15–19, villages and cities 6084; *Connotacyja miast i wsi z taryf podymnego Anno 1676*, [in:] *Plata wojska... to jest taryffy kwart, hyberty, pogłównego, lanowego zebrane i do druku podane roku 1771*, p. 117–118 villages and cities 5473; F.J. Moszyński tables from 1789 r., [in:] S. Konferowicz, *Fryderyk Józef Moszyński: statystyk doby sejmu czteroletniego*, Warsaw 1961, p. 64a, villages and cities 5975.

<sup>5</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Mapy podstawowe i atlas historyczny*, KHKM, vol 14, 1966, no. 4, p. 696.

Given what was said about the chronological framework of this series of AHP, the term ‘second half of the sixteenth century’ may appear too extensive. This issue was already explained in the aforementioned foreword to the Lublin Voivodeship. In 1964 we assumed this would actually mean something closer to the end of the sixteenth century. Therefore, if an interesting event occurred in this half of the century (a new settlement), then the map depicts the later situation. Naturally, this does not apply to the existence of a settlement alone. Namely, a settlement which disappeared in the second half of the sixteenth century still appears on the map.

The programme of this series assumes that some important historical and geographical territories of Poland, which in the past constituted individual political and administrative units, were not divided into old voivodeship they consisted of, but prepared and published in separate volumes.

Mazovia provides a typical example here of a unit – considering the territorial development of Poland, before the Recovered Territories in the west and north returned to the Mother Country in 1945 – exceptional and in many terms separate (as explained below in the chapters on the Ownership affiliation of settlements and Geographic nomenclature), in its historical borders which were finally settled (with the Podlasie) in the sixteenth century.

Earlier, Mazovia was larger. It went beyond the initial tribal territories with centres in Płock (Płock or ‘old’ Mazovia), Czersk (southern Mazovia), and Pułtusk (in the area of downstream and middle Narew).<sup>6</sup>

In the west, still in the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Chełmno and Dobrzyń lands lay inside the borders of Mazovia, and in the east Mazovia reached far into the Podlasie, east of the River Biebrza, between the middle Narew and Nurzec.

Later, after the Teutonic Order obtained the land of Chełmno, the land of Dobrzyń was appropriated to Cuyavia, and various other still not entirely explained territorial changes occurred in the borderlands with the old Duchy of Łęczyca, the border between Mazovia and Lithuania also moved back to the west. As a result, these borders survived 250 years without changes, until the Second Partition of Poland in 1793.

The local old Mazovian duchies were gradually incorporated into the Crown, while the particular lines of the Mazovian branch of the Piast dynasty – the vassals of Poland – were dying out. First the Duchy of Rawa (the lands of Gostynin and Rawa in 1462 after the death of duke Siemowit VI and Władysław II, Sochaczew land in 1476 after the death of their mother, duchess Anna), then in 1495 after the death of duke Janusz II the Duchy of Płock and Wizna land, which at the time belonged to this duchy.<sup>7</sup> Finally, after the last of Mazovian dukes died – Stanisław in 1524 and Janusz III in 1526 – the largest Mazovian duchy, with main centres in Warsaw, Czersk, Ciechanów and Łomża were incorporated.

As such, Mazovia as presented in this volume encompasses not one, but three voivodeships derived from old duchies: Płock, Rawa and Mazovia, and its area was three-times larger than that of Lublin Voivodeship (10,674 km<sup>2</sup>). Mazovia is 33,493 km<sup>2</sup> and naturally that prolonged our work on this volume of the Atlas, consisting of the main map at a scale of 1:250,000, three plans of voivodeship cities at a scale of 1:10,000, a vast commentary on the main map and the plan, and the List of Settlements (6,679) and the List of natural landscape elements (220).

Still, the main differences between the map of Mazovia and the map of Lublin Voivodeship, and in fact all other provinces – or voivodeships – of the Crown, lie in: 1) the density of settlement – in the sixteenth century there were almost as many settlements in Mazovia as in Greater Poland in the broader borders of the province (six voivodeships) in an area almost twice as big, 2) unusual social and ownership structures which influenced the character of settlements and their nomenclature, a situation found also only in Podlasie.

It was necessary to present the three old voivodeships comprising the historical Mazovia also as the map of Mazovia would fulfil its task as a necessary help to historians and scholars of related

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<sup>6</sup> The so-called castellany of Świeck is a trace of the old territorial range of Mazovia, see S.S. Zajęczkowski, *Najdawniejsze osadnictwo polskie na Podlasiu*, RDSG, vol. 5, 1936, pp. 13–14; J. Wiśniewski, *W sprawie badań nad pograniczem Jaćwieży*, PH, vol. 48, 1957, no. 2, pp. 319–326; J. Wiśniewski, *Podlasie*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 4, Wrocław 1970, pp. 172–174.

<sup>7</sup> In 1499 leased by John I Albert to Jakub Glinka, the starosta of Wizna, in 1599 it was bought out by duchess Anna by Sigismund I's assent from Glinka's successors and for a short spell of time incorporated to the Duchy of Mazovia.

disciplines, (archaeologists, art historians, ethnographers, linguists) only in this territorial range, as almost every serious source publication,<sup>8</sup> or synthetic works and monographs starting from *Dzieje Mazowsza za panowania książąt* by F. Kozłowski from 1858, until now,<sup>9</sup> treat Mazovia as one unit.

The territorial range of the map of Mazovia (the three old voivodeships) could still raise some doubts among less knowledgeable readers, given the fact that the members of the Department of the Historical Atlas of the Historical Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences had previously prepared and published in 1958 the map of Płock Voivodeship around 1578 (*Mapa województwa płockiego około 1578 r.*) at a detailed scale of 1:200,000. We should therefore explain that the map of Płock Voivodeship was a preliminary stage for the chronological period of the sixteenth century and – as emphasized Professor S. Herbst who supervised this collective effort – it was of experimental nature.<sup>10</sup> Hence, despite the undoubted values of this map, it could not always be imitated. The chronological range accepted for this series of the AHP (the second half of the sixteenth century), much broader than the one used previously, allowed us to broaden our source basis, and as a result to introduce certain changes and corrections in relation to the situation from 1578 presented in volume of Płock.

As such, on our map parochial borders, and some of the district borders, were changed or specified in relation to the map of Płock Voivodeships. The location, wording or spelling of names of certain settlements, and in several cases their ownership affiliation, was also corrected. In particular, we eliminated ownership categories introduced in AHP 1958 (including those of four towns): mixed, belonging to the Church and the nobility, for these settlements which in fact belonged only to the nobles (e.g. Drobiny Kryskie); small plots of arable land (parson's land called *poświętne*) did not change the ownership affiliation of the entire village. Given the critical assessment of the size of settlements on the map of Płock Voivodeship (eight size groups), based on calculations with too many unknown quantities that the authors themselves treated as dubious,<sup>11</sup> the number of size groups on the map of Mazovia was reduced by half (four), and in the key to the map these groups were described as follows: large cities over 5,000 inhabitants, towns – 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, settlements (small towns and large villages) from 200 to 1,000 inhabitants, and other villages, hamlets, mill settlements, ironworks, etc., below 200 inhabitants. Also, we refrained from marking various production facilities (marked on the map of Płock Voivodeship) in individual settlements, like water and horse mills, windmills, fulleries, cropping houses, breweries, taverns or inns, which existed in 1578), as apart from technical obstacles (the scale of our map), many of these facilities were changed into something else or liquidated in this half of the century. All main roads (highways) were marked on the map of Płock Voivodeship, as well as country roads marked on Perthées's map from the second half of the eighteenth century, something that again was called a 'useful hypothesis' by the authors themselves.<sup>12</sup> That is why, having broadened the basis of sources, (Perthées and other detailed maps from the end of the eighteenth century – the middle of the nineteenth century), the map of Mazovia shows a selection of important roads which played an important role in the sixteenth century, on the scale of the entire country, voivodeship, or district. The sixteenth century course of these roads was reconstructed on the basis of detailed maps from the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. In terms of physiographic elements, we decided not to distinguish forests and meadows shown on the map of Płock Voivodeship according to their contemporary state. Finally, to move into technical details, the enlarged symbols (circles) denoting 'towns or villages' on the map of Płock, with 4–5 mm diameter equalling around 1 km in the field, were reduced on our map, as explained elsewhere, in order to minimize the degree of hypothesis on our detailed maps of Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

To end this rather lengthy list of differences between the map of Płock Voivodeship and the map of Mazovia, we must also mention the List of Settlements, a very useful aid in this type of publications.

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<sup>8</sup> Old diplomatic codes by T. Lubomirski and J. K. Kochanowski and their continuations by I. and S. Kuraś, and Iur. Maz. Terr comp. J.Sawicki.

<sup>9</sup> S. Russocki, *Formy władania ziemią, w prawie ziemskim Mazowsza*, Warsaw 1961; A. Wolff, *Studia nad urzędnikami mazowieckimi 1370–1526*, Wrocław 1962; J. Senkowski, *Skarbowość Mazowsza od końca XIV wieku do 1526 roku*, Warsaw 1965; J. Senkowski, *Skarbowość Mazowsza od końca XIV wieku do 1526 roku*, Warsaw 1965.

<sup>10</sup> WP, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 37.

<sup>13</sup> W. Pałucki, *Atlas historyczny ziem polskich*, p. 101.

In case of the map of Płock Voivodeship, the List was limited to the names in their sixteenth century wording, without modern versions of names (if different), or any information as to whether a given settlement had ceased to exist. The List of Settlements accompanying the map of Mazovia does provide this information. Additionally, the List includes all important variations of names, the affiliation of each settlement to district and parish according to the sixteenth century administrative division, and the ownership affiliation of settlements.

As regards the experimental nature of the map of Płock Voivodeship, we could not pass over the first of this series of the AHP, namely the map of Lublin Voivodeship, which – as we expected – was also experimental to a certain degree.<sup>14</sup> Specifically, in comparison to the map of Lublin Voivodeship, the map of Mazovia was supplemented with the following elements: apart from the forests copied from the Quartermaster's Map according to the state prior to 1830, we marked thickets shown also by this source, with a separate symbol. The commentary provides further information on this issue.<sup>15</sup> Based on the map of Płock Voivodeship, the map of Mazovia shows the seats of major officials (castellanies, town starosta's, town and land courts, and land *sejmiks* (dietines), excluded from the map of Lublin Voivodeship). Contrary to the opinion of one of the advisors of the map of Lublin Voivodeship (a co-author of the map of Cracow Voivodeship), who considered such information redundant, we think these offices, perhaps except for castellanies (in contrast to their original role) played an important part in the internal affairs of Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century. As such, we considered it wise to include the seats of these offices and institution on our detailed map. The plans of voivodeship cities were also elaborated, and provided with a longer commentary than was the case with Lublin Voivodeship. The List of Settlements contains information on the ownership affiliation.

Source basis and work methods on the map of Mazovia were described further in this commentary. However, we cannot pass over the fact that during our work, after consultation outside our team, we were forced to change some of the assumptions of our previous, detailed instruction. It became apparent that sometimes what at first, when our method of work was being determined starting with creating the files of settlements, seemed easy to determine on the basis of known and available sources, later turned out wrong or dubious, and the obtained results still uncertain. Therefore, we had to search for other, additional materials and – naturally – analyse this broadened source basis. This usually concerned the localization, identification, correct nomenclature of settlements and physiographic elements marked on the map, and the courses of borders and roads.

For instance, at times a settlement, or its name, localized or identified after long and strenuous work, proved to be incorrect. After using other sources, we had originally not taken into account, not bearing much relation to the territory or the subject of our interest, we had to change everything, or introduce appropriate corrections.

To the authors working on particular lands or districts of Mazovia such 'discoveries' offered much satisfaction, and not just the only one, something that is not easily understood by those who have no experience with laborious scientific research.

Many of these novel findings, which were, as already stated, in comparison with our knowledge up until then of sixteenth century Mazovia, a result of careful examination of a huge number of manuscript or printed sources, or various studies, not reflected in the chapters describing our source basis. However, we considered it appropriate to comment not only on selected important problems and methods used to solve them, but also on our results, when they differed from earlier findings, or explained previously controversial issues concerning Mazovia in the sixteenth century.

This naturally had its influence on the size of this commentary which had to be longer than in case of Lublin Voivodeship. Apart from certain completely natural reasons (like the large territory and dense settlement), we had to conduct an archival query for almost every group of topics represented on the map, as well as separate analysis of sources utilized, and additional – not always successful – searches, in which moments of triumph were often interlaced, when a lost village or its name was found, with those where spirits were low. The readers will therefore find in this commentary, apart

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<sup>14</sup> Idem, *Foreword*, [in:] AHP Lublin, I.1.3 in this edition.

<sup>15</sup> See further.

from necessary methodical hints and explanations concerning the methodology for showing particular elements on the map, a wide array of historical and geographical information, allowing for a better understanding and usage of the map.

The commentary was prepared to fulfil the needs of certain source publications which require a broader interpretation as the published map of Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century does not differ much from other source publications.

However, at the end of our work we encountered a difficult dilemma, which was whether to keep certain parts of the commentary, such as the assessment of tax registers (our main source basis), the ownership affiliation, character and size of settlements, and the administrative division, in their planned form, or to exclude them from this volume and – as suggested – publish in historical journals, or as a separate volume of studies on cartography and historical geography, or finally – whether to abridge the text. The author of this introduction used to support the latter approach. As the majority of our consultants voted for the broad commentary, given the modest and often controversial knowledge about Mazovia in the past, the form of the commentary remained unchanged. Apart from the usual hints and explanations, the commentary offers a thorough analysis of many a complicated spatial issue (e.g. the size and ownership of settlements) which had to be simplified on the map, even given specialized cartographic methods.

Therefore we decided that the users of the map of Mazovia would find it more convenient, if answers to certain doubts and questions (we decided to describe a wide array of other issues in separate studies) could be found at hand, in this commentary which – accordingly – should be exhaustive. In short, we could not refer to works not yet finished or published.

Our aim was to present all three Mazovian voivodeships on one map. This caused certain technical difficulties. The map published at a scale of 1:250,000 would be 107 × 100 cm, a very inconvenient size, and larger than the map sheets used in cartographic publications. Thus, the map was printed on two sheets equal in size, showing the northern and the southern part of the sixteenth century Mazovia separately. The map was cut along the line Płońsk – Brańszczyk, with a 12 cm wide contact zone which we believe makes using the map much easier. For the same reasons, unlike in the case of the map of Lublin Voivodeship, plans of the three voivodeship cities: Płock, Rawa and Warsaw at the same scale of 1:10,000 and the coats of arms of voivodeship capitals had to be printed on a separate sheet.

In this volume Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century was presented in two parts: cartographic and textual.

The cartographic part is the detailed multi-element, coloured map (eight colours) at a scale of 1:250,000 and plans of the three voivodeship capitals at a scale of 1:10,000.

The text contains an extensive commentary to the main map, the commentaries to the city plans and the two lists: of settlements and of natural landscape elements.

The map and the lists were prepared by:

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Władysław Pałucki      | – main editor   |
|                        | – settlement and borders of Sochaczew land  |
|                        | – ownership affiliation of settlements  |
|                        | – detailed revision of nomenclature   |
| Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa | – settlement and borders of the lands of Ciechanów, Gostynin, Liw, Nur and the Zawkrze                |
|                        | – participating in technical work on the List of Settlements  |
|                        | – participating in preparing the files of ownership affiliation of settlements                        |
| Irena Gieysztorowa     | – settlement and borders of the lands of Łomża, Płock, Rożan, Warsaw, Wizna, Wyszogród, and Zakroczym |
|                        | – size of settlements   |
|                        | – participating in the preparation of the files of ownership affiliation of settlements               |
| Józef Humnicki         | – settlement and borders of Warsaw land   |
|                        | – forests and waters  |
|                        | – city plan of Warsaw   |
| Wojciech Kalinowski    | – city plan of Rawa   |
| Wanda Lewandowska      | – cartographic work on the main map (basic carbon-paper and initial draft)                            |

- participating in cartographic work on the city plans of Płock, Rawa and Warsaw
- graphic design of coats of arms
- Kazimierz Pacuski
  - settlement and borders of Sochaczew land
  - revision of settlement and parochial affiliation in Płock diocese
  - city plan of Płock
  - participating in technical work on the List of Settlements and the List of natural landscape elements
- Henryk Rutkowski
  - methodological instructions
  - settlement and borders of Czersk land and Rawa land
  - roads
  - coats of arms
  - consultations for settlement, borders and city plans
- Wanda Szaniawska
  - city plan of Warsaw

Not all members of our team participated in the works on this volume of the AHP series from the beginning to the end, and their input of work varied. Apart from the authors, Krzysztof Chłapowski contributed to our efforts in the following areas:

- castles,
- technical work on the List of Settlements,
- calculating the area of the voivodeships, lands and districts,
- the majority of statistical calculations concerning the localization of settlements and their ownership affiliation.

The authors of individual chapters of this commentary were listed in the Table of Contents. I would also like to add that I shared the general editorial work on this volume with my closest colleague – Henryk Rutkowski.

Finally, we are glad to offer our sincere thanks to all institutions and persons who made it easier for us to use their scientific collections, or offered us their advice and help while working on this volume of the AHP.

In particular, we must thank Dr. Jerzy Wiśniewski, effectively our permanent consultant on issues related with the nomenclature and settlement of Mazovia, for the revision of lists, assessment of the commentary and his valuable advice. We are grateful to Dr. Karol Buczek for his kind remarks and for allowing the Department of the Historical Atlas of Poland to use his notes from the no longer extant archival files, kept prior to 1944 in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (the files of the Fiscal Committee, hearth tax rates from 1789 and 1790 for the entire Mazovia). Thanks also to Dr. Adam Wolff for his advice on the matters of Mazovian settlement and nomenclature.

We offer our sincere thanks to: Dr. Tadeusz Żebrowski, the Director of the Diocese Archive in Płock for making the records available to us and for his help in determining the parochial borders and the ownership affiliation of Church estates, to Dr. Henryk Samsonowicz – the adviser of our map and commentary, Dr. Janusz Rieger – the reviewer of the lists, for their valuable advice and consultations, to Dr. Stefan K. Kuczyński for his help with the coats of arms, to Dr. Iza Galicka for her help with the castles, to Dr. Andrzej Wyczański and Dr. Tadeusz Lalik for their kind opinion on the commentary, and to Dr. Leonid Żytkowicz for lending us his copy of the inventory of the estates of Płock bishopric from 1650, and to Hanna Szwankowska, MA, for her valuable remarks on the city plan of Warsaw.

Moreover, we are grateful to the Director of the Central Archives of Historical Records for his kindness displayed during our many visits to the Archives.

We are also much obliged to the Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe for their editorial and technical efforts, to Wydawnictwo Geologiczne for their excellent map, and to the Scientific Printing House in Wrocław for their careful and efficient typesetting and page makeup of the commentary and lists.

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

## I.2.8 INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 8: PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP (2021)

*Michał Gochna, Bogumił Szady*

The regional uniqueness of Podlasie has been shaped by its borderland nature as well as by the constant conflicts over state and administrative affiliation. Although Zygmunt Gloger decided to include Podlasie to the province of Lesser Poland,<sup>1</sup> it needs to be considered and treated as a separate historical and cultural region. The said borderland ‘marches’ character of Podlasie is apparent to this very day in almost all the elements that comprise its material and cultural landscape – beginning with the natural environment, through forms of settlement right up to the ethnic and religious make-up of the population inhabiting the region.<sup>2</sup> Its location at the meeting point of two civilisations – Latin (western) and Byzantine (eastern) as well as of two political organisms – the Polish and Lithuanian-Ruthenian was to significantly impact almost all aspects of the anthropogenic (cultural) landscape that constituted the subject of the work herein presented: settlement and onomastics, territorial divisions (particularly ecclesiastical), urban expanse. The source base at the disposal of the researchers was noticeably more limited and diffuse than it had been in relation to the Crown voivodeships situated in the central and western part of the Crown something which enforced the application of a retrogressive method and most obviously weakened the reliability of the conjectures made.

The present publication is the second attempt to develop a map of Podlasie in the mid-sixteenth-century, and here within the framework of the Historical Atlas of Poland project (AHP). The first attempt was undertaken by Tadeusz Żebrowski, who prepared an introductory rough draft depicting the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth-century. This work appeared within the framework of works performed by the Warsaw commission of AHP, with a description of the said being given in a paper the author delivered the 4<sup>th</sup> National Convention of Polish Historians in Poznań in 1925.<sup>3</sup> In this he characterised the map content, the source base as well as presented the main problem areas connected with its preparation. The then premise adopted for the choice of Podlasie as one of the first territories to be dealt with was its complicated settlement, ownership, administrative and ecclesiastical relations. Żebrowski’s work was most probably to enable the compilation of a research questionnaire to be employed in further atlas works. Yet this was to be a different assumption than the one adopted in the present series where the Podlasie map was to come to fruition only at the final phase of work on the series already after the establishment and adoption of principles and development of methods in work on the various voivodeships and gaining of experience on the part of the Historical Atlas Department of the Polish Academy of Sciences’ History Institute. Unfortunately a comparison of the results achieved by Żebrowski and those of our team is an impossibility for the initial sketches of the pre-war map nor any copies of the said were to survive the Second World War.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Z. Gloger, *Geografia historyczna ziem dawnej Polski*, Cracow 1900, pp. 201–211.

<sup>2</sup> In the final classification J. Plit considered Podlasie to be a part of *kraina* (land) B: A Central-Eastern land of Province II: The Central and Eastern Region (the Russian Partition); idem, *Krajobrazy kulturowe Polski i ich przemiany*, Warsaw 2016, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> T. Żebrowski, *Mapa Podlasia w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, [in:] K. Tyszkowski, *Pamiętnik IV. Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Poznaniu 6–8 grudnia. 2, Protokoły*, ed. K. Tyszkowski, Lwów 1927, pp. 217–224.

<sup>4</sup> W. Pałucki, *Prace nad Atlase historycznym Polski*, [in:] *Problemy nauk pomocniczych historii. Materiały na III konferencję poświęconą naukom pomocniczym historii*, Katowice – Wisła 29–31 V 1974, Katowice 1974, p. 192; B. Konopska, *Polskie atlasy historyczne – koncepcje i realizacje*, Warsaw 1994, p. 108.

Two dates which are considered to represent the moment when the Podlasie Voivodeship came into being function within the subject literature: 1513 (mention of Iwan Sapieha, the Podlasie voivode) and 1520 (the charter creating the voivodeship). This significance of those dates is not exaggerated, the present volume has adopted that the Podlasie Voivodeship was sectioned off as an administrative unit in the second decade of the sixteenth-century. And that it emerged from the Troki Voivodeship and initially belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the beginning it comprised six lands: Drohiczyn, Mielnik (which most probably had originally been a part of the Drohiczyn land), Bielsk, Brześć Litewski, Kobryń, and Kamieniec. The territorial shape as presented in the present volume the Voivodeship of Podlasie was to gain under the course of administrative reform within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and conducted at the *Sejm* sittings for the years 1565–1566. At that time it was divided into two parts. The lands of Brześć Litewski, Kobryń and Kamieniec following their inclusion with the Principality of Turów and Pińsk, created the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship. Within the Voivodeship of Podlasie remained the lands of Drohiczyn, Mielnik and Bielsk, which were joined to the Polish Crown in 1569.<sup>5</sup> The Podlasie voivode held a place in the senate behind the voivode of Mazovia, but before that of Rawa; so the Podlasie castellan held places behind the Czersk castellan but equally before that of Rawa. It is worth here noting that the territorial shape of the voivodeship determined in 1566 was not stable and for almost the entirety of subsequent centuries (up until 1638) were there disputes over the southern estates of and their inclusion within Podlasie (the territories of Międzyrzec, Wołyń, Łomazy, Rossosz). In this fashion the Podlasie Voivodeship was dragged in a southern direction and bordered with the following:

- from the south-west with the Duchy of Prussia,
- from the north-east, the east, and the south-east with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e., with the Troki Voivodeship, on a short section with the Nowogródek Voivodeship, and subsequently Brześć Litewski,
- from the south with the Lublin Voivodeship,
- from the south-west and west with the Voivodeship of Mazovia.

As has been mentioned above the source base employed in work into the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth-century is much more limited when compared to the earlier volumes in the series. This problem concerns as equally the basic series of sources utilised in the AHP, that is tax registers, as well as supplementary and auxiliary materials. While to a lesser degree the cartographic base. The authors had at their disposal and here for each of the districts at most a few, maximum four tax registers dated to the second half of the sixteenth-century. The same situation finds its reflection in the supplementary and auxiliary sources – the first canonical visits for the terrain under investigation are from the 1630s. What is important is that the way by which registration in taxation lists took place differed from the method employed in other regions of the Crown – even though order in relation to districts was maintained in this registration, often the geographical order of the taxation was disturbed by ownership criteria. The very same concerns the internal order of each of these registers. The headings point to the registration of taxation within the confines of a parish, however a closer analysis of the administrative affiliation and settlement ownership has shown that in many situations of more significance is the ownership affiliation. The owner or steward of estates scattered across several parishes, and even situated in two separate administrative districts, paid tax in one place, something that has made the identification of settlements as well as defining their affiliation to districts and parishes a whole lot more complicated. Given the above of immense significance in the compiling of the main map as well as the commentary texts was the utilisation of other types of source (taxation declarations (*rekognicjarze*, *recognitiones*), poll tax and hearth tax registers, royal terriers, estate inventories, military rolls, synod registers), that are from as equally the first half of the sixteenth century as later centuries – the seventeenth and eighteenth century (the retrogressive method).

These shortfalls in the source base take on especial significance in the context of reconstructing the complex and dynamic picture of the settlement network of a given region under compilation. Just a general glance at the main map, and in particular at the double-barrelled names of settlements indicates the complicated relations between particular settlements. A lot of attention needed to be

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<sup>5</sup> For more on the date the voivodeship was founded as well as its affiliation to the provinces of Greater and Lesser Poland see M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units* [in:] AHP Podlasie, III.2.1.8 in this edition.

directed towards decisions on the degree of settlement unit independence and answers to the question as to whether a definite source mention concerns a separate single settlement, a part of a settlement or even a group of settlements. The collective registration in the sources of many hamlets under a single toponym inclined the authors of the study to take into consideration in the analysis and on the map itself not only hamlets themselves but also noble environs. Under the notion of 'noble environs' one should understand the concentration of a minimum of three hamlets covered by a double-barrelled name, whereby the first component of the said was common for all the settlements belonging to the environs. In this regard the Podlasie settlement network recalls that of eastern Mazovia or the Łuków land.

The changeability in place names derived often from the surnames and forenames of their owners as well as the often registration of several parts of a settlement under a single name has made the unambiguous spatial identification of many settlements. The percentage of settlement points of an unknown localisation or one approximated is 5.7%. The full list contained in the List of settlements covers 1,675 records. A part of these entered into the composition of demarcated noble environs (82 in total), and here particularly in the Bielsk and Drohiczyn lands. In accordance with the principles adopted for the AHP series as a whole all settlements have been described in relation to their type and nature (town, village, mill settlement, manor etc.), ownership (royal, noble, Church, town) as well as estimated size demographically (villages of under 200 inhabitants, larger villages and small towns numbering from around 200 to around 1,000 inhabitants, as well as towns whose populations were within the division of 1,000 to 5,000 residents).

The border nature of Podlasie is particularly visible within the structure of the population's denominational affiliation. Separate chapters of commentary and maps have been devoted to the structures of the Latin Church, the Orthodox Church as well as Protestant congregations and communities. In accordance with the AHP series principles an attempt to reconstruct the boundaries of the parish divisions of the Latin Church has been undertaken. The seats of Catholic and Orthodox parishes have been marked on the main map as well as – respectively – on the thematic map and in the relevant commentary chapter. In turn a separate text map presents the Protestant congregations. In the course of work spent on compiling the main map a lot of space was devoted to evaluating the possibility for the reconstruction of the borders of the Latin parishes in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century. The degree of accuracy in the conjectures made is most variable with this deteriorating as one moves from the north west to the south-east of the voivodeship. The parish boundaries across the expanse of the Mielnik land as well as in the eastern parts of the Bielsk and Drohiczyn lands are highly hypothetical in nature. This results from the fact that many settlements were inhabited by Orthodox populations who did not belong to any Latin parish. The Latin parishes in the eastern part of the Podlasie Voivodeship were not territorially cohesive, remaining obviously communities in the social sense as well as institutions in the legal and economic sense.

The structure and arrangement of the volume maintains the principles adopted within the AHP series. The whole is comprised of Part I: the maps and Part II: the commentaries. The main map of a scale of 1:250,000 presents the whole settlement network with the marking of settlements according to type, size and ownership character, the boundaries of state and ecclesiastical administration as well as the most important roads. As has been mentioned above the map of Podlasie also shows the names of noble environs. The nomenclature of places and environs is given in its sixteenth-century sounding yet in a modern spelling. Elements of the cultural and historical-political landscape has been superimposed onto a physiographical base (water and forests), whose state of being, in line with the series premises adopted, is in accordance with the state of affairs compiled for the turn of the nineteenth century, and here chiefly on the basis of cartographical sources. The main map is accompanied by thematic maps drawn up at a scale of 1:500,000 as well as plans of selected towns at a scale of 1:10,000. The thematic maps relate to the territorial divisions of the Latin Church, ownership structures, as well as the transport system. In the cartographic part there are also to be found four town plans: Drohiczyn, Bielsk, Mielnik and Węgrów. Drohiczyn was chosen as a result of its capital nature for the Podlasie Voivodeship and within the Drohiczyn land. Due to the division of Podlasie into three lands it was decided to also compile street plans for the capitals of the remaining two lands – Mielnik and Bielsk. The latter being also included as a result of it being the largest settlement in the Podlasie of the day and here with regard to population. The three mentioned towns were royal property, while the fourth – Węgrów – was to be the only one that was a private holding, and in addition located on the southern bank of the River Bug.

The volume of commentary is comprised of two parts: I. Sources, II. Method and results, as well as possessing Lists of settlements and natural landscape elements. The treatment of the sources is divided into two chapters – cartographic sources and written sources. In the second part described is the reconstructive method of the image as well as the individual elements of the natural and cultural landscape, which is presented by the main map, the thematic maps and the town plans. Next to the chapter devoted to the natural environment matters of secular and ecclesiastical administrative structure are discussed (those of the Latin, Orthodox, and Protestant Churches), settlement networks (localisation, typology, size, nomenclature, and settlement ownership) as well as the transport communication network. The individual town plans have received their own commentary, with the analysis contained in the commentary of much significance in correctly interpreting the maps. For in many cases the findings arrived at are hypothetical and uncertain in nature. As editors of the volume we would encourage you to read the commentary before looking at the maps themselves in order to obtain information as to which of the presented cartographic contents it follows to approach with the greatest caution and what results from this.

The List of Settlements as equally the presented maps was prepared on the basis of a temporal-spatial database, which served the volume authors in the gathering of source information and its analysis for the duration of the project itself.<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting that the publication is accompanied by a digital edition of the Podlasie tax registers for the second half of the eighteenth century (<http://atlasfontium.pl>), as the main source base for the compilation. The List of settlements contains the main name (from the second half of the sixteenth century), the contemporary (modern-day) name (if this is different from the main name) as well as the onomastic variants functioning in all the settlements in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century. The nature of settlement is also given (if its status was different from being a village), its district (*powiat*) and parish affiliation as well as the nature of ownership (if this was different than noble). Shown also are approximated geographic coordinates for each localised settlement, while in the case of places mentioned in the commentary equally the relevant page number.

The whole undertaking is the result of team work – the division of tasks as well as the character of certain individuals' participation is accredited in authorship to the commentary chapters and maps. This is, however, not the full picture of the effort put into the volume by certain individuals. It has been the AHP series editors, Henryk Rutkowski and Marek Słoń, who have vigilantly ensured that the research and editorial works were conducted accordingly. Especial thanks is to be extended to Tomasz Jaszczółt and Andrzej Buczyło, employees of the Polish Academy of Sciences History Institute's Mazovia and Podlasie Historical-Geographical Dictionary Section, who – besides compiling the town plans and texts for Drohiczyń and Mielnik – provided consultations on almost all the thematic aspects of the work. They equally read the volume through in its entirety, providing many valuable comments and additions. Cooperating with the team was also Marta Kuc-Czerep, who gathered source information from the taxation registers, inspections, and tax declarations for the Bielsk land. Team members besides working on specific problem areas were also responsible for the analysis and verification of source information for the individual regions of the Podlasie Voivodeship (the Drohiczyń land – Michał Gochna, Piotr Guzowski; the Bielsk land – Jarosław Suproniuk, Krzysztof Boroda, Michał Sierba; the Mielnik land – Bogumił Szady). Michał Sierba besides drawing up the Bielsk town plan and researching the transport network equally correlated the information on economic objects. Paweł Swoboda in preparing the commentary chapter on onomastics brought many valuable comments and corrections on the identification and localisation of settlements. The cartographers preparing the maps and street plans (Tomasz Panecki, Katarzyna Słomska-Przech and Dawid Maciuszek) exceeded their technical profiles by introducing many valuable methodological additions, some of them resulting from fieldwork research conducted in cooperation with historians (Michał Gochna and Tomasz Jaszczółt). It is also worth remembering that all the project works, beginning from the assembly of information through its analysis and correlation right up to data presentation would not have been possible without the IT support and expertise of Grzegorz Myrda and Przemysław Grądzki. During the course of work on the

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<sup>6</sup> The presented volume was prepared within the framework of the project: A Historical Atlas of Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century – completion and enrichment of the series, no. 1aH15037383, head: M. Słoń, National Program for the Development of Humanities (Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki). Realisation time: 2016–2020.

Podlasie volume a bicycle field-trip around the southern part of the former Podlasie Voivodeship was organised, during which meetings were organised with members of the local communities of Węgrów, Ciechanowiec, Drohiczyn, Mielnik and Międzyrzec Podlaski, and where the research methods employed and research results were presented. Unfortunately the pandemic that spread in the first half of 2020 made the organisation of a similar trip around the northern part of the former Podlasie Voivodeship an impossibility.

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

## I.2.9a INTRODUCTION TO THE SUPPLEMENT: ROYAL PRUSSIA, PART 1 (1961)

*Marian Biskup*

The map series depicting Royal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century (MRP) is the fruit of research which began in 1953 at the Toruń branch of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, in the Historical Atlas Department. The series is part of the *Historical Atlas of Poland*, which incorporates maps to the scale of 1:500,000 was compiled by a team of researchers from scientific centres in Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin, Toruń, and Wrocław.

The current shape of the AHP was conceptualised in the early days drawing on the achievements of the Polish Historical Atlas Committee at the pre-World War II Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow,<sup>1</sup> where it was decided that the chief aim of the compilation would be to chart in detail the land falling within the borders of Poland during three key periods: the thirteenth, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> However, post-war changes in Polish historiography, especially the new focus on its socio-economic aspect, affected the overall concept of the AHP, broadening its scope and giving it a new dimension. It was decided that the chief aims of the AHP would include a cartographic depiction – numerical and spatial – of the human activity with the geographic landscape as its background,<sup>3</sup> as well as the recreation of the economic regions of historical Poland.<sup>4</sup> By no means was the original cartographic depiction of physiography, administrative division, and settlement (including land ownership) abandoned; instead, this new concept of the AHP aims to capture additionally the basic issues concerning the state and relations of production power, such as density and diversity of rural and urban populations, or the distribution of the centres of the economy. The final result would be a synthesised depiction of production power for particular regions and for specific periods. This concept was first implemented in 1958 by the publishing of the *Płock Voivodeship around 1578 (Województwo płockie około 1578 r.)*, compiled by a team of researchers from Warsaw.<sup>5</sup>

This broad concept behind the AHP also applies to the *Map of Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century* (to the scale of 1:500,000), though the choice of the period of this publication requires some explanation. While a publication on the state of the region in the eighteenth century would have without a doubt been more justified as a good starting point for a retrogressive study, the lack of sources, and in particular the loss of the 1772 Frederician Cadastre, which had gone missing during the Second World War, necessitated an earlier than anticipated start on the depiction of the region for the second half of the sixteenth century. The source base for this period proved to be generally supportive of the implementation of the broadened concept of the AHP, though – which we shall see in the course of this publication – not in its entirety and not for all of Prussia.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, Kraków 1922, no. 1*, pp. 1 f., 28 nt. The most significant achievement of the Committee was the rendering of the map of Cracow Voivodeship in the age of the Great Sejm (1788–1792) (MWK), ed. K. Buczek and several co-authors under the supervision of W. Semkowicz and published in 1930 in Cracow.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. Herbst, *Prace nad Polskim Atlasem Historycznym*, KH, vol. 60, no. 3, Warsaw 1953, pp. 329–334.

<sup>3</sup> Following the opinion presented by G. Labuda, *Uwagi o przedmiocie i metodzie geografii historycznej*, „Przegląd Geograficzny”, vol. 25, no. 1, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> M. Dobrowolska, *Przedmiot i metoda geografii historycznej*, „Przegląd Geograficzny”, vol. 25, no. 1, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> S. Herbst, I. Gieysztorowa, J. Humnicki, J. Lemené, A. Żaboklicka, R. Cieśla, *Województwo płockie około 1578 r.*, Warsaw 1958.

Until now, Prussian lands have been given neither a thorough cartographic depiction nor a statistical and demographic database.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the planned scale of 1:500,000 made the depiction of the settlement network (one of the more important geographical aspects) impossible in its entirety. To amend the absence of data, 1:300,000 analytical maps of the region, supplemented by extensive commentary,<sup>7</sup> were drafted as part of the preliminary research process. Not only did these maps help illustrate the data from the 1570 tax register,<sup>8</sup> which remains the single most important source for all studies in the field of historical geography for the selected time period, they allowed for a more detailed depiction of particular aspects of the project. This is especially true when it came to administrative division, land ownership distribution, as well as the ethnic distribution of various groups of the landed gentry. These early studies also served as an important geohistorical word bank, incorporating tallies and registers of both land ownership and economic data for all settlements, which proved essential in shaping the basis for the developing research on Royal Prussia.

While fulfilling the requirements of the general concept of the AHP, the works on the Map of Royal Prussia series had to nonetheless take into consideration the local historical and geographical character of the region. This uniqueness has time and again found itself within the scope of interest of the publications on the socio-economic conditions in Prussian lands. It was especially apparent in the development of trade, which was far more rapid than in the other parts of the Polish Crown. Set into motion already during the Teutonic State period, developing trade fuelled the emergence of large urban centres in the region, such as Gdańsk, Toruń, and Elbląg, and saw members of the Third Estate bestowed with significantly more land than was the norm in the rest of the Crown, which in turn drove up demand for hired labour.<sup>9</sup> Naturally, these phenomena would leave a clear imprint in historical sources, and, consequently, in the research methodology and the cartographic depiction of particular issues, which would sometimes differ from the methods used in researching other parts of the Polish Crown.

Another individual feature of the study of Royal Prussia was the particularity of the source material. Without dwelling too much on the issue here, it is enough to say that the database for the region is in many aspects less abundant than for other regions of the Crown. This concerns especially the primary sources, i.e.: the 1570 tax registers; in the light of large portions of data missing, with many settlements omitted, and information being incomplete in general, a need arose to either incorporate data from tax registers for adjacent years or supplement it from other sources. As surviving tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century for Royal Prussia (differently than in the rest of the Crown<sup>10</sup>) featured only a single profile of data, and that largely incomplete, the other sources considered

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<sup>6</sup> The sole attempt at mapping the region for the period was *Mapa heraldyczna Pomorza w XVI w.* by K. Górski, part of the publication *Pomorze w dobie wojny trzynastoletniej*, Poznań 1932, Appendix. A study by E. Bahr, *Die Verwaltungsgebiete Koenigl. Preussen 1454–1772*, Zeitschrift d. Westpr. Geschichtsver., vol. 74, 1938 was more of a compilation of settlement names in accordance with administrative division and land ownership, with no cartographic representation. The popular *Staats- und Verwaltungsgrenzen in Ost-Mitteleuropa*, vol. 2, Munich 1954 by E. Keyser features only a simplified picture of the administrative division of Royal Prussia on a 1:650,000 scale map. A cartographic rendering of the settlement network in Royal Prussia was published by W. Maas, *Zur Siedlungskunde Westpreussens 1466–1772*, Marburg/Lahn 1958 (map: *Besiedlung Westpreussens 1466–1772*, scale 1:300,000). However, this depiction was more of a cross-section, not featuring all settlements, but either newly-emerged ones, or older, inhabited, according to the author, by people of German origin (cf. Biskup's criticism of Maas's publication in: M. Biskup, *Z nowszych prac zachodnioniemieckich nad osadnictwem Prus Królewskich w XVI–XVIII wieku*, PH, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 411–424).

<sup>7</sup> The maps include: M. Biskup, *Mapa rozmieszczenia własności ziemskiej województwa pomorskiego, okręgu bytomskiego i łęborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*; A. Tomczak, *Sieć parafialna województwa pomorskiego, okręgu bytomskiego i łęborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.* in work: *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1955 (RTNT, vol. 58, no. 1); M. Biskup, *Podziały administracyjne województwa chełmińskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, SMDWP, vol. 1, no. 2, 1956, pp. 105–127; idem, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1957 (RTNT, vol. 60, no. 2).

<sup>8</sup> M. Biskup, *Rejestry poborowe województwa chełmińskiego z r. 1570/1*, Toruń 1955 (Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 20), pp. 305–328.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. Rutkowski, *Pańszczyzna i praca najemna w organizacji folwarków królewskich w Prusach za Zygmunta Augusta*, RH, vol. 4, Poznań 1928, pp. 40 f.; lastly A. Mączak, *Folwark pańszczyźniany a wieś w Prusach Królewskich w XVI–XVII w.*, PH, vol. 47, no. 2, 1956, pp. 353 f.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the compilation of tax registers in Mazovia by I. Gieysztorowa, A. Żaboklicka, *Rejestry poborowe Mazowsza z XVI w. Uzasadnienie nowego wydawnictwa źródłowego*, KHKM, vol. 3, 1955, no. 2, pp. 338–355.

in building a more complete depiction of the region included: inspections and inventories of royal demesne (also incomplete), inventories of Church properties, accounting documents for the territories of large towns, etc., or even numerous monographs on particular districts, villages, and towns. The detailed analysis of the database can be found in Chapter *Sources* [II.1.9A, II.2.9A], but it is worth mentioning that this diversity of sources allowed for significant supplementation of the missing data from tax registers. However, sometimes missing information on certain elements for particular territories, especially concerning the territories of large towns, could not be found elsewhere, which resulted in no statistical data and, consequently, no possibility to chart these elements, creating “lacunae” on several thematic maps.

While the source base for Royal Prussia has got its limitations, there are also some strong features worth mentioning, especially in comparison to similar source materials for the rest of the Polish Crown. They include the more precise data concerning some economic aspects, especially the number of settled peasants (*gbur*), or the acknowledgement of the existence (or even the size) of manors for particular types of land ownership. This information facilitated and rendered more precise the research on numerous subjects relating to land ownership and the demographics of Prussia.

The final result is a cross-section of Royal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century, or, more precisely, between 1564 and 1580, with the particular focus on data from 1570 and 1571. This timeline corresponds with the chronology of studies of other regions of the Polish Crown, established by A. Pawiński<sup>11</sup> and considered by most researchers to be the socio-economic peak of the Polish-Lithuanian Renaissance. However, in the case of Royal Prussia, due to the differences in the socio-economic structure of the region, the 1570s were decidedly not the pinnacle of development that they were everywhere else. In fact, the second half of the sixteenth century was a period of intense rebuilding of agriculture in the region after it had suffered heavy war damage in the 15th and the early sixteenth centuries. The later part of the sixteenth century also saw more of the landscape transformed into arable land. Maturing manorialism accompanied the changes in the region, though the systemic changes also had their local spin. The development of manorialism would progress differently than in the other parts of the Crown, while its strong impact and negative consequences would not become salient at this stage.

The culmination of the development of the production forces in Prussia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries would be the so-called Dutch (*Olęder*) colonisation and the so-called second German colonisation. These settlement efforts brought forth widespread forest grubbing, wetland draining, and significant growth in the number of rural settlements, especially in Vistula Pomerania (*Pomorze Nadwiślańskie*) and Żuławy;<sup>12</sup> urban development, especially in the case of Gdańsk, was also affected by these processes. Source materials for the selected time period do not reflect burgeoning changes, save for perhaps capturing the very beginning of their development.

Considering all these factors, the peak economic development of feudal Royal Prussia seems to have occurred later than in the rest of the Crown, with the beginning of the seventeenth century being the earliest estimation and the early 1620s (before the Polish-Swedish War of 1626–1629) the most probable one. This would put the region’s peak productivity a full half a century later than the period chosen for the AHP. As such, the 1570s analysis of the region would not have showcased the maximum potential of the region but was nonetheless chosen out of necessity, as the existing source material would not have allowed for the reconstruction of a later period, *i.e.*: early seventeenth century, save for a few select categories of land ownership, such as royal demesne. As a result, the general picture of Royal Prussia in the age of the Renaissance is, out of necessity, incomplete. Quantitative values, especially where arable land area and demographics are concerned, are lower than they would have been in the age of full prosperity fifty years later; this is key in understanding and interpreting the data presented in the current study, most prominently in the case of demographics.

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<sup>11</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, pp. 12 f.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. Aschkewitz, *Die Bevölkerung im südöstlichen Pommerellen vom 13.–18. Jahrh.*, „Altpreuussische Forschungen”, vol. 19, 1942, p. 166, *passim.*; idem, *Die deutsche Siedlung in Westpreussen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, „Zeitschrift für Ostforschung”, vol. 1, 1952, no. 4, pp. 563 f.; F. Mager, *Geschichte der Landeskultur Westpreussens und des Netzebezirks bis zum Ausgang der polnischen Zeit*, Berlin 1936, pp. 52 f. The most detailed account can be found in W. Maas, *Zur Siedlungskunde Westpreussens*, pp. 21 ff.

When considering the importance of the abovementioned statement, it bears mentioning that the available source material would not allow for the analysis of the region of Warmia, despite it being a part of Royal Prussia. The poor state of surviving sources, as well as the differences between local sources and the rest of the source material for Royal Prussia and the Polish Crown (such as a notable lack of tax registers), has necessitated the marginalisation of the region in the analysis. It remains uncertain whether a similar cross-section study of Warmia for the second half of the sixteenth century would even be possible, with the most promising period being the second half of the seventeenth century.

The regions of Bytów and Łęborg, fiefs of the Pomeranian Dukes until 1637, were also omitted in the Map of Royal Prussia, as the most important issues – data concerning land ownership distribution and the parish network – had already been depicted in maps to the scale of 1:300,000. The physical condition of the source material for the two regions and their differences from the sources on the other regions (the lack of tax registers) did not allow for a comprehensive and comparable analysis of the selected issues in the study.

The entire study consists of the main map (depicting the settlement network), a geomorphological outline, as well as ten thematic maps and their respective commentary. The commentary section consists of both descriptions and statistical tables, which include portions of the socio-economic data, particularly those depicted in cartographic form, aggregated for parishes as basic areal units in each of the three Prussian voivodeships.

The study is the result of many years of interdisciplinary research, combining the historical expertise of Marian Biskup, as well as the geographic knowledge of Lucjan Koc, who prepared the physiographic and geomorphological elements for the entire region with the corresponding passages in the map commentaries, as well as, with great dedication, planimetrically calculated area sizes.

Credit for map drawing, which merits the highest praise by the authors, goes to the invaluable Franciszek Sołtysik. Finally, the authors would like to thank all researchers in the Historical Atlas Department of the Institute of History in Warsaw, especially its head, Professor Stanisław Herbst and Irena Gieysztorowa, for their kind and constant help in the form of consultations and indispensable advice on methodology.

We would also like to extend our gratitude to the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, the State Archive and the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Gdańsk, the Toruń branch of the State Archive in Bydgoszcz, the Diocesan Archives of Gniezno, Olsztyn, and Pelplin, and to the Nicolaus Copernicus Provincial and Municipal Library for their gracious cooperation in making the necessary source materials and maps available for research.

## General remarks<sup>13</sup>

This chapter will focus very generally on the methodology employed in the study, while a more in-depth analysis will be presented in the chapters dealing with particular subjects, further in the text.

The data acquired from the written source for the maps were entered into a catalogue of settlements in Royal Prussia. This catalogue, separate for each voivodeship and district, contained the following information: both sixteenth-century and modern names of settlements, their parish and district affiliation, landlord name, socioeconomic data – such as number of arable and fallow *lans* of land (*lan*, *lany*), number of peasants and farmhands, craftsmen, industrial facilities, etc. – as well as the source of the information. All in all, over 2,000 items are listed in the catalogue.

The information gathered was subsequently compiled into numerical data, which facilitated transformation, precise calculations, as well as translation of the results into the draft maps. A separate catalogue was compiled for the information on noble landlords (*szlachta*), including names and surnames, the settlements they owned, and the district where these settlements were located, character of the settlements, number of *lans*, and amount of taxes paid (which was crucial in classifying the entirety of Prussian nobility and analysing their diversity). This second catalogue incorporated around 1,350 noble landowners and served as the basis for the calculation of arable land owned by individual landlords.

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<sup>13</sup> MRP, pp. 20–22.

Maps elaborated by the Military Geographical Institute of Poland – known as WIG maps – to the scale of 1:500,000 became the basis for the cartographic interpretation of the data. In the early stages, research was also done on 1:100,000 tactical maps, with the data then scaled and generalised onto the scale of 1:500,000 maps. This method was essential in locating particular physiographic elements, administrative borders, land ownership distribution, industrial objects, and various other features.

In the light of the lack of proper contemporaneous cartographic sources, it proved unfeasible to depict the forested areas, the hydrographic network, and communication routes in sixteenth-century Prussia. To compensate, some later maps had to be utilised for this purpose, namely eighteenth-century maps, including the Schrötter Atlas, and modern military maps; the former also became the primary source for the location of meadows, pastures, as well as wetland and bogs.

The above-mentioned physiographic data and cartographic sources served as the basis for delineating the administrative borders in Royal Prussia for voivodeships, districts (or territories), and parishes as the basic, smallest administrative units. These maps, especially the Schrötter Atlas and a modern map with marked districts, could largely be used to delineate voivodeship or district borders while delineating the parish borders was accomplished by interpolation – used widely in historical studies – with the exclusion of cases in which parish borders ran along the borders of larger administrative units or along natural borders. A similar method, utilising results from 1:300,000 analytical maps of Prussian voivodeships,<sup>14</sup> was used to depict individual land ownership complexes.

Due to the lack of reliable data for Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships, it was decided that the Atlas would not feature borders of deaneries; the cited work by A. Tomczak depicts deanery borders in Pomeranian Voivodeship to the scale of 1:300,000.

District and parish border networks (with the exception of the territories of the towns of Elbląg and Gdańsk) became the basis for planimetric calculations, with the results employed in further statistical compilations, particularly area size and demographics. For such calculations, the parish was considered to be the basic administrative unit, with several larger unit exceptions made, when the character of the source material required it, e.g., in case of large urban territories (Gdańsk or Elbląg), larger land ownership complexes (such as the Nowodwór estate in Malbork Voivodeship), or other sizeable land territories (such as one around Tolkmicko). The data from this analysis was then compiled and used to create thematic maps, where, consequently, particular topics were depicted with parishes as the basic cartographic unit.

The results of the statistical compilation of data are included in the tables at the end of the Atlas, along with the commentary. It bears mentioning that only the most important issues were presented on the maps; minor issues were incorporated into the commentary. The text also tackles several matters, which, while they failed to emerge as maps, provide valid inklings into our understanding of some of the internal problems of Royal Prussia. Such practice is justified by the severe lack of historical sources on socioeconomic conditions in Royal Prussia. These include demographics, as well as the agricultural and industrial characteristics of the province. Even by just combing through the entire bulk of pre-existing literature – which in itself almost universally described conditions in royal estates (cf. the works by J. Rutkowski, W. Jakóbczyk, W. Rusiński, and A. Mączak)<sup>15</sup> – unexplored areas of research emerged and some conclusions had to be formed for the very first time, without any solid basis in previous research. This, as previously mentioned, became especially apparent in the case of the demographics of Royal Prussia and the extent of arable land. The authors acknowledge the fact that even though

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<sup>14</sup> For a more in-depth explanation of the method, cf. M. Biskup and A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w., vol. 1: Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej*, Toruń 1955, pp. 16–17. The limitations of this method were outlined by T. Ładogórski in the review of this work in: ZH, vol. 21, no. 3–4, pp. 307–311, suggesting that this delineation could have been based on modern-day gmina borders; however, this does not account for the transformation Royal Prussia underwent during the period of heavy settlement between 1570 and the end of the eighteenth century (as well as nineteenth- and twentieth-century population influx). These processes prompted the emergence of many new settlements, even in the areas which had been settled very early on, such as the Vistula banks and Żuławy in Pomeranian Voivodeship or the eastern part of Chełmno Voivodeship, not to mention forested areas. The increase of the number of settlements in Pomeranian Voivodeship between the sixteenth and eighteenth century was upwards from 50%, based on the data from G. Dabinnus, *Die ländliche Bevölkerung Pommerellens im Jahre 1772 mit Anschluss des Danziger Landgebietes im Jahre 1793*, Marburg 1953. Moreover, some settlements were destroyed in wars in the seventeenth century. These facts could have caused significant changes in the previous shape in settlement borders. As such, adopting the method proposed by T. Ładogórski could only be justified for the state of borders in the eighteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. bibliography.

some of these results might raise controversy and become subject to correction in the future we find them necessary to further explore the matter at hand. Compiling the Map of Royal Prussia meant both elements of detailed analysis, as well as a holistic synthesis needed to be considered, which always carries the risk of some premature generalisations. The commentary points to several areas requiring further research that could help consolidate and confirm particular conclusions and data compilations.

Settlement locations were based on the results already obtained from 1:300,000 land ownership maps. Minor supplementation for the rural settlements in Pomeranian Voivodeship was provided in chapters on the settlement. However, it bears mentioning that auxiliary research revealed nine further rural settlements in Pomerania,<sup>16</sup> which brings the number of unidentified settlements in this voivodeship down to twenty; the number of unidentified settlements remains unchanged for Chełmno Voivodeship (twenty-one) and Malbork Voivodeship (four).

Rural and urban settlement names were universally listed in their modern forms (based on the data by S. Rospond for the Recovered Territories<sup>17</sup>) due to the specific, mixed, Polish-German (and to some extent Old Prussian) character of place names in the region of Royal Prussia. The characteristic sixteenth-century form of the name was only provided (in brackets) in the case of towns. Some pre-1939 parish settlement names are listed in the tables at the end of the Atlas.

The technical aspect of elaboration of the Map of Royal Prussia was based on the one employed by the authors of *Województwo płockie około 1578 r.* (AHP 1958), following their model of the legend, though supplementing it with some additional symbols.

Due to the scale of the Map of Royal Prussia, rural settlement names only mark parochial seats, while other minor settlements are marked with black dots. Their names, however, can be easily identifiable with the use of the aforementioned 1:300,000 land ownership and parish maps for Prussian voivodeships.

On the thematic maps, individual parishes (or similar large territorial units) were marked with numbers from one to 356, corresponding to the list in the Appendix.

## Thematic maps<sup>18</sup>

The second part of the MRP consists of 10 thematic maps, which – together with a few smaller charts and sketches – highlight the most important economic and social problems of sixteenth century Prussia. The most important elements of the main map, i.e., the borders of parishes, districts and voivodeships, as well as the hydrography, served as the base maps for the preparation of the thematic maps in the 1:500,000 scale. Most of the statistical calculations were performed on a parish scale and maps for districts were additionally prepared only with regard to demographic issues.

The elaborated thematic maps can be divided into two larger groups:

- I. Maps 1–2, highlighting the problems of arable land, soil and land ownership.
- II. Maps 3–10, illustrating the problems of demographics and rural craftwork as comprehensively as possible.

The cartographic presentation of significant and wide problems of the arable land and demography of Prussia required a thorough statistical study, especially in the absence of studies on these issues. Therefore, in the commentary, a lot of space had to be devoted to the presentation of the calculation methods and their results in the form of tables, presenting the entirety of the problem. For these reasons, it was decided to present a map on land ownership first due to the close connection of this problem with the issue of arable land.

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, pp. 18, 81 f. The following settlements have been located: Brody (Tczew district); Kałdowo (Tuchola district); Kowalikowo (Tczew district); Lisewo (Gdańsk district); Pądzienca (Tuchola district); Pucka Wieś (Puck district); Schirschaw (territory of the town of Gdańsk); Westkrug (Gdańsk district), and Węglino (Puck district). In a few cases, the location of known settlements was adjusted, such as Chylonia and Cisowa (Pomeranian Voivodeship) based on a more accurate topographic analysis. Parochial borders in Chełmno Voivodeship and the districts of Pomeranian Voivodeship underwent minor corrections, based on the evidence from improved knowledge of full vegetation cover.

<sup>17</sup> S. Rospond, *Słownik nazw geograficznych Polski zachodniej i północnej*, vol. 1–2, Wrocław 1951.

<sup>18</sup> MRP, p. 38.

## I.2.9b INTRODUCTION TO THE SUPPLEMENT: ROYAL PRUSSIA, PART 2 (2021)

*Marek Słoń*

The Atlas of Royal Prussia, compiled by Marian Biskup in a collaboration with Lucjan Koc, was published in 1961.<sup>1</sup> At that time, within the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences which was the driving force behind this publication, the Historical Atlas Department had already been established. Earlier, it was decided that the cartographic study of the Crown would concern the second half of the sixteenth century, in accordance with the original concept of Stanisław Smolka,<sup>2</sup> and contrary to the position supported by the Cracow centre in the interwar period. The series of atlases of the eighteenth century, which began with the edition of *the Map of the Kraków Voivodeship in the period of the Four Years' Sejm (1788-1792)*,<sup>3</sup> lost its priority, mainly due to the destruction of the most valuable archival sources for that period in the war efforts.<sup>4</sup>

Upon the decision being made, there was no program of detailed maps of the sixteenth century, so the pilot volume of Płock was aimed at collecting some “experience in generalization to the overview scale”.<sup>5</sup> A breakthrough came with the conference in 1964, during which the arguments for the cartographic reconstruction of the full settlement network prevailed.<sup>6</sup> The Lublin volume, which had been nearly completed at that point, was hastily and almost entirely adapted to the newly assumed requirements. However, this could not be done for the atlas of Royal Prussia, which had already appeared in print in 1961.

In 2015, the Department of Historical Atlas was preparing an application for funding the last works on the series under the National Program for the Development of Humanities (*Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki*). According to the original assumptions, it was supposed to cover all the lands of the Crown of Poland. While it was clear that this excluded Lithuania and the Ruthenian lands annexed in 1569,<sup>7</sup> the status of Royal Prussia was unclear. What provoked doubts, however, was not so much the Polish character of the lands as the state of the sources covering the area and the possibility of seamless integration with the entire series. The Prussian volume itself was not included among the publications containing the detailed maps, but only the overview maps to the scale of 1:500,000. This meant, first of all, the lack of data for each settlement separately, which, indeed, lay at the foundation of the whole series. On the other hand, the atlas prepared by Marian Biskup referred to some external

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<sup>1</sup> MRP.

<sup>2</sup> *Pamiętnik Pierwszego Zjazdu Historycznego Polskiego imienia Jana Długosza, odbytego w Krakowie w czterechsetną rocznicę jego śmierci*, publ. M. Bobrzyński, M. Sokołowski, Cracow 1881 (*Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 6), pp. 133–139; Stanisław Smolka, *O przygotowawczych pracach do geografii historycznej Polski* (comp. J. Kurowiak, intro. M. Filipowicz), SG, vol. 1, 2013, pp. 7–13.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlas historyczny Polski. Seria A: Mapy szczegółowe*, vol. 1, *Mapa województwa krakowskiego z doby Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788–1792)*, under supervision of. W. Semkowicz, comp. K. Buczek, Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa [et al.], Cracow 1930; *Źródła i metoda*, comp. K. Buczek, Cracow 1930. In addition: Cracow city plan from 1788–1792 with explanations of T. Czort.

<sup>4</sup> S. Herbst, *Prace nad polskim Atlasem Historycznym*, KH, vol. 60, 1953, no. 3, pp. 329–334; H. Rutkowski, *Atlas historyczny Polski*, [in:] *Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie. Sto lat działalności*, ed. E. Wolniewicz-Pawłowska, W. Zych, Warsaw 2009, pp. 121–122; B. Konopska, *Polskie atlasy historyczne. Koncepcje i realizacje*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 128–132.

<sup>5</sup> S. Herbst, *Prace nad polskim Atlasem*, p. 332; WP.

<sup>6</sup> W. Pałucki, *Foreword*, [in:] AHP Lublin, I.1.3 in this edition.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

sources containing these data and even their cartographic representation.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, for the largest of the voivodeships, there was a much newer and more complete study by Krzysztof Mikulski.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, I asked him if he would be willing to take part in the project and prepare a new atlas of Royal Prussia with a detailed map and a source edition modelled on the Greater Poland volume. He agreed and devoted himself to that purpose, taking a part-time job for the five following years.

There were no doubts what the requirements of the series of detailed maps were and what was missing in the 1961 edition. Apart from the map to the scale of 1:250,000 with the location, names, legal status, size and ownership affiliation of each settlement, there were several issues to cover. There was no chapter on the names of these settlements, as they had been absent in the original atlas published by M. Biskup. The commentary on the road network included in the 1961 edition and their presentation on the map also needed to be supplemented.<sup>10</sup> Mid-level Church organisation and administrative units between the parish and the diocese, as well as their cartographic presentation and textual commentary were also missing. Similarly, it was necessary to recreate the coats of arms, thoroughly documenting the process with accompanying text. This, in turn, was related to the greatest lack in terms of quantity: the chapters of development of town plans with an extensive commentary. Certainly, it had to include the capitals of the voivodeships, i.e., Chełmno and Malbork, and it seemed obvious to include also other large towns in this area: mainly Gdańsk, but also Toruń and Elbląg. Already in the first talks, we deemed it important to develop an overview map of Protestant churches and a chapter on the subject. It was obvious that some of these tasks had to be elaborated by people outside of the team, specialising in particular topics, namely the history of the towns, apart from Toruń, and names, which definitely had to be prepared by a linguist. The final form of the publication and its relation to the atlas of 1961 were to be shaped in the course of the project.

Ultimately, the minimum plan was implemented, consisting in publishing a supplement with only necessary supplements. Krzysztof Mikulski played an important role in the elaboration of the main map, settling factual doubts and supporting the team with his advice at each stage of works. He had a significant contribution to the preparation of the edition of the tax registers, serving as an addition to the AHP series. The editing of the text rested on the undersigned, and the cartographic part on Tomasz Panecki. Henryk Rutkowski as the editor of the series was of great help in both tasks. He read all the chapters and maps carefully, providing detailed comments on them.

Much of the historical work was commissioned outside, while most of the mapping was done by the Atlas team. Only the change of the scale of the main map from 1:500,000 to twice as large, using the index of towns and various cartographic sources, was commissioned outside, selecting the contractor in a tender procedure. Eventually, the map was prepared by Piotr Kann under the supervision of Krzysztof Mikulski and Tomasz Panecki. It served as a base map for elaboration of overview maps of administrative boundaries, ownership divisions, and roads, created by Katarzyna Słomska-Przech. As far as the new chapters are concerned, Tomasz Związek re-analysed the road network of Royal Prussia, supplementing and correcting the findings of Marian Biskup on the basis of sources from the sixteenth century, which is documented in a short commentary. Tomasz Nowicki is the author of an extensive chapter on Church boundaries. The major part of the book consists of the texts about the towns of Gdańsk, Elbląg, Chełmno, and Malbork. This is a result of their maps being created from scratch, and not only being an extension of Marian Biskup work. They were given such a prominent place partly because of the overall circumstances this volume was prepared in. However, this also corresponds to the role that the towns played in the life of Royal Prussia. This book is a supplement to Marian Biskup's publication, but also an important voice in the scientific discussion on the reconstruction of the space and layout of selected towns of the Crown in the second half of the sixteenth century, which would not be complete without the Prussian towns. The plans of these towns were elaborated by Dawid

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<sup>8</sup> M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w. Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej, sieć parafialna*, Toruń 1955; Biskup M., *Podziały administracyjne województwa chełmińskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, SMDWP, vol. 1, 1956, no. 2, p. 105–127; idem, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w. (mapa i materiały)*, Toruń 1957 (RTNT, vol. 60, no. 2).

<sup>9</sup> K. Mikulski, *Osadnictwo wiejskie województwa pomorskiego od połowy XVI do końca XVII wieku*, Toruń 1994 (RTNT, vol. 86, no. 2).

<sup>10</sup> The roads were to be elaborated according to the their "course at the end of the eighteenth century", S. Herbst, *Prace nad polskim Atlasem*, p. 332; cf. H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, III.5.7. in this edition.

Maciuszek under the supervision of the authors of individual chapters. Finally, I would like to hereby express my gratitude to the members of the Atlas team who coordinated the work on individual centres: Arkadiusz Borek for Malbork and Anna P. Orłowska for Chełmno.

The heart of each volume of the AHP is the overview map to the scale of 1:250,000, while the commentary constitutes its documentation. Research work usually focused on the source query aimed at reconstructing the settlement network. Here, the main work was done during the preparations for the 1961 edition, although its results were not comprehensively presented in one volume, but in a series of articles, of which the AHP was a summary. These data were the starting point for the database and index of the settlements in the Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships. For Pomeranian Voivodeship, such a role was played by Krzysztof Mikulski's study from 1994. Sources were continuously consulted and information acquired from them was verified. This pertained to the tax registers from the second part of the sixteenth century and royal inspections, particularly the oldest ones, though the later, eighteenth century inspections were also consulted. The names on the map were investigated and corrected by Paweł Swoboda using the toponymic and onomastic data, including the sources collected at the Institute of Polish Language of the Polish Academy of Sciences; he therefore, played an instrumental role in the elaboration of the main map. The cases which provoked doubts were settled by Krzysztof Mikulski. The reconstruction of the settlement network published in this volume is therefore neither a compilation that merely repeats the findings of the literature to date, nor a completely new, comprehensive study of the topic with the use of a full source query.

The main overview map as well as the town maps meet all the requirements of the series. Thanks to this, they can be combined with its other volumes into a uniform database and their coherent cartographic presentation. The commentary, on the other hand, even though it contains the required elements, is in many respects lacking in form. The venture to rewrite the 1961 chapters or extend them with new content proved unsuccessful. Only the parts missing from the 1961 edition were elaborated anew. Thus, the resulting volume is both a separate publication and a partially dependent one. It is only in juxtaposition with M. Biskup's atlas that the commentary can be called comprehensive. So, it can be understood as a supplement to that publication and it cannot be rightly called a ninth volume of the series of detailed maps of the sixteenth century. The two elements together, however, constitute a sort of an addendum to the series. They will be published later this year alongside other volumes in a joint edition in Polish and English. Its layout is the same as the first five volumes from 2014,<sup>11</sup> i.e., ordered according to the topics, not the lands they pertain to. It is only in this edition that the old commentary on the roads in Royal Prussia, written by M. Biskup, and the new one by T. Związek, will be published side-by-side as well as the other, new chapters of this volume, together with those from the 1961 edition. That is why we decided to forego reprinting the older version of the atlas. Thus, we hereby present only the new chapters and maps.

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>11</sup> *Historical Atlas of Poland in the 2nd Half of the 16th Century. Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Rawa, Płock and Mazovia*, ed. M. Słoń, Frankfurt am Main 2014 (Geschichte, Erinnerung, Politik, vol. 6).

## II. SOURCES

### II.1 WRITTEN SOURCES

#### II.1.12357 VOIVODESHIPS OF LUBLIN, MAZOVIA, RAWA, PŁOCK, SANDOMIERZ, ŁĘCZYCA, SIERADZ AND CRACOW

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

The following is a description of various types of source listed according to the hierarchy of their usefulness in terms of cartographic works on the Voivodeships of Lublin, Mazovia, Rawa, Płock, Sandomierz, Łęczyca, Sieradz and Cracow in the second half of the sixteenth century. At present, our stock of available historical sources is much poorer than it was prior to 1944, mostly because of war damage to the Warsaw archives.<sup>1</sup>

Tax registers, i.e. the records of payments of the extraordinary land tax decreed by the Sejm of the Republic for military purposes, formed the main source basis for the maps in the series of 'Detailed maps of the sixteenth century'. The tax was paid by all villages and towns, and each district had separate registers prepared by the collectors and their chancelleries. In the second half of the sixteenth century the tax was levied not only on country and town arable lands (measured in *lans*, Polish: 'łan', so the tax was also called 'łanowy') except for demesnes, but also on smallholders ('hortulani') and landless peasants, artisans, traders and inns, mills, windmills, ironworks, sawmills and fulleries; additionally, another tax, called 'szos', was in force in towns, imposed on owners of property, as well as the liquor excise tax, the so-called 'czopowe', paid for the production and sale of alcohol, depending on the type and quality of liquor.

The collectors aimed at recording the taxpayers' names and the sums they paid, hence the precision with which the base and rate of the tax were registered. They based collections on tax proclamations,<sup>2</sup> enacted by the *Sejm*, in which the base and rate of the taxation were determined.<sup>3</sup>

The smallest unit of the administrative division of Poland was the district, and as such for practical reasons the collectors used the smallest units of Church division, namely parishes. The officials did not require a precise representation of the parochial affiliation of settlements. For that reason, and because newly-founded parishes were often included in the registers much later and royal and Church settlements were sometimes recorded without their affiliation, tax registers cannot be considered a fully reliable source for determining parochial affiliation of settlements.

When the collectors delivered the payments to the treasurer's office, the registers only served as appendices, and their fair copies were sometimes used as a reference. The next collection would be based on copies and drafts of the registers. Therefore, the collectors and scribes did not pay as much attention to the spelling of site names or their proper administrative affiliation as some scholars seem to ascribe to this type of source.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Karwasińska, *Archiwa skarbowe dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* and A. Wolff, *Akta partykularne przedzoborowe Archiwum Głównego 1381–1835*, [in:] *Straty Archiwów*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1957, pp. 70–125, 194, 200 f., 203–205, 208; Especially when one compares the lists provided by A. Stebelski and A. Bachulski with the data from S. Płaza's study (A. Stebelski, *Źródła do dziejów ziemi kieleckiej, radomskiej, sandomierskiej w Archiwum Głównym w Warszawie*, [in:] *Pamiętnik Świętokrzyski 1930*, ed. A. Patkowski, Kielce 1931, pp. 294–302; A. Bachulski, *Archiwalia do historii województwa kieleckiego w Archiwum Skarbowym*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 303–308; S. Płaza, *Źródła rękopiśmienne do dziejów wsi w Polsce feudalnej. Studium archiwoznawcze*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 28–29, 81, 233, 323).

<sup>2</sup> Announcement on behalf of the king concerning taxes addressed to the citizens.

<sup>3</sup> Sixteenth century tax proclamations from 1507–1526 in *Cor.ius.Pol.*, vol. III–IV and in *Vol. Cons. Part 1*, vol. 1, from 1527–1598 in *Vol. Cons. Part 1*, vol.2, Part 2, vol. 1–2.

Tax registers kept in Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych; Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, Oddział I, Rejestry poborowe) were listed in detailed inventories prepared by AGAD and available in the reading room of the Archives. The index card inventory was kept in the Department of the Historical Atlas of Poland of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and in general the Guide to the Archival Collection.<sup>4</sup> The registers available for Mazovia were described by I. Gieysztorowa.<sup>5</sup>

Tax registers have been used for more than a century by several generations of historians, and yet they have not been subject to broader critical judgment. However, their reliability has been criticized by scholars who noted various instances of abuse on the side of the owners and collectors, differing scientific value of particular registers depending on the year they were recorded, omitted settlements, the introduction of the lump tax in 1578, and the problems the collectors had with registering settlements of petty gentry.<sup>6</sup>

Demesnes and newly-founded settlements were not included in the registers as they were not subject to taxation. The tax for villages which belonged to towns was often paid together with the town and the name of the village was not recorded, just as in the case of settlements and hamlets which had their own name but were registered with the main village. Because of the above, the tax registers fail to provide a complete record of settlements which had their own individual name. The collector usually did not care who paid the tax – the owner or the leaseholder – so the registers are not a reliable base for determining the ownership affiliation of settlements.

Tax registers allowed us to reconstruct the sixteenth century settlement, i.e. to identify, localize and determine the names of settlements and their character.

Not all tax registers are of equal scholarly value. The most reliable ones, when it comes to data on the taxation base, are the registers from the years in which the tax was collected not according to the so-called 'old bills' but basing on the then-current declaration of the taxpayers, i.e. from the years of tax reforms (around 1530, 1552, 1563, 1578). The registers from the years directly prior to the reforms have the smallest value for us.<sup>7</sup> Because of the uncommon settlement development of the northern Mazovia between the 1530s and 1560s<sup>8</sup> (especially of farm gentry), clearly evident from summary registers, the reconstruction of the settlement and administrative division of these lands was much more difficult than was the case of southern Mazovia.

Even the most efficient collection did not ensure that all settlements, or all taxed elements, were included in the register from a given year, as the villages often consisted of over a dozen parcels of farm gentry (i.e. serfless gentry which had no serfs and had to cultivate land with the help of their servants). On the other hand, the registers from years with less income sometimes contained different site names, administrative affiliation or higher tax sums of certain settlements. As such, while working on the maps of subsequent voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century we decided to use (sometimes without indicating it) all registers from 1552–1591 kept in the Central Archives, of which

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<sup>4</sup> See *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zespołach. 1. Archiwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J. Karwasińska, Warsaw–Łódź 1975, pp. 63–69. Over 150 books, several hundred bound sheets from the second half of the eighteenth century, usually in chronological and territorial order, with many undated fragments of various origin. The size of this collection and the disarray made it difficult to gain a complete orientation in the state of the sources.

<sup>5</sup> The list of some 300 registers from the sixteenth century Mazovia was provided by I. Gieysztorowa (I. Gieysztorowa, *Mazowieckie akta skarbowe XV–XVII w.*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia Archiwum Głównego w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1958, pp. 209–217).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. I. Gieysztorowa, A. Żaboklicka, *Rejestry poborowe Mazowsza XVI w.*, KHKM, vol. 3, 1955, p. 338; K. Górską, *Przyczynek do krytyki rejestrów poborowych z XVI w.*, *SŻ*, vol. 1, 1957, pp. 188 f.; I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła i szacunki w badaniach osadnictwa i demografii Polski XVI i XVII w.*, KHKM, vol. 10, 1962, pp. 576–584, *ibidem* earlier studies in bibliography; P. Szafran, *Inwentarze czy rejestry poborowe*, *ZH*, vol. 31, 1966, no. 1, pp. 53–69; Z. Guidon, *Uwagi w sprawie przydatności badawczej rejestrów poborowych z XVI w.*, *ZH*, vol. 31, 1966, no. 1, pp. 73–79; Z. Guidon, K. Wajda, *Źródła statystyczne do dziejów Pomorza Wschodniego i Kujaw od XVI do początków XX w.*, Toruń 1970, pp. 15 f. To 'Egzorbitancje poborowe' found by K. Górską, *Przyczynek do krytyki rejestrów poborowych*, pp. 188–189, we could add M. Rey's anecdote about a vogt and a collector: *Dawna facecja polska*, comp. J. Krzyżanowski, K. Żukowska-Billip, Warsaw 1960, pp. 62 f.

<sup>7</sup> A. Wyczański, *Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim w Polsce w latach 1500–1560*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 45 f.; I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła i szacunki w badaniach osadnictwa i demografii Polski*, pp. 577–579.

<sup>8</sup> See I. Gieysztorowa, *Zmiany gospodarczo-społeczne wsi mazowieckiej w XVI w. w świetle summariuszy poborowych*, *PH*, vol. 49, 1958, p. 248.

only a few were published by A. Pawiński,<sup>9</sup> as well as the registers from Cracow Voivodeship from 1593 and 1595 kept in the Jagiellonian Library and the Library of the Princes Czartoryski in Cracow.<sup>10</sup> The registers from the first half of the sixteenth century were used only for comparison, or played an auxiliary role. We generally based on the registers from 1552–1595. We collated the registers published by A. Pawiński with the base of the edition, and found certain omissions and errors occurring at varying frequency (the most numerous in the volume dedicated to Mazovia).

Of the four surviving registers for Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century only one, from 1564, encompasses the entire voivodeship.<sup>11</sup> The registers from 1552 and 1580 include only Łuków land,<sup>12</sup> and the one from 1563 – the districts of Lublin and Urzędów.<sup>13</sup>

Quite a few registers from the second half of the sixteenth century survived for the three Mazovian Voivodeships (Płock, Rawa and Mazovian). In case of Płock Voivodeship, numerous registers (1552, 1563–1565, 1567, 1573, 1576–1583) encompass the entire voivodeship.<sup>14</sup> In the case of Mazovian Voivodeship there is no one register which would cover the entire territory in one year. Mazovian Voivodeship was divided into ten lands. Seven were included in the registers from 1563, 1569, 1577, six – in the 1576 register, five – in the registers from 1552, 1578, 1579. The latest register from 1591 does not contain Rawa Voivodeship and includes only three lands from Mazovian Voivodeship.<sup>15</sup>

There is no register for Sandomierz Voivodeship which would include all districts in the second half of the sixteenth century. The registers from 1577 (Stężyca district missing)<sup>16</sup> and 1576 (Chęciny and Opoczno districts missing)<sup>17</sup> are the most complete. Other registers (1569, 1573, 1579, 1581, 1591) encompass two or three districts, and the 1578 register – only Sandomierz district. We should also note that the number of surviving registers is different for each district.<sup>18</sup>

This could not be said of the registers of Łęczyca Voivodeship, as the registers from 1552, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1573, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1590 each cover the entire voivodeship,<sup>19</sup> or similarly of the registers of Sieradz Voivodeship from 1553, 1563, 1564,<sup>20</sup> while the registers from 1552 and 1576 lack only Ostrzeszów district. The register from 1565 includes the districts of: Sieradz, Szadek, Piotrków, and the register from 1577 – of Piotrków, Radomsko and Wieluń.<sup>21</sup>

All districts of Cracow Voivodeship were included in as many as eleven registers from the second half of the sixteenth century (1563/64, 1565, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1588, 1589, 1593 and 1595).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> In subsequent volumes of *Polska XVI* (see the abbreviation list in: P. Małopolska, P. Mazowsze, P. Prusy Królewskie, P. Wielkopolska).

<sup>10</sup> Lib. Jag. MS 5043, ff. 1–318; Rej. pob. 1595, ff. 1–317.

<sup>11</sup> ASK I, 33, ff. 459–510, 600–619.

<sup>12</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 3, pp. 390–404, 408–431.

<sup>13</sup> ASK I, 33, ff. 467–488.

<sup>14</sup> ASK I 41,573–721 (1552), 43, 60–156 (1563), 42, ff. 17–90, 43, 157–203 (1564), 43, 204–378 (1567), 42, 288–460 (1576), 42, 465–532 (1577), 42, 644–847 (1578), 42, 1–98, 944–1054, 51, 1–13 (1579), 44, 99–177 (1580), 44, 458–647 (1581), 44, 662–847 (1582), 44, 288–448 (1583).

<sup>15</sup> ASK I, 48, 303–350, 49, 144–171, 22, 242–262 (1563), 48, 450–478, 49, 172–183, 48, 479–508 (1567), 49, 51, 143–168 (1579–1582).

<sup>16</sup> ASK I, 7, 520–612, 9, 227–393, 8, 660–740.

<sup>17</sup> ASK I, 51, 780–835.

<sup>18</sup> Districts of Sandomierz and Wiślica – 7, Pilzno – 5, Radom – 3, Chęciny and Stężyca – 2, Opoczno – 1.

<sup>19</sup> ASK I, 14, ff. 369–430 (1552), 16, ff. 1–91 (1563), 120–316 (1564), 324–482 (1565), 515–661 (1573), I, 15, ff. 20–159 (1576 – published P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, pp. 49–153), 160–212 (1577), 213–406 (1580), 460–653 (1581), 654–783 (1582), 784–887 (1583), I, 14, 664–850v (1590). Some registers are undated.

<sup>20</sup> ASK I, 26, ff. 337–442, published by Pawiński (P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, pp. 214–307), ASK I, 26, ff. 437–601 (1563), I, 25, ff. 599–798v, (1564).

<sup>21</sup> ASK I, 26, ff. 129–235 (1552), published by Pawiński (P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, pp. 228–307), I, 26, ff. 798–866 (1576 – district of: Sieradz, Szadek, Piotrków, Radomsko); I, 24, ff. 764–777v. (1576 – Wieluń district); I, 26, ff. 609–748 v.(1565); I, 25, ff. 253–275 (1577 – Piotrków district), I, 24, ff. 780–796v. (1577 – Wieluń district); I, 25, ff. 800–820 (1577 – Radomsko district).

<sup>22</sup> ASK I, 93, ff. 1–234 (1563/64), 97, ff. 1–174 (1565), 114, ff. 1–256 (1576), 117, ff. 1–270 (1577), 119, ff. 1–338 (1580), P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 2–262 (1581), I, 125, ff. 1–322 (1582), 126, ff. 1–414 (1588), 127, ff. 1–252 (1589), Jag. Lib. MS. 5043, ff. 1–319 (1593), Czart. Lib., MS. 329, ff. 1–317 (1595).

In tax registers from the Voivodeships of Lublin, Mazovia, Rawa and Łęczyca villages inhabited by farm gentry, i.e. serfless gentry (*nobilium cmethones non habentium*) were recorded in separate lists.<sup>23</sup>

We also used lists of property (the so-called 'rekognicje'), which were relatively frequent for Mazovia and rare in case of the Voivodeships of Łęczyca and Sieradz.<sup>24</sup> As there are many surviving registers of Cracow Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century, the lists of property were used only exceptionally here.

We also used special tax registers encompassing only royal and Church estates. In the case of Płock Voivodeship this means the 1570 register, which covers the entire voivodeship, in the case of Rawa Voivodeship – the register of royal estates from the same year which covered only Rawa land, in the case of Mazovian Voivodeship – the register covered the lands of Czersk, Warsaw, Wyszogród, Zakroczym, Wizna and Łomża.<sup>25</sup> For Sandomierz Voivodeship such registers survived from 1569 and 1571 and encompassed Church estates in the entire voivodeship, except for Stężyca district.<sup>26</sup> For Cracow Voivodeship we used the list of Church property from 1570 covering the entire voivodeship.<sup>27</sup> We do not know the basis of taxation from 1569, in all other years this was the proclamation from 10 July 1570 which contained this requirement.<sup>28</sup>

The registers of the taxation of estates located in the district of Pilzno and Chęciny in Sandomierz Voivodeship, published by A. Pawiński (with errors and omissions), are particularly valuable. The dates on these lists (Pilzno district – 1536, Chęciny district – 1540) – entered by a later hand than the one which made them – was determined by W. Pałucki at 1527–1530.<sup>29</sup> Their value comes from the fact that the lists include all details concerning the income from the villages described by their owners, so they offer us more information than the land tax registers. The parochial division recorded in the two lists is almost identical with the one found in Church sources.

As assumed, there was no source query in the sixteenth century court books for this series of the Historical Atlas of Poland. While working on the map of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships we did not search the so-called Pstrokoński's Files.<sup>30</sup>

Bishops' visitations of parishes in each diocese constituted our second basic source. The visitations were conducted by virtue of the resolutions passed at the Council of Trent from the end of the sixteenth century and they listed, among others, all settlements belonging to a given parish.<sup>31</sup> The visitations allowed us to establish the parochial affiliation of settlements, reconstruct the borders of higher-rank units of Church administration and provided data on settlements which for various reasons did not appear in the registers, as well as on the affiliation of settlements to some of the categories of

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<sup>23</sup> Expressions found in the sources: 'nobiles kmethones non habentes', 'nobiles pauperes qui cmethones (colonos) non habent', 'nobiles propriae culturae suae', 'regestrum nobilium et advocatorum a se solvencium, cmethonibus carencium', 'mansorum praedialium'.

<sup>24</sup> 'Rekognicja' is a taxpayer's statement which mentions the taxation base and sum, authenticated by the taxpayer with this signet seal. Mazovian statements were put together by Gieysztorowa 1958a (table after p. 216); In ASK I, 25 there is the statements book of Piotrków district from 1552 (b. 305–346v) and for Radomsko district, from the same year (k. 557–582v).

<sup>25</sup> ASK I, 42, ff. 257–284, P. p. 126–133 (Płock Voivodeship), ASK I 49, ff. 140, 316–318 (Rawa land), 27, ff. 84–104, 69–81 (lands of Warsaw and Czersk), 43, ff. 745–747, 750–752 (lands of Wyszogród and Zakroczym), 38, ff. 632–659 (lands of Wizna and Łomża).

<sup>26</sup> ASK I, 7, ff. 391–517 (1569), ff. 252–290 (1571).

<sup>27</sup> ASK I, 102, ff. 1–144, 109, ff. 1–274.

<sup>28</sup> Universales literae contributionum publicarum, MK 109, ff. 204–220, the same proclamation in Polish, MK 108, ff. 266v–274; Karbownik 1980, pp. 110 f.

<sup>29</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 491–556, 557–589, signatures of the source base given by Pawiński are not up-to-date. The register of Pilzno district is in ASK, LIV, 12, ff. 1–72, and of Chęciny district in ASK I, 9, ff. 725–757. These registers were the base for the unpublished studies by W. Zaklika: W. Zaklika, *Struktura społeczno-gospodarcza pow. pilzneńskiego w XVI w.* (Rzeszów 1957), MS IH PAN, no. 16; idem, *Powiat chęciński w XVI w. pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym* (Rzeszów 1959), MS IH PAN, no. 26; W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1974, pp. 259 f.

<sup>30</sup> Library of the Princes Czartoryski, MS 3260–3380. Concerning the contents of these files: Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 29 f. We did not use also: J. Kobierzycki, *Przyczynki do dziejów ziemi sieradzkiej*, vol. 1–2, Warsaw 1915–1916, because the source data published there was not much useful to our purpose.

<sup>31</sup> About the state of the visitation and its scholarly value see S. Litak, *Akta wizytacyjne parafii z XVI–XVIII wieku jako źródło historyczne*, „Zeszyty Naukowe KUL”, vol. 5, 1962, no. 3, pp. 39–58; B. Kumor, *Przedzoborowe wizytacje kościelne jako źródło demograficzne*, PDP, vol. 2, 1969, pp. 8–11; *Akta wizytacji generalnej diecezji inflanckiej i kurlandzkiej czyli piltyńskiej*, ed. S. Litak, Toruń 1998, pp. XIII–XXIV; S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospoliej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne, edukacyjne*, Lublin 2004, pp. 29–31.

Church property and on the nomenclature. The most valuable were the visitations conducted still in the sixteenth century – unfortunately some dioceses began to fulfil this duty only at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and not all protocols of some of the earliest visitations survived. Information gaps caused by the Reformation or loss of documents were filled with data from other Church sources, and sometimes from tax registers.

During our work on the map of Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century, which belonged to Cracow diocese, we used the summary of the visitation of this diocese from 1595–1611.<sup>32</sup>

Mazovia lay inside the borders of three dioceses: Płock, Poznań and Gniezno. When it comes to Płock diocese encompassing northern Mazovia, we used the visitation of Płock archdeaconry and several parishes of Pułtusk archdeaconry from 1598–1602,<sup>33</sup> the visitation of the deaneries of Ciechanów, Łomża, Wizna, Wyszaków, Czerwińsk and Gostynin from 1609,<sup>34</sup> for the remaining deaneries – later visitations from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, of which the visitation conducted in 1711 proved particularly valuable as it contained added documents on the foundation of the parishes from the fifteenth and sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup> We also used other materials of Church origin. The southern part of Mazovian Voivodeship lay in Warsaw archdeaconry, which belonged to Poznań diocese. We used the visitation of this archdeaconry from 1598–1603 and the register of the collection of tax from the clergy of this archdeaconry from 1561.<sup>36</sup> In the case of the Mazovian part of Gniezno diocese (Łowicz archdeaconry) we used Jan Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum* from the second decade of the sixteenth century and J. Warężak's *Słownik* based on vast, scattered archival material.<sup>37</sup> *Liber beneficiorum* provided us with much valuable information about villages which do not appear, or appear sporadically, in the sixteenth century tax registers.

While working on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship, which belonged mostly to the diocese of Cracow, and also the diocese of Gniezno (Kurzelów archdeaconry), we used fragments of the 1565 visitation of Cracow diocese, which covered over a dozen parishes of the voivodeship,<sup>38</sup> but mostly the visitations of individual deaneries from 1592–1604. We used extracts from these visitations made by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa for the Committee of the Historical Atlas of Poland of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Interwar Period and by S. Kuraś after the Second World War or the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Poland in the Middle Ages ('Słownik Historyczno-Geograficzny Polski Średniowiecznej'),<sup>39</sup> sometimes resorting to the originals kept in the Archives of the Metropolitan Cathedral Chapter in Cracow.<sup>40</sup> We also used the compendium of the documents of visitation of Cracow diocese from 1595–1611 which also contains the visitation of particular deaneries from

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<sup>32</sup> Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej Krakowskiej, Wizytacje, no. 65.

<sup>33</sup> Archidiaconatus Plocensis; we also used a fragment of the visitation of churches in Łomża and Wizna deaneries from 1598, *ibidem*, no. 8, ff. 301–394v.

<sup>34</sup> Visitations from the south-eastern part of Pułtusk archdeaconry are in the poorest state, this means the deaneries of: Wyszaków, Nur, and Stanisławów. For Pułtusk archdeaconry and Płock deanery we used parochial visitations from 1609: of Ciechanów deanery (Arch. Diec. Płoc. No. 11, ff. 220–280v), of Łomża deanery (no. 14, ff. 135–225), of Wizna deanery (no. 14, ff. 225–260), of Wyszaków deanery (no. 11, ff. 1–50), of Czerwińsko deanery (no. 9, ff. 88–118v), and of Gostynin deanery (no. 9, ff. 248–341).

<sup>35</sup> We used parochial visitation from 1693–1697 for the following deaneries: of Łomża, Wizna, Wąsosz, Nur, Andrzejów and Radzymin (Arch. Diec. Ploc. no. 47: Acta visitationis generalis in dioecesi Plocensi ...) with some help from the visitation from 1711 (no. 252).

<sup>36</sup> Visitations of Warsaw archdeaconry 1598–1603. They were used by Nowacki 1964, pp. 505 and f. ASK I, 27, 272–288; we also used archival notes of W. Knapieński (W. Knapieński, *Notaty do historii kościołów warszawskich*, „Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki i Kultury”, no. 6, mps powielony przez Państwowy Instytut Historii Sztuki, Warsaw 1949).

<sup>37</sup> Łaski LB, vol. 1–2; J. Warężak, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny księstwa łowickiego*, no. 1, Wrocław 1961, no. 2 (to *Ślupia* entry), Łódź 1967.

<sup>38</sup> T. Glemma, *Wizytacje diecezji krakowskiej z lat 1510–1570*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 1, 1946, pp. 43–96, pp. 43–96.

<sup>39</sup> Arch. Kur. Metrop. Cracow: deaneries of Pilzno, Mielec, Ropczyce, Biecz and Jasło – 1595 and 1596, AV Cap. no. 2, 4; of Solec and Łuków – 1595, VA Cap., no. 3; of Opatów – y. 1596, AV Cap. no. 7; of Kielce – y. 1597, AV Cap. no. 8; of Tarnów and Dobczyce – y. 1597 (AV Cap. no. 9; of Jędrzejów, Pacanów, Sokolina, Kije, Witów – y. 1598, AV Cap. no. 10; of Stężyca, Zwoleń, Radom – y. 1598, AV Cap. No. 14; Zawichost archdeaconry (‘exortationibus in visitationibus...’) – y. 1592, AV Cons. no. 2; Sandomierz archdeaconry – y. 1604, AV Cons., no. 18. Excerpts from these visitations to be found in the Department of the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Poland in the Middle Ages in Cracow and contain, apart from information about the parochial church, the list of villages in each parish.

<sup>40</sup> Arch. Kur. Metrop. Cracow, e.g. AV Cons. no. 2; AV Cap. no. 2, 4, 9, 12 (Zawichost archdeaconry, y. 1598), no. 30 (Kielce deanery, y. 1610).

1608–1611 and perhaps for this reason it provides us with a different division into deaneries that the visitation conducted in 1592–1604.<sup>41</sup> As the documents of the visitation of Kurzelów archdeaconry, to which the fragment of Gniezno diocese situated in Sandomierz Voivodeship belonged, were given to the General Consistory of Warsaw in 1822 and burned in 1944 with the Archdiocese Archives of Warsaw,<sup>42</sup> for this part of the voivodeship we used J. Łaski's *Liber Beneficiorum*.

We have no surviving visitations from the end of the sixteenth century for the Voivodeships of Sieradz and Łęczyca, so in the cases of these two voivodeships parochial affiliation of settlements was determined on the basis of J. Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum* and the seventeenth century visitations. In 1822, when the diocese borders were being adjusted to the new State borders, the documents of visitations of this part of Gniezno metropolis were moved to Włocławek. Of the visitations kept in the Diocese Archives in Włocławek the oldest comes from 1607 and encompasses the archdeaconry of Kalisz with Staw deanery, which lay in our territory.<sup>43</sup> In 1636 Uniejów archdeaconry was inspected (the deaneries of Szadek, Warta, Uniejów, Brzeźnica and Radomsko).<sup>44</sup> Wieluń territory was inspected again in 1668.<sup>45</sup> When it comes to the part of Wrocław diocese situated in our area (almost the entire Ostrzeszów district), we could use documents of visitations conducted in 1638, 1651 and 1670.<sup>46</sup>

While working on the map of Cracow Voivodeship we used the visitations of particular deaneries of Cracow diocese from 1595–1599 kept on microfilms in the Centre of Archives, Libraries and Museums of the Church ('Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych) at the Catholic University of Lublin. (As some of the microfilms were unreadable, we also used original documents). Original protocols of the visitation conducted in 1595 encompass the deaneries of Pilzno, Biecz, Jasło and Żmigród,<sup>47</sup> of the visitation from 1596 – deaneries of Tarnów, Dobczyce, Wojnicz, Wieliczka, Lipnica, Bobów, Sącz and Nowy Targ,<sup>48</sup> from 1598 – Sokolina, Andrzejów, Wrocimowice, Proszowice, Witów, Oświęcim, Nowa Góra, Zator, Skawina, Skała, Wolbrom, Lelów and Bytom,<sup>49</sup> from 1599 – the deanery of Cracow.<sup>50</sup> All listed deaneries from Cracow Voivodeship area also included in the compendium of the visitation of Cracow diocese from 1595–1611 which contains the summaries of the protocols. For small fragments of Lelów and Książ district which lay in Gniezno diocese we used J. Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*. We also used *Liber retaxationum diecezji krakowskiej z 1529 r.*,<sup>51</sup> which is a helpful source when one wishes to clarify certain doubts concerning the ownership of Church institutions.

Another source in the source used in this series of the Historical Atlas of Poland was the inspections of royal property which helped us determine the affiliation of royal estates, and also provided us with much information about the development of the settlement, site and physiographic names, the size of towns, the borders, etc. We used published inspections of royal estates in each voivodeship from 1564/1565,<sup>52</sup> and the unpublished ones from 1569/1570.<sup>53</sup> For the sake of comparison and because some of the estates were omitted in the sixteenth century inspection, we also resorted to the published and unpublished inspections from the seventeenth century (1602, 1616–1620, 1627–1632,

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<sup>41</sup> Arch. Kur. Metrop. Cracow, AV Cap. 65 (we used the microfilm of the Department of the Archives, Libraries and Museums of the Church at KUL, no. 3272).

<sup>42</sup> S. Librowski, *Repertorium akt wizytacji kanonicznych dawnej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, part 1: *Akta przechowywane w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Włocławku*, no. 1: *sygn. 1–20 z lat 1602–1755*, ABMK, vol. 28, 1974, pp. 57 f.

<sup>43</sup> Arch. Diec. Włoc. AAG 2 (Librowski, *Repertorium*, pp. 110–112).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, AAG 5 (Librowski, *Repertorium*, pp. 134–141).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, AAG 7 (Librowski, *Repertorium*, pp. 142–145).

<sup>46</sup> *Visitationsberichte*, pp. 131–137, 155–170, 741–746.

<sup>47</sup> AV Cap. 2.

<sup>48</sup> AV Cap. 7: AV Cap 5.

<sup>49</sup> AV Cap. 10: AV Cap. 17; AV Cap. 15; *Akta wizytacji dekanatów bytomskiego i pszczyńskiego dokonanej w roku 1598 z polecenia Jerzego Kardynała Radziwiłła, Biskupa Krakowskiego*, ed. W. Wojtas, Kielce 1938, pp. 25–97.

<sup>50</sup> *Wiz. Krk.* 1599.

<sup>51</sup> LR 1529.

<sup>52</sup> LL 1565; LM 1565, LP, pp. 3–35, LR XVI, pp. 1–149, LS 1564/5, LWWK 1564, part I, p. 54–121, part II, p. 1–242; LK 1564.

<sup>53</sup> WAPL no. 246 (Lublin Voivodeship), MS. BN no. IV 3082 (Mazovian Voivodeship), LP, pp. 36–54 (Płock Voivodeship), LR XVI, pp. 151–201 (Rawa Voivodeship); AGAD, L. XVIII, 29 (Sandomierz Voivodeship), ASK XLVI, 103 d (Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships), AGAD, L. XVIII, 18 (Cracow Voivodeship).

1659–1664).<sup>54</sup> The few inventories of royal estates from the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>55</sup> and those quite numerous from the first half of this century,<sup>56</sup> provided us with data similar to those found in the inspections, or sometimes offered us even more information. In case of Mazovia these were the registers of royal rents which were often included in the inventories – as for instance the register of the rents of Warsaw Scribe's Office, or earlier lists of rents in ducal estates from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, which were used for random control of the settlement.<sup>57</sup> We must also mention here the separate description of royal castles and manors in Mazovia, made in 1549 by the King's secretary Maciej Wargawski.<sup>58</sup>

Pledged villages belonging to the king were not included in the inspections. In such cases, or when we had doubts as to the affiliation of a given settlement to this category, we resorted to the materials from the so-called 'Revision of letters' (i.e. the control of legal rights to use a given royal estate) from 1563/1564 and to the decrees of the *Sejm* from 1566 and 1567 which regulated controversial issues in some of these estates.<sup>59</sup>

The unpublished inspection of roads and customs in Lesser Poland from 1564/1565<sup>60</sup> and the published inspection of roads in Cracow Voivodeship from 1570 provided us with much useful information in order to reconstruct the road network in the Voivodeships of Sandomierz and Cracow.

The unpublished inspection of Mazovian forests from 1566 also proved helpful.<sup>61</sup>

As important as the inspections of royal estates were the inventories of Church property from the sixteenth and seventeenth century. We used: the published documents of Warsaw collegiate church,<sup>62</sup> Płock chapter,<sup>63</sup> materials to the history of Pułtusk collegiate church,<sup>64</sup> the inventory of the estates of Płock bishopric from 1650,<sup>65</sup> the inventories of archbishopric property,<sup>66</sup> the inventories of purveyor estates of Włocławek bishopric,<sup>67</sup> the inventories of the property of Cracow chapter from 1523–1536,<sup>68</sup> the list of villages in this chapter from 1593,<sup>69</sup> the inventories of the estates of Cracow bishopric from

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<sup>54</sup> 1602 inspection – AGAD, L. XVIII, 19 (Voivodeships of Kalisz and Sandomierz), LR XVII, pp. 1–34. This inspection involved the control of prolonged leases approved during the so-called 'revision of letters' (the so-called 'old sums'), and looked for those royal estates which were no longer subject to inspection. Truly inspected were: Lipnica lease (Cracow Voivodeship), starosta's districts of Sandomierz and Chęciny, holdings in Kozienice and Wiślica, starosta's district of Lublin; 1616–20 inspection – LM XVII part 1, LP pp. 55–81, LR XVII, pp. 35–60, AGAD, ASK XLVI, 99 B (Sandomierz Voivodeship), LWWK 1616, part I, pp. 81–246, 324–346, 371–378, AGAD, L. XVIII, 20, 21 (Cracow Voivodeship); 1627–1632 inspection – L. R. XVII, pp. 61–16, ADAD, L. XVIII, 33 (Sandomierz Voivodeship), LWWK 1628, part II, part III, pp. 1–57, AGAD, L. XVIII, 22 (Cracow Voivodeship); 1659–1664 inspection – LL 1661; LM XVII part 2, LP, pp. 82–100, LR XVII, pp. 117–218, LS 1660/4, LWWK 1659, part II, pp. 1–250; LK 1659–1664.

<sup>55</sup> Inventories of Radom starosta's district from 1554 (ASK, XLVI, 100c), 1567 (AGAD, L. XVIII, 30) and the second half of the sixteenth century (ASK, LVI, R 1/II), Sandomierz starosta's district from 1567 (AGAD, XVIII, 68) and several from the second half of the sixteenth century (ASK LVI S 5/II), Stężyca starosta's district from the second half of the sixteenth century (AGAD, LVI, S 3/II); several inventories of Korczyn starosta's district from the second half of the sixteenth century (ASK, LVI K 2/I,II) and lease Góra-Robczyce from 1582 (ASK, LVI, G 4); AGAD, LVI B 1 (Bolesławiec 1588, 1615), Ł 2/II (Łęczycza 1567, 1569, 1587), P 4 (Piotrków 1569), S 2/III (Sieradz-Szadek 1568); detailed inventory of Niepołomice starosta's district from 1560 (Library of PAN in Kórnik, MS 268).

<sup>56</sup> E.g. the inventory of income of Zakroczym starosta's district from 1536 (ASK I, 443, 617 nn), of Łomża – 1528 (ASK I, 39, ff. 1 ff.), more I. Gieysztorowa, *Mazowieckie akta skarbowe*, p. 211 f; of Szydłów starosta's district 1533 (ASK, LVI, S 6/I) and of Chęciny starosta's district from the second decade of the sixteenth century (ASK LVI, C 6); Inventories of royal estates in Cracow Voivodeship from the first half were put together by J. Małecki in LK 1564, p. XVII.

<sup>57</sup> Register of rent of Warsaw scribe's office from 1526 (ASK I, 27, ff. 447 f., 669 ff., of Wizna from 1494 (ASK I, 38, ff. 2 ff.).

<sup>58</sup> *Consignatio aedificiorum ex mandato SRM in castris et curiis Ducatus Masoviae per rev. dnum Wargawski archidiaconum Lancieniensem – AD 1549 facta*, ASK XLVI 139 and ASK I 27, ff. 290–324 (copy of a fragment).

<sup>59</sup> AGAD, the so-called Metr. Lit. IV B 8; ASK XLVI, 41.

<sup>60</sup> WAP Cracow, Archives of the Princes Sanguszko (Archiwum Sanguszków), no. 19; LDK.

<sup>61</sup> *Lustracja lasów 1566*.

<sup>62</sup> *Kolegiata warszawska*, p. 1–90.

<sup>63</sup> *Kapituła płocka 1514–1577*.

<sup>64</sup> *Kolegiata pułtуска*.

<sup>65</sup> Editor's copy from MS. in Arch. Diec. Płoc. made available by L. Żytkowicz.

<sup>66</sup> *Wizytacje 1920*.

<sup>67</sup> Inw. 1534; Inw. 1582; Inw. 1598; Inw. XVII.

<sup>68</sup> *Wizytacje 1523–1536; Wizytacje 1496–1540*.

<sup>69</sup> Ossolineum library in Wrocław, MS 4627.

1668 and 1746,<sup>70</sup> the inventory of the estates of the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec from 1689,<sup>71</sup> of the Sisters of St. Clare from 1698,<sup>72</sup> and S. Nakielski's work from 1634 on the Order of the Holy Sepulchre from Miechów.<sup>73</sup>

We used entries from the sixteenth century found in the Crown Metrica (endowments, demarcations, foundations, etc.).<sup>74</sup>

While working on the subsequent volumes of this series of the Atlas we also used other sources from the fifteenth century, the first half of the sixteenth century, and from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, which helped us fill in the gaps and verify information found in our basic sources.<sup>75</sup>

Information concerning settlement in the fifteenth century was taken from the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Wyszogród land in the Middle Ages,<sup>76</sup> the similar Dictionary of Cracow Voivodeship,<sup>77</sup> *Liber beneficiorum* by J. Długosz,<sup>78</sup> the Geographical and Historical Dictionary of the former lands of Łęczyca and Sieradz until 1400 and the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Wieluń land in the Middle Ages,<sup>79</sup> records of the Chamberlain of Lublin from the fifteenth century,<sup>80</sup> and the files of the Historical and Geographical Dictionaries of Cracow and Sandomierz Voivodeship kept in Cracow. The Dictionaries and their files contain sourcedata from before 1530.

The seventeenth century sources are the published tax registers of: the Voivodeship of Cracow from 1629,<sup>81</sup> the Voivodeship of Lublin from 1620–1626,<sup>82</sup> the district of Pilzno from 1629,<sup>83</sup> the Voivodeship of Cracow from 1680,<sup>84</sup> and the unpublished registers of hearth and poll tax from the 1660s and 1670s, excepting this kind of registers from Cracow Voivodeship, because these were published.<sup>85</sup> We

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<sup>70</sup> Ibidem, MS. 1174/I (microfilm in the National Library, no. 8717).

<sup>71</sup> Library of PAN in Cracow, MS 2885.

<sup>72</sup> Ossolinem library in Wrocław, MS 9549.

<sup>73</sup> S. Nakielski, *Miechovia sive promptuarium antiquitatum Monasterii Miechoviensi*, Cracow 1634.

<sup>74</sup> For the period prior to 1574 we used MRPS, for later period – the files of entries in the Metrica concerning royal estates between 1574–1668, in our department.

<sup>75</sup> We used some of the manuscript excerpts of I. Kapica Milewski from the court books of the north-eastern Mazovia, see Archiwum Główne, op. cit., pp. 135 ff. We must note here the foundation of Radziłów district in 1548, which was taken from this collection by J. Sawicki for Iura Mazoviae terrestria, and made available to us by the Publisher; the documents from the archives of Princes Sanguszko, chronological lists of documents from chosen records of the activity of the archbishops of Gniezno published by H. Rybus (H. Rybus, *Regesty wybranych zapisek z akt działalności arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich z lat 1466–1806*, ABMK, vol. 3, 1961, pp. 111–404), documents published by rev. Jan Wiśniewski in source appendix to the monographs of individual deaneries in Sandomierz diocese by the same author (J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat Opatowski*, Radom 1907; idem, *Dekanat Ilżecki*, Radom 1908–1911, idem, *Dekanat Radom*, Radom 1911; idem, *Dekanat Kozienice*, Radom 1913; idem, *Dekanat Opoczyńskim* Radom 1913; idem, *Dekanat Konecki*, Radom 1913; idem, *Dekanat Sandomierski*, Radom 1914–1915; idem, *Dekanat Miechowski*, Radom 1917; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Pińczowskim, Skalbmierskim i Wiślickim*, Mariówka 1927; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Stopnickim*, Mariówka 1929; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Jędrzejowskim*, Mariówka 1930; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w powiecie włoszczowskim*, Marówka 1939; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w olkuskim*, Markówka 1932; idem, *Diecezja Częstochowska*, Mariówka 1936; *Materiały do dziejów górnictwa i hutnictwa z archiwów metropolitalnego i kapitulnego w Krakowie z lat 1479–1640*, ed. S. Kuraś, Warsaw–Cracow 1959 (Studia z Dziejów Górnictwa i Hutnictwa, vol. 3); *Przywileje sołtysów podhalańskich*, ed. E. Długopolski, „Rocznik Podhalański”, vol. 1, 1914–1921, pp. 1–47; *Inwentarze dóbr ziemskich województwa krakowskiego 1576–1700*, ed. A. Kamiński, A. Kielbicka, S. Pańkow, Warsaw 1956; diplomatic codes.

<sup>76</sup> SHG Wyszogród. The files of the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Mazovia in the Middle Ages were made available after the volume on Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century was published.

<sup>77</sup> SHGK.

<sup>78</sup> Długosz LB.

<sup>79</sup> Zajączkowscy; SHG Wieluń.

<sup>80</sup> *Lubelska księga podkomorska XV w.*, ed. L. Białkowski, Lublin 1934. Many site names were wrongly deciphered and it must be used carefully.

<sup>81</sup> Rej. pob. 1629.

<sup>82</sup> Rejestr lub. 1626.

<sup>83</sup> Rejestr pilz. 1977. There also exists a tax register of Sandomierz district from the same year, but we decided not to use it (WAP Kraków, Archives of the Princes Sanguszko, no. 90).

<sup>84</sup> Rej. pob. 1680.

<sup>85</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 2 (Lublin Voivodeship), pp. 1a–51a; ASK I, 72, ff. 384–636 (Płock Voivodeship), 70, ff. 798–801, 953–1158 (Rawa Voivodeship), I, 65, ff. 812–847, 66, ff. 45–135, 220–289, 376–847, 867–888, 972–1054, 69, ff. 624–677 (Mazovian Voivodeship); I, 65,67 (Sandomierz Voivodeship), and the register of grosz tax of Stężyca land from 1711 is to be found in ASK I, 9, ff. 710–722; ASK I, 74 (Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships). We also, randomly, used the copy of the

made an exception for the unpublished hearth tax registers of Silesian district from 1662 and poll tax registers of the same district from 1673,<sup>86</sup> as the aforementioned registers of Cracow Voivodeship from 1629 and 1680 do not include this district.

Our eighteenth century sources were: *Materiały do Słownika Historyczno-Geograficznego województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego* which contain much valuable information of various origin, mostly non-existent now, encompassing the area of the voivodeship after the first Partition,<sup>87</sup> the files of the Dictionaries of the Voivodeships of Sandomierz, Lublin, and Sieradz made prior to 1939, based on fiscal and Church sources from the last quarter of the eighteenth century and largely destroyed during the Second World War.<sup>88</sup> We must add here Franciszek Czaykowski *Regestr Diecezjów*, which is a summary excerpt of the descriptions of parishes recorded between 1783 and 1784 by the parsons in response to the survey ordered by primate Michał Poniatowski, for which the questionnaire was prepared by the same Franciszek Czaykowski,<sup>89</sup> the census of Cracow diocese from 1787<sup>90</sup> and hearth tax rates in Mazovia from 1789–1790,<sup>91</sup> and the inspections of the post-bishopric estates in Cracow diocese (which contain copies of foundation documents of parishes).<sup>92</sup>

In order to supplement or verify our data we resorted to many other sources,<sup>93</sup> the 1827 Table of Towns and Villages and the *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*.<sup>94</sup>

This presentation of our sources does not apply to Siewierz Duchy, which – as a property of Cracow bishopric – was not subject to taxation, and thus we had access only to lists from 1443 and 1667<sup>95</sup> that contain little information, *Liber retaxationum*, the visitations, *Słownik Historyczno-Geograficzny w średniowieczu* and *Materiały do słownika w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego*. In this case we decided to base our map of the Duchy on the Dictionary of Settlements in the Duchy of Siewierz (*Słownik miejscowości księstwa siewierskiego*) prepared by Zdzisław Noga who used many available sources, especially those kept in the Archives of the Metropolitan Chapter in Cracow.<sup>96</sup>

We do not mention here smaller sources, or those used only randomly, and lists of source data are mentioned in the footnotes to the chapters of the commentary. Sources which were used as a base for the city plans were described in the commentaries on these plans.

(2014)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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register of hearth tax from 1676 which encompassed the entire Crown, from the collection of F. Łoyko, Library of the Princes Czartoryski in Cracow, MS 1099–1100 (microfilm in the National Library 1856–1857). On the thoroughness of source excerpts of Łoyko: H. Madurowicz-Urbańska, *Prace Feliksa Łoyki nad historią gospodarczą i ekonomiką Polski*, part 1: *Pieniądz*, Wrocław 1976, p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> ASK I, 68, ff. 1151–1192 and 1197–1216. The register of this district from 1609 did not prove useful (ASK IV, 98).

<sup>87</sup> Materials MWK.

<sup>88</sup> The files on the Voivodeships of Lublin and Sieradz are kept in the Atlas department of IH PAN in Warsaw, of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the Department of the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Cracow Voivodeship in the Middle Ages in IH PAN in Cracow.

<sup>89</sup> Czaykowski. Before this source was published in print we used a manuscript of the Archives of Łowicz Chapter on a microfilm in National Library no. 7679.

<sup>90</sup> J. Kleczyński, *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej z 1787 r.*, AKH, vol. 7, 1894, pp. 219–478.

<sup>91</sup> We used K. Buczek's excerpts from the Documents of Fiscal Committee, burned in AGAD in 1944, which are kept in Atlas department, MWK (commentary), pp. 26–27.

<sup>92</sup> ASK, XLVI, 71 – „Kopie erekcyj Kościołów w kluczach bodzęcińskim, cisowskim, tudzież zapisy i fundusze wszelkie przez biskupów krakowskich zdziałane a przez lustratorów roku 1789 zebrane”, ibidem no. 76 – „Kopie erekcyj i funduszów Kościołów w kluczu kieleckim roku 1789 zebrane”; ibidem, 76 – „Kopie erekcyj i funduszów Kościołów kluczów iłżeckiego, dobrowodzkiego, zboronieckiego, niekurskiego, złockiego, kunowskiego i mirowskiego dawniej do biskupstwa krakowskiego należących [...] rok 1789 spisane”.

<sup>93</sup> B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do atlasu historycznego Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 8, 1964, pp. 271–304, vol. 9, 1964, pp. 93–286; idem, *Prepozytura tarnowska. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do atlasu historycznego Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 205–288, vol. 14, 1967, pp. 249–256; E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura Wiślicka do schyłku XVIII w. Materiały do struktury organizacyjnej*, Lublin 1976 (Materiały do Atlasu Historycznego Chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 2, part 2).

<sup>94</sup> Tabela 1827; SGKP.

<sup>95</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 4, pp. 451–453.

<sup>96</sup> Noga, *Słownik*.

## II.1.4 GREATER POLAND

*Marek Słoń*

The thematic scope of the series is comprised of the reconstruction of the settlement network, including names, ownership, and aspects of demographics, as well as state and church territorial structures, communes of different religious denominations, and the road network. The breadth of the subject is so substantial that it has been impossible to utilize all the sources available for two large voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century. The preparation of this volume, as in the case of the previous ones, required a careful selection of available information. This both applies to the types of sources as well as their number and the degree of completeness of the conducted query.

First, tax records, such as tax registers, visitations and registers of royal estates, will be discussed. Second, Church documents with a focus on visitations will be examined. Finally, court books and other texts will be reviewed.

The most important basis for the reconstruction of the settlement patterns in Greater Poland were tax registers, i.e., lists of extraordinary taxes passed by the Sejm primarily for war purposes.<sup>1</sup> As part of the work on this volume, an edition of all *lan* tax registers from the Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships from the second half of the sixteenth century was created. They are available on the atlasfontium.pl website in several forms. Through the search engine or on the interactive map, one can find the location mentioned in the source material and see its basic source information and analysis of it. All the fees recorded in the registers, along with the accompanying information, such as parish affiliation of the settlement, the name of the payer, the reasons for the reduction of obligations, etc. have been entered in the spreadsheets that can be downloaded from the site. Links embedded in these sheets and in the map application allow for quick a transition to the scans of manuscripts. The introduction to the edition explains its nature and contains an introduction to the study of the sources (with a list of tax collectors from individual years for both voivodeships) and a detailed description of all the columns of the tables. A geodatabase with geographical coordinates and identifiers for each settlement can be downloaded from the site, as well as edited in GIS software or database operators.<sup>2</sup> The annex to this chapter contains the summary of registers by year and district. Their interpretation would, of course, not be possible without taking into account tax proclamations, that is parliamentary resolutions establishing tax collection and regulating its implementation.<sup>3</sup>

In subsequent volumes of the series, the degree to which registers were included differed. In some cases, such as in the edition concerning Mazovia, all the registers were taken into account, while in others, only the most valuable were used. The peak of the development of the crown treasury occurred

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the source analysis of the source and its credibility, see: I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, pp. 17–20; eadem, *Wstęp do demografii i staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 146–160; K. Boroda, *Kmieć, lan czy profit? Co było podstawą poboru lanowego w XV i XVI wieku?*, [in:] *Człowiek wobec miar i czasu w przeszłości*, ed. P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, Cracow 2007, pp. 152–170; ibidem, *O przydatności rejestrów poborowych z XVI wieku w badaniach demograficznych*, PDP, vol. 33, 2014, pp. 21–33; ibidem, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, pp. 64–71.

<sup>2</sup> RPWK, RPWP; see M. Słoń, *Digitale Edition der Ausheberregister aus der Wojewodschaft Kalisch des 16. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Quellen kirchlicher Provenienz. Neue Editionsprojekte und aktuelle EDV-Projekte*, ed. H. Flachenecker, J. Tandecki, ed. K. Kopiński, Toruń 2011 (Editionswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 2011), pp. 393–406; M. Gochna, *Elektroniczna edycja rejestrów poborowych województwa kaliskiego z drugiej połowy XVI w.*, SG, vol. 2, 2014, pp. 143–150.

<sup>3</sup> VL, VC.

in the years 1563–1565: never before or after was it possible to collect receivables from a larger arable land.<sup>4</sup> Registers from these years are also brimming with information. Fortunately, at least one registry from this time period has survived from each district of Greater Poland, similarly to documents from the years 1579–1580. The entry from these years is also particularly valuable due to the reviewing of the tax base that occurred in 1578.<sup>5</sup> Previous research on the subject emphasized the lack of usefulness of tax registers from other years, selected on the basis of old receipts. This meant that not only was the list of settlements subject to tax collection repeated in their old layout, but so was the amount of taxes placed on individual categories. Indeed, for example, when it comes to nomenclature, it is difficult to treat a record from subsequent years as an independent confirmation of a certain form: the same error could simply be repeated in subsequent years. In practice, however, each register was different and offered a certain amount of information. Examining the documents as a whole also allowed to better understand their internal structure and to interpret gaps and errors in the records. The risk of limiting the query to selected registers from the supposed best years is best demonstrated through the case of the village of Jordanowo (Jordan). It is present in the registers from 1580, 1581 and 1583.<sup>6</sup> In the first two, only the name itself was noted, appearing right after the parish Iwno and ahead of the villages of its district. In 1583, it still appears in the same place, but payments from coloni (seasonal workers), hortulani and a shepherd with a herd of sheep had additionally been recorded. It was also noted that the village was the property of the abbey in Paradyż. In the years 1580–1581, similar payments were made from it. Therefore, there is no doubt that the village in question was indeed Jordanowo, located right next to the Paradyż monastery (now Gościkowo), on the other side of the Paklica river. Placing this settlement in the parish of Iwno, located more than 100 km away in a straight line, is certainly a mistake, which can be easily explained. Until the tax reform of 1578, the Cistercians did not pay taxes on their demesne in Jordan. After verification that year, the name was entered in the tax register, but initially the fees were still recorded with the monastery itself. The village of Iwno appears in the registers in two versions – Iwno and Giwno – and, consequently, was entered in various sections of the register. Lacking additional information, the name of the single-village parish Jordan appeared after Iwno instead of before it in one of the subsequent registers.<sup>7</sup> We do not know in what year this happened, as the registers from 1578–1579 have not been preserved. The mistake was later copied. Until a note about the payment was made, it seemed as if there was another deserted village in the Iwno parish. This is how the source material was interpreted by the team of the Section of the Historical-geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland IH PAN, which used only the records from the years 1580–1581.<sup>8</sup>

It should also be noted that only fully preserved registers were used and published. Fragments of other registers were only reviewed when useful for atlas-related research. In one case, this resulted in a correction of the dating given in the publication. One of the Kalisz registers bore the date 1564 in a manuscript, and the writing of this entry, although it could point to the sixteenth century, differed from the main one. We assigned this date to the source upon publication. Further research allowed to identify a fragment of another register from the Kalisz district, also dated to the same year. After verifying the rates included in the tax register, which was indirectly made possible by an overview of the sum of payments from the entire village, the original dating of the material turned out to be incorrect. Taxation

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<sup>4</sup> A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku. Studia*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 14–15; H. Rutkowski, *Administrative division. Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Cracow; T. Gidaszewski, M. Piber-Zbieranowska, J. Suproniuk, M. Zbieranowski, *Transformations of the Natural Landscapes of the Middle Noteć Region from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century*, [in:] *Landscapes and Societies in Medieval Europe East of the Elbe. Interactions Between Environmental Settings and Cultural Transformations*, ed. S. Kleingärtner, T.P. Newfield, S. Rossignol, D. Wehner, Toronto 2013 (Papers in Mediaeval Studies, vol. 23), p. 266; about this register in the context of other years, see K. Boroda, *Kmieć, lan czy profit?*, pp. 161–162.

<sup>5</sup> Z. Guldon, *Zmiany arealu uprawnego i zaludnienia w badaniach nad osadnictwem nowożytnym*, KHKM, vol. 10, 1962, issues 3–4, p. 657; K. Boroda, *O przydatności rejestrów poborowych*, p. 29; concerning the differing value of the registers from different years see I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 208 and 473; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 203 and 470; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 209 and 474; Jordan – ASK I 6, bk. 100, 361; ASK I 4, bk. 648v.

<sup>7</sup> A similar change in the order of parish villages occurred, for example, in the register of the Poznań district between 1553 and 1563, where the single-village parish Rożnowo were entered after Rogoźno, as a result of which several of Rogoźno's villages were assigned to its district; this error was then repeated in all registers until the end of the sixteenth century, RPWP, pzn, 1553–1583; see B. Szady, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.2.2b.4. in this edition.

<sup>8</sup> K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Jordan*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 96 f.

regulations point to the period 1569–1577. At that time, complete *lan* tax collection was carried out in 1569, 1573, 1576 and 1577. The Kalisz register from 1576 was preserved and its dating is certain. No registers from other districts from the years 1569 and 1573 are available. The rare tabular form of the list, believed to be from 1564, was also used in this province only in the years 1576–1577. The register of the Gniezno district from this final year is located directly after the aforementioned Kalisz one, although the reasoning for the dating is questionable, especially since the eighteenth-century archivist could have mistakenly placed both entries next to each other in the same volume due to their similar layouts. The entry dated to 1564 is probably from 1577.<sup>9</sup>

Almost the entire area of both voivodships has relatively thorough and evenly spread documentation in the form of tax registers. The Wałcz district is the only exception. Only four of its registers have survived. In addition, their usefulness for the reconstruction of the settlement network at the end of the sixteenth century is limited. During the period in question, many new settlements were established there.<sup>10</sup> Even the register from 1582 not only does not include the villages founded after that date, but also those that were exempt from tax that year as the new ones ('wolniżna'). Therefore, we do not have any records that would systematically include the list of settlements of that time. It is difficult to clearly establish to what extent the reconstruction based on other accounts is complete. This also affects the state of knowledge about the course of the disputed concerning state borders in the region.

We only have a register record from 1552 for two districts – Pызdry and Kalisz – at the time when the basis was not a *lan*, but a serf farm. This documentation is valuable for the calculation of the number of peasant families per one *lan* and thus for demographic estimates. Unfortunately, the *lan* registers for those districts from 1553 have not survived. The following registers from these territorial units come from the years 1563–1565, so not only are they a decade younger, but they are also characterized by changed taxation rules and more effective collection methods.

Most of the registers are listed by parish and are arranged in a roughly alphabetical order; within them, other locations are discussed. This has two consequences. Firstly, the organization significantly facilitates the identification of individual settlements. In the registers of the Poznań and Kościan districts from 1567, which list the places in alphabetical order, distinguishing between identical or similarly named villages was difficult, sometimes remaining hypothetical even after comparing the appropriate records for all other years. The parish-based division was not applied at all in the Wschowa and Wałcz districts, probably due to their small size. In this case, there were no issues with identification. However, this did mean that an additional, but nonetheless important source for parish affiliation was missing. These were also areas strongly influenced by the Reformation, while northern Greater Poland is poorly illuminated by visitation protocols.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, the range of parish districts in Wschowa raises doubts, and the range of the ones in Wałcz could not be reconstructed at all. This is the only area in the entire atlas series for which, instead of parish boundaries, we can only indicate their seats, and even these are partly hypothetical.

Registers are also a secondary yet useful source for determining ownership. The taxpayer entered in the register could only be the tenant or the representative of the property holder, which was not always specified. However, even such information facilitated further searches, e.g. in court books through *Teki Dworzaczka*, and in most cases, the tax was paid by the village owner. However, many registers only mention owners where more than one section exists. Rarely does such information appear for most taxed settlements and they are not evenly distributed among the various districts. We do not have a single register for Kcynia, while the most thorough one for Kościan (in 1583) has the appropriate information for less than half of the mentioned settlements. Parts of the registers contained separate lists of major keys of estates,<sup>12</sup> and there are even entire registers arranged by ownership.

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<sup>9</sup> RPWK, kls, 1564 [1577]; ASK I 3, bk. 355v–377v; for comparison, see the fragment of another, undated Kalisz register: ASK I 6, bk. 678–750.

<sup>10</sup> See. tab. 10–15 in chapter *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.3.1.4 in this edition.

<sup>11</sup> The parish structures in the Wschowa Land and Wałcz district were different from each other, see B. Szady, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.2b.4 in this edition.

<sup>12</sup> For example, the property of the monasteries in Trzemeszno, Mogilno and Wągrowiec and the estates of the Lwowska family in the registers of the Gniezno district (RPWK, gzn, 1564, 1565, 1576, 1577, 1579–1582, 1588) or the villages of the Opaliński family in the Wschowa region (RPWK, EE, 1563, 1564, 1567, 1570, 1577, 1579, 1581, 1582).

Tax registers from the earlier and later periods were studied to a limited degree. The series of registers from the years 1507–1510, covering the Konin, Pyzdry and Kalisz districts, were used to verify the completeness of the lists of locations.<sup>13</sup> A full indexing of these geographical sources, including the lack of settlements, is being conducted as part of the ongoing project and will be finished in 2020. The register from the Kalisz Voivodeship from 1618–1620, published by Alfons Parczewski, was entered into the data base and utilized during the research. Later hearth tax and poll tax registers served mostly to verify uncertain cases, as well as were helpful in establishing the demographic potential of towns.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the initial preparation to be included in the edition, the overdue tax ('retenty') registers, in other words lists of overdue payments, were not edited. They only contained a calculation of the difference between the fee paid in a given year and the receipts from 1578,<sup>15</sup> which is why they were only included in the supplementary query.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, two preserved lists of property ('rekognicjarze'), which are lists of taxpayers' statements ('rekognicja') that mention taxation base and sum, were also not incorporated in the edition. These declarations were made at the time of payment of the tribute and authenticated by the taxpayer with a signet seal and/or with their signature. Such property registers from the period and area studied have been preserved for the Kalisz and Gniezno districts, dating to 1591. The study and edition of the former one is the subject of a separate project and has been fully used in the atlas research.<sup>17</sup> The one from Gniezno, however, was only used to verify the list of settlements – no new ones appear in it – and the type of property, where it brought minor adjustments. Much more important to our findings were the available lists of contributions imposed on the Church property in the Poznań Voivodeship (except for the Wałcz district) from 1540, 1561 and 1570. The first two only contained a list of benefices, but in the face of the very poor state of preservation of the visitations to this diocese and their specificity, this information was not to be underestimated.<sup>18</sup> The contributions register from 1570 based on the tax universal, and containing similar information, was helpful primarily in determining the extent of ownership of the four richest church institutions in the diocese of Poznań: the bishop himself, the cathedral chapter and its members, Cistercian abbeys in Bledzew and Paradyż.<sup>19</sup> In the case of the royal estates, a similar role was played by the inspections and inventories of the starosta's districts. For the studied period, it has been published so far only from the years 1564–1565, which is characterized by a relative shortage of information about Greater Poland.<sup>20</sup> As a result, inspections dated to the seventeenth century and those unpublished from 1569–1570 were also incorporated into the research.<sup>21</sup> Besides information about ownership, these sources provided valuable data about the potential of specific villages, towns and outbuildings, about names, especially physiographic ones, and about establishing new settlements on the northern outskirts of Greater Poland. For some of the Greater Poland royal lands, inventories of property from the sixteenth century have been preserved, but it was also necessary to use later records of this type.<sup>22</sup> Protocols of the control of

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<sup>13</sup> T. Związek, *Najstarszy rejestr poboru nadzwyczajnego i zoszu z 1507 roku z terenów powiatu konińskiego*, Roczn. Konin., vol 18, 2013, pp. 173–201 including a full transcript of the register (pp. 180–195) and the description of others from the Konin district (pp. 174–175); Kalisz district: ASK I 12, bk. 1–146, 216–244; Pyzdry: ASK I 11, bk. 1–29, 53–195.

<sup>14</sup> Hearth tax 1631; Hearth tax 1635; Kalisz poll tax 1673; Kalisz poll tax 1674; Poznań poll tax 1673; Poznań poll tax 1676; Parczewski.

<sup>15</sup> For example, overdue taxes from the Poznań district in 1581, ASK I 3, bk. 714–764. The postulate to include, among others, overdue taxes and property was formulated by I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, p. 151.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the 1552 overdue taxes register, written in 1553, was helpful in estimating the number of Jews in Kalisz; see U. Sowina, T. Związek, T. Panecki, *Kalisz in the middle of the sixteenth century* in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> M. Gochna, *Polish Nobility Seals in the „Recognitions” of the Kalisz District in 1591. The Perspective of an Edition*, [in:] *Die Geschichte im Bild*, ed. H. Flachenecker, K. Kopiński, J. Tandecki (Editionswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 2015), pp. 103–108, which includes information about previous studies of lists of property.

<sup>18</sup> AAP, CP 404; ASK I 3, bk. 318–347.

<sup>19</sup> Concerning this register see K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz; RPWP, pzn, 1570; ibidem and RPWP, ksc, 1570 and RPWP, wch, 1570.

<sup>20</sup> LWWK 1564.

<sup>21</sup> LWWK 1569; LWWK 1616; LWWK 1628; LWWK 1659.

<sup>22</sup> Among others, the inventory of the Pyzdry starosta's district from 1565, ASK LVI, P5; The inventory of the Konin starosta's district from 1580, ASK LVI, K5; ed.: *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i dóbr kujawskich 1569*, ed. Z. Górski, A. Mietz, Bydgoszcz 2014 (Studia z Dziejów Pogranicza Kujawsko-Pomorskiego, vol. 4); *Inwentarze i wizje królewskich kaliskich z pierwszej połowy VIII wieku*, ed. A. Nowak, Roczn. Kalis., vol. 39, 2013, pp. 157–180; *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego 1765*, ed. Z. Górski, Roczn. Konin., vol. 19, 2015, pp. 157–187.

legal titles for the use of royal property carried out during the Sejm of 1563/1564 (the so-called letter audit), which also covered Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships, were of less importance.<sup>23</sup>

The other source material as essential to the atlas series as tax registers are records of Church visitations. They contain the most reliable information on the parish affiliation of individual settlement, as well as their most thorough lists. They should include demesnes exempt from taxation and recently established settlements, as well as small hamlets, usually treated in the tax documentation as an integral part of a larger village. In the case of in this volume, however, the situation is slightly different. The basic problem is not even that no such source from the sixteenth century has survived, and we have only those from the beginning of the following century. The key data for atlas research is concentrated in one point of the visitation protocol – the scope of the parish district. This element is usually overlooked in the Poznań visitations from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In the Kalisz archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese, such records are incomplete and sometimes only referenced indirectly. In addition, in the case of the northern reaches of Greater Poland, i.e. for the archdeaconry of Czarnków (diocese of Poznań, Wałcz district and part of Poznań) and Kamień Krajeński (diocese of Gniezno, Nakło district), the oldest visitation protocols date back to the mid-seventeenth century,<sup>24</sup> that is, from a period with fundamentally different settlement and religious realities. This means that the reconstruction of the reach of the parish in accordance with the standards applied so far in the series has only been possible for the archdeaconry of Gniezno and individual villages belonging to the Wrocław diocese.<sup>25</sup> In remaining areas, it had to be based on other sources as well. Next to the abovementioned tax registers and lists of contributions from the years 1540 and 1561, these consisted mainly of the lists of benefices for both bishoprics from the beginning of the sixteenth century,<sup>26</sup> visitations from the second half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, as well as *Regestr diecezjów* by Franciszek Czaykowski.<sup>27</sup> The information about the payments for the mass from individual towns allocated to the parsons, which required a more thorough query than was previously accepted of the visitations from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, has been particularly useful in this regard.<sup>28</sup> The inclusion of files of the consistory of Kalisz from the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century only brought marginal additions.<sup>29</sup> This research was greatly facilitated by the digitization of manuscripts, which was conducted with the permission of the directors of the diocesan archives in Włocławek and Poznań.<sup>30</sup>

Inventory data played an important role in the reconstruction of the state of ownership of church institutions. We have the lists of endowments for two Greater Poland bishoprics and their cathedral chapters.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, there was no need to conduct a query for episcopal and chapter records. A serious obstacle was the lack of property inventories for most of the monasteries in Greater Poland during this period. The tracing of the development of the endowment of the Jesuit monastery in Poznań was

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<sup>23</sup> AGAD, the so-called Metryka Litewska IV B 8, bk. 257–292.

<sup>24</sup> Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641; Panske.

<sup>25</sup> MHDW 1, 11, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24; AAG, ACons. E 1 (visitations from the years 1582, 1585, 1597); see W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Gnieźnie*, part 1, ABMK, vol. 77, 2002, pp. 151–190.

<sup>26</sup> LBG, LBP; the lists of tithes from the Kamień Krajeński archbishopric estates from the years 1510 and 1548 were equally useful, Ulan. Visit., pp. 331–334; AAG, ACap. I, B. 143, bk. 207–212, for these and the undermentioned Church sources, see A. Borek, *Church administration border*; [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.2b.4 in this edition.

<sup>27</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685; Wiz. Kal. 1719; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725; Wiz. Śrm. 1725–1728; Wiz. Kal. 1728–1730; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738; Wiz. Poz. 1777–1784 and the published; J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1: Archidiakonat Glogau, Breslau 1907; Czaykowski; for the Gniezno diocese see. Librowski, Repertorium.

<sup>28</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629.

<sup>29</sup> The query in these sources is conducted by Adam Kozak from the Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland (for the fifteenth century) and Arkadiusz Borek (for the sixteenth century).

<sup>30</sup> The scans of microfilms from the visitation files with the numbers ABMK 365-367, 380, 3810-3812 have been renumbered (the name of the file corresponds to the page number in the manuscript), provided with the table of contents and sent to their native archives and to the Institute of Church Archives, Library and Museums.

<sup>31</sup> Ulan. Visit.; AAG, ACap. I, B. 147, *Inventarium omnium proventuum et aedifi ciorum Archiepiscopatus Gnesn. sub Stanislao Karnkowski per Iacobi Pradzewski*, 1592; Inw. bp. poz. 1564; AAP, CP 111 (1500–1615); AAP, CP 112 (1570–1614); *Statuta capituli et ecclesiae cathedralis Posnanensis ex annis 1298–1763*, ed. W. Pawełczak, Poznań 1995 was also consulted.

made easy thanks to the chronicle of this institution.<sup>32</sup> No attempt was made to gather the inventories of noble estates.

Conducting a query in court books is not a requirement of this series. However, the case of Greater Poland it is special. Researchers have at their disposal an electronic edition of *Teki Dworzaczka*,<sup>33</sup> which enables a quick search through a huge collection of extracts from court books. This source could not be subject to a systematic query, which would include and examination of all notes from the period under study. Nonetheless, it was used to verify and supplement information about the settlements identified through other sources. It played a significant role in determining the ownership status of landed villages, it was often helpful in locating settlements and in establishing their name in the sixteenth century. The automated search in the text database, apart from its huge advantages, also has its disadvantages, such as records from a period with no uniform orthography, especially in relation to proper names. Furthermore, the notes in the database are third-hand information. While the transcriptions made by Włodzimierz Dworzaczek himself must be viewed through the prism of an intuitively conducted standardization and modernization of the spelling, in the case of his handwritten notes, which were computerized by science students, numerous and completely random errors cannot be ruled out. Besides the *Teki Dworzaczka*, the query in court books was limited to the verification of some source references in the work of Leon Polaszewski. A complete indexing of selected Kalisz town books from the end of the sixteenth century was undertaken, but so far it has not produced useful results for the Atlas research.<sup>34</sup>

This volume could not have been complete it not for the work of the Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland IH PAN. This fundamental study for geography and history of the Polish lands in the Middle Ages includes all source records until around 1530.<sup>35</sup> The dictionary of the Poznań Voivodeship is almost finished. At present, the database for the Kalisz Voivodeship mainly includes published sources and some archival units and series. Of the latter, extracts from tax registers from the first half of the sixteenth century are of particular importance for Atlas research. We also gained access to the full list of entries for both voivodeships. The comparison of the results of our inquiry and the research output of the Poznań team was composed of two stages. Firstly, we were searching for supplementary information in the dictionary and database about settlements we had already located. This allowed us to find information contained in unpublished sources and in documentation previously unknown to us, as well as facilitated the interpretation of difficult passages of manuscripts, helped us complete the query in the materials issued independently separately from the query of e.g., the Crown Metrica or in *the Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*. Secondly, we tried to check if the names present in dictionary entries could also be found in records from the second half of the sixteenth century, e.g., in *Teki Dworzaczka* or in dictionary publications, such as the *Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland* or *Nazwy miejscowe Polski*. Both of these publications were often helpful in identifying and locating places.

The most important sources used for the reconstruction of the settlement network and territorial structures shown on the main map were discussed in this chapter. The sources for thematic maps and plans – roads, communes of other religious denominations, centers of Jewish population, individual cities – are presented in the accompanying commentary.

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<sup>32</sup> *Kronika Jezuitów poznańskich (młodsza)*, vol. 1: 1570–1653, ed. L. Grzebień, J. Wiesiołowski, Rome 1964.

<sup>33</sup> *Teki Dworzaczka. Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne do dziejów szlachty wielkopolskiej XV–XX wieku*, Kórnik–Poznań 1995–2004. Concerning the methodology, see A. Bieniaszewski, R.T. Prinke, *Doświadczenia z pracy nad elektroniczną edycją „Tek Dworzaczka”*, [in:] *Historia i komputery. Metody komputerowe w badaniach i nauczaniu historii. Materiały II Sympozjum Polskiego Oddziału Association for History and Computing, Komisji Metod Komputerowych, Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego, Poznań 1 i 2 grudnia 1995 r.*, ed. B. Ryszewski, Toruń 1997, pp. 23–35.

<sup>34</sup> AP Poznań, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego w Kaliszu, sig. 75–77.

<sup>35</sup> T. Jurek, *Wprowadzenie*, [in:] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, digital edition, ed. T. Jurek, Warsaw 2010–2016, IH PAN (accessed: 24.03.2017).

## Annex TAX REGISTERS

**Table 1. Lan tax registers of the Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships from the years 1550–1600 in the AGAD collection**

No.	voivodeship	district	year	sig.	page	comments
1.	kls	kls	1552	ASK I 6	583–605	
2.	kls	pzd	1552	ASK I 11	243–263	
3.	pzn	pzn	1553	ASK I 5	154–184	tabular layout
4.	kls	kls	1563	ASK I 11	761–768, 771–790	
5.	pzn	ksc	1563	ASK I 4	140–214	
6.	pzn	pzn	1563	ASK I 5	215–249	
7.	pzn	wch	1563	ASK I 5	204–210	sequence in the order of payments
8.	pzn	wlc	1563	ASK I 5	200–203	
9.	kls	gzn	1564	ASK I 12	532–566v	
10.	kls	kcn	1564	ASK I 12	568v–586	
11.	kls	kls	1564	ASK I 13	177–192v	
12.	kls	knn	1564	ASK I 5	784v–807	
13.	kls	nkl	1564	ASK I 5	277–288	
14.	kls	gzn	1565	ASK I 13	771–803v	
15.	kls	kcn	1565	ASK I 4	216v–236	
16.	kls	kls	1565	ASK I 13	75–124v	
17.	kls	knn	1565	ASK I 13	7–30	
18.	kls	nkl	1565	ASK I 5	265v–276	
19.	kls	pzd	1565	ASK I 13	31v–74v	
20.	pzn	ksc	1565	ASK I 4	238–302	
21.	pzn	wch	1565	ASK I 4	304–308v	
22.	pzn	ksc	1567	ASK I 5	346–392	alphabetical order
23.	pzn	pzn	1567	ASK I 5	304–343v	alphabetical order
24.	pzn	wch	1567	ASK I 5	296–302v	
25.	kls	gzn	1576	ASK I 12	632–650	tabular layout
26.	kls	kcn	1576	ASK I 12	654–661v	tabular layout
27.	kls	kls	1576	ASK I 12	590–605v	tabular layout
28.	kls	knn	1576	ASK I 12	606–612	tabular layout
29.	kls	nkl	1576	ASK I 12	663v–672	tabular layout
30.	kls	pzd	1576	ASK I 12	618–630	tabular layout
31.	pzn	ksc	1576	ASK I 5	576–657	
32.	pzn	pzn	1576	ASK I 5	449–573	
33.	kls	gzn	1577	ASK I 13	133–150v	tabular layout
34.	kls	kcn	1577	ASK I 13	193–214	ZD XII, pp. 180–194

No.	voivodeship	district	year	sig.	page	comments
35.	kl	knn	1577	ASK I 13	151–176	
36.	kl	nkl	1577	ASK I 13	125–130v	tabular layout
37.	kl	pzd	1577	ASK I 11	283–414	
38.	pzn	pzn	1577	ASK I 5	658–760av	
39.	pzn	wch	1577	ASK I 5	778–783	
40.	pzn	wlc	1577	ASK I 5	761–775	order according to ownership
41.	kl	kcn	1578	ASK I 4	326–353v	
42.	kl	knn	1578	ASK I 3	596–626v	
43.	kl	nkl	1578	ASK I 5	809–838v	ZD XII, pp. 167–178
44.	kl	pzd	1578	ASK I 11	411–581	ZD XII, pp. 196–221
45.	kl	gzn	1579	ASK I 3	378–393v, 400–465v	disordered layout, 8 sections are in random order
46.	kl	kcn	1579	ASK I 4	354–393	
47.	kl	kl	1579	ASK I 12	673–733v	ZD XII, pp. 108–140
48.	kl	knn	1579	ASK I 13	217–259	ZD XII, pp. 223–244
49.	kl	nkl	1579	ASK I 6	28–49v	
50.	pzn	wch	1579	ASK I 3	661–672v, 681–690	ZD XIII, pp. 98–101
51.	pzn	wlc	1579	ASK I 3	692–698	order according to ownership; ZD XIII, pp. 103–107
52.	kl	gzn	1580	ASK I 13	682–753	ZD XII, pp. 142–165
53.	kl	kl	1580	ASK I 13	369–420v	
54.	kl	nkl	1580	ASK I 4	425–446v	
55.	kl	pzd	1580	ASK I 11	859–996	
56.	pzn	ksc	1580	ASK I 6	188–337v	ZD XIII, pp. 59–96
57.	pzn	pzn	1580	ASK I 6	74–187v	ZD XIII, pp. 3–58
58.	kl	gzn	1581	ASK I 13	620–680v	
59.	kl	kcn	1581	ASK I 4	538–560v	
60.	kl	kl	1581	ASK I 6	614–677v	
61.	kl	knn	1581	ASK I 3	196a–232v	
62.	kl	nkl	1581	ASK I 4	516–536	
63.	kl	pzd	1581	ASK I 11	1007–1141	
64.	pzn	ksc	1581	ASK I 6	475–531v	
65.	pzn	pzn	1581	ASK I 6	338–445	
66.	pzn	wch	1581	ASK I 6	462–470v	
67.	kl	gzn	1582	ASK I 13	571–619	
68.	kl	kcn	1582	ASK I 4	577–597v	
69.	kl	nkl	1582	ASK I 13	291–308v	
70.	kl	pzd	1582	ASK I 11	1149–1252	
71.	pzn	wch	1582	ASK I 6	453–461v, 471–474	

No.	voivodeship	district	year	sig.	page	comments
72.	pzn	wlc	1582	ASK I 6	446–452	order according to ownership
73.	kl	gzn	1583	ASK I 13	526–570	
74.	kl	kcn	1583	ASK I 4	733–750v	
75.	kl	knn	1583	ASK I 11	1359–1448	
76.	kl	pzd	1583	ASK I 11	1265–1357	
77.	pzn	ksc	1583	ASK I 6	532–582	
78.	pzn	pzn	1583	ASK I 4	616–730	
79.	pzn	wch	1583	ASK I 4	606–613	
80.	kl	gzn	1588	ASK I 3	517–561	
81.	kl	kcn	1591	ASK I 4	774–791v	
82.	kl	kl	1591	ASK I 11	1449–1636	
83.	kl	nkl	1591	ASK I 4	756–772	
84.	kl	pzd	1591	ASK I 6	751–807v	

Source: RPWK, RPWP.

**Table 2. Listing of the number of registers for individual years and districts**

Year/district	nkl	kcn	gzn	knn	pzd	kl	wlc	pzn	ksc	wch	
1552					1	1					2
1553								1			1
1563						1	1	1	1	1	5
1564	1	1	1	1		1					5
1565	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	8
1567								1	1	1	3
1576	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		8
1577	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	8
1578	1	1		1	1						4
1579	1	1	1	1		1	1			1	7
1580	1		1		1	1		1	1		6
1581	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	9
1582	1	1	1		1		1			1	6
1583		1	1	1	1			1	1	1	7
1588			1								1
1591	1	1			1	1					4
Total	10	10	10	8	10	9	4	8	7	8	84

Source: RPWK, RPWP.

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

## II.1.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Arkadiusz Borek*

From its very outset, the AHP series draws from a specific corpus of written sources employed in reconstructing the settlement network and the structures of state and Catholic Church administration, as well as the character, nomenclature and ownership of settlements. This corpus was assembled directly on the basis of the proposals presented by Stanisław Smolka in his 1880 paper, where he listed the source base for preparing coherent geographic work on the entire territory of pre-Partition Poland.<sup>36</sup> This volume has not been subjected to any significant changes in this department. The core of the work on the atlas of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the sixteenth century is formed by sources of mass nature, mainly registers and inventories, which help capture the whole picture or larger parts of this area's settlement network.

Much like the previous AHP volumes, our work was heavily based on tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, *i.e.* records on the collection of exceptional taxes adopted by the *Sejm* (Diet) for war purposes. The scope of each tax collection process was regulated in tax proclamations called universals (*uniwersały*). Taxes were levied predominantly on arable land, utility structures, and representatives of different social and professional groups. The information was then broken down by individual settlements or, alternatively, ownership parts in particular settlements. Tax registers cover most of the settlement network existing at the time; demesne land was exempt from taxation. Thus, settlements with no subjects of taxation other than such acreage were not entered into the books. Newly established settlements which enjoyed a rent-free period called *wolnizna* were not recorded either, though this issue does not concern the examined area (see *Location of settlements* in this volume). The very structure of tax registers is of great informative value in terms of establishing the administrative division of a given area—settlements were recorded by district, and districts were divided into parishes, whilst settlements forming part of vast land property were sometimes listed separately. The structure of tax registers reveals that they were characterised by a certain prudence. Sometimes even villages which had been deserted and were therefore defaulting in tax payments were recorded. Registers dating to the 1550s and earlier years present data on the districts primarily by subject of taxation (separate lists of settlements indicating lands used by serfs, held by village headmen (*sołtys* or *Schultheiss*), mills, etc.). In the next decade, the register structure evolved into one which listed all the taxation subjects found within a given settlement. This solution was repeated in later registers, without any significant departures from this concept. Changes occurred only in information with bearing on fiscal matters. Such stability was convenient for fiscal administration, which found such a solution helpful in inspecting inflows and preparing registers of overdue taxes (*retenta*). At the same time, some registers stand out among other records. To provide an example, the 1564 tax register for Dobrzyń land lists the serfs residing in a given village by name, and the 1573 Inowrocław Voivodeship tax register recorded the differences between the expected tax amount and the tax actually paid. Apart from helping to reconstruct the settlement network and the administrative division, tax registers provide the basis for estimating the size of settlements (see *Character and size of settlements: rural settlements* in this volume) and recreating the sixteenth-century names presented in AHP maps. Tax registers also prove useful in determining the ownership affiliation of the settlements. The most

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<sup>36</sup> S. Smolka, *O przygotowawczych pracach do geografii i historycznej Polski (1880)*, SG, vol. 1, 2014, pp. 11–13.

commonly used tax questionnaire took note of the fact that a given village had more than one owner or taxpayer (e.g. a leaseholder), documented large ownership units, and listed serfless gentry as well. Although this hardly exhausts the issue of land ownership structures, it provides a solid basis for their reconstruction. Despite concerns raised in subject literature regarding the absence of data and concerns about the informative value of tax registers, the significance of this written source to geographical and historical research remains uncontested.<sup>37</sup>

We based our work on Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land on 29 tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. The inclusion criterion was that a register is preserved in full for at least the territory of one district. However, there is a glaring disparity between Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. The source base for Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships consisted of thirteen extant tax registers for each voivodeship (26 in total), most covering a similar period. Dobrzyń land, in turn, is covered by only three registers created in the fifty years dealt with in our studies. Dating to 1564, 1565 and 1573, these documents focused on quite a brief period, imposing significant limitations on the available informative resource. In Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, registers were made for the administrative unit of voivodeship (and land–*ziemia*, respectively), which were further divided into districts (*powiaty*). Table 1 presents the list of registers used.

**Table 1. Tax registers of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the years 1550–1600, in AGAD collection**

No.	Voivodeship	Year	Source (ASK volume, section I)	Comments
1.	Brześć	1553	29, ff. 191r–211v	First instalment of this year.
2.	Brześć	1553	30, ff. 267r–285v	Second instalment of this year.
3.	Brześć	1557	29, ff. 235r–279v and ff. 334r–338v	In: ff. 334r–338v, Kruszwica district. Along with the 1566 register, this register forms the basis of the publication by A. Pawiński: <i>P. Wielkopolska</i> , vol. 2, pp. 3–45. He used it to supplement the data on land parcel owners missing in the 1566 register.
4.	Brześć	1566	29, ff. 381r–417v	Along with the 1557 register, this register forms the basis of the publication by A. Pawiński: <i>P. Wielkopolska</i> , vol. 2, pp. 3–45. Most of the data presented in that edition was obtained from this register.
5.	Brześć	1570	50, ff. 778r–783v	Register of Church property. Forms a whole with the Inowrocław register for the said year.
6.	Brześć	1576	29, ff. 326r–331v; 51, 325r–332v	Only fragments of this register have survived to date. These cover Brześć, Przedecz and Radziejów districts.
7.	Brześć	1577	29, ff. 418r–451v	
8.	Brześć	1579	29, ff. 453r–507v	
9.	Brześć	1580	29, ff. 573r–647v	The contents of this register are mixed, folios on different districts have been put together in random order.
10.	Brześć	1581	30, ff. 560r–615v	

<sup>37</sup> For more on the registers, see: K. Górka, *Przyczynek do krytyki rejestrów poborowych z XVI wieku*, *SŻ*, vol. 1, 1957, p. 185–190; Z. Guldon, *Uwagi w sprawie przydatności badawczej rejestrów poborowych z XVI w.*, *ZH*, vol. 31, 1966, no. 1, p. 73–79; I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia; eadem, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 145–161; K. Boroda, *Kmieć, lan czy profit? Co było podstawą poboru lanowego w XV i XVI wieku?*, [in:] *Człowiek wobec miar i czasu w przeszłości*, ed. P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, Cracow 2007, pp. 152–170; Idem, *O przydatności rejestrów poborowych z XVI wieku w badaniach demograficznych*, *PDP*, vol. 33, 2014, pp. 21–38; M. Słomski, *Spis kmieci klucza zduńskiego arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich z 1553 roku*, [in:] *Fines testis temporum. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Elżbiecie Kowalczyk-Heyman w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. M. Dziki, G. Śnieżko, with M. Starski, Rzeszów 2017, pp. 117–125; K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, pp. 63–81; M. Gochna, T. Związek, *Spatio-Temporal Aspects of the Extraordinary Tax Collecting System in Greater Poland (1492–1613)*, *RDSG*, vol. 80, 2019, pp. 65–111.

No.	Voivodeship	Year	Source (ASK volume, section I)	Comments
11.	Brześć	1582	30, ff. 630r–683v	
12.	Brześć	1583	30, ff. 684r–741v	
13.	Brześć	1589	30, ff. 744r–778v	
14.	Inowrocław	1552	50, ff. 544r–568v	
15.	Inowrocław	1553	50, ff. 837r–857r	
16.	Inowrocław	1563	92, ff. 1r–18r	
17.	Inowrocław	1564	50, ff. 800r–818v	
18.	Inowrocław	1565	50, ff. 784r–799r	
19.	Inowrocław	1570	50, ff. 773r–777v	Register of Catholic Church property. Forms a whole with the Brześć register for the said year.
20.	Inowrocław	1573	50, ff. 741r–769v	
21.	Inowrocław	1576	50, ff. 717r–740v	Z. Guldon dated this register to 1574, <sup>38</sup> most probably based on the date visible under the heading on the first page of the register. However, the register refers to the Congress in Jędrzejów (ff. 717r, 719v, 740r). It also contains direct references to the year 1576 (ff. 720r, 740v) and clearly indicates that a decision on tax collection was adopted in that very year.
22.	Inowrocław	1577	50, ff. 695r–716v	
23.	Inowrocław	1581	50, ff. 659r–694v	
24.	Inowrocław	1582	50, ff. 622r–658v	Published by A. Pawiński: <i>P. Wielkopolska</i> , vol. 1, pp. 246–268.
25.	Inowrocław	1583	50, ff. 582r–621v	
26.	Inowrocław	1589	30, ff. 780r–798v	
27.	D o b r z y ń land	1564	30, ff. 290r–352v	Published by A. Pawiński: <i>P. Wielkopolska</i> , vol. 1, pp. 269–333.
28.	D o b r z y ń land	1565	30, ff. 354r–493v	
29.	D o b r z y ń land	1573	30, ff. 500r–512v	

The inventory of tax registers available at the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) reveals information on the Dobrzyń register of 1578.<sup>39</sup> This date, however, was taken from the folio preceding the said register<sup>40</sup> and cannot refer to this register, as it was drafted in line with the templates used in the 1550s and earlier, which maintained the division into two instalments. Unfortunately, the extant material does not suffice to identify unequivocally this register as one of the 1550s records. The data covers only serf, sołtys and serfless gentry lans, and water wheels, whereas the tax rates applied do not correspond to any known universal or other register. As a result, this register was not dated to the second half of the sixteenth century. Zenon Guldon also omitted this register in his paper.<sup>41</sup>

Digital versions of all materials listed in Table 1 as the source base for working on the AHP volume on Cuyavia have been published. This is in keeping with the method for editing tax registers developed while working on the publication of registers covering Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships,

<sup>38</sup> Guldon, Kujawy, p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> ASK I 30, ff. 515r–558v.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, ff. 514r.

<sup>41</sup> Guldon, Dobrzyń, p. 6.

which accompanied AHP Greater Poland.<sup>42</sup> The contents of Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land registers were thus entered into the database and made available online, in the form of a map and spreadsheet files complemented by scans of the original manuscripts preserved in the Archives of the Crown Treasury (ASK). Once this volume is published, the whole package will be made available at [www.atalsfontium.pl](http://www.atalsfontium.pl).

Catholic Church visitations<sup>43</sup> formed the second category of significant sources used to prepare the AHP volume on Cuyavia. Next to tax registers, canonical visitations are the only source which, generally, takes note of the entire settlement network within a given area and covers all the Polish lands of the Crown. Contrary to tax collectors, canonical visitors did not exclude any type of settlement from their records. Tax registers omitted demesne settlements; therefore, Catholic Church visitations provide more possibilities for reconstructing inhabitancy in Poland. From the perspective of the whole series, however, Catholic Church visitations are less useful. Not all areas of the Crown are covered by surviving visitation records dating to the sixteenth century, and those available do not always list the villages belonging to a given parish. Such a situation occurred e.g. in Dobrzyń land. While Cuyavia is very well documented in this respect (seven visitations to Włocławek and Kruszwica archdeaconries of Włocławek diocese conducted in 1577, 1578, 1582, 1584, 1594, 1596, 1598), records concerning Dobrzyń land – or, to be precise, its largest part falling within Płock diocese – are limited to a single visit to Dobrzyń archdeaconry conducted in 1597, whose logbooks do not list parochial districts. This forced us to resort to visitation records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Visitations carried out at later dates served as supplementary material in studying Włocławek diocese. The exact list of visitations used – along with their publication details – has been presented in the chapter on Catholic Church administration structures (see *Catholic Church administration borders* in this volume). Apart from providing supplementary information on the settlement network and helping reconstruct Church structures, canonical visitation files are also useful in determining sixteenth-century settlement names and their variants. All the more because their contents had been created independently of tax registers. Some visitation records provide information on land property, but such cases are incidental.<sup>44</sup>

Apart from tax registers and visitations, the AHP series traditionally relies on sources of inventorial nature, *i.e.* documents describing royal and Church estates and as such covering only a greater or lesser fraction of the settlement network, depending on the territory. To describe Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, we used the published inspections of royal property performed in the years 1564–1565, 1569, 1616–1620 and 1628–1632.<sup>45</sup> We then supplemented the inspections with inventories of gord starosties. We used the following records to analyse the area concerned: the 1494 inventory of Brześć Gord Starosty,<sup>46</sup> the 1510<sup>47</sup> and 1647<sup>48</sup> inventory of Inowrocław Gord Starosty and the 1556 inventory of Przedecz Gord Starosty,<sup>49</sup> the 1616 inventory of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty,<sup>50</sup> the 1567 inventory of Gniewków lease,<sup>51</sup> the 1620 inventory of Skulsk Village,<sup>52</sup> the 1767 inventory of Radziejów Gord Starosty<sup>53</sup> the 1514

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<sup>42</sup> *Atlas historyczny Polski. Rejestry poborowe województwa kaliskiego w XVI w.*, ed. M. Stoń, „Atlas Źródeł i Materiałów do Dziejów Dawnej Polski”, vol. 2, 2015, [www.atalsfontium.pl/index.php?article=kaliskie](http://www.atalsfontium.pl/index.php?article=kaliskie) (access 9.01.2020); *Atlas historyczny Polski. Rejestry poborowe województwa poznańskiego w XVI w.*, ed. M. Stoń, „Atlas Źródeł i Materiałów do Dziejów Dawnej Polski”, vol. 3, 2015, [www.atalsfontium.pl/index.php?article=poznanskie](http://www.atalsfontium.pl/index.php?article=poznanskie) (access 9.01.2020); see also M. Gochna, *Elektroniczna edycji rejestrów poborowych województwa kaliskiego z drugiej połowy XVI w.*, SG, vol. 2, 2014, pp. 143–150.

<sup>43</sup> S. Litak, *akta wizytacyjne parafii z XVI–XVIII wieku jako źródło historyczne*, „Zeszyty Naukowe KUL”, vol. 5, 1962, no. 3, pp. 41–58; S. Librowski, *Źródła do wewnętrznych dziejów Kościoła w Polsce w rękopiśmiennych zbiorach kościelnych*, ABMK, vol. 7, 1963, pp. 81–83; H. E. Wyczawski, *Przygotowanie do studiów w archiwach kościelnych*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1990, pp. 256–260.

<sup>44</sup> The visitation to Radziejów Deanery in 1582 frequently mentions which villages are owned by Catholic nobility, and which constitute the property of Protestant gentry (MHDW 22, *passim*).

<sup>45</sup> LWWK 1564; LWWK 1569, LWWK 1616; LWWK 1628.

<sup>46</sup> Brzeskie 1494, pp. 355–398.

<sup>47</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Inwentarz starostwa inowrocławskiego z 1510 roku*, ZK, vol. 3, pp. 187–214.

<sup>48</sup> AGAD, ASK LVI 85, ff. 78r–87r.

<sup>49</sup> AGAD, ASK LVI 204, ff. 171r–186v.

<sup>50</sup> Inw. 1616, pp. 229–238.

<sup>51</sup> Z. Guldon, K. Wajda, *Zarys dziejów Gniewkowa*, Bydgoszcz 1970, pp. 87–93.

<sup>52</sup> Z. Górski, *Inwentarz skulski z 1620 roku*, „Studia z Dziejów Pogranicza Kujawsko-Wielkopolskiego”, vol. 3, 2012, pp. 91–118.

<sup>53</sup> Tenże, *Inwentarz starostwa radziejowskiego z 1767 roku*, ZK-D, vol. 7: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1990, pp. 239–254.

register of revenues generated by Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty,<sup>54</sup> and descriptions of Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty in the years 1661–1765.<sup>55</sup> Further information on monarchic property can be obtained from inspections of royal property with lease titles, *i.e.* the so-called ‘revisions of letters’ (*rewizje listów*) dating to 1564/1565.<sup>56</sup> Concerning the descriptions of Church property, we used the inventories of Włocławek bishopric dating to the times of Maciej Drzewiecki’s pontificate, the years 1534, 1582 and 1598, as well as the seventeenth century,<sup>57</sup> together with the inventory of Koronowo Monastery property drawn up for the years 1564–1567.<sup>58</sup> Inventories of those large property complexes provided not only information about the settlements belonging thereto, but also – in the descriptions of the borders of a given village – about the settlements held by the nobility. For greater complexes of nobility property, solely the 1581 and 1627 inventories of Skępe estate in Dobrzyń land have survived to this day.<sup>59</sup>

For Włocławek and Płock bishoprics, there are no extant *libri beneficiorum*, which belong to the basic sources required to reconstruct the settlement network and the Catholic Church structures at the close of the Middle Ages and the onset of the Early Modern Period, which we widely used in the previous volumes of the AHP series. Włocławek diocese is documented only in the 1527 *Liber Retaxationum*.<sup>60</sup> Although it enables certain approximations and conveys analogical information, its contents are much scarcer than those of the *libri beneficiorum* of Cracow, Gniezno and Poznań.<sup>61</sup> From the perspective of our research, their gravest deficiency is the absence of parochial districts. Nevertheless, its core-constituted by the description of the assets bestowed upon specific Church institutions of Włocławek diocese in Cuyavia, which description is formed by a list of settlements encumbered with a variety of tributes paid to the Catholic Church – provides information on almost the entire settlement network present in this area in the first half of the sixteenth century. One problem arising from using this source is that identifying individual localities becomes much more challenging if one decides to look at institutions other than parochial churches, as the *libri* do not provide a more accurate spatial context.

Apart from the tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, which have been mentioned at the outset of this chapter, we also succeeded in conducting a full analysis of earlier and later fiscal sources, specifically the 1489 register of the *lanowy* tax collected in Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships,<sup>62</sup> and the 1634 register of the hearth tax levied in Brześć Voivodeship.<sup>63</sup> Similarly as the *Liber Retaxationum*, the former provided a wealth of information on deserted settlements and demesnes which could not be found in books drawn up in the second half of the sixteenth century. While working on the AHP volume covering Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, we entered the above-mentioned sources into the database which went on to become the basis for further analyses and helped determine the status of individual settlements in the second half of the sixteenth century. If the need presented itself, we employed the following as supplementary material: tax registers dating to the first half of the sixteenth century,<sup>64</sup> the 1662 hearth tax registers,<sup>65</sup> and the 1673 and 1674 poll-tax registers<sup>66</sup> for the two Cuyavian

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<sup>54</sup> AGAD, ASK I 30, ff. 1r–89v.

<sup>55</sup> *Opisy starostwa bydgoskiego z lat 1661–1765*, ed. Z. Guldon, Bydgoszcz 1966.

<sup>56</sup> AGAD, so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV B 8, ff. 590–636.

<sup>57</sup> MHDW 12, pp. 72–81; Inw. 1534, pp. 1–128; Inw. 1582; Inw. 1598; Inw. XVII.

<sup>58</sup> AGAD, Varia of Department I, sign. 16 [former: IV.7.4.3.].

<sup>59</sup> *Materiały do dziejów rolnictwa w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku, poprzedzone wiadomością o życiu i pismach Jana Ostroroga, wojewody poznańskiego*, comp. W. Chomętowski, Warsaw 1876, pp. 97–117.

<sup>60</sup> MHDW 11.

<sup>61</sup> A. Borek, *Liber beneficiorum Jana Łaskiego – przyczynek do krytyki gnieźnieńskiej księgi uposażeń*, ABMK, vol. 112, 2019, pp. 44–45.

<sup>62</sup> J. Senkowski, *Lustracja poradlnego i rejestr lanów województw brzesko-kujawskiego i inowrocławskiego z roku 1489*, „Teki Archiwalne”, tvol 6, 1961, pp. 69–214.

<sup>63</sup> Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sig. 334/II, k. 81r–107v, Registrum fomalium Palatinatus Brestensis. Triplae in conventu generali Warszeviensi laudatae anno 1634. Pro festo s. Michaelis Archangeli per manus generosi Ioannis Moszczynsky utriusque palatinatus Cuiaviensium exactoris, wyd.: *Rejestr podymnego województwa brzesko-kujawskiego z 1634 roku*, ed. R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, PKHBTN, vol. 9, 1973, pp. 211–241.

<sup>64</sup> The larger part of sixteenth-century Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land registers can be found in volumes 29 (Brześć Voivodeship), 30 (Brześć Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land) and 50 (Inowrocław Voivodeship) of ASK I.

<sup>65</sup> AGAD, ASK I 65, ff. 277r–320v (Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships, and Rypin district).

<sup>66</sup> AGAD, ASK I 73, ff. 2r–116v, 127r–223v; AGAD, ASK I 74, ff. 837r–902v. The 1674 register was published by: R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Rejestr pogłównego województwa brzesko-kujawskiego z 1674 roku*, PKHBTN, vol. 12, 1976, pp. 129–192.

voivodeships and Dobrzyń land. Most of the analysed area (with the exclusion of the territory which fell prey to the first Prussian Partition) is covered by Franciszek Czajkowski's *Register of Dioceses*,<sup>67</sup> which we also used as an auxiliary source. We settled many detailed issues by consulting Stanisław Librowski's *The Real Inventory of the Documents Stored in the Archive of the Diocese in Włocławek*<sup>68</sup> and the Crown Metrica, whose tax register summaries were mostly used.<sup>69</sup>

Despite some grave deficiencies and errors,<sup>70</sup> the *Materials for the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land*, published at atlasfontium.pl and initially prepared by Zenon Guldon, proved useful as a basic guide to sources. Similarly, we used the materials on settlement prepared also by Romana and Zenon Guldon, yet covering a later period. However, these materials provide information only for a fraction of Brześć Voivodeship.<sup>71</sup>

We did not use any castle or land court records, as that approach has already established itself as a traditional one in the AHP series. Despite the plethora of information about the settlement network and ownership relations contained therein, the effort required to carry out an effective query rendered court records unusable for the purposes of drawing up the AHP. The only exception was the volume on Greater Poland, where it was possible to analyse the notes from court books gathered in the *Dworzaczek Files*.<sup>72</sup>

In conclusion, it ought to be stated that the source base on the area covered by this AHP volume is quite uneven. On the one hand, we have at our disposal a broad source base on settlement in Cuyavia. On the other hand, documentation of Dobrzyń land is scant.

Apart from the materials listed above, the authors of this volume also ventured into other sources to supplement the data at hand so as to settle certain detailed issues. Information on these additional sources has been presented in relevant chapters.

(2021)

Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak

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<sup>67</sup> *Regestr Diecezjów" Franciszka Czajkowskiego, czyli Właściciele ziemscy w Koronie 1783–1784*, ed. K. Chłapowski, S. Górczyński, Warsaw 2006.

<sup>68</sup> S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział I. Dokumenty samoistne*, vol. 1–7, Włocławek 1994–1999; Idem, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział II. Dokumenty w kopiariuszach oraz innych księgach*, vol. 1–12, Włocławek 1999–2015.

<sup>69</sup> MRPS, vols. I–V/1–2; *Sumariusz Metryki Koronnej. Seria nowa*, vol. 1–10, Cracow–Warsaw 1999–2019.

<sup>70</sup> <http://atlasfontium.pl> (accessed: 26.10.2020). See idem, reviews by J. Karczewska and M. Danielewski.

<sup>71</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu przedeckiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, seria B: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1979, pp. 165–185; iidem, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu kowalskiego w XVII–XVIII w.*, ZK-D, seria C: *Oświata i kultura*, 1980, pp. 275–290; iidem, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu brzesko-kujawskiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, seria E: *Kształtowanie środowiska*, 1985, pp. 143–172.

<sup>72</sup> M. Słoń, *Written sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland.

## II.1.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Krzysztof Boroda*

In all previous volumes of AHP the principle adopted for the reconstructing of settlement networks for the second half of the sixteenth century was the division into three rudimentary source groups. The first group constituted, and therein comprising primary sources, were the sixteenth-century registers for the collection of extraordinary taxes (first and foremost district and urban collections). The other two groups, ones acting in a supplementary source role, were the diocesan inspections and ledgers of the salaries and earnings of Church institutions as well as the inspections and inventories of Crown properties, goods and holdings. And besides these, and here as equally as auxiliary sources, employed were those archives that had been preserved such as collection records from the sixteenth century, taxation registers from the seventeenth century, the inventories of Church and noble property and goods, entries into the royal registers, document collections, as equally court journals and ledgers. The selection and scale at which the latter was exploited was unsystematic in nature. Every time this was the effect of the scale at which collection registers were maintained for a given region. In the case of court ledgers their contents were, as a rule, utilised in an indirect manner, often by means of the volumes of historical-geographic dictionaries or those card indexes published for a given region.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of work on this AHP volume devoted to the Podlasie Voivodeship this traditional hierarchy as hitherto utilised as an important source of written documents could simply not be maintained. Just the very fact that up until 1569 the territory belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania limited, and noticeably, the potential number of land taxation registers that could be created on the expanse of the territory as a result of the activities of the royal exchequer's administration. And it was this that had hitherto constituted the basis for earlier publications in the series. It is important to note that the inclusion of these territories into the composition of the Kingdom of Poland only in 1569 excludes the possibility of the existence of the most trusted by researchers of registers created as the result of the parliamentary acts passed and implemented for the period 1562–1565; and it was these that had enjoyed immense respect as source materials amongst researchers. The below enumeration of information as to the sixteenth-century collection registers preserved for the Podlasie Voivodeship reveals the scant nature of the acts that came into being and were kept following the inclusion of the territory within the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>2</sup>

For we have at our disposal for each of the districts that made up the Podlasie Voivodeship not more than four taxation collection registers with any precision in dating (and here as a rule incorporating integrated data for urban collection, that of the *szos* property tax and the *czopowe* duty levied on alcohol: a taxation that differed depending on the nature of the alcoholic beverages taxed). As opposed to the situation existing in other voivodeships of the Crown, where often while working on AHP it was decided to leave out a part of the registers that had survived, there is in this concrete case no such possibility given the actual shortage of base sources. Moreover there has been the need to employ a much broader range of supplementary sources. From the perspective of the organisation of taxation

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<sup>1</sup> See all the chapters devoted to written sources employed in the other volumes of AHP.

<sup>2</sup> All the registers noted in the table below have been prepared to allow researchers access and are published on the website: [atlasfontium.pl](http://atlasfontium.pl). Employed have been the very same principles for publication used earlier in relation to the Greater Poland registers. The edition has been based on the originals of registers held at AGAD. A part of the registers had been published formerly by A. Jabłonowski; see Podlasie III.

**Table 1. A list of sixteenth-century taxation registers preserved for the Podlasie Voivodeship**

Year	Bielsk Land	Drohiczyn Land	Mielnik Land
1576		ASK I 47, ff. 35–63	ASK I 47, ff. 65–70
1577 (1578)	ASK I 47, ff. 161–310; 434–487	ASK I 27, ff. 917–938v	ASK I 47, ff. 762–767
1579	ASK I 47, ff. 335–384		
1580	ASK I 47, ff. 567–666v	ASK I 47, ff. 496–544	ASK I 47, ff. 545–554v
1588		ASK I 47, ff. 738–761	ASK I 47, ff. 738–761
1591	ASK I 47, ff. 774–801v (summary registry)		

collection, the voivodeship was divided into two parts – the north and the south. The north comprised the Bielsk lands and with the division into three court (judicial) districts: Surazh, Brańsk, and Tykocin. While the southern section comprised the lands of Drohiczyn and Mielnik. Both parts had separate tax collectors designated for them in the sixteenth century. For the northern part (the Bielsk land) these were: Sebastian Brzozowski (1577), Walenty Niewiarowski (1579), Bieniasz Jałbrzyk Wyszyński (1580), while for the south (the lands of Drohiczyn and Mielnik) they were: Maciej Pobikrowski (1576), Arnolf Hlebowicz (1577), Jan Grot (1580) and Nikodem Jałbrzyk Wyszyński (1588).

Besides the registers in the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) there has been preserved and employed in work on the AHP district stock lists of special taxes levied for the year 1569,<sup>3</sup> a separate register for the liquor excise duty (*czopowe*) paid in the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands for 1580,<sup>4</sup> as well as two fragments that cannot be exactly dated of land tax collection for the Drohiczyn district post 1578<sup>5</sup> and for the Mielnik district for the years 1569–1577.<sup>6</sup> The Podlasie registers for land taxation as a result of the parish arrangement and their division into the separate personal property of the serfless gentry appears in its form to reflect those registers known from other regions of the Polish Crown. However, in point of fact they actually show important differences that are the effect of them coming into being on the basis of practices implemented by acts of the fiscal-military administration of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This finds its manifestation in three elements, of which the first is the order by which parishes appear in the taxation registers. In the majority of cases they reflect the order in which they were visited during the course of the rounds paid by the ducal servants that created tax and military cadastres during the period of the Grand Duchy. Here in the taxation registers created after 1569 parishes were often joined together in groups covering from two up to five units, something that makes any construction of the extent of particular parish districts all the more difficult.<sup>7</sup> The second element is the absence of detailed information about the taxation basis for royal goods (earlier than those of the Grand Duke) and to a certain degree Church property. As a rule they were summed up in Podlasie collection registers and were placed together under collective headings that covered the entire starosty (district – of a given estate or manor), forest administrative region, or equally parishes themselves. This was the effect of the practice employed in the Lithuanian taxation system of separately registering the tax incomes of specific types of property ownership, in connection with the different method for implementing taxation obligations in force. In the case of Grand Duchy properties and holdings the basic form of extraordinary taxation, the so-called ‘silver’ tax, was enforced on the basis of the personal decision of the monarch, who arbitrarily determined its amount and frequency in collection. This silver tax was taken from the estates of the nobility only after the appropriate and relevant resolution had been adopted by the Lithuanian parliament (*Sejm*).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> ASK I 112, ff. 114–124v.

<sup>4</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 556–563.

<sup>5</sup> ASK I 27, ff. 917–938v.

<sup>6</sup> ASK I 51, ff. 201–210.

<sup>7</sup> K. Boroda, *Dokumentacja skarbowo-wojskowa z czasów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego a rejestry poborowe województwa podlaskiego z lat 1577–1580*, an article prepared for publication in a special edition (22) of RDSG.

<sup>8</sup> М. Довнар-Запольский, *Государственное хозяйство великого княжества Литовского при Ягеллонах*, vol. 1, Киев 1901, pp. 757–758.

The third element was the universally occurring collective payments found in taxation registers for the post-1569 period, made by those of the serfless gentry. The actual practice of collective taxation payments was nothing exceptional in the case of sixteenth-century Poland. The possibility for such an operation to be conducted had already been implemented into the taxation system of the Polish Kingdom in 1525, initially with the idea of taxation being collectively paid by those representatives of the serfless gentry who farmed a smallholding estate of less than 1 lan (1 *lan*) i.e., approximately 16.8 hectares.<sup>9</sup> With the passage of time, and at odds with the initial intentions of the regulation, there started to develop the practice of summing up the payments from acreages greater than 16.8 hectares, with in exceptional circumstances it encompassing the actual sum of those taxpayers from a single settlement. However, such a form was never adopted in the case of Podlasie. In the Bielsk lands in the register of 1580, after a mere 12 years of the Polish taxation system being in force, of the 305 taxation divisions registered by this category of taxpayers as many as 249 i.e., 81% – constituted a collective payment of taxes on the part of several individuals with an acreage of at least 3 times 16.8 hectares of cultivated land. In the same year in the Drohiczyn land, out of the 547 registered taxation divisions collective payment from an acreage of 3 voloks or greater constituted 392 cases that being 72% of the money paid. While often these were acreages noticeably larger than three voloks, in many cases being eight or more times the *volok* base unit of 16.8 hectares. Meanwhile in the Plock Voivodeship in 1578, with a noticeable presence of serfless gentry, fifty years after the possibility to pay taxes collectively, only 65 out of 2,010 registered taxation units paid taxes on acreages of 3 lans or more. That is only 3% in all.<sup>10</sup> The only explanation for this phenomenon in Podlasie is the transference on the part of the nobility of the habits and customs of payment that had been acquired under the taxation and military obligations incurred when Podlasie belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the new ‘Polish’ taxation system. A key role must have been played by the collective obligation that befell the serfless gentry in the first half of the sixteenth century to provide during the course of nobility service one horse from 8–10 ‘service’ (with one ‘service’ being equivalent to one volok of arable land<sup>11</sup>).

The limited number of tax registers created after 1569 that have been preserved has resulted in the need in working on this volume of AHP to maximise the use of sources that were created at the time when Podlasie belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Special taxes were often imposed in the sixteenth century in Lithuania as a result of the long-term conflict with Moscow. The basic Lithuanian tax, the silver tax, in which the basis for the calculation of the tax was an ox or horse plough and was in character a universal tax. Those directly subject to the Grand Duke paid him as per his instruction, while the nobility were subject to acts of parliament. The nobility in possession of serfs paid a tax on the estate of these subjects, while those who had no serfs paid tax on their own property and goods. We do not know how often this silver tax was levied on state subjects, but over the course of the sixteenth century it was imposed on the estates of the nobility 25 times. This was in the years: 1507, 1520, 1522 (twice), 1524–1525, 1534–1536, 1540–1542, 1551–1553, 1554–1556, 1559–1560 (collected as silver tax due for the tax not collected in the years 1555–1556), 1561 (only Grand Duchy estates), 1563–1565 (in 1565 it was collected only on Grand Duchy possessions, holdings and lands) and 1566 (only Grand Duchy estates).<sup>12</sup> Beside this in the years 1517, 1528–1529, 1538, 1567 (twice) and 1568 was a silver tax imposed, in which the basis for calculation was the number of services resulting from the acreage of land cultivated by nobles’ serfs (vassals, impoverished nobility). In effect it was only levied on the estates of nobility holding serfs. Only in 1568, when the taxation was imposed in lieu of military service, was it to be paid also by those members of the nobility not holding serfs, with its basis being the horse provided within the framework of military service. In this case the representatives of the petty gentry were to contribute towards the taxation proper in those groups in which they were to have combined to have equipped and sent a horseman on the ruler’s command.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, pp. 145–146.

<sup>10</sup> ASK I 42, ff. 643–847.

<sup>11</sup> As equally as in the case of units of surface area measurement denoted in the Plock Voivodeship by both the term *lan* as equally *włóka* (volok), in the Podlasie Voivodeship the matter concerns that of the 30-morgen Chełm volok.

<sup>12</sup> М. Довнар-Запольский, *Государственное хозяйство* pp.742–747, the table on p. 747.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 737–738.

For the years 1514, 1519 and 1565 besides the silver tax a general poll tax was imposed on the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>14</sup> It cannot be ruled out that in a similar way to the silver tax, the poll tax was more often imposed on state serfs rather than on the rest of the populace of the Grand Duchy. The administrative effect of this taxation undertaking was the keeping at the Duchy's chancellery in Wilno of an extensive collection of taxation registers. Together with these were stored cadastres of nobility land holdings created in the years 1528–1544 by specially commissioned scribes, while for the years 1544–1567 these were compiled on the basis of taxation declarations. The boyar estates were entered separately from those of the nobility into registers, while the state holdings in inventories.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately all the registers and cadastres of nobility landed property and holdings were destroyed during the evacuation of the Grand Duchy's archives from Wilno in 1655. The only remnants of what had initially been a most extensive archival source is what remains at the Archive of the Crown Treasury and which has been employed in work upon the Podlasie volume of the AHP, and namely the summed up financial statement as to the income from the poll tax of 1565 and the silver tax for the years 1567 and 1568 as applied at the level of districts, together with the lists of those still subject to its payment.<sup>16</sup>

Documentation connected with the organisation and execution of military service and dues in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has been better preserved, and specifically the cadastres of military service and dues and military rolls. For the Podlasie Voivodeship we have at our disposal two cadastres of military service dues. One is part of the military cadastre that encompassed the whole of the Grand Duchy and which was enacted in 1528 and here on the basis of information contained in the cadastre of nobility property drawn up in the self-same year. This contains data for all the three lands of the Podlasie Voivodeship, though for the Mielnik and Drohiczyn lands these are lists of nobility names with information about the numbers of horses supplied by them. Only sporadically do the actual names of particular settlements appear. While the part that concerns the Bielsk land is exceptional in the form it takes given the scale of the whole cadastre. For the serfless gentry there is information at the parish level about the individuals gathered into groups for concrete settlement locations along with a recording of the numbers of horse supplied. The order in which the parishes themselves appear is in accordance with the route taken by the military rolls commission itself. Out of the three military cadastres for 1528 in existence, we have based ourselves in our AHP work on its edition of 2003.<sup>17</sup> The second preserved cadastre of military service dues employed in AHP work was the cadastre of the nobility of the Drohiczyn land created within the parish system for 1547.<sup>18</sup> Differently from the cadastre of 1528, it does not contain any data about the number of horse provided on royal order. Therefore, it limits itself to information about the acreage of the cultivated land found in the property of serf-owning nobility or in the settlements of those gentry without serfs calculated into the number of servants working the land and taking into consideration the quality of the land itself.

In the case of military rolls their tradition within the context of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were even older than the cadastres of military duty itself, going back all told to at least the very beginnings of the sixteenth century. For already in the year 1520 the Council of Lords of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had conveyed in a letter to Sigismund I the Old the information expected by the ruler as to who was to provide military service in a given year and who was not was presented to the monarch on the basis of the relevant register.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, enacted in 1522 and ratified in 1529, the 1<sup>st</sup> Lithuanian Statute of military rolls as organised by hetman in military camps was not treated as a novelty but merely as a natural composite element of the system for nobility service. Consequently we have nothing to state than categorically the practice of creating military rolls by the hetman in

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 729–736.

<sup>15</sup> М. Любавский, *Литовско-русский Сейм. Опыт по истории учреждения в связи с внутренним строем и внешней жизнью государства*, Москва 1900, p. 248.

<sup>16</sup> ASK I 111, ff. 1–118v.

<sup>17</sup> Popis 1528; other editions: *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga nr 523 (1528 m.)*, *Viėšijų reikalų knyga I*, ed. A. Baliulis, A. Dubonis, Vilnius 2006; *Русская историческая библиотека, издаваемая Археографической комиссией*, vol. 33, Петроградъ 1915, ff. 1–232.

<sup>18</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 45, 452–457v.

<sup>19</sup> *Popisy wojskowe pospolitego ruszenia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (1524–1566)*, introduction and compilation G. Lesmaitis, transl. B. Piasecka, ed. K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2016, p. XIX.

camps must have been developed a lot earlier. Beside these, the hetman military rolls that find their reflection in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Lithuanian Statute ratified in 1566 saw the introduction of an additional obligation for the regular formation of military rolls in times of peace, organised on royal command by the district standard bearers.<sup>20</sup>

The military rolls for the Lithuanian forces preserved from the first half of the sixteenth century are on the whole fragmentary in character, covering as a rule only individual districts. In the case of Podlasie we have at our disposal military rolls dated for the years 1533–1535 for the lands of Drohiczyn, Mielnik and Bielsk, as well as those dated 1534–1536 for the Mielnik land.<sup>21</sup> Their usefulness in relation to work on the AHP has been severely curtailed as a result of extremely scant appearance within these entries of the place names from which those nobility assembling at these military rolls actually derived. However, of immense value in the compilation of the AHP have been the hetman military rolls for the years 1565 and 1567. In both cases we are dealing with registers compiled at the parish level and enumerating particular settlements and places in the compilation of the headings, though the actual number of places herein listed is in point of fact greater than the number registered by the headings. For often under the heading for a particular place entered were individuals from several other places. For Podlasie the military roll for 1567 is much broader (more encompassing) than that for 1565. Instead of the ordinary call to undertake compulsory nobility service, and therein the sending of a horse for each 8–10 servants, the nobility of Podlasie generally not possessing serfs or free peasants were obliged to send one armed man from each gentry or boyar household regardless of the number of servants held. In the case where mounted service could not be done then service on foot was demanded. However in 1565 service took place on general principles of nobility service and hence one horse for every nine ‘services’. The printed editions of both military rolls have been used in work on the AHP.<sup>22</sup> The list of sources created when Podlasie was a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and which have been utilised in the work on the atlas is brought to a close with – and here a work belonging to the documentation drawn up following the realisation of the Union of Lublin, a list of the nobility of the Bielsk and Drohiczyn lands who swore oaths of allegiance to the Polish monarchy in 1569.<sup>23</sup>

While working on the parts of the already published volumes of AHP taxation receipts were inconsequentially used as supplementary sources. Recourse was made most often to these when the number of the tax registers for a given district was modest, or where there existed the need for a supplemental information about individual settlements. However, in the case of Podlasie which had but only a modest input in terms of tax registers, the Bielsk district taxation receipts for tax registers preserved for the years 1580 and 1581 have been used as a primary source.<sup>24</sup>

Traditionally as auxiliary sources the taxation registers drawn up in the seventeenth century have been employed. This refers to the household tax for the Bielsk lands for the years 1634 and 1635, the land taxation registers for the Mielnik lands for the years 1627 and 1629,<sup>25</sup> as equally the poll tax registers for the years 1662,<sup>26</sup> 1663,<sup>27</sup> 1673,<sup>28</sup> 1674,<sup>29</sup> 1675<sup>30</sup> and 1676.<sup>31</sup>

Besides the taxation sources, and in accordance with the practices adopted for the series as a whole, employed as supplementary sources have been the surveys of the Podlasie royal estates for the years

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<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, pp. XVI–XVIII.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, pp. 39–44, 51–52.

<sup>22</sup> For the 1565 military roll (*popis*) the newest edition prepared by G. Lesmaitis has been used: *Popis 1565*, pp. 133–379. While for the 1567 military roll the edition *Popis 1567* ff. 431–1378. In the same publication (*Русская историческая библиотека, издаваемая Археографической комиссией*, vol. 33, Петроградъ 1915), on ff. 237–430 there is the earlier edition of the military roll of 1565.

<sup>23</sup> AUPL, pp. 236–296.

<sup>24</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 670–734; ASK IV, 41, ff. 10–162.

<sup>25</sup> BOss, sygn. 4279, Brańsk municipal register of 1640; APL, AWor., catalogue no. 1.

<sup>26</sup> ASK I 70, ff. 1–93 (Drohiczyn land), 748–753v (Tykocin district – fragment).

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, ff. 504–561v, 684–747v (Tykocin and Suraz districts).

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, ff. 96–140, 249–283, 315–381, 564–625, 757–815 (Tykocin, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Brańsk, Suraz districts).

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, ff. 141–248, 284–313v, 382–503, 626–676v, 863–951 (Tykocin, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Brańsk, Suraz districts).

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, ff. 677–682v (Tykocin district – Church estates).

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, ff. 816–859 (Tykocin district); BCzart (The Czartoryski Library), Łoyko Collection, 1099 IV Manuscripts, ff. 280–421 (the whole voivodeship).

1570, 1576 and 1602.<sup>32</sup> However, none of the above mentioned surveys registered the royal holdings in the Podlasie Voivodeship in a complete manner. The most modest is that presented by the survey of 1570, the preserved part of which covers merely the Drohiczyn and Wołyń starost (administrative division).<sup>33</sup> By far the most extensive is the survey of 1576. This covered in relation to our subject of interest the starosts of Bielsk, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Łosice, Knyszyn, Goniądz, Tykocin, Augustów, and Goniądz, as well as the leased royal lands of Rajgród; the forest areas of Bielsk, Tykocin and Goniądz as well as the tendered estates at Narewsk, Kleszczelowska and Krzywaska. However no survey was conducted of the starosts of Brańsk and Suraz, the forest area of Knyszyn, and the leased royal land of Pokaniewo.<sup>34</sup> While in turn the survey of 1602 covered only the starosts of Knyszyn, Goniądz and Bielsk lying in the northern and central parts of the voivodeship, as well as the Knyszyn area of forest.

Unfortunately, even in the case of the most complete and thorough survey of 1576, part of the settlements contained scant information and in the form of generalised calculation of income sizes, without information about the acreage of land cultivated or any elements concerning manufacturing infrastructure. This situation relates to the starosts of Drohiczyn, Knyszyn, Łosice and Mielnik.<sup>35</sup> It is just this sort of information that is key for the AHP to calculate the size of a given settlement. These shortfalls were supplemented by recourse being made to the inventories of magnate and royal estates preserved for the sixteenth century,<sup>36</sup> as well as the registers of the Vokod Reform. It was indeed the latter, instigated and enacted in the case of Podlasie in the years 1558–1562, that were to play an important part as supplementary materials. For not only have they provided an opportunity to verify the information in the fullest survey of 1576, but also as a result of the detailed description of the course of the boundaries of individual royal settlements and the accompanying measurement of the exchange in lands between large aristocratic estates and the holdings of the nobility that neighboured them, they have enabled one to uncover information on all holdings that neighboured the said with newly measured and recorded land holdings including data on the persons that were their owners.<sup>37</sup>

The area of the Podlasie Voivodeship during the second half of the sixteenth century belonged to two dioceses: the Łuck (the Lwów Metropolitan) and the Wilno diocese (the Metropolitan of Gniezno). For both of the two dioceses no acts documenting Church visitations and inspections have survived from the sixteenth century. Consequently as auxiliary source materials used have been the protocols that have survived of inspections that took place in the subsequent century. The Łucka diocese has in its possession a collection of documents of rights and privileges for the eighteenth century<sup>38</sup> as well as protocols drawn up for general visitations covering the period 1662–1664.<sup>39</sup> In turn for the requirements of the reconstruction of those Podlasie parish districts that lay within the Wilno diocese (Augustów

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<sup>32</sup> LWP 1570, 1576; LWP 1602.

<sup>33</sup> On the subject of the appearance of the Wołyń starost in the records of the Podlasie Voivodeship and the question of its final territorial affiliation to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania see M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, III.2.1.8 in this edition.

<sup>34</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. XVIII–XXIII.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 72–82, 87–88.

<sup>36</sup> AWAK 14, pp. 24–60 (Brańsk and Suraz starosts of 1558); ASK LVI 292, ff. 6–102 (Tykocin starost for the years 1571–1573); ASK LVI, ff. 2–352 (Mielnik and Łosice starosts for the years 1545, 1551 and 1560); ASK LVI 110, ff. 1–67 (Knyszyn starost 1569 and 1573); Chomętowski, *Materiały* Warsaw 1876, pp. 238–290 (Knyszyn starost for the year 1561 and most likely 1564); ASK LVI 172 (Łosice starost for the year 1573); ASK LVI 235 (Rajgród and Augustów starost for the years 1573 and 1574); ASK LIV 16 (accounts for the Bielsk forestation area for the years 1571–1573); ASK LIV 29 (accounts for the towns of Bielsk and Narew for the years 1569–1572).

<sup>37</sup> M. Roszczenko, *Kleszczele*, Bielsk Podlaski 2002; PKGE II, pp. 317–521; *Rejestr pomiaru włócznej Kleszczel z roku 1560*, compiled by J. Zieleniewski, SP, vol. 3, 1991, pp. 201–248; *Bielsk Podlaski. Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta*, ed. Z. Romaniuk, Bielsk Podlaski 1999; AWAK 14, Vilna 1888, pp. 61–76 (the town of Narew and environs for 1560).

<sup>38</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 148, *Iura ecclesiarum parochialium dioecesis Luceoriensis et Brestensis ingrossata in hunc librum in anno 1645*.

<sup>39</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 149, *Acta visitationis generalis ecclesiarum palatinatus Podlachiae et Brestensis, nec non decreta reformationis tempore episcopi Nicolai Prażmowski ex annis 1662–1664. Foundationes ecclesiarum dioecesis Brestensis et earum iura*.

and Knyszyn) the visitations of 1633<sup>40</sup> and 1700 have been employed.<sup>41</sup> The remaining visitations by the Wilno diocese from the seventeenth century did not encompass Podlasie.<sup>42</sup> The documentation that exists is far from complete and comprehensive and fails to reflect the state of affairs for Church visits in the so-called old Crown dioceses, which provide a much fuller description of parishes. Parish lists with place names occur sporadically and are often replaced by tithe districts. As a result in the reconstruction of parish districts recourse has been made to the first systematic registers of parish districts contained in the acts of the Łuck Synod of 1726<sup>43</sup> and the Wilno Synod of 1744.<sup>44</sup> Extremely helpful have been also the descriptions and sketches of the Crown and Lithuanian parishes drawn up in the second half of the eighteenth century as a result of the cartographical undertakings of Karol Perthées.<sup>45</sup>

As far as the structures of the Orthodox Church are concerned the basic sources, beside the information contained in the visitations, inventories and registers of Crown holdings already enumerated, have been the inventories and registers of private property and documents of various sorts preserved and issued in a multi-volume series of sources published in the second half of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century by the Wilno Archeographic Commission.<sup>46</sup> The contents of the Lithuanian Registers have also been utilized. For Protestant Churches employed have been the seventeenth-century acts of the provincial synods of the Lithuanian Congregation covering the so-called Podlasie district assembling the Protestant communities and congregations of the Crown Podlasie Voivodeship and the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship,<sup>47</sup> as well as original foundation documents or their copies from the Radziwiłł Archives at AGAD and the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Wilno and those of the National Library there.

In accordance with the assumptions adopted for the AHP, no systematic source research in court records and ledgers has been conducted. Information found in sources of this kind that concerned the Podlasie region was utilised selectively and here through the employment of excerpts found and preliminary research conducted by the staff of the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of History's Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Masovia and Podlasie in the Middle Ages, the Ignacy Kapica Milewski Collection<sup>48</sup> and the Zygmunt Gloger Collection.<sup>49</sup> In this manner utilised was data found in the collections of Jan Kapica Milewski. All lesser written sources employed in the descriptions of individual questions and aspects such as, the planning and layout of urban settlements, the development of road networks, administrative boundaries etc., are described in the relevant chapters themselves.

(2021)

Translated by Guy Russell Torr

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<sup>40</sup> BUWil, catalogue no. F57-B53-40, Liber visitationis per illustrem admodum reverendum dominum Gasparum Zaliwski canonicum Vilmensem sub illustrissimo reverendissimo Abrahamo Woyna episcopo Vilmensi anno Domini 1633, 1641, 1645.

<sup>41</sup> BCzart, catalogue no. 1775 IV Manuscripts, Acta visitationis ecclesiarum decanatus Augustoviensis ex speciali mandato Constantini Casimiri Brzostowski (...) episcopi Vilmensis (...) anno Domini 1700 collecta.

<sup>42</sup> BUWil, catalogue no. F57-B53-42, Acta visitationis ecclesiarum dioecesis Vilmensis sub illustrissimo reverendissimo domino Georgio Tyszkiewicz episcopo Vilmensi (...) peractae anno 1653 et 1654; LMAVB, f. 318-28550 Processus visitationis generalis trium decanatum Caunensis, Siemnensis et Olvitensis. Alexander in Macieiw Sapieha, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia episcopus Vilmensis, (1669); BUWil, catalogue no. F57-B53-41, Acta visitationis generalis in tribus decanatibus, scilicet in Rozanensi, Volkoviscensi, Slonimensi [...] anno 1668 [...] expedita; see W.F. Wilczewski, *Wizytacje generalne diecezji wileńskiej w XVII–XVIII w. Ewolucja problematyki*, „Soter”, Religijos Mokslo Žurnalas”, 2010, no. 35 (63), pp. 105–106.

<sup>43</sup> Synod 1726.

<sup>44</sup> Synodus Dioecisana Vilmensis (..) anno Domini MDCCXLIV diebus 10. 11. 12. mensis Februarii celebrata, Vilnae 1744.

<sup>45</sup> Perthées's sketches; *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku: dekanat knyszyński i dekanat augustowski*, compiled by W. Wernerowa, Warsaw 1996.

<sup>46</sup> *Акты издаваемые Виленскою Археографическою комиссією для разбора древних Актов*, vol. 2, Вильна 1867; vol. 3, Вильна 1870; vol. 4, Вильна 1870; vol. 5, Вильна 1871; vol. 6, Вильна 1872; vol. 14, Вильна 1888; vol. 18 Вильна 1891; vol. 33, Вильна 1908.

<sup>47</sup> *Akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej (1611–1625)*, Wilno 1915; (*Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae*, ser. 4, no. 2); *Akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1626–1637*, introduction and compiled by M. Liedke, P. Guzowski, Warsaw 2011.

<sup>48</sup> AGAD, catalogue no. 96.

<sup>49</sup> ANK, catalogue no. 29/678.

## II.1.9a ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Marian Biskup*

The material basis of this work is quite complex and slightly different than it was in the case of the other crown lands. That is why it is necessary to present in greater detail the most important sources. For practical reasons, we will discuss the review of handwritten and printed sources separately for each of the three Prussian voivodeships, i.e. Chełmno, Malbork and Pomeranian. This method is also justified to some extent by a source base that is slightly different for each voivodeship, which is also reflected in further parts of the commentary. Only the cartographic sources are discussed jointly for the entire area to avoid unnecessary repetition.

### Chelмно Voivodeship

The primary source base for Chełmno Voivodeship are the tax registers from 1570–1571 published by I.T. Baranowski.<sup>1</sup> Due to the faulty way of publishing, which presented many difficulties, they had to be checked against the originals kept in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw.<sup>2</sup> Utilizing these helped not only to remove major publishing flaws, such as incorrect reading of names or numerical errors, but also allowed the discovery of 12% of settlements in the voivodeship that had been omitted by the editor. The abandoned items have been published separately as a supplement to the I.T. Baranowski's edition.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it still proved necessary to refer to further sources to complete the data of the tax registers, which did not always contain complete data, thereby completely ignoring a significant percentage of rural settlements. Thus, for the crown property, the inspections of the royal lands from the years 1565–1570 were acquired from the Central Archives of Historical Records. However, the inspections pertained to only two starosta's districts (Grudziądz and Rogozin).<sup>4</sup> The inspections of starosta's districts from 1624<sup>5</sup> were also reviewed, and an extensive survey from 1664 published by J. Paczkowski<sup>6</sup> was used as an auxiliary source. Thanks to this, the most complete source material was obtained for the royal property.

The inventories of the Chełmno bishopric from the beginning of the seventeenth century published by A. Mańkowski,<sup>7</sup> have especially brought valuable additions to the data on Church property. A non-printed list of rents from the property of the Chełmno Chapter from the years 1576–1586 in the Diocesan

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<sup>1</sup> *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 12: Prusy Królewskie, part 1, ed. I.T. Baranowski, Warsaw 1911 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 23), pp. 1–68, 289–303.

<sup>2</sup> ASK I 52.

<sup>3</sup> M. Biskup, *Rejestry poborowe województwa chełmińskiego z r. 1570/1*, Toruń 1955 (*Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. 20), pp. 310–325.

<sup>4</sup> ASK XLVI 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Description of the royal lands in Chełmno, Pomeranian and Malbork Voivodeships in 1664*, ed. J. Paczkowski, Toruń 1938 (*Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. 32).

<sup>7</sup> *Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego z r. 1614*, ed. A. Mańkowski, Toruń 1927 (*Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. 22); *Inwentarze dóbr kapituły katedralnej chełmińskiej z XVII i XVIII w.*, ed. A. Mańkowski, Toruń 1928 (*Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. 23).

Archives in Pelplin was also used.<sup>8</sup> The diplomatic code of the Chełmno bishopric published by C.P. Woelke also provided some supplementation.<sup>9</sup>

For the properties of the Włocławek bishopric, inventories from the second half of the sixteenth century, published by St. Chodyński and L. Żytkowicz, were used.<sup>10</sup>

The supplementary sources for the noble property are less detailed. Here, reference was made only to the later non-printed 1662 tax collection<sup>11</sup> and the 1682 tax tariffs published by St. Kętrzyński,<sup>12</sup> mostly to at least establish the existence of a given noble settlement. It was also necessary to use sources and studies on the times of the Teutonic Order. The works of L. Weber,<sup>13</sup> Brauns,<sup>14</sup> G. Henkel,<sup>15</sup> W. Kętrzyński,<sup>16</sup> A. Semrau<sup>17</sup> and J. Paradowski<sup>18</sup> containing lists of settlements in Chełmno and Lubawa lands during the Teutonic era, as well as studies by K. Kasiski,<sup>19</sup> W. Klesińska and J. Rumiński<sup>20</sup> were used in particular.

The number of sources for the town property is the weakest. Tax registers provide the necessary information only for a small number of the town owned rural settlements, especially Toruń and Chełmno. For the estates of Toruń, the town property accounting books from the second half of the sixteenth century kept in the State Archives in Toruń, usually provided sufficient supplements.<sup>21</sup>

Based on extensive archival material,<sup>22</sup> the valuable work of K.G. Prätorius, was also used as an auxiliary source. On the other hand, supplementary materials for the property of the town of Chełmno, for which only fractional data were provided by the works of F. Schultz<sup>23</sup> (for the Teutonic period) and S. Sadowski,<sup>24</sup> proved insufficient. Similarly, for 14 towns in the voivodeship, the source material contained in the tax registers is sufficient for only a few centres. For the town of Toruń, it was possible to use the books of the municipal office from the State Archives in Toruń<sup>25</sup> and the valuable work of S. Herbst on Toruń craftsmanship.<sup>26</sup> In the case of the other towns, it was necessary to refer to the monographs of individual settlements, which provide meagre data on the economic and social relations of a given urban centre in the sixteenth century, but do provide more data for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such monographs, which contained also a summary of the history of individual rural settlements situated around a given town (especially if today it is a district capital), served simultaneously as a supplement to all types of property.

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<sup>8</sup> Diocese Archive in Pelplin, A no. 20: Census ab hortis, agris, pratis etc. (1576–1586).

<sup>9</sup> *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Culm*, ed. C. P. Woelky, vol. 1-2, Gdańsk 1885–1887.

<sup>10</sup> *Inventarium curiarium et proventuum bonorum episcopatus Wladislaviensis de a. 1567*, ed. St. Chodyński, Włocławek 1894 (*Monumenta Historiae Dioecesis Wladislaviensis*, vol. 12); *Inwentarz dóbr stolowych biskupstwa włocławskiego z r. 1598*, ed. L. Żytkowicz, Toruń 1950 (*Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. 36); *Inwentarz dóbr stolowych biskupstwa włocławskiego z r. 1582*, ed. L. Żytkowicz, Toruń 1953 (*Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. 37).

<sup>11</sup> ASK I 52, pp. 324–372.

<sup>12</sup> *Taryfy podatkowe ziem pruskich z r. 1682*, ed. S. Kętrzyński, Toruń 1901 (*Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol 5).

<sup>13</sup> L. Weber, *Preussen vor 500 Jahren*, Gdańsk 1878.

<sup>14</sup> Brauns, *Geschichte des Culmerlandes bis zum Thorner Frieden*, Toruń 1881.

<sup>15</sup> G. Henkel, *Das Kulmerland um das Jahr 1400, Zeitschrift d. Westpr. Geschichtsver.* Vol 16, Gdańsk 1886 (with map).

<sup>16</sup> W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś Krzyżackich*, Lwów 1882.

<sup>17</sup> A. Semrau, *Die Entstehung und Bisiedlung der Vogtei Brathian*, "Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins", vol. 40, Toruń 1932.

<sup>18</sup> J. Paradowski, *Osadnictwo w ziemi chełmińskiej w wiekach średnich*, Lwów 1936.

<sup>19</sup> K. Kasiske, *Die Siedlungstätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens im östlichen Preussen*, Królewiec 1934.

<sup>20</sup> W. Klesińska, *Repolonizacja wsi chełmińskiej w XV i XVI w.* (typescript at the exam commission of the Faculty of Humanities of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń); J. Rumiński, *Komturstwo brodnickie*, Toruń 1950 (typescript at the exam commission of the Faculty of Humanities of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń).

<sup>21</sup> Especially no. 3521b, 3522, 3522a, 3523, 3523a, 3524a.

<sup>22</sup> K. G. Prätorius, *Topographisch-historisch-statistische Beschreibung der Stadt Thorn und ihres Gebietes, die Vorzeit und die Gegenwart umfassend*, Toruń 1882.

<sup>23</sup> F. Schultz, *Geschichte der Stadt und des Kreises Culm*, vol. 1, Gdańsk 1876.

<sup>24</sup> S. Sadowski, *Ludność i stosunki narodowościowe miasta Chelмна do schyłku dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Toruń 1951 – typescript of the doctoral dissertation in the Archives of the Humanities Department of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń – a summary printed in the Reports of Tow. Naukowe w Toruniu, 4, for the year 1950, Toruń 1952, pp. 53–57. – I would like to express my sincere thanks to the author for making available the manuscript as well as for a few archival records.

<sup>25</sup> Rachunki kamlerskie X, 7 i XVI, 32.

<sup>26</sup> S. Herbst, *Toruńskie cechy rzemieślnicze*, Toruń 1933.

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Wiesz salieβie  
 Salieβiej slachyβy wohny pwnok foliarkowicz 24  
 zkaβdi wloky po 10 gl

Wiesz klonowo  
 Kmieβy oβiadlich βredni, wlok 20 βwlokij po 20 gl

Wiesz Bratβuβowo  
 Kmieβy oβiadlich 18, βwlok 30 oβiadlich zkaβdy  
 wloki po 20 gl  
 zkaβdy kupny gl 20  
 ogrodnykow dway zagrodow kupnych gl 12  
 ogrodnykow 6 po 2 gl zkaβdygo

Wiesz samin piβta  
 Janis saminski zputuβeβia wlok foliarkowicz po 12 gl  
 βwloky

Wiesz gultowow  
 Krasowki slachyβy zkmieβy swym 6 βwlok 12 po  
 20 gl wloki

Wrocławki foliark  
 ogrodnykow 16 po 2 gl od kaβdygo

Morczynej foliark  
 ogrodnykow 3 po 2 gl od kaβdygo

**Figure 1. Fragment of the tax declaration from 1570 from Chelmno Voivodeship for the estate of the Chelmno Chapter in the Kurzętnicki property key and near Chelmża AGAD, ASK I 52, f. 430**

Therefore, the extensive monograph of Grudziądz district by X. Froelich was used in particular,<sup>27</sup> for Wąbrzeźno district – B. Heym's<sup>28</sup>, for Toruń district – H. Maercker's<sup>29</sup> and for Brodnica district – H. Plehn's<sup>30</sup> as well as and the history of the town of Lubawa by G. Liek<sup>31</sup> and Nowe Miasto – by A. Semrau<sup>32</sup> (apart from the already cited works by F. Schultz and S. Sadowski).

<sup>27</sup> X. Froelich, *Geschichte des Graudenzer Kreises*, vol. 1–2, Gdańsk 1884–1885.

<sup>28</sup> B. Heym, *Geschichte des Kreises Briesen und seiner Ortschaften*, Wąbrzeźno 1902.

<sup>29</sup> H. Maercker, *Geschichte der ländlichen Ortschaften und der drei kleineren Städte des Kreises Thorn*, Gdańsk 1899–1900.

<sup>30</sup> H. Plehn, *Geschichte des Kreises Strasburg in Westpreussen*, Lipsk 1900; Idem, *Ortsgeschichte des Kreises Strasburg in Westpreussen*, Królewiec 1900.

<sup>31</sup> G. Liek, *Die Stadt Löbau in Westpreussen mit Berücksichtigung des Landes Lübau*, „Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder”, vol. 25–29, 1892.

<sup>32</sup> A. Semrau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Neumark*, „Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder”, vol. 30, 1893.

In Turchen. districtu.			
Luthom in Turchen. districtu ad parochiam Groska habet 20 mansos			
Die ii	Julij Nobilis Michael Lutornski Regiam Con- tributionem soluit	5 mansi - - - - - ad 12 prof: fa: flore:	2
	i Fortulanus - - - - - ad 2 prof: fa: flore:	-	2
Die	eodem Nobilis Alber. Lutornski Reg. Con: soluit.	5 Mansi - - - - - ad 12 prof: fa: flore:	2
	i Fortulanus - - - - - ad 2 prof: fa: flore:	-	2
Die	eodem Nobilis Bartosz Lutornski Reg. Con: soluit	5 Mansi - - - - - ad 12 prof: fa: flore:	2
	i Fortulanus - - - - - ad 2 prof: fa: flore:	-	2
Die	eodem Nobilis Szymon Lutornski Regiam Con- tributionem soluit et in alio loco colonos.		
	Summa facit - - flo	6	6
+ Lapendowa in Turchen. districtu ad Pa- rachiam Groska			
Die 13	Julij Nobilis Ioannes Lapendawski Regiam Contributionem soluit	7 1/2 mansi - - - - - ad 12 prof: fa: flo:	3
Die 1	eodem Nobilis Lapendawski Regiam Contribu- tionem soluit	2 1/2 mansi - - - - - ad 12 prof: fa: flo:	1
Die	eodem Nobilis Petrus Lapendawski Regiam Con- tributionem soluit	2 1/2 mansi - - - - - ad 12 prof: fa: flo:	30
	Summa facit - - flo:	5	
	Summa lateris - - flo:		

Figure 2. Fragment of the 1570 tax register of Pomeranian Voivodeship for the noble estates of the Tuchola district AGAD, ASK 106, f. 142v.

These studies, together with all the auxiliary materials, made it possible to establish the total number of sixteenth century settlements in the voivodeship, demonstrating that the tax registers omitted about 20.4% of the settlements.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> A more detailed comparison, cf. M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego*, Toruń 1957 (RTNT, vol. 60, no. 2), p. 9.

The substitute data, however, did not manage to fill the gaps in the tax registers and did not provide sufficient information, in particular, concerning crafts and the number of inhabitants in the cities of Chełmno Voivodeship. It resulted in a need to limit the extent of the analysis of the town relations in the voivodeship, and sometimes to use data from a later period, e.g. when calculating the number of inhabitants.

The administrative division of the voivodeship was developed on the parish scale based on the Church inspections, which despite dating back to the mid-seventeenth century,<sup>34</sup> also contained data for the period which was of interest to us. This problem has been discussed in a separate work, where the method of researching this issue has also been presented in more detail.<sup>35</sup> The division on the district scale was adopted on the basis of source data from the mid-seventeenth century,<sup>36</sup> due to the lack of sufficient information from the sixteenth century.

## Malbork Voivodeship

The study of Malbork voivodeship is also based on the tax registers, but from a slightly later period, namely from 1581–1582. Those from 1582 were also published by I.T. Baranowski<sup>37</sup> but much more carefully than the registers of Chełmno Voivodeship, although errors in town names or numerical data could be found here as well.<sup>38</sup> However, the unpublished registers from 1581<sup>39</sup> were used as a primary source base, both because of their earlier chronology and that they contain a more precise description of the owners of noble estates which were quite poorly included in the other register. However, they omit a few settlements, especially those belonging to the crown and the nobility. Conversely, information about them was supplemented on the basis of registers from 1582. No glaring differences in the data of both registers were found.

For the royal property, the above materials were supplemented with previously unpublished inspections from 1564–1565<sup>40</sup> and 1569–1570.<sup>41</sup> They basically cover the main part of the royal property, especially the Malbork economy, but do not include inspections for two of the voivodeship's starosta's districts (Tolknicko and Dzierzgoń) and part of the Nowy Dwór lease. They were supplemented out of necessity with inspections from 1624,<sup>42</sup> which were much less abundant in content than those from the sixteenth century, and – comparatively – with an inspection from 1664.<sup>43</sup> The most important items of an extensive collection of inventories and accounting materials of the Malbork economy, especially for the first and second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>44</sup> were reviewed.

For the noble property, apart from the tax registers from 1581–1582, sources from the State Archives in Gdańsk were used, which were found on the basis of the results of a rural inquiry of

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<sup>34</sup> *Visitationes ecclesiarum dioecesis Culmensis et Pomesaniae Andrea Leszczyński episcopo A. 1647 factae*, ed. A. Pobłocki, Toruń 1900 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 4); *Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski episcopo A. 1667–1672 factae*, ed. B. Czapla, Toruń 1902–1906 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 6–10); *Visitationes moderni decanatus Gorznensis*, ed. P. Czapiewski, Toruń 1908 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 11–15). From monographs especially: S. Kujot, *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej*, Toruń 1902–1905 (RTNT, vol. 9–12).

<sup>35</sup> M. Biskup, *Podziały administracyjne województwa chełmińskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, SMDWP, vol. 1, no. 2, 1956, pp. 105 f.

<sup>36</sup> ASK I 52: register of tax collection from 1662.

<sup>37</sup> *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 12: Prusy Królewskie, part 1, pp. 69–98.

<sup>38</sup> Collated on the basis of the original ASK I 123.

<sup>39</sup> ASK I 120.

<sup>40</sup> ASK XLVI 29.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, 30.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, 33. The inspection of the Sztum starosta's district from 1615 was also used, cf. ASK LVI 10.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. footnote 6.

<sup>44</sup> AGAD, Malbork economy. In particular, the revision of 1510–1529 (current sign. W. 194) calculations from 1564–1565 (sign. W. 229), 1570 (sign. W. 240) and 1581 (sign. W. 245). – Revision from 1510–1529 was published by W. Hejnosz in: *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii malborskiej*, vol. 1, Toruń 1959 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 45). In volume 2 of this publication (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 45, 1960), among others, 1590 revision of the Malbork economy on the basis of a microfilm of a manuscript from the Royal Library in Stockholm.

the Head Office of State Archives. In particular, the sixteenth century jurors' books of the town of Sztum,<sup>45</sup> containing numerous entries of noble owners, and the first of the preserved land books of Sztum from the beginning of the seventeenth century,<sup>46</sup> were used. The monograph of the Sztum district by F.W.F. Schmitt<sup>47</sup> and the studies of individual complexes of noble estates by R. Flanss<sup>48</sup> and E. Wernicke<sup>49</sup> played an auxiliary role.

For the small in size Church property, the tax registers played the role of the source base. They have failed completely, however, when it comes to town ownership, represented predominantly by the territory of the town of Elbląg. This made it necessary to refer to the materials of the former Elbląg archive.<sup>50</sup> Thus, mainly bills for individual districts of the territory, mostly from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and treasurers' accounts from that period were used.<sup>51</sup> These materials were supplemented with the data from detailed monographs of the town of Elbląg and its district by G.M. Fuchs,<sup>52</sup> M. Toeppen,<sup>53</sup> E. Carstenn<sup>54</sup> and E. G.Kerstan with C.E. Rhode.<sup>55</sup> In combination with the Elbląg archival sources, they allowed the establishing, in principle, of the entirety of sixteenth century settlements located in the territory of Elbląg and the number of industrial facilities in the town and its vicinity. However, they did not provide a basis for a full study of several important problems, especially the population density, the condition of rural craftsmanship and the division of parishes.

Similarly, the state of materials for the remaining towns of Malbork Voivodeship turned out to be the worst compared to the data for the towns of Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships. Tax registers do not provide any basis here for illustrating the economic and social relations of that time. One could only refer to the different local monographs of individual centres, often of various quality and detail, such as H. Lettau for Nowy Staw,<sup>56</sup> F. Hassenstein for Dzierzgoń,<sup>57</sup> G. Berg for Malbork,<sup>58</sup> to the studies by E.G. Kerstan and F.W.F. Schmitt quoted above, discussing the history of Sztum within the history of individual districts, or finally, to the summary lists in *Deutsches Städtebuch* by E. Keyser.<sup>59</sup> However, all of the above studies did not provide, similarly to Elbląg case, the necessary materials to illustrate all the problems. In total, it was found that the draft registers omitted a total of 21% of the estates and as much as 38% of the Elbląg territory.<sup>60</sup>

The source material for illustrating the administrative division of the voivodeship posed considerable problems. We could only address the division into parishes because the district scale does not occur here at all. The only larger ownership complex – the territory of Elbląg – marks also the borders of smaller districts. Most of the voivodeship's area, as far as the east of the Elblązka River, belonged

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<sup>45</sup> State Archives in Gdańsk (WAP Gdańsk) sec. 349, no. 10 (years 1470–1558) and 349, no. 12 (years 1591–1610).

<sup>46</sup> WAP Gdańsk, Dz. 15, no. 1.

<sup>47</sup> F.W.F. Schmitt, *Geschichte des Stuhmer Kreises*, Toruń 1868. The short monograph of B. Schmid, *Der Kreis Stuhm*, Sztum 1935 does not bring new data, only relying on the results of its predecessors.

<sup>48</sup> R. Flanss, *Geschichte der Westpreussischer Güter. Die Weisshöfchen Güter*. "Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder", vol. 21, 1887.

<sup>49</sup> E. Wernicke, *Tiefenau*, „Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder”, vol. 65, 1927 (Beilage).

<sup>50</sup> Currently as a part of the resources of WAP Gdańsk.

<sup>51</sup> The following positions: accounts of the so-called Aussenkämmereramt from 1603, Landrichteramt from 1596–1597, Fischamt from 1593–1595, Ziegelamt from 1606, Mühlenamt from 1636, Hospitalsamt (Spittelamt) from 1619–1620, Innenkämmereramt from 1562. A revision of a part of the Elbląg territory, from the end of the sixteenth century, was also used, hailing from so-called Conventsche Sammlung.

<sup>52</sup> G. M. Fuchs, *Beschreibung der Stadt Elbing und ihres Gebietes in topographischer, geschichtlicher und statistischer Hinsicht*, vol. 1–3, Elbląg 1818–1852.

<sup>53</sup> M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten*, Gdańsk 1871–1872; Idem, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung der Stadt Elbing*, Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins”, vol. 21, 1887.

<sup>54</sup> E. Carstenn, *Geschichte der Hansestadt Elbing*, Elbląg 1937; Idem, *Aus Spittelhofs alten Tagen*, Elbląg 1912.

<sup>55</sup> E.G. Kerstan, *Geschichte des Landkreises Elbing*, Elbląg 1925; Idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Elbinger Haffhöhe in der Ordens und Polenzeit*, „Elbinger Jahrbuch”, vol. 1 and 3, 1919–1923; C. E. Rhode, *Der Elbinger Kreis in topographischer, historischer und statistischer Hinsicht*, Gdańsk 1871.

<sup>56</sup> H. Lettau, *Neueich. Heimatbuch*, Nowy Staw 1929.

<sup>57</sup> F. Hassenstein, *Chronik der Stadt Christburg*, Dzierzgoń 1920.

<sup>58</sup> G. Berg, *Geschichte der Stadt Marienburg*, Malbork 1921.

<sup>59</sup> *Deutsches Städtebuch*, vol. 1, ed. E. Keyser, Stuttgart–Berlin 1939.

<sup>60</sup> Detailed comparison cf. M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego*, pp. 11–12.

to the Pomesanian diocese, which at the end of the sixteenth century was taken over by the Chełmno bishops; the rest of the area was under the authority of the Warmia bishops. However, the first full, printed inspection of the Pomesanian diocese only dates back to 1647,<sup>61</sup> i.e. from the post-Reformation period and after the First Swedish War, which wreaked significant havoc in these areas. Therefore, to recreate at least approximately the parish network for the second half of the sixteenth century it was necessary to refer to earlier auxiliary sources, especially from the period of the Reformation, which had had a strong influence in these areas. A major help was thus the registry of rectors of the Greater Żuławy parish churches from the 1562–1564 period, preserved in the collection of the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk.<sup>62</sup> The fragmentarily preserved inspections of the Pomeranian diocese from 1604, 1610, 1637 and 1654, located in the Diocesan Archives in Olsztyn in the collection of the former Bishop Archives in Frombork, were also reviewed.<sup>63</sup> The work of B. Schmid, who was the first to find the above sources in describing the monuments of the Malbork district, was of great help.<sup>64</sup> The inspection of the Pomesanian diocese from the end of the seventeenth century, preserved in the Diocesan Archives in Pelplin<sup>65</sup> was used to clarify unclear or debatable issues. The above materials made it possible to reconstruct the parish network for the period in question, except for the Elbląg territory and the eastern part of the voivodeship belonging to Warmia diocese. The territory of Elbląg, already Protestant around the middle of the sixteenth century, was not subject to inspections by the Warmia bishops, with the exception of the St. Nicholas Cathedral in Elbląg, the only Catholic Church in the entire area. The remaining churches were Protestant and the patronage over them belonged to the Elbląg council, which had full power over the entire church system. The affiliation of individual settlements to the Protestant churches of the Elbląg territory was very unstable and was subject to frequent changes; therefore, there are no sufficient grounds to put forward even retrogressive conclusions about the sixteenth-century parish network in this area on the basis of later information, mainly coming from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Therefore, these fruitless attempts were abandoned, resolving to just marking the parish settlements in this area, shown for the sixteenth century on the basis of reliable data by E.G. Kerstan.<sup>66</sup> A similar procedure had to be done in a small area near Tolkmicko, belonging to the Frombork deanery of the Warmia diocese. The unfortunate state of preservation of the scattered Frombork archives only allowed for the reconstruction of the parish seats in this area<sup>67</sup> without the possibility of fully establishing the settlements belonging to them.

To supplement the source materials, the dissertations of A. Semrau on the development of settlement during the Teutonic Order in the areas of the later Malbork Voivodeship,<sup>68</sup> were also conscientiously reviewed. It was, after all, in many cases also based on material from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apart from them, works on history of the Malbork district<sup>69</sup> as well as the works of H. Penner

<sup>61</sup> Cf. footnote 34.

<sup>62</sup> Library of Polish academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, Msc. 1247, Miscellanea ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam Prussicam maxime Gdanensem spectantia, vol. 1, BI. 396 et seq.

<sup>63</sup> Sign. B. 58, 62 and 63. They do not cover the entire area and do not always list the villages belonging to individual parishes.

<sup>64</sup> B. Schmid, *Die Bau und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen*, vol. 14: *Kreis Marienburg*, Gdańsk 1919.

<sup>65</sup> Inspection of bishop Potocki from 1700 – cf. C 32 (V, 34) and C 30 (IV, 45).

<sup>66</sup> E. G. Kerstan, *Die evangelische Kirche des Stadt- und Landkreises Elbing*, Elbląg 1917.

<sup>67</sup> Adapted from *Sedes archipresbyteratus dioecesis Warmiensis*, ed. J. M. Saage, C. P. Woelky, [in:] *Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis*, vol. 3, Braniewo 1866, pp. 384 f. Looking through the remaining Warmia bishopric inspections from the end of the sixteenth century in the Olsztyn Diocese Archive (sig. B2) did not provide positive result.

<sup>68</sup> A. Semrau, *Die Orte und Fluren im ehemaligen Gebiet Stuhm und Waldamt Bönhof*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”, vol. 36, 1928; Idem, *Die Orte und Fluren im ehemaligen Kammeramt Morin. I. Der Südwestteil*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”, vol. 38, 1930; Idem, *Die Siedlungen im Kammeramt Morein (Komturei Christburg) während der Ordenszeit*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”, vol. 39, 1931; Idem, *Die Siedlungen im Kammeramt Kirsiten (Komturei Christburg) im Mittelalter*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”, vol. 41, 1933; Idem, *Zur Geschichte der Besiedlung des Grossen Werders im 13. Jahrhundert*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”, vol. 42, 1934; Idem, *Die Siedlungen im Kammeramt Fischau (Komturei Christburg) im Mittelalter*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”, vol. 44, 1936.

<sup>69</sup> E.J. Dormann, *Geschichte des Kreises Marienburg*, Gdańsk 1862; C. Parey, *Der Marienburger Kreis*, Gdańsk 1864; H. Eckerdt, *Geschichte des Kreises Marienburg*, Gdańsk 1868; *Marienburger Heimatbuch*, Kwidzyn–Malbork 1926.

about the Dutch settlements in the Vistula delta<sup>70</sup> were consulted. The latter, however, did not bring any major material supplements.

## Pomeranian Voivodeship

As the basis for the study of Pomeranian Voivodeship served the tax registers from 1570–1571, also published by the quoted I.T. Baranowski, although they also required re-collation with the originals in the Central Archives of Historical Records.<sup>71</sup> However, due to the previously identified shortcomings of these registers, in particular, the omission of approximately 17.4% of the voivodeship's settlements (not including those located in the territory of the town of Gdańsk),<sup>72</sup> it turned out to be necessary to refer to supplementary materials. To some extent, they had already been used in the development of the map of the distribution of land ownership in Pomeranian Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, due to the current, extended scope of subjects and research problems, it turned out that it was necessary to expand the source base even further. This observation applies to both handwritten materials and monographs.

Therefore, for the royal property, in addition to the inspection of Pomeranian Voivodeship from 1564,<sup>73</sup> several inventories of Pomeranian starosta's districts from mid-sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century were worked through. They were acquired from Central Archives of Historical Records<sup>74</sup> and supplemented with the data of the above-cited inspection in 1664, printed by J. Paczkowski then a few inventories of the Puck and Kościerzyna starosta's districts from the seventeenth century<sup>75</sup> and documents of the Człuchów starosta's district were consulted.<sup>76</sup>

Similarly, the source base on Church property was expanded by using quite fragmentary materials for monasteries in Kartuzy, Oliwa and Pelplin, located in the voivodeship's State Archives in Gdańsk<sup>77</sup> and in the Diocesan Archives in Pelplin.<sup>78</sup> Also used were the published inventories of the property of the Włocławek bishopric from the sixteenth century<sup>79</sup> and the inspection of the property of the archbishopric of Gniezno from 1511–1512.<sup>80</sup>

As far as the entirety of the settlements are concerned, the most important supplementary sources were the inspections of the Pomeranian archdeaconry from the end of the sixteenth century, published by St. Kujot<sup>81</sup> and inspections of the archdeaconry of Kamień from the beginning of the seventeenth

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<sup>70</sup> H. Penner, *Ansiedlung mennonitischer Niederländer im Weichselmündungsgebiet von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der preussischen Zeit*, Gdańsk 1939.

<sup>71</sup> ASK I 106.

<sup>72</sup> In more detail: M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1955 (RTNT, vol. 58, no. 1), p. 12.

<sup>73</sup> ASK XLVI 28.

<sup>74</sup> ASK LVI, vol. 1 – inventories of the Tuchola starosta's district from the years 1569–1570; vol. 5 – inventories of the Tczew starosta's district (from 1591); vol. 13 – inventories of the Skarszew starosta's district (from 1628) and vol. 5 – inventories of the Gniez starosta's district (sixteenth century).

<sup>75</sup> *Inwentarze starostw puckiego i kościerskiego z XVII wieku*, ed. G. Labuda, Toruń 1954 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 39).

<sup>76</sup> *Documenta capitaneatus Slochoviensis*, ed. P. Panske, Toruń 1935 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 28). We have also looked into other P. Panske texts: *Handfesten der Komturei Schlochau*, Gdańsk 1921 and *Urkunden der Komturei Tuchel*, Gdańsk 1911.

<sup>77</sup> WAP Gdańsk, Sect. 376, no. 106 – economic files of the monastery in Kartuzy from the second half of the sixteenth century; Sect. 391, no. 429 – inventories of the demesne of the monastery in Oliwa from 1530–1544.

<sup>78</sup> Diocesan Archives in Pelplin – V.2: Codex diplomaticus Cartusiae 1382–1601; V.3: Codex diplomaticus Cartusiae 1382–1696; Monastica Zukoviensia 1. Privilégia Monasterii Zukoviensis 1596–1754.

<sup>79</sup> *Inwentarz dóbr i dochodów biskupstwa włocławskiego z r. 1534*, ed. B. Ulanowski, Cracow 1916 (Archiwum Komisji Historycznej, vol. 10); cf. footnote 10 – data about inventories from the end of the sixteenth century published by L. Żytkowicz.

<sup>80</sup> *Visitationes bonorum archiepiscopatus necnon capituli Gnesnensis seaculi XVI*, ed. B. Ulanowski, Cracow 1920. The resources of the Capitular Archives in Gniezno were also used, especially the inspections of archbishop's estates from 1548–1557 (sign. B. 143) and 1575–1717 (cf. B. 146).

<sup>81</sup> *Visitationes archidiaconatus Pomeraniae*, ed. S. Kujot, Toruń 1897–1899 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 1–3).

century.<sup>82</sup> In particular, they supplemented information for the noble property for which there were no auxiliary materials from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The above source materials have been complemented with data from several monographs, concerning both the history of individual Church institutions,<sup>83</sup> as well as individual districts and Pomeranian regions,<sup>84</sup> and also urban<sup>85</sup> and even rural<sup>86</sup> settlements.

All in all, the above materials enabled a more complete presentation of individual problems for the entire voivodeship, including even smaller towns, included in the tax registers in particularly great detail. The only exception is the territory of the town of Gdańsk, which constituted the most difficult issue in terms of the source base. The main difficulty was the complete omission of the entire territory in the lists of the voivodeship's tax registers, as well as the lack of appropriate substitute materials in the State Archives in Gdańsk. Some of the archival materials concerning some parts of the territory (especially Żuławy Steblewskie) were also lost during the last war. The existing sources do not provide the necessary data on the economy and social structure for the period in question, due to their general nature or fragmentation. These are usually general lists of rents<sup>87</sup> that allow us to determine the number of settlements and the size of their arable land, but rarely provide more detailed information about the inhabitants of individual estates.<sup>88</sup> Supplementing the above gaps with the manuscripts from the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk<sup>89</sup> and monographs on individual settlements<sup>90</sup> did not provide sufficient grounds for the development of all research problems, forcing the adoption of estimated demographic data or even complete abandonment of cartographic presentation of some problems. It should be emphasized that a complete and thorough presentation of the economic and social relations in the Gdańsk territory will be possible only for 1793, for which we have almost all the materials in the form of the Prussian cadastre.<sup>91</sup>

Summarising, it must be stated that in all the collected source materials of Royal Prussia, the sources for royal and Church property are the most complete and of the best quality (for a maximum of 90–95% of housing estates more complete information), and less so for the noble property, where it was necessary to resort more often to methods of additional estimation of numbers concerning arable land or population. The greatest shortages of materials concerned the town property (especially in the territory of Chełmno, Elbląg and Gdańsk and the towns of Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships), which, as a consequence, was the least numerically and cartographically represented. This led, understandably, to an inevitable underrepresentation of the issues connected with the towns in favour of those connected with the rural areas in Royal Prussia.

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>82</sup> *Monumenta vetustiora ad archidiaconatum Camenensem pertinentia*, ed. P. Panske, Toruń 1907–1911 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 11–15).

<sup>83</sup> In particular, a more detailed monograph by R. Frydrychowicz, *Geschichte der Cistercienserabtei Pelplin*, Düsseldorf 1907 and S. Kujot, *O majątkach biskupich na Pomorzu*, Toruń 1880 (RTNT, vol. 2).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. in the list of literature, works by R. Frydrychowicz (Tuchola district), T. Hirsch (Kartuzy district), H. Maercker and R. Wegner (Świecie district), H. Prutz (Wejherowo district), J. Rink (Kosznajdry), F. Schultz (Puck, Wejherowo and Tczew districts), B. Stadi (Starogard district) and Cz. Wycech (Chojnice district).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. the works of A. Blanke and K. Kościński (Człuchów), B. Borowka and A. Uppenkamp (Chojnice), P. Correns (Gniew), M. Foltz and P. Simson (Gdańsk), E. Raduński (Tczew), HJ Schmitz (Białobór), B. Stadi (Starogard), R. Stoewer (Kościerzyna) and E. Waschinski (Skarszewy) in the literature list.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. the works of J. Alexy (Rudno), K. Dąbrowski (Chmielno), K. Hoene (Leżno), J. Muhl (Łaguszewo, Rębielcz and Sobowidz), F. Schultz (Rzucewo), A. Treichel (Lotskie goods) and H. Voellner (Oliwa mills) in the literature list.

<sup>87</sup> In particular, accounts from the second half of the sixteenth century for Mierzeja Wiślana and Szkarpada – section 300, 2, no. 1, 158, 181 and 184; accounting books of the Gdańsk Upland – section 300, 4, no. 1, 2, 143, 145.

<sup>88</sup> Inspection of the Gdańsk Upland from 1585–300 R., fol. A. 1 B, no. 20.

<sup>89</sup> In particular Msc. 657 – Data for Żuławy Gdańskie (for some of the settlements) from 1592.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. the works of W. Hoffmann (Pruszcz), G. Klemm (Mygowo, Mokry Dwór), J. Muhl (Grabiny-Zameczek, Sztutowo, Warcz and the settlements in the Gdańsk Upland), P. Rühle (Hel) and EW Waage (Orunia) in the literature list.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. C. Biernat, *Katastry kontrybucyjne posiadłości miasta Gdańska* from 1793, ZH, vol. 21, z. 1–2, 1955, pp. 257–261.

## II.2 CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCES

### II.2.12357 VOIVODESHIPS OF LUBLIN, MAZOVIA, RAWA, PŁOCK, SANDOMIERZ, ŁĘCZYCA, SIERADZ AND CRACOW

*Henryk Rutkowski*

The maps of Poland from the second half of the sixteenth century had almost no part in our work, as they are much less detailed than our study, and also contain glaring errors (misshapen river networks, incorrect settlement locations, etc.). Three important maps from this period could be mentioned here. They are all more or less direct remakes of Bernard Wapowski's cartographical works published in 1526 and known only in fragments. They are: Waclaw Grodecki's map printed somewhere around 1562 (at a scale of around 1:1,680,000),<sup>1</sup> Andrzej Pograbka's map from 1570 (around 1:1,950,000)<sup>2</sup> and Gerard Mercator's map from 1585 (around 1:1,600,000).<sup>3</sup> One could find these maps interesting as they offer some insight into the knowledge of the time concerning geographical elements reflected by means of cartography, but this is a separate issue.<sup>4</sup> For the sake of example, we could mention that Grodecki's map of Mazovia shows 44 settlements: 34 capitals of voivodeships, lands and districts (six missing), nine other towns, and the old ducal hunting manor Szkwa situated in a forest which is now called Kurpiowska. This categorization includes a symbol without a name located south of Sochaczew and identified as Mszczonów (according to Pograbka's map). We disregard an unnamed symbol between Nowogród and Łomża (in Pograbka this is second Ostrołęka). Andrzej Pograbka's adds on his map eight new towns to the 44 marked by Grodecki, of which one is a district capital. Pograbka distinguishes Warsaw and Płock with larger letters, but does not do so with Rawa. Similarly, in neighbouring territories Radom and Piotrków are distinguished, but not Brześć Kujawski. Grodecki partially marked the border of Mazovian Voivodeship. Some of its fragments separate settlements correctly, but others are largely wrong. In the later edition of this author's map from 1595, changed according to Pograbka's map, the course of the border was complemented, but still is not entirely without error. Grodecki's map shows 51 settlements in Sandomierz Voivodeship, almost entirely towns. Pograbka added five other towns. The latter's map marks several roads which run through the area included in our Atlas.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII w. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny*, Wrocław 1963, pp. 28, 32–34, 38; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, Wrocław 1966, fig. 19; B. Kmiecikowa, *Mapa Polski Wacława Grodeckiego*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 6, 1974, no. 1, pp. 23–29; *Katalog dawnych map Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w kolekcji Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego i w innych zbiorach*, vol. 1: *Mapy XV–XVI wieku*, comp. W. Kret, Wrocław 1978, pp. 103–105; S. Alexandrowicz, *Rozwój kartografii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1989, pp. 54, 63–65, 72.

<sup>2</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 35–36; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography*, fig. 22; *Katalog dawnych map*, p. 118, fig. 24.

<sup>3</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 36–37; P.H. Meurer, *Les territoires de la Couronne Polonoise*, [in:] Gérard Mercator cosmographe. Les temps et l'espace, sous la dir. de M. Watelet, Antwerpen 1994, pp. 351–359; *Polonia. Atlas map z XVI–XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2005, no. 28.

<sup>4</sup> M. Koter, *Terytorium dzisiejszego województwa łódzkiego na mapach Polski z XVI i XVII wieku*, „Rocznik Łódzki”, vol. 5, 1961 (1962), pp. 77–87; S. Herbst, *Mazowsze w kartografii XV/XVI wieku*, [in:] *Europa Słowiańszczyzna — Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu prof. K. Tymienieckiego*, Poznań 1970, pp. 519–521; H. Rutkowski, *Polska na mapie Europy Środkowej z roku 1507*, [in:] *O rzeczach minionych. Scripta rerum historicarum Annae Rutkowska-Plachcińska oblata*, ed. M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, J. Kruppé, Warszawa 2006, pp. 281–293; H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] AHP Cracow.

<sup>5</sup> See U. Puckalanka, *Szesnastowieczna mapa polsko-litewskich szlaków podróży*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UAM w Poznaniu”, no. 54: Biblioteka, no. 4, 1964, pp. 194–198.

In our work on Cracow Voivodeship we used the oldest printed Polish detailed map showing the duchies of Oświęcim and Zator. It was published in Venice in 1563.<sup>6</sup> The author was Stanisław Porębski, but he certainly cooperated with Waclaw Grodecki (his map of Poland contains a generalized version of the area shown on Porebski's map). The scale is determined at 1:250,000, but there are significant differences between its parts. As in other maps of the period, this one was based on the course of the rivers, and all settlements were located in relation to the watercourses. Settlement was presented almost completely, except for the southern part of the map (Żywiec estates). Mountains were marked with much simplification, and forests – only in the lowlands. Important bridges over the Vistula and its tributaries were shown but roads were omitted.<sup>7</sup> We accepted Porębski's nomenclature in our study as well as the bridges he marked.

The oldest maps which constitute the proper cartographic sources for our work come from the last decades of the eighteenth century. It is a widely-known fact that historical geography often resorts to retrogression. In the first place we should mention maps of every voivodeship in the Republic after the First Partition (1772). Their author was Karol Perthées, the court cartographer of the last King of Poland, Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1795). These maps, set at a scale of 1:225,000, show almost all settlements. Perthées prepared 12 such maps, which cover the majority of the area included in this Atlas. The title of each of them begins with the words: 'Mappa szczegulna woiewodztwa[...]' ('Detailed map of the voivodeship of [...]'). Most of these maps are known from manuscripts and five were published as copperplates. Here we list all maps in chronological order, including the ones which show areas beyond our Atlas. These are the maps of the following territories: Mazovian Voivodeship – first version (1783), Płock Voivodeship with Dobrzyń land (1784, printed in Paris prior to 1802), the Voivodeships of Cuyavia – the vVoivodeship of Brześć Kujawski with the remaining part of the Voivodeship of Inowrocław (1785), Lublin Voivodeship (1786, printed in Paris prior to 1806), Cracow Voivodeship with Siewierz Duchy (1787, printed in Paris in 1792), Sandomierz Voivodeship (1788, printed in Paris around 1795), Mazovian Voivodeship – second, corrected version (1791),<sup>8</sup> Rawa Voivodeship (1792, printed in Petersburg in 1806), Łęczyca Voivodeship (1793),<sup>9</sup> Podlasie Voivodeship (1795), Poznań Voivodeship (1804), and Kalisz Voivodeship (probably after 1804).

Perthées's basic materials were the descriptions of parishes prepared by parsons according to a distributed questionnaire (the main question concerned the location of all settlements in relation to the parochial church which had to be determined according to position (north, south, east, west) and distance in miles, or parts of a mile). The royal cartographer could also use the few points with astronomically marked geographical coordinates, various older maps and someone's observations in the field, especially drafts of road networks. Perthées's maps, as they were not based on triangulation or topographic surveys, cannot show exact location of elements, often include major errors, but they are still rich in content – usually showing all settlements with division into categories, dense water network, borders (district and higher-rank), site names (including physiographic).<sup>10</sup> In our work these maps were used mostly to determine the course of roads, borders and the nomenclature, and rarely to help us in some issues concerning settlement location. Lists of royal and Church estates helped us

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<sup>6</sup> Ducatus Oswieczimen[sis] et Zatoriensis descriptio – K. Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography*, fig. 18; *Katalog dawnych map*, p. 38, fig. 11.

<sup>7</sup> J. Pietkiewicz, *Mapa księstwa oświęcimskiego i zatorskiego Stanisława Porębskiego (1563)*, [in:] *Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej*, Seria C, no. 24, Warsaw 1980, pp. 63–78; S. Alexandrowicz, *Najstarsza mapa szczegółowa ziem polskich: Stanisława Porębskiego mapa księstwa oświęcimskiego i zatorskiego z 1563 roku*, [in:] *Mente et litteris. O kulturze i społeczeństwie wieków średnich*, ed. H. Chłopocka et al., Poznań 1984, pp. 357–372.

<sup>8</sup> This map is known from a Russian copy made in Petersburg between 1798 and 1812. Polish names were kept, but the title was translated, as well as all symbols and tables of royal and Church property (map in AGAD). Of the area of Mazovian Voivodeship, Perthées finished only the map of Warsaw's surroundings in 1787, which was published in Paris in 1789 ('Okolice Warszawy w diametrze pięciu mil').

<sup>9</sup> Perthées 1793 – For the description of this and other maps by Perthées see *Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce*, no. 5: *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne ziem polskich 1576–1870*, part 1: *Tekst*, comp. T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, Wrocław 1983, poz. 37.

<sup>10</sup> K. Buczek, *Kartograf króla Stanisława Augusta. Życie i dzieła*, przyp. i oprac. H. Rutkowski, [in:] *Karol Perthées (1739–1815), fizjograf Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Życie oraz działalność kartograficzna i entomologiczna*, ed. J. Pawłowski, Warsaw 2003, pp. 21–134; H. Rutkowski, *Okres Stanisława Augusta w badaniach Karola Buczka nad kartografią dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Karol Buczek (1902–1983). Człowiek i uczonec*, ed. D. Karczewski et al., Cracow–Bydgoszcz 2004, pp. 76–102.

solve problems related to ownership. Exceptionally, we resorted to Perthées's materials which constituted a transitory stage between the descriptions of parishes and the maps. These materials were drafts of particular parishes bound in 12 volumes and entitled 'Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego'.<sup>11</sup> The work of the royal cartographer proved not very helpful in the case of Cracow Voivodeship, as it was fully used by the authors of the map of this area in the years of the Four-Year Sejm 1788–1792.<sup>12</sup>

The inquiry of parishes and the questionnaire were planned and conducted by Rev. Franciszek Czaykowski. The project was administered by Michał Poniatowski (the King's brother), the Bishop of Płock, and since 1784 – the Primate of Poland. Basing on the descriptions sent by the parsons, Czaykowski made a list of settlements and their owners in parochial order from six western dioceses of the State in the borders after the First Partition.<sup>13</sup> He also prepared several maps of low quality. The first showed Płock diocese, or only its western part, in 1779 (scale around 1:190,000).<sup>14</sup> In 1786 Czaykowski prepared a map of Sandomierz Voivodeship (around 1:185,000).<sup>15</sup> Despite serious distortions, we found this map particularly interesting, especially as it contained ecclesiastical division. Although the same parochial affiliation of settlements could be found in 'Regestr diecezjów', yet even an imprecise cartographic depiction has certain values (e.g. the map shows Chełmce parish, which was omitted in the register). This map played only an auxiliary role in our work on parochial borders and in determining site names, and exceptionally – in localizing settlements. Czaykowski's map on the other hand proved entirely useless for our purpose; it shows the Voivodeships of Sieradz and Kalisz, was made probably after 1786, and only its southern part survived (scale around 1:185,000).<sup>16</sup>

Of other maps of Poland from this period we used also the detailed military map of a fragment of borderlands on Galician side, i.e. lands annexed by Austria ('from the village Trzebica up to the rivulet Ława'), made in 1790 by lieutenant Franciszek Podoski (scale 1:43,000).<sup>17</sup>

In the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772), of the territories encompassed by this Atlas, Austria annexed parts of the Voivodeships of Cracow and Sandomierz situated south of the Vistula, and the southern borderland of Lublin Voivodeship. In the Second Partition (1793), Prussia took the western part of the aforesaid area, and the Third Partition, the one that ended the Republic, divided the remaining lands between Prussia and Austria (1795). Cartography changed accordingly. Austrian and Prussian maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century show accuracy relatively similar to that of maps from the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup>

For the areas annexed by Austria in 1772, the first map was the so-called 'political' survey prepared under supervision of Józef Liesganig between 1772 and 1774. It was based on superficial

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<sup>11</sup> Original in the National Library of Ukraine in Kiev, microfilm in the Institute of History of PAN in Warsaw (among others) – K. Buczek, *Kartograf króla Stanisława Augusta*, pp. 63–65, 130–131; Wernerowa 2003, pp. 165–192; H. Rutkowski, *Okres Stanisława Augusta w badaniach Karola Buczka*, pp. 93–95.

<sup>12</sup> MWK. See also MWK, pp. 13–22; B. Konopska, *Polskie atlasy historyczne – koncepcje i realizacje*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 77–83.

<sup>13</sup> Czajkowski.

<sup>14</sup> The map is lost, but its photocopy survives and is kept in the Institute of History of PAN (Atlas department). K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 85–86; H. Rutkowski, *Okres Stanisława Augusta w badaniach Karola Buczka*, p. 93.

<sup>15</sup> „Województwo sandomierskie na powiaty i parafie podzielone r. MDCCLXXXVI, przez Franciszka Czajkowskiego kanonika sandomierskiego”, manuscript in AGAD, photocopies in the IH PAN in Warsaw. Another, unfinished copy of this map in the collection of the National Library. K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 85–87; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography*, fig. 59; B. Majewska, *Mapa województwa sandomierskiego Franciszka Czajkowskiego*, „Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej”, 1973, no. 3, pp. 17–20.

<sup>16</sup> Prussian map of Sieradz Voivodeship by Wolfgang is probably a simplified version of Czajkowski's map (photocopies in the collection of IH PAN in Warsaw). K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów króla Stanisława Augusta na tle współczesnej kartografii polskiej*, [in:] *Prace Komisji Atlasu historycznego Polski*, no. 3, Cracow 1935, pp. 189–192 and tabl. 6; idem, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 85–87 and tabl. 47; *Wśród starych map i atlasów Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie*, ed. B. Krassowski, Warsaw 1982, pp. 168 f.

<sup>17</sup> Manuscript in AGAD, films in IH PAN. K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów króla Stanisława Augusta*, pp. 206–209; idem, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 93–94; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography*, fig. 60.

<sup>18</sup> *Review map of Austrian and Prussian topographic surveys of Polish lands in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century*, [in:] *Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, vol. 3, Cracow 1935, after p. 336; H. Rutkowski, *Znaczenie wybranych map z XIX wieku dla badań dawnej Polski*, [in:] *Z dziejów kartografii*, vol. 10: *Kartografia Królestwa Polskiego 1815–1915*, ed. L. Szaniawska, J. Ostrowski, Warsaw 2000, pp. 216–226.

triangulation and equally cursory field measurements, and first drawn at a scale of 1:72,000.<sup>19</sup> After some modifications and corrections made by Liesganig, Jan von Lichtenstern reduced the map to the scale of 1:288,000. It was published in this form (with the addition of Bukowina) in 1790.<sup>20</sup> The map was published again by the General Quartermaster of Austrian Army in 1824 with minor additions (in the course of roads).<sup>21</sup> In our work we used the second edition, and our use of Liesganig's map was similar to the way we used Perthées's map, except naturally for the borders. More detailed, not only because of the scale, but also because of a quite precise triangulation and careful topographic survey, is the military depiction of Galicia made between 1775 and 1783. In the initial period the main work was supervised by Colonel Jan Seeger von Dürrenberg, and the principal work recommenced after the break in 1778–1779 was conducted by Lieutenant Colonel Fryderyk von Mieg. (After he died in 1783 Major von Waldau took his place). The result of this work is a multi-sheet manuscript map at a scale of 1:28,800. The map is filled with details and distinguished by its precision.<sup>22</sup>

The next cartographic source of our Atlas was the map of some of the lands annexed by Prussia in the Second and Third Partitions of Poland, called Southern Prussia by the occupants. The map at a scale of 1:150,000 was published by Dawid Gilly in 1802–1803.<sup>23</sup> It is a reduced topographic survey, which was made at a scale of 1:50,000 under supervision of Gilly and Cron (Krohn) between 1793 and 1800.<sup>24</sup> This survey was not preceded by triangulation or astronomic observations, but still the reduced version published by Gilly is incomparably much more precise than Perthées's maps.<sup>25</sup> The published map contains the network of post and major roads prepared by Wilhelm H. Matthias, and some minor corrections in the original. In our work we utilised both the topographic representation and the printed reduced version. Gilly's map was the base for the localization of settlements and for determining the course of important roads. It also allowed us to depict physiographic elements in Ostrzeszów district.

Of Prussian cartography we used also Jan Gottlieb Brodowski's map. Between 1796 and 1802 he made a very good topographic survey of a part of Southern Prussia and the so-called New Silesia, and in 1831 and 1842 his work (with gaps) was published at a scale of 1:57,600.<sup>26</sup> Brodowski's map encompasses, among other lands, the south-eastern borderlands of the old Voivodeships of Sieradz and Łęczyca, and in our case its usefulness was limited to these territories.

The lands of northern Mazovia, annexed by Prussia in the Third Partition, were shown on the map of the so-called New Eastern Prussia by Jan Krzysztof Textor, set at a scale of 1:152,500. This map was published in 1808 by D.F. Sotzmann, at the time the main Prussian cartographer and publisher of maps.<sup>27</sup> Textor's map of the lands after the Third Partition was based on topographical survey at a scale

<sup>19</sup> Manuscript copy of this map from 1775 bound in form of Atlas is kept in the Library of Ossolineum in Wrocław.

<sup>20</sup> Regna Galiciae et Lodomeriae [...] – *Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce*, no. 5, pos. 26.

<sup>21</sup> *Koenigreich Galizien und Lodomerien herausgegeben im Jahre 1790 von Liesganig... vermehrt und verbessert von dem K.K. Oest. Generalquartiermeisterstabe im Jahre 1824* (33 sheets); B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa. Zarys historyczny*, Warsaw 1921, pp. 54–57; *Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce*, no. 5, pos. 79.

<sup>22</sup> The topographic survey by Mieg, which has 413 sheets, is kept in Vienna's Kriegsarchiv, negatives and photocopies of parts of this map in the IH PAN in Warsaw and Cracow. The map was reduced to the scale 1:115 200, but this version was also unpublished. J. Paldus, *Die militärischen Aufnahmen im Bereiche der Habsburgischen Länder aus der Zeit Kaiser Josephs II.*, „Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien”, philos.-histor. Klasse, Bd. 63, Abh. 2, Wien 1919, pp. 9, 46–53; B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, p. 57; S. Pietkiewicz, *Austriackie topograficzne mapy Tatr i Przediatrixa od końca XVIII do końca XIX stulecia i ich dokładność*, „Prace i Studia Instytutu Geografii UW”, vol. 16, 1974, pp. 95–99; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna Śląska Cieszyńskiego i zaboru austriackiego od II połowy XVIII wieku do początku XX wieku*, Katowice 2000, pp. 47–66, 186–187.

<sup>23</sup> *Special Karte von Suedpreussen... unter Mitwirkung des Directors Langner, reducirt und herausgegeben vom Geheimen Ober-Bau-Rath Gilly*, Berlin 1802–1803 (13 sheets) – *Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce*, no. 5, pos. 33.

<sup>24</sup> Gilly and Cron's work encompasses also this part of the Second Partition which was later incorporated into New Eastern Prussia. The whole has 89 sheets kept now in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz; films and photocopies in the collection of IH PAN in Warsaw.

<sup>25</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 59 f.; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 176; E.O. Kossmann, *Die preussischen Landesaufnahmen in Polen (1753–1806)*, „Jomsburg”, vol. 1, 1937, pp. 24 f.; T. Lankamer, *Mapa J. C. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie” z lat 1795–1800*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 7, 1966 (1967), p. 203.

<sup>26</sup> K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, pp. 176–177 and map after p. 336; E.O. Kossmann, *Die preussischen Landesaufnahmen*, pp. 25 f.

<sup>27</sup> *Topographisch-Militaerische-Karte vom vormaligen Neu-Ostpreussen oder dem jetzigen nördlichen Theil des Herzogthums Warschau... reducirt... berichtet und nach den topographischen Registern redigirt, vom Artillerie Lieut. v. Textor. Herausgegeben von D. F. Sotzmann*, Berlin 1808 (15 sheets).

of 1:33,300 prepared between 1795 and 1798 by von Stein, under supervision of General von Geusau. This representation was based on only fragmentary triangulation, yet the topographic measurements were detailed.<sup>28</sup> Textor, on the other hand, introduced corrections based on his own survey, and reduced the representation and supplemented it (probably using Gilly's maps) with the lands annexed in the Second Partition. They were included into New Eastern Prussia (the majority of Płock Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land). The map, finished by Textor already in 1800, is quite precise, despite the lack of full triangulation, probably because the coordinates of relatively many settlements were already calculated.<sup>29</sup>

Northern parts of the Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz and Lublin, and Mazovian borderland were annexed by Austria in 1795. This territory was called Western Galicia and was included in a topographic survey prepared between 1801 and 1804. The work was conducted by Colonel Antoni Mayer von Heldensfeld and the map was set at a scale of 1:28,800, based on good mathematical grounds. The map was carefully drawn and has rich content.<sup>30</sup> These detailed maps were soon published in several reductions, e.g. by the General Quartermaster, who was Heldensfeld at the time, who prepared a reduced version at a scale of 1:172,800. It was published by Hieronim Benedicti in 1808. Because this version is much reduced, the map is much more simplified than the topographic representation.<sup>31</sup>

Polish maps by Perthées, two Prussian maps by Gilly and Textor, and one Austrian map by Heldensfeld – Benedicti were all made in a short period between 1783 and 1804. Still, they show significant differences. The analysis of the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship by Perthées showed that its average error of geographical location is 4,750 m, similar or larger errors occur on the maps of this cartographer covering Mazovian Voivodeship.<sup>32</sup> For Gilly's map the average error was determined at 1,404 to 4,187 m, on Textor's map this was 1,542 m, and on Heldensfeld – Benedicti's – 680 m.<sup>33</sup>

The maps made by occupying countries constituted an important base for our localization of settlements and determining the course of major roads. We used maps published at a scale not much different from the one used for our map, but if necessary we resorted to detailed topographic representations.

Two Austrian military maps, Mieg's and Heldensfeld's, have many errors only in site names,<sup>34</sup> otherwise their accuracy, given the scale is much greater than ours, usually exceeded our needs. That is why it was often enough to use Benedicti's representation, not Heldensfeld's original. On the area encompassed by Mieg's map it served as a base for physiographic elements (rivers, swamps, forests); Heldensfeld's map played an auxiliary role in this case, as physiographic elements of these areas were based on Quartermaster's Map.

After the changes brought by Napoleon Bonaparte's wars, in 1815 the Congress of Vienna defined new political borders and created the Kingdom of Poland subject to the Emperor of Russia. *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego* ('The Topographic Map of the Kingdom of Poland'), i.e. the so-called Quartermaster's Map set at a scale of 1:126,000 was prepared in two stages. The first one lasted between 1822 and 1830 and the work was conducted by the General Quartermaster's Office of the Polish Army, which prepared sheets encompassing the western and central part of the area shown in this Atlas. After the November Uprising, between 1833 and 1839, the map was finished by the Russian Topographic Corps supervised by general Karol Richter. The Map was gradually published, in sections, after the Uprising, and some sheets were printed several times, because of the corrections introduced to them. The entire printing lasted until 1843, and the map was published under the date 1843, with its main

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<sup>28</sup> Stein's map has 122 sheets, in IH PAN there are films of nine sheets showing the western borderlands of Prussian lands annexed in the Third Partition.

<sup>29</sup> E.O. Kossmann, *Die preussischen Landesaufnahmen*, pp. 27–28; T. Lankamer, *Mapa J.G. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie”*, pp. 181–206.

<sup>30</sup> Heldensfeld's survey (275 sheets) in Vienna's Kriegsarchiv, microfilm and photographic enlargements in IH PAN in Warsaw.

<sup>31</sup> *Garte von West-Gallizien... unter der Direction... Anton Mayer von Heldensfeld... aufgenommen worden... herausgegeben... von Hieronimus Benedicti*, Wien 1808 (12 sheets); *Mapy 1576–1870*, pos. 72; L. Sawicki, *Pułkownika Antoniego barona Mayera von Heldensfeld zdjęcia topograficzne w Polsce w latach 1801–1804*, Cracow 1928; *Źródła i metoda*, [in:] MWK, pp. 19–20; T. Lankamer, *Mapa J.G. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie”*, p. 203; H. Rutkowski, *Znaczenie wybranych map z XIX wieku dla badań dawnej Polski*.

<sup>32</sup> S. Pietkiewicz, *Analyse de l'exactitude de quelques cartes du XVII<sup>e</sup>, XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, couvrant les territoires de l'ancienne Pologne*, „Przegląd Geograficzny”, vol. 32, 1960, Suplement, p. 24; K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, p. 90.

<sup>33</sup> T. Lankamer, *Mapa J.G. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie”*, pp. 203.

<sup>34</sup> See B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 55, 118.

title in Russian, and secondary titles in Polish and French.<sup>35</sup> Later there were several reprints with minor changes (e.g. the addition of railways). The field survey of the Quartermaster's Map was set at a scale of 1:42,000. There was no systematic triangulation of the entire country, but assuming earlier Prussian and Austrian maps as a starting point, triangulation works were done mostly at the points of junction of these maps.<sup>36</sup> The average error of geographic location was determined for the part prepared prior to 1831 at 747 m, and for the later part – at 690 m.<sup>37</sup> *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego* served as a basis for the representation of physiographic elements, and also helped us localize settlements, determine nomenclature and the road network. While locating settlements we also used the map of the Republic from before the Partitions, prepared in Paris by Polish emigrants under supervision of General Wojciech Chrzanowski (the last stage of work was supervised by Feliks Wrotnowski). The map at a scale of 1:300,000 was published in sheets from around 1840 to 1859, when it was also published in the form of an atlas.<sup>38</sup> Chrzanowski's map, compiled from earlier cartographic representations, is characterized by its settlement network, much more detailed than is usual for maps at this scale.

As the main basis for our base map we used military topographic maps at a scale of 1:100,000 published after 1945, but we also resorted to similar maps prepared by Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny ('Military Institute of Geography') during the Second Republic. The reconstruction of borders was based on administrative maps of districts at a scale of 1:100,000 from after the Second World War.

Cartographic sources for city plans were described in the chapters on these plans.

(2014)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>35</sup> *Topograficzeskaja karta Carstwa Polskago* (60 sheets); reproduction of the published version from around 1863 in: B. Krassowski, *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego (1822–1843)*, Warsaw 1978 (BN, Zakład Zbiorów Kartograficznych, Zabytki polskiej kartografii, no. 1); *Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce*, z. 5, pos. 104, 148.

<sup>36</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 119–179; B. Krassowski, *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego*, passim; J. Babicz, *Nowe materiały kartograficzne i opisowe do dziejów powstania Mapy Kwatermistrzostwa w kontekście źródeł i literatury*, [in:] *Z dziejów kartografii*, vol. 7: *Dwudziestolecie Zespołu Historii Kartografii*, ed. J. Ostrowski, W. Wernerowa, Warsaw 1995, pp. 141–179.

<sup>37</sup> S. Pietkiewicz, *Analyse de l'exactitude*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>38</sup> *Karta dawnej Polski z przyległymi okolicami krajów sąsiednich*, Paryż 1859 (48 sheets). First 38 sheets were published prior to 1848 – *Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce*, z. 5, pos. 122, 133; B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 177–180; K.J. Szczęsnowicz, *Działalność gen. Wojciecha Chrzanowskiego na polu kartografii*, „*Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*”, vol. 31, 1988, pp. 120–124; H. Rutkowski, *Znaczenie wybranych map*.

## II.2.4 GREATER POLAND

*Tomasz Panecki*

The selection of cartographic sources for the work on this volume of AHP was preceded by a library and archival query, the result of which is a list of 15 series of maps (tab. 1). The archival query was conducted in the State Archive in Poznań and the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, while the bibliographical one was based on inventory and monographic works<sup>1</sup> and on the legacy of previous AHP volumes.<sup>2</sup> Not all maps turned out to be important for our work, hence why we decided to divide them into four groups in terms of their usefulness for the AHP:

1. unused maps or those minimally used;
2. maps used to analyze general spatial relations;
3. maps serving as sources for road network mapping, natural landscapes and, to some extent, for localizing settlements;
4. reference maps.

**Table 1. Summary of maps used in the work on AHP**

Name of map	Author	Scale	Date	Group
<i>Mappa in qua illustrantur ditones Regni Poloniae ac Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae pars</i>	B. Wapowski	approx. 1:1,000,000	1526	1
<i>Poloniae Tabula</i>	W. Grodecki	approx. 1:1,680,000	1562	1
<i>Partis Sarmatiae Europaeae, quae Sigismundo Augusto Regi Poloniae potentissimo subiacet, nova descriptio</i>	A. Pograbka	approx. 1:1,950,000	1570	1
<i>Palatinatus Posnaniensis in Maiori Polonia primarii, nova delineatio</i>	G. Freudenhamer	approx. 1:560,000	1645	2
<i>Kabinettkarte</i>	F. von Schmettau	1:50,000	1767– 1787	2
<i>Special Carte von Pohlen</i>	T. von Pfau	1:87,500	1772– 1773	2

<sup>1</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, Warsaw 1921; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów Stanisława Augusta na tle współczesnej kartografii polskiej*, Cracow 1935 (Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, vol. 3); T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne ziem polskich 1576–1870*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1983 (Centralny Katalog Zbiorów Kartograficznych w Polsce, no. 5); B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne dla Wielkopolski do 1803 roku*, „Badania Fizjograficzne nad Polską Zachodnią. Seria A: Geografia Fizyczna”, vol. 59, 2008, pp. 29–42; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna państwa i zaboru pruskiego od II połowy XVIII wieku do połowy XX wieku*, Słupsk 2010; H. Rutkowski, *Polska na wybranych mapach z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku*, [in:] *Dawna mapa źródłem wiedzy o świecie*, ed. S. Alexandrowicz, R. Skrycki, Szczecin 2008 (Z Dziejów Kartografii, vol. 14), pp. 221–234.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Atlas of Poland in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Sieradz, Leczyca, Rawa, Plock and Mazovia*, vol. 2–4, ed. M. Słoń, Frankfurt am Main 2014 (Geschichte – Erinnerung – Politik, vol. 6); H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] idem, *Fundamenta historiae. Pisma wybrane*, ed. M. Zbieranowski, M. Słoń, Warsaw 2016, pp. 283–297.

Name of map	Author	Scale	Date	Group
<i>Karte von Ost-Preussen nebst Preussisch Lithauen und West-Preussen nebst dem Netzdistrict</i>	F.L. Schrötter, F.B. Engelhardt	1:150,000	1796– 1802	3
<i>Mappa szczegulna województwa poznańskiego</i>	K. Perthées	1:225,000	1804	3
<i>Mappa szczegulna województwa kaliskiego</i>	K. Perthées	1:225,000	po 1804	3
<i>Königliche Grosse Topographische Vermessungs Karte</i>	D. Gilly, Cron (Krohn), Langner	1: 50,000	1793– 1800	3
<i>Special Karte von Südpreussen aus der Königlichen Grossen Topographischen Vermessungs Karte unter Mitwirkung des Directors Langner reducirt und herausgegeben von Geheimen Bau-Rath Gilly</i>	D. Gilly, Langner, W.H. Matthias	1:150,000	1802– 1803	3
<i>Mappa topograficzna, wojskowa i statystyczna części Wielkopolski</i>	E. Raczyński, E. Gaul	approx. 1:75,000	1807– 1812	3
<i>Urmessstischblätter</i>	Prussian General Staff	1:25,000	1820– 1876	3
<i>Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego</i>	General Quartermaster's Office	1:126,000	1843	3
mapa taktyczna WIG	Military Geographical Institute (Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny)	1:100,000	1919– 1939	4

The first group includes maps that did not play a major role in the development of AHP. This was dictated mainly by their low planimetric accuracy, too small scale and insufficient scope of content, which made them impossible to use as a data source. The group is mainly composed of the oldest studies. Of these, maps that need to be mentioned are those based on Bernard Wapowski's work – the 1:1,000,000 scale map printed in 1526 and preserved today only in fragments.<sup>3</sup> These are: the map by Waclaw Grodecki printed around 1562 in a scale of approximately 1:1,680,000<sup>4</sup> and the map by Andrzej Pograbka (1570, approx. 1:1,950,000).<sup>5</sup>

Wapowski's map, entitled *Mappa in qua illustrantur ditiones Regni Poloniae ac Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae pars*, was made to a scale of approx. 1:1,000,000 and printed in the Ungler publishing house in 1526, though burned along with the building two years later. Only two fragments survived and were discovered by Kazimierz Piekarski in 1932 at Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD).<sup>6</sup> One of them covers the northern part of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships, therefore it qualifies for some analysis. The main content of the map is the hydrographic and settlement network, as well as boundaries symbolized by a sign resembling an espalier of trees.<sup>7</sup> The author has placed and named, among others, the rivers Warta, Wisła, Noteć, Obra, Brda and Drwęca, as well as lakes such as Gopło, Bielsko, Szczytno and Wdzydze. The settlement network within the voivodeships that interests us contains 49 towns. The map is characterized by significant errors in the positioning of objects, an example of which is Frydland (presently: Mirosławiec), found on the Gwda River between Krajenka

<sup>3</sup> S. Pietkiewicz, *Mapa Polski – „milionówka” Bernarda Wapowskiego* (1526), Warsaw 1980 (Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej, Series C), pp. 37–62; see: H. Rutkowski, *Polska na wybranych mapach*, pp. 221–234; idem, *Źródła kartograficzne*.

<sup>4</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny*, Wrocław 1963, pp. 28, 32–34, 38; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1966, pp. 32–40, 41–48, fig. 19; B. Kmieciakowa, *Mapa Polski Waclawa Grodeckiego*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 1/6, 1974, pp. 23–29; M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, Lublin 1999, pp. 164–170.

<sup>5</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 36–37; M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, p. 173.

<sup>6</sup> M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, p. 166.

<sup>7</sup> This sign was interpreted, among others, by S. Pietkiewicz (idem, *Mapa Polski – „milionówka” Bernarda Wapowskiego*, p. 62) as symbolizing forests, however, the juxtaposition of these „ribbons” with the political division of sixteenth century Poland shows that they represent the borders (H. Rutkowski, *Polska na wybranych mapach*, pp. 229–230).

and Lędyczek, while in fact, it is located about 60 km southwest of this area. The error was also copied by Wapowski's successors – Waław Grodecki and Andrzej Pograbka.

Wapowski's map was the basis for the map of Poland *Poloniae Tabula* developed by Grodecki (1562, approx. 1:1,680,000), and the scope of its content is similar: settlements, hydrography, but also topography presented by hill profiles. The map presents 648 pictorial symbols of settlements, 19 of which are unnamed, and the descriptions themselves are not related to the size of the settlements.<sup>8</sup> In the area of Greater Poland, the cartographer located 55 settlements, of which three were unnamed and remain unidentified. A particularly interesting case is that of the town "Łobżenica" that the cartographer named "Nicza". The mistake occurred due to Wapowski's unfortunate placement of the name of the town in two rows, between the signature denoting the settlement: the upper one ("Łobże") and the lower one ("Nicza"). This error also appeared on Pograbki's map.

During the process of preparing his oeuvre (scale at approx. 1:1,950,000, 1570), Andrzej Pograbka used the works by Waław Grodecki and Gerard Mercator.<sup>9</sup> Besides the settlements and the hydrographic network, his map also shows the forests and the more important roads. There are 65 towns from both Greater Poland voivodeships represented on the map, as well as one village (Tomice, found in the sixteenth century Poznań district). It is the first map in the analyzed set, in which the settlements were distinguished based on importance: Poznań and Kalisz, capitals of their voivodeships, were written in upper case letters, similarly to Gniezno, most likely due to its significance and historical role. Attention should also be paid to the incorrect locations of some towns: Leszno was placed far west of Wschowa, when, in fact, it is located about 15 km to the east, and Śrem was located between Września and Konin.

The second group includes maps which, due to their relatively low accuracy, could not be used as a source of geographic (spatial) data, instead only providing attributive (descriptive) information, e.g., we used them to denote the names of rivers, but not their course. These maps could be a source of qualitative information, but it was not possible to use them to reconstruct the topography.<sup>10</sup> The common denominator of these maps was the use of their field measurements and points measured astronomically in the construction of a geodetic network. However, it should be remembered that the tools used for these purposes did not yet provide a precise accuracy. Nevertheless, these maps already provide a certain vision of the topography, which was much more credible than the one offered by previous studies. Overall, these maps were used in the AHP research only in cases where other, more reliable works were in conflict with each other.

The oldest map is doctor Krzysztof Opaliński Godfryd<sup>11</sup> Freudenhamer's *Palatinatus Posnaniensis in Maiori Polonia primarii, nova delineatio* from 1645 in a scale of approximately 1:560,000.<sup>12</sup> At the time, this map was a very accurate representation of the Poznań Voivodeship – it was based on measurements of the latitude and on the measurements of the distance between the more important settlements. Its contents include settlements, hydrography (rivers, lakes, swamps), afforestation and the relief presented by hill profiles. It is also one of the first maps distinguishing different types of settlements: towns, villages, church villages, monasteries and castles. In total, 1516 settlements (74 towns and 1,442 villages) were located on it.<sup>13</sup> Based on the analysis of the mistakes in the localization of the map features, it turned out that they oscillate around 17.5 km.<sup>14</sup> In our own work, this

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<sup>8</sup> M. Boczyńska, J. Midzio, *Analiza dokładności Mapy Polski Waława Grodeckiego*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 1, 1974, no. 6, pp. 29–33, here p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, p. 173.

<sup>10</sup> B. Szady, *Zastosowanie systemów informacji geograficznej w geografii historycznej*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 3, 2008, no. 6, pp. 279–283.

<sup>11</sup> Literature on the subject has provided an erroneous interpretation of the name's initials as Georgius (George); A. Sajkowski, *Krzysztofa Opalińskiego „droga francuska”*, SMDWP, vol. 2, 1956, issue. 1; as cited in: H. Rutkowski, *Godfryd Freudenhamer*, [in:] *Polski wkład w przyrodznawstwo i technikę. Słownik polskich i związanych z Polską odkrywców, wynalazców oraz pionierów nauk matematyczno-przyrodniczych i techniki*, vol. 6, ed. B. Orłowski, Warsaw 2015, pp. 422–423.

<sup>12</sup> Researchers do not agree as to the scale of the map: B. Olszewicz (idem, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*) gives the scale at 1:460,000, K. Buczek (idem, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej* 1963) – 1:463,000, G. Kwiatkowska-Gadomska and S. Pietkiewicz (idem, *Mapa „Palatinatus Posnaniensis” Jerzego Freudenhamera*, „Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej, Seria C”, vol. 24, 1980) – 1:494,000, while H. Rutkowski – 1:560,000; see. H. Rutkowski, *Godfryd Freudenhamer*, pp. 422–423.

<sup>13</sup> The main map contains 1535 settlements (including 67 cities) in the Poznań Voivodeship.

<sup>14</sup> G. Kwiatkowska-Gadomska, S. Pietkiewicz, *Mapa „Palatinatus Posnaniensis” Jerzego Freudenhamera*.

map served primarily as a source of information about the approximate location of bridges and fords near the settlements.<sup>15</sup>

This group of maps also includes Prussian topographic surveys from 1767–1793. The oldest map was the *Militärische Karte von Gross-Polen* (also known as the map of Teodor von Pfau), which was the result of secret measurements carried out by Prussia in the then Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>16</sup> The colorful manuscript map at a scale of 1:87,500 consists of 41 sheets and was developed in the years 1772–1773. Five years later it was engraved at a scale two times smaller.<sup>17</sup> An unusual feature of the map was its south-up orientation, which was intended to help the Prussian army entering from the north in reading place names from the map without the need to rotate it.<sup>18</sup> The western and northern parts of the Poznań Voivodeship in the sixteenth century were also included in the so-called cabinet map of the Kingdom of Prussia (*Kabinettkarte*), developed under the direction of Friedrich von Schmettau on the orders of Frederick II in the years 1767–1787, at a scale of 1:50,000.<sup>19</sup> According to K. Buczek, however, the *Kabinettkarte* is only a loose collection of maps (not always at a scale of 1:50,000), which were part of the private collection of the author (i.e., Friedrich von Schmettau), and did not belong to the Prussian monarchy until the collection was purchased by the Plankammer in 1787.<sup>20</sup> Equally noteworthy is the manuscript *Karte von Südpreußen*, created at the scale of 1:50,000 on the basis of a topographic survey by David Gilly, Cron and Langner in the years 1793–1800, consisting of 89 sheets.<sup>21</sup> Prussian maps dated to before 1800 were used relatively rarely in the work on the AHP volume about Greater Poland mainly due to their low planimetric accuracy and incomplete coverage.

An important place among maps, although not yet fully accurate, but nonetheless offering a certain perception of space, is occupied by manuscript maps by Karol Perthées – the cartographer of king Stanisław August Poniatowski:<sup>22</sup> *Mappa szczegulna województwa poznańskiego* (1804) and *Mappa szczegulna województwa kaliskiego* (after 1804).<sup>23</sup> The technique of their development, however, differs significantly and negatively when compared to, for example, Prussian or Austrian works from that period. The primary source of data for the map were descriptions of parishes and which, on the order of the bishop of Płock and later of Primate Michał Jerzy Poniatowski in 1778, were prepared by the parish priests.<sup>24</sup> They were organized according to a uniform questionnaire consisting of 5 (later 9) points, which specified the locations (in miles and according to the cardinal directions) of all important anthropogenic objects in the parish – primarily settlements, farm buildings, as well as bridges and fords.<sup>25</sup> The parish survey method results in a fairly high level of detail on the maps in terms of the number of marked objects. However, it is not particularly accurate due to a lack of field measurements and a large generalization of the topography, caused by the relatively small scale of the map

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<sup>15</sup> See T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.5.4. in this edition.

<sup>16</sup> *Militärische Karte von Gross-Polen*, Teodor von Pfau, 1:87,500, 1773, sig. Q 16.939/6–Q 16.939/10, Staatsarchiv Berlin; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 109–119 (accuracy: approx. 2,49 km); B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne*, pp. 29–42; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, pp. 167–172.

<sup>17</sup> *Geheime Carte von Polen* or *Special Karte von Gross-Polen*, 1:87,500, 1778, sig. Q 16.940/9; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 170; B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne*, pp. 29–42.

<sup>18</sup> K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 170; B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne*, pp. 29–42.

<sup>19</sup> A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 25–29.

<sup>20</sup> K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, pp. 181–188.

<sup>21</sup> The original is kept in the Staatsbibliothek in Marburg (sig. N 14431), while the black and white film are located in ZAH. B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 59–60; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 176; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 119–121, gives the error in the location of the objects: approx. 460 m.

<sup>22</sup> T. Pačko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, entry 37; K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 80–81; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography*, pp. 98–110; idem, *Kartograf króla Stanisława Augusta. Życie i dzieła*, [in:] Karol Perthées (1739–1815). *Fizjograf pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Życie oraz działalność kartograficzna i entomologiczna*, ed. J. Pawłowski, Warsaw 2003, pp. 21–134.

<sup>23</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, pp. 283–297, esp. p. 287.

<sup>24</sup> This huge informative value of the map resulted from the fact that each of the plans was made on the basis of the so-called parish survey. Presently, one fragment of such a survey is known from the area of former Greater Poland. It is the prewar transcript published in the “Kronika Gostynińska” in 1932; see J. Staszewski, *Gostyni w 1784 roku*, „Kronika Gostynińska”, series 4, no. 7, 1 X 1932, pp. 103–107. For the information about this document, I would wholeheartedly like to thank mgr. Paweł Łachowski, regional historian from Głogów.

<sup>25</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Ocena „ankiet parafialnych” jako źródła wiedzy Karola Perthéesa o fizjografii Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, [in:] Karol Perthées (1739–1815), pp. 165–192.

(1:225,000), especially when compared to the maps of the partitioning powers from the same period. However, after considering the map's shortcomings in terms of its accuracy, it served as an important source primarily for the reconstruction of the road network in the AHP.

This group of maps also includes the hitherto little known *Mappa topograficzna wojskowa i statystyczna Wielkopolski*,<sup>26</sup> developed by Edward Raczyński and drawn by Ernest Gaul in the years 1807–1812.<sup>27</sup> The so-called Gaul/Raczyński map was created as a colorful manuscript, and its individual sheets were to cover all districts of the Poznań Department of the Duchy of Warsaw. The map was never published in print, and the work remained unfinished until World War II at the Raczyński Library. The original was lost during the war and only two sets of black and white photocopies survived to this day in the State Archive in Poznań and in the Raczyński Library. As both sets have different dimensions, the map's original scale remains unknown. However, it can be estimated at approximately 1:75,000 (set from the State Archive in Poznań), which makes it the first Polish cartographic study with such a level of detail.<sup>28</sup> The map was created almost 40 years earlier than the Quartermaster's Map.

The third group includes maps that we used to draw roads and elements of the physiography, as well as to locate settlements. They usually give a sufficiently precise image of the space contained within the margin of error accepted for the scale of the AHP main map that they can be utilized not only as a source of descriptive attributes, but also of object geometry. Based on them, one can vectorize (trace in the desired scale of the map) objects such as roads, forests or rivers. This subset includes four series of maps from the years 1802–1843, the ranges of which in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships in the sixteenth century are presented in fig. 1.

The oldest map in this set is the so-called Schrötter-Engelhardt map at a scale of 1:150,000, printed in Berlin (1802–1812) entitled *Karte von Ost-Preussen nebst Preussisch Litthauen und West-Preussen nebst dem Netzdistrict*.<sup>29</sup> This is a reduction of a topographic survey at a scale of 1:50,000 (145 sheets, the years 1796–1802), which was, at the behest of Friedrich Leopold Schrötter, the work of Friedrich Bernhardt Engelhardt in collaboration with David Gilly, the author of the measurement instructions. The picture was preceded by a triangulation led by Johann Christoph Textor. This map consisting of 25 sheets covers the northern and central parts of the Greater Poland voivodeships and is incredibly accurate by the standards of its time. The scope of its content does not differ from other contemporary topographic maps and includes settlements (divided into cities, towns, church villages, villages, villages with a demesnes and villages with a castle), road networks (three categories), numerous farm buildings, as well as land cover and hydrography.

The *Special Karte von Südproussen...* at a scale of 1:150,000 is a printed map developed under the supervision of David Gilly in the years 1802–1803.<sup>30</sup> It covers the vast majority of both Greater Poland

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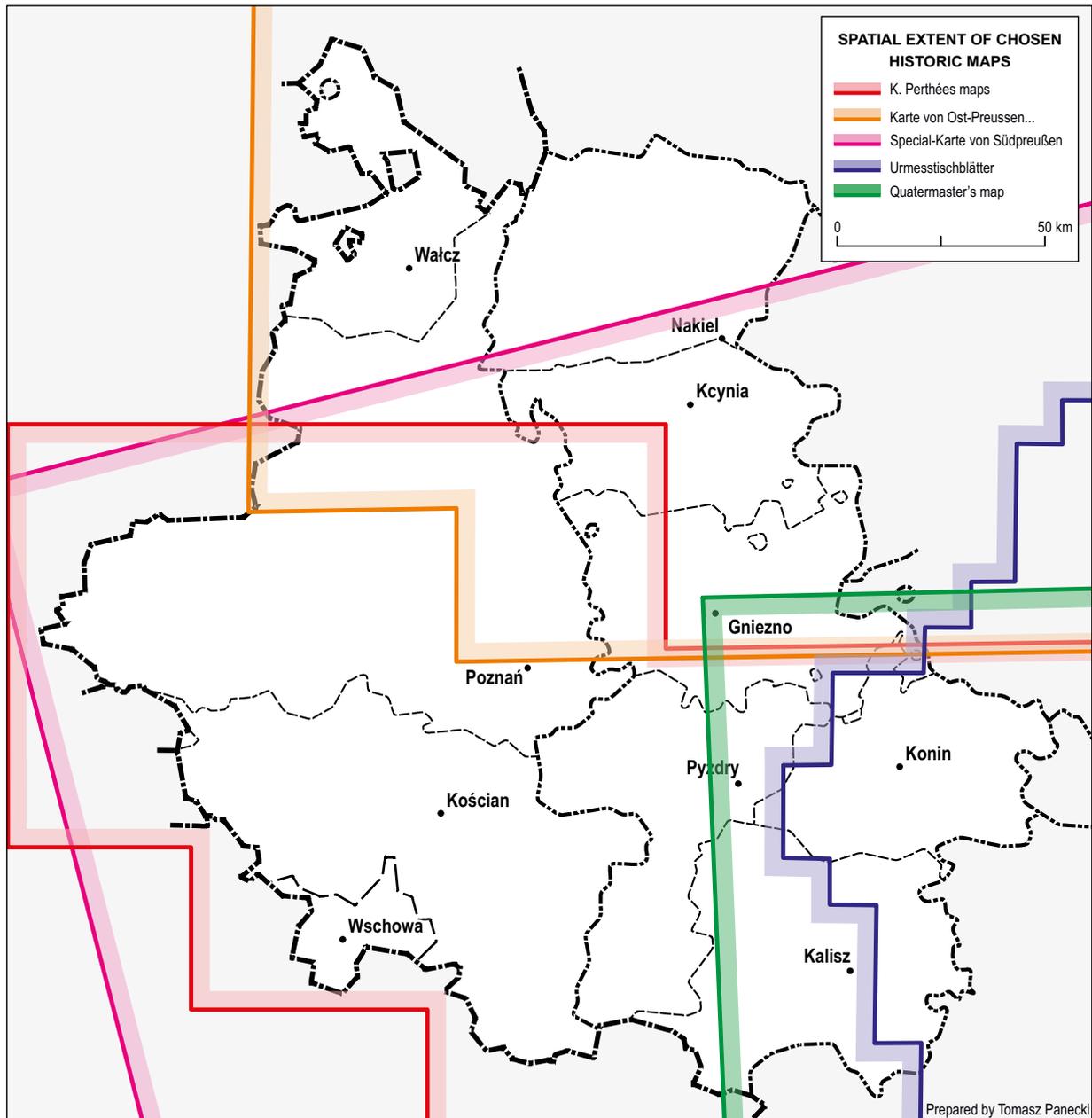
<sup>26</sup> So far used by the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages in Poznań.

<sup>27</sup> *Mappa topograficzna wojskowa i statystyczna części Wielkopolski, która dziś Departament Poznański składa wydana przez Edwarda Raczyńskiego Posła Poznańskiego i jego kosztem nowo układana w roku 1807–1812*. There are two known independent set of the map. The first is located in the State Archive in Poznań (two sets, AP Poznań, sig.: 53/992/0/3/M.w.36\_I–VIII\_1 [8 sheets] and 36\_I,III–VIII\_2 [7 sheets]), the second in the Raczyński Library (sig. M II 796; 7 sheets) and a copy of this set is at the University of Wrocław; also see: B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 81–82; W. Zyszkowska, *Mapa Wielkopolski Edwarda Raczyńskiego z lat 1807–1812*, [in:] *Kartografia polska XIX wieku w dorobku Bolesława Olszewicza*, ed. J. Ostrowski, W. Wernerowa, Wrocław–Warsaw 2000 (Z Dziejów Kartografii, vol. 12), pp. 105–120; eadem, *Mapa Departamentu Poznańskiego Edwarda Raczyńskiego jako źródło w badaniach stanu i zmian środowiska Wielkopolski*, [in:] *Dawne mapy jako źródła historyczne: Biblioteka Polskiego Przeglądu Kartograficznego*, vol. 3, ed. B. Konopska, J. Ostrowski, J. Paślowski, P.E. Wespiański, Warsaw 2012, pp. 36–44. Currently, the map is the subject and the basis of a research grant from the NCN for the development of a methodology for the digital editing of old: T. Panecki, P. Kann, *The „Gaul/Raczyński” Map of Greater Poland (1807–1812). A Project for a Digital Edition*, [in:] *Die Geschichte im Bild*, ed. H. Flachenecker, K. Kopiński, J. Tandecki (Editionswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 2015), pp. 239–255.

<sup>28</sup> Based on the measurements on the sheets from AP Poznań, the scale of approx. 1:75,300 can be calculated, while the BRacz ones suggest a scale of approx. 1:175,984. B. Olszewicz (who had access to the original) established it to be at 1:125,000, idem, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 81–82.

<sup>29</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, p. 59; K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, p. 99; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography*, p. 120; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, entry 48; B. Zaborski, *O mapie Prus Królewskich i Książęcych Schrottera*, „Sprawozdania PAU”, vol. 10/37, 1932, p. 32; W. Scharfe, *Abriss der Kartographie Brandenburgs 1771–1821*, Berlin–New York 1972, p. 110.

<sup>30</sup> *Special Karte von Südproussen: mit Allergrösster Erlaubniss aus der Königlichen grossen topographischen Vermessungs- Karte*, Berlin 1802–1803 (13 sheets).



**Map 1. Spatial extent of chosen historic maps**

**The scope of five maps that were the source for the reconstruction of the road network, physiography and the localization of settlements. Four of them were the foundation for the rendering of objects, and one (the Perthées map) was a significant reference for road categorization**

voivodeships, which after the second and third partition became the province of South Prussia.<sup>31</sup> The map is a reduced version of the manuscript map at a scale of 1:50,000 from the end of the eighteenth century, although it should be noted that the generalization does not retain the exemplary character of the topography, which is especially visible in the presentation of the buildings.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, p. 59–60; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 176; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, entry 33; B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne*, pp. 29–42; H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, pp. 291–292.

<sup>32</sup> As for the shape of the buildings, the survey from 1793 is more similar to the drawing on the so-called Reymann map at the scale of 1:200,000. For this reason, according to scholars, the map does not match other Prussian maps of that period in terms of accuracy; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Multi-sheet topographic maps*, entry 33.

On a legible, black and white copperplate engraving, the typical topographic content has been embellished with postal information – stations and categories of roads and postal routes, with seven road categories in total developed by Wilhelm H. Matthias.<sup>33</sup> Gilly's map served as a source for the location of settlements and the delineation of the road network and physiographic elements.

An important study was the so-called *Urmessstischblätter*, i.e., a manuscript version of the topographic survey conducted in Prussia in the 1820s and 1830s at a scale of 1:25,000.<sup>34</sup> The main feature of this maps as a source for historical and geographic research is its accuracy stemming from the conducted field measurements and triangulations as well as its level of detail, which is the effect of the map's large scale and resulting in an almost the full range of content. The plan to develop a multi-scale topographic map of Prussia was born in 1816, when General Friedrich Karl Ferdinand von Müffling became the Head of the General Staff of the army. On his order, the Prussian state underwent triangulation, which allowed for a precise determination geodetic network on which the map was to be based. Officers of the Prussian army carried out field measurements using the plane tabling method, by placing on the sketch almost all landscape elements thanks to the large scale and limited cartographic generalization. It is worth mentioning that the result of the survey was a manuscript map that was not intended to be published, but only to be used as source material for the development of maps in smaller scales. The scope of the map's content is significant and includes 169 content categories; its mathematical accuracy is very high. Errors in the distance between objects (linear distortion) were determined at approx. +/- 56 m (approx. 1.8 mm in the map's scale).<sup>35</sup> Due to the very large scale of the study, the map was used in the works on AHP to verify questionable places in small scale maps. It is also important to note that the landscape in the 1820s and 1830s was already quite significantly transformed in relation to the one from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, thus this map was not always applicable in the retrogressive method.

Where the reach of the *Urmessstischblätter* ended, we also used the Quartermaster's Map, i.e., *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego*.<sup>36</sup> This map, considered a monumental work of Polish cartography and the nineteenth century, was developed in two stages, before and after the November Uprising. In the years 1822–1830, the General Quartermaster's Office of the Polish Army carried out works with the use of Prussian and Austrian triangulation networks for the development of the mathematical foundation of the Polish topographic survey. The mathematical foundation of the map was Bonne's projection, with the Walbeck ellipsoid as the reference surface, and the prime meridian was counted from the Warsaw meridian. The measurements themselves were made on a three times larger scale (1:42,000), which provided a high accuracy of the drawing on the map. The November Uprising interrupted the work – it was only possible to complete 25 out of the 60 sheets, as well as conduct field measurements for another six.<sup>37</sup> In the years 1833–1839, the map was completed by the Russian Corps of Topographers under the leadership of General Karol Richter. It was published in Russian with subtitles in Polish and French in 1843 but dated to 1839. On its basis, physiographic elements and the road network were added to the AHP. It was also useful for localizing settlements.

Moreover, in order to mathematically determine the potential accuracy of the main map developed by us in the Greater Poland volume of AHP, we performed the analysis of the mean square error of the locations of objects for three maps that were the main sources of geometric data: *Karte*

<sup>33</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, p. 292.

<sup>34</sup> W. Scharfe, *Abriss der Kartographie Brandenburgs*, pp. 147–160; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 38–41, 173–190; D. Lorek, *Potencjał informacyjny map topograficznych Urmessstischblätter z lat 1822–33 z terenu Wielkopolski*, Poznań 2011; idem, *Informacja topograficzna na Urmessstischblätter a objaśnienia w legendzie*, [in:] *Dawne mapy jako źródła historyczne*, vol. 3, pp. 55–61; M. Jankowska, *Okoliczności powstania i sposób opracowania pruskiej mapy topograficznej z I połowy XIX wieku w skali 1:25 000*, „Roczniki Akademii Rolniczej”, vol. 240, 1993, pp. 37–45; eadem, *Przestrzeń przyrodniczo-kulturowa wsi na pruskiej mapie topograficznej w skali 1:25 000 z pierwszej połowy XIX wieku*, [in:] *Dawne mapy jako źródła historyczne*, vol. 3, pp. 45–54; T. Panecki, T. Związek, *Przywileje olęderskie w badaniach nad rekonstrukcją XVI-wiecznego zalesienia na przykładzie okolic Nowego Tomyśla*, SG, vol. 5, 2017 [forthcoming].

<sup>35</sup> A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, p. 174.

<sup>36</sup> It was used as a data source in all the earlier volumes of AHP; see H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, pp. 283–297, pp. 295–296.

<sup>37</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 119–140; B. Krassowski, *Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego (1822–1843)*, Warsaw 1978 (*Zabytki Polskiej Kartografii*, vol. 1); T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, entry 104.

von Ost-Preussen, *Spezialkarte von Südpreußen* and *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego*.<sup>38</sup> These maps were georeferenced in ArcGIS 10.3 using affine transformation.<sup>39</sup> This transformation consists of indicating points from the old map and identical points from the reference material, most often from a modern accurate map.<sup>40</sup> Afterwards, the coordinates from the georeferenced map are transformed into the coordinates from the reference map using mathematical formulas. In the case of affine transformation, this algorithm keeps straight lines as straight and does not distort the angles, but only minimizes, shifts and rotates the image the georeferenced map.

The evaluation of the georeferencing quality is determined, among others, by mean square error (RMSE, *Root Mean Square Error*). This is the relative error in the difference of the location of georeferenced points on the georeferenced map before and after georeferencing, informing about the distance (in meters) which these points have been moved in order to match the map to the reference material. The error is calculated as the average for all control points. The root mean squared error should not be confused with accuracy of the map, although there is of course a certain relationship between the two values. The error may be reduced to zero using higher degree polynomial transformations, but it does not mean that the georeferenced map becomes accurate.<sup>41</sup>

The RMSE was calculated for three maps and 15 control points were designated for each of them. The results of the analysis are presented in the tab. 2.

**Table 2. Results of the analysis of the georeferencing of three maps. The values are given in meters. RMSE – root mean square error, STD – standard deviation, MIN – minimum error value, MAX – maximum error value, Pietkiewicz – error in object localization calculated by prof. Stanisław Pietkiewicz**

	MSE	STD	MIN	MAX	Pietkiewicz
<i>Karte von Ost-Preussen</i>	378.13	279.58	133.24	1,161.93	approx. 600
<i>Spezialkarte von Südpreußen</i>	560.28	408.09	30.22	1,612.79	approx. 1,400–4,200
<i>Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego</i>	657.75	330.74	371.61	1,429.9	approx. 750

The analysis demonstrates that the best georeferencing result was achieved for *Karte von Ost-Preussen* with an average error of 378.13 m. It may seem surprising that the Quartermaster's Map did not achieve a particularly good result. Although it was compiled several decades later than the Schrötter-Engelhardt map, the accuracy of its georeferencing is almost twice as bad. Converting these errors in the scale of the AHP main map, we get the respective errors: 1.51 mm, 2.24 mm and 2.63 mm, but considering the thickness of cartographic symbols, e.g., a road as approx. 1 mm, it turns out that these errors can be viewed as minor (for a scale at 1:250,000).

These results were also compared with the results of the accuracy analyses of maps carried out at the Chair of Cartography at the University of Warsaw by Prof. Stanisław Pietkiewicz.<sup>42</sup> As has already been emphasized, while the RMSE error should not be equated with the mathematically calculated accuracy of the map, there is a certain correlation between these values. Results similar to those of Pietkiewicz's research were obtained for the Quartermaster's Map, for the Schrötter-Engelhardt map the result was improved by over 200 m, and in the case of the Gilly map, they were repeatedly better (tab. 2). The differences in error can be the result of many factors, including the analysis of various map

<sup>38</sup> The topic of the georeferencing of old maps has been a popular subject for several years. Research generally concerns the possibility of georeferencing old maps (B. Jenny, L. Hurni, *Studying Cartographic Heritage. Analysis and Visualization of Geometric Distortions*, „Computers & Graphics”, vol. 2/35, 2011, pp. 402–411), maps based on and not based on geodetic networks (A. Affek, *Georeferencing of Historical Maps using GIS, as Exemplified by the Austrian Military Surveys of Galicia*, „Geographia Polonica”, vol. 4/86, 2013, pp. 337–390), the georeferencing of multi-sheet maps (T. Panecki, *Problemy kalibracji mapy szczegółowej Polski w skali 1:25 000 Wojskowego Instytutu Geograficznego w Warszawie*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 2/46, 2014, pp. 162–172).

<sup>39</sup> J. Urbański, *GIS w badaniach przyrodniczych*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 78–83.

<sup>40</sup> In this case, these were topographic maps from Geoportal ([www.geoportal.gov.pl](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl), accessed: 22.10.2016).

<sup>41</sup> B. Jenny, L. Hurni, *Studying Cartographic Heritage*, pp. 402–411.

<sup>42</sup> G. Bonatowski, *Działalność profesora S. Pietkiewicza*, pp. 53–86; S. Pietkiewicz, *Analiza dokładności niektórych map*, pp. 103–109.

sheets executed with different precision, measurement methodology, and even the shrinkage of paper or the quality of the scans on which the georeferencing and analysis of RMSE error was conducted.

Finally, the fourth group is composed of the so-called reference maps developed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which were the main spatial reference for all data obtained from other maps. According to the tenets of the AHP series, the settlements and all elements of the drawing should be localized and placed on a map at a scale of 1:100,000. Both pre-war and post-war maps and used for this purpose.<sup>43</sup> Afterwards, the drawing of the applied elements was generalized to the target scale of the main map (1:250,000). This methodology was developed in the works on AHP from the first post-war volume and is continued today. However, a discussion about the reference material for AHP and its modernization by using current topographic data, e.g., for the location of a settlement or road rendering and physiography.<sup>44</sup>

When creating the final map, we additionally used reference data, that fell within the scope of the National Geodetic and Cartographic Resources, made available, among others, via the state-owned Geoportal ([www.geoportal.gov.pl](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl), accessed: 19 October 2016). This volume of AHP, unlike previous ones, makes full use of GIS software (Geographic Information System) enabling the collection, analysis, visualization and sharing of spatial data within a common data model, scale, projections, etc.<sup>45</sup> In our work, GIS was used both for obtaining data from old maps and for the cartographic development of the main and overview maps. Although the concept of using tools so far reserved for geographers is still a new one, it greatly facilitates work on the study and development of historical maps.<sup>46</sup>

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>43</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, pp. 283–297.

<sup>44</sup> R. Olszewski, D. Gotlib, *Rola bazy danych obiektów topograficznych w tworzeniu infrastruktury informacji przestrzennej w Polsce*, Warsaw 2013.

<sup>45</sup> J. Urbański, *GIS w badaniach przyrodniczych*.

<sup>46</sup> I.N. Gregory, *A Place in History. A Guide to Using GIS in Historical Research*, Oxford 2003; I.N. Gregory, R.G. Healey, *Historical GIS. Structuring, Mapping and Analysing Geographies of the Past*, „Progress in Human Geography”, vol. 5/31, 2007, pp. 638–653; B. Szady, *Zastosowanie systemów informacji geograficznej*, pp. 279–283.

## II.2.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Katarzyna Słomska-Przech*

The cartographic sources used when working on this AHP volume were selected on the basis of a library query.<sup>1</sup> Each and every selected map had already been used in previous volumes of the AHP series.<sup>2</sup> In reference to the division adopted in AHP Greater Poland, the maps of the area discussed herein fall within four groups:<sup>3</sup>

1. maps not used or used to a minimal degree;
2. maps used for general spatial relation analysis;
3. maps serving as data sources for road network and physiography outlines, partly for locating settlements;
4. reference (base) maps.

**Table 1. List of maps used in works on the AHP**

Name of map	Author	Scale	Date	Group
<i>Mappa in qua illustrantur ditones Regni Poloniae ac Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae pars</i>	B. Wapowski	approx. 1:1,000,000	1526	1
<i>Tabula Poloniae</i>	W. Grodecki	approx. 1:1,680,000	1562	1
<i>Partis Sarmatiae Europaeae, quae Sigismundo Augusto Regi Poloniae potentissimo subiacet, nova descriptio</i>	A. Pograbka	approx. 1:1,950,000	1570	1
<i>Gross Polen aufgenommen durch den Conducteur Kayser um 1770 auf Veranlassung des Generals von Reitzenstein</i>	Kayser, K.E. Reitzenstein	approx. 1:100,000 (1:120,000)	1770	2
<i>Militärische Karte von Gross-Polen</i>	T.P. von Pfau	1:87,500	1772– 1773	2

<sup>1</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, Warsaw 1921; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów Stanisława Augusta na tle współczesnej kartografii polskiej*, Cracow 1935 (Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, vol. 3); Idem, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny*, Wrocław 1963; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne ziem polskich 1576–1870*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1983 (Centralny Katalog Zbiorów Kartograficznych w Polsce, no. 5); H. Rutkowski, *Znaczenie wybranych map z XIX wieku dla badań dawnej Polski*, [in:] *Kartografia Królestwa Polskiego 1815–1915. Materiały XVIII Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Historyków Kartografii*, Warszawa, 21–22 listopada 1997, ed. L. Szaniawska, J. Ostrowski, Warsaw 2000 (Z Dziejów Kartografii, vol. 10), p. 219; Idem, *Polska na wybranych mapach z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku*, [in:] *Dawna mapa źródłem wiedzy o świecie*, ed. S. Alexandrowicz, R. Skrycki, Szczecin 2008 (Z Dziejów Kartografii, vol. 14), pp. 221–234; B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne dla Wielkopolski do 1803 roku*, „Badania Fizjograficzne nad Polską Zachodnią. Seria A: Geografia Fizyczna”, vol. 59, 2008, pp. 29–42; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna państwa i zaboru pruskiego od II połowy XVIII wieku do połowy XX wieku*, Słupsk 2010.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Atlas of Poland in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Sieradz, Leczyca, Rawa, Plock and Mazovia*, vols. 2–4, ed. M. Słoń, Frankfurt am Main 2014 (Geschichte–Erinnerung–Politik, vol. 6); T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, II.2.4 in this edition.

<sup>3</sup> T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, II.2.4 in this edition.

Name of map	Author	Scale	Date	Group
<i>Detailed Map of the Voivodship of Plock and Dobrzyń land (hereinafter 'Perthées, Plock')</i>	K. Perthées	1:225,000	1784	2
<i>Detailed Map of the Voivodships of Brześć Kujawski and Inowroclaw (hereinafter 'Perthées, Brześć')</i>	K. Perthées	1:225,000	1785	2
<i>Karte von Ost-Preussen nebst Preussisch Litthauen und West-Preussen nebst dem Netzdistrict</i>	F.L. Schrötter, F.B. Engelhardt	1:150,000	1796– 1802	3
<i>Special Karte von Südproussen aus der Königlichen Grossen Topographischen Vermessungs Karte unter Mitwirkung des Directors Langner reducirt und herausgegeben von Geheimen Bau-Rath Gilly</i>	D. Gilly, Langner, W.H. Matthias	1:150,000	1802– 1803	3
<i>Topographisch-Militaerische Karte vom vormaligen Neu Ostpreussen oder dem jetziger Nördlichen Theil des Herzogthums Warschau nebst dem Russischen District</i>	J.Ch. Textor, D.F. Sotzmann	1:150,000	1806– 1807/1808	3
<i>Urmessstischblätter</i>	Prussian General Staff	1:25,000	1820– 1876	3
<i>Topographic Map of the Kingdom of Poland</i>	General Quartermaster's Office	1:126,000	1843	3
WIG Tactical Map	Military Institute of Geography (WIG)	1:100,000	1919– 1939	4

Sixteenth-century maps fall within the first group and shed light on how space was perceived and constructed at the time. Many reasons rendered it impossible to use these maps for AHP purposes. The main hindrance is that sixteenth-century maps have low accuracy and fail in presenting a great level of detail. Furthermore, they constitute sources of imprecise nature. Owing to their scale range (from 1:1,000,000 to 1:1,950,000), the scope of content provided is limited.

Among the first group, *Mappa in qua Illustrantur Ditiones Regni Poloniae ac Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Pars* ranks as the first and foremost cartographic work. This map has a scale of 1:1,000,000 and dates to 1526. Bernard Wapowski authored the *Mappa...*, Florian Ungler published it in Cracow, and Karol Buczek reconstructed the title we now use.<sup>4</sup> Only two copies of fragments of the map have survived to date<sup>5</sup> – and one covers Cuyavia and some of Dobrzyń land. The map presents the settlement network, the hydrography, and the borders. This last category is marked with an atypical line symbol resembling a row of trees.<sup>6</sup> A closer look at the region of interest reveals not only twenty cities, but also the clearly demarcated Gopło Lake and the following rivers: the Vistula, the Drwęca, the Brda, and the Noteć. A careful observer will also spot one village, Warzymowo (n), in the analysed area. Quite exceptional, yet understandable once one learns that sixteenth-century Warzymowo was the main seat of the Sokołowski family, who had vast holdings in Cuyavia.<sup>7</sup> Before attracting the Sokołowskis, the village was known as the homeplace of Brześć Castellan Mikołaj of Warzymowo, Pomian Coat of Arms (d. 1455) and his sons – Tomasz, Andrzej and Jakub – who took office as the Deputy Pantlers (*podstoli*) of Brześć one after the other.<sup>8</sup> Stanisław Pietkiewicz analysed the accuracy

<sup>4</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, p. 28; S. Pietkiewicz, *Mapa Polski – „milionówka” Bernarda Wapowskiego (1526)*, Warsaw 1980 (Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej, Seria C), pp. 37–62; *Wapowski Bernard*, [in:] *Polski wkład w przyrodoznawstwo i technikę. Słownik polskich i związanych z Polską odkrywców, wynalazców oraz pionierów nauk matematyczno-przyrodniczych i techniki*, vol. 4, ed. B. Orłowski, Warsaw, 2015, pp. 351–353.

<sup>5</sup> M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, Lublin 1999, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Polska na wybranych mapach z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku*, p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. Słomski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, III.3.3.6 in this edition.

<sup>8</sup> J. Karczewska, *Ród Pomianów na Kujawach w średniowieczu*, Poznań 2003, pp. 77–85.

of Bernard Wapowski's map. The errors in distances between Cuyavian cities oscillate between 3.5 km (Inowrocław–Włocławek) and 33 km (Bydgoszcz–Inowrocław).<sup>9</sup> Inowrocław is marked with some degree of precision – it is a kilometre from its actual location.

Wacław Grodecki availed himself of Bernard Wapowski's map to create his *Tabula Poloniae* (title known indirectly). He published this remake of Wapowski's map in Basel, probably in 1562.<sup>10</sup> The reworked map falls short of the quality presented by the original, as Grodecki reduced the contents and the scale to about 1:1,680,000. Grodecki did not escape some pitfalls, e.g. he labelled Vistula as Drwęca (*Drwenzca fl.*). Gopło is the only lake marked in *Tabula Poloniae* within the area concerned by our studies.<sup>11</sup> A comparison of the extant remains of Wapowski's map and Grodecki's map show that the latter author omitted several cities. However, he marked Bydgoszcz twice – once as *Biggifa* in its correct location on the banks of Brda River, and then again as *Bromberg* to the north of Koronowo (*Corunau*).

Andrzej Pograbka reprised this error in *Partis Sarmatiae Europaeae, quae Sigismundo Augusto Regi Poloniae Potentissimo Subiacet, Nova Descriptio*, which was published in Venice in 1570. Pograbka based his map on the cartographic works of Wacław Grodecki and Gerardus Mercator.<sup>12</sup> It ought to be noted that Pograbka annotated Vistula River correctly, and mapped the cities which are missing in the 1562 map. Still, he misplaced some localities. For example, Pograbka placed Przedecz directly south of Gopło Lake.

Another group comprises maps created two centuries later, used mainly for general spatial relation analysis. *Gross Polen Aufgenommen durch den Conducteur Kayser um 1770 auf Veranlassung des Generals von Reitzenstein* is one such map.<sup>13</sup> The catalogue card claims that *Gross Polen...* is a 1:100,000 scale map, yet both Karol Buczek and Andrzej Konias indicate that 1:120,000 is the correct scale here.<sup>14</sup> The 25-sheet map is the result of the work performed by Conductor Kayser on General Karl Erdmann Reitzenstein's orders ca. 1770. In cartographic terms, the map is assessed as rather poor. Its value lies in the highly correct spelling of names, which stands out positively against other German cartographic works dating to that period.<sup>15</sup>

The *Militärische Karte von Gross-Polen* aided us in determining settlement locations.<sup>16</sup> Work on this map was performed between 1772 and 1773, under the supervision of Major Theodor von Pfau.<sup>17</sup> The cartographic efforts of Major von Pfau's team were aimed at mapping the lands which were to be incorporated into Prussia once Poland was partitioned. The outcome, a 41-sheet map at a scale of 1:87,500, covers all of Brześć Voivodeship and the southern part of Inowrocław Voivodeship.

The second group of cartographic sources includes also the maps of individual voivodeships, prepared by Karol Perthées at a scale of 1:225,000 in the years 1783–1804. This series is the greatest achievement of Polish cartography under the reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski.<sup>18</sup> The maps were based on the cartographic materials available at the time. However, data was gathered mainly through surveys sent out to Roman Catholic parishes. The survey was carried out in the years 1783–1784. It focused on detailed topographic objects, such as settlement location and ownership relations,

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<sup>9</sup> S. Pietkiewicz, *Mapa Polski – „milionówka” Bernarda Wapowskiego*, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, p. 32; B. Kmiecikowa, *Mapa Polski Wacława Grodeckiego*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 6, 1974, no. 1, pp. 23–29; Grodecki Wacław, [in:] *Polski wkład w przyrodznawstwo i technikę. Słownik polskich i związanych z Polską odkrywców, wynalazców oraz pionierów nauk matematyczno-przyrodniczych i techniki*, vol. 1, ed. B. Orłowski, Warsaw, 2015, pp. 485–486.

<sup>11</sup> M. Boczyńska, J. Midzio, *Analiza dokładności Mapy Polski Wacława Grodeckiego*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 29–33.

<sup>12</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, sign. Q 16.939.

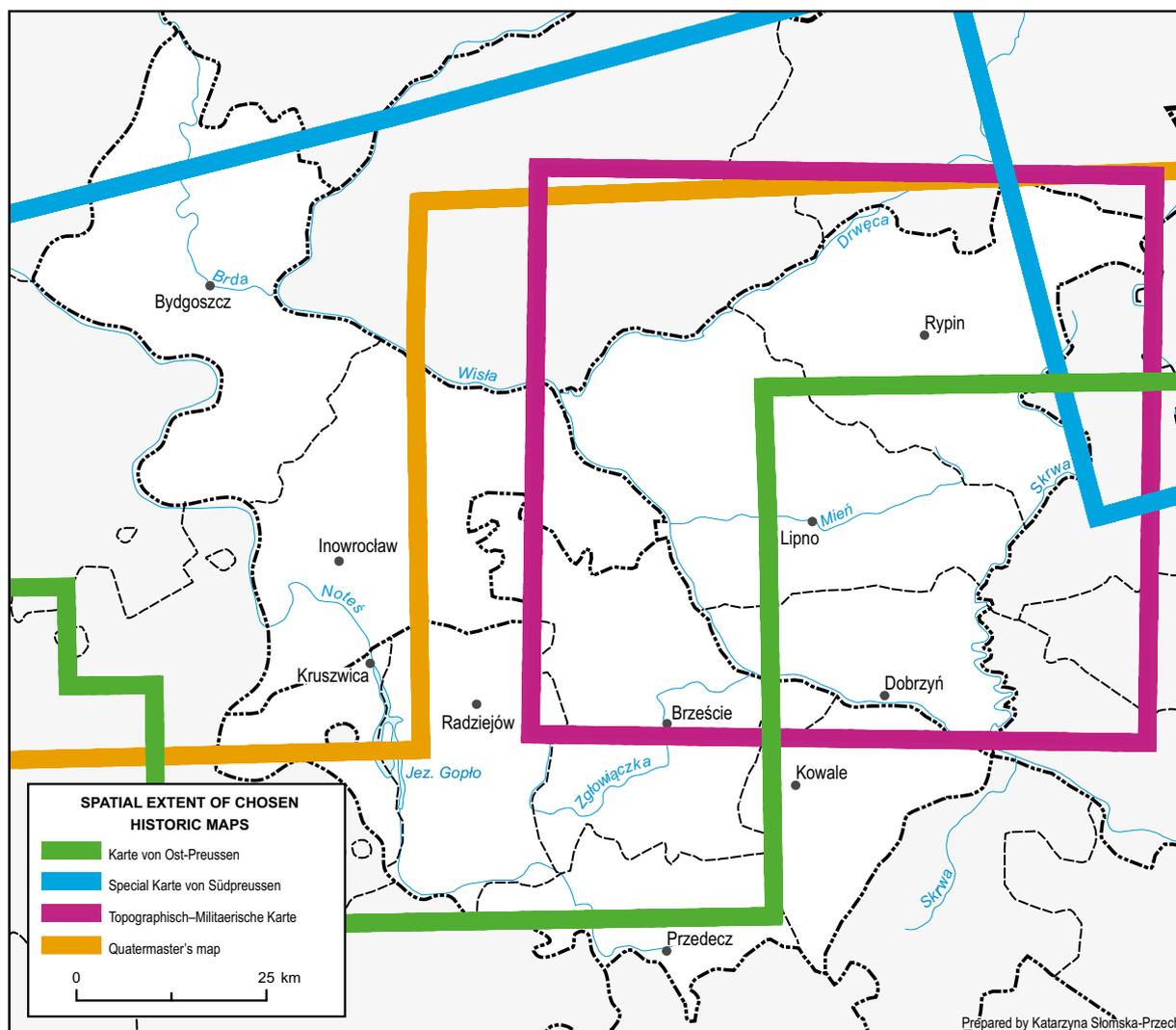
<sup>14</sup> K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 164–166, A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, p. 104–109.

<sup>15</sup> K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 166.

<sup>16</sup> Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, sign. Q 16.940/5.

<sup>17</sup> A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 109–119; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, pp. 167–172; B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne*, pp. 29–42.

<sup>18</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 80–81; idem, *Kartograf króla Stanisława Augusta. Życie i dzieła*, [in:] *Karol Perthées (1739–1815) fizjograf pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Życie oraz działalność kartograficzna i entomologiczna*, ed. J. Pawłowski, Warsaw 2003, pp. 21–134; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, no. 37; H. Rutkowski, *Mapy Perthéesa*, [in:] idem, *Fundamenta historiae. Pisma wybrane*, ed. M. Zbieranowski, M. Słoń, Warsaw 2014, p. 269–282.



**Map 1. Spatial extent of chosen historic maps**

outbuildings, roads, fords and bridges, physiographic objects (lay-out of land, hydrography, forestation), and toponyms. While working on the present AHP volume, we used the sheets which were among the first to have been created: in 1784 (*Detailed Map of Płock Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land*)<sup>19</sup> and 1785 (*Detailed map of the Voivodeships of Brześć Kujawski and Inowrocław*).<sup>20</sup> The map of Płock Voivodeship was printed in 1802 in Paris. The *Detailed Map of the Voivodeships of Brześć Kujawski and Inowrocław* covers a fragment of Inowrocław Voivodeship after the First Partition, but does not reflect its sixteenth-century shape. These maps were not used directly to draw up the contents of the main map, but helped gain a holistic view of the analysed lands. They aided us in reconstructing the settlement network, roads, administrative borders, and ownership.

We used maps of the third group to locate settlements and vectorise the physiographic layer and the road network. All these maps were elaborated in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although Karol Perthées's work preceded them only shortly, these maps are much more accurate. Map 1 shows the area covered by each map series of the third group within Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships, and Dobrzyń land.

Chronologically, the map titled *Karte von Ost-Preussen nebst Preussisch Lithauen und West-Preussen nebst dem Netzdistrict*, drawn up on the initiative of Friedrich Leopold Schrötter in years 1796–1802, is

<sup>19</sup> Biblioteka Jagiellońska, sign. M 47/12.

<sup>20</sup> AGAD, sign. 1/403/0/-/AK 108.

the oldest map of group three. Friedrich Bernhardt Engelhard supervised the cartographic works.<sup>21</sup> The 1:150,000 map (based on a 1:50,000 topographic survey) shows the area taken from Poland in the First Partition, and some of the territory annexed in the Second Partition. Some of the 25 sheets cover most of Inowrocław Voivodeship, along with parts of Brześć Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land. The map was printed in Berlin in the years 1802–1812, by means of the copper plate engraving technique.<sup>22</sup> In the case of this volume, we put it to the purpose of reconstructing physiography and the course of roads.

The 1:150,000 *Special Karte von Südproussen aus der Königlichen Grossen Topographischen Vermessungs Karte* is another map belonging to this group.<sup>23</sup> The copper plate engraving technique was used to print this thirteen-sheet map between 1802 and 1803.<sup>24</sup> David Gilly oversaw its elaboration, which was based on a 1:50,000 topographic survey taken between 1793 and 1796 of the area annexed in the Second and, in part, the Third Partition. Researchers rate the accuracy of this map as low.<sup>25</sup> Its contents are both topographic and thematic, as it marks main and post roads in detail, and shows post houses and the distance between them.<sup>26</sup> The map covers the entire Brześć Voivodeship and part of Inowrocław Voivodeship up to Flisa River. In the fragment covering Dobrzyń land, the map shows only settlements, rivers and forests nearby Vistula River.

One more map of this group is *Topographisch-Militärische Karte vom vormaligen Neu Ostpreussen*, which was issued by Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann in Berlin between 1806 and 1807.<sup>27</sup> The map was based on a 1:33,300 topographic survey taken in the years 1795–1798. Work on the map was directed by von Stein, while Levin von Geusau supervised the project. Johann Christoph Textor elaborated a generalised version of this map, which consisted of thirteen sheets. The authors failed to agree on its scale: Karol Buczek believes it is 1:155,000, Tadeusz Lankamer calculated it to be 1:152,500, whilst Teresa Paćko and Wojciech Trzebiński claim 1:150,000. The map was compiled for part of Second-Partition and all Third-Partition Poland. In terms of the territories discussed in this volume, the map depicts Dobrzyń land, save for its most northerly tips.

The *Topographic Map of the Kingdom of Poland*, also called the Quartermaster's Map after its author—the General Quartermaster's Office of the Polish Army—also belongs to the third group.<sup>28</sup> It is considered to be the most important work of nineteenth-century Polish cartography, *i.a.* for its level of detail. The map covers the area of the Kingdom of Poland, which was established in 1815. The year 1822 saw the outset of work on the field survey, set at a scale of 1:42,000. A 1:126,000 map was developed based on the measurements and existing topographic maps, *i.a.* those by Heldensfeld, Gilly and Textor. The plan was to draw up on 59 sheets. The fall of the November Uprising put a halt to the Quartermaster's Office work. By 1830, 27 sections had been completed, and eight were in progress. Russians worked with the assumptions formulated by Poles, and finished the map. The map was etched into metal plates at Karl Friedrich Minter's workshop in the years 1831–1843, though its sheets bear the date 1839.<sup>29</sup> Concerning the area of interest in this volume, the map depicts most of Brześć Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land, as well as a small fragment of Inowrocław Voivodeship.

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<sup>21</sup> J. Szeliga, *Pierwsza szczegółowa mapa północno-wschodniej Polski oparta na triangulacji (1810 r.) [Schröttera-Engelhardta]*, „Zeszyty Geograficzne Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Gdańsku”, vol. 11, 1969, pp. 79–101; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, no. 48; P. Grabowski, *Szczegółowa topografia Prus Wschodnich i Zachodnich na mapie Fryderyka Leopolda Schröttera (1796–1802)*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, vol. 4, 2005, pp. 555–559.

<sup>22</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 60; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, no. 33; B. Medyńska-Gulij, D. Lorek, *Pruskie mapy topograficzne*, pp. 29–42.

<sup>24</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, p. 99.

<sup>25</sup> T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, no. 33; T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources [in:] AHP Greater Poland*, II.2.4 in this edition.

<sup>26</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] idem, *Fundamenta historiae*, p. 292.

<sup>27</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, p. 99; B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, p. 61; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, no. 40; T. Lankamer, *Mapa J.C. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie” z lat 1795–1800*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 7, 1966 (1967), pp. 181–206.

<sup>28</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, p. 119–175; B. Krassowski, *Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego (1822–1843)*, Warsaw 1978 (Zabytki Polskiej Kartografii, vol. 1); T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, no. 104; J. Babicz, *Nowe materiały kartograficzne i opisowe do dziejów powstania Mapy Kwatermistrzostwa w kontekście źródeł i literatury*, [in:] *Dwudziestolecie Zespołu Historii Kartografii przy Instytucie Historii Nauki PAN*, ed. J. Ostrowski, W. Wernerowa, Warsaw 1995 (Z Dziejów Kartografii, vol. 7), p. 141–179.

<sup>29</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Znaczenie wybranych map z XIX wieku*, p. 219.

The most accurate and detailed pre-industrial map is the 1:25,000 plane table map (initially called the *Urmessstischblätter*),<sup>30</sup> executed in the years 1820–1876 according to instructions by General Friedrich Karl Ferdinand von Müffling, the Head of Prussian General Staff. Originally, the manuscript sheets were not intended for publication. They were to serve as the basis for a small-scale general map. New topographic survey efforts, set at the scale of 1:25,000, were initiated in 1875. The process of their lithographic reproduction began a year later. The sheets of this Prussian plane table map are referred to as the *Messtischblätter*, a name derived from the German term for ‘measuring table’ (*Messtisch*).<sup>31</sup> These sheets helped determine the course of roads running near cities and precisely locate the settlements discussed in this volume.

The locations presented in the three maps which served as the source of geometric data, *i.e.* the maps by Textor, Schrötter and the General Quartermaster’s Office, were analysed in terms of the Root Mean Square Error (RMSE). This enabled determining the mathematical accuracy of the compiled AHP main map. We used the ArcGIS 10.3 programme to georeference the maps by using affine transformation (first-order polynomial), as we did during work on the previous volume.<sup>32</sup> The quality of each map georeferencing was evaluated based on RMSE, *i.e.* the control points localisation error in the georeferenced map – before and after the georeferencing. Calculation results give information on the discrepancies between actual and map positions, and help adjust the maps to the reference map. RSME is calculated as the mean value for all control points. It is not tantamount to map accuracy, it only identifies georeferencing accuracy. In all three maps, we located control points so as to cover areas with similar density (from 1.4 to 1.5 points/thousand km<sup>2</sup>).

**Table 2. Results of georeferencing accuracy analysis of three maps**

Map	RMSE	STD	MIN	MAX	Pietkiewicz
<i>Karte von Ost-Preussen</i> (F.L. Schrötter)	586	306	49	1,353	approx. 2,400–3,300
<i>Topographisch-Militaerische Karte vom vormaligen Neu Ostpreussen</i> (J.Ch. Textor)	838	496	117	1,896	approx. 1,300
<i>Topographic Map of the Kingdom of Poland</i> (Quartermaster’s Map)	1,027	548	138	2,072	approx. 750

Legend: Values in metres. RMSE – Root Mean Square Error, STD – Standard Deviation, MIN – Minimal Value of Error, MAX – Maximal Value of Error, Pietkiewicz – error in object location calculated by Stanisław Pietkiewicz.

For Schrötter and the Quartermaster’s Map, the result is analogous to the outcomes obtained when performing calculations for AHP Greater Poland – the error in the older map is nearly twice lower.<sup>33</sup> Calculations showed that the lowest error occurs in *Karte von Ost-Preussen* (586 m), and the largest – in the *Topographic Map of the Kingdom of Poland* (1,027 m). Owing to the scale of our map (1:250,000), errors may range from 2.35 mm (Schrötter’s map) to 4.11 mm (Quartermaster’s Map). Aided by twentieth-century maps and modern databases, we succeeded in removing some of the errors.

We compared our results with those obtained by Stanisław Pietkiewicz. According to Pietkiewicz’s analyses, the mean error for control points in Schrötter oscillates between 2,400 and 3,300 m. In some areas, however, it is smaller. For example, in Middle Pomerania it is about 600 m, in the vicinity of Ostróda it equals 900 m, and near Pisz it is 1,300 m.<sup>34</sup> RMSE calculations show that this error is also lower and comparable with the results obtained by Stanisław Pietkiewicz for Middle Pomerania. Less divergence is observed in Textor, for which Pietkiewicz established the point localisation error to be

<sup>30</sup> A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 38–41, 173–190; D. J. Lorek, *Potencjał informacyjny map topograficznych Urmessstischblätter z lat 1822–33 z terenu Wielkopolski*, Poznań 2011; idem, *Informacja topograficzna na Urmessstischblätter a objaśnienia w legendzie*, [in:] *Dawne mapy jako źródła historyczne*, „Biblioteka Polskiego Przeglądu Kartograficznego”, vol. 3, 2012, pp. 55–61.

<sup>31</sup> A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 41–42.

<sup>32</sup> Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, II.2.4. in this edition.

<sup>33</sup> Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, II.2.4. in this edition.

<sup>34</sup> G. Bonatowski, *Działalność profesora S. Pietkiewicza*, p. 64.

about 1,300 m, while georeferencing with the Dobrzyń land sheet of this map revealed an error of only 838.5 m. It is worth mentioning that Tadeusz Lankamer also performed calculations for Textor's map,<sup>35</sup> and his mean localisation error 1,542 m – was similar to that identified by Pietkiewicz. Disparities in the Quartermaster's Map hover around 320 m.

Last but not least, the final category is formed by reference (base) maps drafted in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. We used them for reference purposes when transferring content from older maps. In line with AHP assumptions, all objects must be marked on the map at an accuracy of 1:100,000. That is one of the reasons why we mainly used the detailed tactical map set at a scale of 1:100,000, which covers the whole area discussed in this volume. This map was created in the years 1919–1939 by the Military Institute of Geography. We also used contemporary spatial data from the National Geodetic and Cartographic Resource (*Państwowy Zasób Geodezyjny i Kartograficzny*, which is available *i.a.* at the Geoportal.<sup>36</sup>

The cartographic sources used for developing city plans have been discussed in the chapters on those plans.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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<sup>35</sup> T. Lankamer, *Mapa J.C. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie”*.

<sup>36</sup> [www.geoportal.gov.pl/](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl/) (accessed: 19.08.2019).

## II.2.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Tomasz Panecki*

The selection of cartographic sources for work on this volume of the AHP was decided upon based on archive preliminary research and biographical studies resulting in the nine series of maps as presented in Table 1. The preliminary research was conducted at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, while the bibliographical studies was based on an inventory,<sup>1</sup> and monographic approach<sup>2</sup> as well as drawing on the series in its hitherto existing form.<sup>3</sup> Not everything was of relevance for our work as such; hence the decision to divide the whole into four groups reflecting the relevance and applicability of the said:

1. Maps not used or employed only to a minimal degree;
2. Maps used in an analysis of general spatial relations;
3. Maps constituting the sources for road network and physiographic outlines, partly for locating settlements;
4. Reference (base) maps.

**Table 1. List of maps used in work on the AHP**

Name	Author	Scale	Date	Group
<i>Poloniae Tabula</i>	W. Grodecki	approx. 1:1,680,000	1562	1
<i>Partis Sarmatiae Europaeae, quae Sigismundo Augusto Regi Poloniae potentissimo subiacet, nova descriptio</i>	A. Pograbka	approx. 1:1,950,000	1570	1
<i>Mappa szczegulna woiewództwa podlaskiego</i>	K. Perthées	1:225,000	1795	2
<i>Krieges Karte der Provinz Neu Ost Preussen</i>	von Stein	1:33,333	1795–1800	3
<i>Karte von West-Gallizien</i>	A.M. von Heldensfeld	1:28,800	1801–1804	3
<i>Topographisch – Militaerische Karte vom vormaligen Neu Ostpreussen</i>	J.Ch. von Textor, D. F. Sotzmann	1:152,500	1806–1808	3

<sup>1</sup> T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne ziem polskich 1576–1870*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1983 (Centralny Katalog Zbiorów Kartograficznych w Polsce, no. 5).

<sup>2</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, Warsaw 1921; K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów Stanisława Augusta na tle współczesnej kartografii polskiej*, Cracow 1935 (Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, vol. 3); idem, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku. Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny*, Wrocław 1963; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1966; M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, Lublin 1999; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna państwa i zaboru pruskiego od II połowy XVIII wieku do połowy XX wieku*, Słupsk 2010; A. Czerny, *Powstanie i etapy rozwoju map topograficznych do końca XIX wieku*, [in:] *Dawne mapy topograficzne w badaniach geograficzno-historycznych*, ed. A. Czerny, Lublin 2015, pp. 11–83.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Atlas of Poland in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Sieradz, Leczyca, Rawa, Plock and Mazovia*, vol. 2–4, ed. M. Słoń, Frankfurt am Main 2014 (Geschichte–Erinnerung–Politik, vol. 6); H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] idem, *Fundamenta historiae. Pisma wybrane*, ed. M. Zbieranowski, M. Słoń, Warsaw 2016, pp. 283–297.

Name	Author	Scale	Date	Group
<i>Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego</i>	<i>Kwatermistrzostwo Generalne</i>	1:126,000	1843	3
<i>Военно-топографическая карта европейской России</i>	<i>Korpus Topografów Wojskowych</i>	1:126,000	1855–1863	3
<i>mapa taktyczna WIG</i>	<i>Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny</i>	1:100,000	1919–1939	4

The first group comprised maps that only to a minimal degree provided data and input to this volume of AHP. Here the matter concerned first and foremost the absence of mathematical precision, too small a scale, or the display of too limited a content scope. This group includes first and foremost the oldest works. From amongst which it is worth noting maps based on the work of Bernard Wapowski:<sup>4</sup> the map by Waclaw Grodecki printed circa 1562 at a scale of around 1 : 1,680,000<sup>5</sup> and Andrzej Pograbka's work (circa 1:1,950,000, 1570).<sup>6</sup> These maps did not prove to be useful with regard to our requirements despite their chronological closeness with regard to the period of our research. As an example, on Grodecki's map 8 towns are shown,<sup>7</sup> when in fact there were 23 settlements with town status.

An important place amongst maps as yet not precise and yet ones still conveying a definite perspective of spatiality is held by *Mappa szczegulna województwa podlaskiego* (1:225,000, 1795), this being the work of Karol Perthées. This map has been assigned by us to the second group.<sup>8</sup> The map of the Podlasie Voivodeship was not produced in a printed version and has survived until our day in manuscript form alone.<sup>9</sup> The basic sources of data for the map were the so-called parish surveys or reports which on the order of the Bishop of Płock and subsequently primate Michał Jerzy Poniatowski were to have been worked on and drawn up by their parish priests.<sup>10</sup> The parish survey was organised on the basis of a uniform questionnaire that ultimately comprised 9 points, within the framework of which determined were the positions (in miles and according to the directions of the compass) of all the important anthropogenic objects within the area of each parish – first and foremost settlements and objects of economic worth such as farmsteads, but also roads, bridges and fords. The transition stage between the questionnaire and the creation of the descriptions on its basis and the map were the so-called parish sketches (Perthées's Sketches), which we have also employed in our labours and here in effect at each of the various stages.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Mappa in qua illustrantur ditiones Regni Poloniae ac Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae pars* (approx. 1:1,000,000, 1526); cf. S. Pietkiewicz, *Mapa Polski – „milionówka” Bernarda Wapowskiego (1526)*, Warsaw 1980 (Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej, Seria C, no. 24), pp. 37–62; *Grodecki Waclaw [in:] Polski wkład w przyrodoznawstwo i technikę. Słownik polskich i związanych z Polską odkrywców, wynalazców oraz pionierów nauk matematyczno-przyrodniczych i techniki*, ed. B. Orłowski, Warsaw, 2015, vol. 4, pp. 485–486.

<sup>5</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 28, 32–34, 38; K. Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography*, pp. 32–40, 41–48; B. Kmicikowa, *Mapa Polski Waclawa Grodeckiego*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny” vol. 6, 1974, no. 1, pp. 23–29; M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, pp. 164–170.

<sup>6</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 36–37; M. Sirko, *Zarys historii kartografii*, p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> Rajgród, Goniądz, Narew, Bielsk, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Łosice and probably Knyszyn (though completely incorrectly marked upon the River Narew between Tykocin and the Narew as *Knjissow*). Also shown on the map was Krzemień (in reality a village in the Drohiczyn district (powiat)).

<sup>8</sup> K. Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej*, pp. 80–81; idem, *The History of Polish Cartography*, pp. 98–110; A. Alexandrowicz, *Mappa szczegulna województwa podlaskiego [...] Karola de Perthées z 1795 r. Uwagi wstępne*, SP, vol. 1, 1990, pp. 91–97; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, position 37.

<sup>9</sup> *Mappa szczegulna województwa podlaskiego [...]*, przez Karola de Perthées pułkownika y geografa J.K.Mci, Ciechanowiec [2013]; see also S. Alexandrowicz *Mappa szczegulna województwa podlaskiego*, 91–97 A. Ertman, *Rękopiśmienna mapa województwa podlaskiego, Karola Perthéesa z r. 1795. Jej źródła, metoda opracowania i znaczenie dla badań historycznych*, „Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki”, vol. 16, 2007, no. 1–2, pp. 129–137 AGAD, catalogue number AK-98; ZAH, catalogue number V/328 (photocopies), ZAH.

<sup>10</sup> B. Szady, *Działalność Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego na rzecz rozwoju kartografii polskiej*, [in:] *Kamienie milowe w kartografii*, ed. J. Ostrowski, P. E. Wespiański, Warsaw 2013, pp. 183–192.

<sup>11</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Ocena „ankiet parafialnych” jako źródła wiedzy Karola Perthéesa o fizjografii Rzeczypospolitej przed-rozbiorowej*, [in:] *Karol Perthées (1739–1815). fizjograf pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej Życie oraz działalność kartograficzna i entomologiczna*, ed. J.S. Pawłowski, Warsaw 2003, pp. 165–192; idem, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z 1784 roku*,

The parish questionnaire method results in a fairly high level of detail in the map and here with regard to the number of objects marked and the reliability in the qualitative characteristics as presented. What suffers though is exactness with regard to the absence of precise and exact terrain measurements as well as the notable generalisation resulting from the scale of the map (1:225,000), particular in comparison with the partition maps from the analogical period. The way of working on the 'detailed maps' series had its disadvantages when compared to Prussian and Austrian works of this time: ones that were based on territorial measurements employing a surveyor's table and triangulation. Nonetheless even after taking into consideration the shortcomings of these detailed maps with regard to their accuracy, they do serve in the AHP series as an important source first and foremost with regard to the reconstruction of road networks and the naming of physiographic objects.<sup>12</sup>

The third group contains maps that we have employed to draw physiographic elements or the localisation of settlements. As a rule they give a spatial image that is precise enough; for within the framework of a certain error in location they may be used not merely as a source of descriptive attributes, but also for the geometry of the objects themselves. One may vectorize (copy and generalise to the desired scale of the reconstructed map) on the basis of these roads, forests and woods, or even rivers. This sub-section contained four maps from the period 1795–1875, whose scope in relation to the area covered by the Podlasie Voivodeship in the sixteenth century is presented on Map 1.

The oldest map on this list is that by von Stein (1:33,333, 1795–1800)<sup>13</sup> named after the head of the topographic work – Major von Stein. While the map's full title may be seen in one of the sheets as: *Krieges Karte der Provinz Neu Ost Preussen enthaltend das nunmehrige Plocker und Bialystoker Cammer Departement Angefertigt in den Jahren 1795 bis 1800*. The map is composed of 135 (122 according to Eugen Kossmann<sup>14</sup>) hand-written, coloured reports held at the National Library in Berlin.<sup>15</sup> The scope of the work covers the so-called lands of New Eastern Prussia (the departments of Białystok and Płock), that is the area of the II and III Prussian partitions. The compilation of the map resulted from none too exact triangulation, while the topographic work was undertaken by Polish officers serving in the Prussian Army through the employment of a plane table (including Kruszewski, Przegaliński, Wróblewski).<sup>16</sup> Fairly typical is the extent of the map's contents and here covering the road network together with a notation on road conditions, land use (in red – built-up areas, dark grey – forests and woods, green – meadows, while blue signifies water), the names of topographic objects – though often distorted, as well as the lay of the land presented by means of hachures. The map is most detailed, which is visible first and foremost with regard to the representation of hydrography, however errors do occur; for example, according to this map the River Liza links the Nurzec and the Narew, something that in reality would have been impossible with regard to the relative relations in altitude.

On the basis of von Stein's map a smaller scale printed version was produced (1:152,500, 1806–1808); this work being compiled by Johann Christoph von Textor, and printed by Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann.<sup>17</sup> According to Bolesław Olszewicz, Textor not only generalised and edited the map, but also carried out his own measurements along with correcting the mistakes in the original topographic photograph.<sup>18</sup> According to Tadeusz Lankamer's detailed calculations, the scale of the map was 1:152,500<sup>19</sup> though

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Białystok 1993; idem, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z 1784 roku*, Białystok 1990. At the present moment this material is the subject of critical assessment on the part of a team led by Dr. hab. Bogumił Szady at the Polish Academy of Sciences History Institute's Department of Historical Atlases within the framework of the project "Cartography at the service of state reform in the Stanislaus epoch – a critical assessment of the 'Geographical-statistical description of the parishes of the Polish Kingdom' as well as of the Crown voivodeships maps by Karol Perthées" (project NPRH no. 11H 18 0122 87).

<sup>12</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Mapy Perthéesa*, [in:] idem, *Fundamenta historiae. Pisma wybrane*, pp. 269–282.

<sup>13</sup> T. Lankamer, *Mapa J.C. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie” z lat 1795–1800*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 7, 1967, p. 181; A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, pp. 147–160.

<sup>14</sup> E.O. Kossmann, *Die Preussischen Landesaufnahmen in Polen (1753–1806)*, Leipzig–Jomsburg 1937, p. 27.

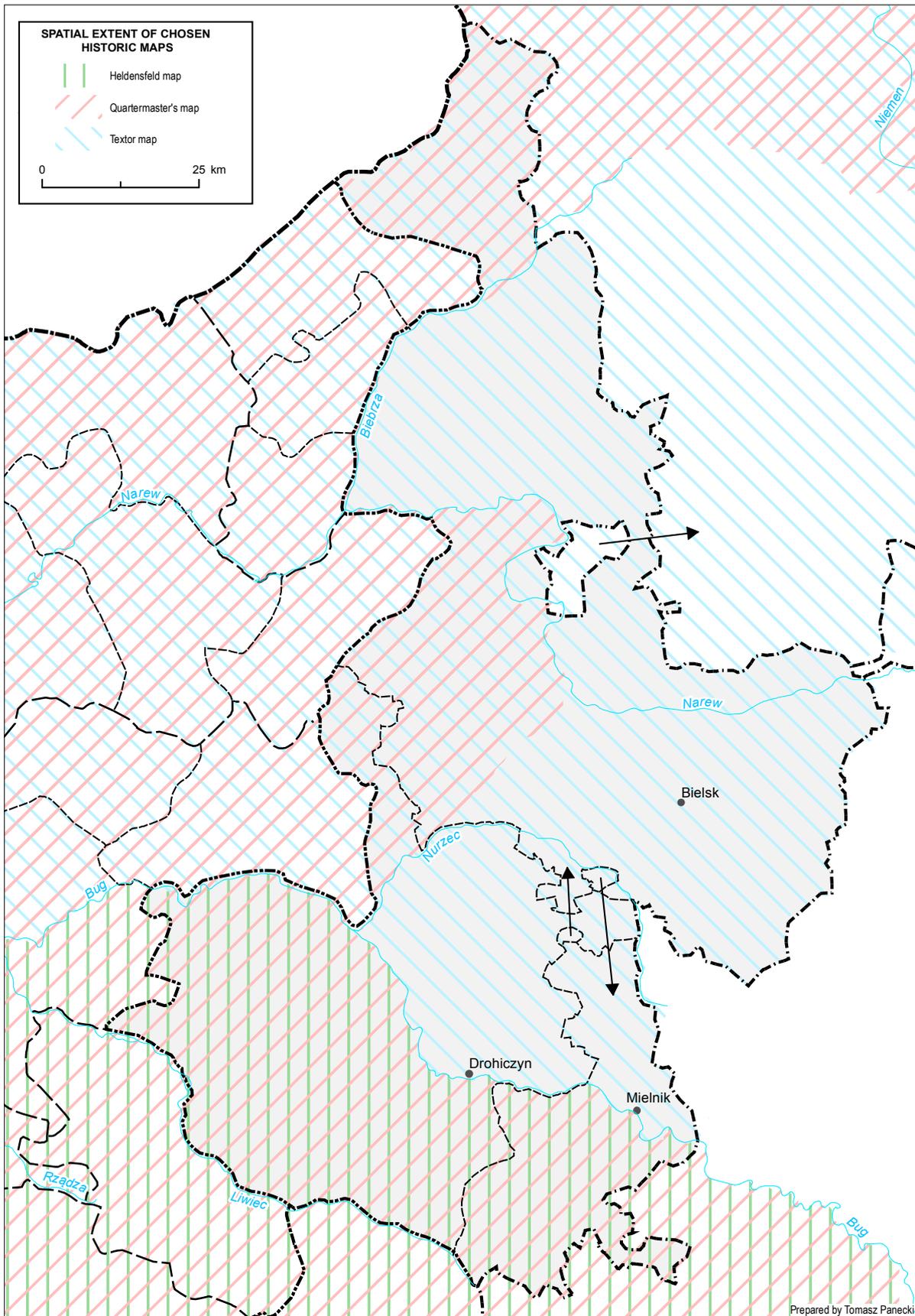
<sup>15</sup> Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Inventory number Q 17030. There is to be found also a manuscript reduction of the map to a scale of 1:114,000 in 11 quires (inventory number Q 17030/2). Photocopies of the original photograph are available at the Historical Atlas Department at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences.

<sup>16</sup> T. Lankamer, *Mapa J. C. Textora*, pp. 186–187.

<sup>17</sup> Textor; T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, position 40.

<sup>18</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>19</sup> T. Lankamer, *Mapa J.C. Textora*, pp. 195–196.



**Map 1. Spatial extent of chosen historic maps: covering Textor (and von Stein), Heldensfeld and that of the Quartermaster against the actual extent of the Podlasie Voivodeship in the sixteenth century. Perthés' map and the Russian 'Three-verst' map covered in their scope the entire area**

in the subject literature scales of 1:150,000<sup>20</sup> and 1:155,000<sup>21</sup> are also given. The printed map was to have been in accordance with the scale and sheet-size cut of Schrötter-Engelhardt's map and to have been compiled at the exact same time.<sup>22</sup> The content in terms of scope for Textor's map does not differ from other Prussian maps of the turn of the nineteenth century. On a legible, coloured copperplate one can find marked the most important topographic objects from a military-administrative perspective: roads, settlements, forests, woods and water. Yet the lay of the land has been marked with hachures. Both maps, the topographic survey and its reduction, were the main source for enabling settlement location and to enable the sketching of the relief for the part of the voivodeship located to the north of the River Bug, which following the III Partition was to constitute the border between Prussia and Austria (cf. Map 1).

The area occupied by Austria was to be cartographically documented within the framework of the First Military Survey also known as the Josephine survey.<sup>23</sup> *Karte von West-Galizien*, upon which Colonel Anton Mayer von Heldensfeld conducted topographic work for the period 1801–1804, is a manuscript map of a scale 1:28,800 comprised of 275 sheets.<sup>24</sup> On the basis of the photograph Hieronim Benedicti was able to develop two reductions: one at a scale of 1:172,800 (1803–1809; 12 sheets)<sup>25</sup> and the second at a scale of 1:288,800 (1809–1811; 6 sheets).<sup>26</sup> The development of the map had been preceded by astronomical-trigonometric measurements, which ensured a fair degree of accuracy. The content and graphics do not differ much from that seen in other maps of this epoch, but the names employed are often erroneous and with far more mistakes than would be the case in Prussian maps; something caused by the fact that the measurements were conducted exclusively by officers who only spoken German.<sup>27</sup> In our work on the AHP we have employed Heldensfeld's map to locate settlements and to draw up the geomorphology for that part of the Podlasie Voivodeship situated to the south of the River Bug.

Our work on the Podlasie volume of AHP has also employed the later Quartermaster's map i.e., *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego*.<sup>28</sup> This map was devised in two stages: before and after the November Uprising of 1830/1831. In the first period (1822–1830) the General Quartermaster of the Polish Army determined the mathematical bases of a topographical photograph, here employing Prussian and Austrian triangulation networks. Selected was the Bonne's projection, Walbeck's ellipsoid as the reference surface, while the central meridian has been calculated on the basis of the Warsaw meridian. The field survey was conducted in a scale three-times greater (1:42,000), which enables for excellent precision in the illustration on the map. As a result of the outbreak of the November Uprising work was suspended but it had been possible to this date to assemble 25 sheets from amongst the

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<sup>20</sup> T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, position 40.

<sup>21</sup> K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich*, p. 170.

<sup>22</sup> J. Szeliga, *Pierwsza szczegółowa mapa północno-wschodniej Polski oparta na triangulacji 1810 r [Schröttera-Engelhardta]*, „Zeszyty Geograficzne Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Gdańsku“, vol. 11, 1969, pp. 79–101.

<sup>23</sup> Andrzej Konias has written on the cartography of the Franz Joseph Polish lands (cf: idem, *Kartografia topograficzna Śląska Cieszyńskiego i zaboru austriackiego od II połowy XVIII wieku do początku XX wieku*, Katowice 2000). The so-called Mieg map covering the lands of the 1<sup>st</sup> Austrian partition is at present the subject of editing by a Cracow team of historians from the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of History (cf.: *Galicja na józefińskiej mapie topograficznej 1779–1783: Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme von Galizien 1779–1783*, ed. Z. Noga, B. Dybaś, W. Bukowski, Z. Budzyński, Cracow 2012; W. Bukowski, A. Janeczek, *Mapa józefińska (1779–1783) w przededniu edycji, Przedmiot i założenia programu wydawniczego*, SG, vol. 1, 2013, pp. 91–112). The so-called maps of the First Military Survey were also analysed within the context of their potential georeferencing (cf.: G. Molnár, G. Timár, E. Biszak, *Can the First Military Survey Maps of the Habsburg Empire (1763–1790) be Georeferenced by an Accuracy of 200 Meters?* 9th International Workshop on Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage Budapest, 4–5 September 2014, [https://www.arcnum.com/media/uploads/mapire/pub/1survey\\_molnar\\_et\\_al.pdf](https://www.arcnum.com/media/uploads/mapire/pub/1survey_molnar_et_al.pdf) (accessed 20.03.2021).

<sup>24</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 57–58; L. Sawicki, *Pulkownika Antoniego barona Mayera von Heldensfeld zdjęcie topograficzne w Polsce w latach 1801–1804*, Cracow 1928. The map is kept at the Viennese Kriegsarchiv, as well as being available in a digital edition on the “Mapire” portal service <https://mapire.eu/en/>; (accessed: 15.01.2020). Photocopies are also available in the Historical Atlas Department at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences.

<sup>25</sup> T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, position 42.

<sup>26</sup> Idem, position 44.

<sup>27</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> This has been used as a date source in all the previous volumes of the AHP cf. H. Rutkowski, *Cartographic sources*, pp. 295–296.

60 planned, and for a further six to be taken.<sup>29</sup> From 1833 to 1839 the map was completed by the Russian Topographic Military Corps. It was published in Russian with Polish and French notations in 1843, though dated 1839. On the basis of the Quartermaster's map, physiographic elements were entered onto the end map along with the road network. It was also helpful in the locating of settlements.

The Quartermaster's map was reprinted and brought up to date many times. Based on it, the Russians produced the so-called Three-verst map i.e., *Военно-топографическая карта европейской России* in the same scale (1:126,000, 1855–1863), which has also been utilised in this volume of the AHP. Work conducted on the said and called *Three-verst* as a result of the scale employed (three *versts* in one single English inch) was commenced in 1845 and published in sections for the various parts of the Russian Empire.<sup>30</sup> The map was revised and brought up to date many times and published right up until the beginning of the twentieth century. The scope within which it has been employed in our work has encompassed first and foremost the localisation of settlements; as opposed to earlier works this map shows, for example, wilderness and desolate areas. This is the only map that covers the former Voivodeship of Podlasie in its entirety bar the non-cartometric map by Perthées.

As a result of using GIS as a tool, and here with the aim of establishing the accuracy of the data developed by us for the main map, carried out was analysis of the average error of the square positioning of the objects for the five maps cited, these constituting the main sources of geometric data: von Stein's map (1:33,333, 1795–1800), Textor's map (1:152,500, 1806–1808), Heldensfeld's map (1:28,800, 1801–1804), and the so-called Quartermaster's map (1:126,000, 1839–1843) as well as the Three-verst (1:126,000, 1855–1863). The question of the georeferencing of old maps i.e., adjusting them to contemporary geographical coordinate systems has been for several years an eagerly undertaken research area; and here both in the context of the accuracy of the undertakings themselves as in the instruments serving the process of georeferencing.<sup>31</sup> Any georeferencing of a map involves the indication of points from the old map and their identification with points from the reference material, most commonly a contemporary precise map.<sup>32</sup> Next the coordinates from the old map are transformed to the coordinates from the reference map by means of mathematical formulae. The methodology employed in the work was as follows: as a result of the constant dimensions of the particular sheets, they were initially combined into a whole in a graphic program, and then the mosaic therein devised was subjected to georeferencing in the ArcGIS 10.5 program by means of affine transformation (of first degree polynomials).<sup>33</sup>

The evaluation of the quality of the georeferencing is determined by means of Root Mean Square Error (RMSE). This shows the difference in the positioning of the control points from the map before and after georeferencing, informing one as to the distance (in metres) these points were moved in order for the map to match the reference materials. Error is calculated as the average for all the control points. It does not follow to identify RMSE error with the accuracy of a map, although there obviously exists a certain relationship between these two values. For this error may be reduced to zero through the application of higher degree polynomial transformations though this does not mean that the georeferenced map becomes precise.<sup>34</sup>

For each of the maps control points are marked (crossroads, churches) so that they cover the area with a similar density (around 1.5 points/ thousand km<sup>2</sup>). The results of the analyses are presented in

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<sup>29</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 119–140; B. Krassowski, *Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego (1822–1843)*, Warsaw 1978 (Zabytki Polskiej Kartografii, vol. 1); T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, position 104.

<sup>30</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, pp. 186–189; B. Krassowski, *Polska kartografia wojskowa w latach 1918–1945* Warsaw 1974, p. 50; A. Czerny, *Powstanie i etapy rozwoju map topograficznych do końca XIX wieku*, pp. 69–70, T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne*, position 170.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Affek, *Georeferencing of Historical Maps using GIS, as Exemplified by the Austrian Military Surveys of Galicia*, "Geographia Polonica", vol. 86, 2013, no. 4, pp. 375–390; T. Panecki, *Problemy kalibracji mapy szczegółowej Polski w skali 1:25,000 Wojskowego Instytutu Geograficznego w Warszawie*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny”, vol. 46, 2014, no. 2, pp. 162–172; G. Timár, G. Molnár, *Map Grids and Datums*, Budapest 2013.

<sup>32</sup> In this instance these being topographic maps from Geoportal ([www.geoportal.gov.pl](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl), accessed: 22.10.2019).

<sup>33</sup> J. Urbański, *GIS w badaniach przyrodniczych*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 78–83. J. Kuna, *Metodyczne aspekty analiz GIS wykorzystujących dawne mapy topograficzne*, [in:] *Dawne mapy topograficzne* pp. 127–137.

<sup>34</sup> B. Jenny, L. Humi, *Studying Cartographic Heritage: Analysis and Visualization of Geometric Distortions*, "Computers & Graphics", vol. 35, 2011, no. 2, pp. 402–411.

**Table 2. The results of analysis of the exactness in the georeferencing of three maps (in metres)**

Map	$\Sigma$ CPS	RMSE	STD	MIN	MAX	Other
<i>Krieges Karte der Provinz Neu Ost Preussen</i> (von Stein)	17	434	189	61	750	140
<i>Karte von West-Gallizien</i> (A.M. von Heldensfeld)	9	97	30	52	149	200–400
<i>Topographisch-Militaerische Karte vom vormaligen Neu Ostpreussen</i> (J.Ch. von Textor)	30	1,849	955	263	2,830	1,542
<i>Quartermaster's Map</i>	50	747	456	199	1,914	750
<i>Three-verst map</i>	80	566	237	135	964	100–200

Legend: values given in metres,  $\Sigma$  CPS – number of control points, RMSE – root mean square error, STD – standard deviation, MIN – minimal value of error, MAX – maximum value of error, other – error in object positioning calculated by other researchers.

The best results were obtained for Heldensfeld's map – approximately 97 m, which should be considered an extremely good result confirming the map's high level of accuracy and precision. The others are characterised by a greater level of error, oscillating from approximately 434 m (von Stein's map), through 566 m (the 'Three-versts'), 747 m (the Quartermaster's map) to 1,849 m (Textor's map). In the case of the latter, attempts were also conducted to georeference the individual sheets in order to identify the source of such a margin of error. The results oscillated within the band of 300 and 400 m, while such a large degree of error for the entire map results from the propagation of inaccuracy between the attached sheets. However, it does follow to note that in the case of the other maps whose sheets were joined in the same way this phenomenon was not observed. In calculating the errors obtained by the scale of the main map we obtained errors in the positioning of objects equivalent to: 0.38 mm, 1.73 mm and 2.26 mm, 2.98 mm and 7.4 mm. However, these errors should be considered minimal for a scale of 1:250,000 taking into consideration the dimensions of cartographical signs as well as the fact that the drawing was corrected on the basis of newer and more accurate maps.

The results obtained were also compared with the previous results of map precision analyses of the maps conducted by Stanisław Pietkiewicz,<sup>35</sup> Andrzej Konias,<sup>36</sup> and Tadeusz Lankamer.<sup>37</sup> Fairly similar values were obtained for the maps of the Quartermaster and Textor. The accuracy in Heldensfeld's map was almost twice that which had been shown in hitherto analyses of precision. While, in turn, for von Stein's map and the Three-verst map worse results were obtained. However, the differences might have been the result of an array of factors including a different way in conducting the research or the fact that hitherto errors in positioning had been analysed on the area of individual sheets and not across the expanse of the entire map as joined. Certainly of significance is the shrinking and contraction of the paper or the quality of the scans upon which the georeferencing and RMSE analysis was conducted.

The fourth group of studies were the so-called reference (base) maps, drawn up in the twentieth and twenty-first century, which constituted the main point of spatial reference for all the data obtained from the other maps. In accordance with the assumptions adopted for the AHP series, all the elements of the drawing should be ultimately localised and placed on the map in a scale of 1:100,000, and with this aim pre-war maps (WIG), as equally post-war maps have been used. Next the drawing of the marked elements was generalised to the desired scale of the main map (1:250,000). Such an approach has been developed in work on the AHP and here already since the appearance of the post-war volume and is continued to this day, although it should follow to discuss the reference materials and their updating

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem; S. Pietkiewicz, *Analiza dokładności niektórych map z XVII, XVIII i XIX wieku, obejmujących Polskę w dawnych granicach*, „Prace i Studia Geograficzne”, vol. 17, 1995, pp. 103–109.

<sup>36</sup> A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna*, p. 160.

<sup>37</sup> T. Lankamer, *Mapa J. C. Textora*, pp. 181–206.

through the use of referential topographical data for example in the localisation of settlements or the marking of roads and relief.<sup>38</sup>

We have made use of reference data from the National Geodetic and Cartographic Resource (Pol. Państwowy Zasób Geodezyjny i Kartograficzny) in the drawing out of the map, aid that is accessible via, among other routes, the Polish state Geoportal.<sup>39</sup> Employed in a way similar to the Greater Poland volume of the AHP was the GIS program (Geographic Information System), which enables the collection, analysis, visualisation of spatial data within the framework of a joint model of data, scale and projection.<sup>40</sup>

The cartographic sources used when working on the town maps are described in the chapters that deal with the town plans themselves.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>38</sup> R. Olszewski, D. Gotlib, *Rola bazy danych obiektów topograficznych w tworzeniu infrastruktury informacji przestrzennej w Polsce*, Warsaw 2013.

<sup>39</sup> [www.geoportal.gov.pl](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl) (accessed: 19.10.2019).

<sup>40</sup> T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland.

## II.2.9a ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Marian Biskup*

From the cartographic materials from the sixteenth century, the great map of Prussia by Kasper Hennenberger from 1576, covering the area of Chełmno and Malbork Voivodships and part of Pomeranian Voivodeship,<sup>1</sup> was of no use for us due to its general nature and inaccuracy. In the absence of appropriate cartographic records from the seventeenth century, later materials from the end of the eighteenth century, could serve as base maps. Schrötter's atlas of Prussian lands played a leading role here.<sup>2</sup> This work is the most important achievement of Prussian cartography for the Pomeranian lands. Work on it was initiated by the Prussian quartermaster, which in the years 1796–1802 carried out triangulation measurements of the then East and West Prussia (i.e. Royal Prussia together with the Noteć region). Measurements in the area of Royal Prussia were done by Jan Krzysztof von Textor. They were then used by the Prussian minister L. Schrötter who, with the help of F.B. Engelhardt, created a survey of Prussia to the scale of 1:50,000 on 144 sheets. It was published generalised on the smaller scale of 1:150,000 in Berlin in 1803–1810 and included 25 sheets, made by copper plate.<sup>3</sup> Despite some inaccuracies in measurements, Schrötter's Atlas is an indispensable cartographic source for the Pomeranian lands of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It recreates the physiography of the area (forests, swamps, rivers, and lakes), as well as the settlements, road network, borders of larger administrative units and economic categories of individual settlements and their shapes. For these reasons, these data could serve primarily as a basis for delineating the extent of forest cover, meadows and swamps, and hydrography (lakes, rivers, the Baltic shoreline) of Royal Prussia, as well as for locating individual settlements, especially the lost ones.

Other, even earlier cartographic sources could only play a supplementary role or slightly correct the results of Schrötter's Atlas. The maps of the Leniwka and Nogat branches by J. Strackwitz (1553 and 1582)<sup>5</sup> should be mentioned among the sixteenth century ones. For the area of Żuławy, the maps of Samuel Donnet (1722)<sup>6</sup> and J.F. Endersch (1753)<sup>7</sup> were used as an auxiliary source, first of all in order to establish the political borders in the area, since in terms of accuracy and precision they are

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<sup>1</sup> C. Hennenberger, *Prussia*, Królewiec 1576.

<sup>2</sup> Schrötter, *Karte von Ostpreussen nebst Preussisch Litthauen und Westpreussen nebst dem Netzedistrict... 1796–1802*, Berlin 1803–1810.

<sup>3</sup> B. Olszewicz, *Polska kartografia wojskowa*, Warsaw 1921, pp. 58–59; Cf. also B. Zaborski, *Carte de Pomeranie levée par Schrötter-Engelhardt (1796–1802)*, *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie à Varsovie 1934*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1938, pp. 71–72.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. The positive opinion of B. Zaborski, *Kaszuby na przelomie XVIII i XIX wieku w świetle mapy Schröttera-Engelhardta z lat 1796–1802*, *Wiadomości Służby Geograficznej*, 1936, no. 2, pp. 239 et seq. The author used the original 1:50,000 scale projection in Preuss. Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Published by K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów Stanisława Augusta na tle współczesnej kartografii polskiej*, Cracow 1935 (Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, vol. 3) – map of Chełmno Voivodeship from around 1770 (from the collection of Prussian State Library in Berlin) did not make it possible to use it, due to the small scale and inaccuracy of borders, especially in the south.

<sup>5</sup> Reproduced in the work of H. Bindemann, *Die Abzweigung der Nogat von der Weichsel. Abhandlungen zur Landeskunde der Provinz Westpreussen*, Gdańsk 1903 (Abhandlungen zur Landeskunde der Provinz Westpreussen, vol 12).

<sup>6</sup> Published in A. Hartwich's work, *Geographisch-historisch Landesbeschreibung derer dreyen im pohlisch Preussen liegenden Werdern*, Królewiec 1722. However, it does not constitute a sufficient basis for a correction of the Schrötter map.

<sup>7</sup> J.F. Endersch, *Mappa geographica trium insularum in Prussia* (1753) – in the collection of the Town Library in Toruń.



Figure 1. Fragment of the Kasper Hennenberger “Prussia” from 1576, covering the area of Chelmno Voivodship



Figure 2. Fragment of the L. Schrötter map: “Karte von Ostpreussen nebst Preussisch Litthauen und Westpreussen”, 1796–1802 at the scale of 1:150,000 covering the area of Świecie district (Pomeranian Voivodship). Enlarged

second to Schrötter's Atlas. For the above purpose, maps of territories of larger Prussian towns were also used, i.e. for Gdańsk – C.F. Schubert's map (1790),<sup>8</sup> for Elbląg – L. Koppin's map (1811),<sup>9</sup> or Toruń – maps of the territory and patrimonial area from approx. 1770.<sup>10</sup> It should be added that the most important studies on the history of the Vistula delta were also reviewed, especially the works of M. Toeppen,<sup>11</sup> H. Bindemann<sup>12</sup> as well as those by H. Bertram and W. La Baume.<sup>13</sup>

Contemporary maps were based on the Military Geographical Institute maps (the so-called WIG maps) detailed military maps to the scale of 1:100,000 from 1924–1939 or to the scale of 1:300,000 from 1934–1936 and 1:500,000 from 1947. The Soil Map of Poland by J. Tomaszewski to the scale of 1:1,000,000 and the Geological Survey Map of Poland by S.Z. Różycki to the scale of 1:300,000 were also used, as well as the overview geomorphological map of Bydgoszcz Voivodeship by R. Galon and L. Roszkówna to the scale of 1:500,000 when working on individual issues.

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>8</sup> C.F. Schubert, *Das Danziger Territorium, 1790* – published in *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*”, vol. 20, 1887 (supplement to the article by R. Damus, *Die Stadt Danzig gegenüber der Politik Friedrichs des Grossen und Friedrich Wilhelm II*).

<sup>9</sup> L. Koppin, *Karte von der Weichsel-Niederung, Elbląg 1811* reproduced in a work by E. Carstenn, *Geschichte der Hansestadt Elbing*, pp. 384, tabl. 36.

<sup>10</sup> *Karte des thornschen Territoriums* – from approx. 1770 – reproduced in a work by H. Maercker, *Geschichte der ländlichen Ortschaften und der drei kleineren Städte des Kreises Thorn*, p. 722.

<sup>11</sup> M. Toeppen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Weichseldeltas, Gdańsk 1894* (Abhandlungen zur Landeskunde der Provinz Westpreussen, vol. 8).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. footnote 5.

<sup>13</sup> H. Bertram, W. La Baume, *Das Weichsel-Nogat-Delta, Gdańsk 1924* also contains a photograph of F. Berndt's map of the Vistula delta from around 1600; H. Bertram, *Die Eindeichung, Trockenlegung und Besiedlung des Weichseldeltas seit dem Jahre 1300 in ihrer geopolitischen Bedeutung*, „*Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*”, vol. 72, 1935 (with map).

# III. METHOD AND RESULTS

## III.1 GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

### III.1.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Elżbieta Rutkowska*

Three basic physiographic elements were included in our presentation of the geographic environment on the map of Cracow Voivodeship: the layout of the land, water network and forestation. In accordance with the rules assumed for this series of the Atlas, the reconstruction of the water network and the range of woodlands was prepared on the basis of earliest cartometric and relatively detailed cartographic materials from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Contour lines illustrate the **layout of the land**. Due to large differences in the layout of the land of the land and significant amplitude of the heights, various intervals were used in particular areas. As in previous volumes of the Atlas,<sup>1</sup> in the lowland, northern part of the voivodeship, where heights do not exceed 400 m AMSL, the contour intervals equal 50 m. In the middle, highland part of the voivodeship, up to 1,000 m AMSL – 200 m, and 500 m in the mountain areas above 1,000 m AMSL. Characteristic elevation points were also marked. These include the lowest point in the Vistula valley, by the mouth of the River Uszew, situated 178 m AMSL, and the highest peak shown on the sixteenth century maps – Babia Góra, at 1,725 m AMSL.<sup>2</sup>

In Marcin Kromer's description of Poland from the second half of the sixteenth century we read (translated from Latin): 'Sarmackie Mountains, which separate Poland and Ruthenia from Hungary, are steep and covered with forest. They are quite well known also to ancient geographers and historians. The Carpathians, which we call – if I am not mistaken – Krępak, are the most famous of them all'.<sup>3</sup> The author relates the name 'Carpathians' (singular – 'Carpathus' in Latin original) and its Polish equivalent to the Tatra Mountains. We do not know, however, the range of these highest mountains, and whether it could be related to modern times. It should also be noted that at that time the entire mountain crest, or range, was treated as one mountain, and individual peaks were not differentiated. The name 'Tatra', omitted by Kromer, and the name 'Krępak' appear in the inspection of royal estates of Cracow Voivodeship from 1564.<sup>4</sup> The Tatras were shown on Waclaw Grodecki's map of Poland (around 1562), but their range seems extensive, and perhaps they were identified with the Carpathians.<sup>5</sup>

Cracow Voivodeship covered a large and geographically diverse territory in the sixteenth century, from the Tatras and the Beskids in the south, through sub-Carpathian basins, to Silesian-Cracow and Lesser Poland highlands in the north. As such, the areas within the voivodeship borders differed significantly in terms of their geologic structure, which determines the diversity of the relief, the water network, and consequently – also climate. The detailed image of the physiographical division of the voivodeship<sup>6</sup> was presented on a separate map 'Physiographical regions of Cracow Voivodeship' (p. 72).

The borderline between the Polish Highlands situated in the north and the Western Carpathians and Podkarpacie (*Subcarpathia*) in the south runs through the territory of the voivodeship.

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<sup>1</sup> See AHP Sieradz, III.1.5 in this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Source records from the fifteenth–sixteenth century, see SHGK, part 1, i. 1, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> M. Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urzędach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie*, transl. S. Kazikowskiego, intro. and comp. R. Marchwiński, Olsztyn 1977, p. 26; see also: R. Marchwiński, *Geografia Polski Marcina Kromera*, Bydgoszcz 1997, pp. 54–63.

<sup>4</sup> LK 1564, part 1, pp. 147 (footnote), 149, 180, 187.

<sup>5</sup> See also SHGK, part 1, no. 1, p. 37 (the Beskids), p. 109 (the Bieszczady Mountains), part 2, vol. 3, p. 445 (the Carpathians).

<sup>6</sup> J. Kondracki, A. Rychling, *Regiony fizycznogeograficzne*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warsaw 1993, tabl. 53.3.



turning north-east. Its many tributaries flow from the highland region (Przemsza, Prądnik, Szreniawa, Nida) and from the Carpathians (Soła, Skawa, Raba, Dunajec).

The Outer Western Carpathians subprovince (Zewnętrzne Karpaty Zachodnie) stretches farther south. It consists of limestone, conglomerate and slate deposits (from the Paleogene and Late Cretaceous period), popularly known as the Carpathian Flysch Belt.

The southernmost subprovince of Cracow Voivodeship, the Central Western Carpathians province, includes the following macroregions: the Orava – Podhale Depression and the Tatra Mountains. The Tatras consist of mountain chains formed from igneous and metamorphic rocks, covered by sedimentary rocks, mostly limestone and dolomite.

Due to diversity of geologic structure and changeability of land formation processes the macroregions were divided into numerous, small and diverse regions called mesoregions. However, their description falls beyond the range of this study. It is a fact though, that many types of terrain can be found in Cracow Voivodeship, from high Tatra mountains and post-glacial, karst Western Tatras, to the foreland depressions of the Sub-Tatra Furrow, the average-height Beskid Mountains, and the lowland terrain of the basins in the north, up to loess highland terrains with karst elements. Such diversity could be found in no other sixteenth century voivodeship.

**Soils.** The diversity of geologic structure and origin, and of petrography must inevitably result in wealth and diversity of the soil cover.<sup>8</sup>

The best soils are found in Nida Basin (Lesser Poland Highlands) near Miechów and Proszowice. Fertile chernozem soils formed here on thick loess cover, and agriculture flourished early on in this area. A large part of the voivodeship, especially the Oświęcim Basin and Silesian Highlands, is covered mainly with podsollic and podsollic – gley soils, formed from sands. The area of Cracow – Częstochowa Upland is covered with rendzina soils, which originated from Jurassic rocks, and with brown and podsollic soils, formed from the loess. On the other hand, fertile alluvial soils and muds can be found at the bottom of the Vistula valley and the valleys of its main tributaries. Mountain areas of the Beskids are covered mainly with acidic brown soils, podsollic soils and, in higher parts of the territory, soils in the primary stage of development. They are characterized by less defined soil layers, larger amounts of rocks and much less fertility than the soils from upland areas. Alpine soils, which formed from the usually scant grass vegetation, can be found in the areas above the tree line. Mountain basins are covered with chernozem, muds, alluvial soils and brown soils.

In terms of the value of soils,<sup>9</sup> i.e. the evaluation of their usefulness for cultivation, the best area is the western part of the Lesser Poland Upland, dominated by class I and II soils, and the areas of Sub-Carpathian Basins and the Carpathian Foreland, where the soils belong to class IIIa and IIIb. However, the dominant part of the voivodeship is covered with class IV and V soils, of average and poor fertility.

**Water network.** The entire area of the sixteenth century Cracow Voivodeship lay in the drainage basin of the Baltic Sea.<sup>10</sup> The north-eastern part of the voivodeship is crossed by the first class water divide between the Vistula and the Oder. The map shows that (p. 76) only the western part of Lelów district lies in the basin of the Warta, the largest tributary of the Oder.

The Vistula forms the main hydrographical axis of the voivodeship. It flows along the sub-Carpathian subsidence, from the south-west due north-west. It gathers waters both from the Carpathians, and the highland areas.

The Carpathian region is distinguished by its high density of the water network (1 km of a river per 1 km<sup>2</sup>). The Dunajec, 274 km long, is the main river of this area. The River Poprad is its tributary, it gathers water from the south-eastern slopes of the Tatra Mountains. Of major rivers, The Raba (132 km long), Soła (89 km long) and Skawa (96 km long) flow into the Vistula from the south. All rivers in this region are characterized by significant falls. The upland area, in contrast to the Carpathian region, is characterized by a smaller quantity of surface water. The density of the water network is much lower (below 0.6 km of a river per 1 km<sup>2</sup>). The main tributaries of the left bank of Vistula in

<sup>8</sup> S. Białousz, *Gleby – klasyfikacja genetyczna*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, tabl. 41.1.

<sup>9</sup> J. Strzelec, *Bonitacja gleb*, [in:] *ibidem*, tabl. 41.3.

<sup>10</sup> Today the River Czarna Orawa, running from the Babie Góry chain and flowing into the Wag belongs to the drainage basin of the Black Sea.

the voivodeship are: Przemsza (88 km long), Szreniawa (80 km long), Dłubnia (49 km long), Rudawa (36 km long) and Prądnik (33 km long).

In the northern part of the voivodeship the water network was reproduced on the basis of the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland (or ‘the Quartermaster’s Map’) from 1822–1830 (at a scale of 1:126,000) and Mayer von Heldensfeld’s map from 1801–1804 at a scale of 1:28,800. The area south of the Vistula was prepared on the basis of Friedrich von Mieg’s map from 1775–1783, at the same scale.<sup>11</sup> The detailed presentation of the course of the rivers in these source materials allowed us to introduce many corrections to the base map (WIG Tactical map 1:100,000). For instance, the course of the Dunajec between Nowy Sącz and Zakliczyn could be thoroughly reconstructed, especially in the vicinity of the present-day Rożnowskie Lake. Many oxbow lakes and river broads near Filipowice and Melsztyn were added, and the river bed was moved west and led near the castle in Czchów.

The course of large rivers changes because of floods. In case of the Vistula it is particularly visible, and the changes can be linked with specific floods. One of them occurred in July 1593, and is attested to in many historical sources.<sup>12</sup> Krzysztof Zellner, a chronicler from Cracow, also mentions a flood that came five years later and caused many losses and changes in the course of the Vistula. The shifts of the course of the Vistula are relatively well attested to in both written and cartographical sources.<sup>13</sup> Changes of riverbeds of minor rivers are smaller and much more difficult to trace. They can be better documented only near the mouths, where the rivers often use old riverbeds of ‘great’ rivers. The area in the vicinity of Jankowice (Babica parish) could be an example here – the River Płazianka runs through an old meander of the Vistula.

The presentation of once-numerous ponds caused many difficulties. Written sources often mention larger and smaller ponds and pools near particular settlements, e.g.; ‘there are two ponds, of which one is called Rudne, and is dried every third year. They take from it more than the manor needs [...]’.<sup>14</sup> However, it would not be possible to show such small bodies of water on a map at a scale of 1:250,000, especially as their precise location was not described. Only large groups of ponds near Oświęcim, Zator and the River Soła could be shown on the map, although with some degree of approximation. Most of them have individual names (usually the biggest ones): Stary, Borowy, Boner, Dąbrowny. The 1564 inspection lists several ponds and provides their approximate location (e.g.; ‘on a rampart which runs from the estates of the Gierałtowski family’), description (‘Dąbrowny pond [...] overgrown with reed this year, meant to be stocked with fry this spring and left two years until next spring’), and the function they performed (e.g. ‘spawning’).<sup>15</sup>

Many fish-breeding ponds were created in royal estates in Silesia district in the sixteenth century. The fishing industry in this area was the most developed in entire Europe. It focused mostly on the needs of the internal market, but exports were beginning to grow.<sup>16</sup>

**Forestation.** The reconstruction of the forests in the southern part of Cracow Voivodeship was based on the aforementioned map by Friedrich von Mieg. We used photocopies of the map. As such, we were not able to distinguish the signatures,<sup>17</sup> and only forests were marked. Forests and thickets were marked in the northern part of the voivodeship, reconstructed on the basis of the Topographical Map at a scale of 1:126,000, as in the previous studies. In order to preserve the clarity of the map, the smallest forest complex presented on the 1:100,000 map was 4x4 mm (around 16 ha in the field).

Progressive devastation of old woodland areas accompanied the development of settlement. The exploitation of the forests several centuries ago usually was wasteful. This relates both to the uncontrolled actions of local peasants, and to the exploitation of the land owners. Natural vegetation dwindled and gave place to fields, other types of cultivation and settlement. Forests survived mostly on steep mountain slopes, valley slopes and least fertile soils. The settlers coming to the valleys, and

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<sup>11</sup> See *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] AHP Krakowskie.

<sup>12</sup> K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, RK, vol. 5, 1902, pp. 138–172.

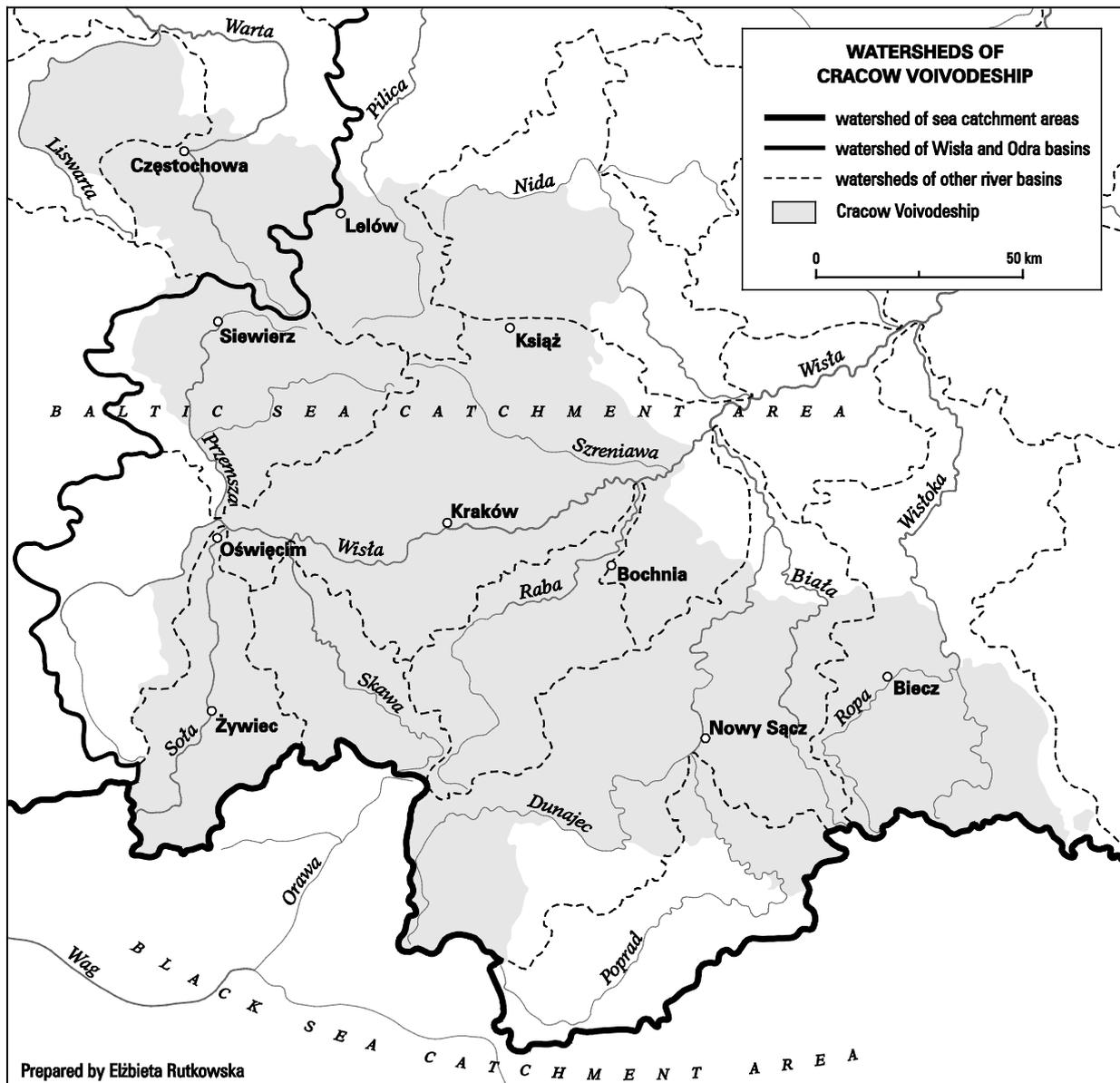
<sup>13</sup> K. Trafas, *Zmiany biegu koryta Wisły na wschód od Krakowa w świetle map archiwalnych i fotointerpretacji*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UJ”, no. 400, Prace Instytutu Geograficznego, no. 62, 1975.

<sup>14</sup> LK 1564, part 1, p. 72 (in Przeborowa, a village in Krzeczów starosta’s district).

<sup>15</sup> LK 1564, part 1, pp. 225–226.

<sup>16</sup> *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 r.*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1981, p. 223.

<sup>17</sup> A. Konias, *Kartografia topograficzna Śląska Cieszyńskiego i zaboru austriackiego od II połowy XVII w. do początku XX w.*, Katowice 2000, p. 61.



Map 2. Watersheds of Cracow Voivodeship

later slopes of the Beskids, could not survive only from agriculture (given the unfertile soils), and so their main source of income was herding and often spontaneous exploitation of forests. The settlers felt especially unrestricted in Żywiec land. In order to gain arable ground they cut down forests and reclaimed land. Their closest market was Cracow. Timber delivered there from the Carpathian region was sold for instance to royal officials for salt mines and saltworks in Bochnia and Wieliczka (the forests near those towns had been cut down earlier), as well as the royal manor and demesnes. Timber was also bought by lightermen, who needed it to build their rafts used to float salt and other goods down the Vistula.

In 1554 Jan Komorowski confirmed the 1448 privilege of Duke Przemysław, concerning the right to claim timber. According to the above document, the burghers of Żywiec were granted the right to cut five *izby*, i.e. 50 trees from the castle forest every year.<sup>18</sup>

The devastation of the forests is also mentioned in the 1564 inspection, e.g. in the passage on Krzczów forest: 'the forest was severely devastated and cut down'.<sup>19</sup> Further wasteful exploitation of woodland areas was reduced over time, with the decrease in their size. In the inventory of the duchy

<sup>18</sup> MS, Żywiec Museum, no. inv. 816.

<sup>19</sup> LK 1564, part 1, p. 66.

of Oświęcim from 1557 it was frequently underlined that the local people ‘had the right to cut down trees, but only for their own needs’, not for sale.

Not only were the forests a rich source of timber, they were also inhabited by many animals. Niepołomicka Forest, situated relatively close to Cracow provided an excellent hunting area, it was a place of many a royal hunt.<sup>20</sup>

Dense forest complexes cover the southern part of the voivodeship, near the border with Silesia and Hungary, on the borderline with Sącz and Szczyrzyc district, along the valleys of the Rivers Kamienica and Lepietnica, and also in the fork of the Poprad and the Dunajec, from Piwniczna in the east, to Krościenko and Tylmanowa in the west. Niepołomicka Forest is clearly visible, stretching eastward from Niepołomice and to the north-east from Krzyżanowice and Mikłuszowice. The district of Proszowice, north and north-east from Cracow, is definitely the least-forested area, with very dense settlement. In Szczyrzyc district the poorly forested areas are situated south of Cracow and Wieliczka, and south of Lanckorona, Myślenice and as far as Jordanów.

Names of larger forest complexes rarely appear in available cartographical sources. Written sources, however, mention Niepołomicka Forest, or rather ‘las niepołomski’ (‘Niepołomski Forest’).<sup>21</sup> Otherwise the inspections record only the names of smaller complexes, usually related to names of nearby villages, like ‘lasy kleteckie’<sup>22</sup> (‘Kleteckie Forest’) near Kletcza, today Klecza Dolna (Silesia district), ‘lasy jaroszowskie’ (‘Jaroszowskie Forest’) situated south of Jaroszowice on the right bank of the Skawa, or a forest near Krzepice, called Jagniętno. The name Żywiecka Forest does not appear in inspections before the seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup>

Settlement names often prove that a forest used to grow in the area, they are quite frequently both in the northern (Buk, Smoleń),<sup>24</sup> as well as the southern (Leszczyna, Dąbrówka, Buczyna) part of the voivodeship.<sup>25</sup> These could have been large forest complexes, but were not necessarily so.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>20</sup> S. Smólski, *Puszcza Niepołomicka*, [in:] *Dzieje lasów, leśnictwa i drzewnictwa w Polsce*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 666–677.

<sup>21</sup> LK 1564, part 2, p. 99.

<sup>22</sup> SHGK, part 2, no. 3, p. 513.

<sup>23</sup> LK 1659–1664, p. 430.

<sup>24</sup> K. Rymut, *Nazwy miejscowe północnej części dawnego województwa krakowskiego*, Wrocław 1967.

<sup>25</sup> W. Lubaś, *Nazwy miejscowe południowej części dawnego województwa krakowskiego*, Wrocław 1968.

### III.1.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

The following physiographic elements have been presented on the map of the Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century: the layout of the land, the water network and forestation. These elements have been prepared according to the similar to those applied to the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century, with only some modifications.

The lay of the land of the Sandomierz Voivodeship, where there are many heights, has been presented with contour lines using 20 m intervals up to 200 AMSL and 50 m intervals thereafter. This was done in order to clarify the cartographic picture and remove secondary elements given the main purpose of the map. Thus, the approach assumed was different than in the case of Mazovia, where using 20 m intervals throughout was justified because of the lay of the land in that region (no mountains).

Geographic regions. The area of the Sandomierz Voivodeship covers:<sup>1</sup> part of the Middle-Polish Lowlands, 2) the Middle-Lesser Poland Uplands, 3) part of northern Subcarpathia (the Sandomierz Basin), 4) part of Outer Western Carpathians (Central Beskidian Piedmont).

The northern part of the territory physiographically consisted of the south eastern part of the Middle-Polish Lowlands. This is a lowland, densely forested area (Jedlnia Forest, Stężyca Forest), divided by the broad valley of the Vistula. The many oxbow lakes and backwaters are traces of the many changes of the river channel in the past.

The Middle-Lesser Poland Uplands, stretching from the north west to south east between the Pilica and the Vistula is divided into three regions: Przedbórz Upland, Nida Basin and Kielce-Sandomierz Upland. The part of Przedbórz Upland within the borders of this voivodeship stretches along the Pilica. The central part of the upland is covered by hills (Opoczno Heights, Łopuszno Heights, and Przedbórz-Małoszycz Heights) and a waterlogged area in the south (Włoszczowa Basin). The area is partly forested (Przedbórz Forest).

The River Nida forms the axis of the Nida Basin, the southern border of the basin is marked by the Vistula. Karst phenomena, like crevices, channels, grottos and caves, occur in the region.

Kielce-Sandomierz Upland is characterized by the large diversity of the relief. Świętokrzyskie Mountains occupy the central area. Folded lands lie to the north (Iłża Piedmont): in the south Szydłowskie Foot-hills lower than 300 m AMSL and Sandomierz Upland, essentially a flat area, declining towards the east.

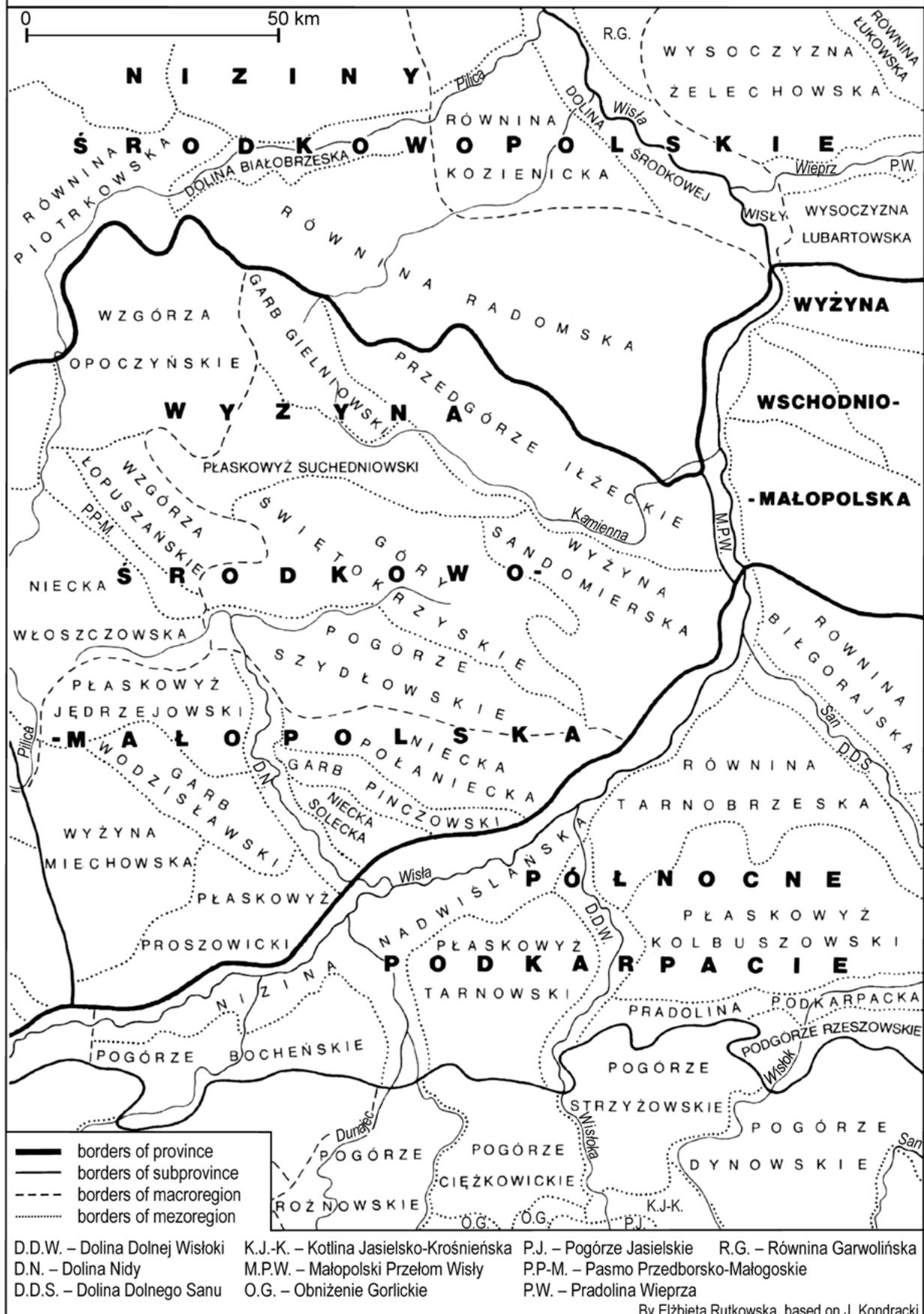
Świętokrzyskie Mountains<sup>2</sup> is an old rock mass, largely destroyed by the long-lasting influence of climatic factors. Hence the comparatively low relative altitudes, gentle slopes, quartzite debris (stone runs) and other similar phenomena. Malachite, azurite, limestone, marble and other building rocks can be found here, as well as iron ore and ores of non-ferrous metals, like lead and copper, that were exploited in the past.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Atlas narodowy Polski*, Warsaw 1974, map no. 41: *Regiony fizycznogeograficzne*, comp. J. Kondracki, J. Ostrowski.

<sup>2</sup> About the name 'Góry Świętokrzyskie' see: J. Czarnocki, *Granice Gór Świętokrzyskich oraz podział regionalny tego obszaru*, [in:] *Pamiętnik Świętokrzyski*, 1930, Kielce 1931, p. 55. Jan Długosz devoted much of his attention to Łysa Góra in his *Annales*, I, pp. 101 f.

<sup>3</sup> B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1954; *Zarys dziejów górnictwa na ziemiach polskich*, ed. J. Pazdura, Katowice 1960; A. Wyrobisz, *Szkló w Polsce XV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1968; ASK XLVI 55a, *Lustracje dóbr biskupstwa krakowskiego 1789*, ff. 155, 222: 'Mountains are huge, some of them contain iron ore', 'copper ore, rich in silver, galv, lead mixed with copper'.

# PHYSICO-GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP



Map 1. Physico-geographic regions of Sandomierz Voivodeship

Świętokrzyskie Mountains consist of many low mountain ranges, cut by canyon-like river valleys, running from the north west towards the south east. The main range of around 60 km is divided into: Masłowskie Mountain Range (Radostowa Mtn. 452 m AMLS, Masłowska Mtn. 440 m), Łysogóry Range and Jeleniowskie Mountain Range (Jeleniowska Mtn. 531 m, Szczytniak 552 m). Two highest peaks of Świętokrzyskie Mountains are situated in Łysogóry Range – Łysica (611 m) and Łysa Góra, or Łysiec (593 m). Garb Gielniowski, Suchedniowskie Heights, Klonowski Range (Bukowa Mtn. 478 m) are located north of the main ridge, and numerous small ranges, e.g. Zgórskie Mountains, Dymińskie Mountains (Dąbrowa Mtn. 450 m), Chęciny Range, Zelejew Range – to the south.<sup>4</sup> Fir and larch forests grow in Świętokrzyskie Mountains (Świętokrzyskie Woods); also, relics of steppe vegetation can be found there. Apart from Świętokrzyskie Woods, there are other large woodland areas in Kielce-Sandomierz Upland, like Szydłów Woods.

The broad and diverse Sandomierz Basin, covering a large part of Pilzno, Sandomierz and Wiślica districts, is cut by wide, densely forested (Radłów Woods, Mędrzechów Woods, Sandomierz Woods) river valleys.

Sandomierz Voivodeship also covered a fragment of Central Beskidian Piedmont, the highest peak of which is Liwocz Mountain (561 m), situated already outside the border of Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>5</sup> The piedmont, like the entire Beskids, is an alpine formation, consisting of sandstone, and – in lower regions – shale, poor in minerals.

Soils. Many types of soils can be found in the area of the voivodeship, especially in the mountains and uplands.<sup>6</sup> The usefulness of soils in agriculture depended on the tools used by the peasants, therefore it varied in different historical periods. The value of soils was mentioned in the royal property inspections, and some examples are provided in the footnotes. Podzolic soils, sandy and sandy/clayey, poor or average are dominant in Stężycza, Radom, Opoczno and Chęciny districts<sup>7</sup> and in Sandomierz Basin.<sup>8</sup> Poor and average mountain soils occur in Świętokrzyskie Mountains. Layers of good soils can be found near Bodzentyn and Kielce.<sup>9</sup> Good and very good soils – loess, chernozem and rendzina – are situated in Sandomierz Upland (Sandomierz district) and in the northern part of Nida Basin (Wiślica district).<sup>10</sup> The valley of Vistula, and similarly – valleys of other rivers, is mostly covered by alluvial soils (good soils) along with airborne sands, alluvial fans, wetlands and quagmires.<sup>11</sup> In the northern part of Nida Basin we encounter a large variety of soils, usually not very rich.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the southernmost part of the voivodeship is covered mostly by fertile, loess soils. The density of the settlement in Sandomierz Voivodeship was related closely to agricultural usefulness of soils. The areas in which the land was fertile were more densely populated already in the early Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup> Negative changes in soil structure occurred as a result of the predominance of cereal production since the late Middle Ages, the changes in the range of surface water and the level of groundwater, climatic changes and progressive deforestation.

Climatic changes in Polish lands between the sixteenth and twentieth century have long been the subject of debate.<sup>14</sup> Some researchers assume that the sixteenth century was a transition period

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<sup>4</sup> E. Massalski, *Góry Świętokrzyskie*, Warsaw 1967.

<sup>5</sup> Długosz also mentions this mountain in his *Annales* I, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> The map of soils was based on Konecka-Betley, *Polska, mapa gleb*, oprac. K. Konecka-Betley, R. Truszkowska, 1:700,000, Warsaw 1960 (wall map). We also used *Mapa gleb Polski*, comp. B. Dobrzański, S. Kowaliński, F. Kuźnicki, T. Witek, S. Zawadzki, 1:1,000,000, Warsaw 1974.

<sup>7</sup> Domaszno: 'soils [...] very sandy, and often the seed does not grow', LS 1660/4, vol. 1, p. 16; Hża key, y. 1789, ASK, XLVI, 69, f. 218: 'barren, unfertilized lands, clayey and rich in humus'; Mirów key, y. 1789, ASK, XLVI, 53 a, ff. 25, 34 ff.: 'sandy and boggy lands'.

<sup>8</sup> Mokrzeszów, LS 1660/4, vol. 2, p. 111: 'rye grows poorly, only festuca'.

<sup>9</sup> Kowala in the key of Kielce, y. 1789, ASK, XLVI, 55a, f. 85: 'soil is black'.

<sup>10</sup> Bogucice, LS 1564/5, p. 62: 'good, rendzina soil'; key of Dobrowoda, y. 1789, ASK XLVI, 54, f. 58: 'soil so good that it does not require fertilization'.

<sup>11</sup> The key of Niekurza, y. 1789, ASK, XLVI, 55b, f. 32: 'the soils in this key are clayey, good on hills, and rendzina-like in the lowland and by the Vistula'.

<sup>12</sup> Szewce, LS 1660/4, vol. 1, p. 57: 'very bad and sandy land'; key of Samsonów, y. 1789, ASK, XLVI, 66, ff. 70, 73: 'sandy, boggy land'.

<sup>13</sup> A. Gieysztor, *Krajobraz międzyrzecza Pilicy i Wisły we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, pp. 11–34.

<sup>14</sup> J. Humnicki, K. Pacuski, *Geographical environment* [in:] AHP Mazovia, footnote 7, III.1.7 in this edition.



Map 2. Soils in Sandomierz Voivodeship

between an earlier warmer and dryer period and a colder and more humid one. In the area covered by Sandomierz Voivodeship there are, and undoubtedly were in the sixteenth century, climatic differences between physiographical regions related to the lay of land. The climate of Świętokrzyskie Mountains is harsher than in the plains, as can be seen in the longer period of snow lingering (currently 80 days a year), frost and ground-frost (currently 130 days a year), and – as a result – a shorter vegetation period. From west to east the climate becomes more continental.<sup>15</sup> Higher insolation of southern slopes of the many heights and hills was and is important to agriculture. Old forest complexes and the Świętokrzyskie Mountains played an important role in the shaping of climatic differences between the northern and southern part of the voivodeship.

The water network of Sandomierz Voivodeship was reconstructed on the basis of the oldest detailed cartographic records from before 1839. The records depict their state preceding the period of important regulation and improvement work. Because of the scale of our work the choice of water elements was based on maps at a scale of 1:300,000. Dykes and canals dug in the nineteenth and twentieth century to dry the swamps were removed and corrections of the range of surface waters were made. Changes of stream channels of minor rivers are usually small and difficult to mark on a map of our scale, as such their course was presented according to topographical maps of WIG ('Military Institute of Geography').<sup>16</sup>

The courses of major rivers (Vistula, San, Pilica, Wieprz, Dunajec, Radomka) were based on the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland and Mieg's map, with several exceptions. The course of the River San near the mouth of that river flowing into the Vistula was reconstructed on the basis of the traces of an oxbow lake that survived on WIG map at a scale of 1:100,000. We decided to make this deviation from our accepted rule due to source records mentioning the changes in the stream channel of this river in the modern era. The lower San defined the borderline between Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeships and its present course separates several villages from the territory of the old Lublin Voivodeship.<sup>17</sup> Gorzyce and Motycze – two villages that are today situated far from the River San – lay by the river, according to the fifteenth century sources.<sup>18</sup> The mouth of the San flowing into the Vistula moved from the area of Sandomierz north, almost to Zawichost, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is shown on the draft map of the old and the new mouth of the San made in 1775 by K. Perthès. In the map key he emphasizes that: 'San took a new course not long ago, some 70 years, during the reign of Augustus II'.<sup>19</sup> The changes in the course of the above-mentioned fragment were presented on a separate map.

The reconstruction of the fragment of the middle Vistula – where it constituted the borderline between the Partitions – was also difficult. The present-day course of the Vistula is different in many places from its earlier one, as some fragments of its stream channel between Niepołomice and Zawichost were regulated on the basis of the Austrian-Russian 1864 agreement. Additionally, detailed depictions of the banks – the left one shown on the Topographical Map and the right one on Mieg's map – do not overlap. As such, the image obtained is in fact hypothetical to some degree. Oxbow lakes of the Vistula between the mouth of the Wieprz and the mouth of the Pilica were presented according to their state from the Topographical map. Earlier maps, e.g. D.G. Reyman's map from 1797, were also used.<sup>20</sup>

The course of the Dunajec, reconstructed on the basis of Mieg's map, is much different from its present-day state. Also, the course of the Uszwia, the Vistula's right tributary, is a reconstruction. F. Bujak, in his monograph on his family village Maszkienice, claims that this river had two stream

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<sup>15</sup> J. Kostrowicki, *Środowisko geograficzne Polski*, Warsaw 1957, pp. 277–299.

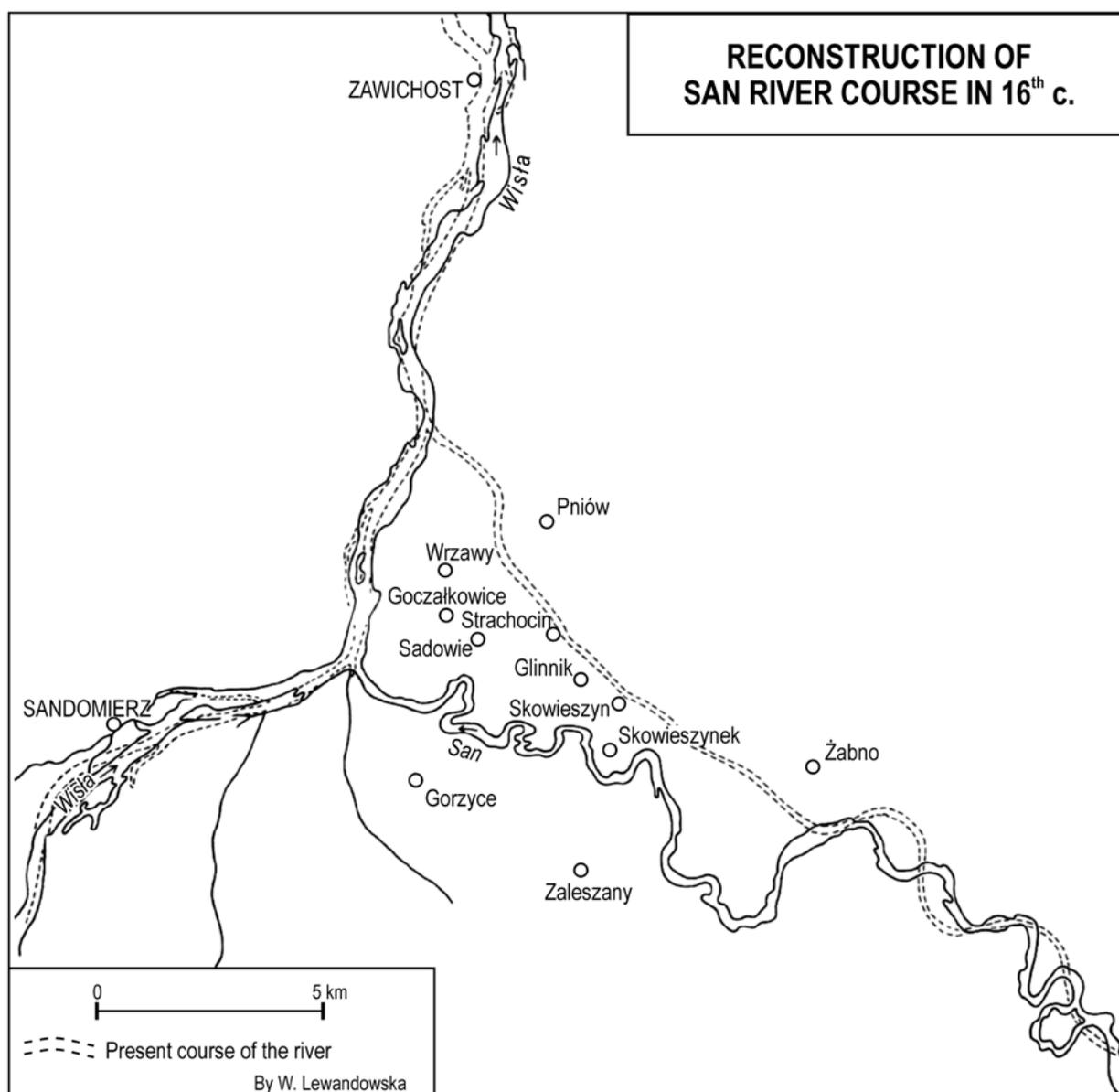
<sup>16</sup> Cf. AHP Mazovia.

<sup>17</sup> See S. Wojciechowski, *Geographical environment* [in:] AHP Lublin, III.1.3 in this edition. This fragment of the San was marked on the map of Lublin Voivodeship according to the old course of the river.

<sup>18</sup> Długosz LB II, p. 354; MRPS, vol. V, no. 311; LS 1564/5, p. 124 – Gorzyce; Długosz Liber II, p. 351 – Motycze.

<sup>19</sup> AGAD Zbiory Kartograficzne, 574–2: *Carte géographique sur la confluent du San et de la Vistula*; a copy of this map – AGAD Arch. Kor. War., Dz. Cesarski, box 31d/1, p. 617. W. Pałucki showed me these records. See Piasecka 1978, p. 26, copy of a fragment of this map. The old stream channel of the San was also marked by Perthès on his map of Poland from 1770. J. Kwiatkowski made a general reconstruction of the course of this fragment of the San, Kwiatkowski 1933; see J. Kwiatkowski, *Ujście Sanu a Sandomierz*, [in:] idem, *Sandomierskie*, Sandomierz 1933; see also, *Wisła pod Sandomierzem*, Sandomierz 1919, pp. 12 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Karte eines Theils von Neu oder West Gallicien welche die Woywodschaften Sendomir und Krakau enthält einzen Theil von Gallicie*, in XII Blatt entworfen von Daniel Gotlob Reyman, 1797.



**Map 3. Reconstruction of San River course in 16th century**

channels starting from this village.<sup>21</sup> The western one, being still the main one then, was called Uszew and ran west of Rajsko and through Rzerzechowa; much of its previous fragment defined the border between Cracow and Sandomierz Voivodeships.<sup>22</sup>

The eastern channel ran through Borzęcin and joined the western channel near the mouth flowing into the Vistula. Today the former right channel, called Uszwica since the eighteenth century,<sup>23</sup> is a tributary of the left arm of the river, that is still called Uszew.<sup>24</sup> Before the nineteenth century the two arms of the river joined temporarily during the period of high water, but the construction of a railway track on an embankment put that to an end. Because of the lack of knowledge about the previous course of the river, the name Uszwica was administratively given also to the middle and

<sup>21</sup> F. Bujak, *Maszkenice wieś powiatu brzeskiego. Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne*, Cracow 1902 (Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filologicznego AU, vol. 41), p. 82.

<sup>22</sup> LDK, p. 29: 'to the river that is called Usseph, there Cracow land meets Sandomierz land'.

<sup>23</sup> Liesganig's map, Chrzanowski's map, SGKP, vol. 12, p. 857. In literature the name Uszwica is often, wrongly, associated with the western, border channel, i.e. Uszwia.

<sup>24</sup> In the fifteenth century this name appears upstream (Długosz LB, I, p. 613; ZDM, II, p. 367, III, p. 298; *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego, 1564*, vol. 1, ed. J. Małecki, Warsaw 1962, p. 95) and near the mouth into the Vistula (Długosz LB, II, p. 151).

upper Uszew. And yet, records from the late Middle Age period and Modern Era clearly show that the source of the Uszew was situated south from a bishopric village Uszew (located in pre-partition Cracow Voivodeship, Szczyrzyc district), which – as shown by this village’s court ledgers – lay by the River Uszew.<sup>25</sup> The matter of the course of the Rivers Uszew and Uszwica was settled by W. Pałucki.

The course of another tributary of the Vistula, the Breń, also required reconstruction. There are two rivers of this name today. One of them flows into the Vistula near Ziempińów, and the other flows into the Wisłoka near its mouth into the Vistula. Given the lay of the land, site names (especially the name Zabrnje) and the picture presented on a 1910 map at a scale of 1:300,000, we decided that the source data from the turn of the medieval and modern period refers to one river, and the mouth near Słupiec (Ziempińów) was created as a result of improvements of this boggy area in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. On the basis of Mieg’s and Heldensfeld’s map it was determined that after the nineteenth century the Breń flowed into the Vistula’s arm that joined the Wisłoka, encircling a large island in the valley of the Vistula near Połaniec. In the nineteenth century it was cut from the Vistula by flood banks and today the Breń flows here into the River Wisłoka.

The course of the River Wieprz near Łysobyki and Kock was presented on our map on the basis of the state shown on maps from the eighteenth century (detailed maps of Lublin Voivodeship and Sandomierz Voivodeship by K. Perthées) and the first third of the next century (Heldensfeld’s topographical photography at a scale of 1:28,000 and the Topographical Map). Therefore, we did not follow Stefan Wojciechowski, who tried to reconstruct the hypothetical course of the river in this area in the sixteenth century, suggested undoubtedly by the name of one of the arms of Wieprz on Perthées’s map: ‘Starzec czyli R. Stara’ (‘Old man, that is Old River’; map of Lublin Voivodeship) or ‘Starzec czyli Stara Rzeka’ (map of Sandomierz Voivodeship). According to these maps it separated from the main course near Luszawa and joined it near Wola Skromowska; still, as noted by S. Wojciechowski, today it is the main channel of the Wieprz. However, this suggestion to identify the course of the eighteenth century Stara Rzeka with the main course of the River Wieprz in the sixteenth century does not take into account the description of Długosz, who mentions that the Tyśmienica flowed into the Wieprz near Górka village, and that probably represents the earlier state as well, signified by the borderline between Łuków and Lublin districts. This corresponds to the layout of the water network in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, which therefore should be assumed for the sixteenth century. The River Wieprz flowed here through a wide and boggy valley, and so – as rightly pointed by S. Wojciechowski – it was possible that during the spring floods ‘the river flowed into a new channel’ and new arms were created that after some time lost their connection with the main course. The Starzec lost its connection to the Wieprz near Luszawa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as seen in Heldensfeld’s and the Topographical map. Near Kock another arm was created, marked on the map of the Kock area from 1824. Perhaps the older arm was called ‘Starzec’ or ‘Stara Rzeka’ in order to distinguish it from one of these newer arms created in the eighteenth century. It must be added, that near Łysobyki an arm called Mentula probably shows us how the Wieprz ran in the fifteenth–sixteenth century, as would be suggested by the course of the border between Lublin and Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>26</sup>

Sandomierz Voivodeship lies entirely in the drainage basin of the Vistula. The river flows through a wide valley. There are many cases where our sources mention that the river channel changed from time to time.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Księga sądowa Uszwi dla wsi Zawady 1619–1788*, comp. and ed. A. Vetulani, Wrocław 1957, pp. 234, 240 – ‘River Uszew’, ‘field called Uszwica’.

<sup>26</sup> See S. Wojciechowski, *Geographical environment*, [in:] AHP Lublin, III.1.3 in this edition (and map); Długosz LB I, p. 631: ‘Górka [...] villa sita est iunxta fluvium Wyeprz, ubi alius fluvius Thyszmyenyicza habet hostia in Aprum’, similarly Długosz, *Annales* I, p. 77; VL, II, f. 1457; ‘apart from four important mills on the River Wieprz’; W. Trzebiński, *Ze studiów nad historią budowy miast prywatnych w Polsce wieku Oświecenia*, „Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury”, vol. 5, 1955, no. 1/14, p. 101 (reproduction of the plan of the area of Kock from 1824); about Mentula see W. Pałucki *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, III.2.1.2 in this edition.

<sup>27</sup> Brzeście, Sieciechów parish, Długosz Liber, III, p. 269: ‘a flumine Vistula alias Visla, alveum suum variis circumlacionibus variante, absorpta est’: Parchocin, LS 1660/4, vol. 2, p. 100: ‘island of their own land, which was taken by the Vistula’, ‘opposite to their lands it returned’; Sworoń and Niecieczka, y. 1774, AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 70, f. 46: ‘which lands, having created other passages in the ground, the Vistula moved to the other side and separated from the village Przykopa’. The 1589 inventory, ASK, LVI, S 5/II, p. 326 defines Swaroń as a village situated on the opposite bank of the Vistula; 1789, ASK, XL VI, 55b, ff. 12v: ‘the Vistula took a substantial piece of the land, with Gać village belonging to Niekurza’; Gać village was created in the seventeenth century.

Floods also destroyed banks and took land.<sup>28</sup> In the sixteenth century there were oxbow lakes in the valley, and sometimes the river flowed in several streams, creating islands. Long fragments of the Vistula, as well as the Rivers: Pilica, Wieprz and Nidzica constituted the border of the voivodeship. On some, short fragments, the Rivers San, Wisłoka and Jasiołka were also border rivers.

The most important left tributaries of the Vistula in the voivodeship are: the Nidzica, the Nida, the Kamienna, the Iłzanka, the Radomka and the Pilica. The Kamienna River in its upstream fragment was especially used for moving the ore mines. The Rivers Dunajec, Wisłoka, San and Wieprz should be distinguished among right tributaries of the Vistula. The width of the valley of the Pilica did not exceed 300 m in its downstream. This river often overflowed,<sup>29</sup> so there are many boggy meadows and moors in its valley. The right tributaries of the Vistula, running from the mountains (the Rivers Dunajec, Wisłoka and San) are of lowland character in their Sandomierz Voivodeship parts. They caused great damage during the period of rising water.<sup>30</sup>

According to several sixteenth century constitutions of the Sejm, the main rivers of Sandomierz Voivodeship should have been adapted for navigation.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the efforts to provide good sailing conditions on the Vistula near Sandomierz, where starosta's ship-mills were located, required serious engineering investment: leading the water from the city of Pokrzywnica to Sandomierz through a channel along an embankment, so for around 15 km. Royal mills near Samborzec and Sandomierz were situated by this channel, also called 'Pokrzywianka', whose fragments were led on artificial embankments 2 ells high. The hypothetical reconstruction of this channel was based on some mentions in the sources and on the few traces of it still visible on Heldensfeld's map.<sup>32</sup> Navigation on the tributaries of the Vistula, except for the Pilica from Przedbórz on, was impeded by the construction of weirs, mills, etc. Thanks to the possibility of shipping crops on the Vistula to Gdańsk, Sandomierz in the sixteenth century was counted among the areas with a highly-developed demesne economy, focused on cultivation of corn.<sup>33</sup>

There were no larger lakes in Sandomierz Voivodeship. Over a dozen ponds mentioned in the inspection were marked on the map. The outlines of bigger ponds near Mielec were reconstructed on the basis of Mieg's map and the present-day range of the moors. The swamps and waterlogged terrain marked on the map covered a small area, only in wide river valleys and near the junctions of minor rivers, e.g. Drzewiczka and Wąglanka.

Forestation of the area north of the Vistula upstream of Sandomierz was presented according to the state shown on the Topographical Map, and according to the state presented on Mieg's map from around 1779 south of the Vistula (the border between the Partitions). We refrained from recon-

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<sup>28</sup> Here are some characteristic source records: 'nuper per Wistulam, qui subter illam decurrit absorpta' (Mistrzowice, Holy Trinity parish – Długosz Liber, I, p. 239); 'all these villages lie on the Zawisłe side, and when the flood takes them, they are freed from tax' (Korczyn starosta's district – LS 1564/5, p. 336); 'Podzamcze was almost entirely taken by the Vistula' (Zawichost – LS 1660/4, vol. 1, p. 197); See also W. Pałucki, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, III.2.1.2 in this edition.

<sup>29</sup> LS 1660/4, vol. 1, p. 14: the mill in Podlaskowa Wola village 'was abandoned five years ago due to an overflow of the River Piłeczka'.

<sup>30</sup> ASK, I, 9, f. 277, y. 1577: 'Otwinów minor divided by Dunajec, there is not just one Otwinów now'; ASK, I, 67, ff. 724, 820, y. 1673 and 1674: 'Dunajec took Roślawice'; LS 1660/4, vol. 2, p. 201: 'the River Wisłoka took the meadow'; ASK, XL VI, 99B, f. 396, y. 1616: 'village [Zaosice] taken by the San'.

<sup>31</sup> VL II, f. 596, y. 1550; ib., f. 608, y. 1557; ib., 1457, y. 1598.

<sup>32</sup> LS 1564/5, p. 86: 'mills on the bank derivato ex fluvio Pokrzywianka ab oppido Pokrzywnica'; AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 29, ff. 11v, y. 1569: 'watching the water separated from the River Pokrzywianka, that runs through a channel towards Sandomierz'. In Samborzec there was a mill 'on this channel that leads from Pokrzywnice to Sandomierz' (LS 1564/5, p. 130). Similar information can be found in inspections from the first half of the seventeenth century. However, they are absent from the 1660/4 inspection. LS 1789, I, p. 74: 'dyke in the channel 2 ells long'; ib., p. 76: 'On the Koprzywianka, that ceased to exist many years ago and its traces are barely visible, but it is certain that everybody, in whose lands ran Koprzywianka, used this land according to his own need, because it led from Koprzywnica'.

<sup>33</sup> S. Mielczarski, *Rynek zbożowy na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w. Próba rejonizacji*, Gdańsk 1962; on shipping: H. Obuchowska-Pysiowa, *Warunki naturalne i organizacyjne splawu wiślanego w XVII w.*, KHKM, vol. 13, 1965, no. 2, pp. 281–297; J. Burszta, *Z badań nad splawem w dorzeczu środkowej Wisły w II poł. XVIII w.*, KHKM, vol. 23, 1975, pp. 23–36; on the productivity of corn-growing in royal estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship see A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia nad wydajnością produkcji rolnej dóbr królewskich w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1974, pp. 80–132; A. Wyczański, *Studia nad gospodarką starostwa korczyńskiego, 1500–1600*, Warsaw 1964.

structuring the state of forestation shown on Perthès's map from the end of the eighteenth century due to mistakes in the situational drawing and major gaps in comparison to more precisely detailed maps. As in the case of the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century, we kept the distinction between forests and thickets, which usually signify the previous range of the forest. Thickets are often a relic of the forests, created as a result of the agricultural use of the edge of the forests. Because of the 1:250,000 scale and the readability of the map, the minimal area of the forest marked on the map at a scale of 1:100,000 was an area at least 4 mm × 4 mm, i.e. around 16 ha.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast to the situation in Mazovia, the inspections of the royal estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship from the sixteenth century contain little information about the range of the forest, their character and devastation.<sup>35</sup> Also, for Sandomierz Voivodeship we do not possess such an excellent source such as the inspection of Mazovian forests from 1566. In the sources concerning the royal estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship the names of woods were rarely given in full,<sup>36</sup> as in case of Jedlnia Forest.<sup>37</sup>

According to the description in the 1567 inventory, Jedlnia Forest, now often called Radom or Kozienice Forest, stretched from Ryczywół in the north to Tczów and Zwoleń in the south and from the rivulet Pacyna near Radom in the west to the Vistula in the east.<sup>38</sup> Part of the forest was named Kozienice Forest when in 1596 Kozienice became a separate royal estate.<sup>39</sup> This name was first attested to in the sources in its full wording in 1656.<sup>40</sup>

Świątokrzyska Forest (only recently given this name) covered a large area. Today this name specifies forests in four former districts: Radom, Sandomierz, Opoczno and Chęciny.<sup>41</sup> The major part of the forest belonged to the Cracow bishopric and Saint Cross Abbey.

The royal forest called Sandomierz Forest occupied a large territory south of the Vistula. On the opposite, right bank of the San it joined the forests that separated Lublin Voivodeship from Sandomierz and Ruthenian Voivodeships. In the second half of the sixteenth century it was settled by royalty and, to a lower degree, by the nobility.<sup>42</sup>

In the part of Wiślica district situated over the Vistula there was a forest called Mędrzechów Forest in the 1572 inventory.<sup>43</sup> It belonged to Korczyn starosta's district. The westernmost part of Pilzno district was covered by the forests belonging to the bishop of Cracow, called Radłów Forest in the 1757 inventory. This name was probably used earlier.<sup>44</sup> Perthès used the name Rytwiiany Forest for the forest belonging since the seventeenth century to the Camaldolese monks from Rytwiiany. This name was probably used also earlier to denote the forest of the Rytwiiany estates.<sup>45</sup> The inspections from 1565, 1569, 1602, 1616 and 1629 did not provide many names of the forest complexes, the following rule was assumed to determine the names of other complexes. Taking into consideration

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<sup>34</sup> J. Humnicki, K. Pacuski, *Geographical environment* [in:] AHP Mazovia, III.1.7 in this edition.

<sup>35</sup> LS 1564/5, p. 59, 152; on the devastation of the forest, ib., pp. 116, 205, 225.

<sup>36</sup> LS 1564/5, p. 144 (by the description of Szydłów): 'when the merchants' oxen come here, through the forest'.

<sup>37</sup> LS 1564/5, p. p. 258: 'on the edge of Jedlnia forest'; AGAD ASK, XL VI, 41, f. 31, y. 1566: 'on the edge of Jedlnia forest'. Also J. Gacki, *Jedlnia w niej kościół i akta obelnego prawa*, Radom 1874 uses the name: Jedlnia Forest. The name of the forest does not appear in seventeenth century inspections.

<sup>38</sup> AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 30, f. 362. The description of the forest is, noteworthy, given here by the description of Jedlnia village.

<sup>39</sup> About Kozienice royal estate see W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII w.*, Warsaw 1974, pp. 179 f.

<sup>40</sup> MK, 196, ff. 190v–191. See R. Zaręba, *Puszcza Kozienicką w XVII w.*, KHKM, vol. 11, 1963, pp. 257–269; idem, *Puszcza Kozienicka*, [in:] *Dzieje lasów, leśnictwa i drzewnictwa w Polsce*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 630–641. The name: Radom Forest, introduced in the literature by K. Potkański (*Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. 1, Cracow 1922, p. 107–221) does not appear in the sources we used. It does, however, find justification in the tradition of naming forests from the seat of the gord starosta's districts, to which a given forest belonged. Still, this rule was not always obeyed (e.g. Kampinowska Forest, Zagajnica Forest, Niepołomicka Forest).

<sup>41</sup> S. Barański, T. Zieliński, *Puszcza Świątokrzyska*, [in:] *Dzieje lasów*, p. 641.

<sup>42</sup> MK, Sig. 3, f. 160, y. 1660: 'in Sandomierska and Tuszym Forest'; VL, V, f. 387, y. 1676: 'in Sandomierska Forest'. See M. Dobrowolska, *Studia nad osadnictwem w dorzeczu Wisłoki i Białej*, „Wiadomości Geograficzne” 1931, no. 6–7; eadem, *Osadnictwo Puszczy Sandomierskiej*, „Krakowskie Odczyty Geograficzne”, vol. 14, 1931; eadem, *Puszcza Sandomierska*, [in:] *Dzieje lasów*, pp. 655–666.

<sup>43</sup> ASK, LVI, K 2, I, f. 217.

<sup>44</sup> About this forest see J. Szczudło, *Z przeszłości Puszczy Radłowskiej*, [in:] *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane R. Gródeckiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 545–561.

<sup>45</sup> The table of the Church property on *Mapa szczególna województwa sandomierskiego* (K. Perthées 1791).

1660–64 inspections, and especially the 1789 inspection, that contained descriptions of forested areas, and other sources, we included the royal forests that, given their size and importance, undoubtedly had their own name. For these complexes we assumed the names that do not, in fact, appear in the sources in their exact wording, but that could be accepted with high probability on the basis of indirect data. As such, we have assumed the following names of the forests: Stężyca Forest, Przedbórz Forest, Szydłów Forest and Bratkowice Forest.<sup>46</sup> The case of the forest that is called Świętokrzyska Forest today proved the most problematic. The name of the forest was usually related to its ownership. When the name Świętokrzyska, or rather Łysogórska, forest was used, it could denote only a part of the present-day forest. However, the inspection of the bishopric property from 1789 does not provide the name of the bishop's part of the forest.<sup>47</sup> As such, we have assumed that most likely there was no uniform name of the forest and left this forest without a name.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, we have introduced the name Łysogóry that was probably used for a long time to denote not only the mountain range but also the slopes covered by forest.<sup>49</sup>

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>46</sup> An example from the 1569/1570 inspection, AGAD, DZ. XVIII, 29, ff. 264v: 'There is a forest near Bratkowice, 3 miles wide between Bratkowice and Przewrotna, and 2 miles from Mister Głowa's to Mister Przemyski's lands'.

<sup>47</sup> ASK, XL VI, 53a, 54, 55a, 55b, 65, 66, 6, 69.

<sup>48</sup> Still in 1815 the Benedictines from Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship in the report of the authorities listing the forests belonging to the order did not use the name Świętokrzyska Forest (J. Gacki, *Benedyktyński klasztor ś. Krzyża na Lysej Górze*, Warsaw 1873, p. 263). Gacki uses the name Łysogórskie Forest. This name does not appear on the Topographical Map of in SGKP.

<sup>49</sup> We have resigned to mark on the map the names of small forests near villages that are mentioned by Długosz, inspections, border documents, and the documents of ownership conflicts. R. Mochnecki put these names on his map: R. Mochnecki, *Zasięg pralasu na Wyzynie Kielecko-Sandomierskiej*, Cracow 1937; cf. idem, *Zasięg pralasu na średniogórze polskim*, „Sprawozdania PAU” 1923, no. 8. The map used by M. Dobrowolska, *Przemiany środowiska geograficznego Polski do XV w.*, Warsaw 1961, Appendix map no. 23.

### III.1.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

#### Lay of the land

The lay of the land was depicted by means of contour lines at 20 m intervals. Selected elevation points were also marked on the map.

The physiography of the Voivodeship of Lublin was quite diversified.<sup>1</sup> The south was occupied by the part of Sandomierz Basin called Biłgoraj Plain. To the north of the line of the settlements Borów, Słupie, Biała, Kocudza and Radzięcín there lies the Roztocze in the east, and the Lublin Upland in the west. Only the western part of Roztocze lies inside the borders of the old Lublin Voivodeship, the heights here reach 333 m amsl (north of Goraj), and the relative heights in the valley of the River Por are also the greatest in the entire area. The village Sulów defines the north-western boundary of the Roztocze. The northern border of the Lublin Upland runs from Włostowice (Puławy) to the east through Krasienin, then encompasses a bulge on the right bank of the River Wieprz, and continues along the river towards the southeast. The following regions constitute the Lublin Upland: the Urzędów Heights, the Chodel Basin, the Bełżyce Plain, the Nałęczów Plateau and the Łuszczów Plain situated north of the Giełczew Hill ('Wyniosłość Giełczewska', the village Krzczonów lies almost in its centre). On the side of the Zamość Valley ('Padół Zamojski'), the Depression of the River Por wedges between the Giełczew Hill and the Roztocze.

The so-called South Mazovian Lowland and the Lublin Polesia lie north of the Lublin Upland. The fragments of the following regions of the Polesia are situated within our area: the Dorohusk Depression along the right bank of the River Wieprz, the Łęczna – Włodawa Lakeland lying to the north of the depression, and then the Parczew Plain further to the north. The remaining territory of Lublin Voivodeship, from the edge of the Lublin Upland to the north is occupied by parts of the South Mazovian Lowland: the Lubartów Plain, the Ice-marginal Valley of the Wieprz and the Siedlce Upland.

The land relief of Lublin Voivodeship is the outcome of the previous geological periods, the Cretaceous and the Tertiary period. The lay of the land formed then was covered with glacial formations, which adjusted to the older formations. Even if the area of the voivodeship had heaved upward in the Tertiary period, the former land relief did not change. The Lublin Upland remained inclined from the south to the north (from 300 to 190 m amsl), the waters still flow between and across bars and rock steps to the north and west.<sup>2</sup>

The soils in Lublin Voivodeship<sup>3</sup> are partially indigenous, but usually formed from post-glacial material. The indigenous soils are the rendzina in the south-western part of the Lublin Upland, formed from weathered limestone. The remaining part of the Upland and the Roztocze is covered with loess

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<sup>1</sup> A. Chałubińska, T. Wilgat, *Podział fizjograficzny województwa lubelskiego. Przewodnik V ogólnopolskiego zjazdu Polskiego Towarzystwa Geograficznego*, Lublin 1954, pp. 3–44; J. Kondracki, *W sprawie terminologii i taksonomii jednostek regionalnych w geografii fizycznej Polski*, „Przegląd Geograficzny”, vol. 33, 1961, no. 1, pp. 23–38.

<sup>2</sup> A. Jahn, *Zarys morfologii Wyżyny Lubelskiej*, [in:] A. Chałubińska, T. Wilgat, *Podział fizjograficzny województwa lubelskiego. Przewodnik*, pp. 45–65.

<sup>3</sup> *Mapa gleb Polski*, 1:1,000,000, IUNG, elaborated in the basis of soil map at the scale 1:300,000 ed. A. Musierowicz, Warsaw 1958.

soils, alluvial soils in river valleys, or soils of swamp origin and sands, sometimes even dunes (Krężnica Jara, Powiśle). Podsolich soils, clayey sands, sands, lowland bogs, and even muds occupy the northern, lowland areas.

## Bodies of water

The map of Lublin Voivodeship in the sixteenth century could not present the water bodies in their sixteenth century shape, as the oldest available cartographic sources come from a much later period. The hydrographic network was drawn on the basis of modern maps, but according to the Quartermaster's Map, which recorded the situation from around 1830.

In the case of two fragments of rivers an attempt was made to go back to the sixteenth century. The old stream channel of the River San near its mouth flowing into the Vistula and the stream channel of the River Wieprz near the estuary of the Tyśmienica were reconstructed. This was connected with significant shifts, changing the location of many villages in relation to the river. Some older records, particularly the maps of Perthées, which mark oxbow lakes in these places, justify the decision to abandon the state from the 1830. The lay of the land, and most of all the surviving traces of such courses of the rivers (in case of the Wieprz it is its current main channel, different from the one from the eighteenth–nineteenth century) fully confirm the outlines marked on the old maps. Although the existence of these channels already in the sixteenth century is hypothetical, but at least in case of the San it is further confirmed by the contemporary administrative affiliation of settlements. Several villages (including one parish: Wrzawy), situated between the current and old stream channel of the San, belonged to the Voivodeship of Lublin, so the old current – unlike the later one – did not separate them from the territory of the voivodeship.<sup>4</sup>

On a map of our scale, small rivers flowing in narrow valleys did not change their channels for ages, so their presented course can easily be applied to our period. On the other hand, large rivers – the Vistula, the San and the Wieprz – are a completely different matter. Their course changed many times, particularly in certain places, and the version presented on our map may have been only temporary, still – it is unavoidable. The described changes were the result of the surge of water in the spring (in particular) and summer. Ice floes blocked the overflowing water, and the current was diverted to a new channel.<sup>5</sup> In the valleys of the Vistula and the San, the sands settled, and the growing plants solidified the sandbanks. Their loose structure allowed the current to change. In the valley of the River Wieprz the post-glacial sands were rather denudated and moved to the Vistula's channel, whereas the siltformations settled, and peat bogs and swamps formed with time on the sandbars and in oxbow lakes. The situation in the valley of Tyśmienica, which drained the northern part of Łęczna – Włodawa Lakeland, was quite similar.

Because of the aforementioned changes of the stream channels of the Rivers San, Vistula and Wieprz, the settlements were located either on one, or on the other bank of the rivers. Moreover, the flowing water destroyed many old villages. Such destructive processes had already occurred earlier,<sup>6</sup> they are therefore not directly related to our research. However, it seems appropriate to list here all these settlements, which were destroyed by rivers, and mark the time when it probably happened. And so, the Vistula destroyed Komorzyn (in the seventeenth century), Ochodza (end of the eighteenth century), and Pstrągi (end of the fifteenth century), all of which lay across from Zawichost. Further to the north, in the vicinity of Świeciechów: Dobieszów and Szczepanów were lost in the first half of the fifteenth century, Świątniki similarly in the fifteenth century, and Wola Świeciechowska after 1615, while Jaworzec near Kazimierz before 1450. In the sixteenth century the River Wieprz destroyed Rogalice situated south of Łańcuchów.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Perthées, the quoted map; his Sandomierskie, 1791; Liesganig, quoted map. On our map the eighteenth/nineteenth century stream channels were marked with a dotted line next to the reconstructed course of the Rivers San and Wieprz.

<sup>5</sup> Detailed analysis of the changes in the channels of the Vistula and the Wieprz since the twelfth century was included in the quoted study 'Krajobraz dawnej ziemi lubelskiej' Wojciechowski 1929a.

<sup>6</sup> S. Wojciechowski, *Zaginione osady w Lubelskiem*, „Pamiętnik Lubelski”, vol. 1, Lublin 1929, pp. 27, 31, 35–39.

<sup>7</sup> In 1540 they appear in the sources for the last time, AGAD, ASK, I, no. 33.

The entire territory of Lublin Voivodeship lies in the river basin of the Vistula. The waters of Biłgoraj Plain, including the River Bukowa (called Branew in the sixteenth century), flow into the San, and partially directly to the Vistula. Only the middle and downstream fragments of the River Wieprz flow through the area of the old Lublin Voivodeship, whereas its main tributaries: Bystrzyca, Tyśmienica, and smaller Giełczew do not reach beyond the borders of the voivodeship. Minor direct tributaries of the Vistula, flowing westward from the uplands, like Sanna, Wyżnica, Chodelka, Bystra and Kurówa, also run solely through the Voivodeship of Lublin. Northern Bystrzyca, one of Tyśmienica's tributaries, flowed almost entirely within the borders of the voivodeship. On the other hand, only the upper current of the River Krzna, running east towards the Bug through Łuków land, remains in the area of the voivodeship. In the north, the River Liwiec along with its tributary Muchawka running north towards the Bug constitute the western, northern and eastern border of a forward headland of Łuków land.

It should be added that the river network of Lublin Voivodeship is not particularly complex, especially to the south, in the Upland and the Roztocze.<sup>8</sup> Because of the permeable surface, rainwater soaks the soil, and there is no water which could form more numerous rivers, streams, or waterways. In the sixteenth century, when the forest cover was much richer than now, much more water was stored in the ground covered with dense forest, than currently, when the surface is almost bare.

Karst springs, which have a very large and rapid discharge, could be found, just like now, in places where the limestone bed was situated not too deep under the surface. These springs were located in deep river valleys near Kazmierz (Wierzchoniów), Wąwolnica (Bochotnica – now Nałęczów), Lublin (Sławinek), Urzędów, in Wierzchowiska, Batorz, Krzczonów, Chodel, Łęczna and many other settlements.

In valleys of smaller rivers, like Kurówka, which flow slowly, and the decline of their channel is not significant, barrages were built and numerous ponds were created, providing water to mills, fulleries, and sawmills. This was usually done on minor rivers, where the amount of water was otherwise insufficient to run mills, needed in almost every village. The land of Łuków can be an example here, small watercourses in the area served utilitarian purposes. Even just outside of Lublin a dam was built downstream of the castle, in a small depression through which the River Bystrzyca flowed from the south-west to the north-east. The dam caused the water to bank up, and the entire eastern part of the valley was flooded, thus creating a large pond used for fish breeding to fulfil the needs of the castle. Apart from this Great Royal Pond, which was reconstructed, our map shows only these ponds, which were attested on the Quartermaster's Map, e.g. the large Siemieński Pond on the Tyśmienica, which in fact appears already on Perthées's map.

Lakes were presented in a similar manner, i.e. according to the situation from around 1830 (except for the reconstructed lake Raczo, which had already ceased to exist at the time). Their names, however, were provided partially in their modern wording, and partially in their older version from the sixteenth or fifteenth century, when they were known. The nomenclature of some 20 lakes in Łęczna–Włodawa Lakeland was recorded in the inspections from 1565 and 1570 and in *Chronografia* by Jan Długosz,<sup>9</sup> and the names appearing in both sources were provided alike. As such, also those names from Długosz's book which do not appear in the inspections, can be considered up-to-date one century later, in the period depicted on our map. It should also be emphasized that only some of old names differ from modern ones. Below we list names of lakes from *Chronografia* by Długosz, from the inspection of 1565 or 1570, from the Quartermaster's Map, and modern times. We would also introduce corrections to the identification and localization of lakes mentioned by Długosz to the often erratic study of J. Kornaus.<sup>10</sup>

The size of lakes provided by Długosz for Lublin land and Łęczna – Włodawa Lakeland (and other areas) was given in miles. If these were considered Italian miles (Roman miles, 1,478 m), the fifteenth century picture of lakes would agree with the current one, whereas if these were counted as geographic miles (7,420 m), as J. Kornaus did, we should acknowledge the existence of colossal

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<sup>8</sup> About the morphology of river valleys see A. Jahn, *Zarys morfologii Wyżyny Lubelskiej*.

<sup>9</sup> J. Długosz, *Historia Poloniae*, vol. 1, ed. A. Przewdziecki, Cracow 1873, pp. 30, 32, 33; cf with. T. Wilgat, *Jeziora Łęczyńsko-Włodawskie*, Annales UMCS, sectio B, vol. VIII 3, 1953.

<sup>10</sup> J. Kornaus, *Jan Długosz geograf Polski XV w.*, Lwów 1925. Identifications by this author became the foundation for the proper commentary to the translation of Jan Długosz's history, *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, Warsaw 1961, pp. 144–5. I conducted the correct identification, the results of which were shown in the table, already in 1929.

bodies of water, which could not even fit the area.<sup>11</sup> Still, we must emphasize that not only the exact length of a mile, but also the accuracy of the information provided by Długosz, could raise doubts.

**Table 1. Lake names**

Długosz	Inspection	Quartermaster's Map	Modern name
Jedlino	Jedlino	Stagińskie	Ściegienne <sup>12</sup>
Czarne	Czarne	Czarne	Czarne Uścimowskie <sup>13</sup>
Raczno	–	does not exist	does not exist <sup>14</sup>
Głębokie	Głębokie	Głębokie	Głębokie
Uścimów	Uścimowiec	Uścimowiec	Uścimowiec
Rozkopaczów	–	Matycze	Mytycze (Matycz)
Dratów	–	Dratów	Dratów
Trzaczano	–	Ciesieczyn	Ciesacin <sup>15</sup>
Nadryb	–	Nadrybie	Nadrybie
Ostwisz	–	Uściwierz	Uściwierz
Bieszce	–	Bikcze	Bikcze
Ostwiszek	–	unnamed	Uściwierzek <sup>16</sup>
Rykaczów	–	Rotcze	Rotcze <sup>17</sup>
–	Długie	Uścimowskie	Uścimowskie
–	Orzechowiec	Orzechówek	Orzechówek
–	Krasne	Krasne	Krasne
–	Białe	Białe	Białskie
–	Humieniec	Zagumieniek	Gumienek
–	Obradowskie	unnamed	Obradowskie <sup>18</sup>
–	Kleszczów	Kleszczów	Kleszczów
–	Okunin	Miejskie	Miejskie <sup>19</sup>
–	Płocice	Czarne Gościnnieckie	Czarne Gościnnieckie

Even despite the complete disappearance of some lakes, we must assume that the changes which occurred since the fifteenth or the sixteenth century to the twentieth century were usually not significant, as concluded after comparing the size of certain lakes recorded in the 1570 inspection (measured in *tonie*)<sup>20</sup> with their current size. The changes were small, because the lakes were exploited only as fishing areas, and no major work was conducted which would have modified the natural environment.

Lakes of the type found in Łęczna – Włodawa Lakeland should grow smaller with the natural development of the landscape, if the outlet of waters is lowered because of erosion. Some of the lakes in the area disappeared completely (Raczno), others became smaller, and some – larger. In general, the lowering of the surface water level should also result in the shrinking of natural lakes of this type. In this case the lakes which grew smaller were those situated higher, in which the outflow of water was more swift, and the erosion could occur more easily, i.e. Rozkopaczowskie Lake – Mytycze, now situated at 164 m amsl, while the River Tyśmienica – below the outflow of water from this lake,

<sup>11</sup> S. Wojciechowski, *Krajobraz dawnej ziemi lubelskiej*.

<sup>12</sup> This is not Zagłębokie lake, as claimed by Kornaus, but Ściegienne laks, situated a little to the east from the village Jedlanka, which in the fifteenth century was called Jelino. On the other hand, the village Jelino by Zagłębokie lake did not exist back then.

<sup>13</sup> 1.5 km north of Uścimów, not 11.5 km east of Ostrów, because that is where lake Czarne Sosnowieckie lies.

<sup>14</sup> Not localized by Kornaus, and incorrectly acknowledges as Zagłębokie in the said edition of Długosz. This is in fact lake Radzie, which still appears on Heldensfeld's map, and later disappears. It was situated 7.5 km to the north of Łęczna.

<sup>15</sup> Trzaczano could not have been identical with the lakes Raczno and Głębokie, as Kornaus would have it, nor with lake Krzezeń, like F. Bujak claims (review of J. Kornaus's study in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1926, p. 71), but this is the present-day lake Ciesacin, located east of Nadrybie lake and south of Uściwierz lake (T. Wilgat, *Jeziora Łęczyńsko-Włodawskie*, p. 84). In *Liber beneficiorum* by Długosz (III, 267) it is called Teszacin.

<sup>16</sup> Ostwiszek minus appears in *Liber Beneficiorum*, III, 267. It is a small lake between the lakes Nadrybie and Uściwierz, disappearing, or perhaps completely gone. See T. Wilgat, *Jeziora Łęczyńsko-Włodawskie*, in the description of lake Ciesacin.

<sup>17</sup> Rykaczów – in Łaski *Liber Beneficiorum*.

<sup>18</sup> Of the two Obradowskie lakes appearing in the 1570 inspection one existed around 1900 under the same name, east of the village which had already changed the name to Buradów. The other lake disappeared.

<sup>19</sup> In SGKP, vol. 7, p. 441: lake Okuniew or Miejskie.

<sup>20</sup> WAPL, the register of the 1570 inspection, ff. 70, 73, 78, 81, 88.

at 153 m amsl. Lakes situated in similar surroundings, namely: the Czarne, the Uściwierzek, the Głębokie and the Ściegienne, also grew smaller. Almost every other lake, thanks to the very slight incline of terrain which prevents outflow of water and significant erosion of the bottom, as a result of the competition for the water divide in the entire area between various tributaries of the River Tyśmienica and the basin of the River Bug, could – even with little effort on the side of man – stop their development, i.e. the decrease of water level and size, or even begin to grow and cover larger area (lakes: Dratów, Nadrybie, Bikcze and Uściwierz). This process was caused here by fish management, as these waters were unfit for any other exploitation.

Swamps were presented on the basis of the Quartermaster's Map, just like other water bodies shown on our map of Lublin Voivodeship in the sixteenth century. That is not to say we abandoned retrogressive inquiry about earlier situations, even if only in a more general outline. In the sixteenth century there were still many swamps in the Voivodeship of Lublin. They were connected with depressions in the surface of the land: in the uplands in broad, eroded river valleys, in the lowlands in both: in the river valleys of then-current rivers, and in earlier valleys, abandoned by wild, untamed rivers (like the supposed original valley of the River Wieprz, running from Leszkowice, through Firlej, and towards Giżyce. In Sandomierz Basin all valleys of rivers flowing towards the San were to a large degree boggy, here there were – and still are – large swamps situated in the middle of the forest.

A surviving trace of swamps, if they no longer exist, but did exist near a settlement founded in the past, can often be found in settlement names.<sup>21</sup> Probably all old villages called Białe and Białki derive their name from 'biel' (old Polish: 'waterlogged, boggy area') or 'błoto' ('mud'). As such, the following site names attest to a nearby swamp: old Biała by the River Biała at the foot of western Roztocze, Biała and Białka near Kozirynek (Radzyń) and Białka, once a large parochial village situated by a huge swamp southeast of Łęczna, Białka located to the southeast of Parczewo, just by the voivodeship border, Biała southwest of Rudno by a wide and boggy valley of the River Minina, and Białki situated south of Siedlce.

## Forests

Forestation was depicted according to the state from around 1830, i.e. based on the Quartermaster's Map, and with some help from H. Maruszczak's study.<sup>22</sup> Heldensfeld's map would be an older source allowing us to reconstruct the range of woodland areas in Lublin Voivodeship with satisfactory exactness, not only because it offers a detailed picture of the range of forest around 1800, but also for its descriptions accompanying each section, which provided precise species composition of the tree stand of each part of the forest. However, the map could not have been fully utilized<sup>23</sup> and we decided to copy the forest range from the Quartermaster's Map from the 1830s, as the state presented there did not differ much from the one recorded by Heldensfeld. Intensive deforestation began in the Voivodeship of Lublin only after 1830.

Almost the entire area covered with woods in 1830 must have been forested also in the sixteenth century, and the differences occur only in places which were forested between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century. This was a natural process on formerly cultivated and later abandoned arable land. Sources provide us with information concerning such areas, deserted because of natural disasters, peasants' escapes or land sterilisation, but we are unable to assess the size of area cultivated during the period presented on our map, but forested before the nineteenth century. It seems, however, that

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<sup>21</sup> A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Cracow 1927; S. Wojciechowski, *Zaginione osady w Lubelskiem*; idem, *Krajobraz dawnej ziemi lubelskiej*.

<sup>22</sup> H. Maruszczak, *Stan i zmiany lesistości województwa lubelskiego w latach 1830–1930*, copy from Annales UMCS, sectio B, vol. 5, Lublin 1951, map apart from the text.

<sup>23</sup> Many years ago in Kiregsarchiv in Vienna, the author omitted Łuków land, because someone else was meant to work on it, hence the lack of Heldensfeld's materials for this district. The comparison of the forestation presented by Heldensfeld with the forestation from around 1900 shows its earlier curvature, woodland areas joining and forming continuous strips. But it was exactly the opposite: small areas, usually loess in the area of Radzięcín–Biała–Batorz, near Kraśnik and by the downstream Bystra, south and east of Włostowice and north of Lublin were covered with forest in 1900, but bare in 1800.

this was a relatively small territory, in analogy with the small area forested between 1830 and 1930.<sup>24</sup> Broadly speaking, it is safe to say that our map generally presents forests which existed until the nineteenth century from time immemorial, since the primordial landscape.<sup>25</sup>

Another aspect of the issue is the fact that in the sixteenth century forests had grown in many areas where there were no forests around 1830. We suppose that there are certain gaps in our depiction of forestation, particularly in the case of woodless areas situated far from settlements. Again, a question arises as to the degree of changes between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, what area was deforested then, deprived of the forest cover, or cleared and turned into arable land. We can only provide a general answer, that in the sixteenth century the area covered with forests was larger (or perhaps it should be said – much larger) than in the period presented on our map.

The forestation of Lublin Voivodeship did not depend on soil type, as forests can grow on all soils found in the voivodeship. The lay of the land was also unimportant. To the south, in the strip of hills reaching above 300 m amsl, the forest was absent only from the valleys of various watercourses. There were fewer forests in the northern part of the territory, as the Lublin Upland was a concentration of the oldest settlements, and the land was cultivated there for centuries. There were many forests in the lowlands, and only in Łuków land, where settlements of farm gentry were numerous already in the middle of the sixteenth century, large woodland areas were cleared (Trzebieszów).

Forestation depends on settlement, and one of the symptoms of this relationship is the survival of forests in areas less fit for cultivation, either because of poor soil, higher altitudes, or some other conditions (e.g. in the vicinity of Kazimierz the forest covers the diversified limestone-loess plate, surrounded from the south and north with poorly sculpted land with sandy soils, which were deforested and developed).<sup>26</sup>

The largest woodland area in the voivodeship was the old forest situated on the southern frontiers of Lublin Voivodeship, now called Solska Wilderness. The inspections mention also the royal Parczów Forest, drained by the River Tyśmienica and its tributaries, the Piwonia and Gozdnicza. We also find relatively large forest complexes in other areas. For instance, in Łuków land larger forest concentrated in the borderlands.<sup>27</sup>

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>24</sup> H. Maruszczak, *Stan i zmiany lesistości*, pp. 144–145 and map.

<sup>25</sup> See R. Gradmann, *Das mitteleuropäische Landschaftsbild nach seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, „Geographische Zeitschrift”, vol. 7, 1901, p. 363.

<sup>26</sup> See H. Maruszczak, *Stan i zmiany lesistości*, pp. 128–134.

<sup>27</sup> An attempt at reconstructing the original forestation based on the chronology of founding settlements with attention to their names was conducted in the quoted work: *Krajobraz dawnej ziemi lubelskiej*.

### III.1.4 GREATER POLAND

*Elżbieta Rutkowska*

Three primary physiographic elements of the geographic environment were included on the map of Greater Poland in the sixteenth century: the terrain relief, the water network and the forestation. In accordance with the rules of this series of the AHP, the reconstruction of the water networks and the range of the forests was based on the earliest cartometric and fairly detailed cartographic data from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, allowing for a recreation of a plausibly accurate representation of those elements. That said, it must be remembered that this depiction represents the state dated to almost two centuries later than the historical content discussed in this volume. We must accept this due to restrictions imposed on us by a lack of earlier historical sources, and assume that changes in the geography, especially those caused by human activity, were much less intense and rapid than they are currently. The technique used for the reconstruction of both elements is analogous to the one used in the previous volumes of the series.

Contour lines illustrate the terrain relief, and while the final result may be similar to the maps of the Cracow, Sieradz and Łęczyca voivodeships developed earlier, it was created using a completely different method. Instead of tracing the individual contour lines by hand from prewar WIG maps at the 1:100,000 scale, a numerical model of the land was used (NMT or DEM, *Digital Elevation Model*) made available to us by the Main Geodetic and Cartographic Documentation Center (Centralny Ośrodek Dokumentacji Geodezyjnej i Kartograficznej). The model is composed of elevation points arranged in a regular grid every 100m in the coordinate system “1992”. The resolution offered is sufficient from the perspective of the development of the main map because individual points, placed at 0.4mm intervals in the map’s scale (1:125,000), allow for their interpolation to the contour lines. This work was done in ArcGIS 10.2 using the ANUDEM algorithm, which takes into account not only elevation points, but also the distribution, position and shape of the hydrographic network.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to this, the generated contour lines are aligned with the shapes of rivers and lakes. This greatly shortened the length of the process of developing the contour lines, mostly due to the bulk of the work being automated.

According to Jerzy Kondradzki’s physico-geographical classification,<sup>2</sup> the historical territory of Greater Poland lies in the reach of two subprovinces: the South Baltic Lake Regions (Pojezierza Południowobałtyckie) and the Greater Polish-Silesian Lowlands (Niziny Wielkopolsko-Śląskie), which partly border each other along the latitudinal course of the Warta west of the Koło region. The aforementioned lake regions include the West Pomeranian Lake Region (Pojezierze Zachodniopomorskie), the South Pomeranian Lake Region (Pojezierze Południowopomorskie) and the Greater Polish-Kuyavian Lake Region (Pojezierze Wielkopolsko-Kujawskie), separated by the Toruń-Eberswald *Urstromtal* (Pradolina Toruńsko-Eberswaldzka). The West and South Pomeranian Lake Regions (Krajenka [Pojezierze Krajeńskie], Wałcz [Pojezierze Wałeckie], Drawsko [Pojezierze Drawskie] and the Wałcz Plain [Równina Wałecka]), located north of the *Urstromtal*, which now contains the Noteć River Valley, had its landscape shaped by the Fennoscandian Ice Sheet during the Weichselian glaciation. The visible

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<sup>1</sup> M.F. Hutchinson, T. Xu, J.A. Stein, *Recent Progress in the ANUDEM Elevation Gridding Procedure*, [in:] *Geomorphometry 2011*, ed. T. Hengel, I.S. Evans, J.P. Wilson, M. Gould, Redlands 2011, pp. 19–22 ([geomorphometry.org/HutchinsonXu2011](http://geomorphometry.org/HutchinsonXu2011), access 29.03.2017).

<sup>2</sup> J. Kondracki, A. Rychling, *Regiony fizycznogeograficzne*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warsaw 1993, table 53.3.

hills of the terminal moraines, kame mounds, eskers, outwash plains and multiple ribbon and kettle lakes are characteristic of the late glacial landscape. Located north-west of Drawsko Lake and rising to a height of 219 m AMSL, the peak is the hill of the frontal moraine of the Pomeranian stadial. It is simultaneously the highest point of the sixteenth century Poznań Voivodeship, as well as the entire region studied. Other major elevations, such as the moraine hill with its 193m AMSL peak Dębowa Góra is located in the high, northern edge in the middle of Noteć River Valley, as well as the elevations west of Piła that extend to Wałcz and Nakielno and reach over 200m AMSL are all results of the glacier stopping while it was receding during the Krajna phase of the Poznań Stadial during the last ice age.

The region stretching south of the Noteć Plain, i.e., the Poznań, Chodzież and Gniezno Lake Regions (Pojezierze Poznańskie, Pojezierze Chodzieskie, Pojezierze Gnieźnieńskie) and the Września Plain (Równina Wrzesińska), owe their landscape to the Poznań phase of the Weichselian Glaciation. Its maximal range is marked by the terminal moraines ranging from the Trzemeszno area, through Gniezno, Poznań and in the direction of Lwówek and Pszczew. The entire landscape is characterized by a large variety of features. There are large clusters of ribbon lakes with long, narrow and deeply indented banks, like the lakes Popielewskie (Luben), Dymaczewskie (Będlewskie), Lednica and Chłop. In places where the glacier stopped for a longer time, its melting edge created a latitudinally placed terminal moraine. Near Chodzież, the stratified moraines of the Chodzież subphase reach their highest peak on Gontyniec Hill (192 m AMSL), while the highest point north of Kcynia is Dębianka Hill (160 m AMSL).<sup>3</sup>

Another clear line of moraines stretching from Konin through Żerków (Łysa Góra, 161 m ASML) in the direction of Leszno and north of Wschowa are a result of a stop of the glacier in the Leszno phase, i.e., within the maximum extent of the last glaciation. As a result of the accumulation of glacial deposits, moraine hills formed from glacial tills, sand and gravel, as well as kames formed, reaching the height of 160m AMSL. The most characteristic feature of the landscape is a significant number of lakes: Dominickie (Dominice) and Przemęckie lakes in the Sława Lake District (Pojezierze Sławskie), and neighbouring with it to the east – the Krzywińskie Lake District, with Dolskie Wielkie (Banie), Wonieść and Grzymysławskie (Drzonkowskie) lakes.

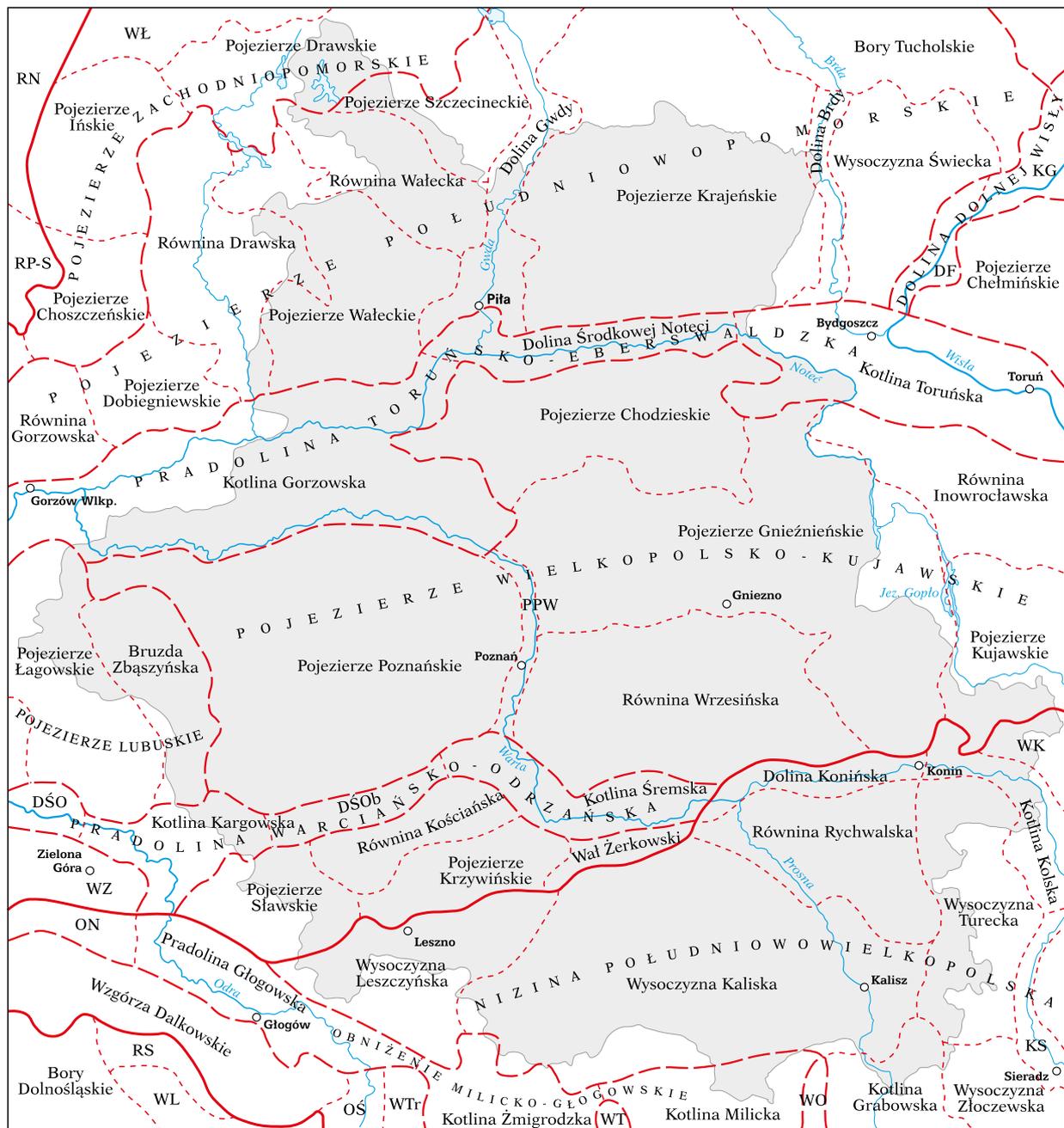
One of the most noticeable features of Greater Poland's landscape are wide latitudinal depressions. In the north, there is the Toruń-Eberswald *Urstromtal*, and in the south it is the Warta-Oder *Urstromtal* (Pradolina Warciańsko-Odrzańska), connected to the Konin Valley (Doliną Konińską). These vast recesses were formed by the westward outflow of glacial and river waters along the edge of the ice sheet. They currently form the river valleys of middle and lower Noteć, as well as those of middle Warta and Obra. These are also the lowest points of Greater Poland. For example, the bottom of the Warta River Valley near the mouth of the Prosna finds itself at around 70 m AMSL and gradually lowers itself westward, reaching 26 m AMSL at the mouth of the Oder.

From the south-east, the aforementioned features (Lake Regions and *Urstromtals*) border the Southern Greater Poland Lowlands (Nizina Południowowielkopolska), formed by the earlier Riss Glaciation. The mesoregions in this area identified by Kondracki are the Leszczyńska, Kaliska and Turecka *Hügellands* (Wysoczyzna Leszczyńska, Wysoczyzna Kaliska, Wysoczyzna Turecka), as well as the Rychwalska Plain (Równina Rychwalska) between them – a monotonous plane with very little diversity in its landscape. They form mostly flat regions of the ground moraine, with an altitude between 100 m and 160 m AMSL. The total lack of lakes is an indisputable fact that points towards an early glacial genesis of the landscape, which got its modern features from the lengthy denudation.<sup>4</sup> There are only a few scattered moraines from the Glaciation, like the Cieszkowskie Hills (Wzgórza Cieszkowskie), stretching south from Krotoszyn, reaching 180 m AMSL, or the elevations near Ostrów (185m AMSL). Only the northern part of the Turecka *Hügelland* shows some variation in its landscape, with the elevations reaching 100m relative to the Warta River Valley, with Złota Góra, placed between Konin and Tuliszków, as the *Hügelland*'s highest point at 191 m AMSL.

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<sup>3</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, Warsaw 1998, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> B. Krygowski, *Nizina Wielkopolska* [in:] *Geomorfologia Polski*, vol. 2, ed. R. Galon, Warsaw 1972, p. 186.



**PHYSICO-GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF POZNAŃ AND KALISZ VOIVODESHIPS**

- |   |                             |                                    |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
|  Poznań and Kalisz voivodships | DF Dolina Fordońska         | RP-S Równina Pyrzycko-Starogardzka |
|  subprovinces borders          | DŚO Dolina Środkowej Odry   | RS Równina Szprotawska             |
|  macroregions borders          | DŚOb Dolina Środkowej Obry  | WK Wysoczyzna Kłodawska            |
|  mesoregions borders           | KG Kotlina Grudziądzka      | WL Wysoczyzna Lubińska             |
|   | KS Kotlina Sieradzka        | WŁ Wysoczyzna Łobeska              |
|   | ON Obniżenie Nowosolskie    | WO Wzgórze Ostrzeszowskie          |
|   | OŚ Obniżenie Ścinawskie     | WT Wzgórze Twardogórskie           |
|   | PPW Poznański Przełom Warty | WTr Wzgórze Trzebnickie            |
|   | RN Równina Nowogardzka      | WZ Wał Zielonogórski               |

0 15 km



Prepared by Elżbieta Rutkowska according to Jerzy Kondracki

**Map 1. Physico-geographic regions of Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships**

The terrain, and especially the lithology of its surface area, is deeply tied to the types and distribution of soils. The soils of Greater Poland were primarily formed from sandy and clay postglacial formations. The *Hügelland* regions are dominated by brown forest podzolic and rusty soils, formed in the processes of lessivage, podsolization and darkening. Slightly smaller areas are covered by brown soils, made from moraine till clays, characterized by a distinct topsoil advantageous for agriculture. They are found to the north and northwest of Poznań and on the Kalisz *Hügelland* in the Gostyń – Pleszew – Krotoszyn triangle. At the confluence of the Warta and Noteć, along the Prosna south of Kalisz or to the north-west of Wolsztyn, the soils are primarily poor: podzolic soils and podzols intertwined with rusty and gley soils. In the river valleys, the floodplains are dominated by alluvial soil with organic mucky soils, wetland soils and peat. The largest complex of these soils is found along the river valley of Noteć from Nakło to Wieleń, as well as several depressions and around lakes. The most fertile soils of Greater Poland, the black soils, which developed in small areas to the south-east of Poznań, in the belt running from Gniezno in the direction of Konin and from Powidz to Lake Gopło.<sup>5</sup> Black soils are classified as good agricultural soils, belonging to the class II and III. Despite this, the majority of Greater Poland's soils are of poor agricultural use, as they are class IV and V soils.<sup>6</sup>

And inseparable part of the landscape is the water network – rivers and lakes. The most important river in the area is the Warta: the greatest tributary of the Oder to its right, whose middle and lower section separates Greater Poland into the north-west and south-east sections. From Koło, through Konin and Pyzdry, to Śrem, it flows almost latitudinally from the east, then turns to the north, passing under Poznań, to turn westward again using the Toruń-Eberswald *Urstromtal* up to its confluence with the Oder. Similarly, other larger rivers, such as the Noteć or Barycz, bordering Silesia, use the lower terrain of the *Urstromtal* in their latitudinal sections. Other rivers, the tributaries of the aforementioned ones, e.g., the Prosna, Obra in the south or the Drawa and Gwda in the north, as well as the upper section of the Noteć, have a mostly meridional course, which is why we can consider the river system in Greater Poland to follow a perpendicular drainage pattern.<sup>7</sup>

Greater Poland is the site of a major drainage divide, between the drainage basins of the Vistula and the Oder, but only a small, northeastern section of the Nakiel district drain into the basin of Vistula. The Kamionka and Sępólna (Sampolna) Rivers, through the Brda River, flow into the Vistula. The rest of Greater Poland drains into the Oder, especially the area of the watershed of Warta.

The reconstruction of the hydrographic network was based on cartographic data from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, before any extensive land development or riverbed alteration had begun. The largest alterations to the flows of rivers happened in the valleys of the Warta, Noteć and Prosna. The best cartographic source for the recreation of the water network of northern Greater Poland was Friedrich Leopold Schrötter's map<sup>8</sup> from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (in a 1:150,000 scale). The rest of the network was reconstructed from the David Gilly and Cron (Krohn)<sup>9</sup> map from the years 1793–1800 (1:50,000) and Gilly's<sup>10</sup> reduction of the same map from the years 1802–1803 (1:150,000). Due to its precision and wealth of content, the lesser-known Gaul/Raczyński<sup>11</sup> map, which covers the Poznań and Kościań districts, was also very useful for reconstructing the environment. The *Topograficzna karta Królestwa Polskiego* (The Quartermaster's map),<sup>12</sup> published in 1822–1831 at the scale 1:260,000, was useful for the reconstruction work of the southeastern parts of the Kalisz and Konin districts. In a few cases, when a river's course was uncertain, more detailed materials were used specifically *Urmesstischblätter* done in the 1:25,000<sup>13</sup> scale. Of course, as in the previously published volumes, the WIG topographic maps at the 1:100,000 scale<sup>14</sup> were used as the basis.

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<sup>5</sup> S. Białousz, *Gleby-klasifikacja genetyczna* [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, table 41.1.

<sup>6</sup> J. Strzelec, *Bonitacja gleb* [in:] *ibidem*, table 41.3.

<sup>7</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski* p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> Schrötter.

<sup>9</sup> Gilly-Cron.

<sup>10</sup> Gilly 1802.

<sup>11</sup> Gaul/Raczyński.

<sup>12</sup> Kwatermistrzostwo.

<sup>13</sup> UMTB.

<sup>14</sup> Topographic maps, scaled at 1:100,000, published by the Military Geographical Institute (WIG).

During the analysis of the rivers' layout on the aforementioned source maps, discrepancies were noted and caught while comparing them to the WIG maps, which show the state from the interwar period including, depending on the source materials, sheets depicting the situation preceding WWI. We know that the river's layout on the map shows its state in that particular year, and we know for sure that said state did not last for an extended period of time. The rivers of Greater Poland have typical lowland watercourses, with a very slight incline. They are often called "erring rivers" because they split into multiple distributary channels and arms. The slight incline impeded any quick outflow of excess water, which sometimes covered the entirety of the fluvial terraces. In the case of the Noteć, this area can from about 2 to 8 kilometers wide. During the accumulation of water, multiple new distributary channels and arms often altered the main riverbed. Old cartographic sources allowed us to observe major differences in the course of the river.

It must be noted that from the end of the sixteenth century to the publication of the aforementioned source maps an additional 200 years had passed and the state of the water networks had very likely changed from the one in the sixteenth century. This is confirmed by the major differences that appeared in the 130-year period between the start of the nineteenth century and the publication of the WIG maps. For example, on Karol Perthées's<sup>15</sup> or Gilly's maps, the confluence of the Lutynia and Warta was at the level of Cieszewo, while on the WIG map, the confluence is at the level of Orzechowo, nearly 2.5 km away. Similar changes in the lower course of a river can be seen in the case of Powa (a tributary of the Warta) near Konin and Rumin. These changes can also alter the course of the main stem rivers, i.e., the river the tributary flows into. An example of this is the old Trzebina, which was a right-bank tributary of the Noteć, but currently (under the name Człopica) is a left-bank tributary of the Drawa, with the confluence to the northwest of Krzyż Wielkopolski.

We can also encounter a change in the river category. A main river carrying more water can sometime change roles with its tributary, which took on the role of the main stem due to an increase in water flow.

The river Bawół, also called the Czarna Struga, a left-bank tributary of the Warta, can serve as an example of that phenomenon. In the present day, it flows north from Stawiszyn and has a confluence with a right tributary, the Biała Panieńska, near Królików. The situation is reversed on Gilly's map: the Biała, which flowed from the village Przyranie to the Warta, and had its own, several kilometer long left tributary that merged with it near Królików, while a river called Czarni (Czarna Struga on Gilly's map) flowed from Stawiszyn towards the northwest and flowed into the Prosna near Chocz. Due to the increase of water in the Czarni and probably human intervention, it had changed its course and combined its main stem with Biała Panieńska's left tributary's source near Jarntowo and Lipice and shifted its direction towards the Warta. The change in water flow to the Biała Panieńska altered the character of the river junction near Królików. Now, the Białą Panieńska, known as the Czarna Struga, flows into the Bawół.

Based on the abovementioned source maps, several meanders and river bends were reconstructed in the middle course of the Warta, which due to later intervention have been made shallower or completely cut off from the main stem river. Between Czeszewo and Pogorzelica, the length of the Warta was reduced from 11 to less than 6 kilometers. East of Skwierzyna, between Świniary and Głusków, the riverbed had also been greatly straightened, reducing the length of the river in half. After the reconstruction, the image of the Warta on the map of Greater Poland is a close approximation to its course at the end of the eighteenth century.

The reconstruction of Obra's riverbed presented a major obstacle. Its drainage basin was once a vast and inaccessible wetland called the Wielki Łęg Obrzański. Wawrzyniec Surowiecki wrote in the early nineteenth century that the Obra was a river "without a riverbed, without an incline, its waters go in every direction and drench immeasurable plains, turning them into inaccessible swamps and streams".<sup>16</sup> Land development here had already begun in 1799 with the creation a row of channels improving the water drainage and drying out the central part of the Obra's drainage basin. Written sources contain a lot of information on this subject, but, even so, in some cases it is impossible to unequivocally identify a particular watercourse and to reconstruct its course after so many hydrotechnical changes. Examples

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<sup>15</sup> Perthées Kalisz.

<sup>16</sup> W. Surowiecki, *O rzekach y splywach krajów Xięstwa Warszawskiego*, Warsaw 1811, p. 74.

of this include the streams: Bystra Rzeka, Zarosła, Dęba, Kłodziawa and the Witna, the Odra's tributaries near Prochów, as well as the Ziemina and Prochów in the Kościan district.<sup>17</sup>

The presence of multiple lakes is a noticeable feature of the landscape of Greater Poland, especially in the north and central region, which were formed during the regression of the most recent glaciation. The lake districts include latitudinally-oriented, long and deep ribbon lakes (the Kórnicko-Zaniemska is 17 km long), as well as large, but shallower, moraine lakes with well-developed shorelines.

The number of water reservoirs has been constantly reducing over the centuries. Human interference into the environment greatly lowered the water level. At the same time, the drying out process and siltation have led to an accelerated rate of vegetation overgrowth, sometimes leading to their "disappearance" from the landscape. Already from an inspection in the mid-sixteenth century, we can find out that "there is a small lake, but it grew over, there used to be a fishing area there".<sup>18</sup> Shallow and flow-through lakes were primarily touched by these processes. A good example is a lake near Wiskitno in the Krajeń Lake Region (18 km east of Więcbork), which on Schrötter's map from 1802 is a large reservoir called Glusza See. Currently, it is a wetland, swampy area called Bagno Glusza with only a few small water-filled pits. Sometime the process of lake overgrowth is so advanced that it is impossible to identify former lakes on modern maps. There are multiple examples of this in Greater Poland.

Written sources often mention the existence of ponds and pools near surveyed settlements, e.g., "a small pond in Kęszczka, with carps in it, [from which other ponds take fry]".<sup>19</sup> There is little point in looking for them on even the most precise modern maps, so their locations would have been approximated, but the 1:250,000 scale does not allow for the depiction of such small bodies of water. It should, however, be noted that on the map of Greater Poland, we were able to locate and depict clusters of small lakes, particularly those that were well-identified and named. In many cases this was made possible by credible written sources, which suggested the locations and search area on the map. The detailed descriptions of the boundaries of properties made possible the identification of physiographic elements, especially lakes and ponds. This sometimes led to such an overflow of names and descriptions, that it was necessary to dismiss some of them. For example, this involved the borders of the lands owned by the Czarnkowki family or several properties of the Pszczew key of estates.

The next landscape element depicted on the map of Greater Poland was the forestation. The forested areas have been steadily declining over time, as a result of the expansion of agriculture and the growth of settlements. The lumber gained from deforestation was used as a resource for the construction of settlements, bridges and causeways, as well as being the primary source of fuel. At the start of the sixteenth century, the Gniezno district housed the Moków Forest (Puszcza Mokowska) near Mąkownica and Witków and a forest called Trzuskolom,<sup>20</sup> which was a part of a uniform forested area that stretched eastwards towards Lake Gopło and southwards to Słupca. In the present day, it is difficult to find any remains of these woods.

During the reconstruction of forest complexes according to their state at the turn of the eighteenth century, the aforementioned maps by Gilly and Schrötter, as well as the Quartermaster's map, were used. Due to the chosen scale (1:250,000) and for the purpose of ensuring the map was readable, the minimum size of a depicted forest region had to be 4 x 4 mm on the working scale of 1:100,000, which comes to around 16 ha, in accordance with the previous volumes of AHP.

The largest forest complex is the Noteć Forest in the Poznań district. This territory, stretching across the confluence of the Warta and Noteć River, did not have a name in the Middle Ages, with the exception of the term *silva magna* as it was described with in 1296.<sup>21</sup> The poor, sandy soils that formed on outwash plains are dominated by pine forests. Large, although greatly scattered, forests appear around Człopa (Człopska Puszcza, i.e., the forests of the Człop estate) and Chodzież, between the rivers Plitnica and Piława (Pilawa), east of Owieńsk in the direction of Głębozec, in the area of Puszczykowo and Rogalinek. In the Wałcz district, forests dominate west of Wałcz and north of

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<sup>17</sup> SHGPoz, pt. I, issue 1, p. 161.

<sup>18</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 201.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 178.

<sup>20</sup> Hładylowicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu*, p. 50.

<sup>21</sup> SHGPoz, pt. III, issue 2, p. 299.

Drawsko Lake, as well as near the border with the Poznań district. The Kościan and Wschowa districts are less forested, with larger stretches of forest south of Mosina, between Żabno, Brodnica and Iłowiec Mały, as well as between Dolsk and Jeżew. In the Kalisz Voivodeship, there is no forest complex comparable to the Noteć Forest. The east part of the voivodeship is considerably more forested than the rest of it. Besides the woods sprawling along the Noteć Valley, the majority of the forest complexes in the Kcynia district can be found to the east. The part of the Konin district south of Warta's valley is densely forested, up to the border with the Kalisz district, as well as the southeastern edge of the voivodeship, in the belt from Giżyce to Iwanowice.

Looking at the placement of forests and settlements in Greater Poland, it is difficult to ignore the "white spot" in the Poznań Lake Region, south of Tomyśl, devoid of both woods and settlements. This is linked to the later Dutch type settlement, which started in the eighteenth century, who moved into difficult regions that required deforestation or land development. It is likely that these settlers cleared out forest that were there earlier.<sup>22</sup> There are similar cases in the rest of Greater Poland, such as near Nekla and Czerniejewo in the Pызdry district<sup>23</sup> or Skwierzyny and Międzyrzecze in the Poznań district, where the Dutch type settlement greatly impacted the natural environment.

The names of settlements, which are quite numerous throughout Greater Poland, often hint at the historical presence of forests. One set of names informs us about the trees that could be found in the area (Brzezcie, Bukowiec, Dąbrowa, Grabowo or Lipnica – respectively refer to birch, beech, oak, hornbeam and linden trees), while another points to the method used to create the settlement – the felling of trees (Rąbino) or deforestation by burning (Pożegowo, Opalenica, Pogorzelica, Popielewo).

A separate problem that was very important for the preparation of the map was the issue of names. Only a few physiographic elements are described on old maps. This included mostly large rivers and a handful of lakes. Written sources from this time, such as the tax registers, lack these names while inspections from the sixteenth century would only name the largest rivers. Small ponds or pools are named, but their location is rarely precise and often ambiguous. In the area of Świerczyna and Górzno in the Kościan district, during the demarcations of estates in 1563 many local streams were mentioned: Dobierz, Skrzypaniec, Łekno, Samica Górzńska.<sup>24</sup> These names, however, cannot be presently attributed to any of the stream currently found there.

This work uses material from both the Historical and Geographical Dictionary of the Poznań Voivodeship in the Middle Ages (*Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu*), and the files of the Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland IH PAN in Poznań.<sup>25</sup> The in-progress Digital dictionary of Polish hydronyms (ESHP)<sup>26</sup> was also a great help in our research.

Sometimes, over the course of 200 years, multiple names can be found for one item, which of course makes identifying it more difficult. A good example is the river Pokrzywnica, a left tributary of the Warta, currently called Powa. In the inspections of 1564 and 1765, it is called the Pokrzywnica, and also has this name in the *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*. On Perthées's map it figures as "Koprzywnica", on Gilly's map – "Rudzina Flug", on the Quartermaster's and WIG maps – "Powa", while Wojciech Chrzanowski<sup>27</sup> and Daniel Gottlob Reymann<sup>28</sup> call it "Ostrowa" on their maps.

This diversity of names also stems from the fact that specific sections of a river had different "local" names. Typically, they were related to the name of the town or lake they flowed through. For

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<sup>22</sup> T. Panecki, T. Związek, G. Myrda, *The Spatial Development for Research on Settlements and Afforestation in Nowy Tomyśl Plain in Early Modern Times*, „Studia Geohistorica”, vol. 6, 2018 [forthcoming].

<sup>23</sup> Z. Chodyła, *Najstarsze dzieje osad olęderskich w okolicach Nekli w latach 1749–1793*, [in:] *Nekielskie olędry*, Nekla 2012.

<sup>24</sup> SHGPoz, pt. I, issue 3, p. 365; SHGPoz, pt. III, issue 1, p. 20; SHGPoz, pt. IV, issue 2, p. 283; SHGPoz, pt. IV, issue 3, p. 514.

<sup>25</sup> SHGKart.

<sup>26</sup> ESHP, *Elektroniczny słownik hydronimów Polski (Digital dictionary of Polish hydronyms)* – the project is conducted in the Section for Toponomastics of the Institute of Polish Language PAN in Cracow (Pracownia Toponomastyczna Instytutu Języka Polskiego PAN w Krakowie): [eshp.ijp-pan.krakow.pl](http://eshp.ijp-pan.krakow.pl).

<sup>27</sup> *Karta dawnej Polski z przyległymi okolicami krajów sąsiednich*, Paris 1859.

<sup>28</sup> *Topographische Spezialkarte des Preussischen Staats und der angrenzenden Länder Reymann's Special-Karte 1:200,000*, 1845.

example, the modern Mała Wełna, which passes through multiple lakes, used to change its name along its path (Radusz, Sława, Dębica, Peda or Wełnianka).

Oftentimes the changes in the names of rivers or lakes can result in serious mistakes while trying to interpret them, as was in the case of the Moskawa and Żrenica, which flow near Środa. Moskawa was changed to Schrodaer Fliess, and again later renamed to Średzka Struga after returning to Polish nomenclature, which caused the upper section of the old Moskawa to become Średzka Struga, while the river Żrenica, a left tributary of the old Moskawa, became the upper course of today's Moskawa.<sup>29</sup>

Most of the region of Greater Poland is characterized by variety in terrain, vegetation and landscape, which undoubtedly influences the natural and scenic attractiveness of the land. The most unique and valuable parts of the region are under the protection of multiple national and landscape parks, and nature reserves. It is in these areas that we can see how the landscape of Greater Poland once looked.

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>29</sup> „Średzki Kwartalnik Kulturalny”, 2011, no. 3, pp. 21–27.

### III.1.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Małgorzata Wilska*

Three physiographic elements were presented on the map of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century. They were: natural topography, waterway network and forestation. As in the previously published volumes of this series of AHP, for the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century the waterways and forests have been reconstructed on the basis of earliest, detailed cartographic records from the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The relief was presented using contour lines with 20 m intervals up to 200 m AMSL and 50 m intervals above this level. Selected elevation points have also been marked.<sup>1</sup>

**Regions.** The area of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships comprises physiographic regions belonging to three subprovinces: 1) Mid-Polish Lowlands, 2) the Silesian-Cracow Upland, 3) the Lesser Poland Upland.<sup>2</sup> The Mid-Polish Lowlands are here divided into macroregions: the South Greater Poland Lowland, the Trzebnica Ridge, the Middle Mazovian Lowland, the South Mazovian Heights.

Within the range of the Mid-Poland Lowlands, the largest part of our territory belongs to the South Greater Poland Lowland, to its nine macroregions. These are: the Koło Basin, the Kłodawa Upland, the Sieradz Basin, the Turek Upland, the Łask Upland, the Grabów Basin, the Złoczew Upland, the Szczerców Basin, the Wieruszów Upland.

The Koło Basin covers the widening of the Warta River valley in the spot where the river changes its course from longitudinal to latitudinal, and the mouth of the proglacial valley of the River Ner. The Kłodawa Upland is situated in the northern part of the Łęczyca Voivodeship. At the base of this upland lies the Cuyavia Tectonic Ridge with a salt dome, exploited in Kłodawa. The Sieradz Basin constitutes the longitudinal fragment of the Warta River valley, south of the Koło Basin. This area, sometimes called 'Sieradz Trough', widens near the city of Sieradz. The basin adjoins the Turek Upland to the west and the Łask Upland to the east. The meadows and forests on the terraces of the Warta River and moraine plains near Sieradz form the natural landscape.

The Złoczew Upland is a moraine plain lying between the Prosna and Warta Rivers. It separates the Sieradz Basin from the Grabów Basin. The latter is a trough-like depression, with the axis along the course of the River Prosna. The bottom of the basin is covered with sands and sand dunes. The Szczerców Basin is the next basin in this macroregion. It is a plain situated in the glacial cirque, covered with varved clay and sands, partly waterlogged. Two rivers flow through its bottom: the Warta and its tributary Widawka.

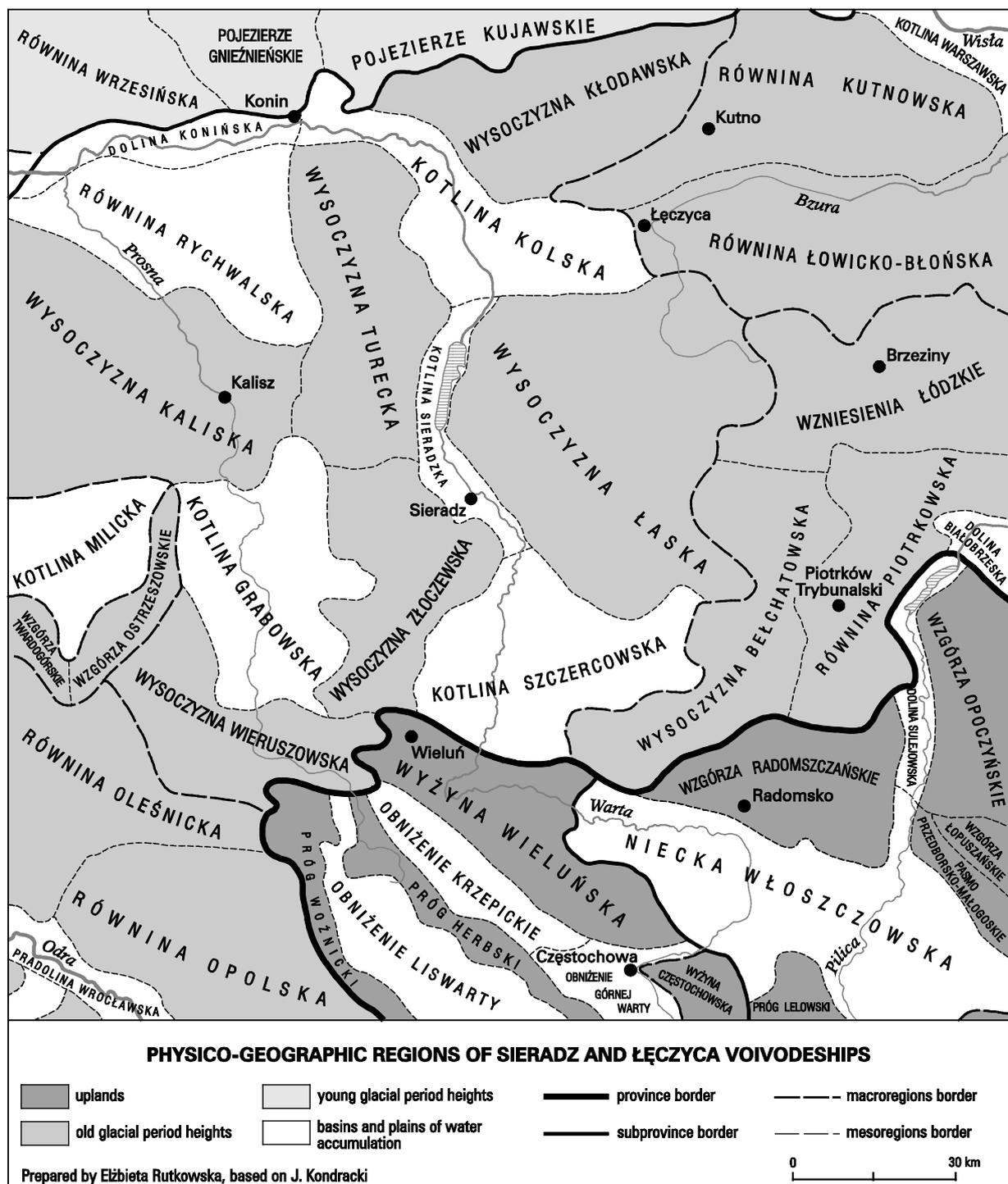
The Wieruszów Upland, cut by the upper course of the River Prosna, forms a kind of bridge between the Wieluń Upland and Ostrzeszów Heights. The latter belong to the Trzebnica Ridge macroregion. The heights are also known as 'Cat Mountains' or 'Crooked Mountains' (the name Crooked Mountains refers especially to the heights situated to the southwest of Ostrzeszów, that surround the villages Ligota and Kobyla Góra.

Dunes on the both sides of the heights are covered by forests. The highest elevation point is the Kobyla Góra – 285 m ABMS and Bełczyna – a hill near Parzynów, with 278 m ABMS. The greatest

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<sup>1</sup> See AHP Sandomierz.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the physiographic regions were taken from *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polski*, Warsaw 1993.



**Map 1. Physico-geographic regions of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships**

relative height under Kobyła Góra is 80 metres. The steepest slopes are situated in the south, where the inclination angle reaches 20 degrees.

The next macroregion belonging to the Mid-Poland Lowlands subprovince is the Middle Mazovian Lowland. It covers the south-eastern part of the Łęczyca Voivodeship, including a fragment of the Łowicko-Błońska Plain and a fragment of the Kutno Plain. Two Bzura tributaries flow through this area: Ochnia and Słudwia.

The last macroregion in the Mid-Poland Lowlands in our area are the South Mazovian Heights, which comprise the following mezoregions: the Łódź Heights, the Piotrków Plain, the Belchatów Upland and the edge of the Białobrzegi Valley.

The highest elevation between Łódź and Białobrzegi is 273 m AMSL. This mezoregion is built of moraine clay and glaciofluvial sands. The terrain to the north and west descends in well-defined

steps, and to the east it gently slopes towards the River Rawka. The differences in elevation reach even 100 m, dry valleys and suspended troughs cut into steep slopes, and the vast stony fields created in periglacial conditions – all this creates unfavourable conditions for settlement. The presence of easily exploitable iron ore can be explained by the old and Jurassic rocks found on the surface of this area. Kitchen salt deposits created in the Permian were exploited in the Modern Age.<sup>3</sup>

The Piotrków Plain adjoins the Bełchatów Upland to the west, and to the east it adjoins the valleys along the Pilica River, to which the River Luciąża flows near Sulejów.

The south-western part of Sieradz Voivodeship comprises the Woźniki-Wieluń Upland macroregion, belonging to the Silesian-Cracow Upland subregion. The Woźniki-Wieluń Upland is built of Jurassic and Later Triassic rocks, that create alternating low steps and depressions, used by the Rivers Mała Panew, Prosna, Liswarta and upper Warta. All heights in this area could be described as low and high hills. Ożarowskie, and in the middle section Jaworzyńskie, Hills are the high ones. Działoszyńskie Hills, sometimes called Działowski Mountains, are situated in the bend of the Warta. Low hills, the so-called Mykanowskie Hills, are situated between the Rivers Kocinka and Warta. Its highest absolute elevation reaches 260 m AMSL.

Another mezoregion is the Liswarta Depression that was created in the low-resistant rocks of the Lower and Middle Jurassic period. The upper course of the Liswarta and the Prosna flow through the depression. The Liswarta turns north near Ługi and then crosses the Wieluń Upland, the Prosna flows through the rest of the depression. A small part of the southern part of our area enters the Krzepice Depression.

The Lesser Poland Uplands subprovince is divided into several macroregions. The south-eastern part of Sieradz Voivodeship covers the Przedborska Upland macroregion, which comprises the following macroregions: the Radomszczańskie Heights, the Sulejów Valley, the Włoszczowa Trough and a small part of the Lelowski Rock Step. The highest point of the Radomszczańskie Heights is the Chełmo Mountain with its 316 m AMSL. It is also the highest absolute elevation in the territory of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships. The lowest point of the described area (92 m AMSL) is situated west of Sobota.

The geological construction of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships is largely of Quaternary origin. However, in many places the older bedrock is very close to, or even – on the surface. Such is the situation in the area of Przedborze and Działoszyn, where there is Jurassic limestone in the bend of the River Warta, and in the area of Widawa near Wielka Wieś and Borzyków, as well as in the vicinity of Burzenin. Cretaceous rocks can be found near Poddębice and Uniejów.

The geological past defined the placement of the resources. These are the limestone-quartzite minerals, chalks, sands, gravels, clays, muds, brown coal, iron ore, kitchen and potassium salt. Some of these were exploited in the sixteenth century, e.g. salt near Kłodawa and ore and coal in the Wieluń land.

**Soil.** It is assumed that in the period from the Middle Ages to our times the structure of the soil did not change significantly.<sup>4</sup> It could be said that soil was more fertile then than it is now, as black earth and alluvial soils are considered extremely fertile. However, they rarely appear in the area of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships. The alluvial soils cover narrow passages along the rivers, e.g. the Prosna and the Warta, in Sieradz Voivodeship, and the Ner and the Bzura in Łęczyca Voivodeship.<sup>5</sup>

Fertile black earth can be found in a small area in the northern part of our region. Rich alluvial soils were light, easy to cultivate even with primitive tools. As a result, the earliest settlements developed in river valleys. Assuming B. Dobrzański's six-class classification of soils,<sup>6</sup> we can see that the soil in our area is mainly the 4<sup>th</sup> class one, i.e. average. According to the soil structure assumed by J. Kondracki,<sup>7</sup> we can say that the dominant ones are brown and pseudopodzolic soil, made of loose sands and light clay.

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<sup>3</sup> J. Dylík, *Województwo ze stolicą bez antenatów*, Łódź 1971, pp. 19, 21.

<sup>4</sup> B. Dobrzański, *Zarys geografii gleb*, Warsaw 1966, pp. 16 f.; J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 203–217.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1981, pp. 389–391; Zajączkowski, *Sieć osadnicza*, pp. 21 f.

<sup>6</sup> B. Dobrzański, *Zarys geografii gleb*, pp. 136–138.

<sup>7</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, pp. 209–216.

**Water network.** The water divide between the river basins of the Vistula and the Oder crosses the area of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships. In the south of Sieradz Voivodeship, in the Radom district, it crosses the sixteenth century parishes: Dąbrowa, Wszeborzyce, Borzykowa, Żytno, Kobile and goes between villages Kodrąb and Rzejowice.<sup>8</sup> In the Piotrków Plain the watershed runs between Bodganów parish and Grocholice, then runs through Srockie, Tuszyn and Rzgów parishes. In the uplands it crosses Łódzia and Bełdowo parishes (present-day Łódź is situated on this watershed). In the northern part of our area the water divide runs between Chociszew and Parzęczew parishes, then between the parishes of Solca Wielka and Leźnica. Because of the line of the divide, the streams and rivulets flow from the Łódź Heights in every direction, towards the valleys. Near Łęczyca, the land descends even more toward the bottom of the Warsaw-Berlin proglacial valley. The lowest point at the bottom of the Bzura River valley is 99 m AMLS. In the vicinity of Łęczyca the bottom narrows down to 2 km. In the area of terminal moraines near Drzykozy village it ascends to 163 m AMLS. The water divide between the basins of the Rivers Oder and Warta is very low closest to the River Bzura, the tributary of the Vistula and the Ner. Between Łęczyca and the settlement at Pełczyńska, situated near the River Ner, the height of the water divide does not exceed 116 m AMLS.<sup>9</sup>

The most important rivers of the Vistula basin are, apart from the boundary Pilica and Bzura, Wolbórka that flows in Pilica, Mroga and Moszczenica. The Oder basin comprises the Warta and all right tributaries of the latter – Widawka, Ner and Proсна. In the south-eastern part of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships the rivers flow in the longitudinal direction. For instance, the River Proсна from Bolesławiec to Kalisz, or the Warta north of Działoszyn to Koło. This longitudinal arrangement of the rivers changes to latitudinal near Łęczyca and further on, in the northern part of our area.

The water network of the described Voivodeships was presented on the basis of the oldest precise cartographic sources from before 1839. They depict the state of the bodies of water before the commencement of large-scale canalization and irrigation works. Due to the scale of our study, the choice of water elements was based on the maps using 1:300,000 scale ratio. Trenches and canals, built in order to drain the swamps in the nineteenth and the twentieth century were removed from the base map, and some corrections in the range of surface waters were made. The reconstruction covered mostly large and medium rivers. Because the changes in the river beds of small rivers, especially those flowing through narrow valleys, are marginal and difficult to mark on the map on our scale, we accepted their flow presented on topographic maps on a 1:100,000 scale.<sup>10</sup> The course of large rivers (Warta, Proсна, Bzura, Pilica) was presented according to the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland and Gilly's map.

The course of the Bzura River in the vicinity of Łęczyca, as well as its many beds and broads, was reconstructed on the basis of the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland. Before the eighteenth century its main river bed ran from the area around Leśmierz and Mierzyn almost directly North towards the Ostrów Tumski terrace, which it encircled, and then went back in the north-eastern direction. On our map it was drawn according to 'Stara Woda' ('Old Water') designation on the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland. In similar fashion, on this basis, the range of the great belt of 'Łęczyca Mud' and the muds and swamps situated north-west of Łęczyca, along the course of the Rivers Warta and Ner was reconstructed. In several places the course of the Warta took a different direction from the way it runs today. And so, in the upper course near Karczewice, the flow of the Rivers Warta and Wiercica is presented according to the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland. Next, near Sieradz, the main flow runs through the oxbow lake. Near Pławno the course of the River Warta was different in the sixteenth century than it is today, the mouth of the River Ner, where it flows into Warta, also looked different. In the sixteenth century, large rivers had significantly more arms and broads than they had following regulations and the building of trenches and canals in the nineteenth and the twentieth century.

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<sup>8</sup> See the map of state and ecclesiastical borders and the main map. About waters in the area of Łódź see S. Lipka, *Zanikanie wód na obszarze Łodzi*, „Czasopismo Geograficzne”, vol. 29, 1958, p. 373.

<sup>9</sup> S. Zajączkowski, *O przejściach przez Błota Łęczyckie w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Ziemia i ludzie dawnej Polski*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 83–125.

<sup>10</sup> See AHP Mazovia and AHP Sandomierz.

The inspection sources show that a large number of ponds has been created in the oxbow lakes, e.g. in the broads of the River Warta south of Brzeźnica or the Warecki Pond near Wąsosz, mentioned in the 1564 inspection.<sup>11</sup> The ponds near Piotrków – Bugaj and Wierzeje, were reconstructed.<sup>12</sup>

The water level was higher in the sixteenth century. This means that even smaller rivers were significantly deeper and broader than they are today. The information about a mill situated on some river proves that in the sixteenth century the size and speed of the flow were enough to move the mill (supported by artificial damming up of the water). Having made such assumptions and using the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland as a base, we lengthened some of the watercourses. For instance: Pisia – a rivulet near Brzeźnica, starts west of Pajęczno on the Topographical Map, and today: not before Wistka.

Establishing the course and name of right tributaries of the Moszczenica – the rivulets Malina and Kostrzynia, flowing from the south towards the village Piątek, caused many difficulties.<sup>13</sup> Twentieth century maps on a 1:100,000 scale show the Malina flowing into the Moszczenica near Łazin. The Kostrzynia is not named and its mouth was hard to identify (it could have been a tributary of the Moszczenica or the Malina). We accepted, following the Topographical Map, the course of the River Malina, a right tributary of Moszczenica flowing into it downstream of Piątek. The second rivulet, called ‘Mościenica R czyli (that is) Cessanka’ on the Topographic Map, should be identified with the sixteenth century name Kostrzynia, characterizing the watercourse flowing into Moszczenica River east of Gieczno near Sypin.<sup>14</sup>

Smaller rivers, causing many difficulties when it came to identifying and establishing their names, are: Brodnia-Pichna, a right tributary of the River Warta; Sadkówka, Pichna (flows into Proсна near Kalisz); Olszyna; Swędr-Kręcica, a left tributary of Widawka. It is worth emphasizing that Swędrnia is one of the oldest names in our area, one of Lithuanian origin.<sup>15</sup>

There were no large lakes in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships. Several unnamed ponds were marked on the map, known to us from inspections, e.g. in Ostrzeszowskie Voivodeship.<sup>16</sup>

**Forestation.** The forests were presented according to the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland and Gilly’s map. As it was in the case of the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship, the difference between forests and thickets was maintained. Thickets are often a relic of forest, because they originated as a result of agricultural use of the border of woodland area. For the sake of the readability of the map, the minimum assumed during the transfer of small forest relics was at least 4x4 mm on a 1:100,000 map, that is 16 ha of terrain.

For Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships we possess source information about primeval forests, but their names are not provided.<sup>17</sup> Research on the development of settlement allows us to recreate the

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<sup>11</sup> LWWK 1546, part 2, p. 83: ‘There is a lake in Wąsosze, that is called Warczki Staw, by the dike across, 45.5 ells and not much broader in other places, along 8 furlongs, deep, stocked from the Warta and the fish come each year’. Probably, this was a part of a dead arm of the Warta, cut off from the main basin – on present-day maps on scale 1:100,000 many oxbow lakes can be seen. Apart from this, there are numerous (around 10) ponds mentioned in this inspection, situated in the vicinity of Stara Brzeźnica (LWWK 1564, part 3, pp. 73, 82 f.). One of those was situated where perhaps today the mill Borowiec – ‘Borowy pond on the River Skłęczca (now Pisia), it is 8 furlongs long, and 20–15 rods in the broadest place, and good and deep, stocked by itself’. Also, in the area of Wróblów village in Wieluń Voivodeship numerous ponds, e.g. Kuźniczysko on the Proсна (LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 93, footnote 205), probably near the Królewska Góra demesne marked on the 1:100,000 map – on Gilly’s map we can find Wróblewski Młyn.

<sup>12</sup> See the commentary to the plan of Piotrków, III.6.21.5 in this edition.

<sup>13</sup> My thanks to prof. Andrzej Tomczak for helping me identify these rivers.

<sup>14</sup> On the Topographical Map it was ‘Cessanka’ – it is a mistake that should be corrected to ‘Cesarka’, what is proved by the existence of a village Cesarka in the sixteenth century in Skorszewy parish, of which only a mill of that name remained in the nineteenth century (SGKP, vol. 6, pp. 727 f.). The place where the Kostrzynia flows into Moszczenica was taken from A. Tomczak, *Zarys dziejów parafii Gieczno do roku 1939*, Toruń 1997, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Swędrnia, earlier: Swędra, see: *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 5, Wrocław 1975, p. 499. This name belongs to the group of balto-slavic names, and is attested in the sources in 1136 – aqua Zvandri.

<sup>16</sup> Numerous unnamed ponds, apart from those listed in the inspections of Wieluń Voivodeship, near Sieradz, Piotrków, Szadek, Bolesławiec, Radomsko, Grabów, Łęczyca, see LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 24, 41, 46, 51, 67, 100, 112, 122, 156.

<sup>17</sup> In the inspections covering the area of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships there are no names of forests – contrary to Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeship. Usually a name of coniferous forest is mentioned, or a forest along with the information that is stretched from some settlement, e.g. ‘of which forest there are 8 furlongs of length and 4 in the widest place, 2 in the thinnest. The forest starts from the Szadek road, which runs from Zagorzice, up to the border mound in the corner, that lies on the borderline of Stronie, Zapole and Świerziny’ (LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 116) or – like in case of Komorów in Ostrzeszów district: ‘Woods, forests in this area are a mile long and half a mile broad, of these there is no use, because other

stages of the decline of the size of forests. Cleared were mainly forests that covered good soils and those in the areas close to important roads. Later, the settlement occupied areas with worse soil. The change in the type of the stand of trees was a secondary effect. Deciduous trees require better soil than coniferous trees, which grow on sandy area and dunes. K. Buczek divided forest formations into four categories: park, forest-field, forest and swamp.<sup>18</sup> The last category could be found mostly in the northern part of Łęczyca Voivodeship, in the valleys of the Rivers Bzura, Ner and Warta.

On the southern border with Silesia the forest covered the area between Praszka and Żytniów, and between Żytniów and Starokrzepice. East of Ruda, the forest formation combined with swamp formation, reaching Wierzchlas, Olewin and Sieniec. In small fragments it wedges between Nietuszyn, Czarnożyły, Świątkowice, Pilchowice. Dense woodland covered the area south of Brzoza, Młynisko, Rostów and Żdzary, coming to a halt on the line of arable fields of Słupsk, Skomlin and Wójcin.<sup>19</sup>

In Ostrzeszów Voivodeship, on the borderland of Silesia, the forest covered a large area, as it reached the Silesia Forest. And so, the forest grew on the area between the Rivers Niesób and Pomianka in the south, and in the middle-eastern part it stretched from Wyszarów and Skarydzew, via Rudenica towards the rivulet Struga.

East of Ostrzeszów, the ironworks ('kuźnica'), such as Kuźnica Bobrowska or Kuźnica Skakawska contributed to the thinning out of the forest. Primeval forest grew on the southern and eastern slopes of the Ostrzeszów Heights. To the west, between Ostrzeszów and Mikstat it joined the forest in the Odolanów basin, which covered the upper course and the valley of the River Barycz, outside our voivodeships.<sup>20</sup>

To the south of Wieluń, on the borderline with the Cracow Voivodeship, the forest stretched to the south-east of Działoszyn, covering the bend of the Warta River, and then through the passage between the Rivers Biała Olsza, Kocinka and Warta. Between Radomsko and Pławno this complex joined the forest of the Radomsko Heights, situated on the water divide and heading north. In the vicinity of Kamieńsk, the water divide, along with the line of the forest, moves west. The settlement moving from the west through the valleys of the Rivers Wolborka and Luciąża, toward Będków and Tuszyń merged on the line of the divide with the villages situated in the forests between the valleys of the Rivers Widawka and Ner, from the direction of Pabianice, Spicymierz and Sieradz. This narrowed down the forest area. However, Długosz wrote that in the area of Pabianice castellany an animal lair is easier to find than arable soil.<sup>21</sup>

The exploitation of woodland in order to obtain ash, charcoal and pitch intensified in the sixteenth century. The workers built settlements on the borders of the forests, or even in the forest, where the trees had been cut down or burned, as is proven by the names of the villages, such as Smolice (Brzeziny and Łęczyca districts), Smolny młyn (Ostrzeszów district) and Węgielnice (Wieluń district).

Narrowing down of the woodland area sometimes occurred in stages, e.g. near the rivulet Niesób we find villages abandoned in the sixteenth century, which were repopulated again in the seventeenth century (Skakawa, among others). New steel mills seized more and more woodland area.

A lesser forest complex grew on the Łódzkie Heights in the sixteenth century. It remained there till the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup> The settlement in this area stopped growing mostly due to

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villages have enough woods and forests' (ibidem, p. 120). There are also numerous mentions of forests without a name in Łaski's Liber beneficiorum (Łaski LB p. 491 et al.). See also: K. Buczek, *Ziemia polskie przed tysiącem lat*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 26 f.; M. Dobrowolska, *Przemiany środowiska geograficznego Polski do XV wieku*, Warsaw 1961 (and map); S. Zajączkowski, *Studia nad terytorialnym formowaniem się ziemi łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej*, Łódź 1951, pp. 40 f.; J. Hładyłowicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu i rozwój osadnictwa w Wielkopolsce od XIV do XIX w.*, Lwów 1932, passim; *Dzieje lasów, leśnictwa i drzewnictwa w Polsce*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 621–625. The state of forestation is also described in the documents in AGAD, KRSW, sign. 1962 (concerning the forests of Wieluń), sign. 1978 (concerning the forests of Wieruszów), sign. 1624–1625 (concerning the forests of Radomsko) and the oldest – concerning the forests of Ostrzeszów from 1809, sign. 1399.

<sup>18</sup> K. Buczek, *O teorii badań historyczno-osadniczych*, KH, vol. 65, 1958, no. 1, p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 63–66, 205–218.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 201; also: A. Żabko-Potopowicz, *Zagadnienie lasów w Polsce przed rozbiorem od schyłku XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, „Sylwan”, vol. 18, 1954, no. 5, pp. 367–388.

<sup>21</sup> Długosz LB, I, p. 273.

<sup>22</sup> J. Dylík, *Osadnictwo epoki kamiennej w przełomie doliny Warty pod Poznaniem*, [in:] *Badania geograficzne nad Polską północno-zachodnią*, Poznań 1931, no. 6–7, pp. 7–57; idem, *Rozwój osadnictwa w okolicach Łodzi*, Łódź 1948; idem, *Województwo*, pp. 79 f.

very inconvenient geographical conditions (great relative heights, steep slopes of dry valleys), which protected this area from the thinning out of the forest and transformation into fields. Rocks lying below the surface of the ground wander up as a result of the processes occurring in the seasonally frozen land and are found during ploughing even today.<sup>23</sup>

In the northern part of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships the woodland area was already scant in the sixteenth century, as these swamp valleys had been inhabited for centuries.<sup>24</sup>

In terms of geobotanic division, Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships belonged to the Baltic region. The areas surrounding the river basins of the Bzura, Ner and Warta included flora typical of the belt of great valleys, and the flora in the remaining part of the described area was typical of the middle uplands. As such, mixed forests were dominant, with a large percentage of oak trees, lindens, sycamores and fir trees with hazel and guelder rose undergrowth. Pine and pine-oak mixed forest grew on sandy areas. Hornbeam, alder and birch forest were dominant in the damp valleys, e.g. of the rivulets Grabia, Widawka and Wolbórka. In the broad swamp valleys of the Rivers Warta, Ner, Prosna and Bzura there were alders and peat bogs, typical of waterlogged areas.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>23</sup> *Szata roślinna Polski*, ed. W. Szafer, Warsaw 1959, the map of the geobotanic division by W. Szafer and B. Pawłowski.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. A. Pietrzak, *Zmiany zalesienia terytorium województwa łódzkiego od okresu porzbirowego do czasów obecnych*, „Region Łódzki. Studia i Materiały”, vol. 3, 1973, pp. 41–60.

### III.1.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Katarzyna Słomska-Przech, Tomasz Panecki*

The layout of land, hydrography and forestation are the three physiographic elements presented in the map covering Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships, and Dobrzyń land. In keeping with AHP assumptions, the water network and woodland were reconstructed to reflect their distribution at the turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century. In the absence of sixteenth-century sources suitable for recreating the layout of physiographic elements, our work was based on the oldest cartometric and cartographic sources.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the main map's physiographic layer and its data on settlement and Catholic Church administration are separated by two centuries. This should be kept in mind when using the map. Forestation and water network reconstruction was based on a method similar to that employed in previous AHP volumes. Contour lines illustrate the layout of the land. The final effect resembles that of previously compiled maps, yet it was achieved by semiautomatic contour line generation from a digital elevation model (DEM) using the ANUDEM algorithm.<sup>2</sup>

Ryszard Kukier<sup>3</sup> and Bożena Degórska<sup>4</sup> were among those who discussed the environmental changes occurring in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land since the eighteenth century. Zbigniew Zyglewski<sup>5</sup> assessed Jan Długosz's hydrography of Cuyavia from the second half of the fifteenth century from the perspective of current knowledge.

The AHP volumes published to date discuss Poland's physico-geographical division by referring to Jerzy Kondracki's body of work.<sup>6</sup> In 2018, Jerzy Solon's team<sup>7</sup> verified and established the details of the existing division into regions, by referring to the theoretical basis. For most regions, the team only specified borders in relation to the current geomorphological and geological data. The number of mesoregions was increased to 344 from Kondracki's 316. The data is also available in GIS file format.<sup>8</sup>

Both divisions locate the areas discussed in this volume within two subprovinces. The bulk of this area lies in the South-Baltic Lakeland (Pojezierze Południowobałtyckie), whose early post-glacial landscape is intersected by the Vistula, Brda and Drwęca Rivers. The southern borderlands of the area

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<sup>1</sup> J. Plit, *Analiza historyczna jako źródło informacji o środowisku przyrodniczym*, „Problemy Ekologii Krajobrazu”, vol. 16, 2006, pp. 217–226.

<sup>2</sup> M.F. Hutchinson, T. Xu, J.A. Stein, *Recent Progress in the ANUDEM Elevation Gridding Procedure*, [in:] *Geomorphometry*, ed. T. Hengel, I.S. Evans, J.P. Wilson, M. Gould, Redlands 2011, pp. 19–22 ([www.geomorphometry.org/HutchinsonXu2011](http://www.geomorphometry.org/HutchinsonXu2011), access 25.02.2020); E. Rutkowska, *Geographical environment* [in:] AHP Greater Poland III.1.4 in this edition.

<sup>3</sup> R. Kukier, *Przeobrażenia środowiska geograficznego na Kujawach w świetle źródeł etnograficznych i kartograficznych z XVIII–XIX wieku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UMK w Toruniu. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, Archeologia”, vol. 33, 1969, no. 2, pp. 105–134.

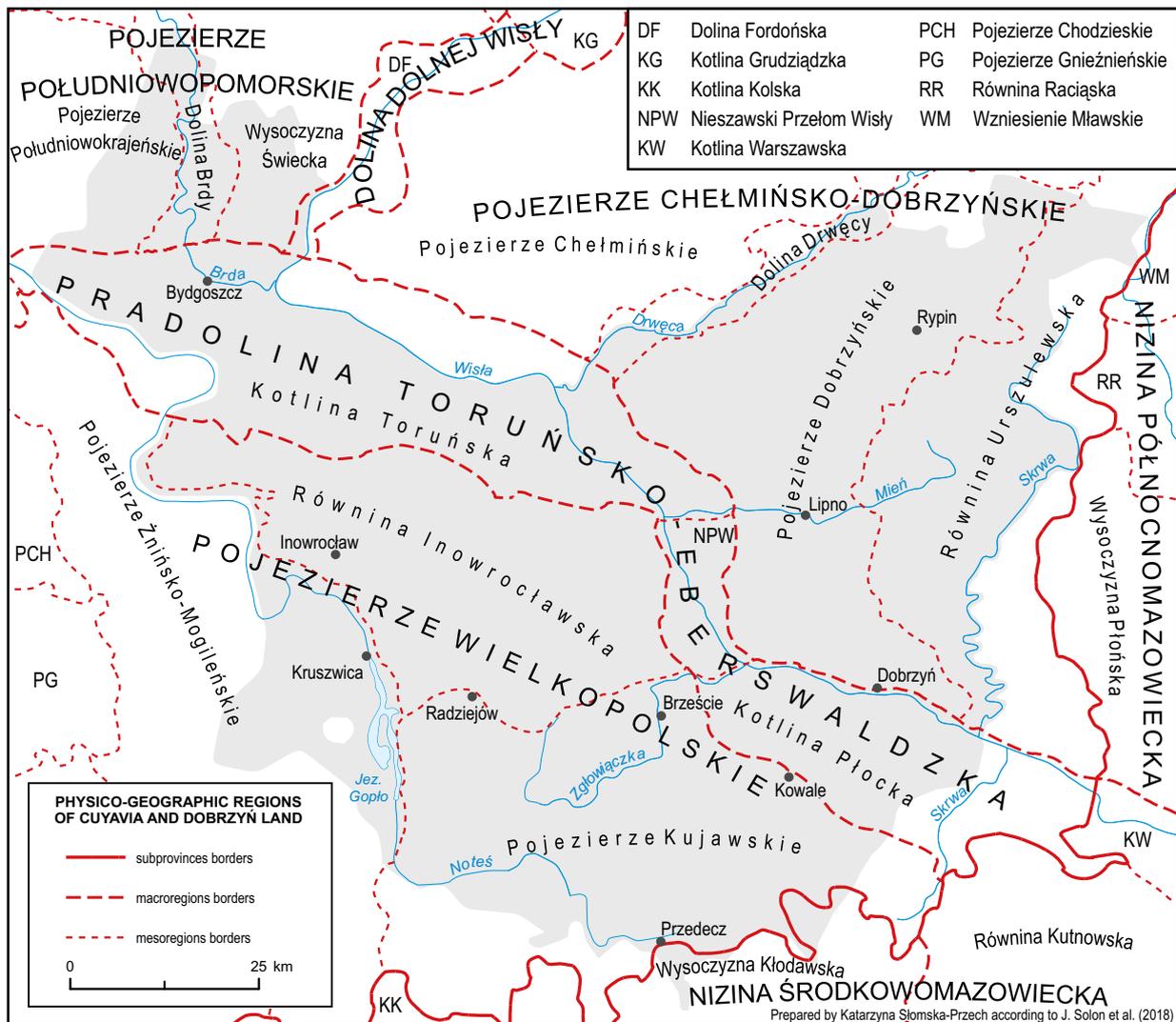
<sup>4</sup> Degórska, *Transformacja krajobrazu*.

<sup>5</sup> Z. Zyglewski, *Kujawy w „Chorografii” Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz – 600. lecie urodzin: region, Polska, Europa w jego twórczości*, ed. J. Maciejewski, P. Oliński, W. Rozynkowski, S. Zonenbergas, Toruń–Bydgoszcz 2016, pp. 31–48.

<sup>6</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, Warsaw 1998.

<sup>7</sup> J. Solon, J. Borzyszkowski, M. Bidłasik, A. Richling, K. Badora, J. Balon, T. Brzezińska-Wójcik, Ł. Chabudziński, R. Dobrowolski, I. Grzegorzczak, M. Jodłowski, M. Kistowski, R. Kot, P. Krąż, J. Lechnio, A. Macias, A. Majchrowska, E. Malinowska, P. Migoń, U. Myga-Piątek, J. Nita, E. Papińska, J. Rodzik, M. Strzyż, S. Terpiłowski, W. Ziaja, *Physico-Geographical Mesoregions of Poland. Verification and Adjustment of Boundaries on the Basis of Contemporary Spatial Data*, „Geographia Polonica”, vol. 91, 2018, no. 2, pp. 143–170; *Studia nad regionalizacją fizycznogeograficzną Polski*, ed. M. Kistowski, U. Myga-Piątek, J. Solon, Warsaw 2018.

<sup>8</sup> See: [www.rcin.org.pl/dlibra/publication/84324](http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/publication/84324) (access 7.05.2020).



**Map 1. The physico-geographical regions of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land**

discussed (Brześć Voivodeship) pass through the Central Polish Lowlands (Niziny Środkowopolskie). They border directly on the north-eastern tip of Dobrzyń land. The current division of the analysed area is presented further on, and below on Map 1.

Of the areas presented in this volume which fall within the boundaries of the South Baltic Lakeland, the South Pomeranian Lakeland (Pojezierze Południowopomorskie) is the northernmost part. On the northern tip of Inowrocław Voivodeship, it encompasses two early post-glacial uplands (South Krajna Lakeland (Pojezierze Południowokrajne) and Świecko Upland (Wysoczyzna Świecka)), split in two by the Brda Valley (Dolina Brdy). The north-eastern tip of this voivodeship cuts into the Lower Vistula Valley (Dolina Dolnej Wisły) macroregion (Fordon Valley (Dolina Fordońska) mesoregion), which spreads to the vast Toruń-Eberswalde Glacial Valley (Pradolina Toruńsko-Eberswaldzka) macroregion in the south, and runs across the analysed area from the north-west towards the south-east. The glacial valley is divided into three mesoregions. The first of those is the Toruń Basin (Kotlina Toruńska), a sandy terrace between the basins of the Vistula and the Noteć, overgrown by the primeval Bydgoszcz Forest. The second mesoregion, the Vistula River Gorge of Nieszawa (Nieszawski Przełom Wisły), was classed as a separate region in 2018 and sits in the south-eastern part of the Toruń Basin. Last but not least, the third mesoregion of the Płock Basin occupies the Vistula's left bank. The Płock Basin (Kotlina Płocka) is an extensive sandy terrace with post-glacial kettle lakes and the Włocławek-Gostynin Forests.

The Toruń-Eberswalde Glacial Valley shares its north-eastern boundary with the Chełmno-Dobrzyń Lakeland (Pojezierze Chełmińsko-Dobrzyńskie) macroregion, where Dobrzyń land houses three

macroregions. In this area, local basin-like broadening and narrowing of the Drwęca Valley (Dolina Drwęcy) is observed. The adjacent Dobrzyń Lakeland (Pojezierze Dobrzyńskie), which borders on the Drwęca Valley from the south-east, boasts a diverse landscape with terminal moraines, kames, eskers, and drumlins. The sandur Urszulewo Plain (Równina Urszulewska) sits in the eastern part of Dobrzyń land, and is for the most part covered with woodlands called Skrwilno and Lidzbark Forests today. The Urszulewo Plain part west of Bryńsk Lake is where the analysed area rises up to its highest natural elevation (about 159 m AMSL).

To the south, the Toruń-Eberswalde Glacial Valley borders with the Greater Poland Lakeland (Pojezierze Wielkopolskie) macroregion, which comprises the mesoregions of Inowrocław Plain (Równina Inowrocławska), Cuyavia Lakeland (Pojezierze Kujawskie), and Żnin-Mogilno Lakeland (Pojezierze Żnińsko-Mogileńskie). The last mesoregion listed above was carved out of the Gniezno Lakeland (Pojezierze Gnieźnieńskie) in 2018. The Inowrocław Plain is a flat moraine upland whose sandy eastern part has grown over with woodlands. The mesoregion's western part is low-sloped and poorly drained, which resulted in excessive soil moisture. This led to the formation of black-coloured soils, which gave this area the name 'Black Cuyavia'. To the south of the plain lies the Cuyavian Lakeland with two latitudinally situated ranges of moraines. Between them stretches the plain which outlines the course of Noteć River, which then flows into Gopło Lake in Żnin-Mogilno Lakeland.

The southern frontiers of Brześć Voivodeship run through the Central Polish Lowlands, in the South Greater Poland Plain (Nizina Południowowielkopolska). The northern tip of the Kłodawa Upland (Wysoczyzna Kłodawska) macroregion marks the boundary of the Vistula Glacial Stage, which explains the early post-glacial nature of the area concerned in this study.

As I conclude describing the physico-geographical regions and their layout, I find it worth mentioning that the 1564 Dobrzyń land inspection mentions one land elevation – Truminy Hill<sup>9</sup> – which was probably located nearby present-day Truminy (approx. 6 km north-east of Bobrowniki). Still, this information does not simplify the task of identifying one of the contemporary hills as Truminy Hill. The hamlet lies between several elevations, the closest rising to about 100 m, and those further away – 117.6 m above mean sea level.

The early post-glacial layout of land is not without effect on the distribution and density of soils. Clay-illuvial soils and colluvial soils are the dominant soil types in the analysed area.<sup>10</sup> Podzols and brunic arenosols cover the outwash plains and sandy river terraces. Muck and peat soils can be found in the initial reaches of Mień River, as well as the valleys of the Noteć, Zielona, Rypienica and Bachorza Rivers. Fluvisols occur in the valleys of the Vistula, the Brda, the Drwęca and the Skrwia. Black earths formed in the flat upland near Inowrocław and Radziejów. Today they are believed to be the most fertile soils in the entire area. The contemporary soil quality classification, however, fails to provide reliable data on the sixteenth-century agricultural yields in this area.<sup>11</sup> Differences in soil usefulness arise from changes in crop cultivation and fertilisation techniques. Water circulation patterns were also different at the time, adding to the discrepancies.

Descriptions of the soils appear *i.a.* in the 1564–1565 inspection. The lands near Dobięgniewo (Dobięgniew, r) and Dąb Wielki (Dąb, r)<sup>12</sup> situated on the banks of the Vistula were described as sandy. This area saw the formation of brunic arenosols in the terraces of the glacial valley. The inventory of the estates held by the bishop of Włocławek, which dates to the early seventeenth century, sheds more light on the soil types present at the time.<sup>13</sup> The inspection books start by describing the Vistula's western bank – an area with fluvisols – state that the soils in the villages of Siarzewo (Psarzewo, c),<sup>14</sup> Tupadły (n),<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 266.

<sup>10</sup> S. Białousz, *Gleby – klasyfikacja genetyczna*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warsaw 1993, tabl. 41.1; R. Bednarek, M. Świtoniak, *Gleby*, [in:] *Dzieje regionu kujawsko-pomorskiego*, ed. A. Radziwiński, Toruń 2017, pp. 87–94; *Internetowy atlas województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego*, ed. Z. Kozieł, [www.atlas.kujawsko-pomorskie.pl](http://www.atlas.kujawsko-pomorskie.pl) (access 7.05.2020); Degórska, *Transformacja krajobrazu*, pp. 37–40.

<sup>11</sup> A. Wyczański, *O badaniu plonów zbóż w dawnej Polsce*, KHKM, vol. 16, 1968, no. 2, pp. 251–271.

<sup>12</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 184.

<sup>13</sup> Inw. XVII.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 6.

and Brzoza (n, situated further to the north-west),<sup>16</sup> were ‘sandy’ (‘piaskowate’). An additional annotation was made for Siarzewo that the soil there was good before the flood. Different soil types appear further to the west, near Raciążek (Raciąż, c) – fluvisols of the Vistula Valley, brunis arenosols, podzols and clay-illuvial soils, as well as a swathe of gleysols to the south of the town. The inventory describes the soils of this settlement as ‘unsatisfactory, roe-like, sandy and wet at times’,<sup>17</sup> while the land south to Dąbrówka Village (c)<sup>18</sup> was defined as ‘quaggy’,<sup>19</sup> and black in some places. Village lands situated further to the west, near Brzeźno (c)<sup>20</sup> and Mleczkowo (c),<sup>21</sup> were also reported to be quaggy. Those in the vicinity of Chlewiska (c)<sup>22</sup> and Straszewo (c)<sup>23</sup> were said to be partly sandy. Some villages, such as Brudnia (Brodnia, c),<sup>24</sup> Wanorze (Wonorze, c),<sup>25</sup> Parchanie (Parkanie, c)<sup>26</sup> and Szadłowice (Szawłowice, c),<sup>27</sup> were only graced with the note ‘good land’. The source also mentions the ‘good, black soil’ of the land belonging to Sławsk Wielki (Sławsko, c) Village.<sup>28</sup> Contemporary soil maps of this area indicate black earths. It is important to note, however, that the source record referenced above describe only a small fragment of the analysed area, and any discussion on its soil structure is determined by the manner in which those sources were drafted.

Poland’s largest river, the Vistula, passes through the analysed area. First, it flows through the Toruń-Eberswalde Glacial Valley, then turns to the north-east, where it follows the Lower Vistula Valley. Drwęca and Skrwa are its main right-bank tributaries, and Brda and Zgłowiączka are the largest to enter the left side of the Vistula. Noteć, a tributary of the Warta, has its source in Brześć Voivodeship. Most of this terrain forms the Vistula’s catchment area.<sup>29</sup> Not all of it, though, as the western parts of Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships drain into the Oder—thanks to the Noteć. The catchment’s water divide cuts through Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships, entering the area from the north-west and exiting the south-east. Adam Wróbel’s paper discusses the origins of river names used in this area.<sup>30</sup>

River courses were reconstructed on the basis of cartographic sources dating to the turn of the nineteenth century. The Vistula’s course and the location of its aits overgrown with trees (*kępy*) was determined on the basis of Schrötter’s map and the Quartermaster’s Map. Corrections were introduced in the vicinity of Siarzewo and Słońsk. It follows from Textor’s and Gilly’s maps that certain changes occurred in that part of Vistula’s course. The floodplain is broader here, which facilitates riverbed shifts.<sup>31</sup> Lucjan Koc mentioned that some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century maps locate Słońsk on the right—not the left—bank of the Vistula. Unfortunately, he did not list any specific sources.<sup>32</sup> Zielona Kępa, currently a vast ait marked on WIG maps and present in the State Register of Geographic Names (PRNG), was depicted as a markedly smaller element in the early nineteenth century (see Ill. 1). Early seventeenth-century sources mention a new eyot (*ostrów*) on the Vistula near Siarzewo,<sup>33</sup> as well as a lake (‘where there was once a depression, a lake appeared’), which had formed near Tupadły Village.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, p. 3, ‘mierne, ikrzaste, miejscami piaski, wymokliny’.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Resembling a marsh, soggy; ‘sapowaty’, [sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/sapowaty;2519335.html](http://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/sapowaty;2519335.html) (access 7.10.2020).

<sup>20</sup> Inw. XVII, p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 13, 143.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, p. 26.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> A. Czerny, *Wody powierzchniowe*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, tabl. 32.1.

<sup>30</sup> A. Wróbel, *O pochodzeniu nazwy królowej polskich rzek oraz o nazwach jej kujawskich i dobrzyńskich dopływów*, ZK-D, vol. 32: *Wisła w życiu regionu*, 2017, pp. 9–34.

<sup>31</sup> L. Koc, *Zmiany koryta Wisły w XIX i XX wieku między Płockiem a Toruniem*, „Przegląd Geograficzny”, vol. 44, 1972, no. 4, pp. 703–719.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. W. Duży, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, III.2.1.6 in this edition.

<sup>33</sup> Inw. XVII, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, p. 6.

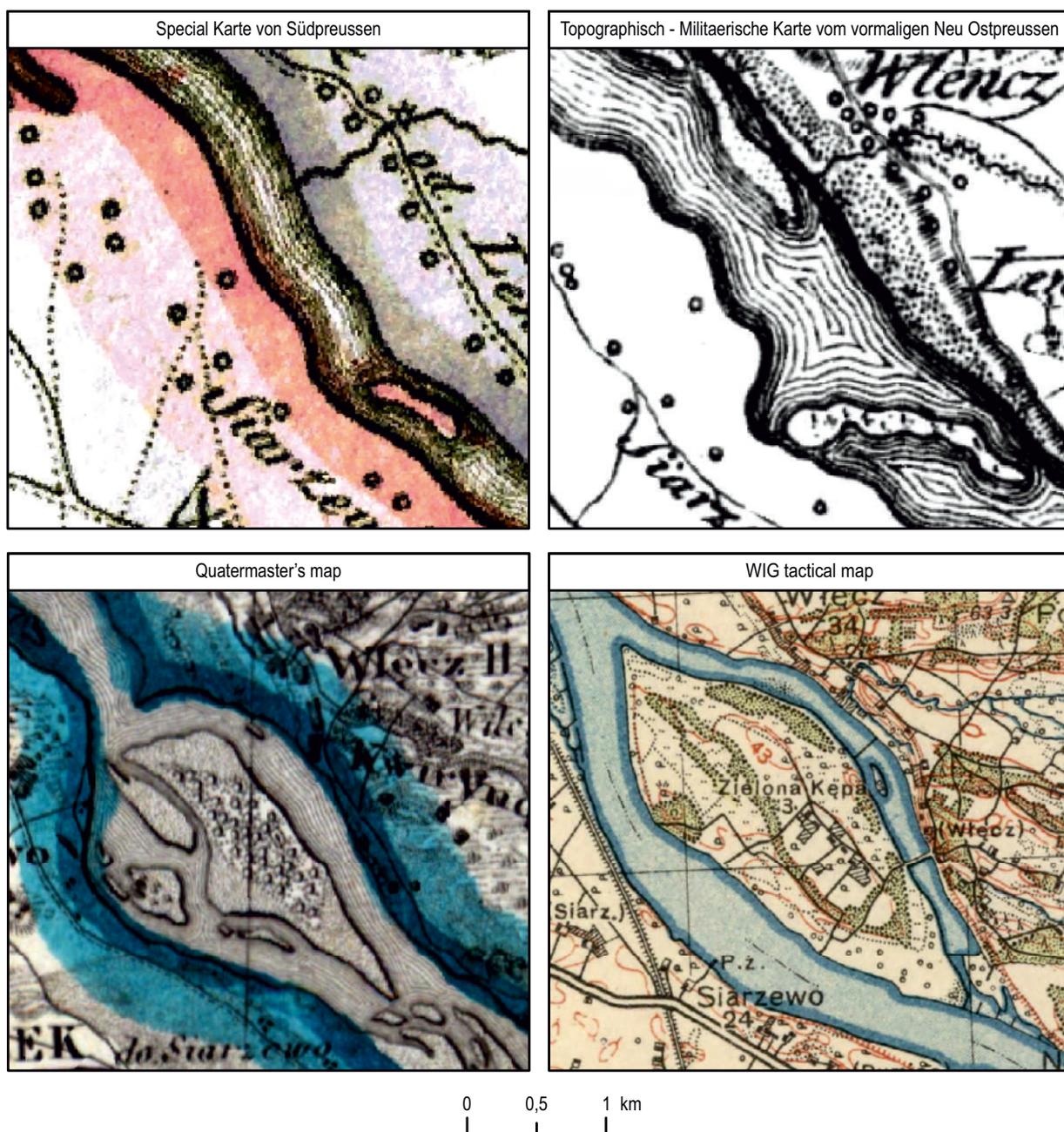


Figure 1. The surroundings of today's Zielona Kępa on old maps

Sources also mention river aits near Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń, r)<sup>35</sup> and Brzoza Village (c).<sup>36</sup> The 1626 inspection lists four such aits (Koziniec, Strzapska, Sarka, Goździenka) held by Dybów Castle.<sup>37</sup> A tree-overgrown ait in the Vistula belonged also to Zieleniec, a mill settlement. Today, both Dybów and Zieleniec constitute part of Toruń.<sup>38</sup> Several aits in the Vistula were the property of Fordon (Fordan, c, now part of Bydgoszcz).<sup>39</sup> The early seventeenth-century inventory of Włocławek Bishopric

<sup>35</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 268; LWWK 1628, vol. 3, pp. 64–65.

<sup>36</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 72; Inw. XVII, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 148.

<sup>38</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 299.

<sup>39</sup> M. Gorączko, *Zarys zmian hydrograficznych w obrębie dawnych kęp wiślanych w Bydgoszczy w oparciu o wybrane źródła kartograficzne*, „Kronika Bydgoska”, vol. 22, 2000, pp. 235–238; E. Okoń, R. Czaja, *Fordon. Historia i rozwój przestrzenny miasta*, [in:] *Fordon*, historical elaboration: E. Okoń, R. Czaja, cartographic elaboration: R. Golba, Z. Kozieł, A. Pilarska, Toruń 2016 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, vol. 2: Kujawy, no. 3), p. 11.

holdings also refers to an island (*ostrów*) in the River Drwęca near Ciechocin.<sup>40</sup> Regrettably, it proved impossible to locate it on the maps.

Floods are featured several times in the sources, though of course the Vistula could have overflowed annually. One mention concerns the already introduced Dobięgniewo and Dąb, and 1564–1565 events.<sup>41</sup> Readers can also come across 1598 reports of the Vistula flooding Siarzewo fields,<sup>42</sup> and later confirmations of that event.<sup>43</sup> Similar references to flooding were entered for Słońsk, a village situated further downriver from the nearby Siarzewo.<sup>44</sup> The 1573 flood, probably caused by frazil ice or ice floe in the Vistula, was mentioned in relation to the surroundings of Dybów Castle.<sup>45</sup>

In Cuyavia, Zgłowiączka River is one of the Vistula's main tributaries. Zgłowiączka's spring area is located in an arm of Głuszyn Lake (Orle Lake on the map).<sup>46</sup> Old maps, *i.e.* those by Perthées, Gilly and the Quartermaster's Office, locate the beginning of this watercourse between Witowo (c) and Samszyce (Samszyce Małe, n, and Samszyce Wielkie, n). Presently, this waterway is called Głuszyn Canal. Modern cartographers place its headwaters near Płowce—slightly further than early nineteenth-century maps. The South Bzura River<sup>47</sup> is in an inverse situation. In the past, its course was probably much longer. Early nineteenth-century maps only show the short section right next to where it joins the Vistula, near Duninowo Nowe (Duninowo, c). On Perthées's map, the riverhead lies somewhere near Dziankowo Village (Dziankowo Wielkie, n).

When reviewing Cuyavia's hydrography, it is also worth discussing the source of Noteć River. The contemporary Noteć starts its run to the west of Kromszewskie Lake and Chodecz Lake. However, AHP source maps (Gilly's and Quartermaster's) place the riverhead further down the river near Arkuszewo (Jarkuszewo, c). The remaining part of the rivercourse is identical. The Noteć passes through Przedecz, Modzerowo, Długie and Brdów Lakes, then flows towards the north-west, and bends towards the south-west in the vicinity of Mąkoszyno (n). In this part of its course, a tributary from Lubotyń Lake—mentioned already by Jan Długosz<sup>48</sup>—joins Noteć, and the river turns towards Gopło after a few kilometres. Władysław Mrózek referred to the 1772 map by von Pfau and the Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland (SGKP)<sup>49</sup> when writing on changes in Cuyavia's hydrographic network, which also encompassed the headwaters of Noteć River. Based on these sources, Mrózek established that the source of Noteć was situated to the south of Lubotyń Lake at the time. In contrast to existing data, Mrózek classified the surroundings of Brdów, Modzerowo and Przedecz Lakes as the drainage basin of the Vistula River (Zgłowiączka's channel head). The researcher explained that these changes, considerable in relation to the contemporary perception of the hydrographic network, were caused by agricultural land improvement and vertical movements of the Earth's crust. It is worth noting that on Perthées's 1785 map, the river also runs longitudinally, and connects the Brdów and Długie Lakes with Zgłowiączka. Andrzej Tomczak disagreed with Władysław Mrózek's conclusions. Tomczak questioned Mrózek's cartographic sources by referring to Karol Buczek's findings,<sup>50</sup> and confronted them with the hydrographic layout of *i.a.* Gilly's maps and the Quartermaster's Map.<sup>51</sup> Tomczak also pointed out a wide range of remarks in sixteenth-century sources, mainly inspections carried out in royal estates in the 1560s, which show proof that these maps reflect the river's course. As a result, the Noteć course put forward by Andrzej Tomczak is the generally accepted one.

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<sup>40</sup> Inw. XVII, p. 139.

<sup>41</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 184.

<sup>42</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 72.

<sup>43</sup> Inw. XVII, pp. 4–6.

<sup>44</sup> ASK I 92, ff. 4v (1563); ASK I 50, ff. 747r (1573); LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 149.

<sup>45</sup> ASK I 50, ff. 754r (1573).

<sup>46</sup> L. Andrzejewski, *Dolina Zgłowiączki – jej geneza oraz rozwój w późnym glacie i holocenie*, Warsaw 1984 (Dokumentacja Geograficzna, z. 3), p. 10; A. Bartczak, *Wieloletnia zmienność odpływu rzeczny z dorzecza Zgłowiączki*, Warsaw 2009 (Prace Geograficzne, no. 209), pp. 40–41.

<sup>47</sup> See: [www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/35566](http://www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/35566) (access 7.05.2020).

<sup>48</sup> Z. Zyglewski, *Kujawy w „Chorografii” Jana Długosza*, p. 44.

<sup>49</sup> W. Mrózek, *Zagadnienie źródeł Noteci*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UMK. Nauki Matematyczno-Przyrodnicze”, vol. 10, 1964, pp. 109–123.

<sup>50</sup> K. Buczek, *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów króla Stanisława Augusta na tle współczesnej kartografii polskiej*, Cracow 1935 (Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, vol. 3), pp. 158–159, 173–174, 212.

<sup>51</sup> A. Tomczak, *Źródła Noteci w dobie historycznej*, ZK, vol. 2, 1968, pp. 5–18.

Let us take a closer look at an interesting tributary of the Noteć: the Kwieciszewica River, also called Kwieciszówka. Today, the river is referred to as Noteć Mała (Small Noteć). Długosz wrote that this river outlined the border between Cuyavia and Greater Poland.<sup>52</sup> Early seventeenth-century inspections<sup>53</sup> include a mill on Kiianica River in their description of Gębice (r). The *Electronic Dictionary of Polish Hydronyms* (ESHP) states that the river no longer exists,<sup>54</sup> but its course coincides with that of Kwieciszewica River. This may suggest that both names refer to the same waterway.

The Bydgoszcz Canal also merits mention as the waterway connecting the Noteć and the Brda or, in other words, the Oder and the Vistula. Although the Bydgoszcz Canal is marked on the maps used to reconstruct the hydrographic network, we did not draw this watercourse on the main map, owing to the fact that it is an artificial waterway built between 1773 and 1774.<sup>55</sup> Earlier, extensive marshes occupied this area. The main map reflects this pre-canal landscape. In his paper on the Bydgoszcz Canal, Walenty Winid listed examples of nineteenth-century findings which upheld the view that this once boggy terrain could have been used as a water crossing.<sup>56</sup>

Inspections dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries list lower-order watercourses, e.g. Chodeczka<sup>57</sup> and Rypienica<sup>58</sup> Rivers, alongside such main watercourses as the Vistula and the Zgłowiączka. These sources provided the information required to use the old name of Rakutówka River, called the Ciemięga<sup>59</sup> at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They also helped reconstruct names of the rivers, which remained nameless on the maps used to compile this volume and in the State Register of Geographic Names (PRNG). One example is the Rzeczyca<sup>60</sup> (Rzeczica) watercourse which flows into Gopło Lake to the south of Mietlica (n). Two more waterways were mentioned in the listing of mills situated near Dybów. The Dulowie Stream<sup>61</sup> is mentioned in passages on the Dulew and Jasin mills. The nearby Chrzast mill sat along Wierdziałowie River (also referred to as 'Zielona').<sup>62</sup> Another case in point is the description of lands belonging to Gnojno Village (r) in Dobrzyń land. It mentions a watercourse called Kolano,<sup>63</sup> which joined the Vistula near Bobrowniki. There is also mention of the Gnoynicza Brook<sup>64</sup> (*struga*), yet determining its course proved impossible. Wilkoria, a watercourse listed in the 1564 inspection, also remains unidentified.<sup>65</sup> It was situated in the vicinity of Kubłowo Village (r). The source's publishers suggested that Wilkoria was probably a tributary of the Ochnia River.

Although the analysed area has an early post-glacial layout, its lake count is relatively low. Most are located in the Dobrzyń and Cuyavian Lakelands, and Płock Basin.<sup>66</sup> Those are glacial lakes originating from the last glacial stage. Currently, the lakes are gradually disappearing. The anthropogenic impact exerted in the last 240 years has caused a decrease in both surface area and water volume of Gopło and Ostrowskie Lakes.<sup>67</sup>

Gopło is Cuyavia's largest lake, and in all likelihood boasted an even larger surface in the past. It can be plausibly assumed that the lake reached its highest water level in the early Middle Ages, which

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<sup>52</sup> Z. Zygalski, *Kujawy w „Chorografii” Jana Długosza*, p. 38; H. Rutkowski, *Jednostki terytorialne Królestwa Polskiego w „Annales” Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz – 600. lecie urodzin*, p. 115; M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.2.1.4 in this edition; cf. W. Duży, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, III.2.1.6 in this edition.

<sup>53</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 252; LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 89.

<sup>54</sup> See: [www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/1982701](http://www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/1982701) (access 7.05.2020).

<sup>55</sup> SGKP, vol. 7, p. 189; W. Winid, *Kanał Bydgoski*, p. 40.

<sup>56</sup> W. Winid, *Kanał Bydgoski*, p. 40.

<sup>57</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, pp. 219, 226; LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 318; LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 79.

<sup>58</sup> LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 63.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 107.

<sup>60</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 261.

<sup>61</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 297.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 298.

<sup>63</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 265.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 176.

<sup>66</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, pp. 95–96, 132–133, 147–148; R. Skowron, K. Kubiak-Wójcicka, *Hydrologia i zasoby wodne*, [in:] *Dzieje regionu kujawsko-pomorskiego*, pp. 77–86.

<sup>67</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, p. 143; A. Piasecki, R. Skowron, *Changing the Geometry of Basins and Water Resources of Lakes Gopło and Ostrowskie under the Influence of Anthropopressure*, „Limnological Review”, vol. 14, 2014, no. 1, pp. 33–43.

started sinking in the twelfth or fifteenth century.<sup>68</sup> In the sixteenth century Kruszwica, Mysia Wieża, and the early medieval gord were separated by water. The 1564 inspection describes the lake as a water body spanning Warzymowo (n), Noć (rn) in the south, and Mątwy (rn) in the north.<sup>69</sup> Two centuries later, Perthées's map shows that Gopło spreads out to the Szarlej settlement. Researchers consider Szarlej Lake to be a historic part of Gopło Lake. This belief is substantiated by written sources.<sup>70</sup> Much like when working on reconstructing the course of the Vistula, we used Schrötter and the Quartermaster's Map to draw Gopło's coastline. However, the Quartermaster's Map already shows Szarlej Lake as a separate body of water. In all probability, Gopło had a larger surface area than the main map suggests. River regulation and agricultural land amelioration have led to a 6.2-metre drop in water level in the period from the fifteenth to the twentieth century.<sup>71</sup>

In the sixteenth century, higher water levels probably made it possible to cross from the Vistula to Gopło over water.<sup>72</sup> It is likely that the route passed through Zgłowiączka and the wetlands, and was available for some months of the year. Inspection records show the Bachorza River ('on the River *Bachorzej*') under both Brześć district lands<sup>73</sup> and holdings of villages in Inowrocław district.<sup>74</sup> Perthées placed the meandering watercourse in the centre of marshy terrain. In his map, the river starts near Wola Wapowska (c) and joins Zgłowiączka near Falborz (rt). Gilly marked a shorter, discontinued watercourse whose source is situated south of Gosławice (n). Between 1836 and 1858, the Bachorze Canal, also called the Piastowski Canal, was completed in this area.<sup>75</sup> Cezary Wawrzyński made an attempt to gather comprehensive information on this structure.<sup>76</sup>

A sixteenth-century inspection contains extensive descriptions of the localities situated near the Gopło and Bachorze marsh. The lands belonging to those settlements had been constantly flooded for 30 years,<sup>77</sup> which makes it reasonable to embark on a joint discussion of the marshy grounds spreading from Gopło to Zgłowiączka. The issue was also raised at the Piotrków General Sejm (Diet) in 1567.<sup>78</sup> Meadows and arable land had been destroyed due to the construction of a levee and mill at the level of Mątwy Village. The inspections enumerate 85 settlements hit by the build-up of water. Three villages are missing from the text: Grodztwo, Świątniki, and Probstwo. However, the description mentions them as 'arable lands, meadows, fodder also of the Kruszwica parish priest, and of the dean, and a meadow of the cantor, and a demesne with a threshing floor of Kruszwica Castle'.<sup>79</sup> One might be concerned about the absence of Karczyn, a village situated between the flooded settlements. On the map (Map 2), we marked 79 localities whose precise location we succeeded in establishing. Moreover, we attempted to reconstruct the course of Bachorza River from Gopło's side on the basis of a list of villages situated on the right and left banks of the brook (*struga*).

Sources contain numerous mentions of lakes in the Płock Basin mesoregion. These waterbodies formed in tunnel valleys and in depressions left by blocks of dead ice.<sup>80</sup> The early seventeenth century inventory of Włocławek Bishopric's holdings lists seven lakes scattered across the woodlands surrounding Łęg Village.<sup>81</sup> On the AHP map, we located and marked Rybnica, Łąki, and Radyszyńskie Lakes. We failed to determine the location of Łomno, Czarne Wielkie, Czarne Małe, and Dziemi-onek Lakes. Nevertheless, we established that Dziemi-onek Lake lay between Rybnica Lake and the

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<sup>68</sup> Z. Mastyński, S. Rogiński, *Studium historyczno-hydrologiczne jeziora Gopła*, Łódź 1964 (Prace Wydziału Nauk Przyrodniczych – Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Seria B, no. 3), pp. 11–23.

<sup>69</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 262.

<sup>70</sup> W. Kowalenko, *Przewłoka na szlaku żeglutowym Warta-Gopło-Wisła*, „Przegląd Zachodni”, vol. 8, 1952, no. 5/6, pp. 46–100; Z. Zyglewski, *Kujawy w „Chorografii” Jana Długosza*, p. 39.

<sup>71</sup> Z. Mastyński, S. Rogiński, *Studia historyczno-hydrologiczne jeziora Gopła*, p. 17.

<sup>72</sup> W. Kowalenko, *Przewłoka na szlaku żeglutowym*, pp. 46–100.

<sup>73</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, pp. 214, 225.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 259.

<sup>75</sup> SGKP, vol. 1, p. 77.

<sup>76</sup> C. Wawrzyński, *Żegluga i kanały żeglowne dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Olsztyn 2019, pp. 22–27.

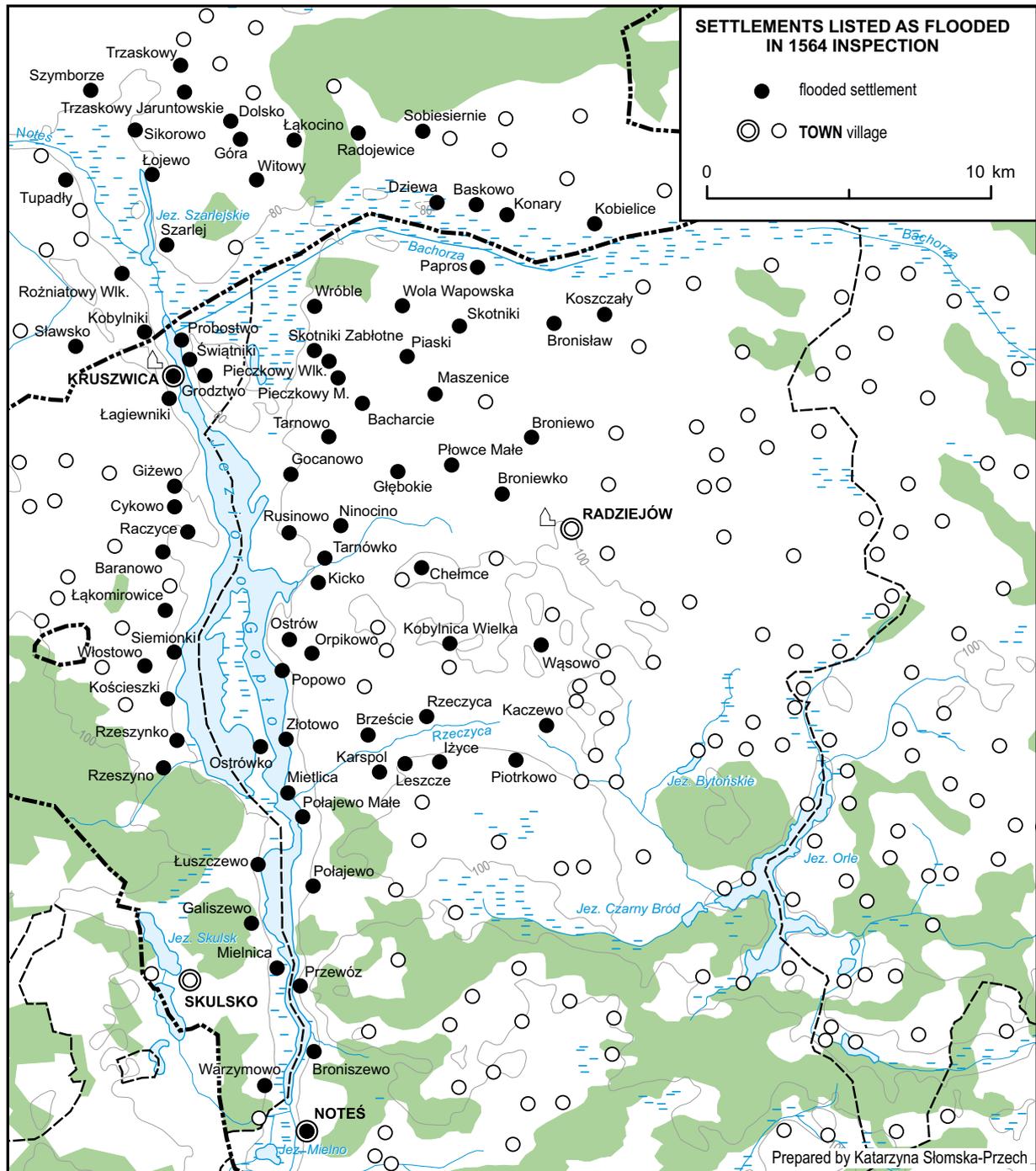
<sup>77</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, pp. 259–262.

<sup>78</sup> VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 203.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 260.

<sup>80</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, p. 133; Degórska, *Transformacja krajobrazu*, p. 28.

<sup>81</sup> Inw. XVII, p. 87.



Map 2. Settlements listed as flooded in 1564 inspection

nearby Witomski Lakes (currently called Wikaryjskie Lakes).<sup>82</sup> Of the lakes named by sources in the vicinity of Dobiegniewo, the following can be identified beyond doubt: Gościąż, Wierzchoń, Święte, Chrapka, Łąkie, and Mrokowo.<sup>83</sup> Mrokowo was not marked on WIG maps or the Quartermaster's Map, but modern topographic maps enabled establishing its location. Information on Kowal district were also available. Gilly's map shows one body of water in the place of the contemporary Rakutowo and Krzewent Lakes, while the Quartermaster's Map depicts two separate lakes surrounded by extensive marshes. Most inspection remarks refer to Krzewent Lake.<sup>84</sup> The name 'Krzewent' is also used by Jan

<sup>82</sup> See: [www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/70667](http://www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/70667) (access 7.06.2020).

<sup>83</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 185.

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem, p. 230; LWWK 1616, vol. 1, pp. 259, 264.

Długosz.<sup>85</sup> It is hard to say whether the lakes once formed a single water body or if one name was used for both lakes and the adjacent boggy terrain. Zbigniew Zylewski presumes that the lake split into two as its water level fell.<sup>86</sup> Goreńskie, Lubiechowskie, and Telążna<sup>87</sup> are the names of other large lakes listed in inspection files. These were located and marked on the map. We did not succeed in locating Długie Lake. According to the ESHP, this name was sometimes used in reference to Krzewent Lake.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, Perthées's 1785 map uses this name for a body of water situated to the north-east of Krzewent settlement.

Name-related inaccuracies also concern Skulsk Lakes located near Skulsk (Skulsko, r) and Skulska Wieś (Skulsko Małe, r). Presently, they bear different designations derived from the names of both settlements. Perthées's maps and the Quartermaster's Map mark them jointly as 'Skulskie'. The 1616 inspection uses the name 'Białe' for the lake near Skulska Wieś.<sup>89</sup>

Some of the lakes listed in inspection records began disappearing already in the sixteenth century, which renders the task of placing them on maps troublesome. Let us provide the example of two water bodies near Bodzanowo Village (r), evaluated by sources as not very useful.<sup>90</sup> One of them, called Okrażek or Okrasek in the inspection, lay to the south of the village. The second lake was located to the north of Bodzanowo. The Quartermaster's Map depicts a small wetland in this area. Zolwincza and Koczielka Lakes<sup>91</sup> near Gnojno (Lipno district) also posed some difficulties in localisation.

Sources also give information on sixteenth-century ponds. Ponds are often mentioned in passages on mills and fishing. Ponds were present *i.a.* in Raciążek,<sup>92</sup> Włocławek (Włocław, c),<sup>93</sup> Gębice,<sup>94</sup> Lipno (r),<sup>95</sup> Zalesie (r),<sup>96</sup> and Przedecz (n).<sup>97</sup> The 1564 inspection lists some ponds in the neighbourhood of Brześć. It mentions Piaseczny Pond<sup>98</sup> upriver from Piaski Mill, and Swarowski Pond which lay close to what is now Bachórka Village (sixteenth-c. Swarowo, n). It ought to be emphasised that without the ESHP, in many cases it would not have been possible to use sixteenth-century names or names as similar as possible to those used in the sixteenth century.

The above marshes which once occupied areas that are now developed (Bydgoszcz Canal, Bachorze Canal) are not the only large wetlands in Cuyavia. Large bogs were nestled between the riverbeds of Jezuicka Struga and Zielona Struga, and marshes surrounded the lakes of the Płock Basin. Smaller wetlands lay e.g. to the east of Szadłowice, between Gniewków and Inowrocław. Sources mention them also as fishing grounds for small fish.<sup>99</sup> Although records on Gnojno land presentation do mention Kaliska, Owisska and Łaziska marshes,<sup>100</sup> we did not succeed in localising them. As Ryszard Kukier noted, 'the specific geological structure of tertiary and quaternary substrates made the analysed area conducive to form more extensive marshlands.'<sup>101</sup>

Forestation was reconstructed on the basis of partition maps dating to the turn of the eighteenth century. We used the maps by Schrötter, Gilly and Textor, and, less frequently due to its later elaboration date, the Quartermaster's Map. Owing to the publishing scale of our map (1:250,000) and in order to preserve the main map's legibility, we adopted similar assumptions as in previous AHP volumes: woodlands must be at least 4 x 4 mm at a working scale of 1:100,000, which corresponds to ca. 16 ha.

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<sup>85</sup> Z. Zyglewski, *Kujawy w „Chorografii” Jana Długosza*, p. 45.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>87</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 264.

<sup>88</sup> See: [www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/155746](http://www.eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/155746) (access 7.06.2020).

<sup>89</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 354.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 255; LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 99.

<sup>91</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 266.

<sup>92</sup> Inw. XVII, p. 1.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 86.

<sup>94</sup> LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 89.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 68.

<sup>96</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 174.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 168.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 223.

<sup>99</sup> Inw. XVII, pp. 26, 123.

<sup>100</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, pp. 265–267.

<sup>101</sup> R. Kukier, *Przeobrażenia środowiska geograficznego*, p. 124.

Two larger forest complexes can be identified in Cuyavia. These woodlands still grow along the Vistula Valley as they did in the sixteenth century.<sup>102</sup> Nestled in Toruń Basin of Inowrocław Voivodeship, the primeval Bydgoszcz Forest (also called the Royal Bydgoszcz Coniferous Forest, or *die Konigliche Bombergsche Forst* on Schrötter's map) stretches from areas to the south of Brda and Vistula, and from Ślesin, through Bydgoszcz and Podgórze, to Raciążek. In the eighteenth century, the forest was administered by Bydgoszcz vogts (*wójt*). The sources of revenue bestowed on the vogts formed part of Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty.<sup>103</sup> Sources on periods close to sixteenth-century realities confirm that the primeval Gniewków Forest<sup>104</sup> and the coniferous Dybów Forest<sup>105</sup> once grew in this area. The Włocławek-Gostynin Forest in Płock Basin is the second largest woodland in this region. Sources confirm that they were referred to as the coniferous Dąb Forest and the coniferous Dobięgniew Forest in the sixteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Both are made up of mainly coniferous trees growing on podzols, *i.e.* soils of poor agricultural value. Up to the late eighteenth century, one could find forestation in abundance across Dobrzyń land (ca. 75%). Larger swathes of arable land occupied only the north and west of this area, the rest was covered with woodland.<sup>107</sup> Forest complexes presented a rather insular pattern in southern Cuyavia.<sup>108</sup> Acquiring new arable land was the main driver of deforestation. The forests of Inowrocław and Radziejów districts were logged relatively fast. Still, scattered forests prevailed in Brześć district and Dobrzyń land up to the first half of the nineteenth century. Kowal and Bydgoszcz retained large forest complexes until late eighteenth century, as the soil of these districts was of lower agricultural usability.<sup>109</sup>

The role of forests, however, was not limited to hampering settlement. Woodlands played a vital economic role: settlers ventured into the woods to carve out tree hives and keep wild bees, burn tar and charcoal, fell trees later used as building material, and extract bog iron.<sup>110</sup> Royal forest exploitation was subject to a forest-use fee called *borowe*, which could be paid in cash or in kind.<sup>111</sup> Forest usability depended on its species composition, and on how well it was suited for construction and economic purposes. Oaks were the most highly valued species, whilst coniferous forests<sup>112</sup> were least desired. Birches and alders<sup>113</sup> can also be found in the records. In Inowrocław district, Gniewków burghers logged trees to obtain building material under the 1450 privilege, which granted them access to the nearby primeval Gniewków Forest.<sup>114</sup> Gniewków was not the only city permitted to 'chop wood freely'. This privilege was also granted to the millers of Kukiełka Mill in the coniferous Dybów Forest, and the villagers living in Nieszawka (Nieszawka Wielka and Nieszawka Mała), Rudak and Gosorzyn (Inowrocław district).<sup>115</sup> Ephemeral pitch production settlements are proof that Cuyavian forests were also a source of pine tar. According to seventeenth-century references about Lipno district (Dobrzyń land), 'a pitch burner once lived' in Wilczenie, and 'only a pitch burner live[d] in the woods' of Celiny.<sup>116</sup> A pitch production settlement (Dębowa Góra, Bydgoszcz district) lay to the

<sup>102</sup> J. Trampler, A. Kliczkowska, E. Dmytrenko, B. Degórska, *Regiony przyrodniczo-leśne*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, tabl. 42.2; *Internetowy atlas województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego*, [www.atlas.kujawsko-pomorskie.pl](http://www.atlas.kujawsko-pomorskie.pl) (access 7.05.2020).

<sup>103</sup> *Inwentarz wójtostwa bydgoskiego z 1744 roku*, ed. R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, PKHBTN, vol. 7, 1970, pp. 98–99.

<sup>104</sup> LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 135.

<sup>105</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 298.

<sup>106</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, p. 184.

<sup>107</sup> E. Kwiatkowska, *Osadnictwo wiejskie Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w świetle planów z XVIII i XIX w. i jego przemiany pod wpływem uwłaszczenia i parcelacji*, Warsaw 1963 (*Studia Societatis Scientiarum Torunensis*, vol. 4, no. 3), pp. 20–21.

<sup>108</sup> R. Kukier, *Przeobrażenia środowiska geograficznego*, p. 121.

<sup>109</sup> Degórska, *Transformacja krajobrazu*, p. 157.

<sup>110</sup> J. Broda, *Przemysł leśno-drzewny i rzemiosła*, [in:] *Dzieje lasów i leśnictwa w Polsce*, ed. J. Broda, Warsaw 1965, pp. 100–105.

<sup>111</sup> LWWK 1628, vol. 3, pp. 87–89; J. Broda, *Eksploatacja lasu przez chłopów i mieszczan*, [in:] *Dzieje lasów i leśnictwa w Polsce*, pp. 80–85.

<sup>112</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 2, pp. 265–266: 'From that small **brook called Gnoinicze** runs the land of Gnojno to the village of Gnojno, all covered with **thick forest, where common species of trees grow, plentiful oak, beech and pine** [emphasis added by K.S.-P., T.P].'

<sup>113</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 184.

<sup>114</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 291; LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 135.

<sup>115</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, pp. 298, 300–301; LWWK 1628, vol. 3, pp. 144–146.

<sup>116</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 307.

east of Koronowo, and it was mentioned that pitch burners were also present in Dąbrówka Kościelna (Bydgoszcz district).<sup>117</sup>

There are copious reports on shortages of quality wood caused by forest overexploitation, mainly overfelling, in royal property inspections and inventories. In the early seventeenth century, many settlements complained about overfelling, especially in periods directly preceding the entries made. In Włocławek, millers cleared the coniferous forest. In Łęg Village, ‘previous years hath seen’ such felling that no quality wood was left to serve as building material. Before they were logged, ‘good and thick’ forests once grew in the vicinity of Modzerowo, Wieniec, Lubotyń and Orle in Brześć Voivodeship.<sup>118</sup> The surroundings of Gnojno and Bobrowniki in Dobrzyń land also suffered intense clearing in the seventeenth century.<sup>119</sup>

Forest exploitation was not always tantamount to felling. Wild beekeeping and foraging had a less degrading effect on the environment. Records mention wild beekeepers in eleven settlements of Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships at the turn of the seventeenth century. Most localities had one or two wild beekeepers. Dęb and Duninowo (Kowal district) had the highest bee-keeper count: eight<sup>120</sup> and seven,<sup>121</sup> respectively. Łęg and Modzerowo villages (Brześć district) had more than 200 and more than 300 tree hives, respectively.<sup>122</sup> We have also determined that in 1598 there were 110 bee hives in the forests around Brzozie (Inowrocław district), 29 of which were in use.<sup>123</sup> There are also references of wild bee-keepers in Dobrzyń land (Lipno district): 85 of Ciechocin’s 95 tree hives stood empty in the late sixteenth century (similar fraction as in Brzozie),<sup>124</sup> and ‘not one settled serf, solely keepers of wild bees give 30 florins to the castle. It is their duty to care for the castle hives.’<sup>125</sup> The duties of bee-keepers involved more than just acquiring honey from tree hives. In return for acting as keepers of the forest, they were exempt from paying rent.<sup>126</sup> Cuyavian woodlands were also a source of dried goods and acorns, which were fed to cattle and swine. Such use of forest resources, however, was not free—one had to pay the *borowe* forest-use fee.<sup>127</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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<sup>117</sup> ASK I 50, 707v.

<sup>118</sup> Inw. XVII, pp. 88, 90, 97, 100.

<sup>119</sup> LWWK 1654, vol. 2, p. 267.

<sup>120</sup> LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 53.

<sup>121</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 262.

<sup>122</sup> FONTES TNT, vol. 36, Inw. 1598, pp. 41–42.

<sup>123</sup> Ibidem, p. 71.

<sup>124</sup> Ibidem, p. 44.

<sup>125</sup> LWWK 1628, vol. 3, p. 61.

<sup>126</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, p. 263; LWWK 1628, vol. 3, pp. 109, 114.

<sup>127</sup> LWWK 1616, vol. 1, pp. 251, 260.

### III.1.7 MAZOVIA

*Józef Humnicki, Kazimierz Pacuski*

In accordance with the assumptions accepted for this series of the AHP, the waterbodies and forests were reconstructed for the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century on the basis of the earliest detailed cartographic resources from the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

**The lay of the land** was depicted on the map of Mazovia by means of contour lines at 20 m intervals, generalized on the basis of 1:100,000 maps, and prepared for the map at a scale of 1:500,000. Selected elevation points were also marked.

Because of the lay of the land and other physiographic elements, the territory of historic Mazovia can be divided into three geographic regions: the North Mazovian Lowland, the South Mazovian Lowland and the western part of the Podlasiian Lowland.<sup>1</sup> The North Mazovian Lowland stretches north from the parallel course of the Rivers Vistula, Narew and Bug to the village Brok and the eastern foot of the moraine embankment of Czerwony Bór ('red forest'). To the east and north it borders on a lake region. Four major regional units are commonly distinguished in this lowland: Płock and Ciechanów uplands, the Kurpiowska Plain, the Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie, and two smaller lowlands: Pradolina Raciąska ('Raciąż Ice-marginal Valley') and Downstream Narew Valley.

Płock Upland is a moraine plain with a hilly belt of moraines near Płońsk. The moraine belt runs parallel to the valley of the Vistula from the Skrwa to the downstream Wkra. The valleys of various tributaries of the Vistula, e.g. the Brzeźnica or the Mołtawa, cut deep into the upland. Pradolina Raciąska lies to the north – it is a sandy and swampy lowland between the valleys of the upstream Skrwa and downstream Wkra. Ciechanów Upland lies to the north-east. Three terminal moraine areas can be found here: the southern one near the towns Nasielsk and Serock, a bit more elevated area around Ciechanów, and the northern one in the Zawkrze ('the land on the other side of the River Wkra') near Mława and in the loop of the River Orzyc – with the highest elevation points, including the highest elevation point of the historic Mazovia: Dębowe Góry (around 235 m above mean sea level)<sup>2</sup> in the district of Przasnysz in Ciechanów land.

Kurpiowska Plain stretches between the middle fragment of the River Orzyc and the River Pisa. It is an outwash plain with swampy areas, as well as some older moraine formations and dunes. In the south it becomes the Valley of the Downstream Narew, the broadest part of the valley lies near Rożan.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Kondracki, *W sprawie terminologii i taksonomii jednostek regionalnych w geografii fizycznej Polski*, „Przegląd Geograficzny”, 1961, no. 1, pp. 23–38; see also: J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 337–353, bibliography there.

<sup>2</sup> The name Dębowe Góry is known from the twentieth century. Another elevation point of Mazovia – outside the area of Dębowe Góry – is located in Czerwony Bór (227 m above mean sea level). In the western part of the Zawkrze, probably near the village Nick by the Wkra, or perhaps near the present-day Nicgóra, there is a mountain Nicko, mentioned in Długosz's *Chronografia* as the only hill in Mazovia, fortified in 1466 by the Teutonic Knights. This entry recorded by Długosz is not very precise: 'Item Niczko, mons Masoviae proper Szarnow et Radzanow oppida consistens, quem fluvius Wkra abluit, sub tempore guerrarum incastellatus a Cruciferis, sed a Masoviae militibus expugnatus, omni Cruciferorum desiderato aut capto presidio.' Długosz *Opera Omnia*, X, pp. 45–46. See also XIV p. 457 (year 1466). The localization at Nicko finds support in the River Wkra and the neighbouring border between the territory of Mazovia and the Teutonic Knights, the localization at Nicgóra – the fortified settlement, which could have been used by the Teutonic Knights in 1466, as well as the location in relation to Sarnów and Radzanów (but not the Wkra).

The flat Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie is situated between the valleys of the Rivers Narew and Bug. The moraine embankment of Czerwony Bór borders the area to the northeast.

The Southern Mazovian Lowland is comprised of the Kutnowska Plain, the Warsaw Basin, and Rawa and Siedlce Upland. Only part of the Kutnowska Plain belongs to the historic territory of the Mazovia, it is a denudated area, sloping towards the southeast.

The small Gostynin Lakeland lays to the north. It is the sole fragment of the South Baltic Lakelands in Mazovia. The Warsaw Basin occupies a broader part of the parallel ice-marginal valley of the Vistula and the Bug, together with the fragment of the valley of the Vistula upstream of Warsaw. In the west it reaches the valley of the River Bzura, and in the north – the edge of the uplands by the Vistula, the Narew and the Bug. In the remaining directions it gradually turns into uplands. The northern part of the basin, situated in an ice-marginal valley, is mostly covered with low, sandy terraces with strips of dunes and swamps (especially in the Kampinoska Forest). The flat Błońska Plain comprises the south-western part of the basin. It is built of moraine formations and edges over the valley of the River Vistula. On the other hand, the lower Praski Terrace, occupies the eastern part of the basin. The Rawa Heights is a ground moraine plain, diversified by some terminal moraine hills (reaching 210 m above mean sea level). To the south, the height ends with an edge over the valley of the River Pilica. Siedlce Height is a broad moraine plain, stretching between the ice-marginal valleys of the Rivers Vistula, Bug, Wieprz and Krzna. Its north-western part belonged to the Mazovia. The highest point of the upland was situated north of Kałuszyn (223 m above mean sea level). The valleys of Liwiec and Kostrzyń defined a clear borderline with the eastern part of the upland.

The Podlasian Lowland in the territory of the historic Mazovia encompassed the Kolno Upland, part of the Upper Mazovian Upland, and Biebrza Basin. Kolno Upland is a hilly area, where denudation processes formed broad valleys with gentle slopes. The Biebrza Basin is a broad lowland with great swamps and moorlands. The Rivers Narew and Biebrza drain water from the basin. The Upper Mazovia Upland lays east of the upland Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie. The Upland is a hilly area, diversified only in the northern part by a strip of terminal moraines.<sup>3</sup>

**Soils**<sup>4</sup> in Mazovia formed mainly on post-glacial formation and are mostly of average, or poor quality.<sup>5</sup> In the uplands, the soils are usually fertile, podsolic, formed from till and sand on clay and loam. Outwash plains and accumulative terraces of the ice-marginal valleys are covered with poorer podsolic soils made from various types of sand and gravel, and peat, swampy and silty soils. A large part of Mazovia is covered also with fertile podsolic soils formed on silt formations of water origin, particularly in the southern region of Płock Upland (lands of Płock and Wyszogród), large areas of Rawa Uplands (western part of Czersk land, Rawa land), and in Błońska Plain (part of Warsaw and Sochaczew lands). Błońska Plain has a rich supply of fertile black soils, formed from sand, clay, silt, and silt formations of water and swamp origin. Black soils can also be found in Ciechanów Upland (Ciechanów and Zakroczym land), near Drobin in the land of Płock, and in the Zawkrze to the south of Mława. Alluvial soils, usually rich in humus, accumulated in the river valleys of the Vistula, the Bug and the middle Narew. In addition to the already mentioned soil types, small layers of brown soils can be found, particularly heavy and fertile soils formed from clay in the vicinity of Ciechanów.

The assessment of soil quality changes over the course of history, at least to some extent. Among other factors, it depends on farming tools available and the system of cultivation. However, the comparison of the evaluations of arable land found in the sixteenth century inspections of royal estates in three Voivodeships of Mazovia with modern evaluation for the same territories shows their visible correlation. According to the inspectors, the soil in Mazovian royal estates was mostly good (even very good in the vicinity of Sochaczew). Average and poor soils were in the minority.<sup>6</sup> Royal and Church estates usually had much better soils than settlements which belonged to the nobility (petty gentry in particular).

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<sup>3</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, pp. 516–522.

<sup>4</sup> Soils and climate were not marked on the map of Mazovia.

<sup>5</sup> See A. Musierowicz et al., *Gleby województwa warszawskiego*, „Roczniki Nauk Rolniczych”, 1956, ser. D, vol. 75, pp. 1–237; J. Kostrowicki, *Środowisko geograficzne Polski*, Warsaw 1957, pp. 331–388, bibliography there; *Mapa gleb Polski 1:300,000* IUNG ed. A. Musierowicz, Warsaw 1961; B. Dobrzański, *Zarys geografii gleb*, Warsaw 1966.

<sup>6</sup> A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Gospodarka chłopska na Mazowszu w XVI w. i na początku XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1962, p. 10.

Undoubtedly, as a result of the growing number of demesnes and their expansion in the sixteenth century, as well as the growth of cereal production obtained as a result of extensive farming, Mazovia was affected by the gradually more intensive process of soil impoverishment and the decrease of harvest efficiency. In the second half of the sixteenth century the process was delayed only in the areas of new settlement, in the eastern part of the lands of Czersk and Warsaw, in Liw and Nur land, and in certain regions in north-eastern Mazovia, where it intensified in the seventeenth century.

Soil changes were also related to various climatic changes occurring at the time mainly due to local changes of the range of surface waters and the level of subsoil waters, increased deforestation, or climatic changes encompassing larger areas.

The basic features of the Mazovian climate in the second half of the sixteenth century were probably close or similar to the state from the nineteenth and twentieth century, although recently a discussion has arisen on the problem of climatic changes in Polish lands.<sup>7</sup> This state was characterized by the average annual temperature reaching 6.5°–8°, which is lower than that in the southern and south-western territories of Poland. Rainfall was also lower than in other areas, and the lowest in the valley of the Vistula and in the Płock part of Mazovia, the highest – in the uplands of the eastern Mazovia. The highest rainfall occurred in the summer, and winter rainfall was small, but frequent, melting quickly and supplying the soil with water. As a result, the snow layer does not linger long, some 50–60 days; in the eastern part of Mazovia the snow lingers longer, and there are more frosty days. The growing season in Mazovia is quite long: over 200 days. To the east, the climate gradually gains more and more continental features.<sup>8</sup>

**The waters** in Mazovia were reconstructed for the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century on the basis of the oldest detailed cartographic records prior to 1830. These sources record the state of the water network before the period of important canalization and irrigation works of the last 150 years.<sup>9</sup>

Certain issues concerning the reconstruction of the course of particular rivers and the range of surface waters occurred while marking water elements on the map of Mazovia. When possible, we tried to solve these issues using fragmentary data from written sources on the hydrography of Mazovia from the fifteenth and sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

The hydrographic network of Mazovia was drawn on the detailed basis of the Polish topographic maps at a scale of 1:100,000 (WIG), and reconstructed on the basis of earlier maps of the occupants. The selection of hydrographic elements – due to the scale of our map of Mazovia based on a map at a scale of 1:300,000 – consists also of minor rivers, if they had been listed in the sixteenth century sources (such as Czetna, Długonoga, Sienica and other rivers).<sup>11</sup>

Ditches and channels dug in the nineteenth and twentieth century in order to drain swamps were removed from the basic map, and the range of surface waters was corrected. The reconstruction encompassed mostly large and average-size rivers. Changes of channels of minor rivers, usually running in narrow valleys, are mostly small and difficult to mark on a map of our scale. As such, we accepted their course depicted on the topographical maps of WIG at a scale of 1:100,000.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Compare with M. Strzemiński, *Przemiany środowiska geograficznego Polski jako tła przyrodniczego rozwoju rolnictwa na ziemiach polskich (od połowy trzeciego tysiąclecia p.n.e. do naszych czasów)*, KHKM, vol. 9, 1961, pp. 331–335. Often, conflicting theories are accepted during the assessment of climatic conditions in Europe – so also in Poland – between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. This is because the research on meteorological phenomena from the period before regular measurement of the weather and precipitation never left the stage of preliminary trials. The scholars supporting the thesis that the climate of Poland underwent significant changes in the last millennium usually assume that the sixteenth century was a transitory time between the earlier hotter and dryer period and the later – cold and humid. See H. Mitosek, *Zagadnienie zmian i wahań klimatu po epoce lodowej*, KHKM, vol. 14, 1966, no. 2, pp. 243–252.

<sup>8</sup> J. Kostrowicki, *Środowisko geograficzne Polski*, pp. 274–330 (bibliography there); J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, pp. 89–118; T. Lijewski, *Województwo warszawskie. Zarys geograficzno-ekonomiczny*, Warsaw 1968, pp. 21–24.

<sup>9</sup> While describing average rivers one should mention the meanders of the lower Bzura before 1830, the floodplains of Orzyc near Drażdżewo, the other stream channel of the lower Łek (Elk) in the marshes of Biebrza. In case of large rivers, the changes in the valley of the Vistula are particularly important.

<sup>10</sup> During our source query we used, among others, the entries collected in the File of SHGM, the notes from the archives of Płock diocese gathered by rev. W. Mąkowski regarding the hydrography of Mazovia, and printed source publications, of which the most important were the inspections of royal property from the sixteenth century. Regional studies also proved useful, e.g. J. Warężak, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny księstwa łowickiego*, no. 1, Wrocław 1961, no. 2, Łódź 1967.

<sup>11</sup> LM 1565 vol. II and III (index).

<sup>12</sup> Smaller rivers were drawn imprecisely on earlier cartographic records, they were shown in a schematic and often incorrect manner – e.g. the rivulet Rządza on the Quartermaster's Map.

In several cases the reconstructed river valleys or swamps no longer exist, or are just a relic form of the previous state. We endeavoured to identify the rivers, lakes and ponds (when they were not given an individual name on the map, or the name was changed) on the basis of the sixteenth century source entries by analysing the location of these objects on detailed maps from the eighteenth/nineteenth century. Afterwards, they were interpolated on the working map at a scale of 1:100,000.

In this manner we managed to reconstruct the outlines of Lake Krusko,<sup>13</sup> a large fishing pond near Latowicz and the channels of now dry rivers: Korycianka<sup>14</sup> and Rybnica.<sup>15</sup> Mazovia, situated in the river basin of the middle Vistula, covers over a sixth part of the entire river basin. This fragment of the Vistula (some 200 km from the Radomka to the Skrwa) runs in the so-called Noteć ice-marginal valley.<sup>16</sup> To this day, the river flows in a broad, unregulated channel 600–1,000 m wide.<sup>17</sup> The current often moves from one side of the channel to the other, and the river meanders. As such, ice floe sometimes caused local blockages, and the masses of flood water moved into a new channel. This situation was strongly influenced by numerous sandbars and grass clumps moving along the channel, which formed from sand brought down the river by the current. Over time, marshes and swamps formed in the oxbow lakes.

Fragmentary data found in written sources from the sixteenth century suggest there were some local shifts in the channel of the Vistula. In 1565 it was recorded that in Buraków ‘a field was taken by the Vistula’,<sup>18</sup> whereas near Modlin the River Narew ‘washes the bank and meadows... are taken and washed with sand’.<sup>19</sup> Later sources, especially from the eighteenth century, offer a better depiction of such changes in the Vistula’s channel.<sup>20</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the records of floods in the river basin of the Vistula appear irregularly, usually at several-year intervals.<sup>21</sup> Summer floods caused the greatest damage, particularly because the flood waves moving down the Rivers Vistula, Narew and Bug cumulated. This damage can be seen especially along the fragment from Zakroczym to Wyszogród.<sup>22</sup>

The main tributaries of the Vistula – the River Narew with the Bug (and the Wkra) – flow into it northwest of Warsaw, creating the main water junction of Mazovia. The River Narew<sup>23</sup> enters Mazovia west of the town Tykocin in Podlasie. In the valley of this river one could distinguish swampy basin-like fragments (e.g. near Wizna and Ostrołęka) and narrow gorges (e.g. near Łomża). The width of the Narew’s channel varies, usually reaching several dozen metres. To this day, this river is wider than the Bug, and entirely navigable inside Mazovian territory. As a lowland river it is characterized by a small drop in altitude, particularly between the mouths of the Rivers Biebrza and Pisa.

The important tributaries of the Narew are: the Biebrza with the Ełk, the Pisa, which drains the lake Śniardwy, the Szkwa, the Rozoga, the Omulew, the Orzyc, the Wkra, and the most important:

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<sup>13</sup> In the beginning of the nineteenth century this lake was called Serafin after the village, maps at a scale 1:100,000 from the 1930s show a small lake of this name, now just muds.

<sup>14</sup> A rivulet flowing through the village Korytnica (LM 1565, vol. II, p. 187), not only a small, nameless middle fragment of the river can be seen on the map; its old course was reconstructed on the basis of the Quartermaster’s Map, where the river appears still as a tributary of the Liwiec.

<sup>15</sup> River mentioned in 1565 in the description of the Zagajnica Forest (LM 1565, vol. II, pp. 92 and ff.), its course was roughly reconstructed on the basis of Perthées’s map, as it does not appear on later, more detailed cartographic records.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Kostrowicki, *Środowisko geograficzne Polski*, pp. 218–234; J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, pp. 119–139.

<sup>17</sup> The stream channel of the Vistula was artificially narrowed down to some 340 m only in the territory of Warsaw, see J. Kostrowicki, *Środowisko geograficzne Polski*, p. 222; J. Kondracki, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, p. 125.

<sup>18</sup> LM 1565, vol. 1, p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, vol. 1, p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> We have a piece of information from 1765 mentioning the shift of the Vistula’s stream channel in the vicinity of Zakroczym, what affected the town’s economy (AGAD, ASK XLVI 159, pp. 1–12). In 1789 the inspection protocol of Czersk district noted that some of the grounds of Radwankowo village were taken by the Vistula when its channel shifted (ASK XLVI 170, ff. 1–44).

<sup>21</sup> See A. Waławender, *Kronika kłęsk elementarnych w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450–1586*, vol. 1, Lwów 1932, part 1, pp. 39–54, part 2, pp. 55–161.

<sup>22</sup> Compare with the changes between the state recorded in the beginning of the nineteenth century and on the 1:100,000 maps of WIG.

<sup>23</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Narew*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol 3, pp. 350–352; see also: *Narew*, [in:] SGKP, vol. 6, pp. 907–909.

the Bug,<sup>24</sup> which defines the border between Mazovia and Podlasie between the estuary of the River Nurzec up to Małkinia. The downstream Bug flows through a broad, flat valley in large, changing meanders. Its channel is some 100 m wide, and the drop is larger than that of the River Narew. The Narew, on the other hand, carries more water than the Bug, and that is why it gives the name to the common fragment of the two rivers, and has long had better navigation and floating conditions than the Bug. Two of the major Mazovian grain trade centres in the sixteenth century: Pułtusk and Łomża, flourished on the banks of the Narew, and one: Nur, by the Bug.<sup>25</sup> The Narew's tributaries, like the Biebrza with the Łek (Elk), were larger and used for floating, and navigation on the river developed.<sup>26</sup>

The river basin of the Wkra covers the major part of the land of Płock. The upstream Wkra, called Nida and then Działdówka, drains the southern slopes of the Lubawa Embankment. The basin of the middle and downstream Bzura encompasses a large part of southern Mazovia. The most important left tributary of the Vistula is the Pilica, which flows in a channel reaching 300 m in width downstream. In the sixteenth century, the force of this river was used by large mills, located particularly near Warka, and the river was rarely used for floating.

Minor river, like the Orzyc, the Liwiec, the boundary Skrwa, or the Rawa (Rawka), with their numerous tributaries fulfilled an important utilitarian role as a driving force for corn mills and other production machinery using water.<sup>27</sup>

Pojezierze Gostyńskie (Gostynin Lakeland) is the only large lake concentration in our area. Its eastern part was situated in Gostynin land in the Voivodeship of Rawa. The two largest lakes were the Zdworz (now Zdworskie) and the Białe. The inspection of the Voivodeship of Rawa Mazowiecka conducted in 1564 lists 14 royal lakes in the vicinity of Gostynin, but the names of other great lakes, apart from the great Lucińskie lake (40 tonie), were not mentioned. Outside the land of Gostynin only Lake Krusko and two other lakes: Rybno in Zagajnica Forest and Maliszewo in Zambrowska Forest were of reasonable size. Many fishing ponds also come from this period.<sup>28</sup>

Because of the high level of ground water, the sixteenth century swamps and marshlands marked on the main map occupy a large area. The biggest swamps were the Wizna, called Wielka Biel in 1472,<sup>29</sup> situated in the valley of the middle Narew, the Pulwy in the valley of the Narew, and Niemyje in the Zawrze, east of Mława. Land improvement works are being conducted in these swampy areas, therefore the more complete image of old marshlands could be obtained thanks to detailed soil maps, distinguishing soils of swamp origin.

**Forestation** was presented according to the state shown on the Quartermaster's Map from around 1830, in some cases supplemented with Prussian and Austrian depictions from after the Partitions. The reconstruction of the forestation earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century is impossible due to the lack of suitable cartographic records and the fragmentary nature of the written sources from the sixteenth century. However, the most valuable information found in the inspections of royal property proves the state from the first half of the nineteenth century to bear much resemblance to the state from the second half of the sixteenth century. The same data show us the extent of the destruction of the forests, caused mostly by the adjacent settlement of the nobility. The sixteenth century names of forest and other physiographic elements found in the inspection were used and, when possible, marked on the map.

The range of forestation presented on Perthées's map from the end of the eighteenth century was rejected due to mistakes in the situational drawing and significant gaps in relation to more thoroughly

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<sup>24</sup> SGKP, vol. 1, p. 450.

<sup>25</sup> T. Chudoba, *Z zagadnień handlu wiślanego Warszawy w XVI w.*, PH, vol. 50, 1959, pp. 297–301.

<sup>26</sup> In the fifteenth century the places where the wood was prepared for floating down the River Biebrza were mentioned: *Pomniki prawa*, vol. 5, ed. A. Włodarski (Metryka. Mazowiecka, vol. 1, Warsaw 1918, no. 470) and down the River Łek (MK no. 335, p. 68), In 1551, an entry in the description of the borders of bestowed lands: 'circa fluvios Lek et Byebrza usque ad navigium seu portorium per dictos fluvios sub Gonyądz iacentes,' MK, no. 79, ff. 392v–394. See also J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w pow. augustowskim, od XV do końca XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, Białystok 1967, pp. 145, 270, 272.

<sup>27</sup> Compare with the recent review note by Wiśniewski 1970a. Additionally, it is worth to mention the drying of small watercoursed, recorded in the inspections from the sixteenth century; the evolution of these processes in larger area should be studied.

<sup>28</sup> See especially J. Warężak, *Osadnictwo kasztelanii łowickiej*, part 1, Łódź 1952, pp. 48–56.

<sup>29</sup> MK, no. 6, f. 7 – bestowed estates by the River Kalinówka.

detailed maps.<sup>30</sup> The post-partition Prussian and Austrian photographs from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century provide a much more valuable image, even though they vary and are sometimes imprecise. A uniform, precise presentation can be found on the Quartermaster's Map, which used earlier, detailed field photographs.<sup>31</sup>

As the cartographic correctness of this work, exceptional for its times, does not fulfil modern requirements, a special method had to be used in order to transfer the image of the forestation on topographic maps at a scale of 1:100,000 (WIG), which constituted a working basis for our map.

Following the accepted rules, all forest remnants clearings and thickets marked on the Quartermaster's Map, suggested the old range and size of the forest prior to the nineteenth century. The majority of cartographic sources from this period differentiate between high forests and the so-called *krzaki*, i.e. thickets: felling of various age and relics of large clearings. As such – unlike in the Voivodeship of Cracow and WP – we decided to keep this distinction between forests and thickets, introducing it on the map of Mazovia. Thickets appearing near settlements were attested to by the sixteenth century inspections, thus confirming that marking this element, a relic of an old range of forest, on the map of Mazovia was a correct decision. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century thickets are usually a result of the devastation of edges and forest clusters caused by many years of grazing and incorrect farming. They are therefore inwardly connected with forests and together form the proper image of the forestation.<sup>32</sup> For this reason, the distinction was kept on the map of Mazovia, allowing the reader to control individual forest elements, and at the same time marking the directions in which deforestation occurred prior to the nineteenth century. Such a solution seems more appropriate in terms of methodology as it avoids uncertain reconstruction of the old state of the forestation.

The cartographic presentation of forest on the map of Mazovia does not follow the pattern of the maps of Cracow Voivodeship and WP, where the borders of woodland area were marked with small, black dots. Dotted lines were used only for technical reasons – it allowed for a greater control over the range of the forest during printing. As on the map of Lublin Voivodeship, the forests on the map of Mazovia were only marked with two shades of one colour (on the map of LV – just one), without dotted borderlines of woodland areas. A deeper shade of green was used for the forest transferred from the Quartermaster's Map, lighter shade – the thickets. We refrained from marking modern forests on our map, which were included on the map of WP for comparison.

While transferring the range of the forests from the Quartermaster's Map, we tried to include even small forest relics, which provided information on the old range of woodlands. Due to the scale of our map (1:250,000) and necessary clarity, the minimum accepted on the 1:100,000 map was an area of at least 4 mm × 4 mm, i.e. around 16 ha in the field.

According to the geo-botanical divisions, identical with the division of physical geography, Mazovia can be divided into three large units: the North and South Mazovian Lowlands, belonging to Western Europe and the Baltic botanical sphere, and Podlasian Lowlands, which belong to the East European geologic platform and the northern botanical sphere.<sup>33</sup> In terms of geo-botanic, W. Szafer calls the major part of the river basin of the middle Vistula 'Mazovian land' ('kraina Mazowiecka').<sup>34</sup>

The largest forest in sixteenth century Mazovia<sup>35</sup> covered the eastern part of the North Mazovian Lowlands, on the borderline with the Duchy of Prussia, particularly on the sandy outwash plains of the southern foreground of the Mazurian Lakes. Precisely this outwash area, entirely grown with pine forest, was called Zagajnica.<sup>36</sup> The forest occupied the whole Kurpiowska Plain from Przasnysz to Kolno, i.e. around 45 × 80 km.<sup>37</sup> To the west it joined with Mazuch Forest by the middle Orzyc.

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<sup>30</sup> Perthées's shows much less forests than later maps, e.g. the forests in Młociny and Bielany do not appear on his map.

<sup>31</sup> MWK (commentary), pp. 105–108.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, p. 107.

<sup>33</sup> L. Mroczkiewicz, *Podział Polski na krainy i dzielnice przyrodniczo-leśne*, Warsaw 1952 (Prace Instytutu Badawczego Leśnictwa, vol. 80).

<sup>34</sup> *Szata roślinna Polski*, ed. W. Szafer, vol. 2, Warsaw 1959, pp. 61–65. Compare the geobotanical map of the division of Poland by W. Szafer and B. Pawłowski – ibidem.

<sup>35</sup> See *Lustracja lasów mazowieckich 1566 r.*, ASK XVIII 4, ff. 108–115; W. Pracki, *Puszcze i lasy królewskie województw płockiego i mazowieckiego podług lustracji z r. 1569*, Warsaw 1914.

<sup>36</sup> LM 1565, vol. II, p. 92; *Lustracja lasów 1566*, ff. 113v.

<sup>37</sup> In both inspections the size of the forest was definitely exaggerated: 30 miles long and 12 miles wide.

The forest and larger woodland areas grew mostly on sandy-dune, second valley terraces, as for example the forest later called Biała in Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie, consisting of pine and mixed woods.<sup>38</sup> To the north it bordered on Rożańska Forest in the valley of the downstream Narew. The eastern edge of Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie, i.e. the terminal moraine embankment of Czerwony Bór, was covered with pine forest. Smaller woodland complexes grew in Pradolina Raciąska – an area covered with sand, dunes and bogs. On the other hand, the fields and forest dominated from the early Middle Ages in the landscape the more fertile moraine plains<sup>39</sup> In Płock Voivodeship, the most forested area in the sixteenth century was Zawkrze. The contemporary inspections from this territory list Mławska Forest, grown with mixed woods covering the outwash valley of the River Mławka. The relatively small forest was subject to rapid devastation at the time and did not survive to our times.<sup>40</sup>

The South Mazovian Lowlands were almost as forested as northern Mazovia. Forests, usually pine and pine-oak, grew on both banks of the middle Vistula and on the left bank of the River Bug, on the infertile sandy soil with numerous dunes, bogs and marshes. Gostyńska Forest stretched on the older, sandy dunes terraced on the left bank of the Vistula, as well as on the moraines, eskers and dunes of Gostynin Lakeland. Młodzieska Forest lay west of the mouth of the River Bzura, mostly pine, but with some deciduous parts,<sup>41</sup> and farther to the east – the vast Kampinoska Forest, consisting almost entirely of pine trees.<sup>42</sup> In the sixteenth century, the wide forest cover almost completely encompassed the sands and dunes of the Praski Terrace, from Nowy Dwór and Nieporęt to the River Świder. It consisted of the following forests: Słupieska (Słupińska), between Słupno and Bródno, Dębska by the Rivers Mienia and Świder, and others.<sup>43</sup>

Osiecka Forest, also called Kaczków, covered the Otwock-Karczew terrace with pine wood and mixed forest.<sup>44</sup> Stromiecka Forest grew on the left bank of the Vistula, on the so-called Zapilcze (the area on the other side of the River Pilica), between the downstream Pilica and the River Radomka (Radomierza). The Bolemowska, Wiskicka and Jaktorowska forests stretched over the southern part of Błońska Plain, on the sandy and poorly clayed soil. The forests reached towards the Vistula to the upstream Mrowa (now Utrata) and the woodlands surrounding Nadarzyn, usually mixed forests. The forests Wiskicka and Jaktorowska were treated partially as a protective area for the aurochs, already extinct in Poland except for this region.<sup>45</sup> Smaller forest complexes, mostly birch, appear in Rawa Uplands in the strip of terminal moraines near Mszczonów and Grójec running parallel to the valley of the River Pilica.

Deciduous forest, with no beech or larch trees, grew along the pine forest on the more fertile grounds of Siedlce Uplands. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the fertile podsolcic soils near Liw were being cultivated at the cost of the nearby Korycka Forest. This area, still densely forested in the early Middle Ages, was now covered only with smaller forests, like Jadowska that is Obrębska, Starogrodzka by the Świder, Sulejowska with adjacent forests by the upstream Rządza between Wiśniewo and Stanisławów.<sup>46</sup> Strips of woodland, like the Dybła Forest in the fork of the Rivers Biebrza and Łek

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<sup>38</sup> Lately M. Żywirka, *Puszcza Biała, jej dzieje i kultura*, Warsaw 1973. Contrary to the author's opinion (p. 35), the name Puszcza Biała was introduced to the literature not in 1929, but already in the nineteenth century; see B. Chlebowski, *Biała Puszcza*, SGKP, vol. 1, 1880, p. 182.

<sup>39</sup> See K. Buczek, *Ziemia polskie przed tysiącem lat*, Wrocław 1960, *ibidem* map. In the vicinity of Płock and Bielsk, the lack of timber was particularly problematic. See J. Święcicki's remarks on this subject (*Opis Mazowsza* [in:] W. Smoleński, *Pisma historyczne*, vol. 1, Cracow 1901, pp. 95–96).

<sup>40</sup> LP, pp. 35, 54, 81.

<sup>41</sup> LR 1564, p. 146L 'There is much wood there, pine good for building and for beehives; there are also great woods in this forest: great oak forest, ash trees, hornbeams, birches, maples, hazels, alder forests and much other good timber'.

<sup>42</sup> Recently, K. Heymanowski described this forest: K. Heymanowski, *Rozwój sieci osadniczej w dobrach kampinoskich od połowy XV do połowy XIX wieku*, KHKM, vol. 17, 1969, no. 3, pp. 417–429.

<sup>43</sup> Compare Lustracja lasów 1566, ff. 110v–111v and LM 1565, vol. I, pp. 21, 24. In the fifteenth century part of this woodland area near the villages Bródno, Targowe and Kawęczyn was called Zabiele, see A. Wolff, *Najstarsze osadnictwo Warszawy prawobrzeżnej*, [in:] *Dzieje Pragi*, Warsaw 1971, pp. 123–124.

<sup>44</sup> Descriptions of this forests in Lustracja lasów 1566, ff. 111–111v and LM 1565, vol. I, p. 67 prove that the exploitation was intense.

<sup>45</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ziemia sochaczewska w wiekach XIV–XVIII*, [in:] *Dzieje Sochaczewa i Ziemi Sochaczewskiej*, Warsaw 1970, pp. 63–64 and LR 1564, p. 64 and LR XVII, p. 75 – the last entry mentioning aurochs.

<sup>46</sup> Descriptions of said forests in LM 1565, vol. II, pp. 79–80, 150, 162, and also Lustracja Lasów 1566, ff. 111v–112, 115–155v.

(Ełk), stretched on the ground moraine plains of north-eastern Mazovia, formed mostly from morainic clay and covered with quite fertile podsolic soil, in the Kolno Uplands and the Upper Mazovian Uplands. They consisted of pine and spruce forests, and swamp woods and alder forest in waterlogged areas. Pine trees of the Gać Forest grew on the sandy outwash plain, neighbouring the Czerwony Bór moraine in the east. They joined with the mixed Zambrowska Forest.

The development of settlements in Mazovia in the late Middle Ages, particularly the re-escalated settlement of eastern Mazovia, led to the diminishing of the woodland area, which occupied the bulk of the territory of the voivodeship at the time. Further rapid development of settlement in this region, until the end of the sixteenth century, reduced the forested area significantly. This process was the result of an unplanned and sometimes spontaneous exploitation of forests from the second half of the fourteenth century, especially disastrous to the old stand of trees.<sup>47</sup> Forest clearing in hilly areas and on river scarps devastated the local landscape, exposing it to strong denudation and erosion, e.g. in the vicinity of Zakroczym,<sup>48</sup> and resulting in the destruction of surface layers of soil.

The local climate remained under the influence of the woodlands, particularly deciduous and mixed forests. Humidity, higher than nowadays, was one of the distinctive features of this climate, affecting the state of groundwater and surface waters, and therefore the range of the forestation and the structure of the forest stand. Today, the structure of the forests bears little resemblance to the reality from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The main differences can be found in the range of mixed forest, then clearly dominant over purely pine or spruce forests, and the range of deciduous forest stands, the so-called *grądy*. These deciduous forests grew on more fertile podsolic soils and constituted the bulk of strongly deforested areas.

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>47</sup> See *Dzieje lasów, leśnictwa i drzewnictwa w Polsce*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 77–78, 108–109 and the entries on the floating of forest goods down the River Narew and the Bug in LM 1565, vol. II, pp. 72, 147.

<sup>48</sup> LM 1565, vol. I, p. 140: ‘This town [Zakroczym] is situated upon the River Vistula, has poor soil, fields spoilt by ravines or water.’

### III.1.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Tomasz Panecki*

On the map of the sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship three basic physiographic elements are presented: the lay of the land using contours together with the most important elevation points, the water network system with marshes and forestation. In accordance with the hitherto adopted principles for the AHP series, the water network and forestation have been reconstructed on the basis of the very earliest detailed cartographical materials i.e., the first topographical surveys made by the partitioning powers. These maps enable one to present fairly reliably the state of the environment at the turn of the nineteenth century, although not exactly the picture of the situation in the sixteenth century one nevertheless close enough. According to Henryk Rutkowski, any hydrography thus presented may be deemed close to the state in the sixteenth century, something that most obviously cannot be said for the forests, the reconstruction of which for earlier centuries is possible only for certain areas abundant in particular source materials.<sup>1</sup> The lie of the land is shown through contours with the end effect being indeed similar to previous AHP maps, with the difference being its semiautomatically generation of contours from a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) with the application of the ANUDEM algorithm.<sup>2</sup>

In previously published volumes of the AHP the physical geographical regionalisation of Poland has been described on the basis of the works of Jerzy Kondracki.<sup>3</sup> In 2018 a team led by Jerzy Solon verified and made more detailed the hitherto division, while making reference to his theoretical bases.<sup>4</sup> In the case of the majority of instances the only necessity was to be more precise in relation to the course of boundaries of current geomorphological and geological data, while the number of mezoregions was extended from 316 to 344. These data are available also in GIS files.<sup>5</sup>

According to both regionalisations, the area of the sixteenth-century Voivodeship of Podlasie lay within the reach of three sub-provinces bordering each other latitudinally: to the north the Eastern Baltic Lake District (Pojezierze Wschodniobałtyckie), the Podlasie-Belarusian Heights (Wysoczyzna Podlasko-Białoruska) as well as the Central-Polish Lowlands (Nizina Środkowopolska), and within their expanse five macro-regions (Map 1).<sup>6</sup> The largest part of the voivodeship (circa 7,080 km<sup>2</sup>) lies on the territory of the macro-region of the North Podlasie Lowlands (Nizina Północnopodlaska) lying to the north of the River Bug. To the south of the river the South Podlasie Lowlands (Nizina Południowopodlaska) open out, of which the Podlasie Voivodeship takes up around 2,891 km<sup>2</sup>. The northern fragment of the voivodeship (circa 420 km<sup>2</sup>) lies within the Mazurian Lake District (Poje-

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<sup>1</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Metoda regresji w geografii historycznej Polski (wybrane zagadnienia)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 146–162.

<sup>2</sup> M.F. Hutchinson, T. Xu, J.A. Stein, *Recent Progress in the ANUDEM Elevation Gridding Procedure*, [in:] *Geomorphometry 2011*, ed. T. Hengel, I.S. Evans, J.P. Wilson, M. Gould, Redlands 2011, pp. 19–22 (<http://geomorphometry.org/HutchinsonXu2011>, access 25.02.2020) see E. Rutkowska, *Geographical environment*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, III.1.4 in this edition.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, Warsaw 1998.

<sup>4</sup> J. Solon, J. Borzyszkowski, M. Bidłasik, A. Richling, K. Badora, J., Balon, T. Brzezińska-Wójcik, Ł. Chabudziński, R. Dobrowolski, I. Grzegorzczak, M. Jodłowski, M. Kistowski, R. Kot, P. Krąż, J. Lechnio, A. Macias, A. Majchrowska, E. Malinowska, P. Migoń, U. Myga-Piątek, J. Nita, E. Papińska, J. Rodzik, M. Strzyż, S. Terpiłowski, W. Ziąja, *Physico-Geographical Mesoregions of Poland. Verification and Adjustment of Boundaries on the Basis of Contemporary Spatial Data*, “Geographia Polonica”, vol. 91, 2018 no. 2, pp. 143–170; *Studia nad regionalizacją fizycznogeograficzną Polski*, ed. M. Kistowski, U. Myga-Piątek, J. Solon, Warsaw 2018.

<sup>5</sup> <https://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/publication/84324>, (access 04.04.2020).

<sup>6</sup> J. Kondracki, A. Richling, *Regiony fizycznogeograficzne*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warsaw 1993, tabl. 53.3.

zienie Mazurskie), while the western (circa 162 km<sup>2</sup>) on the territory of the Central Mazovia Lowlands (Nizina Środkowomazowiecka). A very small piece in the north-east (the area of Augustów, circa 9 km<sup>2</sup>) is in the Lithuanian Lake District (Pojezierze Litewskie). The lie of the territory that comprises the historical voivodeship is fairly diverse – from young glacial morainal and kame heights in the north, through outwash plains, valleys and river valleys (the Biebrza, the Narew and the Bug), a plain landscape resulting in rolling countryside in the south. The highest elevation point in historical Podlasie is the upland with the modern designation ‘Signal Hill’ (217 m AMSL) close to the village of Rozbity Kamień (Drohiczyn district).<sup>7</sup> On the WIG and KdWR maps this is marked as an elevation without being named, while on earlier maps (The Quartermaster’s map, Heldensfeld) it is difficult to identify it from amongst the other hills represented by the line method. Another elevation extending above 200 m is Uszczna hill nearby Mielnik (204 m AMSL).

The largest part of the voivodeship extends over the North Podlasie Lowlands which as a result of their continental climate (with a high temperature fluctuation obtaining a range contemporary to 23 degrees Celsius) as well as the location within the subboreal forested zone of Eastern Europe is incorporated within the sub-province of the Podlasie-Belorusian Heights. However, in relation to the shaping of the terrain itself it bears similarity to the Central Polish Lowlands influenced by the *Warthanian* glaciation. The northern border of the macroregion shows the extent of the last period of glaciation, to the west the Pisa Valley, the right hilly area of the Narwa Valley and the eastern foot of the Czerwony Bór ridge, to the south – the hills of the Bug Valley, while to the east – the environs of Grodno and Świsłocz. The North Podlasie Lowlands divide themselves into eight microregions, of which six are to be found within the area of the sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship.<sup>8</sup>

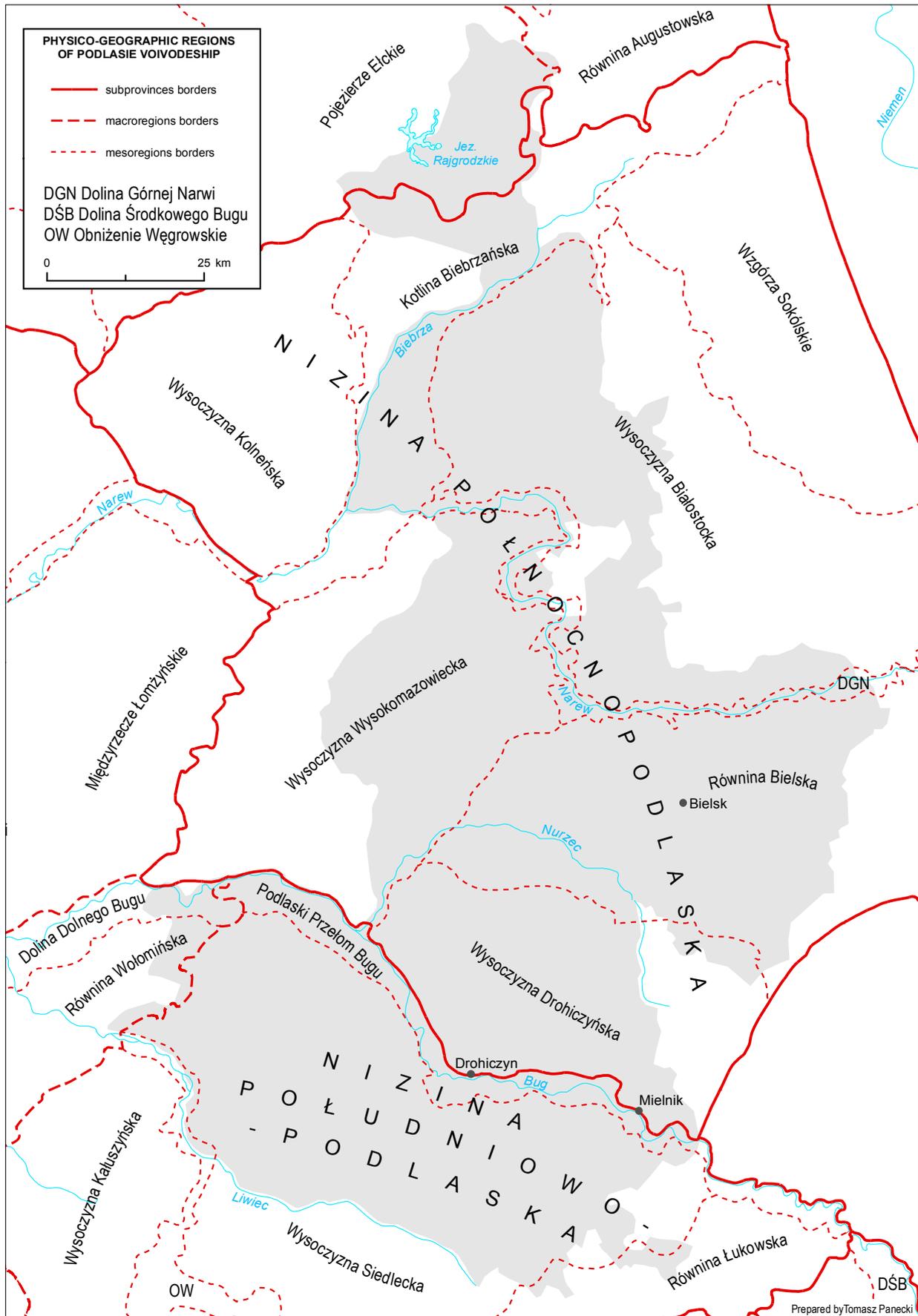
The Biebrza Valley (Kotlina Biebrzańska) is an extensive and marshy lowland area with an area of circa 2,600 km<sup>2</sup>, a length of over 100 km and in width extending from 10 to 20 km. During the period of *Vistulian* glaciation it functioned as a urstromtal with melt water channels taking away the fluvio-glacial waters to the Narew, but this water movement ceased during the later ice ages resulting in the development of peat deposits of a dozen or so metres in depth. The marshy regions of the Biebrza Valley are home to peat bog plants, riparian forest, alder forest, broadleaf forest and woods, as well as tundra vegetation relics. To the south of the Valley are to be found the Białystok Heights (Wysoczyzna Białostocka) of a varied post-glacial landscape including moraine and kame uplands exceeding at times 200 m AMSL as well as outwash and moraine fields. The valley of the Upper Narew (Dolina Górnej Narwii) constitutes a marshy region of the urstromtal in which the Narew meanders, separating the Białystok Heights from the Upper Mazovia Uplands (Wysoczyzna Wysokomazowiecka) – an area of varied landscape through the presence of gravel knolls left behind after denudation (circa 150 m AMSL). To the west of the Upper Mazovia Uplands and in the south of the Upper Narew Valley is the Bielsk Plain (Równina Bielska) whose landscape is varied by moraine knolls. Within the territory of the Plain, though here beyond the boundaries of the sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship per se, is the Białowieża Forest. Between the Nurzec and the Podlasie Ravine of the Bug River extends the Drohiczyn Heights (Wysoczyzna Drohiczyńska). This upland area is characterised by elevations exceeding 200 m AMSL, for example the already mentioned Uszczna hill near Mielnik (204 m AMSL).

The second macro region with regard to area, and on whose territory the sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship was situated, is the Southern Podlasie Lowlands, a part of the sub-province of the Central Polish Lowlands. Across the centre of the Lowlands runs the boundary of the *Warthanian* glaciation (just beyond the area of the voivodeship itself). The climate here is somewhat cooler from those areas lying to the west; this being impacted by the winter months. In terms of the geobotanical profile the area is closer to the Lublin Uplands (Wyżyna Lubelska), while the landscape is marked by firs as is characteristic for the southern part of Poland as such. The Southern Podlasie Lowlands border to the north, through the Bug valley with the North Podlasie Lowlands, to the east with Polesie, to the south with the Lublin Uplands, while to the west they bound the Central Mazovian Lowlands.

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<sup>7</sup> Góra Sygnałowa [in:] <https://pzgik.geoportal.gov.pl/prng/ObiektFizjograficzny/PL.PZGiK.204.PRNG.00000000-0000-0000-000000134076-261947>, (access 03.04.2020).

<sup>8</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, pp. 206–215.



Map 1. Physio-geographic regions of Podlasie Voivodeship

The macro-region divides itself into eight micro-regions, three of which were to be found within the territory of sixteenth-century Podlasie.<sup>9</sup>

The most northerly located part of the Southern Podlasie Lowlands is the Podlasie Bug Ravine (Podlaski Przełom Bugu). The width of the river valley oscillates from 1.3 to 6 km over its length of approx 180 km, while the depth of the cut into the elevation varies from 30 to 60 metres. At present the floodplain is between 4 and 8 metres above the surface of the river. To the south lies the Siedlce Upperlands (Wysoczyzna Siedlecka), which are found within the terminal moraines from the *Warthanian* glaciation and its subsequent periods of retreat, reaching in height to around 200 metres AMSL. The southern part of the voivodeship lies within the area of the Łukow Plain (Równina Łukowska), which is a sandy area within the sphere of fluvial-glacial waters directed somewhat in a south-easterly direction.

Small fragments of the Podlasie Voivodeship lie within the territories of three other macro-regions: the Mazurian Lake District, the Lithuanian Lake District as well as the Central Mazovian Lowlands. Within the composition of the first are the Ełk Lakes (Pojezierze Ełckie) encompassing the northern part of the voivodeship.<sup>10</sup> This area is characterised by its diversity in terrain and lakes, the largest of which being Lake Rajgród. The Ełk Lakes border to the east the August Plain (Równina Augustowska), which enters into the composition of the Lithuanian Lake District.<sup>11</sup> This is an outwash plain that lowers in height towards the north from Suwałki to Augustów and has numerous lakes which were not a part of the voivodeship and in the sixteenth century fell with the economic scope of Grodno.<sup>12</sup> The western fragment of the voivodeship lies upon the Central Mazovian Plain: Wołomin Plain (Równina Wołomińska) and the Lower Bug Valley (Dolina Dolnego Bugu).<sup>13</sup>

The landscape, together with the lithology of the surface areas, is closely linked to the types and distribution of soils. The soils of Podlasie were created first and foremost from sandy and clayey post-glacial deposits. For the most part the terrain is dominated by poorly fertile gley soils being deprived of oxygen which came into being as a result of shallow meteoric water and the process of gleyfication. The northern extremes of the voivodeship are the most noticeably touched by glaciation, between Rajgród and Augustów, and here brown soils predominate; ones formed from moraine glacial tills that are characterised by their fairly good humus levels, and which are advantageous for cultivation. Over river valley areas we are dealing with half-bog peaty soils with the greatest concentration of these soils dominating along the Biebrza, Narew and Supraśl River valleys. Most advantageous for agriculture are the river alluvial soils that have formed along the course of the Bug River, though equally along the banks of the Brok and Ślina Rivers. On the rolling hill areas of central and northern Podlasie we have sizeable stretches of poor soils and podzolic soils. In a part of the Siedlce Upperlands, to the south of the Bug are to be found lessivés based on clays and clayey sandy soils.<sup>14</sup> The decisive majority of Podlasie territory is characterised by soils poor in agricultural worth, chiefly belonging to the fourth or fifth class in soil classification. Only on high cliff areas where the mother base rock are clays or clay-sandstones do we have third class soils, and on only a small area between the Rivers Orłanka and Nurc – do second class appear.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless we cannot draw any conclusions as to the degree of fertility simply basing ourselves on a contemporary soil classification, for agricultural usefulness could result from the employment of former varieties in cultivation techniques and fertilization, as well as different water factors than those we experience today.<sup>16</sup>

Within a limited scope we are able to attempt to assess the value of soils in an approximation for the period of interest to us by analysing surveys of royal lands and holdings. For 185 settlements information on soil quality was given, here the most frequently being classified as: **poor**<sup>17</sup> (marshy/boggy soil, sandy, poor, poorer, bad), **average** (average, good in half with average) and **good** (good, worthy

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, pp. 201–205.

<sup>10</sup> ibidem, p. 115.

<sup>11</sup> ibidem, pp. 122–123.

<sup>12</sup> J. Śliwiński, *Grodzieńszczyzna i Podlasie w XV-XVI wieku w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim: (wielkoksiążęce puszcze i włości, eksploatacja, pożary)*, Olsztyn 2010; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 125.

<sup>13</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, pp. 193–196.

<sup>14</sup> S. Białousz, *Gleby-klasyfikacja genetyczna*, [in:] *Atlas Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, tabl. 41.1.

<sup>15</sup> J. Strzelec, *Bonitacja gleb*, [in:] ibidem, tabl. 41.3.

<sup>16</sup> A. Wyczański, *O badaniu plonów zbóż w dawnej Polsce*, “KHKM” vol. 16, 1968, no. 2, pp. 251–271.

<sup>17</sup> The terms in brackets are of a source character.

of cultivation, excellent).<sup>18</sup> It is possible on the basis of examining royal holdings to state that within the landscape of the Podlasie Voivodeship there dominated poor soils (56 locations) and average (43). Only in the case of 25 settlements did those conducting the survey deem the soil to be good. By way of comparison in nearby Mazovia 94 settlements had good soil, 49 – average, while 42 – poor.<sup>19</sup> The soil conditions, but first and foremost climatic factors, also allowed for the cultivation of vines at the castle vineyard in Drohiczyn, which was covered and mentioned by the surveys of 1570, with this possibly dying out as a result of the severe winters that occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

While on the matter of soils it is worth recalling the mineral components. Podlasie is an area wanting in minable resources, and of the few that do occur we may enumerate chalk, marl, limestone and peat. Chalk was mined in the sixteenth century and here chiefly in Mielnik, Radziwiłłówka, Suraż as well as in smaller quantities at Knyszyn.<sup>21</sup> Metal working smithies were able to make use of the turf iron ore that occurred in Podlasie.<sup>22</sup>

The entirety of Podlasie lies within the Vistula basin which in turn lies within that of the Baltic. The chief rivers include first and foremost the Bug (in the southern part of the voivodeship) together with its major tributaries (the Nurzec and Brok) as well as the Narew (in the central and northern parts) with the tributaries: the Sidra, Brzozówka, Neta (Netta) and Łęk (Ełk). Across the territory of Podlasie, the Biebrza and Narew meander in peaty river valleys, while the Bug flows within a deeply cut valley, the width of which can run to several dozen metres. The network of lakes is not extensive and covers several basins to the north between Rajgród and Augustów. The hydrography of Podlasie is characterised by marshes, bogs and wetlands, particularly at the mouth of the Biebrza as it enters the Narew. In the modern epoch the level of waters was presumably higher than is the case today, something that positively influenced the transport potential and navigability of the rivers though had at the same time negative consequences for land transport, e.g., as a result of the increased boggi-ness.<sup>23</sup> This is borne out by, among other things, the presence of a river port at Drohiczyn on the Bug, mentioned in the survey of 1570.<sup>24</sup>

The reconstruction of the sixteenth-century hydrographic network is based on cartographic materials from the turn of the nineteenth century i.e., before the period when large scale drainage, irrigation and regulation of river channels took place. The greatest undertaking in terms of altering natural navigational courses was the construction of the Augustów Canal, although this investment covered merely a northern fragment of the sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship.<sup>25</sup> As a result of the low-lying and boggy character of the Biebrza and Narew Rivers, changes in their river bed are pronounced and may be observed also to this day. Problematic was especially the reconstruction of the Narew, which as an anastomotic river that flows through many channels, but its cartographic image is very similar on both contemporary and old maps. Consequently, it is difficult to unequivocally point to the river's main corridor. And as a result fundamental here is the question of generalisation: for there is no way in which one may accurately transfer the drawing of all the channels from the source maps to the scale of the main map. Therefore, it has been decided to draw the corridors by means of broad ribbons as well as the most important secondary corridors distanced the furthest from the main river corridor channel so that the character of the river and the surface area it covers is conveyed as fully as possible.

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<sup>18</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, passim.

<sup>19</sup> A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie w dobrach królewskich na Mazowszu w XVI i na początku XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1962, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 7; A. Wawrzyńczyk has indicated vine cultivation in nearby Mazovia; idem, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie*, p. 10; see also A. Kołodziejczyk, *Warunki naturalne puszczy na Podlasiu*, [in:] *Puszcze wielkokszyńskie na północnym Podlasiu i zachodniej Grodzieńszczyźnie w XVI-XVII wieku (podziały, administracja, służby leśne i wodne)*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2007, p. 57.

<sup>21</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Warunki naturalne puszczy na Podlasiu*, p. 47; J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich w XVI-XVIII w.* [in:] *Studia nad produkcją rzemieślniczą w Polsce (XIV-XVIII w.)*, ed. M. Kwapien, J. Maroszek, A. Wyrobisz, Wrocław 1976, pp. 88–191.

<sup>22</sup> M. Radwan, *Rudy, kuźnice i huty żelaza w Polsce*, Warsaw 1963, p. 91.

<sup>23</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Warunki naturalne puszczy na Podlasiu*, pp. 49–50; idem, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu w XV-XVI wieku*, Olsztyn 2012, pp. 44–45.

<sup>24</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> C. Błoch, *Ignacy Prądzyński i jego wkład w budowę Kanalu Augustowskiego*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1967, pp. 357–401.

In the case of the Biebrza there was no such problem, although here the WIG maps showed greater detail (meanders, old river beds) than on, for example, the von Stein map drawn up on a scale several times larger. The River Bug is a river of a different character again, the image of which as presented on maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth century clearly differs from that presented on WIG maps as a result of the old river bed's derivation from numerous meanders. This river appears as equally on the Prussian map of von Stein, as the Austrian map by Heldensfeld. In the AHP series, in accordance with the method employed, we have adopted the image from the old map corrected through a map from the interwar years, and here paying attention to preserve the correct spatial relations between the river and settlements.

Detailed problems also arose when attempting to reconstruct the course of the rivers. Of interest in the light of former cartography (von Stein, Textor, the Quartermaster's map) was the joining of rivers – the Markowa (the Nurzec basin) and the Liza (the Biebrza basin). Such a cartographic representation in which the two flows form one would suggest that there exists a channel between the Narew and the Biebrza, which, from the hydrological point of view, would be an impossibility. On later maps (those from the partitions, WIG), both rivers are presented as separate water flows; and so they have been drawn on the main map.

Lakes constituted the main part of the landscape of northern Podlasie, i.e., the environs of Rajgród and Augustów. The largest (circa 1,412 hectares) was Lake Rajgród, which has an additional two offshoots, both in the Prussian direction: Stacer and Przepiórka. Besides Lake Rajgród, 11 other lakes may be noted lying between the Elk River and Augustów (Dręstwo, Jezioro, Krassiowo Wielkie, Kukowo, Półjeziorko, Reszki, Serwy, Ślepe, Tajno, Toczyłowo and Woźnawieskie). Also it is impossible not to mention the Augustus Pond (today: Zygmunt August Lake or Lake Czechowizna) – an artificial reservoir constructed on the River Nereśl.<sup>26</sup>

It follows to suppose that the network of Podlasie lakes was greater in the period of the early modern era than is the case today. It has not been possible to locate on the maps Lake Małe Błotne (Little Marsh) mentioned in the inspections.<sup>27</sup> It does not appear on either maps from the turn of the nineteenth century nor on modern maps. It therefore follows to assume that it dried up; something suggested by its name, or that such was the designation in historical sources of a part of nearby Lake Tajno. A lot of the material that concerns the region's hydrography has been supplied by the *Descriptions of Parishes* developed for Karol Perthées's ('Perthées's Sketches'), detailed mapping needs, but that said the actual location of the physiographical objects indicated is in point of fact an impossibility.<sup>28</sup> The description of August deanery has brought with it significantly more details, in particular concerning place names than is the case with the Knyszyn deanery. And thus in the parish of Bargłowo (Bargłów Kościelny) is to be found Lake Paluchowo – approximately 2.5 km to the south-west of Bargłowo. There does not appear on any of the maps a reservoir at this spot, yet equally some similarity to Lake Półjeziorko nearby cannot be ruled out. Six lakes with their own nomenclature have been mentioned in the parish of Trzciane (Trzcianne),<sup>29</sup> and these have not been located even on maps from the turn of the nineteenth century, and here more than likely because they were on the whole marshy and boggy lakes which could have been only seasonal in their lake-like existence.

We have stumbled upon the problem of the drying up of two lakes located to the north of the Narew River in the environs of Tykocin. The first to the north of Zajki (approximately 59 hectares) and the second located along the side of the Nereśl (approximately 235 hectares). Both were to have found representation on maps from the turn of the nineteenth century (von Stein, Textor, the Quartermaster's map), yet already with the appearance of the WIG map, as well as on the contemporary map, we have only a river in this same place with certain areas of marsh. Written sources do not point to the existence of any water bodies to the north of Tykocin, and as a consequence they remain unnamed.

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<sup>26</sup> LWP 1602, p. 5, 11; SGKP, vol. 1, p. 54; W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z 1784 roku*, Białystok 1990, p. 155.

<sup>27</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 125, footnote 290.

<sup>28</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z 1784 roku*, Białystok 1993; idem, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z 1784 roku*.

<sup>29</sup> Gogoł, Orla, Dąbrówka, Białe, Nurczaste, Mielewszczyzyc. Cf. idem, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z 1784 roku*, p. 224.

All in all marked on the map of the Podlasie Voivodeship have been 21 lakes of which 17 have the name specific for the Old Polish Epoch.

Mentioned in the reports are equally numerous small lakes and ponds of an economic function which must have disappeared over the course of 200 years and for which there was no possibility of cartographic representation. Here the matter concerns ponds at Drohiczyn,<sup>30</sup> Goniądz,<sup>31</sup> Knyszyn,<sup>32</sup> Huzyki (Użyki),<sup>33</sup> Płoski,<sup>34</sup> Bargłówka,<sup>35</sup> and Kuraszewo.<sup>36</sup> It is worth adding that the ponds, small basins, as well as rivers and lakes served Podlasie for fishing. Attention also is drawn to the need to restock these fish ponds to allow for further exploitation,<sup>37</sup> all the more in the ponds at the castle in Drohiczyn ‘not many of them are catching fish, little more than for a lunch or three will there be’.<sup>38</sup> Of particular importance was fishing to the economy of Knyszyn and the *starost* of the same name: besides Augustus Pond, we have ponds at Kobylanka, Bobrówka and Tołkaczówka,<sup>39</sup> two spawning ponds at Knyszyn as well as 40 small ponds.<sup>40</sup> Numerous commercially operated ponds are also enumerated in ‘Perthées’s Sketches’.

An important part in the hydrographical network is played by marshes and wetlands, which in Podlasie are to be found first and foremost along the lengths of the Biebrza and Narew Rivers.<sup>41</sup> All in all they constitute approximately 10% of the surface area of the voivodeship according to the state of play at the turn of the nineteenth century. Reports and surveys on the Podlasie Voivodeship also supply us with information about meadows and their use for agricultural purposes by Podlasie inhabitants, with many of these being meadows situated on marshland and boglands.<sup>42</sup> It is worth enumerating some of the largest Podlasie areas of wetland singled out either spatially or onomastically. Coming from the north there is a large area of marshland that runs along the banks of the Ełk River right up until it enters the Biebrza, while its inaccessibility is borne out by the information on Perthées’s map: ‘significant bogs which are impassable in the summer period though possibly in winter.’ Similar information may be found on Austrian and Prussian maps. On von Stein’s map we have to the north-east from Goniądz a road which has been marked: ‘Bey ausserst durren Sommer nur mit Bauerwagen zu passieren’, while on the map by Heldensfeld between Treblinka and Wólka Okrąglik we have the notation ‘Dieser Sumpf ist nie zu passieren.’

Of especial note is the outlet of the Biebrza to the Narew River and the bogland that stretches out from Bór Dobarz northwards to Puszcza Czarna (Tykocin district) in the south (the present-day Ławki marshlands).<sup>43</sup> Despite its inaccessibility this was an area of interest to local inhabitants as a result of the hay that could be obtained.<sup>44</sup> On von Stein’s map information is placed that the bogland may be crossed only in summer. A sizeable description of the area can be found in ‘Perthées’s Sketches’: boggy meadows were to have stretched from the Biebrza to the Nereśl and (to the villages of Wiszowate and

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<sup>30</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 5.

<sup>31</sup> LWP 1602, p. 43.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> „Użykowski Staw”, LWP 1602, p. 56; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 54.

<sup>34</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 60

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, p. 115.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, p. 132.

<sup>37</sup> LWP 1602, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Unlocated brooks.

<sup>40</sup> M. Piszczatowska, *Miasto Knyszyn i starostwo knyszyńskie w rękach Jana i Tomasza Zamojskich (1574-1638)*, [in:] *Miasta polskie w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*, ed. P. Gołdyn, Cracow 2008 (Biblioteka Porozumienia Doktorantów Uczelni Krakowskich, vol. 1), p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> J. Tyszkiewicz, *Ludzie i przyroda w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Warsaw 1983, pp. 21–22.

<sup>42</sup> *Biel* may be understood as ‘swampy, marshy terrain – marshland’. See S. Wojciechowski, *Geographical environment* [in:] AHP Lublin, III.1.3. in this edition; Cf.: NMP, vol. 1, p. 169; K. Moszyński, *Uwagi o słowiańskiej terminologii topograficznej i fizjograficznej oparte przeważnie na materiale białorusko-poleskim*, „Archiwum Nauk Antropologicznych”, vol. 1, 1921, no. 5, pp. 2–3. There it is stated that *biel* also meant ‘wetland meadow’. See T. Panecki, T. Związek, *Przywileje ołęderskie w badaniach nad rekonstrukcją XVI-wiecznego zalesienia na przykładzie okolic Nowego Tomysła*, SG, vol. 5, 2017, pp. 29–62.

<sup>43</sup> A. Pałczyński, *Bagna Jaćwieskie (pradolina Biebrzy). Zagadnienia geobotaniczne, paleofitosocjologiczne i gospodarcze*, Warsaw 1975 Roczniki Nauk Rolniczych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, series D, Monographs, vol. 145).

<sup>44</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 140–142.

Bajki), in the south approximately 15 *staj* (about 14 km,<sup>45</sup> i.e., right to the Narew, which is in accordance with the maps of the period), and to the north in the direction of the villages of Szorce, Chojnowo, Mroccki Kulesze.<sup>46</sup> The place names tell of the use made of the land – Głuchowszczyzna (Silentlands) and Urbanowski backwater (unidentified).<sup>47</sup> There were equally salt workers and stockaders identified according to the publishers of the report of 1576, and here with the territory of Solniki,<sup>48</sup> while salt workers (*solnicy*) are also recalled in the report covering the *starost* of Goniądz from the year 1571 (‘Solnicy też nadto snadź do Raigroda wozić beli powinni kogo kazano (...)’).<sup>49</sup>

The information from the inspection has allowed us to add to the main AHP map some proper nouns for smaller boglands, for example the Augustów Boglands (a marsh at the outflow of the River Turewka to the Netta)<sup>50</sup> or the place named Somaczki<sup>51</sup> (the Sumiackie reserve on the WIG map situated to the south-west of the town of Narew, Bielsk district). The names of marshlands also appear in inventories but it is either impossible to locate them or the degree of accuracy in so doing is uncertain.<sup>52</sup> In the ‘Inventory for the Goniądz starost’ for the year 1571 we have four proper names of bogs in the area of Bór Dobarz.<sup>53</sup> From amongst these it has been possible to identify the Orle marshlands (the Orli Grąd wilderness on the WIG map). Equally ‘Perthées’s Sketches’ provide us with significant toponymic material equally difficult in the location and identification of places. In the parish of Augustów we have a bog ‘more significant than’ Zgniłka as well as Pogrzałka.<sup>54</sup> The localisation of the former coincides with the ‘Augustów Boglands’, but one cannot be categorically certain at this, while the latter remains unidentified. In the parish of Bargłowo we have the marshes of Zgniłki, Paluchowo and Trokiele, while the latter may be identified with the source of the River Turewka.<sup>55</sup> In the parish of Goniądz it has been possible to localise the marshland Łosia Biel stretching from Downarów to Goniądza along the banks of the River Biebrza.<sup>56</sup>

In order to reconstruct the level of forestation, employed were partition maps from the turn of the nineteenth century – those of von Stein/Textor, Heldensfeld as well as the Quartermaster’s map). Given the publishing scale of our undertaking (1:250,000) and the readability required adopted in the presentation was the premise, in a way similar to earlier volumes of the *AHP*, that wooded and forested areas of a minimal dimension of 4 x 4 mm would on a working scale of 1:100,000 correspond to approximately 16 hectares.

On the basis of the assembled data one may state that the northern part of the Podlasie Voivodeship (to the north of the Narew and Supraśl Rivers) was far more wooded than was the south. Attention is drawn first and foremost by the wooded areas between Rajgród and Dolistowo – the former areas of the Puszcza Grodzieńska (Grodno Forest) marked on old maps as a marshy forest in the Biebrza Valley known as ‘Netta Bruch’ (Textor) or ‘Bagno Netta’ (the Quartermaster’s map), Bór Dobarz<sup>57</sup> (called Puszcza Leśnictwa Goniądzkiego *Goniądz Forestry Woodlands*<sup>58</sup>) situated to the south of Goniądz along the banks of the Biebrza, the boggy Puszcza Czarna *the Black Forest* (Tykocin or (Black Forest) Las Czarny<sup>59</sup>),

<sup>45</sup> Assuming that K. Perthées was operating on the basis of a *staja* mile road measurement of approx 893 m.

<sup>46</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z 1784 roku*, p. 225.

<sup>47</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 139.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem; see M. Gochna, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, III.3.2a.8 in this edition.

<sup>49</sup> Goniądz, 1571, pp. 163, 178.

<sup>50</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 115.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, pp. 33, 70.

<sup>52</sup> “Diedowe marshes” in the environs of Kleszczel: “There beyond the town forest, at the Diedowe Marshes, from Polowców [the boundary with the Brześć Litewski district]”, cf. *Rejestr pomiaru włócznej Kleszczel z roku 1560*, ed. J. Zieleński, SP vol. 3, 1991, p. 240. Of interest is also the description of the backwaters and marshes at Narew, where we have many terrain terms for wild areas, marshes and wetlands in the environs of the town, the localisation of which is basically impossible to establish cf. AWAK 14, pp. 72-73.

<sup>53</sup> Namely: *Na Orlem, Na Bakalinie, U Sobieszczkowej Drogi, Na Ihntatowie.*, cf. Goniądz 1571, p. 195.

<sup>54</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z 1784 roku*, p. 168.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, p. 175; <https://eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/358303>, (access 04.03.2020).

<sup>56</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z 1784 roku*, p. 196.

<sup>57</sup> Described in the Inventory of Goniądz starosty of 1571 that “stretching right from the Tykocin forest along the River Biebrza, there is close to 3 miles in likeness of length and along it marshes run”. Goniądz 1571, p. 195.

LWP 1570, 1576, p. 115.

<sup>58</sup> Perthées, Podlasie.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem.

the Knyszyn Forest stretching between Knyszyn, Tykocin, and Dobrzyniewo Puszcza<sup>60</sup> as well as the Lada Forest constituting a throw back to the Bielsk Forest.<sup>61</sup> The Białowieski Forest that stretches along the eastern border of Podlasie constituted from 1569 the border between the Crown and Lithuania.<sup>62</sup>

The plants and vegetation of Podlasie were formed within the context of climatic changes and human activity that may be dated from around 5,000 years ago.<sup>63</sup> According to Kazimierz Ślaski, the degree of forestation during the Middle Ages should be considered at about 65–70%,<sup>64</sup> while according to Józef Śliwiński forests made up 70% of the surface area of the Nieman River basin.<sup>65</sup> From the fifteenth century forestry officials looked after the management of forest resources, who acting on behalf of the starosts took care to enact a rational forestry economy. These vast forests were divided into so-called *puszcze* (royal forests) subject in administration to royal officials, while direct forest protection was the realm of the so-called *osocznicy* (foresters), whose lands could be exempt from taxation in exchange for their villeinage.<sup>66</sup> Within the process of shaping settlement in Podlasie, making room for villages and homesteads, forests were felled and cleared resulting in the creation of smaller forest units from dense and extensive swathes of woodland. Not without significance was also the economic reform known as the Voloč Reform, where the land of particular villages was measured, forest-based settlements were eradicated and the villeinage of peasants was made uniform.<sup>67</sup> In the sixteenth century the lands of the two largest royal forests – Grodno and Bielsk – were reduced in size and were divided, resulting in the creation of smaller forested areas including Dobarz (Goniądzka), Knyszyńska, Tykocińska (Czarna) or Ładzka.<sup>68</sup> In the first stage it was chiefly deciduous trees that were felled, broadleaf-oak forests which had grown on fertile soils suitable for agricultural practices.<sup>69</sup> The most important example of the almost total felling of a forest is that of Puszcza Bielska, which as a result of the development of agricultural settlement had in effect ceased to exist by the end of the eighteenth century, with a small remnant being Puszcza Ładzka.<sup>70</sup> In the sixteenth century Puszcza Bielska was still clearly distinct from the Białowieża forest.<sup>71</sup> Other forested areas to be felled during the medieval period include Puszcza Choroszcz that extended from the mouth of the River Supraśl and from the Narew to the River Niewodnica, and Puszcza Błudów on the Supraśl.<sup>72</sup> The extensive Grodno Puszcza had also been deprived of its most valuable forestry stock as a result of the Radziwiłł family's programme of settlement. Already by the end of the fifteenth century it had started to be divided into smaller units: the forests of Puszcza Nowodworska and Perstuńska (Grodzieńska).<sup>73</sup> Here and there small pockets of forest have survived but these are no more than islands in a sea of cultivation, these include: Bór Koniewo, Bór Rybczyzna, Bór Bełda, Bór Czarny (Czarny Las – The Black Forest), Bór Pasznia (woods), or the wooded marshland of Błota Pieńczykowskie.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> R. Misiuk, *Kształtowanie się osadnictwa leśnego na terenie Puszczy Knyszyńskiej – uwarunkowania historyczne i prawne*, „Architecturae et Artibus”, vol. 4, 2012, no. 4, pp. 13–29.

<sup>61</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Puszcze na Podlasiu, ich kolonizacja i podziały w XV-XVI wieku*, [in:] *Puszcze wielkksiążęce na północnym Podlasiu i zachodniej Grodzieńszczyźnie* pp. 204–206.

<sup>62</sup> O. Hedemann, *Dzieje Puszczy Białowieskiej w Polsce przedrozbiorowej (w okresie do 1798 roku)*, Warsaw 1939.

<sup>63</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Warunki naturalne puszczy na Podlasiu*, pp. 43–65; idem, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu*, p. 46.

<sup>64</sup> K. Ślaski, *Lasy a osadnictwo*, [in:] *Dzieje lasów, leśnictwa i drzewnictwa w Polsce*, ed. J. Broda, A. Żabko-Potopowicz, Warsaw 1965, pp. 43–44.

<sup>65</sup> J. Śliwiński, *Grodzieńszczyzna i Podlasie*, p. 69.

<sup>66</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 140, cf. A. Kołodziejczyk, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>67</sup> R. Misiuk, *Kształtowanie się osadnictwa leśnego*, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> J. Śliwiński, *Grodzieńszczyzna i Podlasie*, p. 73.

<sup>69</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu*, p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem, pp. 48–52.

<sup>71</sup> Г.Б. Волович, *Ревизия пуцц и переходов звериных в бывшем Великом княжестве Литовском, с присовокуплением грамот и привилегий на входы в пуцци и на земли, составленная старостою Мстибоговским Григорием Богдановичем Воловичем в 1559 году, с прибавлением другой актовой книги, содержащей в себе привилегии, данные дворянам и священникам Пинского повета, составленной в 1554 году*, Вильна 1867, p. 28.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem, pp. 52–54.

<sup>73</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, p. 54.

<sup>74</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Kompleksy leśne na pograniczu mazowiecko-krzyżacko-litewskim od XV do połowy XVI w.: lasy włości rajgrodzkiej i goniądzkiej*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, 2006, no. 2 pp. 201–202.

In sixteenth-century Podlasie in operation were four forest administrative regions, these being subject to starosts: the Bielsk (20 settlements), Tykocin and Goniądz (five), Knyszyn (one). They were divided up as a result of the introduction of the so-called 'Forestry Act' regulating the economic management and running of forests and woodlands.<sup>75</sup> The Bielsk forest administrative region encompassed villages located in the area of Puszcza (royal forest) Ladzka, as well as its remnants scattered to the east of Bielsk itself. The villages encompassed on average from about 10 to 30 voloks of land, and one of the very few mentions are taxation categories that indicate a forestry orientated economy.<sup>76</sup> In four cases the reference is to tree trunks hollowed for bee hives, in three, hunters' divisions (*osocznicy*), while in two, shooters.<sup>77</sup> The Tykocin and Goniądz forest administrative regions, which encompassed in total five settlements covered the territories of Bór Dobarz as well as the Czarna Puszcza (royal forest), and also the Podlasie-Lithuanian border region (Krzywa, Krukowszczyzna). Only a single village was mentioned in respect to the Knyszyn forest administrative region – Pogorzalki.

The remains of the medieval forests may be reconstructed on the basis of 'Perthées's Sketches', but even then their precise identification is often impossible. In the parish of Dolistowo (Augustów deanery) mentioned is the Dąbrowa Forest as well as Grzędy with both of them being referred to as small (unlocated).<sup>78</sup> In the Goniądz parish we have most likely located the forests: Kramkowski, Krzeczkowski, Kułakowszczyzna, Puszkarze and Rybacki.<sup>79</sup> In the parish of Jasionówka we have Gaj Zapowiedz – a borderland object between Podlasie and Lithuania, which '(...) has in itself oaks, alder groves, birch, osier'.<sup>80</sup> In the parish of Rajgród mentioned is a single forested area: 'bushes called 'gorstwinarze' (Gorstwiny in the sketch), but it was not possible to locate them despite their fairly exact description.<sup>81</sup>

In the sixteenth century the forests in Podlasie constituted a significant part of the economy: in remote reserves were to be found tree-trunk hives, tar and charcoal were produced, bog iron was extracted.<sup>82</sup> Honey hunters were mentioned in the inspections for the Tykocin Puszcza,<sup>83</sup> from where also honey trees were used in the Dobarz Bór in which the honey gatherers were unable to assemble fifteen 'hands' i.e., three barrels of honey as taxation.<sup>84</sup> Following the inclusion of Podlasie within the Polish Crown the honey trees from Goniądz Puszcza were cut down and transported to the castle at Goniądz, and the local gentry were forbidden to exploit them further.<sup>85</sup> Possibly this led to instances whereby these honey trees were destroyed and the honey stolen.<sup>86</sup> The exploitation of this inaccessible area is borne out by the forest dweller settlements marked on Perthées's map (Budy Doboskie, Rudkowskie Budy) as well as the winter roads running parallelly.

Bog iron and wood for charcoal were obtained in, among other places, a location called Turowszczyzną (*Thurowszczyzna*), being a smithy settlement, which we have been unable to locate. One could suppose that it might have been located in the environs of Zygmuntów (Bielsk district), more than likely within the territory of Puszcza Ladzka.<sup>87</sup> This village also paid 'felling money' – the equivalent of work in forest tree felling.<sup>88</sup> We also have testimonies to various types of forest work in the environs of Augustów.<sup>89</sup> We have in our possession more detailed information for the Knyszyn Puszcza where at least two timber mills were in operation (testified to in 1574 and 1578): one near Knyszyn on the Jaskranka River, while the second at Dobrzyniewo on the Supraśl. There was also

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<sup>75</sup> Idem, *Puszcze na Podlasiu*, pp. 239–244.

<sup>76</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 125–145; LWP 1602, p. 60.

<sup>77</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 125–135.

<sup>78</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z 1784 roku*, p. 190.

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem, p. 197.

<sup>80</sup> Ibidem, p. 205.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem, p. 216.

<sup>82</sup> J. Śliwiński, *Grodzienszczyzna i Podlasie*, p. 77.

<sup>83</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 140–142.

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem, pp. 142–144.

<sup>85</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>86</sup> LWP 1576, p. 140.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, p. 61. M. Gochna, *Character of settlement* in this edition.

<sup>88</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 57.

<sup>89</sup> Ibidem, pp. 111–113.

a sawmill in Borsukówka.<sup>90</sup> Forests were obviously a place of hunting, most often in the backwoods which were exploited economically in no other way bar the hunting.<sup>91</sup> It is also worth recalling the manor house at Knyszyn where the king would often stay while hunting. In the village of Dawidowo (Bielsk district, Puszcza Ładzka) mentioned are shooters and the earlier mentioned *osoczniczy*, as those whose job it was to protect and watch over the forest as well as participate in the hunting itself.<sup>92</sup> Equally in Goniądz, according to the inventory of 1571, we have shooters (25 persons) whose duty was ‘to travel to the forest with the starost or with the gamekeeper forester when ordered while also being obliged to perform other duties.’<sup>93</sup> It is important to note that all of the above mentioned ways of forest exploitation concern those areas situated to the north of the River Narew or in their vicinity (Puszcza Ładzka). Roads also ran through the forest which, as a result of the specific nature of Podlasie forests, required the construction of their own form of causeways (*gaci – fascine roads, haci*), where the road had timber laid on it to facilitate movement.<sup>94</sup>

Forest exploitation was equally hunting, something the last Jagiellon, Sigismund August, readily and enthusiastically engaged in, often visiting the forests in the environs of Grodno, Knyszyn, Tykocin and Białowieża. An important problem that the monarchy tried hard to eradicate was that of poaching, formally forbidden on the basis of the so-called ‘Forest Act’ of 1567; not that this resulted in any noted curbing of the activity.<sup>95</sup> In order to fight poaching effectively and to protect, for example the European bison, special sanctuaries were set up, and permission to kill them was required from the king himself. Nevertheless in the second half of the sixteenth century, and here according to inspections, Bór Dobarz had been so decimated that large game was wholly absent and hunting in the forest had become pointless.<sup>96</sup>

A significant problem in drawing up the main AHP map were questions of onomastics. Only a few physio-geographic objects (rivers, lakes, marshes, forests) had their names given on old topographic maps. These are chiefly the larger rivers, a few lakes and some marshes and wetlands, the names of which are often distorted as a result of the maps’ Prussian or Austrian origin. In written sources, for example in recruitment and draft registers, there is an absence of information of this type; while in the reports and surveys on royal property and goods from the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century as well as in inventories any information provided refers to either only the largest rivers or – on the other hand – small ponds or water flows, and even then information as to their localisation is vague and with the same often ambiguous. Given the above state of affairs extremely useful as material for the reconstruction of territorial names has been the *Electronic Dictionary of Polish Hydronyms* (ESHHP), a work still in progress,<sup>97</sup> as well as toponymic works.<sup>98</sup> And the principle, in accordance with that adopted for the AHP series as a whole, has been for any preference in compiling the map to be for a sixteenth-century name, while in the event of its absence the adoption of the earliest possible to be authenticated.<sup>99</sup>

In general on the map for the Podlasie Voivodeship marked have been the names of 124 rivers, 18 lakes, 13 areas of forest, seven marshes and wetlands and two nature reserves/wildernesses. From amongst the rivers, 68 have authenticated names from the period up to 1650, 22 to 1850, while 34 have been given later names. Sometimes there occurs a fairly noticeable difference between the contemporary and historical name. For example, the brook flowing through Goniądz being the left bank tributary to the River Biebrza is the Goniądzka according to ‘Perthées Sketches’, but later (and

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<sup>90</sup> M. Piszczatowska, *Miasto Knyszyn*, p. 63.

<sup>91</sup> J. Śliwiński, *Grodzięszczyzna i Podlasie*, p. 79; A. Kołodziejczyk, *Puszcze na Podlasiu*, pp. 232–233.

<sup>92</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 127.

<sup>93</sup> Goniądz 1571, p. 159.

<sup>94</sup> J. Maroszek, *Chodkiewiczowie i ich Puszcza Błudów*, SP, vol. 21, 2013, p. 25.

<sup>95</sup> J. Śliwiński, *Eksploatacja lasów na Podlasiu i Grodzięszczyźnie*, [in:] *Puszcze wielkokościężce na północnym Podlasiu i zachodniej Grodzięszczyźnie* pp. 396–397.

<sup>96</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 142.

<sup>97</sup> ESHHP, *Elektroniczny słownik hydronimów Polski* [Electronic Dictionary of Polish Hydronyms] – a project undertaken at the Toponomastic Workshop of the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Polish Language in Cracow: <https://eshp.ijp.pan.pl/>, (access 30.03.2020).

<sup>98</sup> N. Sulima, *Słownik nazw geograficznych gminy Czeremcha*, Czeremcha 2008; I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe środkowej i zachodniej Białostocczyzny: topograficzne i kulturowe*, Warsaw 1978; Kondratiuk.

<sup>99</sup> W. Pałucki, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, 1.2.7 in this edition.

contemporary) it was known as 'Czarna Struga',<sup>100</sup> while the tributary to the Sterdynka Bug is today known as the 'Buczynka'. When the matter concerns lakes, then we have 12 names from pre-1650; only Lake Kukowo and Reszki have their authentication in 'Perthées's Sketches'. The source for the names of the remaining items of physiography were chiefly the already mentioned 'Perthées's Sketches', inspections and inventory reports.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>100</sup> <https://eshp.ijp.pan.pl/search/results/45917> (access 04.04.2020).

### III.1.9a ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Marian Biskup*

#### Geomorphological outline of Royal Prussia

The following outline provides a necessary introduction to the geomorphology of the area under consideration, and helps with understanding the main map and thematic maps supplementing it. The outline was constructed on the basis of the *Przeglądowa mapa geomorfologiczna województwa bydgoskiego* by R. Galon and L. Roszkówna as well as *Przeglądowa mapa geologiczna Polski* to the scale of 1:300,000 (Toruń, Bydgoszcz, and Gdańsk maps).<sup>1</sup>

The outline depicts major geomorphological elements of Royal Prussia, which, as mentioned previously, was divided into three voivodeships: Chełmno, Malbork, and Pomeranian. All three lay in northern Poland, the relief of which had been shaped during the latest Ice Age.

Two latitudinal belts of lowlands can be distinguished in northern Poland: Coastal Lowland Belt (known as the Baltic Lowland Belt) and the Pomeranian Lakeland Belt. The first one spans from the western border of Poland in the area of Szczecin and Świnoujście to the eastern border with the Soviet Union [as of now, the area of Russia – K.S.-P. note], while the second spans from the Oder in the west to the Nemen in the east. The border between the two is fairly apparent, with a significant drop in the height of the terrain and the change in landscape, the distinguishing feature being the glacial lakes, generally absent in the Coastal Lowland Belt.

Both belts are naturally divided into several distinguishable regions, though only those which fell within the borders of Royal Prussia, will be discussed below.

The coastal region – the so-called Kashubian Coastline (*Pobrzeże Kaszubskie*) – is a till plain interrupted by numerous, broad and boggy glacial ice-terminal valleys marked with lumpy holms (*kępa, kępy*). The largest of these glacial valleys is called the Reda-Łaba Rivers Pradolina (*pradolina rzek Reda-Łaba, Urstomt*), a broad glacial valley).

To the east of Lake Żarnowieckie spans an elevated till plain, falling steeply into the bogs of Błota Karwieńskie in the north and the east into the bogs of Płutnica River Glacial Valley (*Pradolina Płutnicy*). Smaller gorges slash the plain itself, while the holms of Kępa Żarnowiecka, Kępa Sławoszyńska, and several minor ones, can be distinguished as notable terrain elevations.

Kępa Swarzewska, to the east of the Płutnica River Glacial Valley, ends in a steep ridge towering above the Baltic Sea and the Bay of Puck. To the south of the Bay is Kępa Pucka, enclosed from the west by Darżlubie Forest (*Puszcza Darżłubska*). Near the village [as of now, Reda is a town – translator's note] of Reda, the Reda-Łaba Glacial Valley bifurcates, the prongs enveloping the hillock of Kępa Oksywska. Modern-day Gdynia is located where the southern arm terminates into the sea at the foot of a characteristic seashore holm, Kępa Redłowska, and, partially, near the elevated Kamienna Góra.

The seashore area under consideration can be divided into two types of terrain: elevated till plain, etched by valleys forming holms, which falls into the sea either in steep, tall cliffs and flat, low

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is mostly based on research by S. Lencewicz, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, Warsaw 1955 and M. Kielczewska-Zaleska, *O powstaniu i przeobrażaniu kształtów wsi Pomorza Gdańskiego*, Warsaw 1956, Prace Instytutu Geografii PAN, no. 5, pp. 25 f.

boggy shore that can be found where the glacial valleys meet the sea. Along the latter, low seashore spans a belt of low dunes, mostly covered by vegetation; this is especially visible from the beach line. The Bay of Puck is enclosed from the northwest by Hel Peninsula – a long, mostly forested sandspit, narrow at the base and up to three kilometres wide towards the tip, formed by the nearby sea current.

An analogous ground moraine shoreline can be found along the Vistula, south of Gdańsk, spanning towards the town of Nowe. This region borders with another type of lowland terrain, occasionally dipping beneath sea level – Żuławy Wiślane (Eng, “*the Vistula Fens*”), located at the Vistula delta. To the east, the Coastal Lowlands Belt borders the ridge of the Masurian Lake District and the Elbląg Upland. The delta is, for the most part, fan-shaped, 50 kilometres long and with the estuary base 40 kilometres wide. The terrain is remarkably flat, with only slight dips towards the northern estuary and to the sides, at its highest point rising only to nine metres above sea level and dipping to 1.8 metres below sea level. The delta, crisscrossed by numerous manmade irrigation canals, is separated from the sea by a belt of forested dunes, spanning from the town of Sopot and expanding into the Vistula Spit (*Mierzeja Wiślana*).

The last region in the Coastal Lowland Belt is the Prussian Lowland, towards the east of Żuławy Wiślane. The western part of the Lowland within the borders of what was once Royal Prussia is represented by the so-called Elbląg Upland, similar in nature to the holms of the Kashubian Coast. Elbląg Upland encompasses close to 200 km<sup>2</sup> of an undulating ground moraine, with elevation reaching up to 198 metres above sea level, steeply sloping into Żuławy Wiślane and the Vistula Lagoon (*Zalew Wiślany*).

To the south of the Coastal Lowland Belt, on both sides of the Vistula, stretches a vast lakeland (*pojezierze*) plain, formed by the ice-marginal accumulation of the latest Ice Age, mainly in the form of terminal moraines, ground moraines, and outwash plains. The frontline of the post-glacial terrain is marked by ridges of terminal moraines, running parallel to the Baltic Sea coastline; this swathe of land spanning between the Oder and the Vistula is called the Pomeranian Lake District, while its continuation from the Vistula to the Nemen – the Masurian Lake District. Parts of both lakelands that once fell within the scope of Royal Prussia will be the areas of interest. The eastern border of the Pomeranian Lake District, where the elevation of the terrain reaches its peak, is called the Kashubian Lake District, and culminates around the area of the towns of Kartuzy, in the form of Szymbark Hills (*Wzgórza Szymbarskie*), with the highest peak being Wieżyca (331 metres above sea level). Several chains of terminal moraines make for the highest ice-marginal accumulation of glacial debris, spanning from Bytów to Kartuzy and Sopot. Numerous, mostly elongated and narrow, post-glacial ribbon lakes, decorate the landscape. Towards the southern and eastern parts of the Lake District, the plain slopes to a lower elevation, and the forms of terrain become sparser, the lakes less frequent and smaller in size.

South of the terminal moraine ridge – from Białobór and Bytów all the way to Kościerzyna, Nowe, and Tuchola – spans, almost uninterrupted, a vast landscape of Pomeranian outwash plain, lined with lake basins and fragments of the ground and terminal moraines towering above the land. This type of terrain can be observed in the area surrounding Brusy, Wiele, and Czersk. It reaches the Vistula in a narrow splinter, northeast of Świecie. Formed by post-glacial sand and gravel accumulation, the outwash soil is mostly infertile, of little worth to agriculture, and thus vast swathes of forests cover the land. A major area of woodland, Tuchola Forest (*Bory Tucholskie*), surrounds the basins of the rivers Brda and Czarna Woda. The aforementioned ground moraine stretching from Gdańsk to Nowe, emerges from beneath the alluvial outwash in a mass of clayey soils, especially around Świecie district, though it remains irregular, interwoven with patches of outwash sands.

The Pomeranian outwash plain stretches up to the south with long arms along the basins of the Brda, the Głda, and other, minor rivers, enveloping a large stretch of a ground moraine, spanning from the town of Czarne, through Człuchów, all the way to Tuchola. There, they reach the hilly terminal moraine terrain, which fails to reach the impressive heights seen in the Kashubian Lake District. The lakes in the area become less numerous and smaller in size, with a notable exception of one of the largest lakes in the entirety of the Pomeranian Lake District – Charzykowskie Lake, located northwest of Chojnice, far north, already in the outwash plains.

In the east, along the Vistula, spans the vast landscape of the Masurian Lake District; sixteenth-century Malbork Voivodeship and Chełmno Voivodeship were located in the western reaches of the Lake District. The northern part of Malbork Voivodeship fell within the aforementioned Żuławy Wiślane and Elbląg Upland, while the southern part ran along the Vistula and reached Dzierzgoń, comprising

of a stretch of the undulating ground moraine with small offshoots of terminal moraines branching off from the one in the north of the Masurian Lake District.

To the south of Malbork Voivodeship, flanked by the rivers Ossa and Drwęca, spans one of the westernmost regions of the Masurian Lake District, the Chełmno Lake District, which used to almost entirely fall within the borders of Chełmno Voivodeship.

The Masurian Lake District slopes gently towards the Vistula, with its highest peaks located in the east of the region, near Lubawa; however, the highest elevations of this western part of the Lake District fall outside of the historical borders of Royal Prussia, in the erstwhile Duchy of Prussia.

Ground moraine formations constitute much of the Chełmno Lake District terrain, slightly undulating and elevated to the height of 90 to 100 metres above sea level. The middle part comprises a sizeable chain of terminal moraines, beginning in the area of Wąbrzeźno and reaching towards Hława. The outwash plains stretch to the south of Wąbrzeźno, east of Biskupiec, and towards the area surrounding Lidzbark Welski; however, they were not as large as those of the outwash plains in the Pomeranian Lake District.

## **Main map**

The main map's basic role is to depict two chief issues of this research: the most important geographic elements of Royal Prussia and, based on that data, the most important elements of settlement networks. The geographic elements include terrain, hydrography, as well as forest cover, meadows, and wetland.

## **Geography**

### **Terrain**

The highest peaks in Royal Prussia were marked with spot heights for clarity, foregoing contour lines entirely. The highest general elevation within Royal Prussia, as mentioned before, fell within the Lake Districts; it exceeds 200 metres above sea level, then gently slopes downwards both towards north and south. The terrain of the Coastal Lowland Belt is varied due to the numerous glacial valleys in this area.

The southern part of Pomerania consists mostly of outwash plains, with a generally monotonous terrain – a handful of moraine bumps and dunes notwithstanding – the terrain only shifting in the areas with distinct moraines. General altitude oscillates around 150 meters above sea level, often dropping to less than 100 metres above sea level towards the Vistula basin. The Vistula delta is flat, elevated to the height of only several metres above sea level, and at times dipping into patches of depressions.

The western parts of Chełmno Voivodeship remain fairly flat, with the terrain being affected by a strip of a ground moraine, the so-called till plain. Further east, the terrain becomes more varied, with altitudes rising from 100 metres above sea level near the Vistula to more than 200 metres in the east near Lubawa.

### **Hydrography**

As mentioned before, the hydrographic network of Royal Prussia was based on eighteenth-century cartographic sources (Schrötter Atlas), with some corrections derived from even later maps. This formed the basis for an approximate depiction of sixteenth-century Royal Prussia, which includes major hydrographic changes between the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century and between the eighteenth and the twentieth century.

The only major river under consideration in the region of Royal Prussia is the Vistula River, which cleaves in two the Baltic Lakeland Belt, an area in itself constituting a major watershed for the entirety of northern Poland. The rivers originating in the Lakeland are usually short, with steep, and sometimes irregular gradient. Some of the rivers with their sources in the lakeland areas flow into

the Baltic Sea, others are tributary to the Vistula or its tributaries. The rivers flowing into the sea, the Łeba, the Radunia, and the Reda, generally follow the course of broad, boggy glacial valleys, which are remainders of post-glacial alluvial drainage. Tributaries to the Vistula include the Wierzyca, the Czarna Woda, and the Brda, while the Vistula's affluent, the Noteć, is supplied by Głda. The rivers emerging in the Elbląg Upland (whose western natural border runs along the river Elblążka, which has its source in Lake Drużno) are short and all flow into the Vistula Lagoon (*Zalew Wiślany*).

Żuławy Wiślane, comprising of the Vistula's distributaries leveed at the banks, also feature both minor natural streams, flowing either into the Vistula Lagoon, or to one of the Vistula distributaries, and artificial irrigation canals.

Among the major rivers of Royal Prussia, there was the Drwęca, which formed a natural border of Chełmno Voivodeship along its downstream stretch, with the source found in the northern slopes of Dylew Hills (*Wzgórza Dylewskie*), at the border of the Duchy of Prussia (near the town of Ostróda). The Drwęca flows down a steep slope, meandering heavily and following a deep, narrow basin; its largest tributaries – the Gierłozia, the Wel, the Brynica, are left-bank tributaries. Another major river in the voivodeship is the Ossa, which takes its source in the lakes near Brodnica and flows into the Vistula north of Grudziądz.

While the rivers without a doubt played an important role in communications and the economy, another significant feature within all three voivodeships were the lakes. The Pomerania Lake District and the Masurian Lake District are rich in post-glacial lakes, with an abundance of elongated, narrow ribbon lakes, sometimes of considerable depth. The lakes are much scarcer in the Coastal Lowland Belt, with the largest being Lake Żarnowieckie (15 km<sup>2</sup>). At the foot of the Elbląg Upland lies Lake Drużno, a leftover of a lagoon, now completely separated from the sea by the Vistula delta. Among the largest lakes of the Pomeranian Lake District in the former Pomeranian Voivodeship is Lake Wdzydze (14 km<sup>2</sup>); characteristic of its complex shoreline, the lake was formed from two perpendicular ribbon lake basins. Additionally, there are Lake Charzykowskie (13.7 km<sup>2</sup>) and Lake Raduńskie (8.5 km<sup>2</sup> in size and 18 kilometres long), which actually comprises two lakes divided by a dyke, Lake Ostrzyckie (2.5 km<sup>2</sup>), which lies at the foot of Mount Wieżyca, and Lake Karsin (5.8 km<sup>2</sup>), Lake Gowidlino (5 km<sup>2</sup>), and others. There are numerous minor lakes, commonly occupying dips in the moraine terrain, many of them endorheic basins.

In comparison, lakes in the Chełmno Lake District are less plentiful. Among the largest ones are Lake Wieczno (4.4 km<sup>2</sup>) and Lake Chełmżyńskie (4 km<sup>2</sup>); additionally, numerous minor lakes can be found north of Brodnica.

Cartographic sources can often help in tracing changes that have occurred in the hydrographic network of former Royal Prussia over the last several centuries. Some of the changes are minor and, outside of the Vistula delta, observable in lakes, of which many decreased in size or vanished altogether.

In the region upstream of the Vistula's bifurcation into its two branches, the Leniwka and the Nogat, the river's basin has not undergone any major changes in its course; some minor changes are seen where the basin deviates from banks of the valley. The old course of the river is evidenced by the existing oxbow lakes, which are most common north of Fordon, where the course has drifted significantly to the east from the left bank of the valley.

According to H. Bindemann, centuries ago, the Nogat used to be a separate river terminating at the Vistula Lagoon, rather than being one of the Vistula's distributaries channels.<sup>2</sup> Some evidence for this claim comes in the form of an existing stream, the Stary Nogat ("*the Old Nogat*"), which flows into the Vistula just before it bifurcates into distributaries. The former Nogat would have had its source around the town of Gardeja (Duchy of Prussia) and flowed up north, parallel to the Vistula. Around the village of Biała Góra, the Nogat approximated the Vistula, then meandered sharply northeast, towards the Vistula Lagoon.

The confluence of the Nogat with the Vistula already existed in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The incorporation of the Nogat into the Vistula might have been caused by a major flood, with the Vistula's levees breached and the water spilling across a wide area. Anthropogenic interference – the widening

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<sup>2</sup> H. Bindemann, *Die Abzweigung der Nogat von der Weichsel*, Gdańsk 1903 (Abhandlungen zur Landeskunde der Provinz Westpreussen, no. 12) (maps).

<sup>3</sup> Evidenced by the Strackwitz maps from the mid-sixteenth century, published in the works of H. Bindemann.

and perhaps deepening of the junction to allow for easier navigation and water transport – is certainly also a possibility. In time, the flow of the Vistula itself increased into the river's new distributary, weakening its original one, the Leniwka. Already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, attempts were made to stop this process, as the use of the Nogat had its negative sides – the Vistula Lagoon was too shallow for many of the contemporaneous ships, and its only debouche into the open sea at Piława was seen as being too far from the Vistula estuary.

In the mid-nineteenth century, an exceptionally powerful spring estuarine flood directed the flow of the river into the Leniwka and breached the dune line, exiting into the sea and forming another, the nearer estuary at the Bay of Gdańsk, in a branch known as the Wisła Śmiała. However, the newly-formed estuary waterway was not navigable, which prompted the building of a canal that would connect the Leniwka with the open sea in the north. The water flow in the old riverbed of the river, terminating around Gdańsk, was greatly weakened and dubbed the *Martwa Wisła (the Dead Vistula)*. To prevent the water flow from once again redirecting into the Nogat, a system of sluices was put in place to cut it off from the Leniwka altogether.<sup>4</sup>

The once-regular coastline of the Bay of Gdańsk, stretching from the Leniwka estuary all the way to Piława, now exhibits two distinct bulges: one around the Wisła Śmiała estuary, and one around the new canal. These formations are the result of alluvial accumulation around the estuaries of the Leniwka distributaries. Some of the most dramatic changes to the coastline as compared to its shape in the eighteenth century are the changes to the Vistula Lagoon, along the estuaries of both the Nogat and one of the Leniwka distributaries, the Szkarpa, which flows into the Lagoon. Both the Nogat and the Szkarpa flow into the Lagoon by branching off to more than a dozen distributaries, carry alluvial sediments which have accumulated in the delta over the centuries, shifting the coastline further north and east, decreasing the size of the Vistula Lagoon. Thus, in the cartographic depiction of its state in the sixteenth century, it was necessary to move the coastline both south and west compared to its present-day state.

As mentioned, lakes underwent changes as well – some decreased in size, while others vanished altogether. The second phenomenon affected smaller, most probably shallower lakes. Lake Drużno exhibits evidence of significant changes to its shoreline, especially along the eastern shore, which has shifted significantly to the west over the centuries; minor changes are also observable along the southern shore of the lake. Changes to major lakes of the Pomeranian Lake District are less evident, as the region features mostly deep ribbon lakes, the depth which slowed down the effects of vegetation overgrowth and making it less prominent. Some decrease in size can be seen in several lakes in Świecie district, especially Lake Radodziej and Lake Łąkocz, whose former narrow bays have turned into a wetland. The vanishing of small lakes has been observed in Człuchów district, near Pawłowo (northeast of Chojnice). The disappearance of lakes is a phenomenon observed mostly in Malbork and Chełmno Voivodeships and only affecting small lakes. Some of the lakes that have vanished include a lake near Nowy Targ in Malbork Voivodeship, and lakes near Wąbrzeźna, Chełmża, and Kowalewo. In place of the vanished lakes are now boggy meadows, often rich in peat.

## Vegetation

Reconstructing the forest cover of mid-sixteenth century Royal Prussia is particularly difficult because of the lack of contemporaneous cartographic data available; only its shape from the eighteenth century could be recreated, on the basis of the Schrötter Atlas, which is a late eighteenth-century source, and modern maps. Some depictions were informed by historical data on forest use from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The resulting picture shows a far-ranging woodland, chiefly in the western reaches of Royal Prussia – regions of Pomeranian Voivodeship covered by an immense woodland complex of the Tuchola Forest and the so-called Darżlubie Forest in its northern part. On the other hand, woodland remained scarce in the western reaches of Malbork Voivodeship, where heavily-forested areas could only be found in the south-eastern region of the Elbląg Upland and west of Sztum. In Chełmno Voivodeship, woodland was found mostly in the eastern part, in the region of Brodnica and, to a lesser extent, surrounding the rivers Vistula and Drwęca.

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<sup>4</sup> S. Lencewicz, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, p. 188.

The most prominent loss in forest cover since the end of the eighteenth century compared to its present-day state has occurred in Chełmno Voivodeship, and especially in its western part. There is a high probability that woodland cover in the region during the sixteenth century was already rather small, as the soil in these parts is generally fertile and has long been utilised in agriculture. The last few centuries have seen the loss of forests around Toruń, towards Łązyn and Biskupice, and north of Chełmża; these regions have become virtually forest-free in the present day. Narrow strips of woodland remain where agriculturally poor soils can be found, in some parts of the Vistula valley – around Toruń, Ostromecko, and Grudziądz, where dunes could be found; forests around Wąbrzeźno and Wonne have been entirely felled. A large loss in woodland can also be observed in the voivodeship's largest woodland complex between Brodnica and Biskupiec, with almost the entire previously forested western part having been levelled, the deforestation reaching far west towards Dębowa Góra and Osieczek. Smaller losses can be seen in the eastern part of the voivodeship, in the area of Lubawa and Lidzbark Welski.

Forest cover in Malbork Voivodeship has not seen much significant change, barring the heavy loss of woodland areas in its northeast part, in the Elbląg Upland.

Pomeranian Voivodeship shows two distinct types of changes in forest cover: some parts exhibit a significant loss in woodland areas, while others have seen forest growth. However, the losses remain far greater than any recent gains, which have mostly been observed along the Baltic coastline. Extensive afforestation of coastal dunes, which has continued since the eighteenth century until the present day, has created an almost uninterrupted woodland belt that spans from Piaśnica to the tip of the Hel Peninsula, and from Gdańsk, along the Bay of Gdańsk, encroaching into the Vistula Spit. These changes seem almost insignificant when compared to the scale of deforestation between the eighteenth and twentieth century. The effects of intense grubbing can be observed in the northern and middle part of Pomeranian Voivodeship. Until at least the late eighteenth century, a mostly uniform woodland belt stretched all the way from Lake Żarnowieckie to the forests of the Kashubian Lake District, which at the time had a much more widely spread forest cover, especially in the region of Lake Raduńskie and between Lake Raduńskie and Lake Gowidlino.

East of Kościerzyna, forests did not constitute uniform woodland complexes, forming small, insular patches instead. Tuchola Forest survived in a similar size to its state from the end of the eighteenth century, with only narrow strips at the edges grubbed; the area of Brusy, Wiele, and Czernik have been similarly cleared. Another major woodland complex in Pomeranian Voivodeship spanned between Białobór and Człuchów and has not seen any major changes throughout the last few centuries.

It must be emphasised that the extent of woodland cover established towards the end of the eighteenth century did not necessarily reflect its probable state from the second half of the sixteenth century, especially in Pomeranian Voivodeship. The period between the sixteenth and eighteenth century saw extensive grubbing in the region.<sup>5</sup> Forest overexploitation occurred alongside the so-called second wave of German colonisation in Pomerania and the emergence of numerous small settlements, including industrial ones, such as ironworks, especially in the region surrounding Skarszewy, Kościerzyna, and Gdańsk.<sup>6</sup> These phenomena on one hand consolidated the settlement network in Pomeranian Voivodeship, and on the other caused massive deforestation. This discrepancy between late eighteenth-century sources and the probable sixteenth-century state is why there are striking empty spots in the forest cover in the cartographic depiction of Pomeranian Voivodeship where there were also no existing settlements; such is the case of the regions surrounding Kościerzyna (Tczew district) and Człuchów (Człuchów and Tuchola districts), which in the sixteenth century would have still been covered by forests.

The discrepancy between source material and probable reality affected the interpretation of how much area could have been covered by wetlands, meadows, and bogs in Royal Prussia. The data informed by the Schrötter Atlas shows that the widest range of meadows and pastures occurs around the course of the Vistula, especially in Chełmno Voivodeship, as well as Świecie and Nowe districts in Pomeranian Voivodeship. Another cluster can be found in Malbork Voivodeship, especially in the south-eastern part and in Żuławy Wiślane; the third major area of meadows and pastures can be found

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<sup>5</sup> F. Mager, *Geschichte der Landeskultur Westpreussens und des Netzebezirks bis zum Ausgang der polnischen Zeit*, Berlin 1936, pp. 114 f.

<sup>6</sup> M. Kielczewska-Zaleska, *O powstaniu i przeobrażaniu kształtów wsi*, pp. 126 f.

in the territory of the town of Gdańsk (Szkarpawa and the area surrounding Gdańsk itself) and along the Baltic coastal area in Puck district.

Wetlands and bogs occur chiefly in Chełmno Voivodeship (around Lakes Wieczno and Wąbrzeźno, as well as near the town of Grudziądz) and in the valleys of the Drwęca and the Brynica, east of the Brodnica river. Another important wetland and bog area can be found in the northern parts of Pomeranian Voivodeship in the region of Puck (the Reda valley, Błota Karwieńskie). However, whether this range of occurrence of meadows and wetland corresponds entirely with the state from the sixteenth century or not, is questionable. The settlement colonisation from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the so-called Dutch settlement, heavily impacted the Vistula valley and Żuławy, prompting the transformation of old pastures and wetland into arable land.<sup>7</sup> This phenomenon is especially evident in Malbork Voivodeship, around Lake Drużno, which in the sixteenth century mostly constituted of boggy pastures, while the following centuries brought the emergence of more than a dozen settlements. Similar processes affected depressions around the town of Elbląg, between the Nogat and the Elblązka, as well as around the Wisła Elbląska.<sup>8</sup> These settlement processes might explain the lack of wetlands and bogs in Malbork Voivodeship towards the end of the eighteenth century, though wetlands would have surely been there in the sixteenth century.

In conclusion, the range of meadows and wetlands, informed by cartographic sources from the eighteenth century, only minimally corresponded with the probable state of things from the second half of the sixteenth century, especially in the case of Malbork Voivodeship.

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>7</sup> A recent, detailed list of Dutch settlements in Royal Prussia can be found in W. Maas, *Zur Siedlungskunde Westpreussens 1466–1772*, Marburg 1958, pp. 37 f. (map: *Holländersiedlungen in Westpreussen*).

<sup>8</sup> An instructive image of these transformations can be found on Map II in Bertram, *Eindeichung, Trockenlegung und Besiedlung des Weichseldeltas seit 1300*, which showcases the sharp increase in the number of settlements between late sixteenth until the eighteenth century; similar process is evident in maps in W. Maas *Holländersiedlungen in Westpreussen oraz Besiedlung Westpreussens 1466–1772*.

## III.2 ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

### III.2.1 BORDERS OF STATE TERRITORIAL UNITS

#### III.2.1.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Henryk Rutkowski*

This chapter focuses on the outer and inner borders of the described territory. The borderline of Cracow Voivodeship finally settled in 1563 and 1564, when the duchies of Oświęcim and Zator were incorporated into the Crown and the voivodeship. Earlier, these were separate lands, annexed to Poland in the fifteenth century, when they were purchased from Silesian dukes by the kings Casimir Jagiellon and John Albert.<sup>1</sup> In 1564 one district, Silesia, was formed from these two lands, but the title ‘duchy’ was preserved. The district, subordinated to the Cracow assembly, was included in Polish jurisdiction and administrative organization.<sup>2</sup>

Voivodeships, as well as lands in some of them, were main units of the political division of the Crown territory. They served the state administration, which was relatively weak, and the developing selfgovernment of the nobility.<sup>3</sup> In voivodeships there was a hierarchy of land offices, and the *sejmiks* (dietines) functioned. All clerks were nominated by the king, but in the sixteenth century they had already become practically irremovable, and could only be promoted to a higher office. Most of the offices were only honorary titles. The structure of voivodeships and lands, which formed during the previous several centuries, was already stable from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and so were the borders of these territorial units (the incorporation of the Silesian duchies was an exception).<sup>4</sup>

As already mentioned in the introduction to the commentary, this volume of the *Atlas*, apart from Cracow Voivodeship, is also devoted to the Duchy of Siewierz, a private property of the bishops of Cracow. In 1443 it was bought by Zbigniew Oleśnicki from Wenceslaus, the duke of Cieszyn. The legal and political situation of the duchy remained unsettled. In Poland it was the monarch who designated candidates for bishops, and the bishops of Cracow (like all ordinaries of Roman Catholic dioceses) were also senators. In Siewierz, however, they enjoyed an independent authority. This situation, tacitly approved by Polish kings, lasted until 1790.<sup>5</sup>

Because of a certain feature of the administrative division of Cracow Voivodeship into internal territorial units, i.e. districts (‘powiaty’), some more general topics were also raised in this chapter.

The districts were created as judicial units of the nobility. Land courts did not possess authority over royal and Church property – in fact, the districts encompassed only those villages, which belonged to the nobility and were recorded in land court registers only when they appeared as a subject in a court case.

Contrary to districts, the districts of gord starostas constituted a part of the administrative division of the sixteenth century state. These districts varied in terms of size and their relation to districts. A starosta passed his powers over to the deputies he nominated: the *podstarości* (vice-starosta) and

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<sup>1</sup> *Prawa, przywileje, statuty i lauda księstw oświęcimskiego i zatorskiego*, ed. S. Kutrzeba, „Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej AU”, vol. 9, 1913, pp. 216–226; J. Wiśniewski, Wstęp, [in:] SHGK, part 1, no. 1, p. VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Urzednicy IV/2*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>3</sup> J.A. Gierowski, *Szlachecki samorząd województw i ziem w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, Wrocław 1988 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, vol. 945), pp. 151–159.

<sup>4</sup> Buczek, MWK, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *Osadnictwo i stosunki własnościowe w księstwie siewierskim do 1790 roku*, [in:] *Siewierz. Czeladź. Koziegłowy. Studia i materiały z dziejów Siewierza i księstwa siewierskiego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Katowice 1994, pp. 169–172. See also M. Wilska’s commentary on the plan of Siewierz, pp. 813–819.

the gord judge, who in turn had various functionaries at their disposal (in the chancellery and elsewhere). The gord court had specified jurisdiction over the nobility (within the scope of the so-called *four starosta's articles*). For instance, the gord office was obliged to provide supervision over public roads and to execute verdicts of the court.<sup>6</sup> New entries were recorded in gord court books every day by the town chancellery. In the sixteenth century the importance of starosta's gords grew, but at the expense of land courts, which were losing cases.<sup>7</sup> At the end of the century, gord chancelleries of Cracow Voivodeship obtained the right to grant perpetuity to the authenticated document. Before, they could grant such rights only to entries recorded in land court books. Additionally, the starostas collected certain taxes. These powers show that gord starostas, as well as the clerks they hired, had good orientation in the territory under their authority.

This also applies to their knowledge of district borders. Although the districts did not encompass royal and Church property, for practical reasons they were used to determine the location of royal villages, of which early examples were provided by Juliusz Bardach.<sup>8</sup> The division of voivodeships into districts was also employed during tax collection and the registration of taxpayers. Church organization – parishes – also helped to cover all settlements and create accurate records.

In the sixteenth century, the *Sejm* (Diet) levied special taxes, under a common name 'pobór'. The highest income from these taxes came from land tax, i.e. *lan* tax, and then from liquor excise tax. Tax proclamations usually appointed separate tax collectors for every voivodeship (or also land). Towards the end of the century, with the growing decentralization of the fiscal system, the election of tax collectors became one of the functions of *sejmiks* (dietines). As such, the collectors ('egzaktorowie') were temporary land clerks, members of the landed gentry from a given voivodeship; usually they were elected from the deputies present at a *sejmik* (dietine).<sup>9</sup> The collectors hired their representatives – subcollectors, scribes. 'The taxes were usually brought to the district town, where the tax collector collected them on selected dates'.<sup>10</sup> In order to collect tax from all cities and towns, the collector, or rather his subcollectors, had to visit all those settlements with town rights.

The collector accounted for all the money with the Treasurer of the Crown, and also with the *Sejm* (Diet). However, it was often decided in the proclamation that he should first account for the tax with his *sejmik* (dietine). The money did not flow to the state's treasury immediately, because many taxpayers were behind with their payments. 'The collectors write down the overdue amounts and sue those who are late to the starosta, and he executes the payment quite fast and efficiently'.<sup>11</sup> The overdue taxes ('retenty') were regulated within a couple of years. For instance, only 47% of money from the 1564 tax was paid that year, 40% in the next, and 13% in 1566.<sup>12</sup> The recoverability rate of special taxes varied in different years. This can be seen in the changes of the number of lans noted in tax registers and summaries in Cracow Voivodeship.<sup>13</sup> The universal tax reform conducted during the 1562–1563 *Sejm* (Diet) in Piotrków resulted in an especially large increase of income to the State. The reform changed the tax rate and, removing the possibility of issuing payments according to 'the old bills' ('stare kwity'), it introduced the principle of current evidence of value as the base for the taxation.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Professional military unit began to appear in Poland after the first interregnum in 1572. They were formed by sejmiki (dietines) or gatherings of higher level. These units, meant to support town officials in protecting internal safety, were usually called district soldiers, although districts did not participate in the formation of the units; D. Kupisz, *Wojska powiatowe samorządów Małopolski i Rusi Czerwonej w latach 1572–1717*, Lublin 2008, pp. 23–71, 309–311.

<sup>7</sup> *Katalog Krajowego Archiwum Aktów Grodzkich i Ziemskich w Krakowie*, ed. S. Kutrzeba, „Teki Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej”, vol. 3, 1909, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> J. Bardach, *Powiat w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej*, CPH, vol. 19, 1967, no. 2, p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> About tax collectors in Greater Poland in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and about the execution of overdue taxes by the starostas, see A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce XIV–XVI wieku*, Poznań 1965, pp. 32–35; cf. J. Bardach, *Powiat*, pp. 150–151.

<sup>10</sup> A. Pawiński, *Skarbowość w Polsce i jej dzieje za Stefana Batorego*, Warszawa 1881 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 8) p. 282; see also A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 20–23; A. Filipeczak-Kocur, *Skarb koronny za Zygmunta III Wazy*, Opole 1985, pp. 23–25, 32–34.

<sup>11</sup> A. Pawiński, *Skarbowość*, p. 286.

<sup>12</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1947, p. 220.

<sup>13</sup> W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1974, p. 262.

<sup>14</sup> The sources which shed some light on this subject in Cracow Voivodeship between 1563 and 1565 were described by A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne*, pp. 13–20.

The registers of *Sejm* (Diet) taxes, i.e. tax registers ('rejstry poborowe'), were made by the collectors, or rather: their scribes. Around the middle of the sixteenth century the general form of such registers was established, they were written before the collection began. Here is a quotation from a tax proclamation from 1565: 'The collectors are to record all villages, listed according to their parish, and also inns, mills and all other taxes, which they are to collect diligently, noting every piece, how much from whom they take'.<sup>15</sup> Tax registers were then kept in the office of the Treasurer of the Crown, where they were used to control the rate of a new tax levied and chosen. The 1629 tax, as well as later taxes, was based on the 1578 registers, and the rates collected were the multiplied rates from 1578.<sup>16</sup>

Here we quote a fragment from Irena Gieysztorowa, who analysed tax registers thoroughly. 'The administrative structure used by the collectors performed only auxiliary functions to the Treasury administration, helping to identify the payers. Its constant updating of the range of parochial and district borders would only cause unnecessary obstacles to the collectors, or scribes, due to possible omission of a village. [...] This universal, as it seems, conservative tendency of tax accounting does not, however, rule out the possibility of individual initiative of the collectors, or scribes, aiming at particular simplification of administrative divisions, inconsistent with reality'.<sup>17</sup> The footnote to the previous sentence provides an example from a register from Cracow Voivodeship, concerning the border between Cracow and Silesian districts. In 1565 the collector moved in his register some parishes or villages to the Silesian district, so that they would not be divided between districts. This deviation in the administrative division occurred only in this register, the registers which followed again agreed with the former state.<sup>18</sup>

Despite their flaws and gaps, the tax registers, meant to list all settlements, remain our only source, which provide us with relatively precise knowledge about the borders of State administration units in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the reconstruction of parochial borders should be based mainly on Church sources, beginning with the oldest visitation documents. However, they also do not always contain the necessary data on all parishes. It should be emphasized here that in this series of the *Atlas* the elements presented are either certain, or hypothetical to varying degrees, as noted in respective chapters of the commentary.

The land court for the nobility was presided over by the land judge or his deputy ('podsędek'), and the chancellery was run by the land scribe. All three were nominated by the king from the candidates presented by the *sejmik* (dietine). The Silesian district, created in 1564, had its own land court, seated in Zator. Apart from this, there was only one land court, in Cracow, held four times a year, consecutively in the capital of each district.<sup>19</sup> Such was the situation from the fifteenth century to the second half of the seventeenth century. Since 1655 the land court of Cracow ceased to operate for exactly one hundred years, in contrast with gord courts, whose range of jurisdiction broadened. Between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century, there were six judicial districts (without Silesian): Cracow, Proszowice, Książ, Lelów, Czchów, Biecz.<sup>20</sup> The *subcamerarius* of Cracow passed verdicts on all border issues in the voivodeship, including Silesian district. He nominated border execution officers in the districts.<sup>21</sup>

Since 1564 the voivodeship was divided into four starosta's districts. This term was not taken from the sources – these districts were called 'lands', which is an imprecise term.<sup>22</sup> Gord starostas were equal in terms of authority, although in the sixteenth century the starosta of Cracow was granted the title

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<sup>15</sup> Next, the universal specifies the norms of levying a tax, to which the collectors and starostas had to obey. VC, vol. 2, part 1, p. 189.

<sup>16</sup> J. Senkowski, *Rejstry podatkowe 1472–1776*, [in:] *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zespołach*, ed. J. Karwasińska, Warszawa 1975, pp. 109–111; J. Wiśniewski, *Podstawowe źródła do badań toponomastycznych w Polsce i próba krytyki ich wartości*, „Onomastica”, vol. 30, 1986, pp. 40–43.

<sup>17</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, footnote 21.

<sup>18</sup> Many tax registers of Cracow Voivodeship in the sixteenth century survived to this day, see K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Cracow.

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. in the constitution from 1565 on assize land courts in Cracow Voivodeship: VC, vol. 2, part 1, p. 163. Changes introduced in 1590: VL, vol. 2, p. 314 (1337).

<sup>20</sup> S. Kutrzeba, *Studia do historii sądownictwa w Polsce*, series 1, Lwów 1901, p. 82–83. The range of Książ and Lelów districts until the first half of the sixteenth century was marked on the basis of court books in SHGK, part 3, no. 2, pp. 315–317; part 3, no. 3, pp. 520–521.

<sup>21</sup> *Urzędnicy* IV/2, pp. 6–9, 12.

<sup>22</sup> MRPS III, no. 316 (y. 1502); MRPS IV/2, no. 16332 (y. 1532).

of the general starosta of Lesser Poland. He supervised four districts: Cracow, Proszowice, Książ and Lelów. The starosta of Nowy Sącz, with his seat in Nowy Sącz, executed his power in Czchów district. That is why we can sometimes find a double name in the sources: Sącz, that is Czchów, district.<sup>23</sup> The land of Sącz had often been granted to royal widows and formed a separate administrative and judicial unit. In the middle of the fifteenth century it was included in the judicial district of Czchów.<sup>24</sup> In 1520 gord starosta's district of Biecz was pledged to Seweryn Boner. The Crown did not repurchase it, so until 1673 the members of the Boner family and later their successors, the Ligęza family, occupied the office of the starosta.<sup>25</sup> It should be emphasized that in the sixteenth century this office became more and more similar to land offices, and in 1611 it was formally acknowledged as one of them. The fourth starosta's district in Cracow Voivodeship was Silesian district, with the seat in Oświęcim.<sup>26</sup> By analogy to lands in other voivodeships, only Cracow district could purport any rights to the name of land, to a lower degree: the land of Sącz and the duchies of Oświęcim and Zator.

As the tax collectors made use of State territorial division, the districts listed in the registers usually correspond with these divisions, known from land court books. Such was the case in, for example, the Voivodeships of Sandomierz and of Sieradz. However, the situation in Cracow Voivodeship was different, and some discrepancies occur in certain parts of its territory. It was already noted by Stanisław Kutrzeba, who assumed that in the sixteenth century there existed three categories of division within voivodeships: administrative division used apparently in tax registers, districts of land courts, and districts of gord courts.<sup>27</sup> Newer historiography accepts the differentiation between judicial (land) and fiscal (sometimes called administrative) districts.<sup>28</sup> This division was applied by Jerzy Wiśniewski,<sup>29</sup> or Stanisław Cynarski and Alicja Falniowska-Gradowska.<sup>30</sup>

Comparing fiscal districts of Cracow Voivodeship with judicial districts in the second half of the sixteenth century, it could be stated that the majority of corresponding districts from both categories overlap. Without further research on this subject, for the sake of precision we must say that this matter is here treated generally, and no possible minor differences were examined. The following districts were of the judicial/fiscal type: Książ, Lelów, Czchów that is Sącz (the latter name appears in the registers), Biecz and Silesia. The combined territory of two remaining judicial districts – Cracow and Proszowice, overlapped with the area of two fiscal districts – Proszowice and Szczyrzyc. Proszowice fiscal district consisted of Proszowice judicial district and the northern part of Cracow district. Such a combination appears already in the first half of the sixteenth century. Szczyrzyc district is the southern part of Cracow judicial district, situated on the other bank of the Vistula.<sup>31</sup> We find the following names of the first of the fiscal districts in tax registers from the second part half of the sixteenth century: 'the first part of Cracow district on this side of Kleparz, together with Proszowice district' (1564), 'the first part of Cracow district alias Proszowice district' (1565), 'Cracow district behind Kleparz alias Proszowice district' (1576).<sup>32</sup> The registers from 1577 and 1580 fail to provide any title of this district, but the 1581 register (published in *Źródła Dziejowe* by Adolf Pawiński), as well as subsequent registers until 1595 mention 'Proszowice district'. A separate register for the district of Proszowice (the title was given by an eighteenth century scribe), written in 1612, covers the same area as in the sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> The change occurred after this date.

The fiscal district of Szczyrzyc was created certainly because of the large size of Cracow district. Szczyrzyc district encompassed the majority of the area of Cracow district situated south of the Vistula. In the fifteenth–seventeenth century there was no separate judicial district here, and the name

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<sup>23</sup> For instance *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego*, vol. 1: 1572–1620, ed. S. Kutrzeba, Kraków 1932, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> *Urządnicy małopolscy XII–XV wieku*, ed. J. Kurtyka, T. Nowakowski, F. Sikora, A. Sochacka, P. Wojciechowski, B. Wyrozumska, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1990, p. 19; *Urządnicy IV/2*, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> *Urządnicy IV/2*, pp. 11, 49–51.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>27</sup> S. Kutrzeba, *Studia do historii sądownictwa*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>28</sup> The term 'fiscal district' probably appeared for the first time in the introduction to Tax reg. 1680, p. XXII.

<sup>29</sup> SHGK, part I, no. 1, p. VIII.

<sup>30</sup> *Urządnicy*, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> See footnote 29.

<sup>32</sup> ASK I, no. 93, f. 1 (1564); no. 97, f. 5 (1565); no. 114, f. 1 (1576).

<sup>33</sup> ASK IV, no. 50.

for the fiscal district was taken from the Cistercian abbey called Szczyrzyc. The district of Szczyrzyc existed at least since 1485.<sup>34</sup> By checking its range on the basis of parochial seats listed in the land tax register for this district from 1490 we were able to establish that the data from this period agrees with the data from the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

The same could not be said about Cracow district in this register – the parochial seats listed were situated also in Książ and Lelów districts.<sup>36</sup> It seems that the composed of two parts register from 1490 covered the district of the gord starosta of Cracow, who – as already stated – participated in the levying of taxes. The list of villages, which paid the land tax, included in the 1564 inspection, looks similar. Four districts were mentioned in this register: Cracow (identical with Proszowice district in tax registers), Książ, Lelów and Szczyrzyc.<sup>37</sup>

In general, the nobility knew in which district and voivodeship they lived. The *sejmik* (dietine) bills for Cracow Voivodeship (from 1572–1620) mention judicial districts, but the district of Czchów had an alternative name of Sącz in 1574, and Silesian district always appears as Oświęcim-Zator district, or similar.<sup>38</sup> It could be assumed that things looked different for fiscal districts – if they were not identical with judicial districts, only a group of people was aware of their existence. Still, the territories reflected in tax registers belonged to historical reality. They constitute a part of what we present in the *Atlas* as State territorial divisions in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially at the end of that century. The maps show borderlines of fiscal districts, which usually overlap the borders of judicial districts. Two capitals were marked in the district of Sącz: Nowy Sącz (Sądecz Nowy) and Czchów, and in Szczyrzyc district there is no district capital.<sup>39</sup>

The first change of fiscal districts occurred between 1612 and 1620, perhaps in 1620, when the *sejmik* (dietine) of Cracow Voivodeship, traditionally gathered in Proszowice, levied taxes and elected six collectors, one for each of the six judicial districts.<sup>40</sup> This meant the unification of fiscal and judicial districts by separating Cracow and Proszowice districts and the elimination of Szczyrzyc district. This did not last long. Already in 1626 the southern part of Cracow district was restored as the fiscal district of Szczyrzyc, but the Cracow–Proszowice border was kept.<sup>41</sup> Thus ended the formation of the administrative division of Cracow Voivodeship (disregarding minor changes in the course of the borders). This territorial organization survived until 1772, that is until the First Partition of the Commonwealth.<sup>42</sup>

The 1629 tax register allows us to draw the borderline between Cracow and Proszowice district.<sup>43</sup> The same course was confirmed in the register from 1680. The textual map (p. 134) disregards the fact that after 1620 Sieciechowice parish belonged not to the fiscal district of Cracow, but to Książ. The affiliation of five other villages included in Cracow district should remain an open case. These are: Wrzodowa Góra (now Górka Kościelnicka, with a parochial church), Kościelniki (omitted in the registers), Węgrzynowice, and Stanisławice (from Rusiec, i.e. Ruszcza, parish) and Wrożeńica (Pobiednik parish). The settlements listed were situated in Proszowice district in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Wrzodowa Góra, Kościelniki and Stanisławice were affiliated to the judicial district of Proszowice also in the fifteenth century.<sup>45</sup> In the sixteenth century they belonged to one

<sup>34</sup> MRPS, vol. I, no. 1812.

<sup>35</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 4, pp. 445–450.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, pp. 432–444.

<sup>37</sup> LK 1564, part 2, pp. 73–94.

<sup>38</sup> *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego*, vol. 1, pp. 18, 38, 127–128, 426–427.

<sup>39</sup> Land books of Czchów were kept in Czchów, in the seat of the assize court. *Katalog Krajowego Archiwum*, p. 25.

<sup>40</sup> *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego*, vol. 1, p. 427.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 59.

<sup>42</sup> Tax reg. 1680, p. XXII. See Urzędnicy IV/2, pp. 5–6. Dr. Jacek Laberschek, a member of the team creating SHG Kraków, who prepared the plan of Cracow and the commentary to it in this *Atlas*, having read this chapter announced he does not share the beliefs of the authors of the main map concerning the territorial units of Cracow Voivodeship and the methodology of their reconstruction.

<sup>43</sup> Tax reg. 1629, pp. 9–11, 15–16, 97, 116–120.

<sup>44</sup> MWK. Some sources put these four village in Cracow district, see Materials WK.

<sup>45</sup> MRPS, vol. I, no. 1981; SHGK, part 1, no. 4, pp. 837, 838; part 3, no. 1, p. 49. See also Z. Kozłowska [Budkowa], *Mapa historyczna granic politycznych i kościelnych powiatu proszowskiego*, Kraków 1922 (Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, t. 1), pp. 19–20.

owner from the upper stratum of the noble class: first to the family Kurozwęcki, then to the family Lanckoroński, and at the end of the century to Sebastian Lubomirski.<sup>46</sup> Węgrzynowice and Wrozenia were the property of monasteries for many centuries.

*Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu* ('The historical and geographical dictionary of Cracow Voivodeship in the Middle Ages'), based mainly on court books and documents, provides district affiliation of settlements according to tax registers, including the published register from 1581. As such, it does not limit itself to judicial districts, but accepts the fiscal district of Szczyrzyc and – less consistently – the expanded Proszowice district. In the introduction to *Słownik*, Jerzy Wiśniewski wrote that from 1477 the division of the voivodeship into judicial districts remained unchanged, but the borders of these districts were not stable, and the affiliation of borderland villages often shifted.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, we should ask ourselves, if such an opinion was not influenced too much by the data from tax registers. The comparison of information relating to districts from various categories could suggest some changes, when in reality these differences could be the result of careless treatment of district borders by the tax collectors.<sup>48</sup>

Inconsistencies in the course of borderlines in Cracow Voivodeship appear still in the sources from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. 'It happens quite often that the sources, even when they are official, include an entire parish of a key of property to this district, or voivodeship, in which the parochial church of the seat of this key (starosta's lease) was located, despite the fact that this village was situated already in the territory of neighbouring district or voivodeship'.<sup>49</sup> The memory of the large Proszowice district probably still confused some parsons in 1787 as to their current affiliation of Cracow district.<sup>50</sup> In 1765, the land court in Cracow was re-established after a hundred-years break, but soon changes were being introduced in its functioning and the old division into six judicial districts was not restored.<sup>51</sup> Only fiscal, i.e. administrative, districts survived in the part of the voivodeship kept during the first partition. Most likely, they were not used very often, and so not many people were aware of their existence.

Tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century were used as basic sources, allowing us to fulfil the program for this series of the *Atlas*, and in the first place this is the reconstruction of the sixteenth century settlement network. As such, the presentation of the administrative division is also based on the same type of sources. The origin of this program should be found already in the initiative of Adolf Pawiński and Aleksander Jabłonowski and their publication of selected tax registers. This in turn inspired Stanisław Smolka to give a paper in 1880, entitled 'O przygotowawczych pracach do geografii historycznej Polski' ('Concerning the preparatory works in historical geography of Poland').<sup>52</sup> The published issues of *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, providing a large supply of information from sources which would be difficult to use, could not convince us to change our assumptions. If this voivodeship had a prepared borders of judicial districts in the sixteenth century they could have been included in *Atlas* as an additional component.<sup>53</sup>

In our presentation of the borders of fiscal districts we decided to make one exceptional deviation from this rule. This is the case of Ogródzieniec (city and castle), along with Ryczów Leśny in its parish. These settlements constituted a part of the large estates owned by the Boner family

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<sup>46</sup> During the Sejm Walny (General Diet, 1788–1792), the key of Kościelniki, which also included the nearby Wolica, belonged to Elias Wodzicki.

<sup>47</sup> SHGK, part 1, no. 1, p. VIII.

<sup>48</sup> The doubts were raised by explanations concerning the transfer of some settlements from Lelów district to the neighbouring districts in the sixteenth century. SHGK, part 3, no. 3, p. 521–523.

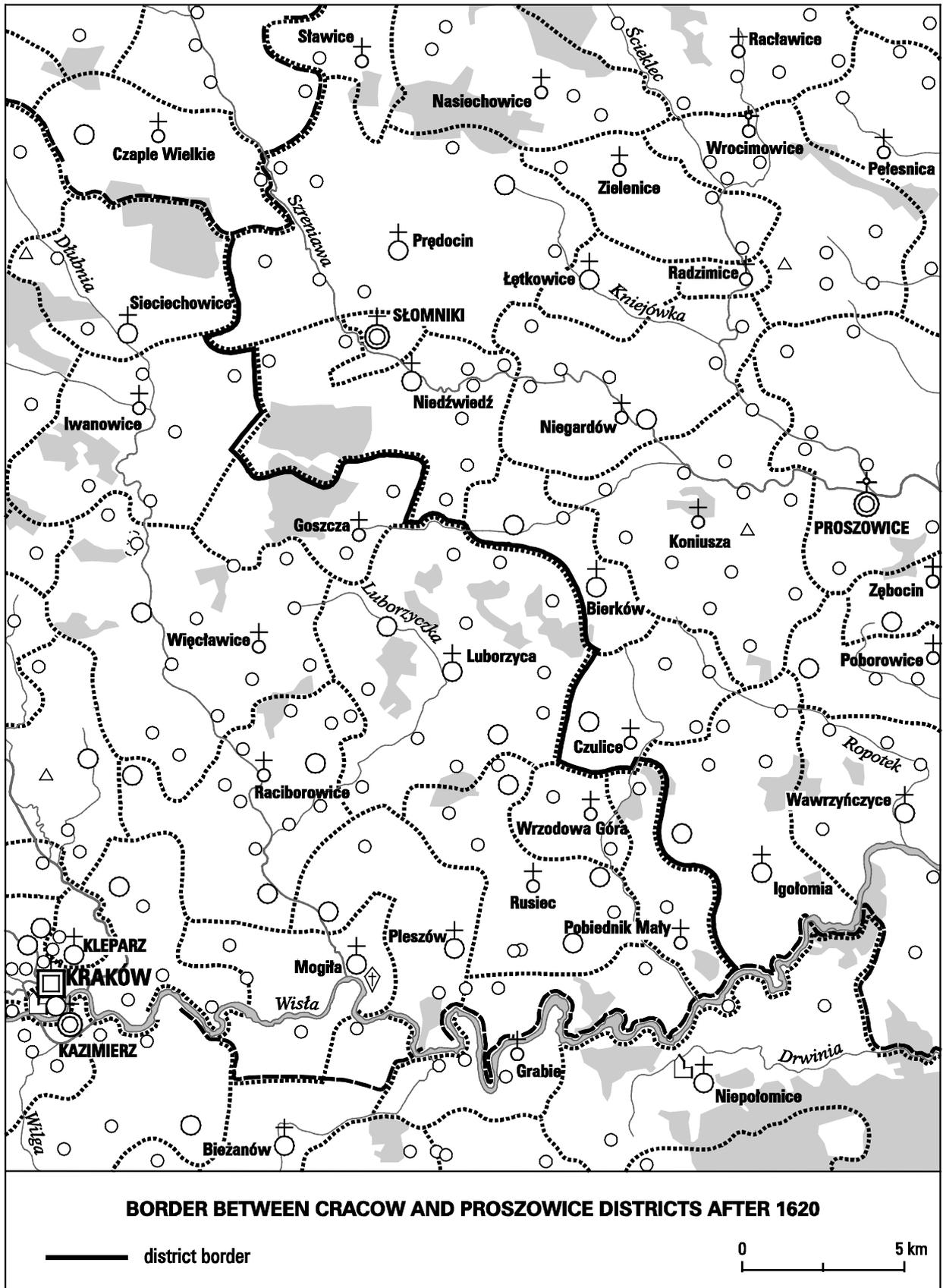
<sup>49</sup> Buczek, MWK, p. 87. Several examples: Krzepice, Krzesławice, Krzywopłoty, Kujawy, Kwilina – see *ibidem*.

<sup>50</sup> Z. Kozłowska, *Mapa historyczna*, 1922, p. 18; Buczek, MWK, p. 86.

<sup>51</sup> S. Kutrzeba, *Studia do historii sądownictwa*, pp. 40–45, 83; *Urzednicy IV/2*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>52</sup> About: H. Rutkowski, *Atlas historyczny Polski*, [in:] *Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie. Sto lat działalności*, ed. E. Wolniewicz-Pawłowska, W. Zych, Warszawa 2009, pp. 121–122.

<sup>53</sup> After we finished the reconstruction of the borders, we were able to read the manuscript of a yet unfinished thesis of Mariusz Lubczyński 'Granice powiatu ksiąskiego w XVI w. Problem podziału administracyjnego województwa krakowskiego w okresie wczesnonowożytnym' (50 pages). It confirms our belief that the borders of fiscal districts cannot be replaced with different borders of judicial districts, also because the latter cannot be determined precisely in many places. We thank the author for providing us with the manuscript.



Map 1. Border between Cracow and Proszowice districts after 1620

and Mikołaj Firlej at the end of the sixteenth century. The estates lay in three fiscal districts: Lelów, Proszowice, and Książ, usually in the borderlands between these territories. If we disregard the 1.5 km distance between the borders of Ogrodzieniec and Bydlin parishes, this was a single complex, comprising three cities (apart from Ogrodzieniec: Kromołów and Włodowice) and twelve villages. All tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, as well as the 1629 register, list both these parishes in Książ district. Ogrodzieniec and Ryczew Leśny are situated in such a way, that if we relied on the registers, we would create an enclave of Książ district in the territory of Lelów district. That is why we corrected the district border, in agreement with the information on the affiliation of Ogrodzieniec with the judicial district of Lelów, attested to in the fifteenth century court records and data from the Crown Metrica until 1524.<sup>54</sup> Bydlin and Załęże were also attested to in Lelów judicial district in 1520,<sup>55</sup> but we made no change in the course of the fiscal border in this case.<sup>56</sup> It could be added that such a situation, such as in this place on the map, continued until the second half of the eighteenth century – Ogrodzieniec and Ryczów Leśny then belonged to Lelów district, and Bydlin, Domaniewice and Załęże belonged to the district of Książ.<sup>57</sup>

According to the visitations, Borowna village, located in the borderlands between the districts of Szczyrzyc and Sącz, was divided between two parishes: Chronów and Lipnica. Tax registers, which put Borowna in Wiśnicz Wielki parish and Szczyrzyc district, list the lords of Wiśnicz and petty gentry as owners in this village. In the 1567 register we read: ‘There are parts belonging to petty gentry here, but they paid and continue to pay in the district of Sącz in Chronów, because they are on the same grounds’.<sup>58</sup> Leon Białkowski provided an example of uncertain district affiliation of several villages in the borderlands of Biecz and Sącz districts.<sup>59</sup>

The borders were reconstructed with the use of the same method as in the previously published volumes of the *Atlas*. The results it offers are not certain, but – in general – these are highly probable results. More precisely: the accuracy of the course of the borders varies in different places, and some fragments can be deemed certain (e.g. along the rivers).

The southern border of Cracow Voivodeship was also the border of the State. It separated the Kingdom of Poland from the Kingdom of Hungary. It was natural and ran through the Carpathians, just as did the border of Galicia in 1772–1918, and current border between Poland and Slovakia, with small exceptions.<sup>60</sup> It was around 400 km long.

In the west, the State border shown on the maps from this volume separates Cracow Voivodeship and the Duchy of Siewierz from Silesia, which belonged to the Habsburg Empire. The eastern border of this duchy was marked like the voivodeship border. The State border was around 210 km long, 150 km in Cracow Voivodeship, and 60 km in the Duchy of Siewierz. The borderline between the voivodeship and the duchy was some 80 km long.

A fragment of the border between Cracow Voivodeship and Silesia ran along the Biała River, a right tributary of the Vistula.<sup>61</sup> The villages Mikuszowice, Biertołtowice and Komorowice were situated on both banks of the river, so they were divided by the State border.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, we assumed it did not separate each village into two parts of different state affiliation, but ran between villages of the same name. This solution finds its confirmation in the nineteenth century situation – these were separate villages then, belonging to different political territories, and its traces can still be found today in the nomenclature (Mikuszowice Krakowskie and Mikuszowice Śląskie – Cracow Mikuszowice and Silesian Mikuszowice – and similarly Komorowice).<sup>63</sup> It could be added that Żebracza village,

<sup>54</sup> SHGK, part 3, no. 3, p. 522, footnote 4.

<sup>55</sup> SHGK, part 1, no. 2, pp. 301–302.

<sup>56</sup> In his quoted work, M. Lubczyński determined on the basis of the sixteenth century court books, the affiliation of Ogrodzieniec and Bydlin parishes, where there was a third village – Domaniewice, to Lelów judicial district.

<sup>57</sup> MWK.

<sup>58</sup> ASK I, 114, f. 67. Cf. P. Małopolska, vol. 3, pp. 56, 147–148; SHGK, part 1, no. 2, pp. 190–191.

<sup>59</sup> Ziemia sandecka, PH, vol. 12, 1911, pp. 91–92. About Lipniczka see also SHGK, part 3, no. 2, pp. 659–661.

<sup>60</sup> See above E. Rutkowska, *Geographical environment*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.1.1.

<sup>61</sup> SHGK, part 1, no. 1, p. 61.

<sup>62</sup> For instance, in the visitation from 1598 it was written: ‘Est capella in villa Mikuszowice, quam dividit fluvius Biała, dislimitans regnum Poloniae a Silesia, et ex ea ratione media villa seu una pars villae iacet in regno Poloniae, alia vero medietas villae in Silesia’. AV Cap. 17, f. 13.

<sup>63</sup> SGKP, vol. 6, pp. 415–416, vol. 7, p. 146; SHGK, part 1, no. 1, pp. 105–106, part 2, n. 4, pp. 727–729.

in the sixteenth century listed in Oświęcim district, was situated on the right bank of the Biała, near its mouth near Kaniów (today Żebracza lies on the left bank).<sup>64</sup> From the mouth of the River Biała the State border continued to run along Rivers: the Vistula, the Przemsza, and the Brynica. The final fragment of this border ran along the Liswarta.

From the north and the east, Cracow Voivodeship neighboured the following Voivodeships: Sieradz, Sandomierz, and Ruthenia. The border between the Voivodeships of Sieradz and Cracow was some 110 km long. It was presented on the map in the previously published volume of the *Atlas*. Certain issues concerning the course of the border were explained in the commentary.<sup>65</sup> The same should be said about the border between Cracow and Sandomierz Voivodeships, described in details in the commentary.<sup>66</sup> Several fragments of this long border, some 400 km long, ran along rivers. These were: the Nida and the Nidzica north of the Vistula, and the Uszwica, the Wisłoka and the Jasiołka in the southern part (disregarding short fragments of other rivers). The Jasiołka defined almost the entire borderline between the Voivodeship of Cracow and Ruthenia, more precisely: the border of Biecz district with Sanok land. The point situated the farthest to the north-east in Cracow Voivodeship was the town Jaśliska, an enclave in the land of Sanok.<sup>67</sup> The borderline between Cracow Voivodeship and Ruthenia was around 40 km long, and 16 km long around Jaśliska.

Apart from the State and voivodeship capital in Cracow, the capital of the duchy in Siewierz, and the capitals of judicial districts (i.e. except for Szczyrzyc district), the map shows seats of gord starosta's districts (listed above). Also, as in previous volumes of the *Atlas*, the place where the voivodeship *sejmik* (dietine) gathered – Proszowice – was marked, as well as Zator, the seat for the subordinate land *sejmik* (dietine).<sup>68</sup> The settlements related to the offices (titles) of castellans were given an individual sign. These were: Biecz, Cracow, Nowy Sącz, Oświęcim, and Wojnicz.

'Okazowanie', i.e. the presentation of the readiness of the nobility to participate in the Noble Host ('pospolite ruszenie') was convoked from time to time. In Cracow Voivodeship it was set 'in Cracow, before Kazimierz', and in 1587, exceptionally 'in Proszowice'.<sup>69</sup>

(2008)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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<sup>64</sup> It was localized in approximation, as linked with Kaniów, what is suggested by the tax registers. The location on the right bank of the River Biała was shown on Porębski's map. See SGKP, vol. 14, p. 753.

<sup>65</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.1.5.

<sup>66</sup> W. Pałucki, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.1.2. About the village Lubcza in Pilzno district near the border with Biecz district see SHGK, part 3, no. 3, p. 703.

<sup>67</sup> SHGK, part 2, no. 2, op. 272–273, footnote 1 in particular.

<sup>68</sup> The privilege of incorporation of the Silesian duchies from 1563 lists Oświęcim or Zator as the location of the *sejmik* (dietine), the 1581 constitution mentions only Zator. VC, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 138, 448. See also *Prawa, przywileje, statuty*, p. 222, 226.

<sup>69</sup> VC, vol. 2, part 1, p. 106, 126; VL, vol. 2, p. 229 (1059–1060), p. 366 (1449).

### III.2.1.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Władysław Palucki*

Sandomierz Voivodeship, situated in Lesser Poland, derives from the former ducal province of the Piast dynasty, centred around Sandomierz Province, that can be found in the sources from the eleventh/twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Many historians hold the opinion that in the twelfth century the following lands were joined to the province: the land of Wiślica, three castellanies situated by the Pilica (Małogoszcz, Żarnów and Skrzynno) and the northern, forest areas of the land of Radom.<sup>2</sup>

Already 80 years ago K. Potkański realized there was a ‘striking’ inaccuracy of the borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship with previous, hypothetically reconstructed, tribal divisions,<sup>3</sup> and J. Natanson-Leski, perhaps a bit too strongly, added that ‘the borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship from the fifteenth–sixteenth century do not have much [our emphasis] in common with the previous borders’,<sup>4</sup> primary ones. It is, however, interesting that not only ‘bits’, but also large fragments of these borders defined in the Middle Ages, despite later changes especially in the nineteenth and twentieth century, survived until 1975.<sup>5</sup>

The territory of Sandomierz Voivodeship bordered Mazovia in the north along the lower Radomka (Radomierza) and a latitudinal fragment of the Pilica, leaving the so-called Zapilcze on the Mazovian side.<sup>6</sup> The border with Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships ran along the Pilica, and with Cracow Voivodeship north of the Vistula – along the Nidzica. In the south Sandomierz Voivodeship included a part of Wiślica land situated over the Vistula and the former district of Tarnów (later: Pilzno district), which contained Dębica deanery, called ‘forest deanery’.<sup>7</sup> In the south east the border with Red Ruthenia (and Sanok and Przemyśl lands) ran along the broad strip of the ancient Sandomierz Forest. In the east the voivodeship crossed the Vistula almost until the end of the Middle Ages period and covered the large lands of Lublin and Łuków. Only in 1474, after Lublin Voivodeship was created (separated from Sandomierz Voivodeship), the borders of our voivodeship from the mouth of the San to the mouth

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<sup>1</sup> Gallus Anonymus (II,7,16) lists Sandomierz among ‘sedes regni principales’. S. Zajączkowski elaborated on the then division into provinces: S. Zajączkowski, *Uwagi nad terytorialno-administracyjnym ustrojem Polski XII w.*, CPH, vol. 7, 1955, he mentions (p. 295), among others, the 1198 document record: ‘in Sandomiriensi provincia’.

<sup>2</sup> T. Wojciechowski, *Szkice historyczne jedenastego wieku*, ed. 3, Warszawa 1956, pp. 306–318; S. Arnold, *Terytoria plemienne w ustroju administracyjnym Polski piastowskiej (w. XII–XIII)*, [in:] idem, *Z dziejów średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 357–372; G. Labuda, *Testament Bolesława Krzywoustego*, [in:] *Opuscula Casimiro Tymieniecki septuagenario dedicata*, Poznań 1959, pp. 170–194; S. Zajączkowski, *Uwagi nad terytorialno-administracyjnym ustrojem; W. Palucki, Kasztelania czechowska*, Warszawa 1964, pp. 63–98; T. Lalik, *Sandomierskie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Prowincja, księstwo, województwo*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, pp. 45–104.

<sup>3</sup> K. Potkański, *Puszcza Radomska*, [in:] idem, *Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. 1, Kraków 1922, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, Wrocław 1953, p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> With some differences on the Pilica: Łęczyca near Inowódz and Sieradz near Sulejów, on the Vistula near Zawichost and Solec, shown on the maps of political-administrative divisions from nineteenth–twentieth century up till the last one: *Polska Rzeczypospolita Ludowa, mapa administracyjna*, 1:500,000, PPWK, Warszawa 1974.

<sup>6</sup> According to Natanson-Leski (idem, *Zarys granic i podziałów*, p. 42), Mazovia lost Zapilcze to Sandomierz after 1138. This matter has recently been viewed by A. Świeżawski, *Przynależność terytorialna Zapilcza po 1359*, „*Zeszyty Historyczne UŁ*”, 1966, no. 45, pp. 37–49. He claims, in agreement with earlier conclusions of Wolff 1962, p. 26, that Zapilcze belonged to Sandomierz Voivodeship only between 1345–1348; ultimately Casimir the Great gave it back to Siemowit III in the treaty of 1359.

<sup>7</sup> *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 2, ed. J. Ptaśnik, Kraków 1914, p. 157: ‘Decanatus de Silvis seu Dambicia’.

of the Kurówka was set on the Vistula.<sup>8</sup> However, the densely forested and colonized future land of Stężyca, situated in the extreme north east remained within the borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>9</sup>

The term ‘Stężyca land’ requires some explanation. Until the end of the sixteenth century this area, alternatively called *terra* (land) or *districtus* (district), belonged to the land of Radom. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century until the end of the old Republic it was usually defined, especially in official sources (constitutions, lauda of the *sejmiks* (dietines)) as Stężyca land. However, this did not mean (I will return to this matter at the end of the chapter) that ‘terra Stenzicensis’ gained political-administrative rights within Sandomierz Voivodeship, similar to the rights possessed by Wieluń land in Sieradz Voivodeship, Wschów land in Poznań Voivodeship, Dobrzyń land in Inowrocław Voivodeship or the land neighbouring on Stężyca – Łuków land in Lublin Voivodeship. It was called Stężyca land due to its peripheral geographical situation (on the other side of the Vistula and the Wieprz) in relation to its province, and later voivodeship. A similar situation was Nakło land (over the Noteć) in Kalisz Voivodeship or Zawkrze land (over the Wkra) in Płock Voivodeship.

Stężyca land, situated east of the Vistula and named after the main judicial gord, covered formerly densely forested territories, where the clearing and colonization were organized from two directions: from the Mazovia and the land of Radom. As such, these areas were still called Podlasie or Polesie in the sixteenth century,<sup>10</sup> Jędrzej Świącicki correctly determined that for Garwolin district, which neighboured on Stężyca land.<sup>11</sup>

Such was, in summary, the territorial range of Sandomierz Voivodeship prior to 1772. It must be emphasized, however, that the shape of the borders of this voivodeship was influenced, apart from natural, physiographic conditions, to a large, or even decisive, degree by the political, as well as social and economic situation: the development of the settlement in forested areas, that originally had no owner and later belonged to the monarch; bestowals of and on the Church and nobility; and appropriation (as came to the light during the so-called revision of letters in 1564<sup>12</sup>) and the emergence of mixed ownership relations that accompanied the bestowals.

The role of the forests in defining natural borders was frequently noted in historiography – ever since the publishing of K. Potkański’s wonderful work on this subject<sup>13</sup> – when dealing with territorial issues. It is especially visible when the forest used to dominate in the territory of Sandomierz Voivodeship: Jedlnia (Radom) Forest in the north that separated the voivodeship from Mazovia, and Sandomierz Forest in the south east that separated Polish lands from the territory of Red Ruthenia.

Rivers played a similar role in determining the borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship. Although rivers, especially when they flowed through ethnically uniform or related areas, did not separate, but connected the settlement, defining the main directions of its development; they were, however, often used for administrative and political divisions. For the outer borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship such rivers, their longer or shorter fragments, were: the Vistula, the Radomka, the Pilica, the Nida, the Nidzica and the lower San. The role of Pilica was noticed quite early by Potkański, who concluded

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<sup>8</sup> W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniami urzędników ziemskich w Koronie do schyłku XVI w.*, Warszawa 1962, p. 138. A mistaken belief concerning the date of the creation of Lublin Voivodeship can still be found in some works, it was taken from Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 1, Lipsk 1839–1846, p. 184 repeated by Z. Gloger, *Geografia historyczna dawnej Polski*, Kraków 1900, p. 187. According to this belief the creation occurred in 1471; see M. Stankowa, *Księgi sądu kasztelana lubelskiego w Wąwolnicy*, „Rocznik Lubelski”, vol. 1, 1958, p. 248; eadem, *Powiat urzędowski w Polsce przedrozbiorowej pod względem prawnoustrojowym*, [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego*, Lublin 1964, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> In 1793 there was a project, raised during the diet of Grodno, to include Stężyca land in Lublin Voivodeship (VL, vol. 10, p. 311). Obviously, due to the Second Partition, the project was not realized.

<sup>10</sup> LS 1564/5, p. 200: ‘Regestrum exactionis fumalium villarum poleskich’; ibidem, footnote 339; LR 1529, p. 407–422, lists the villages situated in Stężyca land, noting that they lie ‘in Podlasze’. In the document of Ladislaus Jagiello from 1388 the king allows the townsmen of Ryczywół to sell their good ‘in Polyessie ducere, emere et vendere’, that this mean the lands of Stężyca and Łuków is testified by the instruction issued simultaneously to the starostas of Sieciechów and Łuków to obey the privilege – ZDM, VI, no. 1537.

<sup>11</sup> *Najstarszy opis Mazowsza Jędrzeja Świącickiego*, ed. S. Pazyra, Warszawa 1974, p. 143 ‘ultra Vistulam aliquanto latius patet, vocatur ea regiuncula Polesie, quod excisis sylvis non ita pridem coli ceperit’. About the separation of a judicial district in Stężyca see p. 168.

<sup>12</sup> AGAD, *Metryka Litewska*, IV B, 7, f. 44v: ‘There are many who, not having settled borders with the king’s estates, and not allowing the commissioners on the borders, appropriate royal land and benefits, especially in the forest, where there was clearing and sheep pastures, His Royal Highness find the starostas should protect...’.

<sup>13</sup> K. Potkański, *Puszcza Radomska*, passim.

that during the reign of Casimir the Just (or perhaps even in the times of Prince Henry of Sandomierz) ‘the water line of the Pilica turned out to be a better and more distinct border, and as such it was chosen and acknowledged’.<sup>14</sup>

As in the case of the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century, the reconstruction of the political-administrative borders (of the voivodeship and the districts) was based on tax registers. However, this source basis, very useful in our work, has also often proven insufficient due to, for instance, a mistake in assigning a settlement to a parish or district. It was therefore necessary not only to verify the data from the tax registers using other sources, but also to supplement it with the settlements that for various reasons (e.g. a several years of tax relief for newly located villages) did not appear in the registers. The situation of such newly located settlements, if they had been located near political-administrative borders, made correct marking of some fragments of the borderline easier. In this we have mostly used Church sources, especially the valuable visitation of the Cracow diocese of the Radziwiłł family from 1596–1598, which – apart from earlier hamlets – also includes settlements located in the last years of the sixteenth century. Yet, from our point of view, this source is incomplete for Sandomierz Voivodeship, as it does not include Kurzelów archdeaconry belonging to Gniezno archdiocese, i.e. the major part of Chęciny district and the entire Opoczno district and the north western part of Radom district.

Additionally, Church visitations list the settlements according to their parish, without district affiliation (the parishes often did not lie within borders of one district). Also, determining the borderlines running through wilderness and forest caused some difficulties. Given the lack of settlement that could be a point of reference, we had to take into consideration physiographic features of the area, marked on the oldest topographical maps on a detailed scale. Of older works, K. Perthès’s ‘Mappa szczegulna województwa sandomierskiego’ from 1788–1791 showing voivodeship and district borders, was the most useful.<sup>15</sup> This peak achievement of Polish cartography of the Stanislaus period, at a scale close (1:225,000) to the one used in this series of the Historical Atlas of Poland maps, has its drawbacks as well. Disregarding the cartographic inaccuracies, obvious given the period of its creation, it should be remembered that it presents the geographical environment and the historical and political landscape from the end of the eighteenth century, already significantly changed in relation to the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> However, what for us was more disadvantageous was the fact that this map, prepared after the first Partition in 1772, does not include the part of Sandomierz Voivodeship situated on the other bank of the Vistula.

In these southern areas of the voivodeship some fragments of the borderline, running through territories which were poorly, or not at all, inhabited in the sixteenth century (Sandomierz Forest), can be somewhat hypothetical, as we verified them on the basis of later sources and cartographic works of A. Jabłonowski, M. Korduba and A. Fastnacht.<sup>17</sup>

For the entire voivodeship we did not omit the maps accompanying the subsequent volumes of the inspections of royal property in Lesser Poland, especially the one prepared by H. Rutkowski for the inspection of Sandomierz Voivodeship from 1564–1565. Additionally, when determining the borderline between Sandomierz and Cracow Voivodeships we used the maps of Cracow Voivodeship from the eighteenth century prepared by E. Trzyna, S. Żyga, and Z. Rzepa,<sup>18</sup> the inspection of the roads of Cracow Voivodeship from 1570 published by B. Wyrozumski, and including (for the areas

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<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 116.

<sup>15</sup> Earlier, beautiful cartographic work of K. Perthès, namely ‘Polonia’ from 1770, covering the entire territory of the Republic, at a scale 1:893,000, did not prove so useful for us, as the borderlines were marked inaccurately, and in some places (with Mazovia and Sieradz Voivodeship) even incorrectly. For the same reasons we did not use the beautiful map prepared and published two years later by J.A. Rizzi-Zannoni *Carte de la Pologne, divisée par provinces et palatinatus*, scale. 1:692,000, London 1772.

<sup>16</sup> For instance, the lower San and its mouth into the Vistula flows through the new channel, moved north in relation to the old one. See K. Chłapowski, *Geographical environment*, [in:] *AHP Sandomierz*, in this edition III.1.2.

<sup>17</sup> A. Jabłonowski, *Atlas historyczny Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 2: *Ziemia Ruskie*, Warszawa–Wiedeń 1899–1904; M. Korduba, *Zachidne pohranycze Halyckoj derżawy miż Karpatamy ta dolisznym Sanem*, „Zapysky Naukowe Towarzystwa im. Szewczenka”, vol. 138–140, Lwiv 1925 (with map); A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340–1650*, Wrocław 1962.

<sup>18</sup> *Województwo krakowskie w r. 1680*, 1:200,000, ed. E. Trzyna, S. Żyga, Z. Rzepa, appendix to: *Rejestr poborowy woj. krakowskiego z r. 1680 [or 1656]*, ed. E. Trzyna, S. Żyga, S. Inglot, Wrocław 1959; *Rozmieszczenie dóbr koronnych woj.*

north of the Vistula) the precious *Mapa województwa krakowskiego z doby sejmu czteroletniego, 1788–1792*,<sup>19</sup> and *Taryfa mostowego i grobelnego województwa lubelskiego z r. 1767*.<sup>20</sup>

The exact course of the border of Sandomierz Voivodeship ran as follows. Beginning in the north east, i.e. from the point where the borders of three voivodeships met: Lublin Voivodeship (Łuków land), Mazovia (Czersk land) and Sandomierz (Stężyca land), due west until the point of junction of the borders of Rawa Voivodeship, Łęczyca Voivodeship and Sandomierz Voivodeship (Opoczno district), the northern borderline of our voivodeship has already been marked on the map of Mazovia. Its middle part, on the lower Radomka, is well attested to in the sources.<sup>21</sup> The inclusion of Olszowe village (Wyszemierzyce parish) on Perthès's 'szczegulna' map on the Mazovian side, that belonged to Sandomierz Voivodeship according to the sixteenth century sources, was probably a result of eighteenth century changes.

The River Pilica, after it left the south western edge of Mazovia, was used – already in the Middle Ages – to separate Sandomierz and Łęczyca Voivodeships, and then Sieradz Voivodeship. The border with Łęczyca Voivodeship in the sixteenth century ran on a short (around 20 km) fragment of the river, except for a small area on the right bank of the Pilica near Inowłódz belonging to Łęczyca Voivodeship. This deviation of the borderline from the course of the river survived, notably, until 1975, despite the later territorial and administrative changes.

The mouth of the Wolborka flowing into the Pilica marked the beginning of the border of our voivodeship with Sieradz Voivodeship; it ran south along the channel of the Pilica to the junction of these two voivodeships north west of Nowopole (present-day Koniecpol) with Cracow Voivodeship. On this quite long and well attested in the sources<sup>22</sup> border fragment Sieradz Voivodeship crossed the Pilica near Sulejów and covered a large area on the right bank of the river, belonging to Sulejów,<sup>23</sup> and at the same time – again: notably – this state survived until 1975. However, the Cistercian monastery (because the northern borderline of this quasi-enclave of Sieradz ran just outside the monastery) was situated within Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>24</sup>

In some, especially older, cartographic works there appears another deviation of the voivodeship border from the course of the Pilica, in the vicinity of Przedbórz. This small area, covering several square metres west of the River Pilica, was included into Sandomierz voivodeship on the basis of the tax registers of this voivodeship from 1527–1530 and 1576 that mention a village Wola, belonging to

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krakowskiego w latach 1660–1670, 1:400,000, ed. E. Trzyna, appendix to: idem, *Położenie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich woj. krakowskiego w XVII w.*, Wrocław 1963.

<sup>19</sup> Under the supervision of W. Semkowicz, prepared by K. Buczek, Cracow 1930.

<sup>20</sup> Z. Góralski, *KHKM*, vol. 3, 1956, pp. 543–574.

<sup>21</sup> Najstarszy opis Mazowsza, p. 138: 'tractus qua Radomirria flumen decurrit: Sandomiriensen provinciam tangit'; LS 1660/4, I, p. 126: 'to the River Radomierza that separates Sandomierz land from Mazovia'. In the collection of the King Stanislaus Augustus there was 'Mappa rzeki Radomierzy, graniczącej Województwo Sendomierskie od Mazowieckiego od Sidlowiec [s] aż do Wisły de anno 1788'; see *Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów króla Stanisława Augusta*, Kraków 1935 (Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski, vol. 3), p. 298.

<sup>22</sup> Długosz, *Annales*, I, p. 78: 'Pilcza [...] terram Sandomiriensem a Sradensi in aliquibus locis disterminans'.

<sup>23</sup> The initial location of Sulejów (on the left or right bank of the Pilica?) has long been a controversial matter in historiography, S. Arnold, *Z dziejów średniowiecza*, p. 312 and map: *Małopolska w XII–XIII w.*, and J. Mitkowski, *Początki klasztoru w Sulejowie*, Poznań 1949, p. 176, believed that in the beginning Sulejów was situated on the right bank of the Pilica. S. Zajązkowski (Uwagi nad terytorialno-administracyjnym ustrojem, p. 305) located the city on the left bank of the river. Earlier K. Potkański, *Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. 1, p. 141, footnote 5, also included Sulejów in Sieradz Voivodeship, adding: 'although Sulejów later (i.e. from the fourteenth century on) belonged to Sandomierz land, I believe this is a later change'. The difficulty of this matter resulted from the lack of knowledge that we are dealing here with two settlement units: the city located on the left bank of the Pilica, and the Cistercian monastery, situated from the very beginning on the right bank, belonging to Sandomierz Voivodeship; see especially S. and S.M. Zajązkowscy, *Materiały do słownika geograficzno-historycznego ziem łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej do 1400 r.*, part 2, Łódź 1970, pp. 124–127.

<sup>24</sup> This is confirmed by two reliable, though later (from the end of the eighteenth century), cartographic sources: 'Wykaz dóbr duchownych' included in Perthès's map lists among villages belonging to the Sulejów Abbey in this voivodeship also 'Sulejów monastery'. In *Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego*, on the page entitled: 'Województwo Sieradzkie, powiat Piotrkowski, parafia Sulejów miasteczko' (cartographic draft) there were '19 huts in Sandomierz Voivodeship and a monastery a 1000 steps from the parochial church' listed among the settlements under the name Sulejów, similarly under the name Strzelce – 'over the River Pilica, in Sandomierz Voivodeship'; mkf. And photography of the Sulejów page in the collection of IH PAN.

Przedbórz starosta's district,<sup>25</sup> which was rightly identified with Wola Przedborska, situated outside the town on the left bank of Pilica. The solution of this matter was made difficult by the lack of inventories and inspections of Przedbórz starosta's district from the sixteenth century (it was then burdened by mortgage) and complicated by M. Kromer. In his description of the last days of the reign of Casimir the Great (hunting in Przedbórz Forest) and the fall from the horse, resulting in the king's death (on an unknown basis, as the most reliable Vice-Chancellor Janko of Czarnków does not mention that) Kromer added – incorrectly – that Przedbórz belonged to Sieradz Voivodeship.<sup>26</sup> However, on the document from 1488 concerning the royal mill near Przedbórz located 'super fluvio Pyleza', it was stated that the mill was situated 'in rippa terre Siradiensi, terram ipsam a Sandomieriensi dividens'.<sup>27</sup> The book of benefits of J. Łaski mentions among the meadows near Przedbórz – one, situated on the left bank of the Pilica in Sieradz land.<sup>28</sup> The inspection of Sandomierz Voivodeship from 1660 does mention a demesne called Wola,<sup>29</sup> not marking its affiliation to Sieradz Voivodeship, yet the very thorough inspection of this voivodeship from 1789 clearly states that the demesne lay in Sieradz land.<sup>30</sup> Finally, K. Perthès on his map of Sandomierz Voivodeship from 1788 marked the borderline between Sieradz and Sandomierz Voivodeships near Przedbórz along the River Pilica and – more convincingly – did not mention Wola Przedborska in the annex to this map, which included a list of royal estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship, Przedbórz starosta's district among others. Only in the period of the changes in the administrative division of the Kingdom of Poland following the instructions of the Government Committee of Internal Affairs from 25 November 1823 were the hamlet Widoma and demesne Wola Przedborska moved from Radomsko district in Kalisz Voivodeship<sup>31</sup> to Końskie district in Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>32</sup> The borderline near Przedbórz defined at this time survived till 1975, which suggests that it was determined in the pre-Partition period.

The border between Sandomierz Voivodeship and Sieradz Voivodeship ended on the level of Wąsosz village (in Cracow Voivodeship), then the border with Cracow Voivodeship began. It left the River Pilica and ran east, separating the grounds of the villages: Zwlecza, Bichniów, Bałków (Chęciny district) from Krzepice, Bieganów (Cracow Voivodeship), reaching north of Dzierzków (Dzierzgów, Cracow Voivodeship) to Biała Nida, but the border village Podłazie lay on the Cracow side, 'where Sandomierz land is separated from Cracow land',<sup>33</sup> then the borderline ran east along the Biała Nida until the border between Bizeręda (Cracow Voivodeship) and Bizerędka (Sandomierz Voivodeship). This fragment of the voivodeship borders partially did not overlap with diocese borders, the more twisting ones. Cierno parish cut deepest into Cracow Voivodeship, the parish belonged to Kurzelów archdeaconry of Gniezno archdiocese (only Popowice village, situated on the northern bank of the Nida lay in Sandomierz Voivodeship). These differences in the course of the borders have not yet been satisfactorily explained in the literature.

Also unclear are the origins of a narrow wedge, where Cracow Voivodeship cut into Sandomierz Voivodeship near Bizeręda.<sup>34</sup> From this point the borderline ran east, bending south, between Mokrsko

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<sup>25</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 276, 573. Perhaps this convinced S.M. Zajączkowski, *Studia nad osadnictwem dawnych ziem łączyskiej i sieradzkiej*, „Studia z Dziejów Osadnictwa”, vol. 4, 1966, map: 'Powiat radomszczański w połowie XVI w.' to affiliate Wola Przedborska to Sandomierz Voivodeship.

<sup>26</sup> M. Cromeri, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, Bazylea 1558, p. 326: the king Casimir, on his return from Ruthenia, where he went hunting, arrived at Przedbórz, 'quod oppidum in Siradiensi tractu est'.

<sup>27</sup> MK, 14, f. 247.

<sup>28</sup> Łaski LB I, p. 617: 'item secundum [pratum] habet in alia parte fluvii in terra Siradiensi inter prata regalia haereditatis quondam Wola'.

<sup>29</sup> LS 1660/4, vol. 2, p. 66: 'Demesne over the bridge calle Wola; inhabitants of Nosalowice cultivate it'.

<sup>30</sup> LS 1789, no. 1, p. 88: 'Przedbórz starosta's district in Sandomierz Voivodeship, Chęciny district, except from the demesne called Wola, which lies in Sieradz Voivodeship'.

<sup>31</sup> In the contemporary administrative division Sieradz Voivodeship was not reactivated; its territory was incorporated into Kalisz Voivodeship.

<sup>32</sup> W. Trzebiński, A. Borkiewicz, *Podziały administracyjne Królestwa Polskiego w okresie 1815–1918*, Warszawa 1956 (Dokumentacja Geograficzna, vol. 4), p. 35.

<sup>33</sup> LDK, p. 69.

<sup>34</sup> Bizerędka does not appear in the tax registers from the sixteenth century because it was treated as a hamlet belonging to Mzurowa; in the poll tax register from 1676: 'Mzurowa cum Bizorenda', The Princes Czartoryski Library, Łoyko MS, no. 1099, p. 403. Mentions from the sixteenth century, see MRPS, vol. IV, no. 16918, 23237, Paprocki 1858, p. 257 (according to the document from 1419).

Górne (Chęciny district) and Mokrsko Dolne (Cracow Voivodeship) the middle Nida, and then – along the course of this river – reached the mouth of the Mierzawa, whose fragment of around 10 km separated Wiślica land from the lands of Cracow already in the early Middle Ages. Between Wrocieryż (Cracow Voivodeship) and Zagajów Mały (Wiślica land) the border turned south and, creating two smaller wedges, reached the River Nidzica south of Działoszyce. From this point the River Nidzica constituted the border between Sandomierz Voivodeship and Cracow Voivodeship, until its mouth flowing into the Vistula near Ławy hamlet. This fragment of the voivodeship border on the River Nidzica,<sup>35</sup> well attested to in the sources, differs in three places from the state presented on the map of Cracow Voivodeship from the period of the Great Sejm. On this map the villages: Jastrzębniki (Wola Suszczycka parish), Grodzonec (Dzierżązna parish) and Sokolniki (Skalbmierz parish) were included in Cracow Voivodeship; in fact, as attested to from the fifteenth century on, these villages belonged to the lands of Wiślica. The authors of this map actually mention that in the materials to the Dictionary, explaining their mistake.<sup>36</sup>

It was necessary to specify the course of the border near the mouth of the River Nidzica flowing into the Vistula, as in the fifteenth–eighteenth century sources the aforementioned village Ławy appears either on the Cracow<sup>37</sup> or on the Sandomierz (Wiślica)<sup>38</sup> side. Thorough analysis of the sources has shown that at the same time there existed two villages bearing the same name: the one on the right bank of the river was the village Ławy that belonged to Korczyn starosta's district, but was actually situated in Cracow Voivodeship; the other settlement, on the left bank of the river, was a village with an inn, also called Ławy, which belonged to a noble family and lay in Wiślica district. Moreover, according to 'Mapa części Województwa Sandomierskiego położonej nad Wisłą, począwszy od wsi Trzebnicy, aż do rzeczki Ławy' by F. Podoski dated 1790 ('Map of the part of Sandomierz Voivodeship, by the Vistula, beginning with Trzebnica village until the rivulet Ława')<sup>39</sup> and some later detailed maps, the River Nidzica flowed – as in the sixteenth century – in two channels for several kilometres before its mouth flowed into the Vistula, the left (eastern) arm was called old river in the sixteenth century sources. As such, we have decided to draw the borderline of the voivodeship along the older channel.

From the mouth of the Nidzica flowing into the Vistula the border between Sandomierz and Cracow Voivodeships ran upstream of the Vistula for a while, until the mouth of its right tributary – Uszew. Next – along the channel of this river, attested to in the sources.<sup>40</sup> Near the village Bielcza (Pilzno district), meandering around the village Wokowice (Pilzno district) situated west of the River

<sup>35</sup> Długosz, Liber, II, p. 149: 'fluvius Nidzicza, qui terram Cracoviensem a Sandomiriensi et archidiaconatum Sandomiriensem [...] a praepositura Wislicensi determinat'; Długosz, Annales, I, p. 78: 'Item Nydzicza cuius fons in villa Zandowicze, hostia circa villam seu locum Lawy terram Cracoviensem a Sandomiriensi dividens'. LDK, p. 29: 'we arrived at a village, which is called Ławy, which belongs to Nowe Miasto starosta's district. They told us there, that they duty there, but they showed us nothing; we measured the highroad and ordered them to fix it. From there we returned, because there the border separated Cracow land from the lands of Sandomierz'.

<sup>36</sup> MWK, p. 68 (footn. 2), 80 (footn. 6), 287 (footn. 1).

<sup>37</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 10 (y. 1581); ASK LVI 2, II, p. 22 (y. 1581): 'the village Ławy that belongs to Przemków demesne, there three inns, also a mill [...] on the River Nyda'; Tax register of Cracow Voivodeship from 1629, p. 103; tax register of Cracow Voivodeship from 1680, p. 102; MWK, Materiały, p. 168. However, in *Lustracja woj. krakowskiego 1789*, ed. A. Fałniowska-Gradowska, I. Rychlikowa, part 1, Kraków 1962, p. 215 n., the inn in the former royal village Ławy by the Nidzica belongs to Piotrowice village. And on Heldensfeld's map Ławy were marked only on the left (eastern) bank of the Nidzica. A. Wyczański (Studia nad gospodarką starostwa korczyńskiego 1500–1660, Warszawa 1964, p. 139) mentions '3 inns in Ławy by the busy road running south-west along the Vistula (from the north-east) were used as guesthouses for the travellers'.

<sup>38</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 490 (y. 1508): 'taberna in Lavy'; distinction between the royal village Ławy and the village Urzuty belonging to Tynec monastery in 1508, MK, 22, f. 147. LS 1564/5 p. 48 n.: 'Villa sive taberna Lavy in via publica Cracoviensi. [...] Rzeka Nydzicza graniczy inter villam regiam Lawy et inter villam Morawyany nobiulium Dunyn sive Jordan. Na nowy rzece buduje starosta most i gacią drogę naprawuje, a na satary rzece, która graniczy dziedziny, buduje most i drogi naprawuje haeres de Morawyany. Na które mostów i drogi naprawowanie jest nadane mostowe iuxta contenta decreti Warszaviensis; które mostowe trzymają arendą, rok z królewski strony, a drugi [rok z] strony ziemiański, karczmarze, a mostowe na poły dzielą'. Similarly with small differences ASK LVI, 2, I, f. 35, y. 1572: 'As the border of Mr. Jordan came from the village Morawiany [Wiślica district] to the other side of the river of the bank of Nidzica, on which he has an inn, from which they are building the other half of the bridge'.

<sup>39</sup> A photographic copy of the map can be found in the cartographic collection of the Historical Atlas of Poland section of IH PAN.

<sup>40</sup> LDK, p. 29: 'we crossed the Vistula and arrived at a village, which is called Gorka and which belongs to Mr. Morski. There we travelled through his lands until we reached the river they call Usseph, and there Cracow land meets Sandomierz land'.

Uszew, the border turned south east and between Wojnicz (Cracow Voivodeship) and Łukowa (Pilzno district) near the village Isep (Pilzno district) it reached the River Dunajec.<sup>41</sup> For 4 km this river set the border between the two voivodeships.

S. Arnold paid attention to this fragment of the border, having thought that Wojnicz castellany could have had covered the area east of the Dunajec and only the expansion of the settlement from the Sandomierz Voivodeship changed the former state of things.<sup>42</sup> This issue has not yet been resolved, but it must be noted that two source records provide completely contradictory data regarding the political-administrative affiliation of Wojnicz, the capital of a greater castellany of Cracow Voivodeship, situated on the left bank of the River Dunajec, just by the border with Sandomierz Voivodeship. According to a sixteenth century transumpt of a document of Louis I of Hungary from 1381 that shifted Wojnicz from Neumarkt to Magdeburg rights, it was said that Wojnicz belonged to Sandomierz Voivodeship, and yet in the eighteenth century copy of this document it was stated that Wojnicz belonged to Pilzno district of Cracow (sic!) Voivodeship.<sup>43</sup>

The border left the river and ran south east for a while, encircling the village Lubienia which belonged to Pilzno district, then it zigzagged east between the villages Rychwałd and Meszna, the town Tuchów, villages Zalasowa, Wola Lubecka, Lubcza Górna, Zwanowa (present-day Dzwonowa) and Kawęczyn, all situated in Pilzno district, and the villages: Jodłowa Polska, Lewin, Dąbrówka, Bestwiszowa, Kowalowa, located in Biecz district. South of Kawęczyn the border turned south east and south of Skorowa (on the Pilzno side) it reached the River Wisłoka, it ran along the channel of this river until its mouth into the River Jasiołka, near Ułaszowice (Pilzno district).

For merely 1 km the border ran along this river near its mouth, and then turned north (leaving the village Ułaszowice in a wedge belonging to the territory of Pilzno district) and went around the villages of Jasło starosta's district: Gorajowice and Brzeszczki (Biecz district), passing the village Rostoki (Biecz district) and reached the River Jasiołka. From now on the river defined the borderline (except for a fragment of Pilzno district on the eastern bank of the river near Jedlicze), until the eastern grounds of the village Zręciny (Biecz district), where the borders of three Voivodeships met: Cracow, Sandomierz and Ruthenia.

From Zręciny the border turned north east and, leaving Krosno and Odrzykoń (Sanok land) on the Ruthenian side, and Polanka and Turowszówka (Pilzno district) on the Sandomierz side, it reached the River Wisłoka east of the village Turowszówka. After some 4 km it left the river near the village Bratkówka (Pilzno district),<sup>44</sup> and in a sharp wedge it encompassed this village and turned back east, leaving Węglówka Ruska and Krosna on the Pilzno side; through a still large woodland area the borderline reached Domaradz Niżny, formerly called Zakobyl.<sup>45</sup> The other name Domaradz was taken from a stream running south, that flowed into the Stobnica River. Here the stream separated Sandomierz land from the land of Sanok.<sup>46</sup>

After Domaradz the voivodeship border turned east, and then – leaving the village Barycz (Ruska) on the Sanok side – north, and then finally north west. The village Gwoźnica Górna lays in the territorial wedge formed this way. Further in the same direction the border ran through the forest between the villages: Blizna, Barycz (Polska), Połomia, Wyżne and Babica (Pilzno district) and Straszydło and Lubienia (Przemyśl land) and reached the River Wisłok east of Czudec village (Sandomierz Voivodeship). This river was used only on a short fragment (around 5 km). Next, leaving the villages: Lutoryż, Zarzecze and Boguchwała<sup>47</sup> in a wedge, the border, with small deviations, ran north east until it reached the royal village Mrowla in Pilzno district.

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<sup>41</sup> ZDM I, no. 58, y. 1349.

<sup>42</sup> S. Arnold, *Z dziejów średniowiecza*, p. 358.

<sup>43</sup> ZDM I, no. 164, according to a transumpt of Sigismundus Augustus from 21 December 1558, record in MK 93, f. 85v–87v: 'nostrae civitatis Woyniciensem sitae in terra Sandomiriensi'; MK 92, f. 352v (eighteenth century copy of the Charter): 'oppidum nostrum Woynicz in terra Cracoviensi et districtu Pilznensi situm'.

<sup>44</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 529: 'Bratkówka villa in terra Sandomiriensi'.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 515: 'Domaradz Inferior seu Zakobila'. On the Ruthenian (Sanok) side there was another Domaradz, Wyżny.

<sup>46</sup> AGZ, vol. 8, no. 94, y. 1480: from this place, 'ubi Zakobila, qui dividit terras Sandomiriensem et Sanocensem inter praedictas villas caedit in fluvio Stobnyca'. See also A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej*, p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> ZDM I, no. 142, y. 1373: 'eadem haereditas mediat limites Sanocenses et Sandomirienses'.

Beyond Mrowla the border ran east on a short fragment of the river of the same name (Mrowla),<sup>48</sup> one of the left tributaries of the Wisłok River, but already near Rudno Wielkie (Przemyśl land) the border suddenly turned north west along Osina (left tributary of the River Mrowla), After some 3 km it again turned north east on the lower Rogoźnica – the Osina’s tributary, then east of Zabajówka, then it passed Głowów (Pilzno district) and ran north to cross the nearly impenetrable forest that separated Polish lands from Ruthenia (streams could have existed there in the High Middle Ages).

Having run through the territory of the village of Wola Zielonka (Sandomierz district), the border of the district and Voivodeship of Sandomierz turned east, and near the village of Górnio (Sandomierz Voivodeship) – south east, encompassing the village of Dołęga (Sandomierz district), then it turned north east again. On this quite long fragment, leading through the edge of the Sandomierz Forest, the border ran east of the villages Łowisko, Łętownia and Tarnogóra (Sandomierz district), then it turned first east and then north. Before the village of Kopki (Sandomierz district)<sup>49</sup> at the level of Krzeszów (Przemyśl land) it reached the channel of the River San.

We could not base the border between Sandomierz Voivodeship and Ruthenia, and then Lublin Voivodeship in Zasanie, solely on tax registers from the sixteenth century, because it ran through an almost entirely forested area. The settlement process in this territory began quite late and intensified only in the eighteenth century. As such, it did not provide sufficient number of points of reference for our period, which would have allowed us to trace the border course.

Already during our work on the map of Lublin Voivodeship, for which our assumed period of reference was around 1564, our emphasis was on the southern border of this voivodeship that ‘it was not entirely precisely drawn here, because the settlements on both sides of the borderline were situated far on the edge of the forest, so the course of the borderline on the map should be treated only as a probable range’ of the neighbouring voivodeships.<sup>50</sup>

That is why this time we supplemented the lack of direct sources (tax registers) with later sources from the second half of the seventeenth century<sup>51</sup> and cartographic works from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The latter (Perthèes, Liesganig, Heldensfeld) are especially valuable for this part of our Atlas, as they present the course of the border of the southern part of Lublin Voivodeship in a quite detailed way, which is additionally attested to in surviving reports of the Delimitation Committee from 1776.<sup>52</sup> The reports sent to Warsaw show that the then borders, defined after the first Partition – except for the lower San, which changed its channel and mouth flowing into the Vistula around 1706<sup>53</sup> – ran in the remaining Zasanie fragment of Sandomierz Voivodeship along the southern border of Lublin district.<sup>54</sup>

The border of Sandomierz Voivodeship, beginning in the east after it left the River San between the villages Kopki (Sandomierz Voivodeship) and Kamionka (Przemyśl Voivodeship), ran north east. The following villages, listed in the reports, remained on the Sandomierz side: Bieliny, Kurzyna and Golce, and the following remained on the Przemyśl side: Hucisko, Sieraków and Huta Krzeszowska.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibidem III, no. 697, y. 1367: ‘super fluvium Mrowla [...] in districtu Sandomiriensi’.

<sup>49</sup> Archiwum Sanguszków, vol. V, no. 113, y. 1521: ‘villa Kopki in terra et districtu Sandomiriensi’.

<sup>50</sup> AHP Lublin, in this edition III.2.1.3.

<sup>51</sup> ASK I 67, Rejestr pogłównego generalnego woj. Sandomierskiego z lat 1662–1664; Library of the Princes Czartoryski, Cracow, Łoyko MS, no. 1099, part 2, Rejestr pogłównego generalnego Małopolski z r. 1676.

<sup>52</sup> About the value of J.Liesganig’s and M. Heldensfeld’s map see chapter Cartographic Sources. And Perthèes’s *Mappa szczegulna woj. lubelskiego* published in 1786 is admirably detailed, especially in southern regions of the voivodeship, as it shows many villages, small hamlets or even individual huts, with the name of the owner, exactly near the border with Przemyśl land. What is important, the same villages can be found in the reports of the Polish Delimitation Committee from 1776.

<sup>53</sup> AGAD Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie, Dział cesarski, box 31c/1, p. 239–249, 264–265. See *Geographical environment* in this volume.

<sup>54</sup> The Crown Chancellor A. Młodziejowski replied to the question that was sent to Warsaw (‘What to do in case of an argument – between the Polish and the Austrian committee – about the borders of the voivodeship?’) and 31 March 1776 sent Paweł Thubicki, a lieutenant colonel of the Crown artillery and the head of the Polish border committee the following order: ‘In case of an argument about the border of Lublin Voivodeship, should the imperial engineers be unwilling to prove their rights providing statement of the citizens inhabiting the area of the demarcation, in this point Thubicki is to contact the Department of Foreign Affairs. Meanwhile, just in case, a query about the borders of this voivodeship will be conducted in the Royal Metrica will be conducted’ – AGAD, Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie, Dział cesarski, box 31c/1, p. 6.

Then the border reached the village Buczek,<sup>55</sup> the territory of which, in the form of a small wedge, belonged to Lublin Voivodeship, where the borders of three Voivodeships (Sandomierz, Lublin and Ruthenia) met.

The junction point of the aforementioned borders in the area of the present-day Golce village is attested to by the commissioners' document from 1566, that separated the estates of Stanisław Górka, namely the villages Biała and Zwola (in Lublin Voivodeship) from the estates of Sandomierz starosta's district.<sup>56</sup> The place called 'Cielczowa Góra' mentioned in the document, and the forest 'Miessicza' situated in the royal estates, left their mark as names of the places that to this day remain near the villages Golce and Kurzyna.<sup>57</sup> The neighbouring Maziarnia was created in the seventeenth century within Krzeszów estates, so it should be placed in Ruthenia.<sup>58</sup> A certain Maziarnia was in fact mentioned in the register of Sandomierz Voivodeship Pysznica parish, but there could have been many small hamlets of this kind in the forests near Kurzyna.

Here we should suspend our description of the borderline of Sandomierz Voivodeship for a moment in order to present the course of the southern fragment of the border between Lublin Voivodeship and Ruthenia; given our assumption that between the second half of the sixteenth century and the eighteenth century there were no major changes here. There are no records of any changes, and it would be difficult to believe that this kind of change would not be mentioned in suitable documents of the Sejm and local assemblies, when – as we mention in the description of the border between Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeships – even the possibility of small changes caused strong outcries during the assemblies.

So, on the basis of the aforementioned eighteenth century maps and reports of the Polish Delimitation Committee from 1776, we are drawing now the course of the border between Lublin Voivodeship and Ruthenia from the already mentioned village Buczek, created after the sixteenth century. This border ran east slightly bending to the north, and near the village Kiszki (Lublin Voivodeship in the eighteenth century) it turned north, surrounding the old, large starosta's district of Krzeszów (Przemyśl land) and reached the River Tanwia west of the village Łazory (Lublin Voivodeship in the eighteenth century). For the map of Lublin Voivodeship, which presents the state from around 1564, it was assumed that the borderline on the side of Przemyśl land was then similar to the diocese border, and so the area of Biłgoraj, a city located in 1578, remained outside Lublin Voivodeship.<sup>59</sup> Now, in accordance with our previous remark about the lack of data concerning changes in the sixteenth century borderline, we believe that the territory of the later Biłgoraj district belonged to this voivodeship at the end of that century, and perhaps even already in the fifteenth century. Therefore on our map we led the border the way it ran in the eighteenth century: along the River Tanwia until its mouth flowing into the Łada, and then between Tanwia and Łada, and the Czarna Łada, leaving on the Lublin side the villages mentioned in the eighteenth century: Biedaczów, Sól, Ruda Solska and Derażnia, and on the Przemyśl side' Majdan Księżopolski and Brodziaki.<sup>60</sup> From this village, situated near the mouth of the River Rotwica into the Czarna Łada, the border turned north, and east of Rapy village (Lublin Voivodeship in the eighteenth century) it reached a point of junction at the borders of Chelm and Przemyśl lands, both belonging to Ruthenia.

Returning to the place where we suspended our description of the borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship to specify the course of the borderline between Lublin Voivodeship and Przemyśl land, we led the course of the last fragment of the borderline of our voivodeship in Zasanie north west from the village

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<sup>55</sup> AGAD Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie, Dział cesarski, box 31c/1, p. 214, 264. The villages mentioned, except for Kurzyna and Sieraków, were created after the sixteenth century. The affiliation of the villages: Bieliny, Kurzyna and Golce was the source of a heated argument between the Polish and Austrian Commissioners, which caused a several-day break in the works of the committee in 1776.

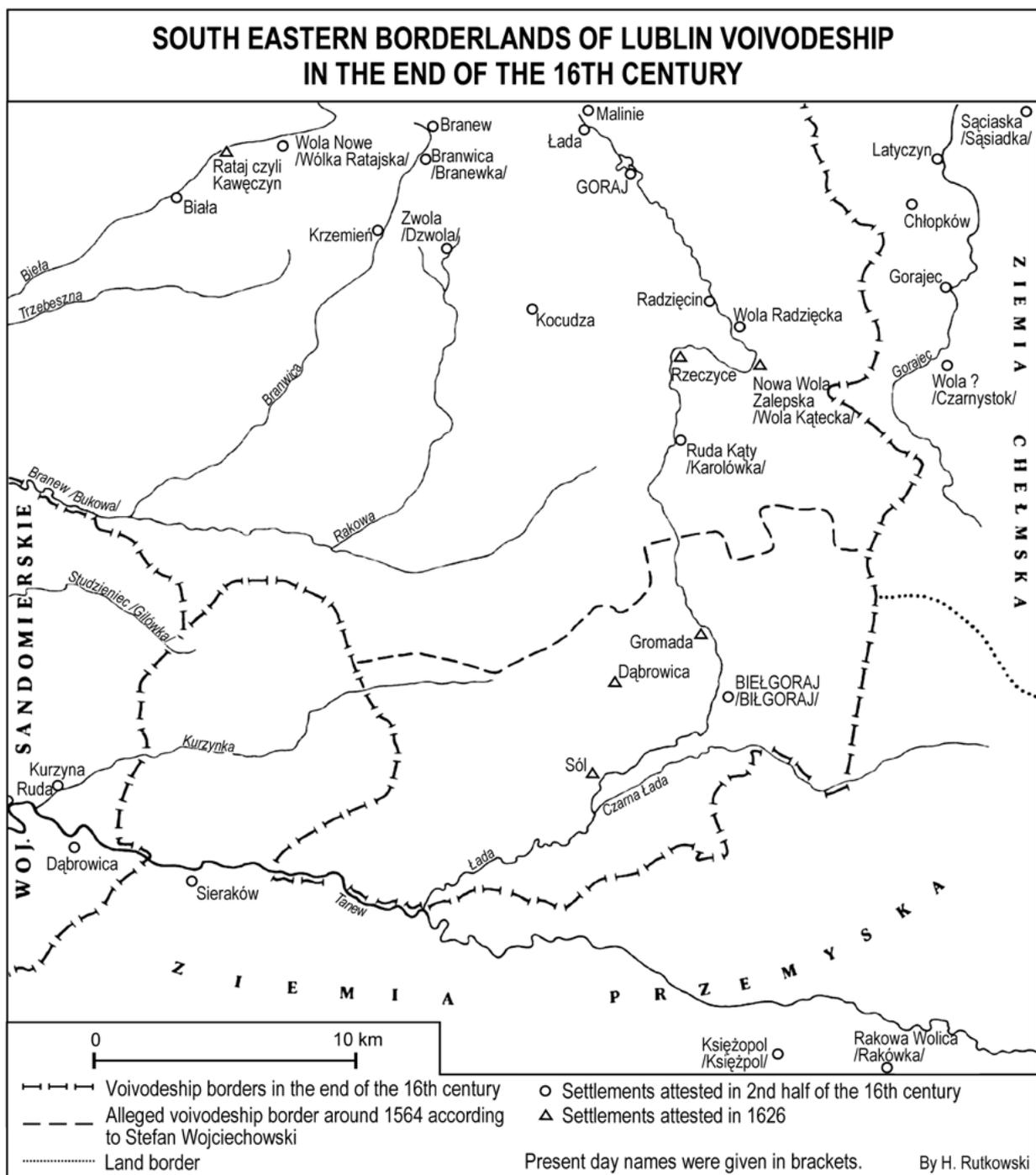
<sup>56</sup> MRPS V, no. 10652.

<sup>57</sup> Urzędowe nazwy, Nisko district, pp. 38–40.

<sup>58</sup> BN, rkps: M. Stworzyński, *Opisanie statystyczno-historyczne dóbr ordynacji Zamoyskiej z r. 1834*, p. 158; cf. A. Jabłonowski, *Atlas historyczny Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 2: Ziemie Ruskie, Warszawa–Wiedeń 1899–1904; AHP Lublin, in this edition III.2.1.3.

<sup>59</sup> See AHP Lublin, in this edition III.2.1.3.

<sup>60</sup> AGAD, Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie, Dział cesarski, box 31c/1, p. 244.



**Map 1. South eastern borderlands of Lublin Voivodeship in the end of 16th century**

Buczek: from the village Bigos (Lublin Voivodeship in the eighteenth century)<sup>61</sup> along the western bank of the River Bukowa, and from the village Bąk (Lublin Voivodeship in the eighteenth century) bending slightly north (a change in relation to what had been presented on the map of Lublin Voivodeship) between the villages Branwica (Lublin Voivodeship) and Jastkowice and Bartnia Łąka (Sandomierz Voivodeship, now: Księżę Kolano) to the San near the mouth of the Bukowa. The borderline north and north east of Jastkowice was drawn with respect to the fact that several small hamlets, created after the sixteenth and mostly in the nineteenth century, situated in the vast forest complex that belonged to the village. From the mouth of the Bukowa flowing into the San the border ran along the old channel of the River San until its mouth flowing into the Vistula near Sandomierz.

<sup>61</sup> In 1776 the Austrians questioned also the affiliation of Bigos village to Lublin Voivodeship.

Like the River Pilica in the west – with Sieradz Voivodeship, from 1474 the Vistula constituted the border between Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeships in the east, from the mouth of the San until the mouth of Vistula's right tributary Kurówka (near Puławy). The course of the border along the Vistula, except for two now corrected fragments, was already presented on the map of Lublin Voivodeship. The border on the Vistula, probably accepted on the basis of the old division between the former lands of Sandomierz and Lublin, before the latter was raised to the rank of the voivodeship, was natural, which made any violations difficult. If that happened 'and was harmful to our voivodeship, because it significantly lowers our tax income', as was mentioned in a 1685 resolution of the nobility of Sandomierz Voivodeship, the reaction was immediate.<sup>62</sup>

The border between the voivodeship set on the Vistula in 1474 did not, however, eliminate the deviations from the main stream channel that existed in the administrative division. Since Długosz<sup>63</sup> we have been encountering source records claiming that Vistula changed its course in some places, and as a result many villages lying near the banks were either completely flooded by the new course and thereby disappeared, or found themselves on the opposite bank of the river, from where they had been located. This could explain some surprising deviations from the main course of the Vistula that appear on the long fragment of the river that separated Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeships in sixteenth–eighteenth century.

North of Zawichost the borderline did not follow the Vistula, but its oxbow lake that can be seen on old maps. It added the village Janiszów,<sup>64</sup> situated on the right bank of the river, to Sandomierz Voivodeship and returned to the main channel before reaching Mistrzowice village, located on the left bank, in Sandomierz Voivodeship.

The next distinct deviation of the borderline, this time west of the present-day main channel of the Vistula, encompasses the village Ostrów, that belonged to Lublin Voivodeship. More notable was the deviation that occurred near Solec. Here, for around 12 km, the voivodeship borderline ran east of the right arm of the Vistula (that flowed in two channels near Solec) and placed the villages: Kamień, Braciejowice, Zakrzów and Jaruntowice within the borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> This resolution was made because in 1685 the owner of the village Wrzawy (Lublin Voivodeship), situated near the mouth of the San into the Vistula 'against all rights in our voivodeship and in Sandomierz district, following an unjust bestowal of Lublin Crown Tribunal, part of the estates in the village Wrzawy or Strachocin, belonging on this side of the Vistula to our voivodeship, to our lands and heritage, between the village Słupca on one side and Dwie Kozy (Dwikozy) or Boży Dar on the other, where there were peasants on these grounds, and thickets and forests, which were later dug and on these diggings several huts built, and the grounds and plains sowed, which are from voivodeship far and to Lublin Voivodeship closer, and was harmful to our voivodeship, because it significantly lowers our tax income, then we have asked [...] our brothers [names of three officials from Sandomierz], who will arrive at these lands and inspect it in a proper and thorough way, whether it should to our, Sandomierz, or Lublin Voivodeship belong according to the written Crown laws, and which land should gather the tax' (Library of PAN, Cracow, MS 8338 – Teki Pawińskiego 21, Lauda sejmikowe woj. sandomierskiego, f. 716. The case was long, because still in 1693 (ibidem, f. 783) in dietine lauda from Sandomierz Voivodeship it was ordered 'that a revision of grounds belonging to our, Sandomierz, Voivodeship, situated between Słupca and Wrzawy was marked per commissarios, procurant by the emperor's legates'. Probably, 'according to Crown laws' the argument was settled in favour of Sandomierz, and traces of the reasons behind the entire matter could be seen in old maps from the second half of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century (loop of the Vistula near the villages Słupca and Bożydar).

<sup>63</sup> Długosz LB, III, p. 266, 272.

<sup>64</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 177. The village Janiszów, situated on the eastern bank of the river, originally belonged to Zawichost castellany, and then to Zawichost starosta's district (LS, 1564/5, p. 155). A dried-up arm of the Vistula that constituted the border of Sandomierz Voivodeship east of Janiszów, was still mentioned in 1767: 'Old Vistula called bridge' (Taryfa mostowego i grobelnego woj. lubelskiego z r. 1767, ed. Z. Góralski, KHKM, vol. 3, 1956, p. 566). The characteristic conservatism is worth noting: the part of Sandomierz Voivodeship situated on the other side of the Vistula near Janiszów later, for obvious reasons, belonged to Lublin Voivodeship (and then Russian province). However, the tradition won, because by the 19 December 1843 regulation the village Janiszów was moved from Kraśnice circuit of Zamość district of Lublin province to Sandomierz circuit, district and province – W. Trzebiński, A. Borkiewicz, *Podziały administracyjne*, p. 64.

<sup>65</sup> The affiliation of the villages situated east of the Vistula: Kamień, Braciejowice, Zakrzów and Jaruntowice to Sandomierz Voivodeship is attested e.g. in: ZDM VII, no. 2144, document of Ladislaus Jagiello from 1433: 'Kamyen, Jarunthowice [...] in terra Radomiensi'; his document from 1432, ibidem, no. 2096 regarding the purchase of the estates of Solec starosta's district 'Jarunthowice, Kamień in terra Sandomiriensi', 'Kamyen, Jarunthowice, [...] in terra Radomiensi'; in 1552 'Kamien villa ad capitaneatum Solecensi, hec villa contributionem in Radom solvit', ASK I, 33, f. 397, see also LS 1600/4, vol. 1, p. 192; LS 1789, part. 1, p. 29. The village Kamień, situated between the old and new channel of the Vistula (there was an old customs house by the ford on the Vistula, that belonged to Solec starosta's district in terms of possession, but to Sandomierz Voivodeship in terms of political-administrative affiliation), treated by the nobility of both voivodeships as a convenient place

The case of political-administrative affiliation of the village Wojszyn, that belonged to Kazimierz starosta's district and was situated on the left bank of the Vistula, requires more explanation. Historiography followed a piece of information provided by Długosz, who – on the basis of the 1254 document of the Zwierzyniec Norbertine Sisters monastery in Cracow – noted that Wojszyn, along with other villages situated near the Vistula that were mentioned in the document, lay in Lublin land.<sup>66</sup> However, no one noticed that the document does not claim that Wojszyn belonged to Lublin land, so Długosz's words cannot be decisive this time. Further analysis of source records on Wojszyn would grow into a long article, so we limit ourselves to providing the most important records.<sup>67</sup> The affiliation of Wojszyn in sixteenth century to Lublin Voivodeship is attested to only by one tax register from 1563,<sup>68</sup> and for the seventeenth century – the registers from 1626<sup>69</sup> and 1676.<sup>70</sup> Wojszyn does not appear in the tax registers from Lublin Voivodeship from 1533, 1543 and 1552. And the affiliation of Wojszyn to Radom land is attested to three times in the royal commissioner borderline act from 1539–1546.<sup>71</sup> The village Trzcianki, founded around 1580 in the woodland territory of Wojszyn and belonging to Kazimierz starosta's district was also situated in Radom land.<sup>72</sup> Both these villages, situated on the opposite bank of the Vistula, belonged to Radom district in the eighteenth century.<sup>73</sup> This would support the alleged affiliation of Wojszyn to Sandomierz Voivodeship also in the second half of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century when the contemporary leaseholders of Kazimierz starosta's district (in the hands of the Firlej family from 1509 until 1650s) listed this village in the registers of Lublin Voivodeship for their own convenience. Taking these divergences into consideration, we decided to present two variants of this fragment of the borderline on the map, unlike on the map of Lublin Voivodeship: the main variant was led along the Vistula, and it included Wojszyn into Sandomierz Voivodeship, the other variant (no line) – was a means to show the fact that Wojszyn appeared in 1563 register books of Lublin Voivodeship.

The case of political-administrative affiliation of Gołąb starosta's district, situated in the fork of the Rivers Vistula and Wieprz, also requires some explanation. Historical literature has long assumed that this district belonged to Lublin Voivodeship, even though reliable sources confirm that the Gołąb lease belonged to Stężyca starosta's district in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>74</sup> Stężyca district had earlier constituted a part of large estates of Radom starosta's district. Without thorough research, such

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for more important gatherings, e.g. during the interregnum. In 1576 a regulation of Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeship was invoked 'according to Solec constitution and decided near Kamień' (Library of PAN, Cracow, MS 8338, Teki Pawińskiego, no. 21 Lauda sejmikowe woj. sandomierskiego, f. 24). Similarly in 1577 the constitutions of both voivodeships were passed 'sub oppido Solec et villa Kamień' (ibidem, f. 28).

<sup>66</sup> Długosz LB, III, p. 59: 'villas suas ducales iuxta Vistulam fluvium in terra Lublinensi sitas, videlicet: Skowyszyn, Wyetrzna góra, Krampa, Woyszyn, Rzeczicza, Jaworzec cum utraque littore Vistulae'; Jaworzec had already disappeared in Długosz's times, it was taken by the Vistula (ibidem, p. 59).

<sup>67</sup> KDKK, vol. 1, no. 40: 'Skowyszyn, Vetrngora dicta in terra Lublinensi cum adiacentibus haereditatibus id est cum Krampa, Woyszyn, Recziczca, Yaworze cum utraque littore Wisle'.

<sup>68</sup> ASK I 33, f. 476.

<sup>69</sup> *Rejestr poborowy województwa lubelskiego (Powiat lubelski i urzędowski z r. 1626, Ziemia lukowska z r. 1620)*, ed. J. Kolasa, K. Schuster, S. Inglot, Wrocław 1957, p. 123.

<sup>70</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 22a.

<sup>71</sup> MK 71, f. 126–145: 'Limes inter bona regia Woyszyn et palatinum Lublinensem [Piotr Firlej of Dąbrownica] Janowiec confirmatur'; according to the record in the document of 1539: 'villa Woyszyn in terra Radomiensi et Janowiec, Oblasy, Mszadl etiam in terra Radomiensi', and according to the record from 1541: 'villa Voyszyn in terra Radomiensi et Janowiec [...] oppidum Kazimierz et Zaszczytow, Seroczko, Leskowcze in terra Lublinensi'. The commissioner's court was composed of: Sebastian Branicki the bishop of Poznań, Bernard Maciejowski the castellan of Lublin, Andrzej Lasota of Łopiennik chamberlain and subiudex of Lublin, Jan Gołuchowski subiudex of Sandomierz, Piotr Kochanowski gord judge and bailiff of Radom office of Sandomierz chamberlain Stanisław Tęczyński, so of the people who mostly, due to their occupation, had to be well-oriented in the course of the borderline between Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeships.

<sup>72</sup> ASK I 33, f. 76 from 1580: 'Trzcianki in dilatione'; Trzcianki, Janowiec parish (Radom district) – P. Szafran, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w Lubelskim*, Lublin 1958, p. 200, on the basis of the document of Lublin consistory from 1603, pp. 112–113. For 1674 see P. Małopolska, p. 58a.

<sup>73</sup> *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej z r. 1787*, ed. J. Kluczycki, Kraków 1894 (Archiwum Komisji Historycznej AU, t. 7), p. 394, 446.

<sup>74</sup> S. Arnold's work (S. Arnold, *Z dziejów średniowiecza*), is an exception here. The map of Lesser Poland shows Gołąb starosta's district in the sixteenth century as a part of Stężyca land.

opinions were probably based on the incorrect interpretation of tax registers from 1531<sup>75</sup> and 1676<sup>76</sup> published by A. Pawiński as well as on K. Perthès's and F. Czajkowski's maps from the second half of the eighteenth century.

Already during the pre-press preparations of the map of Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century this matter did not seem so obvious to us. That is why, 'apart from the border proper of the voivodeship along the Rivers Vistula and Wieprz, we marked, less clearly [discontinuous line] the range of the area that bore some relation to the neighbouring voivodeship<sup>77</sup>'. Now, having conducted a thorough source query, we are able to resolve this issue in a more precise way. The affiliation of Gołęb to Lublin Voivodeship is mentioned in tax registers from 1531, 1552, 1563,<sup>78</sup> and the 1765 inspection of Lublin Voivodeship.<sup>79</sup> The majority of tax registers from 1507–1790<sup>80</sup> include Gołęb in Sandomierz Voivodeship, Stężyca land, as do all the inventories, revisions and – except for 1765 – inspections of royal property from 1507–1789,<sup>81</sup> and finally the wintering tariff from 1716;<sup>82</sup> quarter bills from 1631–1652;<sup>83</sup> revisions of infantry lans from 1658 and 1772;<sup>84</sup> Crown Metrica from 1505–1621;<sup>85</sup> books of *Referendaria Koronna* from 1606,<sup>86</sup> 1781–1782,<sup>87</sup> eighteenth century written sources,<sup>88</sup> and the Church visitation of 1748.<sup>89</sup>

Even though the vast majority of sources, not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of their importance, confirm that Gołęb starosta's district belonged to Stężyca land, it must be explained why some of the so-called consents for Gołęb starosta's district, recorded in the Crown Metrica, mention its location in Lublin Voivodeship. Specifically, for eight such records from 1586–1621, on the occasion of the change of the possessors of the starosta's district, three inform that the villages of this district: Skoki, Bałtów and Nieciecza, lay in Lublin Voivodeship. Well, apart from usual mistakes in the chancellery, which are not so rare in the Metrica when it comes to the location of settlements (the aforementioned Wojnicz could be an example), these three records with incorrect location do not apply to the entire Gołęb starosta's district, but its south eastern part (three villages). Also, one

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<sup>75</sup> In the tax register of Lubin Voivodeship (P. Małopolska, p. 360) only the village Gołęb is listed, the village Kośmin, situated in Gołęb parish and belonging to petty gentry is listed separately (p. 371). Kośmin did in fact belong to Lublin Voivodeship.

<sup>76</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 19a–21a; the tax register of Lublin Voivodeship from 1676 lists 19 villages in Gołęb parish, but other villages of this parish: Skoki, Nieciecza, Bałutów, Wola Gołębaska, Gromki and Gołęb itself were omitted, obviously because they were situated in Stężyca district (ASK I 67, f. 207).

<sup>77</sup> See AHP Lublin, in this edition III.2.1.3.

<sup>78</sup> ASK I 33, f. 66v, 1531; f. 394v, 1552: Gołęb, Nieciecza, Bałutów, Borowa 'ad districtum proprium Lublinense non solvunt, sed in Radom'; ibidem, f. 464, 1563.

<sup>79</sup> ASK LVI B 12, f. 5v.

<sup>80</sup> ASK LVI 9, f. 18, 1507; ASK I 83, f. 17, 1540; AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 30, f. 125, 1567; ASK I 83, f. 17, 1569; P. Małopolska, p. 338, 1576; ASK XLVI 148, f. 94, 1580; *Księgi podskarbińskie z czasów Stefana Batorego, 1576–1586*, part 2, ed. A. Pawiński, Warszawa 1881, p. 260; J. Herbut, *Statuta Regni Poloniae*, Cracovia 1563 1563, p. 7; ASK I 67, f. 204, 1662; ibidem, f. 470, 1673; ibidem, f. 441, 1674; BCzart, MS no. 1099, I, p. 91, 1676; ASK I 9, f. 715, 1711.

<sup>81</sup> ASK LVI B, I, f. 19, 1507; LS 1564/1565, p. 241, 1564; AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 30, f. 125, 1567; AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 33, f. 148, 1627; LS 1660/1664, vol. 2, p. 165–172, 1660; LS 1789, part 1, p. 273, 1789; ASK LVI G, 12, f. 18, 32, 1771.

<sup>82</sup> Płata woyska y chleb zasłużonych to jest taryfy kwart, hyberty, pogłównego, łanowego... roku 1771, [no place], p. 70, 1716.

<sup>83</sup> ASK III 6, f. 132v, 218v, 554, 645, 675, years 1631–1652.

<sup>84</sup> ASK I 67, f. 14; ASK XLVI 192, f. 220.

<sup>85</sup> MK 21, f. 190, 1505: 'molendium nostrum in fluvio Curowka in villa nostra Golambye in terra Sandomiriensi'; ib., f. 325, 1506; MK 28, f. 96, 1514; MK 86, f. 425, 1554; MK 132, f. 194, 1586; MK 135, f. 875, 1590; MK 148, f. 70, 1603; MK 148, f. 379, 1604; MK 153, f. 122v, 1609; MK 165, f. 161v–162, 1621.

<sup>86</sup> *Księgi Referendarii Koronnej*, AGAD, Dz. VII, 3, f. 10; Acta Tomicianana, vol. 15, no. 85.

<sup>87</sup> *Księgi Referendarii Koronnej z drugiej połowy XVIII w.*, vol. 2, ed. A. Keckowa, W. Pałucki, Warszawa 1957, p. 339–345, y. 1782.

<sup>88</sup> K. Wyrwicz, *Konfederacja gołębaska*, Poznań 1853, p. 1: 'Gołęb confederation in the king's lease Gołęb in Stężyca land called'. K. Wyrwicz, abbot of Hebdów, the author of *Cartografia czasów teraźniejszych albo opisanie kraju*, Warszawa 1794, described the Gołęb confederation on the basis of archival collections of Stanisław August Poniatowski. See also: *Krótkie zebranie historii i geografii polskiej*, Supraśl 1767, p. 317, where the last name on the list of non-gord starosta's district in Sandomierz Voivodeship is 'Gołęb'.

<sup>89</sup> AKM, rkps Wizytacja biskupa A.S. Załuskiego, vol. 11, Kazimierz decanate. My thanks to prof. dr. Stanisław Litak for this information.

of these documents was issued in 1609 for Piotr Borkowski by the vice-chancellery in the camp near Smoleńsk,<sup>90</sup> where it was easy to make such a mistake, intentionally or not.

The most important and decisive mistakes in the Metrica is the consent for Gołąb starosta's district issued for Jerzy Ossoliński in 1621. Ossoliński, the future Treasurer of the Crown, then Vice-chancellor, and finally the Great Chancellor of the Crown bought this starosta's district from Jerzy Grudziński for 22,000 *złoty*.<sup>91</sup> He made sure that all villages of this, united again after a short break, starosta's district (Gołąb, Bałtów, Skoki, Nieciecza, Wola Gołąbska and Gromki) were correctly recorded in the Metrica as belonging to Stężyca land in Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>92</sup>

In old historiography, the opinion on this matter was largely influenced, apart from the suggestive geographical location (the fork of the Vistula and the Wieprz allegedly created a natural territorial border in this place), by the inspection of the Crown property from 1765, in which Gołąb starosta's district was recorded. This mistake was corrected in the last inspection from 1789,<sup>93</sup> the best and most detailed of the inspections conducted in royal estates after 1664. It must be added, that the best and last record of hearth tax in the history of the Polish finances, made in 1790 by the Civilian-Military Ordinal Committee states clearly: 'Gołąb parish in the land of Stężyca'.<sup>94</sup>

The aforementioned inspection of royal estates in 1765, conducted in much haste, was frequently and eagerly used by politicians and political writers, who exploited the register of income from royal estates made on the basis of the inspection and published in 1771<sup>95</sup> and reprinted several times. All this contributed to popularizing the mistake mentioned. Finally, let us add that nobody has hitherto paid attention to the fact that beginning with *Platy wojska...* from 1771, all subsequent publishers of the register repeated another mistake concerning Gołąb starosta's district, clearly visible even for a laic. Namely: the Gołąb and Bałtów lease was placed in Chęciny district.<sup>96</sup>

The last case, marginal in terms of territory, yet still problematic, was the political-administrative affiliation of the village Borowa. This settlement, situated in the fork of the Rivers Vistula and Wieprz, was the only village of the nobility in the area, surrounded from the south east by the vast Gołąb starosta's district. In the fifteenth century it was listed either in Lublin district,<sup>97</sup> or near Stężyca.<sup>98</sup> In the sixteenth century, the basic period for our chronology, it was also mentioned in Stężyca district, and in Lublin district, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth century – in Lublin district.<sup>99</sup> We found an interesting piece of information in *sejmik* (dietine) lauda of Sandomierz Voivodeship from 1678. It proves that the case of the affiliation of Borowa had long been controversial. The nobility of the

<sup>90</sup> MK 153, f. 122v: 'Datum in castro nostro ad Smolensciam'.

<sup>91</sup> J. Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik z lat 1595–1621*, pub. 3, comp. W. Czapliński, Warszawa 1975, p. 90.

<sup>92</sup> MK 165, f. 161v–162: 'in Palatinatu Sandomiriensi et districtu Stanzicensi'.

<sup>93</sup> LS 1789, I, p. 275: 'The description of Gołąb starosta's district. This district in Sandomierz Voivodeship, belonging to Stężyca land [...] is best kept of all royal estates in the land of Stężyca'. The publisher (p. XII) emphasized – without providing any source – that (supposedly between 1765 and 1789) a change occurred in the administrative division of Stężyca land. She added (footnote 37): 'Gołąb starosta's district did not belong to Stężyca land in 1765'. However, two subsequent inventories of the district from 1771 (for Jacek Ogrodzki, the Great Scribe of the Crown) and from 1772 (Ogrodzki's transfer to Stanisław Kostka Krajewski, the Crown's Instigator) both claim: 'It happened on the Gołąb estates of His Royal Majesty, situated in Sandomierz Voivodeship' – ASK LVI G, 12, f. 32.

<sup>94</sup> Before 1944 this record was kept in AGAD, but it was completely destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising. Excerpts made before the War are kept in the files of the historical-geographical dictionary of Lublin Voivodeship from the eighteenth century, in the collection of IH PAN.

<sup>95</sup> *Plata wojska*, p. 13; Paprocki 1777; E. Piotrowski, *Sumariusz królewsczyzn w całej Koronie Polskiej*, Żytomierz 1861, p. 15; K. Czernyński, *O dobrach koronnych byłej Rzeczypospolitej polskiej*, Lwów 1870, p. 21. Even such an expert on the sources and their publisher, Teodor Wierzbowski, the director of AGAD, explained: 'Stężyca then [our emphasis] in Lublin Voivodeship, today in Siedlce province, Garwolin district,' in the printed edition of 'Convenciones in Stężyca' from 1775 (*Uchansciana seu collectio documentorum illustrantium vitam et res gestas Jacobi Uchański*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1898, p. 401).

<sup>96</sup> SGKP, vol. 2, p. 664, also incorrectly: 'Gołąb starosta's district lay in Sandomierz Voivodeship, Stężyca land, Chęciny district'!

<sup>97</sup> *Ks. ziemskie lubelskie*, X, p. 341, y. 1446, quotation according to *Słownik historyczno-geograficznego woj. lubelskiego w średniowieczu*, comp. S. Kuraś, Warszawa 1983 (*Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, t. 3), p. 35. My thanks to doc. dr. S. Kuraś for allowing me to use the manuscript of this publication.

<sup>98</sup> *Ks. ziemskie lubelskie*, I, p. 228, y. 1446, quotation according to above mentioned *Słownik*.

<sup>99</sup> Borowa was not listed in tax registers of Lublin voivodeship from 1541 and 1543. In 1540 it was mentioned in tax register of Radom land, ASK I 83, f. 127, in 1673 – in the register of Lublin Voivodeship (WAP Lublin, book 239, f. 141v); similarly in 1676 (P. Małopolska, p. 19a).

Voivodeship instructed their representatives to convince the Sejm to send a committee to settle the matter of the border between Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeships in the fork of the Rivers Wieprz and Vistula, because the latter had cut a part of the village Borowa, that – it was feared – could have influenced the course of the voivodeship borderline.<sup>100</sup> As a result of this request of the Sandomierz nobility, the Sejm in that year appointed a mixed committee, because ‘we were informed by the representatives of the land that the Vistula disturbed the borders between Stężyca and Borowa village’; the committee’s role was to prevent ‘the confusion of the voivodeship borders’.<sup>101</sup> We do not know the outcome of the committee’s work, because the court books of the nearest, proper gord of Stężyca, in which such a committee document should have been recorded, were destroyed in the last War. However, in later independent eighteenth century sources we have found some traces of this ‘confusion’ of the borders: the mention of about four huts situated on the left bank of the Vistula and belonging to the village Borowa;<sup>102</sup> a point on K. Perthès’s map put on the left bank of the Vistula with an explanation: ‘hut to Borowa’.<sup>103</sup> It is also worth adding that during the last inspection of Gołąb starosta’s district from 1789 the overseers of this district swore the reliability of the recorded income ‘in presence of the minister Grzegorz Gabryolka from the village Borowa’,<sup>104</sup> and – as we know – the minister was appointed by the voivode, this time probably the voivode of Sandomierz. However, having observed that the majority of evidence proves the affiliation of Borowa to Lublin Voivodeship, we have decided to treat this administrative-political curiosum as an enclave of Lublin Voivodeship on Stężyca land.

The last of the fragments of the border of Sandomierz Voivodeship described here is quite a long part of the borderline that encompassed Stężyca land from the east until the place where it joined Mazovia. We assumed the course of the border ran along a forest tract marked on the map of Lublin Voivodeship, however: with a small correction. Namely, we moved the fragment of the River Wieprz between Kock and Łsobyki (Jeziorzany) partly to the north, towards the old channel of the river, because we assumed that in the past the River Wieprz flowed here slightly to the north of the village Mścisk, which belonged to Rudno parish in the fifteenth century, and in the seventeenth century – to Kock parish in Lublin Voivodeship.<sup>105</sup> We were unable to specify when the stream channel of the Wieprz changed, but according to the Polish border laws, if a river that defined the border of a land changed its course, the borderline should nonetheless follow the old channel. This old channel, called Mentula,<sup>106</sup> according to old maps (e.g. Heldensfeld-Benedicti) still existed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The remaining issue is the description of district borders. Sandomierz Voivodeship was divided into seven districts, and the borders of each district overlapped with the voivodeship border. As in the commentary to the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century, we will limit ourselves to listing only the most important issues, that required solution during the delimiting of internal district borders. We will describe the characteristic features of their course in the area.

Beginning with the north east, the border between Radom and Stężyca district was a natural one – defined by the Vistula. It flowed here in several channels that changed their location. In the early period of Piast dynasty rule, the main current was situated closer to the south western edge of the valley, and in the Middle Ages and the Modern Era – closer to the south eastern edge. These changes in the course were mentioned in the discussion on the affiliation of the village Borowa. The deviations of the border between Radom and Stężyca districts from the Vistula channel presented on our map according to the state from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries constitute

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<sup>100</sup> Biblioteka PAN Kraków, MS 8338, Teki Pawińskiego no 21, Lauda sejmikowe woj. Sandomierskiego, p. 624: ‘And because the executions from Lublin Voivodeship cross through Stężyca land to separation and through the Vistula confinium of Radom land, and as a result they have to change the borders of the voivodeship, the representatives will try to prevent this confusion, so that they were marked on this sejm comisarii’.

<sup>101</sup> VL, vol. 5, p. 587.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Borowa, village Czapllica of the Crown hunter, there an inn and four huts over the Vistula’, the files of historical and geographical hictionary of Lublin Voivodeship from the eighteenth century, collection of IH PAN.

<sup>103</sup> K. Perthès, *Mappa szczegulna woj. sandomierskiego*, a fragment of the mouth of the Wieprz into the Vistula.

<sup>104</sup> LS 1789, part 1, p. 269.

<sup>105</sup> Długosz LB, II, p. 556, III, p. 251; *Małopolska*, p. 362, 25a; see the main map in AHP Lublin.

<sup>106</sup> In 1531 Leonard Mentula from Ostrów appears, see SHG Lublin, sub Ostrów, p. 171.

a proof of the changes in the course of the river that had occurred earlier.<sup>107</sup> In the sixteenth century the border between Radom and Stężyca district ran partly along the Vistula's oxbow lakes, marked on some of the older maps (Czajkowski, Perthées), and partly along the main course.

Between Radom and Opoczno district the border ran in a north western direction and bent irregularly to the west. Its northern, quite long fragment (with deviations near Nieznamierowice) was set on the lower and middle Drzewiczka. Further on, in the south – a several kilometre fragment of the rivulet Gielniówka flowed into the Drzewiczka; next, after zigzagging through then uninhabited region of old forest, east of Wól ironworks (present-day Wołów in Opoczno district), the borderline reached the River Kamienna, where the borders of three districts met: Radom, Opoczno and Sandomierz. From this point the border between Radom and Sandomierz districts ran due east in a wavy line. However, here the border did not reach the present channel of the Vistula, but its oxbow lake near the village Ostrów, before the mouth of the Kamienna. The village, as mentioned, was situated on the left bank of the Vistula (earlier in the fork of the river), but belonged to Lublin Voivodeship.

Opoczno district, situated in the north western part of Sandomierz Voivodeship, was a neighbour of the already-described Radom district, in the south east it bordered Sandomierz district, and in the south – Chęciny. The borderline of the district was the shortest with Sandomierz district, around 7 km. From Wól ironworks by the River Kamienna it ran south west in a straight line through then uninhabited areas, probably until it came to the hill marked today as  $\Delta$  388.2. From this place, where the border with Chęciny district began, it turned north west. Here a fragment of the borderline of Opoczno district with the district of Chęciny was presented alternatively on the map, because the sixteenth century sources mention Szałas ironworks, a property of the bishops of Cracow situated in this area, either on the Opoczno side, or on the Chęciny side. This being the case, two versions of the border were presented on our map – one marked with a broader line, which included the controversial area (around 40 km<sup>2</sup>) of Szałas to Chęciny district, and the other one, marked with a thin line, south of Szałas ironworks, incorporating it into Opoczno district.

The eastern part of Chęciny district was a neighbour of Sandomierz and Wiślica districts. From the place where Chęciny and Sandomierz districts met, the borderline between these two districts ran south west through Świętokrzyskie Mountains (via the peak of Łysica), leaving Święty Krzyż monastery on the Sandomierz side; between the villages: Belno (Chęciny district) and Lechów (Sandomierz district) it reached the River Bielnianka (Nidzianka), there the borders of three districts met. From this point the borderline between Chęciny and Wiślica district ran west along the Bielnianka, until the mouth of its left tributary Pierzchnianka, and then – due south, and finally reached the River Nida in a gentle curve between the village Kije (Wiślica district) and the stream flowing from Chwałowice village. It must be added that near Czechów (Wiślica district) the Nida flowed in two channels. In the middle of the island, some 5 km long) there was a gord of Czechów castellany in the Middle Ages, and the border between Chęciny and Wiślica district in the sixteenth century crossed the Nida  $\frac{1}{4}$  km north from the mound that remained of the above-mentioned gord.<sup>108</sup> The explanation of the reasons behind leading the borderline between Chęciny and Wiślica districts right outside the former gord of Czechów castellany, whose territory has been defined only hypothetically, would exceed the scope of our commentary. It was probably due to ownership relations, just as in the case of Raków (see below), when smaller court districts: Stopniów and Szydłów, were being liquidated.

The district of Wiślica bordered in its southern part on the other bank of the Vistula in the Pilzno district. There were some unexpected deviations in the course of the boundary between Pilzno and neighbouring districts, related not only to natural conditions (waterlogged, forested area, where the settlement still developed gradually in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), but also, and perhaps mainly, as a result of complicated ownership relations. Two irregular territorial wedges, opposite each

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<sup>107</sup> About the changes in the stream channel of the Vistula in the eighteenth–nineteenth century near Sieciechów monastery see J. Gacki, *Benedyktyński klasztor w Sieciechowie*, Radom 1872, p. 9. A quite detailed study of Sieciechów settlement centre, supplemented by photocopies of old maps, see T. Wąsowicz, *Wczesnośredniowieczne przeprawy przez środkową Wisłę*, KHKM, 1957. Recently E. and W. Kalinowscy, *Zaginione grodzisko w Radomskim*, KHKM, vol. 21, 1972, p. 245, after thorough field research determined that Sieciechów gord was situated opposite to the mouth of the Wieprz into the Vistula, 100 m east of railway station Zajezierze. It would agree with earlier findings of K. Potkański, *Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. 1, p. 143, that this gord was once located on an island created by one arm of the Vistula, which separated from its main channel here.

<sup>108</sup> W. Pałucki, *Kasztelania czechowska*, Warszawa 1964, 1964, pp. 81–89.

other, draw our attention. One of them, belonging to Pilzno district, reaches the Vistula near Połaniec in two places: north of Surowa and Gliny villages. Another – located west of lower Wisłoka – belongs to Sandomierz district. Two small fragments of this wedge, squeezed into the northern wedge of Pilzno district near the Vistula, cross the river: the western, larger one, covering the villages Otałęż and Wola Otałęska, and the smaller one, barely several km<sup>2</sup>, with the village Bystrzamowice.

The border between the districts of Wiślica and Sandomierz also had some unnatural deviations on the left bank of the Vistula that are difficult to explain. West of Połaniec, the wedge of Sandomierz encompassed the village Zdziec. Next, we have led the borderline the way that would place Ruda village in Sandomierz district, in accordance with the registers from 1538, 1577, 1578, 1662, 1676. However, this village was listed in Wiślica district in 1579 and 1585. Therefore, we have also marked (without a line) its affiliation to the district of Wiślica. Further on, in the south western direction, we used the River Czarna three times to separate the districts of Wiślica and Sandomierz. The borderline of Raków, a city well-known from the sixteenth century on, that belonged to Polish Brethren, marked the westernmost wedge of Sandomierz district, driven into Wiślica land. It probably originated from the time of the liquidation of Szydłów district. There were no major difficulties in defining the course of the border between Pilzno and Sandomierz districts running east from the Wisłoka, even though, for obvious reasons (forested, a mostly uninhabited area), the course of some fragments was presented only as a hypothesis.

The lands of the former Sandomierz Voivodeship, in terms of its military and judicial administration, were divided into castellanies. Later, from the second half of the sixteenth century – into judicial and financial districts. The number of castellanies, 11 during the reign of Casimir the Great,<sup>109</sup> dropped to eight in the second half of the fifteenth century: Sandomierz – greater, and minor castellanies: Wiślica, Radom, Żarnów, Zawichost, Małogoszcz, Połaniec and Czechów. This was the result of the reforms in the political-administrative organization of the country. The first was conducted in 1434–1438, and brought ‘co-equation’ of the number of castellanies in every province of the Crown,<sup>110</sup> the second, in 1474, removed – as we have already mentioned – the lands of Lublin and Łuków that lay on the other bank of the Vistula from Sandomierz Voivodeship. The lands created Lublin Voivodeship.

As we know, judicial land districts began to replace the castellany system in the second half of the sixteenth century. These districts were called *powiats*. However, the newly created districts did not always overlap the boundaries of the former castellanies. There were also districts, such as Pilzno, that had not previously had their own castellany. Also the castellanies of Zawichost, Połaniec or Czechów had already lost their districts. In the case of the mobilisation (*pospolite ruszenie*), the nobility of the district that did not have its own castellany, was led by another castellan, ‘without assignment’, as in 1506, when the castellan of Połaniec was ordered to lead the nobility from Pilzno.<sup>111</sup>

One glimpse at the map, along with what has already been said, shows that a large part (around 1/6 of the whole) of the former Voivodeship of Sandomierz, situated between the Rivers Vistula and Wisłok, did not have a castellan or a castellan’s gord. This could be, I believe, explained only by what S. Arnold assumed,<sup>112</sup> that in some unspecified time, probably in the fourteenth century, part of Wojnicz castellany east of the River Dunajec was separated from Cracow Voivodeship and appropriated to Sandomierz Voivodeship. The remaining, larger, part of territories between the rivers was covered by almost entirely uncolonized forest during the organization of the castellany system of administration and gords, where there was no need to place a castellany. Probably, this area belonged to Wiślica castellany at that time. The fact that royal villages Bratkowice and Mrowla until the second half of the sixteenth century belonged to Korczyn starosta’s district (Wiślica castellany?) only supports this thesis.<sup>113</sup>

We do not attempt to resolve this matter, just to signal it. It would require thorough research and separate study. There are some hints in the sources, which could attest that in the second half

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<sup>109</sup> Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Monarchia Kazimierza Wielkiego*, vol. 1: *Organizacja państwa*, Poznań 1939, pp. 193–295, omitted Łuków castellany, see W. Pałucki 1964, *Kasztelania czechowska*, p. 94.

<sup>110</sup> W. Pałucki, *Kasztelania czechowska*, pp. 91–98.

<sup>111</sup> W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniem urzędników ziemskich w Koronie*, Warszawa 1962, p. 53.

<sup>112</sup> S. Arnold, *Z dziejów średniowiecza*, p. 358.

<sup>113</sup> During the revision of letters in 1563 it was said that the villages Bratkowice and Mrowla lie in Sandomierz land, AGAD, Metryka Litewska, IV B, 7, p. 53; there was also an exchange of property (frymark) in 1554 (*ibidem*, p. 174) of the village Siedlce in Cracow Voivodeship for ‘royal villages Bratkowice, Mrowla in Pilzno district in Nowy Korczyn starosta’s district’.

of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth century the southern part of Sandomierz lands, situated on the other bank of the Vistula, was covered with forest that was later, perhaps after the judicial reforms in Sandomierz Voivodeship in 1456–1476, incorporated into Pilzno district, like the bestowal of Sandomierz castellany located in this district, ‘beyond the harrow’.<sup>114</sup>

Lands were on a higher level in the political-administrative hierarchy and the terminology used in the sources. Sometimes the area they covered was larger than that of a castellany, or later: a district. In Sandomierz Voivodeship there were three such lands: Sandomierz, Wiślica and Radom. Their ‘land’ character derived from the period of the Piast dynasty. With time these larger lands became districts of the judiciary system of the nobility of the higher instance, called ‘wiec’ or ‘roki sądowe’. In the sixteenth century Sandomierz land constituted of Sandomierz (Sandomierz and former Opatów districts) and Zawichost castellanies; Wiślica – castellanies of Wiślica, Małogoszcz and Czechów and the territories of the judiciary district of Tarnów and Pilzno situated over the Vistula; Radom – castellanies of Radom, Żarnów (Opoczno district) and former Sieciechów (Stężyca).<sup>115</sup>

This state was proven in the 1589 constitution.<sup>116</sup> According to the constitution, the *roki* of Sandomierz Voivodeship were to be held in six terms, interchangeably: two in Sandomierz, Radom and Wiślica. However, the extension of authority of starostas, e.g. by including land transactions in gord court books (purchase, sale, and inheritances), especially from 1611, when they became not only royal officials, but also land officials, as well as the creation of Crown Tribunal in 1578 weakened the land judicial system, although it was not formally annulled. That is why the 1685<sup>117</sup> bill appointed only two judicial districts for Sandomierz Voivodeship: in Sandomierz and in Radom.

Sandomierz land played the main role in the political-administrative and judicial system of our voivodeship. In sources the designation land appears with two meanings: in a broader sense it denoted the entire voivodeship,<sup>118</sup> so the authority of some officials (such as a judge or *subcamerarius*) spread over the entire voivodeship. This was reflected in titles by the addition of the term ‘general’ (e.g. *subcamerarius terrae Sandomiriensis generalis*).<sup>119</sup> Official, royal titles also followed.<sup>120</sup> In a strict sense Sandomierz land encompassed the large district of Sandomierz.

The places where the *roki sądowe* of the land were held were decisive in the formation of the units of political-administrative division. Originally, Sandomierz Voivodeship was divided into nine judicial districts (Sandomierz, Wiślica, Radom, Chęciny, Opatów, Szydłów-Stopniów, Stężyca, Pilzno and Tarnów). During the reforms of the organization of the land judicial system in the voivodeship, conducted in 1465 and 1476, the number of districts was decreased to seven, the district of Szydłów-Stopniów (incorporated into Wiślica) and of Tarnów (incorporated into Pilzno) were liquidated.<sup>121</sup> As a result, the following districts remained in our voivodeship: Sandomierz, Wiślica, Radom, Chęciny, Opoczno, Pilzno and Stężyca.<sup>122</sup> The territory of Stężyca (from the end of the sixteenth century consequently called Stężyca land) belonged to the former Sieciechów castellany in the Middle Ages,<sup>123</sup> and in one of the documents from the fifteenth century the term ‘Sieciechów land’ was already used.<sup>124</sup> After Sieciechów castellany was liquidated, and gord and land courts were created in Stężyca

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<sup>114</sup> W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniem*, p. 143.

<sup>115</sup> For instance, in the document of the location of Łaskarzew from 1418 on the territory of Korciczewo village, it was explicitly stated, that this village lies: ‘in terra et districtu Radomiensi prope metas Mazowiae sita’, ZDM VII, no. 1873.

<sup>116</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 790.

<sup>117</sup> VL, vol. 5, p. 718.

<sup>118</sup> See index in vol. 1 of *Kniga Polskiej Koronnej Metriki XV stolitia* (Warszawa 1914, Monumenta Iuris, t. 2); LS 1564/1565, entitled ‘Ziemia Sandomierska’ (p. 21) lists all royal estates covered by the inspection in this voivodeship (pp. 21–336).

<sup>119</sup> M. Cromeri, *Polonia*, ed. W. Czermak, Kraków 1901, p. 40; M. Kromer, *Polska*, transl. S. Końkowski, ed. R. Marchwiński, Olsztyn 1977, p. 117.

<sup>120</sup> ‘Nos [...] rex Poloniae [...] nec non [...] terrarum Cracoviae, Sandomiriae [...] dominus et haeres’. In sejmik (dietine) lauda there was the following term: ‘Sandomierz, the metropolis of the voivodeship’, Biblioteka PAN Kraków, MS 8338, Teki Pawińskiego 21, p. 438.

<sup>121</sup> S. Kutrzeba, *Sądy ziemskie i grodzkie w wiekach średnich*, vol. 2: Woj. sandomierskie, Kraków 1901, p. 438.

<sup>122</sup> S. Starowolski, *Polska albo położenie Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. A. Piskadło, Kraków 1976, p. 80 incorrectly added ‘Korczyń’ district.

<sup>123</sup> Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Monarchia*, vol. 1, p. 294.

<sup>124</sup> KDMłp, no. 730, ‘incolae terrarum Lublinenses, Secechovienses et Lucovienses’ were freed in 1359 from tithe for 30 years.

in the fifteenth century for the nobility of this land, there was a prolonged break in the functioning of this court at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Namely, after three great Tatar invasions, that afflicted not only areas along the right bank of the Vistula (Lublin Voivodeship) between 1500 and 1502, but also reached Opatów, Kunów and Łagów,<sup>125</sup> the courts and their registers were moved from Stężyca to Radom. Only in 1563 did the offices and the registers, which ‘quondam propter hostium incursionem’ were taken to Radom, return from Stężyca, at the request of the nobility from the land of Stężyca ‘propter itineris in Radom longitudinem, tum propter fluvii Vistulae, que districtus Stenzycensis a Radomiensi seiungitur’.<sup>126</sup>

As I have already mentioned, the term ‘Stężyca land’, appearing in various source records from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries was also used by some of the authors to describe the territory of old Poland, as well as by statisticians of the Republic.<sup>127</sup> Z. Gloger, living a little closer to our times, noted that ‘Radom land had indeed more rights to the title [of ‘land] than Stężyca, because it was over three times bigger than the land of Stężyca, and had land courts in Radom and several districts’.<sup>128</sup> Disregarding here the matter of the changes in the system and organization of territorial, land and gord courts, this merely terminological, not institutional, distinction of Stężyca territory is worth a mention. On the map all units of financial and judicial division are treated as equal districts (*powiats*), with respect to the system of the old Republic.

Castellany seats, apart from administrative centres, were marked on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship (similarly to the map of Mazovia), as well as the places where the general (provincial) and particular *sejmiks* (dietines) gathered, and the seats of the gord starosta’s district. From the fifteenth century, general *sejmiks* (dietines) for the entire Lesser Poland were already taking place in Sandomierz Voivodeship – in Nowe Miasto Korczyn,<sup>129</sup> and particular *sejmiks* (dietines) – in Opatów. An attempt made in 1510, during the reign of Sigismundus the Old,<sup>130</sup> to move particular *sejmiks* (dietines) to Skrzywno failed. In 1519 the *sejmiks* (dietines) in Skrzywno were annulled and from this point they were to gather in Opatów, in accordance with to the old custom.<sup>131</sup> Army inspections of the knights from the entire voivodeship took place in Pokrzywnica (Koprzywnica).<sup>132</sup> Finally, the gord starosta’s districts: there were six of them in Sandomierz Voivodeship: Sandomierz, Radom, Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Chęciny, Opoczno and Stężyca.

(1993)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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<sup>125</sup> M. Bielski, *Kronika Polska*, vol. 1, ed. K.J. Turowski, Sanok 1856, p. 917; K. Papèe, *Aleksander Jagiellończyk*, Kraków 1949, p. 57.

<sup>126</sup> MK 96, f. 90–92v: ‘Restitutio iurisdictionis terrestris et castrensis nobilitatis districtus Stenzycensis’. However, because this regulation of Szym in Piotrków from 1563 was not included in the constitution of this Szym, so the work of town and gord court in Stężyca began again in the next year, VL, vol. 2, p. 640: ‘Gord and land court, which we established on request of the nobility of the entire district in Stężyca, that it was in the constitutions of the last sejm omitted, praesentis conventus autoritate approve’.

<sup>127</sup> S. Starowolski, *Polska*, p. 82: ‘northern part of the voivodeship [Sandomierz], additionally includes Stężyca land over the Vistula’; W. Wielądtko, *Heraldyka czyli opisanie herbów*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1792, p. 68: ‘Sandomierz [...] is a large voivodeship, has six districts: Sandomierz, Radom, Opoczno, Chęciny, Wiślica, Pilzno... Stężyca land also belongs to it’. In a voice of Fryderyk Józef Moszyński (Summariusz generalny wszystkich dochodów Rzeczypospolitej..., Warszawa 1791), in the column: ‘Prowincja Małopolska województwami’ it is stated: ‘Sandomierz Voivodeship and Stężyca land’; also see S. Konferowicz, Fryderyk Józef Moszyński, statystyk doby Sejmu Czteroletniego, Warszawa 1963, p. 64a (tables).

<sup>128</sup> Z. Gloger, *Geografia historyczna dawnej Polski*, Kraków 1901, p. 188.

<sup>129</sup> A. Pawiński, *Sejmiki ziemskie*, Warszawa 1895, pp. LIII–LVI.

<sup>130</sup> Because ‘oppidum Opatoviense longe distet a districtibus Radomiensi et Opoczniensi’ – Corpus Iuris Polonici, vol. 3, ed. O. Balzer, Kraków 1906, p. 111, art. 21: ‘De conventu in Skrzyn’.

<sup>131</sup> Ibidem, no. 210, art. 11: ‘Unus duntaxat particularis conventus in terra Sandomiriensi iuxta antiquam consuetudinem celebratur, conventu Skrzyniensi, qui ex speciali concessione nostra annis superioribus agebatur, abolitio penitus et sublato’.

<sup>132</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 641.

### III.2.1.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

The borders of Lublin Voivodeship, separated from Sandomierz Voivodeship in 1474, and its internal administrative division were reconstructed around 1564. We made one exception from this rule: Podlasiian Voivodeship was placed not in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but already in the Crown, where it belonged after 1569. On this side the range of our territory was marked with voivodeship border, and the border of the Crown was marked only at the junction with the Voivodeship of Brześć Litewski.

The map shows the administrative division of the State and the Roman Catholic Church, the latter without deaneries. The borders of the smallest units – the parishes form the core of the divisions, all higher-rank Church borders, and the majority of State borders, overlap with the parochial borders.

Settlement files, providing parochial affiliation of settlements, was our starting point in presenting the course of the borders. The settlements were marked on a carbon paper (on the basis of a 1:300,000 map) and then the parochial borders were drawn, first by means of interpolation, so in approximation.

The first difficulties occurred while localizing parochial seats. This happened in the case of Białka, which lies 13.5 km to the southeast of Łęczna – only after reviewing data from tax registers from 1563 and 1564 with a small entry from the fifteenth century were we able to identify this parochial village.<sup>1</sup> Parishes located in Czemierniki offer a different example – these were two settlements, a village by the River Wieprz, and a town in Tyśmienica's loop. In the fifteenth century and the major part of the sixteenth, the two parishes were not differentiated, and the villages belonging to them were listed under one parochial settlement. Two separate Church districts were clearly defined in 1580.<sup>2</sup>

The information on the parochial affiliations of many settlements found in tax registers – the basic source for our map – is often contradictory. Fiscal administration of the State did, in fact, use units of Church administration in the documents, but it paid little attention to the actual, real range of parochial districts. From this arise not only the contradictions found in the data, when one settlement is ascribed to different parishes by different registers, but also instances where a village was linked to a remote parish, possibly due to ownership relations, without any confirmation in Church sources. Thereby the registers often show the old, invalid parochial range. We tried, when possible, to correct these inaccuracies of our source basis, which made it difficult for us to present the correct course of borders, with available sources of Church origin,<sup>3</sup> as well as with data from later tax registers, from the seventeenth century, especially when such records would suggest there was an enclave of a given

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<sup>1</sup> One name of the owner appears in all these records: Witalis. In 1485 Witalis was one of the owners of Jaszców and Białka (Lubelska księga podkomorska piętnastego wieku, ed. L. Białkowski, Lublin 1934, p. 97), and in 1563 and 1564 Jan Witalis appears a one of the owners of the parochial village Białka (AGAD, ASK I 33, f. 486v, 508). This, together with the location of Białka parish in the 1564 register between Piasek and Krzczonów told us to look for it near Piasek, and more precisely: near Jaszców. In 1611 Białka appears in Biskupice parish (Archiwum Kapituły w Krakowie, Wizytacje, no. 65, f. 540). Still at the close of the nineteenth century there were two small lakes near Białka: Bieleckie and Księżę, whose names would suggest that there was a parish there (SGKP, vol. 1, p. 165).

<sup>2</sup> Długosz LB, II, p. 550; ASK I 33, f. 753, 790. After 1626 (or earlier) the parish in Czemierniki village ceased to exist, and the village was put in Biskupice parish. More about the identification of both these settlements in the author's paper: 'Czemierniki Lubelskie' presented at the meeting of Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne in Lublin in 1952. Cf. P. Szafran, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w Lubelskiem*, Lublin 1958, pp. 132–135.

<sup>3</sup> For that purpose we also used: P. Szafran, *Rozwój*; S. Litak, *Formowanie sieci parafialnej w Łukowskiem do końca XVI wieku*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", vol. 12, 1964, no. 2.

parish inside a parochial district of another parish, or when a village was situated far from its parochial church. The north-western part of Lublin district caused us the most difficulties (parishes: Baranów, Gołab, Klementowice, Końska Wola, Kurów, Mnichów, Ostrów, Rudno, Włostowice). For instance, having compared our data with the 1603 visitation,<sup>4</sup> we decided to place the following villages from the huge – according to the registers – Końska Wola parish (currently: Końskowola) in Baranów parish: Kotliny, Żerdź, Wilczanka and Pogonów; in Gołab parish: Żyrzyn, Borysów and Niebrzegów, and in Włostowice parish: Puławy, Wola Puławska and Wólka Profecka.

It should be emphasized that our comparison of parochial ranges with information found in other sources, i.e. not in sixteenth century tax registers, was only fragmentary, and usually the borders presented on our map agree with the registers, as this particular element of our map is not a special study on Church organization, in which at the time there were various conflicts regarding the parochial affiliation of many villages.<sup>5</sup> What is more, it is meant to make orientation of the huge number of settlements easier, in the same way that it used to facilitate the collectors' work.

Such an assumption has two other consequences. Firstly, subsidiary churches which had their own individual districts were treated as parochial seats (Karczmiska, subsidiary of Kazimierz; Ratozszyn, subsidiary of Chodel; Włostowice, subsidiary of Jaroszyn). Secondly, our map disregards the fact that around 1564 many parochial churches in Lublin Voivodeship were occupied by Protestants, that is – according to catholic terminology – they were 'profaned'.<sup>6</sup> In such case the parish did not function, and the worshippers sought services offered by the clergy of other churches. For example, the already-mentioned parish in Białka disappeared as a result of the Reformation before 1565<sup>7</sup> and was never reactivated later, just like the parish in the village Łucka, which appears in the 1565 visitation as 'not profane yet', but soon afterwards (prior to 1595) it was seized by the Protestants.<sup>8</sup> Let us also add that the Protestant movement, really active in the Voivodeship of Lublin, also built new temples – congregations (the Polish word for a Protestant temple is 'zbór'), many of which became catholic parochial churches decades later (Dąbrowica, Firlej, Rawa). Additionally, the map does not show Eastern Orthodox churches mentioned in the registers.

Having established the parochial affiliation of settlements, we began to define precisely the course of the borders of each parish. Our basic assumption was that the territorial borders of older settlements generally remained unchanged for centuries, or the changes introduced were minor. In cases where a new settlement was founded near an older one, the new settlement functioned on grounds separated from the territory of the old settlement. For that purpose we utilised the map of communes of modern Lublin Voivodeship<sup>9</sup> and analysed the range of each individual parish thoroughly, with the help of records prepared beforehand. The files contained source data on the history of all settlements in the Voivodeship of Lublin. We were thus able to trace the relations between newer settlements and older parishes, and thus to establish the range of each sixteenth century parish in a more precise manner. We then revised the schematic parochial borders drawn earlier, which were now led also with regard to physiographic elements (rivers, forest complexes).

Voivodeship, land and district borders, as well as borders of archdeacons and dioceses, were defined on the basis of the borders of parochial networks. The differences between these borders and parochial borders were only fragmentary. As at the close of the eighteenth century the borderlines were

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<sup>4</sup> Archiwum Kurii Biskupiej in Lublin, Rep. 60 A 96, pp. 625, 643, 655, 664.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, the controversial affiliation of Żyrzyn and Parzachwia (now: Parafianka) Wola to Gołab parish. Archiwum Kurii Biskupiej in Lublin, Rep. 60 A 23, f. 27bis, entry in the documents of Lublin consistory from 1634.

<sup>6</sup> J. Bukowski, *Dzieje reformacji w Polsce*, vol. 1–2, Kraków 1883–1886; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1904; L. Zaleski, *Ze stosunków wyznaniowych w Lubelskiem. Na podstawie notatek z Archiwum Kurii Biskupiej w Lublinie*, Lublin 1931; A. Kossowski, *Protestantyzm w Lublinie i Lubelskiem w XVI–XVII w.*, Lublin 1933; W. Urban, *Chłopi wobec reformacji w Małopolsce w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Kraków 1959.

<sup>7</sup> Archiwum Kapituły w Krakowie, Wizytacje no. 1, p. 281. It appears in tax registers until 1580 and was included on our map.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 306; Archiwum Kapituły w Krakowie, Wizytacje no. 3. Prior to 1603 Łucka and the villages in its district were annexed to the neighbouring parish in Lubartów. Archiwum Kurii w Lublinie, Rep. 60 A 96, p. 333.

<sup>9</sup> The map of communes in Lublin Voivodeship according to the state from 1952 at a scale 1:300,000, study of prof. Fr. Uhorczak at UMCS in Lublin. I would like to express my gratitude to the author for allowing me to use the map. The described method of parochial borders reconstruction was used before T. Ładogórski suggested it in the review of M. Biskup and A. Tomczak's work, see: T. Ładogórski, *ZH*, vol. 21, no. 3–4.

usually the same as in the sixteenth century, the course of the voivodeship border was determined on the basis of Perthées's map, and some information concerning borderland settlements.<sup>10</sup>

The southern border of Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century ran through a strip of woodland now called Solska Wilderness. The border must not have been precisely defined here, as the settlements on both sides were situated quite far from each other, on the edges of the forest. As such, the course of the borderline presented on the map should be considered only an approximate range of influence of neighbouring voivodeships, which could have become more precise with the development of settlement. The western fragment of the border ran along the River Bukowa, leaving it only near Jastkowice, a village in Sandomierz Voivodeship. In the east, the border probably reached beyond Bukowa, where the voivodeship borders met with the borders of two other Voivodeships, of Sandomierz and Ruthenia, possibly near the present-day village Golce.

The longest fragment of the border was the one with Sandomierz Voivodeship. From the estuary of the River Bukowa the boundary line ran along the River San, at the time leaving Skowieszyn, Wrzawy and other settlements on the Lublin side. From the mouth of the River San to the mouth of the River Wieprz the borderline was set on the Vistula. The river, carrying more water than it does now, could easily change its channel in the broad valley without any man-made intervention, thereby deviating from its defined border. Compared with the course of the Vistula marked on the map, one could find such deviations in several places, of which one could be explained by the old river channel. This concerns the undoubted affiliation of the village Wojszyn to Lublin Voivodeship.<sup>11</sup> The village lies on a high bank over the River Vistula, across from Kazimierz. In this case the administrative border of the State (just like the parochial border in fact) overlapped with ownership relations, i.e. the fact that Wojszyn belonged to the starosta's district of Kazimierz.

Gołąb parish situated at the fork of the Rivers Vistula and Wieprz belonged to the Voivodeship of Lublin, but exactly in the period shown on our map several villages in this area were associated with the Voivodeship of Sandomierz, or more precisely: with Stężyca district (originally Radom district). There were the royal villages: Gołąb, Wola Gołębska, Skoki, Nieciecz, and Bałtów, and one village belonging to the nobility, Borowa.<sup>12</sup> As such, apart from the voivodeship border proper, led along the rivers, our map shows also the range of the area associated with the neighbouring voivodeship, marked with a less-distinct symbol.

The border between the Voivodeships of Lublin and Sandomierz continued along the River Wieprz, then departed from it near Kock, dividing several parishes between the neighbouring voivodeships along the way (parishes: Kock, Wojcieszów, Wilczyśka), and finally reached the point of junction with Mazovian Voivodeship near Płozy, that is Szyszki.

The relatively short borderline separating the Voivodeship of Lublin from Mazovia ran partially along the River Muchawka, and ended with its estuary into the Liwiec on the northern frontiers of our territory. There in turn began the even shorter border with Podlasiian Voivodeship, set on the River Liwiec.

From the village Sobicze in Zbuczyn parish to Uhnin in Parczew parish the Voivodeship of Lublin neighboured on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or actually with the Voivodeship of Brześć Litewski which belonged to the Duchy. A short fragment of the border ran along the River Pivonia, which divided the villages Chmielów, Przewłoka, and other villages inhabited by farm gentry into parts belonging to Poland (Lublin Voivodeship) and Lithuania (Brześć Voivodeship).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 3 (tax registers of Sandomierz Voivodeship); P. Mazowsze (Mazovian Voivodeship), Podlasie I/II/III (Podlasiian Voivodeship), *Ziemia ruskie: Ruś Czerwona*, part 2, ed. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1903 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, t. 18) (Ruthenian Voivodeship); A. Jabłonowski, *Ziemia ruskie Rzeczypospolitej. Atlas Historyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, section II, Warszawa 1899–1904; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu w XV i XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1951.

<sup>11</sup> ASK I 33, f. 475, 776v.

<sup>12</sup> The villages listed appear in the sixteenth century sometimes in the registers of Lublin Voivodeship, but usually in the registers from Sandomierz Voivodeship, like in 1569 (P. Małopolska, vol. 3, pp. 334, 338–9). In 1552, in the register of unpaid debts it was recorded that Gołąb, Nieciecz, Bałtów and Borowa 'ad districtum proprium Lublinense non solvent, sed in Radom' (ASK I 33, f. 394v). According to the inspection of Sandomierz Voivodeship conducted in 1564/65, which encompassed these villages, Bałtów and Skoki belonged to Radom starosta's district, and Gołąb with Wola constituted a separate lease. In the tax register of Lublin district from 1626 and poll tax register from 1676 there are no royal villages in Gołąb parish. Gołąb and Wola Gołębska were listed in Stężyca land still in the tax register from 1711, see also: LS 1789, pp. XIX and 273.

<sup>13</sup> M. Dogiel, *Limites Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae...*, Wilno 1758, pp. 22–33, 67–78; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rozwój wielkiej własności*, pp. 18–22, 58–60 and map outside the text.

The border with Ruthenia began in Uhnin. First it separated the voivodeship from Chełm land, and then from Przemyśl land. Contrary to Z. Gloger's writings,<sup>14</sup> and what later became established in historical cartography thanks to W. Semkowicz,<sup>15</sup> Lublin Voivodeship in the sixteenth century did not border on Bełz Voivodeship, which did not separate Chełm land from Przemyśl land.<sup>16</sup> The south-eastern part of the border of Lublin Voivodeship at the close of the sixteenth century differed from the 1564 state, when the area of Biłgoraj probably still belonged to Ruthenia. Biłgoraj was founded in 1578 and a parish was established there. The town was annexed to the Voivodeship of Lublin, but remained in Chełm diocese.

To conclude our description of the outer borders of Lublin Voivodeship, we would like to underline that these were mostly natural borders. The Rivers Bukowa and San in the south, the Vistula in the west, the downstream Wieprz, the Muchawka and the Liwiec in the north, and in the east short fragments of the Rivers Piwonia and Wieprz, and also the forests in the east (Parczew Forest) and in the south (Solska Wilderness) divided our voivodeship from the neighbouring ones.

The Voivodeship of Lublin consisted of three districts: the district of Lublin in the centre, the district of Urzędów in the south, and the district of Łuków in the north. The latter formed a separate land in fact.

It was easy to determine the border between Lublin district and Łuków land, as the tax registers from the sixteenth century, as well as the sources from the fifteenth or seventeenth centuries, clearly set the border of the Rivers Wieprz and Tyśmienica.

The border between the districts of Lublin and Urzędów was quite a different matter. Apart from the tax register from 1531, all other registers failed to define a clear border between these districts. Perhaps this was caused by the fact that the same people collected taxes from both districts, so there was no need to define the border and determine the area of collection. The border was drawn on the basis of earlier records: the 1531 register in the first place, the border of Church jurisdiction (archdeaconry border) – preserved and well-protected by the Church – on which the border between the districts of Lublin and Urzędów was probably based. Beginning with the Vistula near Piotrawin, we decided to leave the following parishes on the Urzędów side: Rybitwy, Boby, Urzędów, Popkowice, Kraśnik and Batorz, and on the Lublin side: Piotrawin, Kliczkowice, Chodel, Ratoszyn, Wilkołaz, Kiełczewice, Bychawa, and Targowisko, as well as two parishes, Biała and Goraj, situated south of the elevation of the Western Roztocze. The affiliation of the two last parishes, the only two in this south-eastern part of our territory, to Lublin Voivodeship is well-recorded, even despite the lack of any territorial connection with the rest of the district.<sup>17</sup>

The planimeter allowed us to calculate the area of parishes. The sum for each district was as follows:

Lublin district	6,666 km <sup>2</sup>
Urzędów district	1,929 km <sup>2</sup>
Łuków land	2,089 km <sup>2</sup>
Lublin Voivodeship	10,684 km <sup>2</sup>

(1966)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

<sup>14</sup> Z. Gloger, *Geografia historyczna ziem dawnej Polski*, Kraków 1900, pp. 194, 214, 255/6 and added map by J. Babirecki.

<sup>15</sup> W. Semkowicz, *Szkolny atlas historyczny*, Lwów 1932.

<sup>16</sup> *Ziemie ruskie: Ruś Czerwona*, p. 22; A. Jabłonowski, *Ziemie ruskie*.

<sup>17</sup> M. Stankowa, *Powiat urzędowski w Polsce przedrozbiorowej pod względem ustrojowo-prawnym* [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego. Materiały sesji naukowej*, ed. K. Myśliński, J. Szaflik, Lublin 1964, pp. 49-55, following M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, and SGKP, presents a different version of the border between the two districts. The author supported her thesis by the fact that a person not from Urzędów district, when they appeared before the court in Urzędów, 'resign from the jurisdiction of their own district and enter the jurisdiction of Urzędów district'. As such, it would be proper to assume that the inhabitants of Lublin district who appeared before the court in Urzędów, if it was not emphasized clearly in their case that they resign from the jurisdiction of Lublin court, decided on the author's inclusion of their mother parish entirely into Urzędów district. The data provided by Baliński – Lipiński and SGKP could not, in this case, be considered sufficient. Stankowa's thesis is not justified enough to make us change the course of the border, based on Pawiński. We do not deny that at the close of the sixteenth century, or later, the borders between the two districts could change and Urzędów district could double in size, as at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Biłgoraj parish was adjoined to Lublin Voivodeship. Moreover, either new parishes were created in this area (Prawno, Zaklików, Branew, Frampol, Radzięcín, Radomyśl), or the seats of the old ones were moved nearby, like from Biała to Janów, Słupie to Modliborzyce. However, this occurred later, in the period not included on our map. As such, the borders described by Stankowa, or similar, did in fact exist, but later, like on Perthées's map.

### III.2.1.4 GREATER POLAND

*Michał Gochna*

This chapter discusses the administrative borders of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships. Both were part of “proper Greater Poland”. More broadly, it also encompassed the Sieradz, Łęczyca, Brest-Kuyavian, Inowrocław Voivodeships, as well as the Wieluń and Dobrzyń lands. In the broadest sense, as one of the three provinces of the Commonwealth, next to Lesser Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it included the voivodeships in Mazovia (Płock, Rawa and Mazovia) as well as Royal Prussia. In that context, it was under the jurisdiction of the Royal Tribunal in Piotrków (established in 1578). Due to certain ties between the nobles of Podlasie and the general sejmik in Koło, Greater Poland sometimes included Podlasie.<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this text, we will operate under the assumption that the term Greater Poland signifies only the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships.

The borders of both voivodeships were mostly formed in the fourteenth century. The Poznań Voivodeship had the Wschowa land added in 1343,<sup>2</sup> and the Wałcz territory in 1368.<sup>3</sup> The complicated story of the second region did not allow for its borders to stabilize for some time. This process was only finalized in the fifteenth century, more precisely after the conclusion of the Thirteen Years’ War in 1466.<sup>4</sup> Even in the sixteenth century, its northern and western reaches were the reason for disputes between Poland and the Duchy of Pomerania and Brandenburg.<sup>5</sup> The administrative division reconstructed for the end of the sixteenth century remained mostly intact until 1768, when the Gniezno Voivodeship was established, encompassing the Gniezno and Kcynia districts.<sup>6</sup> Among the noteworthy territorial changes before the partitions is the claiming of the Drahim starosta’s district by Frederick Wilhelm, the elector of Brandenburg, in 1668.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1793*, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, p. 30; E. Kalinowski, *Podlasianin Wielkopolaninem? Z nieznanych dziejów przynależności terytorialnej Podlasia po 1569 r.*, PH, vol. 106, 2015, no. 3, pp. 421–440; VL, p. 184 (966–967), VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 409; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. V, no. 3, pp. 582–583. Greater Poland’s formation was impacted the charter issued in 1456 by Casimir IV, which assigned the following lands to the the general sejmik in Koło: Poznań, Kalisz, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Brzest, Inowrocław, Dobrzyń. In 1476, the Rawa Voivodeship was added; see H. Rutkowski, *Jednostki terytorialne Królestwa Polskiego w „Annales” Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz: 600. rocznica urodzin. Region, Polska, Europa w jego twórczości*, ed. J. Maciejowski, P. Oliński, W. Rozyński, S. Zonenberg, Toruń 2016, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bieniaszewski, *Urzednicy wschowscy XV–XVIII wieku*, SMDWP, vol. 15, 1984, no. 2, pp. 141–144.

<sup>3</sup> K. Górnska-Gołaska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – terytorium i powiat*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. V, no. 3, p. 502. The Knights Hospitaller still occupied the castle in Stare Drawsko for some time (Drahim in the sixteenth century), which was reclaimed in 1407; K. Górnska-Gołaska, *Drahim* [in:] SHGPoz, pt. I, pp. 392–395.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bielecka, *Inwentarze ksiąg archiwów grodzkich i ziemskich Wielkopolski XIV–XVIII wieku. Województwo poznańskie, kaliskie gnieźnieńskie, inowrocławskie*, Poznań 1965, p. 92; HistPowWał, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> A. Wielopolski, *Polsko-pomorskie spory graniczne w latach 1536–1555*, PZ, vol. 10, no. 5–6, pp. 64–111; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, pp. 584–588.

<sup>6</sup> VL, vol. 7, p. 348 (747); Z. Chodyła, *Utworzenie i początki funkcjonowania województwa gnieźnieńskiego (1768–1774–1776)*, [in:] *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 2, ed. J. Topolski et al., Warsaw–Poznań 1987, pp. 5–68.

<sup>7</sup> J.M. Roszkowski, *Utrata starostwa drahimskiego przez Polskę i próby jego odzyskania 1657–1773*, „Koszalińskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, vol. 14, 1984 (1986), pp. 61–80; W. Sadowski, *Sprawa starostwa drahimskiego i jej odzwierciedlenie na sejmiku lubelskim na tle stosunków polsko-brandenburskich za panowania Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego*, „Res Historica”, vol. 17, 2004, pp. 29–39. The Drahim starosta’s district was given to the elector of Brandenburg in 1657 as a deposit, through the Treaty of Bromberg. After 1668, despite multiple attempts, it could not be retaken; *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. A. Bieniaszewski, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Wrocław 1987, pp. 7–8.

The territories of both voivodeships were divided into districts. In terms of the treasury administration, the Poznań Voivodeship was composed of four units: the Poznań, Kościan, Wałcz and Wschowa districts (Wschowa was the only one to be designated as a “land” – see below). The Kalisz Voivodeship was divided into six districts: Kalisz, Konin, Pyzdry, Gniezno, Kcynia and Nakło.

From the point of view of the land’s courts, which were located in Kalisz, Poznań and Wschowa, there were nine districts in Greater Poland. These districts were the location of court rulings, in Kalisz, Konin, Pyzdry, Gniezno, Kcynia and Nakło in the Kalisz Voivodeship, and Poznań, Kościan and Wschowa in the Poznań Voivodeship. We did not perform complex studies of the differences between the borders based on the treasury and judicial sources; although in most cases of specific settlements we analyzed, with very minor exception, both types of sources were in agreement as to which district their border settlements belonged to.

The exception is the Poznań judicial district, which contained the treasury districts of Poznań and Wałcz. This was caused by the unique fate of the Wałcz territory, which belonged to Brandenburg from the late thirteenth century to 1368. Its long relationship with that state, a large German population compared to the rest of Greater Poland and different legal traditions prevented the formation of a land court. Due to this, the term *districtus*, used to describe these territories in sources dated to the fifteenth century and onwards, was probably not designating a judicial district, understood as linked to the land court operating within it,<sup>8</sup> but rather as the territories around Wałcz, without a defined border.<sup>9</sup>

Some changes in the area were made in 1554, with the creation of a gord starosta’s district in the place of the Wałcz lease, with the right to accept perpetual acts. The starosta’s district was granted by royal privilege, earned by the Wałcz lease holder Łukasz Górka, and his brothers Andrzej and Stanisław, along with the right to designate a deputy (*surogator*), chosen by the starosta, and nominated by the king. Already in early 1555, protests were formally raised by Janusz Kościelecki, the general starosta of Greater Poland, arguing that this was a curtailment of his prerogatives. His actions were fruitless, and the Wałcz starosta’s district began to operate.<sup>10</sup> We cannot incontrovertibly answer the question of which lands precisely were under the jurisdiction of the starosta of Wałcz. Our research only allows us to assume that it in some measure overlapped with the treasury district. This is hinted at by the Wałcz tax registers of 1579 and 1582: “Exactio Contributionis Regalis in Conventu Warszewiensis laudatae ex pagis **ad Castrum Walczense pertinentibus** per Generosum Dominum Andream Bilenczki sive Karchowski exactorem in Annum Domini 1579” and “[Exact]io contributionis Regalis [in C] onventu Warsewienis Anno Domini [158]2 in palatinatu Posnanensis [la]udatae. **De villis ad castrum Walczense pertinentibus** [highlighted by M.G.]”.<sup>11</sup> The phrase used in these citations to describe the villages belonging to Wałcz Castle does not solely refer to the Crown’s properties overlooked by the starostas of Wałcz, for they contain incomes from all the settlements in the treasury district of Wałcz (except for the ones that were regularly omitted in tax registers). We can therefore deduce that this was meant to indicate the settlements under the jurisdiction of the Wałcz starosta, which, as noted earlier, allows us to assume that the range of this jurisdiction corresponds to the range of the Wałcz district outlined by the treasury sources.

One unique aspect of Greater Poland was the office of the general starosta, which was formed in the fourteenth century in the place of the Poznań and Kalisz starostas. This is not the place to discuss in detail his administrative and judicial competences but we can state that while it did not differ much from the prerogatives of the other starostas within the Crown, this position was quite sought after due to the vast lands that came under it.<sup>12</sup> The primary residence of the “General of Greater Poland”, as the general starosta was occasionally called, was Poznań, where his replacement – the deputy – also

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<sup>8</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce XIV–XVI wieku. Z zagadnień zarządu terytorialnego i podziałów Polski późnośredniowiecznej*, Poznań 1965, p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> K. Górka-Gołaska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – terytorium i powiat*, pp. 501–502.

<sup>10</sup> J. Bielecka, *Sąd grodzki w Wałczu*, RH, vol. 26, 1960, pp. 267–269. The Wałcz starostas are not mentioned in the registers of civil servants published between the sixteenth and eighteenth century; see *Urzędnicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku*.

<sup>11</sup> RPWP, wlc, 1579, Introduction; RPWP, wlc, 1582, Introduction.

<sup>12</sup> J. Łojko, *Utworzenie starostwa generalnego Wielkopolski*, RH, vol. 44, 1978, pp. 131–143; M. Zwierzykowski, *Odrębności ustrojowe Wielkopolski w dobie nowożytnej*, [in:] *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Staropolski regionalizm*, ed. S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 56–57. For more on the changes in competencies from the late medieval ages to the sixteenth century, see A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzędnicy zarządu lokalnego w późnośredniowiecznej Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1970, pp. 170–201.

presided, taking part in court proceedings and accepting deeds and disputes.<sup>13</sup> The general starosta oversaw the gords' offices in Kalisz, Kościan, Pyzdry, Konin Gniezno and Kcynia. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, he still visited all of these locations, but in the 1520s he began to operate exclusively in Poznań. The other locations housed his replacements. In Kalisz, much like in Poznań, there was a deputy, nominated for the first time in 1523.<sup>14</sup> The other gords, that is Kościan, Pyzdry, Konin, Gniezno and Kcynia, all had burgraves at first, who lacked the ability to accept entries of perpetual acts. The Konin burgrave answered to the Kalisz deputy.<sup>15</sup> After the general starosta stopped his trips, the burgraves' importance in the administration diminished in favor of notaries, who were then supplanted in the mid-seventeenth century by regents.<sup>16</sup>

The other districts – Wałcz, Nakło and Wschowa – had independent starostas. The Wałcz starosta was already mentioned. The area of the Nakło district, also called Krajna,<sup>17</sup> was subject to the gord starosta in Nakło. This position was already mentioned in the fourteenth century. Its creation was related to the role this territory played in the disputes between Władysław I Łokietek and the dukes of Głogów.<sup>18</sup> The starost of Nakło was independent from the Greater Polish general starosta, making him the only independent gord starosta in the Kalisz Voivodeship. Nakło castle housed his deputy – the burgrave and from 1519, when the gord court was established, the deputy.<sup>19</sup>

The presence of the gord starosta in Wschowa is directly linked to the uniqueness of what was the smallest administrative division in the Crown.<sup>20</sup> It was annexed by Poland in 1343, and soon after, the starosta of Wschowa was mentioned for the first time in 1349. The starosta of Wschowa only became a permanent position in the fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Polish law, including land courts and the post of the chamberlain (*podkomorzy*), which vanished in 1546, was introduced in 1422 by Władysław Jagiełło.<sup>22</sup> It functioned this way also in the sixteenth century but had an uncertain hierarchy of offices (it was only filled in in 1670).<sup>23</sup> The Wschowa gord was the headquarters of the starost's deputy – the deputy.<sup>24</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, the territorial properties of the Wschowa district appeared to be uniform, both in terms of the land judiciary, as well as the starosts's and treasury administration.

While discussing the territorial situation of Wschowa, it must be noted that the terminology used to describe the Wschowa region was not standardized. Sources use both “district” and “land”. These terms coexisted over time, but one or the other was used more or less at different periods.<sup>25</sup> This volume uses the term “Wschowa land”, following Arkadiusz Borek's outlines.<sup>26</sup> It is therefore the only district designated as “lands” in this volume. It must, however, be remembered that the Wschowa land were not equal to other lands in the Crown.<sup>27</sup>

The situation of Nakło and Wałcz districts, which were often called “lands” in literature,<sup>28</sup> was somewhat different. It seems that the name did not refer to a concrete administrative unit – “lands”

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<sup>13</sup> The Poznań deputy began functioning full-time in 1524; J. Bielecka, *Inwentarze*, p. 32.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> J. Bielecka, *Organizacja i działalność kancelarii ziemskich i grodzkich wielkopolskich XIV–XVIII w.*, “Archeion”, vol. 22, 1954, pp. 34, 55, 66, 71, 78, 83, 88, 130–131. In the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century, the existence of Konin starosta was noted. According to A. Gąsiorowski they were at first Konin burgraves, who cannot be equated to the sixteenth century burgraves, who were deputies of the starosta. The role and responsibilities of these burgraves were not fully defined. After 1430 they were only representatives of the general starosta. A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzednicy zarzadu lokalnego*, pp. 150–155.

<sup>17</sup> Szafran, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> S. Kutrzeba, *Starostowie: ich początki i rozwój w XIV w.*, Cracow 1903, pp. 255–258; A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzednicy zarzadu lokalnego*, pp. 148–149.

<sup>19</sup> J. Bielecka, *Inwentarze*, p. 97.

<sup>20</sup> A. Borek, *Ziemia wschowska w drugiej polowie XVI wieku*, [in:] RPWP.

<sup>21</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzednicy zarzadu lokalnego*, pp. 149–150.

<sup>22</sup> A. Bieniaszewski, *Urzednicy wschowscy*, p. 142.

<sup>23</sup> *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku*, p. 9; VL, vol. 5, p. 36.

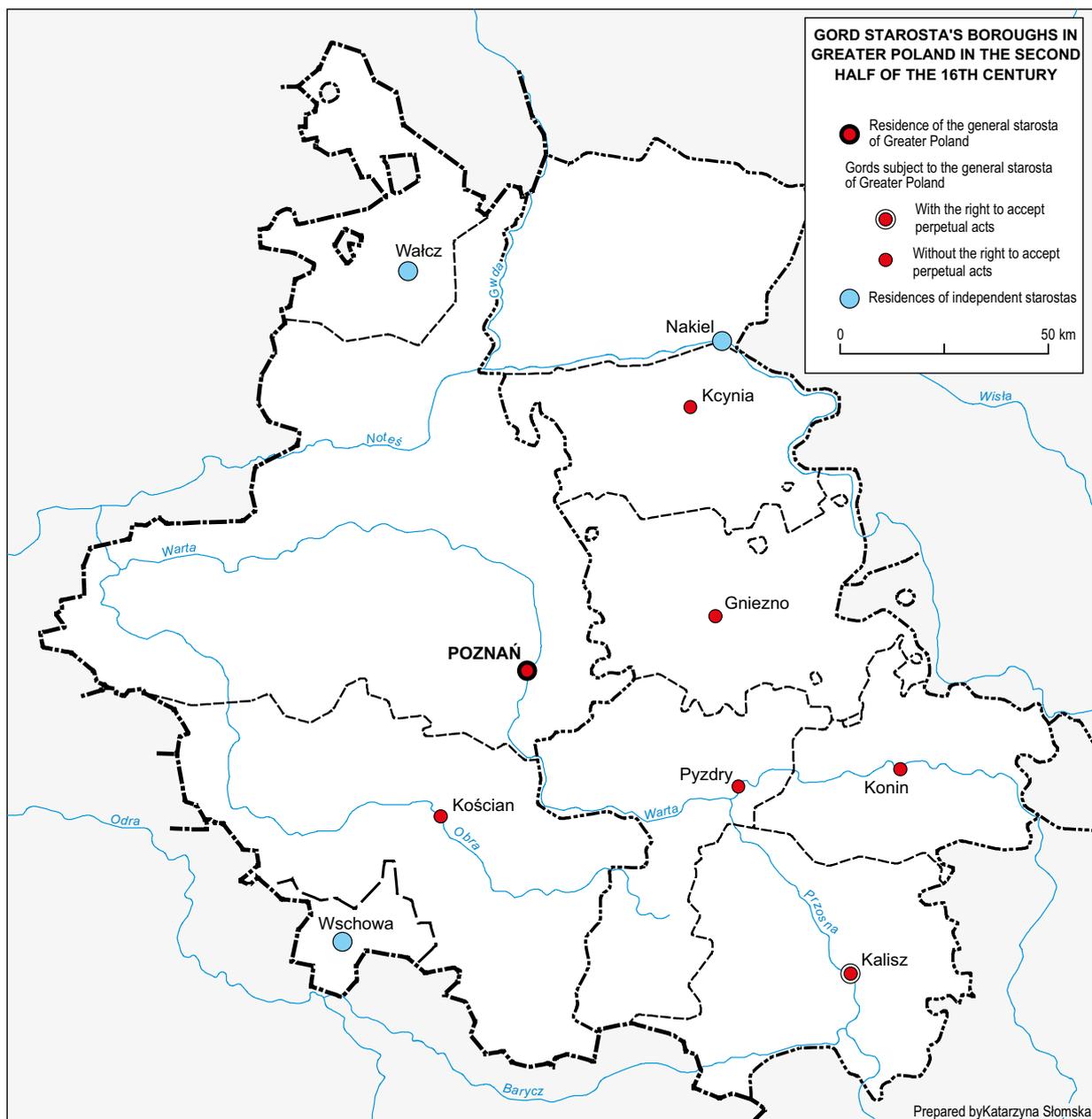
<sup>24</sup> J. Bielecka, *Inwentarze*, p. 87.

<sup>25</sup> E.g.: RPWP, wch, 1567, no. 29–36, „terra et districtu wschovensisi”; RPWP, wch, 1565, Introduction, „terra [w]schoviensis”.

<sup>26</sup> A. Borek, *Ziemia wschowska*.

<sup>27</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Jednostki terytorialne*, p. 114.

<sup>28</sup> The term is used by: K. Górska-Gołaska, *Wstęp*, [w:] SHGPoz, pt. I, p. VII; *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku*, pp. 6–7: „ziemia nakielska”, „ziemia walecka”. A. Gąsiorowski rightfully points out the lack of precision in the status of Nakło



**Map 1. Gord starosta's boroughs in Greater Poland in the second half of the 16th century**

(such as the Wschowa land or lands in Mazovia), but rather an approximate territory called “lands”. This is especially visible in the case of Wałcz district, which, as was already mentioned, was not a judicial district, but a treasury one, and from 1554, territoriality corresponding to the starosta’s jurisdiction formed during that period. At the time multiple terms were used then, which was confirmed by sixteenth century court documents. They contain such terms as “Wałcz district”, “The Wałcz territories of the Poznan district” or “the Poznan *vel* Wałcz district”.<sup>29</sup> The term “lands” was only found in one record from 1541, and disappeared later on, and from the latter half of the sixteenth century

district, calling it a “district or lands”, or as he did with Wschowa district, “district-lands”; idem, *Urzednicy zarzadu lokalnego*, pp. 148–149; J. Bielecka, *Inwentarze*, pp. 93, 97; Bąk, *Wałcz*, esp. p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> K. Górską-Gołaska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – terytorium i powiat*, p. 501; TD, 3640a (no. 1392), 1514, „w teryt. wałec., pow. pozn. (!)”; TD, 6445 (no. 894), 1553, „w pow. pozn., a w teryt. wałec.”; TD, 6939 (no. 896), 1555, „w p. pozn. i teryt. wałec.”; TD, 41 (no. 21), 1559, „p. pozn. a teryt. wałec.”; TD, 8924 (no. 1396), 1560, „w p. pozn. *vel* wałec.”; TD, 49 (no. 21), 1560, „w teryt. wałec.”.

the term “district” takes hold.<sup>30</sup> It also appears in the tax registers from 1563 and 1567.<sup>31</sup> Some of the autonomy of the Wałcz territory caused legal issues regarding the territorial powers of the Poznań gord office.<sup>32</sup> This explains away the use of the term “lands”, especially unclear in this context, in some papers.<sup>33</sup> The existence of a gord starost in Wałcz could also be a reason for the existence of the term. It must be stated though, that for the Wałcz territory, the proper term seems to be district. It is used in this volume of AHP. The same term is used for the Nakło district. We could not find the term “Nakło lands” in the notes in *Teki Dworzaka*, while “Nakło district” appears in them constantly from the fifteenth century. Tax registers always present it as a *distictus*.<sup>34</sup> It is likely that even in this case the use of the term “lands” in regard to the Nakło district could have been dictated by the existence of a gord starosta or its compact border region.<sup>35</sup>

Having outlined the administrative divisions of the two Greater Poland voivodeships, let us now examine their borders. First, we will begin with the national border. It corresponded to the north, west and south borders of the Poznań Voivodeship, and for brief segments with the southern border of the Kalisz Voivodeship. Its course will now be laid out. The description should be started at Lędyczek, where the borders of the Kalisz Voivodeship, the Crown’s Pomeranian Voivodeship and the Duchy of Pomerania, ruled by the Gryfit dynasty, meet. The border moved south along the Gwda separating the Kalisz Voivodeship from the Duchy of Pomerania, to meet the border of the Poznań Voivodeship 10 km further down. From this point, its border and the national border are the same. It then heads northwest and west, until it reaches Nowy Worów on the Polish side, and Gawroniec (Gersdorf) (roughly 100 km., some segments were along the Samborka River, in the sixteenth century – the Brzeźnica and Dębica, in the sixteenth century – the Damica), where the Crowns border with Brandenburg began. It stretches for 300 km, up to the area around Boryszyn (Borszyn in the sixteenth century) in the Poznań district and Lubrza (Liebenau) in Silesia (sometimes along the Rivers Płociczna and Drawa). Next, a segment is formed by the Crown’s border with Silesia’s Świebodzin area (around 30 km), to then once again separate Poland from Brandenburg, near Brudzew and Koźminek, until it reaches Chwalim (18 km). The Polish-Silesian border resumes here, stretching for about 250 km (through Lipiec – in the sixteenth century Obrzyca and Śląski Rów – in the sixteenth century Rów Graniczny) until it reaches the area of Odolanów, where it meets the border of the Sieradz Voivodeship. A little before this, the border of the Poznań Voivodeship ends, turning into the Kalisz Voivodeship border.

This was a rough description of the external national borders that corresponded to the borders of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century. In most cases, it corresponded to the lines plotted out on the maps of Karol Perthées, David Gilly, UMTB and MTB.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, a few cases do warrant further attention.

The northern part of the national border was not completely stabilized. In the sixteenth century, border conflicts were waged with the Duchy of Pomerania. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the border commission produced two protocols. Each contained one side’s proposed borders. The Polish claim’s outline is more or less in accordance with the course described above. The only divergence is near the segment from the present-day wilderness (*uroczysko*) Stare Borno to Lędyczek. According to the Polish protocol, the border runs straight to Lędyczek, cutting the Plitnica River, reaching the Czarna River and along it to Gwda. On our maps the border curves southeast from Stare Borno, where it reaches the Samborza, and beyond Samborsk (which in the sixteenth century was on the Pomeranian side) turns northeast, leaving Jastrowie in the Polish side, then reaching the Gwda.

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<sup>30</sup> TD, 941 (no. 1394), 1541, „w z. wałec.”; TD, 3702 (no. 962), 1594, „p. wałec”; TD, 238 (no. 32), 1597, „p. wałec”.

<sup>31</sup> RPWP, wlc, 1563, Introduction; RPWP, wlc, 1577, Introduction.

<sup>32</sup> K. Górską-Gołaska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – terytorium i powiat*, p. 501.

<sup>33</sup> See also the commentary of A. Borek; idem, *Ziemia wschowska*.

<sup>34</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1565, Introduction; RPWK, nkl, 1567, Introduction; RPWK, nkl, 1578, Introduction; RPWK, nkl, 1579, Introduction; RPWK, nkl, 1580, Introduction; RPWK, nkl, 1581, Introduction; RPWK, nkl, 1591, Introduction.

<sup>35</sup> See the comments of W. Pałucki about the Stężycza land; idem, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz (in this edition III.2.1.2).

<sup>36</sup> Perthées Poznań; Gilly 1802; Gilly-Cron; UMTB, ark. 873 (1839), 970 (1839), 971 (1839), 972 (1838), 1066 (1840), 1067 (1838), 1068 (1838), 1158 (1838), 1159 (1838), 1160 (1838), 1248 (1833), 1249 (1839), 1334 (1833), 1567 (1833), 1638 (1832), 1778 (1832), 1920 (1828), 1988 (1822), 1989 (1822), 2125 (1828), 2192 (1828), 2264 (1824), 2337 (1824), 2338 (1824), 2412 (1824), 2413 (1826), 2414 (1824), 2415 (1826), 2488 (1826), 2562 (1826); MTB – multiple sheets.

The Pomeranian protocol begins by leaving Popielowo (Popielowo Małe in the sixteenth century) on the Pomeranian side. It then runs similarly to the Polish protocol and our map, along the Dębica but turns south at its fork with the Karsina (Karsin in the sixteenth century). It then goes southeast, placing the Lakes Dębno (Damecz in the sixteenth century), Brody and Pile in the Duchy of Pomerania. Moving further south, it reaches the eastern border of the Brandenburgian enclave of Turze Błoto, along which it arrives to the southern leg of the Margrave's Road. It runs along the road to the Samborza, and along that river to Gwda. With that border arrangement the villages of Dudylany (Duderak in the sixteenth century) and Nadarzyce (Nadorycz in the sixteenth century) along with the town of Jastrowie would have been in Pomerania, but it is known that in the latter half of the sixteenth century they belonged to the Crown.<sup>37</sup>

While discussing the Polish-Pomeranian border, the uncertain affiliation of Popielewko must be explained. The disputes are related to the placement of the terrain's waterways. The Polish protocol from 1549 indicates that the border ran beyond the fields of Popielewo Małe, along the Bliska Struga (a river that no longer exists), which flows into the Dębica. The Pomeranian protocol places the border on the then-called Drewniana Struga (currently wrongly called Bliska Struga, and Holzbach in the sixteenth century).<sup>38</sup> The 1564–1565 inspection indicates that Bliska Struga flows into the Drewniana Struga (Holzbach), and then into the Dębica River.<sup>39</sup> A similar picture is presented in the 1630 commissar decree on the Polish-Pomeranian border, attached to the 1628–1632 census.<sup>40</sup> The UMTB map shows two streams flowing into the Drewniana Struga – one through Popielewko, the other west of the village.<sup>41</sup> Because the Polish protocol from 1549 mentions that the Bliska Struga flows behind the settlement's fields, then the latter of the two rivers would be designated, placing Popielewko on the Polish side. It is worth reminding that the 1564–1565 census claims that the disputed settlement “lies within the Crown, but is held by the Pomeranians, on Pomeranian land”.<sup>42</sup> Popielewko appears in the 1577 tax register, paying a tax from a millwheel and two farmers, and in 1631, a hearth tax from four homes.<sup>43</sup> In 1676, the tax was paid together with Popielewo.<sup>44</sup> This data, especially the tax in 1577, and the fact that this tendency was maintained in the following decades, led to the decision to keeping Popielewo in the Crown.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> A. Wielopolski, *Polsko-pomorskie spory*, pp. 68–75, 100. Under the term “Greater Poland” in SHGPoz, the final stretch of the border was drawn according to the Polish protocol, which did not take Samborsk into account; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, pp. 584–588. In its reconstruction of 1628 properties, the Historical Atlas of Pomerania leaves multiple settlements in Pomerania, which in the sixteenth century were within the Crown's border: Zacharzyn (which in the latter half of the sixteenth century found itself in the Brandenburgian enclave of Turze Błoto), Liszkowo (Altenwalde in 1628), Międzyziesie (Atlmühl in 1628), Uradz (Örden in 1628), Stare Koprzywno (Koprieben in 1628, our reconstruction has the border going through the future village), Popielewko (Popowo Małe in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century; Klein Poplow in 1628 in the Pomeranian atlas); *Historischer Atlas von Pomern: Karte 1 (neue Folge), Besitzstandskarte von 1628*, ed. W. von Schulmann, F. Engel, Köln–Graz 1959.

<sup>38</sup> Polish protocol: „Incipit a flumine quod fluit in campo retro Poplow minus quod apellatur flumen vulgariter Polonice, Blysscha Struga, quod flumen, minus Poplow adherere regno Poloniae significat. Hoc ipsum flumen incidit in fluminum Damice dictum”. Pomeranian protocol: „Et primum quidem fluviolus Holtbeck dividit maiorem et minorem Populonia in ita ut maior ad inclitum Regnum Poloniae et minor Populonia ad Ducatum Pomeraniae pertineat. Distinguiturque Regnum Poloniae et Ducatus Pomeraniae per eundem fluviolum Holtbeck eousque [sic! – MG], quo se in flumen Dametze exonerat”. A. Wielopolski, *Polsko-pomorskie spory*, pp. 68, 102–103. For more on the names of Bliska and Drzewiana Struga see K. Górka-Gońska, *Bliska Struga*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. I, p. 61; eadem, *Drzewiana Struga*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. I, p. 417.

<sup>39</sup> “[...] from this marsh [Niedzwiedzie Gniazdo, unidentified – M.G.] to the stream, called Westen Fleth in German, Bliska Rzeka in Polish; it leads to a second stream, called Helthbeczk, in Polish – Drewniana Struga; this one leads to the Damecz River near Małe Popielewo, which still lies in the Crown, but the Pomeranians hold it in the Pomeranian land”, LWWK 1564, p. 208.

<sup>40</sup> „[...] et ab eodem loco [Niedzwiedzie Gniazdo – M.G.] ad torrentem dictum polonice Bliska Struga et germanice Nestflit. Inde ad alium torrentem Olbek dictum, qui incidit in fluvium Magnum Damic. Quo ductu per longissimam planiciem pervenerunt ad fluvium praefatum Magnum Damic sub gaio quircineo circiter 5 stadiorum a villa Popielewo a dextra parte ductus villa eadem Popielewo utraque iacente”, LWWK 1628, p. 58.

<sup>41</sup> UMTB, sheet 873 (1839).

<sup>42</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 208.

<sup>43</sup> RPWP, wlc, 1577, no. 6; Hearth tax 1631, f. 66v.

<sup>44</sup> Poll tax poz. 1676, f. 1467–1467v.

<sup>45</sup> Comp. to Teki Dworzaczka, 802 (no. 79), 1629, “G. Egard, Henryk and Michał Popielewski from W. Popielewo 35 (?) houses, with the Bruczna demesne – 3 cottages, Popielewo M., – – a mill and 3 cottages (f. 380v)”.

There were three Brandenburgian enclaves in the Poznań Voivodeship, all within the Wałcz district: Bolegorzyn (Bulgrin), Turze Błoto and Próchnowo with Piecnik.

The fact that Bolegorzyn belonged to Brandenburg in the second half of the sixteenth century did not raise any doubts. The 1564–1565 census confirms that the settlement did not belong to Poland.<sup>46</sup> It was only returned in the seventeenth century.<sup>47</sup> The neighboring Nowe Wronowo was in Polish hands in the sixteenth century, similarly to Kluczewo (Kalusewo in the sixteenth century).<sup>48</sup> There are some doubts as to the size of the enclave. It was closed in by Worów from the west and Kluczew from the east, with the northern border not reaching too far.<sup>49</sup> The southern and southwestern borders' situations are not quite as clear, as some border protocols indicate that Bolegorzyn was not an enclave in the Crown but was connected to Neumark by a thin corridor between Nowy Worów and Drawsko lake. The course of the border here is not clear, so Bolegorzyn was marked as an enclave on the main map.<sup>50</sup>

Turze Błoto was the second enclave. It was located southeast of Czaplinek. The unsettled area (a tavern was built only in the sixteenth century<sup>51</sup>) was the property of the von Borcke family and was part of their Falkenburg (Złocieniec) properties. At the turn of the fifteenth century the noble house accepted the overlordship of the Brandenburgian margraves, which resulted in the exterritoriality of Turze Błoto within the Crown. In 1505, King Aleksander Jagiellon allowed his courtiers to purchase these and other von Borcke properties, but in the case of Turze Błoto, the transaction never happened.<sup>52</sup> Our reconstruction of the boundaries of the enclave was based on the descriptions contained in the falsified documents allegedly from 1251, an inspection from 1564–1565 and the entry *Turze Błoto* in SHGPoz.<sup>53</sup> The enclave stretched between the settlements of Broczyno (Brocz in the sixteenth century), Jeziorna (Flokesia in the sixteenth century) Machliny, Nowa Wieś (Schönholtzig in the sixteenth century), Bysze (no longer exists<sup>54</sup>) Nadarzyce (Nadorycz in the sixteenth century) and Dudylany (Duderlak in the sixteenth century). The area outlined here diverges slightly from the enclave's borders found in the map under the term *Wielkopolska* found in SGHPoz.<sup>55</sup> The main difference is the localization of the village of Bysze, which was part of the Crown in the latter half of the sixteenth century, near the present-day Businowskie Lake.

The third enclave within the Wałcz district was composed of the Brandenburgian settlements of Próchnowo (Prochenow) and Piecnik (Petznick), placed between Wałcz and Mirostawiec (Frydland in the sixteenth century). The enclave was closed in by the Crown's villages of Bronikowo (Brunkowo in the sixteenth century), Hanki (Henkendorf in the sixteenth century), Toporzyk (Langendorf in the sixteenth century), Laski Wałeckie (Lacz in the sixteenth century), Górnica (Hohenstein in the sixteenth century), Jabłonkowo (Apfelweth in the sixteenth century), Pilów (the Pilawka mill settlement in the sixteenth century), Nakielno and Marcinkowice (sixteenth century).<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 183.

<sup>47</sup> The 1628–1632 census indicates that this happened in 1624. L. Bąk however points to 1629, when along with Bolegorzyn, the settlements of Cieminko (west of the Crown's border, near Nowy Worów) and Lipno (part of the Bolegorzyn enclave) apparently were returned to Poland; LWWK 1628, p. 41; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 57; see K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Bolegorzyn*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. I, p. 87.

<sup>48</sup> E. Syska, *Rzekoma umowa graniczna polsko-nowomarchijska datowana na rok 1521*, RH, vol. 64, 1998, pp. 139–142; K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Bolegorzyn*, p. 87; *ibid.*, *Klaushagen*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. II, pp. 197–198; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska* (map); RPWP, wlc, 1577, no. 57; RPWP, wlc, 1579, no. 2; RPW, wlc, 1582, no. 2; LWWK 1564, p. 181.

<sup>49</sup> It is possible that the northern border reached Eschebruch swamp; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, p. 589; UMTB, sheet 970 (1839).

<sup>50</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 210; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, pp. 588–593, compare annotations 13 and 15 *ibid.* And sheet 1 of the attached map; Bąk, Wałcz, pp. 57–58; E. Syska, *Rzekoma umowa*, pp. 140–143. Bolegorzyn was similarly presented as Brandenburgian territory surrounded by the Crown in the historical atlas of Brandenburg and Berlin; *Historischer Handatlas von Brandenburg und Berlin*, sheet 36: *Die Mark Brandenburg 1319–1575*, ed. G. Heinrich, Berlin 1971.

<sup>51</sup> LWWK 1564, pp. 183–184.

<sup>52</sup> E. Syska, *Rzekoma umowa*, pp. 139–140.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*; LWWK 1564, pp. 183–184; K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Turze Błoto*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 405–406.

<sup>54</sup> See A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland (in this edition III.3.1.4).

<sup>55</sup> T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, map sheet 1.

<sup>56</sup> K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Próchnowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. III, p. 820; *eadem*, *Petznick*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, pp. 628–629. It was similarly presented in the historical atlas of Brandenburg and Berlin; *Historischer Handatlas von Brandenburg und Berlin*, sheet 36; *ibidem*, sheet 26: *Verwaltungsgliederung*, ed. G. Heinrich, Berlin 1969.

Keeping with the description of the country border, a few remarks should be made about the villages that composed the property of the Knights Hospitaller's commandery with the center in Łągów, which itself lay outside of the Crown's borders. The villages were Boryszyn (Borszyn in the sixteenth century), Templewo, Wielowieś (Langfuld in the sixteenth century) and Zarzyń (Żarzyn in the sixteenth century). Contrary to the conclusions of the team at SHGPoz, we included these territories in the Crown.<sup>57</sup> This solution is backed by several noteworthy facts. First of all, these villages regularly paid a tax in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the 1567 tax register notes that the brewers of Templewo, Borszyn, Zarzynin and Wielowieś, as residents of those villages, paid the alcohol tax. Other registers included payments made by the Międzyrzecz starosta or the Łągów cantor. If these settlements fell outside of the Crown's borders, they not only would not have paid Polish taxes, but they could not have been paid by the Międzyrzecz starosta.<sup>58</sup> The lack of payments from these settlements was noted in the 1631 hearth tax register, and the 1676 poll tax register clearly states that they belong to Brandenburg.<sup>59</sup>

It remains an interesting fact that in 1629 Jan Opaliński, the Poznań voivode, sent a letter to the elector of Brandenburg, containing a reference to the 1251 forgery and an acknowledgment that the four settlements in the commandery were actually a part of Neumark, rather than Poland. This indicated that prior to this, the Polish side held a different position, which Brandenburg had to respect. Only when the elector approached Poland with the proper request, as we can assume, the forgery played a key role.<sup>60</sup>

While finishing the national border's description, two more border settlements, whose allegiance to the Crown was uncertain, must be noted: Nowy Dworek (Nowy Dwór in the sixteenth century) and Jordanowo (Jordan in the sixteenth century), which were endowments to the Paradyż Cistercians.

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<sup>57</sup> K. Górka-Gońska, *Boryszyn*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 98; idem, *Langenpfehl*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 572–573; T. Jurek, *Templewo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 285–287; idem, *Wielkopolska*, pp. 594, 601, map sheets 3 i 4. The last two terms bear the most information. On sheet 3 of the map attached to the term *Wielkopolska*, Trzemeszno Lubuskie (Czarmyśl in the sixteenth century) and Grochowo, whose inclusion in the Crown at the time bears little doubt, were omitted. Based on the Polish-Brandenburgian border drawn on that map, one could think that those villages belonged to Brandenburg. For more on Trzemeszno's and Grochów's inclusion in the Crown, see J. Luciński, *Grochowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 675–676; G. Rutkowska, *Trzemeszno*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 359–361; RPWP, pzn. 1553, no. 84, 151; RPWP, pzn. 1563, no. 103, 190; RPWP, pzn. 1567, no. 113, 350; RPWP, pzn. 1576, no. 98, 165; RPWP, pzn. 1577, no. 103, 179; RPWP, pzn. 1580, no. 109, 180; RPWP, pzn. 1581, no. 108, 174; RPWP, pzn. 1583, no. 102, 177. Later maps also include them in the Poznań Voivodeship; Perthées Poznań; Gilly-Cron; Gilly 1802; Gaul/Raczyński. The villages of Czarmyśl, Grochowo, Wielowieś, Templewo and Boryszyn were differently presented in the sheets of the *Historischer Handatlas von Brandenburg und Berlin*. Sheet 4 (*Neue Siedlungen in Brandenburg 1500–1800*) includes all of them in Brandenburg. On sheet 26 (*Verwaltungs-gliederung 1608–1806*) Czarmyśl and Grochowo were included in the Crown, with the rest being placed in Brandenburg, with the caveat that in the years 1608–1806 the region was in contention. Sheet 36 (*Die Mark Brandenburg 1319–1575*) Czarmyśl and Grochowo are within Brandenburg's borders, much like the villages of the Łągów commandery, with the annotation, that during the fifteenth century they belonged to Poland; *Historischer Handatlas von Brandenburg und Berlin*, sheet 4: *Neue Siedlungen in Brandenburg 1500–1800*, ed. B. Schulze, H.K. Schulze, Berlin 1960; *ibid*, sheets 26 and 36.

<sup>58</sup> The primary reason for authors of SHGPoz to acknowledge Boryszyn, Templewo, Wielowieś and Zarzyń as Brandenburgian, is the information found in the forgery from 1251, which places the mentioned settlements on the Brandenburgian side. E. Syska was correct in stating that these were mere claims and did not represent the actual conditions: *ibidem*, *Rzekoma umowa*, pp. 150–151. The argument that the Polish-Brandenburgian agreement of 1527, which decreed that the Międzyrzecz starosta was to not raise the burden placed on the inhabitants of these villages, proves that they belonged to Brandenburg, is similarly unclear. Provisions for the starosta's district were maintained. We must also reject the opinion of the author of the term *Templewo*, T. Jurek, that the payments made by four of the villages mentioned were dues owed to the Międzyrzecz starosta's district. Just because they had these obligations, does not mean that they were obliged to pay extraordinary taxes. Payments made to Międzyrzecz resulting from old agreements are different from national taxes passed by the sejm; see T. Jurek, *Templewo*, p. 287.

<sup>59</sup> Hearth tax, poz. 1676, p. 1355: „Par[ish] Langfuld. It belonged to the Margraviate it did not pay [the tax – M.G.]”; *ibidem*, p. 1378 „Par[ish] Templewo to the Margraviate”; *ibidem*, p. 1384: „Par[ish] Zarzyn, Borszyn to the Margr[aviate]”. Similarly, Templewo in the 1673 poll tax register: „Templewo do Margrabstwa cessit”; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1192. There is little surprise in the fact that Boryszyn, Templewo, Wielowieś and Zarzyń find themselves in Brandenburg on the maps of Perthées, Gaul and Gilly. As at the time of their creation, the villages actually found themselves there; Perthées Poznań; Gaul/Raczyński; Gilly 1802; Gilly-Cron.

<sup>60</sup> E. Syska, *Rzekoma umowa*, p. 134; W. Freier, *Das Land Sternberg. Brandenburgische Geschichte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Neumark*, Zielenzig 1892, p. 461. E. Syska's view (p. 153), that the falsified document could have influenced the resolution of border disputes, finds no basis in the document accepted by the attorneys of both sides, as it does not even have suggestions as to the layout of the borders of either country; idem, *Rzekoma umowa*, p. 153; *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, vol. 6, pub. A.F. Riedel, Berlin 1858, pp. 346–348.

Nowy Dworek only appeared in the Poznań district's tax registers once in 1553, when a tax was raised from a tavern.<sup>61</sup> Jordanowo appears three times – twice, in 1580 and 1581, when only the name is mentioned in registers, and once, in 1583, when a tax was actually paid (from two mills, 120 sheep, eight landed smallholders, four landless peasants and four free peasants).<sup>62</sup> Similar payments were recorded for Paradyż in 1580 and 1581. Earlier years (1553, 1567, 1570, 1576, 1577) from Paradyż only included taxes from mills.<sup>63</sup> We can assume that the appearance of sheep, smallholders and *coloni* (seasonal workers) in the register was caused by the introduction of new fares into the tax system in 1578, causing an update to the tax base. It was also then that, in the first available after “the reform” register for Poznań in ASK from 1580, the name Jordan appears, which suggests that the settlement belonged to the Crown in the second half of the sixteenth century. Neither settlement appears in the 1631 hearth tax registers and the poll tax registers of 1673 and 1676. Franciszek Czaykowski's register marks them as part of the Poznań Voivodeship.<sup>64</sup> On Perthées's map (Nowy Dworek as Neudorf and Jordanowo as Święta Anna/Jordanowice), they are outside Polish borders; they were also excluded from the list of clerical property attached to the map. Similarly, the maps of David Gilly (Neuhof and St. Anna), Ernest Gaul (Neuhof and St. Anna) and UMTB (Neuchoefchen and Jordan). The last of the aforementioned maps had two mills marked along the Paklica – one on its northern side, the other in the middle of the river, which could be the mills mentioned in the Poznań registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century. Taking all of this information into account, we chose to leave Jordanowo and Nowy Dworek within the Crown. The border in this region most likely passed through the wilderness south of Paklica, leaving both of the settlements in question on the Polish side, and area near the present-day village of Glińsk (Leimnitz in UMTB)<sup>65</sup> on the Silesian side.<sup>66</sup> Jordanowo and Nowy Dworek were most likely claimed by Silesia in the seventeenth century.<sup>67</sup>

Let us now move on to the description of the voivodeships' borders. We already mentioned the northern, western and southern border of the Poznań Voivodeship while describing the national border. Let's return to the area of Jutrosin, where the borders of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships met with those of Silesia. From this point, the border separating the two Greater Polish administrative units ran north. It relied on waterways, such as the Obra or the Warta, for brief segments. Only once it reached the Noteć after around 300 km, it ran for a longer distance along the Gwda, between Grodna and Łędeczek, becoming the previously mentioned national border between the Kalisz Voivodeship and the Duchy of Pomerania (around 70 km from Ujście to Łędeczek). Turning east, it went along the Rivers Dobrzyńka and Kamionka, separating the Kalisz and Pomeranian Voivodeships, reaching the Brda (around 70 km). The Kalisz Voivodeship's border then ran south, reaching the area of Mąkowarsk and Hamer (roughly 10 km). From here it separates the Kalisz and Inowrocław Voivodeships, running, among others, along the Płytwica, Noteć and Kwieciszówka on over about 150 km. Around Kwieciszewo began the border with the Brześć Kujawski Voivodeship, stretching out for about 80 km until it reaches the area of Brdowo. Next is the border with the Łęczyca Voivodeship, lasting about 50 km, passing into the Kalisz and Sieradz Voivodeships border around latitude of Brudzewo. Around that town it turned west and stretched to the aforementioned point near Odolanów, where the national border with Silesia began (together around 200 km).

Two enclaves must be mentioned in addition to the borders of voivodeships' description. Mirosławice – an exclave of the Gniezno district of the Kalisz Voivodeship in the Kruszwica district of the Brześć

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<sup>61</sup> RPWP, pzn. 1553, no. 334. For more on the origins of Nowy Dworek, see O. Borkowski, *Powstanie i rozwój opactwa cysterskiego w Paradyżu-Gościkowie w XIII–XIV wieku*, „Rocznik Lubuski”, vol. 14, 1986, pp. 203–204, 206.

<sup>62</sup> RPWP, pzn. 1580, no. 207; RPWP, pzn. 1581, no. 202; RPWP, pzn. 1583, no. 208.

<sup>63</sup> RPWP, pzn. 1553, no. 333; RPWP, pzn. 1567, no. 721; RPWP, pzn. 1570, no. 41; RPWP, pzn. 1576, no. 422; RPWP, pzn. 1577, no. 456; RPWP, pzn. 1580, no. 471; RPWP, pzn. 1581, no. 469; RPWP, pzn. 1583, no. 473.

<sup>64</sup> Czaykowski, p. 832.

<sup>65</sup> UMTB, sheet 1989 (1822).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Jurek, *Paradyż*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, pp. 575–576; idem, *Nowy Dwór*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 334. Jordanowo was treated as Silesian territory by the authors of the Silesian atlas of the turn of the eighteenth century, *Atlas historyczny Polski. Śląsk w końcu XVIII w.*, vol. 1–2, ed. J. Janczak, T. Ładogórski, Wrocław 1976 (several maps).

<sup>67</sup> This could be supported by the 1671 letter sent by King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki to the Głogów starost, in which the Polish ruler underlines that these settlements belong to the Crown despite them paying their taxes to the Habsburgs; T. Warmiński, *Urkundliche Geschichte des ehemaligen Cistercienser-Klosters zu Paradies*, Meseritz 1886, pp. 203–204, 261.

Kujawski Voivodeship<sup>68</sup> and Lechlin (Lechnino in the sixteenth century) – an exclave of the Poznań district and Voivodeship in the Gniezno district of the Kalisz Voivodeship.<sup>69</sup>

One case on the border of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships, and more precisely on the border of the Poznań and Nakło districts, requires a more precise explanation. The village of Dobrzyca, found along the Gwda, was included into the Poznań Voivodeship (today it holds the same name and occupies both sides of the river). The village belonged to the Ujście-Piła starosta's district and was first mentioned in 1590.<sup>70</sup> The sixteenth century tax registers only record one payment from 1591 in the Nakło district register, noting that it was newly established.<sup>71</sup> It was also present in the 1618–1620 Nakło tax records. A payment was not made, despite listing the specific tax categories into which it was supposed to be paid.<sup>72</sup> However, in the 1631 hearth tax register it finds itself in the Poznań district.<sup>73</sup> The 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers make no note of it in either voivodeship. The transfer of Dobrzyca from the Nakło district in 1591 to the Poznań district in 1631, its uncertain status in 1618–1620 when taxes were not collected, the fact that it was part of the Ujście-Piła starosta's district whose settlements found themselves in both districts<sup>74</sup> – everything raises doubts when trying to ascribe Dobrzyca to one of the fiscal districts. The deciding factor in its inclusion into the Poznań district was its location on the Poznań side of the Gwda.<sup>75</sup>

In the case of Greater Polish districts, their borders were only based on natural boundaries in a few segments. The Nakło district was unique in this regard – it was surrounded by waterways on all sides. Its southern border was based upon the Noteć, the west on the Gwda, the north on the Debrzynka and Kamionka, leaving Dawnica (Łędycezek in the sixteenth century) and Debrzno-Wieś (Debrzno in the sixteenth century) in the Nakło district,<sup>76</sup> and the east on the Płytwica. Only on a short segment to the north and east did it not follow waterways. A similar situation was present in the case of the Kcynia district, encompassing the Pałuki region.<sup>77</sup> Its northern and eastern borders were almost

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<sup>68</sup> The inclusion of the noble-owned village of Mirosławice in the Gniezno district raises few doubts. It is constantly recorded in the district's tax registers in the latter half of the sixteenth century; RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 393, 609, 610; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 392, 610, 611; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 365, 554–556; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 355, 522; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 177–180; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 482–485; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 409, no. 604–606; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 378, 552–554; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 383, 553–555; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 407–410. Judicial records from the fifteenth to seventeenth century also ascribed it to the Gniezno district; TD, 10047 (no. 11, gr. 1388) 1494, 10062 (no. 11, gr. 1388) 1494, 5575 (no. 19) 1511, 596 (no. 262) 1534, 4748 (no. 335a) 1534, 6995 (no. 34) 1549, 8652 (no. 1418) 1634. Mirosławice are absent from Perthées's map of Brześć Kujawski and Inowrocław Voivodeships; K. Perthées, *Mapa szczególna wojewodstw brzeskiego kujawskiego y inowrocławskiego*, 1785, around 1:222,500, AGAD, AK 108 (Zb. SA 6), [www.rokmapy.pl/pl/galeria-map/200-rocznica-smierci--pertheesa/mapy-pertheesa#r8](http://www.rokmapy.pl/pl/galeria-map/200-rocznica-smierci--pertheesa/mapy-pertheesa#r8) (access: 21.03.2017).

<sup>69</sup> The village of Lechlin, belonging to the bishop of Poznań, appears in the Poznań district's tax registers, rather than Gniezno's; RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 265; RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 332; RPWP, pzn, 1567, no. 220; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 326; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 356; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 359; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 357; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 365. It was also included in the Poznań district under the term in SGHPoz; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Lechnino*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 577–579. On Perthées's map is already included in the Gniezno district and Voivodeship; Perthées Poznań.

<sup>70</sup> Żmidziński, p. 58.

<sup>71</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 204; ASK I 4, f. 771v: „Novę villae sequuntur/Dobriza ad Usczie”.

<sup>72</sup> Parczewski, p. 292. Dobrzyca was named in the Łobżenica parish.

<sup>73</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 4r.

<sup>74</sup> LWWK 1659, p. 58: „Villa Borki alias Dobrzyca in districtu [sic!] Ustensis existens”.

<sup>75</sup> The 1627 Ujście district inventory mentions Dobrzyca. There is mention of the extension of the villages borders in the direction of Łubianka, Krępa and Hamer (Pilski), which were all on the Poznań side of the Gwda, confirming the correctness of our assumption; AP Poznań, Ujście town records, I/1, p. 31.

<sup>76</sup> Dawnica, also called Łędycezek Szlachecki, was located on the southern side of the Debrzynka, and constantly appeared in the tax registers. On the other side of the Gwda, in the Człuchów district of the Pomeranian Voivodeship, was a separate parish municipality, Łędycezek; RPWK, nkl, 1564, no. 61; RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 78; RPWK, nkl, 1577, no. 62; RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 88; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 80; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 85; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 84; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 79; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 63. P. Szafran, on the other hand, claims that these were Łędycezek's outskirts; Szafran, p. 140. Schmettau's map has it under “Landeck”, Schrötter's and Messtichblatt's have it as “Adel. Landeck”; Schrötter; Schmettau, blat 32; Messtichblatt. It was similar in the case of Debrzno-Wieś, neighboring Debrzno/Frydland and did not form one organism. Debrzno lying in the Nakło district appeared as that in the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century; RPWK, nkl, 1564, no. 62; RPWK, nkl, 1565, no. 74; RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 79; RPWK, nkl, 1577, no. 63; RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 89; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 81; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 86, 87; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 85, 86; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 80; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 64; comp. to Szafran, pp. 136–167. German maps clearly indicate that the villages were separate, labeling Debrzno in Nakło district “Dobbrin”, and Debrzno in Pomerania as “Friedland”; Schrötter; Schmettau Blatt 33, Messtichblatt.

<sup>77</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Jednostki terytorialne*, pp. 114–115.

completely formed by the Noteć, and the western border on the Wełna. Another larger inter-district border segment that runs along a river is the one between the Kościan and Pyzdry districts, which are separated by the Warta for some of its length.

Other than rivers, the borders of administrative regions were sometimes based on larger forest complexes. The biggest ones were the forests separating the Konin and Kalisz districts, stretching from Grzymiszew to Pyzdry and Łądek, in its final segment forming the border between the Konin and Pyzdry districts. Slightly smaller forested border areas include sections of the border of the aforementioned districts at the latitude of Raszków and Rozdrażew. It was also the case between the Pyzdry and Kościan districts – between Pogorzela and Strzelce Wielkie.

Woods also stretched around the western part of the Poznań-Kościan border, from Opalenica through Rogoziniec to Międzyrzecz. Our map does not have part of it marked on Nowy Tomyśl Plain, which is a result of the premises of this AHP series, in which the afforestation was reconstructed in accordance with its state at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>78</sup> The lands of Nowy Tomyśl Plains were subject to intense Dutch settlement in the eighteenth century which led to the deforestation of large tracts of woodland that had been present there in the sixteenth century. The reconstruction of the border was based on the eighteenth century settlement relations.<sup>79</sup>

In many cases the borders' shape was dictated by ownership.<sup>80</sup> This is visible on the border between the Poznań and Kcynia districts, near Budzyń and Chodzież, where on the Poznań side lay the villages of Rataje, Podanino and the mill of Krąpka, which were part of the Ujście starosta's district, as well as the village of Podstolice and Budzyń, part of the Rogoziniec starosta's district, while on the Kcynia side – as the nobility's properties, the villages of Stróżewo, Ostrówek and Huta demesne. A similar situation was found on the border between the Wałcz and Poznań districts. The border between the property of the Ujście-Piła starosta's district, and those, that belonged to the Wałcz starosta's district was at the same time the border between the Wałcz and Poznań districts.

In a few cases, except for the aforementioned villages of Mirosławice and Lechlin, we noted the presence of one district's exclaves in another. In the Kalisz Voivodeship, an exclave of the Gniezno district was marked down in the Kcynia district – Chomiąża in the Ostroszcze parish. This settlement in the sixteenth century was the property of the Żnin parish, which was the property of the suffragan of the Gniezno diocese. It was called Chomiąża Księża (*Spirituale*) in order to differentiate it from the parochial village Chomiąża in the Kcynia district, which was owned by the gentry. It always appears in the tax registers of the Gniezno district, rather than the Kcynia district, in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>81</sup> The 1618–1620 tax register also attributes it to the Gniezno district.<sup>82</sup> What's more, the settlement is missing in the 1635 Kcynia district hearth tax register (only the Chomiąża Szlachecka appears) which could indicate that at the time it was attributed to the Gniezno district, as the register only contains payments made in the Kcynia district. The 1673 and 1674 poll tax registers it was also counted, as empty space, as part of the Gniezno district.<sup>83</sup> Due to this evidence found in the sources, we chose to denote Chomiąża in the way described above.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> See E. Rutkowska, *Geographical environment*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland (in this edition III.1.4).

<sup>79</sup> T. Panecki, T. Związek, G. Myrda, *The Spatial Database Development for Research on Settlements and Afforestation in Nowy Tomyśl Plain in Early Modern Times*, „Studia Geohistorica“, vol. 6, 2018, pp. 186–205.

<sup>80</sup> For more on the actual impact of the distribution of ownership on the formation of districts' borders see A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 72–78.

<sup>81</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 238; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 244; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 230; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 221; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 305; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 300; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 247; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 220; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 227; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 250.

<sup>82</sup> Parczewski, p. 206.

<sup>83</sup> Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 59, „Chomiąża desertum”; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 200v, „Chomiąża desertata”.

<sup>84</sup> The reasons for this settlement's administrative distinctiveness. Two other villages of the Żnin parish, Rydlewo and Skarbienice (Skarbienica in the sixteenth century) only appear in the tax registers of the Kcynia district, and their payments are sometimes merged (1579, 1581, 1582); RPWK, kcn, 1564, no. 253, 254; RPWK, kcn, 1565, no. 254, 255; RPWK, kcn, 1576, no. 217, 218; RPWK, kcn, 1577, no. 258, 259; RPWK, kcn, 1578, no. 273, 274; RPWK, kcn, 1579, no. 256, 257; RPWK, kcn, 1581, no. 256, 257; RPWK, kcn, 1582, no. 248, 249; RPWK, kcn, 1583, no. 246, 247; RPWK, kcn, 1591, no. 248, 249. We therefore do not have a situation where the location of the payment influenced how the settlement was assigned to a district. Comp. to M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Powiat kcyński w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, SG, vol. 3, 2015, p. 93. The author assigns Chomiąża to the Kcynia district.

Radłowo of the Słaboszewo parish was an exclave of the Kcynia district in the Gniezno district. This settlement was written down only in the Kcynian tax registers.<sup>85</sup> We can also find it in the district's 1618–1620 register (here in the Chomiąza parish), as well as the Kcynia district 1635 hearth tax registers and 1673 and 1674 poll tax registers.<sup>86</sup> Radłowo's administrative separation was also visible in the judicial records. Notes assigning it to the Kcynia district appear in the land and gord courts records for the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>87</sup>

The parochial village of Ryszewko, along with the nobility's Ryszewko, both belonged to that same parish, was another exclave of the Kcynia district found in the Gniezno district. This settlement, part of the properties belonging to the Canons Regular of Trzemeszno, appears only in the Kcynian tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>88</sup> In this district, the settlements paid taxes according to the following registers: 1618–1620 *lanowe* tax, 1635 hearth tax and 1673 and 1674 poll tax (null in the last two).<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile, the remainder of the Trzemeszno monastery's properties in this index (Gąsawa, Głowy, Oćwieka, Konratowo, Łysinino, Szelejewo), located to the north of Ryszewko, lie in the Gniezno district, and always appear in its registers.

Along with Ryszewko, the enclave was also formed by Ryszewo of the Ryszewko parish, appearing only in the Kcynian registers of the sixteenth century.<sup>90</sup> The Kcynia district's 1618–1620 tax register denotes that Ryszewko lay outside of the district, but the Gniezno district's register does not contain it in this time period.<sup>91</sup> The village is missing from the Kcynia district's 1635 poll tax register, which could mean it was part of the Gniezno district at that time. This assumption is supported by the 1673 and 1674 poll tax registers, in which Ryszewo is marked as part of the Gniezno district.<sup>92</sup> The judicial administration is uncertain, inscriptions in the land and gord courts records from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries place it in both districts.<sup>93</sup> Czaykowski's register has both villages, Ryszewo and Ryszewko, as part of the Gniezno district.<sup>94</sup>

Czartowo of the Skulsko parish was an exclave of the Konin district in the Gniezno district. This settlement's situation most likely stems from the fact that it was a part of the Kazimierz estates. Almost all of that property lay within the Konin district, where their taxes were paid. Judicial sources also place Czartowo in the Konin district.<sup>95</sup>

Two settlements – Bochlewo of the Kazimierz parish and Tokarki of the Dobrosółowo parish – were exclaves of the Pyzdry district wedged between the Gniezno and Konin districts. They were the

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<sup>85</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 374; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 373; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 230; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 30; RPWK, gzn, 1578, no. 38; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 27; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 27; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 25; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 24; RPWK, gzn, 1591, no. 27.

<sup>86</sup> Parczewski, p. 241; Hearth tax 1635, f. 76; Hearth tax kal. 1673, f. 88; Hearth tax kal. 1674, f. 236 („iuxta regestrum 1673 anni”).

<sup>87</sup> TD, 1483 (no. 786) 1509, 5518 (no. 1393) 1525, 5647 (no. 1393) 1525, 4516 (no. 335a) 1529, 406 (no. 1394) 1538, 408 (no. 1394) 1538, 3130 (no. 1395) 1548, 7261 (no. 898) 1557, 8327 (no. 1396) 1557, 8354 (no. 1396) 1557, 8973 (no. 1396) 1560, 7079 (no. 76) 1623, 5698 (no. 191) 1699, 6992 (no. 210) 1745, 14300 (no. 100) 1773.

<sup>88</sup> RPWK, kcn, 1564, no. 191; RPWK, kcn, 1565, no. 192; RPWK, kcn, 1576, no. 163; RPWK, kcn, 1577, no. 197; RPWK, kcn, 1578, no. 210; RPWK, kcn, 1579, no. 194; RPWK, kcn, 1581, no. 194; RPWK, kcn, 1582, no. 187; RPWK, kcn, 1583, no. 184; RPWK, kcn, 1591, no. 187.

<sup>89</sup> Parczewski, p. 256; Hearth tax 1635, f. 76v; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 89, „Ryszewko desertum”; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 237, „Ryszewko desertum”.

<sup>90</sup> RPWK, kcn, 1564, no. 192; RPWK, kcn, 1565, no. 193; RPWK, kcn, 1576, no. 164; RPWK, kcn, 1577, no. 198; RPWK, kcn, 1578, no. 211; RPWK, kcn, 1579, no. 195; RPWK, kcn, 1581, no. 195; RPWK, kcn, 1582, no. 188; RPWK, kcn, 1583, no. 185; RPWK, kcn, 1591, no. 188.

<sup>91</sup> Parczewski, p. 256, „Ryszewo extra districtum”.

<sup>92</sup> Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 70; Poll tax kal. 1674, p. 216.

<sup>93</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 7085 (no. 1390) 1505, 5607 (no. 19) 1506, 3436 (no. 25) 1514, 1666 (no. 866) 1514, 3778 (no. 1392) 1516, 4595 (no. 1392) 1520, 6297 (no. 30) 1535, 6558 (no. 31) 1538, 4897 (no. 335a) 1539, 6738 (no. 32) 1540, 833 (no. 263) 1543 approx., 881 (no. 263) 1543 approx., 5338 (no. 335a) 1550, 9186 (no. 938) 1582, 1441 (no. 1405) 1606, 6876 (no. 1409) 1614.

<sup>94</sup> Czaykowski, p. 132.

<sup>95</sup> RPWK, knn, 1564, no. 279; RPWK, knn, 1565, no. 296; RPWK, knn, 1576, no. 221; RPWK, knn, 1577, no. 304; RPWK, knn, 1578, no. 569; RPWK, knn, 1579, no. 320; RPWK, knn, 1581, no. 371, 372; RPWK, knn, 1583, no. 323; Parczewski, p. 130; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 26v; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 157v; TD, 7308 (no. 1393) 1534, 1119 (no. 9) 1546, 8580 (no. 1396) 1558, 4628 (no. 21 I. i Rel. Kon. 21) 1585, 6620 (no. 38) 1615, 10840 (no. 63) 1682, 11274 (no. 69) 1692, 12552 (no. 75) 1718, 13173 (no. 76) 1730.

property of the Bishop of Poznań, and later of the Poznań and Kalisz Jesuits. They only appear in the Pyzdry district's tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, as well as the 1618–1620 register.<sup>96</sup> They appear in the Konin district in Perthées's map but are absent from the attached list of clerical property, as at that point in time, they belonged to the nobility.<sup>97</sup> The 1673 and 1674 poll tax registers, as well as Czaykowski's register, also attribute it to the Konin district.<sup>98</sup>

The next exclave of the Pyzdry district was Kosowo of the Giewartowo parish, which lay in only one district – Gniezno. The settlement was part of the Ciężen-Słupsk cluster of estates belonging to the bishops of Poznań. It always appears in the Pyzdry tax registers, including the 1618–1620 ones.<sup>99</sup> The 1673 and 1674 poll tax registers make no mention of it. In both Perthées's map and Czaykowski's register, Kosowo is a part of the Pyzdry district.<sup>100</sup>

The only interdistrict enclave in the Poznań Voivodeship was Koźminek par. *loco*. This settlement was an endowment of the Paradyż abbot. Tax payments are noted by the Poznań registers of 1567, 1570, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1581, 1583.<sup>101</sup> The 1563 and 1565 Kościan registers mention that Koźminek paid its taxes to the Poznań district, with the 1563 entry noting the tax categories and amounts, while in 1576 and 1580 only the settlement's name was recorded.<sup>102</sup> Koźminek is not mentioned in the 1631 hearth tax register, while in the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers it is attributed to the Poznań district.<sup>103</sup> On Perthées's map the settlement is situated in the Kościan district, but it must be remembered that Perthées did not mark interdistrict enclaves. The index of clerical property attached to the map has Koźminek in the Poznań district.<sup>104</sup> SGHPoz also states that Koźminek was a part of the Poznań district.<sup>105</sup>

The border between the Poznań and Kościan districts raises a few questions.<sup>106</sup> Its entire length was almost solely on land, only near Opalenica did it rely on the Mogilnica for a short segment, and near Mosina – that same river again, as well as the Warta. Between Bukowiec Mały and Łomnica it ran through the wilderness of Nowy Tomyśl Plain. These natural obstacles caused problems when assessing district affiliation. It was worst with villages along the land borders. Doubts are raised by the fact that these settlements appear in the tax registers of both districts,<sup>107</sup> as well as changes of their affiliation

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<sup>96</sup> RPWK, pzd, 1552, no. 77, 80, 418; RPWK, pzd, 1565, no. 158, 161; RPWK, pzd, 1576, no. 120, 123; RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 139, 143; RPWK, pzd, 1578, no. 76, 79; RPWK, pzd, 1580, no. 72, 75; RPWK, pzd, 1581, no. 74, 77; RPWK, pzd, 1582, no. 74, 77; RPWK, pzd, 1583, no. 69, 72; RPWK, pzd, 1591, no. 64, 67; Parczewski, p. 150.

<sup>97</sup> Perthées Kalisz; Teki Dworzaczka.

<sup>98</sup> Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 25v („Bochlewo alias Bolemowo”), 37; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 156v, 168; Czaykowski, p. 139.

<sup>99</sup> RPWK, pzd, 1552, no. 121, 122, 424; RPWK, pzd, 1565, no. 79; RPWK, pzd, 1576, no. 72; RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 81; RPWK, pzd, 1578, no. 99; RPWK, pzd, 1580, no. 95; RPWK, pzd, 1581, no. 98; RPWK, pzd, 1582, no. 97; RPWK, pzd, 1583, no. 91; RPWK, pzd, 1591, no. 86; Parczewski, p. 152.

<sup>100</sup> Perthées Kalisz; Czaykowski, p. 154, „Kosowo woytos. w p. pyzdr. Szygowski”. I would like to thank Jerzy Łojko, for his valuable remarks on the district affiliation of Czartowo and Kosowo.

<sup>101</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1567, no. 508; RPWP, pzn, 1570, no. 33; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 229; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 245; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 243; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 242; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 250.

<sup>102</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 151; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 149; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 148; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 325.

<sup>103</sup> Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1166; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1347.

<sup>104</sup> Perthées Kalisz.

<sup>105</sup> T. Jurek, *Koźminek* [in:] SHGPoz, pt. II, pp. 432–433.

<sup>106</sup> A. Gąsiorowski had already brought attention to this; *ibidem*, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce*, p. 79.

<sup>107</sup> The 1563 Kościan district tax register caused some confusion. Some settlements in the Kościan district had notes informing that the tax was paid in the Poznań district (most commonly in the form of: „solvit Poznaniae”), despite all the tax categories being mentioned, along with the amount due. One can assume that the payment was already made in Poznań and presented the receipt to the subcollector in Kościan district, and that data was recorded. Regardless of the reason of the annotation's appearance, it does not resolve beyond doubt that a settlement belonged to the Poznań district. A closer analysis of this and other Kościan tax registers allow us to conclude that this was merely an annotation about the tax payment being made in the Poznań district, and not the settlements' actual territorial affiliation. A clear example of this can be found in Konary par. *Loco*, which in the 1563 Kościan register had the „solvit Poznaniae” annotation next to its entry. Due to its placement in the southern part of the Kościan district, it would have been impossible for it to belong to the Poznań district. The information on the payment made in the Poznań district is very likely linked to the individual named Jan Konarski, the Poznań chamberlain at the time, who is noted in the 1567 register as the taxpayer for the settlement at the time. He had numerous properties in other Greater Polish districts, so he could have potentially paid in Poznań for all or some of his villages; RPWP, ksc, 1563; RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 78; RPWP, ksc, 1567, no. 206. A similar phenomenon happened with Kretowice of the Pępowo Małe parish and Góreczka Żabia of the Czesram parish, located on the Kościan and Pyzdry districts border, Gaj of the Błociszewo parish – near the Kościan-Pyzdzy border, Chobienice of the Zbąszyń parish and Mszczyczyna of the Dolsk parish; RPWP,

in the judicial records. Ultimately, naming the most doubtful of cases, we left Kuślin (Kuślino in the sixteenth century) and Witowle (Witobel in the sixteenth century) in the Kościan district. Lutol Mokry, Rogoziniec, Wąsowo and Witlowe Małe are considered to have been in the Poznań district.

A tax payment from the first of the settlements listed above in the Kościan district – Kuślin of the Michorzewo Mokre parish – have been recorded in two of the district's records – 1565 and 1567. In 1563 and 1576 the Kościan records noted that the tax was paid in the Poznań district. The 1580 Kościan record only mentions the settlement's name. Meanwhile the Poznań records make note of payments from Kuślin in 1567, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1581 and 1583.<sup>108</sup> This situation was most likely caused by the fact that the maker of the payment in Kuślin, Jan Strzeżmiński, only paid taxes in the Poznań district, also for other properties he most likely owned (including Brody, Trzcianka, Krobielewo, Lubikowo, Ninino). In 1580, he paid the taxes for Kuślin, Lubikowo and Brodów on the same day (18 April), in 1581 from Brodów, Trzcianki, Kuślin and Lubikowo on 20 April, from Krobielewo on 21 April and from Ninino on 24 April.<sup>109</sup> Judicial notes also attribute Kuślin to different districts.<sup>110</sup> In the 1631 hearth tax register the settlement appears in the Kościan district, similarly to the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers, the Czaykowski register and Perthées's map.<sup>111</sup>

The affiliation of the nobility's village of Witowle of the Łódzia parish to the Kościan district in the sixteenth century, while the Witlowe Małe mill settlement was part of the Poznań, is quite clear in the financial records.<sup>112</sup> Judicial records attribute them to different districts.<sup>113</sup> In Czaykowski's register, Witowle (as Witobel) were listed in the Kościan district.<sup>114</sup>

Lutol Wodny (also known as Lutol Mokry) of the Zbąszyń parish, which belonged to the Paradyż abbot, is considered to be part of the Poznań district as it appears in its records from 1567, 1570, 1576 and 1577. The district's 1580 and 1583 registers lack tax payments, with the latter one containing a note that it was paid in the Kościan district. It appears in the Kościan registers in 1563 (with an annotation that the payment was made in the Poznań district, while the tax categories and amount due are recorded), 1565 (no payments, but like with the last one there is a memo that it had been paid in the Poznań district), 1576 (no payments, the tax was actually collected in the neighboring district), 1580, 1581 and 1583 (a payment was recorded).<sup>115</sup> The 1631 hearth tax register implies that it belonged to the Poznań district, much like the 1673 and 1676 poll tax records.<sup>116</sup> Perthées's map has Lukol Mokry

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ksc, 1563, no. 81, 183, 434, 594. An analogous situation (an „ad Poznaniem/ad Posnaniem” annotation) appears in the 1565 register in the case of Chociszewice par. *loco*, Koźminek par. *loco*, Lutol Wodny of the Zbąszyń parish, Rogoziniec par. *loco* and Wąsowo of the Wytomyśl parish; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 149, 156, 157, 604, 663.

<sup>108</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 380; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 266; RPWP, ksc, 1567, no. 47; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 393; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 431; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 328; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 358; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 361; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 359; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 367.

<sup>109</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 48, 361, 557; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 49, 52, 465, 552; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 359; ASK I 6, f. 359 (this edition mistakenly shows 29 April as the date).

<sup>110</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 9345 (no. 11, gr. 1388) 1493, 15848 (no. 1403) 1600, 5312 (no. 1406) 1607, 5784 (no. 1406) 1609, 2626 (no. 1408) 1613, 1738 (no. 164) 1639, 2986 (no. 59) 1660, 5003 (no. 1426) 1672.

<sup>111</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 48v; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1235; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1429; Czaykowski, p. 726; Perthées Poznań; comp. to the term *Kuślin* in SHGPoz, where in 1435 Kuślin is in the Kościan district, and in 1580 in the Poznań district; T. Jurek, *Kuślin*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 562–563.

<sup>112</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 362; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 366, 367; RPWP, ksc, 1567, no. 456, 457; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 372, 373; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 409, 410; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 426, 427; RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 646; RPWP, pzn, 1567, no. 444; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 634, 635; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 676; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 672, 715; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 663; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 673, 718, 719. Hearth tax 1631, f. 22, names Witowle only in the Poznań district. Due to the presence of a mill in the records, which had not been paid for in the Witowle in Kościan district, we must treat the Witowle listed in the hearth tax as the Witowle Małe mill settlement. In the poll tax registers, Witowle only appears in the Poznań district's register, probably as a single village; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1191; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1376.

<sup>113</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 2674 (no. 1395) 1545, 2825 (no. 1395) 1546, 2946 (no. 1395) 1547, 2681 (no. 891) 1551, 6479 (no. 894) 1553, 12621 (no. 347) 1581, 3446 (no. 270) 1590, 13283 (no. 1400) 1590, 14088 (no. 1401) 1594, 10016 (no. 1420) 1641.

<sup>114</sup> Czaykowski, p. 706. Perthées's map is of little use when trying to determine the district affiliation of these two settlements, as the entire region of the sixteenth century Łódzia parish was counted as part of the Kościan district; Perthées Poznań.

<sup>115</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1567, no. 506; RPWP, pzn, 1570, no. 37; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 315; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 345; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 349; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 354; RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 599; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 604; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 615; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 768; RPWP, ksc, 1581, no. 534; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 597.

<sup>116</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 13; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1172; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1355.

on the Kościan side of the border, but on the index of the Paradyż Cistercians' estates attached to the map, the settlement was categorized under the Poznań district.<sup>117</sup>

The next disputed settlement on the Poznań and Kościan districts border, which we ultimately placed in the Poznań district, is Rogoziniec par. *loco* of the Międzyrzecz starosta's district. The settlement appears in the Poznań district's registers in 1553, 1567, 1576, 1577, 1583, with only the 1553 and 1576 registers recording a tax payment. In all the other cases only the name was noted. Kościan registers mention Rogoziniec in 1563 and 1565, noting both times that the tax was paid in the Poznań district, although in 1563 the tax categories and tax amount were written down, and the 1565 register only featured its name – same as in 1576 and 1580.<sup>118</sup> The 1631 hearth tax register, as well as the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers, along with Perthées's map and the index of crownlands attached to it, also count Rogoziniec as part of the Poznań district.<sup>119</sup>

Similar doubts are brought up by the nobility's village of Wąsowo of the Wytomyśl parish. Payments from here are recorded in Poznań registers from 1553, 1563, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1581 and 1583. No payments were recorded in the Kościan registers of 1563 (only the name), 1565 (annotation on the payment being made in the Poznań district) and 1576 (only the name).<sup>120</sup> Wąsowo's affiliation to the Poznań district is also pointed to by the 1631 hearth tax register, as well as the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers.<sup>121</sup> The writings in land and gord courts records imply that Wąsowo belonged to the Kościan district, but a few, especially those from the eighteenth century, attribute it to the Poznań district.<sup>122</sup> Czaykowski's register also places it in the latter.<sup>123</sup> Perthées's map has Wąsowo in the Kościan district, but this is the segment of the border running through the Nowy Tomyśl Plain that Perthées plotted out completely differently from our map (he includes the entirety of the Wytomyśl parish to the Kościan district).<sup>124</sup>

Other than the interdistrict enclaves described above and disputed border settlements between the Poznań and Kościan districts, some doubts in district affiliation, which were results of either the settlement's placement in another district, discrepancies between treasury and judicial sources, or for other reasons, were noted in the case of a few other settlements.

In two cases we observed the shift of a district border affecting an entire group of settlements. The first case was Łęgowo and Sienno of the Łęgowo parish and Ochodza and Łaziska of the Wągrowiec parish. These settlements were part of the Wągrowiec Cistercians' endowment. At first, in the 1560s, they were recorded in the Kcynia tax registers. Later though, from the 1570s, treasury sources consistently place them in the Gniezno district, and do the same in the seventeenth century.<sup>125</sup> Only Czaykowski's register states that Ochodza and Łaziska belong to the Kcynia district.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Perthées Poznań. In SGHPoz Lutol Wodny was placed in the Poznań district based on tax registers (1508 – Kościan district, 1566 – Poznań district); see T. Jurek, Lutol Mokry, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 687–688.

<sup>118</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 402; RPWP, pzn, 1567, no. 332; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 484; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 528; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 547; RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 155; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 157; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 155; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 595.

<sup>119</sup> Hearth tax 1631, p. 17v; poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1183; poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1366; Perthées Poznań. Crownland censuses do not denote Rogoziniec's district affiliation; LWWK 1564, p. 166; LWWK 1616, p. 7–8; LWWK 1628, pp. 10–12; LWWK 1659, p. 23.

<sup>120</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 538; RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 672; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 661; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 702; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 741; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 730; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 745; RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 658; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 663; RPWP, ksc, 1576, 682.

<sup>121</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 24v; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1196; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1380.

<sup>122</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 15665 (no. 1403) 1600, 16055 (no. 1404) 1601, 1169 (no. 1405) 1605, 4061 (no. 1410) 1616, 117 (no. 1424) 1649, 4525 (no. 1144) 1707, 4594 (no. 1144) 1708.

<sup>123</sup> Czaykowski, p. 775.

<sup>124</sup> Perthées Poznań. Wąsowo's placement in the Poznań district is also confirmed by SGHPoz, having noted that three judicial records from the fifteenth century did place it in the Kościan district; G. Rutkowska, *Wąsowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, no. 3, pp. 532–534.

<sup>125</sup> RPWK, kcn, 1564, no. 281–284; RPWK, kcn, 1565, no. 282–285; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 426–429; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 423–426; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 419–422; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 571–574; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 477–480; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 89, 444–447; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 447–450; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 480–483. These settlements are not present in the hearth tax register of the Kcynia district in 1635. The 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers (with the exception of Sienno in the 1673 register, that makes no mention of it) attribute it to the Gniezno district.; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 64, 67; Poll tax kal. 1676, f. 208v, 212, 217; Czaykowski, [sygn.]

<sup>126</sup> Czaykowski, p. 97.

The second case are the settlements in the Kobierno parish: Biadki (Biejatki in the sixteenth century), Tomice, Gorzupia (Gorzub in the sixteenth century), Dąbrowa and the parochial village of Kobierno itself. Dąbrowa and Gorzupia appear in the 1563, 1564, 1565 and 1576 Kalisz registers, and in the case of Dąbrowa it was always noted, that it belonged to the Pyzdry district, while Gorzupia only had the annotation once, in 1564. The villages only made their payments in the Pyzdry district, same in the seventeenth century.<sup>127</sup> It was similar in the case of the parochial village of Kobierno. The 1563 and 1576 Kalisz registers mention it, noting at the same time that the village found itself outside of the district. Payments were always made in the Pyzdry district, with the same being the case in the seventeenth century.<sup>128</sup> Tomice was a different case. The settlement was recorded in the aforementioned Kalisz registers (additionally in 1552), but in 1563, 1564, 1565 and 1576 its taxes were actually paid in that district. Only from 1578 were they permanently paid in the Pyzdry district.<sup>129</sup> The seventeenth century registers also count Tomice as part of the Pyzdry district.<sup>130</sup> The youngest village of the group was Biadki, mentioned in the 1563 Kalisz register as “settled for a few years”. This is the settlement’s first appearance in the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century. From 1578 it was consistently recorded in the Pyzdry registers.<sup>131</sup> In the light of the seventeenth century registers, Biadki was also a part of the Pyzdry district.<sup>132</sup> Perthées’s map has all of the abovementioned villages in the Kobierno parish as part of the Pyzdry district.<sup>133</sup>

A similar phenomenon of border shifting can be observed with the settlement of Koźlanka of the Mieścisko parish. In 1564 and 1565 it is recorded in the Gniezno tax registers, but later it can only be found in the Kcynia district.<sup>134</sup> The seventeenth century registers count it as part of the Kcynia district.<sup>135</sup>

While bringing the description of district borders to an end, some attention should be given to the district affiliation of a few settlements. This was how the main agglomeration of the Mosina starosta’s district, the town of Mosina par. *loco*, found itself in the Poznań district, but the Mosina voithship found itself in the Kościan district. The 1580 and 1583 Kościan registers list the voithship’s size as 1 lan, the Crown estate’s census has it at 2 *ślady* (a measurement of an area less than *lan*), that were farmed by the peasants of the village of Krosno (Krosna in the sixteenth century) from the same starosta’s district, in the Kościan district.<sup>136</sup>

The nobility’s village of Brenno par. *loco* in the Kościan district always appears in this district’s registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century onwards. At one point in 1567, the tax payment was registered in the Wschowa tax register, where it was clearly written, that the settlement lay in the Wschowa district and land.<sup>137</sup> The 1631 hearth tax registers and the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers count it as part of the Kościan district.<sup>138</sup> Judicial records have it noted once in the Kościan district,

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<sup>127</sup> RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 16, 18, 109; RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 118, 120; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 190, 192; RPWK, kls, 1567, no. 126, 128; RPWK, pzd, 1552, no. 62, 63; RPWK, pzn, 1565, no. 152, 153; RPWK, pzd, 1576; no. 114, 115; RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 133, 134; RPWK, pzd, 1578, no. 158, 161; RPWK, pzd, 1580, no. 159, 162; RPWK, pzd, 1581, no. 161, 164; RPWK, pzd, 1582, no. 160, 163; RPWK, pzd, 1583, no. 149, 152; RPWK, pzd, 1591, no. 137, 140; Parczewski, p. 156; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 47–48; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 182–183.

<sup>128</sup> RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 117; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 125; RPWK, pzd, 1565, no. 151; RPWK, pzd, 1576, no. 113; RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 132; RPWK, pzd, 1578, no. 156; RPWK, pzd, 1580, no. 157; RPWK, pzd, 1581, no. 159; RPWK, pzd, 1582, no. 158; RPWK, pzd, 1583, no. 147; RPWK, pzd, 1591, no. 135; Parczewski, p. 156; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 49; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 185.

<sup>129</sup> RPWK, kls, 1552, no. 94; RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 17, 108; RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 119; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 191; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 127; RPWK, pzd, 1578, no. 157; RPWK, pzd, 1580, no. 158; RPWK, pzd, 1581, no. 160; RPWK, pzd, 1582, no. 159; RPWK, pzd, 1583, no. 148; RPWK, pzd, 1591, no. 136.

<sup>130</sup> Parczewski, p. 156; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 54; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 191v.

<sup>131</sup> RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 19, 110; RPWK, pzd, 1578, no. 16; RPWK, pzd, 1580, no. 161; RPWK, pzd, 1581, no. 163; RPWK, pzd, 1582, no. 162; RPWK, pzd, 1583, no. 151; RPWK, pzd, 1591, no. 139.

<sup>132</sup> Parczewski, p. 156; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 45; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 179v.

<sup>133</sup> Perthées Kalisz.

<sup>134</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 170; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 176; RPWK, kcn, 1576, no. 143; RPWK, kcn, 1577, no. 179; RPWK, kcn, 1578, no. 190; RPWK, kcn, 1579, no. 174; RPWK, kcn, 1581, no. 174; RPWK, kcn, 1582, no. 167; RPWK, kcn, 1583, no. 164; RPWK, kcn, 1591, no. 167.

<sup>135</sup> Parczewski, p. 254; Hearth tax 1635, f. 73v; Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 83; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 232v.

<sup>136</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 132–133; LWWK 1628, p. 90–91; LWWK 1659, p. 4–5.

<sup>137</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 41; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 38; RPWP, ksc, 1567, no. 17; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 40; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 46; RPWP, ksc, 1581, no. 44; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 43; RPWP, wch, 1567, no. 30.

<sup>138</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 35r; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1212; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1400.

and another time in the Wschowa land.<sup>139</sup> Perthées's map has it in the Kościan district.<sup>140</sup> After taking these source materials into account, we placed Brenno in the Kościan district.

A similar situation took place with the gentry village of Stare Szczepankowo (Szczepankowo in the sixteenth century) of the Charbielino parish. This settlement was consistently recorded in the Kościan registers, and once – in 1563 – it was named in the Wschowa register, but contrary to Brenno, it was only named. The 1631 hearth tax register, along with the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers attribute it to the Kościan district.<sup>141</sup> Land and gord courts records list different district affiliations in the sixteenth century while in the seventeenth century the records are clearly dominated by notes attributing Stare Szczepankowo to the Kościan district.<sup>142</sup>

Two settlements in the Wschowa land – Śmieszkowo and Potrzebowo, both of the Lgiń parish – do not appear in the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century, due to their being settled at a late time – the turn of the sixteenth century.<sup>143</sup> The 1631 hearth tax register only names Potrzebowo, counting it as part of the Wschowa land.<sup>144</sup> The 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers have both of the villages as part of the Wschowa land.<sup>145</sup> Judicial records point to divergent district affiliation.<sup>146</sup> Perthées's map has both Śmieszkowo and Potrzebno in the Wschowa land.<sup>147</sup>

In the Pyzdry district, near the border with the Kościan district, found itself the clerical village of Rogusko (Rogosko in the sixteenth century) of the Solec parish. It was part of the bishop of Poznań's endowment. This settlement was not recorded by the tax registers of the second half of the sixteenth century. It is mentioned by the 1564 inventory of the bishop of Poznań's estate.<sup>148</sup> Poll tax registers attribute it to the Pyzdry district, along with Czaykowski's register and Perthées's map.<sup>149</sup>

The settlement of Buka (Nowa Wieś in the sixteenth century) of the Zakrzewo parish, which lay in the Nakło district, appears in the tax registers of the second half of the sixteenth century only from 1578 as a newly settled village. A tax was paid from this village for half of a millwheel belonging to the Nakło district (*ad Crainam*). The wheel's other half, according to the registers, belonged to the Człuchowki or Tucholski district in the Pomeranian Voivodeship (*ad Ducatum Prussiae*).<sup>150</sup> The object's actual location, along with the reason for this situation, are unknown. The mill was most likely found along the Stołunia or Kamionka rivers.

Doubts are also raised by the district affiliation of the village of Rataje of the Chodzież parish, part of the Ujście starosta's district. This settlement, placed in the Poznań district, forms the tip of the wedge sticking into the Kcynia district near Chodzież. It appears in the tax registers of both districts. Kcynia's registers have it marked down in 1564, 1565, 1576, 1577, 1578 and 1579, while only in 1564

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<sup>139</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 7856 (no. 902) 1560, 8958 (no. 1396) 1560, 11577 (no. 1398) 1575, 722 (no. 10) 1587, 416 (no. 204) 1607, 5856 (no. 1406) 1609, 1322 (no. 25) 1609, 560 (no. 205) 1615, 3596 (no. 1107 III) 1684, 5042 (no. 87) 1738. SHGPoz states that Brenno was part of the Kościan district, based on the judicial records; K. Górka-Gońska, *Brenno*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 103–105. Czaykowski's register places Brenno broadly in the Poznań Voivodeship; Czaykowski, p. 828.

<sup>140</sup> Perthées Poznań.

<sup>141</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 36v; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1214; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1403.

<sup>142</sup> T. Jurek, *Szczepankowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 815–816. The term's author claims that Szczepankowo lay on the border of two districts. We can assume that such was the case still in the first half of the sixteenth century, but in the latter half of that century and in the seventeenth century, Szczepankowo appears to fully belong to the Kościan district.; TD, 13942 (no. 1401) 1594, 584 (no. 968) 1598, 6191 (no. 1416) 1630, 972 (no. 207) 1635, 7321 (no. 301) 1647, 1194 (no. 208) 1652, 3050 (no. 59) 1660.

<sup>143</sup> See A. Borek, *Ziemia wschowska*.

<sup>144</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 62.

<sup>145</sup> Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1266; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1459.

<sup>146</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 1322 (no. 25) 1609, 1323 (no. 25) 1609; Potrzebowo: TD, 12591 (no. 346) 1578, 1407 (no. 6) 1590, 5644 (no. 1406) 1609, 5856 (no. 1406) 1609, 1322 (no. 25) 1609, 1323 (no. 25) 1609, 1809 (no. 1407) 1610, 529 (no. 204) 1612, 560 (no. 205) 1615, 2835 (no. 1414) 1623, 8788 (no. 1418) 1635, 2300 (no. 47) 1636, 9466 (no. 1419) 1638, 9474 (no. 1419) 1638, 9985 (no. 1420) 1641, 10600 (no. 1421) 1644, 3806 (no. 73) 1681.

<sup>147</sup> Perthées Poznań.

<sup>148</sup> Inw. bp. poz. 1564, p. 292.

<sup>149</sup> Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 44; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 178v; Czaykowski, p. 817 (property to the bishop of Poznań); Perthées Kalisz. According to the index of clerical property attached to Perthées's map, Rogusko was the property of the Gniezno Chapter.

<sup>150</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 262; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 229; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 257; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 243, 244; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 222, 223.

and 1565 did it pay a tax there. In 1591 it was noted that it lay outside of the district.<sup>151</sup> In Poznań's registers, it was marked twice – in 1563 and in 1576 – that Rataje lay in another district. The next two registers – 1577 and 1580 – do not record any taxation. It was only paid in 1581 and 1583.<sup>152</sup> It can be therefore assumed, that the district affiliation of this village was only stabilized in the final quarter of the sixteenth century. This assumption is supported by the seventeenth century registers. The 1618–1620 tax register does not list Rataje as belonging to the Kcynia district, which could indicate that the settlement belonged to the Poznań district. The 1631 hearth tax register, along with the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers also attribute it to the latter.<sup>153</sup>

Occasionally the doubts about settlements' district affiliation stem from discrepancies between the treasury and judicial records. The village of Krzekotowo of the Słaboszewo parish is an example of this.<sup>154</sup> This settlement appears in the registers as part of the Gniezno district.<sup>155</sup> The Kcynia district's 1635 hearth tax register does not make mention of it, which could indicate that also in that year it belonged to the Gniezno district. This district affiliation is confirmed by the 1673 and 1676 poll tax registers.<sup>156</sup> But the sixteenth century judicial records constantly place it in the Kcynia district. From the 1620s onward, land and gord court records make mention of the settlement belonging to the Gniezno district.<sup>157</sup>

A similar situation takes place in the southern part of Kcynia district's southern border. The gentry village of Pokrzywnica of the Prusce (Prusca in the sixteenth century) parish, situated to the north of the border of River Welna, consistently appears in the Gniezno tax registers.<sup>158</sup> The 1618–1620 register only contains the village's name, with no tax categories or payments listed.<sup>159</sup> The hearth tax register makes no notice of the settlement, which could indicate it belonging to the Gniezno district. The 1673 and 1674 poll tax registers place in that very district.<sup>160</sup> Everything indicated that Pokrzywnica should be attributed to the Gniezno district. This is how we marked it on the primary map. Judicial records place it in the Kcynia district from the second half of the fifteenth century, through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in their entirety, rarely placing it in the Gniezno district. Only in the eighteenth century do they describe it as part of Gniezno district.<sup>161</sup>

On the main map we marked **the capitals of both voivodeships** in Poznań and Kalisz, along with **the capitals of treasury districts** – Wałcz, Poznań, Kościan, Wschowa, Kalisz, Konin, Pyzdry, Gniezno, Kcynia, Nakło. In the case of **gord starosta's districts**, we marked those, where starostas operated from. These were the offices in Poznań, Wschowa, Wałcz and Nakło. Offices under the general starosta of Greater Poland, i.e. Kalisz, Kościan, Pyzdry, Gniezno, Konin and Kcynia, were not marked as gord starosta's districts. This is caused by the fact, that in this series, the primary map includes gord starosta's

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<sup>151</sup> RPWK, kcn, 1564, no. 42; RPWK, kcn, 1565, no. 42; RPWK, kcn, 1576, no. 36; RPWK, kcn, 1577, no. 52; RPWK, kcn, 1578, no. 61; RPWK, kcn, 1591, no. 47.

<sup>152</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 90; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 92; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 98; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 102; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 103; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 97.

<sup>153</sup> Hearth tax 1631, f. 5; Poll tax poz. 1673, p. 1153; Poll tax poz. 1676, p. 1334. Compare the comments to the district affiliation in SGHPoz; T. Jurek, *Rataje*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 41–42.

<sup>154</sup> Comp. to M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Powiat kcyński*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>155</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 375; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 374; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 345; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 336; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 151; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 454; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 387; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 356; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 361; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 381.

<sup>156</sup> Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 63v; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 208.

<sup>157</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 300 (no. 862) 1505, 414 (no. 862) 1506, 7260 (no. 1390) 1506, 6786 [Służow] (no. 1390) 1507, 1253 (no. 786) 1508, 4659 (no. 335a) 1532, 785 (no. 263) 1537 około, 6428 (no. 31) 1537, 6744 (no. 32) 1540, 1998 (no. 157) 1577, 2533 (no. 215) 1577, 4087 (Iudiciales) (no. 19) 1623, 4259 (no. 19) (Iud.) 1625, 463 (no. 78) 1626, 9550 (no. 86) 1677, 5264 (no. 132) 1692.

<sup>158</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 262; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 268; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 253; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 244; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 330; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 326; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 274; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 248; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 256; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 273.

<sup>159</sup> Parczewski, p. 208.

<sup>160</sup> Poll tax kal. 1673, f. 69v; Poll tax kal. 1674, f. 215.

<sup>161</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 7417 [Pozn.] (no. 1386) 1474, 9622 [Kcynia] (no. 9, gr. 1386) 1480, 6102 [Wągrowiec] (no. 1387) 1486, 915 (no. 863) 1509, 1563 (no. 786) 1509, 4132 (no. 1392) 1517, 2280 (no. 1395) 1543, 5156 (no. 335a) 1544, 1178 (no. 23) 1545, 1179 (no. 23) 1545, 5342 (no. 335a) 1550, 5344 (no. 335a) 1550, 7766 (no. 1396) 1554, 2851 (no. 43) 1564, 7987 (no. 906) 1564, 9680 (no. 1397) 1564, 1888 (no. 157) 1575, 2577 (no. 215) 1579, 1093 (no. 1405) 1605, 3861 (no. 126) 1610, 2204 (no. 1407) 1611, 237 (no. 1424) 1649, 11464 (no. 1068) 1655, 11004 (no. 1222) 1730, 15332 (no. 1243) 1736, 12920 (no. 1249) 1737, 12962 (no. 1251) 1737, 12975 (no. 1251) 1737, 6041 (no. 190/195) 1749.

districts understood as the headquarters of the active starosta that had the ability to receive deeds.<sup>162</sup> A separate map of gords with their subordination to the general starosta can be found in this chapter.

The map also has the **seats of castellans** marked down. In the Poznań Voivodeship, these are Poznań, Krzywiń, Międzyrzecz (second in the hierarchy of lesser castellans), Przemęt, Rogoźno and Śrem, and in the Kalisz Voivodeship: Kalisz, Biechowo, Gniezno, Nakło, Kamień Krajeński and Łąd.<sup>163</sup> The Poznań and Kalisz castellans belonged to the greater castellans, with the rest being lesser castellans.<sup>164</sup> In Greater Poland there existed also the titular office of the Santok castellan, referencing the fact that Santok was once part of the Crown. The settlement was removed from Poland in the fifteenth century.<sup>165</sup>

The Poznań and Kalisz voivodes participated in the senate, along with the aforementioned castellans. The former took precedent in the hierarchy of voivodes, alternating with the voivode of Cracow, but always above the voivode of Vilnius, while the latter was fifth – after the castellan of Vilnius, who was included in this hierarchy, but before the voivode of Trakai. The clergymen that held senate offices were the archbishop of Gniezno (before the archbishop of Lviv) and the bishop of Poznań, who was fourth in the hierarchy of bishops, alternating with the bishop of Vilnius.<sup>166</sup> In total, Greater Poland had 15 senatorial offices (the voivode of Gniezno was added in 1768), the most out of all the voivodeships and lands of Poland, and two clerical offices.<sup>167</sup>

The traditional location for sessions of the **land sejmik**, for which the nobility of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships attended, was Środa. These congresses saw twelve representatives elected to the Sejm.<sup>168</sup> The **general (provincial) sejmik** gathered in Koło. The participants of its discussions were the aforementioned nobility, as well as that of the Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships, and those from Kuyawia and the Dobrzyń land.<sup>169</sup> The nobility of the Płock and Rawa voivodeships, and occasionally even that of the Podlasie Voivodeship, had some connections to the meetings in Koło.<sup>170</sup> The sejmik in Koło began losing its significance already in the sixteenth century, and disappeared completely in the eighteenth century, although the Greater Polish nobility demanded that it be reactivated the entire time. This was not an isolated incident, as a similar situation occurred, amongst others, in Nowe Miasto Korczyn.<sup>171</sup>

**Okazowanie**, that is the review of the nobility ready for a “pospolite ruszenie” (mass mobilization), was to take place in Pyzdry for the nobility of the Kalisz Voivodeship, and Poznań for the nobility of the Poznań Voivodeship, by the decree of the sejm’s constitution of 1563.<sup>172</sup> In 1587 Środa was designated as the location of the *okazowanie* and in 1631 it was changed to the capitals of the districts.<sup>173</sup>

(2017)

Translated by Karolina Frank

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<sup>162</sup> *Urządnicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku*, the footnote on p. 7 indicated, that Kościan, Kalisz, Pyzdry, Konin, Gniezno and Kcynia are mistakenly treated as gord starosta’s districts. This group includes Poznań, although in this case we can assume that this was suggested by the office of the general starosta of Greater Poland and a lack of a separate starost for Poznań from the mid-fourteenth century, whose jurisdiction would have been limited to the Poznań gord district; comp. to J. Łojko, *Utworzenie starostwa generalnego*, pp. 131–143.

<sup>163</sup> *Urządnicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku*, p. 23.

<sup>164</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 93 (778); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 239–241.

<sup>165</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce*, p. 38, footnote 176; T. Jurek, *Santok*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 286–299.

<sup>166</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 93 (778); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 239–241.

<sup>167</sup> M. Zwierzykowski, *Odrębności ustrojowe Wielkopolski*, p. 57.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 57–58. It is worth noting that the author believed that “in the Early Modern period, we cannot speak of the residence [of the sejmik – MG], but rather a place of gather of nobles”.

<sup>169</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *akta sejmikowe województw poznańskiego i kaliskiego*, vol. 1: 1572–1632, pt. 1: 1572–1616, Poznań 1957, p. V.

<sup>170</sup> E. Kalinowski, *Podlasianin Wielkopolaninem?*, pp. 426–434.

<sup>171</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *akta sejmikowe województw poznańskiego i kaliskiego*, vol. 1, pp. V–VI; M. Zwierzykowski, *akta sejmikowe województw poznańskiego i kaliskiego: lata 1696–1732*, Poznań 2008, p. XI. The last sejmik in Koło took place in 1702.

<sup>172</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 28 (642); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 126.

<sup>173</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 229 (1060); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 22. The choice of Środa was confirmed in 1607, underlining that the *okazowanie* was to take place at the location of the land sejmik, but in the case of Greater Poland, it was the local nobility that was to decide whether this constitution was to be adopted.; VL, vol. 2, p. 438 (1607); VC, vol. 2, issue 2, p. 345. A similar thing took place in 1620; VL, vol. 3, pp. 176–177 (364–365); VC, vol. 3, issue 1, p. 265; VL, vol. 3, p. 331 (692–693); VC, vol. 3, issue 2, p. 116.

### III.2.1.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Henryk Rutkowski*

Of the two voivodeships described in this study, Łęczyca Voivodeship was the same as Łęczyca land, and Sieradz Voivodeship consisted of Sieradz land and Wieluń land. The name of Sieradz Voivodeship was used in two different ways. Mostly it denoted Sieradz land, but in our study, in order to avoid misunderstandings, we shall assume the broader sense of this name. The lands of Sieradz and Łęczyca were created in the sixteenth century as a continuation of two district duchies that had existed since 1262. In the beginning of the fifteenth century Wieluń land was incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland for good. As a consequence, this land became part of Sieradz Voivodeship.<sup>1</sup>

Łęczyca Voivodeship was divided into three districts: Łęczyca district, Brzeziny district and Orłów district. There were four districts in the land of Sieradz: Sieradz, Szadek, Piotrków and Radomsko districts. The last one was called ‘radomski’ district in the sixteenth century, but we assume the newer form of the adjective created from the name ‘Radomsko’ (‘radomszczański’) was in order to maintain the difference between this district and the one with the seat in the city of Radom (‘radomski’). Wieluń land was divided into two districts, also called lands: Wieluń district and Ostrzeszów district. The borders of voivodeships, lands and districts were still undergoing changes in the fifteenth century, later they stabilized until the end of the eighteenth century, the time of the Partitions of Poland (not taking into account exceptional shifts of single villages).

The common border between the Voivodeships of Sieradz and Łęczyca was approximately 150 km long. It was almost entirely determined by two Rivers: the Ner and the Wolbórka. Additionally, Łęczyca Voivodeship bordered on the Voivodeships of: Kalisz, Brześć Kujawski, Rawa and Sandomierz. Sieradz Voivodeship bordered on Sandomierz and Cracow Voivodeships, then on Silesia, that belonged to the country of the Austrian Habsburgs. As such, the voivodeship indirectly bordered on the Holy Roman Empire (only Wieluń land bordered on Silesia) and then on the Voivodeship of Kalisz. The outer borderline of the two voivodeships was approximately 880 km long, of which the border with Silesia was 120 km, with Kalisz Voivodeship it was 230 km (including 200 km of the borderline of Sieradz Voivodeship), with Brześć Voivodeship it was 50 km, with Rawa Voivodeship – 220 km long, with Sandomierz Voivodeship – 150 km (including 110 km of the borderline of Sieradz Voivodeship), and with Cracow Voivodeship it was 110 km long. The border with Sandomierz Voivodeship was set on the Pilica River, and part of the border with Silesia – on the Prosna.

As in previous volumes of the Atlas, tax registers, providing information on the administrative affiliation of settlements, formed the main basis for the reconstruction of the course of the borders. In case of uninhabited or sparsely inhabited areas Perthées’s maps were found useful, as they show settlements founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries near the borders of voivodeships and districts. There are maps drawn by Perthées that cover the area of Łęczyca Voivodeship and the voivodeships surrounding it. This, to a small degree, could substitute for the lack of any map of Sieradz Voivodeship by this cartographer. We have also used twentieth century maps, showing commune borders, and thus

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<sup>1</sup> Zajączkowski, O kształtowaniu się; Rosin, Rozwój; see also: *Urzednicy łęczyccy, sieradzcy i wieluńscy XIII–XV wieku. Spisy*, comp. J. Bieniak, A. Szymczakowa, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Wrocław 1985; *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku*, vol. 2, no. 1; *Urzednicy II/2*; S. Wojtkowiak, *Polska Środkowa – tradycje historyczne i aspiracje w propozycjach nowego podziału administracyjnego kraju (rozważania do dyskusji)*, “Rocznik Łódzki”, vol. 44, 1997, pp. 187–203.

were able to identify fragments of the sixteenth century borderline. The outer border of our territory was naturally correlated with adequate borderlines from previous volumes of the Atlas.<sup>2</sup> We have also compared them with the borderlines established in various studies on other neighbouring territories.<sup>3</sup>

The north-western and north-eastern parts of Ostrzeszów district could provide an example of an inhabited but forested area. The former part bordered on Kalisz Voivodeship, the latter – also on Sieradz land. There were only three villages in the north-eastern part of the district, east of the Proсна River. These were: Kraszewice, Kuźnica Grabowska – then: Kraszewicka, and Czajków. As crown lands, they belonged to the Grabów *starosta's* lease. This was the last area annexed to Sieradz Voivodeship, it was separated from Kalisz Voivodeship probably not before the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> The borders of the voivodeships were marked on the basis of Perthées's map of Kalisz Voivodeship, including commune borders. It must be emphasized that the administrative affiliation of villages presented by Perthées is rarely inconsistent with our knowledge regarding the state of the settlement in the sixteenth century. For instance, Szydłowice in Turek parish was assigned to Sieradz district by this eighteenth century cartographer, when in fact in the sixteenth century this village belonged to Konin district in Kalisz Voivodeship.<sup>5</sup> In the case of such inconsistencies we are either dealing with a change of the course of the borderline between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, or a mistake in Perthées's map. The presented method of border reconstruction does not provide unquestionable results, yet – generally speaking – these results are highly probable. Or more precisely: in different places the certainty level of a given borderline is different, and some fragments could be acknowledged as certain (e.g. along the course of larger rivers).

The course of the border in some places requires a commentary. We begin with the state border with Silesia. The village Ligota (old name: Lgota) in Kobyla Góra parish belonged to Ostrzeszów district between 1420 and 1424, but in 1531 it was Silesian.<sup>6</sup> We do not possess any data from the latter part of the sixteenth century, but in tax registers from 1663 and 1673 Ligota is counted among villages in Poland.<sup>7</sup> That is why we assumed that also at the end of the sixteenth century it was situated within the borders of the Commonwealth, in Ostrzeszów district.

The authors of the studies on Sieradz Voivodeship have concluded that the parish village Dobrów belonged to Sieradz land in the sixteenth century, as it was in 1357.<sup>8</sup> Sources from this century say, however, that Dobrów was situated in Konin district of Kalisz Voivodeship, as like in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup>

In relation to the map of Mazovia, published as an earlier volume of the Atlas, we have made a small revision of the course of the border between Łęczyca and Rawa Voivodeships, east of Kutno. As a result the localization of a border village Bielawki, situated in Gostynin land (in the sixteenth century called Gostyń land) was corrected. However, we have made no changes to the voivodeship border near Brzeziny, which would be required, had we accepted identification of the sixteenth century Bilanowo with Bielanki, accepted by the Zajązkowscy after the publisher of Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*.<sup>10</sup> Bilanowo, listed as an abandoned village in some of the registers from Brzeziny district in the second half of the seventeenth century, does not appear on the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Only in the 1827 Table do we find 'Zalesie belanow', placed by Chrzanowski on his map under the same name.<sup>11</sup> Our solution was an estimated localization, obtained by combining the Bilanów and Zalesie marks. Additionally, we made no changes in the nearby fragment of the border running between Będzelin in Brzeziny district and Długie and Redzeń villages in Rawa district.

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<sup>2</sup> AHP Mazovia; AHP Sandomierz.

<sup>3</sup> MWK; Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej na Kujawach w II połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1964, two maps in appendix; L. Polaszewski, *Własność feudalna w województwie kaliskim w XVI wieku*, Poznań 1976, one map in appendix; Atlas historyczny Polski. Śląsk w końcu XVIII wieku, vol. 2, ed. J. Janczak, Wrocław 1984, part 1, table 5.

<sup>4</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 179–181; Rosin, *Słownik*, p. 98; LWWK 1564, p. 118 footnote.

<sup>5</sup> P. Wielkopolska I, p. 239; L. Polaszewski, *Własność feudalna*, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 85–86, 153–154; Rosin 1963, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> AGAD ASK I, 65, f. 224; 74, f. 537.

<sup>8</sup> Zajązkowscy, part 1, p. 69; Zajązkowski, *O kształtowaniu się*, p. 144; Rosin, *Rozwój*, pp. 426–428.

<sup>9</sup> L. Polaszewski, *Własność feudalna*, p. 90.

<sup>10</sup> Zajązkowscy, part 1, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. SGKP, vol. 14, p. 332.

Będzelin belonged to Włocławek bishopric; according to the inventory of the bishopric's property from 1598, a public road leading to Lublin determined the property borderline (that is also the voivodeship borderline) here. This road was marked using later cartographical sources.<sup>12</sup> On our map, the border runs only partially along the highroad, and yet we saw no need for a complete alignment as the inventory shows the bishopric's stand on the matter of argument.

The Sieradz – Cracow Voivodeship border near Dąbrowa parish ran a little differently from what is shown on Perthées's map, or on the map of Cracow Voivodeship of the Four-Year *Sejm* (Diet) period: the village Knieja situated near the border belonged to the Voivodeship of Cracow, not Sieradz.<sup>13</sup> It could be added here, that in 1606 a Bernardine monastery dedicated to St. Ann was erected nearby (now Święta Anna village). It was built exactly on the borderline between the voivodeships and at the same time between Gniezno and Cracow dioceses.<sup>14</sup> The former monastery near the voivodeship border was situated in Mstów. It was located on the site where a few kilometres of the borderline were defined by the River Warta. The Regular Canons Monastery on the left, northern, bank of the river belonged to Sieradz Voivodeship, and the town on the right bank to Cracow Voivodeship.<sup>15</sup>

Around Mykanów in Wieluń district the voivodeship border ran along the River Kocinka and its right tributary Sękowica. There was a village Rybna, among others, in Mykanów parish, which belonged partly to Sieradz and partly to Cracow Voivodeship, or more likely: there were two villages of the same name, situated on two banks of the border river, as Perthées's map suggests. The division originating from the political border existing since the thirteenth century was strengthened by different ownership affiliation: Rybna on the Sieradz side constituted a part of the property of Cracow Monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare, and Rybna on the Cracow side belonged to the gentry.<sup>16</sup> This complicated situation caused many mistakes in old tax registers, as well as in historical works.<sup>17</sup>

Ryszard Rosin included the uninhabited area on the left bank of the Kocinka (up to Biała Olsza) in Wieluń land, thus connecting Mykanów area with Wąsosze, that is with the core of the Wieluń land.<sup>18</sup> Taking into account the complete lack of settlement in this part of land, and therefore – lack of any source information, such hypothesis is acceptable, though rather for earlier centuries. We believe that our method of border reconstruction provides more reasonable results. As such, we have assumed that the border in the sixteenth century ran as it did in the eighteenth century. Consequently, the areas of Mykanów, Kruszyna and Kłomnice formed an enclave of Wieluń land in Radomsko district.

Having dealt with the voivodeship borders, there remain a few other places worth commenting on, beginning with Wilamów parish (former Wielanów). It was a cause of particular difficulties when it came to establishing the course of state administration borders. Wilamów was situated on the Warta in Sieradz Voivodeship, in the area neighbouring on Łęczyca and Kalisz Voivodeships. All sixteenth century tax registers from Sieradz Voivodeship fail to mention the south-western part of this parish, i.e. several villages appearing in Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum* and in the 1636 visitation. Of these villages Podłużyce is noted in the registers from Konin district in Kalisz Voivodeship.<sup>19</sup> Tax registers of Sieradz district from 1674 and 1676, and of Szadek district from 1662, 1674 and 1676 confirmed that Kozubów, Sarbice and Łęg Wielki (former Wielgiłak) belonged to Szadek district, and Radyczyny to Sieradz district.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Inv. 1598, p. 122; see also the chapter on roads, pp. 636–643.

<sup>13</sup> *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, ed. F. Sikora, comp. J. Kurtyka et al., part 2, no. 4, Kraków 1993, p. 598.

<sup>14</sup> Materials MWK, p. 305. Święta Anna lay on the voivodeship border even in the twentieth century.

<sup>15</sup> See the chapter on borders to learn about complicated affiliation of Mstów.

<sup>16</sup> About Rybna in Sieradz Voivodeship – *Księga dochodów beneficjów diecezji krakowskiej z r. 1529* (tzw. *Liber retaxationum*), ed. Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, Wrocław 1968, p. 316; ASK I, 24, f. 788. About Rybna in Cracow Voivodeship – *P. Małopolska*, vol. 3, p. 82. See also: Materials MWK, pp. 99, 265; Zajączkowski, part 2, p. 235.

<sup>17</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, p. 304; *Rejestr poborowy województwa krakowskiego z roku 1629*, ed. S. Inglot, W. Domin i in., Wrocław 1956, p. 187; Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 39, 76; Zajączkowski, *O kształtowaniu się*, pp. 152, 154; Rosin, *Rozwój*, p. 428 footnote.

<sup>18</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 39, 50, 77 and maps in the appendix; Rosin, *Słownik*, map.

<sup>19</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, p. 229; L. Polaszewski, *Własność feudalna*, p. 157.

<sup>20</sup> ASK I 74, f. 292, 402, 419v; BCzart, MS 1100 (microfilm in the National Library no. 1856), pp. 216, 221; Zajączkowski, *O kształtowaniu się*, p. 144, counted Kozubów, Sarbice and Radyczyny to Szadek district; Rosin, *Rozwój*, p. 428 placed these three villages and Łęg Wielki in Sieradz district.

Męcka Wola (former Wola Męcka) in Męka parish does not have a definite affiliation to any of the districts. It belonged either to Sieradz or to Szadek district (the former affiliation is more likely). Ostrówek (former Ostrów) in Uników (Unków) parish belonged either to Wieluń or to Sieradz district. Two villages near Wieruszów: Kuźnica Skakawska and Dobrygość were situated either in Wieluń or in Ostrzeszów district.

Apart from the capitals of voivodeships, lands and districts, the residencies of gord starosta's districts – places of great importance in state administration – were also marked on the map. Until the second half of the sixteenth century they were situated only in capitals of lands: Łęczyca, Sieradz, Wieluń, and Ostrzeszów. The small Ostrzeszów district was sometimes treated as a land. In 1557 the *Sejm* (Diet) decided on the establishment of a gord starosta's district in Piotrków, but it was also stated then that the same person would become the starosta for both: Sieradz and Piotrków. Piotrków and Sieradz districts were actually separated in 1569, and the starosta supervising the districts of Piotrków and Radomsko was elected.<sup>21</sup>

The *sejmik* (dietine) of the Łęczyca Voivodeship gathered in Łęczyca.<sup>22</sup> The *sejmik* (dietine) of the Sieradz land – the main one, relating to the *Sejm* (Diet) – was held in Szadek. Only the election *sejmik* (dietine), during which the candidates for land offices were selected (chamberlain, judge, sub-udex, and the land court scribe) took place in Sieradz.<sup>23</sup> The Wieluń land *sejmik* (dietine) gathered in Wieluń.<sup>24</sup> After the creation of the Crown Tribunal in 1578 the deputy *sejmiks* (dietines) were created as well. Their task was to elect the judges for this tribunal (deputies); in Sieradz land the deputy *sejmik* (dietine) gathered in Sieradz, and from 1598 also in Piotrków. Before 1569 Piotrków was a conventional place for the gathering of the *Sejm* (Diet), and in 1578 it became one of the two seats of the Crown Tribunal (the other seat was Lublin).<sup>25</sup>

Settlements related in the sixteenth century to castellan offices (titles) were marked on the map. In Łęczyca Voivodeship these were: Łęczyca, Brzeziny and Inowódz, in Sieradz land – Sieradz, Rozprza and Spicymierz, in Wieluń land – Wieluń.<sup>26</sup> It is worth adding, that in the hierarchy of lands defined by the established order of the voivodes and castellans in terms of dignity, Sieradz Voivodeship was higher in rank than Łęczyca Voivodeship.

(1998)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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<sup>21</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 12; *Urządnicy łęczyccy, sieradzcy i wieluńscy*, p. 14; *Urządnicy II/2*, pp. 6, 119.

<sup>22</sup> J. Włodarczyk, *Sejmiki łęczyckie*, Łódź 1973, pp. 23–27.

<sup>23</sup> S. Płaza, *Sejmiki i zjazdy szlacheckie województwa sieradzkiego. Ustrój i funkcjonowanie (1572–1632)*, part 1, Warszawa 1987, pp. 13, 18.

<sup>24</sup> W. Szczygielski, *Dzieje ziemi wieluńskiej*, Łódź 1969, pp. 17–22.

<sup>25</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Trybunał Koronny w Piotrkowie*, [in:] *Dzieje Piotrkowa Trybunałskiego*, ed. B. Baranowski, Łódź 1989, pp. 111–137.

<sup>26</sup> *Urządnicy II/2*, pp. 6–9, 23, 38, 61, 64, 131, 141, 145, 184, 211.

### III.2.1.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Wiesława Duży*

The aim of this chapter is to present the course of state administrative borders in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in accordance with the guiding principles of the AHP series. Having adopted the assumption that the lands of the Crown were divided into provinces, one ought to class the analysed area as part of Greater Poland in its broadest sense. Such a classification has a two-fold basis: the borders of this province were shaped by Casimir IV Jagiellon's 1456 statute, and fell within the geographical jurisdiction of the Crown Tribunal in Piotrków, which was established in 1578.<sup>1</sup>

In the early Polish state, Cuyavia was probably limited to an area around Kruszwica and was included to Greater Poland, understood broadly. In the twelfth century, its territory might have expanded to include Mazovian borderlands.<sup>2</sup> In all likelihood, the first Duchy of Cuyavia was created in 1186, and it was ruled by Bolesław, who died in battle in 1195<sup>3</sup> and was the son of Mieszko III the Old. Cuyavia found itself also under the rule of Mazovian Duke Konrad I, who came to power approximately in the year 1200, and carved Cuyavia out as a separate duchy for his son Casimir in 1230. Dobrzyń land, which had been part of Mazovia, ceased to belong to this ducal district in 1248, after being incorporated into the Duchy of Cuyavia (a separate duchy since 1287). After the death of Casimir I in 1267, Cuyavia was divided into two ducal districts: Brześć in the south and Inowrocław in the north. In the early fourteenth century, the latter was further divided into Gniewków and Wyszogród (Bydgoszcz) Duchies. These, however, failed to survive long, and perished before the end of the century. Many sections of Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land borders remained volatile for long periods of time.

Part of the analysed area was temporarily ruled by the Teutonic Order as well.<sup>4</sup> Starting from the first half of the thirteenth century, Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land witnessed the development of a castellany network, which directly impacted the later structure of Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land districts, and which to a certain extent overlapped with district duchy range. Of the thirteen castellanies active in the thirteenth century, five ceased to exist by the first half of the fourteenth century. Other castellanies (save for Słońsk) – Bydgoszcz, Inowrocław, Kruszwica, Włocławek-Brześć, Kowal, Dobrzyń and Rypin – laid the foundation for later starosties (*starostwo*) and districts (*powiat*). Lipno district in Dobrzyń land and Przedecz district in Brześć Voivodeship were exceptions. Part of the former probably fell within Słońsk Castellany from the second half of fourteenth century. The latter probably evolved from the borderlands of Przedecz territory in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The borders of Cuyavia's voivodeships reached their final shape over the fifteenth century, after the merger of Gniewków and Inowrocław Voivodeships, and the end of the wars against the Teutonic Order.

In the sixteenth century, Cuyavia was divided into two voivodeships: Brześć and Inowrocław. Lower-rank administrative division units were called districts (*powiaty*) in both Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land differed, though, as the latter did not establish the office of voivode.

<sup>1</sup> See: Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.1.4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Pałucki, *Foreword*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition I.2.7.

<sup>3</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Zajęcie Kujaw przez Mieszka Starego*, [in:] idem, *Fundamenta historiae. Pisma wybrane*, comp. M. Zbieranowski, M. Słoń, Warszawa 2014, pp. 217–235.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bieniak, *Średniowiecze na ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, part 1, [in:] *Z dziejów ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, vol. 1, ed. Z. Goźdz, Dobrzyń nad Wisłą 1997, pp. 7–26; part 2, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. 2, ed. Z. Goźdz, Dobrzyń nad Wisłą 1998, pp. 7–33.

<sup>5</sup> Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 109, 160–162, 170, 177–182, 229, 231, 236–237.

This calls for an explanation of the status held by Dobrzyń land. It is still open to debate whether Dobrzyń land was equal in standing to other voivodeships of the Crown, or whether it formed part of Inowrocław Voivodeship.<sup>6</sup> Titles are of little help here, as sixteenth-century sources used *terra* to denote not only Dobrzyń land, but also the Cuyavian voivodeships of Brześć and Inowrocław. For example, in the first half of the sixteenth century, both Cuyavian voivodeships were referred to as *terras* (in 1507 Gębice was situated ‘in terra Juniwladislaviensi’,<sup>7</sup> in 1524 Płowce lay ‘in terra Brzestensi et districtu Radzieoviensi’,<sup>8</sup> and in 1525 Niemowejko was located ‘in terra Juniwladislaviensi’<sup>9</sup>). Selected sources dating to the second half of the sixteenth century describe Cuyavia in its entirety as a *terra*, sometimes disregarding the division into voivodeships. Let us look at some interesting examples. The first such mention concerns the abandoned village of Pniewy ‘in terra Cuiaviensi et palatinatu Brzestensi’. In 1552, Pniewy was granted for life-long use to Inowrocław Chamberlain Mikołaj Trzebuchowski of Roszki.<sup>10</sup> It is referred to again in 1554, when it was bestowed as ‘fundum seu hereditatem snostram [sic!] desertam Pniewy dictam in pallatinatu et capitaneatu Brzestensi sittam’.<sup>11</sup> Another example is that of the 1564 annotation about the royal villages of Świętosławice, Sarnowo, and Skaszyn being situated ‘in terra Cuiaviae et districtu Predecensi’.<sup>12</sup> In 1566, Gniewków was mentioned to lie ‘in terra Cuiavie et districtu Juniwladislaviensi’,<sup>13</sup> and in 1569 – ‘in terra et districtu Juniwladislaviensi’.<sup>14</sup> Still, the indicated chronological division is not a rigid one, as proven by a 1552 record locating Tupadły Village ‘in terra et districtu Juniwladislaviensi’.<sup>15</sup> It ought to be added that *terra* also designated territorial units less independent than Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. For example, the hierarchy of administrative divisions would class Wschowa closer to a district rather than a voivodeship. However, the analysed sources show that using the term *terra* did not rule out calling Wschowa Land a *districtus*.<sup>16</sup> Dobrzyń land was an independent administrative unit with a full hierarchy of administrative offices (save for the office of voivode), active land courts and a separate dietine (*sejmik*) of Dobrzyń land nobility. We therefore class Dobrzyń land at a par with other voivodeships.<sup>17</sup>

Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land did not border other sovereignties, hence the absence of a state border on the main map. The border with the Duchy of Prussia ran about 6 km from the north-eastern tip of Dobrzyń land. However, it was Royal Prussia, not Dobrzyń land, that bordered on Mazovia, thus the state border bypassed our area of interest. All outer borders of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land were voivodeship borders.

The border between Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land ran along the Vistula, with some minor departures. The most prominent discrepancies are noted in Nieszawa Town area (**Nowa Nieszewa, r**) of Lipno district in Dobrzyń land, situated on the left bank of Vistula River. Both Cuyavian voivodeships (Brześć and Inowrocław) shared a border with Kalisz Voivodeship of Greater Poland in the west. To the north, Inowrocław bordered on Pomerania Voivodeship in Royal Prussia. In the south, Brześć Voivodeship adjoined Łeczyca and Rawa Voivodeships. Dobrzyń land shared its northern border with Chełmno Voivodeship in Royal Prussia, and its eastern one with Płock Voivodeship of Mazovia. Most of Cuyavia’s and Dobrzyń land’s outer voivodeship borders have been discussed in previous AHP

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<sup>6</sup> J. Siemieński, *Organizacja sejmiku Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*, Kraków 1906, p. 1; Urzędnicy VI/2, p. 7; Guldon, Kujawy, pp. 23–24.

<sup>7</sup> MK 23, f. 191; MRPS IV/1, no. 213.

<sup>8</sup> MK 36, f. 530.

<sup>9</sup> MK 38, f. 184; MRPS IV/1, no. 4634.

<sup>10</sup> MK 83, f. 284v; MRPS IV/1, no. 1622.

<sup>11</sup> MK 86, f. 363r; MRPS IV/2, no. 6575. *Bona deserta Pniewa* was also mentioned in 1553: MK 84, ff. 155r–155v; MRPS V/2, no. 6213.

<sup>12</sup> MK 96, f. 355v; MRPS IV/2, no. 9409.

<sup>13</sup> MK 99, f. 286r.

<sup>14</sup> MK 105, f. 13r.

<sup>15</sup> MK 82, f. 73v; MRPS IV/2, no. 5585.

<sup>16</sup> See: A. Borek, *Ziemia wschowska w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, [in:] *Atlas historyczny Polski. Rejestry poborowe województwa poznańskiego w XVI w.*, ed. M. Słoń, „Atlas Źródeł i Materiałów do Dziejów Dawnej Polski”, vol. 3, 2015, atlasfontium.pl/index.php?article=poznanskie (access: 7.10.2020).

<sup>17</sup> Urzędnicy VI/2, p. 7; cf. A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.2.1.7; H. Rutkowski, *Jednostki terytorialne Królestwa Polskiego w „Annales” Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz – 600. lecie urodzin: region, Polska, Europa w jego twórczości*, ed. J. Maciejewski, P. Oliński, W. Rozyński, S. Zonenberg, Toruń–Bydgoszcz 2016, pp. 111–120.

volumes. They do not require revision. Still, it is worth recalling relevant findings made to date and providing more detail.

The Cuyavia-Greater Poland border between Inowrocław and Kalisz Voivodeships ran from Mąkowsko and Hamer (situated in Greater Poland) along numerous lakes, and Płytwica and Noteć Rivers. At this point, some information about the course of the Noteć near Pakość needs to be added. It cannot be excluded that this issue exerted influence on border shifts in this very area, which I discuss below. The Pakość town square was placed on an island separating the distributaries of the bifurcating Noteć River. Today, the riverbed is situated to the east of the square, but the UMTB shows a canal passing by the square on the west (Blatt 1651). Confirming this information in other cartographic sources poses significant difficulties. A Noteć canal or distributary is not found on Schrötter, although one may infer the existence of a bifurcation just upstream of Pakość. Henryk Münch's reproduction of the 1836 Pakość town plan also does not suffice for reconstructing the canal's course. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the area to the west of the chartered city, between Pakość and Ludkowa Village, where the Ludkowa Meadow wetlands are marked.<sup>18</sup> It is highly likely that changes to land development, erosion of the town's smaller island and disappearance of a Noteć distributary were brought about by agricultural land improvements made in the 1860s.<sup>19</sup>

Coming back to the Cuyavia-Greater Poland border, its next section passed along Trląg Lake and Kwieciszówka River for about 150 km, all the way to the vicinity of Kwieciszewo. The border shared by Brześć and Kalisz Voivodeships started there and ran to the north-east for about 80 km, to the vicinity of Brdów in Greater Poland, Psary Village at the southern tip of Modzerowo Lake, and Korzecznik Village and the lake bearing the same name.<sup>20</sup> The border with Łęczyca Voivodeship was short, approx. 50 km. First, it ran to the south-east from Przedecz to Łążek Village, and then slightly to the north-east to the River Ochnia.<sup>21</sup> The nearby wetlands mark the end of the Cuyavia-Łęczyca border, and the starting point of the Cuyavia-Mazovia border. Here, Cuyavia borders Rawa Voivodeship. The border runs to the north-east, to Białotarczek Village, Trzebowo Lake, and further on to the Vistula, parallel to the Mazovian lands held by the Płock Norbertine Monastery<sup>22</sup> on the banks of Soczewka Lake and Skrwa River.

The already mentioned Greater Polish settlement, Hamer, marked the outset of the Cuyavia-Prussia border. This short section passed along the River Brda (up to the vicinity of the Prussian Suski Młyn settlement), meandered through a strip of woodlands to Struga Graniczna, the border river with Prussia, and probably ran further on to Kołomierzycza River near Nieciszewo Village. Next, the border turned towards the south-east, surrounding the villages held by Koronowo Cistercians: Trzeciewiec (Cietrzewiec, c) and Włóki (c), all the way to the Vistula. The last section of the Cuyavian-Prussian border passed along the Vistula, and turned into the border with Dobrzyń land upriver of Toruń, between Kaszczorek and Złotoryja.<sup>23</sup>

The border between Cuyavia and Chełmno Land ran along the Vistula, and divided the numerous overgrown islands of this river section. Traditionally, a large part of the islands was held by Fordon<sup>24</sup> and Toruń, in line with the medieval land grants made to the Teutonic Order.<sup>25</sup> The further section of the border, which passes along the Vistula, between Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land – was determined *i.a.* as a result of court disputes. Let us look at an example. In 1545, Sigismund Augustus approved a verdict issued by a committee ruling on how the Vistula should be divided between Bobrowniki (r) in Dobrzyń land, and Kucierz Village (c) held by the Włocławek Chapter and situated on the Cuyavian bank. Still, the case was not closed until a few years later.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>18</sup> H. Münch, *Geneza rozplanowania miast wielkopolskich XIII i XIV wieku*, Kraków 1946, tabl. XLVII.

<sup>19</sup> R. Kabaciński, *W czasach staropolskich*, [in:] *Dzieje Pakości*, ed. W. Jastrzębski, Warszawa-Poznań 1978, pp. 43–44.

<sup>20</sup> See: M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.1.4.

<sup>21</sup> See: H. Rutkowski, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.1.5.

<sup>22</sup> M. Stawski, *Początki norbertanek w Płocku*, „Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Historica”, vol. 5, 2007, pp. 36–51, cf. Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Norbertanki płockie*, „Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego”, vol. 10, 2018, pp. 37, 39–42.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. MPK, p. 28.

<sup>24</sup> *Fordon*, hist. comp. E. Okoń, R. Czaja, carto. comp. R. Golba, Z. Kozieł, A. Pilarska, Toruń 2016 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, vol. 2: *Kujawy*, no. 3), p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> See: Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 172–173.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział II. Dokumenty w kopiarzuszach*, vol. 4: *Kopiarzusz Kan. P. Piotrkowskiego z 1551 roku*, Włocławek 2000, p. 86; idem, *Inwentarz realny*

Almost the whole border between Dobrzyń land and Royal Prussia passes along rivers. The River Drwęca outlines a long section of this border – from Złotoryja up to the north of Radziki Małe, Łapinózek (Łapinos Mały, n) and Łapinóż (Łapinos Wielki, n) Villages. Rypienica, a tributary of Drwęca, marked the next section of the Dobrzyń land-Prussia border. The border overlapped with Rypienica only for a short while, as the River Pisa took over at Łapinózek Village. The next section set out west of Księża and Gołkowo, and passed through the set of Górzno property held by the bishop of Płock. It circled Grażawy Village and ran further on to Brynica River towards the east, up to Wkra River.

Within Cuyavia, the border between Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships started to the west of Łąkie Village (see below) and ran towards the northern tip of Gopło Lake, and then on to Bachorze marshes and muds, to Sędzino and Koczkowo Villages near the headwaters of Bachorza River.<sup>27</sup> The next section shot up to the north, and meandered between Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land settlements. Near Starogrąbie Village, at the south boundary of the primeval Gniewków Forest, the border turned to the east. The border continued to meander across different settlements, until it reached its end near Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszawa, r), which fell within the administrative boundaries of Dobrzyń land, even though it lay on the left bank of the Vistula.

The administrative affiliation of several border settlements in particular requires further comment.

In his paper on ownership in Cuyavia, Zenon Guldon argued that **Górki Górne (Górki, n)**, a village of Białotarsk Parish (Białotarczek, c) was situated within Kowal district in the Brześć Voivodeship of Cuyavia.<sup>28</sup> Work on AHP Mazovia had led to questioning Guldon's findings, and to claiming that the village was administratively affiliated with Gostynin district of Rawa Voivodeship in Mazovia.<sup>29</sup> It follows from extant sources that Górki paid some tributes to both voivodeships. On the main map, thus, the border reflects this double affiliation.

The Cuyavian village of **Łąkie** held by the Norbertine Monastery in Strzelno found itself in a similar position. Based on numerous Cuyavian tax registers, we determined that the administrative affiliation of this settlement was also double in its nature. Dual administrative affiliation is suggested already by the 1489 land tax register, which clearly states that half of Łąkie paid tax to Kruszwica district, and the other half – to Inowrocław district.<sup>30</sup> Two-fold affiliation was determined only after we ascertained that Łąkie was taxed by both Kruszwica district in Brześć Voivodeship in Ostrów Parish, and Inowrocław district of Inowrocław Voivodeship in Rządkwini Parish. Łąkie's bifold affiliation is confirmed by 1553, 1577, 1581, 1582 and 1583 registers of the two parishes (Rządkwini and Ostrów).<sup>31</sup> In years when Łąkie appears in the records of just one parish, the number of taxed lans was always lower than in those registers which stipulated the tax paid on both village parts. The entry for 1570 is an exception to this rule: tax on eleven serf lans was paid only to Rządkwini Parish in Inowrocław district.<sup>32</sup> Several registers took note of tax paid by Łąkie only in one parish. Łąkie was classified as a village belonging to Rządkwini Parish in 1552, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1570, 1573 and 1576.<sup>33</sup> Łąkie fell solely within Ostrów Parish in 1557, 1567, 1579, 1580 and 1589.<sup>34</sup> So as to reflect this situation, the main map shows that Łąkie is a village situated on the border shared by Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships.

Łąkie is not the only proof that the formation of the border between Inowrocław and Brześć Voivodeships was a process. **Strzelno** is another case in point. The same 1489 land tax register states that this small town paid tax on both its parts – that belonging to Kruszwica district and that forming part of Inowrocław district.<sup>35</sup> Tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century consistently

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*dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku*, vol. 1: 1232–1550, Włocławek 1994, vol. 1: 1232–1550, p. 283; MRPS V/1, no. 965.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. K. Słomska-Przech, T. Panecki, *Geographical environment*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.1.6.

<sup>28</sup> Guldon, *Kujawy*, pp. 26, 65.

<sup>29</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.2.1.7.

<sup>30</sup> *Lustracja 1489*, p. 151: 'Lankye medietas' (here in Strzelno Parish, Kruszwica district); p. 170: 'Lankye, medietas cuius ad districtum Juniwladislaviensem pertinet.'

<sup>31</sup> ASK I 50, f. 842r; ASK I 29, f. 209v; ASK I 30, f. 279v; ASK I 29, f. 445r; ASK I 50, f. 704r; ASK I 30, f. 605v; ASK I 50, f. 674r, 638r; ASK I 30, f. 665; ASK I 50, f. 599r; ASK I 30, f. 728v.

<sup>32</sup> ASK I 50, f. 775v.

<sup>33</sup> ASK I 92, f. 8v; ASK I 50, ff. 549r, 726r, 753v, 775v, 791v, 808v.

<sup>34</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 334r, 410v, 503v, 594v; ASK I 30, f. 771r.

<sup>35</sup> *Lustracja 1489*, p. 151: 'Parochia Strelno opidum, in cuius medietate, que Crusviciensem spectat districtum'; p. 170: 'Item in medietate opidi Strelno, que ad districtum Juniwladislaviensem pertinent'.

class Strzelno as the property of the Norbertine Monastery in Strzelno, and take note of the taxes paid to Kruszwica district in Brześć Voivodeship.

These are not isolated cases. Administrative affiliation and border lines were also gradually established near the town of **Przedecz**.<sup>36</sup> Part of Przedecz Gord Starosty (incl. Kłodawa) was situated within Łęczyca Voivodeship.<sup>37</sup> Royal property inspections confirm this statement by listing Przedecz as one of the royal estates in Łęczyca, not Brześć.<sup>38</sup> Although the town was chartered under German law around the middle of the fourteenth century, the 1489 land tax inspection refers to Przedecz as *Wola Parzysz* in Boniewo Parish in Brześć Voivodeship in Cuyavia.<sup>39</sup> From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, tax registers consistently classify Przedecz as a town with its own parish, founded in Brześć Voivodeship.

The vicinity of **Pakość** also became the stage for shifts in voivodeship borders between the fourteenth and sixteenth century. In this case, sources note an administrative affiliation change from Gniezno district in Kalisz Voivodeship to Inowrocław district in Inowrocław Voivodeship. There is some ambiguity about the Cuyavia-Greater Poland border in this area. When the town was chartered under German law in 1359, it was stipulated that the settlement be established ‘in fundo sue ville Pakoscz in terra Cuyaviensi situuate’.<sup>40</sup> Pakość, however, is not to be found in the 1489 land tax register for Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships. In 1512, however, the settlement appeared in the list of Cuyavian towns where Brześć burghers were exempt from customs.<sup>41</sup> Sources fail to elucidate the matter, as files from 1520 on the case of Anna Krotowska of Kościelec and her dowry state that Pakość was a town (*oppidum*) situated in Gniezno district of Greater Poland. The same dowry encompassed numerous estates in Inowrocław and Gniezno districts, in part also in Pakość.<sup>42</sup> The 1534 and 1535 tax registers noted that Pakość paid municipal property tax in Gniezno district.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, court books from the 1540s provide information on its affiliation with Inowrocław district of Cuyavia.<sup>44</sup> Some entries suggest that in 1541, at the request of the town’s owner, King Sigismund Augustus moved Pakość to Inowrocław Voivodeship.<sup>45</sup>

**Mieszczk** (n) is an interesting example of a locality straddling two voivodeships and the Skrwa River. This settlement is mentioned in sources made in both Rypin district in Dobrzyń land, and Sierpc district in Płock Voivodeship. We placed two points on the main map for Mieszczk to differentiate between different settlement types: the Mieszczk of Dobrzyń land is a village held by nobility, recorded in all Rypin district tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. The village had an inn, but a mill was not mentioned. Masovian Mieszczk was a mill settlement with a hereditary mill. Both settlement names shared the same parochial affiliation—they belonged to Sierpc Parish (Sieprc, n), hence the presumption that Mieszczk could have been divided into two separate units. Still, it is infeasible to determine whether and when exactly such a division could have been introduced; the matter is resolved by neither the information gathered in the *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Płock Voivodeship in the Middle Ages* (SGH Płock), nor Adam Wolff’s files containing SGH Płock materials. Czaykowski enumerates two separate localities.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 110, 198.

<sup>37</sup> See: *ibidem* pp. 238–262 for more on the formation of the Cuyavia-Łęczyca border in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

<sup>38</sup> See: M. Słomski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements* [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.3.6; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 110–111.

<sup>39</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 98; cf. Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 109.

<sup>40</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 3, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1879, no. 1397.

<sup>41</sup> MRPS IV/2, no. 10284 = MK 26, f. 139r.

<sup>42</sup> MRPS IV/1, no. 3193 = MK 34, f. 210v.

<sup>43</sup> ASK I 12, ff. 396v, 497r.

<sup>44</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 1540: 830 (No. 1394) 1540. „M D. Janusz Latalski, Pozn. V. and Inowrocł. St.B., whole parts hered. of Pakość T. and Rybitwy V. in Inowrocł. D. and whole parts of suburbs of Pakość T. and Liutkowo [Ludkowo] and Bielawy Vs. in Gn. D. G. of Zofja Jaktorowska, wife of G. Sylwester of Kretkowo heir to Brześć for 3,000 zlotys (f. 368v); *ibidem*, 1548: 2044 (No. 213) 1548. M. Andrzej Krotoski, Inowrocław clan, whole Łobżenica T. and villages: Piessna Nakło D., Barcin Town and villages: Krotoszyno, Sadłogoszcz, Piekczyno, Mikołajkowo, Jankowo set., and part of villages: Lutkowo, Bielawy, Wierzejcze vac. in Gn. and Kc. Ds., and part of Pakość T. and villages: Rybitwy, Wielawieś both, Radłówko, Wierzbiczany in Inowroc., Ptur, Barczino in Bygd., he gives to his son Jan of the Rogoziński clan for perpetual usufruct (f. 131)”.

<sup>45</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, *Pakość. Miasto nad Notecią*, Toruń–Pakość 2013, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> Czaykowski, p. 625; cf. *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa płockiego w średniowieczu*, no. 3, comp. A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, Warszawa 1998, p. 190.

Information on voivodeship borders is complete with a discussion of **Mirosławice** Village, an exclave of Gniezno district (Kalisz Voivodeship) situated in Kruszwica district of Brześć Voivodeship. Mirosławice was mentioned in Gniezno district tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. On this basis, we identified this village as part of the Gniezno district administrative structure.<sup>47</sup>

Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land lower-rank administrative divisions were more complex. District borders were of much less formal nature, and less often overlapped with natural environment features. As a result, the administrative affiliation of some settlements was volatile or difficult to determine clearly on the basis of available sources.

One such example is **Arciszewo** (n) in Cuyavia. In the fifteenth century, inspectors registered two noble-held demesnes, Arciszewo Lasota and Arciszewo Krczonka, in Brześć district.<sup>48</sup> Next, the 1531 tax register lists Arciszewo Rozdziałowe and Arciszewo Pagowe as property held by the serfless gentry of Przedecz district.<sup>49</sup> Over subsequent years, the situation became even more complicated. The 1539 tax register recorded Arciszewo as part of Boniewo Parish in Brześć district, and Arciszewo Rozdziałowe in the census of serfless gentry in Przedecz district.<sup>50</sup> Later, the 1553 register notes that tax was paid in two instalments, and both payments are accompanied by information that Arciszewo formed part of Boniewo Parish in Brześć district;<sup>51</sup> the 1557 register confirms this administrative affiliation.<sup>52</sup> However, only a decade later, the 1567 tax register enumerates two settlements, Arciszewo Rozdziałowe and Arciszewo Długoszowe, in the list of serfless gentry in Przedecz district.<sup>53</sup> The 1577 register reflects the same state of affairs.<sup>54</sup> Yet two years later, when the next register was made, Arciszewo Rozdziałowe and Arciszewo Długoszowe were assigned to Boniewo Parish in Brześć district, only to return to the list of serfless gentry in Przedecz district in 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, and 1589.<sup>55</sup> In the second half of the seventeenth century, both Brześć and Przedecz district registers listed Arciszewo Rozdziałowe and Arciszewo Długoszowe. It was only in 1673 the latter was entered into the Brześć district register as *deserta*, and the tax was paid on the Arciszewo Długoszowe assigned to Przedecz district. Arciszewo Rozdziałowe was in a reverse position: it paid tax to Brześć district, and was listed as 'abandoned' in the Przedecz register.<sup>56</sup> A few references in post-visitation reports may suggest that these settlements enjoyed a small degree of independence. Eighteenth-century visitations refer to the villages of Arciszewo Maior and Arciszewo Minor, which renders their identification more troublesome.<sup>57</sup> The 1779 visitation sheds some new light on this matter, as it contains information on 'Wolka Paruszevska cum Jarciszewo Długoszowe deserta' and 'Jarciszewo Rozdziałowe villa.'<sup>58</sup> Czaykowski's 1783 *Regestr* and Perthées's map place Arciszewo in Brześć district.<sup>59</sup> The analysed sources covering the sixteenth century do not suffice to settle the issue of administrative affiliation, as it seems that the serfless gentry listed in the register lobbied in favour of the village being assigned to one of the districts. Later sources provide only a partial elucidation. Already in the eighteenth century, they class both villages as part of Brześć district. Devoid of unambiguous information in the second half of the sixteenth century, we assumed that the main map should show both said villages on the border shared by Brześć and Przedecz districts, with the Index reflecting alternative affiliations to Brześć or Przedecz district. This decision is backed by several arguments. First, the fact that the villages were entered into registers of serfless gentry. Second, eighteenth-century records clearly assigned the villages to Brześć district. The third reason behind this conclusion impacts the nature of this settlement's location. As mentioned above, one of the analysed villages was registered as Arciszewo Pagowe in the 1530s. Pagowo

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<sup>47</sup> Detailed information in: M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.1.4.

<sup>48</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 98.

<sup>49</sup> ASK I 29, f. 108r.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, ff. 166r, 187r.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, ff. 194v; ASK I 30, f. 269r.

<sup>52</sup> ASK I 29, f. 239r.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, f. 400v.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, f. 436v.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, ff. 466v, 591r, 602r; ASK I 30, ff. 654v, 715r, 761r. It ought to be underlined that the 1580 register must be approached with caution, as the pages of ASK book no. 29 have been mixed up.

<sup>56</sup> ASK I 65, 284v, 290v; ASK I 74, 844r, 850r.

<sup>57</sup> Wiz. 1711, f. 24; Wiz. 1725, f. 21; Wiz. 1760, f. 86; Repertorium 71, pp. 150, 215.

<sup>58</sup> Wiz. 1779, f. 23a; Repertorium 73, p. 312.

<sup>59</sup> Czaykowski, p. 839.

appeared twice in the 1630s as a separate locality, independent of Arciszewo. The 1634 hearth tax register referred to this settlement as Pągowo Grodzkiy in Zgłowiączka Parish,<sup>60</sup> and the 1639 visitation – as Pągowo in Boniewo Parish.<sup>61</sup> The latter constituted the last mention of this sort. Owing to the nature of the 1639 source, we should assume the parochial affiliation stated therein to be correct, and dismiss the location indicated in the hearth tax register as the effect of accepting payment from Grodzki (from Grójec?). One might suppose that Pągowo once constituted one of the two Arciszewo villages, and became independent for a short period of the seventeenth century. Pągowo's independence is indicated by the name of the settlement, as well as the information provided in Gilly, where Pągowo neighbours on Arciszewo from the north. This is the only mention of this locality identified in cartographic material. Pągowo was probably connected with Arciszewo Długoszowe, as the analysed source mentions make us consider this village to be equivalent with Arciszewo Pągowe. It follows from a later (1779) visitation that Arciszewo Długoszowe became deserted. As a result, one may assume that Arciszewo Demesne, visible in the WIG map, is tantamount to Arciszewo Rozdziałowe. Arciszewo Demesne (as the only settlement of this name) was entered into Table 1827.<sup>62</sup> Arciszewo Długoszowe (Pągowe) can be identified based on Perthées's map, however, the map fails to provide a precise location. Pągowo was also discerned, since an independent settlement was recorded under this name for a short while. As Pągowo is only mentioned in the years 1634–1639, it was not included in the main map.

A group of settlements on the border of the Cuyavian districts of Brześć and Radziejów can be held up as another example of administrative affiliation changes. In all likelihood, irregular shifts occurred near Drwalewo, Faliszewo, Powalkowice Wielkie, Powalkowice Małe, Sadług, Sadłużek and Torzewo in the seventeenth century. The 1489 land tax inspection registered six of those villages (save for Drwalewo) as part of Radziejów district in Witowo Parish.<sup>63</sup> Tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century carry all these villages under Brześć district. The district border is marked on the main map in line with those records. The 1634 hearth tax register lists Faliszewo and Drwalewo under Radziejów district, and the rest of the villages as part of Brześć district.<sup>64</sup> Further fluctuations took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the above listed villages were more often classed as units of Radziejów district.<sup>65</sup> The borders in Perthées's map place all these villages in Radziejów district.

Gąska and Tornuczka were two mills that operated in the discussed area. Both were listed in the 1598 visitation to Witowo Parish. These mills may be considered equivalent to the nameless mills listed in tax registers covering Sadług and Sadłużek Villages. Two nameless mills also appear in later visitations to Sadług, Sadłużek and Faliszewo. Their parochial affiliation formed the basis for establishing their administrative affiliation with Brześć district.

Jarantowice and Jarantowiczki are in an analogous position. In 1489, these villages were registered with Radziejów district,<sup>66</sup> but tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century place them in Brześć district. In the seventeenth century, both villages had the same administrative affiliation.<sup>67</sup> Similar changes in administrative affiliation between Radziejów and Brześć districts were observed for Borek Village (c, Orle Parish), which the 1634 hearth tax register classed as part of Radziejów district, although earlier sources assign them to Brześć district. Nagórki and Szalonki, assigned to Radziejów district in the 1489 land tax register, formed part of Brześć district in later sources.<sup>68</sup> Doubts concerning the administrative affiliation of Wola Zagajkowa resulted in assigning this village to Brześć district. The 1489 land tax register and Perthées's map class Wola Zagajkowa as a unit of Radziejów district.

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<sup>60</sup> Podymne 1634.

<sup>61</sup> ADWł, sygn. 0213/1, f. 114.

<sup>62</sup> *Tabella miast, wsi, osad, Królestwa Polskiego z wyrażeniem ich położenia i ludności alfabetycznie ułożona*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1827, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> Lustracja 1489, pp. 134–135: 'Item ville, que districtum Brzestensem spectant et ad suprascriptam parrochiam pertinent'.

<sup>64</sup> *Rejestr podymnego województwa brzesko-kujawskiego z 1634 r.*, ed. R. i Z. Guldonowie, PKHBTN, vol. 9, 1973, pp. 211–241.

<sup>65</sup> Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo powiatu radziejowskiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, series A: *Historia*, 1978, pp. 221–254.

<sup>66</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 106.

<sup>67</sup> Podymne 1634; R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu brzesko-kujawskiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, series E: *Kształtowanie środowiska*, 1985, p. 155.

<sup>68</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 136; for more on Szalonki Village cf. Z. Guldon *Osadnictwo powiatu radziejowskiego*, p. 250, where the author assigns this village to Radziejów district.

This village is listed in the 1531 tax register – in a deleted entry – under Brześć district, where it is placed by the 1673–1674 register as well.<sup>69</sup>

Several mills marked the course of district borders. One was situated in Orle and entered into 1531–1557 registers as part of Brześć district, although **Orle Village** (c) lay in Radziejów district.<sup>70</sup> We identified three mills on the border shared by Brześć and Przedecz districts, which were classed as part of Brześć district: the mill in Ryn Village (n) is listed under Brześć district in 1531–1557 registers,<sup>71</sup> despite the fact that the village belongs to Przedecz district; the mills in Kołatki (n) and Kucice (n) Villages mentioned in the 1557 register appear in Brześć district, while Kołatki mill settlement and Kucice Village appear in registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century as part of Przedecz district.<sup>72</sup>

Between Kowal and Brześć districts, the border witnessed changes *i.a.* near **Lutoborz Village**.<sup>73</sup> The 1489 land tax register lists this village under Kowal district, yet tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century place Lutoborz in Brześć district. It follows from the 1634 hearth tax register that Lutoborz was divided into two units of ownership: one in Kowal district, one in Brześć district. Other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century materials, including Perthées's map, place Lutoborz in Kowal district.<sup>74</sup> Owing to the administrative affiliation indicated in tax registers, the main map presents the village in Brześć district.

Determining administrative affiliation, and thus outlining borders in the second half of the sixteenth century, is sometimes complicated not only due to changes in legal status, but also owing to how individual localities were recorded in the sources we analysed. To give an example: 1577–1589 tax registers (save for the 1579 register) place **Nakonowski Młyn (Mill)** in Kowal district. This record can be found at the end of an entry about Kłótno Parish. At the same time, other sources assigned the mill to Nakonowo Village in Brześć district.<sup>75</sup> It is highly likely that Nakonowski Młyn was in fact the mill in Nakonowo, which is confirmed by the 1579 tax register.<sup>76</sup> Its entry on Nakonowo in Brześć district mentions a mill with two wheels – identical to the one placed in Nakonowski Młyn by other sources. At the same time, the entries made to the 1579 register on Kowal district do not contain any mention of Nakonowski Młyn. Nakonowo Village and its mill are also referred to in the 1639 visitation.<sup>77</sup> Later cartographic sources clearly stipulate that the Nakonowo mill did not constitute a separate spatial unit. Therefore, contrary to tax registers, the mill should be assigned to Nakonowo Village in Brześć district, and register entries ought to be construed as the effect of the mill being leased by a taxpayer residing in Kowal district.

**Żórawice** is another example of a village whose existence is insufficiently founded in source information. This locality was listed under Kowal district (in Wola Pierowa Parish) in 1577, 1580–1583, and 1589 tax registers as a village with *hortulani* (smallholders) and a windmill.<sup>78</sup> It ought to be assumed that the village fell prey to an error upon its entering into Kowal district records, and the data presented in Kowal sources refer to Żórawice Village in Przedecz district, Chodзец Parish, as this settlement appears in later tax registers and Church sources.<sup>79</sup> In registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, Żórawice in Przedecz district is mentioned only once in the 1579 register.<sup>80</sup> A village bearing this name is absent from the same source, which covers villages of Kowal district.

<sup>69</sup> ASK I 74, f. 875r.

<sup>70</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 198v, 207v, 208r, 247r, 257v, 258r, 259v; ASK I 30, ff. 271v, 278r, 278v.

<sup>71</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 198v, 277r; ASK I 30, f. 271v.

<sup>72</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 248v; 397v, 398v, 401v, 437r, 484v, 603r, 608v; ASK I 30, ff. 587v, 592r, 651v, 655r, 711v, 716r, 758v, 761v.

<sup>73</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 119.

<sup>74</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu kowalskiego w XVII–XVIII w.*, ZKD, series C: *Oświata i kultura*, 1980, p. 275–290.

<sup>75</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 93; ASK I 29, 86v, 91r, 120v, 125r, 157r, 164r, 177r; Podymne 1634, f. 84v; ASK I 74, 818v, 839r.

<sup>76</sup> ASK I 29, f. 462r.

<sup>77</sup> ADP, sign. 1639, f. 65.

<sup>78</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 430v, 623r; ASK I 30, ff. 581r, 646r, 705r, 754v; it should be added here that the 1583 entry (ASK I 30, f. 705r) informs of the tax paid on serf lans, yet the tax rate—compared with the contents of the universal—clearly shows that this is the tax on *hortulani*.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Z. Guldon, *Uwagi w sprawie przydatności badawczej rejestrów poborowych z XVI w.*, ZH, vol. 31, 1966, no. 1, pp. 73–79.

<sup>80</sup> ASK I 29, f. 485.

On this basis, we decided to draw the border between the districts, and to include Żórawice Village in Przedecz district.

Further doubts fuelled by ambiguous source data arise in the case of **Grażawy**, a settlement situated in the Dobrzyń land-Prussia borderlands. In keeping with the findings of Zenon Guldon and Jan Powierski, the village was chartered under German law in 1322. It served as the seat of the parish in Rypin Deanery established in the 1330s. In the early fifteenth century, the area where this village was situated (along with other neighbouring villages held by the Bishop of Płock) was referred to as the Teutonic Order's territory, which is probably the effect of some confusion in the past. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Teutonic Order received 200 lans in this village, but later on it was revealed that the village was the property of the Płock Bishop (and formed part of the Górzno set of property). To resolve the dispute, the Teutonic Order received rent from an identical surface of arable land in Księża Village.<sup>81</sup> Sixteenth-century tax registers of Dobrzyń land do not mention Grażawy. The village is also absent from the 1570 Prussian tax register covering Michałów. In MRP, Marian Biskup emphasizes that Łaszewo Village of Michałów belonged to Grażawy Parish situated in Dobrzyń land.<sup>82</sup> Guldon does not count Grażawy as an element of the Górzno set of property, a list which he formulated based on the 1595 inventory of assets held by the Płock Bishop. Guldon states that Grażawy (and other villages) belonged to Rypin Deanery only between 1506–1510.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, Grażawy Village (of Grażawy Parish) was mentioned in the 1597 visitation, which gives information on an abandoned church in a village of Rypin Deanery. By 1618, the church had been already staffed.<sup>84</sup> The village appears in the 1662 hearth tax register of Rypin district, and is placed in Księża Parish. The entry, however, is not clear – not only because a parish had been functioning earlier in Grażawy, but also because it was the only village listed under Księża Parish.<sup>85</sup> Perhaps this entry should be construed as information on a bishop's village added by the writer to a form created on the basis of earlier forms which had not contained mention of Grażawy. The village can be found in 1673 and 1674 poll tax registers,<sup>86</sup> whereby the latter source contains the annotation *Jankowo seu Grażawy* – despite the fact that only a year before Grażawy and Jankowo were listed separately, similarly as in the 1662 hearth tax register.<sup>87</sup> All in all, owing to its repetitive recording in fiscal sources, we decided to place Grażawy Village within the borders of Dobrzyń land in Rypin district.<sup>88</sup>

The mereology of individual borderland localities is one more factor influencing the course of territorial administration borders in the second half of the sixteenth century. Let us illustrate this meronymic relation with the example of the village (or part of the village) **Wilkowia** situated near two villages: Mysłakowo in Lipno district and Mysłakówko in Dobrzyń district in Dobrzyń land. Initially, Wilkowia was a separate village. Next, it became part of one of these two other villages. Still, it is infeasible to determine when it ceased to be a separate locality. Therefore, we class it as a settlement belonging to the Mysłakowski family.<sup>89</sup> Antoni Biliński states that, at least in the years 1564–1568, Wojciech Mysłakowski Świeszek was heir to Wilkowia. Biliński adds that he was 'heir to a part of Mysłakówek, that was called Wilkowja', but Wilkowia Village does not appear in tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. Biliński further informs that Wilkowia belonged to Ligowo Parish in Lipno district.<sup>90</sup> The 1609 visitation confirms such parochial affiliation of Wilkowia, as it lists the village under 'Villae Parochiales in Ereptione originali contentae', along with Mysłakowo.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 52, 151–152, 205; A. Bogucki, *Grody a osadnictwo drobnorycerskie w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, PH, t. 63, 1972, pp. 230; cf. W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś krzyżackich*, Lwów 1882, p. 86, where Grażawy was affiliated to Michałów Land based on fourteenth-c. mentions.

<sup>82</sup> MPK, [maps]; cf. Guldon, Dobrzyń, p. 15, footnote 2.

<sup>83</sup> Guldon, Dobrzyń, p. 7 (tab. 3), 22.

<sup>84</sup> ADP, sign. 2, Akta wizytacji z 1597, f. 35.

<sup>85</sup> ASK I 65, f. 315.

<sup>86</sup> ASK I 73, f. 103r; *ibidem*, f. 165r.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 314r.

<sup>88</sup> Czaykowski, p. 462.

<sup>89</sup> ADP, sign. 6, Akta wizytacji z 1609, f. 345; P. Mysłakowski, [review] Piotr Galkowski, *Genealogia ziemiaństwa ziemi dobrzyńskiej XIX i XX w.*, Rypin 1997, PH, vol. 89, 1998, no. 2, p. 317.

<sup>90</sup> A. Biliński, *Szlachta Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej za ostatnich Jagiellonów. Studium historyczno-heraldyczne*, comp. Z. Wdowi-szewski, Warszawa 1932, pp. 116–117.

<sup>91</sup> ADP, sign. 6, Akta wizytacji z 1609, p. 345.

The problem lies in the fact that the same visitation lists both villages also as localities affiliated with Tłuchowo Parish.<sup>92</sup> Conversely, Mysłakówko is absent from both entries on these parochial villages, but is carried in Dobrzyń district tax registers under Tłuchowo Parish. It could be that Mysłakówko and Wilkowiec should be considered to constitute one settlement (*i.e.* one should go beyond stressing their meronymic interdependency). Still, this approach is not confirmable, as both names could have been used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, should one adopt Biliński's findings. Thus, the decision was made in favour of Wilkowiec's independence. The border passes between Lipno and Dobrzyń districts, encircling the village within Dobrzyń district – as indicated by information on the administrative affiliation of Mysłakówko.

The main map shows the capitals of both Cuyavian voivodeships (Brześć and Inowrocław) and Dobrzyń land (Dobrzyń), as well as the capitals of fiscal districts. In Brześć Voivodeship these were Brześć, Kowal, Kruszwica, Przedecz, Radziejów, and in Inowrocław Voivodeship: Bydgoszcz and Inowrocław. The map also presents the following as seats of Dobrzyń land districts: Dobrzyń (also capital of Dobrzyń land), Lipno, and Rypin. We also marked the **seats of gord starostas** on the main map. Cuyavia also had cities which served as district seats: Brześć, Kowal, Kruszwica, Przedecz, Radziejów, Bydgoszcz, and Inowrocław. The seat of the gord starosta situated in Dobrzyń land and covering all of Dobrzyń land was situated in Bobrowniki, and the seats of Dobrzyń fiscal districts doubled as seats of non-gord starostas.

Cuyavian **land dietines** (*sejmik ziemski*) convened in Radziejów.<sup>93</sup> Lipno was where the Dobrzyń land dietine gathered.<sup>94</sup> This information is presented on the main map. The main map also marks the **seats of castellans**. As determined by senatorial precedence, these were (starting with the most important): the greater castellans of Brześć and Inowrocław, and the minor castellans of Dobrzyń, Bydgoszcz, Kruszwica, Kowal, Rypin, and Słońsk. Naturally, the voivodes of Brześć and Inowrocław sat on the Senate.<sup>95</sup>

The dietine passed constitutions to specify where the nobility was to **present its readiness to serve** (*okazowanie szlachty*). In the case of Cuyavia, these acts of law regularly sent the nobility to the voivodeship capitals of Brześć and Inowrocław. Inspections of Dobrzyń nobility were carried out in Lipno.<sup>96</sup>

(2021)

Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak

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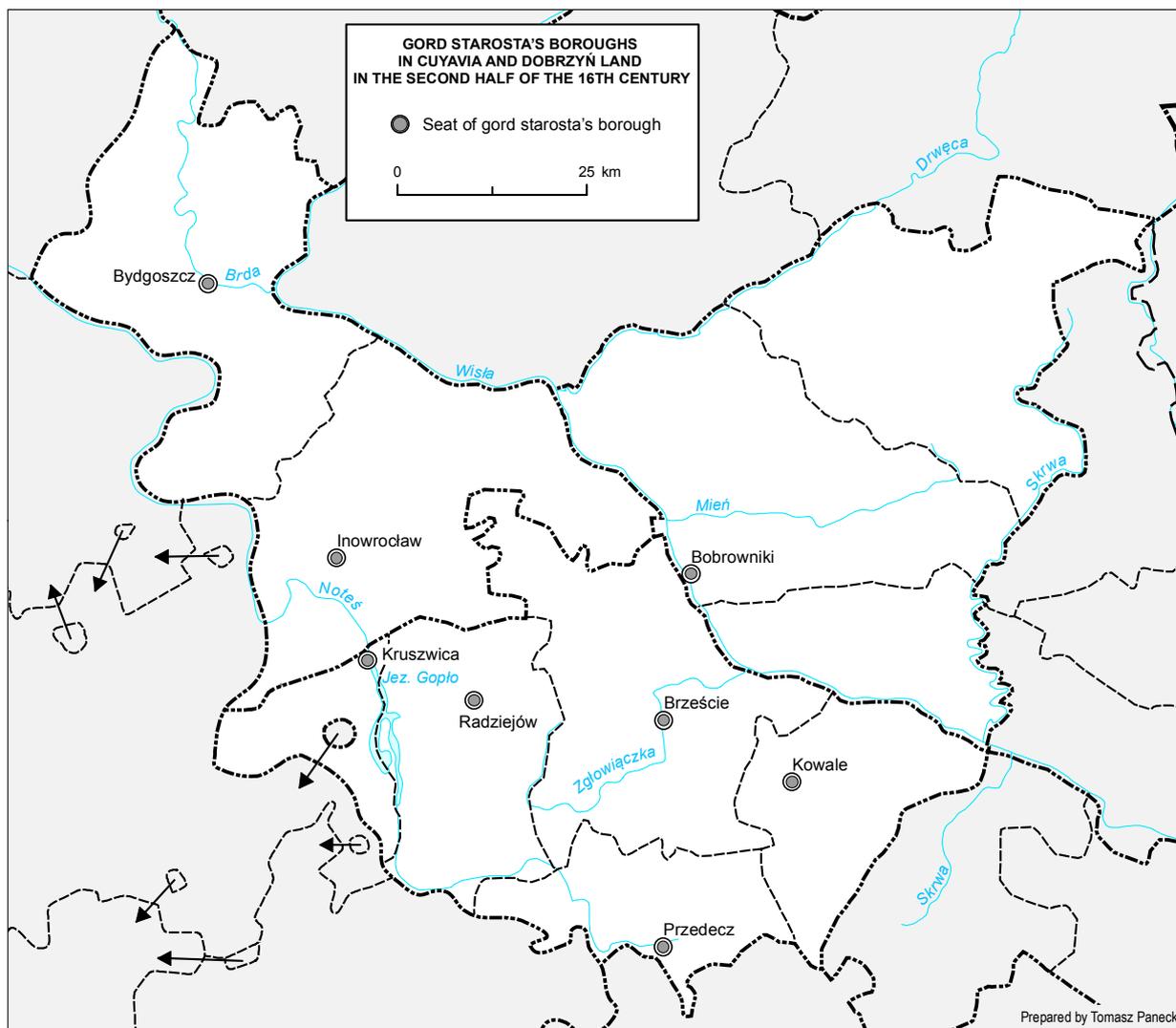
<sup>92</sup> Ibidem, f. 348v.

<sup>93</sup> VL, vol. 1, p. 167; Urzędnicy VI/2, p. 8.

<sup>94</sup> VC, vol. 2, part 1, p. 203; (cf. VL, vol. 1, p. 641); J. Siemiński *Organizacja sejmiku Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*, p. 6; W. Kriegseisen, *Sejmiki Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1991, p. 29.

<sup>95</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 93 (778); cf. Urzędnicy VI/2, p. 11.

<sup>96</sup> 1563: VL, vol. 2, p. 28; 1587: *ibidem*, 229; 1607 ('in those places, places where particular Dyetines [are held]'): *ibidem*, p. 438; 1620 ('in those places where particular Dyetines [are held]'): VL, vol. 3, p. 176.



**Map 1. Gord starosties in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the 16th century**

### III.2.1.7 MAZOVIA

*Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*

In the sixteenth century the territory of Mazovia was divided into three voivodeships, which differed significantly in size. The voivodeships formed as a result of the gradual incorporation of Mazovian duchies to the Crown. Some lands were created earlier, as a result of the political division of ducal Mazovia and the organization of land courts of the nobility in the fourteenth century. Districts (*powiats*), i.e. smaller judicial units emerged in almost every land of Mazovia. High fragmentation of lands and districts, caused by the long-lasting political autonomy, numerous divisions into small ducal districts, and – above all – by the growing number of petty gentry, remained the characteristic feature of Mazovia.

Apart from their role in the judiciary system, districts also constituted an important part of the fiscal structure, as centres for the collection of state taxes and administration, e.g. for calling the general levy (*pospolite ruszenie*). The population of royal and Church estates did not come under the authority of land courts, yet it benefited from other functions of the districts, thus contributing to the consolidation of their territory and boundaries.<sup>1</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, the borders of the districts had usually already been stabilized, and any change required the king's decree. Certain extraterritoriality of areas dominated by the Church or royal property (e.g. Zagajnica Forest) was probably the result of the original, judicial character of districts. Church estates were granted judicial immunity. For instance, the estates of the archbishop of Gniezno in Rawa Voivodeship were listed in tax registers among lands, not districts.<sup>2</sup>

Tax registers, when possible verified against other sources, comprised the general basis for the reconstruction of the course of voivodeship, land and district borders.

Range and – hypothetical – linear boundaries of the smallest unit of Church administration, parishes, served as a starting point for the reconstruction of the administrative borders, both Church and State, on the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century.

Two types of sources were used during the reconstruction of parochial borders: sources of Church origin in the first place (parish visitations, parish foundation documents, etc.), and fiscal sources, in which taxes were registered in the following pattern: voivodeship, land, district, parish.<sup>3</sup>

Even though the general outline of the parochial network in Mazovia had already been formed in the course of the fifteenth century,<sup>4</sup> in the sixteenth century the development continued. It can be

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<sup>1</sup> Wolff, p. 11–16; A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce XIV–XVI w.*, Poznań 1965 (Prace Komisji Historycznej PTPN, vol. 21, no. 2), reviewed by T. Lalik, KH, 1966, no. 3, pp. 703–706; J. Bardach, *Powiat w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej*, CPH, vol. 19, 1967, no. 2, pp. 142–143.

<sup>2</sup> Introducing the more general comparative material, we should emphasize that since the middle of the sixteenth century one can discern a general trend in the Republic's legislation to stabilize and revise the borders, starting from State borders (cf. VL, vol. 2, f. 596, §30), and finishing with district borders. It is also worth emphasizing that in 1589, when the district borders of Braclaw district were being defined, it was clearly stated that the border encompassed both: royal estates and the estates of the nobility (VL, vol. 2, p. 371).

<sup>3</sup> Apart from the generally known tax registers, there survived a register of Warsaw land from 1563 mentioning the parochial arrangement, ASK O I 27, f. 208.

<sup>4</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, K. Pacuski, W. Pałucki, H. Rutkowski, *Problèmes de l'histoire de l'Église dans l'Atlas Historique de la Pologne du XVI siècle sur l'exemple de la Mazovie*, in: Colloque de Varsovie, 27-29 octobre 1971, sur la cartographie et l'histoire socio-religieuse de l'Europe jusqu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle, Louvain 1974 (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 61).

seen in the increase of the number of parochial churches, particularly in the areas of newer settlement, still undergoing colonization and organization. Therefore the fiscal sources had to be used in a critical manner during the reconstruction of parochial borders. For some regions the parochial visitations from the sixteenth century are incomplete, thus we had to resort to retrogression in order to reconstruct the range of a given parish.

An obvious advantage of having fiscal sources is the fact that they encompass the entire territory of our interest, but they require a more critical approach to their credibility. Additionally, the data they provided had to be updated with information regarding the foundation of new parochial churches, as the collectors usually copied the pattern from old book forms, which depicted the state from the beginning of the sixteenth century, omitting parishes erected in the meantime. Also, the registers often grouped settlements belonging to the king or the Church in keys of property within the entire district of the county or even the land, without specifying their parochial affiliation. Similar cases had to be verified against later materials: fiscal sources from the seventeenth century (hearth and poll tax) and the eighteenth century (hearth tax rates from 1789–1790), and Church sources from the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, as the parochial network of Mazovia survived almost unchanged until the second half of the nineteenth century, we sometimes resorted to cartographic sources and dictionaries from the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In case of further doubts, we signed the parochial affiliation in the List of settlements with an alternative: *par.x* or *par.y*.

The parochial borders were interpolated after the settlements, which belonged to a given parish in the sixteenth century, were determined and marked on the map at a scale of 1:100,000. In the cases of areas uninhabited in the sixteenth century situated between two or more parishes, a schematic borderline was controlled against the forest range marked on old cartographic records from the eighteenth–nineteenth century, and the parochial affiliation of settlements founded between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century, assuming they were subject to the parochial law of the Church, to which the area where they were erected had belonged in the past. The hypothetical sixteenth century border was compared with modern borders of communes and communities (*gromada*), with which it was identified in justified cases.

The higher-rank borders of Church administration (deaneries, archdeaconries and dioceses), as well as borders of districts, lands, and the voivodeship were determined on the basis of parochial borders marked at a scale of 1:100,000. District affiliation of individual settlements situated near the border was thoroughly checked, especially when the parish was divided between several units of State administration.

The main framework of Mazovian district division was accepted as a legacy of the ducal period. The changes, which occurred in the sixteenth century, only concerned the isolation of four new districts (of Sierpc around 1538, of Garwolin in 1539, of Radziłów in 1548, and of Serock in 1567), which however did not fulfil any fiscal role during the entire sixteenth century, apart from the district of Serock, where tax was exceptionally collected in 1591 and distinguished in the lan tax register from the taxes collected in the districts of Zakroczym and Nowe Miasto. It should also be mentioned that Biała district in Rawa Mazowiecka Voivodeship fulfilled probably only a fiscal role and played no part in tax recording in the sixteenth century, in contrast to the districts of Gąbin and Mszczonów, which appeared (although rarely and inconsistently) in register forms of the lands of Gostynin and Sochaczew in the examined period.

The example of the sixteenth century Mazovia shows us that the relation between a district and royal or Church estates was closer in areas, where the settlement was older, as well as in districts which had a longer tradition. Tax registers are quite consistent in their division of the estates of Płock bishopric and royal estates of this territory – which had a long settlement history – between the districts of Nur and Kamieniec. And likewise – we encountered severe difficulties while reconstructing district borders, resulting from various discrepancies in the data recorded in different types of sources concerning district affiliation of settlements situated in the borderlands of the newly-created districts in the sixteenth century, like Serock and Radziłów, as well as in the areas newly-colonized, where there were also complexes of royal property. The same difficulties occur in these areas also during the reconstruction of the borders of lands, which certainly were an administrative unit.

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<sup>5</sup> Taryfy 1789–1790; Czaykowski.

<sup>6</sup> Table 1827; SGKP.

It seems that the border was defined precisely only by the new settlement in woodland areas – such as between the lands of Liw, Nur, and Warsaw. In uncertain cases, district affiliation was determined by means of retrogression on the basis of the sources from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially K. Perthées's map, and hearth tax rates from 1789–1790.

**The outer border of Mazovia** in the sixteenth century constituted the political border of the Mazovian fiefdom before it was incorporated into the Crown. In the north it was identical with the State border, i.e. the border between the Crown and the fiefdom of the Duchy of Prussia. The fragment of the border between Mazovia and Podlasie was also the border of the State until 1569. After the Union of Lublin it remained only a borderline between the Voivodeships of Mazovia and Podlasie. Mazovia bordered also on Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, Cuyavia, the land of Dobrzyń and the Kingdom of Prussia.

**The border between Mazovia and other lands of the Crown** was reconstructed after the settlement of the three Voivodeships: Mazovia, Rawa and Płock, was marked on the map at a scale of 1:100,000. The strip of lands surrounding Mazovia was also charted, and the settlements from the parishes which bordered on Mazovia were placed on the working maps. These settlements were located in the following voivodeships and lands: Lublin Voivodeship (land of Łuków), Sandomierz Voivodeship (districts of Stężyca, Radom and Opoczno), Łęczyca Voivodeship (districts of Brzeziny, Orłów and Łęczyca), Cuyavia Voivodeship (the district of Kowal), Dobrzyń land (districts of Dobrzyń, Lipno and Rypin), and the Voivodeship of Chełmno (land of Michałowo). The neighbouring territories were charted on the basis of tax registers, published in subsequent volumes of 'Źródła Dziejowe' (*Polska XVI wieku*).

The line demarcating Mazovian settlements from other settlements, situated in neighbouring Crown lands, (after its course was controlled and possible differences between the sixteenth and eighteenth century state were explained with help of Perthées's maps) was accepted as the border of Mazovia inside the Republic.

The lack of sources allowing us to control the course of the borderline with the range of Prussian settlement at the close of the sixteenth century forced us to apply a different method in order to determine the course of **the fragment of the State border between Mazovia and the Duchy of Prussia**.<sup>7</sup> The method used was retrogression, based on the assumption that the border was linear, stable and did not run between the lands of Mazovia from the lands of the Order in the fourteenth century and the period in which the course of the borderline could be read from the cartographic sources. We can support this assumption with the following argument: the separation of Mazovia from the lands of the Order was conducted in areas poorly inhabited at the time.<sup>8</sup> The colonization of these territories from the Prussian side began in fact no sooner than the fifteenth century, and on the Mazovian side still at the close of the sixteenth century long fragments of the border ran through the forest. This being said, the linear border between Prussia and Mazovia probably stabilized already in the fifteenth century, or even earlier, as attested by numerous entries in Mazovian court books concerning border marks with Prussia.<sup>9</sup> A similar course of the border is proven by the fact that certain border elements, listed both in the fourteenth century documents and in the sixteenth century sources, are identical (such as the River Orzyc, or the River Łek – although for short stretches). Relative stabilization of the border did not, however, mean that it remained unchanged. We find records mentioning the appointment of various committees to define the border between the Duchy of Prussia and the Voivodeships of Mazovia and Podlasie in the constitutions of the Sejm from the first half of the seventeenth century. These traces provide a testimony that there were some controversial parts of the border between

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<sup>7</sup> J. Małek, *Granice państwowe, kościelne i administracyjne Prus Książęcych w XVI wieku*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, 1966, no. 1(91), p. 131.

<sup>8</sup> Records from the first half of the fourteenth century concerning the course of the border between Mazovia and the lands of the Teutonic Order define the same border area, based on the physiographic elements of the territory: forests and rivers. One of these records uses the term *signa* to denote the border marks, and at the same time emphasizes that these marks were not permanent (Preussisches Urkundenbuch, vol. 2, 882, documents from 1314–1335; vol. 3, no. 1, 417; no. 2, no. 613, 616, 617, documents from 1343). The settling of the borderline delineated between the Order and Mazovia could be confirmed by the fact that in the fourteenth–fifteenth century the colonization of the borderland woodland areas on Prussian side was supervised by the officials from the Order, even though the settlers came mostly from the Polish Mazovia (W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś krzyżackich*, Lwów 1882, pp. 225–226, 309–331, 331–357, 384–404, 420–448, 448–467).

<sup>9</sup> Wolff, pp. 15–16.

Prussia and Mazovia at the time.<sup>10</sup> Minor changes in the course of the border, caused by ownership relations within individual villages, are also noted in various sources from the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

While reconstructing the border with other lands of the Crown, some difficulties arose in the case of the border with **Podlasie**. These were related to the high number of controversial points attested to in the sixteenth century. In 1546, the royal commissioners of the Crown, appointed by Sigismund Augustus, prepared a document containing both testimonies and complaints of the owners of borderland estates, the list of title deeds to estates situated near the border, and finally, the description of various alternative versions of the borderlines, provided by both sides: Poland and Lithuania.<sup>12</sup> The document was meant as a project forming a basis for a future decision on the exact course of the border. Although the decision was not delivered separately, it is usually accepted, that the result of the commissioners' work from 1546 was validated over time.<sup>13</sup>

The comparison of the 1546 border between the Great Duchy of Lithuania and Mazovia with the range of Mazovian and Podlasiian settlement, reconstructed on the basis of tax registers from the end of the sixteenth century,<sup>14</sup> allows us to observe that the border moved back to the west significantly; still in the first half of the sixteenth century it reached territories situated east of the River Biebrza.<sup>15</sup> The changes were particularly prominent in the forks of the Rivers Biebrza and Narew.

Given the above, the Mazovian border at the close of the sixteenth century was drawn on the basis of the range of the settlement at the time, with the following assumptions: firstly, the demarcation conducted in 1546 was not valid, and secondly, in the sixteenth century, border arguments between the inhabitants of Mazovia and Podlasie could each be settled by a court verdict, such as the regulation of the border between Niwiska and Wołyńce, which lasted throughout the sixteenth century on the Mazovian side, and between Chodów and Siedlce on the Podlasiian side, where the borderline was set on the River Żytunia;<sup>16</sup> thirdly, the records of taxes collected in controversial borderline settlements from the tax registers of Mazovia or Podlasie from the end of the sixteenth century became our basis for determining the course of the border between these voivodeships. Thus, we assumed that the division of competences between land offices of the voivodeships Mazovia and Podlasie was appropriate.<sup>17</sup>

The reconstruction of the border in peripheral regions, where the settlement was scattered, was particularly problematic in the case of the area separating the Mazovian complex of estates belonging to the chapter of Warsaw from the estates of Podlasiian nobility from Lipki and Maliszewo. The arguments lasted here throughout the sixteenth century. In the middle of the sixteenth century this fragment of the borderline still remained undefined. Old ownership marks on trees with wild beehives (as the arguments concerned woodland area) were destroyed during the clearings, which were extremely intense at the time, and connected with the production and export of forest goods from the chapter's estates.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The constitutions from 1607 (VL, vol. 2, p. 444), 1609 (ibidem, p. 467), 1611 (VL, vol. 3, p. 14), 1613 (ibidem, p. 91), 1616 (ibidem, p. 144).

<sup>11</sup> There is an entry in the inspection of the village Dąbrowa, which bordered on the village Pruskie Rozłogi. It offers a testimony of small shifts of the border between Prussia and Mazovia: 'Along with all its grounds it neighbours on Prussia, and some of its grounds were in the past given to the village called Pruskie Rozłogi' (Lustracja starostwa ostrołęckiego 1789 r., AGAD XLVI 166, f. 9/307).

<sup>12</sup> AD 1546. *Descriptio finium, iniuriarum et differentiarum subditorum SRM Magni Ducatus Lituaniae et Masoviae occasione finium utrinque exortarum...*, [in:] Dogiel.

<sup>13</sup> L. Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August wielki książę Litwy do roku 1548*, Lwów 1913, pp. 272–276.

<sup>14</sup> Podlasie I, cf. also Podlasie II, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> The lands given to Bożejewo (1436), Brzostowo (1536), Mocarze Dąbrówka with both banks of the Biebrza, see Dogiel 1758, p. 4; the lands given to Targonie (1513) with both banks of the River Ślina, cf. Dogiel and AGAD, Kapiciana, no. 58.

<sup>16</sup> Year 1509, MRPS IV/1, no. 603; year 1609, VL, vol. 2, p. 394.

<sup>17</sup> In 1546 the village Trzciana was divided between Lithuania and Mazovia ('via per medium praedictae villae Trzciana, quam inter Ducatus praefatos rivulus quidam illic oriundus usque ad montem dividit,' Dogiel, p. 3). In the end of the sixteenth century the village paid taxes in Bielsk district in Podlasie Voivodeship (Podlasie I pp. 118, 155). We have no data about the payment of lan tax from Wola Dobarska, situated in 1546 in a controversial area between Mazovia and Podlasie, but in 1571 Dobarz Forest was included in the starosta's district of Goniądz (ibidem, p. 178), and at the same time the coniferous forest Dobarz was inspected in Podlasie Voivodeship (LWP 1570, 1576, p. 142 and footnote 284, p. 123). Schoczowie is a village Szorce Cibarzewo, which in 1580 paid tax in Bielsk district in Podlasie Voivodeship (Podlasie I, p. 118). About the village Zayki Bykowiec it could be said at least that the village Zajki paid tax in 1580 and in 1591 in Tykocin parish, Bielsk district (ibidem p. 120, 154). We were unable to identify Bykowiec, but it is not village Byki in Kulesze parish (ibidem, pp. 100, 201).

<sup>18</sup> Ulanowski, *Acta coll. Vars.*, no. 3, p. 35 and no. 59, p. 61, from 1521–1526.

Particularly fierce border arguments in this area, (with cases of Podlasiian nobles murdering the chapter's serfs), resulted in several instances of demarcation between 1526 and 1551.<sup>19</sup> Except for the names of two Rivers – Kołodziej and Ugoszcz, the documents of the demarcation committee did not, however, contain any names of topographical elements, which would survive to this day, and could allow us a precise reconstruction of this boundary line.<sup>20</sup> Therefore this fragment of the border was based on its eighteenth century course presented on Perthées's map from 1789–1791.<sup>21</sup>

There were no further difficulties in determining the course of Mazovian borders with other lands of the Crown. The short fragment of the border with **Lublin Voivodeship**, at the junction with **the district of Liw and Łuków land** was treated differently in this work than in LV, because of the localization of several Mazovian settlements: Dropie, Domanie, and Bębenek, attested to by the unpublished tax register from 1578.

In woodland areas the reconstructed border between Mazovia and the lands of the Crown is more hypothetical, for instance along the border with Sandomierz Voivodeship. This border was violated by the nobles from Radom district in the fifteenth century, who cleared and appropriated portions of land (*włóki*) in Stromecka Forest, which belonged to Mazovia.<sup>22</sup>

It must be emphasized that the map of Mazovia introduces certain changes in **the border between Mazovia and Cuyavia** in comparison to Z. Guldon's publication.<sup>23</sup> These changes are minor, usually linear, resulting from our method of work, namely the fact we based fragments of borderline on administrative borders from the eighteenth–twentieth century. Unlike Z. Guldon's work, the map of Mazovia ascribes two borderland villages Piotrowo and Rębowo, and part of the village Górka in Białotarsk parish to Gostynin district. All these villages were incorrectly placed in Cuyavia by the said author.<sup>24</sup>

The area of Mazovia in the sixteenth century, within the reconstructed borderlines, was 33,493 km<sup>2</sup>. The difference between our measurements and those obtained by A. Pawiński can be explained by the higher precision of modern maps, on which we based our calculations,<sup>25</sup> and the fact we included a greater variety of sources in our work, what allowed us to determine the number of known sixteenth century Mazovian settlements on 6,679, which is some 600 settlements more. Part of these settlement lay in the borderlands of Mazovia and could, perhaps, broaden the range of the voivodeship.<sup>26</sup>

Moving towards the description of the reconstructed borders within Mazovia, we provide a list of all lands and districts in all three voivodeships, which offers a general orientation as to their range, as well as the administrative structure of Mazovia in the sixteenth century. There were 10 lands and 27 districts in the Voivodeship of Mazovia, two lands and eight districts in the Voivodeship of Płock, and three lands and six districts in the Voivodeship of Rawa. Altogether, there were 15 lands and 41 districts inside Mazovia.<sup>27</sup>

The map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century reconstructs the borders, marks the central points of lands and districts, as well as seats of gord starosta's districts<sup>28</sup> and castellanies.<sup>29</sup> It also identifies

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, no. 3, p. 35 (Rażny Lipki year 1517); and no. 104, pp. 30, 123, pp. 33, 124 p. 33 (Kołodziej – Lipki 1526), no. 46, p. 54; cf. MK 80, f. 47v; MRPS, V/2, no. 5346.

<sup>20</sup> Apart from the River Kołodziej mentioned in the committee document (Dogiel, pp. 19–20), and the River Ugoszcz mentioned in the document, which defined the border between the grounds of Kołodziej and Lipki in 1551, the following border marks were taken into consideration: the meadows called 'Roschewskie', the forest called 'Panów Kąth', the old oak called 'Trup', and the road from Węgrów to Rażny (MK 80 f. 45–47v).

<sup>21</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Mazovia.

<sup>22</sup> LM 1565, part 1, p. 59, Zbąski from Wierzchowiny in Radom district.

<sup>23</sup> Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej na Kujawach w II poł. XVI w.*, Toruń 1964.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, pp. 25, 65 and map. All settlements listed above pay tax in Gostynin district, so in Mazovia, throughout the sixteenth century. Z. Guldons justification concerning the affiliation of Górki village to Kowal district seems only partially grounded, because this village paid land tax in the fifteenth century and lan tax in the sixteenth century for part of their lans in the Voivodeship of Brześć, and for the remaining lans – in Mazovia (Lustracja 1489, p. 121; P. Mazowsze, p. 196, P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, p. 19). The source quoted by the author, referring to Piotrów and Rembów villages, confirms the affiliation of these villages to Włocławek diocese, but does not specify the district.

<sup>25</sup> Pawiński conducted his measurements on the Quartermaster's Map at a scale 1:126,000, and obtained the result 31,847.26 km<sup>2</sup>. P. Mazowsze, introduction, p. 5; see Annex I – the administrative structure and area of Mazovia.

<sup>26</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>27</sup> Compare with Annex I – the administrative structure and area of Mazovia, and P. Mazowsze, introduction, pp. 4–5.

<sup>28</sup> In Płock Voivodeship – Płock, in Rawa Voivodeship – Rawa, Gostynin and Sochaczew, in Mazovian Voivodeship: Warsaw, Czernsk, Wizna, Wyszogród, Zakroczym, Ciechanów, Łomża, Rożan, Liw, Nur.

<sup>29</sup> Płock, Raciąż, Sierpc, Rawa, Sochaczew, Gostynin, Czernsk, Warsaw, Ciechanów, Zakroczym, Wyszogród, Wizna, Liw.

places where the general<sup>30</sup> and particular<sup>31</sup> *sejmiks* (dietines) gathered, but does not mark places where land courts were held, as they were usually district centres.

The northern **border of Rawa Voivodeship**, at the junction with the voivodeships of Płock and Mazovia, ran along the Vistula and in the sixteenth century left the river only for short sections near Dobrzyków, Troszyn,<sup>32</sup> and Kamion.

The villages Troszyn and Dobrzyków (both parochial seats) consistently paid taxes in Płock Voivodeship, as did other villages in these parishes – to the collectors from Gostynin land.<sup>33</sup> This is confirmed by inspection sources: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Troszyn was inspected, as a royal village, by the inspectors from Płock Voivodeship, not from the Voivodeship of Rawa.<sup>34</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Kamion and Przeclawice (both royal villages), situated on the left bank of the Vistula, paid taxes in Wyszogród land, and were inspected in 1565 in Mazovian Voivodeship.<sup>35</sup>

Such a state of affairs – originating probably from the fact that these villages were connected, in terms of ownership, with estate complexes in the Voivodeships of Płock and Mazovia<sup>36</sup> – survived until the third quarter of the eighteenth century<sup>37</sup> and was the reason for which, probably by mistake, the neighbouring villages in the district of Gąbin were ascribed in fiscal registers either to Płock Voivodeship, or to Mazovian Voivodeship. And so, the village Grabie in Dobrzyków parish paid the 1564 tax to the district of Płock (probably because it lay close to Dobrzyków), and Młodzieszyn – a parochial centre at the time – which neighboured on Kamion parish, was ascribed in 1576 to Wyszogród district and Wyszogród parish by the collectors from Mazovian Voivodeship.

**The border between Płock Voivodeship and Mazovian Voivodeship** divided several settlements, namely: Bodzanowo (leaving the town in Wyszogród district, but placing the suburb in Płock district), and the villages: Gąsowo, Mąkolino (between the districts of Płock and Wyszogród), and Gardlino Racibory (of which part lay in the district of Mława, and another belonged to the district of Przasnysz).

**The border between Mazovian Voivodeship and the Voivodeship of Rawa Mazowiecka** divided the village of Grzegorzewice between Sochaczew land and Tarczyn district.<sup>38</sup> A small shift of this border occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century, when by royal decree of 1558 the village Darnów was moved from Biała district in Rawa land to the district of Grójec in the land of Czersk, Mazovian Voivodeship.<sup>39</sup>

Our description of the borders of lands and districts is limited here to a commentary on fragments particularly difficult to reconstruct: insufficiently documented in the sixteenth century materials, or changing and fluid still in the sixteenth century. To simplify matters, we maintain the order in which we describe district borders inside individual voivodeships and lands, for methodological reasons beginning with Mazovian Voivodeship, as this was a territory of relatively late colonization, where the problems in determining the course of the borders were particularly visible.

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<sup>30</sup> Raciąż, Bolimów, Warsaw.

<sup>31</sup> Raciąż, Rawa, Sochaczew, Gąbin, Czersk, Warsaw, Wizna, Wyszogród, Zakroczym, Ciechanów, Łomża, Rożan, Liw, Nur.

<sup>32</sup> Compare with WP, where it was signalled as a hypothesis (additional page added during the printing).

<sup>33</sup> Troszyn in examined years (1551, 1552–1553, 1567, 1578) paid tax in Płock district, Słupno parish; tax registers from Gąbin district note in 1563 and 1564 Trossin ad Ploczk attinet; similarly in the seventeenth century poll tax register from 1673 and 1674 Troszyn sola ad Płock. Dobrzykowo village in the same years paid tax in Płock district, Imielnica parish, and in the registers from Gąbin district we find analogous cases in 1563, 1564 and 1565 Dobrzykow sola ad Ploczk.

<sup>34</sup> See LP, pp. 10–11 (1565); pp. 40–41 (1570); p. 61–62 (1616) and other.

<sup>35</sup> LM 1565, vol. 2, p. 207.

<sup>36</sup> As confirmed e.g. by the 1472 privilege, which bestowed Mikołaj Dołęga, the Court Marshall, with a ducal village Dobrzyków, which belonged to Płock along with two banks of the Vistula and an old crossing. The privilege was granted already after Gostynin land was incorporated into the Crown in 1462 (MK, no. 6, f. 225–225v). The document specifies Dobrzyków as belonging to Gostynin land. However, we must remember that the privilege was granted by the duke Casimir III. If the village had indeed belonged to Gostynin land, the duke of Płock would not have had the right to decide on the lands of the Crown.

<sup>37</sup> The 1775 Sejm incorporated six villages to Gąbin district: ‘To satisfy the heir and possessors of the estates situated by the Vistula, dividing Płock Voivodeship from Gostynin land, the following villages: Kamion, Troszyn, Dobrzyków, Tokary, Radziwie, Popłacin, Brwilno, and Górki, which belongs solely to the nobility, shall be incorporated into Gąbin district’ (VL, vol. 8, p. 164). The fulfilment of this decision is clearly seen in the 1789 inspection: ‘Troszy. This village used to belong to Płock Voivodeship, but by the 1775 constitution it was incorporated into Rawa Voivodeship, Gostynin land’, LR 1789, p. 238.

<sup>38</sup> Also the Inspections in the Warsaw archive from 1598–1603 confirm the division of the village between two parishes: Mszczonów and Lutkówka.

<sup>39</sup> MRPS, V/2, no. 8538; MK 91, f. 577v.

**The border of Ciechanów land** consists of outer fragments of the borders of three districts belonging to this land: the districts of Ciechanów, Przasnysz, and Sączocin. There were some difficulties in determining the course of the boundary line on the basis of tax registers from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries concerning the land of Rożan, at the junction of the borders of three districts: Przasnysz, Ciechanów, and Maków (see below); fiscal sources ascribed borderland settlements of this region either to one district, or to the other.

The southern part of Ciechanów land, reaching Czerwińsk by the Vistula, which comprised the district of Sączock, owes its complicated shape at the end of the sixteenth century to numerous border changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Sączock district stems from the old district of Czerwińsk and its territory was probably identical. Zakroczym, and later Płońsk, became the places where courts were held. After the duchy of Płock was incorporated along with Płońsk into the Crown in 1495, Sączocin was designated in the same year as a new place for holding court sessions. The fact that Sączocin became the capital of the district did not please all inhabitants. In 1522–1524 some land owners, from lands situated in the farthest, southern end of the district – including the abbot of Czerwińsk – obtained permission of the dukes to incorporate their estates to the land of Wyszogród, and one village – Słotwin – became part of Zakroczym district.<sup>40</sup>

In the course of the sixteenth century, we can observe a certain fluidity of the borderline at the point of junction of Sączock district and Ciechanów district. This meant that not only individual villages in the borderlands, but entire territorial complexes were in some years ascribed by fiscal authorities to one district, and at other times to the second district. Sączocin parish<sup>41</sup> is particularly characteristic, as are also the parishes in Królewko<sup>42</sup> and Gromadzino;<sup>43</sup> the village Kałęczyn (Nowe Miasto parish), whose parochial affiliation in the sixteenth century we were unable to identify,<sup>44</sup> was also situated in this transitory area, just like two villages called Niewiśl (Gromadzino or Płońsko parish), which we decided to localize in one location. One of them, Niewiśl Wielka, lay in Sączock district, and the other, Niewiśl Mała – in Ciechanów district. A village Konradziec (Sączocin parish) was located nearby, within the borders of Sączock district. Temporarily, in the beginning of the sixteenth century and then at the close of the seventeenth, the village paid lan tax in Ciechanów district. Rogatkowo (Krysk parish) was a village belonging to one of the bishops and listed in the sixteenth century – probably incorrectly – in the registers of the neighbouring district of Nowe Miasto (in 1530, 1531, and 1576). Placing the village inside this district on our map would have made it necessary to create an exclave of Nowe Miasto district in the area of Sączock district. The affiliation of this village to Sączock district was confirmed by the hearth tax register from 1789.<sup>45</sup>

Similar fluidity in the sixteenth century can be found at the junction of the borders of the districts of Ciechanów and Przasnysz. This border was formally changed in 1548 at the request of the nobles from the borderland areas of the latter district, who wanted to incorporate their estates into Ciechanów district *ut propinquiore*. The change concerned the territories of the parishes Zeńbok and Lekowo, and

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<sup>40</sup> In 1522 several villages of the nobility: Łazęki, Sobanice, Osiek, Raszewo, Glinice, Bitkowice, Gawarzec, Zrębino and Żukowo; in 1524 the estates of the abbot of Czerwińsk, along with the abbot's part of the town of Czerwińsk (perhaps it remained unrealized, because in the sixteenth–seventeenth century the abbot's part of Czerwińsk appears in the registers consistently in Sączock district in Ciechanów land), and the villages: Chmielewo, Bolino, Garwolewo, Janikowo, Parlino, Sielec, Komsin, both Wilkowyje, Żdżarka and Wilkowiec to Wyszogród and, whereas Słotwin village to Zakroczym land; A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej w XV w. (1370–1526)*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 22–24; Wolff, pp. 20–21.

<sup>41</sup> Wola Wodyńska (Sączocin parish) – Sączocin 1564, Ciechanów: 1531, 1542, 1576, 1580, in the seventeenth century; Kuchary (royal) – Sączock district 1567, Ciechanów: 1531, 1532, 1542 and 1674; Rzy (royal) – Sączock: 1531, 1532, 1567, 1674, Ciechanów: 1542, 1576, 1580.

<sup>42</sup> Przepitki – Sączock district: 1552, 1580, Ciechanów: 1564, 1567, 1573, 1674; Idziki – Sączock: 1580; Ciechanów: 1542, 1573, 1576, 1567, 1674; Bolęcino – Sączock 1580, Ciechanów: 1542, 1552, 1567, 1573, 1576, 1674; Królewko – Ciechanów: 1567, 1573; Królewo Wielkie – Sączock: 1564, 1576, 1577, 1580, Ciechanów: 1542, 1573, 1674; Pruszkowo – Sączock: 1531, 1542, 1552, 1564, 1580, Ciechanów: 1567, 1573, 1576.

<sup>43</sup> Kołoząb – Sączock: 1528, 1531, 1542, 1552, 1564, 1576, 1580, Ciechanów: 1567, 1573; Gromadzino – Sączock: 1542, 1552, 1564, 1576, 1577; Ciechanów: 1531, 1567, 1573; Kuchary (a village of the nobility) only in Ciechanów district 1542, 1567, 1573, 1674.

<sup>44</sup> Kałęczyn (nobility) did not pay tax in the sixteenth century; the information about the existence of this village is accidental and comes from a description of the surroundings of the royal villages Rzy and Kuchary (LM 1565, vol. 2, pp. 21–22), parochial affiliation taken from the 1609 inspection.

<sup>45</sup> Tayfy 1789–1790.

of two villages from Ciechanów parish.<sup>46</sup> Apart from the settlements listed,<sup>47</sup> there are many villages in the borderlands between these two districts, ascribed in the sixteenth century fiscal registers interchangeably to Ciechanów and Przasnysz district, namely: the entire group of hamlets of the village Żmijewo (Żmijewo Kościelne parish),<sup>48</sup> and nine villages from Koziczyno parish.<sup>49</sup> A group of villages sharing the common name Umiećcino<sup>50</sup> drifted towards Ciechanów district, as well as Obrąb, a village, which paid taxes in Ciechanów district (in the first half of the sixteenth century to 1552 inclusive).<sup>51</sup>

However, the most uncertain district affiliation in the sixteenth century can be observed at the junction of the borders of three districts: Przasnysz, Ciechanów and Maków (Rożan land), particularly in parishes: Karniewo, Gołymino and Krasne.<sup>52</sup> The map distinguishes the most controversial area between Ciechanów and Przasnysz district with a separate sign. It was impossible to determine a definite majority of source entries for the second half of the sixteenth century, which would prove a lasting affiliation of the said parishes to one of the districts. We also note that a certain number of villages, situated outside the borders of this area, were temporarily ascribed to neighbouring districts. These villages included, above others, all remaining villages in Karniewo parish located in the district of Maków, which paid the 1567 tax in Przasnysz district<sup>53</sup> and over a dozen villages from Krasne parish in Przasnysz district, which sporadically appear also in Ciechanów district (e.g. a group of villages Mosaki and Zdryki).<sup>54</sup> These facts appear to prove that the borders in this area were not fully stable at the time, and fiscal authorities were disoriented as to the correct district affiliation of borderland villages.<sup>55</sup>

The eastern border of Przasnysz district in the sixteenth century was lost in a great forest complex (around 2,000 km<sup>2</sup>) reaching the Prussian border in the north, and the lands of Łomża and Rożan in the east. We do not possess materials from the sixteenth century, which would allow us to reconstruct the course of this border. It should be considered, whether a border of State administration, which separated a territorial unit inhabited by the nobility with the seat of land courts, could have run through the forest

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<sup>46</sup> In Lekowo parish the villages: Karniewo, Radzimino, Kozdroje (i.e. Radzimino Kozdroje), Trzcianka, Włostki (i.e. Radzimino Włosty), Targonie, Klicze Wielkie and Małe; in Zeńbok parish: both villages Jarłuty and Zeńbok and in Ciechanów parish the villages: Ropyle and Niecostoim (i.e. Niestum), MRPS, IV/3, no. 23042, see also A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej*, p. 25; the map was based on the 1599 inspection, which ascribed Radzimino Wielkie to Ciechanów parish, and of the registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, which also ascribed Trzcianka to this parish.

<sup>47</sup> According to fiscal registers, the following villages paid tax in Przasnysz district still in 1552: Jarłuty and Zeńbok (Zeńbok parish), and Klicze Małe and Klicze Wielkie, Radzimino Włosty, Radzimino Kozdroje and Targonie (in Lekowo parish).

<sup>48</sup> Żmijewo Włosty, Przasnysz district: 1528, 1577, Ciechanów district: 1567, 1580; Żmijewo Śręzogi, Przasnysz district: 1528, 1531, 1577, Ciechanów district: 1567, 1580; Żmijewo Zalesie, Przasnysz district: 1564, Ciechanów district: 1567, 1580; Żmijewo Mikły, Przasnysz district: 1531, 1542, 1564, 1577, Ciechanów district: 1567, 1580.

<sup>49</sup> Nieborzyno, Przasnysz district: 1531, 1542, 1552, 1564, 1576, Ciechanów district: 1567, 1573, 1580; Koziczyno, Przasnysz district: 1576 and 1674, Ciechanów district: 1552, 1564, 1567, 1573, 1576; Koziczyno Sulmierz, Przasnysz district (Sulmierz): 1576 and 1580 (Sulmierz Mł.); Lipa, Przasnysz district: 1576 and 1674, Ciechanów district: 1531, 1542, 1552, 1564, 1567, 1573, 1580; Wierzbowo, Przasnysz district: 1552, 1576 and 1674, Ciechanów district: 1531, 1542, 1552, 1567, 1573, 1577; Wola Wierzbowska, Przasnysz district: 1576 and 1674, Ciechanów district: 1531, 1542, 1577, 1580; Szczepanki, Przasnysz district: 1531, 1542, 1552 (later all three villages called Szczepanki were listed in Ciechanów district, but Szczepanki Pieski appear once more in 1576 in Przasnysz district).

<sup>50</sup> In 1542 Umiećcino Falki (or in fact Chrzony Falki, which we identify with Umiećcino) were listed in Ciechanów district, in 1564 – Umiećcino Ciężkie, and in 1573 – Umiećcino Andrychy.

<sup>51</sup> Later consistently in Przasnysz district.

<sup>52</sup> These are the following villages: Chełchy-Chabdzino, Chełchy-Wiechny, Chełchy-Klimki, Chełchy-Rutki (Karniewo parish), Chełchy Iłowo, Grabowo-Trojany (Zielona or Krasne parish), Karniewo-Malechy and Karniewo-Rafały (Karniewo parish), Korytki-Wierzchonie (Karniewo parish), Milewo-Byki, M. Bylice, M. Kulki, M. Leśne, M. Malonki, M. Mrzegędy, M. Nadolne, M. Płaczkki, M. Roszczyny, M. Mrozy, M. Wolmiry, M. Skubiele, M. Szwejki, M. Kwarty, M. Tabuły, M. Pogorzal, M. Wypychy, Korytki (Krasne and Karniewo parishes), Leśniewo-Karniewo (Karniewo parish) Łukowo-Łoś, Wola Wronowska (i.e. Wola Łosiów) and Wronowe-Łoś (Karniewo parish), Tłocznicza and Zalesie (Karniewo parish).

<sup>53</sup> Karniewo, Żabino-Karniewo, Byszewo, Ośnica, Chełchy-Dzierżki, Ch. Cibory, Ch. Kmiece, Ch. Wiechny, and Młodzianowo (Węgrzynowo parish) and Krzyżewo (Podosie parish) – compare P. Mazowsze, p. 34.

<sup>54</sup> Mosaki-Księżde and Mosaki-Skuczki, M. Gacz, M. Rukle in 1577, M. Iłowo in 1564 and 1577, Zdryki Gawronki, Z. Kurpięta, Z. Antonie, Z. Stara Wieś, Z. Kierzki, Z. Nowiny in 1577, Szczuki and Węzowo in 1580.

<sup>55</sup> The collectors permanently mistook their district affiliation. It seems, however, that one should not trust the 1573 register, which once ascribed to Ciechanów district a substantial number of villages located far from this district's border, namely: Górki, Pszczółki-Czubaki, Kołaki-Jaźwiężino, Smoleń-Poluby, S. Górki, S. Trcianka, Tańsk-Kęsochy, T. Grzymki, T. Wasiły, Gadomicz-Wyraki, Ulatowo-Adamy and Ulatowo-Borzuchy.

already in the sixteenth century. As we know, this forest (part of which was called Kurpiowska Forest) had no agricultural settlements in the sixteenth century; the beekeepers from the villages – mostly royal – situated at the edge of the forest had the right to use the beehives at the forest range. The forest, as a property of the ruler, belonged to the following starosta's districts: Ciechanów (Mazuch Forest with the forest ranges: Sitwa, Leńska, Pięc Gai, Płodownica),<sup>56</sup> Płodownica lease,<sup>57</sup> Rożan starosta's district (Rożańska Forest),<sup>58</sup> Łomża starosta's district (Jednaczewo forest, forests surrounding Łomża, Zambrowska Forest, Czerwony Bór).<sup>59</sup> Zagajnica Forest remained partially a responsibility of the starosta of Łomża, and partially of the starosta of Ostrołęka.<sup>60</sup>

It seems quite problematic to set district borders in woodland areas without settled nobility. It would mean that the inhabitants of the districts were subject to land courts. Most likely, the borders were defined during the colonization of forested territories.

The settlement in Przasnysz district reached the forest in the north first, near the border with Prussia. New villages were being founded there still at the close of the sixteenth century. They belonged to Chorzele parish (Zaręby and Krukowo).<sup>61</sup> A parish was erected in Zaręby in the seventeenth century, which encompassed the quickly-colonized vicinity.<sup>62</sup> Only settlements consisting of one manor, of industrial nature, like ores established by the River Omulew at the beginning of the seventeenth century, reached deeper into the forest. They quickly turned into larger settlements, like Brodowa Łąka and Oborzyska. Exceptional were only these settlements, which were situated deep into the forest, like Płodownica and Rupino, located between the Rivers Omulew, Płodownica and Grycz.<sup>63</sup> A little more to the south, the settlement in the Przasnysz district kept rather to the line of the River Orzyc in the seventeenth century (villages Olszewka, Rachujka and Jednoróżec).<sup>64</sup>

In Ciechanów and Łomża lands, the earliest district division in woodland areas, formed as the settlement expanded, was marked with a separate, dashed sign on the map of Mazovia. The reconstruction of this division was based on the identification of district, or land, borders with the borders of the sixteenth–seventeenth century starosta's districts.<sup>65</sup> Next, the range of such defined districts was checked against the administrative affiliation of woodland settlements, found in later sources, especially in the eighteenth century.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> LM 1565, vol. 2, pp. 25–28.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 45.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, p. 129.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, pp. 71, 88, 92.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, p. 44; LM XVII, pp. 100–101.

<sup>61</sup> ADP, no. 6, f. 232 v.

<sup>62</sup> Tax registers from the second half of the seventeenth century ascribe the nearby villages (e.g. Binduga) to Zaręby parish.

<sup>63</sup> The summaries of documents from 20 December 1570 and 15 June 1571 in: Pułaski 1915, p. 166; elements pointing to the location of these villages: VL, vol. III, p. 388; MK, no. 139, f. 252, and AGAD, Ciechanowskie wieczyste, no. 1, file III nlb. (around 1548–1566). On Łomża side the settlement did not reach deep into the forest, even still in the end of the seventeenth century, as proven by a remark made by an inspector in Nowogród parish in 1693: 'Several huts in the forests, known as Dobry Las, Pianki, Frydryszka, Osowiec, Zbojna' (Arch. Diec. Płoc. No. 47, f. 737).

<sup>64</sup> Poll tax register from 1674.

<sup>65</sup> This method is not, however, completely reliable, because, for instance, a village Ruda Skroda, which belonged to Łomża starosta's district was attested in 1627 not in Łomża district, but in the district of Kolno, MK, 173, f. 470v–471v.

<sup>66</sup> In the sixteenth century Ciechanów, not Przasnysz, was the seat of a starosta's district. There was also a starosta's district of Łomża and the Ostrołęka lease (LM 1565, vol. 2, pp. 25–28, 44, 71, 88, 92; LM XVII, pp. 100–101). All materials concerning Zagajnica Forest listed below were obtained thanks to doc. dr. J. Wiśniewski, who supported the thesis about an early (at least sixteenth century) division of the forest into judicial districts, identical with the eighteenth century state. The following villages were found in the eighteenth century in the forest in the vicinity of Kolno: Bączki, Dudy Puszczańskie, Ksebki, Piekło, Popiołki, Potasie, Ptaki Dolne, Pupki, Szablaki, Trzczańskie, Cherubin, Dudy Nadrzeczne, Górszczyzna, Klimagi, Koziół, Samule, Waszki. In the part of the forest, which surrounded Nowogród (i.e. the part subject to Łomża district) – Baliki, Gawrychy, Gaški, Gietki, Gontarze, Korwki, Kuzie, Morgowniki, Pianki, Poredy, Serwatki, Siwki, Szablaki (beekeeping books of Nowogród, the State Archive of Poznań and Poznań Voivodeship – Mnc, A, I–III, 254–256). The part of the forest ascribed to Ostrołęka occupied the area between the Rivers Omulwia and Szkwa, the part ascribed to Przasnysz – between the Rivers Omulwia and Orzyc. The following villages were located in this area: Brodowe Łąki, Budki, Czerwińsk, Jednoróżec, Oborzyska, Małowidz, Lipa, Łaz, Olszewka, Parciaki, Oględa, Połomia, Pościenie, Pruskołęka, Rachujka, Szła, Wólka Kobylak, Żelazna and Bakuła (L. Krzywicki, Kurpie, [in:] idem, Dzieła, vol. 6, Warszawa 1962). The following villages belonged to the Rożan part of the forest: Czarnotrzew, Dłutówka, Rzaniec, Wyszel, Grabówek, Budne, Perzanki. The following settlements lay along the border between Rożan land and Przasnysz district, on Przasnysz side: Czerwińsk, Baranowo, Jastrząbka; and on Rożan side: Czarnotrzew, Budna and Dłutówka.

**The border of Czersk land** with Warsaw land, where Grójec district touched Tarczyn district, ran through a village Cychry, dividing it into two parts. According to records found in both: Church and fiscal sources, this village belonged to two parishes: Jeziora Małe and Lutkówka<sup>67</sup> also at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Prior to 1539, Czersk land consisted of three districts: Czersk, Grójec, and Warka.<sup>68</sup> The nobles of Czersk district, who inhabited settlements situated on the right bank of the Vistula, were forced to cross the river in order to appear at court sessions in Czersk. In the first half of the sixteenth century settlement processes intensify in this area;<sup>69</sup> these processes might have accelerated the establishment of a new, separate court in Garwolin, and the division of Czersk district into two smaller districts: Czersk and Garwolin. The document of Sigismund I from 25 February 1539 specifies the territorial range of Garwolin district, limiting the authority of the court in Czersk to settlements located on the left bank of the Vistula, and to settlements belonging to the parishes Radwankowo and Karczew, which *iuxta veterem morem venire et ibidem causas suas agere debeant*.<sup>70</sup>

Garwolin district was not isolated in fiscal registers from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries and the court books of Garwolin from 1540–1683 were lost in 1944.<sup>71</sup> The range of Garwolin district in the eighteenth century, known from hearth tax rates from 1789–1790 and Perthées's map, was already changed in comparison to the sixteenth century state (namely, the River Vistula became the boundary line of Czersk and Garwolin districts, whereas Czersk district expanded to the west at the cost of Grójec district) and could not be used as a basis for border reconstruction. As such, based on the 1539 document and our analysis of the location of parishes in the field, we accepted the following range for Czersk district: parishes Czersk, Góra, Cieciszewo, Jazgarzewo, Sobikowo, Chynowo, Karczewie, and Radwankowo; also – apart from these parishes – Chylce, a village from Piaseczno parish, and Falenica, a village from Zyrzno parish.<sup>72</sup> The entire remaining area, placed in Czersk district by the sixteenth century registers, was considered a part of Garwolin district.

The border of Czersk district in the sixteenth century was relatively stable, apart from the isolation of Garwolin district in 1539. However, several borderland settlements paid taxes interchangeably in different districts, namely: Chylce (included in 1539 in Grójec district), Grębice (1563 – Warka district), and Duczoły (confirmed in 1564 in Czersk district, Cieciszewo parish, and in Grójec district, Prażmowo parish). We were unable to localize Duczoły on the map. The village appears in various parishes in the sixteenth century: Sobikowo parish (1569, 1573, 1577 and 1588), Czersk parish (1576), or Góra parish (1510). This section of the borderline is therefore uncertain.

The course of the boundary line between Warka district and Grójec district near the town Wyśmierzyce also remains dubious, as we cannot decide, to which district the city belonged in the sixteenth century, and the eighteenth century sources provide contradictory data.<sup>73</sup>

**The fragment of the border of Liw land** is hypothetical at the junction with Nur land, because the sixteenth century sources did not allow us to determine the district affiliation of the following borderland settlements: Królowa Wola, Myszadła, Ruda, Rynia, Czernik, Wójtę that is Zawady, and Zawiszyn (see below).

The border of **Łomża land** was relatively easy to determine. The fragment of the border running through Zagajnica Forest was described above.

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<sup>67</sup> In tax registers of Grójec district 1576, 1577 and 1588, Tarczyn district 1578, 1579, 1580 and 1581. In the visitation of the Archdeaconry of Warsaw 1598–1603 in two parishes (f. 100 and f. 121). This is confirmed by the state from the end of the eighteenth century: Tariffs 1789–1790 list some of the settlements in Grójec district in Jeziora Małe parish, and some in Tarczyn district, Lutkówka parish. Czaykowski, *Regestr diecezjów*, mentions two separate settlements of this name, belonging to one owner: Cychry in Lutkówka parish and Cycherki in Jeziora Małe parish.

<sup>68</sup> Compare with Annex I.

<sup>69</sup> Found e.g. in the settlement of Osiecka Forest, or the densification of the town network in this area.

<sup>70</sup> MK 55, f. 273v–275 (summary in MRPS IV, no. 19583 is imprecise, as it omits Radwankowo and Karczew parishes); T. Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszawicki 1543–1603 i jego dzieła*, Warszawa 1887, p. 48; see also Wolff 1962, pp. 25–26.

<sup>71</sup> Wolff 1962, pp. 25–26.

<sup>72</sup> According to Tariffs 1789–1790 (and Perthées's map) Falenica along with Zyrzno parish belonged to Garwolin district, and the following parishes belonged to the district of Czersk: Chynów, Cieciszewo, Czersk, Drwalew, Góra, Jazgarzewo, Ostrówek, Pieczyska, Prażmów, Słomczyn and Sobików.

<sup>73</sup> In 1573 it appears in Warka district, in 1563 – in Grójec district. In the eighteenth century Perthées placed it in Warka district, Tariffs 1789–1790 – to Grójec district.

The reconstruction of the boundary line of **Nur land** is also hypothetical to some degree in peripheral territories: where it met the borders of Warsaw land and Liw land. This is the result of certain problems, which arose while trying to determine district affiliation of many settlements, particularly in various keys of royal property with newly-founded villages situated in the forest, that is in the borderlands of Warsaw land near the villages: Głęboczyca, Boruczka and Wólka Pieczęcina, and on the borderland of Liw land.<sup>74</sup>

The most controversial area, with the villages: Zawiszyn, Królowa Wola, Ruda and Myszała, was isolated with double lines on the map.

In the estates of the chapter of Warsaw, especially in Sadowne and Stoczek parishes neighbouring Podlaskan Voivodeship, the course of the border of Nur land (identical with the border of Mazovian Voivodeship and Podlaskan Voivodeship, see above) was based on the eighteenth century cartographic materials.

**Rożan land**, consisting of two districts: Rożan and Maków, had an unstable border in the sixteenth century on the section separating Maków and Przasnysz district, which ran through villages: Młodzianowo – Krzyżewo – Chełchy – Karniewo, that is through three parishes: Węgrzynowo, Karniewo, and Podosie (compare with Ciechanów land).<sup>75</sup>

We must express our doubts concerning the course of the border between **Warsaw land** and Nur land, particularly in Stanisławów parish, where we were unable to determine the district affiliation of several villages in the sixteenth century, and therefore decided to accept an alternative: Warsaw or Kamieniec district. The western borderline of Warsaw land ran through a village called Grzegorzewice, and divided this village into two parts, between Tarczyn district in Warsaw land and the district of Mszczonów in Sochaczew land, and so between Mazovian Voivodeship and the Voivodeship of Rawa.<sup>76</sup>

There were three districts in Warsaw land: Warsaw, Błonie and Tarczyn. They were defined on the basis of the tax register, which (except for the published 1580 register) maintains the same district division quite consistently in all register forms of this land in the sixteenth century.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, **Wizna land** had two districts: Wizna and Wąsosz. The third district, Radziłów, was established in 1548.<sup>77</sup> However, this district was not isolated in the sixteenth century fiscal registers of Wizna land.

53 villages became part of the new district, when it was created in 1548. The villages had so far belonged to two other districts of Wizna land. Settlements situated south of the Rivers: Wissa, Słucz and Kubra belonged to Wizna district, and those north of the Rivers – to Wąsosz district.<sup>78</sup> Tax registers from the end of the sixteenth century, which failed to recognize the existence of a new district, record a different affiliation of borderland settlements than the one provided by the 1548 document.<sup>79</sup>

Various changes occurred in the settlement of this area between 1550s and the end of the century. The number of settlements grew. The analysis of names and location of settlements allowed us to identify the villages listed in the 1548 documents with the villages mentioned in the sources from the close of the sixteenth century, and to accept a genetic relation of some newly-created villages with older ones. Here, we must mention the villages – hamlets sharing a common name, part of which were mentioned by the 1548 document. The affiliation of the remaining villages located inside a complex of settlements comprising Radziłów district (founded between 1548 and the end of the sixteenth century) was

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<sup>74</sup> Rynia – a village newly-founded in the sixteenth century (LM 1565, vol. II, p. 198), according to fiscal registers from the end of the sixteenth century paid tax in Kamieniec district, Liw district, and even in Warsaw district once; Głęboczyca – in Warsaw district or Kamieniec district; Czernik – in Kamieniec or Liw district.

<sup>75</sup> Młodzianowo (Węgrzynowo parish), Chełchy – Cibory, Ch. Dzierżki, Ch. Wiechny, Ch. Kmiece (Karniewo parish), Krzyżewo Nadrzeczne, K. Podburzne, K. Jurki (Podosie parish) paid their taxed in 1567 to the district of Przasnysz, Karniewo also in the first half of the sixteenth century (in 1531 and 1542); see also footnote 53.

<sup>76</sup> Compare with footnote 38.

<sup>77</sup> The text of the document from 1548 is known from the 1613 validation in the court books of Wąsosz (in Kapica's copy), and was made available to the Department of the Historical Atlas of Poland by prof. dr. Jakub Sawicki.

<sup>78</sup> 'Dobroniewo, Slassy, Łoie, Brychy, Pluthy, Chyliny, Chrostowo, Supy, Polkowo, Mieczki, Olszewo, Góry, Wilkaszewo, Karwowa, Borawce, Chrzanowo, Kubra, Trzaski, Barwki, Pionki, Konopki, Brodowo de districtu Viznensi et Cyprki, Doliwy, Obrythe, Lissy, Klimki, Ramoty, Mieszki, Zalesie, Romany, Wilkanowo, Glinki, Niebrzydy, Słucz, Mikuty, Mroczi, Gardoty Grzymki, Bukowo, Rydzewo, Czerwonki, Konopki, Kownatki, Borawice, Świącienino, Klimaszewnica, Białłasów, Kiliany, Łoje, Brzozowa, Mścichy, Karwowo, de districtu Wassosensi'.

<sup>79</sup> P. Mazowsze, pp. 356–359, 361–362, 364–365.

controlled – we checked whether they belonged to Radziłów district in the eighteenth century.<sup>80</sup> The comparison of the territorial range depicted by the 1548 document with the eighteenth century borders of the district recorded on two versions of Perthées's map and the hearth tax rates from 1789–1790<sup>81</sup> shows many significant differences.<sup>82</sup> Still, all three sources agree that in the eighteenth century Radziłów district was smaller than in the sixteenth century.<sup>83</sup>

Radziłów district at the end of the sixteenth century encompassed the area isolated after the interpolation of the borders of the villages listed in the 1548 document and other villages founded in this territory in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The land border divided the town of Czerwińsk between **Wyszogród land** (the part, which belonged to the bishops of Płock) and Sączock district in Ciechanów land (property of the monastery of the Canons Regular in Czerwińsk).<sup>84</sup>

Prior to 1567 Zakroczym land was divided into two districts: of Zakroczym and of Nowe Miasto. Serock district was officially separated from Zakroczym land at the *Sejm* of 1567 'at the request of the delegates from Zakroczym land, in order to reduce the distance to certain parishes, as it had been in the past...'. It was decided that 'land courts of the parishes, which had their court sessions there before, were gathered in the town of Serock'.<sup>85</sup>

The settlements belonging to Serock district do not appear in tax register forms before 1591, and the data from this year is uncertain, as the villages marked on the map do not constitute a dense territorial complex.<sup>86</sup> The quoted fragment of the resolution suggests that the borders of the district created in the second half of the sixteenth century were identical to the borders of an earlier administrative unit with the court in Serock. We are unable to present its complete reconstruction, as the records of the court in Serock perished during the last war, yet the fragments published in K. Tymieniecki's works and the notes made by A. Wolff suggest that in the fifteenth century Serock was a centre of administration, which, however, did not fit into Mazovian land and district division; it was not a centre of the third district of Zakroczym land, but a court town in Nowe Miasto district also for the western part of Kamieniec district, the so-called Pobuże. According to A. Wolff, the court in Serock was not an ordinary land court, but rather a starosta's court, operating in the borderland territory between

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<sup>80</sup> In Przytuły parish – 18 villages: Barwiki, Trzaski, Kubra, Cyprki, Dolliwy, Mroczyki, Borawice, Racibory, Ślasy-Czachy, Ś. Gręzki, Ś. Łoje, Pluty-Rogowo, Supy-Gręzka, Wilkesevo, Chrzanowo-Dusze, Ch. Stare, Ch. Wypychy, Pieńki-Grodzisko. In the sixteenth century, there were also two other settlements in this complex: Mieszki and Karwowo-Brychy, confirmed in Radziłów district by 1789–1790 Tariffs; in Romany parish – 12 villages: Obrytki, Lisy, Bagienice-Klimki, Romoty, Mieczki Suche, Zalesie-Pieniązek, Romany, Wilamowo, Gardoty, Grzymki, Olszewo Małe, O. Góry, and two villages confirmed by Tariffs 1789–1790: Żelazki and Brzostowo; in Słucz parish – eight villages: Glinki, Niebrzydy, Słucz, Mikuły, Bukowo Duże and Bukowo Małe, Rydzewo, Szlacheckie and R. Pieniązek; in Wąsosz parish: Czerwonki, Konopki a Wissa, Kownatki, Kiliany and confirmed by the hearth tax register 1789 village Kramarzewo, located between village Kiliany and Konopki and confirmed by the hearth tax register 1789 village Kramarzewo, located between village Kiliany and Konopki; in Radziłowo parish – Święcienino, Mścichy, Karwowo a Wissa, Borawice a Wissa, Konopki Brodowo a Wissa, and a village Miski, situated in Radziłowo parish, and Okrasino village, which belonged to this parish in the sixteenth century and was attested by Tariffs 1789–1790; in Białaszewo parish – Klimaszewica, Białaszewo, Łojewo, Brzozowo-Wólka, Gać-Brzozowo, Mścichy Brzozowo, and a village Pieniązki, confirmed in this parish; in Burzyno parish – Chyliny Kąty and Ch. Wity; in Jedwabne parish – Chrostowo, Polkowo, Karwowo-Byczki, K. Kubrzane, K. Pawelki, K. Stryjaszki, K. Wszebory and K. Zabłocie.

<sup>81</sup> See the map below.

<sup>82</sup> On Perthées's map, quite a long fragment of the north-eastern border of Radziłów district was set on the River Wissa, whereas according to the hearth tax register from 1789, five settlements in Białaszewo parish were ascribed to this district, even though they lay on the other bank of the Wissa. Different versions of district borders presented on both maps by Perthées was a result of imprecise localization of borderland villages.

<sup>83</sup> On Perthées's map Radziłów district encompasses the parishes Radziłów, Słucz, one village Wilamowo from parish Romany and the villages Chrzanowo, Wypychy, Kubra and Konopki Błonie in Przytuły parish. The hearth tax register, on the other hand, list 26 villages in Przytuły parish, 12 in Radziłowo parish; the following parishes were divided between Radziłów and Wąsosz districts: Białaszewo (five villages in Radziłów district), Romany (23 villages in Radziłów district), Wąsosz (five villages in Radziłów district), and Słucz (10 villages in Radziłów district), the parishes Burzyn (three villages in Radziłów district) and Jedwabne (three villages in Radziłów district) were divided between Radziłów and Wizna districts.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. footnote 40.

<sup>85</sup> VL vol. 2, p. 71.

<sup>86</sup> This register ascribes to Serock district only some of the villages in the following parishes: Koprzywnica (Bądostowo, Głniąca, Koprzywnica, Niestępowo, Piskornia, Witki), Dzierżenin (Dzbanice, Gzowo Wielkie, Karniewko, Komorowo, Mory, Obręb, Obrębek, Pogorzelec, Świeszewo), Zegrze (Izdbice, Niechronka, Skubianka, Wola Kiełpiska, Wyki and Zegrze), Pułtusk (Olbrachce), Serock (Zabłocie).

## RECONSTRUCTED BORDERS OF RADZIŁÓW DISTRICT

Settlements listed in the 1548 document, which created the district of Radziłów

- ▲ - from Wizna district
- △ - from Wąsosz district

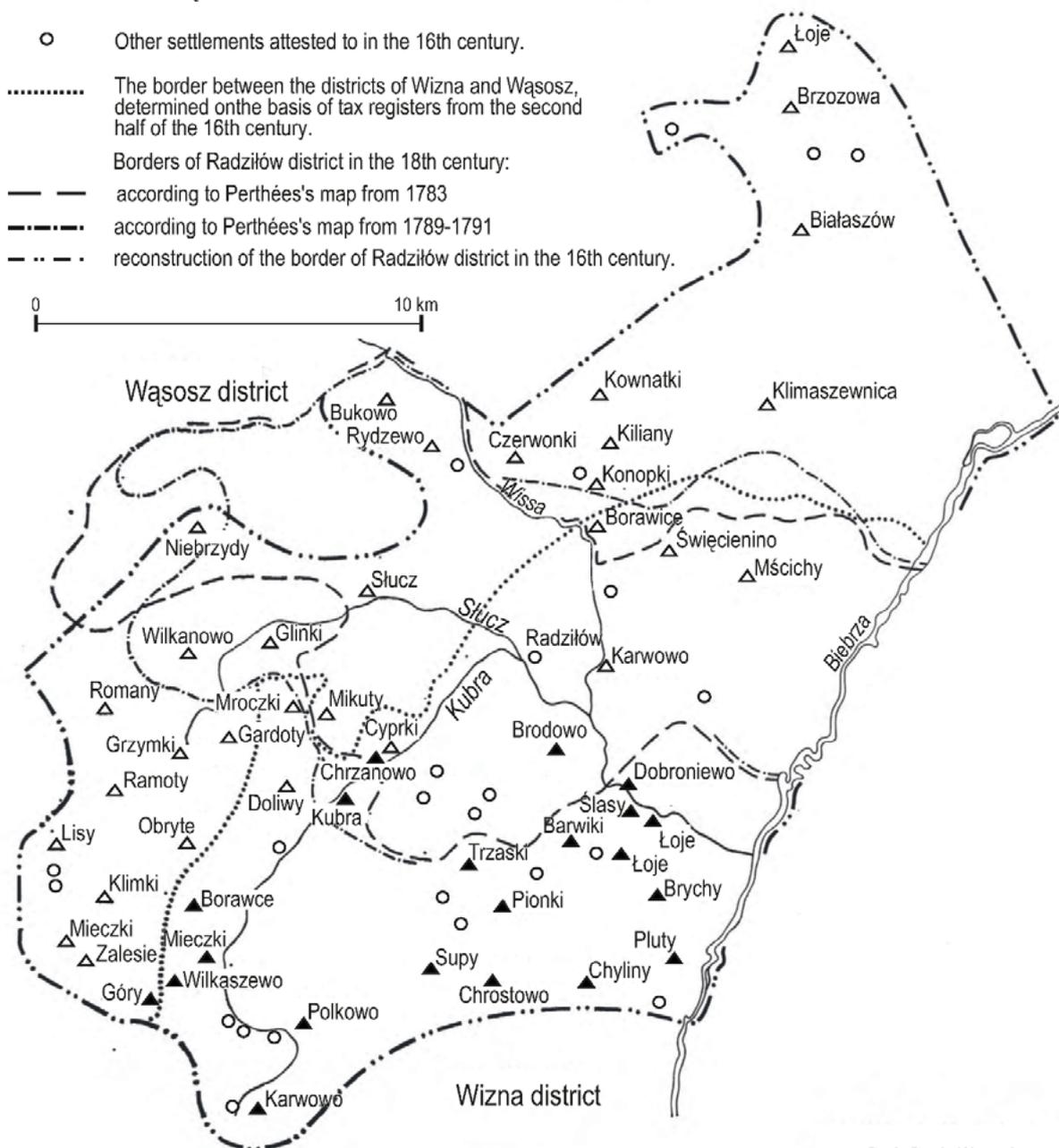
- Other settlements attested to in the 16th century.

..... The border between the districts of Wizna and Wąsosz, determined on the basis of tax registers from the second half of the 16th century.

Borders of Radziłów district in the 18th century:

- — according to Perthées's map from 1783
- - - - according to Perthées's map from 1789-1791
- · - · reconstruction of the border of Radziłów district in the 16th century.

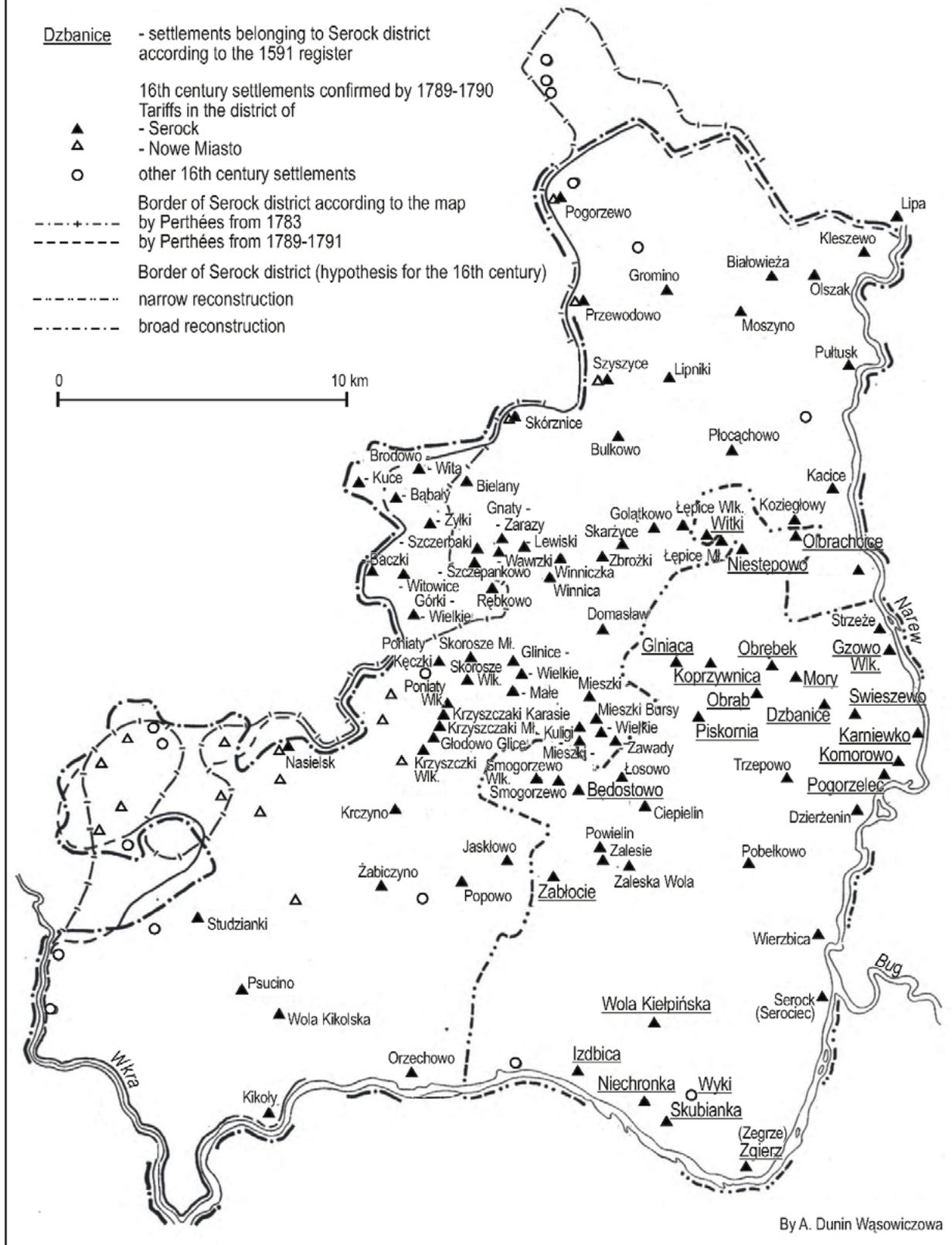
0 10 km



By A. Dunin Wąsowiczowa

Map 1. Reconstructed borders of Radziłów district

## RECONSTRUCTED BORDERS OF SEROCK DISTRICT



Map 2. Reconstructed borders of Serock district

two lands.<sup>87</sup> A survey of materials from Zakroczym court mortgage registers after 1567 – that is after the district of Serock was created – reveals certain processes, which indicate that the border of Serock district was not yet stabilized at the time. On the one hand, the nobles who sued before the court in Serock proved their traditional right to answer before the court in Nowe Miasto, not Serock.<sup>88</sup> Yet on the other hand, the registers mention villages appealing to the court in Serock.<sup>89</sup>

Given the above, we tried to reconstruct the borders of the said district by means of retrogression, referring to materials from the eighteenth century. Despite the chronological convergence, these sources convey three different versions of the borderline of Serock district. And yet, all eighteenth century records present a range incommensurately vast in comparison to the one determined on the basis of the source from 1591. The 1789–1790 Tariffs place the following parishes in the district: Dzierżenin, Pokrzywnica, Przewodowo, Serock, Smogorzewo, Winnica, part of Nasielsk, Pomiechów, Pułtusk and Zegrze parish, without Poniaty Cibory village.

Perthées's maps (1783 and 1789–1791)<sup>90</sup> move the borderline of Serock district to the west from the range defined by the hearth tax rates. The eighteenth century border in the north, encompassing at the time also a complex of bishopric estates near Pułtusk, called *districtus* still in the fifteenth century and granted – at least then – court immunity, seems to suggest that the eighteenth century range of Serock district was a result of evolution, which occurred no sooner than between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>91</sup> The border of Serock district, determined for the end of the sixteenth century, presented on the map of Mazovia, encompasses the area confirmed by the 1591 register and some settlements supplementing the density of this area, whose affiliation to Serock district is attested by sources from the end of the eighteenth century, namely: the major part of Koprzywnica parish, part of Smogorzewo parish, Dzierżenin parish, Serock and Zegrze, within the borders, which belonged to Nowe Miasto district in 1567. An area between the districts of Nowe Miasto and Serock was also isolated on the map. There were 90 settlements in this area, but we were unable to determine their district affiliation for the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>92</sup> A similar problem occurred while trying to determine the district affiliation of several villages not belonging to the nobility situated along the borderline of two districts: Zakroczym and Nowe Miasto.<sup>93</sup> Based on the eighteenth century data, we decided to place these villages in Zakroczym district.

In the Voivodship of Rawa in the sixteenth century, Gostynin land consisted of two districts: Gostynin and Gąbin. It was difficult to demarcate these districts within the borders of the land, as well as to reconstruct their borders, as the majority of fiscal registers from the sixteenth century recorded tax payments from the entire land. The division into districts can be found only in several registers from the 1560s (1563, 1564 and 1565), and the most complete register is the one from 1564. These registers place the villages from the following parishes inside Gąbin district: Gąbin, Kamion, Brochów

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<sup>87</sup> Wolff 1962, pp. 27–34.

<sup>88</sup> AGAD, Zakroczymskie wieczyste, f. 61, f. 11: one Bieliński from Bielany, summoned before the court in Serock, argued that his ancestors had always answered to the court in Nowe Miasto, only 2½ miles from Bielawy, whereas Serock lay 3½ miles away. The Piotrków constitution from 1567 stated that only these villages answered to Serock, which lay closer to it and which were always summoned there (VL, vol. 2, p. 71).

<sup>89</sup> AGAD, Zakroczymskie wieczyste, f. 61, f. 26v, 29–50. Maciej Chądzyński's opinion that the entire Winnica parish was to answer before the court in Serock, *ibidem*, f. 62, c. 45–51, 164v; the court was moved from Nowe Miasto to Winnica because of the plague in 1571, *ibidem*, f. 69, f. 262.

<sup>90</sup> H. Rutkowski, Cartographic sources, [in:] AHP Mazovia.

<sup>91</sup> Wolff 1962, p. 27. In 1591 – characteristically – a village Olbrachce, which belonged to a noble family and lay in Pułtusk parish was affiliated to Serock district, whereas all other settlements bordering on the district belonged to the bishop and were still ascribed to Nowe Miasto district. It is not accidental that the greatest difficulties in determining a district in the sixteenth century occurred in villages, which did not belong to the nobility at the time, because the population of royal estates answered to starostas' courts, and the inhabitants of the villages of the Church situated in large keys of property, e.g. the estates of bishops or archbishops, were subject to patrimonial courts because of judicial immunity, which often had long history within particular districts.

<sup>92</sup> These belonged to the following parishes: Winnica (38 villages, i.e. the entire parish), Pomiechowo (nine villages, i.e. the part situated on the left bank of the River Narew), Nasielsk (21 villages, i.e. almost entire parish, except for one village situated in Zakroczym district), Pułtusk (10 villages), Przewodowo (eight villages, i.e. almost entire parish, except for three villages in Nowe Miasto district), and Cieksyn (four villages, other in Nowe Miasto district).

<sup>93</sup> Property of the bishop of Płock: Gostolino, Juniec, Kawęczyn and Szumlino; estates of the monastery in Czerwińsko: Kossówko, Pomnichowo and Słówinno, and one royal settlement – Sobieszczki, which belonged to Nowe Miasto lease.

(part), Kiernozia, Jamno, Brzozów, Rybno, Sanniki, Dobrzyków, Sochaczew (part), Giżyce, Pacyna, Czeremno, and Kozłów Szlachecki.

Apart from this data, the 1589 register groups villages of farm gentry into two separate lists, under the headings; *parochia Gąbin* and *parochia Gostynin*. The analysis of the location of these villages tells us that this does not mean parochial affiliation, but the affiliation of Gąbin and Gostynin district. The register lists – among the villages mentioned above in Gąbin district – the villages belonging to the parishes: Luszyn, Troszyn, Życko, Mistrzowice, and Osmolin.

The boundary line, separating the above-mentioned villages from Gostynin district, shows us the borders of Gąbin district with the parishes territorially connected with the district: Młodzieszyn, Złakowo, Kocierzewo, Łowicz – the parish of the Holy Virgin and Kapina. The sixteenth century tax registers fail to provide a direct confirmation as to whether these parishes belonged to Gąbin district, or not. However, having analysed the relationship of individual settlements with the district of Gąbin, we conclude that the silence of the sources is not a counterargument in this case. Młodzieszyn parish, which does not appear in the registers from Gostynin land in 1563, 1564, 1565, was included in Kozłów Szlachecki parish in records of overdue payments, and this parish belonged to Gąbin district. Estates belonging to the archbishopric of Gniezno were located in the four remaining parishes. Fiscal registers list those estates not under individual parishes, but in a separate list of archbishopric estates in Gostynin land. Such a situation likely occurred because there were no nobles in those villages, who would be subject to land court, so there was no reason to draw district borders in this area. Fiscal sources from the seventeenth century, namely the poll tax registers from 1673–1674, used only economic division, i.e. within the keys of property of Łowicz and Kapina. It is possible that the entire complex of archbishopric estates in Mazovia was still a separate administrative unit in the sixteenth century, and that the borders and laws of this unit were settled in the course of clashes with the dukes, and survived until the land of Rawa was incorporated into the Crown.

Such a possibility could be suggested by the term *capitaneatus*, frequently used to denote economic complexes of Church estates also in other areas of Mazovia, for instance in case of Wyszaków, Pułtusk and Brok estates of Płock bishopric. The traditional name of Łowicz castellany persisted as well within the estates of the archbishopric. In the fifteenth century, the name was used along with the term ‘Łowicz district’ (*in castellania sive districtu Lovicensi*), in opposition to Skierniewice district (*in districtu Skierniewicensi*).<sup>94</sup>

**Rawa Mazowiecka land** was divided into two districts in the sixteenth century: Rawa and Biała. Even though the division was quite old – originating in the fifteenth century,<sup>95</sup> no sources survive, which would allow us to determine precisely the range of Biała district in the sixteenth century. The division was also avoided in fiscal sources. Therefore the reconstruction was based on the eighteenth century state.<sup>96</sup>

Perthées’s map and hearth tax rates tariffs from 1789–1790 generally agree about the range of this district. The only difference concerns Sierzchowy parish, placed in Rawa district by the map of Perthées, and in Biała district by the tariffs. The analysis of the layout of parishes in the sixteenth century tax registers suggests that Biała parish was followed by all parishes, which undoubtedly belonged to Biała district in the eighteenth century, as well as parishes: Krzemienica, Czerniewice (both near Sierzchowy), and Białynin. Czerniewice and Krzemienica lay much closer to Rawa than Biała, which could mean their inhabitants answered before the court of Rawa also in the sixteenth century. And the location of Białynin parish totally rejects its affiliation to Biała district. As a result, we accepted the border shown on Perthées’s map as the sixteenth century border, marking an alternative for Sierzchowy parish.

It should be noted that Jaruzel, a parochial settlement, paid tax in two lands in the sixteenth century: Rawa and Sochaczew. The same situation occurred in the eighteenth century in hearth tax rates 1789–1790, where one part of Jaruzel, with presbytery, was listed in Mszczonów district, and the other – in Biała district.

**Sochaczew land** consisted of two districts in the sixteenth century: Sochaczew and Mszczonów. Tax registers outline Mszczonów district in 1552 and 1557, with the following parishes: Mszczonów, Chojnata

<sup>94</sup> Mostly Taryfy 1789–1790 and Perthées’s maps.

<sup>95</sup> Regesta theloniei aquaticae Wladislaviensis saeculi XVI, ed. S. Kutrzeba, F. Duda, Kraków 1915, pp. 64, 99, 111, 150, 171, 185, 196, 300, 342; Liber privilegiorum kapituły łowickiej, BN, microfilm no. 9205, f. 47, 101.

<sup>96</sup> Wolff, p. 17.

and Jaruzel (part), whereas the affiliation of two other parishes: Grodzisko and Osuchów, to the district was confirmed by the 1497 register, and of Grodzisko parish alone also by the document of the renewal of the establishment of the parish from 1590.<sup>97</sup>

The reconstruction of the borders of **Płock Voivodeship** presented on the map of Mazovia shows some differences in relation to the map of WP. These differences result from the method of work applied and are only linear – showing different bends of the borderline – but also introduce corrections concerning parochial and district affiliation of several settlements. We must mention here an attempt to draw alternative borders of Kuklino parish, which created an exclave of Szreńsk district inside Mława district in the previous presentation.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were two lands and seven districts in Płock Voivodeship. In the 1530s (probably around 1538) a new, eighth district was isolated from the district of Biała – Sierpc.<sup>98</sup>

Several settlements situated in the borderlands of two districts were divided by the boundary line (our analysis of tax payments showed that these settlements paid part of their taxes to one district, and part to another), these were: Góra, located between the districts of Płońsk and Bielsk, and Strzegowo between Szreńsk and Raciąż district.

## ANNEX I

### Total area of state territorial units of Mazovia

#### Total area of the Voivodeships of Mazovia in km<sup>2</sup>

Voivodeship	km <sup>2</sup>	according to Pawiński, in km <sup>2</sup>
Płock	4,304	4,202.8
Rawa	6,173	5,075.4
Mazovian	23,016	22,371.8
Mazovia	33,493	31,847.3

#### Total area of districts and lands of Mazovia

Districts	km <sup>2</sup>	According to Pawiński, in km <sup>2</sup>	Lands	km <sup>2</sup>	According to Pawiński, in km <sup>2</sup>
1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Płock Voivodeship</b>					
Szreńsk	953	959.2			
Mława	433	440.5			
Niedzbórz	393	346.4			
			Zawkrze	1,779	1,746.1
Płock	548	495.8			
Biała	429	467.1			
Płońsk	280	302.1			

<sup>97</sup> P. Mazowsze, p. 146, footnote 1; M. Bojanek, *Kościół i parafia w Grodzisku. Monografia historyczna na podstawie źródeł parafialnych*, Warszawa 1917, pp. 9 and 11.

<sup>98</sup> In 1531 and 1538 the tax registers had not isolated Sierpc district yet. For the first time the district appeared in the register from 1540 (ASK I 4, f. 77–97v, 182, 396–400v). However, an entry in the gord court books of Płock from 1538 places the village Krajewice Żabowo in Sierpc district (Kartoteka SHGM, Płockie grodz. wiecz. 5, 56v–57).

Districts	km <sup>2</sup>	According to Pawiński, in km <sup>2</sup>	Lands	km <sup>2</sup>	According to Pawiński, in km <sup>2</sup>
1	2	3	4	5	6
Sierpc	776	699.5			
Raciąż	491	488.7			
			Płock	2,525	2,453.2
<b>Rawa Voivodeship</b>					
Gąbin	1,139	–			
Gostynin	794				
			Gostynin	1,933	1,615.9
Rawa	1,420	–			
Biała	814	–			
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rawa	2,234	1,852.9
Sochaczew	1,601	–			
Mszczonów	405	–			
			Sochaczew	2,006	1,606.5
<b>Mazovian Voivodeship</b>					
Czersk	664	2,440.3			
Garwolin	1,890				
Grójec	687	697.7			
Warka	948	904.4			
			Czersk	4,189	4,042.4
Warsaw	2,027	–			
Tarczyn	408	–			
Błonie	455	–			
			Warsaw	2,890	2,859.7
Wyszogród	587	628.8			
			Wyszogród	587	628.8
Zakroczym	417	334.4			
Nowe Miasto	721	820			
Serock	208				
			Zakroczym	1,346	1,155.4
Maków	353	313.5			
Rożan	569	583.5			
			Rożan	922	897.4
Nur	844	1,001.8			
Kamieniec	2,063	2,141.4			
Ostrów	550	512.5			

Districts	km <sup>2</sup>	According to Pawiński, in km <sup>2</sup>	Lands	km <sup>2</sup>	According to Pawiński, in km <sup>2</sup>
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Nur	3,457	3,655.6
Liw	1,038	947.4			
			Liw	1,038	947.4
Wizna	385	555.9			
Radziłów	361	–			
Wąsosz	651	863.7			
			Wizna	1,397	1,419.6
Ciechanów	779	696.8			
Przasnysz	1,852	1,725.3			
Sąchock	350	283.1			
			Ciechanów	2,981	2,705.2
Łomża	1,006	763.5			
Ostrołęka	1,416	1,980.5			
Kolno	1,135	682.3			
Zambrów	652	833.9			
			Łomża	4,209	4,260.3

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.2.1.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Michał Gochna*

The present chapter is concerned with the administrative borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century to the extent that it entered into the composition of the Crown of the Polish Kingdom in 1569 yet it is presented within the boundaries that it attained at the end of the sixteenth century. This entity had been separated from the Troki Voivodeship of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the first half of the sixteenth century. Two dates are significant here: the year 1513 when for the very first time the Podlasie voivode is mentioned in the sources (Iwan Sapieha), and the year 1520, when the King Zygmunt Stary established the Podlasie Voivodeship with its capital at Drohiczyn. This area had been a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and comprised the lands of Bielsk, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Brześć, Kamieniec and Kobryń.<sup>1</sup> The newly created voivodeship was of a fairly extensive land area and one that in addition had an awkward southerly elongated shape that hampered its efficient administration. And in addition there were legal differences between the various parts. The north-western part of the then Podlasie Voivodeship in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth century had come under the control of the Mazovian princes several times. The whole of Podlasie came under their jurisdiction for the short period of 1382 to 1383, and subsequently from 1390 to the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the years 1440–1444 the Drohiczyn lands were held by Prince Bolesław IV.<sup>2</sup> The environs of Goniądz and Rajgród fell to Mazovia as a result of the struggles with the Yotvingians (Sudovians), though with time these lands were to be incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>3</sup> The Mazovian Piasts supported the influx of settlers from Mazovia to the newly acquired territories, bestowing either properties upon their subjects or Polish rights for the local nobility.<sup>4</sup> Following the subsequent inclusion of particular Podlasie lands into the composition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Lithuanian authorities confirmed on the settlers those rights given by the Mazovian princes. In 1445 Kazimierz Jagiellończyk confirmed the rights bestowed on Polish subjects from the Drohiczyn lands, and which had been granted under Witold and Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz. These lands

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<sup>1</sup> A number of researchers, such as E. Dubas-Urwanowicz and W. Jarmolik, stand by 1513 as the date for the actual creation of the Podlasie Voivodeship. The year 1513 has equally been accepted by Tomasz Jaszczółt in discussions over the present commentary. Here we are inclined towards the views of Ł. Gołaszewski and A. Zakrzewski as well as the opinion of D. Michaluk and treat its arising as a process finalised in the document of 1520. *Urzednicy podlascy*, p. 13; W. Jarmolik, *Powstanie województwa podlaskiego*, „Białostoczczyzna“ 1989, no. 4 (16), pp. 6–9; Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, *Ustrój*, pp. 195–196; Michaluk, *Granice województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 172–173. A. Jabłonowski has published the voivodeship founding document. *Podlasie III*, pp. 257–259.

<sup>2</sup> Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, pp. 331–360. Following the rejoining of the Drohiczyn land to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the Węgrów district was to have remained on the Mazovia side, sometimes mistakenly called a district, but the agreement was not kept and Węgrów and environs were to come under Lithuanian authority. *Urzednicy podlascy*, p. 8. T. Jaszczółt, *Granica pomiędzy ziemiami drohicką i liwską w świetle protokołów komisji z 1546 roku*, „Rocznik Liwski“, vol. 6, 2012/2013, pp. 17–19. See M. Gochna, *Węgrów*, in this edition III.6.30.8.

<sup>3</sup> Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, p. 333. M. Radoch, *W sprawie daty nadania przez Władysława Jagiellę ziemi drohickiej księciu mazowieckiemu Januszowi I*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny XIV do XVI wieku. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Antoniemu Czacharowskiemu w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 11–20; T. Jaszczółt, *Dokument Władysława Jagiellę dla Abrahama Chamca z 1 VII 1390 roku – najstarsze znane nadanie dóbr ziemskich na Podlasiu*, „Białostockie Teki Historyczne“, 4, 2006, pp. 58–60.

<sup>4</sup> Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, pp. 342–351.

ultimately obtained Polish rights in 1516.<sup>5</sup> In turn, in 1501, Aleksander Jagiellończyk bestowed Polish law, though here incomplete, on the lands of Bielsk, supplemented by the granting of full rights in 1547.<sup>6</sup> The legal differences that were observed between north-west Podlasie and the south-east were connected with the ethnic and denominational differences that developed during the process of settlement. The Drohiczyn, Mielnik, and Bielsk lands were to a great extent characterised by Mazovian settlements and Catholicism as a denomination, while the lands of Brześć Litewski, Kamieniec and Kobryń were dominated by populations of Ruthenians who were Orthodox by faith. The last of the mentioned territories had managed to preserve the hitherto Ruthenian and Lithuanian legislation.<sup>7</sup> So when at the Wilno Sejm of 1565–1566 the administrative reform of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was passed, the Podlasie Voivodeship was reorganised in relation to the above mentioned divisions. The lands of Brześć, Kamieniec and Kobryń were in connection with the Turów-Pińsk dukedom to form the new Brześć Litewski Voivodeship with its capital at Brześć Litewski.<sup>8</sup> The lands of Bielsk, Drohiczyn and Mielnik were to remain in the Podlasie Voivodeship. And it was in this form that the voivodeship was incorporated into the Crown in 1569.<sup>9</sup> Following its incorporation the western and south-western border of the Podlasie Voivodeship was to become the border dividing it from other voivodeships entering into the composition of the Crown – Mazovia and Lublin. The eastern one not only separated Podlasie from the Voivodeships of Brześć Litewski and Troki, but also with the same became the border between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The status of the northern section of the border did not change however – as it continued to be the state border with the Duchy of Prussia.

The Podlasie Voivodeship was initially joined to the province of Greater Poland while the representatives of Podlasie appeared at the general diet in Koło. At the turn of the seventeenth century the Koło general diet (assembly) declined, and from 1571 onwards and in the seventeenth century the representatives of Podlasie attended the Mazovia general diet.<sup>10</sup> Diets were formally called into existence in Podlasie in 1565, however earlier still there had taken place assemblies of the Podlasie nobility, at which, among other things, local administrators were chosen. Three diets were in operation in Podlasie,

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<sup>5</sup> VL, vol. 1, pp. 174–175 (384–387).

<sup>6</sup> Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, *Ustrój*, p. 196; VL, vol. 1, pp. 287–288.

<sup>7</sup> Michaluk, *Granice województwa podlaskiego*, p. 174. The Lithuanian nobility often made reference to laws in operation in Podlasie as the basis for demands advanced for administrative reforms. *Urządnicy podlascy*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>8</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu w XV i XVI wieku*, Olsztyn 2012, pp. 155–157. In this volume we have employed the name ‘Brześć Litewski’ to term the voivodeship. This functioned in the second half of the sixteenth century next to the form *brześciańskie* [‘Brestian’]. It appears that with time the first of the two forms started to gain prominence. Bartosz Paprocki employs the term “bereszczajskie”. Idem, *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego Na pięćciu Xiąg rozdzielone* [...], Cracow 1584, p. 719. In Marcin Bielski the voivodeship is known as “brzeskie”. Idem, *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach[im]a. Bielskiego syna iego wydana* [...], Cracow 1597, p. 7 (10). Within the hierarchy of senatorial offices from the sejm of 1569 the voivode is defined as “brześcieński”. Similarly the adjective “brześcieński” or “brześciański” was used in taxation register letters for the universal taxation levied in this same year, but already in 1578 it appears as “Brześć Litewski” (with this last term being repeated in subsequent proclamations, being in part a duplication of that of 1578 – in the years 1580, 1581, 1588). In turn from 1589 r. (in the years 1590, 1591 and 1593) tax collection was to be handed over to the collector in “Brześć Litewski”; VL, vol. 2, pp. 68 (777–778), 106 (805), 197 (993), 203 (1006), 218 (1036), 276 (1259), 303 (1316), 325 (1362), 339 (1392), 354 (1424); VC, 2, no. 1, pp. 239, 262, 429, 439, 461; no. 2, pp. 96, 135, 167, 189, 214. Analogically we have employed this version of the name in reference to the Brześć Litewski district. The many references in this volume to the Brześć Voivodeship are referrals to the unit belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and not to the Crown voivodeship of Brześć Kujawski (Kuyavian Brest) unless stated otherwise.

<sup>9</sup> VL, vol. 2, pp. 77–80 (745–752); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 216–200: The act „O ziemi podlaskiej. Przywilej przywrocenia ziemie podlaskiej do Korony Polskiej” of 5 marca 1569. Although the capital of the voivodeship was Drohiczyn this did not become its political centre. As a result of the extensive longitudinal nature of the voivodeship where additionally royal possessions dominated in the Bielsk land, several political-administrative centres were to form over time. J. Reder has enumerated amongst them, and here for the King Stanisław August Poniatowski period, Bielsk, Brańsk, Drohiczyn, Goniądz, Mielnik, Sokołów and Tykocin. Ł. Gołaszewski and A. Zakrzewski have also included amongst their number Suraz, losing with time its significance. J. Reder, *Podlasie. Z dziejów ustroju terytorialnego i nazewnictwa*, CPH, vol. 56, 2004, no. 1, p. 54; Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, *Ustrój*, p. 209; VL, vol. 7, p. 153 (348–349).

<sup>10</sup> J. A. Gierowski, *Sejmik generalny Księstwa Mazowieckiego na tle ustroju sejmikowego Mazowsza*, Wrocław 1948, pp. 23–25; E. Kalinowski, *Podlasianin Wielkopolaninem? Z nieznanych dziejów przynależności terytorialnej Podlasia po 1569 r.*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. 106, 2015, no. 3, pp. 421–440; VL, vol. 2, pp. 197 (993), 207 (1004) and VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 439, where in the light of the tax universals of 1578 and 1580 Podlasie belonged to Greater Poland.

one for each of the lands. At each of these two deputies were selected. This number was maintained also after the incorporation of Podlasie within the Crown.<sup>11</sup>

When in 1578 the Crown Tribunal was formed and the Polish state was divided into two provinces, Podlasie was assigned to the province of Lesser Poland with the seat of the Tribunal in Lublin (while Mazovia belonged to the province of Greater Poland). So consequently Podlasie was in various territorial unions – a different diet and a different tribunal one. This was to change around the mid seventeenth century when this area was permanently deemed part of the Lesser Poland province.<sup>12</sup> The deputy diet at Drohiczyn would choose two Podlasie deputies for the Tribunal.<sup>13</sup> From 1611 one of these came from the Drohiczyn land, with the second alternately from the Bielsk and Mielnik lands.<sup>14</sup> Such a situation was to generate disputes amongst the nobility of the Drohiczyn and Bielsk lands. The latter at the same time was the last in the hierarchy of the lands within the Podlasie Voivodeship that attempted to change this state of affairs. In 1699 the mentioned deputy diet in Drohiczyn was dissolved (called ‘the general’ although it had nothing in common with a general diet), with the selection of deputies remaining to the lands on an alternate basis.<sup>15</sup> Only in 1764 was the Podlasie Voivodeship to be granted a third deputy which limited the hitherto noble disputes.<sup>16</sup>

As was recalled earlier, the voivodeship was divided into three lands – Drohiczyn, Mielnik, and Bielsk, with the capitals being respectively in Drohiczyn, Mielnik and Bielsk. Each of them was a separate fiscal district.

Drohiczyn was the capital of the Drohiczyn starosta, the gord office and court as well as for the land court.<sup>17</sup> At the diet of 1631 Miedzna (Międzylesie) was designated as an additional place for court sittings. This act did not become binding with parliament carrying out its re-assumption in 1678.<sup>18</sup> In the year 1764 the sejm decided on calling into being additional district court sessions in Mokobody (Mąkobody) and Sokołów Podlaski (Sokołów).<sup>19</sup>

The Mielnik land was initially a part of the Drohiczyn land. The process of their separation falls to the years 1530–1540.<sup>20</sup> The remains of this union were still visible in the sixteenth century in the form of a joint ensign bearer (this office was to be divided at the beginning of the seventeenth century) as well as in the organisation of the collection of *lanowe* tax.<sup>21</sup> In the years 1576, 1577, 1580 and 1588 the collection in both of these lands was conducted by the same collectors – respectively: Maciej Pobikrowski, Arnolf Hlebowicz (Hlebowicz Korczewski), the Drohiczyn and Mielnik ensign bearer, Jan Grot, the Drohiczyn judge, and Nikodem Jałbrzyk Wyszyński – while the collection registers for the years 1576, 1580 and 1588 were one single whole for both lands.<sup>22</sup> The seat of the starost, the gord court and office as well as where the land court sessions took place was the capital of the district – Mielnik.<sup>23</sup>

The main gord office for the Bielsk land was to function in the sixteenth century not in the capital of the lands, but at Brańsk. However, it was formally referred to as the gord court of the Bielsk land, although it is highly probable that it never actually passed judgements in Bielsk itself.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, in the sources, the starost standing at its head and gord clerks were referred to by either the dual

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<sup>11</sup> Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, Ustrój, 199–200, 203–204; J. Urwanowicz, *Funkcjonowanie sejmików podlaskich w XVI–XVIII wieku. Typowość czy specyfika?*, [in:] *Cywilizacja prowincji Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, ed. A. Jankowski, A. Klonder, Bydgoszcz 2004, pp. 105–119.

<sup>12</sup> E. Kalinowski, *Podlasianin Wielkopolaninem?*, pp. 438–439.

<sup>13</sup> VL, vol. 2, pp. 182 (963); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 407.

<sup>14</sup> VL, vol. 3, p. 14 (22).

<sup>15</sup> Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, Ustrój, p. 206.

<sup>16</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 182 (963); vol. 3, p. 14 (22), J. Urwanowicz, *Funkcjonowanie sejmików podlaskich*, p. 111.

<sup>17</sup> J. Reder, *Podlasie*, p. 53.

<sup>18</sup> VL, vol. 3, p. 331 (692), vol. 5, p. 284 (582).

<sup>19</sup> VL, vol. 7, p. 153 (348–349).

<sup>20</sup> *Urządnicy podlascy*, pp. 7–9.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9; J. Reder, *Podlasie*, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> Similarly the tax act of 1578 meant one tax collector for both lands – Leonard Mężyński. ASK I 47, ff. 35, 496, 739; VL, vol. 2, pp. 180 (958), 203 (1006), 276 (1259). VC, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 429, 439, no. 2, p. 96. The structure of the 1580 tax register is presented as follows: Drohiczyn land villages, Mielnik land villages, Drohiczyn land towns, Mielnik land towns, Drohiczyn land list of overdue tax payments, Mielnik land list of overdue tax payments.

<sup>23</sup> *Urządnicy podlascy*, pp. 7–9; VL, vol. 2, 208–209 (1016–1017); VC, vol 2, no. 1, p. 449.

<sup>24</sup> J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 378.

designation of being of Bielsk and Brańsk, or of just one of these (and here already in the fifteenth century).<sup>25</sup> An impact on this situation could have had the surrounding settlement structure. Within the environs of Bielsk were to be found first and foremost large ducal estates, while in the vicinity of Brańsk it was the property of the small and medium-sized nobility that dominated. The conflict between the Bielsk nobility with the Bielsk starost Olbracht Gasztołd needs to be noted. Gasztołd strove to limit the political activity of the local nobility and for a time suspended the land courts. After many attempts the Bielsk nobility managed, in 1533, to buy out the starosty from Gasztołd. Bielsk was to decrease in importance at this time to that of a non-gord starosty.

The seventeenth century was to see certain changes in the gord courts of the Bielsk land. In 1667 the gord office in Goniądz was created as an answer of the district nobility to the problems connected with the necessity to overcome the significant distances involved, together with the crossing of the Narew, with the aim of making it easier to conduct administrative matters in Brańsk. This office operated as a branch, subordinating itself to the Brańsk starost and the clerks located there. With certain later amendments the office was to function in this mode until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

Land courts in the Bielsk land took place in Suraż, Brańsk, and Tykocin. At the beginning of the fifteenth century court sessions were held in Suraż, and from around the mid fifteenth century in Brańsk, wherein in both towns the same court composition passed judgement.<sup>27</sup> Given that court sessions were not conducted in the capital of the land – Bielsk – and consequently the courts in Suraż and Brańsk were district's land courts for the entire administrative area, clerks involved in the meting out of justice were alternately known as being of Brańsk, Suraż or Bielsk. Court sessions from 1581 also took place in Tykocin.<sup>28</sup> The question of land court sessions within the Bielsk land were defined by the sejm constitution of 1588, establishing the dates for the Brańsk, Suraż and Tykocin court sessions.<sup>29</sup> Hence the areas subordinated to those courts that came into existence in this way started to be called, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, *trakty* (estates) or analogically to the Crown units, districts.<sup>30</sup> The Suraż and Brańsk land courts were finally transferred to Bielsk in 1768, leaving the Tykocin court sessions in their former place.<sup>31</sup>

The administrative hierarchy in Podlasie reflected to a degree the mix of influences derived from the Crown and Lithuanian administrative traditions. In the sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship there functioned next to the gord and land offices characteristic for the Crown (starosta, chamberlain and *wojski*; gord – judge, sub-judge and scribe; land – judge, sub-judge and scribe) offices characteristic for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Around 1513 besides the functioning of the Podlasie voivode noted also were the offices of Podlasie beaver keepers (castorarius), copsers (Pol. *hajewnik*) and foresters. These offices functioned equally in the sixteenth century in the Drohiczyn, Bielsk, and Mielnik lands. In turn amongst the Crown offices functioning in the Podlasie Voivodeship noted before the year 1569 was that of Podlasie referee (Pol. *referendarz*, Lat. *referendarius*), a position created to mediate, among other things, in disputes between the nobility and the district marshals. All of the above mentioned ranks and offices were to disappear along with the inclusion of Podlasie to the Crown, though the voivodeship maintained its hitherto hierarchy of land offices modelled on those of the Crown.<sup>32</sup> Of interest in this context is the case of the Drohiczyn-Mielnik land ensign-bearer officer, who though in title comparable to the Crown land ensign officer, was in fact entrusted with somewhat different authority.<sup>33</sup> In the year 1578 the list of voivodeship offices was supplemented by the inclusion of the ranks of deputy sub-cup-bearer, pantler, cup-bearer, sub-pantler, while in the second half of the seventeenth century

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<sup>25</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, pp. 337, 339–341.

<sup>26</sup> *Urządnicy podlascy* pp. 11–12.

<sup>27</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, pp. 338–342. In the second half of the fifteenth century a court at Goniądz operated for a certain time; one that was to function independently of the Suraż-Brańsk court. However, it was soon to disappear; *idem*, p. 333.

<sup>28</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 208 (1017); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 449.

<sup>29</sup> This constitution abolished the earlier regulation of 1581 on the Tykocin courts. VL, vol. 2, p. 208 (1017), 266 (1238–1239); VC, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 83.

<sup>30</sup> *Urządnicy podlascy*, p. 12. ASK I 70, ff. 315, 382, 504, 626, 684, 757, 817; BCzart, *Zbiór Łoyki*, MS 1099 IV, ff. 701, 761, 791.

<sup>31</sup> VL, vol. 7, pp. 339–340 (727–728).

<sup>32</sup> *Urządnicy podlascy*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 22.

added were equally the voivodeship offices of land ensign-bearer officer and *wojski*. The hierarchy of ranks and offices was only to stabilise in various Podlasie lands around the mid seventeenth century.<sup>34</sup>

There were two senatorial offices in the Podlasie Voivodeship: that of the voivode and one castellan. The former of these had appointed a seat in the ducal council posterior to the Novogrod voivode.<sup>35</sup> Following 1569 the Podlasie voivode sat in the senate before the Mazovia voivode but after the voivode of Rawa. The Podlasie castellan was considered to belong to the circle of higher castellans, holding his place after the castellan of Czersk but before the Rawa castellan. This office was called into being only in 1566.<sup>36</sup>

The Wilno Sejm of 1544 decreed that the Podlasie nobility were to conduct military rolls before the relevant starost.<sup>37</sup> Following the incorporation of Podlasie in 1569 the voivodeship preserved its hitherto military organisation that is general call ups of men to fight based on fields cultivated i.e., the providing of a single horseman for each 10 or 20 voloks depending on the type of equipment (relative to a Cossack or a hussar).<sup>38</sup> In 1587 Drohiczyn was designated a muster point in the Podlasie Voivodeship for the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands while Suraz covered the Bielsk land, something confirmed by the acts of 1620 and 1632.<sup>39</sup>

The creation of the Podlasie Voivodeship in the first half of the sixteenth century, the division of 1566 as well as its inclusion into the Crown in 1569 meant that the borders of this administrative unit at the end of the sixteenth century were not strictly regulated. Here a noticeable influence was exerted by ownership structure. The holders of estates straddling the border divide sought to reduce fiscal responsibility resulting in a common practice whereby magnates would one time consider their estates to be under Crown taxation while another under the jurisdiction of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. As Dorota Michaluk has pointed out, and here on the basis of the Mielnik land, of importance in the resolving of border disputes was also the fact as to whether at the moment of the incorporation of particular estates and lands to Podlasie their owners had been individuals connected to the Crown either through positions held or estates owned.<sup>40</sup> To this needs to be added political animosity and the opposition of a part of the Lithuanian magnates in relation to Podlasie's inclusion within the Crown.<sup>41</sup> The problem of the demarcation and stabilisation of the Podlasie Voivodeship's borders was to be wrestled with even during the first half of the seventeenth century. Sejms often called into being border commissions to demarcate the Podlasie Voivodeship in accordance with the borders of other neighbouring voivodeships especially the Lithuanian ones. Such decrees were issued in the years 1589, 1591, 1596, 1598, 1601, 1607, 1611, 1616, 1620, 1623, 1635, 1638, 1649, 1661.<sup>42</sup> In connection with the above the administrative affiliation of several key estates and properties on the Podlasie border requires a more extensive commentary and coverage.

For a short period in 1569 the Łomazy-Wohyń estates (Pol. *trakt*) was incorporated into the Podlasie Voivodeship. This had been a disputed territory from at least the fifteenth century. In 1447 King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk separated it from the Lublin Voivodeship's Parczew starost, incorporating these lands within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a part of his ducal lands. In the mid sixteenth century those estates were a part of the Brześć Litewski starost, while after the reform of 1565–1566 they found themselves within the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship. Following Podlasie's inclusion into the Crown, attempts were made to join these territories to Podlasie. The lease of the Łomazy-Wołyn estates Ostafi

<sup>34</sup> Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, Ustrój, p. 206, Urzędnicy podlascy, pp. 22–23.

<sup>35</sup> Podlasie III, p. 258.

<sup>36</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 93 (777–778); Urzędnicy podlascy, p. 135.

<sup>37</sup> *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol. 33, Юрьевъ 1914, col. 111; Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, Ustrój, p. 200.

<sup>38</sup> K. Łopatecki, *Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina w polskim i litewskim pospolitym ruszeniu (do połowy XVII wieku)*, Białystok 2013 (*Dissertationes* – Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, vol. 3), p. 43.

<sup>39</sup> VL, vol. 3, pp. 392–393 (828–829), 176–177 (364–365).

<sup>40</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 49.

<sup>41</sup> H. Lulewicz, *Gniewów o unię ciąg dalszy. Stosunki polsko-litewskie w latach 1569–1588*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 17–39.

<sup>42</sup> VL, vol. 2, pp. 287 (1281), 289 (1287), 332 (1376), 365 (1448–1449), 391 (1505), 393 (1509), 444 (1620); VL, vol. 3, pp. 14–15 (22–23), 151–152 (312–313), 180–181 (372–373), 219 (454–455), 414 (874), 429 (905–906), 448–449 (945–946), 149 (325–326); VL, vol. 4, p. 336 (720); VC, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 113, 116, 179, 232–233, 244–245, 276, 279, 354; VC, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 27, 220–221, 271, 327, 293, 325–326; VC, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 220; VC, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 110–111. On the border commissions see A. Wilkiewicz-Wawrzyńczykowa, *Spory graniczne polsko-litewskie w XV–XVII w.*, „Wiadomości Studium Historii Prawa Litewskiego,” vol. 1, 1938, pp. 93–205.

Wołłowicz was, however, not to swear loyalty to the Crown. In response the king gave the lands to Jan Tarło, the Radom castellan. Wołłowicz then changed his mind and swore allegiance which resulted in the inclusion of the estates within the Crown, and in 1570 he allowed for, though with resistance, their inspection. Shortly after the death of Zygmunt August these estates were once again joined with the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship (this was not covered, among other things, by the inspection of 1576), although disputes over its administrative affiliation were to persist.<sup>43</sup>

Following the Union of Lublin also a demesne of lands with their centre at Choroszcz were not to be incorporated into the Podlasie Voivodeship. Their owner Grzegorz Chodkiewicz, the Wilno castellan, similarly to Wołłowicz, did not swear allegiance to the Crown.<sup>44</sup> Such a state of affairs was to continue until the partitions and these estates were to permanently enter into the composition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The administrative affiliation of the Międzyrzec estates was for a long time undefined and undecided on. Within the borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship it had been before 1566 included both within the district of the Mielnik district as equally as a part of the Brześć Litewski district. The controversy intensified following the division of the voivodeship in 1566. From that moment onwards the dispute raged not over course of the border between the two districts but between the two voivodeships. Finally, with the inclusion of Podlasie within the Crown in 1569, the dispute was to accentuate itself into a border conflict between the two states that made up the Commonwealth. Although an act of obedience through the swearing of an oath of loyalty to the Crown was also expected of the then owner of the Międzyrzec estates, Duke Stefan Zbaraski, he refused to take such an oath and so the estates were not incorporated into the Podlasie Voivodeship (it was to be only with his son, Piotr Zbaraski, that allegiance was finally sworn). In 1578, at the request of the nobility of the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship, a boundary committee was called into being, which was to judge the affiliation of the previously mentioned estates (as well as the Wołyn-Łomazy estates). These territories were to remain in the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship though this was not to be the final. Subsequent commissions were to meet in the years 1589, 1591, 1596, 1598, 1601, 1607 though to no avail. It was only to be the committee called in 1616 that was, by a decree of 1620, to incorporate the Międzyrzec as well as the Wołyń-Łomazy estates along with the Kozierady estates<sup>45</sup> into the Mielnik land of the Podlasie Voivodeship. This was to arouse opposition on the part of the Lithuanian nobility, but both the Międzyrzec estates as equally the Kozierady were to remain within the Podlasie Voivodeship up until the partitions.<sup>46</sup> At that time equally incorporated were the Rossosz and Horodyszcze estates that had hitherto constituted an exclave of the Mielnik land within the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship. The incorporation of the above mentioned territories, without the Wołyń starost, was confirmed in 1638.<sup>47</sup>

As a result of the above comments the mentioned territories did not find themselves on the main map of the Podlasie Voivodeship, depicting the state of affairs at the end of the sixteenth century. The borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship formed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century were to survive without noticeable changes up until the third partition of Poland in 1795.<sup>48</sup>

In accordance with the methodology devised for the current AHP series the boundaries of state territorial entities are plotted between two settlements of varied administrative affiliation.<sup>49</sup> In the

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<sup>43</sup> LWP 1570, 1576 pp. XIX–XX, XXIII, 10–25, see the map of the Wołyń starost attached to the inspection; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 36–47; Michaluk, *Granice województwa podlaskiego*, p. 182. Between the Wołyń-Łomazy estates were equally noble villages – Połubicze, Przewłoka, Chmielewo, Kopiny, Przegalino and Żelazna. Their owners attempted to join their estates to the Mielnik land, while earlier the creation of a separate district with its capital at Parczew, Łomazy or Wołyń, however these were ineffective attempts. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 40.

<sup>44</sup> Michaluk, *Granice województwa podlaskiego*, p. 181; J. Maroszek, J. Tęgowski, *Pogranicze polsko-rusko-litewskie*, [in:] *Historia województwa podlaskiego*, ed. A. Dobroński, Białystok 2010, p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> Kozierady – present-day Konstantynów. PRNG, no. 57323.

<sup>46</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Dokument Władysława Jagielly*, pp. 49–51; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 33, 47, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 46–49. The author records that the Mielnik land nobility advanced property claims as equally for other estates including Bukowicze, Kozierady, Wysokie, Wulin (Welanów), Biała Podlaska, Janów Podlaski, Borysowa Wola, Litwinowicze, a part of the Dziadkowice parish, Nosowo and the noble environs of Iwanowskie, Wahanowskie, Telatycze and Bukraby. *ibidem*, pp. 32, 50.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 52.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. H. Rutkowski, *Metoda regresji w geografii historycznej Polski (wybrane zagadnienia)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 146–162.

overwhelming majority of cases their exact course in the sixteenth century as it ran between neighbouring settlements remains unknown. Consequently they have been plotted on the basis of natural territorial obstacles, chiefly water networks. While where a boundary ran across land, interpolation has been employed. The boundaries of contemporary areas have been generalised depending on the situation and employed retrospectively.<sup>50</sup> The chief source that allows one to incorporate a given settlement into the borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship of land given to it came from the second half of the sixteenth century (tax registers, inspections, military rolls). In those cases where a territorial affiliation was not clear utilised have been sources from the seventeenth century (tax registers for the Bielsk land for the years 1634 and 1635, the Mielnik land for the years 1629 and 1627, the poll tax registers from the seventeenth century). The only cartographic material that showed the borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship and its particular lands were the maps of the voivodeships of Podlasie and Mazovia by Karol Perthées, together with sketches of the parishes and deaneries from these voivodeships. As far as possible recourse has been made to the demarcations known in the subject literature, as equally for voivodeships, as well as individual estates.<sup>51</sup> Information from the court books and the collection of excerpts assembled from them by Ignacy Kapica (so-called “Kapicjana”) have been drawn on first and foremost by means of the subject literature especially provincial sources.

Let us now move onto a description of the borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship. We shall commence the said from the border at the most northernly point within the environs of the village of Grabowo. Here converged the borders of the Crown, (the Podlasie Voivodeship), the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the Troki Voivodeship) as well as that of the Duchy of Prussia (Natangia). From the border point towards the north-west the land border from Grabów between Podlasie and Prussia ran in a south-western direction. On reaching Lake Rajgród it divided the lake, leaving the south-eastern part in the Crown and the north-western in Prussia,<sup>52</sup> after which again on land it extended to the border with the Mazovia Voivodeship and here in the environs of the Podlasie village of Toczyłowo and the Mazovian settlement of Bogusze as well as the Prussian village of Prostki. The joining of the borders of the three states – the Crown, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Duchy of Prussia – was marked out in August 1545 by a border post (one still existing to this day) at the settlement of Bogusze on the River Elk (Łek).<sup>53</sup> From this point the border ran to the south along the course of the River Elk, separating the Voivodeship of Podlasie from that of Mazovia. Subsequently at the mouth of the Elk and the Biebrza Rivers the border turned to the west and the south west, hugging the latter of the two rivers up unto its entry into the Narew. Further the border ran to the upper Narew in an easterly direction after which it took a southern turn following the course of the River Ślina entering into the Narew.

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<sup>50</sup> T. Panecki, *Cartographic Modelling of Administrative Divisions in the “Historical Atlas of Poland”*, „Polish Cartographical Review”, vol. 52, 2020, no. 1, pp. 27–38.

<sup>51</sup> In the case of the Podlasie-Mazovia border the greatest amount of information is on the delimitation of the Crown with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1546 AGAD, Varia Oddziału I, catalogue number 55–56. The Polish protocol being printed in: M. Dogiel, *Limites Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae*, Wilno 1758, pp. 1–66 („Limites inter Regnum Poloniae ac Magnum Ducatum Lituaniae, nec non Prussiam”). On this demarcation and border disputes see T. Jaszczolt, *Granica pomiędzy ziemią drohiczką i liwską*, pp. 13–54; P. Sianko, *Granica mazowiecko-litewska do 1569 roku. Kształtowanie się, rola społeczna*, Białystok 2019, MS of a PhD thesis, pp. 290–332, 361–427. Reference was also made to the descriptions of the Grodno, Bielsk and Goniądz borders of 1529/1536. *Археографический сборник документовъ относящихся къ исторіи Сѣверо-Западной Руси издаваемый при Управленіи Виленскаго учебнаго округа*, vol. 1, Вильна 1867, no. 18, pp. 18–24. The north and north west section of the voivodeship has been sketched on the basis of the demarcation lines of 1358; H. Rutkowski, *Granica mazowiecko-litewska między Wizną a Grodnem z 1358 r.*, SG, vol. 5, 2017, pp. 140–155. Cf. discussion on the subject of this boundary section: E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, *O mazowiecko-litewskiej ugodzie granicznej z 1358 r. (głos w dyskusji)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 213–226; H. Rutkowski, *Odpowiedź na krytykę artykułu o granicy z 1358 r.*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 227–233; P. Sianko, *Rozgraniczenie mazowiecko-litewskie z 1358 r. – nowe spojrzenie* [in:] *Granice i pogranicza*, ed. P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, W. Walczak, Białystok 2019, pp. 11–46; H. Rutkowski, *O dokumencie z roku 1358 raz jeszcze*, SG, vol. 8, 2020, pp. 215–219. For boundary changes within this section see J. Jakubowski, *Przykład zmienności granic administracyjnych na Litwie w wieku XVI*, „Ateneum Wileńskie”, 10, 1935, pp. 161–164.

<sup>52</sup> See the border that still in 1422 demarcated along Lake Rajgród on Józef Naroński’s map of the Elk starost from approx. 1600 J. Szeliga, *Rękopiśmienne mapy Prus Książęcych Józefa Naronowicza-Narońskiego z drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1997 (Studia i Materiały z Historii Kartografii, vol. 15).

<sup>53</sup> This post maybe seen on Kaspar Hennenberger’s map *Prvssia: Das ist des Landes zu Preussen Welches das herrlichste Theil ist Sarmatiae Europae, Eigentliche vnd Warhafftige Beschreibung* [...], reprinted in 1638 in Königsberg; <https://polona.pl/item/prvssia-das-ist-des-landes-zu-preussen-welches-das-herrlichste-theil-ist-sarmatiae,NDg5ODg0Nw/0/#info:metadata> (access: 12.05.2020).

Next beyond the Mazovian Zawady, at the level of the village of Podlasie Kapice the border departs from the river, runs landwards in a south-western direction, leaving on the Podlasie side the environs of noble Sikory, Wnory, Grodzkie, Kulesze, Gołasic and Tybory while on the Mazovian: Cibory, Zambrzyca and Kołaki.<sup>54</sup> Beyond the Podlasie environs of Miodusy the border turns south at the level of Rosochate taking a south-eastern turn, dividing the noble environs of Dąbrów, leaving its northern part within Podlasie and the southern – in Mazovia.<sup>55</sup> Beyond which it turned to the south, passing the Mazovia environs of Siennica (Sienica), Zawisty, Kutylowo, Boguty and Tymianki (Tymianka), and in Podlasie Łuniewo Wielkie, Małe (Łuniewo Szczubły), Usza (Wielka and Mała) among others, extending beyond Ciechanowiec and Kozarze to the River Nurzec.<sup>56</sup> The border was to run along the course of this river between the Voivodships of Podlasie and Mazovia right up to the River Bug. Next it ran along this river to the west, leaving it in a southerly direction beyond the settlement of Kiełczew (Kiełczewo). Further it directed itself to the south-west towards the Liwiec, leaving in Mazovia the villages of Morzyczyn Włościański (Morzyczyno), Orzełek, Kołodział (Kołodziałcz), Brzózka, Miednik, Zgrzebichy (Grzebichy), Stary Zambrzyńc (Zembrzyńc), Matały (Matałki) and Twarogi, while in Podlasie: Prostyń (Prostynia), Złotki, Stare Lipki (Lipki), Ugoszcz (Ugoszcza), Kozołupy, Kałęczyn (Kałęczynek), and Wólka Papińska (Zadnia Wola). Next the border ran up to the Liwiec, from the mouth of the River Muchawka (Żytina) separating the Voivodships of Podlasie from that of Lublin. Going further along the Liwiec distancing itself from the river at the settlement of Próchenki it moved to the east, separating the Mielnik land from the estates of Międzyrzec situated at the time in the Brześć Litewski district of the Brześć Litewski Voivodship. On this section on the Podlasie side were the villages of Korczówka, Krawce, Mostowo, Siliwonki (Sieliwonki), Dziadkowskie (Dzietkowskie) and Mielniki. On its reaching the River Krzywula the border heads north, beyond Huszlew and Wólka driving east and further to the south east, leaving Bokowicze in the Brześć Litewski Voivodship, while Nosów (Nosowo), Droblin, Koszelówka, and Stara Bordziłówka (Borzyłowa Wola) in Mielnik land. Subsequently running along the River Klukówka (Białka), avoiding Mielnik Witulin and Cicibór Mały (Cicibór), where it turned north beyond the last of these settlements.<sup>57</sup> After having passed by Ossówka (Wola Osowska) it headed north-west and with a broad arc it passed by the Kozierady estates and in

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<sup>54</sup> The village of Krawce-Starawieś is marked for this section on Perthées's map as lying in the Podlasie Voivodship, however in the second half of the sixteenth century it found itself within the district of Zambrów in the Voivodship of Mazovia; ASK I 39, f. 117 (Mielnik tax register of 1577); AHP Mazovia (main map). The noble environs of Czarnowo were divided from the second half of the fifteenth century by initially state and later voivodship borders – Byki remained on the Podlasie side, Ondy on the Mazovian. Cf. Jaszczolt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, p. 349.

<sup>55</sup> On this section the border ran through the village of Rosochate Nartoły (Rosochate Święck), which set out the delimitation of 1546. The Podlasie part of this village constantly appeared (as Rosochate Święcko or simply Rosochate) either in military rolls or in tax registers of the sixteenth century, though also in the list of oaths sworn by the Podlasie nobility in loyalty to the Crown in 1569. Popis 1565, pp. 335–336; Popis 1567, p. 934; AUPL, p. 289; ASK I 47, ff. 61v, 542v, 753; ASK I 27, ff. 931. Jaszczolt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, p. 349; M. Dogiel, *Limites Regni Poloniae*, p. 14.

<sup>56</sup> The land boundary on this section was marked by means of 'posts' mentioned many fold in the delimitation of 1546, being more than likely vertical markers in the ground; see E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, *Czym były mazowieckie „plozy”?* (*uwagi wstępne*), SG, vol. 4, 2016, pp. 27–37. It appears that the course of the said 'posts' was visible in certain sections on Von Stein's map (a thin, dotted line), and sometimes also on contemporary surveying divisions. See the boundary in the environs of the village of Sikory Bartyczki.

<sup>57</sup> Unclear administrative affiliation concerned the village of Cicibór and Kajków, the latter is shown on the main map as related to the former. Cicibór is mentioned in the tax registers for the Mielnik land for the years 1577 and 1580. The latter mentions, beside Cicibór, also Kajków and is in principle the only hitherto known reference to this settlement from the second half of the sixteenth century. According to D. Michaluk this village belonged in the seventeenth century to the Brześć Litewski Voivodship. On Perthées's map while Cicibór is visible within the borders of this voivodship the village of Kajków is unmarked. ASK I 47, ff. 554 (Mielnik land tax register 1580), 765v (Mielnik land tax register 1577); cf. SGKP, vol. 3, p. 671; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 51. In turn the village of Nosów displayed a changed administrative affiliation in the first half of the sixteenth century. From the second half of the sixteenth century it was to find itself permanently within the Mielnik land. ASK I 47, f. 552 (Mielnik land tax register 1580), 755 (Mielnik land tax register 1588), 788v (Mielnik land tax register 1577); BOss, catalogue number 4279, ff. 6 (taxation tariff for the Mielnik land, 1627); APL, AWor., catalogue number 1, p. 3 (taxation tariff for the Mielnik land, 1629); Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 28. The village of Bukowice (Bokowicze) neighbouring with Nosów from the south was already part of the Brześć Litewski Voivodship, although its administrative affiliation was disputed in the sixteenth century. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 28–29, 43–44; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu w XV i XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1951, pp. 27–28, 48–55; cf. AWAK 33, pp. 176–179, where in the light of the document of 1609 Bokowicze lay within the Mielnik land.

passing by the villages of Nosów (Nosowo), Stara Kornica (Kornica), Walim, Raczki and Gnojno it reached the River Bug. Next it separated Mielnik Niemirów (Niwicze) from Brześć Litewski's Krynki, directing itself north. Within the environs of Żerczyce it reached upto the River Nurczyk, along which it ran right up until it joined the River Nurzec.<sup>58</sup>

Then the border headed up the River Nurzec, from which it departed in a south-easterly direction leaving Kalejczyce (Kaleczyce) as well as the Kleszczele leased villages on the Bielsk side.<sup>59</sup> Beyond the settlements of Czeremcha-Wieś (Nurzec) and Kuzawa (Babicze) the border turned in a north-eastern and northerly direction passing by villages of the Bielsk starost heading towards the Narewka. It ran for a short section along the river after which it headed in a north-westerly direction leaving in the Podlasie Voivodeship the leased Narew villages as well as the boyars villages of Hoźna and Żywkowo, while leaving the Zabłudów estates in the Troki Voivodeship. In the environs of the villages of Złotniki and Tryczówka it turned north passing the parish village of Juchnowiec Górny (Juchnowiec-Dwór) as well as the noble environs of Niewodnica. Subsequently arching its way in a north-westerly direction only in the environs of the village of Horodniany for it to then head north-eastwards up to the River Biały Stok. It was then to run downstream of this river, leaving the Białystok estates in the Bielsk land, after which it struck eastwards and reached the River Supraśl.

Here it follows to note that the course of the border in the environs of Białystok and Choroszcz has been reconstructed differently than how it was presented on Perthées' map. The fundamental change is the presentation of the Choroszcz estates as an exclave of the Troki Voivodeship within the Crown, without any territorial connection with the Grand Duchy.<sup>60</sup> This results first and foremost from the demarcation of the villages of Starosielce and the lost Parszyce (showed on the main map approximately) with the villages of Klepacze and Horodniany for the years approximately 1593–1594 and belonging to the Suraż starost.<sup>61</sup> The settlements mentioned, as a result to them directly bordering each other excluded any possibility for the existence of a territorial corridor in this area.<sup>62</sup>

The border runs from the River Supraśl between the Crown Voivodeship of Podlasie and the Lithuanian Troki in a northern direction along the length of the River Czarna, leaving the town of Wasilków within the Duchy.<sup>63</sup> Then the border approaches the River Brzozówka, which it hugs right up until it joins the River Biebrza.<sup>64</sup> It continues further along this river on a short section to the north, and subsequently along the Netta (Nety) that enters the River Biebrza. Beyond Augustów it turns to the north-west, running along the River Pruska and arriving at the point within the environs of Grabów from which we have commenced the present description.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 34, cites a fragment of description of this part of the border.

<sup>59</sup> In the demarcation of 1565 it is marked that Kalejczyce possessed a changed administrative affiliation, though the military rolls and tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century consistently accredit it to the Bielsk land. Equally in the light of court books for the Bielsk land the Kalejczyce heirs were subject to the jurisdiction of this land (this information comes from Dr. T. Jaszczółt). It is visible within the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship on Perthées's map. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 34; Popis 1565, p. 318; Popis 1567, p. 1106; ASK I 47, ff. 261, 264v, 268 (Bielsk land tax register 1577), 796v (Bielsk land tax register 1591); APB, *Księgi grodzkie i ziemskie podlaskie*, catalogue number 1, ff. 10, 31v.

<sup>60</sup> Settlements in this area were not correctly marked on Perthées' map. The mutual spatial relations between particular settlements are disrupted. It follows to remember that over the course of two centuries there could have occurred changes in the settlement of this area, for the sixteenth century is a period of colonisation of this area, with the substantial majority being forest. See J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A. C. Dobroński, Białystok 2012, pp. 53–54.

<sup>61</sup> ZZG, catalogue number 2, pp. 109–112.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. H. Rutkowski, *Granica mazowiecko-litewska*, pp. 149, 151. As equally the Choroszcz and Dojlidy estates remained in the hands of Grzegorz Chodkiewicz, later his son Aleksander, hence possibly there could have resulted the conviction as to the territorial fusion of these estates which was to find reflection on Perthées' map. J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, p. 61; cf. J. Suproniuk, *Lokalizacja miejscowości* in this edition III.3.1.8.

<sup>63</sup> Zygmunt August attempted to join Wasilków to Podlasie, yet this was not to end in success and the town was to remain in the Grand Duchy up until the partitions. J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 58–60.

<sup>64</sup> Certain doubts arise on this section and here in relation to the village of Krukowszczyzna; see J. Suproniuk, *Location of settlements* in this edition III.3.1.8.

<sup>65</sup> For details on the permanence of the border and the controversies connected with its course see H. Rutkowski, *Granica mazowiecko-litewska*, pp. 140–155; E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, *O mazowiecko-litewskiej ugodzie granicznej*, pp. 213–226; H. Rutkowski, *Odpowiedź na krytykę*, pp. 227–233.

Before we move onto a description of the borders between the various lands of the Podlasie Voivodeship, it follows to devote a few words to the border of the mentioned Choroszcz enclave; a description of which starts from the mouth of the River Supraśl as it enters the Narew. The border runs upstream of the River Supraśl reaching the River Biały Stok after which it turns south following the course of the river and leaving the settlement of Bacieczki on the Lithuanian side.<sup>66</sup> Next at the level of the present-day estate of Wysoki Stoczek it continues further to the south, leaving Starosielce within the Crown.<sup>67</sup> Running further to the west and south-west, it has left within the Crown Oliszki, Czaplino and Mińce (Mińcze). Beyond the Lithuanian village of Baciuty it turns west, reaching the Narew from where it turns to the north beyond the village of Topilec belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Leaving within the Crown the villages of Izbiszcze, Konowały, and Panki (Pańki), it reaches the Narew. Along the course of this river it takes a north-eastern direction, leaving Rogówek (Rogowo) with the Bielsk land, and reaching the mouth of the Supraśl as it enters the Narew.<sup>68</sup>

We shall commence the description of the boundaries between the various lands making up the Podlasie Voivodeship with the demarcation of the Drohiczyn and Bielsk lands. The northern course of the border starts from the boundary of the Podlasie Voivodeship with that of Mazovia situated between the villages of Sanie-Dąb in the Łomża land (Zambrów district) and the villages of Tybory Uszyńskie (Tybory-Usza) in the Drohiczyn lands and Gołasze-Dąb (Gołasie-Dąb) in the Bielsk land.<sup>69</sup> From here the border runs to the south-east, leaving the noble environs of Gołasze (Gołasie) and Chojane in the Bielsk land, and the villages of Tybory-Wólka (Tybory-Wola) and Stare Osipy (Osipy) in the land of Drohiczyn. Beyond the town of Wysokie Mazowieckie (Wysokie) it turns south, leaving the environs of Długa Dąbrowa<sup>70</sup> as well as the village of Bryki within the Drohiczyn land, while the villages of Brzóska Stare (Brzóska), Mystki-Rzym (Mysłki), Plewki, Dąbrowa Dołęgi (Dołęgi) and the environs of Szepietowo in the Bielsk land. Next it passes by the noble environs of the Bielsk land – Wojny, Warele, Wyszonki and Kostry, and in the Drohiczyn land – Piętki, leaving the villages of Lubowicz-Kąty (Kąty), Lubowicz-Byzie and Lubowicz Wielki (Lubowicz) in the Drohiczyn land, after which it heads to the River Nurzec. Further on it follows this river upstream, between Patoki and Brański hitting a south and south-east direction and having passed Bielsk Brzeźnica and Drohiczyn Lubieszce (Lubieszka) it reaches the River Czarna between the settlements of Widźgowo in the Drohiczyn land and

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<sup>66</sup> On Perthées' map Bacieczki is situated within the borders of the Crown, however no known sources show it belonging to the Podlasie Voivodeship at the end of the sixteenth century. A description of the Biały Stok parish, being here the basis for the mentioned map, in point 2 devoted to the neighbouring churches contains: "The Bacieczki Orthodox church on the borderland" – of the Chodkiewicz foundation, the property of the Basilian monks". *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku: dekanat knyszyński i dekanat augustowski*, compiled by W. Wernerowa, Warsaw 1996, p. 20. Perthées could not have known on which side of the border the settlement was situated.

<sup>67</sup> In the description of the Biały Stok parish (the Knyszyn deanery) the border between the Biały Stok and Choroszcz parishes ran to the west from the forest at the eighteenth-century Marczycki mill (Marczuk on von Stein's map). And in this way we have presented it on the main map. W. Wernerowa, *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, pp. 22–24.

<sup>68</sup> Rogówek was mentioned as Rogowo, in the military rolls of 1528 and 1565, in the first as a boyars village. It was equally mentioned in the register of 1591, the extract from the court books of 1602 as well as the tax registers for the years 1634 and 1635. Popis 1528, p. 139; Popis 1565, p. 314; ASK I 47, f. 799; APB, Księgi ziemskie i grodzkie podlaskie, catalogue no. 1, f. 18v, 37 Kondratiuk, p. 173; I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe środkowej i zachodniej Białostoczczyzny: dzierżawcze, patronimiczne i rodzinne*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 147–148. The second Rogowo (of this name now as in the sixteenth-century) lay in the second half of the sixteenth century in the Lithuanian enclave around Choroszcz and belonged to the Chodkiewicz family. This village is included within the hearth taxation for the Troki Voivodeship of 1690, it may equally be seen on the Lithuanian side on Perthées's map; *Metryka Litewska. Rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego: województwo trockie 1690 r.*, ed. H. Lulewicz, Warsaw 2000, p. 92.

<sup>69</sup> On Perthées's map the village of Tybory Uszyńskie is seen in the Bielsk land, however the tax registers for the second half of the sixteenth century consistently included it within the Drohiczyn land; ASK I 47, 58v (Drohiczyn tax register of 1576), 557 (Drohiczyn tax register of 1580), 753v (Drohiczyn tax register of 1588); ASK I 27, f. 930 (Drohiczyn tax register of 1577).

<sup>70</sup> From amongst the villages lying on the border of both lands and entering into the composition of the environs of Długa Dąbrowa, in the case of the village Dąbrowa Moczydły the military roll of 1528 includes it within the Bielsk land. Payments from this settlement have also been noted in two tax registers for the Bielsk land for the years 1578 and 1579 as well as in the register of 1635. The remaining sources from the sixteenth century consistently include it within the Drohiczyn land. And it is in this way that Perthées's map presents matters. Popis 1528, p. 142; Popis 1565, p. 334; Popis 1567, p. 937; AUPL, p. 282; ASK I 47, ff. 59v–60 (Drohiczyn land tax register 1576), 367v (Bielsk land tax register of 1579), 466v (Bielsk land tax register of 1578), 542, 556v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1580), 753v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1588), 929v (Drohiczyn tax register of 1578); APB, Księgi grodzkie i ziemskie podlaskie, catalogue number 1, p. 29.

Klichy in the Bielsk. Next the border extends in an irregular shape into the Drohiczyn land reaching the River Leszczka (Licheza) and leaving on the Drohiczyn side the villages of Widźgowo, Puchały Stare, Spieszyn (Spieszyno), Chrościanka,<sup>71</sup> Smolugi (Smoluhy), Siekluki and Żołącki, while on the Bielsk side Hołonki, Zamianowo, Siedlece (Siedlec), Sielc (Sielec) as well as the mill settlements of Solniki, Żegunia and Wojtki (Wojtkowic). Subsequently the border ran north along the course of the River Leszczka, where upon it turned to the east and partly following the River Nurzec it runs to where it joins up with the River Nurczyk.

Here it follows to examine more closely the course of the borders of the Drohiczyn, Bielsk and Mielnik lands in the environs of the town of Boćki. The village of Boćki lying on the southern bank of the Nurzec opposite the town of the same name has an unclear status. This village, known later as Zarzecze, at the beginning of the sixteenth century belonged administratively to the Mielnik land (the property of Stanisław Montewicz and Iwaszko Hlebowicz). In the year 1512 it was obtained within the framework of exchange by Iwan Sapieha, who incorporated it into the Boćki estate in the Bielsk land. Fiscal sources from the second half of the sixteenth century make no note of this settlement, while in Boćki itself a certain Zarzecka Street appears in 1577. Consequently one may conjecture that at this time the village became a part of the town of Boćki, with the subsequent change in the boundaries of both fiscal districts operating in this area.<sup>72</sup> Additionally the course of the boundary modified the demarcation between the estate of Boćki and that of Andryjanki (Andrianki) of 1525. The former lay within the Bielsk land while the latter in the Drohiczyn. Given that in the light of the mentioned demarcation these estates directly bordered each other, then with the same the territorial connection of the villages of Skalimowo (Jakubowicze-Skolimowo) and Jakubowskie (Jakubowicze-Stara Wieś) with the rest of the Mielnik land did not exist, as a result of which these settlements by necessity had to form at this time a Mielnik land enclave.<sup>73</sup> And this is how it has been presented on the main map.

Let us move onto a description of the border boundary between the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands, which we shall begin at the point where the Rivers Nurzec and Nurczyk converge. From here the border runs south-east, turning to the west in the environs of the Mielnik village of Lubiejka and Hornowo. Between Osmola in the Drohiczyn land and Dziadkowice (Dziadkowicze) in Mielnik it reached the boundary of the enclave of the Bielsk land, comprised of the villages of Brzeziny-Janowięta, Brzeziny-Niedźwiadki (Brzeziny-Chrościanka) and Wojeniec (Wojeńcze). From this point the border runs to the west and south-west, leaving Zaręby, Malinowo and Kłopoty Patry on the Drohiczyn side and Korzeniówka and Lipiny on the Mielnik.<sup>74</sup> Next the border hits a south-western direction, for it to turn south between the Mielnik villages of Żurobice and Tołwin (Tołwino) as well as the Drohiczyn ones of Wiercień Duży and Wiercień Mały (Wiercienie and Wiercienie Zabłotne), and beyond the villages of Baciki Średnie (Baciki) and Baciki Bliższe (Trzcieniec) to reach the River Mahomet.<sup>75</sup> After crossing over the river the border headed south-east, leaving the Siemiatycze estates along with Boratyniec

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<sup>71</sup> Chrościanka in the Drohiczyn land is mentioned in tax registers for these land for the years 1576, 1578, 1580. It is included in the Bielsk land only in the register of 1591. On Perthées' map Chrościanka is visible in the Drohiczyn land. ASK I 47, ff. 51v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1576), 538v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1580), 795 (Bielsk land tax register of 1591), 938 (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1578).

<sup>72</sup> D. Michaluk and Z. Romaniuk have written about the shifting of the Bielsk land border in the environs of Boćki. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 29; Z. Romaniuk, *Boćki na Podlasiu. Monografia historyczna*, Boćki 2013, 17–18, 20; ASK I 47, ff. 112v (Bielsk taxation records of 1577); ZZG, catalogue number 337, pp. 9–10. The poll register of 1696 also notes the street Zarzecka in Boćki, while on von Stein's map this part of the town is visible as a suburb. Z. Romaniuk, *Boćki na Podlasiu*, p. 503.

<sup>73</sup> ZZG, catalogue number 337, pp. 10–12. On Perthées' map, though admittedly a connection can be seen, it is the mentioned delimitation however that straightens out matters on this section in the sixteenth century, and hence we are dealing with a similar situation to that of the course of the voivodeship border in the environs of Białystok and Choroszcz.

<sup>74</sup> Although the village of Lipiny undoubtedly lay within the Mielnik land once, and here in 1580, fief tax was noted as being paid in the Drohiczyn land. ASK I 47, ff. 539v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1580). D. Michaluk includes Kłopoty Patry within the Mielnik land, but equally the military rolls for the years 1565 and 1567 as also the tax registers for the years 1576, 1580 and 1588 note it to be within the Drohiczyn land. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 108, 120, 153, 162; Popis 1565, p. 321; Popis 1567, p. 879; ASK I 47, p. 38v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1576), 505 (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1580), 744v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1588).

<sup>75</sup> Possibly the border was based upon the River Mahomet at the level of Baciki. We have based our reconstruction of the course of the border along this section on Perthées' map, who on the western side of the river at the height of Baciki Średnie has located a tavern.

Ruski on the Drohiczyn side (to which they were incorporated in 1546), while Boratyniec Lacki on the Mielnik side, after which it turned to the south heading in the direction of the River Bug.<sup>76</sup> Further on it followed the course of this river to turn south close by Drażniew, heading towards the environs of the River Toczna and leaving on the Drohiczyn side the settlements of Drażniew (Drażniewo), Ruda, Tokary, Hruszew (Hruszewo), Myszkowice (Myszkowicze), Patków (Prussy), Patków Ruski (Padkowicze), while on the Mielnik side – Rusków (Ruskowo). Then it turned west, leaving in the Drohiczyn land Niemojki and Lipiny, with Zakrze and Stare Biernaty remaining in the land of Mielnik, for it to then head south so that in the environs of the village of Klimy (Bejdy Klimy) it joined up with the voivodeship border itself.<sup>77</sup>

The Podlasie Voivodeship in the boundaries drawn had a surface area of 10,530 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 5,811 km<sup>2</sup> fell within the land of Bielsk, 3,550 km<sup>2</sup> – Drohiczyn, and 1,169 km<sup>2</sup> – to the Mielnik land.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>76</sup> On the Moszczona River there were at the time six water mills that belonged to the Mielnik starost. Because these territories belonged already in the second half of the sixteenth century to the Mielnik starost we have drawn the border not directly on the River Moszczona but on its western side. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 30, 67–68. For information about the settlement at Młynarze and about mills situated on the River Moszczona see M. Gochna, *Character of settlements* and J. Suproniuk, *localisation of settlements* in this edition III.3.1.8; AGAD, collection of parchment documents, no. 7644 (the royal privilege of the 5 November 1546 confirming the transfer of the Siematycze estates).

<sup>77</sup> The Drohiczyn-Mielnik border on the stretch from the River Bug to the environs of the village of Rzewuski Zawady and Bejdy Klimy was not closely regulated in the second half of the sixteenth century. Changeable administrative affiliation was experienced by the villages of Drażniew, Myszkowice, Patków Ruski and Niemojki. Drażniew, as equally in the Drohiczyn land as in the Mielnik, has registered military roll of 1565 as well as the tax register for 1576, subsequently in the Mielnik register of 1580, while in Drohiczyn in 1588. Myszkowice is included in the Drohiczyn land military roll for 1565, while in the Mielnik military roll for 1567. In 1569 Krzysztof Raczek of Myszkowice swore allegiance in the Drohiczyn gord office together with his brothers. This settlement was noted as being in the Mielnik land in 1580, while in Drohiczyn in 1588. Patków Ruski is included in the Mielnik land in the military roll of 1567 as well as in the tax registers of 1577 and 1580. The registers for the years 1580 and 1588 also include it in the Drohiczyn land. Niemojki twice appears in the tax register for the Drohiczyn land for 1580 and once for the Mielnik register for the self same year. It cannot be excluded that the border between the districts ran through the mentioned villages, which could explain their appearance in the registers of both lands (for example, in Myszkowice in 1580 Krzysztof Patkowski paid taxes in the Drohiczyn land while Piotr Patkowski and Wojciech Działkowski paid these in the Mielnik land). The exact course of the border along this section requires further detailed research taking into consideration information derived from court books. It also follows to remember that the owners of villages could pay taxation one time in the Drohiczyn land and one time in the Mielnik, which in turn would impact on the categorisation of these settlements in the registers for these lands in occurrence with where the tax payer made the said payment. The above mentioned settlements we have included in the Drohiczyn land through applying their seventeenth-century affiliation. For these settlements do not have noted any land tax registers for the years 1627 and 1629, while the poll tax registers for the years 1662–3, 1673–4 and 1676 consistently mention them being within the Drohiczyn land. These settlements are included within the Podlasie Voivodeship on Perthées' map. Popis 1565, pp. 319, 339, 350; Popis 1567, p. 976; AUPL, p. 289; ASK I 47, ff. 38v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1576), 65 (Mielnik land tax register of 1576), 509 (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1580), 548v (Mielnik land tax register of 1580), 557 (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1580), 561v (Mielnik land tax register of 1580), 563 (Mielnik land tax register of 1580), 745 (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1588), 752v (Drohiczyn land tax register of 1588); BOss, catalogue number 4279, ff. 1–18; APL, AWor., catalogue number 1, pp. 1–5; ASK I 70, ff. 6, 10, 78v, 199v, 246; BCzart, Łoyko Collection, MS 1099 IV, pp. 573, 587–588, 622. On Perthées' map also the village of Czuchów (Czuchowo), is included into the Drohiczyn land, but in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century it belonged to the Mielnik land. Popis 1567, p. 976; ASK I 47, ff. 562v (Mielnik land tax register 1580), 563 (Mielnik land tax register 1580), 766v (Mielnik land tax register 1577); BOss, catalogue number 4279, ff. 6v; APL, AWor., catalogue number 1, p. 4. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 50.

### III.2.1.9a ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Marian Biskup*

Another vital part of the map comprises the elements connected to settlement. Among those are parochial seats with abutting settlements (only marked with dots). Consequently, the administrative divisions were presented on the scale of parishes, districts, and voivodeships. Additionally, the map includes royal administrative centres (castles) and local Prussian government seats, as well as the road network. The introduction to the topic of settlement should thus begin with the administrative division of Royal Prussia.

Royal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century constituted three voivodeships: Chełmno, Malbork, and Pomeranian. While Warmia was also considered to be a part of Prussia, it was, administratively a separate unit, under the direct rule of Warmia bishops. Thus, Royal Prussia consisted of territories of historical Pomerelia, Chełmno Land, Lubawa Land, as well as the northern territories of Żuławy Wiślane and the Powiśle (area of Sztum, Malbork, and Elbląg), which, in turn, constitute Malbork Voivodeship. Beyond the border of Pomeranian Voivodeship were territories of Bytów and Lębork, which from 1526 were fiefdoms of the Duchy of Pomerania.

The borders of Royal Prussia ran along the coast of the Baltic Sea in the north, along the border with the Duchy of Pomerania in the west, and along borders with Krajna (Kalisz Voivodeship and Nakło district), Kuyavia (Inowrocław Voivodeship), Dobrzyń land, and Masovia (Płock Voivodeship) in the south;<sup>1</sup> in the east, Royal Prussia bordered the Duchy of Prussia, which was held in fealty by the Polish Crown. Royal Prussia thus technically constituted the border of Poland only alongside the Baltic coast and, sporadically, on the western border (if we consider the vassal territories of Bytów, Lębork, as well as the tributary Duchy of Prussia as parts of the Polish State).

The borders of Royal Prussia in the north were entirely natural (the Baltic Sea). This was also partially true for the southern border, which ran alongside the river Drwęca. In the southern part of the western border, the natural border consisted of a forest belt around the town of Czarne and the river Głda.

The division of Royal Prussia into voivodeships was implemented via the Act of Incorporation of 1454, though they solidified into their final shapes after the Second Peace of Toruń in 1466. The voivodeships had been further divided into districts already in the Teutonic State period, or even earlier, during the reign of the Dukes of Pomerania (in Pomerelia). These divisions served mainly judicial purposes, though they were also useful in taxation and in forming *sejmiki* assemblies.<sup>2</sup> Besides districts, territories of major Prussian towns functioned as separate administrative units, which were granted such rights by Polish kings in years 1454–1526 (in Gdańsk, Toruń, and some in Elbląg) or were granted such rights by the Church, as was the case of the *latifundium* established by the Chełmno bishopric in Chełmno Voivodeship.

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<sup>1</sup> For more in-depth description cf. M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, vol. 1: *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej*, vol. 2: *Sieć parafialna*, Toruń 1955, p. 24ff. The border between Chełmno Voivodeship and the Płock Voivodeship in Masovia was delineated with small errors by the authors of AHP 1958; the errors were amended using correction made by H. Rutkowski.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bär, *Die Behördenverfassung in Westpreussen seit der Ordenszeit*, Gdańsk 1912, p. 43.

## Chełmno Voivodeship

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Chełmno Voivodeship stretched over 4,654 km<sup>2</sup>. The borders of the voivodeship ran along the Vistula, the Ossa, and the upper Drwęca rivers in the north, and along the Działdówka in the east (constituting the border with the Duchy of Prussia). In the south, the voivodeship bordered with Dobrzyń land along the rivers Brynica, Pisa, and Rypienica, as well as the left bank of the Drwęca, until the point where the tributary flows into the Vistula nearby Toruń. Finally, the western border ran along the Vistula. The borders thus incorporated the erstwhile Chełmno Land, Lubawa Land, and Michałowo Land, as well as the southern part of Pomesania on the west bank of the Ossa.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Chełmno Voivodeship was divided into two districts: Chełmno and Michałowo district; these did not, however, cover the area of the whole voivodeship, as some territories belonging to one of the major landholders in the region, the Bishopric of Chełmno (exempted bishopric) constituted separate administrative units. Likewise, the territory of the town of Toruń also constituted a separate administrative unit. Chełmno district stretched as far as the Lutryna river, even crossing it in the northern reaches in the western part of the voivodeship. The southwestern part of the district by the Vistula River was covered by the territory of the town of Toruń. Michałowo district covered the eastern part of the voivodeship, though a sizeable part of the eastern reaches belonged to the Chełmno bishopric, which held a wide range of estates around Lubawa, Kurzętnik, and Płowęż. Smaller estates owned by the bishopric within the voivodeship could be found in the area of Wąbrzeźno, Chełmża, Papów Biskupi, Starogród, and Chełmno.

The size of districts and administrative units of Chełmno Voivodeship is as following:

Chełmno district	2,065 km <sup>2</sup>
Michałowo district	1,314 km <sup>2</sup>
Chełmno bishopric territories	916 km <sup>2</sup>
Territory of the town of Toruń	359 km <sup>2</sup>
Altogether:	4,654 km <sup>2</sup>

## Malbork Voivodeship

Malbork Voivodeship's size was 2,096 km<sup>2</sup>. In the west, its border ran along the Vistula and the Leniwka. Its northernmost regions were the territory of the town of Gdańsk and the Vistula Lagoon. In the east, the voivodeship bordered with Warmia and partially, along the line of the shorelines of Lake Drużno and Lake Dzierzgoń, with the duchy of Prussia; the southern border was also shared with the Duchy. This shape of the voivodeship was agreed upon in the Second Peace of Toruń in 1466. The voivodeship was a continuous stretch of land, incorporating Małe Żuławy and Elbląg Żuławy, Elbląg Upland, the regions of Tolkmicko, Sztum, and the western part of Dzierzgoń. Additionally, on the eastern shore of Lake Drużno, the village of Lipniki (Hansdorf) was an enclave of Royal Prussia, a remainder of the previous Teutonic Hospital in Pasłek. Similarly, the meadows on the right bank of the Vistula near Gniew, belonging to the local *starostwo*, were considered a part of Pomeranian Voivodeship<sup>3</sup> Two other enclaves belonging to Malbork Voivodeship were located in Royal Prussia: Rychliki and Stare Kusy, which had been territories of the Teutonic Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Elbląg.

The borders of Malbork Voivodeship remained unchanged from 1466 until the end of the Commonwealth, with the exception of the northeast region on the border with Warmia, where two settlements, Karszewo and Krzyżewo, which had belonged to the impoverished Bridgettines from Gdańsk, were located. These settlements were taken over by the Prince-Bishopric of Warmia in 1772.

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<sup>3</sup> A more comprehensive list in M. Biskup, *Podziały administracyjne województwa chełmińskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Poznań 1956 (SMDWP, vol. 1, no. 2), p. 126.

In contrast with the two other Royal Prussian voivodeships, Malbork Voivodeship was not consistently a relic of the older Teutonic administration, as it incorporated fragments of systemically different administrative units. However, some leftover structures of the old system remained in Małe (*Minor*) and Wielkie (*Major*) Żuławy, such as the vogt's office (*wójtostwo*) in Sztum (a remainder of the erstwhile Teutonic Malbork Commandery), lands surrounding Elbląg and Tolkmicko, which constituted the former Elbląg Commandery, as well as the land surrounding Dzierzgoń, part of the former Dzierzgoń Commandery.<sup>4</sup>

Malbork Voivodeship was not divided into districts. The reason for that was the small size of the voivodeship as well as the structure of land ownership and the distribution of territories. The majority of lands in the entirety of the voivodeship consisted of a royal demesne, while most nobility-owned lands were concentrated in the south because the district courts were established for local nobility, only one land court was established in Malbork Voivodeship, in Sztum, with the jurisdiction over all of the nobles in the voivodeship. Similarly so, the voivodeship's single town court was located in Dzierzgoń.<sup>5</sup>

The territory of the town of Elbląg and its enclaves constituted a separate administrative unit, effectively cleaving the voivodeship into two uneven parts: the central part including Malbork and Sztum, and the minor peripheral territory of Tolkmicko (with the exclusion of Elbląg's enclave, Brzezina). This way Tolkmicko constituted an almost separate territorial unit.

All things considered, the administrative division of the voivodeship given in km<sup>2</sup> would have been as follows:

Voivodeship without the territories of Elbląg and Tolkmicko	1,466 km <sup>2</sup>
territory of Tolkmicko	118 km <sup>2</sup>
together	1,584 km <sup>2</sup>
territory of the town of Elbląg	512 km <sup>2</sup>
altogether	2,096 km <sup>2</sup>

## Pomeranian Voivodeship

In the relevant period, the area of Pomeranian Voivodeship was around 12,907 km<sup>2</sup>. The Baltic Sea coastline constituted the northern border, while in the west, the voivodeship shared a border with the territories of Łębork and Bytów, as well as the Duchy of Pomerania. Both the northern and western borders were simultaneously the borders of the Polish state. To the south, the voivodeship was neighbour to Krajna (Nakło district, Kalisz Voivodeship) and Kuyavia (Inowrocław Voivodeship), and to the east, the border ran along the Vistula, up to the bifurcation with the Elbląg Vistula, once expanding to the right bank of the river, forming a small enclave opposite Gniew. The whole area of the voivodeship (excluding the territories of Łębork and Bytów) corresponds with the historical shape of Pomerelia in the thirteenth to early fourteenth century.

Pomeranian Voivodeship further divided into eight districts, which were relics of the Teutonic period.<sup>6</sup> The ninth, separate unit was the Territory of the town of Gdańsk.

district	area size
Człuchów	2,436 km <sup>2</sup>
Gdańsk	661 km <sup>2</sup>
Mirachowo	1,137 km <sup>2</sup>
Nowe	720 km <sup>2</sup>

<sup>4</sup> L. Weber, *Preussen vor 500 Jahren*, Gdańsk 1878, p. 435ff.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bär, *Die Behördenverfassung*, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Aspects of administrative division in Pomeranian Voivodeship were expanded upon in M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy*, p. 24ff. This compilation employs only the necessary data and corrections.

Puck	981 km <sup>2</sup>
Świecie	1,473 km <sup>2</sup>
Tczew	3,038 km <sup>2</sup>
Tuchola	1,818 km <sup>2</sup>
territory of the town of Gdańsk	643 km <sup>2</sup>
altogether	12,907 km <sup>2</sup>

The sheer vastness of Tczew and Człuchów districts, as well as the relatively big size of the territory of the Town of Gdańsk, is striking, especially compared to two of the smallest units – Gdańsk and Nowe districts. The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the past Teutonic administrative organisation of the area, which, in turn, had been borrowed from the previous division of the ducal period.<sup>7</sup> The small size of Gdańsk district can be reliably explained by the emergence of the Territory of the town of Gdańsk in 1454.

In general, all of the administrative units in the voivodeship formed a consolidated whole,<sup>8</sup> with the exception of the territory of the town of Gdańsk, whose main part consisted of the areas between Gdańsk, the Baltic Sea, the Vistula Lagoon, the Elbląg Vistula, the Leniwka, and the eastern border of Tczew district. The whole territory of Gdańsk was further divided into smaller administrative units: Gdańsk Upland, Royal Construction Office (*Urząd Budowlany*), Streblewo Żuławy (*Żuławy Streblewskie*) Szkarpada, and the Vistula Spit.

There were several enclaves in Streblewo Żuławy belonging to both the nobility and the Catholic Church, counted as parts of either Gdańsk district<sup>9</sup> or Tczew district.<sup>10</sup> Another enclave of Church property, adjacent to the town of Gdańsk proper, belonged to Gdańsk district.<sup>11</sup> Conversely, the southern part of Hel Peninsula (including the town of Hel) also belonged to the territory of Gdańsk, together with the two enclaves in Gdańsk district (Kowale and Lubiewo) and one in Tczew district (Warcz).

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, pp. 26–28.

<sup>8</sup> With the exception of: 1) the enclave of Trzebciny enclosed in Świecie district, but belonging to Tuchola district, and 2) settlements of Klonowo and Zamrzenica enclosed with Tuchola district, but belonging to Świecie district. Similarly, estates belonging to Grudziądz starostwo and Rogozin starostwo in Pomerania were counted as part of either Świecie district or Nowe – cf. ibidem, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Settlements: Grabiny Duchowne, Krępace, Mokry Dwór, Nonnenhof, and Wiślina.

<sup>10</sup> Settlements: Giemlice and Przejazdowo.

<sup>11</sup> Mainly the lands belonging to the Włocławek bishopric: Biskupia Górka, Chełm, Hoppenbruch, and Stare Szkoty.

## III.2.2 CHURCH ADMINISTRATION BORDERS

### III.2.2.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Marta Piber-Zbieranowska*

As in previous volumes of this series of the Historical Atlas of Poland, centres and borders of the Catholic Church (Latin) administration at the end of the sixteenth century were presented on two maps: the detailed main map showing all settlements, and a special, reference map at a smaller scale (1:500,000). All centres of Church administration, i.e. diocese seats and the seats of the archdeaconries, deaneries and parishes, were marked on the main map, just like the borders of these units, but without deanery borders. These were shown on the additional special map (no. 2), which also contains the borders of dioceses and archdeaconries, but without parochial borders. Additionally, seats of all units of the Latin Church administration in Cracow Voivodeship and the Duchy of Siewierz at the end of the sixteenth century were included on this map (for the sake of clarity of the map, without a symbol for diocese seat). The main map and the additional map both show Church administration divisions according to the state from the end of the sixteenth century, with all changes in the course of deanery borders, which occurred in 1577–1596.

In our period, the territory of Cracow Voivodeship lay within the range of two dioceses. The vast majority of the area belonged to Cracow diocese, and the small fragments in the borderlands in the northern part of the voivodeship – to Gniezno diocese. Our territory bordered Wrocław diocese in two places: from the northwest on a small fragment, where the border ran partially along the Liswarta, and in the south-eastern edge of the voivodeship, where the diocese border ran along the River Biała (from its source, to its mouth flowing into the Vistula). In both these places the diocese border overlapped with the State border. The south-eastern border of the voivodeship was also the border of Cracow and Przemyśl bishoprics. The southern border of Cracow diocese was also the State border. Here it ran along the Carpathians from the future Zwardoń in the west to Jaśliska in the east. In this fragment the bishopric bordered on Ostrzyhom archdiocese, as well as Nitra and Eger dioceses in Hungary (today in Slovakia). They were separated by a wide mountain range, mostly uninhabited.<sup>1</sup> The area of Spisz, whose Church affiliation was disputed already from the thirteenth century, belonged to Ostrzyhom archdiocese in our period. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the jurisdiction over the Lubowla dominium, which belonged to the Polish Spisz starosta's district, was returned to the bishop of Cracow.<sup>2</sup> Only in 1643, during the diocese synod of Cracow, the seven parishes there were separated and incorporated by bishop Piotr Gembicki to the newly-created Spisz deanery, within Sącz archdeaconry.<sup>3</sup>

During our period, Cracow diocese was the most complex and diverse in terms of internal structure.<sup>4</sup> The territory of Cracow Voivodeship, subordinated to Cracow bishopric, was divided into two main units: the archdeaconry of Cracow and the archdeaconry of Nowy Sącz. The range of these

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<sup>1</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, pp. 126–127 & 135; B. Kumor, *Granice (archi)diecezji krakowskiej (1000–1939)*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 6, 1963, pp. 537–540; see also H. Rutkowski, chapter: Borders of state territorial units.

<sup>2</sup> See below, J. Suproniuk, *Starostwo spiskie*.

<sup>3</sup> B. Kumor, *Archidiaconat sądecki. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do Atlasu historycznego Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 8–9, 1964, p. 286. Concerning the conflict about the Church affiliation of Spisz see T.E. Modelski, *Spory o południowe granice diecezji krakowskiej od strony Spisza (XIII–XVIII) z mapą*, Zakopane 1928; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, pp. 135–140.

<sup>4</sup> S. Litak, *Organizacja kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI i XVIII w. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem diecezji krakowskiej*, [in:] *Kościół katolicki w Małopolsce w średniowieczu i wczesnym okresie nowożytnym*, ed. W. Kowalski, J. Muszyńska, Kielce 2001, p. 31.

archdeaconries went beyond northern and north-eastern borders of Cracow Voivodeship, into Sandomierz Voivodeship. Twelve deaneries of Cracow archdeaconry were situated entirely in Cracow Voivodeship: Dobczyce, Cracow, Lelów, Lipnica, Nowa Góra, Proszowice, Skąła, Skawina, Wieliczka, Wolbrom, Wrocimowice and Zator. The borders of four deaneries went beyond the area of the voivodeship: Andrzejów (Jędrzejów), Oświęcim, Witów, and Wojnicz. Small fragments of our territory belonged to deaneries situated outside Cracow Voivodeship. These were the deaneries of: Bytom (covering almost the entire Duchy of Siewierz), Sokolina (Proszowice district), and Tarnów (Biecz district).<sup>5</sup> In Nowy Sącz archdeaconry five deaneries were situated entirely in Cracow Voivodeship: Biecz, Bobowa, Nowy Targ, Nowy Sącz and Żmigród. Two parishes in our voivodeship belonged to Pilzno deanery: Jodłowa and Brzyska.<sup>6</sup>

Small parts of northern Lelów and Książ districts belonged to the archbishopric in Gniezno. Krzepice parish belonged to Wieluń territory.<sup>7</sup> Three villages from Cracow Voivodeship were situated in the territory of Uniejów archdeaconry. The villages Stary Kocin and Rybna in Lelów district belonged to Mykanów parish (Brzeźnica deanery).<sup>8</sup> The village Knieja (Lelów district) lay in Dąbrowa Zielona parish, subject to Radomsko deanery.<sup>9</sup> The territory of Mstów parish was divided between two dioceses: Cracow and Gniezno, which was a completely exceptional situation. The seat of the parish was situated in Klasztor Mstowski, in Sieradz Voivodeship. Villages from Cracow Voivodeship belonging to this parish and situated north of the River Warta were subordinated to the archbishop of Gniezno (Brzeźnica deanery), but those south of the river (including Mstów town) – to the bishop of Cracow (Lelów deanery).<sup>10</sup> Two parishes in our voivodeship belonged to Kurzelów archdeaconry: Kuczków (entirely in Lelów district), and Cierno (six villages in Książ district, one in Sandomierz Voivodeship).<sup>11</sup>

The archdeaconry of Cracow was created probably at the end of the eleventh century, originally encompassing the entire diocese. Before the first quarter of the fourteenth century ended, other units were gradually formed from it, covering the entire territory, or larger parts of the future Voivodeships of Sandomierz and Lublin.<sup>12</sup> Despite these changes, the area subordinate to the archdeacon of Cracow was still huge (around 17,500 km<sup>2</sup>) and densely populated, with over 500 parishes in 1437.<sup>13</sup> That is why in 1448 cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the bishop of Cracow, erected the archdeaconry of Nowy Sącz, while funding the collegiate of St. Margaret in this city. Cardinal Oleśnicki, having obtained the agreement of the archdeacon of Cracow, Dzierśław of Borzymów, and the provost of Wiślica, Dzierśław of Krzyżanowice, removed the deaneries of Nowy Sącz, Biecz, Bobowa, Nowy Targ and Jasło from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Cracow, as well as Pilzno deanery from Wiślica provostry, and gave them to the newly-elected archdeacon of Nowy Sącz (the area subordinated to him was 8,780 km<sup>2</sup> then).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Tarnów deanery encompassed 17 parishes in the end of the sixteenth century, but 10 of them belonged to the provostry of Tarnów, which was directly subject to the bishop. Parishes Pleśna, Tuchów and Ryglice, in which there were village from Cracow Voivodeship, belonged at the time to Tarnów deanery, subject to the archdeacon of Cracow, see AV Cap. 7, f. 17–24v. This situation changed in 1616, when bishop Piotr Tylicki incorporated the parishes from Tarnów deanery to the provostry. From then on the borders of the provostry overlapped with the borders of the deanery; B. Kumor, *Prepozytura tarnowska. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do Atlasu Historycznego Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 215–216; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> See annex: List of units of Church administration.

<sup>7</sup> Łaski LB, vol. II, pp. 117–120; H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, see also Annex *A list of church administration units*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>8</sup> Łaski LB, vol. 1, pp. 524–525.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 515; H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>10</sup> AV Cap. 20, f. 110. Concerning the parish of Mstów, divided between two dioceses see: H. Rutkowski, *Granice administracji kościelnej*; also: Kumor 1998–2002, vol. 1, pp. 150–151.

<sup>11</sup> Łaski LB, vol. 1, pp. 563 and 576. See also A. Dunin-Łasowicz, *Church administration borders*, Annex *A scheme of church administration network*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.2.2. p. 273. Kuczków parish was incorrectly placed in Lelów deanery in Cracow archdeaconry. The correct affiliation was shown on the map: *Podziały administracji kościelnej*, *ibidem*, part 1, *Mapy*.

<sup>12</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> *Bullarium Poloniae. Litteras apostolicas aliaque monumenta Poloniae Vaticana continens*, vol. 5: 1431–1449, pub. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Rome, Lublin 1995, no. 661, p. 115; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, p. 38.

<sup>14</sup> B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, pp. 285–286; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, pp. 37–40.

The first records about deaneries in Cracow diocese come from the middle of the thirteenth century. At the end of the fourteenth century there were already 18 of them in our area, and in the fifteenth century an additional two were added.<sup>15</sup> Between 1513 and 1577 the following deaneries existed in the territory of Cracow Voivodeship: Andrzejów, Biecz, Bobowa, Bytom, Dobczyce, Jasło, Lelów, Lipnica, Nowa Góra, Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ, Oświęcim, Pilzno, Pleszów, Skała, Skawina, Sokolina, Tarnów, Wieliczka,<sup>16</sup> Witów, Wojnicz, Wolbrom, Wrocimowice and Zator.<sup>17</sup> In 1563, during the Council of Trent, the institution of the dean, whose authority had been diminished in the previous centuries, was strengthened. The Church's aims in the era of the Reformation: the intensification of religious life and the spiritual renewal of worshippers, were easier to achieve in smaller deaneries. The deans were obliged to inspect churches and clergy in their deaneries. Cracow deanery had to wait until the pontificate of cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł (1591–1600) for the broader reception of these resolutions.<sup>18</sup> In 1593–1598 the cardinal reorganized and developed the division of his diocese into deaneries, creating new units. Because of the current general visitation, new deaneries were elected just before 1596 in the archdeaconry of Nowy Sącz: Żmigród was separated from the vast Jasło deanery, and the deanery of Pilzno was divided into three smaller deaneries: Pilzno, Mielec and Ropczyce. The deanery in Wieliczka was restored in Cracow archdeaconry.<sup>19</sup> A new deanery, situated in Proszowice was formed from parishes separated from three deaneries: Skała, Pleszów and Witów.<sup>20</sup> Cracow agglomeration constituted as separate deanery, comprised of 11 parishes. In 1598–1599 the so-called borderland archdeaconries, i.e. Sandomierz, Zawichost, Lublin, Kielce (formed Radom archdeaconry) and Kielce provostry, were divided into deaneries.<sup>21</sup>

The visitation conducted by the order of cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł in 1595–1599 was our main source for determining the course of the borderlines of Church administration units, and especially of the range of individual parishes in Cracow diocese.<sup>22</sup> This visitation was accepted as a basis for our presentation of parochial borders. In unclear cases, or when there was no information concerning the range of a parish, usually when the church was taken by Protestant denominations, we resorted to the book of benefits of Cracow bishopric by Jan Długosz<sup>23</sup> and other visitations from the territory

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<sup>15</sup> Borders and seats of deaneries often changed in this period; see Kumor, *Rozwój sieci dekanalnej w południowej części diecezji krakowskiej do 1772 r.*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, vol. 9, 1962, pp. 77–89; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, p. 143–147; S. Litak, *Organizacja*, p. 31; also: J. Szymański, *Dekanat wojnicki w świetle niektórych uwag o organizacji dekanalnej diecezji krakowskiej w XIII–XVI w.*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne” vol. 8, 1961, no. 1, pp. 75–77; J. Chachaj, *Pierwotna średniowieczna sieć dekanalna w diecezji krakowskiej*, ABMK, vol. 71, 1999, pp. 379–384.

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 19.

<sup>17</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, pp. 148–149, table: *Sieć dekanatów w diecezji krakowskiej w latach 1513–1577*. The author probably based his compilation of the retaxation books from 1513, 1527, 1539, 1561 and 1577. See also B. Kumor, *Prepozytura tarnowska*, pp. 219–220.

<sup>18</sup> H.E. Wyczawski, *Studia nad wewnętrznymi dziejami kościelnymi w Małopolsce na schyłku XVI w.*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 7, 1964, no. 1–2, pp. 45–49; H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>19</sup> *The temporary suspension of the functioning of this deanery could be confirmed by the fact that it is absent from the retaxation books 1561, 1577 and 1602*; AKap., Liber beneficiorum retaxationum 1561 (sign. Reg. C. 6); 1577 (Reg. C. 7); 1602 (Reg. C. 8). Parishes from this deanery were listed under Lipnica deanery; see Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, pp. 146, 151.

<sup>20</sup> This could be assumed on the basis of the records from retaxation books from 1561 and 1577 (the book from 1602 r. only copies the structure), according to which the affiliation of parishes from the future Proszowice deanery (its range was described in the Radziwiłł visitation, and confirmed by later visitations) was as follows: Raciborowice and Więclawice Stare (Skała deanery); Niegardów, Koniusza, Proszowice, Biórkowa Wielki, Luborzycza, Czulice, Górka Kościelnicka, Ruszcza, Grabie (Witów deanery); Pleszów, Pobiednik Mały, Igołomia, Wawrzeńczyce, Poborowice, Żębocin (Pleszów deanery) – Reg. C. 6, f. 42v, 46–49; Reg. C. 7, f. 39v–40, 44v–49; Reg. C. 8, f. 46, 50–54. Other parishes from Pleszów deanery (Kościelec, Brzesko Stare and Brzesko Nowe) were incorporated into Witów deanery. The origins of Proszowice deanery have not yet been described. The newest monograph on Proszowice devotes only one sentence to this matter, see F. Leśniak *W okresie Polski szlacheckiej. Parafia, kościół, duchowieństwo*, [in:] *Proszowice. Zarys dziejów do 1939 r.*, ed. F. Kiryk, Kraków, 2000, p. 231.

<sup>21</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, p. 151.

<sup>22</sup> AV Cap. 2, 5, 7, 10, 15, 17. This topic was prepared mostly on the basis of microfilms borrowed from the archive of ABMK in Lublin. However, in case there were pages missing, or unreadable, we resorted to the original Radziwiłł visitation (concerning the deaneries of Lipnica, Wieliczka, Wojnicz, Tarnów, Bobowa, Nowy Targ and Nowy Sącz). Also, the following published visitations were used: of Cracow deanery (Ins. 1599) and Akta wizytacji dekanatów bytomskiego i pszczyńskiego dokonanej w roku 1598 z polecenia Jerzego Kardynała Radziwiłła, biskupa krakowskiego, pub. M. Wojtas, Katowice 1938; see also the chapter on Written Sources.

<sup>23</sup> Długosz LB.

of Cracow diocese from: 1565–1570,<sup>24</sup> 1602,<sup>25</sup> 1607–1608,<sup>26</sup> 1610–1613,<sup>27</sup> 1609–1614,<sup>28</sup> 1617–1619,<sup>29</sup> 1629–1639,<sup>30</sup> 1644,<sup>31</sup> 1655–1658,<sup>32</sup> 1663–1665,<sup>33</sup> 1690,<sup>34</sup> 1708–1709 and 1711.<sup>35</sup> Information found in *Liber retaxationum* from 1529 was treated only as auxiliary, as this book fails to record parochial affiliation of individual villages, but only mentions that they paid tithe and for the mass.<sup>36</sup> Sometimes it was necessary to refer to later sources: the *Regestr Diecezjów* by rev. Franciszek Czaykowski<sup>37</sup> and *Spis ludności Diecezji Krakowskiej prymasa Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego z 1787 roku*.<sup>38</sup> Also helpful was the publication *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego*.<sup>39</sup> These three, however, do not cover the areas which were taken from the Commonwealth as a result of the First Partition (1772), and so – in our territory – the deaneries of Dobczyce, Lipnica, Oświęcim, part of Proszowice deanery, Skawina, Wieliczka, part of Witów, Wojnicz, Tarnów, Zator in Cracow archdeaconry, as well as the deaneries of Nowy Targ, Nowy Sącz, Bobowa, Biecz, Jasło, and Żmigród in the archdeaconry of Nowy Sącz. In the case of territories situated south of the Vistula the so-called Tables by Bishop A.S. Załuski from 1747–1749<sup>40</sup> were helpful, as well as the tabular description of parishes from territories lost in the First Partition from 1776.<sup>41</sup> We also resorted to *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, which lists parochial affiliation for the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

In some cases, the visitation of Cardinal Radziwiłł provides us with uncertain, or even incorrect affiliation of deaneries to parishes. *Reformationes generales ad clerum et populum Dioecesis Cracoviensis R.D. Martini Szyszkowski ep. Cracoviensi* from 1621 was useful in dubious cases, apart from the aforementioned visitations. It consists of a list of parochial and subsidiary churches in Cracow diocese, presented in the structure of higher-rank units.<sup>43</sup> We also resorted to books of benefices from

<sup>24</sup> AV Cap. 1. Concerning the visitation conducted during the reign of bishop Filip Padniewski, see: T. Glemma, *Wizytacje diecezji krakowskiej z lat 1510–1570*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 1, 1946, pp. 57–69, especially the list of inspected churches, with a date and page from the book, pp. 70–80.

<sup>25</sup> AV Cap. 20 (deaneries Nowa Góra, Wolbrom, Lelów, Zator); 21 (deaneries. Jasło, Żmigród, Biecz, Wojnicz).

<sup>26</sup> AV Cap. 24 (1607, Bobowa deanery); 25 (1607–1608, deaneries Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ); 26 (1608, deaneries Pilzno, Jasło, Żmigród, Biecz).

<sup>27</sup> AV Cap. 28 (1610, deaneries Witów, Sokolina, Skawina, Zator, Oświęcim, Wolbrom, Skała); 30 (1610–1612, deanery Andrzejów); 31 (1611–1613, deanery Nowa Góra, Bytom, Nowy Targ).

<sup>28</sup> AV Cap. 32 (deanery Lelów, Cracow, Nowy Sącz, Proszowice, Wrocimowice).

<sup>29</sup> AV Cap. 33 (1617–1618, deanery Skawina, Nowa Góra, Oświęcim, Zator, Wieliczka); 37 (1618–1619, deanery Biecz, Jasło, Żmigród, Pilzno); 39 (1618, deanery Bobowa, Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ, Biecz, Jasło, Żmigród); 40 (1618, deanery Dobczyce, Lipnica, Wojnicz, Skała); 41 (1618, deanery Sokolina, Andrzejów, Wrocimowice, Proszowice, Witów, Bytom).

<sup>30</sup> AV Cap. 42 (1629–1630, deanery Wieliczka, Proszowice, Lipnica; 1634, Witów; 1639, Wrocimowice); 43 (1637, deanery Tarnów; 1638, Cracow; 1639, deanery Nowy Targ, Nowy Sącz).

<sup>31</sup> AV Cap. 45 (deaneries Nowa Góra, Skawina, Zator, Oświęcim).

<sup>32</sup> AV Cap. 46 (deaneries Dobczyce, Bytom, Oświęcim).

<sup>33</sup> AV Cap. 47 (1664–1665, deaneries Proszowice, Lipnica, Dobczyce, Tarnów); AV 8 (1663–1665, deanery Skawina, Zator, Nowa Góra, Skała, Wrocimowice, Andrzejów, Oświęcim, Witów, Sokolina, Wieliczka).

<sup>34</sup> AV 13 (deaneries Wolbrom).

<sup>35</sup> AV 16 (1708–1709, deanery Zator, Oświęcim); 17 (1711, deanery Lelów).

<sup>36</sup> LR 1529. The church paid to a given church for the mass, and so most likely belonged to its parish.

<sup>37</sup> Czaykowski. On the basis and range of the list created by rev. Czaykowski see *ibidem*, Wstęp, pp. VII–XII and map p. XIII.

<sup>38</sup> Pub. and comp. B. Kumor, ABMK, vol. 35, 1977, pp. 255–283; vol. 36, 1978, pp. 349–369; vol. 37, 1978, pp. 361–400; vol. 38, 1979, pp. 151–188; vol. 39, 1979, pp. 237–277. The list of bishop Michał Jerzy Poniatowski does not cover the same areas, which were included in rev. Czaykowski's list. Also, the deaneries of Bytom was covered only partially, mentions only the those parishes of the newly-created Siewierz deanery, which lay in Poland, and two from Silesia: Kamień and Mysłowice; S. Litak *Struktura terytorialna kościoła łacińskiego w Polsce w 1772 r.*, Lublin 1980, pp. 42–43.

<sup>39</sup> MWK materials.

<sup>40</sup> AKM, *Tabella eorum super quibus in visitatione inquirendum est*, t. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12.

<sup>41</sup> AKM, *Descriptio ecclesiarum parochialium et beneficiorum in dioecesi Cracoviensi parte cisvistulana consistentium. Cum circumstantiis in tabella normali ab excelso gubernio sub die – 2da septembris anni elapse peracta specificatis facta AD 1776 (no sign.)*. This source is important only for diaconal affiliation of parishes, as the range of parishes was noted only in few instances. The description focuses on the parson and the benefices of a given parish.

<sup>42</sup> SGKP, all volumes.

<sup>43</sup> At the synod in 1621 Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski accepted the division created by bishop Radziwiłł. However, he divided Cracow deanery into two smaller deaneries. The list was printed in chapter XI of the documents of the synod: *Ordo*

1529, 1561, 1577 and 1602.<sup>44</sup> However, the latter sometimes did not include the current division into deaneries, and copied – apparently – the structure from previous books. For instance, the parishes in Wieliczka deanery, following the books from 1561 and 1577, were listed in *Liber retaxationum* from 1602 in Lipnica deanery. Similarly, probably using the structure recorded earlier, this book mentions Pleszów deanery, and the parishes then situated already in the newly-created Proszowice deanery were recorded according to the old division: partly in Pleszów, Skała and Witów deaneries.<sup>45</sup> The same was done with parishes from Żmigród and Pilzno deanery. The 1602 book lists them, just like the former parishes, in Jasło deanery. In several cases, our final decision was based on Stanisław Litak's studies.<sup>46</sup>

Cracow diocese was the largest of all dioceses in the Crown. It occupied the area of 54,000 km<sup>2</sup>, which was divided between three Voivodeships: of Cracow, Sandomierz and Lublin. Additionally, the two western deaneries: Bytom (partly) and Pszczyna – covered a part of Silesia, which belonged to the Habsburg Empire. More than a half of the diocese's area lay in the Voivodeship of Cracow.<sup>47</sup>

Several sections of diocese borders require some explanation.

According to sixteenth century sources, the village of Mikuszowice (Silesian district) was divided by the border River Biała. One part of the village was situated in Silesia, the other – in the Crown.<sup>48</sup> In our study, we assumed that the State border did not cut the village in two, but ran between two villages of the same name.<sup>49</sup> The Radziwiłł visitation informs us that the village chapel stood on the right bank of the river, in the Kingdom of Poland. The visitation also notes that this chapel belonged to the Lutherans at the time.<sup>50</sup> In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the chapel was seized by the Catholics, and became a subsidiary church. An visitation from 1617 mentions that the church in Mikuszowice remained desecrated for many years, and there was no priest there, but that service was offered by the parson from Lipnik parish.<sup>51</sup> The *Reformationes* from 1621 lists the church in Mikuszowice under Oświęcim deanery.<sup>52</sup> Bolesław Kumor believes the Mikuszowice parish was split between two dioceses: Cracow and Wrocław.<sup>53</sup> If we accept this assumption, we must specify: the administration of the bishop of Cracow spread over the right bank Mikuszowice, the Silesian village Mikuszowice was under jurisdiction of the bishop of Wrocław. In the case of a nearby parish Biertułtowice the situation was exactly the same.

The border of Jaśliska parish overlapped with the border of the town (with suburbs), an enclave of Cracow Voivodeship in Sanok land. Jaśliska were located by Casimir the Great on the left bank of the River Jasiołka, which defined the border between Cracow Voivodeship and Sanok land. That is why the town was included into the Voivodeship and bishopric of Cracow. In 1434 Ladislaus II Jagiellon endowed Jaśliska to the bishopric in Przemyśl. Since then successive bishops of Przemyśl tried to take the parish from the bishops of Cracow. However, this happened only in 1763, by decree of the archbishop of Lwów Waław Sierakowski, and Jaśliska were incorporated into Przemyśl diocese.<sup>54</sup>

The parish in Klasztor Mstowski was divided between two dioceses: Gniezno and Cracow.<sup>55</sup>

Olsztyn parish was created in 1552 by the Archbishop of Gniezno, Mikołaj Dzierzgowski, from Klasztor Mstowski parish. Olsztyn city and three villages were situated in this part of the parish, which

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et numerus ecclesiarum secularium et regularium in dioecesi Cracoviensi, ff. 27–35. We used the copy kept in the National Library in Warsaw.

<sup>44</sup> See footnotes 19 and 36.

<sup>45</sup> AKap., Reg. C. 8, f. 46, pp. 50–54, see Reg. C. 7, ff. 39v–40, 44v–49.

<sup>46</sup> S. Litak *Struktura*; idem, *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1996; Litak, Atlas.

<sup>47</sup> S. Litak, *Organizacja*, p. 31, see Kumor *Dzieje*, vol. 1, p. 152.

<sup>48</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 13.

<sup>49</sup> See H. Rutkowski's chapter: *Borders of state territorial units*.

<sup>50</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 13. Also see *Communes of other denominations*, pp. 242–247. We should mention here that the communes in Mikuszowice and the nearby Wilkowiece were built by the Protestants, not seized from the Catholics. For practical reasons, we treat them as parochial seats, because this was the way the tax collectors saw them.

<sup>51</sup> AV Cap. 33, f. 72v. The location of the church, near the border of the Kingdom of Poland was, according to the inspector, one of the reasons for the church's profanation. Later Mikuszowice became a subsidiary church of the church in Łodwigowice; S. Litak, *Struktura*, p. 193.

<sup>52</sup> *Reformationes*, f. 31.

<sup>53</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, pp. 128–129.

<sup>54</sup> SHGK, part II, no. 2, pp. 272–273 (particularly footnote 1); Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, pp. 140–141.

<sup>55</sup> See footnote 10.

belonged to Cracow diocese. In the 1598 visitation, as well as in the next visitation in 1602, Olsztyn was included in Lelów deanery. However, in 1609 diocese affiliation of this parish became the subject of a dispute, because the archbishop tried to put it under his jurisdiction. The argument was settled during the synod of Cracow in 1621, in favour of the Cracow bishopric.<sup>56</sup>

Cierno parish lay on the right bank of the Nida, which defined the border between Gniezno and Cracow dioceses. Still in 1470–1480 the entire right bank of the Nida was under the authority of the bishop of Cracow. However, Jan Długosz mentions that the provost from Cierno tried to move the parish from Cracow archdeaconry to Kurzelów deanery in Gniezno diocese *per fas et nefas*. Soon, he succeeded in his efforts.<sup>57</sup>

Krzepice parish was organized from Kłobuck parish in Cracow diocese. Before 1357 King Casimir the Great, who endowed the new parish, asked Bodzanta, the bishop of Cracow, to grant the tithe to the parish, but the bishop declined. The parish in Krzepice was then bestowed by archbishop Jarosław Bogoria of Skotniki with tithe from Gniezno archbishopric, and he incorporated the parish into his diocese.<sup>58</sup>

Stare Krzepice parish, situated in Wieluń land, was subordinate to the bishopric in Wrocław (Opole archdeaconry, archprovostry of Olesno).<sup>59</sup> In the previous volume of the *Atlas*, devoted to the Voivodeship of Sieradz, the parish stretches beyond the territory of the Voivodeship of Cracow, over the River Liswarta. The authors were unable to consult the Radziwiłł visitation, and therefore accepted the eighteenth century borders of Stare Krzepice parish, at the time encompassing the villages Podłęże and Kostrzyna, both in Cracow Voivodeship. According to the 1598 visitation Warchałowska ironworks belonged to Przestań (later Przystajń) parish.<sup>60</sup> Another, more popular name of the ironworks was Kostrzyn, later Kostrzyna.<sup>61</sup> The village Podłęże (later Podłęże Królewskie) did not exist then, and its origins are dated to the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>62</sup> Following the information found in the visitation, it was assumed that the border of Przestań parish, and therefore of Cracow diocese, ran along the River Liswarta at the end of the sixteenth century, and the changes of parochial affiliation of nearby villages occurred later, probably as a result of proprietary affiliation of Kostrzyna and Podłęże to Stare Krzepice starosta's district.

The borders of higher-rank units (archdeaconries and deaneries) were based on parochial borders.

Our description of the course of deanery borders should begin with some explanation on the matter of deanery names. In the sixteenth century Church sources several deaneries were listed under double names. The records mention: Bytom deanery, or (*seu*) Siewierz, Lipnica or Chełm, Skąpa or Wysocice.<sup>63</sup> In all these cases, we assumed that the name of the first parish was that of deanery seat, because in all sources from the first half of the seventeenth century these names appear without variation, the other name was never used. According to B. Kumor, changes of deanery seat were not caused by any official decision, but were related to a parochial settlement, where the dean was also a parson. The deanery was named after this settlement.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> AV Cap. 15, ff. 129v–131v; AV Cap. 20, f. 125; Reformationes 1621, f. 32; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, p. 152. The taxation books do not record a parish in Olsztyn.

<sup>57</sup> Długosz LB, vol. III, p. 369; Łaski LB, vol. I, pp. 575–577; SHG Kraków, part 1, no. 3, pp. 402–403; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, p. 149.

<sup>58</sup> Łaski LB, vol. II, pp. 117–120; SHGK, part 3, no. 1, pp. 198, 205–206; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, pp. 149–150.

<sup>59</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, p. 91; H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, annex A, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>60</sup> AV Cap. 15, f. 122.

<sup>61</sup> The name provided by the visitation was created from the name of the previous owner of the ironworks, Jan Warchoń, who owned the ironworks from the beginning in 1560 to 1578. One year later it was bought from the heir by Andrzej Słupski. The name Kostrzyn, derived from the River Kostrzyna, where the ironworks was situated, appears in the tax records from 1577, 1581, 1589 and 1595, 1629 and 1680. See MRPS, vol. V, no. 2745; B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego XIV–XVII*, Warszawa 1954, pp. 108–109, 249–251, 270; SHGK, part 3, no. 2, p. 381.

<sup>62</sup> The 1636 visitation mentions three smallholders in the village Zakostrzynianie alias Podłężanie, who brought coal to the ironworks Kostrzyn; B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa*, p. 255.

<sup>63</sup> Arch. Kap. Kat., Reg. C. 6, f. 28; Reg. C. 7, f. 30; Reg. C. 8, f. 38; AV Cap. 7, f. 162; 15, f. 1; *Akta wizytacji dekanatów bytomskiego*, p. 25. Similarly, in the fifteenth century there were Dobczyce or Szczyrzyc. See also J. Szymański, *Dekanat wojnicki*, pp. 77 and 92, and L. Poniewozik, *Kształtowanie się sieci parafialnej w dekanacie Wysocice w średniowieczu*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 43, 1995, no. 2, p. 6, footnote 6.

<sup>64</sup> B. Kumor, *Rozwój sieci dekanalnej*, p. 78; J. Szymański, *Dekanat wojnicki*, pp. 93–94.

Biezanów, a village in Szczyrzyc district, belonged to Cracow cathedral chapter. In 1422 on request of the chapter it was made a parish by the bishop.<sup>65</sup> The parish, under the patronage of the chapter, was not inspected in conventional manner, so it is not recorded in the Radziwiłł visitation.<sup>66</sup> All aforementioned sixteenth century evaluation books place Biezanów in Lipnica deanery.<sup>67</sup> However, it must be remembered that between 1577 and 1596 Wieliczka deanery was created again from the north-western part of Lipnica deanery, and later visitations, as well as *Reformationes* from 1621 assign Biezanów to this unit.<sup>68</sup> Also Miechów parish (Książ district), supervised by members of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre from the local monastery, was not inspected along with other parishes until the eighteenth century. First records concerning the villages in this parish, and its deanery affiliation come from the visitation of Bishop Poniatowski in 1783, and from the 1787 *Spis ludności*.<sup>69</sup> These sources place Miechów in Książ deanery. At the end of the sixteenth century, the seat of this deanery was situated in Wrocimowice, that is why it was assumed that in our period Miechów belonged to this deanery. The parishes in Dłużec (Lelów district) and Kidów (Książ district) were listed under Lelów deanery in the books and in *Reformationes* from 1621. However, all visitations place them in Wolbrom deanery.<sup>70</sup> The 1596 visitation puts Iwkowa parish (Nowy Sącz district) in Nowy Sącz deanery, and yet all later visitations and evaluation books, as well as *Reformationes 1621*, list Iwkowa in Lipnica deanery.<sup>71</sup> The affiliation of Melsztyn parish (Nowy Sącz district) appears not to have been settled in our period. The Radziwiłł visitation describes Melsztyn parish under Wojnicz deanery. Still, an annotation on the margin says: *ad lipnicensem decanatum*.<sup>72</sup> The affiliation of Melsztyn to the deanery of Lipnica was noted in evaluation books and visitations from 1618 and 1630, and the 1602 visitation, *Reformationes 1621*, the 1664 visitation, and later eighteenth century sources placed it in Wojnicz deanery.<sup>73</sup> In our study, we assumed that at the end of the sixteenth century Melsztyn parish belonged to Lipnica deanery, and that its affiliation was changed later. Concerning the affiliation of the parish in Jawornik, the sources suggest that in the period under discussion the matter was probably still not settled. The evaluation books put Jawornik in Skawina deanery, and the Radziwiłł visitation in the deanery of Dobczyce.<sup>74</sup> The visitation from 1618 provides us with more precise information, placing Jawornik in Dobczyce deanery, but with an annotation *abstracta ad Skawina*.<sup>75</sup> The lack of unambiguous information seems to be confirmed by the fact that *Reformationes 1621* assign this parish to two deaneries: Skawina and Dobczyce, and the subsequent visitations from 1644 and 1655 do not include it at all.<sup>76</sup> According to the 1663 visitation, Jawornik was situated in Skawina deanery, the affiliation had already settled by then, and this state was recorded in the eighteenth century sources.<sup>77</sup> Similar divergences can be found in the sources in the case of the parish in Maków Podhalański (Silesian district). Both: the Radziwiłł visitation, and later visitations list this parish in Zator deanery.<sup>78</sup> *Reformationes 1621* and *Libri retaxationum* from 1529, 1561, 1577, and 1602 put Maków Podhalański in Skawina deanery, but the last

<sup>65</sup> KDKK vol. 2, no. 611; see SHGK, part 1, no. 1, pp. 111–113.

<sup>66</sup> The alphabetical list of all parishes, which precedes the visitation, mentions only that Biezanów was not inspected, AV Cap. 7, first pages, not numbered.

<sup>67</sup> LR 1529, p. 231; AKap., Reg. C. 7, f. 32v; 8, f. 38v.

<sup>68</sup> In the 1618 visitation Biezanów also did not appear either in Lipnica deanery (AV Cap. 40), or in Wieliczka deanery (AV Cap. 33). *Reformationes*, f. 27; AV Cap. 42, c. 6; AV 8, f. 359; AKM, *Tabella*, vol. 6, no. 63. S. Litak, *Struktura*, p. 189; Litak, *Atlas*, p. 252.

<sup>69</sup> Miechów parish does not appear in bishop A. S. Załuski's table; AKM, *The visitation of bishop Michał Poniatowski*, f. 340; *Spis*, ABMK, vol. 37, pp. 368–369.

<sup>70</sup> LR 1529, pp. 189, 202; AKap., Reg. C. 7, ff. 56, 57; Reg. C. 8, ff. 60, 61; *Reformationes*, ff. 32–33; AV Cap. 15, ff. 65v, 75; AV Cap. 20, ff. 64, 75; AV 13, c. 19v.

<sup>71</sup> AV Cap. 5, f. 14v; AV Cap. 40, f. 39; AV Cap. 42, f. 41; AV Cap. 47, ff. 12–13; LR 1529, p. 77; AKap., Reg. C. 6, f. 30; Reg. C. 7, f. 35; Reg. C. 8, f. 41v; AKM, *Tabella*, vol. 6, no. 9; AKM, *Descriptio*, f. 20.

<sup>72</sup> AV Cap. 7, f. 101.

<sup>73</sup> AV Cap. 21, f. 279; AV Cap. 40, f. 33v; AV Cap. 42, ff. 36v–37; AV Cap. 47, f. 54; *Reformationes*, f. 30; LR 1529, p. 59; AKap., Reg. C. 6, f. 30; Reg. C. 7, c. 35v; Reg. C. 8, f. 41v; AKM, *Tabella*, vol. 6, f. 102; AKM, *Descriptio*, f. 37.

<sup>74</sup> AV Cap. 7, f. 41; LR 1529, p. 175; AKap., Reg. C. 7, f. 36v; Reg. C. 8, f. 42v.

<sup>75</sup> AV Cap. 40, f. 10v. In the visitation of Skawina deanery conducted a year earlier (AV Cap. 33) and the visitation from 1610 (AV Cap. 28) Jawornik parish was not listed.

<sup>76</sup> *Reformationes*, ff. 28 and 30; AV Cap. 45 and 46.

<sup>77</sup> AV 8, f. 5v; AKM, *Tabella*, vol. 6, no. 17; AKM, *Descriptio*, f. 3; See Litak, *Atlas*, p. 252.

<sup>78</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 168; AV Cap. 20, f. 156; AV Cap. 33, f. 95; AV Cap. 45, ff. 134–135; AV 8, f. 22.

one also lists this parish in Zator deanery.<sup>79</sup> In the case of Leńcze parish (Silesian district), the situation is exactly the opposite: the visitations place the parish in Skawina deanery, and *Reformationes 1621* and evaluation books in Zator deanery. Only the book from 1602 is an exception here, it lists Leńcze along with other parishes of Zator deanery, but with an annotation, that the parish belongs to Skawina deanery.<sup>80</sup> It was assumed that the parishes in Tropic and Siedlec belong to Bobowa deanery, as recorded by the Radziwiłł visitation, even though the evaluation books and the next visitation (1608) place is in Nowy Sącz deanery. The said parishes were included in Bobowa deanery by the 1621 list and the eighteenth century sources.<sup>81</sup>

The range of Proszowice deanery, created during the pontificate of Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, was recorded in the Radziwiłł visitation, and confirmed by subsequent visitation of this territory from 1614, 1618, and 1629.<sup>82</sup> It is worth adding that the divergences concerning the affiliation of a given parish to a deanery found in the visitations and evaluation books occur also in other places, especially in the deaneries of Biecz, Bobowa, and Jasło. In the cases of all these differences, we accepted the state provided by the Radziwiłł visitation, confirmed by the next visitation from 1608.<sup>83</sup>

Parishes were the smallest units of the territorial organization of the Catholic Church. They also played an important role in State administration.<sup>84</sup> Sometimes, a parochial church had a subsidiary church. We decided to treat subsidiary churches that had their own, isolated district as parishes, because usually these were old parochial temples, incorporated into neighbouring units for various reasons. Otherwise, a subsidiary church was not treated as a parish centre. Visitations helped us establish, whether a subsidiary church had an isolated district, as subsidiary churches with no autonomy were generally placed among villages belonging to a parent parish. However, sometimes the sources are so unclear that the issue of whether a given settlement is (or is not) a parish centre, remains hypothetical. The situation of the deanery of Nowy Targ was especially problematic. Difficult natural conditions, followed by poor development of settlement in the area, and – as a consequence – small bestowals, resulted in the annexation of local parishes, which could not survive by themselves, to neighbouring centres.<sup>85</sup> In the cases of one-village subsidiary parishes in Nowy Targ deanery, we decided to treat as parochial seats these churches, which served as independent parishes earlier. That is why the church in Ochotnica Dolna, for instance, was omitted. It was established around 1566, and functioned as a subsidiary church of the one in Tylmanowa from the very beginning.<sup>86</sup>

The sources are unequivocal about the situation of the churches in Żarnowiec and Łany Wielkie (Wolbrom deanery). The visitation conducted in 1598 states, that the church in Żarnowiec was built in Łany parish. The church in Łany Wielkie on the other hand was described as an old parochial church, parent church for Żarnowiec parish, at the time, however, connected with its subsidiary church.

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<sup>79</sup> LR 1529, p. 212; AKap., Reg. C. 7, f. 36; Reg. C. 8, ff. 42v, 77v.

<sup>80</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 205v; AV Cap. 28, ff. 107–109; AV Cap. 33, f. 14v; AV Cap. 45, ff. 106–107; LR 1529, p. 342; AKap., Reg. C. 7, f. 75; Reg. C. 8, ff. 44, 77v.

<sup>81</sup> AV Cap. 5, f. 14; AV Cap. 25, ff. 471, 499; LR 1529, pp. 295, 312; AKap., Reg. C. 7, ff. 88, 90; Reg. C. 8, ff. 89, 91. Tropic does not appear in neither of those deaneries in the 1618 visitation. AKM, *Tabella*, vol. 12, no. 12 i 14; AKM, *Descriptio*, f. 25.

<sup>82</sup> Kościelec parish (Witów deanery) can raise some doubts. In the 1618 it appears in two deaneries: Proszowice and Witów (AV Cap. 41, f. 106v–107). However, this was probably the result of a scribe's mistake. The differences in the course of the border of Proszowice deanery, especially compared to the retaxation books, particularly the one from 1602 were described above.

<sup>83</sup> Retaxation books place the following parishes from Biecz deanery in Bobowa deanery: Ciężkowice, Szymbark, Turza, Gromnik, Rzepiennik, Staszkówka, Łużna, and the following parishes from Jasło deanery in Biecz deanery: Bączal Dolny, Trzcinią, Czerwna, Sławęcín, Harkłowa, AKap. Reg. C. 7, f. 93–94v, 101–101v; Reg. C. 8, f. 94v–95, 99–100. These differences also concern three other parishes in Wojnicz deanery: Rzezawa, Biesiadki and Porąbka Uszewska, which were put in Lipnica deanery. See J. Szymański, *Dekanat wojniczki*, pp. 81–83.

<sup>84</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>85</sup> See B. Kumor, *Afiliacja kościołów parafialnych na Podhalu (1350–1783)*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 4, 1961, no. 1–4, pp. 276–293.

<sup>86</sup> The church in Ochotnica Dolna was built probably because of the distance from the parochial seat and frequent overflows of the rivulet Ochotniczka AV Cap. 5, f. 48–48v. For more information about Ochotnica see below: K. Chłapowski, *Cerkwie prawosławne i osadnictwo wołoskie*, pp. 247–252. We decided that the parish Sromowce Niżne was not a subsidiary church of Sromowce Wyżne, as the sources do not emphasize the superiority of any of the two parishes.

The visitation does not isolate the villages belonging to the church in Łany Wielkie as well.<sup>87</sup> The visitations from 1610 and 1690, however, isolate both churches, with their districts, but the latter calls the church in Żarnowiec subsidiary the parochial church in Łany.<sup>88</sup> This legal status was also attested to the sources from the eighteenth century.<sup>89</sup> This study assumes that the church in Żarnowiec was subsidiary to the one in Łany Wielkie, and treats the situation presented in the sources from the turn of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century as temporary.<sup>90</sup>

The parochial church in Sidzina was built in 1582. However, this parish failed to keep its autonomy, because already in 1601 it was listed as a subsidiary church of the temple in Maków Podhalański.<sup>91</sup>

The one-village subsidiary parish in Ryczów was not treated as an independent parochial seat, as it did not have a parson back then 'tanquam ad aliam ecclesiam pertinens'.<sup>92</sup> However, there was a disagreement between the parson of Woźniki parish and the one from Spytkowice parish, about which one had Ryczów as a subsidiary. According to subsequent visitations, the rights to Ryczów, supported by the documents, belonged to the parson of Spytkowice, but in fact the service was provided by the provost of Woźniki, by consent of the monastery in Mogiła, which owned both villages.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, the majority of the sources lists Ryczów either in Woźniki parish, or as its subsidiary.<sup>94</sup>

According to the Radziwiłł visitation, supplemented by data from other available sources, there were 34 villages in our territory, which were divided between two parishes.<sup>95</sup>

Some fragments of parochial borders presented on the main map require further explanation.

Cięcina parish (Silesian district), the origins of which date back to the middle of the fourteenth century, was the farthest parish in Silesian district. The southern borders of the parish were defined by the range of settlement in this area.<sup>96</sup> The parish disappeared several times, probably due to its localization in a mountainous region. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Cięcina belonged to the parish of the town Żywiec. Later the service was offered here by the parson from Radziechowy parish.<sup>97</sup> The Radziwiłł visitation mentions that the church in Cięcina was administered by the parson of Radziechowy, but it also lists villages (Cięcina, Milówka and Cisiec), which paid the local church for masses, which probably proves that it also provided independent service.<sup>98</sup> Soon, the situation

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<sup>87</sup> AV Cap. 15, f. 81–85v. This was confirmed in the 1602 visitation. 'Łany, villa in suburbano civitatis Zarnowiensis situata, matrix ecclesiae eiusdem civitatis, per dominum plebanum Zarnowiensem ex antiquo regitur;' AV Cap. 20, ff. 66–69.

<sup>88</sup> AV Cap. 28, f. 175. The fragment of the 1610 visitation concerning the church in Łany did not survive, but the incomplete description of Żarnowiec parish lists only three village in that parish. AV 13, ff. 26v–27v.

<sup>89</sup> S. Litak, *Struktura*, pp. 203–204; Litak, *Atlas*, p. 261; Spis 1787, ABMK, vol. 37, p. 378.

<sup>90</sup> We should mention here that there were some doubts concerning the range of Łany Wielkie parish, because the Radziwiłł visitation does not list any village in this parish. We accepted the range confirmed by the Church sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Only the affiliation of the village Wierzbica remains unclear. Długosz, the 1690 visitation and the list from 1787 placed in by Łany parish, the tax registers, on the other hand, in Żarnowiec parish: Długosz LB, II, p. 208–210; AV 13, f. 27v; Spis 1787, ABMK, loc.cit.; P. Małopolska, p. 91; Tax reg. 1595, f. 369. In case of the church in Stary Żywiec, which was a mother parish of the church in Żywiec town, the Radziwiłł visitation mentions that there had not been a parson there for many years, and the church was administered 'a plebano ecclesiae filialis Novae Żywiec' (AV Cap. 17, f. 15). However, the visitation treats both parishes separately, and in no other place calls the church in Żywiec subsidiary. Later visitations either do not isolate the parish in Stary Żywiec, treating it as one with the parish in Żywiec town (AV Cap. 28, f. 150; 1610), or list the villages from Żywiec town parish again under Stary Żywiec parish (AV Cap. 33, ff. 66, 67; 1617 r.). In the eighteenth century the parish in Stary Żywiec was a subsidiary church of the church in Żywiec town, Litak, *Atlas*, p. 254.

<sup>91</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 170v; AV Cap. 20, ff. 157–158; 33, ff. 96–96v; J. Chachaj, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w dekanacie Zator do końca XVI w.*, ABMK, vol. 68, 1997, p. 275.

<sup>92</sup> AV Cap. 17, ff. 193v–194; AV Cap. 20, f. 174v (Masses here were only said on some Sundays).

<sup>93</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 193v; 33, f. 103; AV Cap. 45, f. 121.

<sup>94</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 2, p. 234; LR 1529, f. 81; AV Cap. 20, f. 194v; 28, f. 144; AV 8, f. 40; AKap., Reg. C. 8, f. 77v; S. Litak, *Struktura*, p. 192.

<sup>95</sup> These were the villages: Borowna, Bukowiec, Charsznica, Drzykowa, Giebułtów, Gołkowice, Jastrzębie, Jeżówka, Kawec, Krężoły, Lgota Wolbromska, Łany, Łyczanka, Łęg, Ostrężnica, Owczary, Pasierbiec, Pękowice, Pobrzeże, Przeginia, Rogów, Roztoka, Rudno Niższe, Rzeszotary, Słupów, Smroków, Spytkowice, Stanisław, Surówka, Szczereż, Węgrce Wielkie, Wola Więclawska, Żakowa, Żerosławice.

<sup>96</sup> Concerning the origins of Cięcina parish see SHGK, part I, no. 3, p. 405 and J. Kurzeja, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w dekanacie Oświęcim*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 27, 1979, no. 2, pp. 30, 32.

<sup>97</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 87; vol. 2, p. 289; LR 1529, p. 340. Cięcina is absent from retaxation books from 1561, 1577 and 1602.

<sup>98</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 19–19v, 'haec ecclesia caret rectore proprio, ex antiqua consuetudine administratur per plebanum Radziechoviensi'.

changed again, as the 1610 visitation included Cięcina in Radziechowy parish. Again, such a state of affairs did not last long: in 1617 it was recorded that Cięcina was a seat of a parish of 14 villages, including 11 newly located ones.<sup>99</sup> However, the revival of the parish was not permanent. According to later sources, there was a chapel in Cięcina, in Radziechowy parish.<sup>100</sup>

It was assumed in this study that there was a parish in Wysoka (Silesian district) village at the end of the sixteenth century, although the 1598 visitation mentions that the local church did not offer any service then, and became a subsidiary church of the temple in Marcyporęba before 1602.<sup>101</sup> However, it is a known fact that there was a parochial church in Wysoka in the second half of the sixteenth century, as proven by the Peter's Pence paid by this church in 1551–1563.<sup>102</sup> The situation of a one-village parish in Przybradz (Silesian district) was similar. It was isolated from Frydrychowice parish before 1551.<sup>103</sup> Several years later it was seized by the Protestants, and the members of the parish began to attend the church in Frydrychowice.<sup>104</sup> As a result, Przybradz was again incorporated into Frydrychowice.<sup>105</sup> The same was true of Ślęcin parish (Lelów district). The Radziwiłł visitation tells us that the local parochial church was abandoned, and that Mikołaj Rey, the owner of the village, deprived it of its benefits, and moved the temple to the town Oksa, where he built a Protestant church.<sup>106</sup>

The church in Kromołów was turned into a Calvinist temple, so in 1566 a new parish was erected in Skarżyce, adding three villages to it: Żerkowice, Dupice, Morsko. In 1574 the church in Kromołów was consecrated again, and the parish was restored, but without villages from the parish in Skarżyce.<sup>107</sup> This unusual situation, when one parish existed within the borders of another, probably led to many problems with parochial affiliation in the beginning, such as the one recorded in the 1602 visitation, which lists Morsko in both parishes, and Dupice in Kromołów parish.<sup>108</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century the parish in Lubcza (Książ district) was in the hands of the Protestants, and therefore was not inspected in 1598, and the villages in this parish were not listed.<sup>109</sup> The visitation from 1618 repeats the information about the state of the church, adding that the sacraments for the worshippers of the parish, from Lubcza and Wola Lubecka villages, were administered in Nawarzyce.<sup>110</sup> In 1690 the situation was legally confirmed, and the parish in Lubcza was incorporated, along with its district, to Nawarzyce parish.<sup>111</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century there probably was

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<sup>99</sup> AV Cap. 28, f. 152; AV Cap. 33, f. 70v. The parish in Cięcina was also listed in Reformationes 1621, f. 31.

<sup>100</sup> AV Cap. 45, f. 178; 46, f. 251. In 1628 r. a church was built in Miłówka, which was made a parish of the Assumption of Mary in 1644 r 'quia remote existit a dicta parochiali nec parochianis longe lateque commorantibus sacramenta commode administrari possunt', *ibidem*, 46, f. 252. In the eighteenth century Cięcina was a subsidiary church of the church in Radziechowy, Litak, Atlas, p. 254.

<sup>101</sup> The village was in the hands of Protestants then, AV Cap. 17, f. 184v; AV Cap. 20, f. 173. Because the church was desecrated, the worshippers from Wysoka obtained sacraments in Witanowice; later sources list Wysoka as a subsidiary church of Marcyporęba: AV Cap. 33, f. 104v; AV Cap. 45, f. 116; Litak, Atlas, p. 254. Concerning the rule assumed in this study in case of churches occupied by Protestants see below.

<sup>102</sup> J. Chachaj, *Rozwój*, pp. 266, 301.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 274, 293.

<sup>104</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 150v (1598); AV Cap. 33, f. 87v (1617).

<sup>105</sup> AV Cap. 45, f. 152; AV 8, f. 31v. In the eighteenth century Przybradz was a subsidiary church of the church in Frydrychowice, Litak, Atlas, p. 254.

<sup>106</sup> AV Cap. 10, f. 98v. This event must have happened between 1562, when Mikołaj Rey proposed a candidate to the parish in Ślęcin, and 1566, when the minister of the church in Oksa was first recorded. Rey died in 1569. See PSB, vol. 31, p. 198. The retaxation book from 1577 does not mention any problems in the way the parish in Ślęcin functioned, AKap. Reg. C. 7, f. 68v. The book from 1602 mentions that the endowments of the church were annexed by Rey, AKap. Reg. C. 8, f. 71v. In 1618 there was a granary in the church in Ślęcin, AV Cap. 41, f. 60. The church was recaptured by the Catholics shortly before 1664, AV 8, f. 171v. Later it was united with the parish in Nagłowice, Spis 1787, ABMK, vol. 37, p. 372.

<sup>107</sup> AV Cap. 15, ff. 145–146, 148v; SHGK, part 3, no. 1, p. 149, footnote 5.

<sup>108</sup> AV Cap. 20, f. 132v, 135. Similarly in the visitation from 1598 r., the parochial district from before the parish in Skarżyce was created was listed with other village in Kromołów parish, AV Cap. 15, ff. 149v–150. The church in Skarżyce was not listed in retaxation books from 1577 and 1602.

<sup>109</sup> AV Cap. 10, f. 116: 'per hereticos diruta et omni decore, ornamentis [...] spoliata'. The church in Lubcza was seized by the Protestants already in the first half of the sixteenth century, it is already excluded from the retaxation book from 1561 r. See LR 1529, p. 191.

<sup>110</sup> 'Ecclesia a multis annis diruta,' AV Cap. 41, f. 68v–69. This parish was mentioned in the retaxation book from 1602 (Arch. Kap. Kat., Reg. C. 8, f. 70) and Reformationes 1621 r., f. 30.

<sup>111</sup> Czaykowski, p. 229; Spis, ABMK, vol. 37, p. 375; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, pp. 392–393.

another village in Lubcza parish: Stępcice.<sup>112</sup> Possibly, the same could be said about Węchadłów, yet in this case there were some major difficulties, and in the end we assumed that Węchadłów lay in Wola Knyszyńska or Lubcza parish.<sup>113</sup> The church in Wola Knyszyńska was abandoned at the end of the sixteenth century, and fell into ruin, so there was practically no service offered there.<sup>114</sup> That is why the parish was incorporated, with its benefices, into Sancygniów parish in 1606.<sup>115</sup> The 1610 visitation tells us that Węchadłów became a part of this parish then.<sup>116</sup> Church sources remain silent, and say nothing about an earlier affiliation of Węchadłów. Secular sources, however, place this village in Lubcza parish, or mark it as a parish seat.<sup>117</sup> *Liber retaxationum* from 1529 records that tithe from Węchadłów was paid partly to Wola Knyszyńska, and partly to the church in Lubcza, and there is evidence of this in Bishop Padniewski's visitation.<sup>118</sup> We know that in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century Węchadłów was divided between Sancygniów and Góry (Sandomierz Voivodeship) parishes.<sup>119</sup> It is impossible to establish at this stage, how and when a part of Węchadłów became part of Góry parish, because the parish remained desecrated until the end of the sixteenth century, and subsequent visitations fail to record its parochial range. This could possibly be related to the ownership affiliation of Węchadłów, belonging to the owners of Góry.

The subsidiary parish in Czarny Dunajec was isolated from the parish in Ludzimierz before 1596. According to the Radziwiłł visitation, there were seven villages in the parish.<sup>120</sup> The new church was built in 1595 at the private expense of Tomasz Miętus, the vogt (*scultetus*, 'sołtys') of Dunajec, who also endowed the church with a garden. The official document of foundation of the Podhale mayors, requesting the creation of the parish, was issued in 1605. In 1606, after the foundation was granted by the king, Bishop Bernard Maciejowski established an independent parish in Czarny Dunajec.<sup>121</sup> There are some doubts concerning the parochial affiliation of three villages, belonging either to Dunajec parish, or to Ludzimierz. It was assumed that the village Długopole belonged then to Ludzimierz parish, as stated in the 1596 visitation. Still, the possibility of its alternative affiliation to Czarny Dunajec was accepted.<sup>122</sup> On the other hand, in the case of the villages Rogoźnik and Bystre, it was assumed that they were situated in Czarny Dunajec parish, pointing to their possible affiliation with the parish in Ludzimierz.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 426; P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 89; Tax reg. 1595, f. 359. Stępcice does not appear in the 1618 visitation, it was also not listed in Nawarzyce parish in the 1664 visitation. In the eighteenth century it belonged to Sancygniów parish; Czaykowski, p. 353; Spis 1787, ABMK, vol. 38, p. 158.

<sup>113</sup> Like it was said in the introduction to the List of Settlements, in case we were not completely certain about the parochial affiliation of a given village, two seats were listed, separated by the word 'or'. The first name is the name of the parish shown on the map (the more likely one), the other – of another parochial seat, to which a given parish could have belonged. Such a situation occurred in two instances: when there was a conflict between two parsons, or when there was no clear source records, see below.

<sup>114</sup> AV Cap. 10, f. 116: 'Ecclesia [...] antiquitate desolata corrui ita ut vix locus extet.' Bishop Padniewski's visitation does not find any inaccuracies in the work of this church, AV Cap. 1, f. 190. The parish was noted in retaxation books from 1561, 1577 and 1602.

<sup>115</sup> Kumor, Dzieje, vol. 4, p. 392.

<sup>116</sup> AV Cap. 28, f. 87 (visitation from 1610). This was confirmed by the next visitation conducted in 1618. AV Cap. 41, f. 43v.

<sup>117</sup> The land tax register from 1490, P. Małopolska, vol. 4, p. 439; LK 1564, vol. 2, p. 80 (List of villages, which paid the land tax). Tax registers consider Węchadłów a separate parish, and call it: 'Misiowska Góra alias Węchadłów', Tax reg. 1595, f. 359, similarly: P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 89; Tax reg. 1629, p. 136. Church sources do not confirm that such a parish existed.

<sup>118</sup> LR 1529, pp. 148, 191. In bishop Padniewski's visitation Wola Knyszyńska parish was inspected, AV Cap. 1, f. 190v.

<sup>119</sup> AV 8, f. 302–302v (1664); AV 17, f. 90–91 (1711); Czaykowski, pp. 351, 353. See also: E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka do schyłku XVII w. Materiały do struktury organizacyjnej*, Lublin 1976, pp. 143–144, 156.

<sup>120</sup> AV Cap. 5, f. 67–67v.

<sup>121</sup> AV Cap. 25, f. 638–641. The visitation lists all inhabitants of each settlement in Dunajec parish, f. 642–643 (printed in: L. Wyrostek, *Dokument chłopów podhalańskich*, [in:] *Studia historyczne ku czci St. Kutrzeby*, vol. 1, Kraków 1938, p. 495). Concerning the origins of the parish in Dunajec see J. Rafacz, *Z dziejów kościoła na Podhalu*, „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki”, 1917, pp. 97–109 1917 and B. Kumor, *Archidiakonat sądecki*, pp. 165–167.

<sup>122</sup> AV Cap., 5, f. 66. Długopole appears in the document of the foundation of the parish in Dunajec from 1605 and among the village in the parish in 1608, AV Cap. 25, loc.cit. The visitation from 1639 r. mentions there was a conflict about Długopole between these parishes, settled in favour of Dunajec parish, B. Kumor, *Archidiakonat sądecki*, p. 166.

<sup>123</sup> The visitation from 1596 places Rogoźnik in Dunajec parish, the village was also listed in the 1605 document, the visitation from 1608 puts the village in Ludzimierz parish, AV Cap. 25, f. 634. The village Bystre, founded in 1591, appears in Church sources only in the visitation from 1727 in Dunajec parish, Kumor 1964a, loc. cit. Tax registers from the seventeenth century list Bystre in Ludzimierz parish, Tax reg. 1629, p. 228.

The village of Sędowice was listed in the Radziwiłł visitation in two parishes: Wrocieryż and Grudzyny.<sup>124</sup> The visitation conducted in 1618 informs us about a disagreement between the parsons about this village, which was settled in favour of Wrocieryż parish in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>125</sup> This was the parochial affiliation accepted for Sędowice in our study. The claims of the parson of Grudzyny were most likely laid, because of the tithe paid by Sędowice to this church.<sup>126</sup>

There was a dispute between the parsons of Rudawa and Paczółtowiec, concerning the village Pisary.<sup>127</sup> The conflict could have been caused by the tithe from the demesne fields in Pisary paid to the church in Paczółtowiec.<sup>128</sup> It seems that, for our period, it would be far more justified to include Pisary in Rudawa parish (as shown on our map), as this is the affiliation recorded by Jan Długosz.<sup>129</sup> The 1602 visitation does not list a Pisary under Rudawa parish, and in case of Paczółtowiec, it states that it was an one-village parish. Similar information concerning this parish could be obtained from the visitations conducted in 1611 and 1617. According to the latter source, the village Pisary belonged to the parish in Rudawa.<sup>130</sup> Finally, however, the dispute was settled in favour of the parson of Paczółtowiec: the sources from the second half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century place Pisary in this parish.<sup>131</sup>

There are no unequivocal records on the parochial church in Łęka village. In this study it was accepted that it belonged to Sławków parish, or to the parish in Chechło. The Radziwiłł visitation lists the village in both these parishes.<sup>132</sup> Łęka does not appear in the 1602 visitation under Chechło parish, and in the description of Sławków parish, the visitation states the local parson collected tithe from five serf fields, in turns with the parson of Chechło.<sup>133</sup> Such a situation had lasted a long time, because it was recorded already in 1529, in *Liber retaxationum*.<sup>134</sup> This must have been the reason for the dispute about the parochial affiliation, and the inconsistent source records: Łęka appears in Sławków parish in the 1611 visitation, but in the next visitation, in 1617, it was again listed in both parishes.<sup>135</sup> Soon, the doubts were probably settled in favour of the parish in Sławków, because the 1644 visitation, as well as the eighteenth century sources, record the village Łęka only in this parish.<sup>136</sup>

Similarly unclear was the case of parochial affiliation of the village Nieprzeźnia, the source of conflict between the parsons of Sobolów and Chełm.<sup>137</sup> The conflict probably arose around the tithe, again paid partly to the church in Sobolów, and partly to the parson of Chełm.<sup>138</sup> Perhaps because of these controversies the village was listed in neither of the villages in the next visitation.<sup>139</sup> In this study, we accepted the affiliation of Nieprzeźnia to the parish in Sobolów as the more probable one, because that was the way it was recorded by Długosz and later sources.<sup>140</sup>

There were also some problems with the parochial affiliation of the village Bistuszowa (Biecz district). Both: Jan Długosz, and the Radziwiłł visitation record this village in the parishes of Ryglice and Tuchów. And yet, later sources do not confirm this division, and place Bistuszowa solely in Ryglice parish.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> AV Cap. 10, f. 85v, 87. Bishop Padniewski's visitation offers no support here, as it noted the parochial range only by Wrocieryż, AV Cap. 1, f. 180v.

<sup>125</sup> AV Cap. 41, f. 52v; AV 8, f. 185v, 187 ('Sędowice per decretum accessit').

<sup>126</sup> LR 1529, p. 341.

<sup>127</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 99, 109v. Pisary were listed under both these village, the conflict was mentioned under Paczółtowiec parish.

<sup>128</sup> LR 1529, p. 157.

<sup>129</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 39. However, we assumed that Pisary could have belonged to Paczółtowiec at the time.

<sup>130</sup> AV Cap. 20, f. 44; 31, f. 194v; AV Cap. 33, f. 30v, 39v.

<sup>131</sup> AV Cap. 45, f. 19; AV 8, f. 85v; Czaykowski, p. 298; Spis 1787, ABMK, vol. 37, p. 392, 397; see Litak, Atlas, p. 249.

<sup>132</sup> AV Cap. 17, f. 74, 78.

<sup>133</sup> 'Alternatim cum plebano in Chechlo', AV Cap. 20, f. 55. The visitation does not record the range of the parish, only its endowments.

<sup>134</sup> LR 1529, p. 107 (Sławków parish), 152 (Chechło parish).

<sup>135</sup> AV Cap. 31, f. 67; AV Cap. 33, f. 46v, 49.

<sup>136</sup> AV Cap. 45, f. 42; Czaykowski, p. 300; Spis, ABMK, vol. 37, p. 393.

<sup>137</sup> AV Cap. 7, f. 188v.

<sup>138</sup> LR 1529, p. 84, 194.

<sup>139</sup> AV Cap. 40, f. 48v–49.

<sup>140</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 2, p. 115; AV Cap. 47, f. 30 (1664); AKM, Tab., vol. 6, no. 17; AKM, Descriptio 1776, f. 19.

<sup>141</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 3, p. 223; AV Cap. 2, f. 112; AV Cap. 7, f. 24; AV Cap. 47, f. 536; SHGK, part 1, no. 1, p. 126. About the range of these parishes see B. Kumor, *Prepozytura tarnawska*, pp. 243–244, 273–276.

The parochial affiliation of the village Mrukowa (Biecz district) is also uncertain. The visitation suggests that there was a dispute about this village between the parsons of Samokłęski and Skalnik, because Mrukowa had belonged to the latter in the past. This information is confirmed by recorded payments by Mrukowa to the church in Skalnik in 1529.<sup>142</sup> Later, the situation still remained unclear, because the 1608 visitation places Mrukowa only in Skalnik parish, describing Samokłęski as a parish comprising one village.<sup>143</sup>

We have some doubts concerning the parochial affiliation of Wierzbica in our period. We assumed that it already belonged to Niegardów parish then, and accepted a possible alternative localization in Prędocin parish. The Radziwiłł visitation does not list Wierzbica in any of the parishes, and the visitation of bishop Padniewski, conducted some 30 years earlier, includes the village in the parish of Prędocin.<sup>144</sup> The next record on this matter comes from the 1664 visitation, which places Wierzbica in Niegardów parish, and this is confirmed by the eighteenth century sources.<sup>145</sup>

We know nothing about the parochial affiliation of the village Rząka at the end of the sixteenth century. In this study it was assumed that the village belonged either to Bieżeń parish, or to St. Jacob's parish in Kazimierz, as recorded by Jan Długosz. However, this fails to find any confirmation in the visitations from 1599 and 1609. There is no data from the sixteenth or seventeenth century about the range of Bieżeń parish. We know only that in 1573 the church was granted tithes from sheaves (*decima manipularis*, 'snopowa') from Rząka by the bishop of Cracow. In the eighteenth century, Rząka lay in Bieżeń parish.<sup>146</sup>

Mszczęcin, a village situated on the right bank of the Vistula, probably changed its parochial affiliation at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Originally, the village belonged to the church in Pobiednik Mały, located on the opposite bank of the river. Due to the difficult access to the service, the members of the parish started to have their sacraments administered to them in the nearby church in Niepołomice. This situation was probably formalized later.<sup>147</sup>

Our affiliation of the village Podobin to Mszana Dolna parish was based on later sources, which offered indirect information. The Radziwiłł visitation does not list Podobin among the villages in this parish. The next visitation (1618), places Podobin in a newly-created parish in Niedźwiedź. According to the visitation, all villages belonging to this parish at that time were moved from the parish in Mszana Dolna.<sup>148</sup> The church in Niedźwiedź was finished in 1593, but the right to erect a new parish there, and the bestowals, were granted by king Sigismund III Vasa only in 1605. On his request, the parish was created that year by Bishop Bernard Maciejowski.<sup>149</sup>

We do not know precisely when Ochojno changed its parochial affiliation. Due to the significant distance between the village and the seat of the parish of St. Jacob, in Kazimierz near Cracow, the worshippers attended the nearby church in Podstolice. This probably began long in the past, because Jan Długosz had already placed Ochojno in Podstolice parish.<sup>150</sup> It could be assumed that at the end of the sixteenth century the situation was still not formalized. The Radziwiłł visitation lists Ochojno in neither of the two parishes: Podstolice, or St. Jacob's.<sup>151</sup> Only the 1618 records a *novissima* village

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<sup>142</sup> AV Cap. 2, f. 137; LR 1529, p. 69.

<sup>143</sup> AV Cap. 26, f. 376, 379. Tax registers place Mrukowa in Samokłęski parish, probably because the two villages belonged to one person, P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 123; Tax reg. 1595, f. 486. The parish in Skalnik was incorporated into Samokłęski parish sometime before 1748, AKM. Tab., vol. 5, no. 43. See also B. Kumor, *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej w Małopolsce południowej do końca XVI w.*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, t. 6, 1963, p. 501.

<sup>144</sup> AV Cap. 1, f. 219v.

<sup>145</sup> AV Cap. 47, f. 118; Spis, ABMK, vol. 37, p. 364. Wierzbica does not appear in the 1614 and 1618 visitation, either in Prędocin, or in Niegardów parish.

<sup>146</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 3, p. 50; AV Cap. 42, f. 6; AKM. Tab., vol. 6, no. 63. On Bieżeń parish see above.

<sup>147</sup> *Liber beneficiorum* by Długosz and the Radziwiłł visitation probably record the 'temporary state', because Mszczęcin was listed in the two parishes mentioned there, Długosz LB, vol. 2, pp. 154, 164; AV Cap. 7, f. 236; 10, f. 183. In 1618, during the visitation of the village and the parish in Pobiednik, it was noted that the village Mszczęcin antiquitus belonged to the parish 'verum propter flumen quo ab ecclesia separantur parochiani in Niepołomice ecclesia sacramenta percipiunt,' AV Cap. 41, f. 102v. The 1665 visitation places Mszczęcin in Niepołomice parish, AV 8, f. 352.

<sup>148</sup> AV Cap. 40, f. 5–6v.

<sup>149</sup> AV Cap. 46, f. 43–46. Later sources place Podobin in Niedźwiedź parish, AV Cap. 47, c. 405; AKM, Tab., vol. 6, no. 45.

<sup>150</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 106.

<sup>151</sup> Ochojno was not listed in St. Jacob parish in Kazimierz aslo in the 1609 visitation, AV Cap. 32, f. 75.

Ochojno in Podstolice parish, mentioning that the village had belonged to the church of St. Jacob in Kazimierz, but was moved because of the long distance from the parish *uti parochus asserit a officiali adiuncta est*.<sup>152</sup>

Tax registers treat Chroszcza as an independent parish.<sup>153</sup> However, this is not reflected in Church sources. Similarly, we have no proof for the division of the village between Brzezie and Niepołomnice parishes, recorded in the Radziwiłł visitation.<sup>154</sup> Długosz and the seventeenth century sources place Chroszcza only in Brzezie parish.<sup>155</sup>

Churches seized by the Protestants, or abandoned for other reasons, were not inspected, and the books contain only a short notice concerning the appellation of the church, its patronage, legal status (parochial church, subsidiary church, chapel), and sometimes the endowment. The list of villages belonging to a given parish was usually omitted. At the end of the sixteenth century, the percentage of churches which did not offer service was quite significant in Cracow Voivodeship. The Radziwiłł visitation leaves 50 churches without any data about the range of the parish, this is more than 10% of all churches. In such cases, as already mentioned, we consulted later visitations, and compared the information with Jan Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum* and *Liber relaxationum* from 1529. Anything concerning parochial affiliation found in tax records, or other secular sources, was treated with a large degree of caution, only as a reference, as such sources frequently provided incorrect information.<sup>156</sup> Long-lasting occupation of a church (often for many decades) by other denominations caused us many difficulties. We were forced to resort to several consecutive visitations, often conducted a hundred years after our period. Just as in previous volumes of the *Atlas*, parish seats seized by the Protestants (even in the case of a prolonged occupation) were included on the map, when the Catholic authorities decided not to move the parish to another village. In the sixteenth century, this was the approach taken by the tax collectors in writing their registers.<sup>157</sup> The borders of an entire parochial district were defined not on the basis of the Radziwiłł visitation in the cases of the following parishes: Bruśnik, Głębowice, Iwanowice, Jastrzębia, Kobylany, Korzenna, Kościelec, Makowiska, Miechów, Mstyczów, Nienaszów, Poborowice, Podlesie, Poręba Dzierżna, Złoty Potok, Przegonia, Sanka, Szczekociny, Tropie, Wilczyńska, Górka Kościelnicza, Wysocice.

Parochial affiliation of one or several villages was determined on the same basis in the parishes: Andrychów, Bestwina, Bobin, Brzesko Stare, Cerekiew, Czchów, Dobra, Gorlice, Gorzków, Jordanów, Kłobuck, Lipnik, Mszana Dolna, Olsztyn, Palczowice, Piotrkowice, Rachwałowice, Raciborowice, Nowy Żmigród.

In several instances, the parochial affiliation determined on the basis of other sources was different than the one provided by the Radziwiłł visitation: Dobranowice (Poborowice parish), Dalechowice (Bobin parish), Iwanowice Duże (Kłobuck parish), Czepurka (Złoty Potok parish), Maszków (Iwanowice parish), Białowieża, Krężoły,<sup>158</sup> Pękosław i Wojciechów (Mstyczów parish).

The total number of parishes, the boundaries of which were in the region of Cracow and the Duchy of Siewierz, at the end of the sixteenth century was 483. It also included the parishes, whose territory extended beyond the border of this area (12) and parishes, the centers of which were located

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<sup>152</sup> AV Cap. 33, f. 119v.

<sup>153</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 67; Tax reg. 1595, f. 271.

<sup>154</sup> AV Cap. 7, f. 236, 238.

<sup>155</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 127; AV 8, f. 354v.

<sup>156</sup> Tax registers did not always reflect the real state of the parochial network, because the parochial division fulfilled only an auxiliary role there, and were not essential for the registers. It happened quite often that the same village was placed in different parishes in subsequent years, or one village was placed in two parishes. Often the tax record from one year served as a basis for the next-year collection, so a village once affiliated incorrectly could have been placed not in its parish for a long time. Thus, only the Church sources offer us a complete certainty.

<sup>157</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5. That is why the parish in Makowiska (Biecz district), for instance, was included, even though the church was seized by the Protestants and later demolished, and the local parish was not re-established. In the eighteenth century it was incorporated into Kobylany parish, AV Cap. 2, f. 142v; 26, f. 88v; AKM, Tab., vol. 5, no. 40. On this subject see also: B. Kumor, *Zanik i afiliacja parafii w archidiakonacie sądeckim, wojnickim i prepozyturze tarnowskiej (1326–1787)*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, vol. 11, 1964, no. 4, p. 127.

<sup>158</sup> The village Krężoły was listed in Mironice parish in the Radziwiłł visitation, AV Cap. 10, f. 112. We assumed, following the SHGK, that this village was divided between two parishes: Mironice and Mstyczów, SHG Kraków, part 3, no. 1, pp. 141–142. This is confirmed by later sources, Materials MWK, pp. 145–146.

in neighboring provinces, but their range is in the area in which we are interested in the area covered (11)<sup>159</sup>. There were 16 subsidiary churches altogether. Apart from 11 centres situated outside our territory (including one town), 75 of 472 parochial and subsidiary churches, and their districts, were located in towns (including three towns in Siewierz Duchy, and three in Cracow agglomeration, where there were 11 parishes), 396 in villages, one at a castle (Melsztyn). One parish was situated in an ironworks (ironworks hamlet) called Poczesna.<sup>160</sup> One town did not have its own parish – Mstów, the seat of this parish was located in another diocese.

At the end of the sixteenth century there were ten collegiate churches in the part of Cracow diocese situated in Cracow Voivodeship and the Duchy of Siewierz: five in Cracow (church of St. Michael at Wawel, of St. George at Wawel, of St. Giles the Abbot,<sup>161</sup> of All Saints, of St. Ann), and also in Kleparz (of St. Florian), in Skalbmierz, Nowy Sącz, Wojnicz, and Bobowa. There were also six collegiate churches with incomplete body of canons: in Biecz, Olkusz, Imielno, Książ Wielki, Moskorzew, and Ruszcza.<sup>162</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century there were six abbeys in our territory (Hebdów, Jędrzejów, Mogiła, Nowy Sącz, Szczyrzyc, Tyniec), their seats were marked on the main map. The provost of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów was considered equal to abbots in the constitutions of the *Sejm* (Diet), so we decided to mark Miechów with the sign of an abbey.

## Parochial churches: wooden and brick

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

We supplement our description of Church administration in Cracow Voivodeship with the division of churches according to the building material used, i.e. with the number of brick and wooden temples. Almost the entire voivodeship belonged to the diocese of Cracow, so the subject was prepared on the basis of the Radziwiłł visitation from 1595–1599.

At the end of the sixteenth century, there were 458 parochial and subsidiary churches of equal rank in this part of Cracow diocese, concerning which necessary information could be found in the visitation. Two churches were completely demolished (Makowska in Żmigród deanery and Poborowice in Proszowice deanery),<sup>163</sup> and were therefore not included in the total number. Of 456 churches, 144 were made of brick (31.6%), 303 were wooden (66.4%), and nine were made of wood and brick (2.0%).<sup>164</sup> These percentages differ a little from the results obtained for the entire diocese in the fifteenth century (27.4% brick, 71.2% wooden, 1.4% mixed). For comparison's sake, it would be worth presenting data from Mazovia at the end of the sixteenth century: of 447 parochial churches, 24% were wholly, or partly brick, and 76% were wooden.<sup>165</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, there were 73 towns in this part of Cracow Voivodeship, which belonged to the diocese of Cracow, and one of them (Mstów) was not a parish seat, which was

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<sup>159</sup> In this overall number in the Duchy there were 14 parishes (among them 10 were within the boundaries of the Duchy, two were in neighbouring districts, and two were outside the Duchy state borders).

<sup>160</sup> This was an exceptional situation. The church in Poczesna was built around 1592. According to the 1598 visitation it was not consecrated yet, but masses were said and sacraments were given, by consent of Church authorities; AV Cap. 15, f. 131v–132v; AV Cap. 20, f. 123 (1602).

<sup>161</sup> The collegiate church of St. Giles was liquidated in 1591, see K. Chłapowski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.3.1.

<sup>162</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 2, pp. 361–485; vol. 3, p. 173–194, 267–352, 407–425.

<sup>163</sup> The church in Dalewice (Proszowice deanery) was also destroyed. Given these doubts, it was not treated as a parochial church.

<sup>164</sup> The following churches belonged to the latter category: in Bolechowice (Skala deanery), Dukla (Żmigród deanery), Dziekanowice (Dobczyce deanery), Nowy Targ (Nowy Targ deanery), Oświęcim (Oświęcim deanery), Podegrodzie (Nowy Sącz deanery), Sędziszów (Andrzejów deanery), Wadowice (Zator deanery), and Zalas (Nowa Góra deanery).

<sup>165</sup> S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2004, p. 82; A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, K. Pacuski, W. Pałucki, H. Rutkowski, *L'Atlas historique de la Pologne. Problèmes de l'histoire de l'église. L'exemple de la Mazovie*, „Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae”, p. 5, 1974, p. 85.

situated in the monastery of Mstów, in Sieradz Voivodeship. Brick parochial churches could be found in 50 towns (69.4%), wooden in 18 (25%), and wooden/brick in four (5.5%). Of the 50 towns with brick churches, 25 were royal towns, eight belonged to members of the nobility, and two to the Church. Of the four towns with partly brick churches, three were royal towns, and one belonged to the nobility.

In 373 parochial villages in our area, there were 285 wooden churches (76.4%), 83 brick (22.3%), and five were made of brick and wood (1.3%).

## ANNEX

### List of units of church administration

The list presents the situation for the end of the sixteenth century. Only parishes situated wholly, or partially within the borders of Cracow Voivodeship, as well as the parishes with seats outside the voivodeship, but where the villages belonging to the parish lay in Cracow Voivodeship. Parochial seats situated in the Voivodeship of Cracow, whose borders reached beyond the territory, were marked with \*, and the seats of parishes from outside the voivodeship with \*\*. Sixteenth-century names of parishes were given in alphabetical order, and current names – if different – were provided in brackets. Towns were marked with the letter 't'. In case of subsidiary churches with their own districts, the name of the parent parish was given in brackets.

### Cracow diocese

#### Cracow archdeaconry

##### Deaneries:

**Andrzejów (Jędrzejów):** Andrzejów (Jędrzejów) t., Brzegi\*\*, Chlewice, Dzierzków\* (Dzierzgów), Grudziń (Grudziń), Jemielno (Imielno), Kossów t., Krzęcice (Krzącice), Lubcza, Mironice (Mieronice), Mokrosko\* (Mokrosko Dolne), Moskorzów (Moskorzew), Nagłowice, Nawarzyce, Piotrkowice, Rakoszyń, Sędziszów, Słupia, Ślęcin, Tarnowa (Tarnawa), Tczeniec (Trzcinec), Wodzisław t., Wola Knyszyńska, Wrocirysz (Wrocierz).

**Bytom:** Będzin t., Chroszczobród (Chruszczobród), Ciężkowice (Ciągowice), Czeladź\* t., Grodziec (Będzin-Grodziec), Kamień\*\* (Piekary Śląskie-Kamień), Kozięglowy t., Kozięglówki, Mysłowice\*\* t., Sączów, Siemunia (Siemonia), Siewierz t., Targoszyce, Wojkowice Kościelne.

**Dobczyce:** Dobczyce t., Dobra, Droginia, Dziekanowice, Gruszów, Jaworznik (Jawornik), Jordanów t., Łapanów, Łętownia, Łososina (Łososina Górna), Mszana Niżna (Mszana Dolna), Myślimice (Myślenice) t., Nowa Rybie (Nowe Rybie), Pcim (Pcim), Raba (Raba Wyżna), Rabka (Rabka Zdrój), Raciechowice, Siepraw, Skrzydlna, Słopnica (Słopnice), Szczyrzycka Góra (Góra św. Jana), Szyk, Tarnawa, Trzemeszna (Trzemeśna), Tymbark t., Wilkowiska (Wilkowisko), Wiśniowa, Zakliczyn.

##### Cracow:

- Cracow t.: N. Marii Panny (of the Holy Virgin), Wszystkich Świętych (of All Saints), św. Krzyża (of the Holy Cross), św. Szczepana (of St. Stephen), św. Anny (of St. Ann), św. Mikołaja (of St. Nicholas);
- Kleparz t.: św. Floriana (of St. Florian);
- Kazimierz t.: św. Michała i Stanisława (of St. Michael and Stanislaus), św. Jakuba (of St. Jacob), Bożego Ciała (of the Corpus Christi);
- Zwierzyniec (św. Salvatora / of St. Salvador).

**Lelów:** Biała Więtsza (Biała Górna), Częstochowa t., Drochlin, Goleniowy, Irzędze (Irządze), Klasztor Mstowski\*\* (Mstów), Kłobucko (Kłobuck) t., Kroczyce, Kromołów (Zawiercie-Kromołów) t., Lelów t.,

Miedzwno (Miedźno), Mrzygłód (Myszków-Mrzygłód) t., Nakło, Niegowa, Obichów (Obiechów), Ogródzieniec t., Olsztyn t., Poczesna, Podlesie, Potok (Złoty Potok), Przerów (Przyrów) t., Przystań (Przystajń), Przybynów, Przyłek, Rokitno, Skarzyce (Zawiercie-Skarzyce), Stare Miasto (Staromieście), Szczekociny t., Wilkowiecko, Włodowice t., Zdrębice (Zrębice II), Żarki t., Żórawie (Żuraw).

**Lipnica:** Bochnia t., Brzeźnica, Chełm, Chronów (subsidiary of Wiśnicz Wielki), Czchów t., Gnojnik, Godprzydowa (Gosprzydowa), Iwkowa, Królewska (Królówka), Krzyżanowice, Lipnica (Lipnica Murowana) t., Łapczyca, Melsztyn, Olchawa, Pogwizdów, Poręba (Poręba Spytkowska), Rabrot (Rajbrot), Sobolów, Trzciana, Tymowa, Uszew, Wiśnicz Wielki (Stary Wiśnicz), Wojakowa, Złota, Żegocina Wola (Żegocina).

**Nowa Góra:** Babica (Babice), Chechło, Chrzanów (Chrzanów-Kościelec) t., Czerniechów (Czernichów), Gorynice (Gorenice), Jaworzno, Kościelec, Krzeszowice, Liski (Liszki), Morawica, Nowa Góra t., Olkusz t., Paczółtowice, Płaza, Płoki, Poręba (Poręba Żegoty), Przegonia, Raclawice, Regulice, Rudawa, Rybna, Sławków t., Sosnka (Sanka), Tęczynek (Tenczynek), Trzebinia, Zalas.

**Oświęcim:** Bestwina, Bielany, Biertułtowice (Bielsko-Biała-Zabawa), Cięcina, Czaniec, Dankowice, Gilowice, Grodziec (Grojec), Jawiszowice, Jelesna (Jelesnia), Kęty t., Kozy, Lipnik (Bielsko-Biała-Lipnik), Łękawica, Łodwigowice (Łodygowice), Mikłuszowice (Bielsko-Biała-Mikuszowice Krakowskie), Nidek, Osiek, Oświęcim\* (Oświęcim-Stare Miasto) t., Pisarzowice, Poręba Wielka, Radziechów (Radziechowy), Rychwałd I, Stara Wieś, Stary Żywiec, Ślemię (Ślemień), Wilamowice, Wilkowice, Witkowice, Żywiec t.

**Proszowice:** Bierków (Biórków Wielki), Czulice, Grabie, Igołomia, Koniusza, Luborzyca, Mogiła (Kraków-Mogiła), Niegardów, Pleszów (Kraków-Pleszów), Pobiednik Mały, Poborowice (Dobranowice – part), Proszowice t., Raciborowice, Rusiec (Kraków-Ruszcza), Wawrzyńczyce (Wawrzeńczyce), Więclawice (Więclawice Stare), Wrzodowa Góra (Górka Kościelnicza), Zębocin (Żębocin).

**Skąpa:** Biały Kościół, Bolechowice, Chodów, Czaple Wielkie, Giebułtów, Gołcza, Goszcza, Imbramowice, Irzmanowice (Jerzmanowice), Iwanowice (Iwanowice Dworskie), Jangrot, Korzkiew, Minoga, Modlnica Wielka (Modlnica), Niedźwiedź, Prędocin (Prandocin), Saspów, Sieciechowice, Skąpa t., Słomniki t., Smarzewice (Smarzowice), Sułoszowa, Śreniawa (Szreniawa), Tczyca, Ulina (Ulina Wielka), Uniejów (Uniejów-Parcela), Wysocice, Zadroże (subsidiary of Skąpa), Zielonki.

**Skawina:** Gaj, Głogoczków, Herbułtowice (Harbutowice), Izdebnik (subsidiary of Lanckorona), Krzęcin, Krzywaczka, Lanckorona t., Lińcze Górne (Leńcze), Mogilany, Pobiodr (Paszkówka – part), Przymkowie (Przytkowice), Radziszowska Wola (Wola Radziszowska), Radziszów (Radziszów), Skawina t., Sulikowice (Sułkowice), Tyniec (Kraków-Tyniec), Zebrzydowice.

**Sokolina:** Działoszyce\* t., Secygniów (Sancygniów), Skarbimierz\* (Skalbmierz) t., Wolica Szyszczycka\*\* (Wolica).

**Tarnów:** Plesna\*\*, Ryglice Niższe (Ryglice), Tuchów\*\* t.

**Wieliczka:** Bieżanów (Kraków-Bieżanów), Biskupice, Bodzanów, Brzezie, Gdów, Kosocice (Kraków-Kosocice), Łęczany (Łazany), Niegowiec (Niegowić), Niepołomice, Podstolice, Wieliczka t.

**Witów:** Bobin, Brzesko Nowe t., Brzesko Stare (Hebdów – part), Cerkiew (Cerekiew), Cudzynowice, Gorzków, Kazimierza Wielka, Koszyczki (Koszyce) t. (subsidiary of Witów), Kościelec, Książnice Więtsze (Książnice Wielkie), Mikłuszowice, Przymków\* (Przymków), Rachwałowice (subsidiary of Przymków), Uście (Uście Solne) t., Witów.

**Wojnicz:** Biesiadki (subsidiary of Porąbka), Brzeżek (Brzesko) t., Brzozowa, Dębno, Gwoździec, Jadowniki, Jasień, Olszyny, Porąbka (Porąbka Uszewska), Rzezawa, Siemichów (Siemiechów), Szczepanów\*, Wojnicz\* t., Zakliczyn t.

**Wolbrom:** Bydlin, Chlina, Dłużec, Gołaczów (Gołaczewy), Kidów, Kiełto (Giełto), Łany Wielkie, Pilcza (Pilica) t., Poręba Dzieżycza (Poręba Dzierżna), Poręba Górna, Strzegowa, Wolbram (Wolbrom) t., Żarnowiec t. (subsidiary of Łany).

**Wrocimowice:** Kalina (Kalina Wielka), Kozłów, Książ Mały, Książ Wielki t., Łętkowice, Małoszów, Miechów t., Mstyczów, Nasiechowice, Pełesnica (Pałecznicza), Raławice, Radzimice (Radziemice), Słaboszów, Sławice (Sławice Duchowne, Sławice Szlacheckie), Wrocimowice, Zielenice.

**Zator:** Andrzychów (Andrychów) (subsidiary of Wieprz), Barwałd Niższy (Barwałd Dolny), Choczni, Frydrychowice, Gierałtowice, Głębów (Głębowice), Grabiszycze (Graboszyce), Inwałd, Kletcza (Klecza Dolna), Krzeszów, Maków (Maków Podhalański), Miłoszów (Sidzina), Mucharz, Palczowice, Piotrowice, Polanka (Polanka Wielka), Poręba Markowa (Marcyporęba), Przeciszów, Przybradz, Radocza, Spytkowice, Stryszów, Tłuczań, Wadowice t., Wieprz, Witanowice, Woźniki, Wysoka, Zator t., Zembrzyce.

### Nowy Sącz archdeaconry

#### Deaneries:

**Biecz:** Biecz t., Bieniarowa (Binarowa), Cieszkowice (Ciężkowice) t., Gorlice t., Gromnik, Kobylanka Niższa (Kobylanka), Libusza, Lipinki, Łużna, Moszczenica Polska (Moszczenica), Ołpiny Wyższe (Ołpiny), Ropa, Rozembark (Rożnowice), Rzepiennik (Rzepiennik Biskupi), Sękowa, Staszkówka, Szerzyny, Szymbark, Świącany, Turza, Wójtowa, Zagórzany.

**Bobowa:** Bobowa t., Bruśnik, Grębów (Grybów) t., Jastrzębia, Korzenna, Krużłowa (Krużłowa Niżna, Krużłowa Wyżna), Lipnica Niemiecka (Lipnica Wielka), Mogilno, Pałecznicza (Pałecznicza), Podole (Podole-Górowa), Polna, Przedanica Niżna (Przydonica), Siedlec (Siedlce), Siedliska (subsidiary of Bobowa), Szalowa, Tropie, Wilczyska, Zborowice.

**Jasło:** Bączal Niżny (Bączal Dolny), Cieklin, Czerwna, Dębowiec t., Hartłowa (Harkłowa), Jasło\* t., Jedlicze\*\*, Łężany (Łężyny), Łubienko, Ossownica (Osobnica), Sławęcın, Tarnowiec, Trzcienica (Trzcienica), Załęże, Zręcın\* (Zręcın).

**Nowy Sącz:** Barcice (Barcice Dolne), Bieganice (Nowy Sącz-Biegonice), Chomranice Wyższe (Chomranice), Czarny Potok, Ilmanowa (Limanowa) t., Jakubkowice (Łososina Dolna-Jakubowice), Jazowsko, Kamienica, Kamionka (Kamionka Wielka), Kanina, Łącko, Łukowica, Męcina Wyżna (Męcina), Muszyna t., Mystków, Nawojowa, Pisarzowa, Piwniczna (Piwniczna Zdrój) t., Podegrodzie, Przyszowa, Ptaszkowa, Sądecz Nowy (Nowy Sącz) t., Sądecz Stary (Stary Sącz) t., Tęgoborza (Tęgoborze), Ujanowice, Wielogłowy, Zbyszyce, Żeleźnikowa Wielka.

**Nowy Targ:** Dębno Spiskie (Dębno), Dunajec (Czarny Dunajec) (subsidiary of Ludzimierz), Grywałd (subsidiary of Krościenko), Hartłowa (Harkłowa), Klukoszowa (Klikuszowa) (subsidiary of Nowy Targ), Kluczkowice (Kluskowce) (subsidiary of Maniowy), Krościenko (Krościenko nad Dunajcem) t., Ludzimierz (Ludźmierz), Łopuszna (subsidiary of Ostrowsko), Maniowy, Nowy Targ t., Ostrowsko, Sramowice Niżne (Sromowce Niżne), Sramowice Wyżne (Sromowce Wyżne), Szaflary, Szczawnica Wyżna (subsidiary of Krościenko), Tylmanowa, Waksmand (Waksmund) (subsidiary of Nowy Targ).

**Pilzno:** Brzostek\*\* t., Brzyska, Jodłowa Niemiecka (Jodłowa).

**Żmigród:** Bobrek (Bóbrka), Dukla t., Jaśliska t., Kobylany, Makowiska, Nienaszów, Osiek (Osiek Jasielski) t., Skalnik, Sowokłęski (Samokłęski), Wietrzno, Żmigród (Nowy Żmigród) t., Żmigród Stary (Stary Żmigród).

## **Gniezno diocese**

### **Wieluń territory**

Krzepice t.

### **Uniejów archdeaconry**

**Deaneries:**

**Brzeźnica:** Klasztor Mstowski\*\* (Mstów), Mykanów\*\*.

**Radomsko:** Dąbrowa\*\* (Dąbrowa Zielona).

### **Kurzelów archdeaconry**

Cierno\* (Cierno-Żabieniec), Kuczków.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.2.2a.1 COMMUNES OF OTHER DENOMINATIONS

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

The map presents the location of the communes of other denominations (not buildings used for worship) in Cracow Voivodeship at the end of the sixteenth century. It was prepared on the basis of the sources created by members of other denominations (*Akta synodów różnowierczych*, ‘Documents of the synods of other denominations’),<sup>1</sup> as well as records of instances of church desecration found in *Libri retaxationum* from 1561 and 1577<sup>2</sup> (in almost every case the existence of Protestant communes is attested to in these settlements by other sources), and the visitations of Cracow diocese from 1595–1599).<sup>3</sup> We also used studies by other authors, who resorted to a fragmentary visitation conducted in 1565–1570, and to visitations from the first half of the seventeenth century, or other detailed Church sources, relating to individual settlements.<sup>4</sup> We consulted the literature on the history of the Reformation in the Commonwealth, beginning with the works of Julian Bukowski and Henryk Merczyng,<sup>5</sup> through various dissertations and articles containing data about the historical geography of the Reformation in Lesser Poland, published in ‘Reformacja w Polsce’,<sup>6</sup> ‘Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce’,<sup>7</sup> and other magazines,<sup>8</sup> or collective studies,<sup>9</sup> town monographs, and other works,<sup>10</sup> as well as biographies included in *Polski słownik biograficzny*.

<sup>1</sup> ASR; Volume 3 was particularly important.

<sup>2</sup> AKM I, 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> See above footnotes 18–22 for more information about the documents of visitations.

<sup>4</sup> For instance: T. Glemma, *Wizytacje diecezji krakowskiej z lat 1510–1570*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 1, 1946, pp. 43–96; S. Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w Małopolsce XVI–XVIII w.*, Lwów 1912; B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, ABMK, vol. 8, 1964, pp. 271–304, vol. 9, 1964, pp. 93–286; J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat miechowski*, Radom 1917; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Pińczowskim, Skalmierskim i Wiślickim*, Mariówka 1927; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Jędrzejowskim*, Mariówka 1930; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w powiecie włoszczowskim*, Mariówka 1932; idem, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Olkuskiem*, Mariówka 1935–1936; B. Kumor, *Reformacja w diecezji krakowskiej i jej wpływ na kasatę parafii katolickich*, [in:] Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, Kraków 2002, pp. 399–420 – this text contains mistaken identifications of villages and incorrect spelling of names (Studnicki instead of Stadnicki, Mysłowska instead of Myszowska, Michoszewiński instead of Moskorzewski, Szyłaciński instead of Silnicki, Bonarowicz (sic!), the castellan of Sandomierz, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> J. Bukowski, *Dzieje reformacji w Polsce od wejścia jej do Polski aż do jej upadku*, vol. 1, Kraków 1883; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1904.

<sup>6</sup> For instance: W. Budka, *Zbór w Gorlicach i jego patroni*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 3, 1924, pp. 134–141; A. Kamiński, *Zbór w Marcyporebie*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 11, 1948–1952, pp. 43–55.

<sup>7</sup> W. Urban, *Materiały do uzupełnienia podanego przez Merczynga zestawienia zbiorów ariańskich*, OiRwP, vol. 1, 1956, pp. 134–139; idem, *Reformacja wśród chłopów w Oświęcimskim*, OiRwP, vol. 2, 1957, pp. 151–175; H. Kowalska, *Stanisław Szafraniec z Pieskowej Skaly*, OiRwP, vol. 3, 1958, pp. 99–131; W. Urban, *Reformacja mieszczańska w powiecie bieckim*, OiRwP, vol. 6, 1961, pp. 139–174; idem, *Kroniczka rodziny Taszyckich z końca XVI wieku*, OiRwP, vol. 13, 1968, pp. 205–213; idem, *Kontrowersja o zbór we Włodzławiu*, OiRwP, vol. 25, 1980, pp. 221–222.

<sup>8</sup> For instance: J. Tazbir, *Arianizm w ziemi sądeckiej*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 8, 1967, pp. 311–334; L. Huczek, *Nowe dane o reformacji wśród chłopów w Żywiecczyźnie*, „Małopolskie Studia Historyczne”, vol. 3, 1961, pp. 83–86.

<sup>9</sup> H. Merczyng, *Rejowie jako członkowie polskiego kościoła ewangelickiego*, [in:] *Z wieku Mikołaja Reya. Księga Jubileuszowa*, Warszawa 1905, pp. 49–98; W. Urban, *Z dziejów kultury regionu jasielskiego w dobie Odrodzenia i reformacji*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów Jasła i powiatu jasielskiego*, ed. J. Garbacik, Kraków 1964, pp. 217–233; M. Michalewicz, *Kultura i reformacja w dawnym powiecie bieckim w XVI i XVII wieku*, [in:] *Nad rzeką Ropą. Szkice historyczne*, ed. J. Garbacik, Kraków 1972, pp. 277–306.

<sup>10</sup> For instance: J. Latoszyński, *Monografia miasteczka Wilamowice*, Kraków 1910; *Dzieje Olkusza i regionu olkuskiego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Warszawa 1978; *Wieliczka: dzieje miasta (do roku 1980)*, ed. S. Gawęda, A. Jodłowski, J. Piotrowicz, Kraków

Only these communes, about which we were certain (or it was highly probable) that they operated for at least 10 years, were included.<sup>11</sup> We omitted the communes, which appear only in sources created after 1600.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, we did not mark those Arian communes, which were considered uncertain by Waław Urban.<sup>13</sup> The commune in Uście, Szczyrzyc district, was omitted, because the information about its existence, provided by H. Merczyng,<sup>14</sup> was not confirmed by any other sources. The commune in Bóbrka, Biecz district, was not marked for the same reasons.<sup>15</sup> We believe that in both cases Merczyng was wrong to link source records with settlements in the Voivodeship of Cracow.

Bolesław Kumor's lists of parishes in Cracow diocese seized by the Protestants, were treated with necessary criticism, because for the author any record mentioning an abandoned parochial church, or lack of parson, meant that the parish was seized by the Protestants for worship purposes.<sup>16</sup> In our opinion, such conclusions were drawn too rashly.

In several places we refrained from marking anything on the map, as we could not be certain, whether the source information was true, and that there really was a Protestant commune in a given settlement. For instance, the parochial church in Wieprz, Silesian district, or the subsidiary church in Andrychów in the same district, were described as demolished in 1577,<sup>17</sup> but the sources provided no information about any Protestant activity, so we assumed that the church was destroyed for some other reason. Sometimes it was the Catholic patron of a church, who destroyed it, e.g. Walenty Dembiński, the castellan of Cracow destroyed – according to the 1597 visitation – the parochial church in Poborowice in Proszowice district, and used the obtained materials for demesne buildings, and the parish endowments were given to the churches in Wawrzyńczyce and Zembocin. The visitation claimed that a *vir haereticus* from Bolestraszyce was the current heir of the village, but this does not mean there was a Protestant commune there.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the information recorded in 1577 that Piotr Krasowski, the heir of Ulina, a village in Książ district, demolished the parochial church, especially as the 1598 visitation mentions only that there was no rightful parson, and the parish was administered *per vagos praesbiteros*.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the situation resembled the case of the subsidiary church in Ślęcin, Lelów district, which was destroyed by Mikołaj Rey, a protestant, who nevertheless organized a commune in a nearby town Oksza, situated already in the Voivodeship of Sandomierz.<sup>20</sup> We cannot

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1990; *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, ed. F. Kiryk, Warszawa–Kraków 1992; W. Urban, *Chłopi wobec reformacji w Małopolsce w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Kraków 1959.

<sup>11</sup> The following Protestant communes were omitted: Bieżanów in Szczyrzyc district, mentioned only in 1566 (ASR, vol. 2, p. 201), Chełm in Proszowice district, mentioned only in 1552 and 1561 (ibidem, vol. 1, p. 193, vol. 2, p. 72), in Dzierzków in Lelów district, mentioned only in 1560 r. (ibidem, vol. 1, p. 32), in Grabowa Proszowice district – only in 1558 (ibidem, vol. 1, p. 228), in Korzkiew in Proszowice district – only in 1561 r. (AV Cap. I, 27, f. 53v, the visitation from 1598 tells us that: 'ecclesia ruinosa et desolata... a multis annis vacat' AV Cap. 15, f. 18), in Kuczków in Lelów district – only in 1561 and 1563 (ASR, vol. 2, p. 79, 121, 351), in Piekary in Proszowice district – only in 1595 and 1598 (ASR, vol. 3, p. 110, 193), in Pisarzowa in Nowy Sącz district – only in 1577 r. (AKM I, 26, f. 89v), in Pisarzowice in Silesian district – only in 1561 (AKM I, 27, f. 105), in Rożnów in Nowy Sącz district – only in 1563 (ASR, vol. 2, p. 351), in Radziechowy in Silesian district – only in 1561 (AKM I, f. 105) and in Stare Wilamowice – only in 1561 (AKM I, 27, f. 105v).

<sup>12</sup> In Błażkowa in Biecz district – first entry from 1603 (ASR, vol. 3, p. 244), in Marchocice in Proszowice district – from 1609 (ibidem, p. 298), in Wielkanoc in Książ district – from 1615 (ibidem, p. 365), in Skorczów in Proszowice district – from 1622 (ibidem, p. 438) and in Łuzna in Biecz district – from 1627 r. (ibidem, p. 499; according to W. Budka, *Zbór w Łuznej*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, 4, 1926, pp. 176–180 was created between 1602 and 1620 at the manor).

<sup>13</sup> W. Urban, *Materiały*, pp. 136–137.

<sup>14</sup> H. Merczyng, *Zbory*, p. 78.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 47. It supposedly existed between 1561 and 1639. The village belonged to Koprzywnica Abbey, which would rather exclude the possibility of a Protestant commune there, for so long. Borek castle in Silesian district is also not an option here, because the heirs, the Ligęza family, were Catholics.

<sup>16</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, p. 403, table 54 – 'Kościoły parafialne przejęte przez protestantów w diecezji krakowskiej – 1571 r.', pp. 405–407, table 55 – 'Parafie przejęte przez protestantów do 1577 r.'; pp. 410–415, tabl. 56 – 'Parafie w rękach protestantów w 1608 r.'

<sup>17</sup> AKM I, 26, f. 74v, 73v.

<sup>18</sup> AKM 10, f. 191v. The visitation from 1618 informs us that a new church was built. (S. Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 287); A. Tomczak, *Walenty Dembiński kanclerz egzekucji ok. 1504–1584*, Toruń 1963, does not mention the case of the devastation of the church in Poborowice. According to Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 4, p. 418, the new church in Poborowice became a parochial church in 1615.

<sup>19</sup> AKM I, 26, f. 40; AV Cap. 15, f. 50v.

<sup>20</sup> AV Cap. 10, f. 98 v.

also be certain, whether there was a Protestant commune in Niegowa in the district of Lelów – in 1577 the local church was demolished, but in 1598 the inspector noted the parochial church ‘per haeresiam fuit violata tandem catholicis restituta’.<sup>21</sup> We have similar doubts concerning Dalowice, a village in Proszowice district. The 1598 visitation tells us the church was destroyed by Stanisław Sobek, a Protestant and founder of the commune in the nearby Sobków.<sup>22</sup>

Most communes in Cracow Voivodeship operated in parochial churches seized by the Protestants. Some houses of prayer were situated in manors of Protestant heirs, and in various buildings in royal towns (Ciężkowice, Grybów, Jasło, Cracow, Olkusz, Nowy Sącz, Wieliczka, Zator).<sup>23</sup> There were ten non-parochial settlements with a Protestant commune (Aleksandrowice in Proszowice district, Balice in Proszowice district, Hałcnów in Silesian district, Luślawice in Nowy Sącz district, Pawlikowice in Szczyrzyc district, Piotrkowice in Proszowice district, Raciborsko in Szczyrzyc district, Świdnik in Nowy Sącz district [Tęgoborze parish], Wojnarowa in Biecz district, and Wywła in Lelów district).

Ownership type played an important role in the location of communes. In Church estates there were only two Protestant communes, and temporary too: in Biezanów, a village in Szczyrzyc district belonging to Cracow chapter, and in Dierzków, a village in Lelów district, belonging to the provost of Cracow.<sup>24</sup> In royal estates there were communes in the following towns and villages: Dziekanowice (Szczyrzyc district), Łętkowice (Proszowice district), and – for a short time – in Pisarzowa, a village in the district of Nowy Sącz.<sup>25</sup>

The majority of Protestant communes were Calvinist, i.e. Evangelical Reformed. This is documented by the surviving acts of the synods. We know three of them to be Lutheran, i.e. Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession: Biertułtowice vel Komorowice, Mikuszowice and Wilkowice (all in Silesian district). Thanks to Waclaw Urban’s work, we know the location of Arian communes.<sup>26</sup> Some of them were originally Calvinist, but later became Arian. Here is the list of Arian communes: Bobowa in Nowy Sącz district (Calvinist at first), Bruśnik in Biecz district, Chomranice in Nowy Sącz district (Calvinist at first), Gnojnik in Nowy Sącz district, Jakubkowice in Nowy Sącz district (Calvinist at first), Jasło in Biecz district, Jastrzębie in Nowy Sącz district, Luślawice in Nowy Sącz district, Męcina in Nowy Sącz district, Moskorzów in Lelów district (Calvinist at first), Nienaszów in Biecz district, Olkusz in Proszowice district,<sup>27</sup> Pawlikowice in Szczyrzyc district, Pełsnica in Proszowice district (Calvinist at first), Piotrkowice in Proszowice district, Przyszowa in Nowy Sącz district, Nowy Sącz in Nowy Sącz district, Sobolów in Szczyrzyc district (Calvinist at first), Świdnik in Nowy Sącz district, Tarnowa in Książ district (Calvinist at first), Wieliczka in Szczyrzyc district (Calvinist at first), Zakliczyn in Nowy Sącz district, Zbyszyce in Nowy Sącz district.

In total, 110 Protestant communes were shown on the map: 27 in Silesian district, 25 in Proszowice district, 15 in Nowy Sącz district, 13 in Biecz district, 13 in Lelów district, nine in Książ district, eight in Szczyrzyc district.

The list of Protestant communes shown on the map (present name, if different from the sixteenth century name, was given in brackets, t. = town):

#### *Proszowice district*

Aleksandrowice, Balice, Bobin, Gorzków, Iwanowice, Kazimierza Wielka, Kościelec, Cracow t., Łętkowice, Nasiechowice, Niedźwiedź, Olkusz t., Pełsnica (Pałecznicza), Piotrkowice, Poręba Górna,

<sup>21</sup> AKM I, 26, f. 55v; AV Cap. 15, f. 140v.

<sup>22</sup> AV Cap. 10, f. 162; H. Kowalska, *Sobek Stanisław*, PSB, vol. 39, pp. 454–457.

<sup>23</sup> In Ciężkowice the masses took place in the vogt’s demesne (W. Urban, *Reformacja mieszczańska*, pp. 155–156), in Grybów – in the church of St. Bernard (idem, *Chłopi wobec*, pp. 139–140), in Jasło – in the town hall (ibidem, pp. 182–183), in Cracow – in a specially erected building (*Materiały do dziejów reformacji w Krakowie*, pub. R. Żelewski, Kraków 1962). In Olkusz the Protestants had a temple, a school and a cemetery in Sławkowskie suburb (AV Cap. 17, f. 89v), in Nowy Sącz their masses took place at the castle chapel, and later in a building over the River Kamienica (J. Tazbir, *Arianizm*, p. 313), in Wieliczka – in one of the houses in the town (*Wieliczka: dzieje miasta*, pp. 163, 173), in Zator – in the Dominican church (H. Kowalska, *Myszkowski Mikołaj*, PSB, t. 22, p. 378).

<sup>24</sup> See footnote 11 in this chapter.

<sup>25</sup> Ditto.

<sup>26</sup> W. Urban, *Materiały*.

<sup>27</sup> According to the 1598 visitation, there were ‘omnes haeretici tam ariana, quam calviniana quam etiam luteriana haeresi infecti’ in Olkusz (AV Cap. 17, f. 89v).

Przebinia, Rachwałowice, Raclawice, Sąspów, Sosnka, Sułoszowa, Witów, Wrzodowa Góra (Górka Kościelnicka), Wysocice, Zielenice;

*Książ district*

Krzczęcice, Książ Mały, Książ Wielki, Lubcza, Mironice, Mstyczów, Tarnowa, Tczeniec, Wodzisław t.;

*Lelów district*

Kossów t., Kromołów t., Moskorzów, Nagłowice, Obichów, Ogrodzieniec, Podlesie, Potok, Przyłek, Rakoszyn, Szczekociny t., Włodowice t., Wywła;

*Szczyrzyc district*

Dzieskanowice, Pawlikowice, Pobiodr, Raciborsko, Sobolów, Tarnawa, Wieliczka t., Zakliczyn;

*Nowy Sącz district*

Bruśnik, Chomranice Wyższe, Gnojnik, Godprzydowa, Jakubkowice, Jastrzębia, Korzenna, Luślawice, Męcina Wyżna, Przyszowa, Sądecz Nowy t., Świdnik, Tropie, Wielogłowy, Zbyszyce;

*Biecz district*

Bobowa t., Cieszkowice t., Gorlice t., Grębów (Grybów) t., Jasło t., Kobylany, Makowiska, Nienaszów, Siedliska, Szalowa, Tarnowiec, Wilczyńska, Wojnarowa;

*Śląsk district*

Bachowice, Bestwina, Biertułowice (Komorowice), Dankowice, Gierałtowice, Głabowice, Hałcnów, Jawiszowice, Kozy (Dwiekozy), Lipnik, Mikłuszowice, Osiek, Palczowice, Polanka, Poręba Markowa (Marcyporęba), Przeciszów, Przybradz, Radocza, Spytkowice, Tłuczań, Wilamowice, Witkowice, Wysoka, Zator t., Zebrzydowice, Żywiec t.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.2.2b.1 EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES AND VLACH SETTLEMENT

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

At the end of the fourteenth century, Vlach settlement began to spread from the east along the Carpathians. At the end of the fifteenth century it gradually moved forward into Cracow Voivodeship, namely the southern territories of the districts of Nowy Sącz and Biecz.<sup>1</sup> The Vlachs were Romanian people with some South-Slavonic blood, later called Lemkos (Łemkowie) in this part of Lesser Poland. They were Eastern Orthodox. The location of Eastern Orthodox churches in the Voivodeship of Cracow in the second half of the sixteenth century agreed with the range of Vlach settlement. Gradual slavification of the Vlach, as well as ethnic and religious blending of the population in the many villages in this part of Cracow Voivodeship occurred much later. On the other side of the Carpathians, Vlach settlement reached much farther west than in the Commonwealth, where it stopped upon reaching earlier inhabited areas of Czorsztyn and Nowy Targ starosta's districts.

Eastern Orthodox churches were marked on the map on the basis of tax registers (Eastern Orthodox districts were taxed). At the end of the sixteenth century, in Biecz and Nowy Sącz districts there were respectively 20 and eight Eastern Orthodox parishes (including four in the key of Muszyn). In the villages of the so-called Muszyn country, which were recorded together, there were four Eastern Orthodox churches (*popostwo*), according to the 1595 register.<sup>2</sup> We know that there could have been an Eastern Orthodox temple in Mochnaczka Niżna<sup>3</sup> at the time, but we do not know the location of the three remaining temples.

All Eastern Orthodox churches in Biecz and Nowy Sącz district belonged to the Eastern Orthodox diocese in Przemyśl. Its bishop, Michał Kopystyński (Kopestyński), did not participate in the 1596 union with the Roman Catholic Church (it was done by the next bishop of the Eastern Church in Przemyśl, Aleksander Atanazy Krupecki, ordained in 1610, but the situation was not stabilized until 1681).<sup>4</sup> In 1765 there were already 100 Eastern Orthodox parochial churches and eight subsidiary churches in this area.<sup>5</sup>

Parochial borders of the southern territories of Biecz and Nowy Sącz district were not marked on the main map, because there were no Catholic villages in the area of dense Vlach settlement. The parochial network of the Roman Catholic Church helped fiscal organizations collect taxes (and record them) Tax proclamations or other royal documents, were read from the pulpit. Tax registers of Biecz and Nowy Sącz district from the second half of the sixteenth century, and from 1629 and 1680, also list, apart from Catholic, Eastern Orthodox parishes, adding 'bożnica', 'fara bożnica', or even just

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<sup>1</sup> K. Pieradzka, *Na szlakach Łemkowszczyzny*, Kraków 1939 (ibidem earlier literature); B. Kumor, *Osadnictwo lemkowski i sieć parafialna w kluczu muszyńskim biskupstwa krakowskiego (do 1780)*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 24, 1996, pp. 9–23. Despite the title, the author focused also on Vlach village and Eastern Orthodox parishes (since 1681 – Uniate), which – in the sixteenth century and later – lay outside the key of Muszyna (Bielczarowa, Boguszowa, Królowa Wołoska, Łabowa, Maciejowa, Szlachtowa and other) and did not belong to Cracow bishopric.

<sup>2</sup> BCzart, MS 329, f. 287.

<sup>3</sup> H. Stamiński, *O nowożytnej akcji osadniczej w Sądeczyczynie (1573–1800)*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, t. 10, 1969, p. 198, footnote 3.

<sup>4</sup> M. Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska w latach 1596–1681. Studium historyczno-kanoniczne*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 108–119.

<sup>5</sup> W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1998, pp. 241–242, 246, 254–255.

‘fara’ (except for the key of Muszyn, where the villages were recorded together).<sup>6</sup> Perhaps then, in this territory, Eastern Orthodox churches fulfilled the same public role as Catholic churches.

As we established that some of the villages recorded in tax registers of Biecz district in Eastern Orthodox parishes, Bednarka, Miscowa, and Grabie certainly did not lay in these parishes (impossible given the location of these villages). Other villages were located much closer to other temples, and because the villages in the key of Muszyn were recorded together in tax registers, the map of Eastern Orthodox churches does not show the territorial range of Eastern Orthodox parishes.

A village was recognized as inhabited by Eastern Orthodox population on the basis of tax registers, informing (not always consistently) that the village comprised of Vlach lans (in Vlach villages this term was usually used alternatively with the term ‘great lan’, i.e. 32 rods).

It should be noted that villages inhabited by an Eastern Orthodox population belonged to different types of land ownership: royal (Biecz,<sup>7</sup> Nowy Sącz, Grybów starosta’s districts, and Osiek rent<sup>8</sup>) – 19 villages, Church, that is of the clergy (the key of Muszyn of Cracow bishopric) – 34 villages, and nobility – and 47 villages.

The complete list of Vlach villages inhabited by Eastern Orthodox populations in the sixteenth century, runs as follows:

### **Nowy Sącz district**

*Bielczarowa parish*

Bielczarowa

*Królowa Wołoska parish*

Królowa Wołoska, Boguszowa

*Łabowa parish*

Hamrzyska, Łabowa, Maciejowa, Wola

*Szlachtowa parish*

Jaworki, Szlachtowa

*The so-called Muszyn country (‘Państwo Muszyńskie’)*

Banica, Berest, Bieliczna, Brunary Niżne, Brunary Wyżne, Czarna, Czertyżne, Czyrna, Florynka, Izby, Jastrzębnik, Jaskowa, Jędrzejówka, Kamianna, Krynica, Leluchowa, Miestko, Milik, Mochnaczka Nizna, Mochnaczka Wyżna, Muszynka, Piorunka, Polana, Powroźnikowa, Słotwiny, Stawisza, Szczawnik, Śnietnica, Wawrzki, Wierchomla, Wojkowa, Złocko, Zubrze, Żegiestów

### **Biecz district**

*Barwinek parish*

Barwinek

*Bednarka parish*

Bednarka, Nowa Wola Cieklińska

*Grabie parish*

Dołche, Grabie, Nieznajowa, Ozinna, Radocina, Rostanie, Wysowatka

*Hanczowa parish*

Blechnarka, Hanczowa, Ropka, Wysowa

*Krempna parish*

Hałbów, Krempna

*Łosie parish*

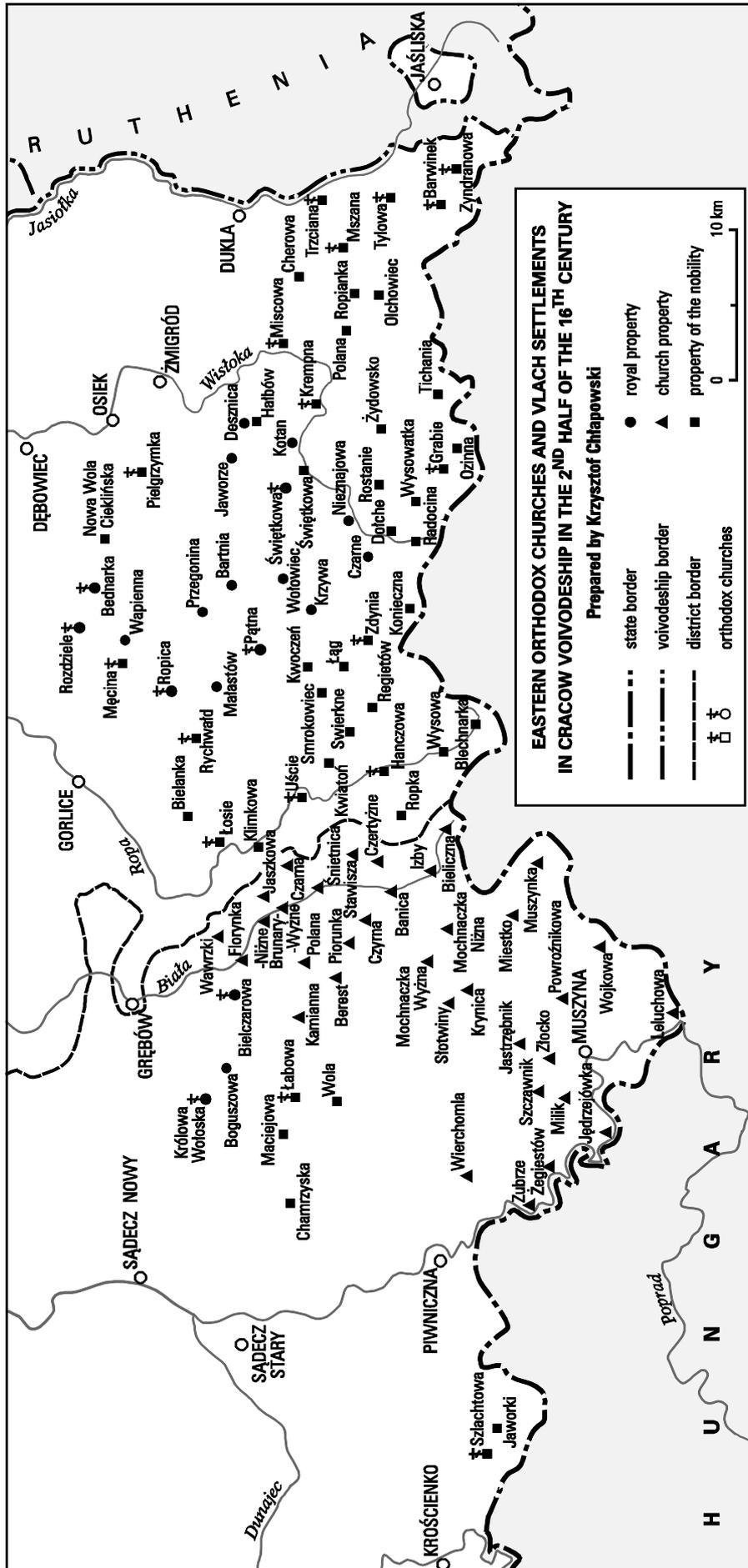
Bielanka, Klimkowa, Łosie

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<sup>6</sup> On the second half of the sixteenth century they were listed by name only in the registers from 1577 – 12 villages, where there was 31½ Vlach half-demesnes (ASK I, 117, f. 223), in 1588 – also 12 villages, but already 63 Vlach half-demesnes (ASK I, 126, f. 255v), and in 1593 – 20 villages, with 115 Vlach half-demesnes (BJ, MS 5043, f. 254 v). In 1629 r. 28 villages were recorded, with 127 Vlach half-demesnes (Tax reg. 1629, p. 234), in 1680 also 28 villages, with 137½ Vlach half-demesnes (Tax reg. 1680, p. 249).

<sup>7</sup> Eighteen ‘Ruthenian villages’ were noted down in Biecz starosta’s district in the visitation of Cracow Voivodeship from 1765 (LK 1765, pp. 130–135).

<sup>8</sup> Królowa Wołoska belonged to starosta’s district of Nowy Sącz, Bielczarowa and Boguszowa to Grybów starosta’s district, Desznica and Jaworze to Osiek lease, Rozdziele to a small Lipniki lease.



Map 1. Eastern Orthodox churches and Vlach settlements in Cracow Voivodeship in the 2nd half of 16th century

*Męcina parish*  
Męcina, Wapienne  
*Miscowa parish*  
Kotan, Miscowa, Polana, Ropianka  
*Mszana parish*  
Cherowa, Mszana  
*Pątna parish*  
Pątna  
*Pielgrzymka parish*  
Pielgrzymka  
*Ropica parish*  
Bartnia, Przegonina, Ropica, Wołowiec  
*Rozdziele parish*  
Rozdziele  
*Rychwałd parish*  
Rychwałd  
*Świątkowa parish*  
Jaworze, Świątkowa  
*Trzeciana parish*  
Trzeciana  
*Tyłowa parish*  
Tyłowa  
*Uście parish*  
Kwiatoń, Swierkne, Uście  
*Zdynia parish*  
Kwoczeń, Łąg, Regietów, Smrokowiec, Zdynia  
*Zydranowa parish*  
Zydranowa

Parochial affiliation of the following villages remains uncertain: Czarne, Desznica, Konieczna, Krzywa, Małastów, Olchowiec, Świątkowa, Tichania, Żydowsko.

Ochotnica, a village in Czorsztyn starosta's district, is an exceptional case of Vlach settlement, it was not marked on the map of Vlach settlement (it lay to the west from the territory shown on the map). In 1416 the king entrusted its location on Środa law to Dawid Wołoch, and in the case of any danger to the castle in Czorsztyn 'omnes Valachi et incolae villae praedictae' were to come. In *Liber retaxationum* from 1529 there is a phrase in *Ochotnicza a Valachis*, and Vlach lans are listed in tax registers, apart from *smallholders* and landless peasants.<sup>9</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century a subsidiary Catholic church was built in Ochotnica.<sup>10</sup> So the village was inhabited both by Catholic and Eastern Orthodox population. The visitations from 1616–1620 and 1627–1629 (Czorsztyn starosta's district was not inspected earlier) the village was called Ochotnica Woło document was mentioned and summarized by the mayor's district; in the 1659–1664 visitation the adjective 'Wołoska' does not appear, neither does the summarized document from 1416.<sup>11</sup> It seems that the mayor's district fell into non-Vlach hands, and the subjects slavified with time.

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<sup>9</sup> *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, vol. 6, ed. S. Kuraś i J. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Wrocław 1974, no. 18904; LR 1529, p. 279.

<sup>10</sup> AM 65, f. 183.

<sup>11</sup> MK L.XVIII, 20, ff. 153v–1555v; 22, ff. 278–279v; LK 1659–1664, p. 306.

### III.2.2.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*

The detailed map of Sandomierz Voivodeship shows the borderlines of Church administration of the higher level (dioceses, archdeaconries) and parochial borders at the end of the sixteenth century; an additional map (no. 3) contains a scheme of the division, including the deanery division.<sup>1</sup> The commentary, in turn, describes the most important changes that occurred in the sixteenth century. They were related to both: the successes of the reformation, as well as the reorganizations conducted by the episcopate following the Council of Trent. Within the scope of our interest, this was visible in the increase in the number of deaneries, which were promoted to the role of the basic link between the diocese authorities and parishes. This was to improve Church administration and internal discipline of the clergy.<sup>2</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century we observe the division of some archdeaconries or larger deaneries into smaller units (in archdeaconries of: Sącz, Lublin and Radom or in Kielce deanery).

#### Dioceses

The territory of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the period of our interest was cut by diocese borders. A major part of the voivodeship lay in Cracow diocese; districts of: Sandomierz, Wiślica, Pilzno, Stężyca land and a part of Radom and Chęciny districts belonged to this diocese. The north western part of the voivodeship (Opoczno district and the western area of Radom and Chęciny districts) belonged to Gniezno archdiocese. Moreover, Łaskarzew parish, situated in Stężyca land and subject to Poznań diocese, lay within the borders of our voivodeship.<sup>3</sup> The map also shows a hypothetical affiliation to Przemyśl diocese<sup>4</sup> of several settlements in Pilzno district, right on the border of the voivodeship.

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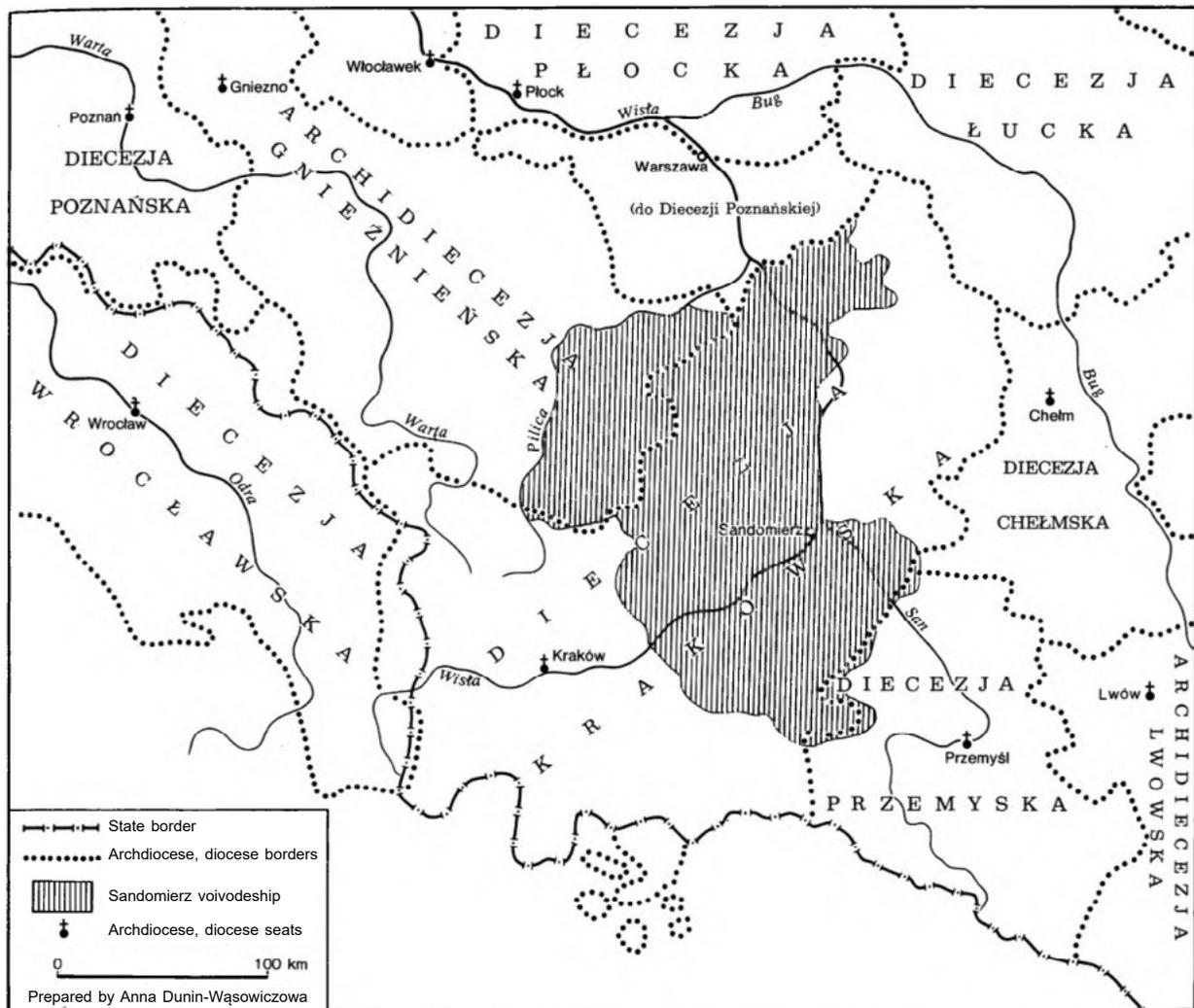
<sup>1</sup> Church visitations kept in Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej (Archive of the Metropolitan Curia) and Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej (Archive of Metropolitan Chapter) in Cracow are quoted only with signatures, archive names are omitted.

<sup>2</sup> W. Müller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1969, pp. 92 and 94.

<sup>3</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Church administration units*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.2.2.7; see B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (968–1939)*, ABMK, vol. 18–24, 1969–1971, here quoted vol. 18, 1969, p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> Current literature on the subject assumes that this fragment of the diocese border overlaps with voivodeship border (Kumor, *Granice*, ABMK, t. 20, 1970, p. 255). The analysis of parochial affiliation of villages found two villages (Węglówka Ruska and Bratkówka) whose parochial affiliation in the sixteenth century was difficult to determine because the Cracow diocese visitations fail to mention these villages. It is difficult to tell, whether these villages remained outside the organization of the Roman Catholic Church (as suggested by the presence of several Orthodox churches in the borderlands between Cracow and Przemyśl, also in Węglówka Ruska, P. Małopolska, p. 256), or they were already subject to Przemyśl diocese, as noted in contemporary fiscal sources of much later Church sources.

In the description of Odrzykoń parish Węglówka appears no sooner than the nineteenth century; according to the pattern of Church administration in Łemkowszczyzna, Węglówka – called Waniwka in Russian – was to date back to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, what would suggest its contemporary parochial affiliation to Odrzykoń; however, the author of the pattern failed to provide the source basis for his information – 1975 letter from Rev. J. Ataman from Archiwum Diecezjalne w Przemyślu (Diocese Archive in Przemyśl); see: A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340–1650*, Wrocław 1962, p. 17; Z. Perzanowski, *Przegląd najstarszych dziejów osad wiejskich regionu krośnieńskiego*, [in:] *Krosno, Studia z dziejów miasta*



**Map 1. Sandomierz Voivodeship against the diocese borders**

## Archdeaconry and deanery divisions

In the sixteenth century, Cracow diocese had eight archdeaconries and corresponding jurisdiction-visitation units, or parts of them, in the territory of Sandomierz Voivodeship. The following units lay entirely within the borders of our voivodeship: Kielce provostry, Tarnów provostry, Sandomierz archdeaconry; Kielce deanery and the archdeaconries of Cracow, Sącz, Zawichost and Lublin covered the area of Sandomierz as well as the neighbouring voivodeship.

*i regionu*, vol. 2, Kraków 1973, p. 413. Bratkówka appears in the 1646 visitation in Odrzykoń parish, Archiwum Diecezjalne Przemyskie, MS 64, p. 229; according to the aforementioned information provided by Rev. Ataman, whom I thank for his explanation.

The thesis that these villages could have belonged to Cracow diocese, although they were subject to Przemysł diocese, is supported by a record in a visitation of a parish in Ropeczyce deanery in 1608 (OABMK, microfilm 3242, v. 20v): 'Est ecclesia parochialis in Odrzykon in diocesi Praemisiensi, cuius medietas parochiae iacet in dioecesi Cracoviensi'. This actual division of a parochial district between two dioceses, the cause of obvious arguments, is not an isolated one. In the end of the sixteenth century there was a village Rogoźnica, subject to Głowów parish (Cracow diocese), separated from Przemysł diocese (AV Cap, 4, f. 81). And we know a document from Mazovia, which divided the area of competences of the bishops of Poznań and Płock from 1547–1548. The analysis of the document leads us to the conclusion that arguments about tithes and Church benefices resulted in temporary submission of certain villages to parochial churches situated outside the villages' diocese (A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, w tej edycji III.2.2.7).

1. Kielce deanery, also called: Radom archdeaconry, since the end of the twelfth century was subject to the jurisdiction of the dean of Kielce collegiate.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century it encompassed the bulk of the territory of Radom district and almost the entire Stężyca land, it also cut into a small part of Mazovian Zapilcze (Głowaczewo parish). At the beginning of the sixteenth century its eastern part, situated in Stężyca land, was isolated. It was described as ‘sub decanatu Radomiensi in Transilvania’ or ‘sub decanatu Radom in Podlasze’;<sup>6</sup> in terms of territory, this area corresponded to later Stężyca deanery. In the second half of the century (probably after 1576)<sup>7</sup> Kielce deanery divided into three deaneries: Radom, Zwoleń and Stężyca.<sup>8</sup>

The archdeaconry affiliation of several parishes situated in the borderland between Radom land and Lublin Voivodeship is unclear. Namely, the parishes: Gołąb, Oleksów, Regów and Jaroszyn (Gołąb parish was inspected in Stężyca deanery, and the other three in Zwoleń deanery) according to visitations of Kielce deanery from 1598 belonged to this deanery.<sup>9</sup> Other records in fact list these parishes in Lublin archdeaconry, beginning with the fifteenth century, so with Długosz’s *Liber beneficiorum*,<sup>10</sup> through *Liber retaxationum* from 1529,<sup>11</sup> until the visitation conducted in 1611 by the archdeacon of Zawichost Piotr Skidziński, in which these parishes were included in Parczew deanery of Lublin archdeaconry.<sup>12</sup> However, given S. Litak’s counterarguments,<sup>13</sup> this could not be explained with the thesis of P. Szafran, who claimed that between 1447 and 1470 the lands of Stężyca and Łuków (and before 1565 the part of Radom archdeaconry situated on the right bank) belonged temporarily to Lublin archdeaconry.<sup>14</sup> We should rather perceive this transient inclusion of four parishes to Radom archdeaconry a post-Trent attempt to reorganize Church administration in the area adjacent to regions of relatively late colonization – such as in the case of Stężyca land.

We must also note that Łysobyki (present-day Jeziorzany) parish situated in Stężyca land, later belonged to Łuków deanery and Lublin archdeaconry, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was still, along with neighbouring Kocko parish ‘ad Radom in Podlasze’, i.e. to Radom archdeaconry.<sup>15</sup>

2. Kielce provostry<sup>16</sup> consisted of parts of four districts, namely: Radom, Sandomierz, Chęciny and Wiślica. There was a cluster of estates belonging to Cracow bishopric: these were the keys of Iłża and Kielce.<sup>17</sup> There were no major difficulties in the reconstruction of outer borders of this provostry,

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<sup>5</sup> T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidjako­natu w Polsce*, Lwów 1927, p. 123 n.; B. Kumor, *Granice*, ABMK, vol. 18, p. 352. The name: dziekania kielecka, can also be found in the studies.

<sup>6</sup> LR 1529, p. 407, 412, 414, 416, 420–425; LS 1564/5, p. 200–204, *ibidem*, footnote 339.

<sup>7</sup> S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidjako­natu radomskiego w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL”, vol. 9, 1958, p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> *Compendium actorum exterioris visitationis ecclesiarum districtus Radomiensis ad visitationem decani Kielcensis pertinentium in 3 decanatus divisas: Radomiensem, Zwolinensem et Stężycensem...* AD 1598, AV Cap. 65, f. 276–311; see also visitation from 1598, AV Cap. 14, f. 281–309, which was used through excerpts made in the interwar periods for Historical Atlas Section by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa. Town parish in Radom was inspected separately in 1598 along with bigger churches and monasteries of Cracow diocese, AV Cap. 9, f. 569, visitation of Sieciechów monastery, *ib.*, f. 592. Głowaczewo parish (moved from Leżenice) was situated entirely in Mazovia; see the main map.

<sup>9</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 292, 299, 300, 301.

<sup>10</sup> Długosz LB, II, p. 548 (Gołąb and Oleksów parishes), p. 563 (Jaroszyn parish); Regów parish was listed only next to Gołąb parish; Bobrowniki parish (*ibidem*, p. 547) appears in later records in Stężyca deanery of Kielce deanery.

<sup>11</sup> LR 1529, pp. 435, 438, 441, parishes Gołąb, Jaroszyn, Oleksów and Regów in Lublin archdeaconry.

<sup>12</sup> *Compendium actorum visitationis ecclesiarum decanatus Chodelensis et Parczoviensis ad archidiaconatum Lublinensem pertinentium... A. 1611*, AV Cap. 65, f. 545v (Gołąb, Regów parish), 546 (Jaroszyn parish, instead of ‘defiled’ parochial church in Oleksów the chapel in Bierdzieża was inspected, listed also in this parish in 1598, *ibidem*, f. 299).

<sup>13</sup> P. Szafran, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w Lubelskiem*, Lublin 1958, pp. 42, 92.

<sup>14</sup> S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidjako­natu radomskiego*, p. 103.

<sup>15</sup> LR 1529, pp. 419 and 429, states that the parishes Przetoczno and Kocko belonged ‘ad Radom in Podlasze’; however, they were not listed in the visitation of Kielce deanery in 1598. Łysobyki parish i.e. Przetoczno (how it was called in tax registers in the sixteenth century, e.g. in 1569, P. Małopolska, p. 332 n.) was also omitted by the visitation of Łuków deanery in 1595 (AV Cap. 65 pp. 496v–501v) and by the visitation of the neighbouring Parczew deanery in 1611 (*ibidem*, f. 539–548), because this parish was seized by Calvinists; in the eighteenth century it was included in Parczew deanery at first, in Cracow diocese (in 1739 visitation quoted by Ambroży Wadowski, Kościoły diecezji lubelskiej XIX/XX w., MS BN, microfilm 40753, f. 130, and according to Franciszek Czaykowski, *Regestr dyecezyów (1783–1784)*, *ibidem*, microfilm 7679); in 1790 its affiliation to Łuków deanery is attested in Chełm diocese (then Lublin); B. Kumor, *Granice*, ABMK, vol. 20, p. 324.

<sup>16</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice*, ABMK, vol. 20, p. 352.

<sup>17</sup> T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidjako­natu*, p. 123.

except for the territory of four parishes, situated along the border with Zawichost archdeaconry (parishes Manina, Szewna and Michów) and Sandomierz archdeaconry (Baczkowice parish), which were inspected at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries within Kielce provostry,<sup>18</sup> as well as neighbouring archdeaconries.<sup>19</sup>

3. Cracow archdeaconry reached the south western boundaries of Sandomierz Voivodeship. In our territory there was a small part of Jędrzejów deanery (parishes Brzegi and Sobków and a fragment of Mokrsko parish) that belonged to this archdeaconry,<sup>20</sup> the entire Opatowiec deanery,<sup>21</sup> a part of Wojnicz deanery,<sup>22</sup> and a small fragment of Tarnów deanery, namely this part which had not been incorporated into Tarnów provostry,<sup>23</sup> and finally: the former Wiślica provostry, submitted to the authority of Cracow archdeacon in the sixteenth century.

Wiślica provostry has not been marked on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century, because the provostry does not appear in the sixteenth and seventeenth century sources. Of five deaneries, of which it originally consisted, namely: Bolesław (later: Opatowiec), Czarnocin (later: Sokolina), Dębica, Kije, Książnice (later: Pacanów), Dębica deanery was removed in favour of the newly-created in 1448 Sącz archdeaconry, and between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries the deanery of Opatowiec was closely tied to Cracow archdeaconry.<sup>24</sup> This event could probably be dated to the end of the sixteenth century, because it was inspected in 1596 along with a different part of Cracow archdeaconry than deaneries of Kije, Sokolina and Pacanów, which were inspected two years later.<sup>25</sup>

Somewhere between the end of the fifteenth century and 1604 there were some changes in the archdeaconry affiliation of four borderland parishes; Borowa and Czermin were separated from Cracow archdeaconry and included into Sącz archdeaconry, and Gawłuszowice and Połaniec into Sandomierz archdeaconry;<sup>26</sup> the latter change occurred probably between 1598 and 1604.<sup>27</sup>

4. Tarnów provostry was created in 1400. In the sixteenth century its territory grew, which could be explained by the centralization of the estates of the family Tarnowski and their successors, who possessed the right of patronage over the collegiate of Tarnów. However, only in 1618 did the remnants of the deanery of Tarnów become fully subject to the power of the provost.<sup>28</sup> At the turn of the sixteenth and

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<sup>18</sup> The visitation of Kielce provostry conducted by Stanisław Sułowski, provost of Kielce, canon of Cracow in 1597, AV Cap. 65, f. 506–516; see AV Cap. 8, f. 507–516v; this visitation omits Bardo parish, which had been attested earlier, see e.g. Długosz LB, II, p. 465; LR 1529, p. 378; parish in Kielce was inspected in 1598, AV Cap. 9, f. 569.

<sup>19</sup> Visitation of Zawichost archdeaconry ordered by Marcin Szyszkowski, the archdeacon of Zawichost, conducted by the vicar of Sandomierz collegiate Andrzej of Żarnów in 1592, compendium, AV Cap. 65, k, 450–494; visitation of Sandomierz archdeaconry (from the times of the bishop Bernard Maciejowski) from 1604 by Sandomierz archdeacon Marcin Wróblewski, ib., f. 518–531. Długosz LB, II, p. 468., mentions a church in Baczkowice (as subsidiary to Łągów parish) and Manina parish in Kielce provostry, and Szewna parish in Zawichost archdeaconry (ibidem, p. 508).

<sup>20</sup> Compendium of the visitation from 1596, AV Cap. 65, f. 223v–224 (decanatus Andreoviensis); see AV Cap. 10, f. 223–226 (protocol of this visitation).

<sup>21</sup> Compendium of the visitation from 1596, AV Cap. 65, f. 110–124v; protocol of this visitation, AV Cap. 7, f. 110–124v (*decanatus Opatouiecensis*). Church of St. Lawrence in Gorzysławice (Wiślica suburbs) was inspected in 1598, AV Cap. 9, f. 412, similarly Wiślica collegiate, ibidem, f. 374.

<sup>22</sup> Compendium of the visitation from 1596/1597, AV Cap. 65, f. 97–108v; according to the protocol of this visitation AV Cap. 10, f. 73–111, the parishes we are interested in were inspected in Dobczyce deanery, the visitation included churches of Wojnicz deanery in this visitation, what is difficult to explain without checking bishopric's files.

<sup>23</sup> Visitation from 1596, ib., f. 64–76v, divided Tarnów deanery into two parts; visitation of the second part was entitled (k. 72): 'sequitur parochiales ecclesiae in eodem decanatu, quae non subiacet iurisdictioni seu officio praepositi Tarnoviensis'. In the visitation protocol from 1596, AV Cap. 7, f. 1–23 Tarnów provostry was not listed.

<sup>24</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w prepozyturze wiślickiej w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 26, 45; idem, *Prepozytura wiślicka do schyłku XVIII w.*, Lublin 1976 (Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 2, part 3), p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Opatowiec deanery was inspected in 1596, together with the deaneries of Tarnów, Dobczyce, Wojnicz, Lipnica, and Wieliczka (AV Cap. 65, f. 64–157); and the deaneries of Pacanów, Kije, Sokolina were inspected in 1598 with the deaneries of Jędrzejów, Wrocimowice, Pleszów and Witów (ib., f. 190–278); see AV Cap. 7, f. 110–124v, and AV Cap. 10, f. 192–220, (used according to excerpts for *Historical Atlas of Poland*).

<sup>26</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, p. 80; these parishes were listed in 1529 'sub decanatu Kxyąznye', LR 1529, p. 265, 268.

<sup>27</sup> Połaniec parish was inspected in 1598 in Pacanów deanery (former Książnice), AV Cap. 65, f. 195; and in 1604 – in Sandomierz archdeaconry, ibidem, f. 528.

<sup>28</sup> B. Kumor, *Prepozytura tarnowska. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do Atlasu Historii Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 12, 1966, p. 214–216.

seventeenth centuries this provostry consisted of 10 parishes: Łysagóra, Jastrząbka, Żdżarzec, Zassów, Skrzyszów, Szynwałd, Zalasowa, Łękawica, Poręba Radlna and Wierzchosławice; but only seven parishes belonged to Tarnów deanery, which was not under the authority of the provost of Tarnów: Jurków, Góra Zbylitowska, Jodłówka, Piotrkowice, towns Tuchów, Ryglice<sup>29</sup> and Pleśna.<sup>30</sup>

5. Sącz archdeaconry lay mostly in Cracow Voivodeship, but it wedged from the south into Sandomierz Voivodeship, mainly into the district of Pilzno.<sup>31</sup> This archdeaconry was separated in the fifteenth century from Cracow archdeaconry.<sup>32</sup> Several sources provide us with information about the division of this archdeaconry into deaneries. There are significant discrepancies in the sources as to the number and range of individual units in the sixteenth century.

According to *Liber retaxationum* in 1529 a major part of the area described was occupied by Pilzno deanery,<sup>33</sup> and over a dozen parishes in the south east belonged to Jasło deanery (Przeczyca, Brzostek, Klecice, Gogołów, Frysztak, Kołaczyce, Sieklówka, Bieździedza, Lubla, Warzyce, Szebnie, Jedlicze).<sup>34</sup> On the basis of an visitation from the end of the sixteenth century we can assume that Pilzno deanery was divided. From its northern part Mielec deanery (that is Przeclaw deanery)<sup>35</sup> was created, from its eastern part – Ropczyce;<sup>36</sup> the range of this reduced Pilzno deanery was enlarged in the south by the addition of nine parishes separated from Jasło deanery.<sup>37</sup> This division is shown in one of the visitations from 1595 and the compendium based on it. However, another record of the protocol from this visitation offers a different version.<sup>38</sup> Yet it seems that either there were mistakes in the form, or it presented an attempt at a different division of this area into deaneries, which had not been conducted, as the visitation of the bishop of Cracow from 1608 shows the same division as the one recorded in the compendium of the visitation from 1595. Small differences observed result from the division of deaneries between 1595 and 1608 when a new deanery of Strzyżów was separated from Ropczyce deanery.<sup>39</sup>

6. Sandomierz archdeaconry occupied the south eastern and eastern part of the district of Sandomierz and a small fragment of Pilzno district. The range of this archdeaconry was determined on the basis of the 1604 visitation, conducted in the times of Bishop Bernard Maciejowski.<sup>40</sup> In comparison with the state from the beginning of the sixteenth century, described in *Liber retaxationum*, the above-mentioned visitation clearly points to the affiliation to this archdeaconry of the areas of new colonization in Sandomierz Forest and in the fork of the Rivers Vistula and San, where new parishes were established in the sixteenth century.

The visitations from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do not describe the division of this archdeaconry into deaneries; as such, W. Müller's thesis concerning their organization in

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<sup>29</sup> See footnote 23 in this chapter.

<sup>30</sup> Visitation of Tarnów deanery from 1596, AV Cap. 7, f. 20.

<sup>31</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 3–56v.

<sup>32</sup> T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidiaconatu*, p. 124.

<sup>33</sup> Together with Zassów parish, LR 1529, p. 68, which later went to Tarnów deanery, see footnote in this chapter.

<sup>34</sup> LR 1529, p. 62–4, 71, 77, 91 n., 168, 171, 283, 286.

<sup>35</sup> Compendium of the visitation from 1595, AV Cap., 65, f. 13–21v; protocol of this visitation, AV Cap. 2 ('decanatus Mielcensis seu Przeczlauiensis').

<sup>36</sup> Compendium of the visitation from 1595, AV Cap. 65, f. 23–31v; protocol of this visitation, AV Cap. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Compendium of the visitation of Pilzno deanery from 1595, AV Cap. 65, f. 3–12v; protocol of this visitation, AV Cap. 2, f. 1–29; compendium of the visitation of Jasło deanery, AV Cap. 65, f. 49–56v.

<sup>38</sup> Two protocols of the visitation conducted at the same time (25 May – 19 December 1595) by the provost of Tarnów Krzysztof Kazimierski were made by the same notary Stanisław Zięba, a cleric in Cracow diocese. Text AV Cap. 2, on which the compendium was based, AV Cap. 65, was authenticated only by the scribe, with his seal and signature; it is entitled 'Acta visitationis exterioris decanatum Pilznensis, Mielcensis, Ropczensis, Bieczensis, Jaslensis et Żmigrodensis ad archidiaconatum Sandecensem pertinentium...' The second text, AV Cap. 4, written in a more elaborate and careful hand, entitled: 'A.D. 1595 die 25 Octobri... visitatio ecclesiarum parochialium decanatum Pilznensis, Ropczensis et Bieczensis...' was authenticated by both: the scribe and the provost of Tarnów, Kazimierz Kazimierski. In AV Cap. 4 the parishes, which according to AV Cap. 2 were inspected in Jasło deanery, were included in Biecz deanery; at the same time, the entire Mielec deanery and the southern part of Ropczyce deanery (according to AV Cap. 2) were inspected, according to AV Cap. 4, in Pilzno deanery, and in Ropczyce deanery AV Cap. 4 lists only nine parishes: Ropczyce, Witkowice, Sędziszów, Góra, Głowów, Mrowła, Trzciana, Nockowa, Zgłobień (so the northern part of this deanery, according to AV Cap. 2).

<sup>39</sup> Visitation from 1608, AV Cap. 26 and AV Cap. 27 (OABMK, microfilm 3242, f. 15–455).

<sup>40</sup> Compendium of the visitation in 1604, AV Cap. 65, f. 518–531; AV Cap. 18 and AV Cap. 23 (used according to the excerpts for Historical Atlas of Poland).

this area in the 1590s does not seem legitimate,<sup>41</sup> it appears that the organization occurred only at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

7. Zawichost archdeaconry consisted of parishes from both banks of the Vistula, situated partly in Lublin Voivodeship and partly in Sandomierz Voivodeship. The reconstruction of the borders of this archdeaconry in our voivodeship was based on the 1592 visitation.<sup>42</sup> In the description of the borders of Kielce provostry it was already mentioned that parishes laying in the borderland with Zawichost archdeaconry were inspected in both these jurisdiction districts.<sup>43</sup> Some changes in the course of the borderline of this archdeaconry occurred at the point of junction with Lublin archdeaconry: Piotrawin parish (seat in Lublin Voivodeship) along with its subsidiary church, which in fact fulfilled parochial functions, in Pawłowice (Sandomierz Voivodeship), inspected in 1592 in Zawichost archdeaconry, belonged in 1595 to Lublin archdeaconry;<sup>44</sup> a similar change of affiliation can be observed in Lublin Voivodeship for example in Boby and Zakrzówek parishes;<sup>45</sup> this correction of the course of the borderline was probably related to the division of the archdeaconry of Lublin into deaneries.

The course of the archdeaconry border along the River San near Wrzawy parish (Zawichost archdeaconry) and the parishes Zaleszany and Charzowice (Sandomierz archdeaconry) was reconstructed in a different manner than that presented in the map of Lublin Voivodeship by S. Wojciechowski. Żabno, a village of Sandomierz chapter, did not belong to Charzowice parish, as assumed by Wojciechowski, but to Wrzawy parish.<sup>46</sup> As such, we have led the borderline of this parish, and of Zawichost archdeaconry at the same time, south of Żabno, along the old channel of the San.

8. Lublin archdeaconry cut into Sandomierz Voivodeship between Zawichost archdeaconry and Kielce deanery (that is: Radom archdeaconry) and covered the north eastern borderlands of the voivodeship.<sup>47</sup> Probably, the introduction of the division into deaneries accompanied some changes in the affiliation of some of the borderland parishes. The entire Solec deanery was situated within the boundaries of the voivodeship. We reconstructed its range on the basis of the 1595 visitation.<sup>48</sup> Wojcieszków and Adamów parishes belonged to Łuków deanery in the same year, they lay in the eastern borderland of Stężyca land.<sup>49</sup> As already mentioned, four parishes inspected in 1598 in Kielce deanery, as well as Kocko<sup>50</sup> parish, were included into Parczew deanery in 1611. Piotrawin parish belonged to Chodel deanery. The parish was previously inspected in 1592 in Zawichost archdeaconry, and already in 1595 in Lublin archdeaconry.<sup>51</sup>

The parishes whose archdeaconry affiliation remained uncertain were listed in the Annex 7. On map 3 they were separated from their respective administrative units, but the more probable affiliation was marked with arrows. The main map shows only the more certain border.

Gniezno archdiocese in Sandomierz Voivodeship encompassed the territories belonging mainly to Kurzelów archdeaconry, and some settlements situated in Łowicz, Łęczyca and Uniejów archdeaconry.

1. Kurzelów archdeaconry covered the north western part of our voivodeship, but western border of this unit of Church administration lay in the neighbouring Sieradz Voivodeship, and northern border in Mazovia. As there are no surviving visitations of this archdeaconry, its range was reconstructed on the basis of Jan Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*, dated back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The same range appears in printed documents of the synod of Gniezno archdiocese from 1628. At that time, Kurzelów archdeaconry was divided into six deaneries (Kurzelów, Małogoszcz, Opoczno,

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<sup>41</sup> W. Müller, *Diecezje*, p. 94; T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidjako­natu*, p. 120.

<sup>42</sup> Compendium of the visitation from 1592, AV Cap. 65, f. 450–494; see T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidjako­natu*, p. 120; H. Grocholski, *Powstanie archidjako­natu zawichojskiego i jego najstarsze kościoły do połowy XIV w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 13, 1965, p. 151–162.

<sup>43</sup> See above – the description of Kielce provostry (Manina, Michów, Szewna parishes).

<sup>44</sup> AV Cap. 1, f. 45 n. (Zawichost archdeaconry), AV Cap. 3, f. 95, 100 (Lublin archdeaconry).

<sup>45</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 467, 534, 536.

<sup>46</sup> AHP Lublin, in this edition III.2.2.3; Długosz LB, I, p. 389, II, p. 369; the visitation of Zawichost archdeaconry, 1592, AV Cap. 65, f. 459.

<sup>47</sup> T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidjako­natu*, p. 120.

<sup>48</sup> Compendium of the visitation from 1595, AV Cap. 65, f. 502–505.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 495–501.

<sup>50</sup> See footnote 15 in this chapter.

<sup>51</sup> See footnote 44 in this chapter; AV Cap. 65, f. 534 (y. 1611, Chodel deanery).

Przytyk, Skrzynno, Żarnów), and at in the beginning of the sixteenth century the division into deaneries did not exist, so it has not been presented on our map.<sup>52</sup>

2. Łowicz archdeaconry in our area encompassed the parish of Łęgonice (city) and villages belonging to the parish, whose churches were situated in Rawa Voivodeship (Łęgonice village) and Łęczyca Voivodeship (Inowłódz).<sup>53</sup>

3. Łęczyca archdeaconry encompassed villages belonging to the parishes: Maluszyn, Nagórzyce and Sulejów, situated in Tuszyn deanery in Sieradz Voivodeship.<sup>54</sup>

4. The fragment of Uniejów archdeaconry that entered our territory was a small part of Brzeźnica deanery, to which Borzykowa parish belonged. Its seat lay in Sieradz Voivodeship.<sup>55</sup>

## Parochial network

The rules applied during the reconstruction of the parochial network in Sandomierz Voivodeship were similar to ones used for the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century,<sup>56</sup> based mostly on Church sources from the second half of the sixteenth century and the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Earlier data, from the fifteenth century, or later – from the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries, as well as fiscal materials were used as an auxiliary source, especially for the areas for which no sixteenth century parochial visitations survived; these sources helped to supplement the information needed to determine the range of newly-established parishes. We have also tried to use the existing literature on this topic.<sup>57</sup>

There were 380 parishes in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century,<sup>58</sup> of which 100 were city parishes; 11 towns did not have their own churches at that time, and were subject to neighbouring village parishes.<sup>59</sup> sixteenth century foundations of 40 parochial churches – or those fulfilling parochial functions – accompanied the development of the settlement network in newly-colonized areas (in Sandomierz Forest or in some parts of Stężyca land, then called Polesie); to some extent these churches were created near old parochial seats, seized by reformed denominations and remained in their possession over a lengthy period.

Subsidiary churches were marked as parishes on the main map only when they really had their own district, as in Pawłowice (subsidiary church of Piotrawin parish in Zawichost archdeaconry, and then Lublin archdeaconry),<sup>60</sup> whereas churches without parochial functions were omitted, such as the church built in Gródek village in Zwoleń deanery,<sup>61</sup> because during the visitation it was described as: ‘nondum parochialis, recenter aedificata [ecclesia] inter fines parochiae Sieciechoviensis’.<sup>62</sup> In

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<sup>52</sup> Łaski LB I, pp. 541–713; *Constitutiones synodi archidioecesis Gnesnensis presidente... dno Joanne Wężyk... AD 1628 die 10 mensis Mai*, Cracoviae 1630, p. E–E 2; see Kumor, *Granice*, ABMK, pp. 325, 329; T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidiakonatu*, p. 103; H. Rybus, *Regesty wybranych zapisek z akt działalności arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich*, ABMK, vol. 3, 1961, pp. 111–404.

<sup>53</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 310, 316.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, II, pp. 186, 209.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, I, p. 511.

<sup>56</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Church administration borders*, [in:] *AHP Mazovia*, in this edition III.2.2.7.

<sup>57</sup> About parochial network see E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej w Polsce do czasów reformacji*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1, Kraków 1966, pp. 237–371; S. Litak, *Struktura i funkcja parafii w Polsce*, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. 2, Kraków 1969, pp. 261–479.

<sup>58</sup> Only parishes where parochial churches were situated in Sandomierz Voivodeship were counted, there whose seats lay outside our voivodeship, to which villages in the borderlands belonged, were disregarded. There were the parishes: Łęgonice in Rawa Voivodeship; in Mazovia: Jasiona, Wyszemierzyce (Wyśmierzyce); in Lublin Voivodeship: Kazimierz, Kock, Piotrawin, Radorzyż, Świeciechów; in Ruthenia: Odrzykoń; in Cracow Voivodeship: Działoszyce, Dzierzków, Cierno, Jasło, Mokrsko Dolne, Przemków, Sancygniów, Skarbmierz (Skalbmierz), Szczepanów, Wojnicz, Zrzęcin; in Sieradz Voivodeship: Borzykowa, Maluszyn, Nagórzyce, Nowopole (Konieczpol), Sulejów; in Łęczyca Voivodeship: Inowłódz.

<sup>59</sup> In Sandomierz district Lasocin town belonged to Dębno parish, Rudnik town – to Kopki parish, Gliniany town – Bidziny parish; in Wiślica district the towns Dębno and Raków – to Szumsko parish; in Pilzno district Niebylec town – Konieczkowska parish; in Chęciny district Oksza town – Konieczno parish, Włoszczowa town – Włoszczowa village parish; in Radom district Lipsko town – Krępa parish, Ciepiałów (Grzymałów) town – Ciepiałów parish; in Stężyca district Wyprzedów (Nowodwór) town – Żabia Wola parish.

<sup>60</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 476.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 298.

<sup>62</sup> Visitation of Zwoleń deanery from 1598, AV Cap. 14, f. 298 (according to excerpts for Historical Atlas Section).

Pawłowice near Stężycza on the other hand, the former Protestant church, built by Anzelm Gostomski (who died in 1588), was extended by his son Jakub as a Catholic church ‘ad instar parochialis’, but it was lawfully a chapel subject to Wargocin parish, where a new church was also built in the end of the century, because the old one was destroyed in an overflow of the Vistula.<sup>63</sup> Of other newly-created chapels those built in Jadamów (Adamów),<sup>64</sup> Radorzyż (subsidiary to Tuchowicz parish in Łuków deanery)<sup>65</sup> or in Rzecznów in Solec deanery in Siemno parish<sup>66</sup> could be mentioned.

Among the newly-created churches and chapels in Sandomierz Voivodeship there were also those that – even though their official foundation occurred in the seventeenth century – already fulfilled the role of parochial church, giving sacraments, mostly within the boundaries of the parish in which the former parochial church was seized by reformed denomination, such as the new church in Bierdzieża in Oleksów parish (Zwoleń deanery).<sup>67</sup> Exceptional was the case of the newly-located town of Sobków, where the church was built Protestant, then it was given to Catholics; according to the 1598 visitation it functioned as a parochial church, though not yet consecrated; the official foundation was to happen in the following year.<sup>68</sup>

The average size of parishes in Sandomierz Voivodeship was around 68 km<sup>2</sup>. The lowest average within district boundaries appears in Wiślica district (45.7 km<sup>2</sup>), and the highest – in Stężycza district (146.9 km<sup>2</sup>). Extreme values within the boundaries of the entire voivodeship were: the lowest in Książnica parish in Wiślica district (4.3 km<sup>2</sup>), the highest in Charzowice parish in Sandomierz district (378 km<sup>2</sup> altogether, with the area outside the voivodeship), and the biggest parish situated entirely in Sandomierz Voivodeship was Iłża parish in Radom district, with an area of 310.8 km<sup>2</sup>. As S. Litak noted, the parishes much bigger than average could be found in forested areas of Sandomierz, Radom and Stężycza districts.<sup>69</sup>

We had access to several lists of parochial churches for Cracow diocese, which made our research on the changes in parochial network much easier. These were *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz from the 1470s, *Liber retaxationum* from 1529, and finally – the visitations from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which constituted the main source basis of our reconstructions. Some regions have been prepared from this perspective.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 303; AV Cap. 14, f. 88, 90v.

<sup>64</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 501: ‘Jadamow oppidum [...] ecclesia seu capella [...] e lignis quondam recenter constructa, nullam habet dotem et fundationem, nempe pastorem legitimum habens, consecrata per sacerdotes [...] sacramenta in eadem administrantur’.

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem, f. 500v: ‘Radorzysz villa nobilium sub parochia Tuchoviensi. Ecclesia seu capella sub parochia ecclesiae de Tuchowicz [...] noviter et recenter ex lignis constructa [...] consecrata...’, however, because the collator did not present the documents, ‘ideo divina officia in ea silent’.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, f. 504v: ‘Capella [...] sub parochia oppidi Siemno’. The following chapels, which did not perform parochial functions, but were situated in village settlements in Sandomierz Voivodeship, are known from the visitation of Cracow diocese from 1595–1611: in Zawada, Lubzina parish, Pilzno deanery (AV Cap. 65, p. 17v), in Czarnków Mały i Wielki, Stary Korczyn parish, Opatowiec deanery (ibidem, f. 116), in Sieciechowice, Góra Zbylitowska parish, Tarnów deanery (AV Cap. 7, f. 19), in Szklanów, Stobnica parish, Pacanów deanery (AV Cap. 65, f. 200v), in Turbia, Charzowice parish, Sandomierz archdeaconry (ib., f. 520v), in Żyraków, Straszęcin parish, Mielec deanery (ibidem, f. 19), in Chotel Zielony, Busko parish, Kije deanery (ibidem, f. 204v).

<sup>67</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 299: ‘villa Bierdziedza [...] ecclesia recenter ex muro extracta inter limites parochiae profanatae Olexów, nondum consecrata, ad instar tamen parochialis aedificata [...] administrat sacramenta parochianis parochiae Olexoviensis...’; like in AV Cap. 14, f. 73.

<sup>68</sup> The visitation of Jędrzejów deanery from 1598, AV Cap. 10, f. 92–92v: ‘Oppidum Sobkow nouum. Ecclesia noua inter limites parochiae Mokrzko pro haereticismo aedificata a Stanislae Sobek thesaurario Regni, castell[ano] sandomirien[si], ubi et corpus eius sepultum est, in catholicam usum ab aliquod annos per filios defuncti conversa, titulumque nominatum habet Assumptionis BMV, nondum consecrata, nec dotem inscriptum habet...’, and f. 93 lists the benefits, determined when the Protestant church was established. The death of the Treasurer Stanisław Sobek on 27 October 1569 sets the date post quem the church was to be handed to the Catholics. According to J. Wiśniewski, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Jędrzejowskiem*, Mariówka 1930, p. 357, the church was officially erected in 1599. About the location of Sobków town, see A. Dunin-Łasowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2.

<sup>69</sup> S. Litak, *Struktura*, p. 284.

<sup>70</sup> About the parochial network of Cracow diocese: W. Müller, *Diecezja krakowska w relacjach biskupów z XVII–XVIII w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 13, 1965, no. 2, pp. 5–149; eastern frontiers of Stężycza districts are described by S. Litak, *Formowanie się sieci parafialnej w Łukowskiem do końca XVI w. Studium geograficzno-historyczne*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 12, 1964, no. 2, pp. 5–137; the study on Sandomierz archdeaconry was published only in summary: S. Jop, *Sieć parafialna archidiaconatu sandomierskiego do końca XVI w.*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL”, vol. 7, 1953–1956, pp. 154–158; and the parochial network of Zawichost archdeaconry was studied only in the earlier period, see footnote 42 in this chapter; the development of the parochial network in Kielce deanery was described by S. Litak, see footnote 7 in this chapter; in Wiślica provostry – E. Wiśniewski, see footnote 24 in this chapter, in Tarnów provostry –

In Wiślica district, both: within the territory of the former Wiślica provostry, and Opatowiec deanery or Kielce provostry, there were no changes in the number and localization of parochial centres in the sixteenth century, except for the disappearance of Strzelce parish (Pacanów deanery) in the second half of this century.<sup>71</sup> It is worth mentioning, that the parish of St. Lawrence, mentioned by Długosz in the suburbs of Wiślica, was localized in Gorzysławice.<sup>72</sup>

The following parishes were erected in Pilzno district in the sixteenth century: in Tarnów provostry – in Jastrząbki,<sup>73</sup> and in Tarnów deanery – in Piotrkowice, where there had been a church subsidiary to Tuchów parish before,<sup>74</sup> in Mielec deanery – in Radomyśl,<sup>75</sup> in Ropczyce deanery – in Głowów<sup>76</sup> and Mała,<sup>77</sup> in Sandomierz archdeaconry – in Kolbuszowa.<sup>78</sup> Parochial functions were also fulfilled by other churches in this district at the end of the sixteenth century – in Przewrotna (Sandomierz archdeaconry)<sup>79</sup> and in Niwiska (Mielec deanery).<sup>80</sup>

The borderline between Cracow diocese and Gniezno archdiocese ran through Radom district. Part of this district that belonged to Cracow diocese was divided between Kielce provostry, Kielce deanery i.e. Radom archdeaconry, Lublin archdeaconry and Zawichost archdeaconry in the second part of the sixteenth century. At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries new parochial centres were created in Radom district: in Brzoza in Zwoleń deanery<sup>81</sup> and in Wielgie in Solec deanery.<sup>82</sup> The following parishes were created later, in the sixteenth century, in Zwoleń deanery: Policzna,<sup>83</sup> Kozienice<sup>84</sup> and Kazanów.<sup>85</sup> In Solec deanery the parochial functions were already fulfilled by the church in Lipsko,<sup>86</sup> and in Zawichost archdeaconry by the subsidiary church in Pawłowice.<sup>87</sup> We have not numbered the temples in Gródek in Zwoleń deanery,<sup>88</sup> Rzecznów<sup>89</sup> and the city of Ciepiałów in Solec deanery<sup>90</sup> among parochial churches.

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B. Kumor, see footnote 28 in this chapter; in Sącz archdeaconry – B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, ABMK, vol. 8, 1964, pp. 271–304, vol. 9, 1964, pp. 93–286.

<sup>71</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, p. 115.

<sup>72</sup> Długosz LB, II, p. 370; LR 1529, p. 263; E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, pp. 75–77; see footnote 21 in this chapter.

<sup>73</sup> B. Kumor, *Prepozytura tarnowska*, p. 228.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 238; full parochial rights were granted to the church in 1513.

<sup>75</sup> The church was inspected as a parochial church already in 1595, AV Cap, 65, f. 19v; the official foundation of the parish took place in 1599 (B. Idzik, *Rys historyczny Radomyśla Wielkiego*, „Rocznik Ziemi Mieleckiej”, 1971, p. 106; about foundation of the town in 1581, the church was endowed in 1606).

<sup>76</sup> The parish existed in fact already in 1581, the church was endowed in 1606; B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, ABMK, vol. 8, p. 229; about the location of the town see: A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2.

<sup>77</sup> The parish appears already in the visitation from 1595, AV Cap. 65, f. 31v; it was officially erected in the following year, B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, ABMK, vol. 8, p. 233.

<sup>78</sup> Parish erected in 1523, „Rocznik Diecezji Tarnowskiej”, 1967, p. 194.

<sup>79</sup> In tax registers from 1581–1674 Przewrotna is listed in Kołaczyce parish. In 1569 the inspectors noted (AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 29, f. 266v): ‘the subjects built a church in this village [...] for this occasion they keep a priest and a master’. In the visitation of Sandomierz archdeaconry from 1604 (AV Cap. 23, f. 36) it was stated: ‘Przewrotne [...] ecclesia seu capella s. Magdalenae ab annis 30 constructa per nob. d. Konarzewski, villae istius locatorem, parochialis ipsa tantum Przewrotne’.

<sup>80</sup> According to the visitation from 1608, AV Cap. 65, f. 77: ‘Villa Niwiska intra limites ecclesiae parochiae Zochoviensis ab annis tredecem plus vel minus constructa, in qua quidem ecclesia administrantur sacramenta colonis villarum Niwiska et Trzesnia’. See B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, ABMK, vol. 8, p. 153.

<sup>81</sup> S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiakonatu radomskiego*, p. 106. This parish does not appear in Długosz, although it is listed in LR 1529, p. 403.

<sup>82</sup> In Długosz, Wielgie are not a parish, but they are listed in LR 1529, p. 434.

<sup>83</sup> Attested as a parish in 1531, J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat kozienicki*, vol. 1, Radom 1913, p. 102.

<sup>84</sup> Parish created around 1577, S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiakonatu radomskiego*, p. 106.

<sup>85</sup> According to the visitation of Zwoleń deanery from 1598 (AV Cap. 65, f. 291) in Kazanów there was ‘ecclesia nova, nondum per loci ordinarium approbata, ex licentia tamen in ea celebratur et sacramenta administrantur, nondum consecrata’. About the location of Kazanów town see A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2.

<sup>86</sup> Lipsko is mentioned in the visitation from 1595 (AV Cap. 65, f. 504) as ‘oppidum noviter locatum’ with a church, not yet finished.

<sup>87</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 476.

<sup>88</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 298 and Visitation of Zwoleń deanery from 1598, AV Cap. 14, f. 298.

<sup>89</sup> See footnote 66 in this chapter.

<sup>90</sup> In the 1595 visitation (AV Cap. 65, f. 503, AV Cap. 3, f. 503) it was stated that ‘ecclesia nondum perfecta, non consecrata’ was still subject to the parochial church in Ciepiałów village. About the location of the town see p. 402, footnote 122.

The parish in Jarosławice Nadolne was called 'deserta' in the 1595 visitation of Radom deanery;<sup>91</sup> its range was reconstructed on the basis of the comparison of the state from the end of the fifteenth century according to Długosz,<sup>92</sup> and from the end of the eighteenth century, registered by F. Czajkowski.<sup>93</sup> Some difficulties arose while marking the settlements belonging to the city parish in Radom and the parish in Stary Radom, because of the significant discrepancies observed in the records from different years. As such, the 1595 visitations was accepted as a basis of the distinction between those parishes. Because the visitation failed to list all villages included in earlier lists of villages subject to parochial rights of both these churches, it was necessary to supplement it with the data from fiscal registers.<sup>94</sup> Finally, the parish in Gąsawy has not been isolated. There was a parochial church there in the end of the fifteenth century, although the tax registers mention this village throughout the entire sixteenth century as a parochial seat, based on old forms. However, according to the visitation of Kielce provostry, Gąsawy belonged to Jastrząb parish, as it was described earlier in the register of income of Church benefices from 1529.<sup>95</sup>

Almost the entire territory of Stężycza district belonged to Kielce deanery, only the borderlands lay in Lublin archdeaconry. In the sixteenth century the parochial network was much thinner here than on the left bank of the Vistula, in Radom district, which was related to the poor development of the settlement in the district of Stężycza. There were 24 parishes in the Radom part of Kielce deanery at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in the Podlasie region of Stężycza there were only 12 parishes at the time.<sup>96</sup> New parishes were created in the sixteenth century in Żabianka and Kłoczów,<sup>97</sup> and the churches in Jadamów<sup>98</sup> and Radorzyż<sup>99</sup> also fulfilled parochial functions at the end of the sixteenth century. The range of Łysobyki parish (perhaps also Przetoczno parish in the sixteenth century) was reconstructed on the basis of fiscal registers, as the parish was not – as already mentioned in the description of Kielce deanery – inspected at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, according to the 1739 visitation quoted by Ambroży Wadowski, the parochial church was founded only by Jan Odrowąż Pieniążek, the voivode of Sieradz, so – at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it was probably the second foundation in the same place or a transfer of a church.<sup>100</sup>

Significant changes in the parochial network can be observed in the sixteenth century in Sandomierz district. There were not so many new parishes created in the area of old colonization, mostly in the newly-located towns: Denków,<sup>101</sup> Janików,<sup>102</sup> Ożarów,<sup>103</sup> Tarłów<sup>104</sup> and

<sup>91</sup> The visitation of Radom deanery from 1598, AV Cap. 14, f. 286.

<sup>92</sup> Długosz LB, I, p. 514.

<sup>93</sup> Regestr Diecezyów (Radom deanery), microfilm BN no. 7679.

<sup>94</sup> Długosz LB, I, p. 514; LR 1529, pp. 404, 407, 453; the visitation of Radom deanery from 1598, AV Cap. 14, f. 289.

<sup>95</sup> Długosz LB, II, p. 487, Gąsawy parish highlighted in tax registers from 1526, 1576 and 1577; in Church sources from the sixteenth century Gąsawy appear in Jastrząb parish: LR 1529, p. 378; the visitation of Kielce provostry from 1597, AV Cap. 8, f. 512; similarly in Czajkowski in his Regestr Diecezyów (Kunów deanery).

<sup>96</sup> On the basis of S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiakonatu radomskiego*, p. 105.

<sup>97</sup> Ibidem, p. 106; parish in Kłoczewo was created in 1559, and in Żabianka between 1570 and 1575.

<sup>98</sup> The parochial church built by Hieronim Rusiecki soon after the town was located existed since 1545, Litak 1969, p. 106; *Catalogus ecclesiarum et utriusque cleri tam saecularis quam regularis dioecesis Lublinensis pro AD 1902*, Lublin 1901, p. 86; see chapter *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2. However, in the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, the church was turned into Protestant church, *Miasta polskie*, vol. 1, p. 696. According to the visitation of Łuków deanery from 1595, there was a 'ecclesia seu capella' in Jadamów, which performed parochial functions, see footnote 64 in this chapter.

<sup>99</sup> According to Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiakonatu radomskiego*, p. 106, the parish in Radorzyż existed since 1580, but the 1595 visitation states that it was a closed subsidiary church of Tuchowicz parish, see footnote 65 in this chapter; Radorzyż itself lay outside the borders of Sandomierz Voivodeship, but villages from our voivodeship belonged to its parish.

<sup>100</sup> Fiscal registers of the sixteenth century: 'Przetoczno seu Lissobiki' parish, P. Małopolska, p. 332. Jan Odrowąż Pieniążek died around 1712, for his biography see K. Przyboś, *Pieniążek Jan Chryzostom z Iwanowic, h. Odrowąż*, PSB, vol. 26, pp. 93–97. *Catalogus ecclesiarum et utriusque cleri tam saecularis quam regularis pro AD 1902*, Lublin 1901, p. 88, dates the foundation of the parish in Łysobyki to the beginning of the seventeenth century. See also footnote 15 in this chapter.

<sup>101</sup> The church in Denków was founded in 1591, according to SGKP, vol. 1, p. 957; it was inspected in 1592, AV Cap. 65, f. 478.

<sup>102</sup> According to the visitation from 1592, AV Cap. 65, f. 490v: Janina oppidum noviter extractum [...] parochia [...] noviter extracta...'. During the visitation in 1598 (AV Cap. 12, f. 24) the temple was 'lignea, non consecrata et iam pene diruta, ad quam omnes apparatus ecclesiastica ex ecclesiae Czyzoviensis iam haeresi infectae translatai'. Ritual functions were performed by Rev. Jan Konopacki from Lwów archdiocese, 'quem uti peregrinum oppidani in usum proprium detinuerunt...'.  
<sup>103</sup> Ibidem, f. 490: 'Ecclesia lignea [...] noviter per oppidanos constructa [...] oppidum [...] in cruda radice noviter locatum'.  
<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, f. 475, 477; town parish in Tarłów was separated from Pawłowice parish.

Lasocin,<sup>105</sup> situated in this part of Zawichost archdeaconry which was situated within the boundaries of Sandomierz district. It was not precisely determined, which parish was appointed to Gliniany; at the end of the sixteenth century they rather belonged still to Bidziny parish.<sup>106</sup> No parishes were created in the part of Kielce provostry situated in Sandomierz district, but Dąbrowa parish was joined with Bodzentyn parish.<sup>107</sup> More important changes of the parochial network occurred in Sandomierz Forest, where new settlements were being created. The parish in the village Kopki<sup>108</sup> was moved to the newly-located town of Rudnik, and new parishes of churches fulfilling parochial functions were created in Grębów,<sup>109</sup> Pysznica,<sup>110</sup> Jeżowa Wola,<sup>111</sup> Górna,<sup>112</sup> Dzikowiec,<sup>113</sup> Jaślany<sup>114</sup> and Sławogóra (Ostrów)<sup>115</sup> in Sandomierz archdeaconry, and in Zgórska<sup>116</sup> in Mielec deanery of Sącz archdeaconry.

No visitations from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries survived for Kurzelów archdeaconry in Gniezno archdiocese, so the parochial borders were reconstructed on the basis of Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*. The part referring to our territory was created in 1511.<sup>117</sup> We have also used data from fiscal sources from the sixteenth century, or later.

The bulk of Chęciny district belonged to Kurzelów archdeaconry; a minor part of the district lay in Cracow diocese, namely in Kielce provostry, and small fragments in Kije and Jędrzejów deaneries of Cracow archdeaconry. In the archdeaconry of Kurzelów the parish in Chrzastów lost its parochial rights in 1544 in favour of the church in Nowopole (present-day Koniecpol), situated outside our voivodeship.<sup>118</sup> The parish in Stare Chęciny was incorporated into the town parish in Chęciny

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<sup>105</sup> According to the visitation from 1598, quoted by J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat Opatów*, Radom 1907, p. 252, after Lasocin was located in 1549, the owner – Andrzej Lassota ‘ecclesiam novam in eo aedificavit, eandem in Dembno dissolvit ac diruit, ex trabibus benedictis bovine construxit...’. Despite that, still ‘villae ad eandem ecclesiam [in Dębno] pertinebant: Dembno et Biedzychów’. The compendium of the 1592 visitation (AV Cap. 65, f. 491) lists both Lasocin and Dębno as parishes, Lasocin was supervised by a presbyter, Dębno – a parson. The visitation from 1598 (AV Cap. 12, f. 25), says that the church in Lasocin ‘non habet parochum, atque fortassis de consensu Illmi Cardinalis ad instantiam Dnae Ciołkowa ven. Franciscus canonicus Opatoviensis ibidem sacramenta administrat’; see J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat sandomierski Radom 1915*, p. 101.

<sup>106</sup> Gliniany town, located in 1595, had a church of St. Adalbert, which – however – was used by Protestants at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. A date 1573 was cut on a joist in the presbytery; *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 3, no. 7: Opatów district, Warszawa 1959, p. 19.

<sup>107</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat Opatów*, p. 32.

<sup>108</sup> The town Rudnik was located in 1552; the parish from Kopki village was transferred to Rudnik in 1585; SGKP, vol. 9, p. 933; inspected in 1604, AV Cap. 18, f. 13; and on f. 17 it was said about Kopki that it is ‘villa nobilium, habens ecclesiam parochialem s. Martini dirutam’.

<sup>109</sup> The visitation of Sandomierz archdeaconry from 1604 (AV Cap. 18, AV Cap. 23, f. 23) lists Grębów among parochial centres with an adnotation: ‘oratorium coloni atque ruricolae [...] ab annis 80 construxerunt [...] qui olim titulum dederunt S. Adalberti’.

<sup>110</sup> Royal consent for the foundation of the church of the Holy Cross in the royal village Pysznica, and the appointment of parson's bestowals come from 1569; MRPS, vol. V, no. 4067. The parish was inspected in 1604; AV Cap. 18, AV Cap. 23, f. 10. According to SGKP, vol. 9, p. 330, the parish was founded in 1605, which probably meant the appointment of the official parochial district.

<sup>111</sup> The parish in Jeżowa Wola was founded in 1603; *Schematismus universi ven. cleri saecularis et regularis diec. ritus latinensis Premislensis pro anno 1886*, Przemyśl 1885, p. 178; SGKP, vol. 3, p. 585. According to the inventory from 1590–1597 (AGAD Dz. XVIII, 69, f. 306 n.) the village Jeżowa, founded in a previously undeveloped place in 1554, had ‘a church, newly built by the assembly on vogt's grounds without permission, which can stand, because there is to be no taking of vogt's grounds for the residence of the priest and the gardens’. The parish was inspected in 1604, AV Cap. 65, f. 522v.

<sup>112</sup> The parish in Górna was created in 1599; *Schematismus*, p. 178; inspected in 1604, AV Cap. 65, f. 522v.

<sup>113</sup> Parish endowed in 1576, B. Kumor, *Zanik i afiliacja parafii w archidiakonatach sandomierskim, wojnickim i prepozyturze tarnowskiej, 1326–1782*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, 1964, p. 121.

<sup>114</sup> Jaślany village was listed in fiscal registers in Chorzelów parish, probably because the chapel in the village was incorporated into Osiek parish in 1580, into Chorzelów parish in 1599; B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, ABMK, vol. 9, 1964, p. 141. The visitation of Sandomierz archdeaconry from 1604 listed Jaślany among parochial centres; AV Cap. 65, f. 524v. An inventory from around 1590–1597 (AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 69, f. 455) states that Wola Grochowska requested a right to pay tithes to Jaślany, which their ‘sacramenta administrantur’.

<sup>115</sup> The church in Sławogóra (Ostrów) attested in 1562; SGKP, vol. 7, p. 705; inspected in 1604, AV Cap. 65, f. 524v.

<sup>116</sup> Parochial church in Zgórska, built around 1561, consecrated in 1595, parish founded in 1583; B. Kumor, *Archidiakoniat sądecki*, p. 163.

<sup>117</sup> The datation of the description of church benefits in Kurzelów archdeaconry according to J. Łukowski [in:] Łaski LB, I, p. XV. Visitations of this archdeaconry from XVIII were used by S. Litak, *Struktura terytorialna Kościoła łacińskiego w Polsce w 1772 r.*, Lublin 1980, pp. 31–34, 149–154.

<sup>118</sup> The surviving metrical registers of Nowopole parish begin at 1604, and Chrzastów is listed in this parish still in the eighteenth century.

already in 1500, but in tax registers the name of the old Stare Chęciny parish was still maintained in 1527–1530 and 1662.<sup>119</sup> The centre of Włoszczowa parish was localized in the village, not in the town of the same name,<sup>120</sup> and Babelno parish in Babelno Mniejsze village, according to the information provided by Łaski.<sup>121</sup> In the sixteenth century, new parishes were created in this part of Chęciny district, which belonged to Kurzelów archdeaconry: Bolmin<sup>122</sup> and Mniów,<sup>123</sup> and in the part belonging to Cracow diocese – in Sobków (Jędrzejów deanery),<sup>124</sup> and in Tumlin (Kielce provostry).<sup>125</sup>

Instances when one settlement belonged to two parishes were observed in this area; probably because of the tithe paid from one's own holding, according to the decision of the owner, the manor in Lasochów belonged to Małogoszcz parish, and the manor in Gruszczyn – to Krasocin parish, but the subjects in both villages belonged to Kozłów parish.<sup>126</sup>

In Opoczno district Skotniki parish was established between 1528 and 1530 (previously this village belonged to Ręczno parish).<sup>127</sup> It should also be mentioned, that the village Damujowice, in which there was a parochial church, was called Sołek since the seventeenth century, and in 1674 the name: 'Zameczek alias Damuiowice Sołek' appears.

Some difficulties arose in the part of Radom district which belonged to Kurzelów archdeaconry. They were related to the borders of parishes, whose seats remained in the possession of Protestant denominations in the sixteenth century. The most vivid example of such complications was determining the course of the border of Jedlińsko parish and its neighbouring parishes: Goryń, Jankowice and Lisów-Komorniki. The parish in Jedlińsko was established in 1540 for the first time. Between 1560 and 1630 Jedlińsko belonged to the Polish Brethren and the church did not function. During the second foundation of the church in Jedlińsko, new boundaries of the parish were also set on request of the owner of the villages Zawady, Płasków, Jedlanka, Wola Gutowska, Nowa Wola and Lisów Wielki; they were included in the newly-established parish, because distance and other obstacles made reaching parochial churches in Goryń, Jankowice and Lisów difficult for the inhabitants;<sup>128</sup> it is therefore impossible to reconstruct sixteenth century borders of parochial district of Jedlińsko on this basis. The reconstruction of the boundaries of these parishes was based on fiscal sources from the sixteenth century and some later sources.

## Churches seized by protestants

The Catholic Church is the only denomination whose territorial organization is presented on detailed maps of Poland in the sixteenth century.<sup>129</sup> Not only was it the ruling denomination, but also the parochial network fulfilled other important, non-religious functions, both: social and state, as there were no districts in the structure of Poland in the Modern Era smaller than large judicial districts. As

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<sup>119</sup> Łaski LB, I, p. 586, footnote 4.

<sup>120</sup> According to SGKP, vol. 13, p. 722, the parochial church was situated in Włoszczówka; J. Wiśniewski, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w pow. włoszczowskim*, Mariówka 1932, p. 270, localized the first church between Włoszczowa and Podzamcze.

<sup>121</sup> Łaski LB, I, pp. 551, 569, similarly the register from 1577 (ASK 0 I, 9, f. 345); but the register from 1564, for instance, mentions Babelno Maior as parish seat (ASK 0 I, 9, f. 763v).

<sup>122</sup> Parish in Bolmin founded in 1574, see J. Wiśniewski, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Jędrzejowskim*, pp. 204, 216; H. Rybus, *Regesty*, p. 195.

<sup>123</sup> Mniów in Chelmce parish, see Łaski LB, I, p. 591; the foundation of the parish in 1596, see H. Rybus, *Regesty*, p. 207; *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 3: *Pow. Kielce*, no. 4, Warszawa 1957, p. 47; church founded by Jakub Rawita Gawroński, the castellan of Wieluń.

<sup>124</sup> S. Litak, *Struktura*, p. 284.

<sup>125</sup> Subsidiary church founded by cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł. A mention about the setting of the cornerstone 5 September 1598 during the visitation with an inscription 'Memoriae B. Stanislai Martiri], Regni Patroni, Georgius Radziwił [...] ipse religiose posuit [...] AD MDXCVIII, V September' (AV Cap. 9, f. 481). The document of the foundation of the church from 1599 (ASK XLVI 71, bishop Piotr Tylicki 4 July 1610 (AV Cap. 30, f. 398 n.).

<sup>126</sup> Łaski LB, I, pp. 583, 606, 607.

<sup>127</sup> H. Rybus, *Regesty*, p. 151.

<sup>128</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat radomski*, Radom 1911, part 1, pp. 76, 94; part 2, p. 4; see H. Rybus, *Regesty*, p. 167.

<sup>129</sup> AHP Lublin in this edition III.2.2.3; AHP Mazovia in this edition III.2.2.7.

such, the parishes were the focus of social relations, going beyond individual villages. They also played an important role in announcing state regulations. Tax registers, the main source of our study, were formed on the basis of parochial division. For tax collectors and their assistants it was unimportant, whether parochial organization had been damaged by the Reformation. The same parishes appear in the registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, which in fact did not function, because they had been seized by reformed denominations. It is clear evidence of the importance of parishes to financial organization of the State. Indirectly, it shows the role of parishes in social life. On the other hand, the Church hierarchy still considered parishes, in which temples were used by members of reformed denomination, institutions of Catholic law. That is why all parishes have been presented alike in the basic map (1:250,000) and the map of Church territorial organization. The matter of their religious functions, i.e. the influence of the Reformation, was disregarded.

We have decided to draw the borders of the parishes that did not function at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in reality as elements of Church organization, and for this reason were either not inspected, or properly described, on the basis of tax registers. Earlier and later Church sources helped us to check the data. The visitations mentioned omitted the parishes in Malice and Niekraszów (Sandomierz district, Sandomierz archdeaconry) and in Łysobyki (Stężyca district, Kielce deanery in the first half of the sixteenth century; Lublin archdeaconry in the second half of the next century).<sup>130</sup> At times, as in Jarosławice (Radom district, Kielce deanery) or in Dymitrów (Sandomierz district, Sandomierz archdeaconry), the inspectors did not list the villages belonging to the parochial district, probably because the churches were destroyed.<sup>131</sup> Sometimes a Protestant owner of parochial village did not allow the inspectors to enter. Such a situation was mentioned in 1598 in the inspectors' description of the church in Sienno (Radom district, Solec deanery).<sup>132</sup>

Surviving visitations of the churches in Cracow diocese from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries originate from the period of significant success of reformatory Catholic circles. Many churches returned to Catholicism. Sometimes even, newly-built Protestant churches were turned into Catholic temples, such as in Sobków,<sup>133</sup> although still towards the end of 1580s the nobles who supported reformed denominations occasionally seized parochial churches and used them for their own religious purposes, as in Oleksów (Radom district, Zwoleń deanery), where – according to 1598 visitation – the temple was desecrated nine years earlier.<sup>134</sup> Usually however, the inspectors informed, whether the inspected church was temporarily in the hands of the Protestants, and also marked, which churches had not yet been reconciled, even though they held Catholic masses by a special bishop's permission.<sup>135</sup> As such the data provided by the visitations allow us to establish, that in this part

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<sup>130</sup> Visitations of Sandomierz archdeaconry were checked AV Cap. 18, AV Cap. 23, and the compendium AV Cap. 65, f. 518–531. About Łysobyki see footnotes 15 and 100 in this chapter.

<sup>131</sup> About Jarosławice see the subchapter *Parochial network*. In a visitation from 1604 it was emphasized by Dymitrów, that the temple is 'penitus desolata' and there was no list of villages belonging to the parish; AV Cap. 18, AV Cap. 23, f. 31. This village belonged to the voivode of Brześć Kujawski Andrzej Leszczyński, who also owned Baranów and villages in Baranów parish (P. Małopolska, p. 200); in the description of Baranów church the inspectors noted that 'haereticus est ipse haeres' and did not list villages belonging to this parish (visitations quoted, f. 31).

<sup>132</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 504.

<sup>133</sup> S. Litak, *Struktura*, p. 284.

<sup>134</sup> AV Cap. 65, f. 292, at the same time noting that vicarium in Tszew, qui circa hanc ecclesiam manebat, et dum haeresiarcha induceratur, per eundem inde pulsus est'; see footnote 955. Apart from the aforementioned churches in Jarosławice Nadolne (footnote 67 in this chapter), Jedlińsk (footnote 128 in this chapter), Malice, Niekraszów, Łysobyki (footnote 15 in this chapter), Dymitrów, Baranów (footnote 131 in this chapter), Sienno (AV Cap. 65, f. 504), the Reformed denominations controlled in the end of the sixteenth century, according to Cracow visitations, the following parochial churches in Sandomierz Voivodeship: in Sącz archdeaconry (AV Cap. 2, AV Cap. 4) – in Czudec and Sieklówka, in Zawichost archdeaconry (AV Cap. 1) – in Czyżów and Ożarów, in Kielce deanery – in Drążgów (AV Cap. 14, f. 120: 'ecclesia parochialis [prophanata per Nic. Kłoczowski [...] omnibus clenodii, argento, apparatibus omnique decore suo spoliata. Administratur per haeresiarcham Paulum et per eundem agri coluntur').

<sup>135</sup> For instance, AV Cap. 7, f. 111, parochial church in Żabno, Opatowiec district, 'per haeresim ante viginti annos et duos [so in 1574] prophanata per m. quondam Hier. Buziński tes. Regni, neque ad huc reconciliata, sed per licentiam in ea celebratur'. AV Cap. 2, f. 35, temple in Książnice, Mielce deanery, 'per haereticos prophanata nec reconciliata, licentiam tamen celebrantur ad nonam diem mensis Junii futuri anni duraturam'. AV Cap. 14, f. 106v, in Okrzeja, Stężyca deanery, 'ecclesia [...] prophanata et ab haereticis multis annis possessa, tandum per gen. ol. Paulum Samborzecki catholicis restituta; nescitur utrum reconciliata'. AV Cap. 65, f. 209v, in Korytnica, Kije deanery, the temple was – the inspectors found – 'per haereticos [...] prophanata [...] viginti annos a prophanatione catholicis restituta, nondum tamen reconciliata per licentiam in

of Cracow diocese, which at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lay in Sandomierz Voivodeship, 12% of parochial churches remained in Protestant hands for a longer, or shorter period. Much less complete data for Kurzelów archdeaconry of Gniezno diocese allow us to assume, that the situation in this area was similar. However, as it was impossible to present the location of ‘violated’ churches in a certain manner in this part of Sandomierz Voivodeship, we decided it would not be proper to prepare a map, which would show such churches in the entire voivodeship. The map of Protestant churches provides information about the range of the influence of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The preparation of the map was described in chapter III.2.2a.2.

## ANNEX

### **Church administration network in Sandomierz Voivodeship at the end of the sixteenth century**

Cities were marked with the letter ‘c’. Alternative form of a given site name in the sixteenth century was put in brackets, the same was done with the present-day name, when changes would render identification impossible. The date of creation of parishes established in the sixteenth century, or the date of the first known record, as well as information about a liquidation of a former parish in the sixteenth century, when another church assumed parochial function, was also given in brackets. Churches and chapels in villages situated outside the parochial seat were also marked, if only the sources allowed us to assume that such churches and chapels possessed the right to give sacraments in the sixteenth century. Parishes situated in the archdeaconries of: Zawichost, Lublin, Sandomierz, Cracow and in Kielce deanery and Kielce provostry, where the affiliation of parishes to respective territorial units is uncertain, were marked with an asterisk. About differences in deanery divisions appearing in two visitation protocols from 1595 in Sącz archdeaconry see p. 54. The scheme uses the division according to AV Cap. 2 and compendium AV Cap. 65.

#### **Cracow diocese**

##### **Zawichost archdeaconry**

Bałutów, Bidziny, Czyżów, Denków t. (1591), Dębno (later Lasocin), Gierczyce, Góry Wysokie, Janików t. (Janina) (1592), Jankowice, Lasocin t. (second half of the sixteenth century), Łukawa, Manina\*, Michów\*, Opatów t., Ożarów t. (1592), Pawłowice\* (subsidiary to Piotrawin), Pkanów, Przybysławice, Ruszków, Słup Nadbrzeżna, Sobótka, Szewna\*, Śćmielów t. (Ćmielów), Święta Trójca, Tarłów t. (second half of the sixteenth century), Wojciechowice, Wsześwięte, Zawichost t., Zemborzyn.

##### **Lublin archdeaconry**

###### **Solec deanery**

Chodcza, Ciepiałów village (with a church in Ciepiałów t., second half of the sixteenth century), Janowiec t. (Serokomla), Krępa, Lipsko t., (1595), Siemno t., (with a chapel in Rzecznów), Solec t., Wielgie (1529)

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ea celebratur’; ibidem, f. 305, in Wilczyńska, Stężyca deanery, ‘ecclesia [...] per mag. d. Stanislaum Gostomski prophanata, per fratrem ipsius germanum ill. et mgf. dnum Hieronimum Gostomski palatinum Posnaniensem catholicis restituta, nondum reconciliata’; still in 1595 Stanisław Gostomski appears as a patron of the Protestant church in Wilczyńska, see his biography in PSB; soon after the visitation in 1598 the church in Wilczyńska was reconciliated by cardinal Radziwiłł, the bishop of Cracow, AV Cap. 9, f. 606v. In Jodłówka, on the other hand, Tarnów deanery, ‘ecclesia par. recenter extracta’ was during the visitation still ‘non consecrata’, and the old temple had been destroyed ‘cum fuisset ab haereticis prophanata et per viginti annos ab eisdem possessa’, AV Cap. 7, f. 20.

**Chodel deanery**

Pawłowice\*

**Łuków deanery**

Jadamów t. (Adamów) (1545), Wojcieszków t., probably also Łysobyki t. (Nowe Przetoczno)

**Parczew deanery**

Gołąb\*, Jaroszyn\*, Oleksów\*, Regów\*

**Sandomierz archdeaconry**

Baczkowice\*, Baranów, Bieliny, Charzowice, Chobrzany, Cmolasy, Dymitrów, Dzikowiec (1576), Gałuszowice, Gorzyce, Goźlice, Górna (1599), Grębów (first half of the sixteenth century), Gryzikamiń, Iwaniska t., Jaślany (end of sixteenth century), Jeżowa Wola (1554), Kiełczyzna, Kliczanów, Kolbuszowa (1523), Kopki (until 1585, then Rudnik t.), Łuniów, Malice, Michocin, Modlibożyce, Mydlów, Niekraszów, Obrazów, Olbierzowice, Osiek t., Padew, Pokrzywnica t. (Koprzywnica), Połaniec t.\*, Przewrotna (1569), Pysznicza (Pyszna Wola) (1569), Raclawice, Ramiżów, Rudnik t. (1585), Samborzec, Sandomierz t. (St. Peter parish and St. Paul parish), Skotniki, Sławogóra (Ostrów) (1562), Strzegom, Strzeżowice, Sulisławice, Szczeglice, Trzeźnia, Ujazd, Wiązownica, Wielawieś, Włostów, Zaleszany

**Kielce deanery (so-called Radom archdeaconry)****Radom deanery**

Borkowice, Chlewiska, Jarosławice, Nadolne, Kowala Stępcina, Mniszek, Nowa Cerkiew, Radom t., Stary Radom, Szydłowiec t., Wierzbica t., Wola Kowalska (Wola św. Doroty, today: Wolanów), Wsola, Wysoka, Zakrzów

**Zwoleń deanery**

Brzeźnica, Brzoza (before 1529), Jaroszyn\*, Jedlna, Kazanów t., (1598), Kozienice t. (around 1537), Odachów, Oleksów\* (with a church in Bierdzieża), Policzna (1531), Regów\*, Ryczywół t., Sieciechów t. (with a church in Grodek), Skarżyszów t. (today: Skaryszew), Sucha, Świerże Wielkie, Tczów, Zwoleń t.

**Stężyca deanery**

Bobrowniki t., Drzążgów t., Gołąb\*, Górzno Wyższe, Kłoczów (1559), Korytnica, Maciejowice t., Okrzeja t., Ryki, Samogoszcza, Stężyca t., Wargocin (with a chapel in Pawłowice), Wilczyska, Żabia Wola (today: Żabianka) (1570–1575), Żelechów t.

**Kielce provostry**

Baczkowice\*, Bardo, Bodzęcin t. (today: Bodzentyn), Brzeziny, Chybice, Dąbrowa (later Bodzęcin parish), Dębno, Daleszyce t., Grzegorzowice, Iłża t., Jastrząb t., Kielce t., Krzynki (Skrzynki, today: Krynki), Krzyżanowice, Kunów t., Łagów t., Manina\*, Michów\*, Mierc (today: Mirzec), Pawłów, Potok, Słup Nowa t., Słup Stara, Szewna\*, Szumsko, Świętomarza, Tarzek (today: Tarczek), Tumlin (1599), Waśniów t., Wąchocko t., Wzdół, Zbylutka.

**Sącz archdeaconry****Pilzno deanery**

Bieździedza, Brzeziny, Brzostek t., Dobrków, Frysztak t., Gogołów, Gumniska, Klecice (today: Klecie), Kołaczyce t., Lubcza Górna, Lubla, Łęki Górne, Pilzno t., Przeczycza, Siedliska, Siekluka (Sieklówka), Zwiernik

**Mielec deanery (Przeclaw deanery)**

Borowa, Brzeźnica, Chorzelów, Czermin, Dębica t., Książnice, Lubzina, Mielec t., Niwiska (around 1595), Przeclaw t., Radomyśl t. (1599), Straszecin, Wadowice, Zgórsko (1583–1595), Żochów t. (today: Rzochów)

**Ropczyce deanery**

Czudecz t., Dobrzechów, Głowów t. (1581), Góra, Konieczkowa, Kozłów, Ludcza, Łączki (near Niedźwiada), Łączki Małe, Łęki Wielkie, Mała (1595), Mrowla, Niewodna, Nockowa, Połomia, Pstrągowa

Niznia, Ropczyce t., Sędziszów t., Strzeżów t., Trzciana, Wielopole t., Witkowice, Zgłobien

**Jasło deanery**

Jedlicze, Szebnie, Warzyce

**Cracow archdeaconry**

**Tarnów provostry**

Jastrząbka (half of the sixteenth century), Łękawica, Łysagóra (today: Lisia Góra), Poręba (Poręba Radlna), Skrzyszów, Szywna, Tarnów t., Wierzchosławice, Zalasowa, Zassów, Zdzarzec

**Tarnów deanery**

Góra Zbylitowska, Jodłówka, Jurków, Piotrkowice (1513), Pleśna, Tuchów t.

**Wojnice deanery**

Bodzęcin (Borzęcin), Radłów, Szczurowa

**Opatowiec deanery**

Bejsce, Bolesław, Dąbrowa Wielka, Dobrowoda, Gorysławice, Gręboszów, Kocina, Korczyn Stary, Nowe Miasto Korczyn t., Olesno, Opatowiec t., Oporyszów, Ostrowce, Otwinów, Piasek Wielki, Rogów, Solec, Stróżyska, Szczucin, Świnary, Wietrzychowice, Wiślica t., Żabno t.

**Pacanów deanery**

Beszowa, Biechów, Kargów, Koniemłoty, Kotuszów, Książnice, Kurozwęki t., Oleśnica t. (with a church in Strzelce from the half of the sixteenth century?), Pacanów t., Połaniec t.\*, Staszów t., Stobnica t., Strzelce (until the second half of the sixteenth century), Szydłów t., Tuczępy, Zborówek

**Kije deanery**

Bogucice, Busko t. (with a chapel in Chotel Zielony), Chmielnik t., Drugnia, Chomętów, Chotel Czerwony, Gnojno, Janina, Kije, Korytnica, Krzyżanowice, Lisów, Łukowa, Pierzchnica t., Pińczów t., Piotrkowice, Sędziejowice, Szaniec, Szczaworzysz, Zagość

**Sokolina deanery**

Chroberz, Czarnocin, Dzierżązna, Góry, Jurków, Kazimierza Mała, Michałów, Młodzawy Małe, Pełczyńska, Probołowice, Sokolina, Stradów (Zastępów), Wolica Szyszczycka

**Jędrzejów deanery (Andrzejów deanery)**

Brzegi, Sobków t. (1560–1570)

**Gniezno archdiocese**

**Kurzelów archdeaconry**

Bedlno, Bębello Mniejsze, Białaczów t., Białobrzegi, Bieliny, Błogie, Błotnica, Bolmin (1574), Brudzowice, Bukowno, Chełmce, Chęciny t., Chotów, Chrzastów (until 1544, Nowopole afterwards), Czarnca, Czermno, Damujowice (Sołek), Dąbrowa, Drzewica t., Fałków t., Gielniów t., Goryń, Goworczów t., Jankowice, Januszowice, Jedlińsko t. (1540), Kaszów, Klwów, Konieczno, Końskie, Kozłów, Krasocin, Kraśnica, Kunice Wielkie, Kurzelów t., Libiszów, Lipa, Lisów-Komorniki, Łopuszno, Małogoszcz t., Mnin, Mniów (1596), Nieznamierowice t., Odrowąż Wielki, Odrzywół t., Opoczno t., Piękoszów, Pilczyca, Policzko, Potrykozy, Potworów, Przedbórz t., Przytyk t., Radoszyce t., Radzanów, Rembieszce, Secemin t., Skorkowice, Skotniki (1528–1530), Skrzyń t. (Skrzynno), Skrzyń Stara (Skrzyńsko), Sławno, Smogorzów, Stanowiska, Węgleszyn, Wieniawa, Włoszczowa, Wojcin, Wrzeszczów, Wrzos, Złotniki, Żarnów t., Żelazne Nogi (Żeleźnica)

**Łowicz archdeaconry**

Łęgonice t.

## **Poznań diocese**

### **Warsaw archdeaconry**

#### **Garwolin deanery**

Łaskarzew t.

\* \* \*

Affiliation of parochial churches situated outside Sandomierz Voivodeship, to which settlements from the voivodeship belonged.

## **Cracow diocese**

### **Zawichost archdeaconry**

Piotrawin\*, Świeciehców (Lublin Voivodeship)

### **Lublin archdeaconry**

Kocko t., Piotrawin\*, Radorzyż (around 1580–1595), Kazimierz t. (Lublin Voivodeship)

### **Sącz archdeaconry**

#### **Jasło deanery**

Jasło t. and Zrzęcin (Cracow Voivodeship)

### **Cracow archdeaconry**

#### **Wojnicz deanery**

Wojnicz t. and Szczepanów (Cracow Voivodeship); *Sokolina deanery*: Działoszyce t., Skarbmierz t. (today: Skalbmierz) and Sancygniów (Cracow Voivodeship); *Jędrzejów deanery (Andrzejów deanery)*: Dzierzków and Mokrsko Dolne (Cracow Voivodeship); *Lelów deanery*: Kuczków

#### **Kielce deanery**

Głowaczewo t. (Mazovia)

## **Gniezno archdiocese**

### **Kurzelów archdeaconry**

Cierno (Cracow Voivodeship), Jasiona, Stromiec and Wyszemierzyce (Mazovia), Nowopole, today: Konięcpol (Sieradz Voivodeship),

### **Łowicz archdeaconry**

Łęgonice (Rawa Voivodeship), Inowłódz t. (Łęczyca Voivodeship)

### **Łęczyca archdeaconry**

#### **Tuszyn deanery**

Maluszyn, Nagórzycze, Sulejów t. (Sieradz Voivodeship)

## **Uniejów archdeaconry**

### **Brzeziny deanery**

Borzykowa (Sieradz Voivodeship)

## **Przemyśl diocese**

### **Krosno deanery**

Odrzykoń (Ruthenia)

*(1993)*

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### III.2.2a.2 REFORMED DENOMINATIONS COMMUNES

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

Map 4 shows the location of Protestant Churches – the communes of reformed denominations (not buildings used for religious purposes) in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century. The basis for the study consisted of two files kept in Oddział Starych Druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie ('Old Prints Department of the Library of the University of Warsaw'). The first file, prepared under supervision of Dr. Maria Sipayło is an index to the publications of synods of reformed denominations. The second is a copy of the file prepared by Prof. Dr. Waław Urban, kept in Zakład Dokumentacji Instytutu Historii PAN in Cracow ('Documentation Department of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences'); it consists of source information on Protestant churches and Protestant schools (Calvinist, Polish Brothers, Lutheran).<sup>1</sup> Both files cover the entire territory of the Republic of Poland in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Source records describing instances of desecration of Catholic churches by Protestants, found in Church visitations of Cracow diocese,<sup>2</sup> as well as documents of Protestant synods published by M. Sipayło,<sup>3</sup> were also, directly used. We have also used monographs,<sup>4</sup> articles and studies by various authors from the journal 'Reformacja w Polsce' ('Reformation in Poland') and its continuation – 'Odrodzenie i Reformacja' ('Renaissance and Reformation').

Surviving documents from Calvinist synods allowed us to determine the number and location of all churches of this denomination, which functioned in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century. We are almost certain that we were able to find all communes of the Polish Brethren, because their churches were subject to fierce attacks of both: Polish Catholics and members of other reformed denominations, so the source basis here is quite extensive. On the other hand, Lutheran communes do not appear in the sources very often, and so in this respect our study cannot be complete. Some communes of the Polish Brothers became Calvinist. Occasionally we were unable to determine the denomination of Protestants who – according to an visitation – desecrated a Catholic church. As such, we treated all Protestant Churches alike, and did not mark their denomination. Protestant communes were created at different times, some of them quickly collapsed. So the communes distinguished are those, which were proven to survive over 10 years. Protestant churches attested to only after 1600, were not marked.<sup>5</sup> However, we included Protestant communes, the existence of which in the sixteenth century was not completely certain, but about which there exists indirect information, making their functioning in the sixteenth century probable.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the published map should be treated as a cartographic

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<sup>1</sup> We must thank dr. Maria Sipayło for the access to the files. They allowed us to broaden, and above all: verify, the data contained in the work: H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1904.

<sup>2</sup> See above, A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa's remarks on churches seized by the Protestants.

<sup>3</sup> ASR, vol. 1–3.

<sup>4</sup> Among others: W. Urban, *Chłopi wobec reformacji w Małopolsce w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Kraków 1959; B. Kumor, *Archidiaconat sądecki. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do atlasu historycznego Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 8, 1964, pp. 271–304; vol. 9, 1964, pp. 93–286; idem, *Prepozytura tarnowska. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do atlasu historycznego Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 205–288; vol. 4, 1967, pp. 249–256; E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka do schyłku XVIII w. Materiały do struktury organizacyjnej*, Lublin 1976 (Materiały do Atlasu Historycznego Chrześcijaństwa w Polsce, vol. 2, part 2).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the church in Radzanów (Wiślica district), mentioned in 1602 (H. Merczyng, *Zbory*, p. 71; ASR, vol. 3, p. 242), was not marked, although it is possible that it existed earlier.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. uncertain information about the church in Kolosy (Sokolina parish, Wiślica district) in to some extent confirmed by the visitation from 1618, which mentions an Aryan living in this village (E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, p. 161); the

index of the information about Protestant churches existing in the sixteenth century prepared on the basis of the sources described above.

Protestant groups taken into consideration had various numbers of worshippers, and did not always have access to a building built specifically for cult purposes, or used a captured parochial church. Such communes without their own churches – temples were often situated in cities;<sup>7</sup> we also encounter them, where the parochial church functioned as a Catholic temple (Ćmielów, Lutcza, Staszów), and partially where there was no parochial church before.<sup>8</sup> It should be remembered that there was no Protestant commune in Sandomierz, although it was in this city, where the famous gathering of representatives of different reformed denominations in 1570 took place.<sup>9</sup> Cities located in the sixteenth century by Protestants were distinguished. They were usually strong centres of Protestantism; of them Raków was the most famous.<sup>10</sup> After the fall of the Reformation in Poland these cities became new parish centres.

Ownership relations influenced the placement of Protestant churches, as shown on map 4. There were no Protestant churches in royal estates, apart from centres of starosta's districts, when they were used by other denominations (Stobnica, Pilzno, Chęciny, Wiślica). In bishopric estates there was an exceptional case of a Protestant church in Kunów town. In any case, in 1570 the following Protestant churches were mentioned in the list of reformed temples in Szydłów district during the general synod in Sandomierz: Oleśnica, Solec, Iwaniska, Kunów.<sup>11</sup> However, a question arises, whether it was not a scribe's mistake, and was it not Łuniów, where there was in fact a Protestant church at the time,<sup>12</sup> especially that there does not exist any other mention of a Protestant temple in Kunów.<sup>13</sup> Given this, the information about the church in Kunów was not marked on the map, because it seems that any Protestant church operating in a bishop's town would – as an exceptional case – appear in other sources, especially those of Church origin.

In general, 97 Protestant churches were marked on the map; 25 in Wiślica district, 18 in Sandomierz district (without Kunów), 14 in Chęciny district, 14 in Radom district, 12 in Pilzno district, eight in Opoczno district and six in Stężyca district.

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tradition claiming that the building from around 1580 in Pęczelice (Szczaworzysz parish, Wiślica district) is a former Protestant church agrees with records from 1618 and 1635 visitations mentioning infidels in this parish (ibidem, p. 72).

<sup>7</sup> E.g. in Stobnica the Protestant church was situated in a house in the market square. In Pilzno the masses were held in homes of citizens; similarly in Wiślica, see W. Urban, *Z dziejów reformacji w Wiślicy*, „Małopolskie Studia Historyczne”, vol. 2, 1959, no. 2/3, pp. 35–51.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. in Ćmielów the Protestant church was situated in the castle chapel. In Lutcza Church sources mention several times (1565, 1577, 1596) that the church was not seized by Protestants, although the founders were Protestants; so the masses were probably held in the manor; B. Kumor, *Archidiaconat sądecki*, ABMK, vol. 9, p. 255.

<sup>9</sup> H. Rutkowski [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, p. 307.

<sup>10</sup> About see e.g. *Raków – ognisko arianizmu*, ed. S. Cynarski, Kraków 1968.

<sup>11</sup> ASR, vol. 2, p. 270: ‘Secundus districtus Szydloviensis, cui md. Petrus a Zborów, palatinus Sendomiriensis, est patronus designatus. Superintendens Nicolaus Socolovicus, pastor in Kurozwęki, est designatus. Seniores ex equestri ordine in synodo sua particulari eligent viros pios as sapientes. Parochiae: parochia Oleśnica, Solec, Iwaniska, Kunów; parochia Kurozwęki, Książnice, Wadowice, Rogów, cum suis ministris et viris nobilibus’.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, pp. 88, 324, 352.

<sup>13</sup> A. Bastrzykowski, *Monografia historyczna Kunowa nad Kamienną i jego okolicy*, Kraków 1939, says nothing on this subject.

## II.2.2b.2 EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

Four Orthodox churches were marked on the map (Bonarówka, Krosna, Oparówka, Węglówka) on the basis of the information from tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century<sup>14</sup> and registers from the seventeenth century. An Orthodox church in Oparówka village is attested to by the document of the bestowal of priesthood in this village issued by the owner, the Abbot of Tyniec in 1559.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, we have used the information gathered by Rev. W. Sarna.<sup>16</sup> The above-mentioned Orthodox churches belonged to the Orthodox diocese of Przemyśl, whose bishop, Michał Kopystyński, did not participate in the 1596 union with the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup>

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>14</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 246, 256.

<sup>15</sup> AGAD, parchment 6337.

<sup>16</sup> W. Sarna, *Opis powiatu krośnieńskiego pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, Przemyśl 1898, pp. 344, 358, 395.

<sup>17</sup> M. Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska w latach 1596–1681. Studium historyczno-kanoniczne*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 108–119.

### III.2.2.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

We should now focus on Church divisions around 1564 and highlight the most important changes that occurred before the close of the sixteenth century.

Seats of parishes divided by voivodeship border lay either in our voivodeship, like Kock, or outside – like Zawichost. The parish in Kock is a peculiar example here, because it was divided between three administrative units: Łuków land, where the seat of the parish was situated, Lublin district, and the district of Stężycza in Sandomierz Voivodeship. As far as the villages in Lublin district are concerned, this old parish<sup>1</sup> encompassed settlements located north of a broad strip of the forest, stretching northwards from the edge of Lublin Upland. In the twelfth century, when the parish in Kock was established the River Wieprz probably did not flow the way it does now, nor the way it was presented on the maps from the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries, but almost straight westwards from Leszkowice, through a depression in which the lakes Firlejowskie and Kunowskie lay now, and then further on to the west, reaching its present channel between Giżyce and Krupy. Długosz does not mention the lakes Firlejowskie and Kunowskie in his *Chorografia*, still this does not mean they did not exist back then, but could have been omitted by the fifteenth century historian, as they were located deep inside the forest and far from any settlement, and as such were not utilized in any way.<sup>2</sup> So, at the time of the foundation of the parish in Kock, the River Wieprz probably did not isolate these settlements (or the area where they were to be located), which were later situated on its left bank, and were ascribed to Lublin district when the border between Łuków land and Lublin district was determined, but did not lose connection with their parochial church. In Łuków land 10 settlements belonged to Kock parish, and in the district of Lublin – 11.

Some of the parishes were small, encompassing only the parochial village (such as the already-mentioned village Białka), but there were also parishes with several dozen settlements. Still, the parishes which had four to 10 settlements were the most numerous. The table below shows the size of parishes in Lublin Voivodeship measured by the number of villages.

Apart from the 81 parishes situated in the Voivodeship of Lublin and compared in the table, there were 26 settlements in the voivodeship which belonged to six parishes whose seats were located outside the borders of our voivodeship (Wilczyska, Wojcieszków, Drażgów, Zawichost, Zaleszany and Charzowice).

Since around 1564 until the end of the sixteenth century three new parishes were formed in Łuków land: Radoryż in 1588, Domanice (subsidiary church in the parish of Łuków, but with a separate district) prior to 1595, and Stanin in 1599.<sup>3</sup> In Urzędów district a parish was founded in the newly-located Radomyśl,<sup>4</sup> and a church was built in Zakrzówek, which had a separate district in

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<sup>1</sup> S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiecezji radomskiej w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL”, vol. 9, 1958, pp. 57–58. The parish was reduced in the beginning of the fifteenth century and its eastern part became Czemierniki parish (later it was a town). This process was described in the quoted study: Czemierniki Lubelskie.

<sup>2</sup> S. Wojciechowski, *Krajobraz dawnej ziemi lubelskiej w rozwoju historycznym, z mapami*, Kraków 1929, MS of PhD thesis.

<sup>3</sup> S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiecezji radomskiej*, pp. 66–69, 76–79 and map.

<sup>4</sup> In the 1592 visitation there is an entry: ‘Oppidum Radomyszl in cruda radice locatum non procul a villa Wrzawy. In quo D. Jacobus Sieniensi construit ecclesiam ligneam...’ (Archiwum Kurii w Krakowie, Wizytacje no. 1, f. 16). In the list

Table 1. Size of parishes

Number of settlements in a parish	District			Total number of parishes
	Lublin	Łuków	Urzędów	
1	2	–	–	2
2	2	–	2	2
3	2	–	2	2
4	4	1	2	4
5	5	1	1	5
6	4	–	1	4
7	10	–	2	10
8	5	–	–	5
9	4	–	1	4
10	4	–	1	4
11	2	–	1	2
12	–	–	1	–
13	2	1	–	2
14	1	–	1	1
15	2	–	–	2
20	3	–	–	3
21	1	2	–	1
22	–	1	–	–
23	2	–	–	2
26	–	1	–	–
29	1	–	–	1
40	–	1	–	–
51	–	1	–	–
74	–	1	–	–
In total	56	10	15	81

1592, although formally it still was not a parochial church.<sup>5</sup> In 1599 the seat of Nowogród parish located in Lublin district was moved to Kijany.<sup>6</sup>

The territory of Lublin Voivodeship belonged to Cracow diocese. The diocese border surrounded the voivodeship to the east, and partially also to the south and north. The parishes from Lublin district, together with a stretch of land belonging to Sandomierz Voivodeship (over a dozen parishes on the left bank of the Vistula) comprised the archdeaconry of Lublin,<sup>7</sup> the southern part of our territory belonged to the archdeaconry of Zawichost, and a small part – to the archdeaconry of Sandomierz. The area of Łuków belonged to the archdeaconry of Radom, but between 1565 and 1595 the parishes from this land were annexed to the archdeaconry of Lublin.<sup>8</sup>

There were two land courts in the voivodeship – for two lands – in Lublin and in Łuków, but the land court in Lublin issued separate verdicts for the district of Lublin and for the district of Urzędów – the verdicts for the latter district were given in Urzędów. Town courts and offices functioned in Lublin and Łuków. Originally the voivodeship *sejmik* (dietine) gathered in Urzędów, since 1532 – in Lublin, the capital of the voivodeship. The only castellan of the voivodeship in the sixteenth century resided in Lublin, but there was an interval between 1474 (the year the voivodeship was created) and 1518 when the office of the castellan of Lublin was re-established.<sup>9</sup> The other castellany of the voivodeship, the medieval castellany of Łuków, disappeared in the first half of the fifteenth century and was re-established only in 1775.<sup>10</sup>

of parishes from the end of the sixteenth century Radomyśl appears as a profaned parish (Diocese Archive in Kielce, Kopiaż wiślicki, f. 444v), in 1617 it appears as a parish (Archive of the Cracow Chapter, Wizytacje no. 34, f. 37v).

<sup>5</sup> Archiwum Kurii w Krakowie, Wizytacje no. 1, f. 32–32v. The following villages were ascribed to this church: Zakrzówek and Suków from Kraśnik parish, and Bystrzyca and Rudniczek from Kielczewice parish (according to the tax register, all these parishes belonged to Kraśnik parish).

<sup>6</sup> P. Szafran, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w Lubelskiem*, Lublin 1958, pp. 158–159.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, pp. 35–38, 51–56, 89–93 and map.

<sup>8</sup> S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiecezji radomskiej*, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniami urzędników ziemskich w Koronie do schyłku XVI w.*, Warszawa 1962, pp. 151–154.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 48, footnote 16.

Apart from Cracow, the capital of the State, and Piotrków, situated centrally in the Crown, Lublin was the only place where the Seyms gathered before the Union of Lublin. It was situated favourably on the road from Cracow to Vilnius, relatively close to the border with Lithuania. Moreover, this was a large city where roads from many directions met, and there was a castle here, which could house the royal court. In the sixteenth century, four Seyms were held in Lublin (1506, 1554, 1566, and 1569), and one Sejm gathered in Parczew (1564), located only 6 km from the Lithuanian border.<sup>11</sup> In 1578 Lublin was chosen as one of the two seats of the Crown Tribunal.

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>11</sup> More political gatherings were held in Parczew in the fifteenth century. M. Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Parczew w XV-XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1962, pp. 9–15.

### III.2.2.4 GREATER POLAND

#### III.2.2a.4 DIOCESES OF GNIEZNO AND WŁOCŁAWEK

*Arkadiusz Borek*

As is customary with the AHP Series, the divisions and centres of Church administration are shown on two complementary maps. The main map has the seats of ecclesiastical administration units plotted, along with the borders of parishes, deaneries, archdeaconries, and dioceses. The thematic map entitled *Church divisions in Greater Poland in the late sixteenth century* presents the central towns of deaneries, archdeaconries, and dioceses, with the borders of deaneries and higher-tier units. In line with the Series' established assumptions, they render the state-of-affairs, in approximation, as at the late sixteenth century. This text is a commentary to the administrative divisions of the dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek, as per the map. Since the latter diocese coincided with the territory of Greater Poland to a marginal extent, a definitely larger part of this text deals with Gniezno diocese.<sup>1</sup> Further on, discussed are the changes in the sixteenth-century Church administration structures, including the setting up of new archdeaconries and deaneries, the erection of parishes, and so on. Described are also the cases of doubt-rising or uncertain affiliation to ecclesiastical administration units, conflict situations, or localities with a shared parish affiliation. The below-described fragments of the two dioceses concerned were situated almost only in the Voivodeship of Kalisz.

The source material useful in the research into the structures of Gniezno diocese is rather unevenly distributed across the unit's sections. The best evidenced areas in this respect (in spite of the lack of detailed scientific studies<sup>2</sup>) are, apparently, the archdeaconries of Gniezno and Kalisz, both within the diocese of Gniezno. They are described in the *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>3</sup> from the early sixteenth century (the descriptions of the Gniezno and Kalisz archdeaconries having been made in 1517 and 1521, respectively<sup>4</sup>), with canonical visitation records dating to the first decade of the subsequent century surviving for them.<sup>5</sup> These records offer us an almost complete picture of the said archdeaconries, for both temporal scopes, any changes occurring in the course of the sixteenth century being easily graspable by comparing the two works. The historic records of use in a reconstruction of the structures of the sixteenth-century archdeaconry of Kamień, with the district of Nakło within it, is much poorer. The area

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<sup>1</sup> For the reasons of why 'diocese' instead of 'archdiocese', see H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>2</sup> For the present purpose, neglected are the studies on the history of individual localities and their respective parishes. A study has recently been produced discussing, *inter alia*, though in a not exhaustive manner, the parish divisions in district of Konin (J. Łojko and P. Wojtyński, *Powiat koniński od XVI do XVIII wieku*, "Rocznik Koniński", vol. 18, 2013, pp. 97–113). The descriptions of the border and structures of the entire Diocese of Gniezno in volume 1 of the catalogue of the archbishops of Gniezno penned by Jan Korytkowski (idem, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy: prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821*, vol. 1, Poznań 1888, pp. 29–39) and the study by Bolesław Kumor (idem, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich 966–1939*, Lublin 1969). They have not proved useful in compiling this present study.

<sup>3</sup> LBG I, pp. 7–333; LBG II, pp. 5–85.

<sup>4</sup> LBG II, pp. V–VI.

<sup>5</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609; Librowski, Repertorium 1, pp. 114–128; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607; Librowski, Repertorium 1, pp. 107–114; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611; Librowski, Repertorium 1, pp. 128–34; 'Wizytacja parafii archidiaconatu kaliskiego ok. 1602' (ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Akta wizytacji archidiaconatu kaliskiego 1602, AAG, Wiz. 1 [Ośrodek Archiwów, Bibliotek i Muzeów Kościelnych, microfilm 3810]; Librowski, Repertorium 1, pp. 105–106) is actually a draft of the record of the visitations of 1603–1607; a check comparison of these historic records has showed no essential differences, hence the compilation of this commentary and the map has used the fair copy.

is not covered in the *Liber beneficiorum*; no visitation records from the early seventeenth century have survived. Parish districts are only referred to (though not exhaustively) in a 1653 visitation record; it came out together with the documents reorganising the archdeaconry's ecclesiastical structures, dated 1617, which documents enable us to get a picture of at least the parish centres within the district of Nakło.<sup>6</sup> The situation at the beginning and the middle of the sixteenth century is moreover rendered in the lists of archiepiscopal tithes from the tithe district of Kamień, specified by parish, as for the years 1511<sup>7</sup> and 1548.<sup>8</sup> They cover about a half of the localities of Nakło district and the parish affiliations given by those records triggers doubt at times (the locality is situated far away from its attributed parish). For the archdeaconry of Kamień, greatly helpful has proved the study of its history by Andrzej Mietz.<sup>9</sup> The difficulties in reconstructing the networks of parishes and parish districts are greatly due to the Reformation that proved to have been much stronger in Nakło district compared to the areas south of Noteć River.

In some isolated cases, later, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century, visitation records for Gniezno diocese have been used in respect of the entire territory concerned.<sup>10</sup> Of use has also been the *Ordo ecclesiarum* contained in a 1628 synodal statutes volume.<sup>11</sup> The same is true for the *regests* (registers) from the dossiers of Gniezno Archbishops, edited by Henryk Rybus,<sup>12</sup> and the visitation repertories by Stanisław Librowski.<sup>13</sup> The Gniezno diocese area is covered by descriptions of Greater Poland's churches in Jan Korytkowski's *Brevis descriptio*<sup>14</sup> and Stanisław Kozierowski's *Schematyzm*.<sup>15</sup> The quite detailed descriptions, with references to the records in the notes, authored by Korytkowski (in the LBG) need to be mentioned as well. Regrettably, all these studies are far from offering a comprehensive description of the historical relations, the pieces of information they give proving random. As an auxiliary material, *Regestr diecezjów* by Franciszek Czaykowski,<sup>16</sup> documenting the diocese's state as at the end of the eighteenth century, has been used; it however does not deal with the territory seized by Prussia as part of the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania. Other data have come from tax registers, but let us remark that they were used rather carefully. The by-parish system used in these registers did not always reflect the actual state-of-affairs. The divisions of districts into parishes stemmed basically from the scribe's convenience in the compilation of the register and reflected the early parish divisions or blended them with the ownership structure; localities tended to be shifted among parishes; resulting from clerical errors, some inexistent parishes are specified.<sup>17</sup> Hence, as an autonomous source, these

<sup>6</sup> Panske.

<sup>7</sup> Ulan. Visit., pp. 331–4.

<sup>8</sup> AAG, ACap. I, B. 143 (Inwentarz dóbr arcybiskupich 1548–1585 (an inventory of the archiepiscopal estates), hereinafter quoted by ref. no.), f. 207–212.

<sup>9</sup> Mietz.

<sup>10</sup> AAG, ACons. E 2b (Wizytacja archidiaconatu gnieźnieńskiego 1632–1633 (visitation report, archdeaconry of Gniezno)); AAG, ACons. E 3 (Wizytacja archidiaconatu gnieźnieńskiego kamieńskiego 1639–1640 (visitation report, archdeaconry of Gniezno/Kamień)); AAG, ACons. E 6 (Wizytacja archidiaconatu gnieźnieńskiego 1696–1699 (visitation report, archdeaconry of Gniezno)); AAG, ACons. E 9a (Wizytacja archidiaconatu kaliskiego 1712–1713 (visitation report, archdeaconry of Kalisz)); AAG, ACons. E 22b (Wizytacja archidiaconatu kaliskiego 1752–1755 (visitation report, archdeaconry of Kalisz)); AAG, ACons. E 52 (Wizytacja archidiaconatu kaliskiego 1719 (visitation report, archdeaconry of Kalisz)); quoted hereinafter by the ref. nos.

<sup>11</sup> Constitutiones.

<sup>12</sup> Rybus, pp. 111–404.

<sup>13</sup> Librowski, Repertorium 1–8.

<sup>14</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Brevis descriptio historico-geographica ecclesiarum archidioecesis Gnesnensis et Posnaniensis ad ordinem decanatum digestarum nec non elenchus universi cleri ecclesii, sacellis publicis aliisque institutis hoc tempore deservientis : addita sunt nonnulla alia scitu digna cultum divinum et utilitatem cleri spectantia, praecedente serie archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium, episcoporum Posnaniensium et archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium et Posnaniensium auctore Joanne Korytkowski (Gniezno 1888).*

<sup>15</sup> S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafjalnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Poznań 1934; idem, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafjalnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, Poznań 1935.

<sup>16</sup> Czaykowski.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, the parish of Gniezno – St. Adalbert [św. Wojciech], appearing in the registers as comprising the localities of Kawiary (Kawiorzy) i Rzegnowo (RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 326; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 328; RPWK, gzn, 1576, nos. 306, 307; RPWK, gzn, 1577, nos. 297, 298; RPWK, gzn, 1579, nos. 102, 103; RPWK, gzn, 1580, nos. 405, 406; RPWK, gzn, 1581, nos. 345, 346, 347; RPWK, gzn, 1582, nos. 312, 313, 314; RPWK, gzn, 1583, nos. 322, 323; RPWK, gzn, 1588, nos. 336, 337). The Church records unambiguously indicate that Kawiary belonged to the Holy Trinity Parish and Rzegnowo, to the Parish of Dębica Mała. Gniezno's St. Adalbert parish appears to have been 'coined' by the authors.

records are only referred to when parochial affiliation could not be evidenced otherwise; in case of contradicting information, Church records prevail.

Based on the source material available, the Church structures of the archdeaconries of Kalisz and Gniezno, as plotted on the map, reflect the state recorded in the visitation records dating to the first decade of the seventeenth century, taking into account the modifications of up to the year 1600 (inclusive). It is worth noting that the fluctuations of parochial affiliations between the LBG and the first visitations are pretty marginal (usually, they were connected to the erections of new churches), all being described herein. The assumption of a concrete time range for the Nakło part of the archdeaconry of Kamień was a more difficult task, though. The decanal structures are shown from before 1617. The issue of parochial affiliation is even more complicated as we have at our disposal, on the one hand, not-quite-reliable sixteenth-century records (tax registers, lists of archiepiscopal tithes) and, on the other, visitation records dating to the middle of the seventeenth century and later. This being the case, the proposed reconstruction of the parish network and parish districts is partly hypothetical and retrogressive – mainly as regards the district's north-western part.

As for several parishes belonging to the diocese of Włocławek, whose territory partly coincided with that of Voivodeship of Kalisz, no serious interpretive problems were encountered. The reconstruction of their reach and territorial affiliation has been based on sixteenth-century records published in the *Monumenta historica dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*<sup>18</sup> and the visitation records of Włocławek (not published in the series) kept at the Archdiocesan Archive in Gniezno.<sup>19</sup> The situation shown in the map reflects the one as of the end of the sixteenth century.

## Diocese of Gniezno

### The borders

Analysis of the borders of the diocese of Gniezno covers its part situated in the area of Greater Poland (a third of the entire diocese), neglecting the northern part of the archdeaconry of Kamień situated in Pomeranian Voivodeship (Royal Prussia), and the south-eastern area, which are described in the two preceding volumes of the AHP. The part of Gniezno diocese discussed herein spread over a part of Voivodeship of Kalisz, marginally stretching beyond its limits. The village of Stęszewko (Stęszewo) of the Wronczyno parish, archdeaconry of Gniezno, was the only strip penetrating into Voivodeship of Poznań.

The eastern border of the diocese of Gniezno, beginning with the north-eastern edge of Nakło district, initially went southward mostly along the rivers and coincided with the voivodeship borderline. From the north downwards, the rivers included the Brda, Krówka (Plitwica), Noteć (Noteś), and Mała Noteć. At Gębice (Voivodeship of Brześć Kujawski), the voivodeship borderline (up to Brodowo) and the diocesan one departed from the natural borders, with some sections based on the rivers. The diocese's border crossed over the voivodeship borders at several points; such exceptions was the wedge-shaped area between the Krówka and the Noteć, covering the parishes of Nakło (Nakiel, in Nakło district), Samsieczno (Sąsieczno, Nakło district), Ślesin (Bydgoszcz district), and the Cuyavian part of the parish of Samokłęski (Kcynia district). The purpose behind the emergence of that 'wedge' can be explained in terms of the area's natural features. The muddy and boggy valley of the Noteć might have caused that originally, when the diocese's borders were formed, those areas had better communication with Gniezno area. The location of Ślesin and a part of Samokłęski parish in Voivodeship of Inowrocław probably stemmed, for a change, from ownership changes and from the emergence of district borders.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> MHDW 1, pp. 11, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24.

<sup>19</sup> AAG, ACons. E 1 (Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej z lat 1582, 1585, 1597 (visitation records, Diocese of Włocławek), hereinafter quoted by ref. no.); see W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Gnieźnie*, part 1, ABMK, vol. 77, 2002, pp. 151–90.

<sup>20</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce XIV-XVI wieku. Z zagadnień zarządu terytorialnego i podziałów Polski późnośredniowiecznej*, Poznań 1965, pp. 72–79.

The original cohesiveness of the area is attested by the fact that in as late as 1299, the locality of Rynarzewo was still located *in territorio de Nackle*.<sup>21</sup>

The subsequent shift of the diocese's borders from the voivodeship frontier and Noteć River was the case with Łabiszyn parish; this requires a discussion. The view is stated by some authors that the town whose centre was located in an isle within the Noteć was split between the dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek, the Noteć forming their border. In the sixteenth century, the town proper belonged to the former and its right-bank suburb to the latter.<sup>22</sup> This opinion should be rejected as it is based on a superficial analysis of sources. This division of the town is shown in the 1578 visitation record for Włocławek diocese,<sup>23</sup> which refers to two churches on the Gniezno side (St. Nicholas's parish church and the Holy Spirit hospital church) and three on the Włocławek side (St. Thomas's plus two unnamed – otherwise known as the Holy Cross and St. John the Baptist's<sup>24</sup>). This information does not line up with the other records: beginning with the *liber retaxationum* of Włocławsek dating to 1527<sup>25</sup> through to eighteenth-century visitation records, the visitators focused on St. Nicholas's parish church, rather than St. Thomas's in the suburb. The same is true for the aforementioned 1578 record, which is the main reason behind the confusion: it describes a brick St. Nicholas's church located inside the town.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, there is no visitation record for Gniezno that would extend to Łabiszyn, which is not mentioned in the LBG, either. The erroneous communication from the 1578 record is possibly explainable by the author's reference to the geographical context. The 1583 visitation record says, 'Praedicta ecclesia [i.e. St. Nicholas' – A.B.'s note] est ultra fluvium iam in Polonia Maior, qui fluvius limitat dioceses et districtus'.<sup>27</sup> So, the Noteć was basically treated as a diocesan border, and hence the 1578 visitation records informs on a division of the town. This is explained by the fact that by as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century, the parish church for Łabiszyn was St. Thomas's, situated on the 'Włocławek side' of the Noteć,<sup>28</sup> which might have affected the perception of the diocesan border.

There is a similar story regarding the divergence of borders near Barcin, with the centre of the local parish also situated at the 'Gniezno side' of Noteć River; it may be presumed that the original settlement centre was located at the Cuyavian side, though. Also the earliest cartographic records indicate that access to the town area was more difficult from Greater Poland's side, owing to the swampy valley of the Noteć.<sup>29</sup> The other instances of difference between the voivodeship and diocesan frontiers are Pakość, Skulsk, Sompolno, and Brdów (Brdowo). The first three were situated in Cuyavia, whereas Brdów was part of the district of Konin. The diocesan affiliation of the Pakość parish to Gniezno diocese

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<sup>21</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne w ustroju administracyjnym Polski piastowskiej (w. XII-XIII)*, [in:] *Prace Komisji dla Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, vol. 2, Kraków 1927, p. 30.

<sup>22</sup> S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, pp. 113–114; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, vol. 1, part 1, no. 2, Lublin 1965, p. 66; R. Nowicki, *Z przeszłości Łabiszyna*, Łabiszyn 1997, pp. 5–6; W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym we Gnieźnie*, part 1, p. 157; M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Powiat kcyński w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, SG, vol. 3, 2015, p. 96.

<sup>23</sup> MHDW 17, pp. 21–22.

<sup>24</sup> AAG, ACons. E 1, f. 18v, 63v; R. Nowicki, *Z przeszłości Łabiszyna*, pp. 5–6; M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Powiat kcyński*, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> MHDW 11, p. 63.

<sup>26</sup> W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Włocławku*, part 1: *Wizytacje XVI i XVII wieku*, ABMK, vol. 68, 1997, p. 56.

<sup>27</sup> AAG, ACons. E 1, f. 18v.

<sup>28</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 1, no. 1189. Also, as confirmed by visitation records of 1578 (MHDW 17, p. 21), 1582, and 1585 (AAG, ACons. E 1, ff. 17v–18v, 63r), albeit there are traces that suggest the presence of an older structure in lieu of St. Nicholas's church (J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Posen*, vol. 4: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Regierungsbezirks Bromberg*, Berlin 1897, p. 163; KZS, vol. 11, no. 14: *Szubin i okolice*, Warszawa 1977, p. 29). Attention should moreover be paid to the fact that today's St. Nicholas's replaces site-wise the former St. Thomas's. The historical St. Nicholas's church was consumed by fire in 1761, and is presently replaced by an Annunciation church. St. Thomas's. Was dismantled at the end of the sixteenth century; a Protestant church was at that place. Once decommissioned in 1627, the Franciscans of the Strict Observance were brought in and built a new St. Thomas's church-and-convent. After the convent's dissolution in 1829, the former monastic church was consecrated in 1833 at St. Nicholas's; R. Nowicki, *Z przeszłości Łabiszyna*, pp. 16, 18, 21; A. Drozd-Lipińska, *Klasztor O.O. Reformatorów w Łabiszynie: historia i teraźniejszość*, "Materiały do Dziejów Kultury i Sztuki Bydgoszczy i Regionu", vol. 15, 2010, pp. 85–87. This troublesome situation easily brings about mistakes; see M. Wrzeszcz, *Łabiszyn*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 11, Lublin 2006, col. 339.

<sup>29</sup> Gilly 1802; UMTB, sheet 1650 (1832).

was owed to its location on the left bank of the Noteć.<sup>30</sup> As for Skulsk, the local parish belonged to the diocese of Włocławek, its centre being located in Cuyavia, whereas most of its district's villages were situated in Gniezno district (the line formed by the nearby lakes might have been treated as a natural border between the dioceses). Albeit within Włocławek diocese, Brdów, in turn, was part of Konin district. Skulsk and Brdów were mentioned as part of Włocławek diocese already in 1325.<sup>31</sup> Sompolno is an interesting case in that it was considered part of Cuyavia earlier on<sup>32</sup> as well as in the sixteenth century. It was moreover situated at the edge of the deanery for which it was the centre, whilst also being the deanery's only parish located in Cuyavia. In this particular case, the divergence between the diocesan and the voivodeship border (as well as the status of Sompolno and the deanery's centre) was probably founded upon the ownership of Sompolno by the Archbishop of Gniezno.<sup>33</sup> A slight divergence of borders was the case with the village of Brzezie, Przedecz district, which belonged to the parish of Mąkolno (Mąkolino) in Gniezno diocese. Beyond Brodowo, the voivodeship border was set within Gniezno diocese (as discussed further on). A short fragment of the border between the dioceses of Wrocław and Gniezno coincided with the border between the districts of Kalisz and Ostrzeszów. The border between the diocese of Gniezno and the diocese of Poznań is discussed in the commentary on the latter (see B. Szady, *The Church administrative borders, B. Dioceses of Poznań and Wrocław* in this volume).

### Archdeaconries

District archdeaconries were known in the diocese of Gniezno since the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> In the early sixteenth, there were two archdeaconries within Gniezno diocese in Kalisz Voivodeship territory – namely, the ones of Gniezno and Kalisz. The voivodeship's area almost insignificantly overlapped with the archdeaconry of Łęczyca, which encompassed two villages in Konin district – namely, Bylice and Byliczki, belonging to Borzysławice parish (Łęczyca district) in the deanery of Kłodawa,<sup>35</sup> and the archdeaconry of Uniejów (also in Konin district) that encompassed the village of Podłużyce belonging to the parish of Wilamów (Wielanów; Szadek district), deanery of Uniejów. The number of archdeaconries in the territory concerned increased in the beginning of the century's second decade when Archbishop Jan Łaski founded on 20 October 1512 the archdeaconry of Kamień. The unit was isolated from the northern deaneries of Gniezno archdeaconry (see below), and its establishment was related to problems with keeping the local clergy obedient.<sup>36</sup> The area of this newly-formed archdeaconry coincided with that of the earlier Officiality of Kamień.<sup>37</sup>

The archdeaconries of Kalisz, Gniezno, and Kamień formed an area stretching from the south to the north, their western and northern borders (save for the southern section of Kalisz archdeaconry) coincided with the diocese's frontiers. The divisions between them were latitudinal and significantly coincided with the district borders. Kalisz archdeaconry encompassed most of Kalisz district and a part

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<sup>30</sup> Between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries, the Pakość church was under the archbishop's patronage; S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafjalnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, p. 151.

<sup>31</sup> S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, vol. 1, part 1, no. 2, pp. 68, 75. For the second part of the sixteenth century, see Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej na Kujawach w II połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1964, pp. 31, 37.

<sup>32</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, 33.

<sup>33</sup> The situation where an estate of a Church institution was situated outside of the institution's diocese was regarded rather inconvenient. The Cracow Chapter's endeavours to have the Pabianice estate (in Gniezno Diocese) replaced with the Piórkowo set of properties within Cracow diocese, Lesser Poland (Małopolska), which was property of bishops of Cuyavia in the middle of the fifteenth century (M. Kowalski, *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2000, pp. 55–56), and the replacement of the Wolbórz estate owned by Cuyavian bishops, Gniezno Diocese, with Bydgoszcz deanery in the eighteenth century (B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii*, pp. 327–329), are evidenced by the records.

<sup>34</sup> T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidiaconatu w Polsce*, „Studia z Historii Prawa Polskiego”, vol. 10, 1927, no. 2, p. 46.

<sup>35</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Church organization at the beginning of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Sieradz in this edition III.2.2a.5.

<sup>36</sup> Mietz, pp. 21–22. The erection deed has been edited/published in: J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy*, vol. 1, pp. 611–614; Panske, pp. 1–7; Mietz, pp. 269–274. Ten years later, the Archdeaconry of Łowicz was founded; see H. Rutkowski, *church administration borders* in this volume.

<sup>37</sup> A. Gąsiorowski and I. Skierska, *Początki oficjalatu kamińskiego archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej (wieki XIV–XV)*, KH, vol. 103, 1996, no. 2, p. 17. Let us mention that before the early fourteenth century, Gniezno Diocese reached much further northwards, encompassing the Castellany of Słupsk. Those areas were detached from the diocese once their connection with Poland was broken (ibidem, pp. 4–8).

of Pyzdry district (deanery of Krotoszyn/Kobylin) and, in the east, the one of Sieradz, too. Gniezno archdeaconry covered the districts of Konin, Gniezno, and Kcynia, entering from the north-east the district of Pyzdry and, in fragments, the areas of Voivodeships of Łęczyca (parish of Grzegorzewo) and Sieradz (parish of Turek). The southern half of Kamień archdeaconry (up to the Rivers of Kamionka and Debrzynka in the north) coincided with Nakło district area. The parish of Ślesin in Voivodeship of Inowrocław was an exception. The said archdeaconry stretched beyond Kalisz Voivodeship and covered the districts of Człuchów and, partly, Tuchola. The coincidence of borders in question was mainly based on environmental factors than historical associations with secular and ecclesiastical divisions. The border separating the archdeaconries of Kamień and Gniezno was set along the Noteć River, and that between Gniezno and Kalisz archdeaconries, along the primeval forest on the borderline of the districts of Konin and Kalisz.

The eastern and western borders of Kalisz archdeaconry are interpreted as a trace of the former secular divisions. In this case, the eastward shift of the archdeaconry's core territory is distinct, relative to the Kalisz district area where on the Sieradz side a strip of the archdeaconry's parishes stretched. The historical association between the archdeaconry and the territory of Kalisz seems certain. Comparing the borders of the other archdeaconries against state administration units, it was the archdeaconry of Kalisz and the Territory of Wieluń that prove the closest to their secular counterparts. As far as Kalisz archdeaconry is concerned, considerable changes occurred in the course of formation of state administrative borders. The view is commonly accepted whereby the archdeaconry's eastern frontier was a remnant of the original border of the Land of Kalisz, which with time began to shift westwards.<sup>38</sup> The layout of the archdeaconry's borders in the west is also interpreted as earlier than the coinciding secular structures, including the separated exclave of Kobylin. The origins of the latter are unclear: the most plausible version seems to be the one linking it with the original dependence of those areas with the diocese of Gniezno as part of the territory of the former stronghold of Czestram. The settlement processes taking place in the later period in the afforested area north of Odolanów formed the borders that were known in the sixteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

## Deaneries

The functioning of deaneries in the diocese of Gniezno in the early sixteenth century is well evidenced; however, their network was subject to considerable changes during the century. The reorganisation resulted from the Polish Episcopate's strivings to withhold the progress of the Reformation. The bishops saw the office of rural deans an instrument with which to discipline and reform the clergy whose low moral and intellectual standards were perceived as feeding the popularity of Protestantism.<sup>40</sup> The exact dating of the changes in the archdeaconries of Gniezno and Kalisz is not known; for Kalisz archdeaconry, it is not even certain if such change actually took place. The literature places those events in the years 1583–9. Though no record has been found to confirm these statements, they seem fully probable.<sup>41</sup> The earliest date would be the year in which the diocesan synod of Gniezno was held, at which the issue of renewing the deaneries was put on the table;<sup>42</sup> the latest would be the date of the subsequent diocesan synod (no record of its decisions has survived).<sup>43</sup> The diocesan synod of 1593 took

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<sup>38</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, p. 34; S. Trawkowski, *Geneza regionu kaliskiego*, [in:] idem, *Opuscula medievistica*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 192–193.

<sup>39</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, pp. 35, 42; Now2, pp. 32–33.

<sup>40</sup> M. Przybyłko, *Urząd dziekana w rozwoju historycznym*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 5, 1962, no. 1–2, p. 136; W. Müller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2: *Wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1969, pp. 180–181; B. Kumor, *Dzieje ustroju kościelnego w Polsce*, [in:] *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1764*, part 2: *Od roku 1506*, ed. B. Kumor and Z. Obertyński, Poznań and Warszawa 1974, pp. 107, 249; I. Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich*, Warszawa 1981, p. 106.

<sup>41</sup> M. Aleksandrowicz, *Gnieźnieńska Archidiecezja (Dekanaty)*, entry [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 5, Lublin 1989, col. 1182, is the earliest specification of the dates to be found in the literature.

<sup>42</sup> *Synodus archidioecisana Gnesnensis preasidente Stanislao Karnkowski archiepiscopo Gnesnensi et primate Regni Poloniae Lovicii Anno Domini MDLXXXIII celebrata, nec non articuli eiusdem dioecesis sub Jacobo Uchański archiepiscopo habitae*, ed. Z. Chodyński, Varsoviae 1871, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> *Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 5: *Synody archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej i ich statuty*, ed. J. Sawicki, Warszawa 1950, pp. 171–172.

a more detailed stance with respect to the renewal of deaneries.<sup>44</sup> As we can learn, the reorganisation of the existing and setting up of new deaneries was to be dealt with by the archdeacons during their coming visitation. None of the visitations of the first decade of the seventeenth century was carried out with such a purpose, since their records do not mention any such change whatsoever. Wincenty de Seve, who inspected the archdeaconry of Gniezno in 1608, reminisced that around 1603 he had done another visitation; however, again, there is no reason to refer it to the reform of the deanery structures in Gniezno archdeaconry.<sup>45</sup> Taking the account the role of Stanisław Karnkowski, who served as archbishop in 1581–1603 and was strongly involved in the remodelling of the Polish Church in the post-Trent spirit, and who personally inspected Gniezno diocese parishes or had his archdeacons do it,<sup>46</sup> it can be accepted that the deanery reform (for the archdeaconry of Gniezno) took place before the end of the sixteenth century, as possibly testified by the aforesaid synodal statutes. The last diocesan synod convened by Karnkowski in 1602 adopted no new resolutions regarding the deaneries; what it did is it repeated the relevant article from 1593,<sup>47</sup> which might suggest that not all the archdeacons met their obligations (which is certain for the archdeaconry of Kamień).

The results of the reform of the deaneries in the archdeaconry of Gniezno are fully graspable if one compares the LBG and the earliest visitations. The former enumerates six deaneries – namely, those of Gniezno,<sup>48</sup> Łekno, Żnin, Zbar, Konin, and Słupca; as per the 1608–9 visitation record, there were eight deaneries: Gniezno – St. Peter’s,<sup>49</sup> Gniezno – Holy Trinity, Gniezno – St. Michael’s, called ‘of Zbar’ (*zbarski*, after the names of the local churches<sup>50</sup>), Łekno, Żnin, Konin, Sompolno, and Słupca. Only the deaneries of Łekno, Konin and Słupca remained intact as the change progressed. The reform mainly consisted in the establishment of three Gniezno deaneries and a deanery of Sompolno, based on the Gniezno and Zbar deaneries’ territory. The deaneries of St. Peter’s and Holy Trinity were formed of, respectively, the north-western and south-western part of Gniezno deanery. The deanery of St. Michael’s (‘of Zbar’; hereinafter, ‘St. Michael’s’) was formed of the eastern part of Gniezno deanery and of the northern part of Zbar deanery. The ‘Zbar’ segment in its name was based on the latter, itself coming from the burg of Zbar. The date it perished remains unknown; in any case, Zbar has lent the name to the territory and the castellany which were mentioned in the records up to the fifteenth century. The convergence between the territory and the deanery of Zbar is pretty well confirmed; some of the localities appearing in mediaeval documents and localised in the land of Zbar were later mentioned in Zbar deanery in the LBG.<sup>51</sup> This instance, and the evident divergence between the deanery borders

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<sup>44</sup> *Synodus dioeciesana Gnesnensis celebrata Lovicii, Anno Christii M.D.XCIII Die XXIX mensis Martii*, Posnania 1593, p. 44.

<sup>45</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 3r. This earlier Gniezno visitation can be associated with the Kalisz visitation of 1603–7, as directly pointed to by the Kalisz archdeacon’s reminiscence of Wincenty de Seve; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp.7–8; also, see Librowski, Repertorium, part 1, p. 107; Librowski, Repertorium, part 5, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> A. Bruździński, *Działalność prymasa Stanisława Karnkowskiego w zakresie wprowadzania uchwał Soboru Trydenckiego w Polsce 1581–1603*, Kraków 1996, pp.168–71; idem, *Działalność duszpasterska prymasa Stanisława Karnkowskiego*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia”, vol. 3, 1996, pp. 109–110; see also J. Gręźlikowski, *Wkład biskupa Stanisława Karnkowskiego w dzieło recepcji reformy trydenckiej w diecezji włocławskiej*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 44, 2001, no. 1–2, pp. 161–84; A. Bruździński, *Wkład biskupa Stanisława Karnkowskiego w zastosowanie uchwał Soboru Trydenckiego w diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej (1567–1581)*, „Studia Włocławskie”, vol. 6, 2003, pp. 439–451; J. Gręźlikowski, *Biskup Stanisław Karnkowski jako ustawodawca. Wkład w dzieło recepcji reformy trydenckiej w diecezji włocławskiej*, „Studia Włocławskie”, vol. 7, 2004, pp. 355–368.

<sup>47</sup> *Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 5, pp. 187–200.

<sup>48</sup> Not specified by name; see J. Łukowski, *Liber Beneficiorum Jana Arcybiskupa Łaskiego*, „Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego”, vol. 10, 1878, p. 8.

<sup>49</sup> The present-day Sts. Peter and Paul’s church was at the deanery’s centre. The latter apostle appears in the visitation record as the church’s name only as of 1697 – the year his name was added to the deanery’s name; Librowski, Repertorium, part 5, pp. 77–79.

<sup>50</sup> In the map provided, the localities of Wójtostwo and Piotrowo are shown as the seats of the Deaneries of St. Peter’s and St. Michael’s, respectively. The material used herein (LBG, tax registers, visitation records; Librowski’s, Repertorium, part 5) never identifies them as the source for the names of the parishes they were the centres of. The parishes were always termed by their dedications, possibly specifying them as ‘of Gniezno’ (suburban, external/‘outside the city walls’). For this reason, the parishes’ names differ from the names of localities as per the map. The same concerns the parish of St. Laurent [*św. Wawrzyńca*] in Jędrzejewo.

<sup>51</sup> S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, p. 51; S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, pp. 23–24; J. Bieniak, *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemia łączycka i sieradzka wobec problemu zjednoczenia państwowego w latach 1300–1306*, Poznań 1969, pp. 40–41, 153; UdR. Spisy I/1, p. 166; SGKP XIV, p. 509.

and the district ones, unambiguously indicate that the deanery divisions within the archdeaconry of Gniezno in the early years of the sixteenth century date back to quite a long time ago. The last of the century's newly-founded deaneries was the deanery of Sompolno, formed of the southern part of the former Zbar deanery. Resulting from the reforms, the deanery of Żnin incurred slight territorial losses, including the one-village parish of Skórki, lost to St. Peter's deanery,<sup>52</sup> and the parish of Wielatowo, which was incorporated in St. Michael's deanery.<sup>53</sup> The deanery affiliation of the parish of Trzemeszno at the beginning of the sixteenth century is problematic: not specified in the LBG,<sup>54</sup> it was situated at the border of the border area of Gniezno, Zbar, and Żnin deaneries. After the deanery reform, it was part of St. Michael's deanery.<sup>55</sup> It is worth noting that as far as the reform is concerned, no apparent dependence upon the state administration divisions are identifiable.

**Table 1. Gniezno archdeaconry's parishes that altered their deanery affiliation between the beginning and the end of the sixteenth century**

Name in the sixteenth century	LBG	1608–9 visitation
Budzisław	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Czerniewo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Dąbrowa	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Dębna	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Dębnica Mała	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Dęby	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Duszno	[of] Gniezno	St. Michael's
Dziekanowice	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Gądecz	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Jemielno	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Gniezno	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Gosławice	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Grzybowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Gurowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Jabłkowo	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Jankowo	[of] Gniezno	St. Michael's
Janowiec	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Jarząbkowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Jędrzejewo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Kamieniec	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Kazimierz	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Kędzierzyno	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Kiszkowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity

<sup>52</sup> LBG I, p. 165; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 56v–58r. Let us note that the mention of this parish's name in the LBG as part of Żnin Deanery may have to do with its subjection to the Rogowo parson's command. As of 1608, Skórki had an instituted, though non-residing, parson of its own.

<sup>53</sup> LBG I, pp. 187–188; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 232v–234v.

<sup>54</sup> The reason might be that it was, in parallel, a conventual church, and thus is not mentioned in the list of benefices. Of Gniezno Archdeaconry, the parishes of Trangel and Strzelce are not mentioned, though their deanery affiliation is clear and did not alter between the beginning and the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>55</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 230r.

Name in the sixteenth century	LBG	1608–9 visitation
Kłęcko	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Kleczew	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Kołodrąb	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Krapsko	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Kruchowo	[of] Gniezno	St. Michael's
Lichyń	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Linowiec	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Lisowo	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Lubstowo Wielkie	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Lubstowo Małe	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Łagiewniki	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Łopienno	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Łubowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Mąkolino	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Marzenino	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Mieścisko	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Modliszewo Małe	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Morzysław	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Niechanowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Orchowo	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Osiek Wielki	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Ostrowąż	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Ostrowite Arcybiskupie	[of] Gniezno	St. Michael's
Pawłowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Pobiedziska	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Podlesie	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Pomorzany	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Popowo	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Racięcice	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Raczkowo	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Rękawczyño	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Siedlimowo	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Skórki	[of] Żnin	St. Peter's
Sławno	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Ślesin	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Sokolniki	[of] Gniezno	St. Peter's
Strzyżewo	[of] Gniezno	St. Michael's
Trzemeszno	[not specified]	St. Michael's
Waliszewo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Wąsosze	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno

Name in the sixteenth century	LBG	1608–9 visitation
Węglewo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Wielatowo	[of] Żnin	St. Michael's
Wilczyno	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Witkowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Wójcino	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Wrząca Wielka	[of] Zbar	[of] Sompolno
Wronczyno	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Września	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Złotkowo	[of] Zbar	St. Michael's
Zwanowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity
Żydowo	[of] Gniezno	Holy Trinity

After: LBG and Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609 (Author's own compilation).

The least clear are the deanery divisions in the archdeaconry of Kalisz at the beginning of the sixteenth century. LBG gives no specification of deaneries in this area and thereby no changes can be ascertained compared with the later structure. The visitation records from the years 1603–7 and 1610–11 describe a total of five deaneries: Kalisz, Kobylin *sive* Krotoszyn, Pleszew, Staw, and Stawiszyn. There is evidence, however, that deaneries existed in the area already in the fifteenth century. The earliest found mention of the deanery of Pleszew dates to 1471/3:<sup>56</sup> the same record, a Kalisz consistory file, mentions the name of Piotr, the parson and rural dean in Pleszew;<sup>57</sup> as of 1539, a certain Łukasz is reported to have held the same functions.<sup>58</sup> That the office of Pleszew dean existed is confirmed by the town's sixteenth-century municipal registers, mentioning the deans named Grzegorz (as of 1512)<sup>59</sup> and Wojciech (in 1553 and 1563).<sup>60</sup> Moreover, references can be found in the Kalisz consistory file of the deanery of Stawiszyn.<sup>61</sup> It may be supposed that a separate deanery was formed at a rather early date by the enclave around Krotoszyn. From the standpoint of the ecclesiastical administration, it would have been a natural move to establish a separate unit there, due to the distance from the rest of the archdeaconry. The early seventeenth century saw the renaming of the deaconry. As we are told by the visitation records, once the churches in Krotoszyn were regained by the Catholics in 1600,<sup>62</sup> the deanery office was moved from Kobylin to Krotoszyn, and it is the latter town whose name was adopted by the deanery ('non Cobelinensis sed Crotosinensis decanatus amplius nominatur'). This alternation was reportedly consulted with Archbishop Karnkowski (Krotoszyn was inspected shortly after his death).<sup>63</sup> For this reason, the appropriate name for the deanery in the latter half of the sixteenth century is 'of Kobylin' (*kobyliński*), rather than 'of Krotoszyn' (*krotoszyński*). The changes in the names of deaneries, with the transfer of the office of dean (particularly in the early period of their functioning) is a known fact.<sup>64</sup> The afore-quoted information suggests that the deanery in the area of the exclave had a tradition dating back to at least the sixteenth century. As has been remarked, the LBG provides

<sup>56</sup> A. Kozak, *Indeks do ksiąg konsystorza kaliskiego do początków XVI w.* (available on demand office of the *Historico-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland*).

<sup>57</sup> ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Konsystorz Kaliski, 5, f. 34r.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, 13, f. 212r.

<sup>59</sup> *Najstarsza pleszewska księga radziecka. Zapiski z lat 1485–1519*, ed. A. Kozak, Poznań 2014, p. 150. LBG II, p. 32, describes him as a 'parson' [*pleban*].

<sup>60</sup> M. Stępniak, *Pleszew i jego mieszkańcy w latach 1531–1563*, „Rocznik Pleszewski”, vol. 14, 2014, p. 264, 267.

<sup>61</sup> ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Konsystorz Kaliski, 9, f. 154v; *ibidem*, 12, f. 5v.

<sup>62</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, 166, 175.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, 177; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 491.

<sup>64</sup> J. Szymański, *Dekanat wojnicki w świetle niektórych uwag o organizacji dekanalnej diecezji krakowskiej w XIII–XVI w.*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, vol. 8, 1961, no. 1, pp. 87–90; B. Kumor, *Rozwój sieci dekanalnej w południowej części diecezji krakowskiej do r. 1772*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, vol. 9, 1962, no. 1, pp. 78–79.

no information on the deanery divisions (it does not even mention the deans!). A spatial analysis of the sequence of entries on the parishes has shown no considerable convergences with the deaconry layout at the beginning of the seventeenth century,<sup>65</sup> so there is no basis for attempting a hypothetical reconstruction. The parish layout as per the LBG is explainable in terms of the archdeacon's preferred travel itineraries<sup>66</sup> and the territory's compactness. The temptation to identify the deaneries' borders at the end of the sixteenth century with their earlier counterparts should primarily be prevented by the awareness of the tendency to carry out deanery reforms in the latter half of the sixteenth century. To sum up, there is no doubt that deaneries existed in the archdeaconry of Kalisz before the seventeenth century, though nothing can be said of their reach or number. The fact that the LBG passes over Kalisz archdeaconry's deaneries in silence could have been due to the actual decline in the importance of deaneries in late mediaeval Poland.<sup>67</sup>

As opposed to the two earlier-described archdeaconries, the deanery reform in the archdeaconry of Kamiień is very well documented in the records. It was carried in that area later on in 1617 (possibly due to the instability of Church structures in an area strongly impacted by the Reformation), whereas the reorganising document dated 1617 enables to recognise the borders of deaneries from before then.<sup>68</sup> The Nakło part of Kamiień archdeaconry included in the sixteenth century two deaneries: the ones of Nakło (split in 1617 into the deaneries of Nakło and Łobżenica) and Sępólno (Krajeńskie, later, Więcbork). These deaneries, as well as those of Chojnice and Tuchola in Pomerania, are also known from the founding deed for the archdeaconry of Kamiień of 1512.<sup>69</sup> In as early as the late sixteenth century, Sępólno deanery was managed by the parson of Więcbork, though the phrase *Decanatus ruralis Więdzborgensis* first appears in 1621.<sup>70</sup> Let us remark that albeit the central town an archdeaconry, Kamiień Krajeński was not central for the deaconry. The border dividing the archdeaconry into a northern and a southern part, along the Rivers Kamionka and Debrzynka, until the 1617 reorganisation, which diverged from the voivodeship frontier at several points, calls for some explanation.<sup>71</sup>

The first and the most controversial point that calls for a detailed commentary is Downica (Lędyczek, called Lędyczek Szlachecki (the 'noble' Lędyczek) in the nineteenth century) – a settlement to be found in sources only in 1556,<sup>72</sup> for which it is considerably difficult to determine the parish affiliation and, thereby, the deanery affiliation. The tax registers of Nakło describe the locality as a parochial one, inclusive of Debrzno-Wieś. In any case, it has to be rejected that such a parish functioned in Downica (apparently, it is merely a clerk's construction). We have no confirmation that a church existed in Downica in the sixteenth century, whilst Debrzno-Wieś belonged to a different parish (see below). There was a church located in the *starosta's* Lędyczek (*Lędyczek starościński*) directly on the other side of the Debrzynka, opposite Downica (i.e. Lędyczek Szlachecki). Marian Biskup and Andrzej Tomczak<sup>73</sup> mark the *starosta's* Lędyczek as the seat of a parish, referring to the tax-collection register for the Voivodeship of Pommerania of 1570: 'Landeck villa habet templum'.<sup>74</sup> It was however not a fully-fledged parish church; as a 1565 inspection (*lustracja*): 'There's no church but a small chapel whereto, so that the divine service be there, the settled gardeners are paying 19 to the parson per sol. 5. No

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<sup>65</sup> From this perspective, the sequence of parishes as per the LBG is as follows: 1 parish in the later Deanery of Kalisz; 1 in the Deanery of Staw; 1 in the Deanery of Stawiszyn, 3 in Kalisz Deanery, 7 in the Deanery of Krotoszyn (entire area, except for Sulmierzyce parish); 10 in the Deanery of Pleszew, 1 in Stawiszyn Deanery (Chodecz, located at the border with Pleszew Deanery); 8 in Pleszew Deanery, 8 in Kalisz Deanery, 4 in Pleszew Deanery, 5 in Kalisz Deanery, 16 in Staw Deanery, 1 in Stawiszyn Deanery (Kamion [Kamiień], at the border with Staw Deanery), 4 in Staw Deanery, 15 in Stawiszyn Deanery, and 1 in Staw Deanery.

<sup>66</sup> LBG II, 5: 'Inventarum beneficiorum ... per venerabilem dominum Mathiam de Slywnyky ... archidiaconum Calisiensem ... in visitatione sua compilata'.

<sup>67</sup> M. Przybyłko, *Urząd dziekana*, pp. 131–137; W. Müller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, p. 181; T. Pawlak, *Dekanat*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 3, eds. R. Łukaszyka, L. Bienkowski, and F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1985, col. 1114.

<sup>68</sup> Mietz, pp. 36–38.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 135.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35.

<sup>72</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 7112 (no. 897) 1556.

<sup>73</sup> M. Biskup and A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1955, p. 75.

<sup>74</sup> *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 12: *Prusy Królewskie*, ed. I. Baranowski, Warszawa 1911 (ser. *Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 23), p. 219.

tithe are they paying<sup>75</sup> (the parson is not specified). The presence of a church in the Pomeranian part of Lędyczek might have been the reason why the Nakło part was recorded as the parish's seat. The situation of Debrzno-Wieś within it stemmed probably from the fact that it belonged to a parish with its centre in Pomerania, analogously to the church in the *starosta's* Lędyczek. Andrzej Mietz provides no explanation at this point. In his study of Kamień archdeaconry, he initially suggests – partly resulting from an erroneous interpretation of the information contained in tax registers – that Downica was subordinated in the sixteenth century to the parish of Lędyczek *starościński* on the Pomeranian side of the Debrzynka and thereby was part of the deanery of Chojnice (which was split in 1617 into the deaneries of Człuchów and Czarne). Further on in his book, Mietz mentions the locality's affiliation to the parish of Zakrzewo, located in the deanery of Nakło.<sup>76</sup> The former option can be supported by tax registers (which are not fully reliable records, as demonstrated above) as well as by the visitation record of 1652–3, which describes both localities named Lędyczek, mentions a wooden church and remarks that the locals – though Protestants – pay the *meszne* tax (vested in the parish for celebration of masses at the church) to the parson at Uniechów (thus suggesting the affiliation with this parish). The latter option would appear correct because of an eighteenth-century attribution of Downica to the parish of Radawnica<sup>77</sup> (which was probably separated out of the parish of Zakrzewo in the early seventeenth century; see below) and of the sixteenth-century ownership structure that tied Downica/Lędyczek to the district of Nakło,<sup>78</sup> The list of churches in the diocese of Gniezno from 1628 refers to Lędyczek twice: once, as a branch (*filia*) of Uniechów (which corresponds with the later mention in the visitation record) and then again as a profaned church in the deanery of Łobżenica<sup>79</sup> (probably referring to the church built by the Protestants). As in the course of the 1617 reorganisation, Lędyczek in Pomerania joined the deanery of Człuchów, the second piece of information from the list of churches refers to the Lędyczek of Nakło. Since we have no reliable information as to the parochial affiliation of Downica in the sixteenth century (which is true also for other localities in the same part of Nakło district; see below), whereas the later sources are ambiguous, it was resolved in this particular case that Downica/Lędyczek belong to the parish of Zakrzewo. This conviction is additionally reinforced by the fact that the border along the Debrzynka was rather durable in that area with regards to administrative divisions. Before 1466, it was part of the state border; by as late as the end of the nineteenth century, the oppositely situated localities of Lędyczek and Lędyczek Szlachecki belonged to separate parishes as well as districts.<sup>80</sup> The two Lędyczeks were merged into one locality only after the Second World War 2. The strongest argument against the latter-mentioned option would seemingly be the distance between Lędyczek and Zakrzewo – that is, approximately 19 km; let us remark however that in this area (which is better documented source-wise) the distances between some localities and their respective parishes equalled 15 km or even more.<sup>81</sup> Given all these circumstances, the distance for Lędyczek was the largest; this had probably been due to retardations in the development of the parochial network versus the settlement, with the Reformation also having an impact. An attempt to solve those problems was the setting up of the parish in Radawnica (see below).

The sixteenth-century deanery frontier diverged from the district and natural ones for the settlement of Debrzno-Wieś (Debrzno), belonging to the parish of Debrzno (Frydland), whose centre was in the deanery of Chojnice.<sup>82</sup> The deanery of Tuchola, in turn, stretched into the Nakło side of the Kamionka near the village of Mała Cerkwica belonging to Duża Cerkwica parish in Pomeranian Voivodeship.<sup>83</sup> The crossing of the voivodeship border on the Kamionka was practiced in the opposite direction as well. The deanery of Sępólno covered the Pomeranian localities of Orzełek (parish of Kamień) and

<sup>75</sup> *Lustracja województwa pomorskiego 1565*, ed. S. Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1961, p. 61.

<sup>76</sup> Mietz, pp. 35–36, 94 (footnote 189), 98 (footnote 225), 185.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 88, 98, footnote 225; Szafran, p. 140; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 5, p. 153.

<sup>78</sup> See Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 7112 (no. 897) 1556, 2171 (no. 213) 1557, 2262 (no. 215) 1564, 1735 (no. 156) 1571, 2206 (no. 159) 1581, 3149 (no. 964) 1595.

<sup>79</sup> *Constitutiones*, E2v, E3v.

<sup>80</sup> SGKP V, p. 140.

<sup>81</sup> In the parish of Zakrzewo: Górzna (15 km), Grodna (17.5 km); in the parish of Złotowo: Kiełpin (15 km).

<sup>82</sup> AAG, ACap. I, B. 143, f. 212v; Ulan. *Visit.*, 334; Mietz, pp. 35, 83, 163.

<sup>83</sup> AAG, ACap. I, B. 143, f. 176v; AAG, ACap. I, B. 147 (*Inwentarz dochodów arcybiskupstwa 1592–1621* [inventory of the archbishopric's income]), f. 302.

Pamiętowo (parish of Zalesie).<sup>84</sup> There are certain doubts as to the parochial affiliation of the locality named Obkas, Tuchola district. In 1592, the local church was described as a *cappella*. The beneficials, properties and privileges, together with the *meszne* church tax, belonged to the benefice of the archdeacon of Kamień,<sup>85</sup> in which the parish church was incorporated as well, based on the founding deed.<sup>86</sup> It seems that by the end of the sixteenth century the church in Obkas might have been affiliated; with the lack of sufficient evidence, however, Obkas has eventually not been plotted within Kamień parish.<sup>87</sup>

### Parishes and parochial districts

The rules of plotting parochial centres in the main map and the reference map of the Church structures are identical to those followed in the preceding volumes of the AHP.<sup>88</sup> Parish centres and pastoral districts functioning at the end of the sixteenth century have been plotted. Filial churches with their own districts were treated on an equal footing;<sup>89</sup> they are marked in the same way (reference number, borders) as the parishes proper. The status of these churches is not always obvious. The records used often do not allow for an unambiguous resolution, and the later status of the most problematic cases resulted from a long-lasting process whose course was determined by legal, economic, or institutional factors, and it is not quite legitimate to directly project it onto the sixteenth century. The other assumption adopted for the series is that parish churches seized/occupied by Protestants, whose function and districts were not suppressed by the Catholic Church authorities,<sup>90</sup> are shown in the same way as the churches remaining in the Catholic hands.<sup>91</sup> Details concerning Protestant churches form a separate chapter and are shown on a separate map. Hence, no 'pure' picture of the network of pastoral units has been produced, as a result. Given that the proposed map is meant to support further historical research, showing on it also those centres whose status diverts from the idea of a normally functioning parish,<sup>92</sup> but which might be come across by historians in their own studies. The Church sources continuously took account of them as legal entities, at least in postulative terms, and there are no premises for their being arbitrarily included in other pastoral units.

The changes in the status of the churches and thereby in the network of pastoral districts in the diocese of Gniezno appeared, in legal terms, along either of the two lines – canonical erection of a new parish in a singled-out territory of the former parish or suppression of a parish and its inclusion in the territory of the adjacent one.

In the archdeaconry of Kalisz, three new parishes were founded by separation (singling-out) during the sixteenth century – namely, the ones of Zakrzyno (Zaksino, detached from Lisków in 1540),<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Mietz, p. 36.

<sup>85</sup> AAG, ACap. I 147, f. 301r.

<sup>86</sup> Mietz, p. 270.

<sup>87</sup> The churches in Obkaz, Cerkwica Wielka, and Dąbrówka were formally incorporated in 1615, as part of the reorganisation of the archiepiscopal demesne; hence, the later records situate them, alternately, in the Deanery of Tuchola or Więcbork (Kamień belonged to the latter); *ibidem*, pp. 132, 143–144.

<sup>88</sup> M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Cracow in this edition III.2.2.1.

<sup>89</sup> I use the term 'filial' with respect to churches, of diverse types, without full parochial rights. The records are quite ambiguous in this respect; this is especially true for the terms *ecclesia filialis* and *capella*. Unless based on detailed studies on the legal situation of the individual churches and their functioning, no arbitrary categories that would help to determine the status of other sacred buildings within the parish. One option would be to highlight the filial churches with their own districts (filial parishes), as was done at the outset of the AHP series. Their formal rights tended to vary to a considerable degree. See S. Litak, *Struktura terytorialna Kościoła łacińskiego w Polsce w 1772 roku*, Lublin 1980, pp. 20–22; *idem*, *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1996, pp. 56–59, 62; Mietz, pp. 44–45; E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce. Struktura i funkcje społeczne*, Lublin 2004, pp. 54–56; P. Jokes, *Kościół filialne i ich miejsce w organizacji parafialnej średniowiecznych Moraw*, „Prace Historyczne”, vol. 137, 2010, pp. 21–26.

<sup>90</sup> The procedure is justifiable in terms of the period's ecclesiastical legislation. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the view was adopted at diocesan, and subsequently provincial, synods that the seized parishes ought not to be dissolved, the care over the parishioners (and the related income) to be taken over by the parsons of the adjacent units; see B. Kumor, *Dzieje ustroju kościelnego*, p. 106; I. Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne*, pp. 116, 256–257. That such a solution was applied in practice is indirectly confirmed by Gniezno visitation records from the early seventeenth century, describing (though usually less precisely) the seized parishes, remarking that the parishioners receive the sacraments in the neighbouring churches.

<sup>91</sup> M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Cracow in this edition III.2.2.1.

<sup>92</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>93</sup> *Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607*, p. 244; *Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611*, pp. 234, 339; Rybus, p. 167; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 2, p. 113.

Żerniki (detached from Blizanów in 1569),<sup>94</sup> and Dębe (detached from Kamień parish in 1600).<sup>95</sup> The status of Żerniki parish requires some explanation. Although a document survives that confirms the founding of the local parish church, the legal grounds of its functioning were challenged by the parsons from Blizanów and Rychnów, in connection with the situation surrounding the ‘erection’. Before 1568, the churches in Blizanów and Rychnów were taken over by Protestants. The situation was taken advantage of by Jan Ciświcki, the then-owner of Żerniki, who obtained consent for setting up a separate parish in Żerniki, which entailed territorial losses of the earlier parishes: Blizanów lost Żerniki, and Rychnów had Kurza and Wyganki detached. It was a logical move, given the practice of adjusting the parish area to the local ownership borders. Wyganki also belonged to Jan Ciświcki, who was a leaseholder (*tenutariusz*) with Kurza.<sup>96</sup> Thus, the parish of Żerniki emerged at the expense of two neighbouring ones, at the moment when they had no parsons in office, and their Protestant patrons did not deem this fact to be of importance or their protests were ignored for denominational reasons. The situation changed once the churches of Rychnów and Blizanów became Catholic again; their parsons endeavoured to have the state from before the Reformation reinstated.<sup>97</sup>

An interesting case as far as vanishing of parishes is concerned is the locality of Chorzewo in the district of Kalisz. In 1518, the local parish was linked with Brzezie by a union, on initiative of the patrons of the Chorzewo church, who argued that their benefice suffered from poor income, apparently too low to support the local parson. The LBG confirms the church’s deplorable situation: of the four parish villages, Chorzewo alone was not described as *deserta*.<sup>98</sup> Such poor endowment and the related union of parsons’ benefices usually led to the decommissioning of the economically weaker parish, usually through affiliation with the stronger one.<sup>99</sup> The process was stopped by the seizure of the Brzezie church by the Protestants (they kept it until the early seventeenth century).<sup>100</sup> In this specific case, the Reformation, usually assessed as a factor destructive to the Church structures,<sup>101</sup> helped preserve the initial state. The parish of Brzezie was institutionally and functionally unable to completely take over the church linked with it. As a result, on the visitation of both centres in the early years of the seventeenth century, Chorzewo was reported on as the centre of the parochial life, albeit the church was severely devastated and village largely depopulated.<sup>102</sup> This is why the parish is plotted exactly in such a way.

In spite of adverse conditions, the parish of Ostrówce (as of the sixteenth century, Ostroszce, Kcynia district) formally survived. The case was peculiar since not only the church but the entire village declined with time. While in the early sixteenth century the parish still functioned, it had no considerable income at its disposal.<sup>103</sup> The village became deserted with time<sup>104</sup> and the church went to rack and ruin (‘*brevi nulla istius [ecclesiae] parochialis extabat vestigia*’) and then only formally existed in the district.<sup>105</sup> It seems that the parish was legally suppressed only in the latter half of the seventeenth century, whereas its district was taken over by the church in Wenecja.<sup>106</sup>

A typical instance of a parish’s vanishing through union is the village of Kamienna Wieś (Kamiona) in Kalisz district. The local church was mentioned at the beginning of the sixteenth as united with the locality of Iwanowice.<sup>107</sup> Visitation records from the early seventeenth century report on the church’s

<sup>94</sup> AAG, ACap. B. 5 (Liber privilegiorum kapituly gnieźnieńskiej 1459–1585 (*Liber privilegiorum* of the Chapter of Gniezno)), ff. 511r–513r; Rybus, p. 194; LBG II, p. 76, footnote.

<sup>95</sup> LBG II, p. 67, footnote; Rybus, p. 212.

<sup>96</sup> AAG, ACap. B. 5, f. 512v; Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2726 (no. 1395) 1545.

<sup>97</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp. 458–459; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 435.

<sup>98</sup> ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Konsystorz Kaliski, 11, 57r–57v; LBG II, pp. 36–37, 46–47.

<sup>99</sup> B. Kumor, *Afiliacja kościołów parafialnych na Podhalu (1350–1783)*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 4, 1961, no. 4, pp. 279–280, 285; I. Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne*, 80; S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin 2004, pp. 47–48.

<sup>100</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 362.

<sup>101</sup> B. Kumor, *Afiliacja*, p. 278; idem, *Dzieje ustroju kościelnego*, pp. 105–106, 249; S. Litak, *Parafie*, pp. 43–44; Mietz, pp. 52–53.

<sup>102</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 363.

<sup>103</sup> LBG I, pp. 179–180.

<sup>104</sup> RPWK, kcn, 1564, no. 172; RPWK, kcn, 1565, no. 173; RPWK, kcn, 1576, no. 144, Ostroszce; Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 894 (no. 5) 1581 & 844 (no. 121) 1593.

<sup>105</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 308v; Librowski, Repertorium, part 5, pp. 43, 53.

<sup>106</sup> Librowski, Repertorium, part 5, pp. 75, 108.

<sup>107</sup> LBG II, p. 56.

incorporation and affiliation to Iwanowice, carried out by Archbishop Jan Gruszczyński in the second half of the fifteenth century. During the subsequent century the church collapsed completely, and a chapel was built on its site.<sup>108</sup> The church in Russów lost its parochial rights during the same century; the LBG describes it as vacant.<sup>109</sup> Visitation records refer to this church as filial to Tykadłów within the same parish.<sup>110</sup> The same pattern was the case with the church of Koczonowo (Kocanowo), archdeaconry of Gniezno. In 1500, it was united with the church in Pobiedziska (again, owing to poor beneficiaries). As of 1608, the visitor only found a non-consecrated chapel and attributed the village to the parish of Pobiedziska.<sup>111</sup> The church in Kozarzewek, Konin district, was in a bad shape at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>112</sup> Its inclusion in the parish of Kazimierz must have taken place not long afterwards, as the 1608 visitor mentions it marginally.<sup>113</sup> The sixteenth century saw moreover a collapse of the parish of Stępushowo (Stopachowo, Kcynia district). At the beginning of the following century only a small chapel existed there; the village was made part of the parish of Kozielsko.<sup>114</sup>

As far as filial churches with own pastoral districts are concerned, three such cases had been found for the archdeaconry of Kalisz – namely, Rypinek (filial to Dobrzec Wielki),<sup>115</sup> Goliszewo (filial to Złotniki), and Ołobok (filial to Rososzycza, though the status of the local church was uncertain). In the archdeaconry of Gniezno, the churches included those of Chotunia (filial to Słupca),<sup>116</sup> Nowa Wieś (filial to Dobrosolowo),<sup>117</sup> Gączy (Gądecz, filial to Łopienna), Gurowo (filial to St. Laurent's church in Gniezno),<sup>118</sup> Otoczna (filial to Szemborowo),<sup>119</sup> St. Bartholomew's church in Konin (filial to Sts. Peter and Paul's in Stare Miasto), Grzybowo (filial to Gozdowo, Poznań diocese), Kramsk (Krapsko, filial Pyzdry, Poznań diocese), and Kościelec (filial to Koło).

The situation of some of them calls for a broader commentary. The Goliszewo parish (Kalisz district) was united prior to the compilation of the LBG with the church of Złotniki. It was treated as inferior to the Złotniki parish and was not described as a separate parochial district.<sup>120</sup> A separate parish in Goliszewo was reinstated in 1602 by Archbishop Karnkowski, who had a parson settled there and the locality of Jankowo incorporated in the parish.<sup>121</sup> Given no confirmation of a separate pastoral district for Goliszewo, the testimony of tax registers, where Goliszewo and Jankowo are permanently mentioned as part of the parish of Goliszewo, indicate that its re-founding in 1602 was based on the earlier parochial divisions and perhaps the pastoral district of Goliszewo functioned in some form in the sixteenth century. Hence, Goliszewo is shown in the map as a filial church, together with its district.

The problem of the existence of a parish centre Ołobok, Kalisz district, where a Cistercian nuns' abbey was situated, is much more complicated. The LBG refers to a parish church in Ołobok (the parish extended to Wielowieś, both settlements having been the nuns' villages), with no dedication quoted. The

<sup>108</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 258; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, pp. 321–323.

<sup>109</sup> LBG II, p. 80.

<sup>110</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 435; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, pp. 454, 458–459.

<sup>111</sup> LBG I, p. 58; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, ff. 202v, 205v.

<sup>112</sup> The records do not specify precisely whether the church was located in Kozarzewo or Kozarzewko. Tax registers (RPWK, knn, 1564, no. 111–113; RPWK, knn, 1565, no. 124–126; RPWK, knn, 1576, no. 92, 93; RPWK, knn, 1577, no. 127–130; RPWK, knn, 1578, no. 114–116; RPWK, knn, 1579, no. 136–139; 181, no. 29–32; RPWK, knn, 1583, no. 141, 142) quote these two names alternately as the centre of the parish. The 1608–9 visitation record (k. 262v) has *Kozarzewo*. Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty includes the name 'Kozarzewo Kościelne', but it once appears along with 'Kozarzewo Małe' (8338, no. 10, gr. 1387, 1491) whilst elsewhere along with 'Kozarzewo Wielkie' (1891, no. 6, zs. I., and, Rel. Z. Kon. 6, 1542). Librowski (Librowski, Repertorium, part 6, p. 127, Wizytacja z 1790–1792 (visitation record) refers to a *Kozarzewko*, daw. (= formerly) *Kozarzewo*, but the church built in 1780 is meant there. The repertory index provides no resolution (Librowski, Repertorium, part 8, p. 110). As the parish's seat, Kozarzewek is adopted after LBG I (p. 235, footnote.) and SGKP (IV, p. 541), where it is mentioned that ruins of the church could still be seen in Kozarzewo, and based on the Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty entry (5482, no. 28 I. & Rel. Kon. 28, 1598), which identifies Kozarzewo Małe with Kozarzewo Kościelne.

<sup>113</sup> LBG I, p. 235; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 282v.

<sup>114</sup> LBG I, p. 142; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 104r.

<sup>115</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp. 108, 110; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 96.

<sup>116</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 361r.

<sup>117</sup> LBG I, pp. 298–299; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 371v–372r.

<sup>118</sup> LBG I, pp. 12–13, 41; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 177r.

<sup>119</sup> LBG I, p. 324; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 390v.

<sup>120</sup> LBG II, pp. 71–72. Korytkowski attributes the implementation of the union to Jan Łaski.

<sup>121</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 420; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, pp. 390–391; Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2285 (no. 7) 1602.

author apparently did not mean a monastic church as he clearly refers to a parson's homestead.<sup>122</sup> The later events do not enable us to uncritically accept that there existed a parish church. The chronologically subsequent piece of information to be found in the literature comes from Jan Korytkowski and refers to the affiliation of the Ołobok church to the Rososzyca church of 1532;<sup>123</sup> this information could not be verified against the sources. The Kalisz consistory file from the same year only contains a verdict passed in the case between Leonard, a monk in Ołobok, who was probably responsible for the handling of the liturgies at the nunnery, and Wawrzyniec, the parson at Rososzyca. The latter complained that the residents of Ołobok and Wielowieś go to Ołobok to have their children baptised instead of doing it at Rososzyca, as would have been customary and in line with the laws of his parish. The official deemed these complaints by all means legitimate and barred Leonard from dispensing the sacraments. The note contains nothing to suggest that any other church than the monastic church existed at the time in Ołobok whatsoever.<sup>124</sup> The further relations between Ołobok and Rososzyca indicate that the verdict was not respected. The first visitations inform again that sacraments are again administered in Ołobok to the dwellers of the two villages owned by the Cistercian sisters, which takes place at a church *extra villam* (presently, St. John the Baptist's church at the Ołobok cemetery).<sup>125</sup> The visitors were absolutely certain that it was not a parish church and described Ołobok and Wielowieś as villages within the parish of Rososzyca. The deanery statistics has it, in turn, that the Ołobok church was affiliated to Rososzyca, or was under command. The parson of Rososzyca presents in the visitation records a long list of arguments in favour of the statement that the Ołobok church usurps parochial rights, pointing that the *cura animarium* is celebrated there by permission of the *official* of Kalisz. The visitor also noted that the situated stemmed from a considerable distance from the nuns' village to Rososzyca, which was a gnawing nuisance when water levels increased in the rivers making the travel tough.<sup>126</sup> The mention of the permission from the *official* suggests that the activity of the Cistercian sisters' was not completely illegal. This situation seems to refer to the permit issued in 1161 by Pope Alexander III for dispensation of the sacraments at Cistercian monasteries upon the bishop's consent.<sup>127</sup> Parochial activities are confirmed for Ołobok as of 1628.<sup>128</sup> This did not prevent the Rososzyca parsons from suing their rights further on; the related verdict was produced, once again, in 1688. The Ołobok church was affiliated to Rososzyca in 1719,<sup>129</sup> probably in order to at least formally satisfy the parsons of Rososzyca. In 1744, an autonomous parish was set up in Ołobok.<sup>130</sup>

Doubts are also triggered by the argument, proposed by a number of authors, that the origins of St. John the Baptist's church dated back to the thirteenth century.<sup>131</sup> For the period of our interest, it is in fact impossible to unambiguously recognise the status of that church. There is, for one thing, a rather strong argument in the form of the LBG description, which incites one to regard the Ołobok

<sup>122</sup> LBG II, p. 50.

<sup>123</sup> LBG II, p. 51, footnote; S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, p. 265; S. Karwowski, *Klasztor PP. Cystersek w Ołoboku*, „Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego”, vol. 26, 1900, p. 110 (also pointing to the lack of source information in Korytkowski); *Inwentarz drewnianej architektury sakralnej w Polsce*, no. 4a: *Kościóły w Wielkopolsce XVI wieku*, comp. M. Pawlaczyk, Wrocław 1985, p. 77; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 8, p. 129 (1540 given as the affiliation date).

<sup>124</sup> ADW1, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Konsystorz Kaliski, 13, f. 101v.

<sup>125</sup> The date of its construction is not clear; architectural features suggest the first quarter of the sixteenth century (*Inwentarz drewnianej architektury sakralnej w Polsce*, no. 4a, pp. 77–79), which is not fully in concord with the visitor's remark that ksieni Teofilia Siemikowsk had it founded (she took the office in 1557 and held it until her death in 1601); S. Karwowski, *Klasztor PP. Cystersek*, p. 48). This would mean that the church was erected in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the sixteenth century, at the earliest, the most probable option being its end years, since the visitation record describes it as 'new'; *Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607*, p. 103.

<sup>126</sup> *Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607*, pp. 10, 101–103, 123; *Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611*, pp. 161, 175–178.

<sup>127</sup> S. Karwowski, *Klasztor PP. Cystersek w Ołoboku*, p. 110.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>129</sup> Rybus, pp. 297, 325; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, p. 166.

<sup>130</sup> Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, p. 213.

<sup>131</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Brevis descriptio*, pp. 122–123; S. Karwowski, *Klasztor PP. Cystersek*, p. 110; S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, p. 264. The chronology probably stems from an erroneous understanding of the monastery's foundation deed (KDW I, no. 81, which refers to a monastic church) and from the probable error in Jan Długosz; see G. Kucharski, *Początki klasztoru cystersek w Ołoboku*, [in:] *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej*, eds. J. Dobosz and A. Wyrwa, Poznań 2000, pp. 322, 329–330; W. Baran-Kozłowski, *Wokół początków fundacji klasztoru cystersek w Ołoboku*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*”, vol. 102, 2004, p. 452.

church as a parish one; for another, the other sources and the later history of the church concerned make it plausible that the Ołobok church can only be regarded as the one that did perform the functions of a parish and had a quasi-formalised parochial district based on the Cistercian nuns' proprietorship and the distance to Rososzycza, though this state-of-affairs became fully legal at a later date. All the same, it is due to the actually existing parochial district that Ołobok is plotted as a parochial centre, whereas, owing to the Rososzycza parson's claims, the church might be described (for the sake of simplification) as a filial one.

An interesting case of alteration, with time, of the filial status as reflected in the LBG versus the visitation records appears with certain aspects of the relationship between the churches of Gącz and Łopienna<sup>132</sup> (Gniezno district) and between those of Stare Miasto and Konin<sup>133</sup> (Konin district). In the early sixteenth century, Gącz (of the former mentioned pair) and Stare Miasto (of the latter) were both named the *ecclesia matrix*. However, due to a higher significance of the centres, the two respective parsons resided at the filial churches (in Łopienna and Konin).<sup>134</sup> Later on, the descriptions were reversed: as of 1608, Gącz is referred to as the former mother ('matrix') church and in 1632, as affiliated to Łopienna. The church of Stare Miasto is a similar case in point, which in the latter half of the seventeenth century began to be described as affiliated to Konin. It seems that in both cases the genetic criterion of filiality was ousted by the hierarchical criterion (see B. Szady, *The Church administrative borders, B. Dioceses of Poznań and Wrocław* in this volume). Following the description of the first visitations, it has been assumed that by the end of the sixteenth century Gącz (*matrix olim fuit*) was affiliated to Łopienna, Konin (*filia parochialis ecclesiae in Antiqua Konin quae est matrix*) having remained a *filia* of Stare Miasto (*mater ecclesiae parochialis Coninensis*). The case of the church of Grzybowo (Gniezno district), which was deemed filial to the parish of Gozdowo, Poznań diocese, is interesting.<sup>135</sup> The origins of this peculiar situation can be linked to the fact up to 1364, Gozdowo was part of the diocese of Gniezno and it was only the delimitation between the two dioceses that the locality was attached to Poznań diocese.<sup>136</sup> It is not, however, a complete explanation since the chapel in Grzybowo was probably erected not long before 1440,<sup>137</sup> that is, after the delimitation. The plotting of St. Gotthard's near Kalisz, affiliated to Dobrzec Wielki. The visitation records describe its location as *in villa Minori Dobrzec alias na (in) Rypinku*.<sup>138</sup> Since Dobrza Mała as well Rypinek are shown in the map as separate localities, the appropriate location for the church concerned is Rypinek.

The churches in Kościelec and Kramsko (Krapsko), both in Konin district, lost their full rights to the other parishes. The former was *incorporata et unita* in/with the parish of Koło, probably in 1552. The Kościelec parish did not vanish, though, and its church did not decay, whilst it was handled by a vicar.<sup>139</sup> The church in Kramsko was incorporated in 1518 in the Provostry of Pyzdry, the consent for which was given by the king (who exercised patronage of both benefices) and the archbishop. As a result, the parson's benefice of Kramsko was abolished; instead, Archbishop Łaski established a perpetual vicar, with the patronage of the provost of Pyzdry.<sup>140</sup>

The church in Strzałków, parish of Lisków, Kalisz district, built in the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, deserves a brief mention. The founder, Stanisław Zaręba, sought to elevate it to a parish church status; eventually, though, the church became a filial one.<sup>141</sup>

That a parish church existed in Chwaliszewo (Chwalczewo, Kalisz district) is a matter of doubt. The LBG situates the locality, probably erroneously, in the parish of Zduny.<sup>142</sup> The visitation records

<sup>132</sup> LBG I, p. 86; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 53v; Librowski, Repertorium, part 5, p. 41.

<sup>133</sup> LBG I, pp. 238–240; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 105r, 108v; Librowski, Repertorium, part 5, pp. 51, 71, 89–90, 109.

<sup>134</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 54.

<sup>135</sup> LBG I, p. 34; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 187r.

<sup>136</sup> KDW III, no. 1522; Now2, p. 34.

<sup>137</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no. 374; S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, pp. 65–66. The entry edited by Ulanowski only refers to transfer of the ground on which the church stands, which is not tantamount to the founding of the church.

<sup>138</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp. 108, 110; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 96.

<sup>139</sup> LBG I, p. 247; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 146r.

<sup>140</sup> MK 31, pp. 234–235; LBG I, p. 222; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 288r–288v; Librowski, Repertorium, part 8, p. 111.

<sup>141</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 211; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 236.

<sup>142</sup> LBG II, p. 19. LBG includes in the same parish the locality of Uciechów, which is also mentioned in the visitation record beside Sulmierzyce. Also the geographical location of Chwaliszewo and Uciechów unambiguously ties them to Sulmierzyce.

refer to it as belonging to the parish of Sulmierzyce (Sulimierzyce). The records moreover mention a parish church that was affiliated to Sulmierzyce; however, it was destroyed meanwhile. Jan Korytkowski gives 1540 as the affiliation date;<sup>143</sup> this information reappears in the subsequent visitation records.<sup>144</sup> Since no earlier trace of a parish church existing locally has been found, Chwaliszewo is not marked as the centre of a pastoral district.

As remarked earlier, two deaneries of the archdeaconry of Kamień required to be approached on a special basis, due to completely different underlying records. The main foothold is the findings of Andrzej Mietz in his research into ecclesiastical structures of Kamień archdeaconry. He takes note of several cases related to the change in the status of parish churches. One such the church in Miasteczko Krajeńskie, which still in 1511 was described as filial to the once in Brzostów.<sup>145</sup> Probably before 1529 the parish's centre was moved Miasteczko, due to the importance of the latter.<sup>146</sup> The Brzostów church fell into ruin.<sup>147</sup> Most of the other filial churches enumerated by Mietz are situated in suburbs, or had been affiliated in the fifteenth century, there being no evidence that they had pastoral districts.<sup>148</sup> Komierowo can probably be identified as a filial church with a parochial district. In the 1617 ordination reorganising the relations between parishes, it is mentioned as remaining under the care of the provost from Sępólno Krajeńskie (Sempelbork), *iuxta antiquum usum*. From 1628 onwards, it was consistently mentioned as subordinated to the church in Wałdowo;<sup>149</sup> yet, this cannot be stated for the sixteenth century. In the area under discussion, the parish of Głubczyn (Głupczyn) was found, as an area separated from that of Krajenka in 1588.<sup>150</sup> According to Mietz, the church in Buczek Wielki was built at the end of the sixteenth century; a filial church before 1617, it then became the centre of a parish singled out of the parish of Zakrzewo.<sup>151</sup> Mietz proposes his opinion based on the *regests* the endowment of the church in Buczek based on the inventory of the church in Dźwierszno, the earliest of those registers dating to 1570 and 1600.<sup>152</sup> The original entries in the *starosta*'s court books of Nakło<sup>153</sup> and the land books of Poznań<sup>154</sup> never mention a Buczek church; their presence in the said inventory is explainable by the fact that the estates to which the entries related became part of the Buczek's church endowment only at a later date. Hence, the foundation of the church needs to be shifted to the early seventeenth century.

Apart from these changes, a few other problems require to be clarified. First, the parish centres of Łobżenica and Luchowo. The Protestants took over the church in Łobżenica in as early as 1554; shortly afterwards, they took the filial church in the suburbs.<sup>155</sup> They were regained in 1622 and 1663, respectively,<sup>156</sup> which means that there was no active Catholic church in Łobżenica for almost

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The Sulmierzyce parish is not described in LBG, though it is attested in the fifteenth century; S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, p. 392.

<sup>143</sup> LBG II, p. 19 (footnote); Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 205; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 513–14; S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, pp. 59–60. Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 8, p. 84, informs that the parish of Chwaliszewo was formed in the fourteenth century of the parishes of Zduny and Sulmierzyce, without giving source-based evidence.

<sup>144</sup> Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, pp. 167, 187, 214.

<sup>145</sup> Ulan. Visit., p. 331.

<sup>146</sup> S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, p. 126. A 1548 tithe enumeration still has Brzostow as a parish, Miasteczko just being mentioned. This might have to do with the later actual affiliation of Miasteczko, or deemed to be a result of copying the structure of the list from the preceding register; see Ulan. Visit., p. 331; AAG, ACap. I, B. 143, f. 208.

<sup>147</sup> Mietz, p. 48.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 45.

<sup>149</sup> *Constitutiones* 1628, f. E3r; Panske, pp. 13, 280–281; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 5, p. 155; Mietz, p. 176. An earlier dependence of Komierowo church on the centre in Wałdowo is not impossible; Komierowo is twice mentioned in tax registers as a village in the parish of Wałdowo: RPWK, nkl, 1565, no. 150; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 184.

<sup>150</sup> Panske, pp. 321, 324–340; Mietz, p. 120.

<sup>151</sup> Mietz, p. 121.

<sup>152</sup> Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 1732, Inwentarz kościoła Dźwierscieńskiego [...] po uspokoiniu wojny szwedzkiej spisany [‘The inventory of the church of Dźwierszno, written after the appeasement of the Swedish war’], f. 69v.

<sup>153</sup> AP Poznań, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego w Nakle [registers of the *starosta*'s court and office in Nakło], 53/19/0/-/Nakło Gr.22, ff. 125r–128r.

<sup>154</sup> AP Poznań, Księgi sądu ziemskiego w Poznaniu [registers of the land court in Poznań], 53/9/0/-/48, ff. 4r–5r.

<sup>155</sup> Mietz, p. 68.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108.

seventy years. It is known that local Catholic believes used the church in Luchowo at the time. Once the Łobżenica parish was reinstated for Catholic pastoral purposes, the church of Luchowo was affiliated to it, before its final decay.<sup>157</sup> According to the earlier discussed methods of compiling maps for the AHP series, both centres are shown as parochial, for there is no information on a formal merger between the churches of Łobżenica and Luchowo in the second half of the sixteenth century. Our decision is supported by the fact that both parishes still existed before the Reformation, and the reach of the parishes is reconstructible.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, in 1617, when it came to the reorganisation of deaneries, Łobżenica – though a Protestant town – was formally given the status of capital of the deanery.<sup>159</sup> The situation of the one-village parish of Dębno at the end of the sixteenth century was also specific. In 1570, the village's owner Marcin Dembiński killed the local parson, and so an interdiction imposed on the church. Ever since, the faithful of Dębno frequented the church in Dźwierzno Wielkie. The formal status of the deserted church is unknown. As later mentions suggest, it was affiliated to Dźwierzno – certainly before 1617, the year as of which Dębno is mentioned as a village allocated to the Dźwierzno church.<sup>160</sup> Since the date of Dębno's the incorporation in the parish in Dźwierzno cannot be precisely stated, whereas Dębno did have a parish of its own for a major part of the sixteenth century, I have decided to plot it on the map.

Among the churches in the area of the archdiocese of Gniezno under discussion, the church of Trzemeszno, Gniezno district, is worth mentioning: described as a monastic-and-parochial church (*ecclesia conventualis parochialis*),<sup>161</sup> it is the only such case we have identified.

### The borders of parishes

The determination of parochial affiliation of individual localities within the archdeaconries of Kalisz and Gniezno has not been a difficult task, as the LBG and early-seventeenth-century visitation records could be juxtaposed and compared. For the archdeaconry of Kamień, with the poorer resource of ecclesiastical records available, the scale of the problems was considerably larger. For the entire diocese of Gniezno territory under analysis, the rule has been adopted that in case the information dating to the former half of the sixteenth century (LBG; episcopal tithe registers for the district of Nakło) was confirmed with the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century ecclesiastical records (visitation records; Czaykowski), it was decided that the identified situation corresponded with that of the sixteenth century's latter half. The corresponding conclusion was drawn in the event that the later Church sources confirmed the parochial affiliation based on the tax registers (which, as remarked, frequently recorded an earlier affiliation). Whenever, however, tax registers specified an affiliation other than the ecclesiastical sources, usually the latter have prevailed. Obviously, not all the localities mentioned in the registers were enumerated in the earliest visitation records or in the LBG; some were only mentioned in the later Church records. Visitation records dated later than the early seventeenth century, as well as Czaykowski's *Regestr Diecezjów*, were also used in case that a locality appeared neither in a tax register nor in (an) earlier Church record(s).

Furthermore, not all the cases were found to be clearly described in the ecclesiastical sources available. In some cases, the conclusion was drawn based on the parish's endowment. Of special importance were the mentions of the *meszne* tax.<sup>162</sup> Let us remark that for a part of Nakło district, it was impossible to completely determine the parochial affiliation for the second part of the sixteenth century,

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<sup>157</sup> Constitutiones, E3v; Panske, p. 296; Mietz, pp. 160, 162, 163.

<sup>158</sup> Ulan. Visit., p. 332; AAG, ACap. I, B. 143, f. 209.

<sup>159</sup> Panske, p. 24: 'Lobzenica oppidum celebre, sed haereticum'.

<sup>160</sup> Biblioteka Kórnicka, rkps 1732, Inwentarz kościoła Dzwierskiego [...] po uspokoiniu woyny szwedzkiej spisany, f. 9r; A. Mietz, J. Pakulski, and K. Rybacki, *Parafia i kościół św. Mikołaja w Dźwierznie Wielkim: dzieje, wiara, trwanie*, Toruń 1999, pp. 40, 98–99; Mietz, pp. 123–124, 161.

<sup>161</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 230r.

<sup>162</sup> Visitation records frequently gave the names of those villages which fed the local church with certain income, instead of specifying the parish's territory. The two areas prove not coincidental in some cases, since rents or tithes were often received from outside the parish district, but mentions of the *meszne* usually testifies to a settlement's belonging to the specified parish and its pastoral district. See K. Kaczmarczyk, *Ciężary ludności wiejskiej i miejskiej na prawie niemieckiem w Polsce XIII i XIV w.*, PH, vol. 11, 1910, p. 157; J. Matuszewski, 'Missalia – mensalia', [in:] *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, ed. S. Kulczyński, Warszawa 1976, pp. 375, 378–379.

particularly when it is obvious that it was the early seventeenth century that proved to be a period of intensive change in the local Church structures.<sup>163</sup> Hence, a number of cases were resolved on an individual basis, depending on the material available – considering sixteenth-century mentions more reliable, or affording primacy to the 1653 visitation. The parish affiliation of individual settlements was at times only mentioned in one Church record, if not just in a register; in such cases, such individual mentions were taken into account. In some cases, no source base has however been found that would have enabled to determine such affiliation. In most cases, though, settlements were concerned which were situated by the other localities (mills, suburban settlements) and the records probably saw them as a part of the given locality; in such cases, the parish affiliation was determined based on such association between localities. The instances where parish affiliation could be determined on a conjectural basis, given the locality's location or ownership relations. In four cases, determining the parochial affiliation has proved completely impossible.<sup>164</sup>

In Greater Poland's part of the diocese of Gniezno, there were a number of localities with a split parochial affiliation (often along the lines of the manor/village division). In Kalisz district, the following settlements were thus divided: Borucin (the manor belonged to the parish of Kuczkowo, the village to the parish of Sobótka; consequently, the split between the deaneries of Kalisz and Pleszew followed);<sup>165</sup> Krzywosądów (split between the same parishes, the border was set along the river);<sup>166</sup> and, Cieszyków (split between the parishes of Staw and Rajsko).<sup>167</sup> In Gniezno district: Lednogóra (named Góra in the sixteenth century, the village was divided between the parishes of Dziekanowice and Węglewo);<sup>168</sup> Gorzuchowo (the manor belonged to the parish of Kłęcka, deanery of Gniezno–St. Peter's, and the village to the parish of Sławno, deanery of Gniezno–Holy Trinity);<sup>169</sup> Sarbia (Sarbką, split between the parishes of Popowo Kościelne and Podlesie Kościelne);<sup>170</sup> Szyszyn (split between the parishes of Ostrowąż, St. Michael's deanery, and Ślesin deanery, of Sompolno);<sup>171</sup> and, Żydówko (the manor belonged to the parish of Łubowo, the village to the parish of Dziekanowice).<sup>172</sup> In Kcynia district, the tendency for division into the manor and the village is particularly visible for the parish of Kozielsko (Łekno deanery), within which the manors of the settlements of Dąbrowa,<sup>173</sup> Niemczyn,<sup>174</sup> Starężyn, Starężynek,<sup>175</sup> and Zuzoły<sup>176</sup> were located, whereas the villages belonged to the adjacent parishes: Dąbrowa, Starężyn, and Starężynek was part of Janczewo parish (Żnin deanery), Niemczyn – of Łekno, and Zuzoły – of Żerniki. Apart from those enumerated, a split affiliation was the case with a few other settlements at the beginning of the sixteenth century as well, but the later visitations did not confirm this relation; whether the issue had meanwhile been settled or it is a matter of the visitators' inadvertency, is not to be determined. In Konin district, the manor of Koźmin (Kozimino) belonged in the first years of the sixteenth century to the parish of Janiszew and the namesake village was part of Dobrowo parish; as of 1608, the village is recorded under the former parish only.<sup>177</sup> The same district's village of Sulanki belonged to the parish of Gosławice parish, and the manor to Morzysław parish; the settlement was recorded in 1608 only along Morzysław, resulting from the depopulation of the village

<sup>163</sup> Mietz, *passim*.

<sup>164</sup> All these settlements whose location remains unidentified are poorly documented in terms of records; these include Gliszczyno (Nakło district), Łoscica (Kcynia district), Niedźwiady (Kalisz district), and Wiesiołowo (Kalisz district).

<sup>165</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp. 147, 348; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 120.

<sup>166</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp. 147, 348; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 120.

<sup>167</sup> The visitation records from the early seventeenth century only mention them for the parish of Staw; the parson in Rajsko only collected the title from the local empty soils. The visitation records of 1719 and 1761 inform again of a division, hence it has been decided to represent it; LBG II, p. 8, 65; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp. 216, 231; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, pp. 189, 203; AAG, ACons. E 52, f. 219r, 244v; AAG, ACons. E 22b, f. 710, 829.

<sup>168</sup> LBG I, pp. 44, 56; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 200v, 203r.

<sup>169</sup> LBG I, pp. 53–54, 90, 97; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 33r, 217v.

<sup>170</sup> LBG I, pp. 76, 78; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 44r, 46r.

<sup>171</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 249r, 265r.

<sup>172</sup> As per the 1608–1609 visitation record, only Dziekanowice is mentioned, but the 1632 record confirms that the manor belonged to Łubowo; LBG I, p. 44; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 200v; AAG, ACons. E 2b, p. 35.

<sup>173</sup> LBG I, pp. 141, 157; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 102, 103.

<sup>174</sup> LBG I, pp. 106, 140; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 59r, 102r.

<sup>175</sup> LBG I, pp. 140, 157; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 102r, 313r.

<sup>176</sup> LBG I, pp. 141, 162; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 102r, 318r.

<sup>177</sup> LBG I, pp. 252, 256; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 157v.

belonging to Gosławice parish.<sup>178</sup> In Kcynia district, a similar situation concerned Międzylesie, with the manor belonging to the parish of Kozielsko and the village to the one of Janczewo, the latter being the only location marked in 1608.<sup>179</sup> A rather untypical split was the case with Mierucino, Gniezno district. As per both the LBG and the visitation record, while the village belonged to the parish of Parlin, two local peasants belonged to Słaboszewo parish.<sup>180</sup> Such a record, suggesting a non-standard, personal basis of parochial affiliation, refers probably to the territorial division (in serf *lan* terms). Accordingly, Mierucino effectively appears under the two parishes. A peculiar situation is the case with the village of Węgrzynów, Kalisz district, which was divided into the parishes of Lutynia and Magnuszewice, and thus belonged to two dioceses (see B. Szady, *The Church administrative borders, B. Dioceses of Poznań and Wrocław* in this volume).

Certain instances of parish affinity call for a comment. Albeit the village of Głogówek<sup>181</sup> (Gniezno district) was consistently mentioned in tax registers as part of the parish of Kwieciszewo;<sup>182</sup> I have however decided to have it belonging to the parish of Strzelce. Głogówek appears in Kwieciszewo parish neither in the LBG<sup>183</sup> nor in the 1608 visitation record.<sup>184</sup> As for Strzelce parish, it is not mentioned as belonging to it<sup>185</sup> but only as a tithe-payer.<sup>186</sup> The affiliation of Głogówek to the parish of Strzelce is clearly confirmed only at the 1632 visitation.<sup>187</sup> The information of its affiliation to Kwieciszewo parish should be deemed dubious, and was probably based on the fact that Głogówek and Czarnotul in Kwieciszewo parish shared the same owner.<sup>188</sup> The village of Iłowo (Jelowo; Nakło district), mentioned in tax registers of Sępólno Krajeńskie (Sempolbork) parish<sup>189</sup> but appearing as part of Sypniewo parish in 1653, is a similar example.<sup>190</sup> Again, I have resolved to accept the parish affiliation as later confirmed in Church records; the locality's placement was a prevalent factor, whereas the tax registers' testimony triggers doubts. Iłowo first appears in a 1576 register, as *Iłowa cum Zdziechowa*.<sup>191</sup> Dziechowo (Zdziechowa) was namely a village of the Gniezno-based Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in the parish of Sępólno. It is not known why the chancellery linked the two localities, by adding (squeezing in) the name 'Iłowa' above that of 'Zdziechowa'. The subsequent registers merely copied this phrase and thus Iłowo always preceded Dziechowo in the parish of Sępólno. In line with the registers, the parochial affiliation of Jeziercze village (Gniezno district, see A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of the settlements* in this volume) was established – namely, as part of Pobiedziska parish. *Regestr diecezjów* and Korytkowski mention, in turn, that it could have belonged to the parish of Imielno (Jemielno).<sup>192</sup> I did not deem these premises sufficient to reject the communication from the tax registers, for the records mentioning this affiliation were made dozens of years after the village finally vanished.

Church records apparently rather imprecisely define the parochial affiliation of Goczałkowo, Gniezno district, situating it in the parishes of Kędzierzyn and Niechanowo at the same time, the reason having been that tithe was paid from the village to both parishes. Other, more precise fragments regarding the endowment clearly indicate that Niechanowo was the proper parish for Goczałkowie.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>178</sup> LBG I, pp. 230, 237; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 290v.

<sup>179</sup> LBG I, pp. 120, 142, 157; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 313r.

<sup>180</sup> LBG I, pp. 172, 184; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, ff. 328r, 337r.

<sup>181</sup> A parish church existed there by the end of the fifteenth century; see S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, p. 45.

<sup>182</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, no. 305; RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 308; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 290; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 281; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 82; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 382; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 324; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 291; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 302; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 320.

<sup>183</sup> LBG I, p. 328.

<sup>184</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 345v.

<sup>185</sup> Ibidem, f. 344r.

<sup>186</sup> Ibidem, f. 536r.

<sup>187</sup> AAG, ACons. E 2b, p. 247.

<sup>188</sup> See Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*.

<sup>189</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 125; RPWK, nkl, 1577, no. 101; RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 154; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 139; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 151; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 143; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 133; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 107.

<sup>190</sup> Panske, p. 293.

<sup>191</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 125.

<sup>192</sup> Czaykowski, p. 28; J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy Katedry Metropolitalnej Gnieźnieńskiej od roku 1000 aż do dni naszych. Podług źródeł archiwalnych*, vol. 1, Gniezno 1883, p. 226.

<sup>193</sup> LBG I, pp. 19–22; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, ff. 178v, 180v, 514v.

Doubts arose around the parish affiliation of Nakwasin (Nakwasino; Kalisz district), which in 1521 belonged to Koźminek parish, and at the beginning of the subsequent century was recorded as part of the parish of Rajsko.<sup>194</sup> The later sources have this village positioned within Koźminek parish.<sup>195</sup> The communication of the 1607 and 1611 visitation records is probably based on the fact that Nakwasin paid to the church of Rajsko the tithe from all the fields, and since Koźminek was occupied by the Protestants at the time, its parish district is not described in the records. Still, the situation is not completely clear. The parish of Koźminek was not dissolved during the Reformation as there is no other case of a village from this parish to be met in any other parish, while such a solution would not have been in line with the general policy pursued by the Church authorities towards seized churches. Indeed, it was not impossible that a locality be temporarily moved to an adjacent parish (see B. Szady, *The Church administrative borders, B. Dioceses of Poznań and Wrocław* in this volume), but there is no clear confirmation that this might have been one such case. The situation of Wyszki (Wyszkowy, Kalisz district) is corresponding: mentioned in 1605 and 1611 for the parish of Twardowo,<sup>196</sup> they are located in earlier and later records in the parish of Magnuszewice.<sup>197</sup> Wyszki is missing in the 1611 description of Magnuszewice parish.<sup>198</sup> Again, there is a certain doubt. At the end of the sixteenth century, Magnuszewice was under the management of the parson of Twardowo, which might possibly have caused certain ‘mistakes’.<sup>199</sup> Taking into account, on the one hand, the resolute purport of the source and a small plausibility of a temporal change in the parochial affiliation for both Nakwasin and Wyszki, I have not resolved in either of the above cases as to unambiguous determination of the parochial affiliation, ascribing primacy to the church in Koźminek as the parish of Nakwasin and to the church in Magnuszewice for the village of Wyszki.

The parish affiliation of Laskownica Wielka and Laskownica Mała in Kcynia district needs to be more precisely defined. Without differing between these two names, the LBG makes one of them part of the parish of Łekno and the other, of Grylewo.<sup>200</sup> The 1608–9 visitation record ascribes Laskownica Wielka to the parish of Grylewo, making *Luchownice* (i.e. Laskownica; scribe’s error) part of Łekno parish.<sup>201</sup> Taking into account the location of both Laskownice localities, such affiliation seems erroneous. The subsequent visitation records only differ between a *Laskownica* (Łekno parish) and a *Laskownica* (Grylewo parish).<sup>202</sup> Laskownica Mała was finally attached to Grylewo in 1712,<sup>203</sup> and this particular record has been accepted as decisive, taking into account the location of the two villages.<sup>204</sup>

A complication is involved in the identification of the parochial affiliation of the villages of Paruska and Sokolna, Nakło district. Neither of the two villages appears in tax registers; the former was chartered probably at the end of the sixteenth century (first attested 1598<sup>205</sup>), the latter probably has an older record but was deserted for a part of the century.<sup>206</sup> The visitation record of 1653 mentions them as part of the parish of Głubczyń,<sup>207</sup> the parish’s founding charter dating to 1588 only mentioning Głubczyń and Stare as localities being part of the parish.<sup>208</sup> The aforesaid record remarks, describing the parish of Krajenka mentions that the local parson was in conflict with his peer in Głubczyń over,

<sup>194</sup> LBG II, pp. 8, 63; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 231; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 203.

<sup>195</sup> Czaykowski, p. 168; AAG, ACons. E 52, f. 248v; AAG, ACons. E 22b, p. 724.

<sup>196</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, p. 358; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 571.

<sup>197</sup> LBG II, p. 38; Czaykowski, p. 116. The visitation records of 1719 (AAG, ACons. E 52, f. 117r) and 1753 (AAG, ACons. E 22b, p. 430) have only Twardowo and Wola included in the parish of Twardowo.

<sup>198</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, p. 572.

<sup>199</sup> The fact that the visitor drew information on Magnuszewo parish from the parson of Twardowo seems to have influenced the language of description of the parish. The record confirms the parish’s former (Magnuszewice had been separated out of Twardowo) and present dependence on Twardowo.

<sup>200</sup> LBG I, p. 106, 113.

<sup>201</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, ff. 59r, 66r.

<sup>202</sup> AAG, ACons. E 2b, pp. 138, 151; AAG, ACons. E 3, pp. 71v, 74v; AAG, ACons. E 6, ff. 452v, 455r.

<sup>203</sup> AAG, ACons. E 9a, ff. 186v, 189v.

<sup>204</sup> Laskownica Wielka became part of Grylewo parish only at the end of the nineteenth century; LBG I, p. 106, footnote 4, and p. 113, footnote 7.

<sup>205</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2786 (no. 163) 1598.

<sup>206</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 1995 (no. 213) 1545; Szafran, p. 194.

<sup>207</sup> Panske, pp. 340–341.

<sup>208</sup> Ibidem, pp. 331, 338.

inter alia, the *meszne* from Paruszka and Sokolna, since both villages had been ‘in territorio parochiae Krainensis aedificatis’.<sup>209</sup> Therefore, it has been decided that Krajenka be the proper parochial affiliation for both villages as at the end of the sixteenth century. They became part of Głubczyno parish probably when the Catholics took over the local former Protestant churches, which were affiliated to Głubczyno,<sup>210</sup> whereas the church in Krajenka was managed by Głubczyno parsons.<sup>211</sup>

A challenging area in terms of identification of parochial borders for the second half of the sixteenth century is the north-western part of Nakło district (delimited, roughly, by the rivers of Łobżanka in the east and Kanał Śmiardowski in the south). The major reason was the chartering of new localities, a process that lasted during the sixteenth century (see A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of the settlements* in this volume), with the extension of the parish network failing to catch up with it, along with a rather deeply penetrating Reformation.<sup>212</sup> These issues also refer to the aforementioned locality of Downica (Lędyczka; see in this chapter). For this reason, for a number of localities it is only the middle of the seventeenth century, the moment by which the local Church structure had already been considerably reorganised, that we have the earliest specification of their parish affiliations.<sup>213</sup> Putting a few auxiliary churches aside, this was true for two parishes emerging in the early years of the seventeenth century – namely, those of Buczek Wielki (Buczek Wielki, Batorowo, Buczek Mały, Buka, Czyżkowo, Trudna<sup>214</sup>) and Radawnica (Radownica, Górzna, Grudna, Kamień, Krzywa Wieś, Nowy Dwór<sup>215</sup>).<sup>216</sup> The tax registers consistently mention them for the parish of Zakrzewo,<sup>217</sup> and it is this parish that settlements named with those later parishes have been included in.

In the case of Gniezno and Kalisz, the parish divisions were set outside the towns or in the suburbs. Gniezno had four parishes: Holy Trinity – encompassing the main municipality; St. Laurent – in the small town of Jędrzejewo; St. Peter’s – in the suburb of Piotrowo; and, St. Michael’s – in Wójtostwo. In Kalisz, the town and its closest surroundings were split, since 1303, between the collegiate parish of St. Mary’s (the town’s north-eastern part) and the municipal parish of St. Nicholas’s (southern and western part)<sup>218</sup> (see below; U. Sowina, T. Związek, and T. Panecki, *Kalisz in the middle of the sixteenth century*). The 1603–7 visitation record specifies that a third of the town’s area inside the ramparts belonged to St. Mary’s parish, St. Michael’s covering the remainder of the town and the suburbs.<sup>219</sup>

Four parochial exclaves are plotted on the map, including Kiełpin and Drążno (Drążn) in Nakło district, Komorowo in Kcynia district, and Nosków (Noskowo) in Kalisz district. Their singling-out in the map is partly due to the need to cartographically visualise the parochial borders. For Kiełpin, distant from Złotowo by more than 15 km, with the area of Zakrzewo parish between the two, the situation followed from a specific development of the parish network in that area. It has however to be stressed that Kiełpin is mentioned as part of the parish of Złotowo both in tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century<sup>220</sup> as well as in the visitation record from mid-seventeenth century,<sup>221</sup>

<sup>209</sup> Ibidem, p. 321.

<sup>210</sup> Mietz, pp. 101, 105, 162–163.

<sup>211</sup> Ibidem, p. 160.

<sup>212</sup> Szafran, p. 53; A. Mietz, *Parafie archidiaconatu kamińskiego w okresie potrydenckim*, [in:] *Dziedzictwo kulturowe na Krajnie i Pałukach*, eds. S. Łaniecki and L. Skaza, Nakło nad Notecią 2004, p. 100; Mietz, pp. 76–84.

<sup>213</sup> Mietz, *passim*.

<sup>214</sup> As per the 1653 visitation record, p. 342. Trudna – as per the record of 1766–1767 (AAG, ACons. E 42, 532). Stare Grunowo, attested as a parochial locality in the sixteenth century (Mietz, p. 43), and Debrzno-Wieś, belonging in the sixteenth century to Debrzno parish, have been omitted.

<sup>215</sup> As per the 1653 visitation record of 1766–7 (AAG, ACons. E 42, pp. 560, 568, 584–6, 588).

<sup>216</sup> See above and Mietz, pp. 121–122.

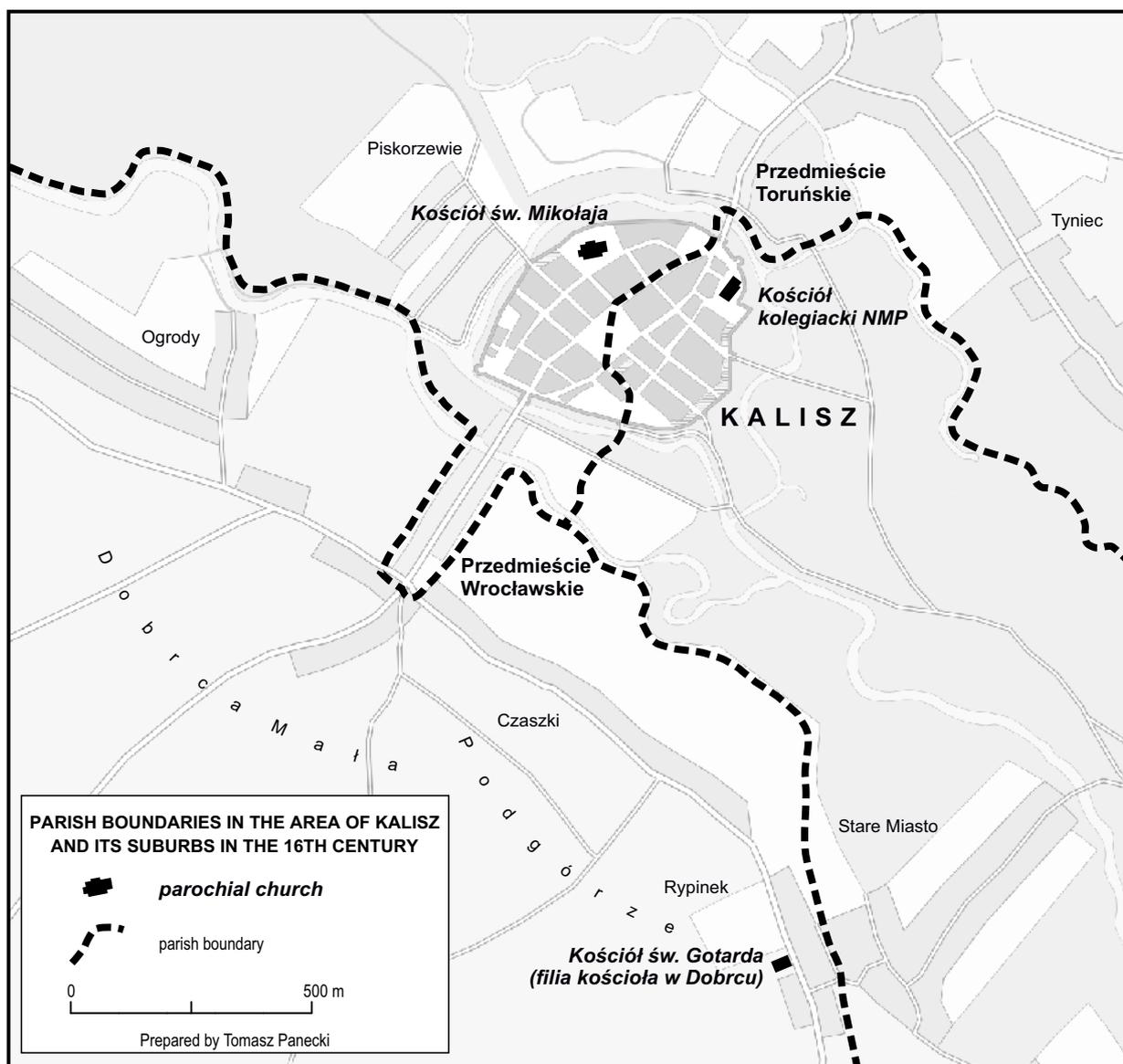
<sup>217</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1564, no. 150, 152; RPWK, nkl, 1565, no. 172, 175; RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 187, 190; RPWK, nkl, 1577, no. 154, 158; RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 237, 233; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 207, 203; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 234, 230; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 218, 222; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 198, 202; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 175, 179.

<sup>218</sup> M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji Kalisza*, [in:] *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 1, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kalisz 1960, p. 112; I. Skierska, *Konflikty międzyparafialne w późnośredniowiecznym Kaliszu*, RH, vol. 70, 2004, pp. 146–147, 165.

<sup>219</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, pp. 25, 78.

<sup>220</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1564, no. 146; RPWK, nkl, 1565, no. 168; RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 183; RPWK, nkl, 1577, no. 150; RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 228; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 199; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 226; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 214; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 194; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 169.

<sup>221</sup> Panske, p. 308.



**Map 1. Parish boundaries in the area of Kalisz and its suburbs in the 16th century**

that is, after the founding of new parishes. The attribution of Nosków to the collegiate parish of Kalisz probably stemmed from its affiliation to the archiepiscopal estate.<sup>222</sup>

**Table 2. Identifiable changes in parish affiliation, early vs. end of the sixteenth century**

Locality	Parish affiliation, early sixteenth century.	Parish affiliation, end sixteenth century
Brzostowo*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Byszkowy*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Chwalczewo (Chwaliszewo)	Zduny	Sulimierzyce
Dębe (+)	Kamion	Dębe
Dębno**	Dębno	Dźwierzszno
Dziembowo*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko

<sup>222</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 53.

Locality	Parish affiliation, early sixteenth century.	Parish affiliation, end sixteenth century
Głupczyno (Głubczyno) (+)	Krajenka	Głupczyno
Goliszewo***	Złotniki	Goliszewo
Grabiona*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Grabowo*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Jankowo***	Złotniki	Goliszewo
Kaminona (Kamionna Wieś) (-)	Kaminona	Iwanowice
Kocanowo (Koczonowo) (-)	Koczonowo	Pobiedziska
Kozarzewo Małe (-)	Kozarzewo Małe	Kazimierz
Kozarzewo Wielkie (-)	Kozarzewo Małe	Kazimierz
Kozmino (Kozmin)	Dobrowa i Janiszewo	Janiszewo
Kurza (+)	Rychnowo	Żerniki
Miasteczko*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Międzylesie	Janczewo and Kozielsko	Janczewo
Morzewo*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Nakwasin****	Koźminek	Koźminek or Rajsko
Radwaniec (-)	Kozarzewo Małe	Kazimierz
Russowo (-)	Russowo	Tykadłowo
Stare (+)	Krajenka	Głupczyno
Stopachowo (Stępuchowo) (-)	Stopachowo	Kozielsko
Sulanki	Gosławice and Morzysław	Morzysław
Tokarki (-)	Kozarzewo Małe	Dobrosołowo
Wojsko*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Wyganki (+)	Rychnowo	Żerniki
Wyszki****	Magnuszewice	Magnuszewice lub Twardowo
Zaksino (Zakrzyno) (+)	Liskowo	Zaksino
Żatkowo (Rzadkowo)*	Brzostowo	Miasteczko
Żerniki (+)	Blizanowo	Żerniki

Key: (+) – founding of new parish; (-) – dissolution of parish (affiliation to another church); \* – relocation of parish's centre; \*\* – change occurring between 1570 and 1617, not reflected in AHP map; \*\*\* – parish incorporated in the adjacent one in the beginning of the sixteenth century (surviving parish district is attested), reactivated 1602; \*\*\*\* – possibly, error in visitation records.

After: LBG and Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609 (Author's own compilation).

## Officialities

The AHP programme has never taken into consideration the judicial units of ecclesiastical division, called officialities (*oficjalats*). Hence, the very brief description herein. The diocese of Gniezno area was situated within the limits of district officialities of Kamień, Gniezno, and Kalisz, all reporting to the General Officiality of Gniezno. It is commonly accepted that their territories coincided with the borders of the archdeaconries with which they shared their central towns. The officiality of Kamień existed earlier than the archdeaconry of Kamień, and the borders of the officiality had set those of the archdeaconry.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>223</sup> W. Patykiewicz, *Późniejsze oficjalaty gnieźnieńskie*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, vol. 5, 1958, no. 4, p. 117; I. Skierska, *Oficjalat kaliski w XV wieku*, „Rocznik Kaliski”, vol. 25, 1994/1995, pp. 97–98; A. Gąsiorowski and I. Skierska,

## Diocese of Gniezno at the end of the sixteenth century

The Greater Polish part of diocese of Gniezno included a total of 310 parishes, of which 306 had their centres in Voivodeship of Kalisz, twelve were filial parishes, sixty-seven were municipal and 239 were rural parishes.

The Greater Poland volume of the AHP is the final one that encompasses a larger part of the diocese of Gniezno, which almost exhausts the study on its territory published in this series. Only the parishes of Ślesin and Sompolno, in their entirety, and the centre of the parish of Pakość were situated in Cuyavia.<sup>224</sup> For this reason, it has been decided that the findings made so far are worth summarising at this point, and statistics presented to draw a picture of the diocese at the end of the sixteenth century. This need is further justified by the lack of a comprehensive monograph of the diocese. The statistics shown below summarises the information from the previously published APH volume series<sup>225</sup> and from the atlas of Pomeranian Voivodeship,<sup>226</sup> including the aforementioned Cuyavian parts. The statistics below does not specify the filial churches.

In the end of the sixteenth century, the Gniezno diocese area stretched over a vast territory of less than 41,000 km<sup>2</sup> – from the south-western part of Pomeranian Voivodeship to the northwestern part of Voivodeship of Sandomierz, overlapping, to a larger or smaller degree, with the territories of ten Old Polish voivodeships. An uneven spatial distribution of the diocese's territory is worthy of attention. The northern part of the diocese (up to the deanery of Konin in the south) never exceeds 70 km in its east to west width, whilst longitudinally stretches along the length of more than 200 km. The southern part forms a more compact area, whose broadest east-west line is above 200 km, its north-east line exceeding 170 km. The diocese was divided into eight archdeaconries (including the so-called territory of Wieluń<sup>227</sup>), which in turn were split into thirty deaneries (archdeaconry of Kurzelów<sup>228</sup> and Wieluń territory<sup>229</sup> were not divided). The Wieluń territory was the smallest archdeaconry unit (over 1,700 km<sup>2</sup>), the largest archdeaconry having been that of Gniezno (above 7,500 km<sup>2</sup>). The average area of a deanery exceeded 1,100 km<sup>2</sup>; the largest one was deanery of Chojnice (more than 2,500 km<sup>2</sup>), the one of Kobylin having been the smallest (300 km<sup>2</sup>); the area of most deaneries was between 700 and 1,400 km<sup>2</sup>. There were a total of 757 parish centres across the area (including full-fledged and affiliated parishes), of which 162 (21.7%) were located in towns. On average, there was 1.9 parish church per 100 km<sup>2</sup> in Gniezno diocese; in other words, one church per 54 km<sup>2</sup>. Archdeaconry of Gniezno had the largest number of parish churches (183), Łowicz archdeaconry having been the opposite (45). As far as the density of distribution of churches is concerned, archdeaconry of Kalisz came first (1 church per 37 km<sup>2</sup>); the Wieluń Territory (1 per 39 km<sup>2</sup>) and archdeaconry of Gniezno (1 per 42 km<sup>2</sup>) were quite similar in this respect. The least dense parish network appeared archdeaconry of Kurzelów (1 per 75 km<sup>2</sup>). On the deanery level, the similar statistics was as follows: deanery of Chojnice had the biggest number of churches (51), the difference between this and the deaneries Żnin and Konin (29 each), both with the second largest number, was rather considerable. The smallest number of parishes (7) were deanery of Kobylin; twenty-one parishes per deanery within Gniezno diocese was the average figure. The densest network could be encountered in the deaneries of Pleszew (1 church per 27 km<sup>2</sup>) and Słupca (1 per 28 km<sup>2</sup>), followed by other deaneries of the archdeaconries of Kalisz and Gniezno. The biggest distances, in statistical terms, appeared between the churches in deaneries of Radomsko (1 per 90 km<sup>2</sup>) and those of Szadek and Nakło (1 per 87 km<sup>2</sup> in both).

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*Oficjalaty okręgowe w późnośredniowiecznej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, vol. 47, 1995, pp. 96–97, 103–105; A. Gąsiorowski and I. Skierska, *Początki oficjalu kamińskiego*, p. 17.

<sup>224</sup> Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności*, p. 37.

<sup>225</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.2.2.7; eadem, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz in this edition III.2.2.2; H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz in this edition III.2.2.5; M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Cracow in this edition III.2.2.1.

<sup>226</sup> MRP, p. 32. Information provided in M. Biskup and A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, pp. 72–77 has also been used.

<sup>227</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Granice administracji kościelnej*.

<sup>228</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Granice administracji kościelnej*.

<sup>229</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Granice administracji kościelnej*.

**Table 3. Number of parishes in diocese of Gniezno, end sixteenth century**

Archdeaconry	Deanery	Number of parishes
<b>Gniezno</b>	Konin	29
	Łekno	20
	Słupca	27
	Sompolno	17
	Gniezno–St. Michael’s	20
	Gniezno–St. Peter’s	17
	Gniezno–Holy Trinity	24
	Żnin	29
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>183</b>
<b>Kalisz</b>	Kalisz	20
	Kobylin	7
	Pleszew	23
	Staw	22
	Stawiszyn	22
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>Kamień</b>	Chojnice	51
	Nakło	25
	Sępólno	20
	Tuchola	16
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>Kurzelów</b>		<b>78</b>
<b>Łęczyca</b>	Kłodawa	19
	Kutno	21
	Łęczyca	14
	Stary Tuszyn	28
	Zgierz	20
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>Łowicz</b>	Łowicz	14
	Rawa	18
	Skiermiewice	13
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Uniejów</b>	Brzeźnica	18
	Radomsko	13
	Szadek	21
	Uniejów	24
	Warta	21
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>Wieluń Territory</b>		<b>46</b>
Diocese of Gniezno		<b>757</b>

After: AHP series (Author’s own compilation).

## Diocese of Włocławek

The Church structures of diocese of Włocławek pose no considerable interpretive problems. The diocese's area being part of Voivodeship of Kalisz was pretty marginal, covering but a dozen localities and no full parish. Let us mention Barcin at this point, which was at times mentioned as part of deanery of Raciąż;<sup>230</sup> however, taking into account the distance between Barcin and the deanery, this option has to be excluded, and Barcin has to be assigned to deanery of Inowrocław.<sup>231</sup> For Włocławek diocese localities situated in Kalisz Voivodeship, we come across parish centres whose districts were mostly situated in Cuyavia (Barcin, Brdów, Łabiszyn), or villages with parish centres situated outside the voivodeship (the villages of Buszkowo, Czartowo, Kobylanki, Paniewo, Popielewo – parish of Skulsk; village of Mirosławice – parish of Kościeszki). Apart from Brodowo, which belonged to deanery of Radziejów in archdeaconry of Włocławek, the other localities belonged to Archdeaconry of Kruszwica – of which Łabiszyn and Barcin were part of deanery of Inowrocław, the rest belonging to that of Kruszwica. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, no change in the Church organisation was seen in Włocławek diocese area.<sup>232</sup> With regards to officialities, the entire area was subordinated to the District and General Officiality in Włocławek.<sup>233</sup>

(2017)

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

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<sup>230</sup> MHDW 1, p. 21; MHDW 11, p. 72; MHDW 19, pp. 65, 121.

<sup>231</sup> MHDW 1, p. 21; MHDW 22, p. 198; see W. Kujawski, *Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Włocławku*, part 1, p. 40.

<sup>232</sup> The year 1586 saw the transfer of Raciąż Deanery from Archdeaconry of Kruszwica to the one of Włocławek, and the renaming of Deanery of Nieszawa. The other changes/alterations took place in the early seventeenth century. See I. Subera, *Terytorium diecezji włocławskiej i pomorskiej*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 4, 1961, no. 4, pp. 691–693; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, vol. 1, part 1, no. 1, Lublin 1964, pp. 37–38.

<sup>233</sup> S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, vol. 1, part 1, no. 1, p. 35.

### III.2.2b.4 B. DIOCESES OF POZNAŃ AND WROCLAW

*Bogumił Szady*

#### Diocese of Poznań

##### External borders and reach of the diocese of Poznań

The original territory of diocese of Poznań (before 1000 AD) was delineated by the borders of Duke Mieszko I's country.<sup>1</sup> Following the destruction suffered in the 1030s, the territorial organisation of Poland's Church was rearranged and reshaped resulting from the actions of Duke Boleslaus II the Generous (1075) and, subsequently, papal legate Giles of Tusculum (1123/4). At that same time, around the year 1124, the territory of Poznań diocese was fundamentally shaped, with its division into the Greater Polish and Mazovian part.<sup>2</sup> Due to the diocese's frontier location, its territorial shape was conditioned both by changing political borders and by the emergence of new dioceses, particularly those of Gniezno, Lubusz, Kamień, and Wrocław. For the description of the external borders of sixteenth-century diocese of Poznań, which in its northern, western, and southern part mostly coincided with the borders of the Kingdom of Poland, valuable findings are contained in the entry 'Wielkopolska' compiled as part of the SHGPoz project.<sup>3</sup> It has to be borne in mind that we owe an extensive discussion of the diocese's external borders (plus the maps) to Józef Nowacki.<sup>4</sup> Fairly detailed borders of the diocese are moreover shown in the map entitled *Wielkopolska epoki piastowskiej*, prepared by Tadeusz Szulc and attached to volume 4 of the KDW.<sup>5</sup> Analysis of the diocese's boundary line and its changes is, furthermore, facilitated by the monographic studies for the adjacent dioceses of Kamień,<sup>6</sup> Lubusz,<sup>7</sup> and Wrocław.<sup>8</sup>

The external borders of Poznań diocese are discussed herein below according to the division into the northern, eastern, and south-western part. The reach of the respective sections is as follows:

north-western and northern border (from the Silesian-Brandenburgian border, in the vicinity of Boryszyn, parish of Żarzyn, to the parish of Piła);

eastern border (from Piła parish to the parish of Wysocko Wielkie); and

southern and south-eastern border (from Wysocko Wielkie parish to the Silesian-Brandenburgian border – i.e. the vicinity of Boryszyn, parish of Żarzyn).

Before the external borders are presented, the issue of territorial jurisdiction of the bishops in the area under Reformation needs to be addressed. The territory of the diocese was set according to the

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<sup>1</sup> W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy wieku XII*, Lwów 1890, pp. 56–57; Now2, p. 7; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich 966–1939*, Lublin 1972, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> T. Jurek, *Między Poznaniem a Czerskiem i Warszawą. Geneza i początki mazowieckiej enklawy diecezji poznańskiej*, KMP, vol. 80, 2012, no. 1, pp. 29–30; L.P. Słupecki, *Dzieje Czerska w XI-XIV wieku*, „Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny”, vol. 3, 2006, pp. 28–29 (a summary of the discussion on the Czersk enclave).

<sup>3</sup> T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, [in:] SHGPoz, vol. V, no. 3, pp. 578–601.

<sup>4</sup> Now2, pp. 7–39.

<sup>5</sup> KDW IV.

<sup>6</sup> M. Okoń, *Granice średniowiecznej diecezji kamieńskiej*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 35, 1987, no. 2, pp. 41–57.

<sup>7</sup> A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej w średniowieczu*, Lublin 1977.

<sup>8</sup> B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen der ältesten schlesischen Pfarrorganisation*, Breslau 1940.

reach of the jurisdiction and the authority of the local bishop ordinary (*ordinarius loci*) was compact, which was determined by the stable functioning of the basic territorial units – that is, parishes. In Greater Poland, apart from border areas, the Reformation basically did not lead to a durable collapse of Catholic parochial structures. After the period of seizure and occupation of some of the churches and benefice emoluments, they basically resumed their form from the former half of the sixteenth century. Albeit at the beginning of the seventeenth century the deanery structure was reorganised, a vast majority of the parish churches were regained.<sup>9</sup> The southernmost, westernmost, and northernmost areas neighbouring on Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Silesia are exceptions in this contest. Accordingly, the main criterion behind the affiliation of a given area to diocese of Poznań is a permanent administration and control of the parishes by Poznań bishops. Areas (parishes) in respect of which Poznań bishops occasionally undertook individual legal actions – based, at times, on claims filed and in disputable situations – will be omitted. In the event that during the Reformation period, the competencies of the Poznań bishop were temporarily restricted and, sometime afterwards (in the seventeenth or eighteenth century) the bishop's jurisdiction over the church and its endowment was resumed, such a centre and its subordinate area will be regarded as part of Poznań diocese. Neglected will be, in turn, the areas where Catholic parochial structures vanished for good and the Poznań bishop ordinary's sovereignty was abolished. In the simplest terms, what it means is that the borders of the diocese in the west, south, and north ought to be set along the state borders.

Józef Nowacki as well as Marek Okoń shifted the diocese's north-western border resolutely beyond the Kingdom of Poland's border with Brandenburg. Both authors argued that the borderline between the dioceses of Poznań and Kamień was set in the first half of the sixteenth century along the Warta River. While Nowacki believed that it reached up to Oksza and Głuchowo,<sup>10</sup> Okoń would push it eastwards (to the vicinity of Kołczyn and Włostów), where it would reach the diocese of Lubusz.<sup>11</sup> The course of the border in that region as proposed by Okoń is convergent with the earlier findings of Fr. Anzelm Weiss and Fr. Bolesław Kumor.<sup>12</sup> The question arises whether the sixteenth-century borders of Poznań diocese coincided with the state frontier or perhaps reached beyond it, up to the Warta, and thus encompassing Drezdenko, Santok, Karnin, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Lubniewice, Glisno, Kołczyn, Krzeszyce, Oksza, Głuchowo, as well as Jemiołów, Sieniawa, and Staropole.<sup>13</sup> The records that might confirm the functioning of a parish for some of the aforementioned localities (e.g., Głuchowo, Oksza, Karnin, Kołczyn), even for the pre-Reformation period, offer a rather flimsy basis, whereas the diocesan affiliation arouses doubts (Jemiołów, Krzeszyce).<sup>14</sup> Plotting them by Nowacki on the map of Poznań diocese in 1602 should be deemed quite dubious. All the enumerated ecclesiastical centres situated in the latter half of the sixteenth century outside the limits of the Crown collapsed during the Reformation and thus cannot be treated as part of Poznań diocese. The interim and occasional care extended between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries over the scarce clusters of Catholics dwelling in the border areas of the Protestant Brandenburg. The reach of Poznań diocese in this region was thus delineated by the frontier of the voivodeship and the Crown; the furthestmost parishes included Trzemeszno Lubuskie (Czarmyśl), Wielowieś (Langfuld), Bledzew, and Sokola Dąbrowa (Falkwald), belonging to deanery of Międzyrzecz.

A similar problem is the case with the reach of Poznań diocese in the western part of the land of Wałcz, including the locality of Kalisz Pomorski (Nowy Kalisz). The neighbourhood of this urban centre had since the thirteenth century been a scene of political and ecclesiastical rivalry between Bran-

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<sup>9</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja w Wielkopolsce*, [in:] *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1793*, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, pp. 562–567.

<sup>10</sup> Now2, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> M. Okoń, *Granice średniowiecznej diecezji kamińskiej*, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> B. Kumor included the parish of Oksza in Poznań diocese. Although A. Weiss saw Krzeszyce parish as part of Lubusz diocese, he omitted Oksza and Głuchowo, the more westward ones. His historico-geographical dictionary of the Bishopric of Lubusz mentions Pyrzany but ignores Świerkocin; A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej*, p. 144; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 82.

<sup>13</sup> The affiliation of the localities of Templewo, Wielowieś (Langfuld), Żarzyn, and Boryszyn (Borszyn) calls for a more precise explanation. The map attached to the 'Wielkopolska' entry in SHGPOz has them included in Brandenburg, whereas they were detached from Poland only in 1629; see M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] in this edition III.2.1.4.

<sup>14</sup> See historico-geographical dictionary of the Bishopric of Lubusz in A. Weiss's study; Now2, pp. 481, 558; A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej*, pp. 231–285.

denburg (Bishopric of Kamień) and Poland (Bishopric of Poznań). Nowacki's conclusion with respect to the ecclesiastical affiliation of that area is rather questionable: 'Politically, a considerable portion of this zone – from Złocieniec, through Kalisz Pomorski, up to Barnimie and Niemcz – continued to belong, also after 1368, to the New March of Brandenburgian margraves. Protestantised in the middle of the sixteenth century, it was completely lost for the diocese of Poznań and for the Catholic Church. This did not alter the diocese's legal border, though.'<sup>15</sup> As was the case with the Noteć area zone, the area's location beyond the frontier of the Crown, coincidental with a lasting fall of the Catholic structures in the age of Reformation, caused that the diocese's reach in the region was set by the state border.<sup>16</sup> In its new shape, Poznań diocese was surrounded from the west and north by the Northern Mission, the historical unit of the Catholic Church administration, embracing, *inter alia*, the areas of the dioceses of Kamień and Lubusz, which were liquidated in mid-sixteenth century – in 1545 and 1566, respectively.<sup>17</sup> Let us moreover emphasise that in some westernmost patches of Wałcz land, the jurisdiction of the Poznań bishop could only be titular, due to the lack of Catholic parishes locally, as was the case with the area of Mirosławiec (Frydland), for instance.

In the northern part, the border of Poznań diocese coincided with the one of Poznań Voivodeship. Jastrowie was the diocese's and voivodeship's north-easternmost locality (in Wałcz district); it was there that the borders converged of the dioceses of Poznań, Gniezno, and (formerly) Kamień. In his maps showing the 1510 and 1602 situation, Nowacki shifts the Poznań borderline too far north-eastwards, including into the diocese the parishes of Drawień, Lotyń (Łotyń), Węgorzewo, Łomczewo (Łowczew), Brokęcino, Okonek, Chwalimie (Walny), Borucino, Podgaje, Pniewo, Ciosaniec, and the filial church in Glinki Mokre (possibly, the cemetery chapel featured on Prussian maps from the first half of the nineteenth-century).<sup>18</sup> He mentions no record based on which he has included in the sixteenth-century Poznań diocese the localities north of Jastrowie, up to the mouth of Osoka flowing into the Gwda (in the area of Drawień locality).<sup>19</sup> The border of Wałcz district as well as of Poznań diocese in that region was set right north of Jastrowie, along the River Młynówka, crossing the Osoka. On the Duchy of Pomerania side, the villages of Samborsko, Pniewo, and Podgaje were situated.<sup>20</sup> Okoń likewise presents the Kamień diocese borderline in this particular area.<sup>21</sup>

In the east, Greater Polish's part of Poznań diocese bordered on the diocese of Gniezno. The extensive parish of Piła was limited in the east by the River Gwda. At the Gwda's estuary into the Noteć, the border bent eastwards, entering the Voivodeship of Kalisz area (Pałuki). The parish of Chodzież was split between Voivodeships of Poznań and Kalisz,<sup>22</sup> whilst Margonin parish was entirely located in district of Kcynia, Kalisz Voivodeship. The diocese's borderline in the area concerned was shaped

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<sup>15</sup> Now2, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> The following parishes: Niemieńsko (Niemcz), Barnimie, Biały Zdrój, Dębsko, Kalisz Pomorski, Cybowo, Suchowo, Płociczno, Stara Korytnica, Pożrzadło Wielkie, Pomierzyn, Stara Studnica, Sienica, Żeńsko (Borujsko), Żabin, Żabinek, Wierchow, Lubieszewo, Osiek Drawski, Linowno, Stawno, Gudowo, Suliszewo, Drawsko Pomorskie, Kosobudy, Złocieniec, Bobrowo, Cieszyno (Czechy), Chlebowo, as well as the Brandenburg enclave around Próchnowo and Piecnik cannot be seen as part of Poznań diocese. The map attached to SHGPoz's entry 'Wielkopolska' contains a tiny error as the locality of Sadowo is shown as located in Brandenburg; Now2, pp. 391, 553–4; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, p. 591.

<sup>17</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 82; G. Wejman, *Kościół katolicki na ziemi lubuskiej 1124–2010. Zarys problemu*, [in:] G. Chojnacki, *Kościół na Środkowym Nadodrzu. Historia i postacie praca zbiorowa*, Zielona Góra 2011, pp. 23–24.

<sup>18</sup> The localities of Łomczewo, Pniewo, Ciosaniec, and Glinki Mokre (Glinka) only appear on the maps attached to the J. Nowacki monograph, without being mentioned in the index breakdown.

<sup>19</sup> Now2, pp. 13, 389.

<sup>20</sup> According to SHGPoz, the northern border of Poznań Voivodeship in that region was disputable in the sixteenth century, and so it is shown in the map attached to the entry 'Wielkopolska'. However, the authors shifted the temporary settled (in 1588) border section between Poland and Duchy of Pomerania in the vicinity of Jastrowie. The border on the Młynówka River, in the area of Jastrowie, is reported to have been established at the beginning of the sixteenth century. K. Górka-Gołaska, *Jastrowie*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 56–57; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, pp. 584–588.

<sup>21</sup> M. Okoń, *Granice średniowiecznej diecezji kamińskiej*, p. 54.

<sup>22</sup> The division of the parish of Chodzież between Voivodeships of Kalisz and Poznań coincided with the ownership distribution. All the localities within Chodzież parish being part of Poznań Voivodeship were royals demesnes, whereas in the Kalisz contained nobility's properties only. This correlation could be explained by the early foundation of the parish of Chodzież, which took place prior to the formation of state administration divisions. L. Kurpisz, *Kronika kościołów chodzieskich*, Chodzież 1933, pp. 7–11.

in the fourteenth century, resulting from a dispute between the bishop of Poznań and the archbishop of Gniezno. Pursuant to the composition concluded in 1364, the villages within Pałuki were classed into three groups: (i) Żoń (Żuń), Grylewo, Gołańcz, Chojna, and Jaktorowo were kept by the archbishopric of Gniezno; (ii) Margonin, Próchnowo, and Sułaszewo (Sułaszewo) were granted to the bishop of Poznań; (iii) the third group, consisting of the *villae intermedie* of Kowalewo, Lipiny i Szamocin (Szamocino), was to belong to Poznań diocese, the tithe being paid to Gniezno.<sup>23</sup> The village of Próchnowo was subdued again, under unknown circumstances, to the control of the Gniezno archbishop.<sup>24</sup>

In its eastern part, Poznań diocese clearly ‘encroached’ the area of Kalisz Voivodeship. In Nowacki’s words, ‘the entire eastern border ... was set freely, as it seems, basing on the castellanies’, rather than the districts’ borders’.<sup>25</sup> Władysław Abraham pointed earlier on to how the diocesan division related to the political one, stating that the original border between the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno was subject to no considerable shifts in the Middle Ages.<sup>26</sup> The relations between state borders and Church borders in the mediaeval period is still fairly unexplored. Since the existence of linear borders between castellanies is dubious, zones of influence being a more accurate concept.<sup>27</sup> Also the borders of dioceses in the period concerned can only be determined in an approximation. The literature offers a number of hypotheses. The most interesting one is also in the context of the emergence of the Czersk enclave of the diocese of Poznań. It states that the land of Kalisz belonged to this diocese (Tomasz Jurek). Quite dubious, for a change, is the view whereby a separate diocese had been established in Kalisz as early as the eleventh century.<sup>28</sup> A much more plausible version seems to be a gradual process, over an extended period of time, of formation of the borders between the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno in that region. It was probably a process that occurred prior to the solidification of the voivodeship and district splits, which is dated for Greater Poland at the fourteenth century.<sup>29</sup> This is possibly confirmed by the parish districts as divided into the Voivodeships of Poznań (Poznań district) and Kalisz (Gniezno and Pyzdry districts), i.e.: Rogoźno, Lechlin (Lechnino), Skoki, Wronczyn (Wronczyno; village of Stęszewko<sup>30</sup>), Iwno (Rujśca (Ruszcza) village<sup>31</sup>), Kostrzyn, and Pierzchno. The jurisdiction of Poznań bishops reaching east of Rogoźno (parishes of Potulice, Pruśce (Pruśca), Łęgowo) might possibly indicate the original range of the Castellany of Rogoźno (Sienno village).<sup>32</sup> The diocesan affiliation of the Ostrowo-Młyn (Ostrowski) settlement, mentioned on a regular basis in tax registers for the district of Kcynia, remains problematic. The documentation for the parish of Łęgowo, to which Stanisław Kozierowski assigned the settlement, is rather scarce:<sup>33</sup> only the presence of the field called Ostrówki, in Łęgowo parish, has been attested (for the year 1778).<sup>34</sup> The mill, situated directly by the Wełna River, was probably a narrow link between Łęgowo, the parish’s central locality, and the village Bobrowniki on the river’s other side.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne w ustroju administracyjnym Polski piastowskiej (w. XII-XIII)*, [in:] „Prace Komisji dla Atlasu Historycznego Polski”, vol. 2, Kraków 1927, pp. 30–31; Now2, pp. 33–34.

<sup>24</sup> It might have been determined resulting from the border dispute that continued in 1367–1371 between the bishop of Poznań and the bishop of Gniezno. As per the Gniezno (Archbishop Łaski’s) book of benefice, Próchnowo was part of Żoń parish. LBG I, p. 116; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>25</sup> Now2, p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce*, pp. 59–64.

<sup>27</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce XIV-XVI wieku. Z zagadnień zarządu terytorialnego i podziałów Polski późnośredniowiecznej*, Poznań 1965, pp. 44, 68.

<sup>28</sup> For a complete review of the views on ‘Diocese of Kalisz’, see T. Jurek, *Czy istniało średniowieczne biskupstwo kaliskie?*, „Rocznik Kaliski”, vol. 24/25, 1995, pp. 83–93.

<sup>29</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Podziały terytorialne i zarząd wewnętrzny*, [in:] *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, p. 33; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, p. 390.

<sup>30</sup> LBG I, p. 64; ASK I 5, ff. 239v, 407, 531v, 725v; ASK I 6, ff. 159, 416; ASK I 4, f. 707v; Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 210v.

<sup>31</sup> The affiliation of Rujśca to Iwno parish and to Poznań diocese may have stemmed from the village’s earlier associations with ‘the province of Kostrzyn (*opole kostrzyńskie*)’; S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, p. 42.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych na obszarze dawnej zachodniej i środkowej Wielkopolski*, vol. 2: M-Z, Poznań 1922, p. 122.

<sup>34</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1777–1784, f. 362v.

<sup>35</sup> Bobrowniki’s affiliation to Łęgowo parish has been determined based on the 1778 visitation record; the earlier visitations of Rogoźno and Potulice parishes ignored the village. Tax registers specify it, in most cases, without parochial affiliation, among the other estates related to the monastery of Wągrowiec; *ibidem*, f. 362.

The abovementioned dispute between the bishop of Poznań and the archbishop of Gniezno was also about the diocese's borders in the area of Pyzdry district, Kalisz Voivodeship, which almost entirely belonged to Poznań diocese.<sup>36</sup> Analysis of Stanisław Arnold's map of 'tribal territories' points to some far-reaching analogies between the range of Castellannies of Giecz and Biechowo and the eastern border of diocese of Poznań in that area. The diocesan division known already in 1136 included Giecz in Poznań diocese, whereas 'in terms of [Poland's] fragmentation into provinces, the Castellany of Giecz was associated with the Duchy of Gniezno (the 1249 division) or that of Gniezno-and-Kalisz (the 1253 division).'<sup>37</sup> In the fourteenth century, Giecz began to lose in importance to Biechowo; Pyzdry became the district's and the deanery's administrative capital. The borderline between the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno in that area, along the River Wrześnica, was described by Jan Długosz in his *Chorographia Regni Poloniae*.<sup>38</sup> Opatówko is a parish that was split by district borders (districts of Pyzdry and Gniezno), which probably resulted from the court's decision and the 1364 composition.<sup>39</sup>

South of the Warta, the diocese's border partly wedged into Kalisz district. The parishes of Żerków and Wilkowyja were divided between the districts of Pyzdry and Kalisz. A unique situation was the case with the village of Węgrzynowo (today, part of Wilcza), which was split between the parishes of Lutynia (Poznań diocese) and Magnuszewice (Gniezno diocese).<sup>40</sup> The affiliation of the village of Orpizewek (Orpizewko) is disputable; neglected by books of benefice of the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno, it was included by sixteenth-century tax registers in the parish of Lutynia (Poznań diocese), while in the later Church records it is mentioned as part of Sośnica parish, diocese of Gniezno.<sup>41</sup> The village's situation within the diocese of Poznań is supported by a 1543 agreement between the landlord of Orpizewko, Stanisław Suchorzewski, and Marcin, the parish priest at Lutynia, regarding the replacement of tithe-in-kind by pecuniary tithe.<sup>42</sup> The borderlines of Poznań and Gniezno dioceses in that area changed during the Middle Ages: the Czestram Territory (Castellany of Starogród) originally belonged to Gniezno diocese and was taken over by the diocese of Poznań. The so-called Krotoszyn enclave was a remnant of the area's former affiliation to the diocese of Gniezno.<sup>43</sup>

The southern and south-western border of Poznań diocese was based on the borders of Greater Poland and Silesia (Wrocław diocese). Along the short section in the eastern part, the reach of Poznań diocese was set by the borderline between Voivodeships of Kalisz and Sieradz (parishes of Wysocko Wielkie and Odolanów (Odalanów)). Disputable in this area is the ecclesiastical affiliation of Uciechów village. Tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century included it in the parish of Odolanów, but Gniezno diocese's book of benefice (*liber beneficiorum*) mentions the village in its description of the parish of Zduny; the later Church records have it as belonging to Sulmierzyce parish.<sup>44</sup> The latter affiliation seems the most probable. Apart from the aforementioned Krotoszyn enclave, the situation of a few parishes in the land of Wschowa, the neighbourhood of Sława, and the vicinity of Świebodzin can be described as specific. The need for more detailed research into border parishes has been pointed to by Jurek.<sup>45</sup> The influence of the Reformation has to be taken into account, along with the so-called reduction of Protestant parishes that followed in 1653–1654, and how these developments impacted the diocesan border between Poznań and Wrocław.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to precisely identify the diocesan

<sup>36</sup> Now2, p. 34.

<sup>37</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, p. 42.

<sup>38</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Jednostki terytorialne Królestwa Polskiego w „Annales” Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz: 600. lecie urodzin. Region, Polska, Europa w jego twórczości*, eds. J. Maciejewski, P. Oliński, W. Rozykowski, and S. Zonenberg, Toruń 2016, p. 115.

<sup>39</sup> Now2, p. 34.

<sup>40</sup> “Pertinentes villae ad parochiam [Lutynia]. Lutynia. In Wegrzynowo aula tantum cum hortulanis et molendino, emethones vero pertinent ad Magnuszowice”; *Wiz. Poz.* 1610–1619, f. 105v. As a village belonging to the parish of Magnuszewice, Węgrzynowo was also specified in the visitation records for Gniezno diocese from 1605 and 1610; *Wiz. Kal.* 1603–1607, p. 358; *Wiz. Kal.* 1610–1611, p. 572.

<sup>41</sup> *Wiz. Kal.* 1719, p. 261; Czaykowski, p. 117.

<sup>42</sup> *Wiz. Śrm.* 1672–1685, f. 309–309v.

<sup>43</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, pp. 35–42.

<sup>44</sup> LBG II, pp. 19–20; *Wiz. Kal.* 1728–1730, p. 183.

<sup>45</sup> T. Jurek, *Stan, potrzeby i perspektywy badań nad dziejami średniowiecznej diecezji poznańskiej*, [in:] *Kościół poznański w historiografii*, ed. L. Wilczyński, Poznań 2009, pp. 21–22.

<sup>46</sup> J. Mandziuk, *Kościół katolicki na Śląsku pod panowaniem habsburskim*, „Saeculum Christianum. Pismo Historyczno-Społeczne”, vol. 1, 1994, no. 1, pp. 78–79.

affiliation of the parishes that did not function in the second half of the sixteenth century, whilst parish churches functioned as Protestant community churches. In addition, some of the churches identified with Poznań diocese prior to the outbreak of the Reformation, situated in the border areas in Greater Poland or in Silesia, were contained in the seventeenth century within the limits of Wrocław diocese.

A problematic proposition is Nowacki's inclusion in the diocese of Poznań of the parishes of Trzebosz, Jabłonna, and Kaczkowo, situated in Silesia. This author accepted that the mentions regarding a given parish in the Poznań consistory file unambiguously attest to its diocesan affiliation. Bernhard Panzram's study on the parochial structure of Wrocław diocese in the Middle Ages has the parishes of Trzebosz and Jabłonna included in the diocese. Kaczkowo, which the northernmost point, is neglected in this study, as it was probably regarded as part of Poznań diocese.<sup>47</sup> In turn, contribution lists from 1540 and 1561 mention Trzebosz within the deanery of Śrem, Poznań diocese; as of 1561, Trzebosz was one of the centres seized by the Protestants.<sup>48</sup> Jabłonna and Kaczkowo are missing in the said registers. In Kumor's opinion, Wrocław diocese obtained these parishes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> All these parishes fell during the Reformation; Trzebosz never resumed functioning as a Catholic parish, whereas Jabłonna and Kaczkowo once regained by the Catholics were degraded to filial churches in the parish of Czernina, part of Wrocław diocese.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, they cannot be included in the Poznań diocese borders of the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century.

Within Voivodeship of Poznań, in the land of Wschowa, a few Wrocław diocese parishes functioned in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The voivodeship's border in the south crossed the parish of Wyszaków, whose centre was situated in Silesia; the localities of Górczyna and Dryżyna (Dreżyna) were in the land of Wschowa. The border of the dioceses of Poznań and Wrocław in the vicinity of Wschowa between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century was described by Nowacki as 'unstable', which he related to the disputable political affinity of the area of Wschowa in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The Poznań bishopric territory coincided in that region with the mediaeval range of the Castellany of Przemęt<sup>52</sup> and was demarcated by the original border between Greater Poland and Silesia.<sup>53</sup> Important information on the range of the Poznań diocese in that area in the latter half of the sixteenth century is provided by the visitation record of the diocese of Wrocław from 1580.<sup>54</sup> It includes in the deanery of Góra, Wrocław diocese, the following parishes: Konradowo (Kunersdorf/Kursdorf, in whose parochial district the village of Kandlewo (Kandel) was mentioned), Stare Drzewce (Drzewce, Drewitz), Zamysłów (Szymolewo, Himsdorff, Hinzendorf), Kowalewo (Kavel, Kabel), Jędrzychowice (Heyersdorf, Heindersdorf), Wyszaków (Schwusen), and Siedlnica (Sidnica, Zedlitz, Cziedlitz). Only two of them – namely, Konradowo and Zamysłów – were described as belonging to the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>55</sup> These parishes had been included in Wrocław diocese in the Middle Ages as well.<sup>56</sup> The situation of the churches in Kowalewo, Siedlnica, and Jędrzychowice was rather complex. After the seizure by the Protestants, the bishop of Poznań tried to obtain jurisdiction over the centre in Siedlnica. The attempt made by the bishop in 1606 to restore the parish by establishing the institution of Catholic parish priest ended up in a failure. In the 1619 Poznań diocese visitation record, the church still ranks among those occupied by 'heretics' ('Swidnica'). In the visitation records for Wrocław diocese from the second half of the seventeenth century, it functioned as a Catholic church, described as filial to Kowalewo ('filia est ecclesiae haereticae in Kavel'), which was still kept by the dissenters, as was the other of its subordinate *filias* – the one in Jędrzychowice.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Jabłonna is mentioned as part of the Archpresbyterate of Góra, Wrocław diocese, in as early as 1376; J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1: *Archidiakoniat Glogau*, Breslau 1907, pp. 19–23; B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen*, pp. 120–121; Now2, p. 423.

<sup>48</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 27; ASK I 3, f. 335v; Now2, 31.

<sup>49</sup> Now2, pp. 30–31; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 102.

<sup>50</sup> J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1, pp. 110–111.

<sup>51</sup> Now2, p. 29.

<sup>52</sup> S. Arnold, *Terytorja plemienne*, p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> KDW IV: *Suplement*, www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=20091 (electronic edition; access 3.11.2016).

<sup>54</sup> Now2, pp. 29–30, 440–442.

<sup>55</sup> J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1, p. 21.

<sup>56</sup> B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen*, pp. 114–117.

<sup>57</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 180; J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1, pp. 21, 114, 190; T. Jurek, *Kowalewo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 423–424.

Featured in the Poznań diocese maps compiled by Nowacki, the diocese's frontier in the western part considerably exceeded the state's border with Silesia and Brandenburg. This is true with the area of Sława and Kolsko. Both centres are specified in the contribution lists for the diocese of Poznań for the second half of the sixteenth century, though they appear among the churches occupied by the Protestants. Poznań diocese visitation record of 1619 mentions Sława among churches seized by the Protestants, though the way the locality's name is written down might suggest that it was added as a supplement.<sup>58</sup> Since in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth, both parishes were run by the Bohemian Brethren – Kolsko in 1582–1654, Sława from 1570 to 1654.<sup>59</sup> Once returned to the Catholic community, they were made part of Wrocław diocese – the border of the diocese of Poznań was set in that section along the state border. A situation similar to that of Sława and Kolsko was the case with the entire Świebodzin district, which belonged to Silesia but was separated from it by the territory of Brandenburg. The complete collapse of the Catholic structures and of the deanery of Świebodzin in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the failed attempts at regaining the influence in that territory, made by Poznań bishops in 1592,<sup>60</sup> prevents one from recognising the district as subordinate of Poznań diocese. After the re-Catholicisation in the seventeenth century, the area of Świebodzin was incorporated in Wrocław diocese.

Finally, the diocese's border in the south of deanery of Międzyrzecz needs to be discussed, in the context of the relations between Paradyż (Gościkowo) and Jordanowo (Jordan). The Paradyż parish is mentioned in regular tax registers in the latter half of the sixteenth century (from 1553 on). The village of Jordanowo (Jordan) appears in the 1580–3 registers within the parish of Iwno, and so SHGPoz specifies it as a deserted settlement near Iwno. However, the 1583 register mentions Jordanowo (Jordan) village owned by the Paradyż monastery; the two local mills, named 'Hamerski' and 'Nowy', can be localised – on the Paklica River.<sup>61</sup> The 1603 visitation record indicates that central to Paradyż parish was the church situated in Jordanowo village.<sup>62</sup> Nowacki states that the parish emerged in the sixteenth century, since it is neglected in the book of benefice dated 1510 as well as in the other registers. This argument seems not well grounded as it cannot be precluded that tax registers mentioning the parish of Paradyż actually referred to the name of the cloister rather than parish. It is also plausible that the parish had been incorporated in the cloister, which would explain its absence in the contribution lists of 1540 and 1561.<sup>63</sup>

## Archdeaconries and deaneries

The division of Great Polish part of the diocese of Poznań into territorial archdeaconries, established by Bishop Andrzej Zaremba's decision of 21 January 1298, survived with no significant modifications until the end of the Old Polish period. It was based on the split of the then-only archdeaconry of Poznań into three parts. The names of the thus formed archdeaconries – a larger, medium-sized, and small one – came later on. The small unit became called in mid-fourteenth century the archdeaconry of Pszczew, the medium one – the archdeaconry of Śrem, and the large one, the archdeaconry of Poznań: a hierarchy that rendered the rank of these archdeacons, expressed in terms of the position in the Cathedral Chapter rather than the territorial size of the units they were in charge of. The arrangement at the end of the thirteenth century did not extend to the entire Poznań diocese, as apart from the archdeaconry structure there was the part situated behind the River Noteć, which was reserved for the fourth archdeacon.

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<sup>58</sup> AAP, CP 404, ff. 41v–42; ASK I 3, f. 341v; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 180; J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> S.J. Ehrhardt, *Presbyterologie des Evangelischen Schlesiens*, vol. 3/1, Liegnitz 1783, pp. 202, 217–218.

<sup>60</sup> Now2, pp. 22–23.

<sup>61</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 208.

<sup>62</sup> "Paradisiz monasterium ordinis Cisterciensis. Ibidem villa Jordan in qua est ecclesia parochialis"; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 24v.

<sup>63</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 5v; ASK I 3, f. 348; also see M. Gochna, *The borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.1.4.

The description of the limits of the archdeaconries in Bishop Andrzej Zaremba's document was rather general. Nowacki saw no analogy between the areas of state administration (castellanies, *vicinia* settlements) and the archdeaconry layout.<sup>64</sup> The latter was based on natural borders (Warta River) and existing parishes. The document enumerated – south to east, beginning and ending with the Warta – the westernmost parishes of the large (i.e. Poznań) archdeaconry, namely: Mosina, Łódź (Łodzia), Modrze, Granowo, Drużyn (Drożyn), Słupia, Niepruszewo (Nieproszewo), Kaźmierz (Kazimierz), Szamotuły, and Obrzycko. East of the Warta, where the archdeaconry's border was in parallel the frontier of the diocese, only two extreme parishes are mentioned limiting the territory from the south (Ciężyń (Ciężym)) and from the north (Drezdenko (Drdzeń)). The River Noteć was to mark its northern border. The medium (Śrem) archdeaconry covered the southern part of the diocese and was meant to be separated from Poznań and Pszczew by the Rivers Warta and Obra. The small (Pszczew) archdeaconry (Pszczewski) was situated between the Warta and the Obra, whereas the record lists the eastern parishes separating from the archdeaconry of Poznań, north to south: Wronki, Otorowo, Wilczyzna, Ceradz Kościelny (Ceradz Stary), Buk, Ptaszkowo (Ptaszkowo Wielkie), and Łęki Wielkie.<sup>65</sup>

Within the above-outlined limits, the archdeaconries specified above basically retained their structures till the end of the sixteenth century. The Poznań diocese's book of benefice from 1510 specifies no division into archdeaconries, but it is identifiable based on the sequence of deaneries (decanates) described. The part of the diocese behind the Noteć and the deanery of Świebodzin located outside the country's borders were omitted. An essential difficulty to the reconstruction of the limits of the archdeaconries around 1600 lies in the status of the areas located north of the Noteć. Both Nowacki and SHGPoz refer to the 1349 document as the basic premise apparently testifying to the functioning and reach of the fourth archdeaconry. The premise is rather weak as it is based on a single mention of Henryk, the archdeacon 'inter Notesz et Drawam'.<sup>66</sup> The lack of other testimonies – given the importance of the office and the accuracy of Nowacki's queries – might testify to the apparent fact that the project to establish a fourth archdeaconry for the part behind the Noteć, as expressed in the 1298 document, was never put into practice. Nowacki apparently comes to the same (implied) conclusion, though not directly expressed, since he includes the area north of the Noteć in the archdeaconry of Poznań.<sup>67</sup>

The diocese was divided into deaneries in the fourteenth century; the deaneries are mentioned in the consistory files since 1403. It is rather difficult to reconstruct the division at the end of the sixteenth century. In the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, the deanery network was reorganised, whereas, in Nowacki's opinion, it is impossible to give a precise date of emergence of the new deaneries. The span is 1590 to 1602, the diocese's reform carried out by Wawrzyniec Goślicki after he assumed power in the diocese in 1601 being considered to be the most plausible interpretation.<sup>68</sup> Hence, the map of Church structures reflects the status and borders of the deaneries before the 1602 synod. The reorganisation carried out at that time produced a total of nineteen deaneries (the area beyond the Noteć being included, whilst excluding the Świebodzin deanery, lost in the sixteen century), out of twelve. The most considerable change was seen in the archdeaconries of Poznań and Śrem. The number of deaneries in Pszczew archdeaconry remained the same. The general scope of the change is shown in the table above, whereas it has to be remarked that certain shifts took place in the affiliations of individual parishes as well. This means that not all the parishes belonging to the deanery specified in the central column (before 1601) were transferred to one of the deaneries described in the right column (after 1602). The most considerable change occurred in the diocese's northern part with the deanery of Oborniki being considerably shrunk; its northern segment, including a fragment of the diocese situated north of the Noteć, were merged into the new deanery of Czarnków. The range of the following deaneries altered considerably as well: Wschowa, Grodzisk Wielkopolski (Grodzisko), Międzyrzecz (deanery of Zbąszyń since 1640), Sęszew (deanery of Buk, since the eighteenth century) and Wronki (from 1640 on, deanery of Lwówek).

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<sup>64</sup> Now2, p. 291.

<sup>65</sup> KDW II, no. 770, [www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=20067](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=20067) [access: 3.11.2016]; Now2, pp. 286–293.

<sup>66</sup> KDW II, no. 1284, [www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=20067](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=20067) [access: 3.11.2016].

<sup>67</sup> Now2, p. 291.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 325.

**Table 1. Poznań diocese as reorganised circa 1601**

Archdeaconry	Deaneries before 1601	Deaneries after 1601
Śrem	Nowe Miasto nad Wartą (Nowe Miasto)	Nowe Miasto nad Wartą (Nowe Miasto)
		Borek Wielkopolski (Borek)
		Koźmin
	Śrem	Śrem
		Krobia
	Kościan	Kościan
Śmigiel		
Wschowa	Wschowa	
Pszczew	Wronki	Wronki (since 1640, Lwówek)
	Grodzisk Wielkopolski	Grodzisk Wielkopolski
	Międzyrzecz	Międzyrzecz (since 1640, Zbąszyń)
Poznań	Pyzdry	Pyzdry
	Poznań	Poznań
		Środa Wielkopolska (Środa)
		Kostrzyn
	Stęszew	Stęszew (since eighteenth century, Buk)
	Oborniki	Oborniki
Rogoźno		
(area behind the Noteć River)	Czarnków	

The basic sources with which to reconstruct the sixteenth-century arrangement of deaneries are the book of benefice of the diocese of Poznań, dating to 1510, and the contribution lists from 1540 and 1561<sup>69</sup> (the latter not having been known to Nowacki). Comparison of these lists with the 1471 breakdown of deaneries attests to a fairly durable deanery network in Poznań diocese until the middle of the sixteenth century.

As illustrated by the table above, the diocese's three archdeaconries housed altogether eleven deaneries functioning in the latter half of the sixteenth century – four in Poznań archdeaconry (Poznań, Pyzdry, Oborniki, Stęszew) as well as in Śrem archdeaconry (Śrem, Wschowa, Kościan, Nowe Miasto nad Wartą), and three in Pszczew archdeaconry (Grodzisk Wielkopolski, Wronki, Międzyrzecz). The nature of the Świebodziń district and of the diocese's part behind the Noteć in that period is problematic. In both cases, the basic factors were how the state border influenced the organisational shape of the Poznań Church, and the effects of the Reformation on the diocese's northernmost and westernmost areas. The issue of Świebodziń deanery has already been explained. More complex is the case of deanery of Wałcz, otherwise termed deanery of Kalisz, *Zanotecki* ('of the area behind the Noteć') and, after 1602, with the remarkably changed borders, deanery of Czarnków. The area was neglected in the 1510 book of benefice and in the contribution lists of 1540 and 1561. The opinion that a deanery existed in the pre-Reformation period in Kalisz Pomorski, a town within Brandenburg, is based on weak premises (mentions dated 1509–11). Fr. Lech Bończa-Bystrzycki dates its emergence at the second half of the fourteenth century, without however giving the underlying source.<sup>70</sup> During the Reformation, 'the deanery in fact ceased to exist, as the churches were passed by their patrons to the

<sup>69</sup> LBP; AAP, CP 404; ASK I 3, ff. 326–348.

<sup>70</sup> L. Bończa-Bystrzycki, *Dekanat walecki w XVI-XVIII wieku*, „Koszalińsko-Kołoobrzeskie Wiadomości Diecezjalne”, vol. 13, 1985, no. 1–2, p. 37.

dissenters',<sup>71</sup> hence no mention of this unit in the map showing the Latin Church structures at the end of the sixteenth century.

The parishes' affiliations to deaneries as specified by the contribution lists of 1540 and 1561 trigger no major doubts. The borderland between the deaneries of Grodzisk Wielkopolski and Międzyrzecz (the parishes of Brójce, Rogoziniec, and Koźminek) triggers some doubt, but it seems that Nowacki's resolutions should be followed. The affiliation of these parishes to Grodzisk Wielkopolski deanery is potentially suggested by their affiliation to the district of Kościan, based on the coincidence of state and ecclesiastical borders. This, however, is too weak a premise to undermine Nowacki's opinion, especially that district affiliations of localities in that region are not fully certain. Doubts arise as to the parish mentioned in the 1561 contribution list as 'Brodze', deanery of Grodzisk Wielkopolski. The similarity of name forms suggests that the parish of Brójce might have actually been meant. However, the nearby Brudzewo cannot be excluded; if this is the right option, it would provide a strong premise to state that the parish was separate from Kręcko (Kręsko) in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>72</sup>

Poznań diocese deaneries were mostly compact and had regular formations. Source information regarding the location of Wysocko Wielkie and Sławoszew (Słaboszewo) parishes in the deanery of Śrem, mentioned in the 1540 and 1561 contribution lists, require a comment.<sup>73</sup> In his introduction to the edition of the 1510 book of benefice, Nowacki remarks that the parishes in question were mentioned as part of Śrem deanery, but he considers it an error and so has them included in Nowe Miasto nad Wartą deanery.<sup>74</sup> The main premise, though not directly expressed, was the parishes' location far from Śrem deanery, right near the border with the diocese of Gniezno. The geographical situation of those parishes indicates their affiliation with Nowe Miasto deanery. However, the existence of two extraterritorial enclaves of the deanery of Śrem, composed of the parishes of Wysocko Wielkie and Sławoszew, cannot be precluded. Though very rare, such situations were recorded for some other dioceses. For instance, in the latter half of the eighteenth century: the parish of Mnich (deanery of Gostynin, diocese of Płock); the deanery of Bobrowniki (diocese of Włocławek), divided into two parts by the parish of Czernikowo (deanery of Lipno, Płock diocese); or, the deanery of Wolbórz (Włocławek diocese), with two enclaves situated in the deanery of Zgierz (diocese of Gniezno).<sup>75</sup>

## Parishes and parochial districts<sup>76</sup>

The presentation of the parochial structure of Poznań diocese in the second half of the sixteenth century ought to be preceded by introductory and methodological remarks and comments. The information basis regarding individual parishes is fairly extensive, mainly thanks to the basic findings by Nowacki and the efforts of the Sections of the Department of the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages and the Department of the Historical Atlas at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN). In a number of situations, it regrettably does not enable to establish unambiguous conclusions concerning the functioning and status of Church administration units in the late sixteenth century. It has to be stressed that the Reformation caused significant changes in Greater Poland's parochial structure. With the lack of canonical visitations in Poznań diocese in the latter half of the sixteenth century, it is sometimes difficult to precisely find the moment of regaining the church from the Protestants and reinstatement of the parish for the Catholic pastoral service. A number of Catholic churches lost their original parochial character and, after retrieved from the Protestants, became filial churches. In addition, some filial churches had their pastoral districts – described as 'filial parishes' hereinafter. In line with the principle adopted for the AHP series, filial churches having their

<sup>71</sup> Now2, pp. 324, 386.

<sup>72</sup> ASK I 3, f. 343.

<sup>73</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 25, 27v; ASK I 3, ff. 334, 335.

<sup>74</sup> LBP, pp. 22, 115, 152.

<sup>75</sup> S. Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2006.

<sup>76</sup> For a discussion of the disputable issues related to parishes of Poznań, such as e.g. the affiliation of Ostrów and Piotrowo (today, parts of Poznań) to St. Margaret's parish (in Śródka), see the notes to the map of Poznań, penned by P. Dembiński.

parochial districts have been treated as parishes and marked both in the main map and in the map of the Church territorial structures.<sup>77</sup>

The essential factors taken into account when choosing to include or omit a parish were the durability/stability of the structures and territorial autonomy of the parish. A precise reconstruction of the process of regaining numerous parishes from the Protestants and reconstruction of their parish districts for the second half of the sixteenth century, based on Church records, has often proved impossible. A high dynamism of changes, against a poor source base of ecclesiastical provenance makes one resort to tax registers as an essential indicator of the parish's territorial autonomy. They certainly record the situation closer to the sixteenth-century social realities, compared to the descriptions of parochial structures from the latter half of the seventeenth or from the eighteenth century, quite distant in time. Hence, the map reflects those parish centres which are mentioned in Church contribution lists dated 1540 and 1561, and subsequently were systematically referred to as parish centres in tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century – even if they turned into filial centres or were entirely absorbed by other parishes resulting from post-Reformation changes in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The Poznań diocese's book of benefice from 1510 and the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century are thus a decisive source in the reconstruction of parochial districts. The Church sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the ecclesiastical visitations and the register of dioceses by Franciszek Czaykowski, serve as auxiliary and complementary material to verify the information.

The discussion of the parochial structure in the diocese of Poznań is arranged into three subchapters. The first ('Walcz, Wschowa, Międzyrzecz') presents the situation in the three areas where reconstruction of the parish network at the end of the sixteenth century is a particularly difficult task – namely, the northern part of the diocese (behind the Noteć), deanery of Wschowa, and deanery of Międzyrzecz. The separate treatment of these areas is also due to the fact that dynamic changes in the parish network implied no less frequent changes in the ranges of the parishes and their districts. The commentary on the major part of the diocese which was definitely more stable in regard of Church administration, is divided into two parts: 'Parishes and affiliated parishes' and 'Parochial districts'. The first describes the problems related to the reconstruction of the parish network, focusing in particular on incorporated and filial parishes that lost or retained their territorial autonomies. These processes were every so often connected with a collapse of some of the parishes during the Reformation. The second attempts to explain the doubts related to parochial affiliation of individual settlements. Special attention is paid to the influence of decisions made by Church authorities and secular patrons, incomplete recording in the sources of less important settlements (mill- or forge-based), and the impact of ownership relations on the recording of parochial affinity.

#### **(a) Walcz, Wschowa, Międzyrzecz**

A definite majority of the parishes as well as parochial districts of the diocese of Poznań were stable in their character and territorial reach. Doubts mostly refer to the situation of parishes located in the northern part of the diocese located behind the River Noteć in deaneries of Wschowa and Międzyrzecz

For the area behind the Noteć (so-called deanery of Walcz/Zanotecki), the lack of source base that would enable to determine the parochial or filial character of the churches functioning before the Reformation, let alone reconstruct the parish districts, poses a serious problem. This is particularly true for the areas where the Catholic Church structure completely decayed in the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup> Individual mentions from the earlier period (fourteenth to the first half of sixteenth centuries) appear at times that attest to the parochial status of churches; most of them concern the parish priests in office in the first decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Walcz was the first parish to have been reinstated

<sup>77</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>78</sup> On the Reformation and Counter-reformation in Walcz land, see Bąk, *Walcz*; also M. Kuc-Czerep, *Dissenter communities and churches in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2c.4.

<sup>79</sup> The first fairly complete list of parishes for this particular area, as is accepted in the literature, is found in the 1349 document (KDW II, no. 1284; [www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=20067](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=20067); access 3.11.2016). To be more precise, though, it was essentially a register, provided by Henryk, the archdeacon for the northern part of Poznań diocese ("terram inter Noteć et Drawam"), of those localities that had to pay the tithe to the bishop of Poznań. The parochial status of a number of them

in its Catholic function, which took place in 1595–1602.<sup>80</sup> The Reformation in this area meant not only the takeover of Catholic churches but also the building of Evangelical structures *in cruda radice* in the areas where new settlement action unfolded. What it means is that a number of localities were not covered by Catholic pastoral care in the sixteenth century at all. Due to gaps in the records, the main map does not show a full reconstruction of the parochial districts, with the central localities of the parishes of Wałcz, Tuczno, and Czaplinek being plotted. In the opinion of the SHGPoz authors, Nowacki's hypotheses regarding the functioning in the latter half of the sixteenth century of a number of parishes are to be challenged; for the area of Człopa, such parishes include Dzwonowo (Szonowo), Szczuczczarz (Czuczczarz), Przelewice (Pieczyska), Jaglice (Gogolce), Wołowe Lasy, Niekursko, Golin (Gołacza), and Brzeźniak (Barchold); in the area of Wałcz: Różewo (Rozwałd), Prusinowo Wałeckie (Prusendorf), Kłębowiec (Klausdorf); and, in the area of Tuczno: Strzalin (Stralemburg), Zdbowo (Stibowo), Jeziorki (Schulzendor), and Rzeczyca (Knakendorf).<sup>81</sup> Nowacki himself had strong doubts in this matter: 'So, the above churches existed before 1550, while the establishment of all of them before 1510 and their character as parochial or merely succursal cannot be definitely established'.<sup>82</sup>

Important premises testifying to the loss of parochial rights by a number of churches in the former half of the sixteenth century are comprised in the witness statements made in the 1607 litigation for retrieval of the *beneficia* (i.e. beneficients, benefactors, properties, and privileges) of the parish in Tuczno. All the local churches were *filiis* already before the Reformation, and were handled by the parish priest of Tuczno.<sup>83</sup> The loss of parochial rights by a number of churches is attested also by the tax registers for Poznań district from 1580 and 1583, which recorded the parish of Człopa and the localities of Dzwonowo, Szczuczczarz, Trzebin (Trzebinia), Wołowe Lasy, Załom (Załomia), or Brzeźniak within its limits, all regarded by Nowacki as centres of separate parishes prior to the Reformation.<sup>84</sup> The renewal of Catholic Church structures in Wałcz district was accompanied by the development of settlement, with new settlements emerging whose parochial affiliation was not readily defined, particularly in the Catholic-Lutheran borderland. This dynamic picture is recorded in the area's visitation records from 1628–9 and 1640–1, which moreover show the rather chaotic and multi-tier dependencies of churches on the other churches. One example is the relations between Człopa, Dzwonowo, Trzebin, and Przelewice, as described in 1641. Przelewice and Trzebin were first included in the parish of Człopa, and then disclosed as chapels of the church in Dzwonowo, which 'fuit olim seorsiva, et pro parochiali habebatur, modo ab aliquot annis parochus Człopensis per commendam illam administrat'. Moreover, the description of the chapel and the filial church in Trzebin includes the statement reading: 'Ad eandem parochiam pertinet filialiter villa Czuchar seu Cicer [Szczuczczarz, Czuczczarz – B.S.'s note] dicta'.<sup>85</sup> The reconstruction of Catholic structures consisted in regaining former Catholic parishes and their *beneficia*, as well as in attempts to build new pastoral-care centres founded upon the Protestant churches that came into existence in the sixteenth century.<sup>86</sup> This is probably true with a series of localities at the Ujście (Piła)-Wałcz borderland, including Nadarzyce (Nadorycz), Brzeźnica, Budy (Buda), Głowaczewo (Klawiter), Szwecja, Zdbice (Zbytno), Sypniewo (Sypnow), and Dudylany (Duderlak). Most of them appear in the records only in the latter half of the sixteenth century; the Catholic parish of Nadarzyce emerged only in the early years of the seventeenth century.<sup>87</sup>

Czaplinek was another centre customarily mentioned as parochial in the sixteenth century. Apart from the aforementioned Nadarzyce, Czaplinek was the northernmost Poznań diocese parish functioning

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arouses doubt, given that no confirmation can be found in any other record. As remarked earlier, the area is mentioned neither by Poznań diocese's book of benefice, 1510, nor by the lists of the clergy's contributions from 1540 and 1561.

<sup>80</sup> Bąk, Wałcz, p. 249.

<sup>81</sup> Now2, pp. 385–397.

<sup>82</sup> Ibidem, p. 395.

<sup>83</sup> Bąk, Wałcz, p. 230.

<sup>84</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 821–31; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 881–92; Now2, pp. 395–396.

<sup>85</sup> Wiz. Czir. 1640–1641, ff. 323–324.

<sup>86</sup> From the visitation record for the parish of Czaplinek, 1641: "Istae omnes ecclesiae sumptibus haereticorum extractae. Anno vero 1625 (it fama est) recuperatae, gremioque Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae adscriptae sunt"; ibidem, f. 336v.

<sup>87</sup> The relation between the churches of Nadarzyce and Brzeźnica is unclear. "Ecclesia parochialis cuiusquam sancti nomine non intitulata, ab haereticis olim extracta et ante annos duodecim catholicis restituta non consecrata. Filialis matricis ecclesiae in Brzeznica ad quam et aliae in Buda, Klawiter, Suecia, Zbytno, Sypniow et Duderlak villis filiales ab haereticis itidem extractae et non consecratae spectant"; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 8.

in the modern period. According to the 1628 visitation record, the territorial jurisdiction of the local parish priest was titular, since the neighbourhood was only inhabited by Evangelicals.<sup>88</sup> The record does not mention the villages of Kluczewo (Klausewo), Rakowo, and Nobliny (Nabliny) within the parish's district,<sup>89</sup> according to Friedrich Wilhelm Ferdinand Schmitt and Fritz Bahr, the moment the Reformation broke out, the Czaplinek church was filial, belonging to Wałcz parish.<sup>90</sup> For the victory of Catholicism in Czaplinek and renewal of the local Catholic parish in 1624–5, crucial was the attitude of Jan Czarnkowski, *starosta* of Drahim.<sup>91</sup> Not all the attempts at (re)constructing Catholic parishes after the Reformation were immediately successful. For the parish of Dzwonowo, to which three filial churches – Szczuczarz, Przelevice, and Trzebin – were allocated at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the parish priest of Tuczno was initially appointed (in 1616) and then the one of Człopa (1637). In the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries, all these churches are mentioned as filial ones within Człopa parish.<sup>92</sup> The year 1602 saw Fr. Krzysztof Zadow, parish priest of Tuczno, take the parishes of Strzalin, Mielęcín, and Marcinkowice (Marcinkowo). As per SHGPoz, this act concerned the villages which in the early sixteenth century had no filial churches dependent on the parish of Tuczno and where chapels had been built by dissenters.<sup>93</sup> After the visitation of 1628, all these localities (probably, pursuant to the 1607 verdict) were disclosed as parochial villages of Tuczno.<sup>94</sup> The same visitation record mentions the parish of Róża with its two filial churches, those in Gostomia and Leżenica.<sup>95</sup> The attempt to establish this particular parish probably failed as well, for in the subsequent years all the three churches are seen included in Wałcz parish.<sup>96</sup> A failure was the case also with the attempt to set up, in the seventeenth century, of an autonomous pastoral-care centre in Nakielno. The visitation record from 1628–9 informs of a parish in this locality and the villages owned by it: Strączno (Stręczno), Dzikowo (Dykowo), Rutwica (Hermansdorf), Prusinowo Wałeckie (Prusendorf), but in the subsequent years Nakielno is recorded as filial to Tuczno.<sup>97</sup> Also, there is no strong attestation of the parochial character of the churches in the villages of Dobino (Braksztyn) and Skrzatusz; the latter became an autonomous pastoral centre only in the year 1660.<sup>98</sup>

A somewhat better source base, mainly due to the tax registers that recorded parochial affiliations, is available for the parishes of the deanery of Oborniki (i.e. Wieleń, Czarnków, Biała, Piła) situated behind the Noteć. Apart from the bigger number of records of *lan* tribute collection and visitations, there is a register of the hearth tax (*podymne*) for Poznań Voivodeship, dated 1631 and specifying the parish affiliation.<sup>99</sup> However, the latter source often specifies the parochial affiliation of localities other than as per the visitation records, and thus has to be treated with considerable criticism. The existing source base does not allow for confirming the suppositions put forward by Nowacki as regards the functioning of a parish in Jastrowie before 1619. The local church, turned into a Catholic one in the seventeenth century, was originally built by the Protestants.<sup>100</sup> As indicated by tax registers from 1580,

<sup>88</sup> "Habet haec ecclesia octo filiales in villis Lubal, Szwarcenze, Pelen, Wurowa, Szarfenor, Flakenze, Groszwarzenze et Cykier, quas memoratus plebanus non solet adire neque ulla ecclesiastica administrare sacramenta, cum omnes in iis sint parochiani haeretici"; *ibidem*, f. 8v.

<sup>89</sup> Now2, pp. 389–390; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Czaplinek*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 278–279.

<sup>90</sup> F.W.F. Schmitt, p. 83; F. Bahr, *Kirchengeschichte des Landes Draheim*, Stettin 1931 (Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte Pommerns, vol. 1), pp. 31–32.

<sup>91</sup> Bąk, Wałcz, pp. 418–419; C. Motsch, *Grenzgesellschaft und frühmoderner Staat. Die Starostei Draheim zwischen Hinterpommern, der Neumark und Grosspolen (1575–1805)*, Göttingen 2001 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 164), pp. 213–214.

<sup>92</sup> *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 12; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, ff. 320–323v; Now2, p. 395.

<sup>93</sup> K. Górka-Gołaska, *Marcinkowice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 87–88.

<sup>94</sup> *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, p. 11.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 12v.

<sup>96</sup> *Wiz. Poz.* 1695–1696, ff. 528v–530; Now2, pp. 396–397.

<sup>97</sup> Nakielno gained the status of autonomous parish only in the eighteenth century; Now2, p. 392; *Wiz. Poz.* 1695–1696, f. 516v.

<sup>98</sup> The presence of a commendary, attested for 1597, cannot be regarded as a certification of a parochial status, as commendary priests oftentimes appeared at affiliated churches or parishes not possessing full parochial rights. K. Górka-Gołaska, *Braksztyn*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, p. 102; *eadem*, *Skrzatusz*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 488–489; Now2, p. 387.

<sup>99</sup> *Podymne* 1631, ff. 25v–26; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, ff. 318 (Wieleń), 365v, 362 (Piła); *Wiz. Poz.* 1695–1696, ff. 501–501v (Wieleń), 555v, 572v–573v (Piła, Jastrowie).

<sup>100</sup> *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 340v; Bąk, Wałcz' p. 149; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Jastrowie*, pp. 56–57.

1581, and 1583, the locality belonged to the parish of Piła.<sup>101</sup> In this parish, incorporated were also the region's localities appearing in the records only in the latter half of the sixteenth century: Czechyń (Czechy), Zabrodzie (Garbaty Most, Garbacz), Czaplino (Głochotka, Borowy, Matter), Dobrzyca, Zawada, Kuźnica Pilska (Hamer Pilski), Dolaszewo, Szydłowo (Biała Góra),<sup>102</sup> as well as Płytnica and Krępsko (Krępa).<sup>103</sup> Some doubt may be cast on the functioning of a one-village parish in Biała, Oborniki deanery: mentioned in the LBP (with no description)<sup>104</sup> and in the 1540 contribution list<sup>105</sup> (no description), it appears in the parish of Człopa in the 1583 tax register and in the hearth tax register from 1631.<sup>106</sup> The new church was set up right before the parish was inspected in 1628.<sup>107</sup> In Ludwik Bąk's opinion (no record being referred to), 'the All Saints' church [in Biała – B.S.'s note] remained Catholic during the Reformation'.<sup>108</sup> Given the sources available, it is not easy to determine the parish(es) out of which Trzcianka (Trzciana Łąka) parish was singled out in the seventeenth century. The church itself probably emerged along with the chartering of Trzcianka in 1586.<sup>109</sup> As per the visitation record dated 1628, the villages of Łomnica and Nowa Wieś belonged to it.<sup>110</sup> An earlier parochial affinity of Trzcianka and its parochial villages is possibly testified by its inclusion in the parish of Człopa by the 1583 tax register and the hearth tax register from 1631.<sup>111</sup>

Reconstruction of the parish network for the land of Wschowa in the second half of the sixteenth century is an almost equally difficult task. The tax registers specify no parish affiliations. More information can be gathered for the southern part of the land, which belonged to diocese of Wrocław (see in this chapter). As regards the part belonging to Poznań diocese, one has by necessity to use later sources, mainly visitation records, juxtaposing them with the earlier fragmentary pieces of information. Ambiguous details relate to the parishes of Święciechowa (Święciechów) and Ogrody, neighbouring on each other and confirmed by contribution lists from 1540 and 1561.<sup>112</sup> According to Nowacki, Ogrody parish collapsed in the sixteenth century; its area was merged in 1675 with the parish of Święciechowa (apparently based on the 1675 document). This finding has been undermined by Jurek in his description of Przybyszewo locality; in his opinion, the inclusion of the villages of Przybyszewo, Ogrody, and Trzebiny (Trzebinia) in Święciechowa parish took place at an earlier date (the quoted erection deed was undated). The parish of Ogrody included Strzyżewice (Strzeżewice) village in 1510. A fragment of the Poznań diocese's book of benefice added with another hand (in mid-sixteenth century, according to Nowacki) is on the affiliation of Przybyszewo and at least one more village (whose name is not quoted) to Święciechowa parish.<sup>113</sup> In Jurek's view, the locality's situation indi-

<sup>101</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 475; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 473; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 477; Now2, p. 388.

<sup>102</sup> The villages of Zawada (chartered 1598), Dolaszewo (1586), Szydłowo (as 'Biała Góra'; 1586), Pokrzywnica (1567), Ługi Ujskie (Olędrowo; 1597), Dobrzyca (also called Borka; set up before 1590), forge settlement Kuźnica Pilska (as 'Hamer'; set up shortly before 1564), and the mill settlements of Czaplino (sometimes as the Matter mill; set up before 1569), and Cyk (also as the Kłapsztyn mill; set up 1586) are specified in seventeenth and eighteenth-century visitation records. In Czechyń, together with the village's chartering in 1597, a Protestant church probably emerged. The date it was retrieved from the Evangelicals is unknown; a Lutheran preacher resided there still in 1612. The 1641 visitation record includes the filial church in Czechyń and the village of Zabrodzie (Garbacz) in the parish of Piła. The glassworks of Pokrzywno (Huta Pokrzywnicka), the mill settlements of Kępa (Kłoda, Gędek) and Ptusza, the forge settlement of Smolary (Smolany), and the inn settlement of Piaskinia (Bełzant) are mentioned as part of Piła parish, with no clear source-based attestation; the premise was their location in Poznań district, close to Piła, and not far from the other localities belonging to the parish; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 6; Podymne 1631, f. 6v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 356v–362; Wiz. Poz. 1695–1696, ff. 555v, 572v–573v; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, ff. 329v–333; Bąk, Wałcz, pp. 395–396; Żmidziński, pp. 57–60.

<sup>103</sup> The villages of Płytnica (chartered 1594) and Krępsko (set up c. 1584), having Evangelical chapel built probably together with the chartering, were incorporated before 1628 in the new parish of Jastrowie; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 7; Żmidziński, pp. 58–60; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 393.

<sup>104</sup> LBP, p. 82.

<sup>105</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 16v (recorded next to Czarnków; the sequence of parishes in the contribution list is compliant with the 1510 book of benefice).

<sup>106</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 893; Podymne 1631, f. 3v.

<sup>107</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 12–12v.

<sup>108</sup> Bąk, Wałcz, p. 406.

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem, p. 404.

<sup>110</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 13v.

<sup>111</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 886; Podymne 1631, ff. 3v–4.

<sup>112</sup> AAP, CP 404, ff. 40v, 42v; ASK I 3, ff. 341, 342.

<sup>113</sup> LBP, p. 136.

cates that before the Reformation, Przybyszewo was part of Ogrody parish, similarly as Trzebiny and Strzyżewice. It can be presumed that the annexation of Ogrody parish and its territory to the parish of Święciechowa was completed before 1639, when it had turned out that reconstruction of a Catholic parish in Ogrody was impossible.<sup>114</sup> Possibly in that same period the village of Strzyżewice was moved from Ogrody parish to the parish of Leszno.<sup>115</sup> The parishes of Święciechowa and Ogrody are plotted separately in the main map; the villages of Przybyszewo, Trzebinia, and Strzyżewice were made part of Ogrody parish. Niechłód and Jezierzycze Kościelne (Jezierzycze) parishes, which lost their parochial rights probably resulting from the changes implied by the Reformation, are marked as separate units, whereas the autonomy of Jezierzycze Kościelne parish is more doubtful.<sup>116</sup> As established by SHGPoz, which undermines Nowacki's argument, the parishes of Łysiny (Łysina) and Tylewice are also treated as separate units.<sup>117</sup> Based on the visitation record from 1619, Łysiny parish included Wygnańczyce, a locality with a Protestant church.<sup>118</sup> Different circumstances were the case between the parishes of Lasocice and Leszno. Mentioned in contribution lists of 1540 and 1561, both parishes were merged before the Reformation, in 1514.<sup>119</sup> Earlier still, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the parishes of Długie Nowe and Długie Stare were joined together, the seat of the parish in the following years was the church in Długie Stare.<sup>120</sup>

There is no certain information on the parochial affiliation of Przyczyna Dolna in the sixteenth century. The village has been disclosed as part of Wschowa parish based on an eighteenth-century visitation record.<sup>121</sup> Later records have been used to confirm the parochial affiliations of the villages of Długie Nowe – to Długie Stare,<sup>122</sup> Buczyna (Buchwald) – to Osowa Sień,<sup>123</sup> and Dominice – to Włoszakowice.<sup>124</sup> The 1619 visitation record has enabled to include the villages of Hetmanice and Nowa Wieś in the parish of Lgiń; the record neglects Zaborówiec (Zaborowo), a demesne farmstead that, according to Stanisław Malepszak, was founded in 1583–90 and appears in Lgiń parish in the later sources.<sup>125</sup> The said parish included Śmieszkowo and Potrzebowo villages as well, the former having probably been separated from the parish (as of 1619, the local church was managed by the parish priest of Lgiń). Nowacki's hypothesis that a parish church had existed in Śmieszkowo prior to the Reformation should be rejected, following Jurek's observation that the locality is first attested at the end of the sixteenth century, as is Potrzebowo.<sup>126</sup> The records-based diversity regarding the affiliation

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<sup>114</sup> The *terminus ante quem* based on a fragment of the addendum re. Święciechowa parish in the Poznań book of benefice; *ibidem*, *ibidem*, pp. 136, 153; *Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685*, f. 636v; *Now2*, pp. 437–438; T. Jurek, *Ogrody*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, p. 417; *idem*, *Przybyszewo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 886–887; *idem*, *Strzeżewice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 714–715; *idem*, *Święciechowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 5, pp. 126–130; SHGPoz, part 5, no. 2, p. 355.

<sup>115</sup> *Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685*, f. 646v.

<sup>116</sup> The 1510 book of benefice has Jezierzycze Kościelne appear twice, as part of Gołanice parish and as a separate parish. Jezierzycze Kościelne as a parish is mentioned in the 1540 contribution list, where it is braced with Gołanice. The following contribution list, of 1561, has the phrase "Golanca Jezierzycze annexa eidem". Niechłód and Jezierzycze Kościelne, being affiliated to Gołanice still in 1673, had separate benefices, the villages themselves being described as parochial; AAP, CP 404, f. 41v; ASK I 3, f. 341v; *Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685*, ff. 643–643v; *Now2*, p. 439; S. Chmielewski, *Jezierzycze*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 72–73; T. Jurek, *Niechłód*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 250–251; K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Piotrowice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 677–679.

<sup>117</sup> J. Nowacki believed that the incorporation of Tylewice parish in the Łysiny parish took place in as early as 1444; SHGPoz has this fact dated at the beginning of the seventeenth century, after the retrieval from the Protestants; T. Jurek, *Łysiny*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 69–70.

<sup>118</sup> *Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619*, f. 165.

<sup>119</sup> In J. Nowacki's opinion, Lasocice never had a parish church but only a filial chapel. T. Jurek, for a change, remarks that a parish existed there in the fourteenth century and subsequently lost its parochial rights to the church of Ogrody; AAP, CP 404, f. 42–42v; ASK I 3, f. 342; *Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685*, f. 645v; *Now2*, ff. 437–438; T. Jurek, *Lasocice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 575–577.

<sup>120</sup> *Now2*, p. 440; S. Chmielewski, *Długie Stare*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 357–360.

<sup>121</sup> *Wiz. Śrm. 1725–1728*, f. 17; Czaykowski, p. 831.

<sup>122</sup> *Now2*, p. 440; Czaykowski, p. 828; S. Chmielewski, *Długie Stare*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, p. 357.

<sup>123</sup> Czaykowski, p. 830.

<sup>124</sup> *Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619*, f. 156a; *Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685*, f. 602v; Czaykowski, p. 830.

<sup>125</sup> *Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619*, ff. 163v–164; *Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685*, f. 615; Czaykowski, p. 180; *Now2*, pp. 444–445; S. Malepszak, *Bukówiec Górny na tle dziejów Krainy Przemęckiej*, Leszno 1995, p. 97; S. Chmielewski, *Hetmanice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, p. 731; T. Jurek, *Nowa Wieś*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 319–320.

<sup>126</sup> *Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619*, f. 164; *Now2*, p. 445; S. Malepszak, *Bukówiec Górny*, p. 97; T. Jurek, *Śmieszkowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 5, pp. 7–8.

of Miastko village has been resolved to the benefit of Brenno;<sup>127</sup> why tax registers had this village recorded as part of Włoszakowice parish is hard to explain. Tax registers point to the association of Trzebidza village with the parish at Grobia (1563–80) as well as with that of Charbielin (1581); its assignment to the latter has been based on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Church records.<sup>128</sup>

The considerations on Wschowa deanery ought to be concluded with the problem of the parish of Kaszczor (Stary Klasztor). Tax registers have Kaszczor (Stary Klasztor) consistently placed in the parish of Przemęt, which is mentioned (without a description) in the 1510 book of benefice contribution lists of 1540 and 1561.<sup>129</sup> The founding document for the parish in Kaszczor (Stary Klasztor) from 1603 thus marked a renewal and re-erection, as Nowacki observes, after a long period of negligence by Cistercian abbots who were the patrons and owners of the locality. The patrons' negligence might have been the reason why tax registers included Kaszczor (Stary Klasztor) and the parish's localities in St. Peter's parish in Przemęt (Świętopietrze). The parochial district of Kaszczor (Stary Klasztor) parish may only be reconstructed based on the 1603 document; in its description of Przemęt (St. Peter's) parish, the book of benefice compiled in 1510 only names Radomierz and Starkowo. To conclude, it has to be assumed that at the end of the sixteenth century Stary Klasztor parish (and, thereby, Wschowa deanery) reached in the north up to the deanery of Grodzisk, thus encompassing the localities of Ciosaniec, Szreniawa, Łupice (Łupica), Mochy, Wielen, Wijewo, and Osłonin (Osłonino).<sup>130</sup> The natural border at the side of Przemęt (St. Peter's) parish was probably formed by the complex of the Lakes Górskie, Olejnickie, Radomierskie, and Przemęckie, with their surrounding forests.

The third area that requires a detailed discussion is the area of Międzyrzecz, the westernmost part of the diocese of Poznań. As with the vicinity of Wschowa, the Reformation movements had left a strong impression on the local parish structure. Determination of the status of a number of Catholic churches in the latter half of the sixteenth century is fairly difficult. Considering the fact that sixteenth- and eighteenth-century records reflect the changed, post-Reformation parochial divisions, tax registers have to be given an important role in determining the distinctiveness of individual parishes. The main centre that influenced the entire western and southern part of the deanery was the parish in Międzyrzecz. In the south, the Cistercian monastery in Paradyż (Gościkowo) had an important role. In the deanery's eastern and northern part, the extensive parishes of Trzciel, Pszczew (Pzew), Rokitno, Skwierzyna, and Przytoczna (Przetoczno) stretched. Taking into account the contribution registers of 1540 and 1561 and the parish affiliation data from tax registers, the separateness of a number of one-village parishes that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were incorporated in Międzyrzecz or Chociszewo parishes, been retained. One among them is Rogoziniec parish, recorded in the registers of Poznań and Kościan, being a separate parish according to most of them. Only two Kościan registers, 1563 and 1565, have the village allocated to Chociszewo parish, with the remark that payments were made in Poznań district.<sup>131</sup> As per the 1603 visitation record, the church was permanently occupied by the Protestants. It was returned for the purposes of Catholic pastoral activity in 1604 by Bishop Wawrzyniec Goślicki and attached, as filial, to Międzyrzecz.<sup>132</sup> The incorporated parishes, preserving their territorial autonomy in the light of tax registers, included moreover Goruńsko, Chycina, Kursko, Pieski, Grochowo, Nietoperek, and Kęszyca (Kęsica).<sup>133</sup> Despite serious doubts, a separate parish in Lutol Suchy, Międzyrzecz deanery has been plotted on the main map. The parish was annexed in 1551 to Chociszewo, but was still treated separately in tax registers.<sup>134</sup> After the retrieval from the Protestants in the early seventeenth century, it was handled – similarly to Rogoziniec – parish priests of Międzyrzecz, and subsequently attached to Międzyrzecz parish in 1645.<sup>135</sup> The map moreover observes the

<sup>127</sup> LBP, p. 155; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 154; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 599; Czaykowski, p. 828.

<sup>128</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 611; Czaykowski, p. 829.

<sup>129</sup> LBP, p. 154; AAP, CP 404, f. 41v; ASK I 3, f. 341v.

<sup>130</sup> This parish district is attested also by the 1673 visitation record, which remarks that Wijewo already belongs to the parish of Brenno; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 590–591; Czaykowski, p. 829.

<sup>131</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 155; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 157.

<sup>132</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 32v, 140v; Now2, f. 474.

<sup>133</sup> The omission of Nietoperek parish in the contribution lists from 1540 and 1561 is hard to explain; AAP, CP 404, ff. 50v–53; ASK I 3, f. 345–345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, ff. 70–73, 90–90v; Now2, pp. 471–472.

<sup>134</sup> Now2, p. 473; T. Jurek, *Lutol Suchy*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 688–689.

<sup>135</sup> Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, ff. 31–33.

distinctiveness of the one-village parish of Chełmsko, which was dependent on the church in Bledzew and then, in the seventeenth century, affiliated to Rokitno,<sup>136</sup> and of Policko and Gorzycko. These parishes finally collapsed in the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>137</sup>

The case of the village and a potential parish in Lutol Mokry (Lutol Wodny), which is mentioned by Nowacki, is rather complex. Let us add that it is mentioned on a regular basis by tax registers for Poznań district in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>138</sup> Kościan registers assign Lutol Mokry to Zbąszyń parish. The existence of a church in this locality has been challenged by Jurek, who found that the 1645 document produced by Nowacki pertained to Lutol Suchy.<sup>139</sup> This conclusion is by all means justifiable, taking moreover into account the fact that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the *meszne* tax (vested in the parish for celebration of masses at its churches) from Lutol Mokry (Lutolek) was paid to Zbąszyń.<sup>140</sup> The mention in Poznań district of the parish of Lutol Mokry ensued from the frontier character of the locality, since Zbąszyń parish was part of Kościan district territory. And, there is no premise that would testify to a separateness of the parishes of St. Adalbert's (św. Wojciecha) and Bobowicko from Międzyrzecz parish.<sup>141</sup>

Given the records available, the parochial affiliation of the village of Trzebieszewo near Skwierzyna, being part of the episcopal demesne of Pszczew, is unclear. This might have been the reason why certain tax registers include it in Skwierzyna parish, while other ones see it as part of Pszczew. The most interesting, given the context, is the 1576 registry. It mentions Trzebieszewo twice – in Skwierzyna parish, and in the parish of Pszczew, clearly remarking that ‘Trzebyszewo episcopatus Posnaniensis clavis Pczewensis pertinet ad parochiam Sqwyerzyna’, though.<sup>142</sup> As per the 1607 visitation record, Trzebieszewo housed a wooden Nativity of Our Lady church (without a parish priest in office or a parish district). By analogy with the church in Murzynowo, its incorporation in Skwierzyna parish may be assumed.<sup>143</sup>

#### **(b) Parishes, filial parishes, filial/incorporated churches**

Following the assumption adopted in the introduction to this section, the main map and the reference map illustrating the Church structures include, apart from the normally functioning parishes, those centres which, in spite of the atrophy of Catholic pastoral service caused by the Reformation, mainly owing to shortages in parish priest manning, were approached in the second half of the sixteenth century as administrative units (filial parishes). Included in this category are also filial and incorporated churches that preserved their territorial autonomy from their mother parishes and are treated as separate parishes. One such is the parish of Gać, which in spite of its seizure by the Protestants in the mid-sixteenth century was regularly recorded by tax (collection/‘chimney’-tax registers) and contribution registers. Only in the register from 1580 is Gać, together with its parochial localities of Brzeźno and Łopuchowo, mentioned as part of Długa Goślina (Goślina Długa) parish. Similar circumstances were the case with one-village parishes in Ocieszyn<sup>144</sup> and Lewice.<sup>145</sup> Another incorporated parish featuring a well-attested permanent district was also Mutowo (Szamotoły Stare). Clearly, the formal deed of the merger of

<sup>136</sup> Ibidem, f. 98; Now2, p. 480.

<sup>137</sup> Now2, pp. 471–472.

<sup>138</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 315; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 349; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 354.

<sup>139</sup> The basis of T. Jurek's opinion whereby the 1645 document actually mentions Lutol Suchy, rather than Lutol Mokry, is unknown; Now2, p. 473; T. Jurek, *Lutol Mokry*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 687–688.

<sup>140</sup> The 1607 visitation record for Zbąszyń parish refers to a *meszne* paid based on half-*lan* [*póllanek*] in Lutolek locality; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 132.

<sup>141</sup> The 1640 visitation record refers to a St. Adalbert's oratory. Its description differs (in the lack of parish priest's benefice, *inter alia*) from that of the other churches (*ecclesiae*) – those of Rogoziniec, Lutol Suchy, Kęszycza, and Nietoperek – which, though filial, were autonomous as regards property. The 1603 visitation record mentions a church in Bobowicko, whereto the one of Policko (both occupied by the Protestants) was affiliated; however, other records, esp. tax registers, point to Bobowicko belonging to Międzyrzecz parish. Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, ff. 32v, 140v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, ff. 70–76v; Now2, pp. 469–471.

<sup>142</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 434, 572.

<sup>143</sup> Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century files offer no information on this temple. Nowacki presupposes that it might have functioned as a parish in the fifteenth century based on the equipment and the indulgence privilege dated 1454. Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 145v; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 203v; Now2, p. 480.

<sup>144</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 171–174; Now2, pp. 376–377; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Gać*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, p. 449.

<sup>145</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 228; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 313–314; Now2, pp. 461–462; J. Luciński, *Lewice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 592–594.

St. Stanislaus's parish in Szamotuły and St. Martin's parish of Mutowo, Szamotuły Stare, dated 11 June 1478, had not been put into daily practice, since the two parishes are treated separately well into the sixteenth century.<sup>146</sup> In spite of some doubts, the main map shows Boguszyn (Boguszyno) as a separate parish. It is mentioned by the contribution lists from 1540 and 1561,<sup>147</sup> whereas at the time of the 1619 visitation its parochial character was not certain. In Nowacki's opinion, Boguszyn, the church and the parish, was annexed to Radomicko only in 1694–7.<sup>148</sup> Also for the parishes of Lipno, Witosław, Drużyn (Drożyn), Trzebaw, Brójce, Mieczewo, Radzewo, Słupia, Kępa Mała, and Ziemin it was assumed that they eventually faded in the seventeenth century. Lipno, a parish mentioned on regular basis in the records in the latter half of the sixteenth century, was left in the seventeenth under the control of the parish priest of the adjacent parish of Mórkowo; the church was subsequently dismantled.<sup>149</sup> A similar situation was with Witosław parish, which after its collapse in the seventeenth century was made part of Drzeczkowo parish.<sup>150</sup> The parish of Drużyn was annexed to the one of Granowo in 1632.<sup>151</sup> The parish in the village of Trzebaw had apparently collapsed at an earlier date, for the record of the visitation of the parish of Łódź (Łodz) in 1628 has this locality situated within its own parish district, just mentioning the once-existing, and by then completely destroyed, church.<sup>152</sup> The parish of Brójce (hidden, perhaps, under the name of 'Brodze' in the 1561 list), regularly mentioned by sixteenth-century tax registers, after its retrieval from the dissenters was affiliated in 1614, based on its patron's decision (caused by an insignificant benefice), with Babimost.<sup>153</sup> The parishes in Mieczewo and Radzewo were incorporated into Bnin parish, after 1614 and after 1616, respectively. The date of the fall of Słupia's one-village parish is unknown. According to Nowacki, it was incorporated before 1537 in Witaszyce parish. Systematically mentioned in sixteenth-century records, it appears in the benefice district of Witaszyce parish as of 1610.<sup>154</sup> The parish in Ziemin functioned with interruptions and in an irregular fashion, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>155</sup> At the beginning of the latter century, resulting from an inundation of the Warta, the church in Kępa Mała village was destroyed; never rebuilt afterwards, it had its benefice joined with that of the parish of Zaniemyśl (Niezamyśl).<sup>156</sup>

The main map shows the parish of Krzan (Krzon) as an autonomous one, despite its incorporation, prior to the Reformation (in 1508), in the parish in Stary Białcz (Białcz, Białejeziore).<sup>157</sup> This is how the village is recorded in the tax register in 1563, namely, within Stary Białcz parish.<sup>158</sup> However, the contribution lists (1540, 1561) and other tax registers never cease to mention the parish of Krzan.<sup>159</sup> An important premise in favour of the parish's autonomy was the character of its incorporation, which was meant to preserve the parochial rights of the two joint churches and a separate benefice for the chapel in Krzan, as quoted in the 1610 visitation record.<sup>160</sup> The autonomous status of the parish in Rostarzewo (Rzestarzewo), is problematic, as all the tax registers place this village within the parish of Wolsztyn, which was disclosed in the contribution list of 1540 but neglected in the corresponding register dated 1561.<sup>161</sup> The trial in 1513 between the lord of Rostarzewo manor and the parish priest of Wolsztyn was held as the latter had undermined the parochial character of the church and

<sup>146</sup> LBP, pp. 78–79; AAP, CP 404, f. 15v; ASK I 3, f. 330v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 205v; Now2, p. 372.

<sup>147</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 32; ASK I 3, f. 338.

<sup>148</sup> As regards the church in Boguszyn, the visitation record from 1619 has: "Est controversia an pertineat ad parochialem ecclesiam in Radomiczko ut nonnulli asserunt, nec non". The affiliation of Boguszyn and Bronikowo villages, where once had been separate parishes, and of Radomicko parish church was a matter of dispute in the second half of the seventeenth century. Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 141v; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 465; Now2, p. 432.

<sup>149</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 33; ASK I 3, f. 338; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 138; Now2, p. 431.

<sup>150</sup> The 1672 visitation record for this site remarks that it is under custody of the parish priest of Osieczna; AAP, CP 404, f. 32; ASK I 3, f. 338; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 134–134v; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 437v; Now2, p. 429.

<sup>151</sup> Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 145; Now2, p. 369.

<sup>152</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 59v.

<sup>153</sup> Now2, p. 474.

<sup>154</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 106v; Now2, pp. 401–402.

<sup>155</sup> Now2, pp. 451–452.

<sup>156</sup> Ibidem, pp. 359–362.

<sup>157</sup> T. Jurek, *Krzon*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, p. 487.

<sup>158</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 4–5.

<sup>159</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 33; ASK I 3, f. 338; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 335; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 394.

<sup>160</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 78v; Now2, p. 434.

<sup>161</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 44.

demanded that its benefice be taken over by Wolsztyn parish. The picture is even more complicated as the church was taken over by the dissenters in the second half of the sixteenth century. The main premise in favour of having this one-village parish plotted is the mentions confirming its functioning in the latter half of the sixteenth century (e.g., the presentation for the parish priest in 1543, erection deed confirmed as of 1551, commendary in office from 1595 to 1603) and the following mention in the 1603 visitation record: ‘Nullas habet villas parochiales, sed ipsamet villa est per se, ubi dicta ecclesia est aedificata’.<sup>162</sup> The parish in Pierzchno is seen as separate, in spite of its incorporation in the provostry (praepositura) of Kórnik. Though the 1540 list mentions the Pierzchno parish under one item with Kórnik, all the tax registers name it as belonging to the said parish. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the parish was neglected, with no sacraments dispensed (or, at best, given twice in a year); it was run by the parish priest from Kórnik.<sup>163</sup> Albeit the incorporation into Kórnik provostry took place in 1431, still at the beginning of the eighteenth century did Pierzchno parish preserve traces of territorial autonomy (a parochial district).<sup>164</sup> In 1548, the parish of Bojanice, due to poor benefice emoluments, was incorporated, upon consent of the patrons, in the parish of Świerczyna, and yet it is seen by tax registers as a separate unit.<sup>165</sup> The case of Gałęzewo parish was similar. 1446 saw the Chapter of Poznań grant its consent for annexing the parish church in Gałęzewo, as filial, to the parish in Szamarzewo; in 1510 the parish priest of Szamarzewo managed the church in Gałęzewo. In 1540, the bishop recognised the independence of the Gałęzewo church as a parish church.<sup>166</sup> No sixteenth-century record provides a clear and lasting effect of a temporary merger between Łaszczyn (Łaszczyno) and Sarnowa (Sarnowo) parishes.<sup>167</sup> In terms of administrative affiliation, interesting is the relation between the parishes in Noskowo and Potarzyca. The 1510 book of benefice has Nostków (Noskowo), deanery of Nowe Miasto, mentioned as village with a chapel and a prebend with the parish of Potarzyca.<sup>168</sup> The Noskowo parish was founded in 1434. Nowacki supposes that when it came to implementing the founding deed, the parish priest at Potarzyca created some difficulties. This might have led to the diverse terms used in relation to this particular benefice (*oraculum, altare, ecclesia parochialis, beneficium perpetuum*). In his opinion, Noskowo parish became fully autonomous only in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>169</sup>

The omission of certain parishes in the contribution lists from 1540 and 1561 was mostly caused by their legal/formal situation or by the dynamism of Reformation phenomena. One such parish is Budzyń, which was mentioned on a regular basis by tax registers from the second half of sixteenth century and the later visitation records.<sup>170</sup> Its absence in these lists or registers might have been based on a dependence that at times caused conflicts with the adjacent parish of Chodzież, which according to Nowacki was Budzyń’s mother parish.<sup>171</sup> The situation is similar with one-village parish of Wyszczanowo, interrelated with the parish in Stary Dwór and systematically appearing in the tax registers.<sup>172</sup> The main map features, though not without a doubt, the one-village parish of Brudzewo, whose autonomy is attested by tax, including hearth tax, registers from 1631, in spite of its integration in 1563 into Kręcisko (Kręcisko) parish.<sup>173</sup> Another argument is its absence in Kręcisko’s parish district, as per the 1603 visitation record: ‘Villae parochiales sunt 2 Nova et Vetus Kromsko, utraque villae reverendi domini

<sup>162</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, kf. 15; P. Dembiński, *Rzeszotarzewo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, p. 265.

<sup>163</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 8v; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, ff. 79v–80; Now2, p. 359; H. Fokciński, *W sprawie odtworzenia średnio-wiecznej sieci parafialnej w diecezji poznańskiej*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 21, 1973, no. 2, pp. 126–127.

<sup>164</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1695–1696, f. 358; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, ff. 19v–20.

<sup>165</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 23; ASK I 3, f. 335; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 31; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Bojanice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, p. 83–84.

<sup>166</sup> The 1540 contribution list enumerates them under one item, with the word *unitae* crossed out; AAP, CP 404, f. 12v; Now2, p. 364.

<sup>167</sup> Now2, pp. 420–422.

<sup>168</sup> J. Nowacki identifies these localities with each other in the geographical index. However, the dedication of the church in Noskowo the town (St. Helen’s) differs from the one of the parish church in the village of Noskowo (Holy Trinity), which might suggest that the two localities are not identical; *ibidem*, pp. 142, 152, 347.

<sup>169</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 35v; ASK I 3, f. 340v; Now2, pp. 402–403.

<sup>170</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1695–1696, f. 598; S. Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 282.

<sup>171</sup> Now2, p. 383; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Budzyń*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 137–138.

<sup>172</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 24v; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 170; Now2, p. 475.

<sup>173</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 150; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 348; Podymne 1631, f. 46; Now2, p. 458.

abbatis'.<sup>174</sup> Similar circumstances have caused that a separate parish in Koźmiek be plotted. It is disclosed in the tax registers for the district of Kościan (due to the geography) as well as for that of Poznań (owing to ownership relations with the Cistercians of Paradyż). As far as Kościan registers are concerned, the location was included, as a rule, in the parish of Kręcko, sometimes without quoting the amount or base of the tax concerned, with reference to Poznań district.<sup>175</sup> The tax amount and base is regularly specified whenever Koźminek is disclosed as a separate parish in the tax registers for Poznań district.<sup>176</sup> The church was not covered by the 1603 visitation, for it had no priest in office yet, freshly retrieved from the Protestants.<sup>177</sup> The omission in the contribution lists of Łagowiec parish, otherwise noted down in the tax registers, might have been due to its dependence, though not documentarily attested, on Bukowiec Międzyrzecki (Bukowiec).<sup>178</sup> The lack in the 1561 register of the Holy Spirit parish in Oborniki might have been due to its special character (a hospital church, second parish in Oborniki, in the suburban area). As a provostry parish church, it is still mentioned in an visitation record from the early eighteenth century.<sup>179</sup>

Some of the parishes have lost their territorial autonomy resulting from the incorporation, the latter being in some cases related to the parish's collapse in the course of the Reformation. Morasko (Morawsko) is only mentioned as a parish's seat in the 1553 tax register.<sup>180</sup> After the incorporation in the parish of Chojnica in 1507, and the seizure of the benefice in the mid-sixteenth century, the parish eventually collapsed. The 1540 and 1561 contribution lists describe it as joined with Chojnica, the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century and thereafter include the village in the parish of Chojnica.<sup>181</sup> The situation was similar with Stare Borówko (Borówko) parish, which was merged with Czempin parish in 1470 (after parish priest Michał's death). The related decree was issued by the bishop of Poznań in 1460.<sup>182</sup> Although the parish is mentioned also by the contribution lists from 1540 and 1561 (specifying no tax amount), it is absent in the tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century and in the 1510 book of benefice. Borówko basically belongs to the parish of Czempin.<sup>183</sup> The parish of Przyprostynia (Przeprostynia), existing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was incorporated in 1515 in Zbąszyń parish. The 1540 and 1561 contribution lists indicate its association with Zbąszyń, whilst the tax registers consistently mention the village within the parish of Zbąszyń.<sup>184</sup> The parish in Błażejewo (Błożejewo) was mentioned by the 1540 contribution list alongside the provostry in Bnin, in which it had been incorporated in 1513; the subsequent list, dated 1561, does not name it.<sup>185</sup> This lot was shared by the parishes of Osiecko and Nowa Wieś, whose churches were merged into the parish of Sokola Dąbrowa (Falkwald) and re-ranked as affiliated ones.<sup>186</sup> As a separate parish, Boryszyn is only mentioned in the register from 1553.<sup>187</sup> By 1540, it had probably become a *filia* of Żarzyn; it is the latter that the other tax register allocated the village to.<sup>188</sup> The parish in Głuchów lost its territorial autonomy probably in the fifteenth century or in the first decades of the sixteenth; it is mentioned (no description) in the book of benefice, 1510, but not in the 1540 or 1561 contribution lists. Nowacki takes note that there are no mentions of parish priests in Głuchów after

<sup>174</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 20v.

<sup>175</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 151; RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 149; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 48; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 325.

<sup>176</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 229; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 245; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 243; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 242; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 250.

<sup>177</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 24v; Now2, p. 458; T. Jurek, *Koźminek*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 432–433.

<sup>178</sup> Now2, 473; G. Rutkowska, *Łagowiec*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I3, pp. 4–5.

<sup>179</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, ff. 140–141v.

<sup>180</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, nos. 268–269.

<sup>181</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 16v; ASK I 3, f. 330v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, ff. 252–252v; Wiz. Poz. 1695–1696, f. 176v; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 118v; Now2, p. 374.

<sup>182</sup> Now2, p. 426; S. Chmielewski, *Borówko*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 94–95.

<sup>183</sup> LBP, p. 126; AAP, CP 404, f. 30; ASK I 3, f. 338.

<sup>184</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 44v; ASK I 3, f. 342v; Now2, p. 456; P. Dembiński, *Przeprostynia*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 853–855.

<sup>185</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 8; Now2, p. 359.

<sup>186</sup> Enumerated in the contribution lists of 1540 and 1561. As of 1561, both parishes were occupied by the Protestants. All the tax registers have them as part of Sokola Dąbrowa parish; AAP, CP 404, ff. 51v, 52v; ASK I 3, ff. 345v–346; Now2, pp. 477–478.

<sup>187</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 11.

<sup>188</sup> As of 1540, Żarzyn and Boryszyn were handled by the same parish priest. Boryszyn does not appear in the 1561 contribution list; AAP, CP 404, f. 51v; Now2, p. 476; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Boryszyn*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, p. 98.

1427. Tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century include the village in Pogorzela parish.<sup>189</sup> Rybojady parish was annexed to the parish of Trzciel in the fourteenth century, according to Nowacki; the memory of that incorporation reappears in the institutive document for both presbyteries (parsonages) concerned, dated 1583.<sup>190</sup> The incorporation of Dąbcze (Dąbiec) parish into the one of Rydzyna took place in the early fifteenth century, whereas Słupia Kapitulna (Słupia) parish was made part of the parish of Czesram before 1510. Słupia Kapitulna became an autonomous pastoral centre again only in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>191</sup> According to Nowacki, Sobiałkowo parish was incorporated in Miejska Górka (Górka) in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century. The contribution lists from 1540 and 1561 treat both centres as merged, while tax registers consistently have Sobiałkowo within Miejska Górka parish.<sup>192</sup> The exact date of annexation of the parish in Dłoń (Dłonia) village to Kołaczkowice parish is unknown. Mentioned in the 1540 contribution list, it is not specified in the corresponding 1561 record, whereas all the tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century include it in the parish of Kołaczkowice.<sup>193</sup>

Tax registers refer to the village of Wysoka in different ways. Some see it as a separate parish whilst others include it into the parish of Kaława;<sup>194</sup> the contribution lists of 1540 and 1561 ignore the name. In the main map, it is included in the parochial district of Kaława, where it belonged together with its filial church in 1603.<sup>195</sup> Among the parishes that lost their parochial rights during the Reformation and are not mentioned – or, if so, only fragmentarily – in the list records of the latter half of the sixteenth century, are also Mieściska (Mieścisko, Ceradz Stary parish),<sup>196</sup> Górka (village deserted in the sixteenth century, Trzebaw parish),<sup>197</sup> and Dąbrowa (deserted village, Dębno parish).<sup>198</sup> Erected in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the church in Radlin, mentioned in the 1610 visitation record, cannot be regarded as a parish church for there was no pastoral benefice related to it, and the church was managed by the parish priest of Wilkowyja. The locality was not mentioned in the parochial district of Wilkowyja; for the Mieszków parish, an annotation reads, ‘olim pertinebat etiam Radlinum, sed postea per compositionem separatum’. Apparently, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the parish of Radlin was getting organised.<sup>199</sup>

In the main map, the symbol of parish marks the parish’s central seat – also if occupied by the Protestants. This refers, for instance, to the parish of Skoki, where, resulting from the seizure of the church by the Protestants, the seat of the Catholic parish was temporarily moved to Potrzeznowo.<sup>200</sup> It was similar with the parish of Gnin (Gnino), where the functions of parish church were taken over by the filial church in Jabłonna (Jabłona Stara).<sup>201</sup> In some cases, a difference might have occurred between the parish’s name and its seat, or, such names could have appeared alternately (as with Paradyż – Jordanowo; Oborniki: Holy Spirit – Stara Wieś). Two parishes appeared for Żerków: the urban one – St. Nicholas’s, and the suburban one – St. Stanislaus’s.<sup>202</sup> A particularly interesting case is the relations between the churches in the parish of Grobia-Bucz (Bocz). The situation was made even more complex owing to the Reformation; at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the churches

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<sup>189</sup> LBP, p. 151; Now2, pp. 404–405.

<sup>190</sup> Now2, p. 472.

<sup>191</sup> The details of Słupia parish included in Kościan district’s tax registers for 1563–80 concern Słupia (Biskupia) near Stęszewo, not Słupia Kapitulna (near Czesram). Owing to its border location, Słupia (Biskupia) was recorded by Poznań as well as Kościan registers; LBP, p. 118; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 222v–223v; Now2, p. 420; I. Skierska, *Słupia*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 556–557.

<sup>192</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 27v; ASK I 3, f. 335; Now2, p. 421; K. Górka-Gołaska, I. Skierska, *Sobiałkowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 570–573.

<sup>193</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 27v; Now2, p. 418; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Dłoń*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 354–355.

<sup>194</sup> In some registers, Wysoka is featured as a locality within Kaława parish *and* as an autonomous parish; RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 106, 554; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 204, 653; RPWP, pzn, 1577, nos. 221, 696.

<sup>195</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 25v.

<sup>196</sup> Now2, p. 460; J. Luciński, *Mieściska*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 118–120.

<sup>197</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 22; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Górka*, [in:] SHGPoz, Part I, pp. 625–626.

<sup>198</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 34v; ASK I 3, f. 340v; Now2, pp. 399–400.

<sup>199</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, ff. 103, 110v; Now2, p. 578.

<sup>200</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 38v; Now2, p. 577.

<sup>201</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 46.

<sup>202</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, ff. 99–101; Now2, p. 401.

in Bucz and Grobia are referred to as deserted.<sup>203</sup> The parish of Grobia was restored in 1641, with its new seat of Bucz (Grobia locality vanished).<sup>204</sup> The parish of Charbielin was moved after 1650 to St. James's (św. Jakuba) church in Dłużyna.<sup>205</sup> It has been problematic to determine the central seat of Komorowo as a parish of Wolsztyn. Controversy was once triggered by the establishment of a church in the town of Wolsztyn within Komorowo parish. Based on the bishop's decision from 1461, the Holy Masses on Sundays were to be celebrated at both churches: the morning mass in the mother church of Komorowo and the High Mass at the filial church of Wolsztyn.<sup>206</sup> It has to be made clear that the notions of 'mother' (*matrix*) and 'filial' (*filialis*) status ought to be referred to parochial rights with considerable carefulness, for the mother church (*matrix*) cannot be directly identified with a parochial one (*parochialis*), whereas the filial (*filialis*) church is not identical with a non-parochial one (*non parochialis, filialis*). A church's filial status might have:

- 1) been caused by its later date of emergence, as compared with the mother church ('filial' is a younger church than the mother one) – this being a genetic criterion;
- 2) ensued from the pastoral subordination and dependence – a hierarchical criterion.

The temple in Wolsztyn is a perfect example of filial church (under the former criterion) which gradually received its parochial rights, causing in parallel the transition of the mother church in Komorowo into a filial one (under the latter criterion). The moment of transferring the parochial rights to the Wolsztyn church is difficult to grasp, as it was a process. The bigger significance of the church in Wolsztyn already in 1540 is seemingly attested by the verdict in the trial of Błażej, parish priest at Wolsztyn and Komorowo, stating that on each feast day, save for Sundays, it was in Wolsztyn, the place with a larger congregation of the faithful, that solemn sung masses were to be held. The exception was the patronal feast, on which the Holy Mass was to be celebrated in Komorowo.<sup>207</sup>

**Table 2. Areas of deaneries and number of Latin parishes in Greater Poland part of diocese of Poznań (end of sixteenth century)**

Archdeaconry	Deanery	Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	Number of parishes
Poznań	Oborniki	4633	52
	Poznań	1,279	38
	Pyzdry	601	25
	Stęszew	617	15
	Wałcz ( <i>Zanotecki</i> )	2,333	4
		9,463	134
Pszczew	Grodzisk	1,662	33
	Międzyrzecz	1,579	33
	Wronki	1,971	25
		5,212	91
Śrem	Kościan	1,107	39
	Nowe Miasto	1,789	49
	Śrem	1,796	36
	Wschowa	693	22
		5,385	146
<b>Total</b>		20,060	371

<sup>203</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 144v.

<sup>204</sup> Now2, p. 435; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 454v ("ecclesia in Grobia seu Bucz"). On the location of Grobia the locality, see A. Borek and M. Słomski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.1.4.

<sup>205</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 608; Now2, p. 444.

<sup>206</sup> A. Weiss, *Parafia Komorowo-Wolsztyn w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Lublin 1979, pp. 38–39; J. Luciński, *Komorowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 277–281.

<sup>207</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 107; J. Luciński, *Komorowo*, pp. 277–281.

### (c) Parochial districts

There are many doubtful cases regarding the parochial affiliation of individual villages or smaller settlements (demesne farms, mill settlements, etc.). When resolving such doubts, the relevant decisions of ecclesiastical authorities or patrons ought to be taken into consideration.

The affiliation of Buszewo is a problematic issue, given the records. The locality was moved in 1411 by the bishop of Poznań from the parish of Otorowo to the parish of Psarskie.<sup>208</sup> Some tax registers and the hearth tax register from 1631 continuously attribute Buszewo to Otorowo parish, though.<sup>209</sup> The other registers from the second half of the sixteenth century and the visitation record from 1603 refer to Buszewo as part of Psarskie parish.<sup>210</sup> Tax records from the latter half of the sixteenth century, save for the earliest tax register, dated 1553, place the village of Konin (Konino) in the parish of Lwówek. In 1557, Poznań Bishop had the locality temporarily moved to Lwówek parish, as the one of Pniewy was seized by the Protestants. Konin became part of Pniewy parish again probably at the century's end, with its resumption of the Catholic practice. The years 1585 and 1590 saw the institution of two parish priests at Pniewy; the parish's visitation record of 1603 mentions Konin within the parish's district, with the remark 'Konin sub Lwowko'.<sup>211</sup> A similar situation was the case with Kawczyn (Kawczyno) village. After the seizure of Oborzyska parish by the Protestants in 1562, the bishop of Poznań annexed the village, on request of Łukasz Rydzyński, the landlord of Kawczyn, to the parish of Bonikowo.<sup>212</sup> The main map shows Kawczyn within Oborzyska parish as it is hard to decide whether the 1562 decision had actually been delivered, since all the tax registers still specify the village as belonging to Oborzyska parish, similarly as the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ecclesiastical records.<sup>213</sup> And, there is no known confirmation of the Poznań bishop's decision to temporarily move, in 1560 the village from Niałek Wielki parish to Siedlec parish, on request of the owners of Powodowo. The tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century and the earliest preserved visitation record, dated 1603, describe the locality as situated in Niałek Wielki.<sup>214</sup> The placement of Strychy (Strych) village in Międzychód parish is based on the new ordination for that particular church: dated 1591, it resolved that Strychy village be moved from the parish of Przytoczna (Przetoczno).<sup>215</sup>

Decisions of Church authorities have been taken into account also when it came to analysing the parochial affiliation of the villages of Wyszynki (Wyszyny) and Prosna, on the border area of Ryczywół and Chodzież parishes (deanery of Oborniki). As of 1510, both villages were part of Chodzież parish; Wyszynki paid one-half of its tithe to Ryczywół.<sup>216</sup> In 1559–61, Bishop Andrzej Czarnkowski moved the two localities from the parish of Chodzież, occupied by the dissenters, to Ryczywół, until Chodzież parish was returned to the Catholic community.<sup>217</sup> This fact is not reflected in the tax registers, as Prosna appears in them as belonging to Chodzież parish,<sup>218</sup> whereas Wyszynki is mentioned alternately for the parishes of Chodzież and Ryczywół. The important thing is that Wyszynki appear in the tax registers as part of Ryczywół parish also prior to the Poznań bishop's decision; in two cases, the tax collector, recording Wyszynki among Ryczywół parish's localities, clearly remarked that the village belonged to Chodzież parish.<sup>219</sup> The Poznań bishop's decree was probably never delivered; the year 1586 saw

<sup>208</sup> Now2, p. 463; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Buszewo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 154–155.

<sup>209</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 427; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 425; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 431; Podymne 1631, f. 15.

<sup>210</sup> Buszewo is mentioned as part of Psarskie parish by the visitation record for 1641, which remarks that the tithe is paid to Otorowo. It was possibly for this reason that *Regestr diecezjów* included Buszewo in Otorowo parish; RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 340; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 409; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 443; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 40v; Wiz. Czr. 1640–1641, f. 292v; Czaykowski, p. 773.

<sup>211</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 42v; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, ff. 236–236v; Czaykowski, p. 774; Now2, pp. 462, 555; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Konin*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 301–303.

<sup>212</sup> K. Górka-Gołaska, *Kawczyn*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, p. 149.

<sup>213</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 519v; Czaykowski, p. 739.

<sup>214</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 399; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 465; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 18.

<sup>215</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 33v; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 217; Czaykowski, p. 773; Now2, pp. 467–468.

<sup>216</sup> LBP, p. 83–84.

<sup>217</sup> Now2, p. 382; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Prosna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 818–819.

<sup>218</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 91; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 96.

<sup>219</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 369 (Ryczywół); RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 458 (Ryczywół); RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 455 (“Wyssyny ad parochiam Chodziesz pertinet”); RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 95 (Chodzież); RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 499 (“Wissiny ad parochiam Chodziesz”); RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 515 (Ryczywół); RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 106 (Chodzież); RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 512 (Ryczywół); RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 512 (Ryczywół).

a Catholic priest (commendary) join the parish of Chodzież. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visitation records confirm Proсна's belonging to Chodzież parish and Wyszynki village's division between the parishes of Chodzież and Ryczywół (the *meszne* tax was paid as of 1641 alternately to both parishes).<sup>220</sup> The division of benefice from one locality into two parishes was a rather frequent situation, but not always implying the locality's administrative split into two parish districts. A settlement split between two parishes was Małachowo (Malechowo). Mentioned for the parish of Kunowo as well as for that of Dolsk, it appears in tax registers only with the latter one. The 1610 visitation record remarks for Dolsk parish that tithes from the demesne farmstead were paid to Kunowo while the *meszne* from the serf *lans*, to the parish of Dolsk.<sup>221</sup> A similar picture can be found in the visitation records for Kunowo and Dolsk parishes, 1672–85: 'Małachowo. Habetur praedium curiae et spectat ad ecclesiam parochialem in Kunowo. Post agros vero cmetonales solvuntur missalia venerabili parochio in Dolsko'.<sup>222</sup> The dispute over the benefice from Małachowo involved the parish priests of Dolsk and Kunowo already in the fifteenth century.<sup>223</sup> Also, the division of Grąbkowo between the parishes of Jutrosin the demesne farm and Golejewko (Czesram) the village, with the tax registers consistently allocating the locality to the parish of Golejewko (Czesram), was permanent.<sup>224</sup> The village of Strzyżew (Strzeżewo) was located on the border area of the parish of Lutynia the manor and *hortulani* (smallholders) and Dobrzyca – *ipsa villa*.<sup>225</sup> The division into two parishes of the localities of Boszkowo and Węgrzynowo – and, potentially, Raszkowo – is mentioned elsewhere.<sup>226</sup>

Rather convoluted were the relations between the parishes of Przemęt – St. Peter's (Świętopietrze) and St. Andrew's in the later sixteenth/early seventeenth century, both being mentioned by the Poznań diocese's book of benefice (1510) and the contribution registers of 1540 and 1561.<sup>227</sup> The visitation record of 1619 is crucial as it specifies that a St. Peter's church had once existed outside the town; destroyed due to its age, it was abolished a few years until the visitation, and the site profanated. The benefice and obligations were taken over, on consent of Przemęt abbots, by St. Andrew's parish. Among the localities once providing benefits to the St. Peter's church, Błotnica, Górsko, Radomierz, Starkowo, and Boszkowo are mentioned. Save for Górsko, these localities are enumerated for Przemęt (Świętopietrze) parish in tax register for 1563 and 1565.<sup>228</sup> The geographical location of Górsko urges one to include it in Przemęt (Świętopietrze) parish as well, in line with the visitation record rather than tax registers. It is harder to reconstruct the parochial districts of the mutually adjacent parishes of Wysocko Wielkie and Ostrów Wielkopolski (Ostrów). The origins of the parish in Wysocko Wielkie, handled by two parish priests for some time, dated back probably to as early as the twelfth century. The parish of Ostrów Wielkopolski (Ostrów), separated from it, functioned at times under the name of Ostrów Krępe. Basing mainly on the 1510 book of benefice and tax registers, Nowacki refers to an extensive district of Wysocko Wielkie parish, consisting of nineteen localities. He only includes the parochial city of Ostrów Wielkopolski to its namesake parish.<sup>229</sup> However, the Church records offer a different picture. The records of the visitations of Ostrów Wielkopolski parish carried out in 1672 and 1683 found that, based on the erection deed, the villages of Zacharzew (Zacharzewo), Krępa (Krępe), Zębców (Ząbczewo), and Stare Kamienice (Kamienice) belonged to it from the very beginning.<sup>230</sup> Why

<sup>220</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 3v; Podymne 1631, f. 5, 17v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 375; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 161; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, f. 87v.

<sup>221</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 63v.

<sup>222</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 98, 105.

<sup>223</sup> T. Jurek, *Malechowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 73–77.

<sup>224</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 217v, 230v; LBP, pp. 116, 118.

<sup>225</sup> The Strzyżew tithe was granted by the court in 1539 to the parish priest of Lutynia. As per the tenor of the 1672–83 visitation records, the *meszne* was paid to Lutynia parish every three years; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 105v; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 309, 311v, 691v.

<sup>226</sup> Follow the whole chapter.

<sup>227</sup> The 1561 contribution list mentions two churches in Przemęt – namely, St. Andrew's and 'Sancti Spiritus ante Przemeth', which is either an error or a second dedication, as St. Peter's church is actually meant (no 'Holy Spirit' church in the town is known whatsoever).

<sup>228</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, nos. 457–461; RPWP, ksc, 1565, nos. 455–459.

<sup>229</sup> AAP, CP 404, f. 39; ASK I 3, f. 340v; Now2, 409.

<sup>230</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 707, 714–714v.

two of them, namely Zacharzew and Zębców, were mentioned in the 1510 book of benefice's description of Wysocko Wielkie parish, is difficult to explain.<sup>231</sup>

The problems causing interpretive difficulties in the determination of a locality's parochial affiliation is often a lack or inaccuracy of basic source information. This has at times to do with the way in which small mill or forge settlements were recorded – that is, as commercial facilities together with the larger centres. The considerable confusion is also caused by recording of localities in tax registers according to ownership, rather than by parish, the latter being the basic registration order. In the light of tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century, the range of the parishes of Rożnowo and Rogoźno is unclear: they were always noted down next to each other, while the 1553 register has a one-village parish of Rożnowo, and then the one Rogoźno with a number of member localities.<sup>232</sup> This sequence is reverted in the later register, with a one-village parish of Rogoźno followed by Rożnowo parish with those same localities as enumerated for Rogoźno parish in 1553.<sup>233</sup> The way the records are made in the 1563–83 registers does not entail that the said localities had altered their parochial affiliation, as is indicated by seventeenth-century visitation records as well as the tax registers for Gniezno district, to which the villages of Marlewo and Żerniki belonged.<sup>234</sup> Somewhat problematic is the belonging to Rogoźno of the localities of Rudnice and Runowo (Rumnowo), both recorded by tax registers for the districts of Poznań (Rogoźno parish) and Kcynia (Potulice parish).<sup>235</sup> The allocation of these border localities to the parish of Potulice in Kcynia district's tax registers followed from the fact that those registers did not disclose Rogoźno parish as it was part of Poznań district, including these localities instead in the closest adjacent and westernmost parish of the respective district. The resolving record has therefore been that for the parish of Potulice dated 1628, which found that, apart from the parochial locality, only two villages – Nowe Brzeźno (Brzeźna) and Żelice – belonged to it,<sup>236</sup> as is confirmed by the later visitation records for the parishes of Potulice and Rogoźno.<sup>237</sup> Probably a similar circumstance underlay the inclusion in the Poznań district's tax registers of Brzekiniec locality in the parish of Rogoźno. Moreover, the village was part of the *starostwo* (starost's district) of Rogoźno. Yet, it belonged to the adjacent parish in Potulice, situated in Kcynia district and neglected by the Poznań registers.<sup>238</sup>

The district of the parish of Łęgowo, incorporated in 1596 in the convent of Wągrowiec, is poorly attested for the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>239</sup> The parish's benefice received by the convent, as specified in the 1628 visitation record, came from Łęgowo itself and from Sienno and Czekanowo villages (the affiliation of Bobrowniki is covered above).<sup>240</sup> Czekanowo should be regarded as part of the parish of Lechlin (Lechnin), for it was there that 50% of the *meszne* tax was paid.<sup>241</sup> The locality is allocated in the same way in the 1510 book of benefice and in all the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century and the later visitations.<sup>242</sup> In the main map, the village of Roszkowo (Raszkowo) appears as part of Lechlin parish. In the former half of the eighteenth century, it was part of Skoki parish, whereas its earlier split into Lechlin i Skoki parishes cannot be preclude.<sup>243</sup> Somewhat

<sup>231</sup> LBP, pp. 116, 152.

<sup>232</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, nos. 375–390.

<sup>233</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1563, nos. 465–490; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 500–527 (Międzyzlesie, in Rogoźno parish); RPWP, pzn, 1583, nos. 517–546.

<sup>234</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, nos. 309–311; RPWK, gzn, 1588, nos. 324–325; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 43.

<sup>235</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1563, nos. 487–489; RPWP, pzn, 1583, nos. 543–545; RPWK, kcn, 1564, nos. 181–182; RPWK, kcn, 1583, nos. 176–177.

<sup>236</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 41.

<sup>237</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 377v, 389; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, ff. 256–257, 265.

<sup>238</sup> LBP, 89; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, f. 265; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 377v.

<sup>239</sup> It is difficult to identify the source behind J. Nowacki's statement that Łęgowo, Sienno, Bobrowniki, and (partly) Czekanów belonged to the parish as of 1510. No benefice of the parish is specified in the book of benefice from 1510. LBP, p. 89; Now2, p. 380.

<sup>240</sup> See foot note 35 in this chapter.

<sup>241</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, kf. 40.

<sup>242</sup> LBP, p. 37; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 395v; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, f. 272.

<sup>243</sup> The village of Roszkowo paid its *meszne* to Lechlin parish, as of 1628; the 1727 visitation record mentions a distribution of the benefice from that locality among the parishes of Skoki and Lechlin, whilst the *meszne* tax, and the locality itself, belonged to Skoki parish. The latter fact is confirmed by the visitation record of Lechlin parish in 1778, where it is remarked that "Villam Roszkowo anteriores visitationes inter villas parochiales ecclesiae Lechlinensis significavit, ultima vero

problematic, owing the discrepant source information, is the scope of Grobia parish, at the border with the parishes of Wilkowo Polskie and Przemęt (Świętopietrze). The related information from the book of benefice, 1510, appears incomplete.<sup>244</sup> The tax registers point to the affiliation of Boszkowo village to Przemęt (Świętopietrze) parish, and Barchlin (Barklin) – to Wilkowo Wielkie parish. This is somewhat opposed by the information, quoted by Nowacki, whereby, in line with the Andrzej Bniński document from 1440, Boszkowo and Barchlin were part of Grobia parish (Bucz, in seventeenth-century terms).<sup>245</sup> The 1619 visitation record for the parish of Przemęt mentions Boszkowo among the localities which once had paid the *meszne* tax to St. Peter's church in Przemęt.<sup>246</sup> An explanation is provided by the following excerpt from the Przemęt parish visitation record from 1672–1684: 'Boszkowo. Habetur praedium et pertinet ad sanctam Barbaram in Grobia, villa pertinet ad parochiam Premetensem'.<sup>247</sup> On this basis, the affiliation of the settlement to the parishes of Przemęt (Świętopietrze) and Grobia can be determined. Harder to explain is why the tax registers allocated Barchlin to Wilkowo Wielkie parish; the aforesaid document, and the later ecclesiastical sources suggest that the affiliation with the parish of Grobia is pretty probable.<sup>248</sup>

The parochial affiliation of Sworzyce had triggered doubts since the mid-fifteenth century. Claims to the village were laid by the parish priests of Bukowiec (Bukowiec Małego) as well as those of Grodzisk Wielkopolski (Grodzisk). The tax registers consistently have Sworzyce situated in Grodzisk Wielkopolski parish, but the visitation record from 1603 and the later Church sources include it in the parish of Bukowiec.<sup>249</sup> This very affiliation, in spite of the doubts related to Sworzyce having been moved under the jurisdiction of Bukowiec, is shown in the main map. This version is potentially supported by the geographical location of Sworzyce, close to Kąkolewo (the other parochial locality of Bukowiec) and considerably far from the localities of Grodzisk Wielkopolski parish. The parochial affiliation of Szczepowice parish is also problematic. In the fifteenth century, it clearly shows a relationship with Konojad, whilst the tax registers include it in Modrze parish. An important premise behind the inclusion of this locality in the parish of Konojad is provided by the document renewing the erection of the church in Konojad, dated 1601, which mentions Szczepowice within the said parish.<sup>250</sup> Given the available information, the altered parochial affiliation of Wrózewy village as per the tax registers is difficult to explain: the lists of 1576 and 1577 mention the locality in the parish of Lutogniew. The subsequent ones, in Benice parish. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Church records and the locality's geographical situation, between Bożacin and Lutogniew, in the latter's direct vicinity and on the same side of the river, suggest the affiliation to Lutogniew parish.<sup>251</sup>

Rogoźno parish oftentimes appears in the latter half of the sixteenth century as related to Jaracz, a mill settlement. However, its affiliation to the parish of Parkowo, as attested by the 1510 book of benefice, tax registers from 1508 and 1553, and the later visitation records, ought to be taken into account.<sup>252</sup> The picture is further complicated by the character of the settlement, which was recorded in the registers as a mill outside the village of Parkowo or the village of Wełna (the latter's belonging to Rogoźno is not unambiguous, either).<sup>253</sup> It was perhaps for this reason that it was not mentioned

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Kaczkoviana eam in controverso cum parochia Skocense extitisse asserit, ad praesens est sub regimine parochi Skocensis, quo titulo et a quo tempore ex documentis ecclesiae Lechlinensis non constat." The description of Skoki parish district is annotated: "Villa Raszkowo ad vigore erectionis ad hanc ecclesiam iure parochiali spectans"; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 39v; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, ff. 395v, 401; Wiz. Poz. 1777–1784, ff. 367v, 372v.

<sup>244</sup> LBP, pp. 127–128.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. critical remarks re. the mention in the visitation records in J. Nowacki and K. Górńska-Gołaska: Now2, p. 435; K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Grobia*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 673–674.

<sup>246</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 147.

<sup>247</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 448v.

<sup>248</sup> Ibidem, f. 458; Wiz. Śrm. 1725–1728, f. 516; Czaykowski, p. 805.

<sup>249</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 46; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 51v; Czaykowski, p. 722; G. Rutkowska, *Sworzyce*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 755–756.

<sup>250</sup> The village also appears in Konojad parish's benefice district as of 1641 and 1724; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 149; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 21–22; J. Luciński, *Konojad*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 306–310; G. Rutkowska, *Szczepowice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 816–818.

<sup>251</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 739–739v; Czaykowski, p. 747.

<sup>252</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 336; ASK I 3, f. 15; LBP, 89; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 413v.

<sup>253</sup> Difficulties arise when it comes to determining the parish affiliation of Wełna village. In 1510, it belonged to Rogoźno parish, but tithe from the two demesne farmsteads were paid to Parkowo. As of 1628, the patronage of Parkowo parish was

in the visitation record for the parish of Parkowo dated 1628, which stated that the parochial village was the only one there.<sup>254</sup> It was probably the locality's character that caused the difference in the recording of the mill settlements of Sapolny Młyn and Bobrówka. The sixteenth-century tax registers have it located in as many as three parishes – namely, Trzciel,<sup>255</sup> Wytomyśl,<sup>256</sup> and Lwówek.<sup>257</sup> The visitation record of Pszczew deanery, 1603–7, mentions none of these localities within the respective districts of the said parishes, save for the fact of Sapolno millers' providing the Lwówek parish priest with one 'measure' (*ćwiertnia (miara, met(h)reta)*) of flour.<sup>258</sup> Early seventeenth-century ecclesiastical sources completely ignore the mill settlement of Bobrówka. The tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century mention it also in Trzciel,<sup>259</sup> Wytomyśl,<sup>260</sup> and Lwówek<sup>261</sup> parishes, Wytomyśl being the most frequently mentioned identification. The mill is named in the benefice district of Wytomyśl parish in the visitation record dated 1725<sup>262</sup> – most probably because of the fact that the estates of Marcin Lwowski, the owner of Bobrówka, spread across all those parishes. Wytomyśl the parish possessed moreover the mill settlement of Mniszek, which is absent in the tax registers; its parochial affiliation is indirectly suggested by the association with the estates of Trzciel and Lwówek.<sup>263</sup>

The tax registers ignore the demesne farmstead named Krowi Lasek, whose exact location has not been determined. It is mentioned in the 1510 book of benefice as related to the parish of Goniębice (Goniębice), to which tithes from its land belonged. It was however clearly remarked that 'Praedium dictum Crowylassek decimat plebano suo':<sup>264</sup> probably the parish priest of Osieczna is meant, who collected the tithe from this demesne farm also in the seventeenth century.<sup>265</sup> The demesne farmstead of Maliny (Malinie), belonging to Wieszczyżyn (Wieszczyżyno) parish, appears in the tax records for the parish of Dolsk (Dolsko). This problematic affiliation has probably to do with the dispute over the locality that occurred in the middle of the fifteenth century between the parish priests of Wieszczyżyn and Dolsk; the arrangement concluded in 1449 allocated the village to Wieszczyżyn parish.<sup>266</sup> Less is known of the affiliation of the demesne farmstead named Gaj, located between the parishes of Dolsk and Kunowo. First attested in 1471, it rarely appears in the records. Following Jan Korytkowski, SHGPoz allocates the demesne farm to the parish of Kunowo.<sup>267</sup> The parochial affiliation of Ciężyń (Ciężym) village, chartered in the second half of the sixteenth century, is uncertain. Owing to the lack of comparative information from the visitations in the first half of the seventeenth century, its affiliation with the Boruszyn parish, as per the tax registers, has been maintained. In the eighteenth century, the village was included in Połajewo parish.<sup>268</sup> As similar difficulty is the case with the village of Szczepankowo,

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held by the landlords of Welna. The tithe from Welna demesne farm is attested in 1727 as received by Rogoźno, whereas the *ćwiertnia/metreta* of flour from the mill near Welna village – by the parish priest of Parkowo. The 1778 visitation record for Rogoźno parish specifies: "Villa autem Welna qualiter ad parochiam Parkoviensem applicata", its affiliation having been not *ex iure* but *ex usu*; ASK I 6, f. 135v; LBP, p. 89; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 42v; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, ff. 388v, 413v; Wiz. Poz. 1777–1784, ff. 337, 419; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Jaracz*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 26–27.

<sup>254</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 42v.

<sup>255</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 511; RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 634; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 620; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 662; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 705.

<sup>256</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 737; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 737.

<sup>257</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 293.

<sup>258</sup> The settlement so named is mentioned for Lwówek parish also by *Registr diecezjów*; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 45; Czaykowski, p. 772.

<sup>259</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1553, no. 512.

<sup>260</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 668; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 655; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 698; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 736; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 725; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 741.

<sup>261</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 294.

<sup>262</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 284.

<sup>263</sup> J. Luciński, *Mniszek*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 178–179.

<sup>264</sup> LBP, p. 132.

<sup>265</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 131; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 432; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Krowi Lasek*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, p. 470.

<sup>266</sup> LBP, p. 107; Wiz. Śrm. 1725–1728, f. 399; T. Jurek, *Malinie*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 80–81.

<sup>267</sup> Gaj demesne farmstead is mentioned as part of Dolsk parish in the 1631 hearth tax (*podymne*) record. The affiliation to Kunowo is confirmed by the visitation record from 1672–85 and F. Czaykowski's list (second half of the eighteenth century); *Podymne* 1631, f. 37v; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 97v; Czaykowski, p. 820; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Gaj*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, p. 450.

<sup>268</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, f. 96; Czaykowski, p. 793.

between the parishes of Ostroróg and Szamotuły. The tax registers include the village in the latter,<sup>269</sup> as is confirmed by the parish's earliest preserved baptismal register.<sup>270</sup> From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, the visitation records place the village in the parish of Ostroróg.<sup>271</sup> The exact date of the moving of Karna village from the parish of Zbąszyń to the one of Siedlec<sup>272</sup> is unknown. Similarly for Krasne Dłusko (Dłusko) village – from Skwierzyna to Przytoczna parish;<sup>273</sup> Lubikowo – Rokitno into Przytoczna;<sup>274</sup> Grzybno – Brodnica into Iłowiec (Iłowiec Mały);<sup>275</sup> Młodzikowo – Solec into Gogolewo;<sup>276</sup> Gronowo (Grunowo) – Goniembice into Leszno.<sup>277</sup> With the sources under analysis, the date of the split of Śląskowo village between the parishes of Dubin (Dupino) and Jutrosin,<sup>278</sup> and of Sulęcín (Sulęcino) village between those of Solec and Gogolewo,<sup>279</sup> is undeterminable. The 1510 book of benefice was the basis for assignment of the void areas of Melpin (Małpino) and Mączlino in the parish of Mórka (Morka);<sup>280</sup> Konotopia void area – in Długa Goślina (Goślina Długa) parish;<sup>281</sup> Biedrusko (Cietrzewka) mill settlement – to the parish in Chojnica;<sup>282</sup> and, the village of Sienno – to Goniembice parish.<sup>283</sup> Given the affiliation of its surrounding localities, the void settlement of Sokolniki has been assigned to Głuszyna parish.<sup>284</sup> Based on the 1631 'chimney' tax record and the later ecclesiastical sources, the following mill settlements were assigned to the respective parishes of: Chachle – to Kąkolewo,<sup>285</sup> Kuźnica Zbąska-Borujka – to Siedlec,<sup>286</sup> Bugaj (Nadolnik) – to Margonin;<sup>287</sup> the void settlements or areas: Uście – to the parish of Kopanica,<sup>288</sup> Kokoszki – to Nekla;<sup>289</sup> Kobylarnia demesne farmstead – to Sieraków;<sup>290</sup> and, the villages: Zaorle – to Dubin,<sup>291</sup> Dębiec – to Bnin,<sup>292</sup> Zdziechowo (Zdziech) – to Zieleniec,<sup>293</sup>

<sup>269</sup> SHGPoz includes the village in Szamotuły Stare parish; P. Dembiński, *Szczepankowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 814–815.

<sup>270</sup> AAP, PM 292/01, Księga metrykalna parafii Szamotuły, 1602–1636 (I owe this piece of information to Ms. Joanna Napierała).

<sup>271</sup> Wiz. Czr. 1640–1641, f. 296; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 270; Czaykowski, p. 773.

<sup>272</sup> The book of benefice, tax registers, and an visitation record from the early seventeenth century mention it as part of Zbąszyń parish; in the eighteenth century, Karna was included in Siedlec parish. LBP, p. 162; Podymne 1631, f. 59; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 132; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 115v; Czaykowski, p. 727.

<sup>273</sup> As of 1725, Dłusko village still belonged to Skwierzyna parish. *Regestr diecezjów* refers to a namesake demesne farmstead in the parish of Przetoczno; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 208; Czaykowski, p. 833.

<sup>274</sup> LBP, p. 336; Czaykowski, p. 833; G. Rutkowska, *Lubikowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 2, pp. 627–630.

<sup>275</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 40v; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 24; Czaykowski, p. 739.

<sup>276</sup> LBP, p. 66; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 486; Czaykowski, p. 784.

<sup>277</sup> Traces of Gronowo's affiliation to the parish of Leszno date back to the early years of the sixteenth century: the Poznań book of benefice (1510) states that tithes from one of the demesne farmsteads were paid to Leszno. The parochial rights to two demesne farms in Gronowo are mentioned also in the 1672 Leszno parish's visitation record. LBP, p. 132; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 136v; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 442, 646; Czaykowski, p. 829.

<sup>278</sup> The 1672–1684 visitation records informs that the demesne farmstead was subordinated to Jutrosin parish, the village itself to Dubin parish. The question of benefice from Śląskowo village's demesne farm for the parish in Jutrosin is present also in the visitation record of 1667; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 217, 251; Czaykowski, p. 752.

<sup>279</sup> LBP, p. 66; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 486; Czaykowski, pp. 784, 817.

<sup>280</sup> This affiliation is confirmed by the 1672–1685 visitation record; LBP, pp. 121, 132; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 35.

<sup>281</sup> LBP, p. 87.

<sup>282</sup> Ibidem, p. 177; S. Chmielewski, *Cietrzewka*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 261–262.

<sup>283</sup> G. Rutkowska supposes that the locality of Sienno (with its approximate location) might have been incorporated in Gronowo; LBP, p. 133; G. Rutkowska, *Sienna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 400–404.

<sup>284</sup> T. Jurek, *Sokolniki*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 589–590.

<sup>285</sup> Podymne 1631, f. 48.

<sup>286</sup> Ibidem, f. 56a.

<sup>287</sup> AAP, AV26, Akta wizytacji dekanatu czarnkowskiego, 1738, f. 79.

<sup>288</sup> Podymne 1631, f. 45av; Czaykowski, p. 725.

<sup>289</sup> The parochial affiliation of the void settlement named Kokoszki is hard to definitely establish. The available sixteenth-century mentions point to its association with the parish in Giecz. According to S. Mazurkiewicz, in the early seventeenth century. Kokoszki belonged to another parish, Nekla. Although this author specifies no basis for his statement, it seems quite plausible, given the locality's geographical location. RPWK, pzd. 1552, no. 101; ASK I 11, f. 59; S. Mazurkiewicz, *Nekla. Historia miasta monografia na jubileusz 600-lecia*, Września and Neklą 2007, p. 31.

<sup>290</sup> Podymne 1631, f. 21; Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 242v; Czaykowski, p. 775.

<sup>291</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 251; Czaykowski, p. 750 (as 'Poluszyny—the new settlement').

<sup>292</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1695–1696, f. 349v; Czaykowski, p. 814.

<sup>293</sup> Czaykowski, p. 805 (as 'Zdychowice – the inn').

Wojnow – to Nowe Kramsko (Krapsko Wielkie),<sup>294</sup> Pawłowo – to Jutrosin,<sup>295</sup> Wyki (Wykowy) – to Koźmin,<sup>296</sup> Nowa Wieś and Maciejew – to Rozdrażew (Rozdrażewo),<sup>297</sup> and Pławno – to Murowana Goślina (Goślina Kościelna).<sup>298</sup> The village of Wierzbno, whose location has not been determined, has been allocated to Kosieczyn (Kosieczyn) parish based on a single mention in the 1583 tax register.<sup>299</sup> Other premises lacking, the parochial affiliation of the forge settlement called Kozarzyn (Hamer Szamociński) has been defined based on its location near Szamocin within Margonin parish. The parochial affiliation of the not-very-familiar village of Robienko Małe, Kościan district, mentioned in the tax register from 1567, has not been established.<sup>300</sup>

The way in which the tax registers inform on the parochial affiliation of Witobel (Witowle Małe) mill settlement is ambiguous: the locality appears with the parishes of Trzebaw and Stęszew.<sup>301</sup> This duality may be clarified by the 1583 record where Witobel is included in Stęszew parish, with the remark reading ‘Molendinum circa Witowlie sub parochia Trzebaw solvit’ – probably resulting from payment of the tax together with the estate of the Dębowski, rather Gułtowski, family.<sup>302</sup> The hearth tax register from 1631 as well as the later Church records include Witobel in the parish of Stęszew – and such is its position in the main map.<sup>303</sup> Sixteenth-century sources specify diverse parochial affiliations also of the village of Ogieniewo (Iłowiec Wielki); the doubts in this respect appear also in relation to the tax register from 1565, where Ogieniewo (Iłowiec Wielki) is mentioned as part of Czempień parish and then crossed out. The total amount collected and its base are quoted, for a change, for the parish of Iłowiec Mały, along with the Iłowiecki family estate.<sup>304</sup> The 1510 book of benefice and most of the tax registers included Ogieniewo (Iłowiec Wielki) in the parish of Czempień.<sup>305</sup> The available records ambiguously point to the affiliation of Szymanowo (Szymunowo); the tax registers indicate its belonging to Łaszczyn parish, while the 1619 visitation record has it included in Sarnowa (Sarnowo) parish. The attribution of Szymanowo by the tax registers to the parish of Łaszczyn might have been based on the ownership relations between Szymanowo and Sieraków. As of 1582–3, Andrzej Górka, Castellan of Międzyrzecz, owned both localities, with Sieraków belonging to Łaszczyn parish.<sup>306</sup> More than fifty years of a merger between the parishes of Sarnowa and Łaszczyn,<sup>307</sup> and the dispute between the parish priests over the benefice from that village,<sup>308</sup> must have had an influence on the situation. The explanation of why Bonice (before the Second World War, Bojnice) village is recorded in the tax registers as located within Środa Wielkopolska (Środa) parish should be sought in the ownership relations with the nearby Babin: the owners of both villages were, in succession, members of the Pierzchleński family: Wojciech, Sebastian, and Agnieszka. The Poznań diocese book of benefice and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ecclesiastical sources unambiguously point to the village’s affiliation to Grodzisko (Grodziszczko) parish.<sup>309</sup> Similarly for Gąsiorów, which belonged to the parish of Pogorzelica, whereas the tax records associated this village with another parish, Czeszewo.<sup>310</sup> Gąsiorów

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<sup>294</sup> Wiz. Psz. 1724–1725, f. 149; Czaykowski, p. 833.

<sup>295</sup> Czaykowski, p. 752.

<sup>296</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 663; Czaykowski, p. 747.

<sup>297</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 682; Czaykowski, p. 749.

<sup>298</sup> SHGPoz authors point to the locality’s affiliation to Głęboćzek parish in the fifteenth century. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the village was part of the Murowana Goślina estate, which makes its belonging to Murowana Goślina (Goślina Kościelna) parish more probable for that period; it is attested by the *podymne* tax record from 1631 and the 1727 visitation record. The village of Worowo has been assigned to the parish of Głęboćzek, mainly based on the tax registers and the 1631 *podymne* list *Podymne* 1631, f. 7v; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 425v.

<sup>299</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 358.

<sup>300</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1567, no. 347.

<sup>301</sup> The doubled assignment to Swarzędz parish should be read as an error of the scribe, who marked no parish for Stęszew, which alphabetically followed Swarzędz; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 672; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 663.

<sup>302</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 673.

<sup>303</sup> *Podymne* 1631, f. 22; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, f. 333; Czaykowski, p. 709.

<sup>304</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1565, nos. 125, 263.

<sup>305</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1580, nos. 102–3; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 504; LBP, p. 127.

<sup>306</sup> I. Skierska, *Sierakowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 407–410; eadem, *Szymanowo*, ibidem, pp. 866–869.

<sup>307</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, ff. 196v–198.

<sup>308</sup> Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 128v–129, 134.

<sup>309</sup> LBP, p. 63; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 25; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 546v; Czaykowski, p. 741.

<sup>310</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 98; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 385v–386; Czaykowski, p. 786.

(Gąsiorowo) and its neighbouring Szczodrzejewo, belonging to Czeszewo parish, were part of the estate complex owned by Jan Pępowski and, subsequently, Jan Roszkowski. The village of Sowiniec is named in the tax registers of Kościan district (Mosina parish) as well as Poznań district (Trzebaw parish). There is no doubt that it actually belonged to Mosina, its appearance with Trzebaw, in the Poznań records, had to do with shared property-related associations between the families Białośliwski, Marszewski, and Ciświcki.<sup>311</sup> It has to be added that the parish of Mosina, at the border of the districts of Poznań and Kościan, does not appear in the tax records for Poznań district from the second half of the sixteenth century, whereas the city itself was recorded for the collection of the *szos* municipal tax. This is probably the reason why the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century assign the village of Pożegowo to the parish of Wiry (Wiry Wielkie). The tax record of 1508, the Poznań diocese book of benefice (1510) and eighteenth-century Church records have it belong to the parish of Mosina.<sup>312</sup> The latter probably extended also to the mill settlement of Niwka: though it was disclosed in the tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century with the parish of Trzebaw, the 1508 registers and the later Church sources point to the locality's linkage with Mosina.<sup>313</sup> The collection from Brzóstownia (Brzostownia) village was at times recorded according to the proprietorship criterion (Włościejewki parish),<sup>314</sup> rather than on a Church administration-related basis (Książ parish). The same criterion probably resulted in the assignment in the tax registers to the parish of Odolanów of the villages belonging to the *starosta*'s district of Odolanów. Ecclesiastical sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tell us, however, to include Łąkociny (Łąkocin) and Daniszyn (Daniszyno) in the parish of Janków Zalesny (Jankowo),<sup>315</sup> and Uciechów in Sulmierzyce parish (Gniezno diocese).<sup>316</sup> An analogous situation concerns the villages of Tłukawy and Zawady (Zawada), which were recorded together with other localities of Rogoźno *starosta*'s district as part of Rogoźno parish. As per the 1510 book of benefice and the later canonical visitations, they belonged to the parish of Ryczywół.<sup>317</sup> Ownership-related and administrative factors rendered the affiliation of Szymankowo village complicated. The tax registers consistently recorded the village as related to Uchorowo parish; the owner of both localities was initially Piotr Potulicki and subsequently Melchior Raczkowski.<sup>318</sup> The visitation record from 1695 formally includes it in the adjacent parish of Radzim, based upon the founding deed and a court verdict dated 31 January 1397 – and remarks that the priestly service is actually exercised by the parish priest of Białężyn.<sup>319</sup> The main map shows the actual affiliation of Szymankowo, which was probably conditioned in the sixteenth century by the ownership situation: this namely means the parish of Uchorowo, later on incorporated into Białężyn.<sup>320</sup> Of importance was Szymankowo's location on the other side of the Warta River, with respect to Radzim parish, which certainly hindered the enforcement of claims. The parish priest in Radzim laid claims also to Starczanowo, situated on the other side of the Warta (in Białężyn parish), referring to the not-quite-familiar verdict passed by Jakub, archdeacon and judicial vicar (*officialis*) of Poznań.<sup>321</sup>

In some situations, like in the case of Łęczeczki (Łęczce Małe) and Łęczce (Łęczce Wielkie) localities, the mistakes regarding parochial affiliation identifiable in the tax registers are pretty apparent.<sup>322</sup>

<sup>311</sup> T. Jurek, *Sowiniec*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 603–605.

<sup>312</sup> ASK I 3, f. 12v; LBP, p. 103; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, f. 354; Czaykowski, p. 707.

<sup>313</sup> ASK I 3, f. 12; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 24v; Wiz. Poz. 1737–1738, f. 354v; Czaykowski, p. 707.

<sup>314</sup> LBP, p. 140; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, f. 352; S. Chmielewski, *Brzostownia*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 130–131.

<sup>315</sup> These villages are omitted in the 1510 book of benefice's description of the parish of Odolanów (Jankowo parish not being described); LBP, 149; Wiz. Śrm. 1672–1685, ff. 734v–735.

<sup>316</sup> Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 205; Czaykowski, pp. 61, 745–6.

<sup>317</sup> LBP, p. 92; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 247v; Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 161; Czaykowski, p. 794.

<sup>318</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 641, 642; RPWP, pzn, 1577, nos. 683, 684; RPWP, pzn, 1580, nos. 721, 722.

<sup>319</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1695–1696, f. 179.

<sup>320</sup> In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the eighteenth century, Szymankowo was recorded as part of Radzim parish. J. Nowacki informs that the 1727 visitation record mentions Szymankowo's affiliation to Uchorowo parish, but there is apparently no such information on the page being referred to. Wiz. Poz. 1726–1728, f. 418v; Czaykowski, p. 793; Now2, p. 378.

<sup>321</sup> “Starczynowo villa iure parochiali mere ad Radzyn huc spectans, in visitatione ecclesiae Białężynensis superius descripta”; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, ff. 37, 45.

<sup>322</sup> The registers of 1580, 1581, and 1583 have the locality of Łęszcze Minus recorded doubly – once as belonging to Chrzypsko Wielkie parish, and elsewhere as an autonomous parish. As regards the parish, Łęczce Wielkie is meant, clearly enough: suffice it to compare the nature of the ownership; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 91, 343; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 92, 341; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 86, 348.

No less erroneous was the inclusion of Mościejewo in the parish of Łężce, as of 1577.<sup>323</sup> The blending in three tax registers of localities belonging to the parishes of Mieczewo and Mądre, distant from each other, is another clear case of chancellery error.<sup>324</sup> Also the repeated mention, in 1576 and 1577, of the Nowa Wieś village, within Wronki parish, among the localities of the adjacent parish of Biezdrowo is difficult to explain.<sup>325</sup>

Finally, parish enclaves distant from the main seat of the parish need to be briefly covered. Among them is the locality of Stary Dworek near Bledzew, consistently assigned by all the tax registers to the parish of Żarzyn, situated in the south of deanery of Międzyrzecz. The SHGPoz authors assigned to it the reference in the 1540 contribution list, apparently testifying to the functioning of a parish there. This interpretation seems dubious since a similar layout of localities appears in the 1510 book of benefice, in which not Stary Dworek near Bledzew but the parish of Stary Dwór near Paradyż is meant. Nowacki's information that the 1580 tax register refers to the parish in Stary Dworek near Bledzew is not to be confirmed based on the records. The local church, which in the later years becomes a *filia* of Bledzew parish, is first mentioned in the 1603 visitation record.<sup>326</sup> In the shaping of the parochial system of the diocese of Poznań, some localities lost their territorial connection to the main segment of their respective parishes – namely, Orliczko (Orle Małe, Psarbie parish), Tuchorza<sup>327</sup> and Kuźnica Zbąska-Borujka (Siedlec parish).

## Diocese of Wrocław

In the south of Poznań Voivodeship, the diocese of Wrocław overlapped with the territory of Wschowa district with its several parishes, belonging to the Archdeaconry of Głogów and Archprebyterate (equivalent to deanery) of Góra.<sup>328</sup> Since those were border parishes, most of the pertinent issues were addressed hereinabove, as part of the discussion of Poznań diocese's frontier. Here, the doubts related to the reach of parish districts need to be touched upon. In the borderland of Silesia and Greater Poland – as well as in other areas where Catholic and Evangelical churches functioned beside one another – the filial Catholic churches were at times seen by the Catholic communities as part of their former parishes, which were taken over by the Protestants at the time. It has to be borne in mind that the Reformation and the seizure of churches by the Protestants were utterly illegal from the standpoint of Catholic ecclesiastical authorities and treated as a temporary situation. Hence, for instance, the Catholic visitation records in the Silesian village of Goła (Guhlau) from 1670 and 1679 refer to its subordination to the parish of Stare Drzewce (Drzewce), which was still kept by the local Protestants (the endeavours to return it to the Catholic community through the action of the imperial reduction committee in 1653–4 ended up in failure). A similar situation was with the parish of Siedlnica (Sidnica) and Jędrzychowice. Resulting from the visitation in 1670, both churches were treated as filial to the parish at Kowalewo, whereas Siedlnica was already in the Catholic hands whereas the churches in Kowalewo and Jędrzychowice were still occupied by the Protestants. In spite of its filial status, the church in Siedlnica had its territorial district (filial parish), to which Olbrachice belonged. Given such organisational durability kept in the ecclesiastical records, it has been resolved that the parishes enumerated by the 1580 inspection record be plotted on the map, albeit only two of them (Konradowo and Zamysłów) were in the Catholic hands at that time. The allocation of the villages of

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<sup>323</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 339.

<sup>324</sup> The village of Czołowo, parish of Mądre (RPWK, pzd, 1565, no. 191; RPWK, pzd, 1576, no. 153; RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 176); Mieczewo village, Mądre parish (RPWK, pzd, 1565, no. 193; RPWK, pzd, 1576, no. 156); Nadziejewo and Pigłowice villages, parish of Mieczewo (RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 180, 181).

<sup>325</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 21; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 25.

<sup>326</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 789; AAP, CP 404, f. 51v; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 29v; LBP, p. 175; T. Jurek, *Stary Dwór*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 652–653; K. Górska-Gołaska, *Stary Dworek*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 652; Now2, p. 479.

<sup>327</sup> An attempt at setting up a parish in Tuchorza was made at the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, the church was probably not founded until 1641 and was under the management of a commendary, the parish priest of Wolsztyn, and eventually affiliated to Siedlec in 1663. Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 18v; Wiz. Czir. 1640–1641, f. 196–196v; Now2, p. 579.

<sup>328</sup> J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1, pp. 21, 102–19.

Dryżyna (Dreżyna) and Górczyna to the parish Wyszyń, having its seat in Silesia, has been based on the 1670 visitation record.<sup>329</sup>

## ANNEX

### Church administration units in Greater Poland (a breakdown)

The parishes within the area of Voivodships of Poznań and Kalisz at the end of the sixteenth century totalled 698 (thereof, 315 in Gniezno diocese, 371 in Poznań diocese, seven in Wrocław diocese, and five in Włocławek diocese), including the (twelve) parishes whose territories extended beyond this area and those (thirteen) whose centres were located outside the limits of the Voivodships concerned herein. The number of filial churches with districts was twenty. Except for (thirteen) external centres (including five towns), among the total of 685 churches, 154 were situated in towns or cities, five in suburban areas, and 525 in rural areas. One parochial settlement was described as a ‘void’ one (Ostrowce). Eight towns were not central to a parish – namely, Chwaliszewo, Stanisławowo, and Ostrów (part of Poznań agglomeration), Kwiatów (Ociąż parish), Krystianowo (Kazimierz Biskupi parish), Korab (Brudzewo Wielkie parish), Koźmin Nowy (Koźmin parish), and Mirosławiec (Frydland; the parish faded under pressure of the Reformation).

Poznań Voivodship was home to a total of 282 parish churches, the average area of complete parishes (not traversed by the voivodship’s frontier) equalled 52 km<sup>2</sup>. Kalisz Voivodship numbered 403 churches, each parish encompassing the area of 41 km<sup>2</sup>, on average. The mean area of complete parish in the territory of both voivodships was 46 km<sup>2</sup>.

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The list below reflects the situation as at the end of the sixteenth century. Included are the parishes situated, in whole or in part, within the limits of Kalisz and Poznań Voivodships – among them the parishes whose churches were outside the voivodships’ borders, whilst the villages belonging to them were located within the two said voivodships. The centres of the parishes whose centres exceeded the limits of either of the two voivodships are marked [\*]; the centres of parishes outside these voivodships are marked [\*\*]. The breakdown specifies the period’s names of the seats of parishes, in alphabetical order; the present-day name, if different from the historic one, is given in parentheses. Towns/cities are marked with ‘(t)’. For each filial church with its own district, the mother parish’s name is given in brackets.

## Diocese of Gniezno

### Archdeaconry of Gniezno

#### Deanery of Gniezno – St. Michael’s

Budzisław (Budzisław Kościelny), Duszno, Gniezno – St. Michael’s (Wójtostwo (t.), Gniezno (part of today’s town), Jankowo (Jankowo Dolne), Kamieniec, Kleczew (t.), Kruchowo, Linowiec, Lisowo (Lisewo Parcele), Orchowo (t.), Ostrowąż, Ostrowite Arcybiskupie (Ostrowite Prymasowskie), Rękawczyno (Rękawczyn), Siedlimowo, Strzyżewo (Strzeżewo Kościelne), Trzemeszno (t.), Wielatowo (Wylatowo) (t.), Wilczyno (Wilczyn) (t.), Wójcino (Wójcin), Złotkowo (Złotków)

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<sup>329</sup> SHGPoz erroneously makes Siedlnica part of Kandlewo (Kędlewo) parish as of 1670: in fact, Kowalewo (Kabel), rather than Kandlewo (Kandlau), is meant. As per the same visitation record, Kandlewo belonged to Konradowo parish; J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, vol. 1, 21, pp. 117–18, 190, 192; Now2, pp. 29–30, 440–1; T. Jurek, *Olbrachcice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 3, pp. 420–421; S. Chmielewski, *Dryżyna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 410–411; idem, *Górczyna*, [in:] ibidem, p. 618.

### **Deanery of Gniezno – St. Peter’s**

Dębica Mała (Dębica – partly), Gądecz (Gącz, *filia* of Łopienno), Gniezno – St. Peter’s (Piotrowo, Gniezno (part of today’s town)), Jabłkowo, Janowiec (t.), Kłecko (t.), Kołdrąb, Łagiewniki (Łagiewniki Kościelne), Łopienno (t.), Mieścisko (t.), Modliszewo Małe (Modliszewko), Podlesie (Podlesie Kościelne), Pomorzany (Pomarzany), Popowo (Popowo Kościelne), Raczkowo, Skórki, Sokolniki

### **Deanery of Gniezno – Holy Trinity**

Czerniewo (Czerniejewo) (t.), Dąbrowa (Dąbrówka Kościelna), Dziekanowice, Gniezno – St. Laurence’s (Jędrzejewo, Gniezno (part of today’s town)) (t.), Gniezno – Świętej Trójcy (t.), Grzybowo (*filia* of Gozdowo, Poznań diocese), Gurowo (*filia* of St. Laurence’s church in Gniezno), Jarząbkowo, Jemielno (Imielno), Kędzierzyna (Kędzierzyn), Kiszkowo (t.), Łubowo, Marzenino (Marzenin), Niechanowo, Pawłowo, Pobiedziska (t.), Sławno, Waliszewo, Węglewo, Witkowo, Wronczyno (Wronczyn), Września (t.), Zwanowo (Dzwonowo), Żydowo

### **Deanery of Konin**

Białkowo (Białków Kościelny), Brudzew (t.), Dąbroszyna (Dąbroszyn), Dobrowo (Doborów), Grabienice, Grochowy, Grodziec, Grzymiszew (t.), Janiszewo (Janiszew), Koło (t.), Konin (t.) (*filia* of Sts. Peter and Paul church in Stare Miasto), Kościelec (*filia* of Koło), Królikowo (Królików), Krzymowo (Krzymów), Kuchary (Kuchary Kościelne), Lisiec Wielki, Rusocice, Rychwał (t.), Rzgowo (Rzgów Pierwszy), Sławsko Wielkie (Sławsk), Stare Miasto, Trąbczyno (Trąbczyn), Tuliszków (t.), Turek\*\* (t.), Wyszyno (Wyszyna), Zagórów (t.)

### **Deanery of Łekno**

Chojna, Czeszewo, Dziewierzewo, Gołańcza (Gołańcz) (t.), Grylewo, Jaktorowo, Kcynia (t.), Kozielsko, Łekno (t.), Panigródz, Rynarzewo (t.), Samokłeski\* (Samokłeski Duże), Słupy, Smogulec (t.), Srebrna Górka (Srebrna Góra), Szaradowo, Szubin (t.), Tarnowo (Tarnowo Pałuckie), Wągrowiec (t.), Żuń (Żoń)

### **Deanery of Słupca**

Brudzewo, Chotunia (Kotunia, *filia* of Słupca), Cienino Wielkie (Cienin Kościelny), Dobrosołowo, Giewartowo (Giewartów), Golina (t.), Graboszewo, Jaroszyn, Kawnica (Kawnice), Koszuty, Kowalewo, Łądek (t.), Mielżyn (t.), Młodujewo (Młodojewo), Myślubórz, Nowa Wieś (*filia* of Dobrosołowo), Odrowąż, Ostrowite Kapitulne (Ostrowite), Ostrów (Ostrowo Kościelne), Otoczna (*filia* of Szamborowo), Powidz (t.), Skarboszewo, Słupca (t.), Staw, Strzałkowo, Szamborowo, Wola (Wola Koszucka)

### **Deanery of Sompolno**

Dębna (Dębno Królewskie), Dęby (Dęby Szlacheckie), Gosławice (Konin – partly), Grzegorzewo\*\* (t.), Kazimierz (Kazimierz Biskupi) (t.), Krąpsko (Kramsk, *filia* of the church in Pyzdry, Poznań diocese), Lichyń (Licheń Stary) (t.), Lubstowo Małe (Lubstówek), Lubstowo Wielkie (Lubstów), Mąkolino\* (Mąkolno), Morzysław (Konin – partly), Osiek Wielki, Racięcice, Ślesin (t.), Wąsosze, Wrząca Wielka

### **Deanery of Żnin**

Brzeskorzystew (Brzyskorzystew), Cerekwica, Chomętowo, Chomiąza (Chomiąza Szlachecka), Gąsawa (t.), Gorzyce, Gościszyno (Gościeszyn), Góra (Żnin–Góra), Izdebnno, Janczewo (Juncewo), Kierzkowo, Kwieciszewo (t.), Lubecz (Lubcz), Mogilno (t.), Niestronno, Ostroszce (Ostrowce), Pakość\*\* (t.), Pałędzie Wielkie (Pałędzie Kościelne), Parlino (Parlin), Rogowo (t.), Ryszewko, Słaboszewo, Strzelce, Szczepanowo, Świętkowo (Świątkowo), Trląg, Wenecja, Żerniki (t.), Żnin (t.)

## **Archdeaconry of Kalisz**

### **Deanery of Kalisz**

Biskupice Szalone (Biskupice Ołoboczne), Dobrzec (Dobrzec Wielki), Droszewo (Droszew), Giżyce\*, Gostyczyna, Górzno, Kalisz – Saint Mary’s, Kalisz – St. Nicholas’s (t.), Kościół (Kościelna Wieś),

Kucharki Rycerskie (Kucharki), Kuchary Połączone (Kuchary), Lewkowo (Lewków), Ociąż, Ołobok ('*filia*' of Rososzycza), Rososzycza, Rypinek (Kalisz – partly; *filia* of Dobrzec Wielki), Skalmierzyce, Skrzebowa, Sobótka Wielka (Sobótka) (t.), Szczury

#### **Deanery of Kobylin**

Baszkowo, Kobelin (Kobylin) (t.), Kobierno, Krotoszyn (t.), Sulmierzyce (Sulmierzyce) (t.), Wyganowo (Wyganów), Zduny (t.)

#### **Deanery of Pleszew**

Broniszewice, Brzezie, Chorzewo (Chorzew), Czermino (Czermin), Gołuchowo (Gołuchów), Grodzisko, Jedlec, Kajewo (Kajew), Karmino Wielkie (Karmin), Koryta, Kotlino (Kotlin), Kowalewo (Kowalew), Kretkowo (Kretków), Kuczkowo (Kuczków), Lenartowice, Magnuszewice, Pleszów (Pleszew) (t.), Sońnica, Sowina Kościelna (Sowina), Szymanowice, Tursko Małe (Tursko), Twardowo (Twardów), Żegocino (Żegocin)

#### **Deanery of Stawiszyn**

Blizanowo (Blizanów), Borkowo (Borków Stary), Brudzewo Wielkie (Brudzew), Chodecz (Chocz) (t.), Dębe, Dzierzbino (Dzierzbina), Goliszewo (Goliszew, *filia* of Złotniki), Jastrzębniki, Kamion (Kamień), Kokanin, Kosmowo (Kosmów), Kościelec, Lipe, Pamięcino (Pamięcin), Piątek Wielki, Rychnowo (Rychnów), Stawiszyn (t.), Tykadłowo (Tykadłów), Zbiersko (Zbiersk), Zborowo (Zborów), Złotniki Wielkie, Żerniki

#### **Deanery of Staw**

Błaszki\*\*, Chełmce, Chlewo\*, Gać Powężowa, Godzieszewy Wielkie (Godziesze Wielkie), Góra\*, Iwanowice (t.), Koźminek (t.), Liskowo\* (Lisków), Malanów\*\*, Opatówek (t.), Przespolewo\* (Przespolew Kościelny), Rajsko, Staw\*\* (t.), Tłokinia (Tłokinia Kościelna), Zaksino (Zakrzyn)

### **Archdeaconry of Kamień**

#### **Deanery of Chojnice**

Debrzno\*\* (t.)

#### **Deanery of Nakło**

Bługowo, Dębno, Dębowo, Dźwierzno (Dźwierzno Wielkie), Glisno (Glesno), Głupczynno (Głubczyn), Gromadno, Grunowo (Stare Grunowo), Koszutowo (Kosztowo), Krajenka (t.), Krostkowo, Luchowo, Łobżenica (t.), Miasteczko (Miasteczko Krajeńskie) (t.), Mościska, Nakiel (Nakło nad Notecią) (t.), Satki (Sadki), Skicz (Skic), Sławianowo, Sypniewo, Śmiełowo (Śmiłowo), Wyrzysko (Wyrzysk), Wysoka (t.), Zakrzewo, Złotowo (Złotów) (t.).

#### **Deanery of Sępólno**

Drzewianowo, Kamień\* (Kamień Krajeński) (t.), Klunia Wielka (Wielka Klonia), Komierowo (Komierowo), Lutowo, Łąck Wielki (Łąsko Wielkie), Mąkowsk (Mąkowsko), Mrocza (t.), Pruszcz, Sąciczno (Samsieczno), Sempolbork (Sępólno Krajeńskie) (t.), Wałdowo, Wąwelno, Wielewicz (Wielowicz), Wierzchucino (Wierzchucin Królewski), Więcbork (t.), Wyrza, Zabartowo, Zalesie\*

#### **Deanery of Tuchola**

Cerkwica Wielka\*\*

### **Archdeaconry of Łęczyca**

#### **Deanery of Kłodawa**

Borzysławice\*\*

## Archdeaconry of Uniejów

### Deanery of Uniejów

Wielanów\*\*

## Diocese of Poznań

### Archdeaconry of Poznań

#### Deanery of Oborniki

Biała, Białężyno (Białężyn), Boruszyno (Boruszyn), Budziszewo (Budziszewko), Budzyń (t.), Cerkwica (Cerekwica), Chludowo, Chodzież (t.), Chojnica, Czarnków (t.), Gać, Głębozec, Goślina Długa (Długa Goślina), Goślina Kościelna (Murowana Goślina) (t.), Kazimierz (Kaźmierz) (t.), Kicina (Kicin), Kiekrz, Kiszewo, Lechnino (Lechlin), Łęgowo, Lubasz, Ludomie (Ludomy), Łukowo, Lusowo, Margonin (t.), Objezierze, Oborniki (t.), Obrzycko, Ocieszyno (Ocieszyn), Owieńska (Owińska), Parkowo, Piła (t.), Połajewo, Potulice, Pruśca (Pruście), Radzim, Rogoźno (t.), Rożnowo, Ryczywół (t.), Skoki (t.), Słomowo, Słoplanowo, Sobota, Stara Wieś (Oborniki – partly), Stobnica (t.), Szamotuły (t.), Szamotuły Stare (Mutowo), Tarnowo (Tarnowo Podgórne), Uchorowo, Ujście (t.), Wieleń (t.), Żydowo

#### Deanery of Poznań

Bagrowo, Bnin (t.), Czerlenino (Czerlejno), Giecz, Głuszyna (Poznań – partly), Grodziszczko (Grodzisko), Gułtowo (Gułtowy), Iwno, Kępa Mała, Kleszczewo, Kostrzyn (t.), Koszuty, Kryrowo (Krerowo), Kurnik (Kórnik) (t.), Mączniki, Mądre, Mieczewo, Nekla, Niezamyśl (Zaniemyśl), Poznań (t.) – St. Nicholas's (Ostrów Tumski, Zagórze, Poznań – partly), Pierzchno (*filia* of Kurnik), Poznań (t.) – St. Mary Magdalene's, Radzewo, Rogalinko (Rogalinek), Siedlec, Siekierki Wielkie, Śmieciska (Śnieciska), Solec, Spławie (Poznań – partly), Środa (Środa Wielkopolska) (t.), Śródka (Poznań – partly) (t.), Swarzędz (Swarzędz), Święty Jan (Poznań – partly), Święty Marcin (Poznań – partly), Święty Wojciech (Poznań – partly), Tulce, Urzazowo (Uzazewo), Wierzenica

#### Deanery of Pyzdry

Bardo, Biechowo, Bieganowo, Ciężym (Ciężen), Czeszewo, Gałęzewo, Gorazdowo, Gozdowo, Grabowo (Grabowo Królewskie), Kaczanowo, Kołaczkowo, Mikuszewo, Milesna Górka (Targowa Górka – partly) (t.), Miłosław (t.), Murzynowo Kościelne, Nietrzanowo, Nowa Wieś (Nowa Wieś Królewska), Opatówko, Pyzdry (t.), Romiejewice (Rumiejki – partly), Sokolniki, Szamarzewo, Winna Góra, Wszeliborz (Wszembórz), Zieleniec (Zieliniec)

#### Deanery of Stęszew

Drożyn (Drużyn), Dupiewo (Dopiewo), Granowo, Komorniki, Konarzewo, Łódzia (Łódź), Modrze, Mosina (t.), Nieproszewo (Niepruszewo), Skórzewo, Słupia, Stęszew (t.), Tomice, Trzebaw, Wiry Wielkie (Wiry)

#### Deanery of Wałcz (*Zanotecki* [= behind the Noteć])

Czaplinek (t.), Człopa (t.), Tuczno (t.), Wałcz (t.)

## Archdeaconry of Pszczew

#### Deanery of Grodzisko

Babimost (t.), Brudzewo (*filia* of Kręsko), Bukowiec Mały (Bukowiec), Dąbrówka (Dąbrówka Wielkopolska), Dokowo Mokre (Dakowy Mokre), Gnino (Gnin), Gościeszyno (Gościeszyn), Grodzisko (Grodzisk Wielkopolski) (t.), Kamieniec, Kieblów (Kęblowo) (t.), Konojad, Kopanica (t.), Kosiczyno (Kosieczyn), Koźminek, Krapsko Wielkie (Nowe Kramsko), Kręsko (Kręcko), Łęki Wielkie, Michorzewo Mokre (Michorzewo), Niałek Wielki, Obra, Opalenica (t.), Parzęczewo, Prochy, Ptaszkowo Wielkie (Ptaszkowo – partly), Rakoniewice (Rakoniewice – partly), Ruchoćce, Rzestaszewo (Rostaszewo), Siedlec, Wielichowo (t.), Wolsztyn (t.), Zbąszyń (t.), Zielęcino (Zielęcín), Ziemin

### **Deanery of Międzyrzecz**

Bledzew (t.), Brójce (t.), Bukowiec (Bukowiec Międzyrzecki), Chełmsko, Chociszewo, Chycina, Czarnyś (Trzemeszno Lubuskie), Falkwald (Sokola Dąbrowa), Goruńsko, Gorzyca, Grochowo, Jordan (Jordanowo), Kaława, Kęsica (Kęszyca), Kursko (Stare Kursko, *filia* of Chycina), Łagowiec, Langfuld (Wielowieś), Lutol Suchy (*filia* of Chociszewo), Międzyrzecz (t.), Nietoperek, Pczew (Pszczew) (t.), Pieski, Policko, Przetoczno (Przytoczna), Rogoziniec, Rokitno, Skwierzyna (t.), Stary Dwór, Templewo, Trzciel (t.), Wyszanowo, Żarzyn, Zębsko (Zemsko)

### **Deanery of Wronki**

Biezdrowo, Brody, Buk (t.), Bytyń, Ceradz Stary (Ceradz Kościelny), Chrzypsko Wielkie, Duszniki, Kamiona (Kamionna) (t.), Kwilcz, Lewice (t.), Łężce Wielkie (Łężce), Lubosz, Lutomie (Lutom), Lwówek (t.), Międzychód (t.), Ostroróg (t.), Otorowo, Pniewy (t.), Psarskie, Sieraków (t.), Wierzbno, Wilczyna, Wronki (t.), Wytomyśl, Zajączkowo

## **Archdeaconry of Śrem**

### **Deanery of Kościan**

Białcz (Stary Białcz), Błociszewo, Boguszyno (Boguszyn), Bojanowo (Stare Bojanowo), Bonikowo, Brodnica, Bronikowo, Chorynia (Choryń), Czacz, Czempiń (t.), Czerwony Kościół (Czerwona Wieś), Drzeczkowo, Głuchowo, Gołębino (Stary Gołębin), Goniębice (Goniembice), Górka Mnisza (Górka Duchowna), Grobia, Gryżyna, Iłowiec Mały (Iłowiec), Jaszkowo, Kąkolewo, Kościan (t.), Krzon (Krzan, *filia* of Białcz), Lipno, Mórkowo, Oborzyska (Stare Oborzyska), Osieczna (t.), Pawłowice, Przemęt (t.), Przewóz, Rąbino (Rąbiń), Radomicko, Śmigiel (t.), Świętopietrze (Przemęt – partly), Wilkowo Polskie, Witosław, Woniesiecz (Woniesć), Wyskocz (Wyskoć), Żabno

### **Deanery of Nowe Miasto**

Benice, Bieździadowo (Bieździadów), Borek (Borek Wielkopolski) (t.), Borzęcice, Brzostkowo (Brzostków), Cerekwica, Chwałkowo (Chwałkowo Kościelne), Cielcza, Dębno, Dobrzyca (t.), Głogowa, Gogolewo, Golina, Góra, Jankowo (Janków Zalesny), Jaraczewo (t.), Jarocin (t.), Jeżewo, Kolniczki, Koźmin (t.), Książ (Książ Wielkopolski) (t.), Lgowo (Lgów), Lutogńiew, Lutynia, Mchy, Mieszków, Mokronos, Noskowo (Nosków), Nowe Miasto (Nowe Miasto nad Wartą) (t.), Odalanów (Odolanów) (t.), Ostrów (Ostrów Wielkopolski) (t.), Panienska, Pogorzela (Pogorzela) (t.), Pogorzelica, Pogrzebowo (Pogrzebów), Potarzyca, Raszkowo (Raszków) (t.) Rozdrażewo (Rozdrażew), Siedlimin (Siedlemin), Słaboszewo (Sławoszew), Słupia (*filia* of Witaszyce), Starygród (Stary Gród), Wielawieś (Wielowieś), Wilkowyja, Witaszyce, Włoskiejewki, Wysocko Wielkie, Żerków (t.) – St. Nicholas's, Żerków (t.) – St. Stanislaus's.

### **Deanery of Śrem**

Bojanice (*filia* of Świerczyna), Czesram (Golejewko – partly), Dalewo, Dolsko (Dolsk) (t.), Domachowo, Dupino (Dubin) (t.), Gołaszyno (Gołaszyn), Górka (Miejska Górka) (t.), Gostyń (t.), Gostyń Stary (Stary Gostyń), Jutrosin (t.), Kołaczkowice, Konary, Krobia (t.), Krzywiń (t.), Kunowo, Łaszczyno (Łaszczyn), Lubiń, Morka (Mórka), Niepart, Oporowo, Pakosław, Pępowo Małe (Pępowo – partly), Poniec (t.), Rydzyna (t.), Sarnowo (Sarnowa) (t.), Siemowo, Skaradowo (Szaradowo), Skoroszewice (Skoraszewice), Smolice, Śrem (t.), Strzelce Wielkie, Świerczyna, Wieszczyzyno (Wieszczyczyn), Zakrzewo, Żytowiecko

### **Deanery of Wschowa**

Brenno, Bukowiec Wielki (Bukowiec Górny), Charbielino (Charbielin), Dębowa Łęka, Długie Stare, Gołanice, Jezierzycze (Jezierzycze Kościelne, *filia* of Gołanice), Krzycko Małe, Leszno (t.), Lgiń, Łysina (Łysiny), Niechłód, Ogrody, Osowa Sień, Przyczyna Górna, Stary Klasztor (Kaszczor), Święciechów (Święciechowa) (t.), Tylewice, Wilkowo (Wilkowice), Włoszakowice, Wschowa (t.), Zbarzewo

## **Diocese of Wrocław**

### **Archdeaconry of Głogów**

#### **Archpresbyterate of Góra**

Drzewce (Stare Drzewce), Jędrzychowice, Kunersdorf (Konradowo), Kowalewo, Sidnica (Siedlnica), Szymolewo (Zamysłów), Wyszanów\*\*

## **Diocese of Włocławek**

### **Archdeaconry of Kruszwica**

#### **Deanery of Inowrocław**

Barcin\* (t.), Łabiszyn\* (t.)

#### **Deanery of Kruszwica**

Kościeszki\*\*, Skulsko (Skulsk)\*\* (t.)

### **Archdeaconry of Włocławek**

#### **Deanery of Radziejów**

Brdowo\* (Brdów) (t.)

(2017)

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

### III.2.2c.4 DISSENER COMMUNITIES AND CHURCHES IN GREATER POLAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Marta Kuc-Czerep

The map shows the distribution of dissenter communities and their churches or meeting-houses in the area of Greater Poland, in the second half of the sixteenth century. The applicable Polish term *zbór* basically covers these elements as it refers to a community (*gmina*) of the faithful in a given locality, functioning under the pastoral care of the Evangelical minister and having their operational church or prayer house; this reflects the term's administrative meaning, equal to 'parish'. There were four constitutive elements of every such parish; apart from the church, there was a school, a hospital, and a cemetery.<sup>1</sup> Two types of the thus conceived parish have been plotted: first, those whose existence in the period concerned is confirmable based on the historical evidence from the latter half of the sixteenth century; second, those whose existence can be deemed probable. What it means is that the data regarding their functioning are based on early seventeenth-century sources.

The map has been compiled based on the methodological assumptions elaborated for the previous volumes in the AHP series.<sup>2</sup> The underlying source material can be categorised into two groups. The first includes records produced the dissenters themselves. Let us stress, though, that such documents are not to be approached as a collective archive; for a definite majority of the *zbores*, no material documenting their activities in the period under study has survived whatsoever. Hence, it was necessary to resort to the other surviving types of records, primarily those related to the provincial and general synods. For the Bohemian Brethren communities, the source edition of *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce*, whose volume 4 covers Greater Poland, has proved crucial.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the State Archives in Poznań preserve the collection of documents called 'Files of the Bohemian Brethren' (*Akta Braci Czeskich*).<sup>4</sup> Much information on the functioning of the Lutheran (Evangelical-Augsburg) communities, their parishes and churches is contained in the files of Lutheran synods (issued in print).<sup>5</sup> Also the documentation concerning synods held by the Polish Brethren (Arians) is available.<sup>6</sup> An important complementation of this evidence is the file prepared by Maria Sipayło, presently at the Warsaw University Library,<sup>7</sup> which served as a basis for the publication of several ASR volumes. Waław Urban's file mainly comprises data on the dissenter communities in the territory of Lesser Poland.<sup>8</sup> The other group includes records generated by Roman Catholic Church institutions – primarily, the episcopal visitations of the Dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno.<sup>9</sup> The basic disadvantage of this archive footage is that they mostly reflect the

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<sup>1</sup> *Zbór* is also defined as a community of believers, though it would not have met the requirements otherwise posed on the parish as an administrative unit – which, in practice, boiled down to the lack of permanent presence of the minister, who would have instead arrived from another *zbór* from time to time. For a broader discussion, see W. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696-1763). Sytuacja prawna, organizacja i stosunki międzywyznaniowe*, Warszawa 1996, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. Chłapowski, *Communes of other denominations*, [in:] AHP Cracow in this edition III.2.2a.1.

<sup>3</sup> ASR.

<sup>4</sup> ABCz, as published at the Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa website: [www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/34865](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/34865).

<sup>5</sup> ASL.

<sup>6</sup> S. Szczotka, *Synody arian polskich*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 7–8, 1935–1936; *Najstarsze synody arjan polskich z rękopisu kołozwarskiego*, ed. S. Zachorowski, Kraków 1922; K. Dobrowolski, *Nieznaną kroniką arjańską: 1539–1605*, Kraków 1926.

<sup>7</sup> The place names file is kept at the Warsaw University Library's Old Prints Room.

<sup>8</sup> The file is kept at the Warsaw University Library's Old Prints Room.

<sup>9</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629.

denominational situation in Greater Poland in the former half of the seventeenth century, the period by which a considerable proportion of dissident communities and parishes had ceased to operate.

Studies dealing with the development of the Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the sixteenth century have also been used,<sup>10</sup> in particular those concerning the chronology of the Reformation, the legal situation of the Protestants, and mutual relationships between the confessions.<sup>11</sup> The outcome of the research on the Reformation in Greater Poland has been crucial.<sup>12</sup> Vast amounts of relevant detail has come from publications discussing the situation in specific districts, e.g. Konin,<sup>13</sup> Kalisz,<sup>14</sup> Wałcz,<sup>15</sup> and in Wschowa land.<sup>16</sup> Historians have taken interest in individual communities, such as those of Karmin (Kalisz district),<sup>17</sup> Ostroróg (Poznań district),<sup>18</sup> or Poznań.<sup>19</sup> In terms of scholarly recognition, the history of the *Jednota* (Unity; *Unitas Fratrum*) of the Bohemian Brethren has certainly been the most complete so far, mainly thanks to the research of Jolanta Dworzaczkowa.<sup>20</sup> Studies on Reformed Evangelicals,<sup>21</sup> Lutherans,<sup>22</sup> and Polish Brethren<sup>23</sup> have moreover been published. The map and commentary has taken into account also the publications on the history of the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno – mainly, the findings of Józef Nowacki, who in his book on Poznań diocese made use of episcopal and consistory files.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from the issues raised by Reformation historians with regards to the doctrine and liturgy, the geography of the Reformation should be highlighted.<sup>25</sup> The outlining, based on the available

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. K. Kolbuszewski, *Przegląd prac z zakresu dziejów reformacji w Polsce*, „Pamiętnik Literacki. Czasopismo Kwartalne Poświęcone Historii i Krytyce Literatury Polskiej”, vol. 25/1/4, 1928, pp. 490–506; M. Zawadka, *Bibliografia polska dotycząca wyznań protestanckich w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI wieku*, „Saeculum Christianum. Pismo Historyczno-Społeczne”, vol. 7/2, 2000, pp. 247–260; Ł. Kurdybacha, *Historia reformacji w Polsce*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 11, 1953; J. Wijaczka, *Reformacja w Koronie w XVI w. – sukces czy niepowodzenie?*, „Gdański Rocznik Ewangelicki”, vol. 8, 2014; A. Rykała, *Uwarunkowania geograficzno-polityczne oraz społeczne genezy i rozprzestrzeniania się protestantyzmu w Polsce*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Geographica Socio-Oeconomica”, vol. 10, 2009, pp. 61–87.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. J. Bidlo, *Udział Jednoty Brackiej w walce o proces i egzekucję konfederacji warszawskiej*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 22, 1977, pp. 159–175.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. T. Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen*, Leipzig 1911; idem, *Geschichte der Reformation im Lande Posen*, Lissa 1913; A. Rhode, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche im Posener Lande*, Würzburg 1956; S. Papée, *Wielkopolska wczoraj i dziś*, Poznań 1933; E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen*, Roth bei Nürnberg 1964; idem, *Die Pastoren der evangelisch-augsburgischen Kirche in Polen. Ein biographisches Pfarrerbuch mit einem Anhang*, Eging 1968.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Zbory braci czeskich w dawnym powiecie konińskim*, „Rocznik Koniński”, 1997, no. 11; A. Mendrok, *Świątynie Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego na ziemi konińskiej*, [in: *Protestantyzm w Polsce na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. P. Gołdyn, Poznań 2009, pp. 159–167.

<sup>14</sup> E. Kneifel, *Die evangelisch-augsburgischen Gemeinden der Kalischer Diözese*, Plauen in Vogtland 1937; W. Urban, *Z dziejów reformacji w dawnym powiecie kaliskim*, „Rocznik Kaliski”, vol. 2, 1969.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. F. Bahr, *Kirchengeschichte des Landes Draheim*, ser. Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte Pommerns, vol. 1, Stettin 1931; Bąk, Wałcz”; *HistPowWał*.

<sup>16</sup> H. Moritz, *Reformation und Gegenreformation in Fraustadt*, vol. 1, Posen 1907; M. Małkus and K. Szymańska, *Reformacja i tolerancja: jedność w różnorodności? Współistnienie różnych wyznań na ziemi wschowskiej i pograniczu wielkopolsko-śląskim*, Wschowa and Leszno 2015; B. Kopaczyński, *Rozwój ruchu protestanckiego w zachodniej Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, *papers of the Polish-German popular science session on the ‘Protestant past of Wschowa’, held at the Wschowa Land Museum on 23–24 Sept. 2004*; [www.wschowskielapidarium.interbit.pl/sesja\\_PL.pdf](http://www.wschowskielapidarium.interbit.pl/sesja_PL.pdf) [access: 10.11.2016].

<sup>17</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Zbór braci czeskich w Karminie*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 13, 1968, pp. 185–198.

<sup>18</sup> H. Gmiterek, *Utrata Ostroroga i zabiegi o utworzenie nowego ośrodka Braci Czeskich w Obrzycku*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 23, 1978, pp. 103–121.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. O. Kiec, *Historia protestantyzmu w Poznaniu od XVI do XXI wieku*, Poznań 2015.

<sup>20</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1995; eadem, *Bracia czeszy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1997; eadem, *Z dziejów braci czeskich w Polsce*, Poznań 2003; cf. J. Bidlo, *Wzajemne stosunki czeskiej i polskiej Jednoty w okresie 1587–1609*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 2, 1922, no. 5–6.

<sup>21</sup> H. Gmiterek, *Kalwinizm po czesku? Kościół ewangelicko-reformowany i Jednota braci czeskich w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI w.*, [in:] *Ewangelicyzm reformowany w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Dialog z Europą i aksjologia ewangelików reformowanych w świetle literatury i piśmiennictwa XVI-XVII wieku*, ed. D. Chemperek, Warszawa 2015.

<sup>22</sup> J. Wijaczka, *Luteranie w Koronie od 1517 do 1795 roku*, [in:] *Kościół luterancki na ziemiach polskich (XVI–XX w.)*, vol. 1: *W czasach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, ed. J. Klaczek, Toruń 2012, pp. 56–67.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Z. Ogonowski, *Arianie polscy*, Warszawa 1952; L. Chmaj, *Bracia polscy. Ludzie, idee, wpływy*, Warszawa 1957; L. Szczucki, *Wokół dziejów i tradycji arianizmu*, Warszawa 1971.

<sup>24</sup> Now2, pp. 550–575.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. W. Urban, *Projekt słownika geograficzno-historycznego reformacji w Polsce*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 8, 1963, pp. 149–156.

sources, of the spatial structure of communities offers the possibility to indicate the real position of the Protestants in the Commonwealth of the Two Nations in the latter half of the sixteenth century. From this standpoint, of essential importance are the studies of those historians who have compiled the breakdowns of the *zbórs* active in Greater Poland at that very time. The names of Józef Łukaszewicz,<sup>26</sup> Albert Werner,<sup>27</sup> and Henryk Merczyng<sup>28</sup> deserve special mention here; these scholars gathered the basic data on the *zbórs*, their denominational identification, patrons, and period of functioning. They have identified place names in a vast majority of cases. Based on their findings, follow-up research was done on reconstruction of the network of dissenter communities and their churches. Volume 1 of *Dzieje Wielkopolski* includes a map showing the *zbórs* of Greater Poland in the latter half of the sixteenth century, drawn by E. Jarnuszkiewicz (Poznań Voivodeship) and T. Kowalski (Kalisz Voivodeship).<sup>29</sup> In the following years, the initiative to prepare a map of the *zbórs* was taken up by the Early Polish Culture Research Team at the Institute of History, University of Warsaw, led in 2002–6 by Urszula Augustyniak. A breakdown of Protestant churches active in Poland-Lithuania in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (*Zestawienie zborów protestanckich w Rzeczypospolitej czynnych w XVI-XVIII w.*) has been drawn up as part of the project.<sup>30</sup>

The history of the development of Protestant Churches in Greater Poland in the modern period can be seen in terms of three periods. The sixteenth century was a time of theological disputes and formation of organisational and territorial structures for the Protestant confessions present in the region. Initiatives of collaboration between the fractions of Polish Protestants were taken at that time. The year 1555 saw the conclusion of a union in Koźminek;<sup>31</sup> the year 1570 was marked by the Concord of Sandomierz;<sup>32</sup> in the year 1595, the synod in Toruń took place.<sup>33</sup> In the seventeenth century, after the years of debilitation and decay of a number of Protestant centres (late sixteenth/early seventeenth century), a network of communities and their churches took shape anew, resulting from the migrations of Lutheran people from Bohemia and Silesia during the Thirty Years' War.<sup>34</sup> The subsequent migration wave of German-speaking people was seen in the former half of the eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup> A decisive role for the shaping of religious relations in that century was the reinstatement of religious freedom for the dissenters in 1768. The years 1775–80 saw the emergence in Greater Poland of thirty new Lutheran *zbórs*; between 1775 and 1793, thirty-two new Reformed Evangelical churches came into existence.<sup>36</sup>

In line with the AHP series' assumptions, the map ought to reflect the network of heterodox communities (parishes, churches) in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This entails a strict records-based recognition of which of the *zbórs* was set up and functioned in that very period, and which of them was only founded in the first half of the seventeenth century or later. For example, the

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<sup>26</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach Braci Czeskich w dawnej Wielkiej Polsce*, Poznań 1835.

<sup>27</sup> A. Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien in der Provinz Posen*, Lissa 1904.

<sup>28</sup> H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Z mapą Dawnej Polski pod względem kościelnym ewangelickim*, Warszawa 1905. As the author remarks in the introduction, his objective has been to examine "the territorial development of the Polish Reformation". For the *zbórs* within Greater Poland, the German communities/parishes are referred to in the text but not plotted on the map.

<sup>29</sup> *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1793*, J. Topolski, Poznań 1969; E. Jarnuszkiewicz and T. Kowalski have authored the unpublished studies: *Rozmieszczenie zborów reformacyjnych w województwie poznańskim* [no place, no date], and *Rozmieszczenie zborów reformacyjnych w województwie kaliskim* [no place, no date].

<sup>30</sup> The project's outcome is published at [www.atlasfotnium.pl](http://www.atlasfotnium.pl) [access: 10.11.2016]; for a broader account, see K. Kubik and M. Próba, *Zbory ewangeliczne w Rzeczypospolitej XVI-XVIII wieku. Baza danych. Projekt badawczy*, "Barok", vol. 31, 2009, pp. 307–311.

<sup>31</sup> For a broader discussion, see T. Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen*, 141–143; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 29–30.

<sup>32</sup> For more, see U. Augustyniak, *Konfesja sandomierska: wstęp historyczny*, Warszawa 1994.

<sup>33</sup> W. Sławiński, *Toruński synod generalny 1595 roku. Z dziejów polskiego protestantyzmu w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2002.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja a problemy narodowościowe w przedrozbiorowej Wielkopolsce*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 23, 1978, p. 87; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Nowe lokacje miejskie w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII wieku. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Poznań 1964.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja a problemy narodowościowe*, p. 87; Z. Chodyła, *Pochodzenie, nazwiska, wyznanie i narodowość mieszkańców osad ołędzskich założonych w latach 1700–ok. 1783 na obszarze dzisiejszego powiatu nowotomyskiego*, „Przegląd Nowotomyski”, vol. 18, 2011, no. 2, pp. 3–22.

<sup>36</sup> J. Wijaczka, *Luteranie w Koronie*, p. 22; B. Szady, *Geografia struktur religijnych i wyznaniowych w Koronie w II połowie XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2010.

Reformed Evangelical community in Żychlin, Konin district, formally started its activities in 1610.<sup>37</sup> In contrast to the earlier findings, the community in Borzęciczki, Pyzdry district, was probably erected in the early seventeenth century. The 1604 visitation record for a Bohemian Brethren parish remarks: 'In Borzęciczki, a petition for a minister for the newly-established church'.<sup>38</sup> In the same year, Krzysztof Mycielski issued a document describing the emolument of the minister at the newly-established *zbór*;<sup>39</sup> a new church was erected at that time. In 1607–8, Maciej Węgierski served as the minister.<sup>40</sup>

Adherents of the ideas proclaimed by Martin Luther appeared in the territory of Poland-Lithuania during the reign of Sigismund I the Old (Zygmunt I Stary; 1506–48). The Royal Prussian cities of Danzig/Gdansk, Elbing/Elbląg, and Thorn/Toruń, as well as Warsaw saw in the 1520s violent social riots which were ideologically motivated by Reformation slogans.<sup>41</sup> Popular confession-related demonstrations were also seen in Greater Polish towns.<sup>42</sup> In Poznań, the new ideas were spread by printed publications and by sermons delivered by preachers. In 1525, Johann of Bamberg, a German-speaking preacher and advocate of Lutheranism, was active in that city. In 1541, Polish-speaking preacher Stanisław of Przybysławek and German-speaking predicant Albert von Wollstein joined the Reformation trend.<sup>43</sup> In 1535, in Wałcz, bourgeois followers of Lutheranism destroyed the altar in the chapel of the local Corpus Christi parish church.<sup>44</sup> In Wschowa, the altarist Jan Clocz was accused of 'Lutheran errors', whilst altarist Paweł Rebyger was deprived of his prebend for this reason.<sup>45</sup> In view of some scholars, one of the earliest Lutheran communities was formed in Łobżenica in as early as 1537, a certain Martin (surname unknown) serving then as the minister.<sup>46</sup>

However, it was only with Sigismund II Augustus's (Zygmunt II August) coming to the throne of Poland-Lithuania that the core phase of Polish Reformation followed, manifesting itself in the turning by noble patrons of Catholic churches into Protestant ones (*zbórs*). Based on the current state of research, most of Evangelical parishes appeared within Greater Poland between 1555 and 1572.<sup>47</sup> A considerable number of them ceased to operate by the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century. This was due to the policy pursued by Sigismund III Vasa (Zygmunt III Waza) and the strengthened Counter-Reformation actions taken by the Catholic Church. As regards the churches belonging to the Bohemian Brethren, Dworzaczkowa pointed to 1608–9 as the cut-off date.<sup>48</sup> The situation of Lutheran *zbórs* in Poznań district changed in that period as well. In 1594, on the grounds of a king's mandate, the church in Wałcz was taken over from the Lutherans, and a Catholic parson installed there:<sup>49</sup> a certain Joachim Librarius thus took the office in 1598 and took efficient action to restore the dominance of Catholic Church in Wałcz district.<sup>50</sup> Counter-Reformation implied also that the position of the Protestant community Wschowa land was considerably weakened.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The bishop's visitation in 1608 confirmed that Protestants were present in the village; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 108v; cf. W. Kriegseisen, *Zbór ewangelicko-reformowany (kalwiński) w Żychlinie koło Konina*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 37, 1993, pp. 104–114; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Materiały do dziejów zboru w Żychlinie*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 15, 1996, pp. 97–98; K. Gorczyca, *Żychlin pod Koninem*, Warszawa 1997 – containing references to earlier literature.

<sup>38</sup> ASR IV, p. 178.

<sup>39</sup> 'Opatrzanie kaznodzieja w Borzęciczkach', ABCz, no. 892; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa braci czeskich w Polsce do początków XVII w.*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 29, 1984, p. 143.

<sup>40</sup> ASR IV, p. 452.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. W. Kriegseisen, *Stosunki wyznaniowe w relacjach państwo-kościół między reformacją a oświeceniem (Rzesza Niemiecka – Niderlandy Północne – Rzeczpospolita polsko-litewska)*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 431–441; G. Schramm, *Reformacja w miastach Prus Królewskich. Przykład Gdańska, Elbląga i Torunia w latach 1517–1558*, [in:] idem, *Polska w dziejach Europy Środkowej. Studia*, trans. into Polish by M. Płomińska-Krawiec, Poznań 2010, pp. 127–156.

<sup>42</sup> For more on the topic, cf. T. Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen*, pp. 79–82.

<sup>43</sup> For a broader account, see J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast królewskich Wielkopolski*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 10, 1965, pp. 65, 78; O. Kiec, *Historia protestantyzmu*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>44</sup> Information on this occurrence survives in the municipal registers of Wałcz; Bąk, Wałcz, pp. 142–143.

<sup>45</sup> Czwojdrak and Kopaczyński, pp. 39–40.

<sup>46</sup> A. Mietz and J. Pakulski, *Łobżenica. Portret miasta i okolicy*, Łobżenica and Toruń 1993.

<sup>47</sup> See J. Wijaczka, *Luteranie w Koronie*, p. 17; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Zbory braci czeskich*, p. 42.

<sup>48</sup> For a broader account, see J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa braci czeskich*, p. 136.

<sup>49</sup> Bąk, 'Wałcz', pp. 248–249.

<sup>50</sup> For more on his actions, see *ibidem*, pp. 252–254.

<sup>51</sup> See Czwojdrak and Kopaczyński, pp. 46–51.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, churches of four Protestant denominations existed in Greater Poland represented four Protestant denominations: Evangelical-Augsburg (Lutheran), Bohemian Brethren, Reformed Evangelical (Calvinist), and Polish Brethren (Arian).

The founding of the Bohemian Brethren's *Jednota* was strictly associated with the arrival in 1548 of a group of confessors expelled from Bohemia by Ferdinand I. They brought along their elaborate doctrinal and liturgical standards and organisational rules of ecclesiastical structures. The Brethren's teachings were worded in their books of confession (*Konfesja*) and apology (*Apologia*) published in 1538.<sup>52</sup> From 1557 onwards, their *Jednota* formed in Greater Poland the third Church province, apart from the Bohemian and Moravian ones; its organisation was based on the Bohemian model. The top-tier authority in this Church was the so-called 'Strict Council' (*Uzka Rada*), composed of clergymen elected for life as the synod, out of a group of elder brethren – the 'clerical seniors'.<sup>53</sup> The synod was an important institution, being the forum for the elder brethren called seniors and conseniors; the ministers would gather separately and then submit their propositions to the elders.<sup>54</sup> In 1573, six secular seniors were appointed for the districts; they took no active part in administering the Church, though.<sup>55</sup> For this reason, the system of the Bohemian Brethren's Church is describable as episcopal, with the crucial decisions taken by the clerical senior, aided by two or three conseniors.<sup>56</sup> In the latter half of the sixteenth century, a vast majority of Bohemian Brethren's Churches were Polish-speaking. A few German-speaking communities emerged in the area of Wschowa, including in Leszno, Lasocice, and Gołanice.<sup>57</sup> A German-speaking *zbor* functioned since 1557 in Poznań.<sup>58</sup> The headquarter in the Commonwealth was the town of Ostroróg, which housed a school, seminary, archive, and library. The *Jednota*'s seniors also resided in Ostroróg.<sup>59</sup> The Bohemian Brethren's *Jednota* remained a local Church within Poland-Lithuania, with its structures only Greater Poland and, partly, in Cuyavia.<sup>60</sup> This fact incited J. Dworzaczkowa to consider the case of the Bohemian Brethren's *Jednota* as a manifestation of the specificity and singularity of Greater Poland.<sup>61</sup> According to her findings, there were some forty *zbórs* active in Greater Poland between 1551 and 1608.<sup>62</sup>

The followers of the Evangelical and Reformed denomination appeared at a fairly early date in Cuyavia, for a change. Their patron was Rafał Leszczyński, *Starosta* of Radziejów, this royal town being their important centre. Reformed community churches emerged in Voivodeship of Sieradz and in the region of Wieluń, all strictly associated throughout with the Lesser Polish province.<sup>63</sup> There are divergent opinions among scholars with regard to the functioning in Greater Poland in the latter half of the sixteenth century of a separate Evangelical and Reformed *Jednota*, apart from the Lesser Polish and the Lithuanian ones. Some scholars have accepted that the *zbórs* functioning in Cuyavia and Greater Poland formed a separate province,<sup>64</sup> whilst others say that those communities never formed an individual territorial structure of their own.<sup>65</sup> The first half of the seventeenth century marked a rapprochement between Reformed Evangelicals and the Bohemian Brethren. The year 1627 saw the

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<sup>52</sup> M. Gmiterek, *Kalwinizm po czesku?*, p. 103.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, p. 90–92.

<sup>54</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. K. Bem, *Ustroje kościołów ewangelicko-reformowanych w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 57, 2013, pp. 137–141.

<sup>56</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, the seniors were Jan Rokita (1557–80), Jan Lorenc (1581–7), Szymon Bogumił Turnowski (1587–1608); cf. T. Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen*, p. 135.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja a problemy narodowościowe*, p. 85.

<sup>58</sup> *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, p. 549.

<sup>59</sup> ASRIV, p. IX.

<sup>60</sup> H. Gmiterek, *Kalwinizm po czesku?*, p. 103.

<sup>61</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy przejawem odrębności Wielkopolski*, [in:] eadem, *Z dziejów braci czeskich w Polsce*, pp. 122–126.

<sup>62</sup> As per J. Bidlo's estimate, twenty Bohemian Brethren's churches were present in 1555, a figure that doubled by 1558; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, p. 196; M. Gmiterek, *Kalwinizm po czesku?*, p. 90. J. Bidlo, *Jednota bratrská v prvním vyhnání*, vol. 1: *Buvsik a Kohout*, Praha 1900, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> ASR IV, p. VII.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. M. Gmiterek, *Prowincje czy konfesje?. Przyczynek do sprawy ujednoczenia obrządku w zborach kalwińskich i braci czeskich w XVII wieku*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 29, 1984, p. 146.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. M. Ptaszyński, *O ustroju kościoła. Uwagi na marginesie edycji Akt synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1626–1637*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 56, 2012, pp. 207–208.

Calvinist ministers join the *Jednota*; a union of the Bohemian Brethren's Church with the Evangelical and Reformed Church was concluded in 1633 in Orla.<sup>66</sup> In contrast to Lesser Poland the Polish Brethren movement was poorly represented in Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships.<sup>67</sup>

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the largest Protestant community in Greater Poland was that of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church believers.<sup>68</sup> The Greater Polish Church was presided by the senior (superintendent); the one in office since 1566 was Erazm Gliczner.<sup>69</sup> Ministers, aided by deacons and teachers, were in charge of *zbórs*.<sup>70</sup> The religious community was tasked with supporting the minister and the teacher, hence its members were bound to pay their contributions on a regular basis. The community's funds were managed by the provisors (*vitrici*).<sup>71</sup> The 1565 synod in Gostyń resolved the Church's territorial structures be organised; three ecclesiastical districts were formed, headed by district seniors.<sup>72</sup> In 1607, the synod in Miłosław established six districts – the ones of Poznań, Puzdry, Kobylin, Wschowa, Kościan, and Międzyrzecz.<sup>73</sup> The estimates of the number of Lutheran churches in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century vary by author.<sup>74</sup>

King Sigismund I the Old tried to hinder the spread of the Reformation in Greater Poland by means of edicts. The edicts issued as of 3 May and 24 July 1520 barred the import into Poland-Lithuania and sale therein of Lutheran books under the pain of confiscation of estate and expulsion. The writ was repeated by the edict of 15 February 1522, targeted at *starostas* and municipal councils. Based on the edict of 7 March 1523, adherents of Lutheranism were exposed to the capital punishment and loss of property. Finally, the edict dated 5 September 1523 admitted to conduct search at bourgeois houses for Reformation-related printed matter and imposed preventive censorship on rector of the Cracow University. The other relevant ordinances of the king were issued in the 1540s. In 1544, Sigismund I issued a decision banning the proclamation of 'religious novelties' within the royal estates, the making of trips to Protestant centres and importing into Poland-Lithuania of any texts propagating Reformation ideas.<sup>75</sup> The subsequent royal mandates against the Protestants in Poznań and Konin were issued by Sigismund II Augustus in 1555. In 1556, the king decreed three anti-Reformation edicts, two of which relating to Greater Poland: one of them bound the *starostas* to counteract the spread of religious novelties across royal towns and villages, the other imposed the same instruction upon the *Starosta General*.<sup>76</sup>

The implementation of the edicts was in practice dependent on the will of *starostas*, many of whom favoured the Reformation. As a result, in the Crown's estates of Międzyrzecz *starosta's* district, many a parish yielded to the Protestant control.<sup>77</sup> The Evangelical-Augsburg confession was officially adopted in the royal towns of Wschowa, Międzyrzecz, Skwierzyna, and Wałcz.<sup>78</sup> In spite of the municipal authorities of Poznań expressly supporting the Reformation, its official adoption in the city

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<sup>66</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Z dziejów braci czeskich w Polsce*, p. 123.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. J. Tazbir, *Antytrynitaryzm w Gdańsku i okolicach*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 21, 1976, pp. 57–82.

<sup>68</sup> Idem, *Spoleczny i terytorialny zasięg polskiej reformacji*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, vol. 82, 1975, no. 4, p. 728.

<sup>69</sup> ASL, pp. 60, 63, 112. For more on his activities, see H. Barycz, *Gliczner, Erazm*, [in:] PSB, vol. 8, pp. 50–52; W. Sławiński, *Erazm Gliczner wobec Zgody Sandomierskiej. Przyczynek do biografii*, „Czasy Nowożytne”, vol. 15, 2003, pp. 9–70.

<sup>70</sup> J. Wijaczka, *Luteranie w Koronie*, p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem, p. 26.

<sup>73</sup> ASL, p. 124.

<sup>74</sup> According to H. Merczyng, there were 32 active Polish-speaking and some 110 German-speaking *zbórs*; in J. Dworzaczkowa's opinion, the respective figures are approx. 40 and approx. 100. The statistics given by A. Brüning is quite similar: 142 Lutheran, incl. 32 Polish-speaking. H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy*, 15; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Luteranizm w Wielkopolsce i jego społeczno-narodowe aspekty*, [in:] *Reformacja na polskich ziemiach zachodnich. W 500-lecie urodzin Marcina Lutra. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. K. Bartkiewicz, Zielona Góra 1986, p. 146; A. Brüning, *Unio non est unitas. Polen-Litauens Weg im konfessionellen Zeitalter (1569–1648)*, Wiesbaden 2008, p. 146; S. Tworek, *Z zagadnień liczebności zbiorów kalwińskich na Litwie*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 18, 1972, pp. 207, 211.

<sup>75</sup> For more on the topic, see P. Kras, *Od represji do kompromisu. Edykty antyprotestanckie Zygmunta I i Zygmunta II Augusta*, [in:] *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Dynastia królewska w drugiej połowie XV i w XVI w.*, eds. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, and P. Węcowski, Kraków 2016, pp. 352–378; Z. Wojciechowski, *Zygmunt Stary (1506–1548)*, ed. and with an introduction by A.F. Grabski, Warszawa 1979; J. Wijaczka, *Luteranie w Koronie*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>76</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast*, p. 68.

<sup>77</sup> Now2, p. 557.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast*, p. 69.

proved impossible,<sup>79</sup> owing to the king's clear stance to the contrary, shared by the *Starosta* General of Greater Poland.<sup>80</sup>

The development of the Reformation in sixteenth-century Greater Poland was enabled by the support from the powerful noble families. Greater Poland's *Starosta* General Jakub Ostroróg, owner of Ostroróg, Koźminek, and Chodecz, was in fact the founder of the Polish *Jednota* of the Bohemian Brethren.<sup>81</sup> Another important protector of the Church was Rafał Leszczyński, Castellan of Śrem.<sup>82</sup> From the standpoint of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church, decisive was the support lent by Andrzej Górka, Greater Poland's *Starosta* General and Castellan of Poznań, his sons Łukasz and Stanisław, the consecutive voivodes of Poznań, and Andrzej, Castellan of Międzyrzecz.<sup>83</sup> Stanisław Ostroróg, the Międzyrzecz Castellan, one of those who initiated the convening of the first Lutheran synod in 1555 Poznań, also played an essential role. He was regarded as the main patron of Greater Poland's Lutherans.<sup>84</sup> The patrons of the Evangelical and Reformed communities and their churches were members of the family Latałski as well as Jan Tomicki, Castellan of Gniezno.<sup>85</sup> The Polish Brethren could count on the patronage of Stanisław Cikowski, Eliaz Arciszewski, and Kasper Brzeźnicki.<sup>86</sup>

Of importance for the propagation of the Reformation ideas was the support from the local noblemen, albeit it is difficult to state the exact number of those noble families who joined the new faith.<sup>87</sup> At least the names of those noble families who joined the communities of the Protestant denominations. Among the Bohemian Brethren were the families of Broniewski, Bronikowski, Bukowiecki, Gajewski, Grodzicki, Grudziński, Kurnatowski, Marszewski, Mielęcki, Suchorzewski, Twardowski, and Żychliński,<sup>88</sup> whereas Potulicki, Orzelski, Ossowski, Ujski, Gniński, Goltz, and Unrug became members of Lutheran *zbórs*.<sup>89</sup> The names of noble adherents of the Reformation were written down in the files of Lutheran and Bohemian Brethren synods held in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The setting up of a Protestant *zbor* in Greater Poland was thus conditional upon the will of the noble proprietor of the town or village concerned. The patron's task was to provide the minister with appropriate emolument. In some cases, the minister would maintain his previous income and the presbytery endowment, his subjects to pay him the tithe. The minister would sometimes be paid by the patron in money and in kind. In the Bohemian Brethren's *Jednota*, the patron issued the so-called provision. Dworzaczkowa's research has shown that provisions have survived for a total of twenty-two communities/churches with incomplete data identifiable for another six.<sup>90</sup> These documents enable one to determine the material standing of the ministers. The problem of insufficient endowment or salary was repeatedly debated at the synods of Bohemian Brethren's *Jednota*, as e.g. with the *zbórs* in Trląg and Szamotuły.<sup>91</sup> Due to low emolument, the office of minister at Bojanów remained vacant for some time.<sup>92</sup>

The related issue is the secular patron's influence on the filling of the post of minister in the Protestant community. In his analysis of this practice, as compared to that pursued in the Catholic

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<sup>79</sup> Poznań's Lutheran and Bohemian Brethren's *zbórs* functioned under the care of the magnate families of Górka, Ostroróg, and Tomicki. In 1564, Ostroróg town had his houses in St. Adalbert Suburb excluded from the municipal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Both churches are plotted on the map of Poznań in AHP Greater Poland; cf. I. Błaszczuk, *Dawny zbor Świętego Krzyża na Grobli: obecny kościół parafialny Wszystkich Świętych*, Poznań 2001.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast*, p. 77.

<sup>81</sup> M.B. Topolska, *Ostroróg, Jakub*, [in:] PSB, vol. 24, pp. 501–502.

<sup>82</sup> K. Gis, *Rafał Leszczyński – wielkopolski protektor reformacji*, [in:] *Reformacja i tolerancja*, pp. 25–37.

<sup>83</sup> *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, 1901, no. 2, pp. 41–42; W. Dworzaczek, *Górka, Andrzej*, [in:] PSB, vol. 8, pp. 401–405; R. Żelewski, *Andrzej Górka*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 405–407; W. Dworzaczek, *Górka, Łukasz*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 412–414; K. Lepszy, *Górka, Stanisław*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 416–421.

<sup>84</sup> Stanisław Ostroróg, in PSB, vol. 24, pp. 528–530; ASL, p. 10.

<sup>85</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, J. Topolski (eds.), *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa and Poznań 1981, p. 767.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, p. 555; *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, p. 27.

<sup>87</sup> J. Łukaszewicz gives a total of 348 names; based on the available records, J. Dworzaczkowa has verified the list and finally specified approx. 200 names; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Konwersje na katolicyzm szlachty ewangelickiej wyznania czeskiego w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 50, 2006, p. 89.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, p. 547.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 549.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa braci czeskich*, p. 123.

<sup>91</sup> ASR IV, pp. 104, 134.

<sup>92</sup> The Bolesław synod (3 to 12 April 1598) file stated that: “Bojanów may presently be provided with a Minister not; interim, may Messrs. the Patrons conceive a better provision”; *ibidem*, p. 150.

Church, Bogumił Szady argues that with regards to Greater Polish Protestant Churches, the position and role of secular patrons in the functioning of *zbórs* ought not to be exaggerated.<sup>93</sup> In the *Jednota* of Bohemian Brethren, secular fellow believers had a little say when it came to electing the ministers, as the decision was that of the clerical seniors and conseniors. In Dworzaczkowa's view, the secular patron of a *zbor* could request the clerical senior for appointing a minister; for instance, the synod in session in 1589 in Poznań received a request from the Protestant community of Poniec to assign to them a preacher with a command of German.<sup>94</sup> Introduction of a concrete minister was however dependent on the clerical senior who could resolve to have him dismissed and moved to another *zbor*. The filling of the office of minister was repeatedly decided by the synods held in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The like solutions, with the decisive say on the part of clerical seniors as to the election of ministers, were obligatory in the legislation of the Reformed Evangelicals and Lutherans.<sup>95</sup>

As regards the *Jednota* of the Bohemian Brethren, a definite majority of Protestant communities were active at the seized parish churches. Some patrons had a new church building constructed for the needs of the religious community, but it was a rare practice. The church in Poznań was situated beyond the city walls, in St. Adalbert Suburb, at a building owned by Jakub Ostroróg. By means of a royal privilege, it was excluded from the municipal jurisdiction. For the purpose of the local community, Jan Krotoski provided in 1575 an adjacent house; another real property was donated by judge Jan Gajewski. A complex of buildings owned by the community thus emerged, encompassing two church buildings, a school, a hospital, five residential buildings with a garden, and a cemetery.<sup>96</sup> A new, wooden church building, designed for the Bohemian Brethren community, was erected in Marszewo by its patron Wojciech Marszewski.<sup>97</sup> In Gołuchów, Rafał Leszczyński took away the entire benefice from the local Catholic church, and had a new wooden church erected for the Bohemian Brethren.<sup>98</sup> The Brethren's church in Krotoszyn is another example. Jan Rozdrażewski provided the Protestant community with the local parish church and subsequently, in 1592–7, funded the construction of a brick church for the purposes of the community; the buildings and facilities for the minister and ecclesial servants as well as building to be used as a school were also erected.<sup>99</sup> Another example is the village of Dąbrowa in Keynia district, whose owner Mikołaj Orzelski had a chapel built for the needs of his fellow believers, Bohemian Brethren. He resumed Catholicism before his death and bestowed the chapel to the Catholic Church.<sup>100</sup> The situation in this respect was different with the Lutheran churches founded in Poznań Voivodeship. The second half of the sixteenth century saw the development of new settlement in that region, and to satisfy the needs of the new settlers, prevalently of the Evangelical-Augsburg denomination, new church buildings were erected – as in the areas of Międzyrzecz, Wschowa, and Czaplinek-Wałcz.<sup>101</sup>

The dissenter communities' being materially and financially dependent on the secular patron, given no legal personality granted to *zbórs* in the Kingdom of Poland, led to their collapse or decay in case the patron or his successors converted to another confession.<sup>102</sup> The largest wave of conversions to Catholicism was seen in the 1590s<sup>103</sup> – one example being Grodzisk Wielkopolski (Grodzisk), where Międzyrzecz *Starosta* Stanisław Ostroróg gave the parish church away to Lutherans, in 1553 (or 1563);

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<sup>93</sup> For a broader account, cf. B. Szady, *Między panem i plebanem – mechanizmy obsady funkcji duchownych w Rzeczypospolitej wielu wyznań w XVI-XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Między Rzymem i Nowosybirskiem. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana ks. Marianowi Radwanowi SCJ*, eds. I. Wodzianowska and H. Łaszkiwicz, Lublin 2012, p. 206.

<sup>94</sup> ASR IV, p. 104.

<sup>95</sup> B. Szady, *Między panem i plebanem*, p. 206.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. J. Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny miasta Poznania w dawniejszych czasach*, vol. 2, Poznań 1838, pp. 175–177; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa braci czeskich*, p. 129.

<sup>98</sup> Eadem, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, p. 76.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. K. Krotoski, *Dzieje miasta Krotoszyna. Miasto Krotoszyn i jego dziedzice za czasów polskich (od 1415 do 1779)*, part 1, Krotoszyn 1930, p. 52.

<sup>100</sup> Nothing is known of the presence of a minister there; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 314v.

<sup>101</sup> A. Mietz, *Archidiakoniat kamieński archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej. Struktura terytorialna i stan kościołów w czasach staropolskich 1512–1772*, Włocławek 2005, 79; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 155.

<sup>102</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Konwersje na katolicyzm*, pp. 89–100.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. J. Wijaczka, *Luteranie w Koronie*, p. 6; A.K. Banach, *Konwersje protestantów na katolicyzm w Koronie w latach 1560–1600*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne”, 1985, no. 77, pp. 21–35.

after the conversion of his son Andrzej, the church and its entire endowment was transferred in 1593 to the new Catholic parson.<sup>104</sup> A number of *zbórs* fell after their home villages were sold to a Catholic owner. Another reason would have been the discontinuation of funding by the secular patron, as was the case with the communities in Gromadno (Nakło district) and Niemczyn (Kcynia district).<sup>105</sup>

The largest clusters of Bohemian Brethren communities-and-churches appeared in Kalisz Voivodeship. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, *zbórs* functioned in Kalisz district – in Gołuchów (Gołuchowo)<sup>106</sup> and Blizanów (Blizanowo), both being property of the Leszczyński family.<sup>107</sup> The patron of the *zbórs* in Jastrzębniki<sup>108</sup> and Lipa<sup>109</sup> was Jan Lipski. One of the most important Protestant community churches was that in Koźminek, owned by the Ostrogski family.<sup>110</sup> The patron for Marszewo (Marszewo)<sup>111</sup> and Chodecz (Chocz)<sup>112</sup> was Wojciech Marszewski. Communities and their churches were active also in Broniszewice Suchorzewskie,<sup>113</sup> Karmin (Karmino Wielkie), owned by the Marszewski and Sośnicki families,<sup>114</sup> and in Kamień (Kamion), owned by Zaremba.<sup>115</sup> The patron for Stawiszyn was probably Jan Zaremba of Kalinowa.<sup>116</sup> Visitation records from the early seventeenth century tell us of two localities whose parish churches were occupied by the Protestants for a long time; this probably referred to Bohemian Brethren communities in the villages of Zakrzyn (Zaksino)<sup>117</sup> and Kretków

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<sup>104</sup> Czwojdrak and Kopaczyński, p. 44.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa braci czeskich*, p. 135.

<sup>106</sup> The patron was Rafał Leszczyński. In 1581, the so-called provision was issued. Jan Rokita (1578) and Andrzej of Kołp (1597–1601) served as ministers. The church was returned to the Catholic community in 1601 by Waclaw Leszczyński, after his conversion to Catholicism. ASR I, p. 225; ASR IV, pp. 117, 121–2, 129, 132–4, 140, 150–1, 153–4, 159–61, 164, 361, 364; ASR III, p. 28; ABCz, no. 1435, 1436, 1438, 1442; ASL, p. 113; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 372.

<sup>107</sup> The 1606 visitation record refers to the founding of a parish church in Żerniki. The locality had been singled out of its previous parish of Blizanów, which was taken over by Bohemian Brethren. The ministers: Błażej Adamiejusz, Jakub Tychicki. The church was regained by the Catholics ca. 1605. Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 440, 458; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, f. 469.

<sup>108</sup> The available records confirm that the *zbór* functioned in the second half of the sixteenth century. As per the 1606 visitation record, a ‘Calvinist’ minister stayed in the locality. ASR IV, pp. 105, 121, 178, 194; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 461–462; *Repertorium akt wizytacji kanonicznych dawnej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, ed. S. Librowski, ABMK, vol. 28, 1974, p. 133; ASR IV, p. 178.

<sup>109</sup> The *zbór*’s owners and patrons were Jan and Maciej Lipski. According to the 1606 visitation record, the church’s collator Jan Lipski gave it away to Bohemian Brethren in 1570. Stanisław Hiperyk was the minister as of 1589. The visitation confirmed that the patron’s son, a Catholic himself, returned the church to the Catholic community; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 462; ASR IV, p. 105.

<sup>110</sup> ASR IV, pp. 9, 57, 61, 77, 104, 107, 119; ASL, p. 113; BRacz, rkps 50, ff. 176, 184, 196; ABCz, no. 892; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 323.

<sup>111</sup> A provision for this particular community was issued in 1588. The ministers in office included Łukasz Andronicus (1564; 1587–95), Stefan Felix (1573–87), Samuel Aorg (1587), Wojciech Pietraszek (1597), Andrzej of Koło, and Deacon Adam Hilarius (1598). Problems appeared around 1600 with the filling of the post of minister owing to poor emolument. As per the visitation record dated 1605, the Marszewo *zbór* was still active, with a minister in office. ASR I, p. 83; ASR IV, pp. 99, 104, 107, 123, 151, 156–157, 159, 163–164, 166; ABCz, no. 892; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, ff. 372, 386.

<sup>112</sup> The so-called provision determining the church’s endowment was issued in 1575. The ministers: Piotr Abdeel, Jakub Trofim, Jan Memoratus, Jakub Widlak, Jan Lucjusz Turnowski, Adam Moller, Mateusz Serenius Chodowiecki; ASR I, pp. 221, 225, 258–61; BRacz, rkps 50, ff. 128–130; ASR IV, pp. 219, 250, 298, 385–386; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 451.

<sup>113</sup> The ministers: Adam Moller (until 1591), Jan Wiglef (until 1606); the latter was assisted, since 1601, by his son-in-law Maciej Cyrinus. A school was affiliated to the community. In 1606, the minister was dismissed by the (female) owner. Stanisław Suchorzewski converted to Catholicism; he died in 1615. Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 381; ASR IV, pp. 150, 166, 177–178; BRacz, rkps 62, f. 33.

<sup>114</sup> The visitation record from 1605 confirms that the owners were Evangelicals and the church had been occupied for a number of years. The minister present at the time is first attested in 1601. The first dated mention of the *zbór* is in the file of the 1608 synod of Lipnik. The ministers were Jan Turnowski (?1595) and Andrzej of Koło (1601); ASR IV, pp. 164, 166, 170, 178, 193, 206, 228, 319–20, 322, 401; BRacz, rkps 46, f. 105v; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 386.

<sup>115</sup> A ‘provision’ was issued in 1587, then another one in 1590. The ministers were Andrzej Vitalis (1587–89), Stanisław Hypericus (1589–1609[?]), Szymon Leopolda (1608–9[?]). The synod files and the 1605 visitation record point to the efforts and activities of Andrzej Zaremba, patron of the *zbór*, and the church’s seizure by the Protestants. ASR IV, pp. 105–106, 164, 178–179, 185, 190, 194, 201, 321; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 459.

<sup>116</sup> The ministers were: Mateusz Gacki (1575–97), Piotr Studensky (1577), Stanisław Hypericus (until 1579), Samuel Aorg (1590), Maciej Dukat (1597–1607), Sebastian of Turek (1607–10); ASR IV, pp. 90, 129, 131, 154; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 394.

<sup>117</sup> As of 1579, the village was owned by Mikołaj Siedlecki; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 244; Wiz. Kal. 1610–1611, f. 339; ASK 1579, f. 700.

(Kretkowo).<sup>118</sup> The same records inform on a *zbór* in Rychnów (Rychnowo) village.<sup>119</sup> There is no record-based evidence, in turn, of a Bohemian Brethren community in Kalisz.<sup>120</sup>

In Konin district, attempts to introduce the Reformation failed for the town of Konin itself.<sup>121</sup> Protestant communities-and-churches functioned in Grodziec,<sup>122</sup> Wyszyna (Wyszyno),<sup>123</sup> Krzymów (Krzymowo),<sup>124</sup> and Drażno-Holendry (Drażno),<sup>125</sup> all belonging to the Grodziecki family. Further on, dissenter churches were funded in the Gorzewski-owned Kawnice (Kawnica)<sup>126</sup> and in Cienin Kościelny (Cienino Wielkie), property of the Przyjemski family.<sup>127</sup> The ecclesiastical visitation of 1608 confirmed that a *zbór* was active in Roch Żychliński's Myślibórz.<sup>128</sup> Another one probably functioned in Rychwał, owned by the Złotkowski family.<sup>129</sup>

A community of Bohemian Brethren within Pызdry district certainly functioned in Krotoszyn.<sup>130</sup> In Kcynia district, a *zbór* operated in Barcin, Jan Krotoski being the patron,<sup>131</sup> and in the Grudziński-

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<sup>118</sup> As of 1581, the village belonged to Jakub Włostowski and the Giżycki family. The 1608 visitation record has it that an Evangelical church operated there, with a minister present. The Catholics had the church back around 1590, with graves of Protestants inside it. *Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607*, f. 342; *ASK 1581*, f. 197.

<sup>119</sup> The community and church are attested for this locality by the 1606 visitation record; the church was probably erected before 1568 – the year the parish church in Żerniki was founded and the locality detached from the parish in Blizanów as it was seized by Bohemian Brethren. The record specifies that also the church in Rychnów was taken over by the dissenters, probably Bohemian Brethren. The presence of a preaching minister was confirmed. The *zbór* collapsed around 1605; the village's owner Jan Kobierzycki provided the church to the Catholics. *Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607*, f. 457–458.

<sup>120</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa evokes the information from the town's Jesuit chronicle regarding conversions of Protestants that took place in 1586–98; cf. H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy*, p. 28; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast*, p. 78; W. Urban, *Z dziejów reformacji*, pp. 230–231.

<sup>121</sup> In 1546, Fr. Stanisław Lutomirski, a Reformation adherent, was made the local provost. He gained support from Konin *Starosta* Stanisław Dziaduski. The year 1555 saw Lutomirski partake in the Gołuchów convention and the synod in Koźminek. He was excommunicated in the same year; in 1556, an anti-Reformation mandate was issued by the king, and delivered by Greater Poland's *Starosta* General Janusz Kościelecki. A new Catholic provost, Fr. Mikołaj Grochowski, was installed in Konin in 1556. As per the episcopal visitation record of 1608, no Protestants dwelled in the town. *ASR IV*, p. 903; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 105; cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast*, p. 76.

<sup>122</sup> The ministers were Jakub Troffin (until 1581) and Jakub Widłak (until 1586). The community and church vanished, probably, after the patron's death in 1587. According to the 1608 episcopal visitation record, there were no Protestants in the locality. *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 125.

<sup>123</sup> The patron was Andrzej Grodziecki, later succeeded by his son Adam. The ministers: Tomasz Wrzesita (from 1573), Błazek (1587), Samuel Orlik (1595), Andrzej Witalis (1608–10), Sebastian Campensis (Turcensis). *ASR IV*, pp. 99, 178; *ASL*, p. 114; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 142v.

<sup>124</sup> As per the 1608 visitation record, the *zbór*'s patron was Władysław Grodziecki, the village's owner since 1580; he transferred the church to Bohemian Brethren. A minister resided at the church – namely, Szymon Leopolda (as of 1597). From 1607 on, the village was owned by Rafał Jarochoowski, a Catholic, who reinstated the status quo ante. *ASR IV*, pp. 117, 122, 129; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 143.

<sup>125</sup> As of 1595, a certain Piotrw was the minister; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 143; *ASR III*, p. 128.

<sup>126</sup> The 1608 visitation record confirms that the church was seized years ago, and that a minister resides there. The ministers: Maciej Dukat and Maciej Teodor Włostowski (1596–1597), Szymon Leopolda (before 1608). *ASR IV*, pp. 117, 131, 178, 190, 192, 219, 380; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 375v.

<sup>127</sup> A 'provision' was issued for the *zbór* in 1568, then again in 1572. The ministers were Bartłomiej Organista (1568), Jan Lucjusz Turnowski (until 1572), Mikołaj Hermes (until 1598), Daniel Mikołajewski (1598), and Jan Pietraszek (from 1598). *ASR IV*, pp. 151, 159, 178, 192–193, 206, 240, 323, 380, 402; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 373v; *BRacz*, rkps 48, f. 33v, 36v, 48v; *BRacz*, rkps 62, f. 93.

<sup>128</sup> Paweł Patiens served as a minister (as of 1597). A school functioned in the village; Jerzy Clemens was a deacon in 1598. *ASR IV*, pp. 117, 122, 124, 131, 133, 175, 178, 192–193, 206, 380; *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 376.

<sup>129</sup> A single mention survives of minister Stanisław Hypericus from Poznań, who stayed at the *zbór* in 1573. The community vanished, probably, with Złotkowski's death in 1574; his son Stanisław was most probably a Catholic. The 1608 visitation record says nothing of local Protestants. *Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609*, f. 128v.

<sup>130</sup> The community's patron Jan Rozdrażewski provided the parish church to Bohemian Brethren, and then had a new brick church built for the Evangelicals. In 1600, after the patron's death, on consent of his widow Katarzyna, née Potulicka, the church was given back to the Catholics and turned into the Catholic parish church dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The visitation record from 1612 remarks, however, that Bohemian Brethren still stayed in the town. The ministers and preachers included Kasper of Krotoszyn, Paweł Orlik (1573–95), and Jan Turnowski (1597–1600). There was a school which Jan Rozdrażewski had agreed to support with 20 fl. per annum allocated for the purpose. In 1599, the community's members requested their patron to help them find a German-speaking preacher and a bachelor (teacher); *ASR IV*, pp. 122, 129, 131, 134, 151, 153–4, 156, 187, 252, 383; *ASL*, p. 113; *ABCz*, no. 1704, f. 6; *Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607*, ff. 166, 175.

<sup>131</sup> That the *zbór* existed is confirmed by dissenter and Catholic records. In 1570–8, the minister was Jan Lucjusz Turnowski; Andreas Sylvianus succeeded him in 1595. After a period of vacancy, Wojciech of Marszewo was sent as minister

owned locality of Niemczyno (Miemczyno).<sup>132</sup> The church in Jaktorowo, mentioned in an visitation record, was probably used by Bohemian Brethren.<sup>133</sup> As for Gniezno district, there was a church in Łagiewniki Kościelne (Łagiewniki)<sup>134</sup> and Skoki,<sup>135</sup> owned by the Latałski family, and in Trląg, whose patron was Jan Modlibóg.<sup>136</sup> Two *zbórs* are attested for Nakło district: one in Łobżenica, funded by Jan Erazm Krotoski,<sup>137</sup> and the other one in Sypniewo.<sup>138</sup> Scarcity of source information renders it difficult to attest the church in Gromadno with certainty.<sup>139</sup> Based on early seventeenth-century episcopal visitations, followers of the Reformation dwelled also in royal towns, such as Gniezno,<sup>140</sup> Kłecko,<sup>141</sup> or Pobiedziska.<sup>142</sup>

For two localities, there is no source basis to confirm that dissenter communities and their churches were active in the second half of the sixteenth century. According to the 1608 episcopal visitation record, the locality of Golina (mentioned by Dworzaczkowa<sup>143</sup>) had its church desecrated as a Protestant was interred there. There were no dissenters in Golina as at the visitation date.<sup>144</sup> The *zbór* in Bardo, Pызdry district, is mentioned by Andrzej Węgierski and Józef Łukaszewicz, who point to the Bardzki family as the patrons. Around 1570, they offered the local parish church for the needs of their fellow believers. Krzysztof Bardzki was registered for the Toruń Synod in 1595. The community perished before 1608; no details of its Evangelical ministers have survived, and there is no source evidence for this locality whether in synod files or in Church visitation records.<sup>145</sup>

Based on the episcopal visitations, it appears that there were some Protestant centres that attracted noble adherents of the Reformation from nearby villages. Barcin in Kcynia district saw Jan Dąbrowski arriving with his family from Dąbrówka village.<sup>146</sup> In Konin district, the *zbór* handled by a minister

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to Barcin in 1598. In 1600, Georgius Clemens served as the minister. There was a school in Barcin as well. ASR IV, p. 164; ASR III, p. 28; ASR II, p. 311; ASL, pp. 72, 114; MHDW 17, p. 123; MHDW 19, p. 65; BRacz, rkps 48, f. 50v.

<sup>132</sup> The ministers: Jan Campensis (1579–99), Maciej Cyrin (1598), Paweł Orlik (1600). As per the 1608 visitation record, Jan Grudziński continued to be an Evangelical, but there was no minister in place anymore. An Evangelical's tomb was found inside the church. ASR IV, pp. 131, 153, 158, 163; ASL, p. 114; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 103v.

<sup>133</sup> Jan Jaktorowski was the *zbór*'s patron; in 1588, he gave the local St. Anne's parish church to Protestants. According to the 1608 visitation record, there was no minister in the village; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 72.

<sup>134</sup> According to the visitation record, there was a "minister Bohemus secta calviniana" at the church for several years. The ministers were Jan Enoch (1596) and Maciej Nachor Paszkowski (1600–11); ASR IV, pp. 117, 126, 153; BRacz, rkps 46, f. 22–22v; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 37.

<sup>135</sup> Jerzy Latałski, the owner, was the patron; the minister was Jan Fortunat od 1596 r.; ASR IV, pp. 178, 193, 206, 234, 243.

<sup>136</sup> The *zbór*'s patron was Jan Modlibóg, whose patronage extended to the parish church. The ministers were Krzysztof Musonius (1589) and Paweł Patiens (1590–1597). An visitation in the early seventeenth century confirmed that a local *zbór* was active; it was eventually dissolved ca. 1600. ASR IV, pp. 104, 122, 361, 464; BRacz, rkps 46, f. 16–16v; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 342.

<sup>137</sup> The ministers: Wojciech Serpentinus (1573), Jan Ryba (1573), Szymon Musonius (until 1592), Andrzej Sylwan (1592), Jan Memoratus (1598), Andrzej of Koło (1602), Jan Turnowski (1604–9), Mikołaj Rausmann (1609–12), and Mikołaj Laureus. There was a school functioning in the town, the bachelors (teachers) being Krzysztof Musonius (1568) and Jan Textor (1597); ASR IV, pp. 112, 121, 124, 130, 135; BRacz, rkps 48, f. 50v; cf. Mietz, p. 108.

<sup>138</sup> The *zbór*'s patron was Jan Białośliwski. In 1580, the so-called provision determined the community's and church's endowment. The ministers were Szymon Musonius (1580–8) and Jan Ryba (1588–92); the latter died, an "emeritus miles Christi", in 1596 in Sypniewo. ASR IV, pp. 155, 362; BRacz, rkps 46, f. 22.

<sup>139</sup> Initially, it was a Lutheran *zbór*, which was later turned into one of Bohemian Brethren. A 'provision' was issued in 1593 to determine its endowment. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa braci czeskich*, p. 141.

<sup>140</sup> The influence of the Reformation proved to be very weak in the second half of the sixteenth century. According to the 1608 visitation record, there were two Protestants among the local 'citizens' – Jerzy Pudłoszek and Jan Majewski, both tailors by profession; their wives and other family members were Catholic. Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 170v.

<sup>141</sup> As per the 1608 visitation record, among the town's dwellers, Laurentius ('pistor germanus') and Daniel Szotus, as well as their wives and children, were of the Protestant faith. A certain Dawid was the pastor. Moreover, among the town's residents were many Scots who attended Dawid's sermons; *ibidem*, f. 33.

<sup>142</sup> The 1608 visitation record says that there were two Protestants in the town – Joannes Thesarz, a 'germanus', and Joachimus Płociennik, also a 'germanus'; *ibidem*, f. 207v.

<sup>143</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, p. 196.

<sup>144</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 375v; cf. J. Łukaszewicz, *O Kościołach Braci Czeskich*, p. 284; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Zbory braci czeskich*, p. 46.

<sup>145</sup> ASL, 115; cf. J. Łukaszewicz, *O Kościołach Braci Czeskich*, p. 269; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa duchowieństwa braci czeskich*, p. 141.

<sup>146</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 349v.

was frequented by Maciej Pniewski from Nowa Wieś.<sup>147</sup> The church in Dębica, a village in Gniezno district owned by Jerzy Latałski, was visited for sermons by Protestants from the nearby villages of Łubowo,<sup>148</sup> Latalice (Gwiazdowo),<sup>149</sup> Dziećmiarek,<sup>150</sup> and Imiołki (Jemiołowice).<sup>151</sup> The church in Wyszyno, a village in Konin district, owned by Andrzej Grodziecki, attracted the neighbourhood's Protestants; the sermons delivered by the local minister were attended by Anna Lisiecka and her three sons from Lisiec Mały village,<sup>152</sup> or by Mrs. Biskupska, a widow from another village, Biskupice.<sup>153</sup>

The aforementioned visitation records tell us more also about the noble families that opted for the Reformation. Their residence is however not identical, as a rule, with the location of a Protestant church. In the light of these data, Mikołaj Słupski and his wife Zofia Głębocka in the village of Iwno,<sup>154</sup> and Zofia Grocholska in Grocholino village, Kcynia district,<sup>155</sup> were Protestant. In Konin district, of Evangelical confession were Jakub Nieradzki and his son, in Kragola village;<sup>156</sup> Dorota and Stanisław Czyżewski, in Kuchary;<sup>157</sup> Andrzej Kucharski, his wife and sister, in Kuchary Borowe;<sup>158</sup> Piotr Biskupski, in Łagiewniki,<sup>159</sup> Mikołaj Piruski and his wife, in the village of Grochowo;<sup>160</sup> and, Andrzej Wolski in Wola village.<sup>161</sup> In Gniezno district, Andrzej Bronikowski's wife in Turostowa village,<sup>162</sup> Mr. Chrzastowski in Stawiany,<sup>163</sup> Jan Płocki in Popkowice,<sup>164</sup> and Adam Napruszewski in Napruszewo<sup>165</sup> were of Protestant denomination.

Episcopal visitation records tell us at times that a parish church has been profaned as a Protestant had been interred on the premises; again, this does not mean that a Protestant church actually functioned there. Such is the case with several villages, including Podlesie Kościelne (Podlesie)<sup>166</sup> and Rękawczyn (Rękawczyno)<sup>167</sup> in Gniezno district, as well as Chojna,<sup>168</sup> Dziewierzewo,<sup>169</sup> and Srebrna Góra (Srebrna Górka)<sup>170</sup> in Kcynia district. The records mention no takeovers of the churches by the Protestants, nor do they refer to clerical ministers present in the respective circles of noble village owners.

Bohemian Brethren's churches functioned also within the limits of Voivodeship of Poznań. Within Poznań district, in the city of Poznań itself, one of the earliest established and most important *zbórs* was active. A school and a hospital functioned in the city as well.<sup>171</sup> The other community church was that in Ostroróg;<sup>172</sup> both were under the patronage of the Ostroróg family. The other such churches

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<sup>147</sup> Ibidem, f. 373.

<sup>148</sup> Jan, Stanisław, and Mikołaj, owners a parts of the village, were Protestant; ibidem, f. 200.

<sup>149</sup> Ibidem, f. 204v.

<sup>150</sup> Ibidem, f. 221v.

<sup>151</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>152</sup> Ibidem, f. 112.

<sup>153</sup> Ibidem, f. 124v.

<sup>154</sup> Ibidem, f. 77v.

<sup>155</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>156</sup> Ibidem, f. 110.

<sup>157</sup> Ibidem, f. 114. Ca. 1606, they rejected Protestantism, inspired to this end by Fr. Jan Makowski, a Jesuit.

<sup>158</sup> Ibidem, f. 119v.

<sup>159</sup> Ibidem, f. 125. He resumed the Catholic confession around 1606.

<sup>160</sup> Ibidem, f. 130v.

<sup>161</sup> Ibidem, f. 294.

<sup>162</sup> Ibidem, f. 214.

<sup>163</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>164</sup> Ibidem, f. 219v.

<sup>165</sup> Ibidem, f. 366v.

<sup>166</sup> Ibidem, f. 47.

<sup>167</sup> Ibidem, f. 236.

<sup>168</sup> Ibidem, f. 71v.

<sup>169</sup> Ibidem, f. 87v.

<sup>170</sup> Ibidem, f. 100.

<sup>171</sup> The ministers were: Jerzy Izrael (1580), Szczepan Bydżowski (1582), Jerzy Erastus (1573–5), Łukasz Andronik (1572–3), Szczepan Felix, Jakub Tichy, Baltazar Eichner, Jan Enoch, Jan Siffert, Grzegorz Moller (until 1581), Jan Girk (until 1592[?]), Jan Girk Jr., Maciej Rybiński (1592–6), Samuel Aorg (until 1595 r.), Jan Turnowski Jr. (1596), Paweł Orlik Sr. (1597–8). Walenty Cornelius (1570) and Marcin Gracjan Gertych were employed at the school. ASR IV, 98, 107–8, 126, 131, 133–4, 152, 158, 166–7, 171; ASL, 113; BRacz, rkps 48, f. 59.

<sup>172</sup> The ministers were: Jerzy Izrael (1560), Jan Lorenc (1578, 1587), Symeon Bogumił Turnowski (1587–1608). A school functioned in the Town, with Stanisław Scribonius as the 'bachelor'; BRacz, rkps 50, f. 176; AGAD, Depozyt Wileński 38

operated in Szamotuły,<sup>173</sup> Kwilcz,<sup>174</sup> and Policko.<sup>175</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, a *zbór* of Poznań district's Tomice was active, with the patronage exercised by Jan Tomicki. In 1557, a colloquium between Bohemian Brethren and Franciszek Lismanin took place there; Lismanin advised that the Brethren's *Konfesja* and *Apologia* be sent to Geneva, with a request for opinion. Services were held at the time, according to the Bohemian Brethren's rite.<sup>176</sup> A *zbór* in Cerekwica is reliably attested.<sup>177</sup>

Another Bohemian Brethren's church operated in Parkowo village. The information that the parish church was seized by the dissenters is dated 1561; however, the presence of a minister is not to be confirmed based on the records. The visitation record of 1628 says that the church was in ruins.<sup>178</sup>

Kościan district had three Bohemian Brethren's churches – namely, in Chobienice, owned by the Miękickis,<sup>179</sup> in Poniec.<sup>180</sup> and Godziszewo.<sup>181</sup> In Wschowa Land, Leszno, property of the Leszczyńskis,<sup>182</sup> was an important centre of the Bohemian Brethren's movement. A 'provision' was issued in 1580 to determine the *zbór's* endowment<sup>183</sup>. There was a school in the town as well. In 1573, Radziejów *Starosta* Jan Leszczyński committed to fund the school with 200 *fl. per annum*. Its functioning was addressed by Leszczyński at the 1578 synod in Piotrków. He bestowed the school with '9 rods of soil' in Leszno, by means of a document issued in 1579; a conflict related to the funding of the school occurred in 1580. The 1586 file of the synod at Stawiszyn mentions that the school was sponsored by Rafał Leszczyński.<sup>184</sup> Within the same district, Protestant community churches operated also in Lasocice,<sup>185</sup> Gołanice,<sup>186</sup> and Wilkowice (Wilkowo).<sup>187</sup>

Three Evangelical and Reformed community churches emerged in Grater Poland, as attested for the second half of the sixteenth century – all three within Voivodeship of Kalisz. Two were in Kcynia

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(Acta et conclusiones orthodoxarum synodarum provincialium in minore Polonia 1547–1650), f. 34; ASR II, pp. 311–312; ASR IV, pp. 83, 94, 97, 99, 103–104, 106–107, 112, 119, 121, 125, 127, 131–132, 134–135, 140–141, 148, 151, 153, 156, 158, 160, 164, 167, 169, 170–171; ASR III, p. 28; ASL, p. 73.

<sup>173</sup> The *zbór's* patrons were Łukasz Górka and Jan Świdwa Szamotulski. The ministers: Błażej Adamatius (1570, 1573, 1578, 1589), Maciej Maj (1589), Paweł Orlik Sr., Waclaw Epenet (1597), Mateusz Kralicki (1608), and Maciej Dukat (1611). In 1555, after a fire in Ostrorów, Jan Lorenc and Piotr Skalnik collected donations for the poor in Szamotuły; the locals lined up against the Bohemian Brethren. In 1594, the latter lost the parish church and moved to a small hospital church of Holy Spirit.

<sup>174</sup> The first mention of the church's takeover by Protestants is from 1561. The *zbór's* patron was Jan Kwilecki. A 'provision' for it, issued by eleven persons, is dated 1577. The minister was Jan Beldowski (until 1601). A school was affiliated to the church. ASR IV, pp. 160, 166, 170, 172, 175, 177, 193, 201, 206, 319–321, 327, 331, 384, 401; BRacz, rkps 48, f. 28v; ASK I 3, f. 345.

<sup>175</sup> The locality was owned by the Policki family. According to the surviving records, the church was seized by Protestants in mid-sixteenth century. The minister in office was Paweł Patiens (1587–90). The presence of Protestants is confirmed by visitation records from the early seventeenth century. ASR IV, p. 99; ASK I 3, f. 346; BRacz, rkps 46, f. 14; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 59.

<sup>176</sup> As attested by the available sources, the local parish church was possessed as of 1561 by Protestants. An early-seventeenth-century visitation record says nothing of Evangelicals residing in the village. ASR I, p. 240; BRacz, rkps 50, ff. 133v–141v; ASK I 3, f. 332v; Wiz. Kal. 1603–1607, f. 339.

<sup>177</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 53v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 255.

<sup>178</sup> ASK I 3, f. 331v; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 42v.

<sup>179</sup> The ministers were: Adam of Żarnowiec (until 1587), Wojciech Maximus (1589), and then, Sebastian Melissius; ASR IV, pp. 99, 104, 127, 170; BRacz, rkps 48, f. 38v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 12v.

<sup>180</sup> Walenty Cornelius (1587–98) served as the minister, aided by Jan Pietrasz. The community submitted their request for hiring a German-speaking preacher. A school was affiliated to the church. ASR IV, pp. 97, 104, 135.

<sup>181</sup> Based on synod files, Jacobus Tichinus was a deacon with the local community; he participated in the Poznań convention in 1570. ASR II, p. 312.

<sup>182</sup> For the records related to the community/church in Leszno, incl. entries in the chronicle of the town of Leszno for the years 1500 to 1637, lists of pastors, rectors and teachers of the grammar school (*gimnazjum*), see ABCz, no. 2528.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Sytuacja materialna duchowieństwa braci czeskich*, p. 143.

<sup>184</sup> ASR IV, pp. 28, 68, 91, 98–99, 107, 113, 122, 129; ASL, 113; AGAD, Depozyt Wileński 38, f. 37v; ABCz, no. 892.

<sup>185</sup> In 1575, Radziejów *Starosta* Rafał Leszczyński issued in Leszno a document confirming that the local church was transferred to Bohemian Brethren. The ministers were: Georg Erastus Sr. (1560–77), Baltazar Eichner (1573–5), Georg Mollerus (1587–1604), the latter assisted by Łukasz Helicz (c. 1597), and finally, Paweł Fabricius (Schmidt). As per the visitation record, the church was still in the Protestant hands as of 1610. ASR IV, pp. 107, 122, 129, 193, 214, 388; BRacz, rkps 48, f. 59; ABCz, no. 2530, ff. 14–15; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 180.

<sup>186</sup> Waclaw Epenet served as the minister in 1587; ASR IV, p. 99.

<sup>187</sup> Fabrycyjus was the minister (c. 1597–1602); *ibidem*, pp. 129, 151.

district, in the localities of Brzyskorzystew (Brzeskorzystew)<sup>188</sup> and Chomętowo,<sup>189</sup> and one in Gniezno district – in the Latałski-owned Dębica.<sup>190</sup>

The Polish Brethren embarked on confessional activities in Greater Poland as well. The year 1566 marks the appearance in Poznań of Marcin Czechowic, with a group of his coreligionists, who intended to incite a dispute with the local Lutheran minister. However, Marcin was expelled from the city by the *Starosta* General's decision. The attempt to set up an 'Arian' *zbór* in Kościan also failed<sup>191</sup> – yet, the opposite was the case in Śmigiel, Kościan district.<sup>192</sup> The year 1594 saw a nationwide Polish Brethren's synod convened in that town.<sup>193</sup> That an Arian community church ever functioned in Międzyrzecz cannot be attested based on the sources; its existence at the time is basically hypothetical.<sup>194</sup>

Evangelical-Augsburg community churches emerged preponderantly in Voivodeship of Poznań. It was in this territory particularly in the area of Międzyrzecz, in Wałcz district, and in Wschowa land the proportion of German-speaking population was considerable; based on the present research, the Evangelical-Augsburg denomination was predominant among them.<sup>195</sup>

Within the Poznań district, a Lutheran community functioned in Poznań itself.<sup>196</sup> Not far from the city, *zbores* were funded in the estates owned by Piotr Potulicki, Voivode of Płock – in Murowana Goślina (Goślina Kościelna)<sup>197</sup> and in the village of Ceradz Kościelny (Ceradz Stary).<sup>198</sup> A Lutheran church functioned in Szamotuły, the town co-owned by Stanisław Górka, who was a Lutheran himself. In 1573, he offered to Jan Świdwa Szamotulski, the other co-owner and confessor with the Bohemian Brethren's *Jednota*, that the two *zbores* be merged into one.<sup>199</sup>

A number of Protestant centres were set up in the western part of Poznań district. In deanery of Wronki, a Lutheran community operated in the town of Międzychód, owned by the Ostrogski family.<sup>200</sup> Not far from it, peer churches were funded in the villages of Wierzbno<sup>201</sup> and Murzynowo, the latter partly owned by the *starosta's* district of Międzyrzecz.<sup>202</sup> Attestable are also certain churches in nobility-

<sup>188</sup> As per an early-seventeenth-century visitation record, the *zbór's* patron was Zygmunt Smogulecki; the record points to a long-term vacancy, the rectory was deserted. The presence of a Reformed minister has been confirmed (he was no more there at the moment of visitation). ASL, p. 114; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 312v.

<sup>189</sup> As per an early-seventeenth-century visitation record, Jan Pałędzki was the patron. The church was passed over to the Evangelicals; there was a long-term vacancy at the rectory. The visitation confirmed that ministers were committed in their actions; their names were Stanisław of Górzyno (1576–95) and Marcin Orminius, a Bohemian Brother (until 1612). ASR IV, p. 248; ASL, p. 113; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 315v.

<sup>190</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century, the patron was Jerzy Latałski, and at the beginning of the following century, Mikołaj Latałski. Piotr Tarnowski served as the minister (1570–95). ASR IV, pp. 126, 156; ASL, pp. 64, 112; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 37.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast*, p. 77.

<sup>192</sup> The *zbór's* patrons were Stanisław Cikowski, Andrzej Dudycz, Eliasz Arciszewski. Its ministers were Andrzej and Krzysztof Lubieniecki, Walenty Schmalc, and Krzysztof Ostorodt (Osterode). There was a school in the town. ASR IV, pp. 360, 378; cf. *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, p. 555; *Eliasz Arciszewski*, [in:] *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, p. 27; K. Drzymała, *Bracia polscy zwani arianami*, „*Studia Theologica Varsaviensia*”, vol. 1, 1963, p. 266; J. Tazbir, *Antytrynitaryzm*, p. 63; M. Pawelec, *Bracia polscy w Śmiglu*, <http://reformacja.muzeumleszno.pl/?p=1310> [access: 9.04.2018].

<sup>193</sup> Cf. S. Szczotka, *Synody arian polskich*, pp. 47, 48.

<sup>194</sup> The timeframe in which the community church functioned cannot be established with certainty. Jan Caper, who since 1560 was the Lutheran minister in the town, probably served as the church's minister. He subsequently was in office as the superintendent for Greater Poland but was dismissed in 1566 due to his professed crypto-Calvinism. In 1588, he converted once again. Cf. T. Wotschke, *Die unitarische Gemeinde in Meseritz-Bobolewitz*, „*Zeitschrift der historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen*”, 1911, p. 167; *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, p. 556; J. Tazbir, *Walka z braćmi polskimi w dobie kontrreformacji*, „*Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*”, vol. 1, 1956, p. 189.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. J. Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja a problemy narodowościowe*, pp. 79–101; Czwojdrak and Kopaczyński, p. 40.

<sup>196</sup> The ministers included: (i) Polish-speaking: Bartosz Piscator, Mikołaj Gliczner, Andrzej Luperian; (ii) German-speaking: Abraham Abdeel, Georgius Enoch, Paweł Gericius. A school associated with the church was set up, with Jacobus Schwenck serving as the teacher. ASL, pp. 73, 128; ASR IV, p. 108.

<sup>197</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 36v; ASK I 3, f. 331v.

<sup>198</sup> The surviving records from 1561 confirm that the local parish church was taken over by Protestants. One of the ministers was Erazm Gliczner (1562–1566). The 1603 visitation record does specify the presence of Protestants in the locality, as opposed to the peer record from 1610; ASK I 3, f. 344v; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 49; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 55.

<sup>199</sup> ASR II, p. 311–312; ASR IV, p. 26.

<sup>200</sup> As of 1561, the parish church was in Protestant hands; ASR IV, pp. 172, 175, 320; ASK I 3, f. 345.

<sup>201</sup> The church's takeover by the Protestants is attested by the 1640 visitation record. As of 1597, Wawrzyniec Krasznicki served as the minister; ASR IV, p. 126; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 105.

<sup>202</sup> As per the 1603 visitation record, the church (chapel) was possessed by the Protestant community, with a Lutheran minister continuously visiting it; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, ff. 32v, 59, 145.

-owned estates, such as the one in the town of Lewice.<sup>203</sup> In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Protestants took over the parish church in Sieraków, a town owned by Łukasz Górka; whether a *zbór* was actually funded there, cannot be stated based on the records.<sup>204</sup>

Within the deanery of Międzyrzecz, Evangelical-Augsburg churches were established in the estates belonging to the *starosta's* district of Międzyrzecz. In the royal towns of Międzyrzecz<sup>205</sup> and Skwierzyna,<sup>206</sup> Lutheran community churches emerged in the middle of the sixteenth century. The churches in the villages of Kęszyca (Kęsica),<sup>207</sup> Lutol Suchy,<sup>208</sup> and Nietoperek<sup>209</sup> are also reliably attested. The historical records confirm such churches functioning in nobility-owned estates, in the following villages: Bukowiec Międzyrzecki (Bukowiec),<sup>210</sup> Stare Kursko (Kursko),<sup>211</sup> Chycina,<sup>212</sup> Gorzyca,<sup>213</sup> Grochowo,<sup>214</sup> Trzemeszno Lubuskie (Czarmyśl),<sup>215</sup> Pieski,<sup>216</sup> and Goruńsko.<sup>217</sup> For Przytoczna village,<sup>218</sup> the information survives on the takeover of its parish church in the mid-sixteenth century; there is no source-based confirmation that a Protestant *zbór* was ever set up there, though.

In Poznań district, Reformation centres emerged in the estate owned by the Cistercian Abbey in Paradyż. Confirmed based on the sources are the Lutheran community churches in the localities of Kaława,<sup>219</sup> Chociszewo,<sup>220</sup> and Stary Dwór.<sup>221</sup> A strong influence is observable for the localities that belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. A church in Łagowiec village operated quite

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<sup>203</sup> The parish church was seized by Protestants 1561; attested as of 1561, this fact is later confirmed at the episcopal visitation of 1603. ASK I 3, f. 344v; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 80.

<sup>204</sup> The town's owner (in 1558–71) was Łukasz of Górka, succeeded by Jakub Rokossowski. From 1591 on, Sieraków was owned by Jan Opaliński; ASK I 3, f. 344v; cf. SHGPoz, part 4, pp. 410–422.

<sup>205</sup> As of 1561, the parish church was in Protestant hands. The town's Protestant character is stressed by the visitation records from the beginning of the seventeenth century. ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 58; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 40.

<sup>206</sup> The church functioned in the second half of the sixteenth century. As of 1561, the parish church was in Protestant hands, as confirmed by the episcopal visitation of 1604. No information on the ministers. In 1604, the Catholic community took over the local parish church. ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 96.

<sup>207</sup> As of 1561, the parish church was in Protestant hands; that the *zbór* functioned is confirmed by the 1640 visitation record; ASK I 3, f. 346; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, AMBK, 370, ff. 70–72.

<sup>208</sup> The main source is the episcopal visitations of 1603–1607 and 1640; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 73; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 32v.

<sup>209</sup> As per the 1603 visitation record, the church was still kept by the Protestants; this was confirmed by the peer record dated 1640. Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 59; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, ff. 39v, 67, 72.

<sup>210</sup> The surviving sources confirm that the parish church was seized by Protestants in mid-sixteenth century. David Saur served as the minister; the presence of an Evangelical minister was recorded in the 1603 visitation file. The church was not inspected in 1640 as it was held by the Protestants then. ASK I 3, f. 346; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 43; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 33v.

<sup>211</sup> The available records confirm that the church was taken over by the Lutherans in mid-sixteenth century. As per the 1640 visitation record, the church was in the Lutheran hands. ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 90v.

<sup>212</sup> The parish church was taken over by Lutherans in mid-sixteenth century. As per the 1640 visitation record, the church was still in the Protestant hands. The patron was Jan Bukowiecki, who brought a Lutheran minister with him. ASK I 3, f. 345v; BRacz, rkps 48, ff. 28–38v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 90.

<sup>213</sup> The records attest to a *zbór* existing in the second half of the sixteenth century. The 1640 visitation records says that it was used by Protestants. ASK I 3, f. 346; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 90v.

<sup>214</sup> The records attest the church's takeover by Protestants in mid-sixteenth century. As per the 1640 episcopal visitation, the church was occupied by Protestants. ASK I 3, f. 346; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 90v.

<sup>215</sup> The records attest the church's takeover by Protestants in mid-sixteenth century. As per the 1640 episcopal visitation, the church still remained in Protestant hands. A Lutheran minister was present. ASK I 3, f. 345; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, ff. 34–35.

<sup>216</sup> As of 1561, the parish church was in Protestant hands. Its minister was removed before 1603, but the church remained closed, as it was hard to hire a German-speaking preacher. The 1640 visitation confirmed that the church was kept by the Lutherans community. ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 90v.

<sup>217</sup> The functioning of a Lutheran church there in the second half of the sixteenth century is confirmed in the surviving records. As per the 1640 visitation record, the church was occupied by Protestants, with a Lutheran minister present. The community was dissolved c. 1640, as Stanisław Bukowiecki, a Catholic, returned the parish church to the Catholic community. ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 90.

<sup>218</sup> The parish church was taken over by dissenters in 1561; ASK I 3, f. 345v.

<sup>219</sup> The Lutherans took over the parish church in mid-sixteenth century. Based on the 1603 visitation record, the situation lasted for years. ASK I 3, f. 346; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 45; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 36.

<sup>220</sup> The parish church was taken over by Lutherans in mid-sixteenth century. As per the 1640 visitation, the Catholic community regained the church c. 1605, and 1613 Paweł of Lwówek, a Cistercian monk, was made the new parson. ASK I 3, f. 345; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, AMBK, 370, f. 31; cf. SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 201–202.

<sup>221</sup> The Lutherans took over the parish church in mid-sixteenth century and kept it until the early years of the seventeenth century, when the Catholics got it back. ASK I 3, f. 345; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 34.

early, probably in the sixteenth century.<sup>222</sup> For the villages of Żarzyn,<sup>223</sup> Templewo,<sup>224</sup> and Wielowieś (Langfuld),<sup>225</sup> the information that their respective churches were taken over date to the middle of the sixteenth century, and there are no other sources available that would confirm the establishment and functioning of Lutheran *zbórs*. The Reformation appeared moreover in the Cistercian estate of Bledzew. The information that the Protestants took over the churches in the following localities: Bledzew,<sup>226</sup> Chełmsko,<sup>227</sup> Sokola Dąbrowa (Falkwald),<sup>228</sup> Osiecko,<sup>229</sup> Zemsko (Zębsko),<sup>230</sup> Rokitno,<sup>231</sup> Nowa Wieś,<sup>232</sup> and Stary Dworek<sup>233</sup> dates to the mid-sixteenth century. The local parish churches remained unfilled by parsons for several years. Based on the episcopal visitation records alone, it is hard to establish whether Protestant churches were ever set up in those locations. A similar situation is the case with the episcopal estate near Międzyrzecz, in the village of Wojciechowo.<sup>234</sup>

The existing dissenter and Catholic records would not confirm that a *zbor* functioned in the latter half of the sixteenth century in the royal town of Piła.<sup>235</sup> The same is true for the nobility-owned towns of Człopa,<sup>236</sup> and Wieleń.<sup>237</sup> In the northern part of Poznań district, a Lutheran church was probably active in the royal villages of Pokrzywnica<sup>238</sup> and Jastrowie.<sup>239</sup>

A few Evangelical-Augsburg churches operated in Kościan district, the namesake town being its main urban centre. No Reformation centre emerged in the town in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>240</sup> Instead, the *zbórs* in noble estates of Gnin (Gnino),<sup>241</sup> Granowo,<sup>242</sup> Rostarzew (Rzestarze-

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<sup>222</sup> Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 33v. The visitation in 1641 confirmed that the church had been taken over by Protestants, with a minister present; hence, the church was not inspected.

<sup>223</sup> As of mid-sixteenth century, the church was held by Lutherans; ASK I 3, f. 345v.

<sup>224</sup> The records say that the church was taken over by dissenters in mid-sixteenth century; *ibidem*.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibidem*; cf. SHGPoz, Part 2, pp. 572–573.

<sup>226</sup> ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 88, 131; cf. SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 57–58.

<sup>227</sup> According to the 1640 visitation record, almost all the village's dwellers were Catholic; ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 98; cf. SHGPoz, part 1, pp. 188–189.

<sup>228</sup> ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 91; cf. SHGPoz, part 4, p. 589.

<sup>229</sup> ASK I 3, f. 345v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 92; cf. SHGPoz, part 3, p. 456.

<sup>230</sup> ASK I 3, f. 345v. The 1640 visitation record does not mention this locality.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 346; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 99; cf. SHGPoz, part 4, p. 131.

<sup>232</sup> ASK I 3, f. 346; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 91.

<sup>233</sup> The 1641 visitation record mentions the presence of Protestants in the village; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 90.

<sup>234</sup> A seventeenth-century visitation record mentions the church's takeover by Protestants – this being an insufficient premise for confirming the existence of a Protestant *zbor* in the village. Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 59.

<sup>235</sup> The visitation record from 1628 mentions an expulsion of the Protestants from the town; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 5.

<sup>236</sup> The 1628 visitation record does not clearly state that a Protestant church functioned in the town. The charter granted to the town, as quoted by L. Bąk, allowed the Protestant residents to perform public cult and have their dead buried at the Evangelical cemetery. Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 14v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 320; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 138.

<sup>237</sup> The 1628 visitation record mentions a long-standing vacancy of the presbytery, which is not tantamount to the functioning of a *zbor*; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 15; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 314.

<sup>238</sup> The information on the *zbor* is based on the 1641 visitation record, which describes the village's dwellers as Protestants, with a Lutheran minister present; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 6; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 356v.

<sup>239</sup> The functioning of a local *zbor* is reflected in early-seventeenth-century visitation records. The first church building was constructed for the village's Lutheran community. As per the episcopal visitation record dated 1628, the church was finally taken over by the Catholics in 1619. The information on the church built by the Lutherans and the presence of a minister is provided by the 1641 visitation record. Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 7; cf. Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 340.

<sup>240</sup> The municipal authorities had the right to appoint the preachers, a Polish- and German-speaking one, for the parish church. In 1542, a certain Marcin 'Luckaw', adherent of Lutheranism, became the German-speaking preacher; in 1543, his Polish-speaking colleague Wawrzyniec Discordia was employed. Szymon of Grodzisk was unrestrainedly active in the town; after moving to Rydzyna, he was replaced by Stanisław of Bolekowo, a married priest. In 1561, the king issued a mandate banning the propagation of Reformation ideas in the town; the same year saw Jan Powodowski appointed the parson, who counteracted the spread of Lutheranism in Kościan. For more, see T. Wotschke, *Die Reformation in Kosten*, "Correspondenzblatt des Vereins f. Geschichte d. evang. Kirche Schlesiens", vol. 9/2, 1905, pp. 165, 166; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja w miastach*, pp. 65, 74–75; *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, ed. K. Zimmiewicz, Kościan 2000, pp. 157, 178.

<sup>241</sup> The 1603 visitation record states that the church was in the dissenters' hands, with a Lutheran minister present thereat. In 1595–7, Wawrzyniec Krasznicki, senior of Poznań district, served as the minister. ASL, p. 113; ASR IV, p. 126; ASR III, p. 135; Wiz. Psz. 1603–1607, f. 20; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 167.

<sup>242</sup> The preserved sources confirm that the parish church was taken over by Lutherans in mid-sixteenth century. The 1641 visitation record makes it apparent that a Protestant's grave was situated in the church. ASK I 3, f. 332v; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 145.

wo),<sup>243</sup> Gołaszyn (Gołaszyno),<sup>244</sup> Stary Bojanów (Bojanowo),<sup>245</sup> and Wilkowo Polskie are well attested.<sup>246</sup> Churches operated in private towns as well – to name Gostyń,<sup>247</sup> Grodzisk Wielkopolski (Grodzisko),<sup>248</sup> and Rydzyna.<sup>249</sup> A Lutheran church existed most probably also in the village of Kręcisko (Kręcisko), but the relevant information only comes from the 1640 visitation record; the *zbór*'s patron at the time was the Dziembowski family.<sup>250</sup> A similar situation is the case with the churches of Śmigiel<sup>251</sup> and Miejska Górka (Górka),<sup>252</sup> the latter belonging to Stanisław Górka. Churches probably existed in the latter half of the sixteenth century in Brójce,<sup>253</sup> Zielęcín (Zielęcino),<sup>254</sup> and Kargowa.<sup>255</sup>

In Wschowa land, a Lutheran church functioned in the main urban centre – the royal town of Wschowa.<sup>256</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, such churches probably existed in the localities of Przyczyna Górna,<sup>257</sup> Siedlnica (Sidnica),<sup>258</sup> Osowa Sień,<sup>259</sup> Długie Stare,<sup>260</sup> Jędrzychowice,<sup>261</sup> and Dębowa Łęka.<sup>262</sup>

Reconstruction of the spatial layout of Protestant churches in the Wałcz district area poses considerable problem due to the condition of the surviving sources. Documents that would relate to the functioning of individual churches have not survived. The Reformation processes are not reflected in the Wałcz municipality files. All the relevant data come from later sources, particularly the episcopal

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<sup>243</sup> The 1641 visitation record confirms that a *zbór* existed there in the sixteenth century; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 179.

<sup>244</sup> The local court's registers state that in 1526, the Catholic parson named Benedykt was removed by Lutherans – probably upon consent from Andrzej Bojanowski, the village's owner and collator of the church. The available records confirm that the Protestants seized the church in mid- sixteenth century. ASK I 3, f. 335v; SHGPoz, part 1, p. 533; P. Klint, *Szlachta różnowiercza w południowo-zachodniej Wielkopolsce (okolice Leszna i Śmigla) w XVI-XVIII wieku*, <http://reformacja.muzeum-leszno.pl/?p=1285> [access: 9.04.2018].

<sup>245</sup> The church was probably founded by Jan Bojanowski in 1575. Since 1584, the owner was Mikołaj Bojanowski, a Lutheran. In 1589, he was in search of a minister with a command of Polish and German, which was difficult – as we learn from a mention dated 1598 – due to the *zbór*'s poor endowment. The ministers were: Deacon Wit Baśat (1573), Andrzej Królik (1587), Jan Nigran, Marcin Serafin (1598). ASR IV, ff. 104, 135, 150–1, 170, 175, 177.

<sup>246</sup> As of 1570, Szymon, senior of Kościan district, served as the minister. As per the 1610 visitation record, the church was occupied by Lutherans, and a minister was present; ASR II, p. 311; ASL, p. 72; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, ff. 78, 180.

<sup>247</sup> As of 1561, the parish church was taken over by Protestants; its patron was Mikołaj Gostyński. ASK I 3, f. 335v; ASL, p. 49.

<sup>248</sup> As of 1561, the parish church was in Protestant hands. The ministers: Wawrzyniec (1560), Jakub of Łobżenica (1567), Erazm Glicznar (1578, 1569–1589). A school and a printing house were affiliated to the church; the decision to establish the former was made at the 1582 synod in Poznań; ASR II, p. 38; ASR III, p. 28; BRacz, rkps 50, f. 4v; ASL, p. 94; ASK I 3, f. 343.

<sup>249</sup> Piotr of Kościan, pastor at Miłosław and archpresbiter (archpriest) at Rydzyna, attended the convention in Poznań in 1570. The 1610 visitation record confirmed that the town's *zbór* had ceased to function at the time of its compilation; its patron's name was Jan Mycielski. ASR II, p. 311; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 201v.

<sup>250</sup> The ministers' names were (after A. Werner): Jakob Zammendorf (1553), Matthias Dietrich, and Andreas Jechner; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 24v; cf. A. Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, p. 161.

<sup>251</sup> As per the 1619 visitation record, a church for the dissenters, funded by Waclaw Rozdrazewski and built around 1600, was active in the town. Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 120.

<sup>252</sup> The files of the synod held in 1573 mention the church's patron, Stanisław Górka. The available information on the ministers active there is unclear; Daniel Cervinus or Rehart was in office as of 1570. BRacz, rkps 48, f. 42; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 121.

<sup>253</sup> The visitation record from as late as 1640 confirms the presence of a local Lutheran community; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 33v.

<sup>254</sup> Information on the Protestant church comes from the 1641 visitation record; *ibidem*, f. 170.

<sup>255</sup> The church was probably funded by the Żychliński family. In 1582–1610, Sigismund Bär served as the minister. A. Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, p. 134.

<sup>256</sup> The presence of a Lutheran church and its minister is confirmed by the 1610 visitation record; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 167; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Wprowadzenie reformacji do miast*, p. 71; Czwojdrak and Kopaczyński, pp. 42–43.

<sup>257</sup> The functioning of a local *zbór* is confirmed by the visitation record from 1610; the church was occupied by Protestants. Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 180.

<sup>258</sup> As per the 1610 visitation record, the church was occupied by Protestants; *ibidem*, f. 180; Czwojdrak and Kopaczyński, 51.

<sup>259</sup> As per the 1610 visitation record, the church was in Protestants' hands; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 180.

<sup>260</sup> The 1610 visitation record informs that the Catholic community regained the church from Protestants a few years before then; *ibidem*, f. 173.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. D. Czwojdrak, *Ewangelicy w Jędrzychowicach*, 'Kalendarz Ewangelicko-Reformowany', 2009, pp. 71–72.

<sup>262</sup> As per the 1610 visitation record, the church was occupied by Protestants for a number of years; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 166v.

visitations of 1628 and 1641.<sup>263</sup> The fact that a majority of villages in that area were chartered and populated only in the latter half of the sixteenth century, mainly with participation of German-speaking people, also informed the development of the Reformation.

Given the available records, the functioning of the Evangelical-Augsburg church in the royal town of Wałcz ought to be considered probable.<sup>264</sup> Among the other localities within the *Starosta's* district of Wałcz, the villages of Róża is the only one for which a *zbór* is definitely attested.<sup>265</sup> For the other villages, information on Lutheran churches is based on early seventeenth-century visitations, and hence may only be deemed plausible. The said villages include Brzeźnica,<sup>266</sup> Budy,<sup>267</sup> Chwiram,<sup>268</sup> Dudylany (Duderlak),<sup>269</sup> Głowaczewo (Klawiter),<sup>270</sup> Nadarzyce (Nadorycz),<sup>271</sup> Szwecja,<sup>272</sup> and Zdbice (Zbytno).<sup>273</sup>

In light of the existing records, the functioning of a Lutheran church in Czaplinek should be regarded as plausible. According to the 1628 and 1641 episcopal visitations, the local parish church was possessed by Protestants. There are however no sixteenth-century sources available to give us the ministers' names. The church was regained in 1624–5, with Jakub Hildebrand appointed provost.<sup>274</sup> In the area of *Starosta's* district of Drahim, a strong confirmation of an active Lutheran church is known for Nowe Worowo (Worowo) village.<sup>275</sup> For the other villages, we are told of their *zbores* by seventeenth-century visitation records, with no exact funding dates. This is true for the villages of Sikory (Cykier),<sup>276</sup> Jeziorna (Flokesia),<sup>277</sup> Siemczyno (Heinrichsdorf),<sup>278</sup> Kluczewo (Klausewo),<sup>279</sup> Lubowo,<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> For a broader account, see Bąk, 'Wałcz', pp. 29–50.

<sup>264</sup> The visitation records from the early seventeenth century provide no specific information. L. Bąk has analysed the preserved extracts from the municipal register of Wałcz for the years 1558–1604, finding that it is difficult to unambiguously identify on this basis the name of the Evangelical pastor who was active in the town. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 9v; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 342v; Bąk, 'Wałcz', pp. 144–146.

<sup>265</sup> The 1641 visitation record informs on a renovation of the church in Róża in 1623 – and, that a Protestant chapel has been there for less than seventy years. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 12v; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 347.

<sup>266</sup> The 1628 visitation record says that the local church, probably built for the needs of the Lutheran community, was possessed by Protestants. In 1616, taken over by Catholics, it became a filial church to the parish of Nadarzyce. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 338v; SHGPoz, Part I, p. 127.

<sup>267</sup> The visitation record from 1628 points to a local church, arguably built by Lutherans. It was taken over by Catholics in 1616 and became Nadarzyce parish's filial church. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 339.

<sup>268</sup> Chwiram was incorporated in 1608 in the parish of Wałcz. As per the 1641 visitation record, the locality housed a chapel (oratory). The Lutheran community visited by a minister was quite large. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 9v; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 346v.

<sup>269</sup> The 1628 visitation record tells us that the locality housed a church held by Protestants. It was taken over by Catholics in 1616 and became Nadarzyce parish's filial church. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 338.

<sup>270</sup> As per the 1628 visitation record, the church was held by Protestants. After 1616, it functioned as Nadarzyce parish's filial church. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 339v.

<sup>271</sup> As per the 1628 visitation record, the church, probably constructed by Lutherans, was taken over by Catholics in 1616. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 337v.

<sup>272</sup> There was a church in the village that was probably built for use of the local Lutherans. It was taken over by Catholics in 1616 and became the filial church of Nadarzyce. As per the 1641 visitation record, the minister stayed at the parson's house by the church. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 339v; cf. SHGPoz, Part IV, p. 859.

<sup>273</sup> As per the 1628 visitation record, there was a church possessed by Protestants. It was taken over by Catholics in 1616 and became Nadarzyce parish's filial church. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 334; Bąk, 'Wałcz', pp. 421–422.

<sup>275</sup> The Pogorzelski family were the patrons. As of 1595 and 1599, Piotr Dresnensis and Stanisław Scribonius were the respective ministers. As per the 1628 visitation record, all the village's residents were Protestant; *ASR IV*, p. 156; *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8.

<sup>276</sup> The chapel mentioned in the visitation record was probably built by Protestants. As of 1628, the village's dwellers were of Protestant confession. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 334; cf. SHGPoz, Part I, pp. 278–279.

<sup>277</sup> A chapel, probably built by Lutherans, existed in the village. After 1624, it was turned into a church filial to the parish of Czaplinek. As per the 1628 visitation record, all the village's residents were Protestant. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 336.

<sup>278</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Siemczyno was formally included in the parochial district of the Czaplinek church, whereas the church itself remained in Protestant hands, as confirmed by the 1641 visitation record. *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 336v.

<sup>279</sup> As of 1641, the locality was under the jurisdiction of the Czaplinek provost, but an Evangelical minister was still present there; *ibidem*, f. 334v; Bąk, 'Wałcz', p. 421.

<sup>280</sup> A chapel, probably built by Lutherans, existed in the village. After 1624, it was turned into a filial church to the parish of Czaplinek. As per the 1628 visitation record, all the village's residents were Protestant; *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czr.* 1640–1641, f. 335v.

Nobliny (Nabliny),<sup>281</sup> Polne (Polempol),<sup>282</sup> Rakowo,<sup>283</sup> Ostroróg (Szarpenort),<sup>284</sup> Czarne Wielkie (Swarzędzel Wielki),<sup>285</sup> and Czarne Małe (Swarzędzel Mały).<sup>286</sup>

In the Wałcz district, Protestant churches were active in the localities owned by the families Tuczyński and Wedelski – namely, the town of Tuczno<sup>287</sup> and the villages Marcinkowice (Marcinkowo),<sup>288</sup> Rzeczyca (Knakendorf),<sup>289</sup> Bronikowo (Brunkowo),<sup>290</sup> and Lubiesz (Lubsdorf).<sup>291</sup> It is probable that Mielęcín<sup>292</sup> and Rusinowo (Ruschendorf)<sup>293</sup> had their *zbórs* in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Dissenter centres emerged also in the estates of the Protestant family Wedel Frydlandzki, the owners of Mirosławiec (Frydland) town. A Lutheran church was erected there probably already in the second half of the sixteenth century, but there are no sources preserved that would confirm this, save for the early seventeenth-century visitations.<sup>294</sup> Lutheran churches were probably present in the villages of Hanki (Henkendorf)<sup>295</sup> and Laski Wałeckie (Laczk)<sup>296</sup> owned by the said family.

Referring to the account of Henryk Garbrecht, pastor at Laski, from the late seventeenth century, Ludwik Bąk enumerates the Protestant churches, together with their funding dates, which in the second

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<sup>281</sup> From 1624 on, the former Lutheran church was subordinate to the provost in Czaplínek; yet, the Evangelical minister still stayed in the village. *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 335v; cf. SHGPoz, Part III, p. 293; Bąk, Wałcz, 421.

<sup>282</sup> There was a chapel in the village, built most probably by the Lutherans; after 1624, it became a filial church to Czaplínek parish. As per the 1628 visitation record, all the village's residents were Protestant. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 335.

<sup>283</sup> The chapel existing there was most probably constructed to be used by the Lutheran community. According to the episcopal visitation record from 1641, the church was subordinated to the provost of Czaplínek, but an Evangelical minister was still present there. *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 335v; cf. SHGPoz, Part I, pp. 278–279; SHGPoz, Part IV, p. 39; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 421.

<sup>284</sup> As per the 1628 episcopal visitation record, all the village's residents were Protestant. A chapel existed in the village, built most probably by the Lutherans; after 1624, it became a filial church to Czaplínek. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 336.

<sup>285</sup> No relevant records available render it difficult to confirm that a *zbór* existed there in the second half of the sixteenth century. There was a chapel in the village, arguably built for the needs of the local Lutherans. After 1624, it turned into a filial church to the parish of Czaplínek. As per the 1628 visitation record, all the village's residents were Protestant. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 335.

<sup>286</sup> There was a chapel in the village, built most probably for the needs of the Lutherans residing there. After 1624, it was turned into a filial church to the parish of Czaplínek. As per the 1628 visitation record, all the village's residents were Protestant. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 8v; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 334; cf. SHGPoz, Part I, p. 279.

<sup>287</sup> The parish church was handed over to the Lutherans in 1544. In 1593, Krzysztof Tuczyński had the 'Lutherian ministers' expelled from the town. Jesuit monks were brought into the town in 1602. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 11; *Księgi grodzkie wałeckie*, gr. 19, p. 34v; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 229; T. Wujewski, *Ołtarze w Tucznie i w Marcinkowicach a sprawa autorstwa Hermana Hana*, 'Artium Quaestiones', vol. 18, 2007, pp. 117–149.

<sup>288</sup> The chapel and the presbytery were arguably built for the Lutheran minister. The episcopal visitation record informs on the takeover by the Catholics of the Protestant-owned church. The Lutheran pastor named Jung was expelled in 1599. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 11; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 327; cf. SHGPoz, Part III, p. 87; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 230.

<sup>289</sup> The ministers: Jan Cluentius (1595), Stanisław Discordia (1599), Grzegorz Milicz (1601), Stanisław Orłowski (1603), Stumer (1607). After 1607, the Rzeczyca church became filial to Tuczno parish. Apart from confirming this fact, the 1628 and 1641 visitation records also attested to the fact of the church being earlier on occupied by Protestants. Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej, ref. no. 1182, ff. 44–61; *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 11; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 327v; cf. Bąk, Wałcz, p. 230.

<sup>290</sup> The 1619 visitation record preserves a mention of the church having been renovated twenty years earlier and 'brought back into the Catholic religion', which occurred around 1605; *Wiz. Poz.* 1610–1619, f. 143; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 229.

<sup>291</sup> The information on the *zbór*'s comes from the 1628 visitation record. Prior to the Reformation period, there was no presbytery in the village, it was built only for use of the Lutheran minister. The episcopal visitation record from 1628 informs on the church having been taken away by the Catholics from the Protestants; this took place in 1599. In 1607 marks the turning of Lubiesz church into filial to the parish of Tuczno. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 11; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 328; cf. SHGPoz, Part II, p. 674; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 229.

<sup>292</sup> The presence of a *zbór* is confirmed by the 1628 and 1641 visitation records; *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 11; cf. SHGPoz, Part III, pp. 114–115.

<sup>293</sup> As confirmed by the 1628 visitation record, the parish church was seized by Lutherans. The first minister in office there was Joachim Recz. The church was retrieved by Catholics in 1616. *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 11; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 328; cf. SHGPoz, Part IV, pp. 220–221; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 230.

<sup>294</sup> As per the 1641 visitation record, the church was still kept by Protestants; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 333v; cf. SHGPoz, Part I, pp. 442–445; Bąk, Wałcz, pp. 133–134.

<sup>295</sup> A parish church was located in this locality prior to the Reformation. There is no historical evidence to confirm that a *zbór* functioned there in the second half of the sixteenth century. As of 1641, the parish church was in the hands of dissenters. *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 333v.

<sup>296</sup> As per the 1641 visitation record, a minister was present at the church; *ibidem*; cf. Bąk, Wałcz, p. 134.

half of the sixteenth century emerged in the estates held by the Golec family. Those were the villages of Kłosowo (Hansfeld) (1540), Golce (Nowy Golcz) (1540), Rzepowo (1546), Lubno (1548), Giżyno (1550), Piaseczno (Plumward) (1555), Siemczyno (Heinrichsdorf) (1560), Jabłonowo (Apelweth) (1562), Machliny (1567), Górnica (Hohenstein) (1568), Broczyno (Brocz) (1572), Dębołęka (Damlank) (1579), Karsibór (Kiesembork) (1579), Rudki (1580), and Popielewo (1581). As the author remarks, the dates tend to be called into question by scholars, who put forth their own proposals in this respect.<sup>297</sup> Only for Kłosowo (Hansfeld)<sup>298</sup> and Siemczyno (Heinrichsdorf),<sup>299</sup> both mentioned in a seventeenth-century visitation record, it can be accepted that the church existed already in the sixteenth century. In most of the cases, confirming that a Lutheran church functioned in any of these localities in the period concerned is not possible based on the sources; hence, none of them have been plotted in the map. A Lutheran *zbór* probably functioned in the village of Kłębowiec (Klausdorf).<sup>300</sup>

A few Evangelical-Augsburg churches functioned in Voivodehsip of Kalisz. The town of Miłosław in Pызdry district, owned by Maciej Górski, *Starosta* of Wschowa, was an important Lutheran centre.<sup>301</sup> A Protestant church is also active in Pogorzela (Pogorzel), a private town belonging to the Pogorzelski family.<sup>302</sup> A Lutheran *zbór* operated also in Stanisław Górka-owned Kórnik (Kurnik)<sup>303</sup> and in Bnin, whose owners were the Bniński family,<sup>304</sup> and in Żerków.<sup>305</sup> In Kcynia district, a Lutheran church functioned in the town of Chodzież, property of Piotr Potulicki, Voivode of Płock,<sup>306</sup> and, probably, in Szaradowo.<sup>307</sup> In Kalisz district, the Lutheran church was funded in a private urban centre, the one of Pleszew (Pleszów),<sup>308</sup> and in a village, Brzezcie, owned by the Chwalibowski family.<sup>309</sup> Łobżenica was an important Protestant centre in Nakło district. Historiographers offer the established view whereby one of the first Lutheran *zbórs* in Greater Poland emerged right there.<sup>310</sup> Since its activity is not reflected in the records of Catholic visitations or synodal files, this particular church (and community)

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<sup>297</sup> Cf. Bąk, *Walcz*, p. 154.

<sup>298</sup> That a church held by Protestants existed there is only attested by the 1641 visitation record. The presence of a Lutheran minister was confirmed. *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 333v.

<sup>299</sup> The locality was a combined royal-and-noble property; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, ff. 336v–337v.

<sup>300</sup> Referring to the entries in the *Walcz* parish register dated 1695, L. Bąk finds that the origins of the local *zbór* can be dated at 1535. The church stood empty at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The visitation records from 1628 and 1641 do not mention it. Bąk, *Walcz*, pp. 153, 256.

<sup>301</sup> In 1561, the local parish church went into the hands of Protestants. The 1570 Poznań convention files specify that Piotr of Kościan, succeeded by Adrian and, from 1597 on, Stanisław Scribonius served as minister at the *zbór*. ASR II, p. 311; ASR IV, pp. 127, 158; ASL, p. 72; ASK I 3, f. 328v; *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 72v.

<sup>302</sup> At the 1607 synod in Miłosław, Jan Pogorzelski was elected secular senior. The church's minister was Piotr Dresdensis, who was a signatory of the 1595 synod of Thorn (Toruń) and a delegate at the synod held in Miłosław in 1607. ASR IV, p. 156; ASL, p. 113; *Wiz. Poz.* 1610–1619, f. 96v.

<sup>303</sup> The patron was Stanisław Górka, the town's owner. As of 1555, Marcin, participant of the ministers' convention in Gołuchów, served as the minister. The community collapsed in 1592, with the town's takeover by Jan Czarnkowski, a Catholic. BRacz, MS 50, p. 4v.

<sup>304</sup> The church's patron might have been Stanisław Bniński, the owner. He was involved in the activities of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church, partaking in the synods of Poznań and Sandomierz, in 1566 and 1570, respectively. A minister named Laurentius was present at the 'zbór'. The latter was dissolved in 1592 as the town was taken over by Jan Czarnkowski, a Catholic. ASL, pp. 54, 63; Teki Dworzaczka 12445 (no. 1399); cf. A. Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, p. 19.

<sup>305</sup> Information on this locality comes from the seventeenth century. Visitation record, which informs that the Catholics regained the parish church around 1610, taken over earlier on by Protestants; the Evangelical minister was still present, though. *Wiz. Poz.* 1610–1619, f. 100v.

<sup>306</sup> As of 1561, the parish church was in the Protestants' hands, as confirmed in the 1628 visitation record; ASK I 3, f. 331v; *Wiz. Poz.* 1628–1629, f. 3; *Wiz. Czur.* 1640–1641, f. 374v.

<sup>307</sup> Minister Daniel Kitzling took part in the 1607 synod in Miłosław 1607. The episcopal visitation record from 1608 informs of a profanation of the parish church by the internment of a Protestant, and states that there were no Protestants in the village. ASL, p. 128; *Wiz. Gnz.* 1608–1609, f. 79v.

<sup>308</sup> The patron was the Kościelecki family. The church appeared around 1560, as the Protestants took over the parish church of St. John the Baptist. This is confirmed by the 1605 visitation record, which also mentions the church's takeover forty years earlier. A minister and a scholar were present on the church premises. *Wiz. Kal.* 1603–1607, f. 327.

<sup>309</sup> The family owned the village since mid-sixteenth century, the time it was purchased by Bartłomiej Chwalibowski. As of 1579, Bartłomiej and Mikołaj Chwalibowski were the village's owners. With no relevant sources available, it is difficult to identify the date of the church's emergence. The general synod held in Cracow was attended by 'Valentinus a Brzezcie'. As at the 1605 visitation date, the church was kept by Protestants, with the presence of a minister attested. ASL, p. 82; 1579 tax register, f. 676v; *Wiz. Kal.* 1603–1607, f. 362; Teki Dworzaczka 5861 (no. 888).

<sup>310</sup> Cf. A. Mietz, *Archidiakoniat kamieński*, p. 99.

has been deemed probable.<sup>311</sup> Given the available records, the ones in Krajenka, Gromadno, Kaczory, and Tarnówka<sup>312</sup> certainly existed.

A total of 149 Protestant community churches (*zbórs*) are plotted in the map, including ninety-eight Evangelical-Augsburg, forty-seven owned by Bohemian Brethren, three Reformed Evangelical (Evangelical and Reformed), and one of the Polish Brethren. Their locations are as follows: (i) Kalisz Voivodeship: Kalisz district – sixteen *zbórs*; Gniezno district – four; Konin district – eight; Kcynia district – seven; Pyzdry district – six; Nakło district – seven; (ii) Poznań Voivodeship: Poznań district – thirty-four; Kościan district – twenty; Wałcz district – thirty-five; Wschowa land – eleven.

## ANNEX

### Protestant evangelical churches in Greater Poland (a breakdown)

The breakdown below shows the stage of development of Protestant communities-and-churches (*zbórs*) in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century; specified are the *zbórs* deemed certain and probable. The names of localities are given in alphabetical order; the present-day name, if different from the historic one, is given in parentheses. Towns/cities are marked with '(t)'.

#### Kalisz Voivodeship

##### **Gniezno district**

Dębница, Łagiewniki (Łagiewniki Kościelne), Skoki (t), Trląg

##### **Kalisz district**

Blizanowo (Blizanów), Broniszewice, Brzezcie, Chodecz (Chocz) (t), Gołuchowo (Gołuchów), Jastrzębniki, Kamion (Kamień), Karmino Wielkie (Karmin), Koźminek (t), Kretkowo (Kretków), Lipe, Marszewo (Marszew) (t), Pleszów (Pleszew) (t), Rychnowo (Rychnów), Stawiszyn (t), Zaksino (Zakrzyn)

##### **Kcynia district**

Barcin (t), Brzeskorzystew (Brzyskorzystew), Chodzież (t), Chomętowo, Jaktorowo, Miemczyno (Niemczyn), Szaradowo

##### **Konin district**

Cienino Wielkie (Cienin Kościelny), Drżazno (Drążno-Holendry), Grodziec, Kawnica (Kawnice), Krzymowo (Krzymów), Myślubórz, Rychwał (t), Wyszyno (Wyszyna)

##### **Nakło district**

Gromadno, Łobżenica (t), Sypniewo

##### **Pyzdry district**

Bnin, Kurnik (Kórnik) (t), Krotoszyn (t), Miłosław (t), Pogorzel (Pogorzela) (t), Żerków (t)

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<sup>311</sup> The 1640 visitation confirmed the rather large Protestant community present in the town; Wiz. Czur. 1640–1641, f. 349.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. A. Mietz's findings based on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visitations of the archdeaconry of Kamień; idem, *Archidiakoniat kamieński*, pp. 96–97, 106.

## Poznań Voivodeship

### Kościan district

Bojanowo (Stare Bojanowo), Brójce (t), Chobienice, Gnino (Gnin), Godziszewo, Gołaszyno (Gołaszyn), Gostyń, Górka (Miejska Górka), Granowo, Grodzisko (Grodzisk Wielkopolski), Kargowa, Kręsko (Kręcko), Poniec (t), Rydzyna (t), Rzestaszewo (Rostaszewo), Stary Dwór, Śmigiel (t), Wilkowo Polskie, Zielęcino (Zielęcín)

### Poznań district

Bukowiec (Bukowiec Międzyrzecki), Czarnyśl (Trzemeszno Lubuskie), Ceradz Stary (Ceradz Kościelny), Cerekwica, Chociszewo, Chycina, Goruńsko, Gorzyca, Grochowo, Goślina Kościelna (Murowana Goślina), Jastrawie, Kaława, Kęsica (Kęszyca), Kursko (Stare Kursko), Kwilcz, Lewice, Lutol Suchy, Łagowiec, Międzychód (t), Międzyrzecz (t), Murzynowo, Nietoperek, Ostroróg (t), Parkowo, Pieski, Pokrzywnica, Policko, Poznań (t), Skwierzyna (t), Stary Dwór, Szamotuły (t), Tomice, Wierzbno

### Wałcz district

Buda (Budy), Brunkowo (Bronikowo), Brzeźnica, Chwiram, Cykier (Sikory), Czaplinek (t), Duderlak (Dudyłany), Flokesia (Jeziorna), Frydland (Mirosławiec), Henkendorf (Hanki), Hansfeld (Kłosowo), Heinrichsdorf (Siemczyno), Klausdorf (Kłębowiec), Klawiter (Głowaczewo), Kluczewo (Klausewo), Knakendof (Rzeczyca), Laczek (Łaski Wałeckie), Lubowo, Lubsdorf (Lubiesz), Marcinkowo (Marcinkowice), Mielęcín, Nadorycz (Nadarzyce), Nabliny (Noblíny), Polempol (Polne), Rakowo, Róża, Ruschendorf (Rusinowo), Swartężel Wielki (Czarne Wielkie), Swartężel Mały (CzarneMałe), Szarpenort (Ostroróg), Szwecja, Tuczno (t), Wałcz (t), Worowo (NoweWorowo), Zbytno (Zdbice)

### Wschowa land

Dębowa Łęka, Gołanice, Jędrzychowice, Leszno (t), Lasocice, Osowa Sień, Przyczyna Górna, Sidnica (Siedlnica), Wilkowo (Wilkowice), Wschowa (t)

(2017)

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

### III.2.2d.4 JEWS IN THE TOWNS OF GREATER POLAND

Jarosław Suproniuk

None of the previous volumes in this series contained any chapters or maps concerning the Jewish population, who stood out due to its ethnic origin linked to the Mosaic faith (Judaism). The history of Jews in Polish lands is rich with literature.<sup>1</sup> The volume on the Cracow Voivodeship contained one brief paragraph that listed cities inhabited by Israelites in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> In this volume of AHP, we would like to present the distribution of the Jewish population in the cities of Greater Poland. Despite recent publications centered on the history of Jews in Greater Poland, there is still a lack of texts focused specifically on the sixteenth century. Most available works often concentrate on the earliest sources mentioning the presence of a Jewish population in select urban centers or focus on specific topics in the history of the Jews in Greater Poland.<sup>3</sup>

The term “Greater Poland” proper refers to the territory comprised of the then Kalisz Voivodeship (districts: Gniezno, Kalisz, Kcynia, Konin, Nakło and Pyzdry) and Poznań Voivodeship (districts: Kościan, Poznań and Wałcz) as well as Wschowa land. The chronological scope of the discussed subject requires a few words of explanation.

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<sup>1</sup> The state of Jewish studies in medieval Poland was most recently presented by H. Zaremska in: eadem, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warsaw 2011 (and its extensive bibliography: pp. 505–538); I would like to thank prof. Hanna Zaremska for all of her comments and suggestions that helped with the writing of this text. The basic literature on Jewish history and culture can be found in: *Vademecum historia mediewisty*, ed. J. Nikodem, D.A. Sikorski, Warsaw 2012, pp. 452–457; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 16, ed. F. Skolnik, Detroit 2007, pp. 325–326; G.D. Hundert, *Polish Jewish History*, „Modern Judaism”, vol. 10, 1990, no. 3, part 1, pp. 259–270 (esp. pp. 262–263: *Jews in Poland before 1648*); B. Geremek, *Żydzi w społeczeństwie chrześcijańskim – od segregacji do ekskluzji*, [in:] idem, *O średniowieczu*, Warsaw 2012, pp. 238–287; see also: H. Samsonowicz, *Grupy etniczne w Polsce XV wieku*, [in:] *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kirykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko, M. Śliwa, Cracow 1993, pp. 461–469; A. Wyrobisz, *Mniejszości etniczne i wyznaniowe w miastach Europy wczesnonowoczesnej (XVI–XVIII w.)*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 471–484.

<sup>2</sup> J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, names 14 cities in the Cracow Voivodeship that had Jewish populations: Będzin, Bobowa, Bochnia, Dobczyce, Jasło, Kazimierz, Lanckorona, Lelów, Nowy Sącz, Olkusz, Oświęcim, Pilica, Sławków and Uście Solne.

<sup>3</sup> E.g.: Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Ludność żydowska w Wielkopolsce w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, [in:] *Żydzi w Wielkopolsce na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. J. Topolski, K. Modelski, Poznań 1999, pp. 18–44; eadem, *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Nasza Przyszłość”, vol. 79, 1993, pp. 149–186; eadem, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim w XVI–XVII wieku*, *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1992, no. 2–3 (162–163), pp. 63–77; A. Teller, *Warunki życia i obyczajowość w żydowskiej dzielnicy Poznania w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Żydzi w Wielkopolsce na przestrzeni dziejów*, pp. 57–70; D. Tollet, *Ludność żydowska i prawa gmin*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 9–17; see also: M. Bogucka, *The Jews in the Polish Cities in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, [in:] *Studies in the History of the Jews in Old Poland in Honor of Jacob Goldberg*, ed. A. Teller, Jerusalem 1998 (Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. 38), pp. 51–57; D. Tollet, *Les Juifs dans la société polonaise au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, „La Rassegna Mensile di Israel”, vol. 61, 1995, no. 1, pp. 61–89; idem, *Les activités économiques des Juifs de Pologne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, [in:] *Les Juifs et l'économie: miroirs et mirages*, ed. Ch. Benayoun, A. Medam, P.-J. Rojzman, Toulouse 1992, pp. 97–107; P. Wróbel, *Żydzi w Wielkopolsce przed I wojną światową*, *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1991, no. 1 (157), pp. 31–55; D. Tollet, *Marchands et hommes d'affaires Juifs dans la Pologne des Wasa (1588–1668)*, „Revue des Études Slaves”, vol. 56, 1984, issue 4, pp. 641–647; idem, *Działalność gospodarcza Żydów w Grodzisku Wielkopolskim za panowania Wazów w latach 1588–1668*, *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1976, no. 2 (98), pp. 19–38; idem, *Les activités économiques des Juifs a Grodzisk Wielkopolski dans la Pologne des Wasa de 1588 à 1668*, *Archiwum ŻIH*, *Prace magisterskie* [1973], sig. 347/63.

The primary – albeit not only – sources of date are the tax registers, i.e., the records of payments of the extraordinary land tax decreed by the Sejm of the Commonwealth in the second half of the sixteenth century for military purposes.<sup>4</sup> The tax registers – depending on the district – of the Kalisz Voivodeship are from 1552–1591, while the ones from the Poznań Voivodeship are from 1553–1583.<sup>5</sup> A strict adherence to this time frame could lead us to overlook the Jewish populations confirmed to be in Greater Poland before 1552–1553 and after 1583–1591. It must also be stated that for several reasons not all registers contain the payments imposed on Jews. In order to ensure that the state of Jewish settlements in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century is presented most accurately and thoroughly, we reached for sources from the 1530s and 1540s,<sup>6</sup> as well as some from the beginning of the following century,<sup>7</sup> along with a comparison to data from the 1630s.<sup>8</sup> As a result, the reader is presented with a description of the presence of Jews in Greater Poland that spans almost 80 years: from the beginning of the 1530s to 1600. Within this time frame, we take into account settlements with a confirmed Jewish presence in the 1530s and 1540s, as well as in 1552–1592, along with their transient presence in certain settlements in the 1590s.

We would like to note that the map does not denote Jewish communes, synagogues (temples, prayer houses)<sup>9</sup> or Jewish cemeteries as their locations along with the locations of some Jewish quarters,<sup>10</sup> cannot be found in source materials. In this volume, only on the reconstructed maps of Gniezno,<sup>11</sup> Kalisz and Poznań<sup>12</sup> from the second half of the sixteenth century have we marked down synagogues (Gniezno, Kalisz, Poznań), along with one Jewish cemetery (Kalisz).

The annexes at the end of the commentary contain a list of cities and towns in Greater Poland that had a Jewish population noted in the sources, along with excerpts about the Jewish population (primarily tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century).

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<sup>4</sup> See M. Słoń, *Written Sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland. In this edition chapter II.1.4.

<sup>5</sup> See RPWK i RPWP.

<sup>6</sup> E.g.: E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach w miastach polskich w XIV–XVI w.*, „Bleter far Geszichte”, vol. 1, 1934, pp. 59–73 (esp. pp. 60–62).

<sup>7</sup> E.g.: LWWK 1616, LWWK 1628.

<sup>8</sup> Hearth tax 1631, Hearth tax 1635.

<sup>9</sup> See R. Żebrowski, *Gmina*, [in:] *Polski słownik judaistyczny* (www.jhi.pl/psj/gmina, access 16.03.2017); idem, *Synagoga*, [in:] *ibidem* (www.jhi.pl/psj/synagoga, access 16.03.2017).

<sup>10</sup> Comp. to M. Cieśla, *Jewish Shtetl or Christian Town? The Jewish in Small Towns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, [in:] *Jewish and Non-Jewish Spaces in the Urban Context*, ed. A. Gromova, F. Heinert, S. Voigt, Berlin 2015 (*Jüdische Kulturgeschichte in der Moderne – Jewish Cultural History in the Modern Era*, ed. J. Schlör, vol. 4), pp. 63–81; M. i K. Piechotkowie, *Oppidum Judaeorum. Żydzi w przestrzeni miejskiej dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw 2004, part 2: *Wybrane miasta*; eidem, *Skupiska żydowskie w strukturze przestrzennej miast dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczanstwa w średniowieczu*, vol. 1, Toruń 1996 (*Studia Polonica Historiae Urbanae*, vol. 1), pp. 171–193 (esp. pp. 177–183); E. Leszczyńska, *Przyczynki do dziejów funkcjonowania poznańskiej dzielnicy żydowskiej w sąsiedztwie średniowiecznych murów obronnych*, KMP, 1996, no. 3, pp. 138–151. Cf. K. Szende, *Laws, Loans, Literates. Trust in Writing in the Context of Jewish-Christian Contacts in Medieval Hungary*, [in:] *La Cohabitation religieuse dans les villes européennes, X<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* [Religious Cohabitation in European Towns, 10<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries], Brepolis 2014 (*Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Society*, vol. 3, ed. J. Tolan), pp. 243–271; J. Heyde, *Raum und Symbol. Das Jüdische Viertel in der frühen Neuzeit als „Ghetto” in den Werken Majer Balabans*, „Kwartalnik Historii Żydów”, 2011, no. 4, pp. 445–461; H.-J. Gilomen, *Juden in den spätmittelalterlichen Städten des Reichs: Normen – Fakten – Hypothesen. Arye Maimon-Vortrag an der Universität Trier, 5 November 2008*, „Kleine Schriften des Arye Maimon-Instituts”, 2009, issue 11, pp. 7–65; idem, *Spätmittelalterliche Siedlungssegregation und Ghettoisierung, insbesondere im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz*, [in:] *Stadt- und Landmauern*, vol. 3: *Abgrenzungen – Ausgrenzungen in der Stadt und um die Stadt*, Zürich 1999 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Denkmalpflege an der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule Zürich, vol. 15/3), pp. 85–106.

<sup>11</sup> See AHP Greater Poland, A.P. Orłowska, *Gniezno settlement complex*, in the section *Jewish District*; in this volume chapter III.6.11.4, p. 339.

<sup>12</sup> See in this volume P. Dembiński, *Poznań settlement complex*, esp. footnote 78; see also: R. Witkowski, *Żydzi w Poznaniu. Krótki przewodnik po historii i zabytkach*, Poznań 2012; KMP, 2006, no. 3: *Poznańscy Żydzi* (esp.: L. Muszyński, B. Bergman, *Sylwetki poznańskich rabinów*, pp. 14–37; M.J. Mika, *Materiały do dziejów Żydów poznańskich w okresie staropolskim*, pp. 51–71; R. Witkowski, *Księga protokołów elektorów gminy żydowskiej w Poznaniu*, pp. 72–94; *Akt rewizji kamienic, domów i placów żydowskich w Poznaniu w 1641 r.*, pub. Z. Wojciechowska, pp. 95–106; R. Witkowski, *Spory dominikanów poznańskich z gminą żydowską w XVI i XVII wieku*, pp. 117–122; J. Wiesiołowski, *Z okien rezydencji karmelitów. Żydzi w świetle kroniczki rezydencji karmelitów trzewickowych z ul. Żydowskiej*, pp. 123–137).

The Jewish settlement of Greater Poland can be traced to the early Middle Ages. The Jewish quarter in Kalisz was one of the oldest in Poland, dating back to at least the mid-twelfth century.<sup>13</sup> Near the end of the 1180s a mint was established there, which issued bracteates (coins stamped only on one side) with Hebrew inscriptions. At the turn of the thirteenth century, a group of Jews also operated at the mint of Gniezno and at the neighbouring Kruszwica in Cuyavia.<sup>14</sup> It is also very possible that Poznań had a Jewish settlement in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

On the 16 August 1264, in Kalisz, Bolesław the Pious, the duke of Greater Poland, issued a statute for the Jews living in his district.<sup>16</sup> Later reaffirmed by Casimir the Great (and subsequent rulers) and extended to the entirety of the Jewish population of Poland, the statute discussed and described the issue of the judiciary over the Jewish peoples, the rules and regulations under which they could conduct loans and trade and regulated the relations between the Jews and the Christian population.<sup>17</sup>

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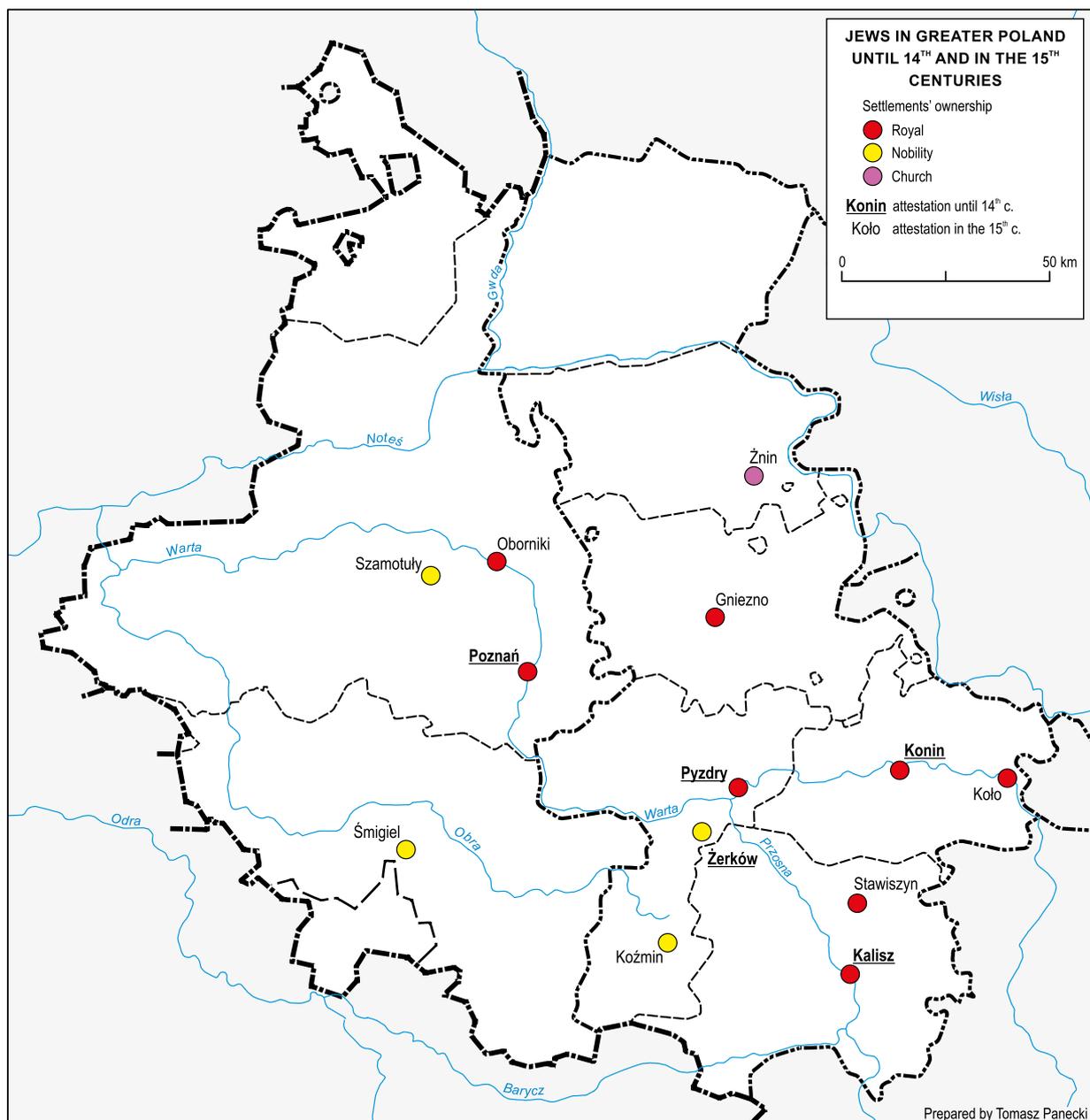
<sup>13</sup> H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Kaliszu*, [in:] *Kalisz na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. T. Baranowski, A. Buko, Kalisz 2013, pp. 167–177; G. Kucharski, *Żydzi kaliscy do końca XIV wieku*, Biuletyn ŻIH, 2000, no. 3 (195), pp. 306–307; T. Jurek, *Żydzi w późnośredniowiecznym Kaliszu*, Roczn. Kalis., vol. 24, 1992/1993, p. 29. „Individual Jewish families did settle in Kalisz during the twelfth century, but only in its second half, and not as early as 1139, which was suggested by Chodyński (see *Kieszonkowa kroniczka historyczna miasta Kalisza ułożona przez Adama Chodyńskiego*, Kalisz 1885, p. 2 – J.S.)”, quot. from: E. Feldman, *Żydzi w Kaliszu do połowy XVI wieku*, Archiwum ŻIH, Prace magisterskie [Warsaw 1929], sig. 117/27, p. 21; M. and K. Piechotkowie, *Krajobraz z menorą. Żydzi w miastach i miasteczkach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 2008, p. 16: “In Kalisz, before the town was moved to a new location, it would seem that the Jews lived in a settlement near the castle and market (later called the Old Town) or in the settlement of Żydowo”.

<sup>14</sup> H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Kaliszu*, pp. 167–169; D. Gorlińska-Sobusiak, *Rola Żydów w mennictwie polskim w ostatniej ćwierci XII i pierwszej połowie XIII wieku* (summary of the doctoral dissertation available on: [deputuw.ceon.pl/handle/item/84](http://deputuw.ceon.pl/handle/item/84), access 10.01.2017); J. Rudzińska, *Żydzi w późnośredniowiecznym Poznaniu*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, T. Jurek, Poznań 2005, p. 349; G. Kucharski, *Żydzi kaliscy*, pp. 306–307; P. Fijałkowski, *Początki obecności Żydów w Polsce (X–XIII wiek)*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów Żydów w Polsce. Materiały edukacyjne dla szkół średnich i wyższych*, vol. 1, ed. Z. Borzymińska, Warsaw 1995, pp. 15, 17; R. Grodecki, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce do końca XIV w.*, [in:] idem, *Polska piastowska. Pisma poświęcone*, Warsaw 1969, p. 639, comp. also pp. 633–638; M. Gumowski, *Monety hebrajskie za Piastów*, Biuletyn ŻIH, 1962, no. 42, p. 6; I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich*, Warsaw 1937, p. 9; Z. Zakrzewski, *Gniezno i Kalisz. Dwie mennice wielkopolskie za czasów Mieszka III*, Cracow 1927 (both from: „*Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*”), pp. 32–39.

<sup>15</sup> H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 114, 242. R. Witkowski assumes that: „The beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Poznań date back to the second half of the thirteenth century. Most likely during the town’s establishment in 1254, as its original layout was drafted, a zone for Jews was designated”, quot. from: idem, *Zarys dziejów osadnictwa żydowskiego w Poznaniu XIII–XVII w.* ([poznan.jewish.org.pl/index.php/Zydzi-w-Poznaniu/XIII-XVII-w.html](http://poznan.jewish.org.pl/index.php/Zydzi-w-Poznaniu/XIII-XVII-w.html), accessed: 9.06.2017); L. Muszyński, *Poznańscy rabini*, [in:] *Żydowskie gminy wyznaniowe. Studia z dziejów kultury żydowskiej w Polsce*, vol. 1, ed. J. Woronczak, Wrocław 1995, p. 47; comp. to: J. Wyrozumski, *Żydzi w Polsce średniowiecznej*, [in:] *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały z konferencji Autonomia Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej. Międzywydziałowy Zakład Historii i Kultury Żydów w Polsce, Jagiellonian University 22–26 IX 1986*, [ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański], Wrocław 1991, p. 130; *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, Warsaw 1965, p. 127: „a foreign element of the town were the Jews, who appeared during the rule of Mieszko the Old or even earlier and created a separate community”. See also: S. Smolka, *Mieszko Stary i jego wiek*, Warsaw 1959, pp. 96–97; A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden in Posen, nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*, Koschmin–Bromberg 1914, p. 1. T. Nożyński thought that: “Only in the second half of the fourteenth century does Poznań emerge as the center for Jews in Greater Poland. Earlier sources make no mention of it.”, quot. from: idem, *Żydzi poznańscy w XV w. (1379–1502)*, KMP, vol. 10, 1932, no. 1, p. 90. W. Tyloch assumed that the Jewish communes in Poznań and Kalisz existed already in the twelfth century.; see idem, *Przywileje dla Żydów Bolesława Pobożnego i Kazimierza Wielkiego*, [in:] *Z dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, ed. W. Tyloch, Warsaw 1983, p. 13. I. Schiper thought that „The Jewish community in Poznań is as old, if not older than the one in Kalisz.”, quote from: idem, *Studia nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów w Polsce podczas średniowiecza*, Lviv 1911, p. 63. E. Leszczyńska assumes that: „Due to a lack of sources, we must assume that the second half of the fourteenth century as the time of founding of an organised Jewish community”, quot. from: eadem, *Przyczynek do dziejów*, p. 138.

<sup>16</sup> KDW I, no. 605 ([www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=20061](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=20061), access 10.01.2017); Polish translation [in:] H. Nussbaum, *Historija Żydów od Mojżesza do epoki obecnej*, vol. 5: *Żydzi w Polsce*, Warsaw 1890, p. 32–40; L. Gumplowicz, *Prawodawstwo polskie względem Żydów*, Cracow 1867, p. 7–10; see also P. Fijałkowski, *Statut kaliski*, [in:] *Polski słownik judaistyczny* ([www.jhi.pl/psj/Statut\\_Kaliski](http://www.jhi.pl/psj/Statut_Kaliski), access 7.03.2017).

<sup>17</sup> See H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 116–142 and ch. I.5: *Przywileje Kazimierza Wielkiego dla Żydów i ich średniowieczne konfirmacje*, pp. 143–171; comp. also: M. Hlebionek, *Bolesław Pobożny i Wielkopolska jego czasów*, Cracow 2010, pp. 130–132; J. Wiesiołowski, *Bolesław i Jolenta, czyli początki polskiej tolerancji. Przywilej kaliski księcia wielkopolskiego Bolesława Pobożnego z 1264 roku*, KMP, 2006, no. 3, pp. 7–13; M. i K. Piechotkowie, *Oppidum Judaeorum*, pp. 20–21; H. Zaremska, *Statut Bolesława Pobożnego dla Żydów. Uwagi w sprawie genezy*, RDSG, vol. 64, 2004, pp. 107–132; W. Tyloch, *Przywileje dla Żydów Bolesława Pobożnego i Kazimierza Wielkiego*, pp. 13–18; J. Sieradzki, *Bolesław Pobożnego statut kaliski z roku 1264 dla Żydów*, [in:] *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 1, ed. A. Gieysztor, Kalisz 1960, pp. 131–142;



**Map 1. Jews in Greater Poland until 14th and in the 15th centuries**

By the end of the fourteenth century, Jewish settlements could be found in five urban centers (Kalisz, Konin, Poznań, Pzdrzy and Żerków),<sup>18</sup> while sources from the fifteenth century name six more

L. Koczy, *Studja nad dziejami gospodarczymi Żydów poznańskich przed połową wieku XVII*, KMP, vol. 12, 1934, no. 3, pp. 260, 263–264; J. Ptaśnik, *Żydzi w Polsce wieków średnich*, „Przegląd Warszawski”, vol. 2, 1922, no. 8, pp. 220–222; I. Schiper, *Studya nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów*, pp. 45–51; M. Schorr, *Organizacja Żydów w Polsce od najdawniejszych czasów aż do r. 1772*, KH, vol. 13, 1899, pp. 487–491 and separate print: Lviv 1899, pp. 6–10; R. Hube, *Przywilej żydowski Bolesława i jego potwierdzenia*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, vol. 1, 1880, pp. 426–442; see also S. Kutrzeba, *Stanowisko prawne Żydów w Polsce w XV stuleciu*, „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki. Dodatek do Gazety Lwowskiej”, vol. 29, 1901, no. 11, pp. 1007–1018 and no. 12, pp. 1147–1156.

<sup>18</sup> See I. Schiper, *Studya nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów*, pp. 62–63; E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 62; Żerków: A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden in der Posener Landen nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*, Koschmin–Bromberg 1909, p. 1022 (synagogue fire in 1382). According to Father M. Łukaszewicz: „Jews appear in Żerków only during the reign of Bolesław the Chaste [...] they did not really live in Żerków, but rather in a settlement between Żerków and Gród Ostrowski, one “staja” to the south-west, [...] The synagogue, along with the Jewish quarter burned down during a fire in Gród Ostrowski in the first days of August 1382, so the Jews, with Władysław Jagiełło’s permission, rebuilt their quarter and synagogue, which lasted until present times, until it

(it can only be assumed that they settled there earlier) Jewish agglomerations (Gniezno, Koło, Koźmin, Oborniki, Stawiszyn and Szamotuły).<sup>19</sup> It is very likely that some Jews were living in Śmigiel, since in 1415 there is mention of a Jewish square.<sup>20</sup> In 1449, the Jews were expelled from Żnin, a town belonging to the archbishops of Gniezno.<sup>21</sup>

Until the end of the fifteenth century, the presence of Jews can be confirmed in 13 settlements in Greater Poland, eight of which belonged to the Duke and later to the Crown (see the map 1 in this chapter).

The “Taxa Judeorum in civitatibus et opidis Regni existentibus” from 1507 recorded the incomes from the extraordinary tax collected for the coronation of Sigismund the Old.<sup>22</sup> This register of the coronation tax collected from Jews in 1507 covers the Jewish population of Greater Poland (along with Cuyavia) Lesser Poland, Mazovia and Red Ruthenia. It lacks information about the Jews inhabiting Royal Prussia, Podole and the region of Mazovia that was transferred to the Kingdom of Poland in 1526. Among the 54 Jewish settlements that were taxed and mentioned in the Taxa 18 were in Greater Poland.<sup>23</sup> The register was supplemented by the editor of the Taxa with three other Greater Polish settlements, where the presence of the Jewish population could be confirmed by other sources.<sup>24</sup> Some

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perished on 14 August 1861 during a fire in Żerków.”, quot. from: idem, *Strażnica Ostrów i miasto Żerków. Obrazek z dziejów przeszłości naszej*, Poznań 1891, pp. 50–51.

<sup>19</sup> Koło: K. Witkowski, *Koło w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Najdawniejsze dzieje Kola (do lat 20. XVI stulecia)*, ed. K. Witkowski, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Koło 2012, p. 87, claims, referencing the land register of Konin stored in AP Poznań (Z. 3, f. 191), that: „The first mention of Jews in Koło comes from 1432 [...] It is a mistake in the literature that it was in 1429. [...] During my research into the land register, I could not confirm their presence in 1429.”; same as: idem, *Żydzi w Kole do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Z dziejów Żydów kolskich – w 70. rocznicę Zagłady w obozie zagłady Kulmhof (materiały z sesji popularnonaukowej, która odbyła się w dniu 17 stycznia 2012 r.)*, ed. K. Witkowski, Koło 2012, p. 11: „The first mention of Jews in Koło comes from 1432. It was then that Lochman, a Jew from Koło, finds himself in a court battle with Jan, the son of Mrokota from Janiszewo”. 1429 is stated as the first year of a Jewish presence in Koło by Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim*, p. 68, who refer to the publication of E. Feldman, *Do statystyki Żydów w dawnej Polsce*, „Miesięcznik Żydowski”, Year 3, vol. 1, 1933, no. 1–2, p. 131. Earlier literature indicated that 1555 was the beginning of the Jewish community in Koło; see for example M. Rawita-Witanowski, *Wielkopolskie miasto Koło, jego przeszłość i pamiątki*, Piotrków 1912, p. 153; see also: E. Feldman, *Do statystyki Żydów*, pp. 130–131; idem, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 152; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim*, p. 66; I. Schiper, *Ранняя стадия еврейской колонизации в Польше (Городская колонизация)*, „Еврейская Старина”, vol. 3, 1911, no. 3, pp. 348, 351–357.

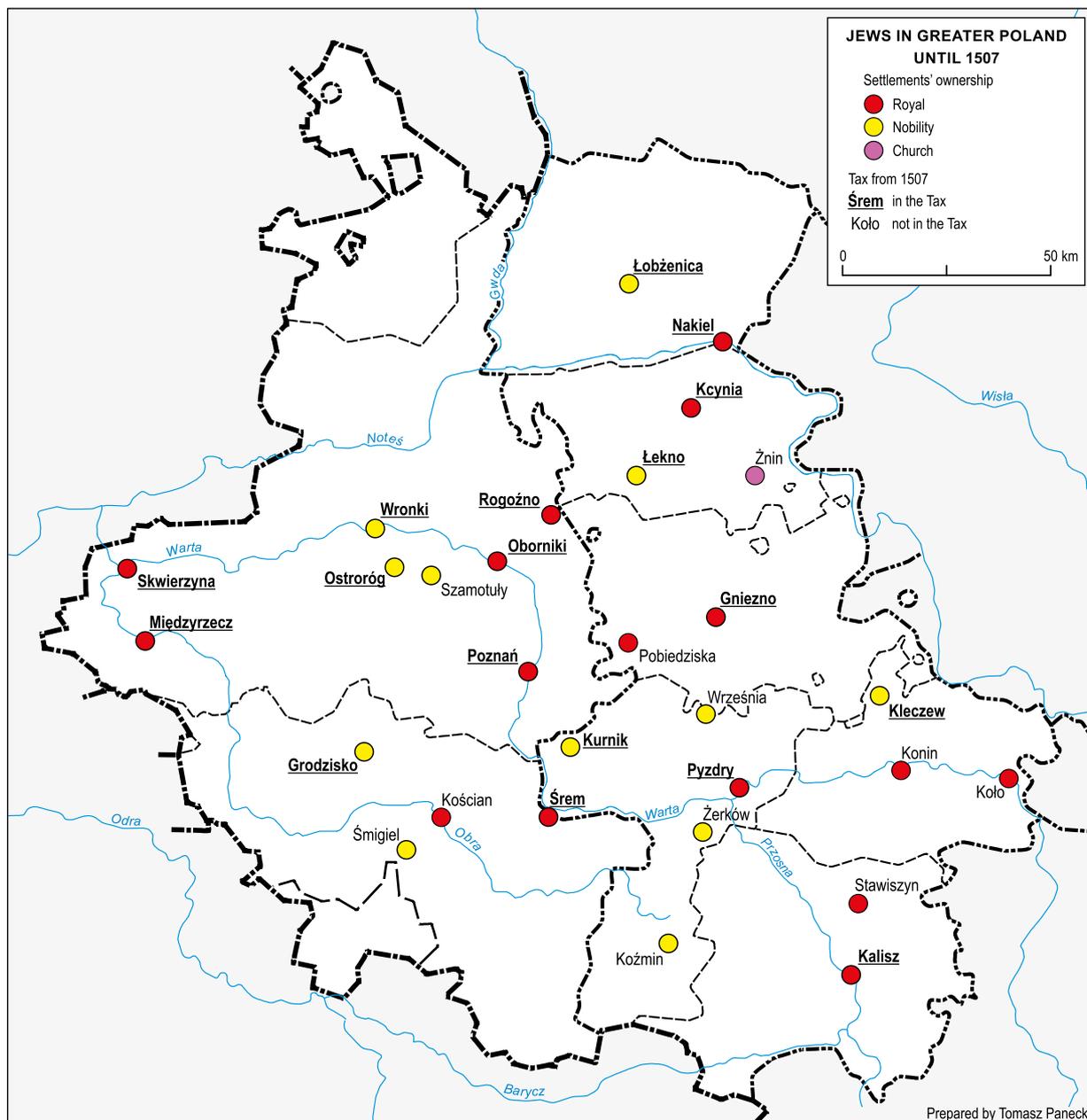
<sup>20</sup> KDW VII, no. 760: „den garten, welcher da heiset der Judenplatz” ([www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=20111](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=20111), access 10.01.2017).

<sup>21</sup> A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden*, p. 1031; C. Sikorski, *Zarys dziejów Żnina*, Żnin 1990, p. 40: „The Jews living there, for some undefined conflict with the Catholics, were exiled from the town by a decree from Gniezno on 24 April 1449. Until the partitions no Jews were allowed to settle in Żnin.”; M. Gumowski, *Żnin w wiekach średnich*, Poznań 1928 (both from: „Historja Powiatu Żnińskiego”), p. 99: „It would appear that the Jews were accused of setting Żnin on fire. The victims and other residents did not accuse them directly, but during the next vacancy after the death of archbishop Wincenty, they sent to the Gniezno chapter a complaint that listed several robberies, injustices and wrongdoings inflicted on the Christians. The chapter took up the matter during a meeting on 24 April 1449 and decided to expel all the Jews from Żnin, so that they left the residents alone”.

<sup>22</sup> M. Horn, *Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich w Polsce z 1507 r.*, Biuletyn ŻIH, 1974, no. 3 (91), pp. 11–15. To read more about the „coronation” tax, see H. Rutkowski, *Podatek „koronacja” w Polsce na początku XVI w.*, [in:] idem, *Fundamenta historiae. Pisma wybrane*, ed. M. Zbieranowski, M. Słoń, Warsaw 2014, pp. 53–70.

<sup>23</sup> Gniezno, Grodzisk Wielkopolski, Kalisz, Kcynia, Kleczew, Kórnik, Łekno, Łobżenica, Międzyrzecz, Nakło, Oborniki, Ostroróg, Poznań, Pyzdry, Rogoźno, Skwierzyna, Śrem and Wronki; see: M. Horn, *Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich*, p. 13. The publisher of Taxa (ibidem) names Leszno (*in Lesna*), although the in photograph of the manuscript (p. 12) the name is crossed over and corrected to „in Lekno”; Łekno was used in the Polish translation of the Taxa, see *Taksa Żydów żyjących w miastach i miasteczkach Królestwa*, trans. B. Wyrozumska, [in:] H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 245 and on p. 244 a colored image of the manuscript. Leszno was granted town status in 1547; see: T. Jurek, *Leszno*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. II, p. 589 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=leszno&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=leszno&d=7&t=1), access 10.01.2017); Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem lokacji miejskich w Wielkopolsce w XVI–XVIII w.*, PZ, vol. 9/3, 1953, no. 9–12, p. 182; Szczygieł, p. 211. Sieraków (*in Suerakow*), mentioned by M. Horn, is also absent from the Taxa (and in the translation by B. Wyrozumska); it is assumed that it is referring to Gnyewkow, which is Gniewkowo in Cuyavia.; see: T. Jurek, *Sieraków*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. IV, p. 421 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=23209](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=23209), access 10.01.2017).

<sup>24</sup> Konin, Kościan (The starting date of a Jewish presence in Kościan are debatable: I. Schiper, referencing only „the oldest court documents” dates this to the second half of the fourteenth century, comp. to idem, *Studia nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów*, p. 63, while E. Feldman disagreed, noting: “In my opinion, the community in Kościan did not yet exist in the fourteenth century”, quot. from: E. Feldman, *Do statystyki Żydów*, p. 130; M. Horn references I. Schiper’s data, which are the „the oldest court documents”) and Szamotuły; see: M. Horn, *Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich*, p. 14. The lack of these settlements in the Taxa is explained by the method of tax collection: sometimes it was collected from neighbouring towns



Map 2. Jews in Greater Poland until 1507

of these settlements certainly were quite populous, as the example of Nakło suggests, where in 1515 a fire destroyed a synagogue and 21 Jewish houses.<sup>25</sup>

or multiple centers paid together, but only the commune where the actual collection occurred was noted; comp. to H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 243; M. Horn, *Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich*, p. 14. The taxa itself confirms these practices (*Taksa Żydów*, p. 245): „In Warta, or wherever they might be, Szamaj and his son in law are obligated to pay 5 florins [...]. In Bełżno, with the Jew Samuel, who lives in Potylicz, 5 florins [...]. In Lublin, along with Kazimierz, 75 florins [...]. In Cracow and Tarnów, 300 florins” The amount paid, in the Taxa and elsewhere, „informs us mostly about the wealth, rather than the population of a commune. We can assume though, that the number of houses in the quarter was the primary factor for tax calculations, and its number can inform us about their owners.”; quot. from: H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 258. She adds that: „This data also lets us estimate the number of small groups, not worthy of separate taxation in specific regions of the country. I assume that these groups had one, at most two families. Such groups formed around 70% of Greater Poland; ibidem, p. 245. E. Feldman claims that for the second half of the fifteenth century: “Quarters in [...] Stawiszyn, Koźmin [...] as they were very small, often single-family, are overlooked [...] as they probably paid the *census annuus* with larger neighbours”, quot. from: idem, *Do statystyki Żydów*, p. 132.

<sup>25</sup> M. Aschkewitz, *Die Juden in Westpreußen am Ende der polnischen Herrschaft (1772)*, „Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker in Östlichen Mitteleuropa”, vol. 6, 1957, no. 4, p. 561: „In Nakel wo die Juden bereits um 1500 nachweisbar

We can therefore determine that until 1507, 29 centers in Greater Poland had Jewish populations: 18 in the Kalisz Voivodeship (Gniezno, Kalisz, Kcynia, Kleczew, Koło, Konin, Kościan, Koźmin, Kórnik, Łekno, Łobżenica, Nakło, Pobiedziska, Pyzdry, Stawiszyn, Września, Żerków and Żnin) and 11 in the Poznań Voivodeship (Grodzisk, Międzyrzecz, Oborniki, Ostroróg, Poznań, Rogoźno, Skwierzyzna, Szamotuły, Śmigiel, Śrem i Wronki)<sup>26</sup> (see the map 2 in this chapter).

Any attempts to estimate the number of Jews living in Poland, whether in the Middle Ages or in the early modern era rely mainly on tax-related sources. The problems that arise during investigations, among others, into the Jewish population numbers stem from the scarcity of appropriate sources: there is a lack of materials for statistical analysis, while the taxes paid by Jews were typically lump sums<sup>27</sup> gathered in select cities, communes or territories by exactors, i.e. tax collectors funded by the Jewish inhabitants themselves.<sup>28</sup>

Due to multiple factors, such as varied data sources on Jewish agglomerations, different methods of estimating their size and the use of non-standardized data point conversions, such as “persons per house”, the projections of the size of the Jewish population around the year 1500 have quite a large range: from 4,500 to 30,000.<sup>29</sup>

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sind, gingen bei einem Brande im Jahre 1515 auch 21 jüdische Häuser und eine Synagoge verloren”; R. Heidrich, *Die Stadt Nakel und ihre Geschichte*, Nakel 1910, p. 48: „Im Jahre 1515, wo die Stadt abbrannte, waren in Nakel 21 jüdische Häuser und eine Synagoge; nach dem Brande ist ihnen vielleicht ein besonderes Stadtviertel (die Posener Straße) angewiesen worden”.

<sup>26</sup> Pobiedziska (A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden*, p. 875: in 1502 the Jew Sloma from Pobiedziska was killed), Września (in 1502 Salomon, *Judeus of Wrzeschna*, and another nameless Jew are mentioned; see *Acten der Kriminalgerichtsbarkeit*, B: *Geständnisse „Maleficiorum liber ab anno 1502 ad annum 1554”*, [in:] *Stadtbuch von Posen*, vol. 1: *Die mittelalterliche Magistratsliste. Die ältesten Protokollbücher und Rechnungen*, pub. A. Warschauer, Posen 1892, pp. 335, 337); comp. to: Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Skupiska i gminy żydowskie w Polsce do końca XVI wieku*, „Czasy Nowożytne”, vol. 21, 2008, pp. 174–180; Z. Guldon, *Skupiska żydowskie w miastach polskich w XV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, vol. 2: *Materiały z konferencji, Kraków 24–26 XI 1998*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, S. Gąsiorowski, Cracow 2000, pp. 13–25, esp. the annex on pp. 22–25; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim*, p. 66; eidem, *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan*, pp. 150–151. B.D. Weinryb tallies the number of towns and cities which had Jewish residents from the twelfth century to the sixteenth century, taking into account the districts, but does not list any names or sources; see idem, *The Jews of Poland. A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800*, [Philadelphia] 1973, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup> See H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 258–261. In 1512 Szloma and Samuel, two Jews from Poznań, paid 235 florins into the Crown’s treasury, as a coronation tax put on all Greater Polish Jews; no information on how the burden was distributed is provided.; see MK 25, f. 182 (online manuscript: pther.eu/MK/025/PL\_1\_4\_1-025\_0366.html, access 17.01.2017).

<sup>28</sup> For more on exactors and their work in the first half of the sixteenth century, see M. Horn, *Żydzi i mieszczenie w służbie celnej Zygmunta Starego i Zygmunta Augusta*, Biuletyn ŻIH, 1987, no. 1 (141), pp. 9–12; from the middle of the sixteenth century “taxes on the Jewish people were selected by royally appointed Christian exactors, or were collected by Christian customs officials and clerks, quot. from: ibidem, p. 12. For more on the so called „Royal rent” tax placed on Jews see J. Rutkowski, *Skarbowość polska za Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*, KH, vol. 23, 1909, no. 1–2, pp. 30–31.

<sup>29</sup> H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 240 and chap. I.8: *Ilu Żydów mieszkało w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 239–266. The author estimates that: „The number of Jews living in areas covered by the Taxa comes out to around 5000” (ibidem, p. 263), and „The most populous Jewish communes, i.e. those in Lviv, Cracow (then moved to Kazimierz) and Poznań counted from 500 to 800 inhabitants” (eadem, *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Kaliszu*, p. 171); also comp.: Z. Guldon, *Żydzi w Polsce do końca XVIII w. Wybrane zagadnienia*, [in:] *Z przeszłości Żydów polskich: polityka, gospodarka, kultura, społeczeństwo*, ed. J. Wijaczka, G. Miernik, Cracow 2005, pp. 8–9; idem, *Skupiska żydowskie*, p. 13; idem, *Osadnictwo żydowskie i liczebność Żydów na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Czasy Nowożytne”, vol. 4, 1998, pp. 27–28; idem, *Osadnictwo żydowskie i liczebność ludności żydowskiej na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w okresie przedrozbiorowym. Stan i program badań*, [in:] *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, vol. 1: *Materiały z konferencji, Kraków 21–23 XI 1995*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, Cracow 1997, p. 148; H. Samsonowicz, *The Jewish Population in Poland during the Middle Ages*, „Dialectics and Humanism. The Polish Philosophical Quarterly”, vol. 16, 1989, no. 1, pp. 35–42; Z. Guldon, *Źródła i metody szacunków liczebności ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku*, KHKM, vol. 34, 1986, no. 2, p. 250; E. Feldman, *Do statystyki Żydów*, pp. 130, 134–135; I. Schiper, *Rozwój ludności żydowskiej na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Żydzi w Polsce odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna*, vol. 1, ed. I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Haffika, Warsaw [1932], pp. 26–27. „At the end the Medieval Ages [...] their number in Poland is estimated to be 18,000, while in Lithuania – 6,000. They were only 0.6% of the total population”; quot. from: M. Horn, *Rola gospodarcza Żydów w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, p. 27. B.D. Weinryb estimates that by the end of the fifteenth century there were 10,000 to 15,000 Jews in Poland: „There are a few estimates of the number of Jews in Poland by the end of the century, based on the amount of recorded taxes they paid. These estimates range from 10,000–11,000 to 17,400. (The last figure is definitely too high.) To these Jews of Poland proper should be added those who lived in Lithuania and Kiev.

Even though in the latter half of the sixteenth century the number of tax registers increased (some of them even recorded the number of Jews that were taxed) and a new source emerged in the seventeenth century in the form of the registers of the general head tax for the years 1662–1676,<sup>30</sup> the basis for the estimation of Poland's population until the end of the eighteenth century are fiscal sources. There is a widely held belief in the scholarship of the source literature that "population estimates in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries based on indirect sources such as fiscal ones due to a lack of direct sources are indicative only of the order of magnitude".<sup>31</sup> The use of fiscal data for any estimate of the Jewish population is controversial and results in many disputes among researchers.<sup>32</sup>

The tax collection universals established in the second half of the sixteenth century imposed the payment "of one gold coin for every head" (i.e. one florin per person) on Jews,<sup>33</sup> with exception of tax collection universals in 1580 and 1587–1588, when it was raised to 1.5 florin per person.<sup>34</sup> The tax collection universals contained instructions that during collection "poverty must be taken into account"<sup>35</sup> and "the almoner must be heeded",<sup>36</sup> which resulted from the practice of tax collection in situation when individuals had different levels of wealth. The difficulties in collecting fees and the problems of the tax system in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth resulted in the imposition of a flat-rate tax on the Jewish population in 1581 in the amount of 30 thousand florins (Polish złote).<sup>37</sup> Subsequent Sejms confirmed taxes imposed on Jews in the form of lump sums, while also increasing

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Altogether the number of Jews at the end of the fifteenth century would apparently have been between 10,000 and 15,000 persons"; quot. from: idem, *The Jews of Poland*, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Z. Guldon, W. Kowalski, *The Jewish Population of Polish Towns in the Second Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, [in:] *Studies in the History of the Jews in Old Poland*, pp. 67–81 (esp. p. 77–81); eidem, *Ludność żydowska w miastach polskich w II połowie XVII w.*, [in:] *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza*, pp. 485–496; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim*, pp. 64–65; comp. to: Z. Guldon, *Ludność żydowska w miastach małopolskich i czerwonoruskich w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] idem, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku. Studia i materiały*, Kielce 1990, pp. 87–108; idem, *Ludność żydowska w miastach województwa sandomierskiego w II połowie XVII w.*, *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1982, no. 3–4 (123/124), pp. 17–29. For more on head tax registers see: I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 192–196; R. Rybarski, *Skarb i pieniądz za Jana Kazimierza, Michała Korybuta i Jana III*, Warsaw 1939, pp. 189–195; J. Kleczyński, *Poglówne generalne w Polsce i oparte na niem popisy ludności*, „*Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny*”, II, vol. 5 (30), 1894, pp. 33–61.

<sup>31</sup> Quot. from: I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, p. 146.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. M.J. Wiczerki, *Demograficzne aspekty osadnictwa żydowskiego w Polsce w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, *Archiwum ŻIH, Prace magisterskie* [Poznań 1996], sig. 347/210, pp. 14–37. „In the light of the abovementioned practices in the collection of the head tax, it would seem that previous attempts at assessing the Jewish population in the second half of the sixteenth century are baseless”; quot. from: Z. Guldon, *Źródła i metody szacunków*, p. 253. „In practice this means we must question the usefulness of head tax registers for the estimation of the Jewish population. Once it was turned into a lump sum, any basis it could have provided disappears.”; quot. from: Z. Guldon, N. Krikun, *Przyczynki do krytyki spisów ludności żydowskiej z końca XVIII wieku*, *SŻ*, vol. 23, 1978, p. 153; see also: P. Guzowski, *Stan i perspektywy badań nad liczbą ludności Polski w późnym średniowieczu i w początkach epoki nowożytnej*, *PDP*, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 17–22; K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, chap. 1: *Rejestry podatkowe i problem ich wiarygodności badawczej*, pp. 63–81; idem, *Przeszłość przeliczników demograficznych dla szesnastowiecznych źródeł podatkowych*, *PDP*, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 27–52; P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, *PDP*, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 77–93.

<sup>33</sup> For the tally of tax collection universals placed on the Jewish population between 1552 and 1601 see *Sejmy i sejmiki koronne wobec Żydów. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. A. Michałowska-Mycielska, Warsaw 2006, pp. 34–45; see: *uniwersal poborowy sejmu w Warszawie z 1563/1564*, and the next: *sejmu w Piotrkowie z 1565 i z 1567 r.*, *sejmu w Lublinie z 1569 r.*, *sejmu w Warszawie z 1570 r.*, *sejmu elekcyjnego pod Kamieniem z 1573 r.*, *sejmu z 1577 r.*, *sejmu w Warszawie z 1578 r.*, *sejmów zwyczajnych w Warszawie z 1590/1591 i 1593 r.*, *sejmu w Krakowie z 1595 r.*, *w Warszawie z 1598 i 1601 r.*; additionally, the proclamations from 1601 to 1603 underlined that the tax must be paid „by all Jews and each individually [...] one złoty per head [...] not discounting anyone big or small or of the other gender”, see: *uniwersały poborowe sejmu zwyczajnego w Warszawie z 1601 r.*, *sejmu zwyczajnego w Warszawie na rok 1602*, *sejmu zwyczajnego w Krakowie z 1603 r.*, idem, pp. 45–46. Full texts of the proclamations in: *VC*, vol. 2, issue 1 and 2; *VL*, vol. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Sejmy i sejmiki koronne*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, p. 38: *uniwersal poborowy sejmu w Warszawie z 1570 r.*

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, p. 39: *uniwersal poborowy sejmu w Warszawie z 1578 r.*

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, pp. 39–40; *uniwersal poborowy sejmu zwyczajnego w Warszawie z 1581 r.*: „The Jews of the Crown, as in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, nemine prorsus exepcto, must collect thirty thousand złote for the treasurers and stewards, both of the Crown and Lithuania [...] The division of this sum must be such, that Jews of the Crown should be also giving fifteen thousand złote”; comp. J. Kleczyński, *Spisy ludności w Rzeczypospolitej polskiej*, „*Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny*”, II, vol. 5 (30), 1894, pp. 33–61 (esp. pp. 36–37).

their size.<sup>38</sup> Those responsible for tax matters in Jewish communes were “elders”, *seniores (parnassim or roszim)*,<sup>39</sup> who with the help of censors (*szamaim*), distributed the financial burden on individual members of the commune.<sup>40</sup>

It must be stated that fiscal data lends itself to vastly different demographic calculations. Based on the aforementioned sources, the Jewish population in Crown's land in the second half of the sixteenth century is estimated at anywhere between 30,000 and 150,000.<sup>41</sup> The estimates for 1560s and 1570s are from 30,000 to 100,000.<sup>42</sup> A much more accurate estimation method for specific urban centers is based on the number of Jewish houses.<sup>43</sup> It must, however, be stressed that even here there are major discrepancies in scholars' assessments of the number of household members in a home.<sup>44</sup> An additional obstacle in demographic research is the high mobility of the Jews. Inspectors describing the payments from Jews in Międzyrzecz in 1564 emphasize that “It is an inconsistent payment, sometimes it increases,

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<sup>38</sup> See: A. Kaźmierczyk, *Sejmy i sejmiki szlacheckie wobec Żydów w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 13–15; R. Mahler, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce w świetle liczb. Struktura demograficzna i społeczno-ekonomiczna Żydów w Koronie w XVIII w.*, PDP, vol. 1, 1967, p. 132. In 1589 the Sejm in Warsaw ratified that „Both Polish and Lithuanian Jews, as well as those of all constituent nations must, after dividing amongst themselves, pay 25,000 złote for the Ukrainian needs”; *Sejmy i sejmiki koronne*, p. 41 (tax collection universal of the Sejm [Pacification] in Warsaw from 1589). In 1590 the Sejm decreed that „The Jews of the Crown, are liable to deliver, on the day of St. John the Baptist, 20,000 złote to the royal treasurers and provisors”; *ibidem*, p. 42 (tax collection universal of the Sejm in Warsaw in 1590). The Sejm of 1611 decreed that „Every Jew in the Crown [...] must pay forty [40] grosze each [...] disregarding victims and the poor [...]. And if the Jews themselves pay the head tax on time, they will be left alone by all collectors”; *ibidem*, p. 48 (tax collection universal of the Sejm in Warsaw in 1611). The second Sejm of 1613 decided that „All Jews in the Crown must pay 70,000 złote, 40,000 to Lviv and 30,000 to Bydgoszcz. When they pay it, they will be free from any collection from their produce and servants. If they do not, collection of produce and servants will be authorized.”; *ibidem*, p. 50 (tax collection universal of the Sejm in Warsaw in 1613). For wartime levies and obligations to defend cities see M. Horn, *Powinności wojenne Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1978, pp. 12–82; *idem*, *Świadczenia Żydów na rzecz obronności kraju i miast rodzinnych w dawnej Polsce (w XVI i XVII w.)*, Biuletyn ŻIH, 1976, no. 2 (98), pp. 3–17.

<sup>39</sup> I. Schiper, *Wewnętrzna organizacja Żydów w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Żydzi w Polsce odrodzonej*, vol. 1, p. 95; M. Schorr, *Organizacja Żydów w Polsce*, pp. 767–769; *comp.* also: M. Bałaban, *Ustrój kahału w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku* (on the cover, where the content of the volume is given: *Ustrój kahałny w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*), „Kwartalnik Poświęcony Badaniu Przeszłości Żydów w Polsce”, vol. 1, 1912, no. 2, pp. 17–54 (esp. pp. 22–25); see also: P. Fijałkowski, *Senior, starszy*, [in:] *Polski słownik judaistyczny* ([www.jhi.pl/psj/senior\\_starszy](http://www.jhi.pl/psj/senior_starszy), access 7.03.2017); R. Żebrowski, *Parnas*, [in:] *ibidem* ([www.jhi.pl/psj/parnas](http://www.jhi.pl/psj/parnas), access 7.03.2017).

<sup>40</sup> See H. Glejzer, *Życie Żydów w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku na podstawie responsów*, ŻIH archive, MA thesis, sig. 117/51, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Data interpreted by: Z. Guldon, *Źródła i metody szacunków*, p. 253; *idem*, *Osadnictwo żydowskie i liczebność ludności żydowskiej*, p. 149; *idem*, *Osadnictwo żydowskie i liczebność Żydów*, p. 29; Z. Guldon, N. Krikun, *Przyczynki do krytyki spisów*, p. 153; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim*, pp. 63–64; *comp.* to I. Schiper, *Rozwój ludności żydowskiej*, p. 31; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *The Accusation of Ritual Murder in Poland, 1500–1800*, „Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry”, vol. 10 (Jews in Early Modern Poland), pp. 99–101: *The Size of the Jewish Population*; these same estimates are given by: Z. Guldon, W. Kowalski, *Jewish Settlement in the Polish Commonwealth in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, „Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry”, vol. 18 (*Jewish Women in Eastern Europe*), p. 311. Z. Sułowski had distinct estimates, stating that by the end of the [sixteenth] century the Commonwealth had a Jewish population of 300,000 (see *idem*, *Mechanizmy ekspansji demograficznej Żydów w miastach polskich XVI–XIX wieku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe KUL”, vol. 17, 1974, no. 3, p. 95, tab. 1), he later lowered it to 120,000 (*idem*, *Jewish Population Figures for the Polish Territories during the last Millennium*, [in:] *International Conference on the History and Culture of Polish Jews. Abstracts*, Jerusalem 1988, p. 110). *Historia Polski*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1764*, pt. 2: *Od połowy XV w.*, ed. H. Łowmiański, Warsaw 1958, p. 138, states that by the end of the sixteenth century there were over 150,000 Jews in Poland.

<sup>42</sup> “The number of Jews in the 1560s and 1570s can be estimated from 30,000 to no more than 100,000”; *quot.* from: W. Kowalski, *The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, [in:] *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, ed. A. Grosjean, S. Murdoch, Leiden–Boston 2005, p. 64. Z. Guldon and J. Wijaczka estimated that in 1569 and 1578 there were „at least 4,500–7,500 Jews in cities.”; see *idem*, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim*, p. 72; *comp.* also Z. Guldon, W. Kowalski, *The Jewish Population of Polish Towns*, pp. 67–69. T. Czacki states that in 1550 „only 16,589 Jew of both sexes were counted”; see *Rozprawa o Żydach i Karaitach przez T. Czackiego z dodatkiem wiadomości o życiu i pismach autora*, no. 1, Cracow 1860 (Biblioteka Polska, vol. 30), p. 49.

<sup>43</sup> See the Jewish Inventory of 1564.

<sup>44</sup> M.J. Wiczerski, *Demograficzne aspekty osadnictwa żydowskiego*, chap. 3: *Zaludnienie domów*, pp. 22–36; An analysis of the density of Jewish house in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (according to modern scholars) is presented in table 6, where the density varies from 6 to 36 members per household. I. Schiper has a separate (and likely unrealistic) view, that „Polish ghettos, specifically those of larger cities, such as Poznań, Cracow and Lviv, were so packed, that according to some modern studies, a house of 9 to 12 rooms had up to 100 family members in addition to teachers and those only coming in to sleep”; *quot.* from: *idem*, *Rozwój ludności żydowskiej*, p. 28.

sometimes it decreases”.<sup>45</sup> Only thanks to a resolution passed by the Sejm in 1764 was the first census of the Jewish population in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth carried out in 1765.<sup>46</sup>

In the sixteenth century several municipalities in Greater Poland took action in order to expel their Jewish populations. Such attempts were made in 1520 in Międzyrzecz and Skwierzyna.<sup>47</sup> King Sigismund the Old allowed this under the condition that the remaining inhabitants of the cities take upon themselves the burden of the Jewish taxes.<sup>48</sup> Even if the Jewish population left the aforementioned cities, the exodus would have been a rather short one, since in 1532 the Jews from Międzyrzecz and Skwierzyna obtained from the margrave Joachim I from Brandenburg a privilege to visit the fairs in Brandenburg.<sup>49</sup>

Some Greater Polish cities requested the privilege to ban Jews from settling in their lands or owning any property (the so-called *de non tolerandis Judaeis* privilege).<sup>50</sup> In 1578, King Stefan Batory forbade Jews and Scots from settling in the royal town of Kościan;<sup>51</sup> Koźmin was supposed to receive a similar privilege in 1575.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> LWWK 1564, pt. 1, p. 162; comp. with H.-J. Gilomen, *Jüdische Migration in die Städte im Spätmittelalter – „Ganz Israel ist füreinander verantwortlich beim Tragen der Last des Exils”*, [in:] *Migration als soziale Herausforderung*, ed. J. Bahlcke, R. Leng, P. Scholz, Stuttgart 2011, pp. 123–148.

<sup>46</sup> R. Mahler, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce*, pp. 131–180; Ch. Korobkow, *Статистика еврейского населения Польши и Литвы во второй половине XVIII века*, „Еврейская Старина”, vol. 3, 1911, no. 4, pp. 541–562; *Żydzi ziemi łwowskiej i powiatu żydaczowskiego w roku 1765*, elab. F. Bostel, „Archiwum Komisji Historycznej”, vol. 6, 1891, pp. 357–378; *Liczba głów żydowskich w Koronie z Taryf roku 1765*, pub. J. Kleczyński, F. Kluczycki, „Archiwum Komisji Historycznej”, vol. 8, 1898, pp. 388–407; *Spis Żydów z województwa krakowskiego z roku 1765*, pub. A. Czuczynski, „Archiwum Komisji Historycznej”, vol. 8, 1898, pp. 408–427. Text of the resolution „Poglówne żydowskie” accepted during the general confederation in 1764 in: VL, vol. 7, p. 26–29; see also: Sh. Stampfer, *Jews in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century. An Introduction to the Study of the First Jewish Censuses in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1764/1765 and 1784/1785)*, „Kwartalnik Historii Żydów”, 2015, no. 2 (254), pp. 197–202; A. Podraza, *Jews and the Village in the Polish Commonwealth*, [in:] *The Jews in Old Poland 1000–1795*, ed. A. Polonsky, J. Basista, A. Link-Lenczowski, London–New York 1993, pp. 299–321; Z. Guldon, *Uwagi o spisach ludności żydowskiej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, [in:] idem, *Żydzi i Szkoci w Polsce*, pp. 127–144; comp. also: Z. Guldon, L. Stępkowski, *Spis ludności żydowskiej z 1790 r.*, Biuletyn ŻIH, 1986, no. 3–4 (139–140), pp. 123–130; A. Eisenbach, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce w świetle liczb*, KH, vol. 66, 1959, no. 2, pp. 511–520; see also: C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 61–63; *Historia Polski w liczbach: ludność, terytorium*, elab. A. Wyczański et al., Warsaw 1994, p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> A. Kirmiel, *Skwierzyna – miasto pogranicza. Historia miasta do 1945 roku*, Bydgoszcz 2004, p. 49: „The Grand Master brought mercenaries from the Empire for help, who under the leadership of [...] Wolf Schönberg marched to Prussia. Along the way they destroyed two Crown cities, Międzyrzecz and Skwierzyna. Using the fact that they would get allowances from the ruler for their recovery, the inhabitants petitioned the king to expel the Jew”; M. Tureczek, *Międzyrzecz od momentu lokacji miejskiej do przelomu czasów średniowiecznych i nowożytnych*, [in:] *Międzyrzecz – dzieje miasta*, ed. W. Strzyżewski, M. Tureczek, Międzyrzecz 2009, pt. 152: „the Jews were blamed for the fall of the town, and were expelled as punishment”.

<sup>48</sup> MRPS IV/2, no. 12798: „Ex oppido Myedzirzecz iudaei amoverunt, postquam incolae censum ab eis solum in se assumserunt” (see MK 35, pp. 159–160; manuscript online: [pther.eu/MK/035/PL\\_1\\_4\\_1-035\\_0166.html](http://pther.eu/MK/035/PL_1_4_1-035_0166.html) and onwards, access 2.02.2017); MRPS IV/2, no. 12799: „Similes litterae contra iudaeos incolis oppidi Sqwyrzyna concessae sunt” (see MK 35, p. 160; manuscript online: [pther.eu/MK/035/PL\\_1\\_4\\_1-035\\_0167.html](http://pther.eu/MK/035/PL_1_4_1-035_0167.html), access 2.02.2017).

<sup>49</sup> M. Tureczek, *Międzyrzecz od momentu lokacji*, p. 152; A. Kirmiel, *Skwierzyna – miasto pogranicza*, p. 49. For more about Jews in Międzyrzecz in the early sixteenth century, see G. Rutkowska, *Międzyrzecz*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 136 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=mi%C4%99dzyszecz&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=mi%C4%99dzyszecz&d=7&t=1), access 28.02.2017), and for more on Jews in Skwierzyna see K. Górka-Gołaska, *Skwierzyna*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. IV, p. 518 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=skwierzyna&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=skwierzyna&d=7&t=1), access 28.02.2017).

<sup>50</sup> See: J. Heyde, *Polemics and Participation: Anti-Jewish Legislation in the Polish Diet in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century and its Political Context*, [in:] *Religion in the Mirror of Law. Eastern European Perspectives from the Early Modern Period to 1939*, eds. Y. Kleinmann, S. Stach, T.L. Wilson, Frankfurt am Main 2016, pp. 3–20; J. Goldberg, *De non tolerandis Iudeis. On the Introduction of the Anti-Jewish Laws into Polish Towns and the Struggle against them*, [in:] *Studies in Jewish History Presented to Prof. Raphael Mahler on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Sh. Yeivin, Marhavia 1974, pp. 39–52; comp. also P. Fijałkowski, R. Żebrowski, *De non tolerandis judaeis*, [in:] *Polski słownik judaistyczny* ([www.jhi.pl/psj/de\\_non\\_tolerandis\\_judaeis](http://www.jhi.pl/psj/de_non_tolerandis_judaeis), access 7.03.2017).

<sup>51</sup> LWWK 1628, pt. 1, p. 66: „The residents of this town showed a privilege from the presently ruling His Royal Highness de data Varsaviae in conventu Regni generali die 6 mensis Octobris a. 1597, in which inherendo Stephani regis DN privilegio de data Varsaviae in conventu Regni generali die 7 mensis Martii 1578 allowed them to not suffer Jews or Scots in this town, enabling the local possessors of the starosta’s district to help them if a Jew or Scot wanted to suum fiere [s] domicilium”; see MK 118, ff. 268v–269v (manuscripts online: [pther.eu/MK/118/PL\\_1\\_4\\_1-118\\_0543.html](http://pther.eu/MK/118/PL_1_4_1-118_0543.html) and onwards, access 24.02.2017). The claim of a synagogue in Kościan in 1529 (Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Kielce 1995, p. 65) or of a kehilla (idem, *Skupiska i gminy żydowskie w Polsce*, p. 175) is not supported by the source (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, manuscript no. 68, f. 149). Father Z. Ciepluch, *Z przeszłości ziemi kościańskiej*, Kościan 1929, p. 10, states

At the turn of the 1590s, an influx of Jews to Wschowa, most likely from Głogów, caused the local authorities to attempt to expel them. On 22 April 1592, king Sigismund III Vasa ordered their exile, and instructed Waclaw Kielczewski, the starosta of Wschowa, to execute this and prevent any potential Jews from settling within or even outside the town's walls. The starosta, who was in conflict with many of the local authorities, and who also benefited from the settlement of the Jewish population, ignored the order, prompting further action from the Wschowa magistracy. On 3 July 1592, the king issued Wschowa the *de non tolerandis Judaeis* privilege.<sup>53</sup> Appeals from both sides (the magistracy of the town and the Jewish population) to the gord court, petitions from the Jews to the King and attempt of the local authorities to cut the Jews off from food sources and water led to violent confrontations between the Jews and the townspeople.<sup>54</sup> Ultimately on 7 December 1594, the court under the King's guidance, ruled that the Jews were to leave, which they did by the end of June 1595.<sup>55</sup> Some of them relocated to the nearby Dębowa Łąka, from which they were also expelled a few years later.<sup>56</sup>

In 1594 Sigismund III forbade Jews from acquiring new buildings or squares in Kcynia.<sup>57</sup>

Besides royal bans on Jewish settlers in some Greater Polish cities, there were also cases of rulers allowing for their migration into new cities. In 1564, Sigismund Augustus allowed them to move into Koło.<sup>58</sup> In 1593, Jews from Poznań were given permission to settle in the nearby Stanisławów, which gained a town charter in 1562.<sup>59</sup> However, by 1599 the town was abolished and annexed by the growing Poznań and turned into the suburb of Łacina.<sup>60</sup>

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that "There were no Jews in Kościan until 1778, and in 1811, with the magistrate's permission, there were 13. The partitioning powers led them here, and they left with them too". For more on the first mention of Jews in Kościan see footnote 24.

<sup>52</sup> Z. Guldon and J. Wijaczka (eidem, *Skupiska i gminy żydowskie w Polsce*, p. 179) state that in 1575 Koźmin received the *de non tolerandis Judaeis* privilege and reference A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden* p. 542, which has no mention of this.

<sup>53</sup> J. Morgensztern, *Regestry z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1588–1632)*, Biuletyn ŻIH, 1964, no. 51, p. 61, point 9: "Sigismund III, at the request of representatives from Wschowa, grants the town the *de non tolerandis Judaeis* privilege, also banning Jews from living in the surrounding areas, as well as any territories belonging to the court not falling under the town's jurisdiction".

<sup>54</sup> For more on this subject see Sobczak, *Żydzi*, pp. 74–77; A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden*, pp. 398–400; comp. also: D. Czwojdrak, *Żydowskie osadnictwo na ziemi wschowskiej od XV do XVIII w.*, [in:] *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, ed. P. Klinta, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa–Leszno 2009, pp. 82–85; Nowakowski, *Wschowa*, pp. 129–130; *Stan Miasta J.K. Mci Wschowy Pod Słodkim Panowaniem Nayiasniejszego Stanisława Augusta Krola Miłościwego [...]*, Leszno 1783, pp. 35–36.

<sup>55</sup> Sobczak, *Żydzi*, p. 77.

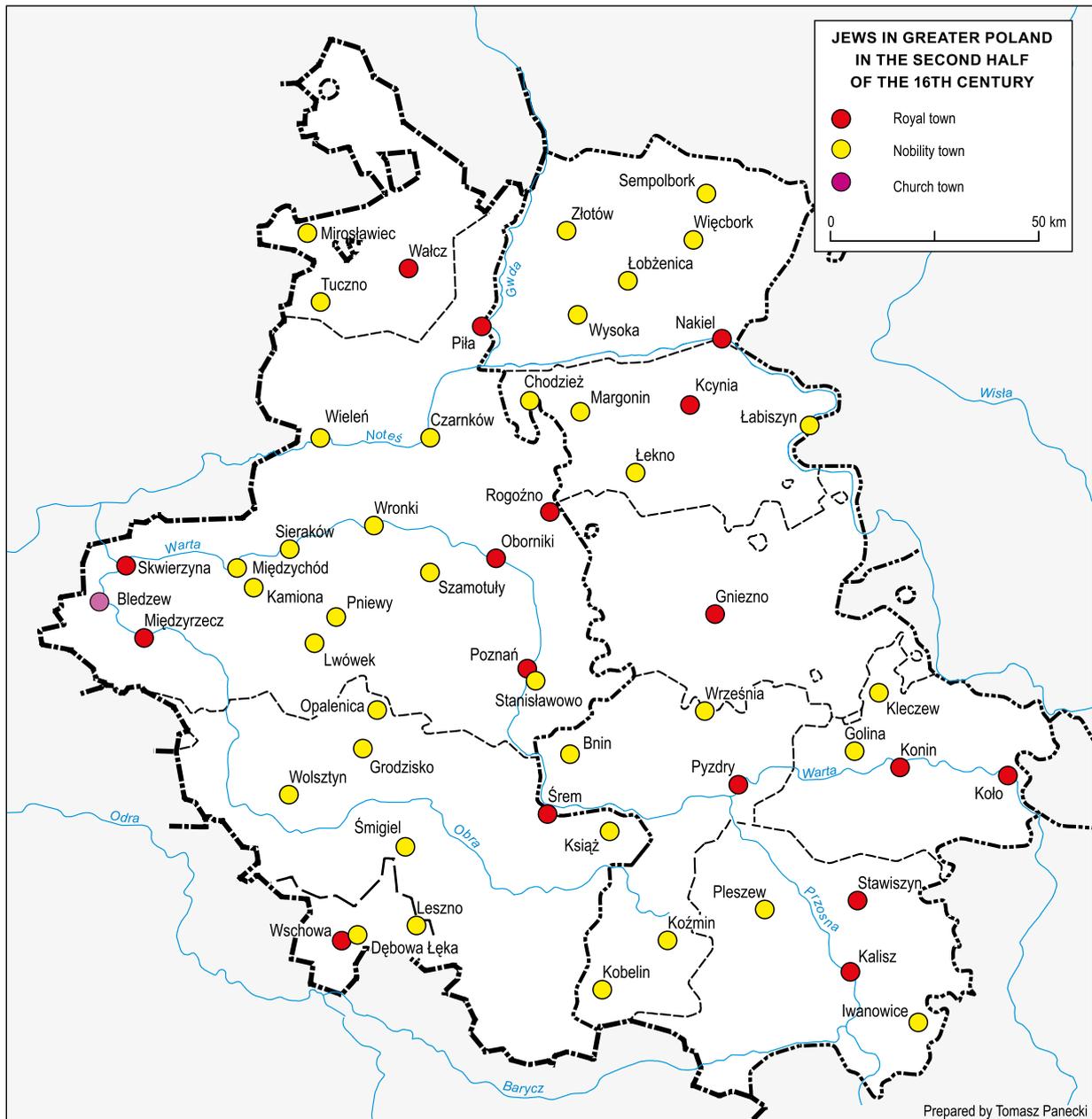
<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, p. 78 and footnote 23.

<sup>57</sup> M. Horn, *Regesty dokumentów i ekscerpty z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1697–1795)*, vol. 2: *Rządy Stanisława Augusta (1764–1795)*, pt. 1: 1764–1779, Wrocław 1984, no. 114: „17 June 1765, Warsaw. Stanisław Augustus confirmed the privileges given to the inhabitants of Kcynia, including the one given by Sigismund III on 12 February 1594. In it, after listening to their complaints about the Jews and Scots who hampered their trade, the King forbade the Jews from acquiring any new buildings or sites. He also forbids Jews from hiring servants and renting to tenants. On market days they must sell their produce only from their own houses, and they may not offer salt, fish, mead and any other liquor, as well as bread and grain, both in public and private. They must slay their cattle not in front of their houses, but outside the town. They must bear all burdens of the town along with its other inhabitants. This privilege granted by Sigismund III in 1594 was confirmed subsequently by Władysław IV in Warsaw on 30 April 1633, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki in Cracow on 20 November 1669, Jan III in Warsaw on 29 April 1683, and Augustus II in Warsaw on 3 March 1731. Augustus II also added a ban on the sale of liquor by Jews and anyone who was not a brewer”.

<sup>58</sup> M. Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz dotyczący Żydów w dawnej Polsce na źródłach archiwalnych osnuty (1388–1782)*, Warsaw 1910 [1911], no. 82: "The King [Sigismund Augustus] grants the Jews of Koło the privilege to trade and earn just as the other inhabitants, as they also bear the burdens and taxes"; ibidem, no. 533: "King Sigismund Augustus allows the Jews to live in the town of Koło, trade wholesale and retail, with the exception of mead, and orders that they share the taxes with the Christian inhabitants"; MK 96, f. 273–273v (manuscript online: pther.eu/MK/096/PL\_1\_4\_1–096\_0554.html and onwards, access 23.03.2017); MRPS V/2, no. 9337. The Jewish population of Koło is mentioned in 1432 (see footnote 19), but the absence of Koło in the Taxa from 1507 suggests that they may have left the town in the late fifteenth century and returned in the middle of the sixteenth century.

<sup>59</sup> M. Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz dotyczący Żydów*, no. 203: „The privilege, at the request of the Jews of Poznań, to live in the town of Stanisławów, due to a lack of space in Poznań”; see. MK 138, ff. 131–134 (manuscript online: pther.eu/MK/138/PL\_1\_4\_1–138\_0266.html and onwards, access 13.03.2017).

<sup>60</sup> See T. Jurek, *Stanisławowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, pt. IV, p. 634 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=stanis%C5%82a-wow-o&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=stanis%C5%82a-wow-o&d=7&t=1), access 13.03.2017); Szczygieł, p. 331.



**Map 3. Jews in Greater Poland in the second half of the 16th century**

“The revised inventory of Jews from the Voivodeships of Greater Poland mentioned above or the tax that Jews had to pay the king’s treasury annually written by inspectors” is dated to 1564.<sup>61</sup> This source created during the inspection of the voivodeships of Greater Poland and Cuyavia in 1564–1565 contains not only tax data, but also some information on Jewish agglomeration in Greater Poland. In it, 13 cities are mentioned (of which Wronki fell under the purview of the nobility): six from the Kalisz Voivodeship (Gniezno, Kalisz, Kcynia, Koło, Pzdry and Nakło) and seven from the Poznań Voivodeship (Poznań, Wronki, Międzyrzecz, Śrem, Skwierzyna, Rogoźno and Piła). The records’ order reflects the sizes of the Jewish populations in the mentioned centers (number of houses), while the amount paid show us the prosperity of the communities (e.g., Nakło and Pzdry had four Jewish households each, but paid more than Koło, which had nine while Międzyrzecz paid twice as much as Śrem, despite having the same number of houses).

<sup>61</sup> Inw. Żydów, pp. 271–273, comp. also scans of the manuscript online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0609.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0609.htm) and onwards, access 16.03.2017; see also Rybarski, *Handel*, pp. 223–227.

The Jewish community in Poznań was without a doubt one of the largest and wealthiest in the entire Crown. In the fifteenth century, most of the Jewish population lived on Mała Żydowska (Little Jewish) Street. The migration intensified in the mid-fifteenth century, when clothiers and tailors pushed Jews out of Sukiennicza (Clothier) Street. Before the fire of 1464, the Jewish inhabitants controlled most of the properties at the rear of Wielka (Large) Street, Szewska (Cobbler) Street and part of the quarter on Sukiennicza.<sup>62</sup>

The second half of the sixteenth century was a period of prosperity and growth for the commune of Poznań. Between the mid-sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries, the percentage of Jewish houses to other houses grew from 21.7% to 36%; it is also accepted that the number of Jews increased from 1,500 in 1590 to 2,000 in 1618.<sup>63</sup>

In 1556 an agreement was reached that allowed for Jewish ownership of 49 houses.<sup>64</sup> Two years later the authorities of the town and the commune reached another one, permitting for a total of 83 Jewish houses.<sup>65</sup>

This increase was not even halted by the fire of 1590 that ravaged the Jewish quarter, since the “Rejestr domów i kamienic szlacheckich” (The register of houses and tenement houses belonging to the nobility) dating to 1613 mentions “there are 147 Jewish houses and tenement houses in total”.<sup>66</sup>

There exists an exceptional source from October 1619, “Rewizja mieszkań żydowskich w Poznaniu” (The Audit of the Jewish houses in Poznań), which lists the name of the owner, the number of rooms and their landlords and the number of occupants. This royal report listed 3,130 Jews in the Jewish quarter, with 335 living outside of it.<sup>67</sup>

Ignacy Schiper estimated that Jews comprised 11.6% of the urban population of Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>68</sup> Zenon Guldon supposed that in that same period Jews from Greater Poland were “28.6% [...] of Polish Jewry”.<sup>69</sup> Maria Bogucka recognized that “Multiple centers saw a quick increase in the number of Jews; by the first half of the seventeenth century, they were on average 10% of the inhabitants of Greater and Lesser Poland’s cities”.<sup>70</sup>

For the 160 cities and towns of Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century, including 93 in the Kalisz Voivodeship, 67 in the Poznań Voivodeship, 51 had a proven Jewish community. There were 23 in the Kalisz Voivodeship, 28 in the Poznań Voivodeship (see Annex I and Annex II).

In the Kalisz Voivodeship, out of the 16 Crown cities, 7 (44%) had Jewish inhabitants, while only 16 (25%) of the 63 cities belonging to the nobility had Jews. We could not find any mention of Jewish communities in the cities owned by the Church in the Kalisz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>62</sup> Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, p. 180; T. Nożyński, *Żydzi poznańscy w XV w.*, p. 92; comp also A. Michałowska, *Między demokracją a oligarchią. Władze gmin żydowskich w Poznaniu i Swarzędzu (od połowy XVII do końca XVIII wieku)*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 11–12.

<sup>63</sup> D. Tollet, *Ludność żydowska i prawa gmin*, p. 11. D. Tollet also adds that: „It is necessary to reevaluate the estimates based on the data from 1619, that conclude that there were over 700 Jewish families in Poznań”; *ibidem*. See in this edition: P. Dembiński, *Poznań settlement complex*, footnotes 78 and 79 (III.6.24.4).

<sup>64</sup> *Concessio perpetua quadraginta novem domorum in civitati Posnaniensi consistentium Judaeis civitatis censibus annuis de praedictis domibus in praetorium Posnaniense pendi ac solvi solitis salvis manentibus*, print [in:] *Русско-еврейский архивъ. Документы и материалы для истории евреевъ въ Россіи*, vol. 3: *Документы къ истории польскихъ и литовскихъ евреевъ (1365–1569)*, elab. С.А. Бершадский, С.-Петербургъ 1903, no. 160, pp. 225–227; MK 90, f. 69v–70v (manuscript online: [pther.eu/MK/090/PL\\_1\\_4\\_1-090\\_0109.html](http://pther.eu/MK/090/PL_1_4_1-090_0109.html) and onwards, access 23.03.2017).

<sup>65</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny miasta Poznania w dawniejszych czasach*, vol. 1, Poznań 1838, pp. 77–78: „They were given four empty lots but were prohibited from living in the town’s towers”.

<sup>66</sup> *Rejestr kamienic i domów szlacheckich, z których właściciele zalegają z płaceniem szosu, uchwalonego na sejmie w 1613 r.*, [in:] *Opisy i lustracje Poznania z XVI–XVIII wieku*, pub. M.J. Mika, Poznań 1960, pp. 54–55.

<sup>67</sup> *Rewizja mieszkań żydowskich w Poznaniu*, [in:] *Opisy i lustracje Poznania*, pp. 59–64; A. Teller, *Warunki życia i obyczajowość*, pp. 60–62 and footnote 13, where the author notes that „the conclusion in the source does not line up with the actual tally of the different categories of inhabitants”; Z. Guldon and J. Wijaczka (*idem*, *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan*, p. 152) source the following data: 762 Jewish families totaling 2,263 people. S. Waszak also discusses the living situation in the Jewish district: *Ludność i zabudowa mieszkaniowa miasta Poznania w XVI i XVII w.*, PZ, vol. 9/3, 1953, no. 9–12, pp. 112–113.

<sup>68</sup> I. Schiper, *Rozwój ludności żydowskiej*, p. 29.

<sup>69</sup> Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo żydowskie i liczebność ludności żydowskiej*, p. 154; *idem*, *Osadnictwo żydowskie i liczebność Żydów*, p. 36.

<sup>70</sup> M. Bogucka, *Miasta a życie polityczne w Polsce XVI–XVII w.*, [in:] *Władza i społeczeństwo w XVI i XVII w. Prace ofiarowane Antoniemu Mączakowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warsaw 1989, p. 43.

In the Poznań Voivodeship, there is also a predominance of Crown cities: nine out of 16 (56%) had a confirmed Jewish population in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Much more of the nobility's cities have confirmed Jewish communities than in the Kalisz Voivodeship: 18 out of 38 (47%). One of the 13 clerical cities had a confirmed Jewish population (Bledzew, property of the Cistercians).

In total, one of two Crown cities (16 out of 32) had a Jewish community. This ratio was much smaller in those owned by the nobility (34 out of 101 – 34%). Out of 26 cities owned by the clergy (Church) in Greater Poland, only one was inhabited by Jews in the second half of the sixteenth century.

## ANNEX I

### THE LIST OF CITIES IN THE KALISZ VOIVODESHIP WITH A CONFIRMED JEWISH POPULATION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

#### **Bnin:**

- 1565: „Ab Iudeis undecem fl. 11” (RPWK, pzd, 1565; ASK I 13, f. 073v);
- 1577: „Item Zid ze Bnina fl. 3” (RPWK, pzd, 1577; ASK I 11, p. 412);
- 1578 [3 Decembris]: „Item od zýda ze Bnyna fl. 3” (ASK I 11, p. 626);
- 1579: „Item od czterech Zýdow nędznikow po zlotemu” (ASK I 13, f. 768v).

#### **Chodzież:<sup>71</sup>**

- 1564: „Qu[attu]or Iudaeis floreni qu[attu]or” (RPWK, kcn, 1564; ASK I 12, f. 571);
- 1565: „Iudaeis quator” (RPWK, kcn, 1565; ASK I 4, f. 219);
- 1576: „Iudei ex oppidis: Chodziesz fl. 5” (RPWK, kcn, 1576; ASK I 12, f. 660v);
- 1577: [Żydzi] „s Chodzieza flor. 7” (RPWK, kcn, 1577; ASK I 13, f. 211);
- 1578: „Zýdzý s Chodzieza fl. czternasczie” (RPWK, kcn, 1578; ASK I 4, f. 353v);
- 1579: „Item od Zidow fl. 22” (RPWK, kcn, 1579; ASK I 4, f. 377).

#### **Gniezno:<sup>72</sup>**

- 1564: „There are 22 Jewish tenement houses and houses in Gniezno. Jews rent five houses from Christians; they have a schoolhouse and synagogue. Each year they give a tax of 40 fl. in moneta to the king. Andrzej from Gorka, the starosta of Gniezno, collected it from them every year”,<sup>73</sup>
- 1565: „A Iudeis Gnesnen[sibus] fl. 98” (RPWK, gzn, 1565; ASK I 13, f. 803v);
- 1579: „Iudei Gnesnen[ses] numero 110 contributioni publicam pro anno presenti solverunt fl. 100” (RPWK, gzn, 1579; ASK I 3, f. 380v).

#### **Golina:**

- 1548<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> The first mentions of Jacob, a Jew who owned a house and garden, come from the Chodzież town books from the years 1551 and 1553; in 1575, the brothers Marek and Josek are named, and in 1601, there are mentions of Josek and Joskowa, and well as Icek and Szymon; S. Chmielewski, *Od lokacji miasta do połowy XVII wieku (1434–1654)*, [in:] *Dzieje Chodzieży*, ed. S. Chmielewski. Chodzież 1998, pp. 50–51. Chmielewski estimates that by the end of the sixteenth century, Chodzież had a Jewish community of around 100; *ibidem*, p. 48. The hearth tax register from 1635 lists 28 Jewish houses in Chodzież; see *Hearth tax 1635*, f. 79. There was a total of 218 buildings in Chodzież, of which 13% were Jewish.

<sup>72</sup> J. Topolski recognized that for the second half of the sixteenth century in Gniezno “presuming the Jewish community counted 600 people is not an overestimation”; *Dzieje Gniezna*, p. 271. In his text M. Zwierzykowski refers to Topolski's calculation; see M. Zwierzykowski, *Mieszkańcy*, [in:] *Dzieje Gniezna – pierwszej stolicy Polski*, ed. J. Dobosz, Gniezno 2016, p. 251; comp. to A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, Posen 1918, pp. 130–133; O.M. Przybyłowicz, „*Wolno będzie Żydom mieć okna szklane, w tych jednak żeby nieotworzyste...*”. *O współistnieniu konwentu klarysek z gminą żydowską w Gnieźnie w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Cum gratia et amicitia. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa dedykowane Pani Profesor Marcie Młynarskiej-Kaletynowej z okazji 65-lecia działalności naukowej*, ed. D. Adamska, K. Chrzan, A. Pankiewicz, Warsaw–Wrocław 2017, pp. 313–325.

<sup>73</sup> Inw. Żydów, p. 272 (manuscript online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0612.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0612.htm) and onwards, access 16.03.2017).

<sup>74</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 62.

### **Iwanowice:**

- 1544<sup>75</sup>

### **Kalisz:**

- 1563: „Calis iudei ex ibidem. Ad dominum Marszewski remissi a personis 56 non solverunt” (RPWK, kls, 1563; ASK I 11, p. 783);
- 1563: „Iudei Calissienses non solverunt fl. 56 [numbers crossed out – J.S.] quinquaginta sex iuxta regestrum personarum tantum ad rationem dederunt fl. 100” (RPWK, kls, 1563; ASK I 11, p. 767);
- 1564: „There are 18 Jewish houses in Kalisz along with a schoolhouse and synagogue. They pay a tax to the king every year on Saint Martin’s Day through their elders pro tempore existentibus in Gniezno in the amount of 14 fl. Earlier they paid more but now they give less because six wealthy Jews were killed in Oleśnica when they were traveling from the Silesian Wrocław”;<sup>76</sup>
- 1565 [entry made on 25 V 1566 r. – J.S.]: „A Judeis fl. 89” (RPWK, kls, 1565; ASK I 13, f. 121);
- 1576: „13 Augusti perfidi Iudei Calissienses solverunt fl. 90” (RPWK, kls, 1576; ASK I 12, f.603v);
- [1577]:<sup>77</sup> „Iudei Calisienses solverunt contributionem alias poglowne fl. 110” (RPWK, kls, 1564; ASK I 13, f. 189v);
- 1579: „A centum triginta Iudeis, defalcando 40 pauperes qui a solutione eiusmodi sunt exempti fl. 130” (RPWK, kls, 1579; ASK I 12, f. 725);
- 1591: „Et eiusdem contributionis de domibus spiritualium, quorundem nobilium et aliquorum Iudeorum retenta esse quinquaginta quattuor fl. et gr. tredecem dixerunt eademque domus de quibus eadem contributio retenta est in in [!] retentis porrexerunt” (RPWK, kls, 1591; ASK I 11, p. 1631).

### **Kcynia:<sup>78</sup>**

- 1564: „A Judeis kezynen[sibus] fl. 31” (RPWK, kcn, 1564; ASK I 12, f. 586);
- 1564: „There are Jewish houses in Kcynia [empty space, the number was omitted – J.S.] with their own schoolhouse and synagogue. They paid a tax of fl. 12 to the king annually through their elders pro tempore existentibus in Gniezno, but they year before they paid 10 fl. 15 gr.”;<sup>79</sup>
- 1565: „A iudeis kezinen[sibus] fl. 31” (RPWK, kcn, 1565; ASK I 4, f. 236);
- 1576: „Iudei ex oppidis: Kczinia fl. 9” (RPWK, kcn, 1576; ASK I 12, f. 660v);
- 1577: „Żydzÿ Kczinsczÿ fl. 12” (RPWK, kcn, 1577; ASK I 13, f. 211);
- 1578: „Żydzÿ Kczinsczÿ fl. osmnasczie” (RPWK, kcn, 1578; ASK I 4, f. 353v);
- 1579: „Od Żydow fl. 20” (RPWK, kcn, 1579; ASK I 4, f. 378).

### **Kobylin:**

- 1578: „From Kobylin I took 5 florins from 5 Jews” (RPWK, pzd, 1578; ASK I 11, p. 626).

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<sup>75</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>76</sup> Inw. Żydów, p. 272 (manuscript online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0611.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0611.htm), access 16.03.2017). “In Kalisz, in the first half sixteenth century (before 1540), there were six houses and a school (synagogue)”; quot. from: M. and K. Piechołkowie, *Krajobraz z memorą*, p. 33; H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Kaliszu*, p. 171: “during the reign of Sigismund the Old, Jews were allowed to have 6 houses in the city”; see U. Sowina, T. Związek, T. Panecki, *Kalisz in the middle of the sixteenth century* in this volume III.6.13.4.

<sup>77</sup> The register bears the date 1564 on it and was included in the RPKW under this year; however, the conducted query placed the date at 1577; see M. Słoń, *Written Sources* [in:] in AHP Greater Poland, in this edition II.1.4.

<sup>78</sup> In 1559, the Jews of Kcynia were accused of murdering a Christian child for ritualistic reasons; see Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce*, p. 68; F. Mincer, *Dzieje Kcyni do 1772 r.*, [in:] *Dzieje Kcyni i okolic*, ed. W. Jastrzębski, Kcynia 1993, p. 43; A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden*, p. 376. The 1635 tribute records name 20 Jewish houses in Kcynia; see Podymne (Hearth tax) 1635, f. 79; in 1635 there were 186 houses in Kcynia, with 11% belonging to Jews.

<sup>79</sup> Inw. Żydów, f. 273 (manuscript online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0613.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0613.htm), access 16.03.2017).

### **Koło:**<sup>80</sup>

- 1564: „There are 9 Jewish houses in Koło, and the tenth is a school building; they pay an annual tax of 5 fl. to the king on Saint Martin’s Day through their elders in Gniezno”,<sup>81</sup>
- 1564: „A Iudeis fl. 31 gr. 12” (RPWK, knn, 1564; ASK I 5, f. 804);
- 1565: „A Iudeis eiusdem civitatis quorum numero sunt quadraginta personae una cum pauperibus fl. 30” (RPWK, knn, 1565; ASK I 13, f. 29v);
- 1579: „Iudei Colen[ses] ratione personarum, quorum numerus est 46 solverunt fl. triginta” (RPWK, knn, 1579; ASK I 13, f. 253).

### **Konin:**

- 1579: „Iudeus de tribus personis respectu paupertatis solvit fl. unum” (RPWK, knn, 1579; ASK I 13, f. 253).

### **Koźmin:**

- 1546/1547: The Jew Jakub Łysy from Koźmin.<sup>82</sup>

### *Krotoszyn.*<sup>83</sup>

### *Kórnik.*<sup>84</sup>

### **Łabiszyn:**

- 1564: „A Iudeis Labiszyn fl. 16” (RPWK, kcn, 1564; ASK I 12, f. 586);

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<sup>80</sup> The town books of Koło lists the Jews Szymon and Jakub in 1551; see AGAD, collection 445, Księga miasta Koła 1, sig. 1/445/0/-/1, f. 2 (searcharchives.pl/1/445/0/-/1/skan/full/7s85QBJf\_PIVRoC0YyPhSQ, access 23.06.2017).

<sup>81</sup> Inw. Żydów, p. 272 (manuscript online: agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\_4\_0\_7\_5\_0611.htm and onwards, access 16.03.2017); The inspection of 1616-1620 in Koto listed 24 Jewish houses; LWWK 1616, p. 329; while the inspection of 1628-1632 listed 20 Jewish houses: “Item from houses, as many as there are settled, of which there were 209, but now there is only 138, 7 of the nobility, 20 Jewish, from each 1 gr 3 den. should be given. Facit fl. 5/11”; quot. from: LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 100.

<sup>82</sup> The bills from Poznań from 1546/1547 mention the Jew Jakub Łysy from Koźmin; quot. from: A. Warschauer, *Aus den Posener Stadtrechnungen, besonders des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Posen [1905], p. 4 [separate print from „Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen”, vol. 20, 1905, issue 2]; A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden*, p. 542.

<sup>83</sup> There is no consensus in the scholarship as to when the first Jews came to Krotoszyn; the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth are all mentioned. For example: Sh.L. Kirshenboim sets the date in the fourteenth century (without naming any sources): „The Jewish community was established in the fourteenth century, and by virtue of an ancient privilege allowing the Jews to trade, engage in crafts, and build houses, the community prospered”; idem, *Krotoszyn*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 12, p. 373. H. Berger points to the end of the fifteenth century as the time when Jewish merchants and craftsmen settled in Krotoszyn: „Es ist anzunehmen, daß sich bereits gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts jüdische Kaufleute und Handwerker in Krotoschin niedergelassen und etwa im 16. Jahrhundert eine eigene Gemeinde gebildet haben”; idem, *Geschichte der Juden in Krotoschin*, Krotoschin 1907, p. 3. Referencing the fact that in 1423 the Jewish commune in Krotoszyn was indebted to the church in Czylcz for 166 talars, A. Heppner and I. Herzberg asserted that the group came „at an early stage”: „Daß in Krotoschin sich schon frühzeitig Juden niedergelassen und daselbst ein eingenes Gemeinwesen gebildet haben, geht aus dem Schuldenverzeichnis der jüdischen Gemeinde hervor, in welchem vermerkt ist, daß diese seit dem 26. Januar 1423 der kath. Kirche zu Czylcz 166 Tal. und 20 Sgr. Schulde”; eidem, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden*, p. 561. M. Bałaban casts doubt over the 1423 date and points to 1540 as the actual year the loan was in effect: „На раннее поселение евреевъ въ Кротошыне есть указание въ книгѣ долговѣ общины; въ 1423 г. она была должной католической церкви въ Чильць 166 талеровъ. Дата подвергается сомнѣніямъ, но есть указание на этотъ же долгъ въ 1540 г.”; M. Балабанъ, *Кротошынъ*, [in:] *Еврейская энциклопедія. Сводъ знаній о еврействѣ и его культурѣ въ прошломъ и настоящемъ*, vol. 9, Sankt-Peterburg 1906-1913, p. 876. R. Marciniak assumes that the Jewish commune in Krotoszyn probably existed in the sixteenth century; see *Krotoszyn*, vol. 2: *Historia*, ed. R. Marciniak, Krotoszyn-Poznań 1996, p. 114. *The Jewish Encyclopedia. A Descriptive Records of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, ed. I. Singer, vol. 10, New York-London 1905, p. 144, offers 1617 as the first reference to the Jews, when the city’s first rabbi, Hirsch ben Samson, makes an appearance in the sources; while Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka (eidem, *Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim*, p. 68) proclaim the first mention on Jews in Krotoszyn was in 1674.

<sup>84</sup> “Iacob iudaeo de Curnik” is mentioned in 1505 (see MRPS III, no. 2237 and 2271), in 1507, the Jewish population of Kórnik paid 2 florins (see H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 245). The next mention of Jews comes from 1618 (see *Lustracja domów chrześcijańskich i pomieszczeń zajętych przez Żydów wbrew ugodzie*, 14 III 1618 r., [in:] *Opisy i lustracje Poznania*, p. 56: „A Jew from Kurnik resides in a chamber in the yard”. It is possible that the Jewish population temporarily relocated to the nearby Bnin.

- 1565: „A iudeis Labischinen[sibus] fl. 16” (RPWK, kcn, 1565; ASK I 4, f. 236);
- 1576: „Iudei ex oppidis: Łabiszin fl. 10” (RPWK, kcn, 1576; ASK I 12, f. 660v);
- 1577: [Żydzi] „z Łabÿssina fl. 15” (RPWK, kcn, 1577; ASK I 13, f. 211);
- 1578: „Żydzi łabisczi fl. szesnasczie” (RPWK, kcn, 1578; ASK I 4, f. 353v);
- 1579: „Item od Żydow fl. 20” (RPWK, kcn, 1579; ASK I 4, f. 377v).

#### **Łekno:**

- 1569<sup>85</sup>
- 1571<sup>86</sup>

#### **Łobżenica:**

- 1564 (?):<sup>87</sup> „Judei de Lobzenÿcza fl. 20” (RPWK, nkl, 1564; ASK I 5, 287v);
- 1565: „Judaei de Lobzenicza fl. 20” (RPWK, nkl, 1565; ASK I 5, f. 276);
- 1576: „Lobzenicza 34 zidow fl. 34” (RPWK, nkl, 1576; ASK I 12, f. 668v);
- 1577: „Od Zidow Lobzenica fl. 16” (RPWK, nkl, 1577; ASK I 13, f. 130v);
- 1578: „Żydowie Lobzenicza Ad r[at]i[o]n[e]m personarum 40 fl. 38” (RPWK, nkl, 1578; ASK I 5, f. 833).

#### **Margonin:**

- 1565: „A iudeis Margonin fl. 6” (RPWK, kcn, 1565; ASK I 4, f. 236).

#### **Nakło:**

- 1564: „There are four Jewish houses in Nakło, and they rent the fifth one. Each year they pay a tax of 8 fl. to the king on Saint Martin’s Day through their elders pro tempore existentibus in Gniezno. Sometimes they pay fl. 10. In 1564, they paid 15 fl.”;<sup>88</sup>
- 1564 (?):<sup>89</sup> „Judei Naklen[ses] fl. 12” (RPWK, nkl, 1564; ASK I 5, 287v);
- 1565: „Naklen[ses] Iudei fl. 13” (RPWK, nkl, 1565; ASK I 5, f. 276);
- 1576: „Z Nakła żydzi 7 fl. 7” (RPWK, nkl, 1576; ASK I 12, f. 668v);
- 1577: „Z nakła od zidow poglownego fl. 9” (RPWK, nkl, 1577; ASK I 13, f. 130v);
- 1578: „Nakiel Ad r[at]i[o]n[e]m personarum 20 fl. 12” (RPWK, nkl, 1578; ASK I 5, f. 833);
- 1579: „A iudeis personaru[m] 20 solver[un]t fl. 12” (RPWK, nkl, 1579; ASK I 6, f. 047v).

#### **Pleszew:**

- 1576<sup>90</sup>

<sup>85</sup> M. Bersohn, *Dyplomatarjusz dotyczący Żydów*, no. 118 (1569): „The King [Sigismund Augustus] appoints his courtier Stanisław Olszowski to collect 50 złote from cities that received rent payments from their Jewish populations: Skwirczyna, Wronki, Szamotuły, Gniezno, Kalisz, Sieradz, Władysławów, Pakość, Łobżenica, Nakło, Łekno, Brześć, Kowal, Dobrzyń, Płock, Bielsk, Mława, Ciechanów, Płońsk, Gąbin, Łęczycza, Krośnice, Koło, Kcynia, Nieszawa, Rawa, Września, Pызdry, Rogoźno, Oborniki, Chodecz, Bydgosz i Sochaczew”; MK 107, p. 538 (manuscript online: pther.eu/MK/107/PL\_1\_4\_1-107\_0539.html, access 17.03.2016, dated to 2 May 1570).

<sup>86</sup> MK 110, f. 247: *Pensio Nobilis Iacobi Liessiewski pro Iudeis civitatum inferius descriptorum*, (manuscript online: pther.eu/MK/110/PL\_1\_4\_1-110\_0498.html, access 30.03.2017).

<sup>87</sup> For the dating of the register to 1564, see M. Gochna, *Rejestr poborowy powiatu nakielskiego 1564 r.*, [in:] RPWK, nkl, 1564, Introduction.

<sup>88</sup> Inw. Żydów, p. 272 (manuscript online: agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\_4\_0\_7\_5\_0610.htm and onwards, access 16.03.2017). LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 358: „The Jews did not show any law or contract from the town, which would allow them to live and trade in that town. Of those, who have resided for a long time, and this includes 12 houses, the householder pays to the castle per fl. 4 facit fl. 48. The 4 cotters pay per fl. 2 facit fl. 8. Additionally, each householder and cotter gives one pound of pepper, pound per 10 gr, facit fl. 5/10. Separately with the town all the onera civilia, more aliorum Iudeorum civitates inhabitantium the must bear, although they cannot purchase further housing without the sanction of the town” LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 191: “In the time of last inspection there were 186 houses. Now, there are only 80 occupied, 76 empty, 16 Jewish and a synagogue”.

<sup>89</sup> For the dating of the register for 1564, see M. Gochna, *Rejestr poborowy powiatu nakielskiego 1564*.

<sup>90</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 62. „Jews only appeared in Pleszewo as an organized ethnic group at the turn of the eighteenth century. Before that, Jewish merchants only stayed there temporarily, holding no property and renting no houses”, quot. from: R. Witkowski, *Uwag kilka o dziejach gminy żydowskiej w Pleszewie*, “Rocznik Pleszewski”, 2009, p. 177.

### **Pyzdry:**

- 1564: „There are four Jewish houses in Pyzdry and a fifth schoolhouse. They pay a tax of 4 fl. to the king annually on Saint Martin’s Day through their elders to Gniezno”,<sup>91</sup>
- 1577: „Zidowie s Piszdr. Zidowie zaplaczilÿ dani poborową fl. 20” (RPWK, pzd, 1577; ASK I 11, p. 412);
- 1578 [3 Decembris]: „Wziąłem od zÿdow w Pyszdrach mieszkających fl. 26” (RPWK, pzd, 1578; ASK I 11, p. 626);
- 1579 [26 Novembris]: „Iudaei pisdrenses wzialem od zÿdow w Pyzdrach mięszkaiących fl. 30” (ASK I 13, f. 765v).

### **Sępólno Krajeńskie:**

- 1564(?):<sup>92</sup> „Jacob de Sempelbork a quinque personis taleros duos cum medio fl. 2 gr. 22,5; Marek ex eodem oppido a qu[attu]or personis fl. 3” (RPWK, nkl, 1564; ASK I 5, f. 287v);
- 1565: „Marek de Sempolbork a qu[attu]or personis fl. 3. Jakob de Sempolbork a tribus personis fl. 1 gr. 3” (RPWK, nkl, 1565; ASK I 5, f. 276);
- 1577: „Sempelbork od zidow fl. 5” (RPWK, nkl, 1577; ASK I 13, f. 130v);
- 1578: „Sempelbork Ad r[at]o[ne]m personarum 10 fl. 7” (RPWK, nkl, 1578; ASK I 5, f. 833).

### **Więcbork:**

- 1564 (?):<sup>93</sup> „Ex oppido Wieczbork a quinque personis fl. 3 gr. 15” (RPWK, nkl, 1564; ASK I 5, f. 287v);
- 1565: „Iudaei Jacob de wieczbork a qu[attu]or personis fl. 3 gr. 9” (RPWK, nkl, 1565; ASK I 5, f. 276);
- 1576: „Wieczbork zÿdow 3 fl. 3” (RPWK, nkl, 1576; ASK I 12, f. 668v);
- 1577: „Od Zidow Wieczbork personis 7 fl. 7” (RPWK, nkl, 1577; ASK I 13, f. 130v);
- 1578: „Zÿdowie Wiendzbork Ad r[at]o[ne]m personarum 8 fl. 5” (RPWK, nkl, 1578; ASK I 5, f. 833).

### **Września:**<sup>94</sup>

- 1565: „A Iudeis wrzesn[ensibus] fl. 36” (RPWK, gzn, 1565; ASK I 13, f. 803v);
- 1579: „Iudei ex Wrzasnia numero 75 solverunt contributioni anni presentis fl. 60” (ASK I 3, f. 380v).

### **Wysoka:**

- 1564 (?):<sup>95</sup> „Ex oppido Vÿszoka fl. 1 gr. 3” (RPWK, nkl, 1564; ASK I 5, f. 287v);
- 1578: „Zÿdowie Wissoka fl. 2” (ASK I 5, f. 833).

### **Złotów:**

- 1564 r.(?):<sup>96</sup> „[Judei] Ex oppido Zlothowo fl. 3” (RPWK, nkl, 1564; ASK I 5, f. 287v);
- 1565 r.: „Joachim Bak de zlothowo a tribus personis fl. 2, Abram Złothowo tribus personis fl. 2” (RPWK, nkl, 1565; ASK I 5, f. 276);

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<sup>91</sup> Inw. Żydów, f. 272 (manuscript online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0612.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0612.htm), access 16.03.2017). The inspections from 1616–1620: “There are 7 Jewish houses, in which there are 15 householders and cotters, that is: 7 householders, each one must give 2 pounds of pepper, 8 cotters, each of which much give 1 pound of pepper, pound per 20 gr; facit fl. 14/20. All the Jews must give a pound of saffron, pound valoris fl. 8, facit fl. 8”; quot. from: LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 56.

<sup>92</sup> For the dating of the register for 1564 see M. Gochna, *Rejestr poborowy powiatu nakielskiego 1564 r.*

<sup>93</sup> For the dating of the register for 1564 see *ibidem*.

<sup>94</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 62, gives the year 1538. S. Mazurkiewicz thinks that: “The Jewish commune in Września came to be in the fourteenth century. A synagogue was built to the east of the market square then.”; he also writes: „The middle of the fourteenth century, probably during the city’s establishment, was when the first Jews arrived”. According to him: „The oldest sources that confirm a Jewish presence in Września come from 23 January 1460 and 17 June 1528”, but does not list those sources; see *idem*, *W okresie staropolskim (1256–1793)*, [in:] *Września historia miasta*, ed. M. Torzewski, Września 2006, pp. 65, 77.

<sup>95</sup> For the dating of the register for 1564 see M. Gochna, *Rejestr poborowy powiatu nakielskiego 1564 r.*

<sup>96</sup> For the dating of the register for 1564 see *ibidem*.

- 1578 r.: „Żydowie Zlotowo Ad r[at]o[ne]m personarum 17 fl. 9” (RPWK, nkl, 1578; ASK I 5, f. 833).
- Żerków<sup>97</sup>

## ANNEX II

### THE LIST OF CITIES IN THE POZNAŃ VOIVODESHIP WITH A CONFIRMED JEWISH POPULATION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

#### Bledzew:

- 1543;<sup>98</sup>
- 1563: „Iudei de Miedzirzecz et Bledziow [...] simul fl. 90” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 247v).

#### Czarnków:<sup>99</sup>

- 1567: „Czarnkow iudeus unus pauperimus. Ex sorte magnifici domini castellani Szremski dedit fl. 1” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v).

#### Dębowa-Łąka:

- 1595-1599.<sup>100</sup>

#### Grodzisk:<sup>101</sup>

- 1513: „Data est libertas 2 annorum ab exactionibus et contributionibus iudaeis in oppido Grodzysko residentibus”;<sup>102</sup>
- 1563: „Iudei ex Grodzisko fl. 26” (ASK I 4, f. 212v);
- 1566: „Item Iudei eiusdem oppidi [Grodzisko] solverunt fl. 28” (RPWP, ksc, 1565; ASK I 4, f. 293v);
- 1567: „Iudaei [...] Ex Grodzisko 21 junii contributionem S[acrae] R[egiae] M[ai]s[t]ris dederunt in moneta fl. 15” (RPWP, ksc, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 392);
- 1576: „Iudaei eiusdem oppidi solverunt a 24 capitibus fl. 15 in moneta” (RPWP, ksc, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 603);
- 1577: „Die 18 Octobris, Felix et Jdzko Iudaei de Grodzisko suo et aliorum omnium nominibus ad rationem capitum ibidem degentium contributionis regni dederunt fl. 24” (ASK I 5, f. 759v).

#### Kamionna:<sup>103</sup>

- 1563: „Item Iudei ex eadem Camiona Augustii 11 fl. 7” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 246);
- 1567: „Iudei in Kamiona numeraverunt fl. 4” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v);

<sup>97</sup> According to Father M. Łukaszewicz: „Only after being reauthorized by Władysław Jagiełło did the Jews rebuild their quarter and, on the ruins of the old synagogue, raised a new one, which had lasted until our times, until 14 August 1861, when it was consumed by the flames of the fire in Żerków. [...] Twenty years ago the deceased rabbi ben Abram, who was their 35<sup>th</sup> rabbi told me, that their cemetery had a few tombstones that sank deep into the ground and had inscriptions 600 years old, as they were from the year 5029”; idem, *Strażnica Ostrów i miasto Żerków*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>98</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 60 (*Bledzewe*). There is no information on the Jewish population in Bledzew until the mid-sixteenth century; see K. Górską-Gołaską, *Bledzew*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 57–58 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=16024](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=16024), access 12.06.2017).

<sup>99</sup> There is no information on the Jewish population in Czarnków until the mid-sixteenth century; see K. Górską-Gołaską, *Czarnków*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 288–289 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=17340](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=17340), access 12.06.2017); eadem, *Czarnków – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 289–295 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=17341](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=17341), access 12.06.2017).

<sup>100</sup> After their exile from Wschowa in 1595, they relocated to Dębowa Łąka. “The town books still mention a Jew from Dębowa Łąka in 1599”; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, p. 78, footnote 23.

<sup>101</sup> The hearth tax register from 1631 lists 26 Jewish houses in Grodzisk (including 4 large houses); see Hearth tax (Podymne) 1631, f. 28v. They constitute 13% of the 204 houses mentioned in the tax register of 1631.

<sup>102</sup> MRPS IV/2, no. 10426.

<sup>103</sup> There is no information on the Jewish population in Kamionna until the mid-sixteenth century; see J. Luciński, *Kamionna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 118–121 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=kamionna&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=kamionna&d=7&t=1), access 20.06.2017).

- 1577: „Die 15 Octobris, Judaei Jozeph Tkać et Abram Bazwieg de oppido Kamiona a capitibus suis uxorum liberorumque suorum 6 solverunt fl. 6” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 740).

**Kościan:**

- 1531.<sup>104</sup>

**Książ:**<sup>105</sup>

- 1563: „Judei ex Książs quorum persone 19 qui et artifices sunt nihil” (ASK I 4, f. 212v).

**Leszno:**

- 1551.<sup>106</sup>

**Lwówek:**

- 1578.<sup>107</sup>

**Międzychód:**

- 1577.<sup>108</sup> „Die 16 Octobris, Marcus Judaeus de Medzireć a persona sua, uxoris, duorum liberorum ac duorum famulorum a singulis capitibus per fl. 1 solvit fl. 6” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 744).

**Międzyrzecz:**

- 1553: „Miedzirzecz oppidum ibidem iudei a focis fl. 12” (RPWP, pzn, 1553; ASK I 5, f. 184);
- 1563: „Judei de Miedzirzecz et Bliedziow [...] simul fl. 90” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 247v);
- 1564: „There are 18 Jewish houses in Międzyrzecz, one school and a synagogue. They pay a tax of 26 fl. to king annually on Saint Martin’s day through their elders in Gniezno; sometimes they pay 30 fl.”;<sup>109</sup>
- 1567: „Miedrzirenczen judei dederunt fl. 70” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v);
- 1570: „Judei de Miedzirzecz poglowia szwego daly fl. 45” (RPWP, pzn, 1570; ASK I 5, f. 415);
- 1576: „Judei ibidem de domibus 3, a capitibus 18 pauperibus solverunt fl. 16. Caeteri conflagrati” (RPWP, pzn, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 556);
- 1577: „Judaei Medzirecenses solverunt fl. 16 caetera igne conflagrata” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 743).

**Mirosławiec (Frydland):**

- 1563: „Friedland item a Iudeis fl. 2” (RPWP, wlc, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 201).

<sup>104</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 60. There is no information on the Jewish population in Kościan until the mid-sixteenth century; see K. Górską-Gołąska, *Kościan*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 342–407 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=ko%C5%9Bcian&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=ko%C5%9Bcian&d=7&t=1), access 25.02.2017); see footnote 24.

<sup>105</sup> There is no information on the Jewish population in Książ until the mid-sixteenth century; see T. Jurek, *Książ*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 527–530 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=ksi%C4%85%C5%BC&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=ksi%C4%85%C5%BC&d=7&t=1), access 22.06.2017).

<sup>106</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 61. There is no information on the Jewish population in Leszno until the mid-sixteenth century; see T. Jurek, *Leszno*. The hearth tax register of 1631 records 27 Jewish houses; see *Hearth tax (Podymne) 1631*, f. 29. They were 8% of the 335 buildings listed.

<sup>107</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 61. There is no information on the Jewish population in Lwówek until the mid-sixteenth century; see J. Luciński, G. Rutkowska, *Lwówek*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 696–708 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=Lw%C3%B3wek&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=Lw%C3%B3wek&d=7&t=1), access 9.06.2017).

<sup>108</sup> There is no information on the Jewish population in Międzychód until the mid-sixteenth century; see J. Luciński, *Międzychód*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, pp. 122–125 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=mi%C4%99dzych%C3%B3d&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=mi%C4%99dzych%C3%B3d&d=7&t=1), access 22.06.2017).

<sup>109</sup> Inw. Żydów, ff. 271–272 (MS online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0610.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0610.htm), access 23.03.2017). LWWK 1564, pt. 1, p. 162: “There are 18 Jewish houses. Each house pays 30 gr, facit fl. 18 and 2 pounds of pepper at 24 gr, [facit] fl. 28 gr 24. All the Jews need to give a stone of olive oil, a pound at 6 gr, [facit] fl. 4 gr 24 and half a pound of saffron of Frankfurt measurment, [facit] fl. 4. Jews, who are cotters and of whom there is 5, pay 15 gr, [facit] fl. 2 gr 15 and a pound of pepper, [facit] fl. 4” LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 5: “There are 27 Jewish houses. From each house they pay a taler, each taler being at fl. 1/6, and two pounds of pepper, pound at 30 gr, facit fl. 57. All these Jews need to give a stone of olive oil, a pound per 7 gr, facit fl. 2/24. Also, half a pound of saffron of Frankfurt measurement valoris fl. 4. Jews who are cotters and of whom there is 8, pay rent at 18 gr and a pound of pepper, pound at 20 gr, facit fl. 10/4”.

### Oborniki:<sup>110</sup>

- 1553: „Obornykÿ oppidum ibidem Iudei tres in una domo manentes et unum focum habentes pauperimi homines fl. 1 solverunt” (RPWP, pzn, 1553; ASK I 5, f. 184);
- 1564: mention of a synagogue;<sup>111</sup>
- 1571.<sup>112</sup>

### Opalenica:<sup>113</sup>

- 1563: „Judei ex Opalienicza fl. 5” (ASK I 4, f. 212v);
- 1576: „Iudaeus Salomon inquilinus in Opalenicza a se ipso, uxore et liberis solvit fl. 2 gr. 15” (RPWP, ksc, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 617);
- 1577: „Die 18 Octobris, Salomon Iudaeus de Opalenicza contributionis publicae solvit fl. 2 gr. 15” (ASK I 5, f. 759).

### Piła:

- 1563: „[...] Iudei ex eadem Piła solverunt fl. 9” (RPWP, ksc, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 246);
- 1564: „There are three Jewish houses in Piła; they have their own synagogue. They pay a tax of 4 fl. 24 gr. annually to the king on Saint Martin’s day through their elders pro tempore existentibus in Gniezno”;<sup>114</sup>
- 1569: „Five Jewish houses and each house pays rent of 1 fl. 22 gr.; 8 fl. 20 gr. Through their elders in Gniezno, they paid a royal tax of 7 ½ fl.”;<sup>115</sup>
- 1578: „Iudaei, Anno 1578 die 10 Martii, Abram Haske, Abram Bagk Iudaei seniores ex oppido Piela suo et aliorum nomine Iudaeorum ad rationem personarum ibi degentium contributionis publice dederunt fl. 10” (ASK I 5, f. 747);
- 1585: Jew Jakub from Piła.<sup>116</sup>

### Pniewy:<sup>117</sup>

- 1563: „Item Iudei eiusdem oppidi [Pniewi] solverunt fl. 19 gr. 10” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 247);
- 1567: „Judei de Pniewi numeraverunt [fl.] 7” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v);
- 1576: „Iudei eiusdem oppidi [Pniewy] in summa solverunt fl. 15. Ratio paupertatis habita” (RPWP, pzn, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 561);
- 1577: „Die 17 Octobris, Abram Sklarz et Jacub Kuchman Iudei seniores suo et aliorum Iudeorum nominibus ad rationem capitum ibi degentium contributionis publicae extradiderunt fl. 18” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 748).

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<sup>110</sup> The hearth tax register of 1631 lists 35 Jewish houses in Oborniki; see *Hearth tax (Podymne) 1631*, f. 30. They were 24% of the 147 buildings listed.

<sup>111</sup> A synagogue is mentioned in 1564: [M.] Maćkowiak, *Kronika miasta powiatowego Oborniki*, Oborniki 1926, p. 9: „The only thing the document says about the Jews is that they already had a synagogue by 1564”; similarly Z. Chodyła, *Czasy nowożytne*, [in:] *Dzieje Obornik*, ed. C. Łuczak, Poznań 1990, p. 66, 75. For earlier mentions of Jews in Oborniki, see G. Rutkowska, *Oborniki*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 355, point 3Ab. ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=oborniki&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=oborniki&d=7&t=1)), access: 25.03.2017).

<sup>112</sup> MK 110, f. 247: *Pensio Nobilis Iacobi Liessiewski pro Iudeis civitatum inferius descriptorum* (manuscript online: [pther.eu/MK/110/PL\\_1\\_4\\_1-110\\_0498.html](http://pther.eu/MK/110/PL_1_4_1-110_0498.html) and onwards, access 9.06.2017).

<sup>113</sup> There is no information on the Jewish population in Opalenica until the mid-sixteenth century; see T. Jurek, *Opalenica*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, pp. 424–427 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=opalenica&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=opalenica&d=7&t=1), access 22.06.2017).

<sup>114</sup> Inw. Żydów, p. 272 (MS online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0610.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0610.htm), access 23.03.2017). LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 139: “Three Jewish houses, each paying a rent of fl. 1 gr 22, facit fl. 5 gr 6”.

<sup>115</sup> LWWK 1569, f. 7v (13v); see K. Górską-Gołąska, *Piła*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 667. ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=21519&q=Piła&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=21519&q=Piła&d=7&t=1), access 25.04.2017).

<sup>116</sup> On 17 November 1585 *Jakub Zyd spilly* is mentioned, see: Rach. kom. cel., sig. C. 11, „Regestr wybierania czła K. Je. Msci na komorze wronieczki A.D. 1585”, f. 3v; *Księga komory celnej we Wronkach z 1585 i początku 1586 roku*, [in:] *Księgi celne Korony z drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, ed. S. Kazusek, Kielce 2017, p. 193.

<sup>117</sup> The first mention of Jews in Pniewy was in 1553; see. G. Rutkowska, *Pniewy*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 697.

### Poznań:<sup>118</sup>

- 1553: „Poznania civitas ibidem Iudei a focus 113 fl. 113” (RPWP, pzn, 1553; ASK I 5, f. 184);
- 1563: „Item Iudei poznanienses, Septembris XIII, contributionum pro eis laudata solverunt fl. 1000” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 243);
- 1564: „There are 50 Jewish tenement houses and houses, in Poznań; there is a house of doctors and three houses for synagogues, where schools and cantors live. Two synagogues, and 43 houses rented from Christians, sometimes more, sometimes less. They pay 200 fl. to the King’s treasury annually”,<sup>119</sup>
- 1567: „Posnanienses iudei dederunt [fl.] 1000” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v);
- 1577: „Die 18 Octobris, Seniores Iudaei Posnanienses nomine suo et aliorum omnium Iudaeorum nominibus in civitate degentium contributionis anno presenti laudate ad ratione capitum seu personarum Iudaicarum dederunt fl. 850” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 736).

### Rogoźno:

- 1563: „Ibidem [Rogozno] a iudeis fl. 15” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 248);
- 1564: „There are five Jewish houses in Rogoźno and a schoolhouse. They pay a tax to the king annually through their elders to Gniezno pro tempore existentibus [no amount given – J.S.];<sup>120</sup>
- 1567: „Rogozinenses iudei dederunt pauperes fl. 8” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v);
- 1571.<sup>121</sup>

### Sieraków:

- 1577: „Die 18 Octobris, Iudaei a personis 4 ibi habitantibus ad rationem dederunt fl. 4” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 755).

### Skwierzyna:<sup>122</sup>

- 1553: „Sqwyerzyna oppidum, ibidem iudei a focus 12 [fl.] 12” (RPWP, pzn, 1553; ASK I 5, f. 184);
- 1564: „There are 17 Jewish houses along with a schoolhouse and a synagogue in Skwierzyna. They pay a tax of 15 fl. to the king annually on Saint Martin’s day through their elders pro tempore existentibus to Gniezno”,<sup>123</sup>
- 1567: „Squirzinenses iudei dederunt [fl.] 40” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v);

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<sup>118</sup> In 1578, Poznań payed 1058 florins in Jewish poll taxes; see A. Pawiński, *Skarbowość w Polsce i jej dzieje za Stefana Batorego*, Warsaw 1881 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 8), p. 177. S. Waszak assumes that „the Jewish population within the city walls counted between 1400 and 1700”; idem, *Ludność i zabudowa*, p. 113. For more on the Jewish quarter in Poznań, see also P. Dembiński, *Poznań settlement complex*, in this volume, footnote 78, in this edition III.6.24.4.

<sup>119</sup> Inw. Żydów, p. 271; „They evidenced it with documents and a mandate on parchment with the seal of the late king Sigismund, de data Cracoviae, fer. 4 prox. p. f. Conversionis s. Pauli ap. [27 January], anno 1519, and signed by His Royal Highness, in which he ordered that the Jews of Poznań were not to be taxed more than the sum he had established with them, so that each year they would not pay more than 200 zł in coin, which they were to give to their elders, who in turn would pass it on to Jan Rachemberg, qui illos de eo censu ipso nostro 200 fl. praedictorum quietabit, nos vero eius quietationem suscipiemus. The second mandate of the currently ruling His Royal Highness de data anno 1564, signed by Piotr Miskowski R[egni] P[oloniae] vicecancellarii, orders that with the 200 zł in coin, that must be annually given to the Royal Treasury on the day of St. Martin, exhibitori mandati ad manus numerent atque tradant” (manuscript online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0609.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0609.htm) and onwards, access 16.03.2017).

<sup>120</sup> Inw. Żydów, p. 273 (MS online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0613.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0613.htm), access 23.03.2017); LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 246: „There are 5 Jews, each pays a red złoty per house, fecit fl. 8 gr 20”.

<sup>121</sup> MK 110, f. 247 : *Pensio Nobilis Iacobi Liessiewski pro Iudeis civitatum inferius descriptorum* (manuscript online: [pther.eu/MK/110/PL\\_1\\_4\\_1-110\\_0498.html](http://pther.eu/MK/110/PL_1_4_1-110_0498.html) and onwards, access 8.06.2017).

<sup>122</sup> The hearth tax register of 1631 lists 34 Jewish houses in Skwierzyna; see Hearth tax (Podymne) 1631, f. 32. They were 12% of the 284 buildings listed.

<sup>123</sup> Inw. Żydów, f. 272 (MS online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0610.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0610.htm), access 23.03.2017); LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 167: “Jews pay 30 gr rent from each house, [facit] fl. 17 and 2 pounds of pepper, pound at 24 gr, facit f. 27 gr 6, there are 17 houses. And all need to give a stone of olive oil, pound at 6 gr, [facit] fl. 4 gr 24 and half a pound of saffron, facit fl. 4. There are 5 Jews who are cotters, each pays 15 gr of rent, [facit] fl. 2 gr 15 and a pound of pepper, [facit] fl. 4”; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 14: „There are 23 Jewish houses, [and] each pays a taler, [Start a new sentence here.] each taler is estimated at fl. 1/6, as well as 2 pounds of pepper, the pound at 20 gr [facit] fl. 42/28. All need to give a stone of olive oil valoris fl. 2/24. Also half a pound of saffron of Frankfurt measurement, estimating it at fl. 4. There are 10 Jews, who are cotters. They pay 18 gr of rent and a pound of pepper, pound at 20 gr, facit fl. 12/20”.

- 1570: „Novembris 1, Iudei poglowia szwego dali fl. 20” (RPWP, pzn, 1570; ASK I 5, f. 415v);
- 1576: „Iudei ibidem [Sqwÿerzÿna] in summa solverunt fl. 20, ratio paupertatis habita” (RPWP, pzn, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 566);
- 1577: „Die 16 Octobris, Joachim et Lasarus Iudaei seniores de Squirzina suo aliorumque iudaeorum ibidem degentium nominibus ad rationem personarum contributionis Regni solverunt fl. 30” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 752).

#### **Stanisławowo:**

- 1593.<sup>124</sup>

#### **Szamotuły:**<sup>125</sup>

- 1553: „Exceptis tum iudeis domini Swidwa in Shamotuły” (RPWP, pzn, 1553; ASK I 5, f. 184);
- 1563: „Item Isaac Schot et Isaac Mazur Iudei utriusque domini de utraque sorte a tota communitate Iudeorum in Schamotuli solverunt fl. 60” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 245);
- 1567: „Samothulienses iudei dederunt fl. 70” (RPWP, pzn, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 343v);
- 1576: „Iudei Szamothulienses ex sorte domini castellani Santhocensis solverunt fl. 25. Item ex sorte domini Johannis Swidwa fl. 23” (RPWP, pzn, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 568);
- 1577: „Die 17 Octobris, Jacub Mazur et Jozeph Socha seniores Iudei nomine suo et aliorum contributionis publicae ad rationem personarum ibidem degentium dederunt fl. 40” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f. 754).

#### **Śrem:**<sup>126</sup>

- 1563 r.: „Iudei Sremen[ses] talis 100 fl. 110” (ASK I 4, f. 212v);
- 1564 r.: „There are 18 Jewish houses in Śrem along with a school and a synagogue. They pay a tax of 11 fl. in coin to the king annually on Saint Martin’s day through their elders in Gniezno”;<sup>127</sup>
- 1565 r.: „Item Iudei eiusdem oppidi [Srzem] solverunt fl. 50” (RPWP, ksc, 1565; ASK I 4, f. 295v);
- 1567 r.: „Iudaei, 22 Decembris, ex Srzem contributionem in moneta fl. 44” (RPWP, ksc, 1567; ASK I 5, f. 392);
- 1576 r.: „Iudaei eiusdem oppidi [Srzem] a capitibus 24 solverunt fl. 21” (RPWP, ksc, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 629v);
- 1577 r.: „Die 17 Octobris, Joachim et Idzko Iudaei de Srzem suo et ceterorum omnium nomine ad rationem cepitum seu personarum ibi degentium dederunt fl. 30” (ASK I 5, f. 758v).

#### **Tuczno:**

- 1563 r.: „Tuczno oppidum [...], ibidem Iudei 3 solverunt fl. 3” (RPWP, wlc, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 200).

#### **Wałcz:**

- 1564;<sup>128</sup>
- 1592: Lazarus Jew from Wałcz.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>124</sup> M. Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz dotyczący Żydów*, no. 203 (1593): „The privilege, to make up for the lack of space in Poznań, allowed the petitioning Jews to live in Stanisławowo”; MK 138, ff. 131–133 (MS online: pther.eu/MK/138/PL\_1\_4\_1–138\_0266.html and onwards, access 30.03.2017).

<sup>125</sup> The hearth tax register of 1631 lists 31 Jewish houses in Szamotuły; see *Hearth tax (Podymne) 1631*, f. 32v. They were 16% of the 199 buildings listed.

<sup>126</sup> The source extracts about the Jewish population of Śrem in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were gathered by I. Siekierska, see *Dawny Śrem w źródłach historycznych. Ludzie – Instytucje – Budynki*, prepared for print by A. Gąsiorowski, G. Rutkowska, Śrem 2016 (Biblioteka Śremskiego Notatnika Historycznego, ed. K. Budzyń, vol. 3), pp. 71–72. The hearth tax register of 1631 lists 29 Jewish houses in Śrem; see *Hearth tax 1631*, f. 32v. They were 10% of the 281 buildings listed.

<sup>127</sup> Inw. Żydów, f. 272 (MS online: agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\_4\_0\_7\_5\_0610.htm, access 23.03.2017).

<sup>128</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 61.

<sup>129</sup> K. Górńska-Gołaska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – terytorium i powiat*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, no. 3, p. 489.

**Wieleń:**

- 1581.<sup>130</sup>

**Wolsztyn:**

- 1531.<sup>131</sup>

**Wronki:**

- 1553: „Wronkÿ oppidum, ibidem Iudei a focus 16 fl. 16” (RPWP, pzn, 1553; ASK I 5, f. 184);
- 1563: „Item Iudei eiusdem oppidi Julii 16 solverunt fl. 150” (RPWP, pzn, 1563; ASK I 5, f. 247v);
- 1564: „There are 35 Jewish houses along with a schoolhouse and a synagogue in Wronki. They annually pay the gentleman from Gorky, the voivode of Poznań, who has a lease for 20 marks. This is what the elders said”;<sup>132</sup>
- 1576: „Iudei eiusdem oppidi solverunt fl. 30. Habita ratio desolationis et paupertatis” (RPWP, pzn, 1576; ASK I 5, f. 572);
- 1577: „Die 14 Octobris, Jacub Russek et Moisch Mucha Iudaei seniores ex oppido Wronki ad rationem personarum Iudaicarum ibidem degentium contributionis Regni publicae dederunt fl. 40” (RPWP, pzn, 1577; ASK I 5, f.757v).

**Wschowa:**

- 1581: Simon Jew.<sup>133</sup>

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>130</sup> E. Feldman, *Najstarsze wzmianki o Żydach*, p. 61.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>132</sup> Inw. Żydów, f. 272 (MS online: [agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1\\_4\\_0\\_7\\_5\\_0611.htm](http://agadd.home.net.pl/metrykalia/4/7/sygn.%205/pages/1_4_0_7_5_0611.htm), access 23.03.2017). LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 199: „there are 35 Jewish houses”.

<sup>133</sup> „The first documented sources about the Jewish inhabitants of Wschowa come from the end of the sixteenth century. The first to settle was Simon the Jew in 1581. He lived within the city’s borders, but on land belonging to the starosta. More Jewish surnames can be found in municipal records after 1592. After further study, it would appear that the Jewish population did not surpass 150, including women and children.”, quot. from: Sobczak, Żydzi, pp. 74–75; A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden*, p. 398; comp. to D. Czwojdrak, *Żydowskie osadnictwo*, pp. 82–83; Nowakowski, Wschowa, p. 131. There is no data backing the claim that Wschowa had Jewish inhabitants in the years 1461–1462. They were all banished in 1595.

### III.2.2.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Henryk Rutkowski*

In analogy to the previously published volumes of the Atlas, centres and borders of territorial units of the Catholic Church (Latin) were marked in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships territory. The basic and the additional map of Church division, the latter drawn on a scale two times smaller than the former, show all administrative centres that existed at the end of the sixteenth century, i.e. the archdeaconry, deanery and parish seats. Also, both maps show the diocese and archdeaconry borders. The differences lie in the choice of the lesser rank borderlines: the basic map contains the borders of the parishes and the additional map – deanery borders.

The described territory was situated within the range of two dioceses. The entire Łęczyca Voivodeship and the majority of Sieradz Voivodeship belonged to Gniezno diocese. Here we would like to emphasize, that the idea of calling Gniezno diocese an archdiocese, popular in historiography, seems wrong in the case of the sixteenth century (it is an anachronism in the case of the Middle Ages).<sup>1</sup> Ostrzeszów land, politically related to Silesia for a long time, belonged to the Wrocław diocese.

The Sieradz–Łęczyca territory, subject to Gniezno archbishopric, was divided mainly into three units: Łęczyca and Uniejów archdeaconries and Wieluń territory. The latter was equal to an archdeaconry and sometimes it was called so – inaccurately, as due to the absence of an archdeacon in the Wieluń collegiate church his function was performed by a provost.<sup>2</sup> Various parts of the borderland belonged to the archdeaconries of: Kalisz, Gniezno, Łowicz and Kurzelów.<sup>3</sup> The archdeaconries had existed for several centuries and only the Łowicz archdeaconry was created in the sixteenth century. It was established by archbishop Jan Łaski in 1522 from the part of Łęczyca archdeaconry that comprised

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<sup>1</sup> There is no entry of ‘archdiocese’ (‘archidioecesis’) in DMLP or in Słownik staropolski. In Jakub Sawicki’s work on the Gniezno diocese synods from the beginning of the fifteenth century ‘archdiocese’ appears in the sources from 1572, but still the titles of the 1612 statutes include ‘diocese synod’ not ‘archdiocese’ (*Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 5, pp. 147, 204 and passim). The situation in the Lwów diocese was similar, where the title of the 1614 statutes mentions the archdiocese synod and the titles from 1593, 1641 and 1765 – diocese synods (Stanisław Litak’s information). So for a long time there was no rule in the Church documentation written in Latin to call a diocese ruled by an archbishop an archdiocese. The term ‘archdiocese’ was accepted in the Polish language, in general (common) language, even later, probably no sooner than the twentieth century. Archdiocese is lacking not only from *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, but also in the nineteenth century works: Linde’s dictionary (only as a reference to archbishopric) and in Orgelbrand’s encyclopaedia; even *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna* (vol. 1–2, 1904) followed Linde. *Słownik języka polskiego* (PWN, vol. 1, 1978, p. 74) offers two definitions of the word, which provide both: correct meaning (a diocese ruled by an archbishop) and an incorrect one (a Church province). Interchangeable usage of the terms archdiocese and metropolis (province) is noted in the *Encyklopedia katolicka* (vol. 1, 1973, col. 873 n.). Earlier, the term ‘archbishopric’ was used to denote province, e.g. in the sixteenth century, as attested by Piotr Skarga’s text from 1577 (see quotation in *Słowniku polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 1, 1966, p. 205 n.). According to *Encyklopedia katolicka*, the origin of the archdeaconry is uncertain. It could be speculated, that this name – resulting from the desire of higher clergy to distinguish themselves with dignified titles – came from the example provided by the names of secular offices (county, duchy), as there is no difference between archdiocese and diocese other than the presence of an ordinary. See *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, vol. 4, Paris 1949, col. 1263 n. In this publication there is no separate entry for archidiocèse. What is more, this word is not listed by Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (vol. 1, 1959). It could be seen as a delay in relation to Polish. In German it is similar. The matter would require some research, these remarks are just the result of superficial observation.

<sup>2</sup> The case was explained by Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 87–90.

<sup>3</sup> See Annex A: Church administrative divisions.

Rawa and Bedlno deaneries, however, already in 1528 the latter was returned to Łęczyca.<sup>4</sup> The maps reveal great conformity of the diocese borders, especially in the case of the borderlines of archdeaconries and voivodeships, and lands. They also reveal discrepancies in that matter. The state of the borders towards the end of the sixteenth century was, naturally, a result of changes occurring in previous centuries, where there were cases of adjusting the Church division to the political division and the other way round.<sup>5</sup>

When the importance of deaneries in the Church increased following the Council of Trent, their network in Gniezno diocese was reorganized and extended. It probably occurred between 1583 and 1589, but we have access to detailed information about contemporary territorial structure of the dioceses only from 1628. Then deaneries were present in all archdeaconries, and only ‘the officialate, that is Wieluń territory’ was deprived of them.<sup>6</sup> The deanery division from the end of the sixteenth century is earlier attested to in two archdeaconries covering the borderland of the area of our interest: in Kalisz archdeaconry (two visitations from 1603 and 1611) and in Gniezno archdeaconry (1608–1609 visitation).

Parishes, the lowest units of the territorial organization of the Catholic Church, also functioned in state administration, as it lacked units smaller than districts (for instance, royal universals were announced from the pulpit, the parishes served as an element that allowed the organization of tax collection and tax registry). Apart from normal parishes, there existed relatively few districts, in which the service was provided by subsidiary churches; they were mainly former parochial churches that for various reasons were affiliated to adjoining units. Such churches we treated as parishes. It must be noted here, that there is much terminological confusion around assistant churches and chapels.<sup>7</sup> This, and the additional insufficient source information, rendered some of our decisions on acknowledging a church a parish centre, or not, purely hypothetical in character. Some difficulties have also arisen around parochial churches occupied by dissidents. Even if we possessed information, that such situation was long-lasting, but the Catholic Church authorities refused to move the parish to another village, we included such a church. For example, we have marked Danków parish (Wieluń territory), even though the local church belonged to the protestants, and its functions for a long time were executed by a chapel (church?) in Zajączki.<sup>8</sup> The tax collectors did the same when writing their registers.

The source base for the parochial network consisted mostly of church sources, especially those, which list all settlements belonging to particular parishes. We do not possess such materials for the second half of the sixteenth century, but given the long-term nature of parochial divisions, we can assume that earlier or later information is similar in case of our chronological range.

The list of all parochial churches and some subsidiary churches of Gniezno diocese, and their affiliation to higher-rank administrative units, is included in the acts of the diocese synod of 1628. Unfortunately, there are some gaps in it.<sup>9</sup> Stanisław Librowski’s work, constituting an alphabetical list of all parishes of Gniezno diocese in the Old Polish period with the time of their functioning,<sup>10</sup> helped us use this source properly, especially when it came to determining churches built after 1600. We have also used Stanisław Litak’s study; the accuracy of the data allowed us to solve some of our doubts.<sup>11</sup> Church visitations, the best basis for determining the range of a parish, have survived only partially

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<sup>4</sup> *Zbiór ważniejszych dokumentów natury kościelnej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej do lat 1818/1821*, comp. S. Librowski, part 3: *Ośrodek Łowicz*, ABMK, vol. 35, 1977, pp. 349–362, nos. 18, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Zajączkowski, *O kształtowaniu się*, pp. 127, 167; Rosin, *Rozwój*, pp. 425–427; A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska, *Oficjalaty okręgowe w późnośredniowiecznej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, CPH, t. 47, 1995, pp. 98–108.

<sup>6</sup> Wieluń territory was indicated as a part of Uniejów archdeaconry; *Constitutiones 1628*, f. C4–E3; *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 5, 1989, col. 1182.

<sup>7</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, p. 95; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, p. 86; S. Litak, *Struktura terytorialna Kościoła łacińskiego w Polsce w 1772 roku*, Lublin 1980, pp. 20–22.

<sup>8</sup> *Constitutiones 1628*, f. E; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, pp. 84, 145; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, pp. 86, 170.

<sup>9</sup> Some names were given in an incorrect form, e.g. in Warta deanery Mikołajewice were listed instead of Miłkowice, that were earlier – correctly – entered in Uniejów deanery. Some parishes were omitted, for example: Dobra in Zgierz deanery, Boleszczyń in Warta deanery, Łobudzice in Szadek deanery, Działoszyn, Szczyty and Trębaczów in Brzeziny deanery – *Constitutiones 1628*.

<sup>10</sup> Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, pp. 53–174.

<sup>11</sup> Litak, *Kościół*, pp. 16, 167–207. Here S. Litak uses his previous installements about parishes, updating his former publication (S. Litak, *Struktura*).

for Sieradz-Łęczyca territory. Our area was the subject of the following visitations of Gniezno diocese (we provide the oldest surviving sources): visitation of Kalisz and Staw deaneries from 1603–1607, and of Konin and Sapolno from 1608–1609, the visitation of the archdeaconry of Uniejów from 1635–1636 and of the Wieluń territory from 1668–1669.<sup>12</sup> As such, the leading role fell to the register of belongings of Gniezno diocese, written down by Jan Łaski's order in 1511–1523.<sup>13</sup>

Gaps in church sources were filled with information from the sources created by the state treasury, especially from tax registers from second half of the sixteenth century. Parochial membership of settlements is mostly identical in Łaski's Liber beneficiorum and in the registers, but there are some inaccuracies in the registers, e.g. due to ownership relations or in parishes divided by a state administration border. Sometimes we had to consult Czaykowski's Regestr from the second half of the eighteenth century and the Table of towns, villages and hamlets of the Kingdom of Poland (Tabela miast, wsi, osad Królestwa Polskiego) published in 1827, which provides information about parochial membership.<sup>14</sup>

Wrocław diocese was divided into archdeaconries and they in turn into archpresbyterates, an equivalent of deaneries, sometimes so designated. Part of Wrocław archdeaconry (Ostrzeszów archpresbyterate and a small part of Syców archpresbyterate) and one parish in the archdeaconry of Opole (Starokrzepice in the Olesno archpresbyterate) fell within the territory of the Crown of Poland. The 1592 statutes of the Wrocław diocese synod mention archpresbyters ('archipresbyteri, seu decani rurales'), Ostrzeszów among them, which is the first proof for the existence of this Church district with the seat in Ostrzeszów.<sup>15</sup> Visitations of the churches in Ostrzeszów land from 1638, 1651 and 1670 have been published,<sup>16</sup> the manuscript of the 1633–1635 visitation has been used by Józef Nowacki and Ryszard Rosin.<sup>17</sup> The register of churches from 1667 and Litak's work,<sup>18</sup> were also helpful.

The reconstruction of parish borders was based on an assumption of their relative permanence. We have used retrogression to a large degree, i.e. we have taken into account the parochial membership of the settlements created between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries in uninhabited areas, we have used commune borders marked on twentieth century maps. The borderlines of higher-rank units were based on parochial borders.

The border between Gniezno and Wrocław diocese partly overlapped the border of the state, and partly crossed Wieluń land. Other bishoprics neighbouring on Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships were: Cracow diocese from the south, and the Poznań (its Mazovian part) diocese, Płock diocese (Mnich parish) and the Włocławek diocese from the north. We treat neighbouring precisely here, as overlapping of the diocese and voivodeship borders; the maps show the place where the range of the Gniezno diocese moves away from the Sieradz-Łęczyca territory. On the north-western side the archpresbyterate of Ostrzeszów bordered on Poznań diocese.

The course of diocese borderlines requires some explanation in three places. For a long time there existed some disputable fragments along the northern border, until its course finally settled in the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup> However, still in the sixteenth century a one-village parish Korzecznik, situated in the Brześć Voivodeship, on the border with Łęczyca and Kalisz Voivodeships was a cause for some disagreements. On the Gniezno side this parish belonged to Łęczyca archdeaconry and first to Bedlno

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<sup>12</sup> Librowski, Repertorium, part 1, no. 1, pp. 107–146.

<sup>13</sup> Łaski LB, I–II.

<sup>14</sup> See chapter *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Sieradz.

<sup>15</sup> *Concilia Poloniae*, oprac. J. Sawicki, t. 10, Wrocław 1963, p. 613; see Rosin, Ziemia wieluńska, p. 90; Rosin, Słownik, p. 97. In the fifteenth century, the border between the archdeaconries ran differently than in the seventeenth century. The area surrounding Byczyna and Kluczbork belonged to Wrocław archdeaconry, not Opole. B. Panzram, *Geschichtliche Grundlagen der ältesten schlesischen Pfarrorganisation*, Breslau 1940, pp. 52, 61, 86 and map III.

<sup>16</sup> *Visitationsberichte der Dioecese Breslau. Archidiaconat Breslau*, vol. 1, ed. J. Jungnitz, Breslau 1902, pp. 131–137, 155–170, 741–776; see: J. Köhler, *Das Ringen um die tridentische Erneuerung im Bistum Breslau [...] 1564–1620*, Köln–Wien 1973, pp. 22, 173–178, 184, 285–288 and appendices I, IV, V.

<sup>17</sup> Now2, pp. 496–503; Rosin, Słownik.

<sup>18</sup> *Wykaz kościołów diecezji wrocławskiej z 1667 roku*, comp. J. Kopiec, ABMK, t. 55, 1987, pp. 157–159, 172 n., 185; Litak, Kościół, pp. 447, 466–468, 476.

<sup>19</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (968–1939)*, ABMK, vol. 18, 1969, p. 325; Zajączkowski, O kształtowaniu się, p. 140.

and then to Kłodawa deanery.<sup>20</sup> The latter affiliation was presented on the map of the Church division. In Włocławek diocese Korzecznik was counted among villages belonging to Włocławek archdeaconry.<sup>21</sup> In the end, the parish remained in the Gniezno diocese.<sup>22</sup>

The Mstów parish was exceptional in character, as it was divided between two dioceses: Gniezno and Cracow. The seat of the parish was located in the monastery Klasztor Mstowski in Gniezno diocese, and the neighbouring city was subject to Cracow bishopric. The borderline was mostly defined by the course of the River Warta. As such, on the Gniezno side there were not only villages all belonging to Sieradz Voivodeship (two of which, Łuszczyn and Krasice lay south of Warta), but also several villages from Cracow Voivodeship (later they formed a district of the subsidiary church in Rędziny). Such was the borderline defined in 1456.<sup>23</sup> This arrangement lasted for the next several centuries. The parish, according to the affiliation of its seat, was visited by representatives of Gniezno archbishopric, who recorded all villages subordinate to the parish church in the documents of the visitation, as required for practical reasons. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, the inspectors disregarded the two additional churches in the town, that – on the other hand – appear in Cracow visitations. Therefore the opinion (shared by Karol Buczek, for instance) that still in the eighteenth century the diocese borderline near Mstów was disputed cannot be reasonably justified.<sup>24</sup>

The situation of the borderline near Wieruszów is quite different. In 1368 the parish located in this town – belonging to Wrocław diocese – comprised villages west (e.g. Świba, with a chapel) and east (Chobanin) of the Prosna. When Wieruszów was moved to Gniezno diocese in the first half of the fifteenth century, Świba remained in its old bishopric and the chapel probably started to function as a parish church. Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum* mentions only Mirków – a village on the left bank of the River Prosna – in Wieruszów parish. Other than that, we do not possess any data concerning Church relations in this area in the sixteenth century, our information comes from the next century. Then the diocese affiliation of the villages situated on the left side of the Prosna (Mirków, Kuźnica Skakawska) was debatable. Also, the affiliation of Świba itself, whether it belonged to the Wrocław diocese or not, was questioned by Gniezno. In 1622 the Wrocław suffragan bishop consecrated the village church, but in 1651 some regretted that it came under the authority of the Wieruszów parson. When Wrocław visitation in 1670 treats Świba as a parish in this diocese, the visitation from Gniezno from 1668–1669 sees it only as a chapel in the Wieruszów parish. Such affiliation was preserved in the next century.<sup>25</sup>

Let us now move to commenting on several locations in the parish network. According to Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*, parish affiliation of five villages was divided: the village (the peasants) belonged to one church, the manor to another. These villages were: Białe, Warszycze and Wola Warszycza in the parishes Gieczno (villages) and Modlna (manors), Konarzewo in Piątek (village) and Gieczno (manor) parishes and Boczki in Uniejów (village) and Niewiesz (manor) parishes.<sup>26</sup> Tuszyn in Łęczycza archdeaconry was a seat not only of a parish, but also of a deanery. The parish church was located not in the town, but in the neighbouring village Stary Tuszyn, also called Tuszynek or Wola Tuszyńska (today it is called Tuszynek Starościński).<sup>27</sup> This untypical situation leads to mistakes.<sup>28</sup> On our map

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<sup>20</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 48; *Constitutiones* 1628, f. D2.

<sup>21</sup> Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej za Kujawach w II połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1964, p. 27; Rosin, *Rozwój*, p. 417.

<sup>22</sup> Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, p. 109.

<sup>23</sup> Długosz LB, III, p. 148 n.; J. Laberschek, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w dekanacie lelowskim do 1500 r.*, [w:] *Księga jubileuszu stulecia diecezji kieleckiej (1883–1983)*, Kielce 1986, p. 232; A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska, *Oficjalaty okręgowe*, p. 104, footnote.

<sup>24</sup> ADWł, AAG. Wiz. 5, pp. 132–135; K. Buczek, *Mapa województwa krakowskiego z doby Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788–1792). Źródła i metoda*, Kraków 1930, p. 95; Materiały MWK, p. 192; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, pp. 138, 151, 159, 182, 200; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, pp. 126, 140; Litak, *Kościół*, pp. 198, 246.

<sup>25</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 147; *Visitationsberichte der Dioecese Breslau*, vol. 1, p. 166, 765, 775; Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 69, 90; Rosin 1963, pp. 66, 117, 161, 174 n.; Now2, p. 501; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, pp. 145, 175; Litak, *Kościół*, p. 207.

<sup>26</sup> Łaski LB, I, p. 369; II, pp. 409–412; A. Tomczak, *Zarys dziejów parafii Gieczno do roku 1939*, Toruń 1997, pp. 22, 26, 70 n.

<sup>27</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 163; P. Wielkopolska II, p. 264; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, no. 1, p. 158 and references to Librowski 1974. The old topography was shown on Gilly's map.

<sup>28</sup> Litak, *Kościół*, p. 194 mentions the same church twice – in the town and in the village.

there is a Puszcza parish (today called Puszcza Osińska) in the Uniejów archdeaconry. It began in the fifteenth century with a chapel built in the forest, which in 1529 was turned into a parish church by the archbishop. Two villages were assigned to the parish: Osiny and Chabielice, and the former gave its name to the parish, the seat of which was in the church in the forest ('in eremo'). The name of the Puszcza parish was officially accepted only at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> In Wieluń land there were two towns: Kamień (former Kamion) and Toporów. Kamień was a subsidiary church of the Mierzyce parish, and a village called Załącze Małe belonged to its district. Toporów had no church and belonged directly to the Mierzyce parish.<sup>30</sup>

In Ostrzeszów land, that is in Wrocław diocese, on the borderland with Silesia, there was a village Mielęcín, whose parish affiliation is questionable. We have assumed an alternative: either the Czermin parish, or the Parzynów parish (the former is more probable). According to the 1670 visitation (then the few Catholics in Mielęcín were in the care of the Parzynów parson), in the beginning of the seventeenth century the village fell under the church in Czermin, located in Silesia, in Syców archpresbyterate, it was subsidiary to Turków parish (Turkows). Around 1738 Mielęcín belonged to Parzynów parish.<sup>31</sup>

There were 295 parishes in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships at the end of the sixteenth century, including the parishes partly outside Łęczyca-Sieradz territory (there were 21 of such parishes) and parishes with seats situated in neighbouring territories, but partly within our borders (10). We have singled out 12 subsidiary churches with their districts, eight of them situated in Wieluń territory. Except for 10 exterior centres (four of which were cities) – of 285 parish and subsidiary churches with their districts, 220 were situated in villages, and 65 in towns. Apart from the already mentioned Tuszyn and Toporów, five other towns had no churches of their own. These were: Budzynek in Leźnica Wielka parish (Łęczyca district), Zamysłów in Dobra parish (Sieradz district), Pławno in Gidle parish (Radomsko district), Wodziczna in Trzcienca parish (Wieluń district) and Borek in Ostrzeszów parish.

There were 126 parishes in Sieradz land, the biggest land, with the average area of 71 km<sup>2</sup>. There were 77 parishes in the smallest Wieluń land, where the density was the highest – the average area was 46 km<sup>2</sup>. All in all, there were 203 parishes in Sieradz Voivodeship of the average area of 62 km<sup>2</sup>. In Łęczyca Voivodeship there were 82 parishes, and the average area was 53 km<sup>2</sup>. The average area of a parish in the entire Sieradz-Łęczyca territory was 59 km<sup>2</sup> (in Sandomierz Voivodeship, which was half as big again, it was 68 km<sup>2</sup>).<sup>32</sup>

district officialates administered church justice in their assigned territories. The court was held in a consistory form. We list officialates in Gniezno diocese, whose seats were situated within the borders of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships at the end of the sixteenth century. These were the officialates in Łęczyca, Uniejów, Wieluń and in Wolbórz. The first three offices have already existed in the fifteenth century and the Wolbórz officialate was created probably in 1540s, after it replaced the earlier officialate in Łęgonice.<sup>33</sup> Most of the officialates operated within their respective archdeaconry borders. Between 1482 and 1511 a group of parishes was moved from Uniejów officialate to Wieluń officialate, without changing their archdeaconry affiliation.<sup>34</sup> The range of the jurisdiction of Wolbórz officialate, like its predecessor – Łęgonice officialate, had to go beyond the administrative borders of this rank.<sup>35</sup> It seems

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<sup>29</sup> Łaski LB I, p. 537 footnote; Rybus, p. 150; Librowski, Repertorium, part 1, no. 1, pp. 139, 149, 158; Librowski, Repertorium, p. 130.

<sup>30</sup> Ulanowski, Visitaciones, p. 659; Constitutiones 1628, f. E, see Łaski LB, II, pp. 95, 113; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, p. 103.

<sup>31</sup> Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, sygn. II b 12: Schematismus des Bistums Breslau [...] 1738, p. 41 (this information was provided by Jan Wosch); *Visitationsberichte der Dioecese Breslau*, vol. 1, pp. 473, 744; Now2, p. 505.

<sup>32</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.2.2; Litak, Kościół, pp. 63–65.

<sup>33</sup> W. Patykiewicz, *Późniejsze oficjalaty gnieźnieńskie*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, vol. 5, z. 4, 1958 (1959), pp. 118–120; P. Hempterek, *Oficjalat okręgowy w Lublinie XV–XVIII w.*, Lublin 1974, pp. 70–72; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, pp. 119, 167; A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska, *Oficjalaty okręgowe*, pp. 95–108.

<sup>34</sup> W. Patykiewicz, *Późniejsze oficjalaty gnieźnieńskie*, p. 120; Rosin, Ziemia wieluńska, p. 89.

<sup>35</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska (*Oficjalaty okręgowe*, pp. 104–106) concluded, that the border between Łęgonice and Łowicz officialates was on the Pilica (Łęgonice lie on its bank), but their arguments are unconvincing. Probably at least a part of Łowicz archdeaconry was subject to Łęgonice – the part which belonged to Łęczyca Voivodeship. The 1522 document, which creates Łowicz archdeaconry described its area by listing two deaneries: Bedlno and Rawa – those authors failed to notice that. Referring to these records in this document concerning Łowicz and Łęgonice officialates, she wrote that the new

that, in comparison to the archdeaconries and deaneries, the range of the officialates was obeyed less strictly and people from the borderlands could appear before various consistory courts.

## ANNEX A

### THE LIST OF THE UNITS OF CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

The list depicts the state from around 1600. Parishes located within the borders of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships were listed under archdeaconries and deaneries (or equivalent units). Names of the parishes were assumed after the names of villages in which the parish church was situated, according to the state from the sixteenth century. Contemporary names different from previous names were given in brackets. Subsidiary churches, with their mother parishes, were also put in brackets. Cities were marked with the letter 'c'. Parishes partly outside Sieradz-Łęczyca territory were marked with an asterisk, and those with their seat outside this territory – with two asterisks.

### The Gniezno diocese

#### The Łęczyca archdeaconry

##### **The Łęczyca deanery**

Bełdowo (Bełdów), Chociszewo (Chociszew), Chodowo (Chodów), Dalikowo (Dalików), Domaniewo (Domaniew), Kałowo (Kałów), Kazimierz t., Leźnica Mała, Leźnica Wielka, Łęczyca t., Parzynczów (Parzęczew) t., Poddąbice (Poddębice) t., Solca Wielka, Tur

##### **The Kłodawa deanery**

Bierzwienna Karczemna (Bierzwienna), Błonie, Borzysławice (Borysławice Kościelne)\*, Chełmo (Chełmno), Chodowo Większe (Chodów), Dąbie t., Dąbrowice t., Dzierzbice, Goraj (Byszew Grabowski), Grabowo (Grabów Łęczycki) t., Kłodawa t.\*, Krośniewice t., Mazowo (Mazew), Miłonice, Pieczewo (Pieczew), Rdułów (Rdutów), Siedlec, Sobótka, Unienie (Umień)

##### **The Kutno deanery**

Bąkowo (Bąków Górny), Bedno, Grochowo (Grochów), Kaszewo Kościelne (Kaszewy Kościelne), Kościół (Tum Poduchowny), Łąkoszyn t., Łęki (Łęki Kościelne), Nowe, Oporów t., Orłów t., Plecka Dąbrowa, Słaboszewo (Sławoszew), Sobota t., Strzegocino (Strzegocin), Śleszyno-Sołek (does not exist now), Topola (Topola Królewska), Witunia (Witonia), Zduny, Żychlin t.

##### **The Zgierz deanery**

Bielawy t.\*, Bratoszewice t., Brzeziny t.\*, Ciechosławice (subsidiary of the Piątek parish), Dobra, Gieczno, Góra (Góra Świętej Małgorzaty), Koziół (Kozle), Łódzia (Łódź) t., Mąkolice, Mileski (Mileszki), Modlna, Niesułków, Oszkowice, Piątek t., Skoszewy (Skoszewy Stare) t., Stryków t., Szczawin, Waliszewo (Waliszew), Zgierz t.

##### **The Tuszyn deanery**

Bąkowa Góra, Bęczkowice, Będków t., Bogdanów, Chełm (Chełmo), Chorzęcin, Czarnocin, Dłutów (Dłutów), Gorkowice, Łaznowo (Łaznów), Maluszyn\*, Mierzyn, Milejów, Moszczenica, Nagórzyce\*,

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unit of Church administration covered these officialates, but they did not explain this matter, even though they saw the inaccuracies in the borders of Łowicz archdeaconry and Łęgonice officialate. In our opinion, the person who issued the document assumed that the territory of the archdeaconry would only partially overlap with the area of the two officialates, but would contain their seats. Even if the archbishop decided to expand Łowicz officialate on the entire Bedno deanery, he did not mean the part of Łęgonice officialate, which belonged to Kurzelów archdeaconry, he did not change the borders of the latter. The inaccuracies in Gąsiorowski and Skierska's article are the result of their omission of the 1528 document, which limited Łowicz archdeaconry to Rawa deanery.

Niedośpielin, Piotrków (Piotrków Trybunalski) t., Rączno (Ręczno), Rozprza t., Rzgów t., Rzujewice (Rzejowice), Srockie (Srock), Stary Tuszyn (Tuszynek Starościński), Sulejów t.\*, Wielgi Młyn (Wielgomłyny), Witów, Wolborz (Wolbórz) t.

### **The Uniejów archdeaconry**

#### **The Uniejów deanery**

Bełdrzychów (Bałdrzychów), Brodnia (subsidiary of the Glinno parish), Drużbin, Faliborzyce (Chwalborzyce), Glinno, Górka Wielka (Górka Pabianicka), Grodzisko, Kwiatkowice, Lutomirsko (Lutomiersk) t., Małyń, Męka, Mikołajowice (Mikołajewice), Niemysłów, Niewiesz, Pabianice t., Pięcnów (Pęczniew), Rossoszyca, Świeńce (Świnice Warckie), Uniejów t., Wartkowice, Wielanów (Wilamów)\*, Wielenino (Wielenin), Wierzchy, Zadzim

#### **The Warta deanery**

Boleszczyno (Boleszczyn), Brzeźno (Brzeźnio), Burzenin t., Chartłupia Mała (Chartłupia Mała), Chartłupia Wielka (Chartłupia Wielka), Chojne, Dąbrowa Wielka, Dobra t., Jeziersko (Jeziorsko), Kamionacz, Kliczków Stary (Kliczków Mały), Miłkowice, Sieradz t., Skęcznów (Skęczniew), Spicymierz, Stolec, Tubądzin, Unków (Uników), Warta t., Wąglczów (Wąglczew), Wróblów (Wróblew)

#### **The Szadek deanery**

Borzyszowice (Borszewice), Brzyków, Buczek t., Drużbice, Grabno, Grocholice t., Korczów (Korczew), Krzepczów, Łasko (Łask) t., Łobodzice (Łobudzice), Marzenin, Parzno, Puszcza (Puszcza Osińska), Rychłocice Wielkie (Rychłocice), Rzestarczów (Restarzew Poduchowny), Sędziejowice, Strońsko, Szadek t., Szczerców t., Widawa t., Wygielzów

#### **The Radomsko deanery**

Borzykowa\*, Dąbrowa (Dąbrowa Zielona)\*, Dmynin (Dmenin), Dobryszycy, Gidle, Kamięsko (Kamięnsk) t., Kłomice (Kłomnice), Kobile (Kobile Wielkie), Kodrąb, Krempa (Krępa), Radomskie (Radomsko) t., Wszeborzyce (Soborzyce), Żytne (Żytno) t.

#### **The Brzeźnica deanery**

Borowno, Brzeźnica (Nowa Brzeźnica) t., Dworzyszowice (Dworszowice Kościelne), Działoszyn t., Jedlno, Klasztor Mstowski (Mstów)\*, Kruszyna, Lgota (Lgota Wielka), Makowiska, Mykanów\*, Pajęczno t., Rząsna (Rząśnia), Siemikowice (Siemkowice), Sulimierzycy (Sulmierzyce), Szczyty (subsidiary of the Działoszyn parish), Trębaczów, Wąsosze (Wąsosz), Wiewiec

### **The Wieluń territory**

Biała, Bolesławiec t., Chotów, Cieszęcin, Czarnożyły, Czastary, Danków, Dzierzniki (Dzietrzniki), Dzierzychowice (Dzietrzkowice), Jaworzno (subsidiary of the Parzymiechy parish), Kadłub, Kamion (Kamień – subsidiary of the Mierzyce parish) t., Komorniki (subsidiary of the Mokrsko parish), Konopnica (subsidiary of the Osjaków parish), Kowale (subsidiary of the Praszka parish), Krzepice t.\*\*, Krzywa Rzeka (Krzyworzeka), Lutułów (Lututów) t., Łagiewniki, Łaszów, Łubnice (subsidiary of the Dzierzychowice parish), Łyseskornie (Łyskornie), Mierzyce, Mileszyn (Mieleszyn), Mokrsko, Naranice, Osjaków t., Ożarów, Parzymiechy, Pątnów, Praszka t., Raczyn, Ruda, Rudlice, Rudniki, Skomlin, Sokolniki, Stradziec (Strojec – subsidiary of the Praszka parish), Waliknowy (Walichnowy), Wieluń t., Wieruszów t., Wierzbie (subsidiary of the Ożarów parish), Wierzchlas, Wójcin, Wydrzyn, Żytniów

### **The Kalisz archdeaconry**

#### **The Staw deanery**

Błaszki\*, Głuchów, Goszczonów (Goszczanów), Góra\*\*, Gruszczycy, Kalinowa, Liskowo (Lisków)\*\*, Malanów\*, Przespolewo (Przespolew)\*\*, Staw t.\*, Tokary, Wojków

**The Kalisz deanery**

Giżyce\*\*

**The Gniezno archdeaconry****The Konin deanery**

Kowale (Kowale Pańskie), Psary Korytkowskie (Psary), Słomów (Słomów Kościelny), Turek t.\*

**The Sompolno deanery**

Grzegorzewo (Grzegorzew) t.\*

**The Łowicz archdeaconry****The Łowicz deanery**

Łowicz t.\*\*

**The Rawa deanery**

Budziszewice t.\*\*, Inowłódz (Inowłodz) t.\*, Lubocheń Wielki (Lubochnia), Małcz (Małecz)\*, Rzeczyca, Tobiasze, Ujazd t.

**The Kurzelów archdeaconry****The Kurzelów deanery**

Nowopole (Koniecpol) t.\*, Przedbórz t.\*\*

**The Opoczno deanery**

Białobrzegi\*\*

**The Wrocław diocese****The Wrocław archdeaconry****The Ostrzeszów archpresbyterate**

Baranów t., Bukownica, Chlewo, Chochłowy (Kochłowy), Domaborów (Donaborów), Doruchów, Grabów t., Kobyla Góra t., Kotłów, Mikorzyn, Mikstat t., Myjomice, Olszowa, Opatów, Otrzeszów t., Parznowo (Parzynów), Przedborów, Rogaszyce, Siemianice, Świba (subsidiary of the Wieruszów parish from the Gniezno diocese?), Trzcienica (Trzcienica), Wyszanów

**The Syców archpresbyterate**

Czermin (subsidiary of the Turków parish)\*\*

**The Opole archdeaconry****The Olesno archpresbyterate**

Stare Krzepice (Starokrzepice)\*

## ANNEX B REFORMED CHURCH COMMUNES

*Krzysztof Chłapowski, Henryk Rutkowski*

We provide a list of those reformed church communes (zbor), whose existence before 1600 is either certain or highly probable. There is every likelihood that this list is not complete, due to, for instance, lack of Church visitations from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which usually mentioned churches claimed by the dissidents. Only for some of the evangelical communes we are able to define the time of their functioning, most likely some of them lasted for no longer than a few years.

It was possible to determine the existence of 17 evangelical communes in the second half of the sixteenth century, of which two were situated in Łęczyca Voivodeship, five in Sieradz land and 10, the majority, in Wieluń land. The list goes as follows:

Łęczyca district – Jagodnica

Brzeziny district – Brzeziny

Szadek district – Lutomiersk, Zygy

Piotrków district – Bogdanów, Żerechowa

Radomsko district – Koniecpol

Wieluń district – Cieszęcin, Danków, Działoszyn, Jaworzno, Parzymiechy, Siemianice, Trębaczów, Wieruszów

Ostrzeszów district – Myślniew, Parzynów

Burzenin in Sieradz district and Mikorzyn in Ostrzeszów district were not included in our list, as the sources only mention synods that took place in these two places.

The majority of the above-mentioned evangelical communes was established in Catholic parishes (the protestants placed their shrines in occupied churches); there were no parishes in: Jagodnica, Myślniew, Zygy and Żerechowa. Seats of five of the evangelical communes were located in towns (Brzeziny, Działoszyn, Koniecpol, Lutomiersk, Wieruszów).

The records of non-Catholic synods, published by Maria Sipayło<sup>36</sup> constitute the main source basis for our list. J. Korytowski's footnotes to Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*<sup>37</sup> provide information about communes in Cieszęcin and Danków, and communes in Myślniew, Parzynów and Siemianice are mentioned by J. Nowacki.<sup>38</sup> The case of Brzeziny requires specific explanation. In 1551 Krzysztof Lasocki, the co-owner of this town (the other owner was his brother Jakub), established a Calvinist commune, that later changed into Aryan.<sup>39</sup> An Aryan synod was held in Brzeziny in 1565. Shortly afterwards, Krzysztof Lasocki sold his share of property to his brother and the commune ceased to exist.<sup>40</sup>

It is not possible to separate the communes according to denomination clearly. Most of the communes were of Calvinist denomination.<sup>41</sup> Three of them were given to the Unity of Brethren: Lutomiersk, Wieruszów and Zygy<sup>42</sup>. There was supposed to be a Lutheran commune in Cieszęcin<sup>43</sup>.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>36</sup> ASR, vol. 1–4 (according to index); for Bogdanów and Zygy see also H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1904, pp. 43, 48.

<sup>37</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 116, 148.

<sup>38</sup> Now2 1964, pp. 499–502.

<sup>39</sup> O. Bartel, *Do historii Brzezin i prepozytury brzezińskiej Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 12, 1953–1955, p. 139; T. Nowak, *Do historii Brzezin i prepozytury brzezińskiej Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 12, 1953–1955, p. 71; see also: A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 13, pp. 389, 393.

<sup>40</sup> ASR, vol. 1, index, vol. 2, p. 193; L. Szczucki *Szymona Budnego relacja o początkach i rozwoju anabaptyzmu w zborze mniejszym*, OiRwP, vol. 31, p. 107 – here the solution of the argument about the location of this synod in favour of Brzeziny.

<sup>41</sup> The communes in Sieradz Voivodeship were related to the Lesser Poland province of the reformed denomination, during the Sandomierz synod in 1570 they were included into Żarnów district. ASR, vol. 1, pp. VII–X, vol. 2, p. 270, vol. 4, p. VII.

<sup>42</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1997, index.

<sup>43</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 148.

### III.2.2a.5 CHURCH ORGANIZATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Henryk Rutkowski*

Jan Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*, written between 1511 and 1523 is the only sixteenth century source that describes territorial organization of Gniezno diocese with a high level of exactness. The map of the diocese in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships was created on this basis. A similar map has already been published by Eugeniusz Wiśniowski: *Sieć parafialna w archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej (bez archidiaconatu kamieńskiego) w początkach XVI wieku*<sup>1</sup> (Parochial network of Gniezno diocese – without Kamień archdeaconry – in the beginnings of the sixteenth century). Like Wiśniowski, we have presented the borderlines of archdeaconries and deaneries, as well as seats of all parishes and hospitals. However, unlike this author we have omitted schools (they were in almost every parish) and have not distinguished town parishes where there was no parochial church. On the other hand, we have marked collegiate churches, subsidiary churches (some of them are absent from Wiśniowski's map), chapels and monasteries. We have also shown the number of priests by parochial and subsidiary churches. Information provided by *Liber beneficiorum* is not uniform. In the description of Wieluń territory, here called an archdeaconry,<sup>2</sup> there are many subsidiary churches and chapels, whereas in other places they were disregarded (e.g. churches in Piotrków and Szadek). In Łęczyca archdeaconry vicars and other auxiliary clergymen are systematically listed, and probably not all of them were mentioned in Wieluń 'archdeaconry'. As such, especially in case of the number of priests, there are gaps in our map, resulting from insufficient information in the source basis.

In relation to the state from the end of the sixteenth century<sup>3</sup>, there are the following differences in the administrative division of the diocese of Gniezno in Sieradz – Łęczyca territory in the beginnings of the century: what constituted two deaneries later – Łęczyca and Zgierz – was still one deanery of Szczawin, and deaneries of Kłodawa and Kutno constituted one deanery of Bedlno. Łowicz archdeaconry had not been created yet, and its territory belonged to Rawa deanery in Łęczyca archdeaconry. In Uniejów archdeaconry, Brzeziny deanery also included what later became Radomsko deanery. Archdeaconries of Kalisz and Kurzelów had not been divided into deaneries yet and in Gniezno archdeaconry the seat of the deanery was located not in Sompolno, but in Zbarz. There were some minor differences in the borderlines of deaneries. Tobiasze parish belonged to Tuszyn deanery (later to Rawa), Spicymierz parish – to Uniejów deanery (later to Warta), the area of Chojne parish, which had not been created so far, lay within the borders of Szadek deanery (later of Warta) and the area of Puszcza Osińska parish belonged to Brzeziny deanery (later to Szadek).

We treat united parishes as independent, a parish subsidiaries to the neighbouring parish as a subsidiary church functioning as a parochial church. The range of the functions of such churches differed, sometimes the source causes doubts as to the category of a given shrine. Łubnice in Wieluń land was classified by Wiśniowski as a subsidiary church with parochial functions. We consider this village a parish centre, in union with Dietrzkowice parish.<sup>4</sup> Kowale (also in Wieluń territory) had

<sup>1</sup> *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1968, appendix map no. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 89, 92.

<sup>3</sup> See Annex A: Church administration units.

<sup>4</sup> Łubnice appear in 1628 as a subsidiary church of Dietrzkowice, we accepted this state for the end of the sixteenth century. *Constitutiones*, f. E; Łaski LB, II, p. 142; Rosin, *Słownik*, p. 110; E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej w Polsce do czasów reformacji*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1, pp. 272, 278–280.

been a separate parish before, but in 1507 they were incorporated into Praszka parish. During the writing of *Liber beneficiorum*, the church in Kowale was completely devastated and did not provide any religious services, that is why we have not marked it on our map. A new subsidiary church was built (according to S. Librowski) in the second half of the sixteenth century perhaps, and we have included it on maps presenting the state from the end of this century.<sup>5</sup> The description of the Szadek parish from Łaski's book of benefits fails to mention a subsidiary church of St. Giles, whose existence had been confirmed in 1372 in Stary Szadek. According to the Zajączkowscy's findings, we have marked this church in the city Szadek, not in Wielka Wieś, as suggested by Librowski.<sup>6</sup> Since 1492 there has been a subsidiary church with its own chaplain in Chojny Wielkie in Mileszki parish (Łęczyca Voivodeship). However, unlike Wiśniowski, who granted this church parish functions, we have marked a subsidiary church in Chojny (the matter remains debatable).<sup>7</sup>

The map key informs that the number of priests means the number of posts at a given parochial or subsidiary church. This situation results from the inaccuracies of source information. There were parochial churches without a parson, occasionally administered by a substitute pastor ('komendarz') or passing priests.<sup>8</sup> Some parsons did not reside in the parish because of their cumulated benefices, there were also those without higher ordination (presbyterate), who were not allowed to fulfil pastoral functions.<sup>9</sup> The map omits such situations and treats every parish as if possessing a residing parson, i.e. at least one priest. The vicars, as well as altarists, chaplains and mansionaries listed in *Liber beneficiorum* raise the number of the priests. We treat information about a house for a vicar as proof of his presence.<sup>10</sup>

Disregarding collegiate churches and monasteries, more than three priests were found in 16 cities and three villages. These were: Będków, Bielawy, Brzeziny, Chełmo (former Chełm, a village in Radomsko district),<sup>11</sup> Łęczyca, Piątek, Piotrków, Wolbórz and Zgierz in Łęczyca archdeaconry, Brzeźnica, Kamieńsk, Łask, Radomsko, Sieradz, Spicymierz (village) and Warta in Uniejów archdeaconry, Grzegorzew and Turek in Gniezno archdeaconry and Kalinowa (village) in Kalisz archdeaconry.

There were four collegiate churches in the described area: in Kościół (i.e. in Tum near Łęczyca), in Uniejów, in Sieradz and in Wieluń. The collegiate churches in Uniejów and Wieluń were also seats of parishes, the collegiate in Sieradz was related to the castle chapel<sup>12</sup>, and in Kościół (Tum), apart from an impressive Romanesque collegiate dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, there was a parochial church of St. Nicolas.<sup>13</sup>

Monasteries, mentioned only accidentally in Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*, were marked according to Jerzy Kłoczowski's work.<sup>14</sup> We found Stanisław Librowski's and Stanisław Litak's publications

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<sup>5</sup> In the 1668–1669 visitation Kowale are listed along with a chapel and affiliated to Praszka parish. Łaski LB, II, p. 124; Rosin, *Słownik*, p. 137; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, p. 145; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> Łaski LB, I, pp. 439–441; Zajączkowscy, part 2, p. 114; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, pp. 139, 148; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, p. 154; Litak, *Kościół*, p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> In 1628 Chojny were listed among the parishes (*Constitutiones 1628*, f. D 2), but other sources – until the eighteenth century – do not suggest, that this church should be considered subsidiary with a district. Łaski, LB, II, p. 384 (here also the base for the localization of Chojny Wielkie and Chojny Małe); E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej*, p. 279; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, p. 83; Litak, *Kościół*, p. 195; Czaykowski; Perthées's and Gilly's maps. – The date of the erection of the subsidiary church was established by J. Szymczak, *Erekcja kościoła w podlódzkich Chojnach w 1492 r.*, „*Rocznik Łódzki*”, vol. 43, 1996, pp. 15–35.

<sup>8</sup> Wiśniowski lists 14 such parishes lacking a pastor in Sieradz and Łęczyca territory (Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej*, p. 287).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 280, 287–295.

<sup>10</sup> There are some mentions of vicars' houses in Milejów (Łaski LB, II, p. 188), and therefore we have accepted the number of three priests. For vicars and the number of priests in a parish, e.g. in Uniejów and Łęczyca archdeaconries see Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej*, pp. 311–315, 323–329.

<sup>11</sup> In Chełm (Tuszyn deanery) the situation was exceptional – three parsons (probably not all resident), a vicar and an altarists (who was a parson in Siedlec at the same time); Łaski LB, II, pp. 200–206; E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej*, pp. 283, 326; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> See the commentary on the plan of Sieradz.

<sup>13</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 429.

<sup>14</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Zakony na ziemiach polskich w wiekach średnich*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1, pp. 495–582 and appendix map no. 4.

helpful as well.<sup>15</sup> Like Kłoczowski, small monastic outposts (e.g. in Kazimierz) were omitted, and the Benedictine provostry in Uniejów was included only as a subsidiary church (chapel).<sup>16</sup> We have marked 13 monasteries in 12 spots altogether (two priories in Wieluń). Monasteries are listed according to the orders: the Paulines – Oporów, Wielgomłyny, Wieluń, Wieruszów; the Dominicans – Łęczyca, Piotrków, Sieradz; the Canons Regular of the Lateran – Klasztor Mstowski, Kłodawa; the Franciscans in Radomsko, the Bernardines in Warta, the Augustinians in Wieluń, the Norbertines (the Premonstratensians) in Witów. Wielgomłyny and Witów were villages, Klasztor Mstowski neighboured on the city of Mstów via the voivodeship and diocese border, the remaining monastic outposts were situated in towns. Four monastery churches were also parish seats (Klasztor Mstowski, Kłodawa, Oporów and Wielgomłyny).<sup>17</sup>

A hospital, that is an almshouse, usually had its own church or chapel.<sup>18</sup> Łaski's register of benefits and studies allowed us to mark 17 hospitals in 16 cities. These were: Bolesławiec, Brzeziny, Brzeźnica, Dobra,<sup>19</sup> Kłodawa,<sup>20</sup> Krośniewice, Kutno, Łask,<sup>21</sup> Łęczyca (two hospitals), Piątek, Piotrków, Sieradz, Uniejów, Warta, Wieluń, Wolbórz.<sup>22</sup>

The majority of subsidiary churches performing parochial functions that existed in the end of the sixteenth century were already of this character during the writing of the book of benefits of Gniezno diocese. Such churches were also situated in the above-mentioned Łubienice and Kowale, and then in Szczyty, which lost its independent parish in 1563, and Konopnica, where in 1551–1552 a church was built and a subsidiary of Osjaków parish was opened.<sup>23</sup> Former parishes Mieleszyn and Sokolniki, were temporarily affiliated to neighbouring parishes at the beginning of the sixteenth century and regained their independence soon afterwards.<sup>24</sup> Topola, on the other hand, for a long time remained a subsidiary of Kościół parish (Tum), it was separated in 1599.<sup>25</sup> The subsidiary church in Słomów, that existed in Łaski's times, became a separate parish before the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> At the same time four new parishes were created in places that had not had a church before: in Krzepczów (parish created in 1526), in Chojne (1527), in Dłutów (1540) and in Kliczków Mały (1590).<sup>27</sup> In 1529 a parish by the chapel in Puszcza Osińska was erected<sup>28</sup>. In the sixteenth century there were two cases of moving the parish seat from a village to the city, in which the subsidiary church of the parish was located. In 1523 the parish in the village Rosocha was replaced by the provostry in the town Będków (until then there was a subsidiary church there, with four vicars).<sup>29</sup> In 1548 the parish was moved from Chrzęstów to Nowopole (Koniecpol).<sup>30</sup>

(1998)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

<sup>15</sup> Librowski, Repertorium, part 4; Litak, Kościół.

<sup>16</sup> Łaski LB, I, pp. 338–359; E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej*, pp. 283–285; *Uniejów. Dzieje miasta*, ed. J. Szymczak, Łódź 1995, pp. 73, 397–401.

<sup>17</sup> The Canons Regular from Kłodawa also administered two nearby parishes in Rdutów and Sobótka. Łaski LB, II, pp. 451–454, 459–463; Librowski, Repertorium, pp. 106, 140, 148; see Litak, Kościół, pp. 98, 191, 516.

<sup>18</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój organizacji parafialnej*, pp. 346–356.

<sup>19</sup> In Dobra the visitations from 1635–1636 and 1683 list a hospital provostry with the church of the Holy Ghost or St. Stanislaus. Łaski mentions only the chapel of St. Stanislaus and others, but as his information is incomplete, we accept the existence of the church already in the beginning of the sixteenth century; Łaski LB, I, p. 403; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, pp. 140, 150; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, p. 88.

<sup>20</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Zakony*, p. 510.

<sup>21</sup> Librowski, Repertorium, p. 118.

<sup>22</sup> Dedications to the Holy Ghost and St. Leonard related to one hospital in Wolbórz, not to two; Łaski LB, II, pp. 176, 178; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, p. 167.

<sup>23</sup> Rybus 1961, p. 179; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, pp. 109, 154.

<sup>24</sup> Constitutiones, f. E; Łaski LB, II, pp. 145, 150; Rosin, Słownik, pp. 114, 124, 155; Librowski, Repertorium, pp. 124, 129, 148 n.

<sup>25</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 429, Rybus 1961, p. 211; Librowski 1978, p. 156.

<sup>26</sup> Constitutiones 1628, f. D (incorrectly Płomowo instead of Słomowo); Łaski LB, I, pp. 258, 261; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, p. 147.

<sup>27</sup> Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, pp. 83, 88, 106, 113.

<sup>28</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>29</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 230–233; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4, pp. 76, 141.

<sup>30</sup> Łaski LB, I, pp. 558, 562; Rybus, pp. 172, 175; Librowski, Repertorium, part 4 pp. 128.

### III.2.2.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Arkadiusz Borek*

As in previous AHP volumes, we present the structure of Catholic Church administration on two maps. The detailed main map presents the seats of Catholic Church administrative units and the borders of dioceses, archdeaconries, and parishes. The small-scale general map titled ‘Catholic Church divisions in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century’ shows the seats of dioceses, archdeaconries, deaneries, and parishes, as well as the boundaries of dioceses, archdeaconries, and deaneries. Both maps present borders as they were at the close of the sixteenth century. The area of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land analysed in this volume was at the time part of Włocławek diocese<sup>1</sup> (which covered Cuyavia and a fragment of Dobrzyń land), Płock diocese (most of Dobrzyń land and a small fragment of Cuyavia), and – only marginally – Gniezno diocese. The purpose of the text below is to provide a commentary on this static depiction, shed some light on the evolution of Catholic Church structures in the second half of the sixteenth century, and draw attention to cases of uncertain or controversial nature. Owing to factual territorial relations, this chapter focuses primarily on Włocławek diocese.

The source bases for Włocławek and Płock dioceses are disparate. Certain discrepancies are also noted in lower-ranking administrative structures of individual bishoprics. We have very robust documentation for Włocławek diocese. Visitations dating to the last quarter of the sixteenth century constitute the basic sources for identifying its structures. The information from all these sources have been published. Full texts of visitations from Włocławek archdeaconry, and partly of Kruszwica archdeaconry, have been published in the series *Monumenta Historica Dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*<sup>2</sup> and *Visitationes Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae Hieronymo Rozrażewski Wladislaviensi et Pomeraniae Episcopo Factae*<sup>3</sup> (the publications also contain visitations to a few parishes of Bydgoszcz deanery). In his thorough summaries printed in the *Catalogues of Visitation Books of the Cuyavia-Pomerania Diocese* published in ABMK, Witold Kujawski has already introduced readers to the contents of the visitation report for Kruszwica archdeaconry, currently archived at AAG.<sup>4</sup> Post-Partition changes in parish borders have scattered visitation manuscripts across Catholic Church archives in Włocławek, Gniezno and Pelplin. The earliest extant visitation of Włocławek diocese dates to 1577,<sup>5</sup> the next one was drafted just a year later in 1578.<sup>6</sup> Both were requested by Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski. However, they do not cover all

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<sup>1</sup> The 1551 Piotrków Synod officially granted Włocławek bishops the title of Włocławek-Pomeranian bishops; *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, ed. Z. Chodyński, Varsaviae 1890, p. VIII; I. Subera, *Terytorium diecezji włocławskiej i pomorskiej*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 4, 1961, no. 1–4, pp. 681–768, here: p. 686; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (966–1939)*, ABMK, vol. 19, 1969, p. 302; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, cz. 1: *Wizytacje diecezji kujawskiej i pomorskiej*, vol. 1: *Opracowanie archiwalno-źródłoznawcze*, no. 1, Lublin 1964, ABMK, vol. 8, pp. 25–30; A. Tomezak, *Kancelaria biskupów włocławskich w okresie księgi wpisów (XV–XVIII w.)*, „Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”, vol. 69, no. 3, p. 17. In this chapter, I will only use the first word of this compound to refer to the diocese under the jurisdiction of those bishops.

<sup>2</sup> MHDW 1, pp. 11, 17, 19–23.

<sup>3</sup> VAP 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 149–268; Repertorium 78, pp. 71–159.

<sup>5</sup> MHDW 17, pp. 45–135; MHDW 19, pp. 28–40.

<sup>6</sup> MHDW 17, pp. 6–44. List of difficulties encountered by individual parishes starting on p. 31. Some argue that the files of 1577 and 1578 visitations record the outcomes of a single visitation procedure (M. Pawlak, *Reformacja na Kujawach w świetle wizytacji duszpasterskich biskupów Stanisława Karnkowskiego i Hieronima Rozrażewskiego z lat 1577–1584*,

Cuyavian churches nor enable outlining their territorial range. Later visitations date to the pontificate of Hieronim Rozdrażewski. Dating to 1582, the first record of that period covers practically all of the Cuyavian part of Włocławek diocese, but often fails to provide information on parochial districts of Włocławek archdeaconry.<sup>7</sup> The 1584–1585 visitation to Włocławek and Kruszwica archdeaconries is much more complete in terms of territorial reach and information on parochial villages.<sup>8</sup> The year 1586 saw quite brief visitations to Kruszwica and Inowrocław deaneries.<sup>9</sup> Włocławek archdeaconry was visited in 1594,<sup>10</sup> Kruszwica archdeaconry in 1596,<sup>11</sup> and Włocławek archdeaconry in 1598.<sup>12</sup> Apart from those files, the surviving source base also offers information on visitations to individual churches.<sup>13</sup> Wherever necessary, we reached for seventeenth and eighteenth century sources.<sup>14</sup> Full visitations are supplemented by lists of diocese churches from ca. 1570 (by patronage), 1577 (most probably registers of visitations conducted in that year), 1583 (broken down into deaneries and archdeaconries),<sup>15</sup> and the 1620 synod list of parishes.<sup>16</sup> The manuscript map of Włocławek diocese is an interesting source, as it presents churches and deanery divisions. Paweł Groth dated the map to the years 1620–1630.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, attributing a specific date to this map poses difficulties. Most of the map shows earlier deanery divisions, but does not acknowledge that the deanery seat was relocated from Raciążek (Raciąż, c) to Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszewa, r). Only the later formation of Bobrowniki Deanery does not fit into this puzzle (see below). Most of the map must have been drafted based on Rozdrażewski's visitation, as noted by Stanisław Librowski.<sup>18</sup> Sadly, this non-cartometric map is hardly any use as a cartographic source. Ridden with errors and ambiguities, this map's usability as a list of churches is also limited.<sup>19</sup>

At present, no existing Catholic Church source enables a broader reconstruction of parish borders in periods preceding the above-listed visitations. The 1527 *Liber Retaxationum* of Włocławek diocese<sup>20</sup> provides information almost exclusively on the payments due from individual villages to parochial churches. Of course, such endowment districts of single churches were to a large extent tantamount to parochial districts, but in many cases their boundaries did not fully overlap. Therefore – unless a source specifies the levy paid was *meszne (missalia)*, which indicated that pastoral care was provided by a specific church – we can use *Liber Retaxationum* data merely as suggestions for reconstructing parochial districts.<sup>21</sup>

The stock of Catholic Church sources which is well-suited for reconstructing the administrative structures of Dobrzyń land falling within Płock diocese makes a much less favourable impression. Earliest visitations to most parishes of Dobrzyń archdeaconry date to the years 1597–1598. Two

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[in:] *Polska w kręgu polityki, kultury i gospodarki europejskiej. Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 70-lecia urodzin prof. Maksymiliana Grzegorza*, ed. Z. Zyglewski, Bydgoszcz 2007, p. 179), yet the fact that both registers list the same 27 parishes proves otherwise—and points to two separate visitations.

<sup>7</sup> MHDW 19, pp. 41–72; VAP 1, pp. 96–102; Repertorium 77, pp. 151–161.

<sup>8</sup> MHDW 22; VAP 1, p. 172–188; Repertorium 77, pp. 161–168.

<sup>9</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 168–172.

<sup>10</sup> MHDW 23, pp. 4–62.

<sup>11</sup> VAP 2, pp. 276–290; Repertorium 77, pp. 182–190; Repertorium 78, pp. 106–117.

<sup>12</sup> MHDW 20, 21.

<sup>13</sup> For example: 1583 visitation to Lubraniec and its filial churches (MHDW 19, pp. 73–80), 1584 visitation to churches in Nieszawa, Brześć, and Kowal (MHDW 19, pp. 81–109), 1595 visitation to Piaski Parish (Repertorium 77, p. 181), visitations to churches in Skulsko, Warzymowo, Rządwin, Kobielice, and Sędzino dating to the late sixteenth century (MHDW 23, pp. 63–77).

<sup>14</sup> Repertorium 68, pp. 113–160; Repertorium 71, pp. 141–252; Repertorium 77, pp. 190–267; Repertorium 78, pp. 71–102, 117–134.

<sup>15</sup> MHDW 1, pp. 7–24.

<sup>16</sup> *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, pp. 178–180.

<sup>17</sup> P. Groth, *Nieznana mapa diecezji włocławskiej z XVII w.*, ZH, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 119–126.

<sup>18</sup> S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> Among others, Pakość and Kwieciszewo of Gniezno Diocese were placed within Włocławek Diocese, the parish of Modzurewo established in the late sixteenth century was omitted, and Barcin was ascribed to Kruszwica Deanery.

<sup>20</sup> MHDW 11; A. Borek, *Liber beneficiorum Jana Łaskiego – przyczynek do krytyki źródłoznawczej gnieźnieńskiej księgi uposażeń*, ABMK, vol. 112, pp. 44–45.

<sup>21</sup> K. Kaczmarczyk, *Ciężary ludności wiejskiej i miejskiej na prawie niemieckim w Polsce XIII i XIV w.*, PH, vol. 11, p. 157; J. Matuszewski, *Missalia – mensalia*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio: studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1976, pp. 375, 378–379; A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, in: AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2a.4.

redactions have survived to date. The earlier of the two can be found in the visitation volume bearing file number (sign) 1 in ADP, and covers 40 churches of Dobrzyń archdeaconry inspected in the autumn of 1597 (mixed with parishes belonging to other areas).<sup>22</sup> The later elaboration, which contains information from early 1598, expands its scope to comprehensively cover Dobrzyń, Lipno, and Rypin deaneries.<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, the contents of these two sources differ significantly. This text, however, is not the place for an in-depth source analysis. We used both manuscripts. In terms of our focus in this chapter, it is important to state that the visitation is mainly an internal one, and tends to disregard parish range. Some parishes of Rypin deanery are an exception here. Of the visitations to parishes of Płock diocese situated in Dobrzyń land, descriptions were published only for a few parishes falling within the later-established Górzno deanery.<sup>24</sup> A 1605 visitation covers several churches in Dobrzyń land, yet again it fails to provide information on parochial districts.<sup>25</sup> The first complete visitation which gives the full picture of the parochial network and the parochial districts in Dobrzyń and Lipno Deaneries dates to 1609.<sup>26</sup> Rypin Deanery is for the first time discussed in full in a 1623 visitation, which sadly only enumerates districts granted as endowments to parishes, not districts of pastoral service.<sup>27</sup> The next visitation covering this area was not drawn up until 1694.<sup>28</sup> The church list of the 1628 benefice tariffs proved useful in reconstructing the parochial network itself.<sup>29</sup> In conclusion, we do not have fully useful Catholic Church sources dating to the second half of the sixteenth century on Dobrzyń archdeaconry.

For the purpose of mapping fragments of Gniezno diocese, we used the same sources as in AHP Greater Poland.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from visitations, our auxiliary sources included tax registers where parish layout was reflected. Nevertheless, it ought to be stressed that tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century featured parishes in order to help organise the lists of collected taxes, not to reflect actual Catholic Church structures. At the same time, in the overwhelming majority of cases Catholic Church files confirm tax register data. Despite the errors,<sup>31</sup> thus, employing registers is justified in the absence of Catholic Church sources.

A variety of publications have already tackled the Catholic Church's historical administrative divisions in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. Next to Zenon Guldon,<sup>32</sup> Witold Kujawski gathered a plethora of information. However, Kujawski's data rely mainly on the sources invoked here directly.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, this material lay the foundation for the article by Ignacy Subera. Regrettably, the author's great fault are the numerous errors and simplifications, e.g. he ignores the medieval modification of the border shared by Włocławek and Płock dioceses.<sup>34</sup> Stanisław K. Olczak discusses the administrative structures of Włocławek archdeaconry in his book,<sup>35</sup> but the explanation offered is rather cursory and is not Olczak's main focus. In her articles, Zofia Kuźniewska collates information on Catholic Church

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<sup>22</sup> ADP, sign. 1.

<sup>23</sup> ADP, sign. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Visitationes moderni Decanatus Gorznensis nec non ecclesiae parochialis in Białuty*, ed. P. Czaplewski, Toruń 1910 (Scientific Society in Toruń. Fontes, vol. 14), pp. 633–768.

<sup>25</sup> ADP, sign. 4, ff. 1r–12r.

<sup>26</sup> ADP, sign. 6.

<sup>27</sup> ADP, sign. 14.

<sup>28</sup> ADP, sign. 47.

<sup>29</sup> ADP, Ep. 34/59, pp. 92–114.

<sup>30</sup> A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, in: AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2a.4.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup> Guldon, *Kujawy*; Guldon, *Dobrzyń*.

<sup>33</sup> W. Kujawski, *Źródła kościelne do dziejów zawiślańskich terenów diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej*, ZK-D, vol. 14: *Wyznania na Kujawach wschodnich i w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, 2000, pp. 225–268; *idem*, *Podziały administracyjno-kościelne Kujaw wschodnich (od początku do 1925 r.)*, ZK-D, vol. 29: *Administracja państwowa, samorządowa i kościelna na Kujawach wschodnich i w ziemi dobrzyńskiej od średniowiecza do 1975 roku*, 2014, pp. 9–26; Kujawski, *Parafie*; W. Kujawski, *Zmiany przynależności parafii pomiędzy diecezjami płocką i włocławską w ciągu dziejów*, „*Studia Włocławskie*”, 2018, vol. 20, pp. 555–574.

<sup>34</sup> I. Subera, *Terytorium diecezji włocławskiej i pomorskiej*.

<sup>35</sup> S.K. Olczak, *Kościół parafialny w archidiecezji włocławskiej XVI–XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2004, pp. 19–29.

structures in Dobrzyń land.<sup>36</sup> Wiesław Müller,<sup>37</sup> Bolesław Kumor,<sup>38</sup> and Eugeniusz Wiśniowski<sup>39</sup> studied the administrative divisions of Płock diocese. Inopportunistically for our purposes, they adopted a statistical approach, which is a fruitless method for resolving detailed matters. Moreover, Dobrzyń land itself has yet to become the subject of an exhaustive publication focused on Catholic Church units.<sup>40</sup>

This volume continues to apply the AHP criteria adopted for mapping parochial seats.<sup>41</sup> Thus, we marked those parochial seats and related districts whose legal existence we managed to confirm for the late sixteenth century. Filial churches with separate pastoral districts are treated on a par with the parochial seats of the preceding sentence (same signature and borders). Still, it ought to be stressed that classing a church as a filial church might denote a wide spectrum of – genetic and/or hierarchical – relations between two places of worship, and sources are not always unambiguous in this department.<sup>42</sup> Another vital assumption is including a parish only if the Catholic Church administration recognised that parochial centre, whereby whether that centre was actually active was not decisive. Even if a parish was vacant and defaulted in exercising pastoral care, we placed it on the map. In the second half of the sixteenth century, one of the most frequent reasons behind vacancies was the seizure of Catholic Church by Protestants. In general, Catholic Church authorities refrained from officially closing down such parishes, which was in keeping with the recommendations issued by Polish synods. Captured churches were treated as if they were occupied, and thus appeared in visitations – despite the fact that local Catholics had to take sacraments at neighbouring Catholic churches.<sup>43</sup>

The parochial affiliation of individual settlements is a much more complex issue. Depending on the available source base, we adopted several assumptions to dispel doubts in unclear cases. Even if tax registers indicated a different parochial affiliation, for Włocławek diocese we adopted the affiliation following from the visitations dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. Discrepancies were not unusual, e.g. sixteenth century visitations were found not to be congruent. In such situations, we relied on later visitations to clarify uncertainties. The available source base necessitated a different approach for Płock diocese, where in most cases we deemed tax register data confirmed with seventeenth and eighteenth century Catholic Church sources to be sufficient. Where visitation and tax register data were incongruent, we usually put trust in the former, especially if the sources dated to the first half of the seventeenth century and tax registers were open to doubt, e.g. due to the location of a given settlement. Włocławek and Płock dioceses both had localities whose parochial affiliation could be established on the basis of either only tax registers or exclusively visitations (also dating to later periods). Settlement location served as the criterion of the last resort. It proved infeasible to determine the right parish for ten localities (nine of them were mill settlements) – the location of all these sites remains unknown. Further on in the Commentary, we discuss cases where in our opinion the assigned parochial affiliation requires additional explanation.

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<sup>36</sup> Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Sąsiedztwo diecezji płockiej i włocławskiej oraz problemy z tym związane*, „Notatki Płockie”, 2004, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 4–13; *Kościelne podziały administracyjne ziemi dobrzyńskiej na tle jej dziejów (od początku do 1925 r.)*, ZK-D, 2014, vol. 29, pp. 27–44.

<sup>37</sup> W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej w XVI–XVIII w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 1967, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 129–174; Müller 1975, vol. 3, pp. 153–226.

<sup>38</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice diecezji płockiej*, „Studia Płockie” 1975, vol. 3, pp. 45–58.

<sup>39</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Diecezja płocka u progu czasów nowożytnych*, „Studia Płockie” 1975, vol. 3, pp. 119–152.

<sup>40</sup> Czesław Biały's paper titled *Churches of Dobrzyń Archdeaconry in the Middle Ages* (Lublin 1960, Archiwum Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, TS) may be deemed a contribution to this discussion, but the epidemic-related safety measures in place at the time of completing work on this chapter (March–May 2020) prevented us from accessing its contents. Z.H. Kuźniewska also falls short of exhausting the topic in her work titled *Kościelne Dzieje Dobrzyń nad Wisłą (The Church History of Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula)*, published in Płock in 2014).

<sup>41</sup> M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.2.2a.4; A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2a.4.

<sup>42</sup> A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2a.4; B. Szady, *Church administration borders. B. Dioceses of Poznań and Wrocław*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2b.4.

<sup>43</sup> The 1607 provincial synod sanctioned this practice; B. Kumor, *Dzieje ustroju kościelnego w Polsce*, [in:] *Historia kościoła w Polsce*, eds. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, Poznań–Warszawa 1974, p. 106; I. Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 116, 256–257; A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2a.4.

## Włocławek diocese

The borders of both Cuyavian voivodeships corresponded mostly to the borders of Włocławek diocese. This tendency was abandoned on rare occasions along the western and southern borders, and large disparities occurred along Vistula River. The northern border of Inowrocław Voivodeship passed through the same diocese. Both the western and southern borders of Włocławek diocese have already been discussed in previous AHP volumes in the section on Gniezno diocese borders.<sup>44</sup>

Apart from the controversies listed in previous volumes, the range of the Warzymowo parish (Kruszwica district, present-day Kolonia Warzymowska) borderland of Włocławek diocese is a contested issue. Sources on Warzymowo parish are rather poor. It is mentioned that the parish had two settlements, which AHP Greater Poland placed in Lisewo parish (Konin district) in Gniezno diocese. Włocławek diocese visitations mention that Lisewo itself was affiliated to Warzymowo parish, as was Dąb (Krasny Dąb) Village held by Lisewo parish. One could consider such information on Lisewo's affiliation a mistake, considering the reference appears in an undated visitation from the late sixteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Gniezno sources confirm the undisputed autonomy of the local parish, even though its endowments were unimpressive and it had to endure prolonged vacancies.<sup>46</sup> It is also beyond doubt that Dąb belonged to Lisewo parish (peasants paid *meszne* to the parson).<sup>47</sup> Visitations of the late sixteenth century list Dąb as part of Warzymowo parish,<sup>48</sup> however, both sources add a reservation that the village does not display a sense of affiliation to the parish. Dąb is missing from the 1577 visitation.<sup>49</sup> It seems more likely that Dąb was listed as a Warzymowo parish village because it formed part of the parish (or more precisely the mansionaries founded there) endowment,<sup>50</sup> not due to actual parochial affiliation. For this reason, we refrained from adjusting this fragment of the diocese border, and Dąb remains within Lisewo parish.<sup>51</sup>

There are no grounds for modifying the course of the border determined in the AHP volume on Sieradz and Łęczyca for Korzecznik (n) parish.<sup>52</sup> Still, it is worth taking a closer look at its position. Włocławek diocese visitors raised the issue of its diocese affiliation, probably because this impoverished single-village parish was situated in Cuyavia. Włocławek archdeaconry visitations from the 1580s and 1590s refer to this problem. The absence of a permanent parish priest and the reluctance of patrons to host the visitor was not conducive to clarifying the situation.<sup>53</sup> The reasoning behind Włocławek visitors assuming Korzecznik's affiliation to Włocławek diocese was two-fold. First, the village paid tithe to the Włocławek Bishop. However, some fields also paid tithe to the Gniezno archbishop.<sup>54</sup> Secondly, in 1539 the Korzecznik parson declared before the official of Włocławek that he would reside at his parochial church.<sup>55</sup> A century earlier, however, in 1437, the Korzecznik parson had been brought before the Gniezno consistory court, which would indicate that Korzecznik was under the jurisdiction of Gniezno diocese at the time.<sup>56</sup> In the early 1640s, a Włocławek visitation placed Korzecznik in a different diocese.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Administrative divisions*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.2.2.7; H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5; A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2a.4.

<sup>45</sup> MHDW 23, p. 77.

<sup>46</sup> LBG 1, pp. 206–207; ADWł, sign. 033 (OABMK, microfilm 3812), ff. 247–249.

<sup>47</sup> LBG 1, pp. 206–207.

<sup>48</sup> MHDW 23, p. 66; Repertorium 78, p. 113. The publisher of MHDW dated it to 1599, but its contents are consistent with the 1596 Gniezno manuscript. It could be that these documents are two copies of the same text.

<sup>49</sup> MHDW 17, p. 109.

<sup>50</sup> MHDW 11, p. 55; MHDW 23, pp. 65–66, 77.

<sup>51</sup> Mentions of Lisewo in one visitation and Krasny Dąb in the other visitation raises the prospect that the author of the first visitation also had Krasny Dąb in mind.

<sup>52</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5. Z. Guldon placed Korzecznik in Włocławek Diocese; Guldon, Kujawy, pp. 26–27.

<sup>53</sup> MHDW 19, p. 55; MHDW 20, pp. 117–118; MHDW 23, pp. 54, 94.

<sup>54</sup> LBG 2, p. 448; Ulanowski 1920, p. 254.

<sup>55</sup> ADWł, sign. 107, p. 445.

<sup>56</sup> *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, vol. 2, ed. B. Ulanowski, Kraków 1902, vol. 2, no. 328.

<sup>57</sup> Repertorium 68, p. 142.

The parish appeared on the Gniezno side of the border in the sixteenth century, first in Bedlno deanery and later in Łęczycza archdeaconry of Kłodawa deanery.<sup>58</sup>

The border of Włocławek diocese took a more complex course in its south-eastern (border of Kowal district) and eastern part (along the Vistula, near Brześć Voivodeship). In this section, the diocese borders diverge from those of state administration, and the natural course set by Vistula River. To the south, Rawa territory embraced Włocławek parishes in Łanięta (n, all within Rawa Voivodeship) and Białotarsk (Białotarczek, c; border defined in 1444 in this region<sup>59</sup>). Further on, Płock diocese cuts into Kowal district, covering Duninów parish (Duninowo, r, Gostynin deanery)<sup>60</sup> and villages of the left-bank side Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula parish (Dobrzyń, r; around Dobiegniewo, r, which received a filial church with its own district in the seventeenth century, but became the subject of a dispute between dioceses<sup>61</sup>) situated in the narrow strip of settlements on the banks of the Vistula in that district. Downstream, the situation was reversed. Włocławek diocese overlapped with Dobrzyń land, encompassing Zaduszniki parish (n), Szpital Dolny (Szpital Dolny, cn), Chełmica (n), Ostrowite, Bobrowniki (r) and part of the Cuyavian parish of Przepust (Stare Rybitwy Village, Rybitwy, r, and no longer existing Starkowiec Demesne, n). This section of the diocese border was determined by the judgement of Gniezno Archbishop Janisław of 3 September 1321, which resolved the dispute between Włocławek and Płock dioceses about jurisdiction over this area.<sup>62</sup> The course of the border shared by Włocławek and Płock dioceses was yet again altered in the 1630s, when brothers Maciej and Stanisław Łubieński, bishops of Włocławek and Płock, respectively, reached an amicable settlement on incorporating four parishes owned by Włocławek bishops and situated along the southern bank of Drwęca River into Włocławek diocese.<sup>63</sup>

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In the second half of the sixteenth century, Włocławek diocese was made up of three archdeaconries: Włocławek, Kruszwica, and Pomerania. This division dates as far back as the turn of the thirteenth century,<sup>64</sup> and lasted until the liquidation of the diocese in 1817. All of Włocławek diocese's Cuyavian part was practically tantamount to Włocławek and Kruszwica archdeaconries, whereby the former also covered parishes in Dobrzyń land. The northern border of Inowrocław Voivodeship overlapped with the border of Kruszwica archdeaconry, and Pomerania archdeaconry only marginally protruded into this voivodeship. This convergence arose from the course of the border between the

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<sup>58</sup> LBG 2, p. 448; S. Librowski, *Repertorium akt wizytacji kanonicznych dawnej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, part 4: *Indeks geograficzno-historyczny*, no. 1: *Indeks do części 1 (zasób włocławski)*, ABMK 1978, vol. 37, p. 109. The first visitation to mention Korzecznik's affiliation to Gniezno dates to 1759, which makes it a source of a much later date. Earlier visitations of Łęczycza Archdeaconry perished in the 1944 fires in Warsaw; idem, *Repertorium akt wizytacji kanonicznych dawnej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej: część 3: akta przechowywane w Częstochowie, Łodzi, Łowiczu, Pelplinie, Poznaniu i Warszawie*, ABMK, 1977, vol. 34, p. 44.

<sup>59</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego*, ed. J.T. Lubomirski, Warszawa 1863, no. 192; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 303; Guldón, Powierski, *Podziały*, p. 7; B. Kumor, *Granice diecezji płockiej*, p. 46; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Sąsiedztwo diecezji płockiej i włocławskiej*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>60</sup> This parish was incorporated into Włocławek Diocese in 1800; Guldón, Powierski, *Podziały*, pp. 6–7, 54–55; B. Kumor, *Granice diecezji płockiej*, p. 51; W. Kujawski, *Podziały administracyjno-kościelne Kujaw wschodnich*, p. 18; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne podziały administracyjne ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 35.

<sup>61</sup> ADP, sign. 47, p. 1267; Kujawski, *Parafie*, p. 310.

<sup>62</sup> *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, pp. VIII–IX; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 32; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1: *Wizytacje diecezji kujawskiej i pomorskiej*, vol. 1: *Opracowanie archiwalno-źródłoznawcze*, no. 2: *Wizytacje w latach 1123–1421*, ABMK, vol. 10, 1965, p. 144; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 302–303; Guldón, Powierski, *Podziały*, p. 6; B. Kumor, *Granice diecezji płockiej*, p. 46; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Sąsiedztwo diecezji płockiej i włocławskiej*, pp. 5–7; eadem, *Kościelne podziały administracyjne ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 34–35; W. Kujawski, *Źródła kościelne do dziejów zawiślańskich terenów diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej*.

<sup>63</sup> *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, p. IX; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 32; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 303; idem, *Granice diecezji płockiej*, pp. 46–47; W. Kujawski, *Źródła kościelne do dziejów zawiślańskich terenów diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej*, p. 230; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Sąsiedztwo diecezji płockiej i włocławskiej*, pp. 7–8; eadem, *Kościelne podziały administracyjne ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 35.

<sup>64</sup> *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, p. IX; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 34–35; Guldón, Powierski, *Podziały*, pp. 9–10; W. Kujawski, *Struktury Kościoła katolickiego na Kujawach wschodnich ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem biskupstwa włocławskiego*, ZK-D, vol. 15: *Kujawy wschodnie i ziemia dobrzyńska w średniowieczu*, 2001, pp. 25–26; idem, *Podziały administracyjno-kościelne Kujaw wschodnich*, p. 12.

Kingdom of Poland and the State of the Teutonic Order before the Second Peace of Toruń. Włocławek archdeaconry encompassed the following deaneries: Brześć, Radziejów and Nieszawa (former Raciążek); Kruszwica archdeaconry was composed of: Kruszwica, Inowrocław, and Bydgoszcz deaneries. It seems that the division of deaneries between archdeaconries remained unregulated until the period of interest to us. In 1583, Nieszawa deanery was listed under Kruszwica archdeaconry.<sup>65</sup> An annotation to the 1586 visitation indicates that this deanery's affiliation could have been contested earlier on.<sup>66</sup> In the end, the case was closed in the late sixteenth century with a verdict in favour of Włocławek archdeaconry. The situation of Raciążek-Nieszawa deanery resembles that of Bydgoszcz deanery, which was placed in Włocławek deanery until the early sixteenth century. The transfer of Bydgoszcz deanery to Kruszwica archdeaconry was probably offset by the simultaneous hand-over of Radziejów deanery to the Włocławek archdeacon.<sup>67</sup> In general, archdeaconry borders were based on state administrative borders. Kruszwica archdeaconry encompassed Kruszwica district and almost all Inowrocław Voivodeship, with the exception of its south-eastern part. That fragment belonged to Włocławek archdeaconry, along with the remaining part of Brześć Voivodeship and the areas of Włocławek diocese situated on the other side of the Vistula.

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Already 1325–1327 Peter's Pence collection records show that Włocławek diocese was divided into deaneries. Earlier mentions indicate their establishment must have taken place in the early fourteenth century at the latest. The list of Peter's Pence payments reveals a territorial structure greatly divergent from the Włocławek dioceses described in later sources.<sup>68</sup> The next source to list deaneries belonging to the diocese is the short list predating 1479, which reflects a division much more similar to that of the sixteenth century.<sup>69</sup> Sixteenth century sources reveal six deaneries which were Brześć, Nieszawa (former Raciążek, covering parts of the diocese located on the other side of the Vistula), Radziejów, Kruszwica, Inowrocław, and Bydgoszcz. Extant visitations place the transfer of the deanery capital from Raciążek to Nieszawa between 1586 and 1594.<sup>70</sup> Similarly as with other dioceses of the Gniezno district, Włocławek diocese also responded to the Reformation<sup>71</sup> and related challenges by changing its deanery network. This change, however, did not take place in Cuyavia until the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>72</sup>

Many sections of the deanery borders overlapped with district borders, yet no deanery fully overlaid its corresponding district. Among others, the border shared by Bydgoszcz and Inowrocław deaneries was based on a natural boundary – the uninhabited territory of the woodlands to the south of Bydgoszcz.

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<sup>65</sup> MHDW 1, p. 21.

<sup>66</sup> S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 37; Repertorium 77, p. 172.

<sup>67</sup> S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, p. 155; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 11. Sadly, the *Liber Retaxationum* of 1527 fails to provide information on archdeaconries.

<sup>68</sup> S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 36–39; *ibidem*, pp. 145, 155–160; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 9–11; W. Kujawski, *Struktury Kościoła katolickiego na Kujawach wschodnich*, pp. 28–29; *idem*, *Podziały administracyjno-kościelne Kujaw wschodnich*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>69</sup> MHDW 1, p. 6. For information on the date of this list see: S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 185. This list of deaneries is practically consistent with the division known to have existed in the sixteenth century. Włocławek Deanery is the only exception in this source. One may guess, however, that it is an error. *Vladislavensis* should be construed as reference to all of the Cuyavian part of the diocese, like *Pomeraniae* to Pomerania part, and not as reference to a deanery. Regrettably, the list did not survive to date (*ibidem*) and cannot confirm this assumption.

<sup>70</sup> W. Kujawski, *Podziały administracyjno-kościelne Kujaw wschodnich*, p. 16.

<sup>71</sup> M. Przybyłko, *Urząd dziekana w rozwoju historycznym*, „Prawo Kanoniczne” 1962, vol. 5, no. 1–2, p. 136; W. Müller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2: *Wiek XVI–XVIII*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1969, vol. 2, pp. 180–181; B. Kumor, *Dzieje ustroju kościelnego w Polsce*, pp. 107, 249; W. Müller, *Diecezja plocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, pp. 107, 249; Müller 1975, pp. 169–170; I. Subera 1981, p. 106.

<sup>72</sup> In the end, this period saw Kowal Deanery being isolated from Brześć Deanery, Izbica Deanery from Radziejów Deanery (the new Izbica unit encompassed *i.a.* Świerczyna and Chalno Parishes of Brześć Deanery), Służewo and Bobrowniki Deaneries from Nieszawa Deanery, and Gniewków Deanery from Inowrocław Deanery; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 38; *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Vladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, pp. 178–179; W. Kujawski, *Struktury Kościoła katolickiego na Kujawach wschodnich*, p. 38; *idem*, *Podziały administracyjno-kościelne Kujaw wschodnich*, p. 17.

The district border took a different course. Almost all of the western border of Nieszawa deanery was based on a fragment of the Brześć Voivodeship border (which was wedged into Inowrocław Voivodeship), at the same time it stretched across the territory of both Cuyavian voivodeships.

Prior to the reform introduced in the early seventeenth century, sources indicate that the deanery affiliation of the church in Dybów-Podgórze (r, currently part of Toruń, see below) was changeable. A 1582 record lists the church as part of Raciążek deanery,<sup>73</sup> in 1583 the church was placed in Inowrocław deanery,<sup>74</sup> in 1584 it returned to Raciążek deanery,<sup>75</sup> only to be assigned to Inowrocław deanery in 1596,<sup>76</sup> and end up in Nieszawa deanery in 1598.<sup>77</sup> In 1620, it became permanently affiliated to Gniewków deanery.<sup>78</sup> An unambiguous basis for determining the deanery affiliation of this parish in the analysed period is therefore absent. It is clear that we are not dealing with administrative changes, rather with errors made by chancery scribes or insufficient findings on this matter. Under these circumstances, we decided to mark the deanery affiliation of this parish as 'alternative' and distinguish it with a separate signature on the map of ecclesiastical divisions and in the annex on church administrative units. One cannot rule out that these are the effects of the above changes to church administrative borders at the level of archdeaconries and deaneries. To a certain extent, this is manifested by the deanery affiliation of Orle (c, Radziejów district) and Solec Kujawski (Solec, r, Bydgoszcz district) Parishes reported by the 1527 *Liber Retaxationum*, which is different from that presented in visitations dated to the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>79</sup>

Listing Barcin parish (n, Kcynia district, Kalisz Voivodeship) and Dąbrówka Barcińska parish (Dąbrówka, n) in Raciążek deanery should be considered an ordinary chancery error, carried over from older visitation formats to subsequent documents.<sup>80</sup> From the geographical perspective, this simply doesn't make any sense.

Some problems with determining deanery affiliation may arise for the church in Wudzyń (Wodzino, c; sometimes also referred to as the church in Wudzynek, Wodzinek, c), which was a village held by Koronowo abbots and situated on the Cuyavia-Pomerania borderlands. The local parochial church did not have a parson of its own, and in the second half of the sixteenth century pastoral care was exercised by Serock priests (r; see below). This explains the 1583 reference to a Wudzyń church in the description of Serock parish in Świecie deanery.<sup>81</sup> The map of Włocławek diocese in the early seventeenth century unequivocally placed Wudzyń church in Świecie deanery.<sup>82</sup> However, 1570s sources list the church among the churches of the Cuyavian part of this diocese,<sup>83</sup> and Wudzyń church is not present in the 1598 list of Świecie deanery churches.<sup>84</sup> Wudzyń does not reappear in Bydgoszcz deanery until 1699.<sup>85</sup> Placing Wudzyń in Świecie deanery should therefore be interpreted as a reflection of its connection with Serock, not specific information on its actual affiliation.

Modzerowo (Modzurowo, n), a parish established in the late sixteenth century in Przedecz district (see below), appears in earlier records as a village of Izbica Parish (Radziejów deanery). Later on, it belonged to Izbica deanery (after its formation in the early seventeenth century),<sup>86</sup> which suggests that following its canonical erection it should be placed in Radziejów deanery. However, the only record from the second half of the sixteenth century to refer to this matter dates to 1598, is unequivocal, and places Modzerowo in Brześć deanery.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> MHDW 19, p. 70. Earlier visitations are not arranged by deaneries.

<sup>74</sup> MHDW 1, p. 21.

<sup>75</sup> MHDW 22, p. 78.

<sup>76</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 185; AAG, ACons. E44, f. 30v (omitted in W. Kujawski's catalogue).

<sup>77</sup> MHDW 21, p. 186.

<sup>78</sup> *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, p. 179; Repertorium 77, pp. 192, 215.

<sup>79</sup> MHDW 11, pp. 37, 73. Solec is placed in Raciążek Deanery until 1583; MHDW 1, p. 21.

<sup>80</sup> MHDW 1, p. 21; MHDW 11, p. 72; MHDW 19, pp. 62, 65.

<sup>81</sup> VAP 1, pp. 86, 123.

<sup>82</sup> P. Groth, *Nieznana mapa diecezji włocławskiej*, 1960, p. 123.

<sup>83</sup> MHDW 1, pp. 7, 18; MHDW 17, p. 130.

<sup>84</sup> MHDW 1, p. 26.

<sup>85</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 199, 213, 229, 255.

<sup>86</sup> *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, p. 178.

<sup>87</sup> MHDW 20, p. 119.

The status enjoyed by many churches of the discussed Włocławek diocese in the second half of the sixteenth century requires a comprehensive explanation. Further commentary is required on parishes which ceased to function due to the Reformation. This is also the case with filial churches with their own parochial districts which formed unions with neighbouring parishes or were incorporated into other ecclesiastical institutions, which was *de facto* tantamount to losing legal independence.

The fates of two neighbouring parishes in Brześć district, Siniarzewo (Świniarzewo, n) and Kościelna Wieś (Kościół, n), were tied together around the mid-1580s. The patrons of both churches converted to Protestantism – Kościelna Wieś welcomed a Protestant minister, while the Siniarzewo patron sought to dissolve the church entirely. The owner of Ruszki (Roszki, n), a village belonging to Kościelna Wieś parish, exploited the situation. From Siniarzewo's heir, Filip Zakrzewski, he bought the church building – or rather the building material it constituted – for two dogs, as evidenced by the 1594 visitation. The material was used to erect a new church in Ruszki for the Catholics of Kościelna Wieś parish. The Dominicans from Brześć provided pastoral care to the new place of worship. Nevertheless, the church was neither consecrated nor founded, and liturgy was celebrated under a special indult granted by the bishop. This church did not function for long. Catholics retook the Kościelna Wieś church in the years 1609–1615, downgrading the Ruszki church to a chapel. The dispute over Siniarzewo church between Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski and Filip Zakrzewski, who enjoyed strong support of the local nobility, was brought before first a land court, and then the Crown Tribunal. The bishop and the patron entered into an agreement in 1598. Zakrzewski undertook to fund a new parochial church in Siniarzewo. The agreement, however, was never fulfilled. The church was not rebuilt until 1642.<sup>88</sup> In this situation, we decided to leave the parochial centre in Kościelna Wieś on the map. Although the Ruszki church indeed served as a parochial church, its operations were temporary and it never gained the status of a fully fledged parish. Siniarzewo parish suffered merely an interruption of its functions and was not liquidated, even though villages affiliated to this parish were listed in Łowiczek parish in 1598.<sup>89</sup>

Different was the fate of the church in Zakrzewo (n, Brześć district), whose patron was also the above-mentioned Filip Zakrzewski. In this case, the patron also sold the church building. The buyer, Stanisław Wilkowstowski, was the patron of the parochial church in Osięciny (n), which burned down in 1584, the same year as the transaction was effected. Contrary to Siniarzewo, Zakrzewo parish was not reactivated. In 1598, when Rozdrażewski and Zakrzewski were settling the issue of Siniarzewo, records do not reveal similar efforts concerning Zakrzewo. Still, it is unclear how and whether Zakrzewo parish was officially dissolved. Zakrzewo gained a new Catholic church only in the mid-seventeenth century, and the new place of worship was merely a chapel. Even though a Carmelite Monastery was erected there in 1745, the parish was not reinstated until 1924.<sup>90</sup> Subsequent visitations recorded the Zakrzewo parish settlements in neighbouring parishes. In 1598, Gęsin (Gęsino, n) was listed as a village of Koneck parish.<sup>91</sup> Other settlements appear later. The no longer existing Krajewice Village (n) was assigned to Siniarzewo parish in 1711,<sup>92</sup> while Wola Bachorna (n) was placed in Sędzin parish in 1764.<sup>93</sup> Starting from 1598, Zakrzewo itself was recorded as a settlement which once had a parochial church. In 1764, Zakrzewo was mentioned as part of Chlewiska parish.<sup>94</sup> As emphasised above, no act of law sanctioned these changes. Only the 1711 visitation mentions that Zakrzewo parish villages became part of neighbouring parishes.<sup>95</sup> This situation renders it impossible to unequivocally prove the formal cessation of Zakrzewo parish's existence in the late sixteenth century. When recon-

<sup>88</sup> MHDW 17, p. 114; MHDW 19, p. 63; MHDW 20, pp. 133–137; MHDW 21, pp. 193–197; MHDW 23, pp. 18, 57–58; L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach w XVI wieku*, PKHBTN, series C, vol. 3, p. 60; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 260–267, 870–879.

<sup>89</sup> MHDW 21, p. 174.

<sup>90</sup> MHDW 17, p. 116; MHDW 19, pp. 63–64; MHDW 20, p. 137; MHDW 22, p. 51; MHDW 23, pp. 20, 44; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 285–296, 886–888.

<sup>91</sup> MHDW 21, p. 195.

<sup>92</sup> Repertorium 71, p. 182.

<sup>93</sup> ADW1, sign. 0224, f. 88v.

<sup>94</sup> ADW1, sign. 0226, p. 172; Czaykowski, p. 859.

<sup>95</sup> Repertorium 71, p. 183.

structing parochial divisions, we identified two options: either to include Zakrzewo parish or to adopt the eighteenth-century divisions. In the end, we chose the latter solution. Absence of information on attempts to restore the church in the late sixteenth century formed the grounds for this decision. One can assume that during the feud with Filip Zakrzewski, Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski must have fought for both churches which had been liquidated, yet the settlement required concessions from both parties. Zakrzewski, beyond doubt a hardened Protestant, agreed to the church and endowment being rebuilt, restored, furnished and founded. In return, the Bishop gave up on the Zakrzewo church. This would mean that by the late sixteenth century, Catholic Church authorities accepted the liquidation of Zakrzewo parish and abandoned the intention to reactivate this unit. Hence the parochial divisions marked on our map should reflect these changes.

The Reformation exerted a profound impact on the church in Lisewo Kościelne (Lisewo, n). The patrons of this church also brought a minister to replace the parish priest. Conversely to other similar cases, the parochial centre was officially transferred in full. The new church was constructed by the owner of Pęchowo, where Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski effected the canonical erection of a new parish in 1579. All settlements previously subordinate to the church in Lisewo Kościelne were assigned to the new Pęchowo parish (although visitations recorded the two churches separately in the second half of the sixteenth century). It was not until 1611 that the situation changed. Catholics recovered the church in Lisewo Kościelne and isolated a separate parochial district from Pęchowo parish for the regained church.<sup>96</sup> In this situation, we marked the Pęchowo church as the proper parish recognised as at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>97</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Protestants took over many other churches. Still, Catholics successfully recovered all of them by the close of the seventeenth century. Changes to the parochial network were not considerable, and resembled those discussed above. This issue is discussed in greater detail in the chapter on Protestant churches (see *Reformation in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century* in this volume).

The two churches united at the very end of the sixteenth century – *de facto*, if not *de jure*. The union brought together the Broniszewo (n, Radziejów district) and Warzymowo churches. The 1598 visitation and tax registers alike unequivocally indicate that Broniszewo, a settlement situated on the south-eastern bank of Gopło Lake, had been abandoned, and housed only a parochial church. The village belonged to the Sokołowski family, who also owned Warzymowo, which also served as a parochial centre under their patronage on the other side of Gopło. The activity of the patrons led to an informal merger of the parishes. The 1599 visitation to the Warzymowo parish mentions that the local commendatory parson collected tithes from Noć, which belonged to Broniszewo parish, in return for liturgical service in Broniszewo. The 1617 contract between Jarosław Sokołowski and a certain priest quite clearly suggests that it was common practice for one priest to service two churches at the time, whereby it ought to be noted that Warzymowo took precedence.<sup>98</sup> For this reason, later visitations combine Broniszewo parish with Kruszwica deanery<sup>99</sup> instead of Radziejów deanery, where Broniszewo was listed in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the union of the two parishes was never formalised. Owing to its function, we marked Broniszewo as a parish in a vacant village on the map.

Cuyavia had several filial parishes with their own districts. One of Poland's most famous monuments of Romanesque architecture, the BVM Church in Inowrocław (r), was a filial church. Although older and initially serving as the parent church, over time it became formally subordinate to St. Nicholas Church, which was situated within Inowrocław town walls. In the sixteenth century, a parson resided in the latter church, while a vicar serviced the BVM Church. The St. Nicholas Parish encompassed a chartered city, while the parish of the BVM covered the suburbs and surrounding villages; its centre was situated in Staromieście (t, currently part of Inowrocław).<sup>100</sup> Churches in Nieszawa and Przepust were bound by similar relations. In 1460, Nieszawa was transferred to a new location within

<sup>96</sup> MHDW 17, p. 121; S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku*, vol. 2: *Lata 1551–1760*, Włocławek, no. 661; Repertorium 77, pp. 157, 165, 171, 183–184, 196; Repertorium 78, p. 108; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 200–201, 214–215.

<sup>97</sup> Z. Guldon also adopted this version, though his information was not complete; Guldon, *Kujawy*, p. 35.

<sup>98</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 206r, 256r, 441v, 498v; MHDW 22, p. 69; MHDW 23, p. 66; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 730–739.

<sup>99</sup> *Statuta synodalia Dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae*, p. 179; Repertorium 77, pp. 208, 225.

<sup>100</sup> MHDW 17, p. 154; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 21–22; Repertorium 77, pp. 167–168, 182, 194.

Przypust Parish. Although sources continued to mention that Nieszawa was a subsidiary of the Przypust church for a relatively long time, Nieszawa enjoyed much greater actual significance and became the dominant church where a parson resided permanently. Both parishes had their own districts.<sup>101</sup> The one-village Orłowo Parish (r) was also a filial parish. It was located to the north of Inowrocław, and was incorporated into the Dybów-Podgórze church (perhaps this reflected a dependency dating back to times before Nieszawa's transition).<sup>102</sup> Wola Pierowa parish (Pierowa Wola, n), incorporated in 1516, was a filial parish of the church in Lubień Kujawski (Lubień, n).<sup>103</sup>

The 1577 visitation defines the church in Branno (n) as the parent unit of Murzynno (Murzyno, r) church.<sup>104</sup> This information, however, should be construed solely as a description of genetic relations and historical dependence (Murzynno parish was created before the end of the fourteenth century<sup>105</sup>), not as an indication of sixteenth century formal relations between the two parishes.

The parishes in Lubraniec (n), Bytoń (Bytom, r), and Zgłowiączka (Zgłowiątko, c) were bound by quite special ties. In 1497, Canons Regular were brought to the first above-listed parish, and the local parochial church was incorporated into their monastery. In the 1520s, the efforts of Poznań Bishop Jan Lubrański resulted in the Bytoń and Zgłowiączka parochial churches also being incorporated into the monastery of Lubraniec Canons. After that, Bytoń and Zgłowiączka churches were filial parishes of the Lubraniec church, had their own parochial districts, and received liturgical service from delegated canons.<sup>106</sup>

Wudzyń church was in a somewhat ambiguous situation. In the 1570s, sources mention it was a parochial church situated in Budzinko at the time. However, it did not have a parson of its own, and resorted to the pastoral care of a priest from Serock.<sup>107</sup> In 1583, Wudzyń was listed in a description of Serock parish, which belonged to Świecie deanery in Pomerania archdeaconry. The records stated it was a vacant *cappella* of Koronowo Abbey which required consecration, a former parish.<sup>108</sup> The parish continued to operate without a parson, administered by priests of neighbouring parishes.<sup>109</sup> Scarcity of information impedes determining the legal status of this parish in the second half of the sixteenth century. Still, the claim that this parish was a Serock filial<sup>110</sup> is not supported by unambiguous mentions in sources. Regardless of this information, Wudzyń church had its own parochial district; we marked it as a parish on the map.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, many parishes of Włocławek diocese were incorporated to church institutions other than parochial churches, which resulted in the take-over of their endowments and rights of patronage over a parish. In 1578, the parochial church in Brześć Kujawski (Brzeście, r) was incorporated into the endowment of Włocławek Chapter,<sup>111</sup> Byczyna Parish (c) to the Mansionary College of Włocławek Cathedral,<sup>112</sup> Piaski Parish (cn) near Kruszwica to the College of Vicars of Kruszwica Collegiate Church,<sup>113</sup> in 1569 Wieniec Parish (c) was incorporated into the

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<sup>101</sup> MHDW 11, p. 70; MHDW 1, pp. 12–13; MHDW 19, pp. 57–58; MHDW 21, pp. 117, 120, 128, 130; MHDW 22, p. 77; MHDW 23, pp. 4–5; W. Rozykowski, *Z dziejów kościelnych Nieszawy*, [in:] *Dzieje Nieszawy*, vol. 1: *Do 1945 roku*, ed. R. Czaja, Toruń 2004, pp. 269–271; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 597, 629–631.

<sup>102</sup> MHDW 11, p. 62; MHDW 17, pp. 15, 117; Repertorium 77, pp. 155, 167, 184; Repertorium 78, p. 109; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 208–210.

<sup>103</sup> MHDW 11, p. 39; MHDW 17, p. 100; MHDW 20, p. 74; MHDW 22, pp. 29–31; MHDW 23, p. 51; Kujawski, Parafie, p. 588.

<sup>104</sup> MHDW 17, p. 81.

<sup>105</sup> S. Józwiak *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej na terenach komturstwa nieszawskiego i domen krzyżackich na Kujawach inowrocławskich do początku XV w.*, ZK, 2004, vol. 10, p. 11.

<sup>106</sup> MHDW 11, pp. 35, 45; MHDW 17, pp. 28, 66, 102–103; MHDW 19, pp. 69, 77, 78; MHDW 20, pp. 38, 45, 47; MHDW 22, pp. 53, 155; MHDW 23, pp. 32, 38–40; Muznerowski 1910, pp. 39–52; Pakulski 1992, pp. 30–31; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 281–284, 319–322, 749–751.

<sup>107</sup> MHDW 1, pp. 7, 18.

<sup>108</sup> VAP 1, pp. 86, 123.

<sup>109</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 199, 213, 229, 255; R. Jurasz, T. Jurasz, *Bydgoszcz i okolice*, ed. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, Warszawa 1977 (Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, vol. 11: Dawne województwo bydgoskie, no. 3), p. 77; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 130–131.

<sup>110</sup> *Diecezja chełmińska: zarys historyczno-statystyczny*, Pelplin 1928, p. 263.

<sup>111</sup> MHDW 17, p. 55; MHDW 19, p. 94; MHDW 20, pp. 4, 12; Kujawski, Parafie, p. 228.

<sup>112</sup> MHDW 17, p. 69; MHDW 22, p. 111; MHDW 23, p. 37; Kujawski, Parafie, p. 740.

<sup>113</sup> MHDW 11, p. 46; MHDW 22, pp. 151, 153; MHDW 21, p. 94; Repertorium 77, pp. 173, 181; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 69–73.

endowment of the Włocławek Cathedral preacher,<sup>114</sup> and St. John the Baptist Parish in Włocławek into the College of Vicars of Włocławek Cathedral.<sup>115</sup> The monasteries in Koronowo (c) and Strzelno (c) supervised local parishes (in the latter case, the monastery church was also the parochial church).<sup>116</sup>

Sources mention the subsidiary status of many chapels, but these did not have pastoral districts of their own. One example is St. Florian Chapel situated in the Izbica woodlands near the road to Chotel (c), referred to as *ecclesia Chotlensis* and defined as a filial of the church in Izbica Kujawska (Izbica, n).<sup>117</sup> This is the case for St. Mark's Chapel near Diabełek Mill in Kruszyn Parish<sup>118</sup> (r, currently St. Mark's Church called Diabełek located within Nakonowo Village borders, r). Nevertheless, it is considered that St. Catherine's Chapel situated in St. Catherine's Demesne was the former parent parish church of Przedecz church (r).<sup>119</sup> Other cases in point are *i.a.* St. Giles's Church near Bydgoszcz (r)<sup>120</sup> and St. Peter's Church in Stary Brześć (Stare Miasto, rc)<sup>121</sup>, and a church in Wyszogród near Fordon.<sup>122</sup>

In the area of AHP interest, only one parish was canonically erected in the second half of the sixteenth century, and that was in Modzerowo, at the intersection of Cuyavia, Greater Poland, and Łęczyca Land. This village was separated from Izbica Kujawska parish, together with Stypin (Stypino, n) Village. Modzerowo parish was founded on 27 November 1591, canonically erected on 8 January of the following year, and the church was consecrated in 1595.<sup>123</sup>

Clarification is needed concerning the location of the parochial centre in Podgórze-Dybów, which covered the area opposite Toruń. The story behind this settlement cluster is quite complex. Originally, this space was occupied by Nieszawa, which was transferred in 1460 to a different location. What remained were Dybów Castle and the surrounding settlement. Dybów had a church situated on the floodplains on the banks of the Vistula, to the west of the castle.<sup>124</sup> In 1555, the settlement was transferred to the high bank of Vistula River, and was called Podgórze (Polish for 'base or foot of a hill') from then on. Owing to its location, the church was constantly flooded. Finally, after the 1570 flood, masses ceased to be celebrated there. For about a dozen years, efforts were taken to construct a new church in a safer place. A 1598 record informs that a church had been built, but was still awaiting consecration. Consecration under the invocation of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVM) and St. Hyacinth probably took place not much later.<sup>125</sup> In all likelihood, this church occupied the same spot as the later St. Anna's Church; it was probably located at the western tip of Podgórze, in the direction of Gniewków (r).<sup>126</sup> We took this data into account and marked Podgórze as the centre of this parish.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> MHDW 17, p. 114; MHDW 19, p. 54; MHDW 20, p. 140; MHDW 22, pp. 63–64; MHDW 23, p. 57; Kujawski, Parafie, p. 301.

<sup>115</sup> MHDW 23, p. 60; Kujawski, Parafie, p. 313.

<sup>116</sup> MHDW 11, pp. 56, 67; MHDW 17, p. 60; Repertorium 77, pp. 153, 179; Repertorium 78, p. 116; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 86–90, 117–120.

<sup>117</sup> MHDW 17, p. 51; MHDW 21, p. 46; MHDW 22; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 385–388.

<sup>118</sup> MHDW 22, p. 7; MHDW 23, p. 47; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 272–273.

<sup>119</sup> MHDW 17, p. 46; MHDW 20, p. 112; MHDW 22, p. 41; MHDW 23, p. 53; Kujawski, Parafie, p. 570.

<sup>120</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 187.

<sup>121</sup> MHDW 19, pp. 97–98; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 41.

<sup>122</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 159, 199; Repertorium 78, p. 166; Z. Zyglewski, *Wyszogrodzki kościół i grodzisko w XIV–XVIII stuleciu*, [in:] *Promotio historica. Zbiór prac adiunktów Instytutu Historii Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Bydgoszczy*, ed. Z. Biegański, Bydgoszcz 1998, pp. 31–43.

<sup>123</sup> MHDW 20, p. 119; F.H. Czerwiński, *Catalogus Ecclesiarum et Utriusque Cleri tam Saecularis quam Regularis Dioecesis Vladislaviensis seu Calissiensis pro Anno Domini 1876*, Varsaviae 1876, p. 37; S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku*, vol. 2, no 630; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 444–445.

<sup>124</sup> K. Ciesielska, T. Zakrzewski, *450 lat toruńskiego Podgórza 1555–2005*, Toruń 2005, pp. 28–29.

<sup>125</sup> ADW1, sign. 029, f. 171. This visitation states that the church was consecrated by Włocławek Suffragan Bishop Franciszek Łacki, who was ordained on 24 August 1598, and died in 1617; *Biskupi sufragani włocławscy. Z akt kapituły włocławskiej*, ed. S. Chodyński, Włocławek 1906, pp. 46–50.

<sup>126</sup> Literature of the field does not provide an unequivocal interpretation of the identity of these two churches, but their location corresponds to one of two considered to be plausible in 1582; see MHDW 19, p. 70; K. Ciesielska, *Kościół Świętej Anny w Podgórzu*, „Rocznik Toruński”, 1998, vol. 25, pp. 69, 77; P. Machala, *Kościół parafialny pod wezwaniem NMP Wniebowziętej i św. Jacka oraz św. Anny. Przyczynek do topografii sakralnej Podgórza*, „Rocznik Toruński”, 2004, vol. 31, pp. 71, 73, 79–80, 87, 97–98.

<sup>127</sup> MHDW 17, p. 82; MHDW 19, p. 70; MHDW 21, pp. 184–185; MHDW 22, p. 78; Repertorium 68, p. 122; Janosz-Biskupowa 1962, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 360–361, 364; P. Machala, *Kościół parafialny*, pp. 67–75; K. Ciesielska, T. Zakrzewski, *450 lat toruńskiego Podgórza*, pp. 23–26, 41–48; Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 168–171.

Apart from the status of parochial churches, the parochial affiliation of certain settlements also calls for an explanation and some commentary. Clarification is necessary for settlements claimed by two parishes or whose affiliation is unclear in sources.

Wąsewo<sup>128</sup> Village (Wąsowo, n, Radziejów district) was divided between two parishes: Piotrkowo Kujawskie (Piotrkowo, n) and Kaczewo (c). Świesz<sup>129</sup> Village (n, Radziejów district) was in a similar position, divided between Piotrkowo Kujawskie and Bytoń. Niemojowo<sup>130</sup> (n, Inowrocław district) was divided between Góra (n) and Parchanie (Parkanie, c), and Słońsko<sup>131</sup> (n, Inowrocław district) – between Parchanie and the BVM Church in Inowrocław's Staromieście. Pławinek (Pomianowice, n) and Wierzchosławice (n) Villages in Inowrocław district, and Łęg (Łąg, n) in Kruszwica district are also classed as divided settlements. Still in the 1580s, all mentioned settlements were listed under just one parish (Góra,<sup>132</sup> Płonkowo,<sup>133</sup> Kościeszki,<sup>134</sup> respectively). From the 1590s to the early eighteenth century, they simultaneously appeared in other parishes (Parchanie,<sup>135</sup> Ostrowo,<sup>136</sup> Polanowice,<sup>137</sup> respectively). Afterwards, they emerge only in the parishes where they were recorded at the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. As this double affiliation was confirmed to have existed in the late sixteenth century and afterwards, we decided it should be reflected by the main map.

The parochial borders located in the Noteć meander passing through the southern part of Bydgoszcz district underwent several changes. We have already mentioned the dissolution of Lisewo parish, which certainly contributed to transferring Mochel Village (n) to Dźwierzchno parish.<sup>138</sup> Similarly, Gniewkowice (Gniewkowiec, n) and Dobrogościce (n) became part of Tuczno parish.<sup>139</sup> Although these three villages appear in the document on the canonical re-erection of the Liskowo parish and are listed as villages belonging to that parish,<sup>140</sup> later visitations clearly indicate that these localities never returned to Liskowo (with the exception of Dobrogościce in mid-eighteenth century<sup>141</sup>). Moreover, Złotowo Village (n)<sup>142</sup> was moved from Dźwierzchno parish to Dąbrówka Barcińska parish.

In the late sixteenth century, Kut Mill (currently part of Otłoczyn) changed its parochial affiliation. Most sixteenth century sources place Kut Mill in Raciążek parish. In 1598, the mill was carried both under Raciążek parish (with an annotation that reads '*parochie y catechismu nie wiesz*') and Słońsk parish.<sup>143</sup> The mill appears solely next to Słońsk<sup>144</sup> in the late seventeenth century visitations, only to reemerge in Raciążek parish in the eighteenth century.<sup>145</sup> It ought to be mentioned here that in the second half of the eighteenth century Słońsk was administered by the Raciążek parson.<sup>146</sup> We thus decided that Kut should be considered to have formed part of Słońsko parish from the end of the sixteenth century, following from the change which occurred at the close of the sixteenth century and was confirmed at the beginning of the following century.

<sup>128</sup> See *i.a.* MHDW 22, pp. 139, 144.

<sup>129</sup> MHDW 20, p. 47; MHDW 21, p. 27.

<sup>130</sup> Sixteenth century visitations place it in these parishes alternately. Unambiguous information on this matter and the division into a demesne and a village is provided only in eighteenth century visitations; Repertorium 77, pp. 210, 253; Repertorium 78, pp. 94, 98.

<sup>131</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 154–155, 163, 186; Repertorium 78, p. 110. Starting from late seventeenth century, this settlement disappears from the BVM Parish and emerges in Szadłowice Parish; Repertorium 77, pp. 191–192, 208, 210.

<sup>132</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 158, 164, 172.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 171.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 161.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 181, 186, 191, 193, 210; Repertorium 78, p. 110.

<sup>136</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 185–186, 191–192; Repertorium 78, pp. 109–110.

<sup>137</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 180, 201; Repertorium 78, pp. 112–113.

<sup>138</sup> AAG, ACons. E1, f. 60; AAG, ACons. E44, f. 27v.

<sup>139</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 195; Repertorium 78, p. 109. As in Mochel's case, the document on Lisewo's canonical re-erection claimed otherwise, but visitations fail to confirm such a fact (see previous footnote).

<sup>140</sup> AAG, ACons. E9b, p. 79.

<sup>141</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 237.

<sup>142</sup> AAG, ACons. E1, ff. 60, 170v; AAG, ACons. E44, f. 27.

<sup>143</sup> ADWł, sign. 024, f. 158v; MHDW 21, pp. 139, 190.

<sup>144</sup> ADWł, sign. 028, f. 14r; Repertorium 68, p. 156.

<sup>145</sup> ADWł, sign. 0222, f. 76 and later visitations.

<sup>146</sup> Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 672–673.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the parson in Zbrachlin (Zbrachlino, c) raised certain parochial claims regarding Niszczewy Village (Niszczewy, n), even though then (and earlier) records placed Niszczewy in Koneck parish, which was correct according to a visitor who voiced his opinion on the matter in 1594.<sup>147</sup> The contestation was short-lived, however, as Niszczewy's affiliation provoked no controversy in the seventeenth century and Niszczewy was only included in Koneck parish.

While Jarki was listed as one of the Dybów mills in the late sixteenth century,<sup>148</sup> it should be affiliated with Gniewków parish, where it was constructed<sup>149</sup> and mentioned in the eighteenth century.<sup>150</sup>

Uncertainty surrounds the parochial affiliation of Dębowa Góra, a pitch production site (c) located in Bydgoszcz district near the border with Pomerania Voivodeship. This settlement was the remnant of a village which had perished even before the sixteenth century (already the *Liber Retaxationum* stated the village was vacant) and ceased to appear in sources in the seventeenth century.<sup>151</sup> We did not identify any mention of its parochial affiliation. Only its location is known as it was preserved in the microtoponym used in contemporary maps. The only other clue is constituted by medieval information which link this locality with Świecie territory.<sup>152</sup> Taking both circumstances into account, it seems that Dąbrowa Góra should be placed in Wudzyń, which also gravitates towards Świecie deanery. In the early twentieth century, this parish was composed also of Stary Jasieniec,<sup>153</sup> a settlement whose modern borders encompass the Góra Dębowa elevation.

We established with certainty the affiliation of Rudzk Duży (Rucko Wielkie, n), though certain doubts should be elucidated. In general, tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century place Rudzk Duży and Rudzk Mały in Połajewo and Rzeczyca parishes, respectively.<sup>154</sup> Visitations dating to this period fail to distinguish between the two villages, only the 1594 visitation lists *Rudzki 2* in Rzeczyca parish.<sup>155</sup> It was not until the eighteenth century that visitation records started to differentiate between the two settlements and place them as mentioned above: Rudzk Wielki in Połajewo parish, and Rudzk Mały in Rzeczyca parish.<sup>156</sup> Given the unambiguousness of sixteenth century visitations, which contain no mention of a Rudzk in Połajewo parish, we placed Rudzk Duży in Rzeczyca parish.

There is some vagueness about the borders of Grabie and Chlewiska parishes in the late sixteenth century. Zduny (Zdunowo, n) and Wilkostowo (n) appear in both parishes in 1594<sup>157</sup> (both settlements) and 1598<sup>158</sup> (Wilkostowo). This situation does not repeat itself in later seventeenth and eighteenth century visitations.<sup>159</sup> In 1594, a succinct annotation was made for Wilkostowo in Chlewiska parish, which read 'to Grabie'. This remark renders the information dating to the late sixteenth century erroneous. Having resolved all ambiguity, we placed Zduny in Chlewiska parish, and Wilkostowo in Grabie.

Lipie (Lipie Górne, n) and Lipionka (Lipie Dolne, n) Villages of Inowrocław district have been marked in Branno and Gniewków, respectively. Registers record Lipie as part of Gniewków, and Lipionka – of Branno.<sup>160</sup> However, visitations clearly state that Lipie belonged to Branno parish, and Lipionka to Gniewków. Nothing signals a change of this status until the late sixteenth century. Visitations from that period mention that Lipie parishioners had to travel to Gniewków to receive sacraments in the

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<sup>147</sup> MHDW 21, p. 168, 195; MHDW 23, pp. 15, 23.

<sup>148</sup> ASK I 30, f. 788r.

<sup>149</sup> MRPS V/1, no. 2816.

<sup>150</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 216, 250.

<sup>151</sup> MHDW 11, p. 69.

<sup>152</sup> See: *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw i ziemi dobrzyńskiej w średniowieczu*, oprac. Z. Guldon, do druku przyg. J. Wijaczka, atlasfontium.pl (access: 24.10.2020), pp. 154–155.

<sup>153</sup> *Diecezja chełmińska 1928*, p. 264.

<sup>154</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 205r, 206v, 254r, 257r, 407v, 442v, 495r, 501r, 589r, 596r; ASK I 30, ff. 276v, 277v, 596v, 659r, 662r, 720r, 724r, 765r, 767v.

<sup>155</sup> MHDW 23, p. 31.

<sup>156</sup> Starting from 1711; Repertorium 71, p. 174.

<sup>157</sup> MHDW 23, pp. 12, 58.

<sup>158</sup> MHDW 21, pp. 180, 183.

<sup>159</sup> Starting from 1639; Repertorium 68, pp. 151–152.

<sup>160</sup> ASK I 30, ff. 782r, 782v; ASK I 50, ff. 546v, 553r, 588r, 588v, 628r, 628v, 664v, 665r, 698v, 720r, 745v, 786v, 803v, 839v, 844v; ASK I 92, f. 3v.

period when their parochial church was seized by Protestants.<sup>161</sup> Over time, this caused both Lipie settlements (Lipie Górne and Lipie Dolne) to be placed in Gniewków parish.<sup>162</sup>

The affiliation of Uniechowo was determined without confusion. While the 1599 visitation registered a dispute between the Szpetal and Zaduszniki churches over the village,<sup>163</sup> earlier and later records consistently locate Uniechowo solely in Szpetal parish.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, we dismissed the claims made by the Zaduszniki church as unsubstantiated.

Visitations in 1584 and 1598 mention a village referred to as *Chrząszczewo* or *Chrząszczewo seu Kałęczyno* located in Kościelna Wieś parish.<sup>165</sup> Beyond doubt, this settlement should be identified as Kałęczyn (Kałęczyno, n), which was situated on the left bank of Bachorza River and had belonged to the Chrząszczewski family until the eighteenth century.<sup>166</sup> At the same time, however, records mention Kałęczyn as part of Bądkowo parish. Furthermore, the terrain itself practically precludes the possibility of the village being divided between two parishes, with Kościelna Wieś being cut off by Bachorza wetlands. Earlier and later visitations place Kałęczyn in Bądkowo only, and this affiliation we adopted in this volume.

Controversies about the range of Warzymowo parish have been discussed above.

Cuyavia had only one parish exclave – Myślęcinek (Myślęcino, n) – affiliated with Żołędowo parish, not the closer Osielsko. Still, it ought to be emphasised that the distance is not markedly farther (6 and 3 km, respectively). Only the 1577 visitation recorded Myślęcinek as part of Osielsko.<sup>167</sup> All tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century and visitations dated to 1584, 1596 and 1699 place Myślęcinek in Żołędowo parish.<sup>168</sup>

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In the Middle Ages, the general official of Włocławek had jurisdiction over both Cuyavian archdeaconries of Włocławek diocese. The other diocese officiality was based in Gdańsk and governed the Pomeranian part of the diocese. This situation changed in the second quarter of the sixteenth century when a district officiality was established in Bydgoszcz to cover Bydgoszcz and Świecie deaneries, thus encroaching on archdeaconry borders.<sup>169</sup>

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In total, the parochial church count in the examined area of Włocławek diocese was 123. Three parishes stretched beyond that territory, and five had their centres in neighbouring territorial units. Of those, six churches were filial parishes with own districts. The centres of 27 parishes were located in towns, 92 in villages, two in demesne settlements, one in a vacant settlement, and one in a suburb. Noć (Noteś, m) was the only Cuyavian town not to be a parochial seat. We marked parochial seats based in the demesne settlements of Byszewo (c) and Zgłowiączka (Zgłowiątka; c) as parochial demesne settlements on the map.

## Płock diocese

We have presented the border between Włocławek and Płock dioceses above. Within Dobrzyń land, the northern border of the land overlapped with the diocese border running along Drwęca River.

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<sup>161</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 185; Repertorium 78, p. 110.

<sup>162</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 191.

<sup>163</sup> MHDW 21, pp. 208, 212; Guldon mistook Uniechowo for Zarzyczewo here; Guldon, Dobrzyń, p. 24, f.n. 84.

<sup>164</sup> MHDW 23, p. 16; Repertorium 71, p. 190.

<sup>165</sup> MHDW 22, p. 61; MHDW 20, p. 136.

<sup>166</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 330v, 421v, 460v; Czaykowski, p. 858.

<sup>167</sup> MHDW 19, p. 33.

<sup>168</sup> VAP 1, p. 186; Repertorium 77, p. 200; Repertorium 78, p. 116.

<sup>169</sup> S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 35–36; A. Mietz, *Oficjalat foralny bydgoski (ok. 1530–1765). Rzut oka na dzieje i strukturę organizacyjną*, [in:] *Bydgoszcz jako ośrodek administracyjny na przestrzeni wieków*, vol. 16, ed. Z. Biegański, W. Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 1998, pp. 65–69; W. Kujawski, *Struktury Kościoła katolickiego na Kujawach wschodnich*, p. 27.

The borders parted only near Ciechocin parish, which encompassed Elgiszewo (c), a village on the northern bank of Drwęca.<sup>170</sup> In the north-east, the diocese border departed from the land border and continued along Drwęca. It encircled several parishes of Chełmno Voivodeship (Michałów Land), then merged with the course of the land border to the north of Górzno (c). North-eastern sections of the borders were the subject of disputes with the Chełmno diocese in the fourteenth century.<sup>171</sup>

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Most of Płock diocese covered by this volume was fell within Dobrzyń archdeaconry (the oldest mentioned archdeaconry of the diocese, identified as a separate unit probably since the late thirteenth century<sup>172</sup>), which was divided into Dobrzyń, Lipno, and Rypin deaneries. Few parishes and villages belonged to Płock archdeaconry and were situated in Gostynin deanery (Duninów on Vistula's left bank) and Sierpc deanery (fragments of the border shared by Dobrzyń land and Mazovia, Sikórz and Sierpc parishes). Rokice, Bądkowo Kościelne, Tłuchowo<sup>173</sup> and Skrwilno<sup>174</sup> parishes of Dobrzyń archdeaconry also cut into Mazovia. The border between archdeaconries, like the state administration border, was outlined mainly by rivers.

The earliest deanery to be recorded as part of Dobrzyń archdeaconry is Lipno, whose affiliation is confirmed by fourteenth-century sources.<sup>175</sup> The sixteenth century deanery network of the diocese is the result of Płock Bishop Erazm Ciołek's 1506 deanery reform, and the 1510 adjustments for Dobrzyń land. However, owing to the deplorable condition of the register which documents this reform, determining how the parishes were assigned to deaneries is an arduous task.<sup>176</sup> Also the 1597 visitation is of limited importance to reconstructing deanery borders – the first edition does not list all parishes, and the second failed to identify Rypin deanery and assigned its parishes to churches of Lipno deanery. We dispelled our doubts by referring to the deanery affiliation recorded in the 1609 visitation to Lipno and Dobrzyń deaneries, where the absence of this parish indicates that it was located in Rypin deanery. This affiliation is reflected by 1609 and 1623 visitations (Rypin deanery), which contain data identical to the 1628 register of parishes. This should be considered to confirm the stability of the identified

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<sup>170</sup> Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 8.

<sup>171</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 279; idem, *Granice diecezji płockiej*, p. 46; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 9.

<sup>172</sup> Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 11; W. Müller, *Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, p. 156; E. Wiśniowski, *Diecezja płocka u progu czasów nowożytnych*, p. 128; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne podziały administracyjne ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 32.

<sup>173</sup> While working on this volume, we verified certain claims made in AHP Mazovia. AHP Mazovia affiliated villages of Tłuchowo Parish situated on the Mazovian side with Bożewo and Mochowo Parishes. These villages were Obręb Wielki, Obręb Mały, Sułkowo-Bariany, Sułkowo-Rzeczne, Sułkowo-Błony, and Sułkowo-Jasionki (recorded in visitations as one settlement). The 1609 visitation placed all those settlements in Tłuchowo Parish; ADP, sign. 6, 348v.

<sup>174</sup> In the case of this parish, it has been determined with certainty that Mościska and Czarnia Duża belonged to this very ecclesiastical unit. AHP Mazovia reported such affiliation as uncertain.

<sup>175</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Diecezja płocka u progu czasów nowożytnych*, p. 129.

<sup>176</sup> Subject literature (J. Sawicki, *Synody diecezji płockiej i ich statuty*, [in:] idem, *Concilia Poloniae: źródła i studia krytyczne*, vol. 6, Warszawa 1952, pp. 79–80; W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej*, p. 154; idem, *Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, pp. 156–157, 170) generally dates the reform to 1506, after the heading found in the files of Płock bishops which opens a heavily destroyed list of newly established deaneries and their churches (ADP, sign. 9, pp. 103–108). However, below the *Decanatus Dobrzinensis* heading one can come across a blurry annotation, which should be deciphered as: '[O]rd[o] de Anno Domini 1510 die s. Marci in sinodo factus in archi[diac]o[n]a[t]u Dobrzinensi.' This synod was mentioned by H. Folwarski, and cited after him by J. Sawicki (H. Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek, biskup i dyplomata*, Varsoviae 1935 (Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica, vol. 1), p. 113; J. Sawicki, *Synody diecezji płockiej i ich statuty*, p. 83). The former researcher dated the synod to 5 March instead of 25 April, which resulted from erroneously interpreting the text to read: *5 marcii* instead of *S Marci*. This interpretation, in turn, was brought about by the fact that the historians used copies made by rev. J. Mąkowski (currently unavailable, possibly missing), not the original documents. This title refers to the adjustment of the deanery structure within the archdeaconry, which is confirmed by the change in the number of parishes belonging to Dobrzyń Deanery, ambiguous records about Michałów Deanery found on p. 107 of the same list (W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej*, p. 161; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 12, 45, 47). H. Folwarski's claim about the separation of Dobrzyń, Lipno, and Rypin Deaneries from Chiechanów Deanery (H. Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek, biskup i dyplomata*, p. 110), unquestioningly reiterated, should be classed as a complete misunderstanding probably arising from the faulty interpretation of Mąkowski's copies and a reluctance towards verifying this statement by simply looking at a map.

structure. These outcomes correspond to those following from Zenon Guldon's *Map of Dobrzyń land*, which was also based on the 1609 visitation.

It follows from this reconstruction of deanery divisions that only the borders of Rypin deanery overlapped for the major part with the border of its district, though some deviations can be identified, including Ruże and Sudragi parishes, and parishes in Michałów Land. Lipno deanery occupied only the north-western part of Lipno district, and Dobrzyń deanery took up the eastern part of Dobrzyń and Lipno districts and several localities in Kowal district. Deanery structures did not change in the analysed area until the 1643 synod, when Górzno deanery was separated from Rypin deanery.<sup>177</sup>

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Dobrzyń archdeaconry had several churches whose status and parochial rights call for a detailed discussion. The original status of the church in Osiek-upon-Vistula (Osieczek, n, Lipno district) is cloaked in a shroud of mystery, as already in the sixteenth century this church was a filial of Łążyn parish. Sources fail to confirm the 1388 canonical erection of the Osiek parish.<sup>178</sup> Indeed, the first source to mention the Osiek church is the 1597 visitation, which describes it as a filial of Łążyn; early sixteenth century sources do not refer to the Osiek church. However, both redactions of this visitation provide slightly divergent, yet not mutually exclusive information on this church. The first redaction suggests that a *parochus* was once active at the church, the second states that the *secullum* in Osiek was a filial of Łążyn which had lacked a parson for quite some time.<sup>179</sup> The 1609 visitation, nevertheless, clearly indicates the absence of any parochial villages.<sup>180</sup> Later visitations fail to offer any information on the parish rights enjoyed by this church. Tax registers similarly do not suggest that a separate parochial district was formed, despite favourable spatial relations. Therefore, it is likely that the chapel came into existence only during the sixteenth century. Perhaps the church in Wielgie (Wielkie, n, Lipno district), which was a filial of Działyń, had a separate parochial district. This is not at all certain, however. Although the 1694 visitation mentions the church's old parish rights and outlines its parochial district,<sup>181</sup> the absence of information about this church before 1609<sup>182</sup> indicates that it could have been established in the sixteenth century at earliest. The church which lost parish rights at the turn of the sixteenth century was the parochial church in Grodzeń (n, Lipno district). According to the 1597 visitation, Grodzeń church was a filial of Kikoł, without a specified parochial district and incorporated by Płock Bishop Wincenty Przerębski. This correlation is further confirmed in 1609.<sup>183</sup> In this case, however, we decided to mark the single-village Grodzeń district as a separate unit. This decision was based on tax registers and the visitation from 1694, whose references provide the necessary confirmation.<sup>184</sup> In 1502, Chrostkowo church was incorporated into Chojno church.<sup>185</sup> This connection, however, must have quickly disappeared. Its traces are nowhere to be found in later sources – in 1597 Chrostkowo church has its own priest (commendatory parson),<sup>186</sup> and the range of the parochial district is well documented. The year 1502 saw the canonical erection of Wola parish (Lipno district).<sup>187</sup> Another change which occurred in 1502 was placing the Pręczi (Pręczkowo, n) church under the administration of the Rypin parson (r). In contrast to Chrostkowo, however, it never regained autonomy.<sup>188</sup> Despite dating far back, Szczutowo (c) church in Górzno parish was a chapel

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<sup>177</sup> J. Sawicki, *Synody diecezji płockiej i ich statuty*, p. 159; W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej*, p. 161; idem, *Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, p. 181.

<sup>178</sup> SGKP, vol. 7, p. 628; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 48.

<sup>179</sup> ADP, sign. 1, f. 178v; ADP, sign. 2, f. 12v; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 48–49.

<sup>180</sup> ADP, sign. 6, f. 303r: '*villas parochiales non habet*'.

<sup>181</sup> In 1694, it had a separate district of its own which encompassed Klonowo as well; ADP, sign. 6, pp. 1151, 1167.

<sup>182</sup> ADP, sign. 6, 313r–v.

<sup>183</sup> ADP, sygn. 1, f. 176v; ADP, sign. 2, f. 9r; ADP, sign. 6, f. 293r–v.

<sup>184</sup> ADP, sign. 47, f. 1198.

<sup>185</sup> *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. B. Ulanowski, Kraków 1908, no. 206.

<sup>186</sup> ADP, sign. 1, f. 181r.

<sup>187</sup> Ibidem, f. 177r.

<sup>188</sup> *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, vol. 3, part 1, no. 206; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 54.

without any parish rights.<sup>189</sup> In the early seventeenth century, between 1609 and 1628, a single-village parish in Czarne was separated from Wierzbick (n).<sup>190</sup>

\* \* \*

The methodological principles presented in the introduction to this chapter helped us resolve most troublesome issues arising from the scant source base for Dobrzyń archdeaconry. Nevertheless, we have decided on providing a more in-depth commentary on a few cases.

We found that Zarzeczewo (n) Village was divided between two parishes. Włocławek visitations from the second half of the sixteenth century consistently place Zarzeczewo in Szpetal Dolny parish.<sup>191</sup> It is not until 1609 that sources start locating Zarzeczewo on the Płock side in Grochowalsk (n) parish. Still, this visitation is the first to mention parochial affiliations.<sup>192</sup> Later visitations from these two dioceses go on to reflect the village's division between the two parishes; they also suggest that Zarzeczewo was divided into a village (Szpetal) and a manor with a mill (Grochowalsk).<sup>193</sup> Szczepanki (n) was also marked as a village divided between Wierzbick (Płock diocese) and Ostrowite (Włocławek diocese) Parishes. In 1541, Płock Bishop Jakub Buczacki transferred this village to the later parish.<sup>194</sup> Szczepanki started appearing in Włocławek diocese in the second half of the sixteenth century and later on.<sup>195</sup> Nonetheless, Szczepanki was referred to as part of Płock diocese until 1694.<sup>196</sup> For this reason, we gave Szczepanki double parochial affiliation. Of course, it is highly likely that Szczepanki's obsolete legal status was carried over to subsequent Płock visitations. Zarzeczewo and Szczepanki were thus divided not just between two parishes, but also between two dioceses. We determined that in the sixteenth century Głodowo (n) Village was divided between Lipno and Wierzbick parishes, which is confirmed by seventeenth century visitations.<sup>197</sup>

The 1609 visitation includes Cebryszewo Village (Czebrzyszewo, n) in Wierzbick parish,<sup>198</sup> yet both the canonical erection of Karnkowo parish and registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century and later visitations<sup>199</sup> place Cebryszewo in Karnkowo. The location of this village, which is adjacent to Karnkowo, renders this 1609 record erroneous beyond any doubt.

Brzeźno Village (n) in Lipno parish, separated from its church by localities belonging to Sumin and Lipno parishes, was an exclave of Kikół parish. Eighteenth century records confirm this division.<sup>200</sup>

\* \* \*

The whole part of Dobrzyń land situated within the borders of Płock diocese was subordinate to the Płock general officiality, whose jurisdiction covered Dobrzyń and Płock archdeaconries.<sup>201</sup>

\* \* \*

In total, the parochial church count in the discussed area of Płock diocese was 54. Eight parishes stretched beyond that territory, and two had its centres in neighbouring territorial units. Only one of

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<sup>189</sup> Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 53; ADP, sign. 4, f. 19v.

<sup>190</sup> In 1609, it was still a village of Wierzbick Parish (ADP, sign. 6, f. 371v), while already in 1628 a separate endowment was registered there (ADP, Ep. 34/59, p. 106).

<sup>191</sup> MHDW 19, p. 69; MHDW 21, p. 212; MHDW 23, p. 16.

<sup>192</sup> ADP, sign. 6, f. 367v.

<sup>193</sup> Repertorium 71, pp. 190, 238; ADP, sign. 47, p. 1259; ADP, sign. 257, f. 14r.

<sup>194</sup> S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku*, vol. 1: *Lata 1232–1550*, Włocławek 1994, no. 495.

<sup>195</sup> MHDW 19, p. 71; MHDW 21, p. 205; Repertorium 68, p. 159; Repertorium 71, p. 188.

<sup>196</sup> ADP, sign. 6, ff. 288r, 372r (first mention refers to Lipno, which is considered to be a mistake); ADP, sign. 47, p. 1215.

<sup>197</sup> ADP, sign. 6, ff. 288v, 372r; ADP, sign. 257, pp. 1201, 1215.

<sup>198</sup> ADP, sign. 6, f. 372r.

<sup>199</sup> ADP, sign. 257, f. 37v.

<sup>200</sup> Czaykowski, p. 489.

<sup>201</sup> W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej*, pp. 170–171; idem, *Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, p. 181.

those churches was a filial parish with districts of its own. Six parishes had their seats in towns, and 48 in villages.

## Gniezno diocese

Gniezno slightly protruded into Cuyavia. In total, it encompassed 12 settlements in seven parishes. It was not a continuous area of land, but fragments scattered along the border with Łęczyca and Kalisz Voivodeships. Each of these parishes formed part of a different deanery. The deaneries, in turn, were situated within three archdeaconries and, as such, were subjected to three different officialities (Łęczyca, Gniezno and Kamieniec).<sup>202</sup> The only church administration units to be situated wholly in Cuyavia were the single-village parish in Korzecznik, whose status was quite problematic (see above), and Sompolno. Although Sompolno covered few localities and was situated on the edge of the diocese, it was the seat of its deanery. This probably followed from the fact that Sompolno Town (Sąpolno, c) was the property of Gniezno archbishops.<sup>203</sup>

A certain simplification made in AHP Greater Poland also requires clarification. AHP Greater Poland states that 'the set of Wolbórz property held by Cuyavian bishops and situated in Gniezno diocese was exchanged for Bydgoszcz deanery' in the eighteenth century'.<sup>204</sup> To put it more precisely, an exchange of territories between Gniezno and Włocławek dioceses was announced in 1765. At the time, Włocławek bishops assumed the role of ordinaries and in that capacity took over eight parishes located in the borderlands of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships, *i.a.* the towns of Wolbórz and Łódź. These constituted part of their local set of property, which parishes formed Wolbórz deanery – an exclave of Włocławek diocese. In return, Gniezno archbishops received the border parishes of Włocławek diocese in both Kruszwica and Włocławek archdeaconries. Starting from the north these were Dąbrówka Kujawska, Strzelewo, Bydgoszcz, Barcin, Ostrowo, Ludziska, Gębice, Skulsk, Broniszewo, Warzymowo, Brdów and Modzerewo.<sup>205</sup>

## Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land: number of churches

Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land had a total of 184 parish churches in three dioceses, including 13 parishes stretched beyond that territory and 10 parishes with centres in neighbouring territorial units. Of the parishes with seats in the analysed area, 71 lay in Brześć Voivodeship, 46 in Inowrocław Voivodeship, and 57 in Dobrzyń land. Of the total church count, seven were filial parishes with own districts – four in Brześć Voivodeship, two in Inowrocław Voivodeship, and one in Dobrzyń land. 31 parishes had their seats in towns (14 in Brześć Voivodeship, 10 in Inowrocław Voivodeship, seven in Dobrzyń land), 143 in rural settlements (57 in Brześć Voivodeship, 36 in Inowrocław Voivodeship, 50 in Dobrzyń land). On average, Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land had one church per 54 km<sup>2</sup>, Brześć Voivodeship – per 46 km<sup>2</sup>, Inowrocław – per 60 km<sup>2</sup>, and Dobrzyń land – per 53 km<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>202</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska, *Oficjalaty okręgowe w późnośredniowiecznej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, CPH 1995, vol. 47, pp. 101, 103–104.

<sup>203</sup> A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2a.4.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>205</sup> I. Subera, *Terytorium diecezji włocławskiej i pomorskiej*, pp. 688–689; S. Librowski, *Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej*, part 1, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 33–34.

**ANNEX**  
**LIST OF CATHOLIC CHURCH ADMINISTRATION UNITS IN CUYAVIA**  
**AND DOBRZYŃ LAND**

This list presents administrative divisions as at the close of the sixteenth century. It covers parishes falling – in whole or in part – within the borders of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. This includes parishes whose churches lay beyond this territory, but which held villages in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. We used \* to mark seats of parishes whose borders stretched beyond Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, and \*\* to denote parish seats situated outside of this region. The list is arranged in alphabetical order and presents the names of parochial seats. If the contemporary name differs from the one used in the examined period, we provided the present-day name in brackets. Towns are marked with the letter ‘T’. For subsidiary churches with own districts, we specified the name of the parent parish in brackets, preceded with the letter ‘f.’.

**Włocławek diocese**

**Kruszwica archdeaconry**

**Bydgoszcz deanery**

Bydgoszcz T., Byszewo, Dąbrówka (Dąbrówka Nowa), Dobrecz, Fordan T. (Fordon, part of Bydgoszcz), Koronowo T., Osielsko, Solec T. (Solec Kujawski), Strzelewo, Włóki, Wtelno, Wodzino (Wudzyn), Żołędowo

**Inowrocław deanery**

Barcin\*\* T., Branno, Brodnia (Brodnia), Dąbrówka (Dąbrówka Barcińska), Dźwierzno (Dźwierzchno), Gniewków T. (Gniewkowo), Góra, Inowrocław T., Jaksice, Kobielice, Kościelec, Łabiszyn\*\* T., Liskowo (Liszkowo), Murzyno (Murzynno), Orłowo (f. Podgórze), Ostrów, Ostrów, Parkanie (Parchanie), Pęchowo, Pieranie, Płomykowo (Płonkowo), Sędzino (Sędzin), Staromieście (part of Inowrocław (f. Inowrocław T.)), Szawłowice (Szadłowice), Tuczno

**Kruszwica deanery**

Gębice T., Kościeszki\*, Kruszwica T., Ludzicko (Ludzisko), Ostrowo, Polanowice, Rzodkwino (Rzadkwini), Skulsko\* T. (Skulsk), Sławsko (Sławsk Wielki), Stodoły, Strzelno T., Warzymowo (Kolonja Warzymowska)

**Kruszwica and Włocławek archdeaconries**

**Inowrocław and Nieszawa (Raciążek) deaneries**

Podgórze T. (Podgórz, part of Toruń)

**Pomerania archdeaconry**

**Świecie deanery**

Niewieścina\*\*, Serock\*\*

**Włocławek archdeaconry**

**Brześć deanery**

Białotarczek\* (Białotarsk), Błędna (Błenna), Boniewo, Brzeście T. (Brześć Kujawski), Chalno, Choceń, Chodecz T., Dąbie (Dąbie Kujawskie), Grabkowo, Kłobia, Kłobia Mała (Kłóbka), Kłotno (Kłótno), Kościół (Kościelna Wieś), Kowale T. (Kowal), Kruszyn (Kruszyno), Lubień Kujawski T. (Lubień), Lubomin (Lubomino), Lubraniec T., Modzurowo, Osiecin, Pierowa Wola (Wola Pierowa (f. Lubień)), Przedecz T., Śmiłowice, Świerczyno (Świerczyn), Wieniec, Wisłka Szlachecka (Wistka Szlachecka), Włocław T. (Włocławek), Zgłowiążka (Zgłowiączka (f. Lubraniec))

### **Nieszawa (Raciążek) deanery**

Bądkowo, Bobrowniki T., Chełmca (Chełmca Duża), Chlewiska, Grabie, Koneck, Łowiczek (Łowicz), Lubanie, Nowa Nieszawa T. (Nieszawa), Ostrowąs, Ostrowite, Przepust (f. Nowa Nieszawa T.), Raciąż T. (Raciążek), Świniarzewo (Siniarzewo), Słońsko (Słońsk Górny, part of Ciechocinek), Służewo T., Straszewo, Szpital Nadolny (Szpetal Dolny), Zaduszniki, Zbrachlino (Zbrachlin)

### **Radziejów deanery**

Brdowo\*\* T. (Brdów), Broniewo, Bronisław, Broniszewo, Byczyna, Bytom (Bytoń (f. Lubraniec)), Chełmce, Izbica T. (Izbica Kujawska), Kaczewo, Krzywosądz (Krzywosądz), Lubotyń, Mąkoszyno (Mąkoszyn), Orle, Ostrów (Ostrowo), Piaski, Piotrkowo (Piotrków Kujawski), Płowce, Połajewo Stare, Radziejów T., Rzeczyca, Sadlno, Witowo

## **Płock diocese**

### **Dobrzyń archdeaconry**

#### **Dobrzyń deanery**

Bądkowo\* (Bądkowo Kościelne), Dobrzyń T. (Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula), Grochowalsk, Karnków, Ligowo, Mokowo, Rokicie\*, Siecinie (Sieceń), Skąpe T. (Skąpe), Sobowo, Tłuchowo\*, Wielkie (Wielgie), Wierzbick

#### **Lipno deanery**

Ciechocin\*, Czernikowo, Dobrzejowice (Dobrzejewice), Działyń, Grodzień (f. Kikoł), Kikoł (Kikół), Chrostkowo, Łążyń (Łążyn), Lipno T., Mazowsze, Nowogród, Sumino (Sumin), Wola, Złotoria

#### **Rypin deanery**

Chojno, Dulsk, Gośck (Gójsk), Górzno\* T., Grążawy\*, Gulbiny, Kłósno (Kłusno), Księża, Łukomie, Osiek\*, Płonne, Radomino (Radomin), Radziki (Radziki Duże), Rogowo, Ruż (Ruże), Rypin T., Sadłowo, Skwino (Skrwilno)\*, Strzygi, Sudraży, Świedziebna (Świedziebna), Szczutowo, Trąbino (Trąbin), Żałe

### **Płock archdeaconry**

#### **Gostynin deanery**

Duninowo (Nowy Duninów)

#### **Sierpc deanery**

Sierpc\*\* T. (Sierpc), Sikorz\*\*

## **Gniezno diocese**

### **Gniezno archdeaconry**

#### **Łekno deanery**

Samokłęski\*\*

#### **Sompolno deanery**

Mąkolino\*\*, Sapolno T. (Sompolno)

#### **Żnin deanery**

Pakość\* T.

## **Kamień archdeaconry**

**Sępólno deanery**  
Ślesino\* (Ślesin)

## **Łęczyca archdeaconry**

**Kłodawa deanery**  
Kłodawa\*\* T., Korzecznik

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

### III.2.2a.6 REFORMATION IN CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Arkadiusz Borek*

Starting with the volume on Sandomierz Voivodeship, the AHP series has embarked on the task of mapping Protestant communes or Protestant churches. Depending on the materials available, research results have been presented in different forms: Sandomierz, Cracow and Greater Poland volumes present 1:500,000 maps of Protestant commune networks,<sup>1</sup> whereby individual denominations were marked only on maps of AHP Greater Poland. The Sieradz and Łęczycza volume spared the Reformation only a page of its commentary and did not provide a single map.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, slightly different definitions were adopted for the subject of interest. Up to the Cracow volume (included), a commune of Reformed denomination did not necessarily need a church of its own to be placed on the maps.<sup>3</sup> In the Greater Poland volume, however, we assumed that a commune should have at its disposal a place for religious assemblies.<sup>4</sup> Different criteria were applied for congregation mapping – Cracow and Sandomierz volumes present communes which had existed for at least 10 years.<sup>5</sup>

The intention behind summarising the methods employed in the AHP series to date for presenting communes of non-Catholic denominations is to illustrate that the cartographic visualisation of this issue is quite problematic. The available source base determines the possibilities in this respect. It is necessary to tackle numerous conceptual difficulties. Before I move on to discussing the mapping methodology applied in the present volume, I must therefore list the sources and subject literature we have at our disposal, along with the basic facts on Reformation history in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.

Of the sources traditionally consulted when working on the AHP series, *i.e.* ASR<sup>6</sup> and the files prepared by Maria Siapyłło and Waław Urban,<sup>7</sup> only the former proved useful, and to a limited extent. All in all, the canonical visitations of Włocławek diocese proved to be of highest informative value. Owing to the chronology of their oldest records, Płock visitations were of minor importance. The full list of visitations used has been presented in the chapter on Catholic Church administrative borders (see A. Borek, *Catholic Church administration borders* in this volume). Catholic visitations not only recorded the seizure of churches by Protestants for worship purposes and instances where a Protestant patron refrained from appointing a priest, but also provided information on worshippers of different denominations residing in a given parish. Apart from the visitations themselves, we solved several cases

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<sup>1</sup> AHP Sandomierz, Map 4. Communes of Other Denominations in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century; AHP Cracow Map 3. Orthodox churches and Wallachian settlement in the Cracow Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th century; AHP Greater Poland, Map 3. Non-Catholic communities in Wielkopolska at the end of the 16th century.

<sup>2</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders, Annex Reformed Church communes*, comp. K. Chłapowski, H. Rutkowski, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>3</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Reformed denominations communes*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.2a.2; K. Chłapowski, *Communes of other denominations*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.2.2a.1; see also: J. Tazbir, *Spoleczny i terytorialny zasięg polskiej reformacji*, KH 1975, vol. 82, p. 723, footnote 7.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kuc-Czerep, *Dissenter communities and churches in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this volume III.2.2c.4.

<sup>5</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Reformed denominations communes*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.2a.2; idem, *Communes of other denominations*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.2.2a.1.

<sup>6</sup> ASR.

<sup>7</sup> Both files are kept in the Early Printed Books Department at the University of Warsaw Library (BUW).

by turning to the list of churches, broken down into churches with pastors and vacant ones, which most probably dates to the first half of the 1570s.<sup>8</sup>

When one is confined to a single source which gives a broader overview of the analysed issues, it is vital to make use of the literature of the field. The relevant publications on Cuyavia rely strongly on the Włocławek visitations, which have been used here directly. We thus reached for Henryk Merczyng's<sup>9</sup> findings based on Józef Łukasiewicz's study on the Unity of the Brethren in Greater Poland, and on the above visitations as well.<sup>10</sup> Zenon Guldon, by making use of the sources and publications presented herein, marked the Protestant churches and seized Catholic churches.<sup>11</sup> The literature base focused strictly on Reformation in Cuyavia is scant. It is possible to enumerate the texts by Lucjan Dombek,<sup>12</sup> Marian Pawlak,<sup>13</sup> Wojciech Sławiński,<sup>14</sup> and recently Tomasz Krzemiński,<sup>15</sup> whereby the first author produced papers of greatest importance. As concerns Dobrzyń land, a publication on Reformation in this area in the analysed period has yet to present itself to us.<sup>16</sup>

In his dissertation on Protestantism in Cuyavia, Lucjan Dombek distinguished two periods: from the beginnings (mid-sixteenth century) to about 1585, and from 1585 to 1645 (disbanding of Łabiszyn congregation). Dombek described the former period as one of development, and the latter as a time of Counter-Reformation, thus the fall of Reformation in Cuyavia. He found Inowrocław, Brześć, Radziejów, and Bydgoszcz districts to have been most strongly impacted by the new denominations. Dombek took note of the absence of Protestantism in Kowal district.<sup>17</sup> In Cuyavia, Reformation achieved its first successes thanks to Radziejów Starosta Rafał Leszczyński, one of the wealthiest magnates and most active advocates of Protestantism in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> It is believed that Leszczyński inspired Cuyavia's remaining nobility to side with the new religious movements. It was Leszczyński who organised the Calvinist congregation in Radziejów in 1554, and persuaded Andrzej of Przasnysz (also dubbed Prażmowski) to assume the position of senior pastor there. Andrzej of Przasnysz was an outstanding preacher, polemist and Calvinist activist in Poland. Before converting to Calvinism, he was a parson or vicar at St. John's Church in Poznań, yet was exiled by the Poznań bishop in 1549, and died in 1592.<sup>19</sup> These efforts led to the establishment of Cuyavia's main Protestant centre. After Rafał Leszczyński stepped down from his office, care over the congregations was passed onto Radziejów starostas: Jan Leszczyński, son of Rafał, and next to Świętosław Orzelski.<sup>20</sup> Andrzej of Przasnysz, already mentioned above, had been active in Cuyavia before these events. Exiled from Poznań, he settled in Lisewo in Bydgoszcz district, where he operated under the supervision of Jakub

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<sup>8</sup> MHDW 21, pp. 229–232. H. Merczyng dated this list to before 1571 (H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Z mapą Dawnej Polski pod względem kościelnym ewangelickim*, Warszawa 1904, p. 23, footnote) based on information about a Protestant minister called Jerzyk, who was to die in 1571. Yet the same Jerzyk is mentioned again in 1577 (MHDW 17, p. 118). A brief comparison of the list of clergymen presented in this record with the 1577 visitation demonstrates that the first half of the 1570s is a more likely date for this source than the late 1560s – many clergymen appear on both lists, but many had already been replaced.

<sup>9</sup> H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*.

<sup>10</sup> J. Łukasiewicz, *O kościołach Braci Czeskich w dawnej Wielkiej Polsce*, Poznań 1835.

<sup>11</sup> Guldon, *Kujawy*, p. 39.

<sup>12</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach w XVI wieku*, PKHBTN, t. 3, 1966, pp. 55–89.

<sup>13</sup> M. Pawlak, *Reformacja na Kujawach w świetle wizytacji duszpasterskich biskupów Stanisława Karnkowskiego i Hieronima Rozrażewskiego z lat 1577–1584*, [in:] *Polska w kręgu polityki, kultury i gospodarki europejskiej. Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 70-lecia urodzin prof. Maksymiliana Grzegorza*, ed. Z. Zyglewski, Bydgoszcz 2007, pp. 178–198. From a practical perspective, the entirety of this text is based solely on visitation data, and is plagued by content-related errors, which disqualifies it as a source of information.

<sup>14</sup> W. Sławiński, *Udział różnowierców kujawskich w toruńskim synodzie generalnym 1595 roku*, ZK, vol. 13, 1998, pp. 65–76. This publication fails to touch upon the issues of greatest concern to us in this volume.

<sup>15</sup> T. Krzemiński, *Protestanci na Kujawach wschodnich od XVI do połowy XX wieku*, [in:] *Ewangelicy w regionie kujawsko-pomorskim na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. J. Kłaczko, Toruń 2020, pp. 97–170. The remaining part of the volume discusses later phenomena which do not fall within the scope of this publication.

<sup>16</sup> A paper was published only on a commune established in Lipno at the close of the eighteenth century; K. Kłodawski, *Z dziejów parafii ewangelicko-augsburskiego wyznania w Lipnie (od końca XVIII wieku do roku 1914)*, „Notatki Płockie”, vol. 53, 2008, pp. 3–12.

<sup>17</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, pp. 58–59.

<sup>18</sup> M. Sipayło, *Leszczyński Rafał*, [in:] PSB, vol. 17, pp. 132–135.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, *Prażmowski (Prasnovius) Andrzej*, [in:] PSB, vol. 28, pp. 350–351.

<sup>20</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, pp. 84.

Niemojewski.<sup>21</sup> Jakub, and his brothers Jan and Wojciech, represented one of the most powerful families who supported Reformation in Cuyavia, and were also famous for participating in dietines and engaging in religious polemics.<sup>22</sup> The Zakrzewskis also deserve a mention. Filip was the most active representative of this family. His name has already been mentioned in the dispute over Świniarzewo church (Siniarzewo, see A. Borek, *Catholic Church administration borders* in this volume), and he also authored religious writings.<sup>23</sup> In terms of property, Brethren senior Jan Krotoski was a major figure. His estates encompassed *i.a.* Łobżenica, Barcino (in Kalisz Voivodeship, on the Greater Poland-Cuyavia border), and Pakość, and he served as Inowrocław Voivode.<sup>24</sup> Representatives of the above families took part in the 1595 Toruń Synod,<sup>25</sup> which confirms their active involvement in advancing Protestantism in Cuyavia. In periods when Reformation progressed across the analysed area, it seems that Protestants enjoyed much more power than attested by visitations from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The lack of decisive actions taken by Włocławek bishops created favourable conditions for Protestants. A sharp change occurred in 1567, when Stanisław Karnkowski took over the bishopric.<sup>26</sup> The fall of Reformation became increasingly visible in the late sixteenth century. Radziejów congregation was closed in 1615, and in 1627 the last congregation in the analysed area was situated in Świerczynko.<sup>27</sup>

Calvinism and the Unity of the Brethren Church were Cuyavia's dominant Protestant denominations. On 18 September 1565 in Liszkowo, Andrzej of Przasnysz, as head of Cuyavian Calvinists, entered into an amicable settlement with the Unity of the Brethren and adopted their faith with negligible liturgical differences. The churches of the two congregations were to be shared. Andrzej of Przasnysz was probably persuaded by his patrons, Rafał Leszczyński (then patron) and Jakub Niemoyewski (former patron), who had already joined the Church of the Unity of the Brethren.<sup>28</sup> The statement of Klemens, a minister in Kościół (Kościelna Wieś), stands proof to the dominant position of Radziejów congregation. Although initially ordained a priest of the Augsburg confession, Klemens adopted the doctrine of Radziejów congregation<sup>29</sup> after accepting the post in Cuyavia<sup>30</sup> (before 1584).

Nontrinitarianism also gained some popularity in Cuyavia. From the beginning of the 1560s, Jan Niemojewski stood at the helm of this movement. With the remaining Niemojewski brothers standing by the Unity of Brethren,<sup>31</sup> Jan was the main representative and propagator of Nontrinitarianism, and worked together with Marcin Czechowic. In the course of time, after moving to Lublin, Jan became one of the movement's central figures.<sup>32</sup> The aforementioned Filip Zakrzewski was another active (yet definitely less radical) representative of the Polish Brethren.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Literature of the field often reiterates an item of information given by J. Łukaszewicz, *i.e.* that Andrzej settled near or with Jakub Niemojewski in Liszkowo (J. Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach Braci Czeskich*, p. 341), which is a mistake arising from the phonetic proximity of Lisewo (held by the Niemojewski family) and Liszkowo (property of the Kaczkowski family), and the fact that both churches were converted into congregations. J. Tazbir claimed that Jakub Niemojewski gave shelter not to Andrzej of Przasnysz, but to Wawrzyniec (Laurentius) Discordia of Przasnysz (idem, *Niemojewski Jakub*, [in:] PSB, vol. 23, p. 11).

<sup>22</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach Braci Czeskich*, p. 341; J. Płokarz, *Jan Niemojewski: studium z dziejów arjan polskich*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 2, 1922, no. 5–6, pp. 71–117; L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, pp. 59, 60–61.

<sup>23</sup> W. Neothebel, „Acrostichis” *własnego wyobrażenia Kniaża Wielkiego Moskiewskiego*, comp. G. Franczak, Warszawa 2016 (Biblioteka Dawnej Literatury Popularnej i Okolicznościowej, vol. 25), p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *Krotoski (Krotowski) Jan*, [in:] PSB, vol. 15, pp. 345–346.

<sup>25</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, pp. 61–62; W. Sławiński, *Toruński synod generalny 1595 roku. Z dziejów polskiego protestantyzmu w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 304–305.

<sup>26</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, pp. 63–66, 72–75.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, pp. 86–88; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 103, 107–108.

<sup>28</sup> ASR 2, p. 195–196; J. Płokarz, *Jan Niemojewski: studium z dziejów arjan polskich*, p. 75; L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, p. 63; H. Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy a kalwini w Rzeczypospolitej: połowa XVI – połowa XVII wieku. Studium porównawcze*, Lublin 1987, p. 36; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, p. 37. Subject literature has yet to produce a more in-depth interpretation of this event. H. Gmiterek does not give much consideration to this event in his publications, having recognised similar early seventeenth century contracts as more significant; H. Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy a kalwini w Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 144–148, 167; similarly J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, p. 107.

<sup>29</sup> ASR 1, p. 129; Sławiński 1998, pp. 71–72.

<sup>30</sup> MHDW 22, p. 59.

<sup>31</sup> J. Płokarz, *Jan Niemojewski: studium z dziejów arjan polskich*, pp. 75–76.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, pp. 79–81; L. Szucki, *Marcin Czechowic (1532–1613). Studium z dziejów antytrynitaryzmu polskiego XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1964, pp. 64–83.

<sup>33</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, pp. 70–71; W. Neothebel, „Acrostichis” *własnego wyobrażenia*, pp. 31–32. Perhaps his successors converted to a reformed protestantism; W. Sławiński, *Toruński synod generalny 1595 roku*, p. 305.

The organisational structure of Cuyavia's congregations remains unclear. There are numerous references about the congregations of Greater Poland and Cuyavia being divided into districts, but they do not provide a basis for drawing any conclusions. The districts of Cuyavia-Pomerania, Cuyavia, Radziejów, Inowrocław and Kcynia appear in different contexts in subsequent years. It is not certain how this organisational structure should be understood in the light of the 1565 settlement between the Unity of the Brethren and the Evangelical Reformed Church. Furthermore, there is no basis for determining the boundaries of these districts. However, it can be stated that in the late sixteenth century the Cuyavian district encompassed the northern part of Greater Poland as well.<sup>34</sup>

Few records testify to the presence of Protestants in Dobrzyń land, especially the part which overlapped with Płock diocese. The Reformation advanced at a very slow pace in Płock diocese, and yet when compared with the Mazovian part of the dioceses, Dobrzyń land archdeaconry was most strongly influenced by new religious movements.<sup>35</sup> It has been established that Lutherans could be found among the nobility of this land ever since 1550. The proximity of the Duchy of Prussia stoked the popularity of this confession. Many churches were seized.<sup>36</sup> In his 1595 report addressed to Rome, Płock Bishop Wojciech Baranowski mentioned the capture and desecration of two churches in Dobrzyń archdeaconry at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Based on the visitation, we found that Wierzbick church was one which fell victim to worshippers of Reformed denominations (n; see below in this chapter, probably the location of congregation). We did not succeed in identifying the second church. It has not been clarified whether the parish functioned without a parson or the temple was converted into a Protestant place of worship. We are also not aware of Protestants using any churches built by themselves.

Reformation-induced changes in Cuyavian towns escape any tracing attempts. Radziejów congregation clearly had connections with nobility displaying Protestant sentiments, but not townspeople with such inclinations. It is only known that new religious movements gained greater ground among the burghers of Bydgoszcz<sup>38</sup> and Nieszawa (see below in this chapter). In general, the Cuyavian Reformation left its mark on noble estates, but reached royal property only through Rafał Leszczyński's activity as Radziejów Starosta. The Reformation trickled down to the lower classes from Dutch-type settlement, starting from the turn of the seventeenth century. This, however, was a very different phenomena from the Protestantism of nobility in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

Ultimately, we presented the spatial reach of Protestantism on the 'Reformation in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the Second Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.' map by depicting three phenomena. First, we marked Protestant churches, broadly understood as places where worshippers of other denominations gathered to pray collectively. This definition applies to both seized Catholic churches and settlements where Protestants had their own places of prayer. The locations of the latter were suggested by information that local non-Catholics gathered in the manor of a specific nobleman, or by a source mention about a minister pastor. The second hint at Protestant presence were instances where a Catholic church functioned without a parson, because its patron was a Protestant (Zenon Guldon adopted a similar assumption<sup>40</sup>). Thirdly, we looked for records of Protestant presence in a parish. Visitations describe this phenomenon in two ways: either a general mention about the presence of Protestants in a parish, or by pointing out specific settlements. The map does not reflect references to the former, as this would necessitate highlighting almost all the parishes in Cuyavia. As for larger areas, in the second half of the sixteenth century Protestants are not mentioned at all only in the north-western part of Bydgoszcz district (estates of Koronowo Monastery), the vicinity of Raciążek set of property and the centre of

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<sup>34</sup> H. Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy a kalwini w Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 144–145; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 53, 103; see also: M. Ptasiński, *O ustroju kościoła. Uwagi na marginesie edycji Akt synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1626–1637*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 56, 2012, pp. 206–209.

<sup>35</sup> W. Müller, *Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, „Studia Płockie”, vol. 3, 1975, pp. 156, 197; J. Tazbir, *Spoleczny i terytorialny zasięg polskiej reformacji*, p. 724; W. Budka, *Przejawy reformacji na Mazowszu w latach 1548–1572*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 30, 1985, pp. 143–177.

<sup>36</sup> W. Budka, *Przejawy reformacji na Mazowszu*, pp. 146–147, 162, 171–172.

<sup>37</sup> W. Müller, *Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, p. 167.

<sup>38</sup> VAP 2, p. 313; S. Pastuszewski, *Karta czesko-braterska i kalwińska w dziejach Bydgoszczy*, „Kronika Bydgoska”, pp. 55–63; F. Mincer, *Kultura, nauka i szkolnictwo w latach 1466–1772*, [in:] *Historia Bydgoszczy*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1920*, ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa–Poznań 1991, pp. 304–309.

<sup>39</sup> T. Krzemiński, *Protestanci na Kujawach wschodnich*, pp. 111–127.

<sup>40</sup> Guldon, *Kujawy*, p. 39.

Kowal district. On the map, therefore, we only marked the presence of non-Catholics in specific settlements. We assigned equal importance to information about a Protestant residing in a given village and a Protestant owning a settlement, and treated such details as the outcomes of Reformation impact.

The map gives a collective picture for the whole second half of the sixteenth century. We did not adopt any time-related criteria concerning the period of congregation activity or Protestant presence in a given settlement. Thus, this is the maximum spread of the Reformation in Cuyavia arising from sources dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. This presentation was based on the Catholic parish network, owing to the specificity of the main source constituted by Church visitations. As the source base covering Dobrzyń Archdeaconry dates to a late period, the map gives a rather partial picture.

The difficulty in drawing an accurate map of Protestant churches, as defined above, lies in the mobility of minister pastors reported by sources. Before 1577, Andrzej of Przasnysz transferred the minister pastor from Płowce to Góra.<sup>41</sup> Andrzej himself probably preached in different settlements.<sup>42</sup> Minister pastor Walenty Neothebel emerges in two different (nearby) villages over a period of two years.<sup>43</sup> Minister pastors from other settlements visited Boniewo to conduct funerals, as this settlement did not have a permanent Protestant pastor.<sup>44</sup> This paves the way for presuming that such short-lived places of collective prayer were much more numerous. After all, the worshippers themselves covered some ground. Brześć Judge Hieronim Bieliński, residing in Kłobia Mała (Kłóbka) Parish, visited Radziejów for religious purposes (so the visitation suggests).<sup>45</sup> Protestants of Błędna (Błenna) and Zbrachlin parishes were among those who took similar trips.<sup>46</sup>

Of course, it is not possible to dispel doubts concerning the reliability of information given by visitors on the issues of interest to us (especially on the faith of individuals), all the more that the visitors themselves obtained that information from a local parson or other witnesses, e.g. provisors (*vitrici*). In general, however, visitors seem to give opinions on this matter prudently, and strive to differentiate between Protestants on the one hand, and the excommunicated and those who do not practice confession on the other hand. We therefore took into account only unambiguous information about Protestants, and dismissed any details about any persons not taking Communion or whose faith was surrounded by any unspecified doubts. It is rather unlikely that Catholic Church administration would be interested in overestimating the Reformation's reach in its reports, or that it would strive to differentiate between actual worshippers of other denominations and the unruly nobility reluctant towards Catholic Church institutions.<sup>47</sup> Church visitations can therefore be recognised as a quite reliable source on this issue.

On the map, we only assigned confession to congregations. By virtue of the abovementioned 1565 settlement between Radziejów congregation and the Unity of the Brethren, we did not differentiate between churches of these two denominations. In the map legend, they are referred to collectively as 'Reformed and Unity of Brethren'). Almost all churches belonged to these united confessions.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> MHDW 17, p. 70.

<sup>42</sup> ASR 2, p. 100.

<sup>43</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 154; W. Neothebel, „*Acrostichis*” *własnego wyobrażenia*, p. 20.

<sup>44</sup> MHDW 20, p. 102.; ADWł, sign. 0213/1, p. 257.

<sup>45</sup> MHDW 22, p. 12.

<sup>46</sup> MHDW 17, p. 49; MHDW 22, p. 73.

<sup>47</sup> A visitor described the Catholics of Pieranie Parish as equally adept in persecuting the Catholic Church: 'Parochiani nobiles promiscue religionis, sed catholici excepta fidei confessione in omnibus hereticorum mores induerunt'; AAG, E1, f. 71v. In the reports written for Rome, Płock Bishop Wojciech Baranowski also reported that Catholic gentry often simply seized Catholic Church property, and hired travelling low-wage priests instead of duly presenting parsons; W. Müller, *Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów*, p. 167.

<sup>48</sup> The *List of Protestant Congregations Active in the Commonwealth of Poland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, edited by M. Ptaszyński and available at [www.atlasfontium.pl](http://www.atlasfontium.pl) (access: 31.01.2020) proposes a division of Cuyavia's congregations between those of the Unity of the Brethren and the Evangelical Reformed Church. Ptaszyński restated this information, supplemented with a brief commentary, on the margin of the scientific review; Ptaszyński, *O ustroju kościoła*, p. 208. However, he did not comment on the 1565 consensus, and focused on early seventeenth-century agreements like other authors. In my opinion, the query across sources dating to the second half of the sixteenth century conducted for the purpose of drafting this text did not provide any grounds for such a classification of Cuyavian congregations. Information on agreements reached at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which only mention incorporating Cuyavian senior pastors directly into Brethren structures (ASR 4, p. 310), corroborate that earlier divisions should be perceived as organisational ones. The constitution of this division was aimed rather at ensuring that Andrzej of Przasnysz continues to occupy the dominant position of Cuyavian commune leader. Different source mentions might suggest that the Unity of Brethren bore organisational responsibility for churches to

This follows also from the list of Cuyavian participants of the 1595 Toruń Synod.<sup>49</sup> As direct information is scant, in most cases the confession of a congregation was determined based on the context provided by literature of the field, e.g. information on the patron.

Of the congregations listed in literature of the field after Henryk Merczyng, we did not mark the Dźwierzchno (Dźwierzno, c) church on our map.<sup>50</sup> Merczyng included this church on the basis of an erroneous interpretation of a fragment of a list of vacant churches. The publisher mistakenly construed the word *odardum* as the name of a priest, instead of the adjective *odartus* in the accusative case.<sup>51</sup> The priest, who was Catholic as indicated by the meaning of the word *sacerdos* used in the list, was simply very poor. Moreover, Dźwierzchno was a village held by Włocławek bishops, which practically precludes the presence of a Protestant minister.

Based on the consulted subject literature, Zenon Guldon marked Radojewice (n) congregation on his map.<sup>52</sup> We were not able to find the information he used. This is most probably an error, and the congregation was to be placed in Niemojewo<sup>53</sup> (see below).

Lucjan Dombek listed Przedecz and Inowrocław among the churches re-captured by Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski from Protestants.<sup>54</sup> The provenance of the information on Przedecz is not clear, as it is not indicated in the material cited by Dombek. The mention about Inowrocław comes from the *Ratio Rerum* of Włocławek diocese issued by Karnkowski for Hieronim Rozdrażewski upon Rozdrażewki's assumption of Włocławek bishopric. This fragment, however, refers to towns particularly inclined to heresy.<sup>55</sup> There is no mention of any Protestants in Inowrocław.<sup>56</sup> Hence, we did not place these two towns on the map.

Some interesting developments occurred in Lubraniec. About 1568, Jakub Chlewicki, owner of the town since the 1550s and Calvinist, exiled the local Canons Regular ca. 1568. Nevertheless, the church was neither converted into a Protestant place of worship nor permitted to stay without a parson. Chlewicki appointed his relatives as lay provosts, which Church authorities accepted, and even approved. Although the nominees did not exhibit high-level pastoral skills, they were Catholic after all.<sup>57</sup> Thus, Lubraniec has not been labelled as a congregation on the map.

In total, the agreed list of congregations in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land contains 28 Protestant churches. Most are former Catholic Churches seized by patrons, which were re-captured mainly by the Catholic Church already at the turn of the seventeenth century. We identified seven churches, which remained vacant due to the Protestant faith of their patrons, and 81 settlements with worshippers of other denominations (three are not marked on the map, as their location is unknown). The Reformation left its most visible mark in central Cuyavia – in the area stretching from Niemojewski family estates in the north-west to Radziejów Gord Starosty in the south, covering the south-west of Inowrocław

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the north and east of Inowrocław in the second half of the sixteenth century. All the same, there are insufficient grounds for any attempts at boundary delimitation. Interpreting the confession of a **church** and its 'priest' separately also compounds the issue; see: J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 55, 197; *Bracia czescy – kalwiniści – ewangelicy reformowani. Problem terminologii*, „Biblioteka”, vol. 9 (18), 2005, pp. 143–148; see also ASR 4, p. VIII.

<sup>49</sup> W. Sławiński, *Toruński synod generalny 1595 roku*, pp. 302–305. Nonetheless, this list is limited in geographical scope and cannot constitute the only basis for outlining the divisions between Brethren and Calvinist denominations.

<sup>50</sup> H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 25. Cited after Merczyng by Z. Guldon; Guldon, Kujawy, p. 39.

<sup>51</sup> MHDW 21, p. 231.

<sup>52</sup> This church is not among those added by Guldon on the basis of his own query, since those churches, possibly by mistake, were not placed on the map; cf. Guldon, Kujawy, map and p. 39.

<sup>53</sup> Niemojewo is mentioned in a short popular scientific article by Z. Czapla titled *Heretics in Cuyavia* (Z. Czapla, *Heretycy na Kujawach*, „Dziennik Kujawski”, 5 XII 1926), which Z. Guldon used and which mentions a minister in that settlement. The article also mentions Radojewice, albeit in a different context.

<sup>54</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, p. 75. Dombek also listed Boniewo (and erroneously gives references in footnote to: M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym, archeologicznym, ekonomicznym i statystycznym*, Włocławek 1882), but this is a mistake.

<sup>55</sup> MHDW 10, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej i początkach zabory pruskiego (1466–1815)*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1: *Do 1919 r.*, ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń 1978, p. 275.

<sup>57</sup> MHDW 19, pp. 48–49, 73–77; MHDW 20, pp. 38–45; MHDW 23, pp. 38–40; S. Muznerowski, *Lubraniec (monografia)*, Włocławek 1910, pp. 48–52; J. Pielas, *Drobna własność szlachecka w rejonie Szydłowca w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu szydłowieckiego*, ed. M. Przeniosło, Kielce 2009, pp. 65–67 (for more on Chlewicki).

district, the bulk of Radziejów district and the western part of Brześć district. As emphasised above, however, Protestants were present in all Cuyavia.

## Protestant Churches

### Brześć Voivodeship

**Boniewo**, located in Brześć district – in the early 1580s, Jan Siewierski (church patron) persuaded the local parson to give up the benefice and attempted to replace the parson with a minister, although the parson returned to Boniewo on Sunday once in two weeks to apparently celebrate mass. Siewierski acted together with Sebastian Osiecki to achieve this goal, but the two failed to reach an understanding on the minister's wages.<sup>58</sup> In the end, Boniewo did not acquire a permanent minister. Still, visitations from the close of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century state that Boniewo became Cuyavia's main Protestant necropolis. The dead were brought to Boniewo *ex tota terra Cuiaviense*, and a non-Catholic minister, most often from Radziejów, participated in each funeral.<sup>59</sup> Hence Boniewo is labelled as a settlement with a non-Catholic church. It was not until 1682 that the Catholic church was reconsecrated.<sup>60</sup>

**Borucin**, located in Brześć district – is believed to have had an Arian congregation at the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>61</sup>

**Broniewo**, located in Radziejów district – was the property of the Zakrzewski family, with a church under their patronage. A Catholic parson was still present at the end of the 1570s.<sup>62</sup> For a short period, Protestant service was probably held, but the patron shut the church down in 1584 in the absence of worshippers.<sup>63</sup> Catholics reclaimed the church before 1624, as the next Zakrzewski generation reverted to Catholicism.<sup>64</sup>

**Bytoń**, located in Radziejów district – when Jan Chlewicki exiled Canons Regular from Lubraniec (see above in this chapter), to whose congregation Bytoń Parish had been incorporated, Rafał Leszczyński, as owner of Radziejów Gord Starosty, to which Bytoń belonged, seized Bytoń's church and church property.<sup>65</sup> Drawing from local tradition, Stanisław Muznerowski argued that this was connected with the introduction of a Protestant minister.<sup>66</sup> Taking into account Leszczyński's nature and similar actions in Płowce, the existence of a Protestant church in Bytoń should be considered probable.

**Grabie**, located in Brześć district – it is possible that this settlement had a minister for a short period at the beginning of the 1590s;<sup>67</sup> a Protestant funeral took place there.<sup>68</sup>

**Izbica**, located in Przedecz district – the last sixteenth-century visitation does not unequivocally confirm the existence of a Protestant place of worship, yet it is highly probable given later developments<sup>69</sup> and the fact that the town owner<sup>70</sup> was of a non-Catholic denomination. The congregation perished in 1627.<sup>71</sup>

**Koneck**, located in Brześć district – the only mention of a minister, or rather a parson who stripped the church of its furnishing, probably in keeping with the principles of reformed denominations, dates

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<sup>58</sup> MHDW 19, pp. 47–48; MHDW 22, p. 59.

<sup>59</sup> MHDW 20, p. 102; ADWł, sign. 0213/1, p. 257.

<sup>60</sup> ADWł, sign. 0214, f. 20v.

<sup>61</sup> H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 106.

<sup>62</sup> MHDW 17, pp. 37, 67.

<sup>63</sup> MHDW 22, p. 155.

<sup>64</sup> ADWł, sign. 0213/1, p. 256.

<sup>65</sup> MHDW 20, pp. 41–42.

<sup>66</sup> S. Muznerowski, *Bytoń*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, vol. 3, 1909, no. 7–8, pp. 237–238.

<sup>67</sup> MHDW 23, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> MHDW 21, p. 181.

<sup>69</sup> ASR 4, pp. 156, 206, 297.

<sup>70</sup> MHDW, p. 50. At the close of the sixteenth century, the town fell into the hands of the Latański family, who supported a minister of their own in 1570; ASR 2, p. 252.

<sup>71</sup> H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 27.

to before 1577.<sup>72</sup> There seems to be no connection with later information on Protestant funerals (held after a Catholic parson had been reinstated).<sup>73</sup>

**Kościelna Wieś**, located in Brześć district – the first mention of the church being seized by Protestants dates to 1577,<sup>74</sup> and the presence of a minister was confirmed in 1584.<sup>75</sup> The church was reconciled in the years 1609–1615.<sup>76</sup>

**Kruszwica**, located in Kruszwica district – Adam Baliński, who served as starosta of Kruszwica at the time, maintained a Brethren minister in Kruszwica Castle in the late sixteenth century,<sup>77</sup> according to Józef Łukaszewicz.

**Płowce**, located in Radziejów district = first belonged to Radziejów Gord Starosty, and was later taken over by the Leszczyński family (see M. Słomski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements* in this volume). Rafał Leszczyński introduced a Calvinist minister, who was then transferred to Góra. The church was reclaimed by Catholics before 1594.<sup>78</sup>

**Radziejów**, located in Radziejów district – was the heart of the Reformation in Cuyavia. The former St. John the Baptist parochial church housed the reformed congregation.<sup>79</sup> Starosta Rafał Leszczyński brought minister Andrzej of Przasnysz to Radziejów in 1554. The congregation survived until 1615.<sup>80</sup>

**Warzymowo**, located in Kruszwica district – the local church was probably seized in the 1550s and reclaimed in the second half of the 1580s.<sup>81</sup>

**Zakrzewo**, located in Brześć district – was the property of the Zakrzewski family, and the presence of Protestant minister was confirmed in 1582 (see also A. Borek, *Catholic Church administration borders* in this volume).<sup>82</sup>

### Inowrocław Voivodeship

**Branno**, located in Inowrocław district – non-Catholics seized the church in the 1580s.<sup>83</sup> A minister was mentioned in 1594 for the first time, but he did not permanently reside in Branno.<sup>84</sup> It was reclaimed by Catholics during the seventeenth century.<sup>85</sup>

**Bydgoszcz**, located in Bydgoszcz district – the saltworks manager Zuchokowski(?) allegedly organised Protestant gatherings in 1582.<sup>86</sup> At the close of the sixteenth century, a hospital for non-Catholics operated in the Osielsk suburb.<sup>87</sup> Reformation attracted some supporters in Bydgoszcz.<sup>88</sup>

**Gądecz**, located in Bydgoszcz district – Wojciech Gądecki brought a minister from Lisewo to Gądecz, ca. 1582.<sup>89</sup>

**Góra**, located in Inowrocław district – Góra church was occupied by Protestants in as early as 1557.<sup>90</sup> In 1577, Radziejów senior pastor Andrzej of Przasnysz transferred the minister from Płowce to Góra, despite the fact that Góra had a Catholic parson at the time (perhaps this is a reference to

<sup>72</sup> MHDW 21, p. 232.

<sup>73</sup> H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 29.

<sup>74</sup> MHDW 1, p. 12.

<sup>75</sup> MHDW 22, p. 59.

<sup>76</sup> Kujawski, *Parafie*, p. 263.

<sup>77</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach Braci Czeskich*, p. 298.

<sup>78</sup> MHDW 17, p. 70; MHDW 21, p. 231; MHDW 23, p. 30.

<sup>79</sup> MHDW 21, p. 18.

<sup>80</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *O kościołach Braci Czeskich*, pp. 340–342; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 38.

<sup>81</sup> MHDW 22, p. 187; MHDW 23, p. 77; S. Chodyński, *Warzymowo*, „Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej”, vol. 7, 1913, no. 4, p. 101.

<sup>82</sup> MHDW 19, p. 63.

<sup>83</sup> *Repertorium* 77, pp. 155, 166, 170.

<sup>84</sup> MHDW 23, p. 12.

<sup>85</sup> *Repertorium* 78, p. 110; Kujawski, *Parafie*, pp. 143–145.

<sup>86</sup> *Documenta ecclesias civitatis Bidgostiensis (Bromberg) concernentia*, ed. E. Becker, Berlin 1918, p. 18.

<sup>87</sup> *Repertorium* 77, p. 188; S. Pastuszewski, *Karta czesko-braterska i kalwińska w dziejach Bydgoszczy*, p. 60.

<sup>88</sup> F. Mincer, *Kultura, nauka i szkolnictwo w latach 1466–1772*, pp. 304–309.

<sup>89</sup> VAP 1, p. 101.

<sup>90</sup> Z. Czaplą, *Heretycy na Kujawach*, p. 28.

Niemojewe, see below).<sup>91</sup> The 1582 visitation attests to the capture of Góra church.<sup>92</sup> Catholics reclaimed the parish in the seventeenth century.<sup>93</sup>

**Lisewo Kościelne**, located in Bydgoszcz district – was a village of the Niemojewski family. It was probably the oldest Protestant church in Cuyavia where Andrzej of Przasnysz commenced his activity (see above). The presence of minister was confirmed in 1577.<sup>94</sup> It was reclaimed by Catholics in 1611 (see A. Borek, *Catholic Church administration borders* in this volume).

**Liszkowo**, located in Inowrocław district – minister present probably already since 1550s.<sup>95</sup> The church was reclaimed by Catholics before the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>96</sup>

**Ludziska**, located in Inowrocław district – presence of minister (of two years by that date) confirmed in 1577.<sup>97</sup> Parish may have been reclaimed by Catholics in 1599.<sup>98</sup>

**Miedzyń**, located in Bydgoszcz district – in Fordon (Fordan, r) Parish. Shortly before 1597, Wojciech Gądecki allegedly constructed a church visited also by Scots and certain Bydgoszcz burghers.<sup>99</sup> As the Miedzyń church and the Gądecz house of prayers shared the same patron, the latter ought to be considered to have been the former's predecessor (see above in this chapter). This leads to the conclusion that it should not be seen as a continuation of some Bydgoszcz church, as sometimes claimed in subject literature.<sup>100</sup>

**Modliborzyce**, located in Inowrocław district – a village in Parchanie parish. Ca. 1581, Walenty Neothebel, author of political and religious writings, served as minister there, under the patronage of Sebastian Osiecki, the village owner.<sup>101</sup>

**Niemojewe**, located in Inowrocław district – was the property of the Niemojewski family. An Arian congregation was active there since 1563.<sup>102</sup> The 1577 visitation notes that non-Catholic nobility of Góra parish gathered in the home of Jan Niemojewski, who kept a preacher by the name of Marcin.<sup>103</sup> The 1577 cannot refer to Jan Niemojewski, the Arian activist who then stayed in Lesser Poland after renouncing his estates.<sup>104</sup> These are references to his Calvinist nephew.<sup>105</sup> The mark of the two denominations assigned to this location corresponds to the chronology of their presence in this settlement.

**Pakość**, located in Inowrocław district – the Catholic church was converted to a place of worship of the Unity of Brethren, but it was reclaimed by Catholics in the late sixteenth century.<sup>106</sup>

**Pieranie**, located in Inowrocław district – was the property of *i.a.* Sebastian Osiecki, seized before 1577.<sup>107</sup> The presence of a minister was confirmed in 1582 – the aforementioned Walenty Neothebel held this position at the time.<sup>108</sup> The church was reclaimed by Catholics during the seventeenth century.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> MHDW 17, pp. 70, 126.

<sup>92</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 158.

<sup>93</sup> Kujawski, Parafie, p. 149.

<sup>94</sup> MHDW 17, p. 121.

<sup>95</sup> MHDW 1, p. 16; MHDW 17, p. 118; MHDW 21, p. 231.

<sup>96</sup> ASR 4, p. 360; Repertorium 77, p. 185.

<sup>97</sup> MHDW 1, p. 14; MHDW 17, p. 111.

<sup>98</sup> K. Hewner, *Ludzisko. Historia parafii*, Ludzisko 2005, p. 22. Even in 1595, Jakub of Jarocin Pruski, 'minister verbi Dei in Ludziczko' appeared at the Toruń synod; W. Sławiński, *Toruński synod generalny 1595 roku*, p. 303.

<sup>99</sup> VAP 2, p. 313.

<sup>100</sup> S. Pastuszewski, *Karta czesko-braterska i kalwińska w dziejach Bydgoszczy*, pp. 56, 60–61.

<sup>101</sup> W. Neothebel, „Acrostichis” własnego wyobrażenia, pp. 5–61; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 34.

<sup>102</sup> L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, p. 67.

<sup>103</sup> MHDW 17, pp. 117, 127.

<sup>104</sup> J. Płokarz, *Jan Niemojewski: studium z dziejów arjan polskich*, p. 72; L. Szczucki, J. Tazbir, *Niemojewski Jan*, [in:] PSB, vol. 23, p. 14.

<sup>105</sup> W. Sławiński, *Udział różnowierców kujawskich w toruńskim synodzie generalnym*, p. 73, footnote 41.

<sup>106</sup> ADW1, sign. 033 (OABMK, microfilm 3812), f. 339r; ASR 4, pp. 159, 164, 360; J. Łukasiewicz, *O kościołach Braci Czeskich*, p. 333; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 35; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, p. 196.

<sup>107</sup> MHDW 1, p. 17.

<sup>108</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 154.

<sup>109</sup> Kujawski, Parafie, p. 161.

**Płonkowo**, located in Inowrocław district – there was a Protestant minister before 1577, returned to Catholics before the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>110</sup>

### **Dobrzyń land**

**Nieszawa**, located in Lipno district – a small Protestant community was present in the town in the second half of the sixteenth century, and gathered to pray together.<sup>111</sup>

**Wierzbick**, located in Lipno district – the 1597 and 1609 visitations state that Lutherans seized Wierzbick church for a certain period of the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>112</sup> Still, one should have some doubts concerning the denomination specified in the source, as visitations tended to overuse this designation.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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<sup>110</sup> MHDW 21, p. 231; MHDW 1, p. 16; ASR 4, p. 360; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 36; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce*, p. 196.

<sup>111</sup> MHDW 19, pp. 58, 88; MHDW 20, p. 120; MHDW 23, p. 5; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 34; L. Dombek, *Reformacja na Kujawach*, p. 75.

<sup>112</sup> ADP, sign. 2, ff. 6v–7; ADP, sign. 6, f. 371v.

### III.2.2.7 MAZOVIA

*Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*

For the sake of general orientation, we supplement our description of the **borders of Church administration** with the structural pattern of Church administration in Mazovia in the sixteenth century, provided in Annex I.

So far, the research on the course of the borders of Church administration brought a much simplified knowledge about the outline of diocese, archdeaconry, or deanery borders.<sup>1</sup> A more complete reconstruction of the borderlines required the range of individual parishes be determined, as they together showed the outer boundaries of a higher-rank unit of Church administration.

At the end of the sixteenth century, there were 447 parishes in Mazovia, of which more than 100 lay in towns. All parishes were usually catholic at the time, except for the few seized by other denominations – like Sierzchowy, Zwola or Suserz.<sup>2</sup>

The vast area of the three Voivodeships of Mazovia was the place where the borders of several dioceses met in the sixteenth century. They differed from the borders of State administration. **Płock diocese**, that is **the archdeaconries of Płock, Pultusk** and a fragment of **Dobrzyń archdeaconry** – encompassed the Voivodeship of Płock, the northern part of Mazovian Voivodeship, and the north-western part of Rawa Voivodeship.

**The archdeaconry of Warsaw**, a Mazovian exclave of **Poznań diocese**, stretched over the Voivodeships of Mazovia and Rawa.<sup>3</sup>

**The archdiocese of Gniezno** entered the territory of Mazovia from the south and southwest as **Łowicz archdeaconry** (deaneries of Łowicz, Skierniewice, and a major part of Rawa), which was isolated

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<sup>1</sup> T. Żebrowski, *Diecezja płocka*, MS, p. 6; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (966–1939)*, ABMK, vol. 18, 1969, pp. 288–352; vol. 19, 1969, pp. 271–351, vol. 20, 1970, pp. 253–374, vol. 21, 1970, pp. 309–404; Now2 pp. 35–39, see map; *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej w XVI–XVIII w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 15, 1967, no. 2, pp. 129–174; idem, *Diecezje rzymsko-katolickie w XV–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Rozwój organizacji Kościoła w Polsce*, „Znak”, 1965, no. 137–138, pp. 1514–1515; T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidiaconatu w Polsce*, Lwów 1927; see also *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1–2, Kraków 1966–1970 (maps XVI–XVIII w.).

<sup>2</sup> Sierzchowy Parish – a discussion during the meeting devoted to the Comparative History of Churches, held on 28 October 1971; Zwola parish – ‘per hereticos, qui per aliquot annos in eadem ecclesia religionem suam exercebant, erat violata et devastata,’ Visitations at Warsaw Archive 1598–1603, f. 82; Suserz parish – the register of the tax collected from the clergy in 1561; ASK, I, no. 27, f. 285v–287; Now2, p. 509. See also Ch. Wollek, *Das Domkapitel von Płock 1524–1564*, Köln 1972, pp. 84–124.

<sup>3</sup> Compare with Annex II, for Płock diocese based on the following sources: *Distinctio nova decanatum in dioecesi Plocensi – 1506*, ADP, Akta Konsystorza, no. 6, ff. 103–108 (ibidem copy of a copy made by rev. W. Mąkowski); *Ecclesiarum archidiaconatus Plocensis visitationes anni 1598–1599 et partim 1600 et 1602 peractae*, ibidem, ff. 16v–383; fragments of the visitations of churches in Łomża and Wizna deaneries from 1598; ibidem, no. 8, ff. 301–394v; fragments from the 1609 visitation of the deaneries of: Ciechanów (ibidem, no. 11, ff. 220–280v), Łomża (ibidem, no. 14, ff. 133–225), Wizna (ibidem, no. 14, ff. 225–260), Wyszaków (ibidem, no. 11, ff. 1–50), Czerwińsko (ibidem, no. 9, ff. 88–118v), Gostynin (ibidem, no. 9, ff. 248–341); *Regestrum in quo proventus beneficiorum curatorum et non curatorum in archidiaconatu Poltoviensi existentium – a.D. 1530 conscriptum*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów kolegiaty pultuskiej*, Krakow 1916 (AKH, vol. 10), pp. 389–390. General division of Płock diocese in 1628 in *Taxa beneficiorum* (ADP, Akta konsystorza, no. 59, pp. 92–114), in 1631 (ibidem, pp. 733–734), in 1632 (BCzart, MS 28808; copy by the Department of Documentation IH PAN in Cracow, kept in ZBHG); see also: T. Żebrowski, *Diecezja płocka*, p. 6; B. Kumor, *Granice*, vol. 19, p. 272; W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej*, pp. 129–174. The archdeaconry of Warsaw based on: *Wiz. arch. warsz. 1598–1603*; see also Now2, pp. 35–39; B. Kumor, *Granice*, vol. 19, p. 289.

from two great deaneries: Łęczyca and Rawa in the sixteenth century, and as fragments of **Łęczyca archdeaconry** (Kutno deanery, which in Mazovia encompassed the parishes: Głogowiec, Kutno and Jemielno, the latter parish was in turn a subsidiary of the parochial church in Grochów).<sup>4</sup> In the south, part of **Kurzelów archdeaconry** belonged to Gniezno Archdiocese (parishes in Wyśmierzyce, Jasiona, and Stromiec).<sup>5</sup> **Cracow diocese** was represented by one parish, Głowaczów, situated near the border with Sandomierz Voivodeship. The parish belonged to **Radom archdeaconry**.<sup>6</sup> **Włocławek diocese**, on the other hand, situated on the border of Rawa Voivodeship, supervised one parish, Biało-tarsk, and its subsidiary church in Łanięta, which belonged to the deanery of Brześć Kujawski, Włocławek archdeaconry.<sup>7</sup> All aforementioned dioceses were subject to the Gniezno metropolis. Any parish situated in Dąbrowa, in the peripheries of Mazovia, belonged to **Łuck diocese**, in Lwów metropolis.<sup>8</sup>

The map reconstructs the borders of higher-rank units of Church administration (diocese and archdeaconry) and parishes. Changes from the second half of the sixteenth century, related to the isolation of Stanisławów deanery from the deaneries of Nur and Wyszaków, were illustrated on p. 310.

Given the brevity of this commentary, detailed description of the borders will be avoided. We will only highlight certain problems, which occurred during the reconstruction and the obtained degree of accuracy of the boundary lines depicted on the map.

The borders of the **Archdiocese of Gniezno** were determined on the basis of source data from the beginning of the sixteenth century (1511–1523) and random information from the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The comparison of the border with the borders of Poznań diocese (Warsaw archdeaconry), reconstructed on the basis of the first surviving parochial visitation from 1598–1603, showed no differences.

In the sixteenth century, a separate Łowicz archdeaconry was isolated from Rawa and Łęczyca deaneries. The archdeaconry consisted of three deaneries: Łowicz, Skierniewice and Rawa, and the original division of parochial churches between the old deaneries (Rawa deanery most of all) underwent basic changes.<sup>10</sup>

To the northwest, **Płock diocese** went outside the borders of Mazovia.<sup>11</sup> In the north – apart from a short fragment of junction with Chełmno Voivodeship and Chełmno diocese – the diocese border overlapped the border of Mazovia, and thus the border of the Crown and the fiefdom of the Duchy of Prussia, neighbouring on Pomesania and Warmia dioceses. In the northwest the diocese bordered on Vilnius diocese, which supervised the northern part of Podlaskan Voivodeship, to the River Narew, and south of the Narew – with Łuck diocese.<sup>12</sup> These borders were stable in the end of sixteenth century, and there were no significant difficulties with the reconstruction.

Detailed reconstruction of the sixteenth century settlement allowed us to establish that the border of the Płock diocese crossed the line of the Vistula in several places, previously unknown. For instance, Pomocna and Suchodół (Zakrzewo parish), villages situated on the left bank of the Vistula in Gąbin district, belonged to the deanery in Wyszogród, Płock diocese. This was probably a result of ownership connections, as these villages belonged to Płock bishopric. In the same Zakrzewo

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<sup>4</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 161–162, 475.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, I, pp. 662–671.

<sup>6</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 2, p. 557; S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidjako-natu radomskiego w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL”, vol. 9, 1958, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej na Kujawach*, Toruń 1964 (RTNT, vol. 69, no. 2), chapter V: *Podział kościelny Kujaw w 2 poł. XVI w.*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>8</sup> In the archdeaconry of Brześć, Brańsk deanery, P.J.K. [Józef Pruszkowski], *Janów Biskupi czyli Podlaski*, Kraków 1897, pp. 26–27; the borders of this parish were reconstructed on the basis of tax registers from the sixteenth century (Podlasie I, pp. 149–216) and the comparison with the eighteenth century state based on Perthées's materials (*Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 12, Drohiczyn deanery, microfilm IH PAN).

<sup>9</sup> Łaski LB, I, p. 4; II, pp. 161–162.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup> The 1609 visitation of Gostynin deanery (ADP, no. 9, f. 312 and 299), compare with Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności*, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> J. Szymański, *Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Cracow 1968, pp. 127–220 and map ibidem: L. Müllerowa, J. Szymański, *Diecezje na ziemiach polskich ok. 1500 r.* (1:2,400,000); W. Müller, *Diecezje rzymsko-katolickie w XV–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Rozwój organizacji Kościoła w Polsce*, pp. 1514–1515.

parish, so in Płock diocese, there were also settlements located on the marshes of the Vistula – Nieznachy.<sup>13</sup>

In the south, Płock diocese bordered on Warsaw archdeaconry – an exclave of Poznań diocese inside Mazovia. Here the border was still debatable in the sixteenth century, particularly along the fragment running from the Vistula towards the River Liw.<sup>14</sup>

It must be emphasized that the stabilization of the controversial fragment of the border between the dioceses of Płock and Poznań, between the Okuniew and Liw, was connected with the process of reorganization of the parochial and diaconal network in this area, which lasted throughout the sixteenth century.

It was extremely difficult to draw the borderline between the two dioceses on the map of Mazovia. Our working assumption required us to lead the border in such a way so that it would run between individual settlements, placing them in their parishes, without dividing the parishes into parts situated in both dioceses. The assumption formulated was almost a truism – the parish was after all the smallest unit of Church administration within a single diocese – yet it proved difficult to fulfil. The division of the controversial area along an old road to Lithuania, running from Warsaw to the Liw, conducted in 1547–1548 on the basis of an agreement between Benedykt Izdbieński, the bishop of Poznań, and Andrzej Noskowski, the bishop of Płock,<sup>15</sup> either broke the rule, or used an earlier, unknown to us, parochial layout of this territory. The parochial, and district, affiliation of several settlements located in the said area is not well attested to for the end of the sixteenth century. This made our source query difficult, as this was a place, where the borders of several lands met (Warsaw, Czersk, Nur, and Liw). The situation is particularly relevant in the cases of royal villages, affiliated at the time rather to starosta's districts and leases, not to districts.

As a result, this fragment of diocese border presented on the map of Mazovia reflects the state from 1548, with minor corrections regarding several settlements, when later data allowed us to identify fragments of the parochial border with the diocese border. Below we provide an explanation for several controversial fragments of the borderline.

There were some difficulties with the reconstruction of the fragment running east of Okuniew. The 1548 arrangement led the border through this settlement. One part was to belong to Płock diocese, the other – to Poznań diocese. At the close of the sixteenth century Okuniew was a parochial seat. When the border was being drawn in 1548, the settlement had had town rights for 10 years, and so it had its own parish, established between 1538–1540. However, it does not appear in the list of parishes of Nur deanery. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the entire Okuniew parish belonged to the diocese in Płock<sup>16</sup> and this is the state presented on our map of the end of the sixteenth century.

The sixteenth century fiscal sources and the materials from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries place the village Budziska in Okuniew parish, so in Płock diocese. The arrangement from 1548 leaves the village on the side of Poznań diocese, and that is how it was marked on our map.

Further to the east, we meet another obstacle. Pustelnik, a parochial village (parish erected in 1540) lay on the side of Płock diocese, and Goździówka village – inside Poznań diocese. The foundation docu-

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<sup>13</sup> ADP, no. 6, ff. 178–180. According to a text from 1511–1512, Wituski were a settlement identified with Nieznachy, that is a settlement of the fishermen called Nieznachy situated on one of the Vistula's sandbanks, called Piasek, which belonged to a nobleman called Wituski (Ulanowski, *Visitationes*, p. 94). However, the visitation from 1598 lists Nieznachy and Wituski separately (no. 6, f. 180).

<sup>14</sup> The fifteenth century conflict between the parson of Liw (Poznań diocese) and the parson of Pniewnik (Płock diocese) about the tithe collected alternatim from some of the villages and about the parochial law continued into the sixteenth century, and the register of the income from this tithe from 1667 tells us that the matter was still not settled in the second half of the seventeenth century; Knapiński, *Notaty, Pniewnik parish*, p. 511. An attempt at dividing the controversial area can be found in an agreement between Benedykt Izdbieński, the bishop of Poznań, and Andrzej Noskowski, the bishop of Płock, from 1547, ratified by the chapters in Piotrków in 28 January 1548. The border was set on the old road to Lithuania. The following villages were ascribed to Poznań diocese: Goćław, Sulejów, Długa, Okuniew, Budziska, Goździówka, Sokole, Rakowiec, Rudzienko (and Rudno), Czarnogłowska Wola, Czarnogłów, Osówno, Wyrzyki, Czerwonka, Liw Stary and Liw Nowy, and the following to Płock diocese: Praga, Kamion, Grochów, the other part of Okuniew, Michałowo, Pustelnik, Stanisławów, Osowieńska Wola that is Nowa Wieś and Skarzyn; Now2, pp. 38, 548.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. footnote above.

<sup>16</sup> Stanisławów deanery in 1628 (ADP, *Akta Konsystorza*, no. 59, pp. 92–114). It seems that one of the parts of Okuniew could be identified with the village called Długa Okuń, which between 1569 and 1570 was called Długa Okuniowe or Długa Okuniowej; the village belonged to Długa parish, so to the diocese of Poznań.

ment of the parish in Pustelnik from 1540 lists Wola Goździowa, which we identify with Goździówka, among villages belonging to this parish. This finds confirmation in the materials from the eighteenth century, which testify that Goździówka belonged to Pustelnik parish. The village was not listed in the 1609 visitation of Pustelnik parish (Stanisławów deanery of Płock diocese), nor in Mińsk parish (Liw deanery, Poznań diocese) by the visitation from 1660. The situation from the end of the eighteenth century proves the diocese border arranged in 1548 had been changed.<sup>17</sup>

Sokole, a village listed in 1548 on the side of Poznań diocese, was inspected in 1609 in Stanisławów parish, which belonged to Płock diocese.<sup>18</sup>

Some difficulties occurred again near Dobre parish. Rev. J. Nowacki, the author of *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej* ('The History of the Diocese in Poznań'), suggested that the major part of this parish belonged to Poznań diocese, claiming it would be quite an exceptional case at least, when a part of a parish was made dependent on the jurisdiction of the bishop of a different parish.<sup>19</sup> Nowacki based on the range of the parish recorded in the sources from the second half of the sixteenth century, but at the moment of foundation in 1530, Dobre parish consisted only of the following villages: Żadna alias Dobre, Makowiec, Rakowiec, Brzeźnik, Brzozowica and Kobylałaka.<sup>20</sup>

Of the villages listed in 1530 only Rakowiec was ascribed to Poznań diocese in 1548. We possess no Church source material which would allow us to determine the parochial affiliation of this village in the later period. It should, however, be noticed that tax registers from 1578 and 1663 place Rakowiec in Czerwonka parish, so one in Liw deanery of Poznań diocese. Still, the fact that also Dobre, a parochial seat, was listed under Czerwonka parish, suggest this was a mistake.

The analysis of the sixteenth–eighteenth century parochial affiliation of the remaining villages ascribed to Poznań diocese, and noted by the lan tax register from 1563 in Dobre parish, leads us to the conclusion that somewhere in the sixteenth century these villages became part of parishes neighbouring on Dobre parish, but located already in Poznań diocese.<sup>21</sup> This is the state depicted on our map.

Similar is the case of the last fragment of the borderline between the dioceses, where Skarzyno village was listed to Płock parish in 1548, while the neighbouring Wyrzyki – was listed to Poznań parish. In the second half of the sixteenth century, both villages: Skarzyno (Skarzyno Koszewnica) and Wyrzyki (Skarzyno Wyrzyki) paid the lan tax with other villages from Czerwonka parish, situated in Poznań district. The affiliation of these two villages to Czerwonka parish is confirmed by Church sources from 1617.<sup>22</sup>

The border between **the archdeaconry of Płock and the archdeaconry of Pułtusk** is uncertain at the point of junction between Przasnysz and Pułtusk deaneries. Podosie parish is listed – quite consistently in the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century – in both these deaneries at the same time in the years 1506<sup>23</sup> and 1628<sup>24</sup> (rural deanery of Pułtusk – and Przasnysz deanery). In 1530 the list of parishes in Pułtusk archdeaconry mentions Podosie only in Pułtusk deanery, and in the 1632 the villages are listed only in Pułtusk deanery.<sup>25</sup> On our map, the entire parish was outlined with the archdeaconry border, showing an alternative affiliation of this parish to both deaneries.

Here we should mention (perhaps it will help us highlight the situation) that reconstruction work on the borders of Pułtusk archdeaconry allowed us to believe this border, led when the archdeaconry was isolated by virtue of the 1443 act, ran differently.<sup>26</sup> This border in general overlapped with the contemporary political border, namely the eastern border of the Duchy of Płock. The course of the borderline could be roughly reconstructed on the basis of the 1443 document and the list of parishes in Pułtusk

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<sup>17</sup> Czaykowski.

<sup>18</sup> ADP, no. 13, ff. 48–81.

<sup>19</sup> Now2 p. 548.

<sup>20</sup> ADP, *Episcopalia* no. 33, ff. 78–81.

<sup>21</sup> Rudno – fiscal registers from 1567 and 1673 – Czerwonka parish, visitations in 1617 and 1667 – Wiśniewo parish, Tabela 1827 – Dobre parish, Rudzienko – likewise, Osowno – fiscal registers 1578, 1673 – Czerwonka parish, 1663 – Dobre parish, visitation from 1617 – Czerwonka parish, Nowa Wieś (Osowieńska Wola that is Nowe Osówno) – fiscal registers 1578, 1663, 1673 – Czerwonka parish, Taryfy 1789–1790 – Czerwonka parish, Tabela 1827 – Pniewnik parish, Czarnogłów and Czarnogłowska Wólka – visitations in 1617 and 1667, Czaykowski, Tabela 1827 – Wiśniewo parish.

<sup>22</sup> Knapiński, *Notaty*, p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> ADP, *Akta Konsystorza*, no. 6, ff. 103–108.

<sup>24</sup> ADP, *Akta Konsystorza*, no. 59, pp. 92–114.

<sup>25</sup> BCzart, MS 28808, see footnote 3.

<sup>26</sup> KDMaz., p. 206, no. CLXXXIX.

archdeaconry from 1530, which could have preserved the layout of the old form.<sup>27</sup> Then, between the fifteenth century and the end of the sixteenth, probably due to the development of the parochial network in eastern Mazovia, the spatial organization of archdeaconries changed, and the borders of Pułtusk archdeaconry moved to the east, resulting in the incorporation of Przasnysz and Ciechanów deaneries – which so far had remained in Pułtusk archdeaconry – to Płock archdeaconry.

The deanery of Stanisławów was separated from Nur deanery at the end of the sixteenth century (1593).<sup>28</sup> The border of this deanery could be reconstructed on the basis of the list of parishes in Pułtusk archdeaconry from the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup> The foundation of the deanery was related to the development of the parochial organization, extremely intense in the sixteenth century in this area, which encompassed the borderland territories of the lands of Warsaw, Nur, Liw, and Czersk.

The analysis of the reconstructed deanery borders within Płock diocese found some major shifts of the borders in the sixteenth century between the deaneries of Wizna and Łomża,<sup>30</sup> Ciechanów and Przasnysz,<sup>31</sup> Płońsk and Mława.<sup>32</sup>

The reconstruction of the borders of Warsaw archdeaconry, which belonged to Poznań diocese, met with no severe difficulties, apart from those already mentioned, concerning the division of Płock and Poznań dioceses. The range of the archdeaconry was determined on the basis of the visitation of parishes in Warsaw archdeaconry, conducted in bishop W. Gośliński's days between 1598 and 1603.<sup>33</sup>

The parochial network developed in Mazovia in the sixteenth century, particularly in the territories of new settlement. And so, in the borderlands of Warsaw, Nur, Czersk and Liw lands, only in Nur deanery, nine new parishes were founded:

Złotoria (1502),<sup>34</sup> Stoczek that is Miednik (1518),<sup>35</sup> Jelonki (1510),<sup>36</sup> Stanisławów (1525),<sup>37</sup> Sadowne (around 1529),<sup>38</sup> Dobrze (1530),<sup>39</sup> Postoliska (1531–1540),<sup>40</sup> Pustelnik (1540)<sup>41</sup> and Okuniew (1540),<sup>42</sup> which justifies the reorganization of Church administration in this area, shown by the separation of a new deanery – Stanisławów – in 1593.

Nearby, in Wyszaków deanery, a parish was established in Lubiel (1547),<sup>43</sup> in Liw deanery of Warsaw archdeaconry – in Cegłowo (before 1533),<sup>44</sup> Wierzbno (1583),<sup>45</sup> in Garwolin deanery – in Kuflewo (1515),<sup>46</sup> Siennica (1528),<sup>47</sup> Zwola (1529),<sup>48</sup> Jastrzębie (1547),<sup>49</sup> and Glinianka that is Wawrzyńczewo (1556).<sup>50</sup>

All the remaining newly-established parishes lay mostly in northern Mazovia: in Mława deanery – Niedzborz (Pokrytki – 1502),<sup>51</sup> in Łomża deanery – Białaszewo (1533),<sup>52</sup> in Wizna deanery –

<sup>27</sup> *Materiały do dziejów kolegiaty pułtuskiej*, AKH, vol. 10, pp. 388–389.

<sup>28</sup> T. Żebrowski, *Diecezja płocka*, MS.

<sup>29</sup> ADP, Akta Konsystorza, no. 59, pp. 92–144.

<sup>30</sup> In 1530 Grajewo and Dobrzyjałowo were ascribed to Wizna deanery, and Rutki, Zawady and Kołaki to Łomża deanery; *Materiały do dziejów kolegiaty pułtuskiej*, pp. 388–389.

<sup>31</sup> In 1530 the parishes in these two deaneries were severely mixed up; *ibidem*, pp. 388–389.

<sup>32</sup> Dziektarzewo in 1506 in Mława deanery, in 1599 in Płońsk deanery, in 1628 and 1632 in Bielsk deanery.

<sup>33</sup> Wiz. arch. warsz. 1598–1603.

<sup>34</sup> ADP, no. 252, ff. 4–5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 252, f. 287; ADP, *Episcopalia*, no. 2, f. 365.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 252, ff. 107, 118.

<sup>37</sup> ADP, Akta Konsystorza 33 (53), f. 126v–127v.

<sup>38</sup> Year 1530 Sadowne nove erectionis, *Materiały do dziejów kolegiaty pułtuskiej*, p. 389.

<sup>39</sup> ADP, *Episcopalia*, no. 33, ff. 78–81.

<sup>40</sup> ADP, no. 252, f. 266.

<sup>41</sup> ADP, *Episcopalia*, no. 33, ff. 121–122.

<sup>42</sup> Now2, p. 550; „Rocznik Archidiecezji Warszawskiej”, 1958, pp. 404–405.

<sup>43</sup> ADP, no. 252, ff. 131–132.

<sup>44</sup> Now2, p. 549.

<sup>45</sup> Knapiński, Notaty, p. 835; Now2, p. 547.

<sup>46</sup> Now2, p. 540.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

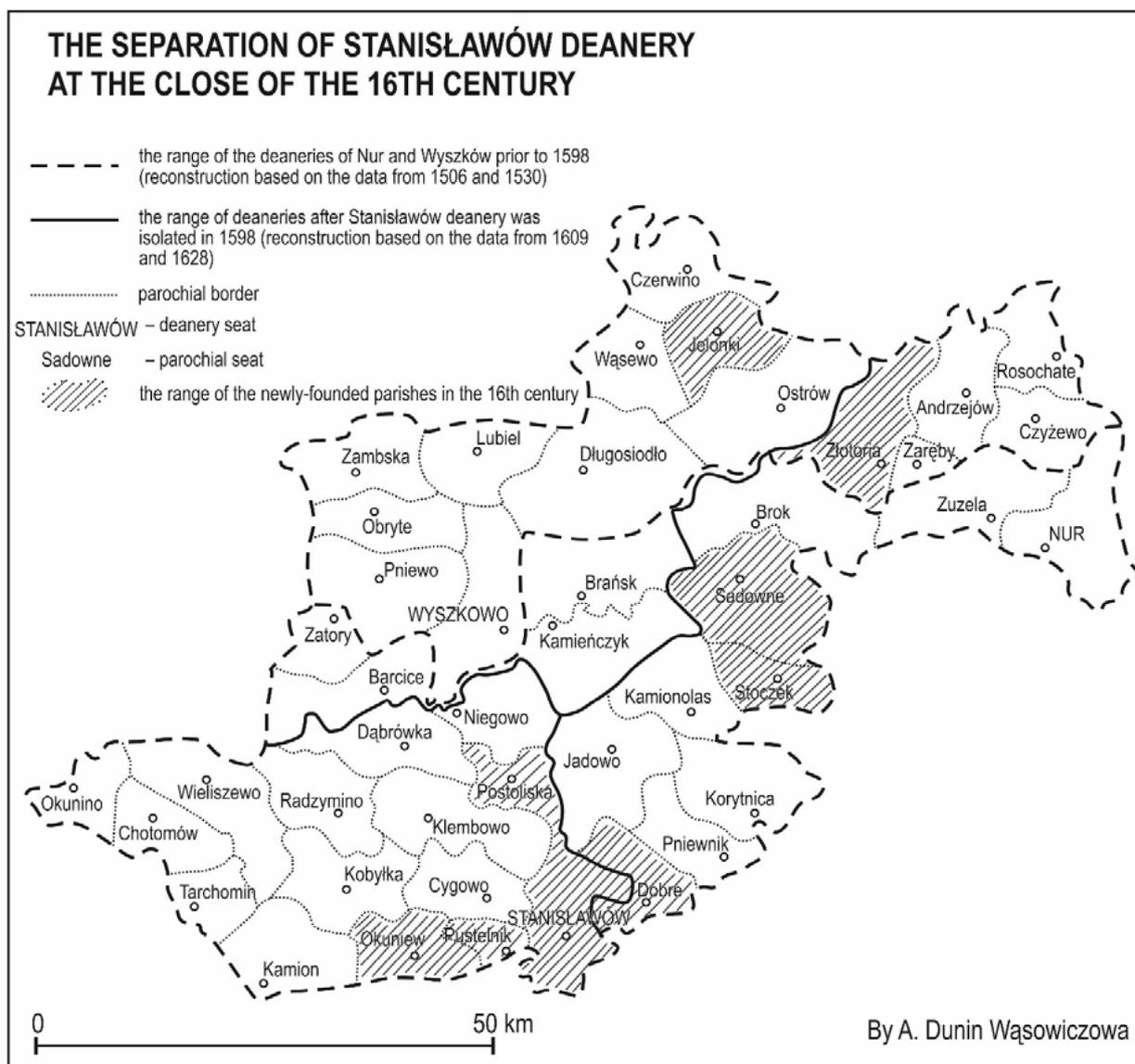
<sup>48</sup> Knapiński, Notaty, p. 947; Now2, p. 543.

<sup>49</sup> Knapiński, Notaty, p. 162; Now2, p. 543.

<sup>50</sup> Now2, p. 539.

<sup>51</sup> „Rocznik Diecezji Płockiej”, 1966, p. 142. ADP, *Episcopalia*, no. 34 (1627–1633), f. 585v.

<sup>52</sup> „Rocznik Diecezji Łomżyńskiej”, 1964, p. 47.



**Map 1. The separation of Stanisławów deanery at the close of the 16th century**

Nowa Wieś (Nieradowo 1535),<sup>53</sup> in Przasnysz deanery – Chorzele (1551),<sup>54</sup> and in Szeński deanery – Zieluń (1578).<sup>55</sup>

The range of Dobre parish can serve as an example of the difficulties in determining the parochial affiliation of settlements in newly-erected parishes. We have the foundation document from 1530, but lack any sixteenth century confirmation of parochial affiliation for the villages created in the sixteenth century in the vicinity of the parish. Tax registers list different parochial and district affiliations in different years.

The following settlements, probably incorrectly listed in neighbouring parishes by fiscal sources from the sixteenth century, were ascribed to this parish, either on the basis of the foundation document from 1530, or the eighteenth century sources: Brzozowica,<sup>56</sup> Kobyła Łąka,<sup>57</sup> Żukówka,<sup>58</sup> Rynia,<sup>59</sup> and

<sup>53</sup> ADP, Akta Kapituły Płockiej, no. 3, f. 167.

<sup>54</sup> „Rocznik Diecezji Płockiej”, p. 59.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, p. 157 (incorrect date, 1578 instead of 1588); ADP, no. 274, f. 12v.

<sup>56</sup> Brzozowica – tax registers from the sixteenth century – Postoliska parish or Jadów parish, foundation document of Dobre parish from 1530 and Taryfy 1789–1790 – to Dobre parish.

<sup>57</sup> Kobyła Łąka – tax registers from the sixteenth century in Wodynie parish in Czersk land or Jadów parish in Kamieniec district; ascribed to Dobre parish on the basis of the foundation document of the parish from 1530.

<sup>58</sup> Żukówka – tax register from 1552 and 1563 Jadów parish, 1569 Stanisławów parish. Czaykowski – Dobre parish.

<sup>59</sup> Rynia – tax registers from the sixteenth century in Kamieniec, Liw or Warsaw district, 1576 – Niegowo parish, 1580 – Stanisławowo parish; retrogressively ascribed to Dobre parish on the basis of: Czaykowski, Tabela 1827 and SGKP.

Czernik.<sup>60</sup> The destruction of some of these villages in the eighteenth century, as well as ownership changes in this territory,<sup>61</sup> made it difficult to reconstruct the sixteenth century parochial affiliation on the basis of the later situation. Therefore, the obtained results should be treated as a hypothesis.

Subsidiary churches were shown on the map, if they had had separate districts in the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> However, they were not marked with any special sign, which would allow us to distinguish between them and parochial churches.<sup>63</sup>

Often, laborious efforts were required in order to determine whether a subsidiary church had its own district in the sixteenth century. For instance, since 1427<sup>64</sup> there was a church in Głowno, which had a subsidiary district still operating in the sixteenth century, as proven by the fact that Warchałow, a village abandoned and turned into a demesne in the beginning of the sixteenth century, belonged *sub parochiali in Głowno*.<sup>65</sup> The range of the parish reconstructed on the basis of later sources, i.e. the document of the foundation of the parish from the seventeenth century, encompassed the following villages, ascribed to Domaniewice parish at the beginning of the sixteenth century: Ruchna, Kamień, Grodnów, Borówko, Ostrołęka and Poleniec. It should be mentioned that Domaniewice parish lay in Sochaczew district, but the subsidiary district, i.e. Głowno parish, in the district of Rawa.

The map does not show subsidiary churches without a district, which existed in Mazovia at the time, as well as chapels (e.g. Bełchów, Trojanów, etc.). Annex II provides information on the density of the Mazovian parochial network in the end of the sixteenth century. The size of parishes inside each land was given in absolute numbers and in percentages.

## ANNEX I CHURCH ADMINISTRATION NETWORK IN MAZOVIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

### Płock diocese

#### Płock archdeaconry

PŁOCK DEANERY (before 1506 part of Płock deanery): Płock, Imielnica, Miszewo Śledziowe, Słupno, Miszewo Murowane, Miszewo Garwaskie, Świąciniec, Radzanowo, Woźniki, Zagroba, Ciachcino, Trzepowo.

BIELSK DEANERY (ditto): Bielsko, Słupia, Łęg, Biskupice, Drobin, Koziębudy, Raciąż, Krajkowo, Drozdowo, Baboszewo, Gralewo, Rogotworsk, Góra, Żochowo, Staroźreby.

GOSTYNIN DEANERY (ditto): Radziwie, Dobrzykowo, Ciechomice, Gostynin, Mnich, Sokołowo, Solec, Duninowo.

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<sup>60</sup> Czernik – tax registers from 1562 – Stanisławów parish. Retrogressively ascribed to Dobre parish on the basis of Taryfy 1789–1790, Czaykowski and Tabela 1827.

<sup>61</sup> „Odgraniczenie dezertów Czernika i Żukówki prawu urodzonego Pawła Białobrzieskiego podległych z przyłączeniem Ryni i Głębozczy”; VL, vol. 8, p. 147 (year 1775).

<sup>62</sup> In Mazovia they contain: Imielno (subsidiary church of Grochowo parish), Głowno (subsidiary church of Domaniewice parish), parishes Góra and Nowe Miasto (initially, at the close of the sixteenth century, Nowe Miasto was the subsidiary church, but the town developed and the parish was granted full rights, while Góra became its subsidiary), Łanięta (subsidiary church of Białotarsk parish), Wielka Wola (subsidiary church of the parish of St. John in Warsaw), Poniatowo (subsidiary church of Chamsk parish) and Niechłonin (subsidiary church of Sarnowo parish) and other.

<sup>63</sup> As subsidiary churches, which had their own district, could with time become autonomous, like e.g. in Duczymin, separated from Krzywonoga Wielka parish in 1496 as a subsidiary church (ADP, *Episcopalia*, no. 15, f. 155 – Kartoteka SHGM). Similarly, in the second half of the sixteenth century we can list Solec – subsidiary church of the parish of St. John in Warsaw (later replaced by Jazdów parish), Czerwonka, subsidiary church of the parish in Liw, Cegłów, subsidiary church of the parochial church in Kiczki, and Czermno, subsidiary church of the parish in Troszyn (Register of the tax collected from the clergy in 1561, AGAD, ASK, I 27, ff. 272v, 282v, 283v, 287), which appear as autonomous parishes in the visitation conducted at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

<sup>64</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 343.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 233, 343.

SIERPC DEANERY (ditto): Brwilno, Biała, Proboszczewice, Sikorz, Borzewo, Mochowo, Kurowo, Goleszyno, Kisielewo, Borkowo, Sierpc, Lutocin, Biezuń, Rościszewo, Zawidz, Jeżewo, Gozdowo, Benisław.

CZERWIŃSK DEANERY (before 1506 part of Czerwińsk deanery, which was divided into three smaller deaneries: Czerwińsk, Płońsk and Wyszogród): Radzymin, Żukowo, Naruszewo, Krysko, Grodziec, Radzikowo, Czerwińsko, Kociszewo, Miączyno, Smoszewo, Kamienica, Kroczewo, Zakroczym.

PŁOŃSK DEANERY (ditto): Pomnichowo, Wrona, Wrońska Joniec, Gromadzino, Płońsko, Wierzbowiec, Sulerzyż, Sarbiewo, Glinojec, Unierzyż, Strzegowo, Unieck.

WYSZOGRÓD DEANERY (ditto): Łętowo, Zakrzewo, Wyszogród, Rębowo, Kobylniki, Orszymowo, Bodzanów, Blichowo, Łubki, Daniszew, Bolkowo, Pilichowo, Kucice, Gumino, Skołatowo.

MŁAWA DEANERY (before 1506 part of Zawkrze deanery, which was divided into Mława and Szreńsk deaneries): Bogurzyn, Podkrajewo, Mława, Szydłowo, Wieczfnia, Kuklino, Janowiec, Wyszyń, Grzebsk, Żmijewo, Stopsko, Żeromino, Dąbrowa, Niedzborz (Pokrytki foundation 1502), Lekowo, Małużyno, Dziektarzewo (in 1599 in Płońsk deanery).

SZREŃSK DEANERY (ditto): Grodzanowo, Radzanowo, Zgliczyn, Szreńsk, Kuczbork, Zielona, Chamsk, Karniszyn, Lubowidz, Nick, Niechłonin, Dłutowo, Sarnowo, Poniatowo, Zieluń (founded in 1578), Lipowice.

CIECHANÓW DEANERY (before 1506 part of Ciechanów deanery, which was divided into two deaneries: Ciechanów and Przasnysz): Ciechanów, Zembok, Łysakowo, Grudusko, Czernice, Koźcizyno, Pałuki, Ciemniewo, Kraszowo, Sońsko, Łopacino, Królewo, Sąchocino, Nowe Miasto, Ciekysno, Nasielsko.

PRZASNYSZ DEANERY (ditto): Przasnysz, Węgra, Pawłowo, Dzierzgowo, Krzynowłoga Wielka, Krzynowłoga Mała, Bogate, Zielona, Krasne, Węgrzynowo, Makowo, Karniewo, Gołymino, Duczymino, Chorzele (founded in 1551), also Podosie parish was ascribed to Przasnysz deanery in 1506 and 1628, in 1598 it was not inspected on Płock archdeaconry.

### **Pułtusk archdeaconry**

PULTUSK DEANERY: Pułtusk, Dzierżenino, Serock, Zegrze, Smogorzewo, Pokrzywnica, Winnica, Klukowo, Szyszki, Przewodowo, Gąsiorowo, Gzy, Szwelice, Szelkowo, Rożan, Sieluń, Sielc, Podosie, Gąsowo.

ŁOMŻA DEANERY: Łomża, Ostrołęka, Nowa Wieś or Nieradowo (founded in 1535), Miastkowo, Nowogród, Płocko, Poryte, Kolno, Lachowo, Grabowo, Wąsosz, Niedźwiadna, Słucz, Radziłowo, Romany, Przytuły, Jedwabne, Burzyno, Dobrzyjałowo, Grajewo, Białaszewo (founded in 1533).

WIZNA DEANERY: Wizna, Drozdowo, Piątница, Puchały, Zambrowo, Somowo, Smlodowo, Lubotyń, Piski, Szepankowo, Kleczkowo, Troszyno, Goworowo, Rzekuń, Rudki, Zawady, Kołaki.

In 1593 the deanery of Stanisławów was separated from the deaneries of Nur and Wyszkowo.

WYSZKÓW DEANERY prior to 1593: Wyszkowo, Pniewo, Obryte, Zambska, Długosiodło, Wąsowo, Czerwino, Ostrowia, Złotoria (founded in 1502), Zaręby, Wronie (later Andrzejewo parish), Rosochate, Czyżewo, Jelenie (founded in 1510), and Lubiel (founded in 1547).

WYSZKOWO DEANERY after 1593: Wyszkowo, Pniewo, Obryte, Zambska, Lubiel, Długosiodło, Wąsowo, Czerwino, Ostrowia, Jelenie (founded in 1510) and Lubiel (founded in 1547).

NUR DEANERY prior to 1593: Nur, Zuzela, Brok, Brańsk (Brańszczyk), Kamieniec (Kamieńczyk), Jadowo, Korytnica, Pniewnik, Niegowo, Dąbrówka, Tarchomin, Kamion, Nowydwór, Wieliszewo, Barcice, Zatory, Kamionolas, Sadowne (founded in 1529), Stok (Stoczek, founded in 1518), Stanisławów (founded in 1525), Klembowo, Cygowo, Pustelnik (founded in 1540), Radzymino, Kobyłka, Okunino, Żadne or Dobre (founded in 1530).

NUR DEANERY after 1530: Nur, Zuzela, Brok, Złotoria, Andrzejewo (formerly Wronie parish), Rosochate, Czyżewo, Jadowo, Kamionlas, Sadowne, Stoczek that is Miednik, Korytnica, Pniewnik, Dobre.

STANISŁAWÓW DEANERY: Niegowo, Stanisławowo, Klembowo, Cygowo, Pustelnik (founded in 1540), Dąbrówka, Radzymino, Kobyłka, Okunino, Tarchomin, Kamion, Wieliszewo, Postoliska (founded 1531–1540), Chotomowo, Okuniewo (founded 1540).

## Gniezno archdiocese

ŁOWICZ ARCHDEACONRY (separated from Łęczycza archdeaconry in the 1520s; the division into three deaneries introduced at the close of the sixteenth century).

ŁOWICZ DEANERY: Łowicz (the parish of the Holy Virgin), Łowicz (the parish of the Holy Spirit), Złaków, Kocierzewo, Kapin, Bednary, Nieborów, Pszczonów, Kołacinek, Dmoszyn, Domaniewice, Głowno, Chruślin, Bolemów.

RAWA DEANERY: Rawa, Stara Rawa, Kurzeszyn, Boguszyce, Sierzchów, Łęgonice village and town, Nowe Miasto (Góra), Michałowice, Rzeczyca, Inowłódz, Lubochnia, Tobiasze, Małecz, Ujazd, Budziszewice, Czerniewice, Krzemienica.

SKIERNIEWICE DEANERY: Skierniewice, Żelazna, Maków, Wysokienice, Głuchów, Żelechlinek, Janisławice, Białynin, Jeżów, Słupia, Lipce, Godzianów, Bełchów.

## Poznań diocese

### Warsaw archdeaconry

LIW DEANERY: Wierzbno (founded in 1583), Czerwonka, Liw, Niwiska, Oleksin, Wodynie, Cegłowo (founded before 1583), Jakubowo, Mińsk, Długa, Wiśniewo, Kałuszyno, Grębkowo.

GARWOLIN DEANERY: Garwolin, Łaskarzew, Tarnów, Wilga, Radwanków, Osiecko, Karczewo, Zerzeń, Więzowno (founded 1589–1597), Glinianka (founded 1556–1564), Kołbiel, Siennica (founded 1528), Kiczki, Kuflewo (founded 1515–1548), Żeliszew or Łukowiec (founded in 1532), Latowicz, Seroczyn, Stoczek, Parysewo, Jastrzębie or Borowie (founded 1547), Miastkowo, Zwola (founded in 1529).

WARKA DEANERY: Warka, Wrociszewo, Promna, Boglewice, Drwalewo, Pieczyska, Chynowo, Sobikowo, Konary Ostrołęka, Mniszewo, Roznieszewo, Magnuszewo, Grabowo.

GRÓJEC DEANERY: Przybyszew, Mogielnica, Lubania, Lewin, Cielądz, Wilków, Błędów, Jeziora, Worów, Grójec, Jasieniec, Łęczeszycze, Lewiczyn, Goszczyn.

MSZCZONÓW DEANERY: Tarczyn, Mszczonów, Biała, Żdżar, Chojnata, Sadkowice, Ojrzanów, Jaruzel, Lutkówka, Osuchów, Regnów, Babsko, Skuły, Rembierkowo.

PIASECZNO DEANERY: Czersko, Góra, Cieciszewo, Powsino, Milanów, Służewo, Jazdów (founded in 1593 replacing Solec), Babice, Wawrzyszewo, Wielka Wola, Raszyn, Piaseczno, Jazgarzew, Prażmów.

BŁONIE DEANERY: Błonie, Zaborowo, Leszno, Głusko, Kazuń, Łomny, Kiełpino, Borzęcin, Żbików, Pęcice, Nadarzyn, Brwinowo, Grodzisko, Żukowo, Rokitno (St. Adalbert parish), Rokitno (St. Jacob parish), Pawłowice.

SOCHACZEW DEANERY: Sochaczew, Kozłów Biskupi, Kozłów Szlachecki, Rybno, Brzozowo, Giżyce, Młodzieszyn, Kamion, Mistrzewice, Brochów, Zawady, Kapinos, Kaski, Wiskitki, Białynin.

GĄBIN DEANERY: Gąbin, Osmolino, Sanniki, Kiernozia, Luszyno, Pacyna, Suserz, Trąbki, Strzelce, Troszyno, Czermno (founded in 1530), Życko, Piotrkowo, Howo, Jamno.

Administrative affiliation of individual parishes located in the borderlands of Mazovia and subject to neighbouring units of Church administration looks as follows:

## Gniezno archdiocese

ŁĘCZYCA ARCHDEACONRY: parishes Głogowiec, Kutno, Jemielno (subsidiary of Grochów), originally in Bedlno deanery, then Kutno deanery.

KURZELÓW ARCHDEACONRY: parishes Wyśmierzyce, Jasionna, Stromiec.

## Płock diocese

DOBRZYŃ ARCHDEACONRY: parishes Bądkowo and Rokicie in Dobrzyń deanery, Skrwilno parish in Rypin deanery.

## Włocławek diocese

WŁOCŁAWEK ARCHDEACONRY: Brześć Kujawski deanery: Białotarsk parish and its subsidiary church in Łanięty.

## Cracow diocese

LUBLIN ARCHDEACONRY: Głowaczów parish, originally in Radom deanery, later Zwoleń deanery.  
 ŁUCK DIOCESE  
 Dąbrowa parish.

## ANNEX II NUMBER OF PARISHES IN MAZOVIA

**Number of parishes in Mazovia in the end of the sixteenth century according to their size (in absolute numbers)\* (parishes divided between land were counted twice)**

Land	Area in km <sup>2</sup> – size groups										
	10–20	21–30	31–40	41–50	51–60	61–80	81–100	101–150	151–200	over 200	
Płock	3	7	11	10	9	21	12	4	1	1	–
Zawkrze	1	1	4	5	7	13	8	–	3	2	–
Rawa	1	1	7	7	4	5	9	5	2	–	1
Gostynin	1	6	5	3	7	8	5	2	4	1	1
Sochaczew	–	1	2	2	–	3	6	1	8	–	2
Łomża	1	–	–	–	–	3	4	2	14	3	4
Nur	–	1	–	1	–	4	3	7	17	7	3
Liw	–	–	–	1	–	–	4	2	3	1	1
Rożan	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	2	7	–	1
Wizna	–	–	–	–	3	1	4	3	6	–	4
Czersk	–	1	–	8	9	3	14	9	12	2	1
Warsaw	2	1	5	6	3	7	14	4	11	–	–
Ciechanów	–	3	3	7	9	3	12	4	7	4	1
Zakroczym	2	3	2	4	7	3	7	1	3	1	–
Wyszogród	–	4	4	–	5	3	1	–	–	–	–

\*The average size of a parish in Mazovia in the end of the sixteenth century was 74 km<sup>2</sup> (in Płock Voivodeship – 50 km<sup>2</sup>, in Rawa Voivodeship – 65 km<sup>2</sup>, in Mazovian Voivodeship – 86 km<sup>2</sup>).

**The number of parishes in Mazovia in the end of the sixteenth century according to size  
(in percentages)**

Land, Voivodeship	Area in km <sup>2</sup> – size groups					in total
	0–50	51–100	101–150	151–200	over 200	
Płock land	50	48	1	1	–	100
Zawkrze	40	48	7	5	–	100
Płock Voivodeship	47	48	3	2	–	100
Rawa land	48	46	4	–	2	100
Gostynin land	52	35	9	2	2	100
Sochaczew land	20	40	32	–	8	100
Rawa Voivodeship	43	40	13	1	3	100
Łomża land	3	31	45	9	12	100
Nur land	5	33	39	16	7	100
Liw land	8	51	25	8	8	100
Rożan land	8	30	54	–	8	100
Wizna land	14	39	28	–	19	100
Czersk land	30	44	20	4	2	100
Warsaw land	33	47	20	–	–	100
Ciechanów land	41	36	13	8	2	100
Zakroczym land	54	33	9	4	–	100
Wyszogród land	76	24	–	–	–	100
Mazovian Voivodeship	29	38	24	5	4	100
Mazovia	35	41	17	4	3	100

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.2.2.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Bogumił Szady*

#### **The boundaries of the Łuck and Wilno dioceses in Podlasie**

The Voivodeship of Podlasie lay in the second half of the sixteenth century within the boundaries of two Roman Catholic dioceses – Łuck and Wilno. This very fact points to the historical attachment of Podlasie to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Ruthenian lands (Volyn). Podlasie came to an end with the boundaries of the aforementioned dioceses to the west. At the same time both dioceses covered in their scope areas lying far to the north and west of Podlasie, extending all the way to Bratslav Podole (the diocese of Łuck) and the borders of Livonia (the diocese of Wilno). For this reason the description of Church boundaries will include the western and southern fragments of the borders of both dioceses, which almost ideally match with the borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship and to large degree are marked (demarcated) by rivers.

Running through the territory of the voivodeship was the boundary of the Gniezno metropolitan, to which belonged the diocese of Wilno, and the Lwów metropolitan. Controversy is aroused amongst historians over the metropolitan affiliation of the diocese of Łuck. Much attention has been devoted to the matter by Jan Fijałek and Władysław Abraham in writing about the beginnings of the Latin Church in the Ruthenian lands. The source of this controversy as to metropolitan affiliation of the Łuck diocese was its very genesis in the first half of the fifteenth century and relations with the diocese of Volodymyr that had earlier functioned within the same areas. The shaping of the boundaries of the Łuck diocese as well as its metropolitan affiliation enters into the context of the political and territorial disputes had by Poland and Lithuania at the beginning of the fifteenth century as well as the plans of Duke Vytautas to make the Latin Church in Lithuania free of influences from the Crown and the metropolitan of Galicia (Lwów) through the calling into being of a separate metropolitan for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This was to have incorporated, among others, the Włodzimierz diocese,<sup>1</sup> the continuator of which was the diocese of Łuck. Given the absence of a foundation document for the diocese and its fairly circuitous beginnings in relation to the diocese of Włodzimierz, its official name in the second half of the sixteenth century leads one to the legislative sources of the Catholic Church from this period. As equally the synod acts, the documents appointing bishops as well as the first known relations ‘ad limina’ make use of the terms: diocesis Luceoriensis (Łuck diocese). In the sixteenth century employed was also the term ‘Janów diocese’ which might have resulted from the fact that Janów was the residence of the bishops of Łuck and an important ecclesiastical centre.<sup>2</sup> Only in the seventeenth century did the dual name: the diocese of Łuck and Brześć start to be widely used, which was associated with the creation of the archdeaconry of Brześć, to which the parishes in Podlasie and those of the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship belonged.<sup>3</sup> It follows to accept from the formal

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<sup>1</sup> W. Abraham, *Z dziejów dawnego biskupstwa łacińskiego w Łucku*, KH, vol. 51, 1937, pp. 143–144; J. Fijałek, *Biskupstwa wołyńskie Polski i Litwy w swoich początkach (w. XIV/XV)*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie”, vol. 16, 1911, no. 4, pp. 20–21.

<sup>2</sup> *Metryka czyli album Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1509–1551*, pub. A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jurek, I. Skierska, with the coop. of R. Grzesik, Warsaw 2010, pp. 40, 122, 131, 207, 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Relationes status dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae*, vol. 1–2, pub. P. Rabikauskas, Roma 1971–1978, here vol. 2, pp. 6–8.

point of view that the Włodzimierz diocese was joined to the Galicia metropolitan at the moment of its creation in 1375. In 1400, at the request of the Lithuanian Duke Vytautas, and nominated by Pope Boniface IX, the bishop of Włodzimierz became Grzegorz of Buczków (Buczowski), the Dominican prior at Łuck. This same pope, on the request of Władysław Jagiełło, appointed in 1404 the first Łuck bishop Świętosław, the son of Jarosław, and of the Carmelite order.<sup>4</sup> In this way the political and territorial dispute between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania transferred itself onto Church ground.<sup>5</sup> This was to be only despatched with the death of the two bishops in question – in 1425 on the strength of the decision of Pope Martin V transferred to Łuck was the seat of the Włodzimierz diocese.<sup>6</sup> In as far as there is no doubt as to the affiliation of the Łuck diocese to the Galicia (Lwów) metropolitan in the fifteenth century there appear in the sixteenth century traces of an actual, though never in fact formalised, overlordship of the Gniezno metropolitans over the Łuck diocese. This is borne out by appeals made on disputed matters and directed from the territory of the Łuck diocese to the archbishops of Gniezno and their officials.<sup>7</sup> Bolesław Kumor and Wiesław Müller present in their works by a fundamental difference in views in reference to the metropolitan affiliation of the Łuck diocese. The first of these two considers that the diocese of Łuck changed its metropolitan affiliation in the sixteenth or seventeenth century and went under the authority of Gniezno, although not formal sanctions in any documentation whatsoever have been found.<sup>8</sup> A different position is presented by Müller, who approaching matters from formal-legal premises categorically includes the Łuck diocese to the Lwów metropolitan.<sup>9</sup> Kumor's opinion is backed by Królik in his monograph on the Łuck diocese, while Müller is supported by Stanisław Litak in his works on the territorial administration of the Latin Church.<sup>10</sup> At the turn of the seventeenth century metropolitan affiliation was controversial as is borne out by the fragment of the account of the Lwów archbishop Jan Dymitr Solikowski of 1600, who unequivocally considered it to be part of his metropolitan, pointing out in this that the diocese of Łuck groundlessly referred itself to Gniezno, even though the papal bulls, documents, chronicles, custom and the geographic proximity showed its affiliation to the Lwów metropolitan.<sup>11</sup> Taking into consideration that fact that the administrative boundaries and territorial divisions were formal-legal in character, and given the lack of any papal approval for a change in metropolitan affiliation for the Łuck diocese, on the main map as well as on the map of the administrative boundaries of Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century it has been included within the Lwów metropolitan.

The initial extent of the Włodzimierz diocese, as well as of its successor, the diocese of Łuck is hard to ascertain. Without doubt it was connected to the units of state administration as well as the Orthodox diocese of Włodzimierz that had earlier functioned on these lands. There dominates the conviction as to its extensive territorial scope encompassing the lands of Łuck, Włodzimierz, Brześć, and Drohiczyn, and during the initial phase of its the existence also the lands of Chełm, Belz and the whole of Podole.<sup>12</sup> It is worth adding that during the initial stage in the building of the structures of

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<sup>4</sup> Władysław Jagiełło's support for the Bishop of Łuck Świętosław is a matter of contention. In the older subject literature there existed the view that Świętosław did enjoy the support of Jagiełło. Yet in the light of recent research the reverse seems the case – with his taking over of Łuck cathedral he coming in for royal opposition and not simply that of the Grand Duke Witold; T. Graff, *Episkopat monarchii jagiellońskiej w dobie soborów powszechnych XV wieku*, Cracow 2008, pp. 63–65; idem, *Świętosław*, [in:] PSB, vol. 51, p. 548.

<sup>5</sup> T.M. Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagielly (1386–1434)*, Wrocław 1983, pp. 77–83.

<sup>6</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich 966–1939*, Lublin 1972, pp. 142–143; *Relationes status dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae*, vol. 2, pp. 5–6.

<sup>7</sup> S.C. Rowell, *Church Court Records as Evidence for the Christianisation of Lithuanian Society in the Late-15<sup>th</sup> and Early-16<sup>th</sup> Century*, "Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis", vol. 29, 2014, pp. 44–50.

<sup>8</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> W. Müller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Cracow 1969, p. 70; L. Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1983, pp. 116–117.

<sup>10</sup> S. Litak, *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku: Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1996 (Wspólnoty Religijne i Narodowe w Rzeczypospolitej w Drugiej Połowie XVIII Wieku, vol. 1), p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> *Relacje arcybiskupów lwowskich 1595–1794*, pub. T. Długosz, Lwów 1937, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> That at least the Drohiczyn land belonged to the Włodzimierz diocese is borne out by the document of the Włodzimierz bishop Grzegorz for the years 1414–1424 (Węgrów, Sokołów, Kuczyn); J. Fijałek, *Biskupstwa wołyńskie Polski i Litwy*, p. 20; T.M. Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich*, pp. 104–105, map 2: The Łuck diocese in 1434; Jaszczolt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 20.

the Roman Church in the Piast state (here up until the twelfth century) the western part of Podlasie was sometimes included by historians within the boundaries of the diocese of Gniezno and later of the diocese of Płock.<sup>13</sup> A full though at the same time fairly general description of the diocese of Łuck in the modern period was prepared by Bolesław Kumor in his synthetic work. The diocese of Łuck in its Podlasie part bordered to the west with the dioceses of Płock and Poznań, while to the south with the diocese of Cracow. The boundary of the metropolitan dividing the diocese of Łuck from that of Wilno, which belonged to the Gniezno metropolitan, ran latitudinally through the Podlasie voivodship. The boundaries of the diocese of Łuck with those of Płock, Cracow and Poznań corresponded, with only minor exceptions, with the borders of the units of state administration which divided Podlasie from Mazovia and Lesser Poland. These have been described in previous volumes of the AHP.<sup>14</sup>

The border between the diocese of Łuck and the Cracow diocese was in the Podlasie part fairly short and corresponded exactly with the border of the Podlasie and Lublin Voivodeships, which ran along the length of the River Liwiec. Most likely a natural course following the further flow of the Liwiec constituted the boundary between the Łuck diocese and the Czersk archdeaconry of the Poznan diocese. And on this stretch it corresponded with the border between the Voivodeships of Podlasie and Mazovia. Below Węgrów there started the boundary of the diocese of Łuck and Płock, which in its northern stretch corresponded to the voivodeship border. At the level of the parish of Prostyń it turns to the east running along the banks of the River Bug and subsequently between Nur (Mazovia) and Ciechanowiec (Podlasie) it heads north, running parallel with the border between the Voivodeships of Mazovia and Podlasie. Only the parish of Długa Dąbrowa (present-day Dąbrowa Wielka) in the deanery of Brańsk was divided between two secular administrative entities. The majority of the parish together with the parish church belonged to the Podlasie Voivodeship. Although several villages from the environs of Długa Dąbrowa (Dąbrowa-Michałki, Dąbrowa-Kity (Dąbrowa-Gospodarze), Dąbrowa-Szatanki (Dąbrowa-Sienica), Dąbrowa-Nowa Wieś and Dąbrowa-Modzele) were part of the Mazovian Voivodeship and lay within its borders. The foundation document for this parish of 1423, finally edited in 1493, enumerates a series of tithe villages, wherein all lay in the Podlasie Voivodeship: Miodusy, Kaczyno, Święck Wielki (Święcko), Brzóska Stare (Brzóska), Średnica, Mystki-Rzym (Mysłki), Włosty-Olszanka, Plewki, Gieralty and Szepietowo.<sup>15</sup> Taking into consideration the earlier origins of the parish one may conjecture that the boundaries of the diocese in this region had been shaped and formed before the stabilization of state and administrative boundaries in the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> The fact that within the territory of the parish lay the settlement of Święcko, that is the capital of the former medieval castellany as well as the seat of a vast parish<sup>17</sup> earlier belonged to the diocese of Płock, may constitute evidence that the primary territory of the parish belonged in its entirety to this castellany and was only divided at a later period as a result of political developments that resulted in its collapse and the incorporation of a part of it into that of Drohiczyn.<sup>18</sup> The division of this parish between two voivodeships is confirmed also by later sources, including the parish sketches of Karol Perthées of the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

The extent of the Wilno diocese in the modern era corresponded to – as Władysław Semkowicz has written – the political territory of Lithuania proper, wherein he immediately noted its proximity with the dioceses of Samogitia and Łuck, which covered southern Podlasie. Unfortunately he did not

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<sup>13</sup> Z. Sułowski, *Kościół w Polsce około 1200 (mapa)*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1, *Średniowiecze*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Cracow 1966; Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Church administration borders* [in:] AHP Mazovia, chapter III.2.2.7 in this volume; M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Cracow, chapter III.2.2.1 in this volume.

<sup>15</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>16</sup> A. Wilkiewicz-Wawrzyńczyk, *Spory graniczne polsko-litewskie w XIV–XVII w.*, “Wiadomości Studium Historii Prawa Litewskiego”, vol. 1, 1938, *passim*; E. Kalinowski, *Szlachta ziemi bielskiej wobec bezkrólewia w XVI–XVII wieku*, Warsaw, 2020, p. 67.

<sup>17</sup> D. Jaskanis, *Archeologiczne ślady najstarszej budowli sakralnej na wschodnio-mazowieckich peryferiach w Święcku Strumianach w woj. podlaskim*, “Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego”, vol. 10, 2004, pp. 251–264.

<sup>18</sup> S. Zajęczkowski, *Najdawniejsze osadnictwo polskie na Podlasiu*, RDSG, vol. 5, 1936, pp. 13–44; A. Jusupović, *Zasięg terytorialny ziemi drohiczyńskiej w średniowieczu*, „Актуальні проблеми вітчизняної та всесвітньої історії. Збірник наукових праць. Наукові записки Рівненського державного гуманітарного університету”, vol. 20, 2010, pp. 77–80.

<sup>19</sup> Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 62.

devote more attention to the actual shaping of the boundaries of the diocese.<sup>20</sup> Analysis of the development of the parish network as presented by Jerzy Ochmański shows that this was not a one-off act but rather a long-term undertaking connected with the process of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's adoption of Christianity.<sup>21</sup> The Wilno diocese in its Podlasie part neighboured the diocese of Płock to the west – the border looking from the south northwards was demarcated by rivers the Narew (from the mouth of the Ślina tributary), then the Biebrza tributary from its entry into the Narew as well as the Ełk from its mouth into the Biebrza. According to T. Krahel 'the formation of a border along this section was certainly linked to the assimilation into Lithuania of Podlasie by Grand Duke Vytautas.' At the level of Lake Toczyłowo the border of the Wilno and Płock dioceses reached the political boundary with the Prussians. The scope of the Wilno diocese in the northern part of Podlasie was defined by the state boundary marked out following the Treaty of Melno in 1422. The only exception, but here concerning the eighteenth century, was the affiliation of the Prussian village of Zawady-Tworki (Zawady) to the parish in Rajgród.<sup>22</sup>

Some attention needs to be paid to the boundary of the dioceses of Łuck and Wilno within Podlasie as well as the reasons for the divergences between the voivodeship borders and those of the dioceses. The extent of the Łuck diocese to the north, in the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship, was demarcated in the broadest of senses by the course of the River Nerew, with the parish areas belonging to the Łuck diocese often encroaching on its right bank. Such a picture is presented by the maps of Tadeusz Trajdos developed for 1434 as well as by Bolesław Kumor for the year 1520.<sup>23</sup> According to Tadeusz Krahel the boundaries between the Łuck diocese and that of Wilno was formed for a fairly long time in its Podlasie stretch.<sup>24</sup> The northern extent of the Łuck diocese was marked by the parishes of Tykocin and Suraż in the Bielsk deanery (present-day Bielsk Podlaski). The shape of the borders between the Łuck and Wilno dioceses was a consequence of the scope of the earlier Orthodox dioceses operating in this area as well as the state borders modelled on the structures of the Ruthenian local principedoms. Podlasie was not a homogenous administrative area in the Middle Ages – it was divided into a southern part (Galicia-Włodzimierz, with Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Suraż and Bielsk) and a northern one (Mazovian-Lithuanian, with Goniądz, Knyszyn and Rajgród) and was already demarcated as such in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.<sup>25</sup> In 1358 established and agreed to was a border between Mazovia and the Grodno principedom belonging to Lithuania, which stretched to the south to the small River Niewodnica, a right tributary of the Narew; the Drohiczyn land thus stretching out beyond.<sup>26</sup>

The research problem awaiting a more detailed examination is the origins of the division of the subsequent Bielsk *powiat* (district) between two dioceses and metropolitans. Probable seems the scenario whereby such a construct of Church boundaries took place at the turn of the fifteenth century (the creation of the Galician metropolitan along with the subordinate to it of the suffragan bishoprics of Halicz, Przemyśl, Włodzimierz and Chełm – 1375, and the establishment of the Wilno diocese in 1388) under conditions of political conflict, and here in particular the period of rivalry over influence in Podlasie between Poles (Mazovians), Lithuanians and the Teutonic Knights. This political rivalry was to find its expression in the short-lived parallel functioning of the Łuck (Crown) diocese as well as that of Włodzimierz (Lithuanian) as well as attempts to bring into being a Church metropolitan for Lithuania as has been mentioned earlier. On the basis of the deliberations of Tomasz Jaszczółt and Emil Kalinowski one may conjecture that the boundaries of the Bielsk land was formed later when

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<sup>20</sup> W. Semkowicz, *Mapa historyczna diecezji wileńskiej*, [in:] *Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Wilnie, 17–20 września 1935 r.*, Lwów 1936, pp. 450–452.

<sup>21</sup> J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu. Ustrój i uposażenie*, Poznań 1972, pp. 55–78.

<sup>22</sup> T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów (archi)diecezji wileńskiej*, „Studia Teologiczne: Białystok, Drohiczyn, Łomża”, vol. 5–6, 1987–1988, p. 14. The hand-written description of the Rajgród parish of 1784 omits this settlement; *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku: dekanat knyszynski i dekanat augustowski*, pod. W. Wernerowa, Warsaw 1996, pp. 201–203.

<sup>23</sup> T.M. Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich*, pp. 104–105, map 2: The Łuck diocese in 1434; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, map: Metropolitans and dioceses in the Polish lands circa. 1520.

<sup>24</sup> T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów (archi)diecezji wileńskiej*, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, pp. 16–19.

<sup>26</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Granica mazowiecko-litewska między Wizną a Grodnem z 1358 r.*, SG, vol. 5, 2017, pp. 140–155; E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, *O mazowiecko-litewskiej ugodzie granicznej z 1358 r. (głos w dyskusji)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 213–226; H. Rutkowski, *Odpowiedź na krytykę artykułu o granicy z 1358 r.*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 227–233.

seen in relation to the Church borders operating in this territory.<sup>27</sup> Both of the mentioned authors see as possible an initial and short-lived affiliation of the Drohiczyn land, from which the Bielsk land was partially distinct, to the dioceses of Płock and Wilno. One may talk about connections with the Płock diocese already in the period of the early Middle Ages (twelfth–thirteenth century), pointing to the act of transfer on the part of Konrad Mazowiecki in 1237 of Drohiczyn and environs to the Knights Templars as well as the above given example of the fortified parish settlement at Święck Wielki (Święcko). The authority of the bishops of Płock may have also extended to these territories during the short rule over Podlasie by the Mazovian dukes at the end of the fourteenth century (1390–c.1400). In turn the thesis as to the Drohiczyn land belonging to the Wilno diocese makes recourse to the political control exercised by Lithuania over this part of Podlasie as well as the transfer to the Wilno bishopric of two villages lying in the southern part of the Drohiczyn land – Jarnice (Jarnicze) and Wasilew.<sup>28</sup> The jurisdiction of the bishops of Płock and Wilno over Podlasie given the borderland nature of the territories as well as the numeral advantage of the Orthodox was never to constitute lasting territorial control as such. Political factors could play a significant role in the changing of Church boundaries. In 1388 Vytautas was merely a Brześć-Grodno duke, hence it is understood that he gave villages in the Drohiczyn land to the bishopric of Wilno. At the beginning of the fifteenth century already as lord of the entire Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and in wanting to strengthen the material bases of the Włodzimierz bishopric, then that of Łuck, he presumably acted so that the southern part of Podlasie entered into his composition. Though given the absence until the end of the fourteenth century of fact of Roman-Catholic parish structures as such this control was to be rather nominal and missionary in character.<sup>29</sup>

The Bielsk land in their modern era boundaries was comprised of the sum of three territories – a part of the Drohiczyn land (with towns at Bielsk and Suraż), a part of the former Święck castellany, as well as a part of the Wizna land together with the district of Goniądz.<sup>30</sup> The Goniądz starosty had been brought under Witold's control already at the end of the fourteenth century (the Peace of Salin with the Teutonic Knights in 1398) and had been placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Wilno. Somewhat later, probably after 1405, after its temporary holding by Janusz I Duke of Mazovia, the Drohiczyn land along with the Święcko castellany returned to Witold, wherein they were connected to the Włodzimierz diocese (Łuck).<sup>31</sup> This fact is confirmed by a document of Aleksander V of 1409 ordering the Cracow bishop Piotr Wysz to resolve the conflict as to Church authority over Volyn and Podlasie raging between the Włodzimierz bishop Grzegorz, and the Łuck nominee Świętosław. It is difficult to determine exactly the scope of the territories comprising the Włodzimierz diocese, for the document of 1409 only enumerates the names of the main towns, including among them 'Droiczin'.<sup>32</sup> This is a period so pivotal that it corresponds with a time of moulding the administrative independence of the Bielsk land. All the boundary parishes of the Łuck diocese situated in the sixteenth century on the southern side of the Narew (Tykocin, Waniewo, Suraż and Narew) also covered settlements lying on its northern banks. This presumably resulted from the fact of the later registers of the Lithuanian parishes situated closer to the Narew (Trzcianne (Trzciane), Turośń Kościelna (Turośna), Juchnowiec Górny (Juchnowiec-Dwór), Niewodnica Korycka (Niewodnica Koryckich), Choroszcz, Dobrzyniewo

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<sup>27</sup> The case of one of the oldest parishes within the Mielnik land that at Dziadkowice (Dziadkowicze) (1431), may serve as an example of the later transformation of *powiat* (district) boundaries in Podlasie in relation to ecclesiastical divisions, this parish being divided between three *powiats* (districts); Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> There existed in the fifteenth century two separate villages of Wasilew. Wasilew Szlachecki belonged to the minor nobility Wasilewski family, while the second village named Wasilew was given by Witold to the Wilno cathedral, and after the year 1407 to the bishopric of Włodzimierz and Łuck; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 175.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 18–19; E. Kalinowski, *Szlachta ziemi bielskiej wobec bezkrólewia*, pp. 37–41; M. Radoch, *W sprawie daty nadania przez Władysława Jagiełłę ziemi drohiczyńskiej księciu mazowieckiemu Januszowi I*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XIV do XVI wieku: Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Antoniemu Czacharowskiemu w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2002, p. 20; M. Sokół, W. Wróbel, *Kościół i parafia pw. Bożego Ciała w Surażu: Monografia historyczna do 1939 r*, Suraż 2010 (Białostockie Studia Historyczno-Kościelne, vol. 6), pp. 32–33.

<sup>30</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Odpowiedź na krytykę*, pp. 231–232.

<sup>31</sup> The taking over of power within the Drohiczyn land on the part of Witold presumably took place in stages. Already by 1400 he could have had command over the most northernly situated gord of Suraż; M. Sokół, W. Wróbel, *Kościół i parafia pw. Bożego Ciała w Surażu*, p. 28.

<sup>32</sup> W. Abraham, *Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w archiwach i bibliotekach rzymskich do dziejów Polski w wiekach średnich za lata 1899-1913*, AKH, ser. 2, vol. 1, 1923, p. 59.

Kościelne (Dobrzyniewo), Knyszyn) were in relation to the older Church centres at Suraż and Tykocin. All the mentioned Lithuanian parishes – besides Trzciannie (1496) and Choroszcz (1459), arose in the sixteenth century, meaning that their territorial extent in a northerly direction was limited by the influences exerted by the already existing parishes of the diocese of Łuck.

## Deaneries and parishes

### The Łuck diocese

At the turn of the seventeenth century the territorial structure of the Podlasie part of the Łuck diocese was based on a two-tier division into deaneries and parishes. Problematic remains the terminology used in historical sources to determine Church administrative units of a middle rung, which might suggest the functioning at this time of archdeaconries. In the Łuck diocese synod acts of 1589 it had been divided into three parts (*partes*) as well as seven rural deaneries. This raises the question as to whether the said *partes* (Mielnik, Janów, and Sarnaki) may be treated as being equal to archdeaconries.<sup>33</sup> Taking into consideration the later structure of the diocese and its division into two archdeaconries (Brześć and Łuck) authenticated in the seventeenth and eighteenth century then these parts cannot be treated as archdeaconries. This is also borne out by the fact that in the content of the entire chapter on synodal acts ‘De archipresbyteris seu decanis ruralibus’ the personage of an archdeacon appears only in the singular as the bishop’s representative or assistant in the running of a diocese.<sup>34</sup>

The establishment of the list of deacons and the Latin parishes belonging to them and functioning within the Podlasie part of the Łuck diocese is not overly problematic. One may merely quantify or prepare a explanatory commentary or gloss which will deal with the differences between the theses contained in the subject literature and the view of the parish network presented on the main map as well as on the map depicting Church structures. The most important findings on deanery and parish division within the Łuck diocese in the modern era along with a map have been brought to us by the works of Ludwik Królik.<sup>35</sup> Podlasie parishes functioning in the mid sixteenth century have also appeared on Jan Jakubowski’s map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Unfortunately their number is far from comprehensive and complete, while the author has not given the basis for the reconstruction of the parish network, while the cartographic symbolisation makes any unambiguous interpretation of the map’s content impossible.<sup>36</sup> Ludwik Królik has indicated two fundamental sources allowing one to establish a list of parishes functioning around the year 1600. The first of these is a list of parishes contained in the already mentioned synodal acts of 1589. This was published by Zenon Chodyński,<sup>37</sup> and subsequently commented on by J. Sawicki.<sup>38</sup> As Sawicki has established the actual manuscript from this synod has not survived, being destroyed during the Second World War. The second source is a list of parishes of the Łuck diocese found in the acts of the Janów diocese office for the years 1604–1607.<sup>39</sup>

In the light of the synod of Łuck in 1589 there were to be found across the ‘Podlasie diocese’ all in all 95 parishes. Within the boundaries of the Podlasie Voivoidship there were 69 parishes arranged into two divisions (*partes*) – Mielnik (three deaneries: [Brańsk], [Drohiczyn], [Bielsk]) and Sarnaki (two deaneries: [Łosice], [Węgrów]).<sup>40</sup> There is no confirmation in the sources for Ludwik Królik’s

<sup>33</sup> L. Królik supposes that this division could have occurred in the mid sixteenth century. He points to the synod called into being by bishop Walerian Protasiewicz-Suszkowski in 1554; idem, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1981, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> *Acta synodi dioeceseanae Luceoriensis per Bernardum Maciejowski episcopum Luceoriensem tribus postremis diebus februari anno Domini MDLXXXIV celebrate*, pub. Z. Chodyński, Varsaviae 1875, pp. 25–29.

<sup>35</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*; idem, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*.

<sup>36</sup> J. Jakubowski, *Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w połowie XVI wieku: I. Część północna, skala 1:1.600.000: objaśnienie do mapy*, Cracow 1928.

<sup>37</sup> *Acta synodi dioeceseanae Luceoriensis*.

<sup>38</sup> J. Sawicki, *Synody diecezji łuckiej i ich statuty*, Warsaw 1949 (Concilia Poloniae, 3), pp. 13–17.

<sup>39</sup> ADS, sign. D 18, ff. 108–108v.

<sup>40</sup> The names of the deaneries given in square brackets are symbolic and come from the names of the subsequent seats of these self same deaneries. The synod acts gave neither the names of the deaneries nor their seats claiming only that deans were selected by the bishop from amongst the parish priests belonging to each deanery; *Acta synodi dioeceseanae Luceoriensis*, p. 28.

statement to define these *partes* as deaneries. For this term does not refer to seven deaneries but to three parts of the diocese (Janów Podlaski (Janów), Mielnik, Sarnaki). Ambiguous in the light of this source is the affiliation of the vacant parish of Jarnice mentioned twice – once within the deanery of [Łosice] and then [Węgrów]. L. Królik included it within the deanery of [Łosice].<sup>41</sup>

Fundamental in establishing the network of deaneries and parishes at the turn of the seventeenth century is the list of parishes outlined in the acts of the Janów diocese office for the years 1604–1607.<sup>42</sup> It is, unfortunately, undated as well as not containing any additional information making for its ready interpretation. Ludwik Królik dates it at 1604 and relates it to the records of parishes compiled by Marcin Szyszkowski mentioned in the synod acts of 1726.<sup>43</sup> Such an interpretation raises doubts though for the Janów diocese office does not contain any information about the need for repair work on churches mentioned by the synod of 1726.<sup>44</sup> A more discerning analysis of the corrections and amendments in the list for the years 1604–1607 favours the conclusion that it both reflects the structure of deaneries and parishes at the end of the sixteenth century and the changes introduced at the beginning of the subsequent century (e.g., the allocation of the deanery at Szereszów). The list of parishes was not to undergo significant changes between the years 1589 and 1604–1607. There were to appear, however, two additional parishes Sady (a new foundation, the deanery of Drohiczyn)<sup>45</sup> and Rusków (Ruskowo) (taken over by Protestants, the Łosice deanery).<sup>46</sup> L. Królik has included within his work also the parish of Gródek (on the River Bug) within the deanery of Węgrów. Yet such a conclusion has its basis on lists of churches *per se* and not parishes as such. In Gródek there presumably functioned a chapel with no parish rights or separate chaplaincy.<sup>47</sup>

On the main map as well as the thematic one devoted to Church administrative structures represented is the deanery division in accordance with the synodical enumeration of 1589. The vast majority of parishes had been given their deanery affiliation by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The most significant redeployments happened between the deaneries of Drohiczyn and Brańsk as well as Łosice and Węgrów, equally borne out by the corrections and amendments visible in the register of 1604. The Drohiczyn deanery lost, at the turn of the seventeenth century, in favour of Brańsk four parishes: Dołubowo (Dołobowo), Dziadkowice, Pobikry (Pobikrowy) and Rudka. According to L. Królik this reallocation was motivated by practical considerations – closer proximity to the seat of the deanery.<sup>48</sup> In turn the deanery of Łosice was to become smaller to the tune of two parishes to the benefit of Węgrów: Mokobody (Mąkobody) and Suchożebry.

Before registers and overall statistics are given, several problematic situations require qualification: these being chiefly connected with the question of the localisation of the parish church as well as parish independence as a Church administrative unit. Here preserved are the principles employed in the whole AHP series, where the main role is played by the formal criterion of the territorial functioning of a parish.<sup>49</sup> On the main map as well as on that showing Church boundaries in a uniform way have been included both churches with full parish rights as well as affiliated churches that possessed their own administrative district. Sometimes these have been classified in source materials as parish

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<sup>41</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> ADS, sign. D 18, ff. 108–108v.

<sup>43</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> „Verum quoniam iuxta connotationem anno 1604 de mandato reverendissimi olim Martini Szyszkowski episcopi Luceoriensis factam constat, et in infra sequentibus oppidis villisque nimirum, 1. in Winnica, 2. in Przyłuk (...) 15. in Kalnik ecclesiae parochiales debere reperiri, ut et inibi cultus Divinus innovetur”, Synod 1726, f. Aav.

<sup>45</sup> In the register of 1604, there appeared in the very same line next to the Drohiczyn parish, the name Sady. The church at w Sady was founded in 1596 by Krzysztof Sadowski. The parish cannot be marked on the map because it came into existence only in 1607 on the strength of a settlement between the Drohiczyn parish priest and Stanisław Sadowski, Krzysztof's brother. The parish priest gave permission at the time for the separation of the church at Sady as well as bestowing it with villages from the Drohiczyn parish, which were to form the new parish of Sady: Sady, Koczery (Koczerhy) and Miłkowice. On the 14 July 1607 Reverend Stanisław Burzyński was designated to the “newly canonically erected parish church”; ADS, sign. D 18, ff. 166–168; ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 325v–328.

<sup>46</sup> For the subject of the parish at Rusków see below.

<sup>47</sup> ADS, sign. D 18, f. 108v (Gródek, capella [presented in curly brackets, the word capella crossed out]). Allegedly mention of the parish at Gródek in the synod acts of 1726 have not been confirmed, Synod 1726, ff. Bb–Bb2v.

<sup>48</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 13.

<sup>49</sup> E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce: Struktura i funkcje społeczne*, Lublin 2004, pp. 15–18.

branches (*ecclesia filialis parochialis*) or parish subsidiaries (*ecclesia parochialis filialis*). Included have also been those parishes (churches and districts) which were temporarily taken over by Protestants during the Reformation.<sup>50</sup>

Despite their limited source authentication, represented on the map are the parishes in Krześlin and Rusków. The first of these is mentioned by the synodical records of 1589 and the parish census of 1604,<sup>51</sup> and also later registered dating it up to the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>52</sup> One may speculate over the inclusion of villages belonging to the manor house at Krześlin into the Suchożebry parish in the visitation acts of 1662–1664. It results from these that in Krześlin there was a chapel ('aedicula in forma templi') only for the use of the Wodyński family, while the sacraments were always administered in the parish church in Suchożebry.<sup>53</sup> The synod acts of 1589 do not mention the parish in Rusków. In 1604 there appears information about a parish church in this settlement yet with the annotation that it had been taken over by Protestants ('Russowo prophanata'). The foundation document for this parish was registered in 1493, yet this was presumably a dozen or so years after its actual establishment.<sup>54</sup> SGKP states that the church in Rusków was taken over by Protestants from 1580 to 1619.<sup>55</sup> In the acts of the provincial synod for the Lithuanian Brethren of 1615 can be found the annotation that the community at Rusków was in a state of collapse.<sup>56</sup> Shortly after, because in 1619, the church at Rusków was taken over by Roman Catholic clergy.<sup>57</sup>

Somewhat more complex was the situation of the parish at Wierzchuca. It was founded here in 1469.<sup>58</sup> Analysis of sources from the second half of the sixteenth century and from the seventeenth century lead one to the conclusion that this parish, taken over by Protestants, was not returned to normal practice and for this reason it has been overlooked on the main map as well as on that of Church boundaries. The last time the parish name ('Wierchuczka') is to appear in the register of those who had not paid their taxes to the Łuck bishopric for the years 1567 and 1568 (the so-called silver tax) as well as in the tax register of 1576 ('Parafia Virschuczka').<sup>59</sup> Later, that is in the registers of 1589 and 1604, the name fails to appear. The visitation acts for the years 1662–1664 contain copies of documents that show an attempt to reactivate the parish in the seventeenth century.<sup>60</sup> This was, however, not to take place and Wierzchuca appears in the eighteenth century as a settlement within the parish of Śledzianów.<sup>61</sup>

The Church relations of the settlements of Miedzna and Międzylesie require more detailed analysis. In the synod acts of 1589 and the register of 1604 mentioned is also the parish of Międzylesie. In the subject literature it is identified with the parish of Miedzna.<sup>62</sup> Given the existence in the seventeenth and eighteenth century of the two separate settlements of Miedzna and Międzylesie, separated by a distance of around 9 km as the crow flies, it follows to ask about the location of the parish church in the sixteenth century. Cartographic sources from the turn of the nineteenth century (Heldensfeld, Perthées), and following on from these the main map in the current work, show a church at Międzylesie (nowadays Miedzna). The parish at Międzylesie has fifteenth-century origins (1470), and so was established before the founding of the town (charter from 1531).<sup>63</sup> Sources from the sixteenth and

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<sup>50</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this volume chapter III.2.2.5; M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this volume chapter III.2.2.1.

<sup>51</sup> *Acta synodi dioeceseanae Luceoriensis*, p. 29; ADS, sign. D 18, f. 97.

<sup>52</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 30.

<sup>53</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 194v–195.

<sup>54</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 43.

<sup>55</sup> SGKP, vol. 10, p. 32.

<sup>56</sup> *Akta synodów prowincjalnych Jednoty Litewskiej: 1611–1625*, Wilno 1915, (Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuaniae, ser. 4, z. 2), p. 29; J. Mironczuk, *Wyznania protestanckie na obszarze dystryktu podlaskiego*, OiRwP, vol. 62, 2018, p. 147.

<sup>57</sup> ADS, sign. D 20, f. 122v; ADS, sign. D 149, f. 320.

<sup>58</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 27.

<sup>59</sup> ASK I 111, f. 108; ASK I 47, f. 43v.

<sup>60</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 343–345.

<sup>61</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Eev–Ee2v.

<sup>62</sup> E. Beszta-Borowski, W. Krupa, *Sanktuarium Matki Bożej w Miedznej*, Drohiczyn 1996, pp. 9–10.

<sup>63</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 38. Incohesive information on the parish at Miedzna (Międzylesie) is given by L. Królik; idem, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 283 (year 1470); idem, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 13 (years 1589–1604).

seventeenth century use both names in relation to the very same settlement. The most convincing piece of evidence as to the location of the St. Stanisław parish church in Międzyzlesie is an entry in the canonical institution for Baltazar ‘a Stanislawow’ of 1586 (following the recovery of the church from the Calvinists). The title of this entry reads: ‘Institutio Mieczna’, while in the content for the entry there appears the wording ‘ad parochialem ecclesiam in Miedzieliesze.’<sup>64</sup> Also the tax register for 1580 mentions ‘Miasteczko Miedzna’ (‘the small town of Miedzna’), and then there appears ‘Parochia Miedzilieska’ (‘the Miedzilieska parish’), to which belong ‘Thorzowa and Miedzna with villages.’<sup>65</sup> Also the visitation of 1662 uses the term ‘Ecclesia Miedzilesensis’, wherein in the description content for the parish there appear two names Miedzna and Międzyzlesie.<sup>66</sup> It follows to accept that the name Miedzna appearing in sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth century refers to the village on whose land the later town of Międzyzlesie was to be located.<sup>67</sup> Hence it definitely follows to reject Ludwik Królik’s conjecture that the parish of Miedzna came into existence between 1589 and 1604.<sup>68</sup>

Taking into consideration the procedure for parish settlements designation in the AHP (the settlement’s symbol where the parish church was to be found), it follows to better explain the relations of the settlements of Kożuchów (Kożuchowo) and Kożuchówek. On maps dating from the second half of the eighteenth century (Perthées, Heldensfeld), there appears the village of Kożuchówek, where there is a church as well as the village of Kożuchów Wielki lying to the north-west of it. In turn, in the written sources from the second half of the sixteenth century, there appears only a single settlement of Kożuchów (written down as Kożuchowo, Kożuchowo Wielkie). What is important is that this also concerns Church sources giving parish names such as Kożuchowo<sup>69</sup> and Kożuchów.<sup>70</sup> It results from this that in the sixteenth century there existed but a single village of Kożuchów, but that the church was somewhat too distant, located in what subsequently was to be the village of Kożuchówek. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century the name Kożuchówek appears in the sources with the element of ‘parish’ (‘Plebański’) or ‘the blessed’ (‘na poświętnem’).<sup>71</sup> This was presumably a parcel given to the church in the fifteenth or sixteenth century that was at a later period to be transformed into a separate settlement – still in the visitation of 1662 the site of the church was described as secluded and poorly populated.<sup>72</sup> The marking on the main map of Kożuchów with the parish symbol indicating the parish seat need to be understood in the context of the actual church being located at a distance of approximately 1.5 km to the north east of the village.

The methodology adopted within the AHP for parish place naming has resulted in the parish of Juchnowiec being noted within the village of Juchnowiec Górny (Juchnowiec-Dwór). The Juchnowiec parish church, founded by Stanisław Włoszek, was situated in the modern era 1 km to the north east of Juchnowiec Górny (Juchnowiec-Dwór), at the spot of the contemporary village of Juchnowiec Kościelny – on the map by von Stein it is marked as ‘Kirche und Krug Juchnowiec’.<sup>73</sup> Similar circumstances decided about the location of the symbol for the parish church in the village of Niewodnica Korycka. The church in Niewodnica Korycka was endowed by Andrzej and Elżbieta Koryccy in 1596 ‘at our Niewodnica estate’, about 2.5 km to the north west of the village of Niewodnica Korycka, and here according to Józef Maroszek and Waldemar F. Wilczewski – ‘in immediate proximity to the manor house.’<sup>74</sup> On Perthées’ map the village of Niewodnica, situated to the north-west of Niewodnica Korycka, has been annotated with the symbol of a church. A similar picture is presented by von Stein’s map, where the church has been marked right next to the Niewodnica manor house (Hof Niewodnica, present-day Niewodnica Kościelna).

<sup>64</sup> ADS, sign. D 15, f. 155v.

<sup>65</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 500, 522.

<sup>66</sup> ADS, sign D 149, f. 206v.

<sup>67</sup> See J. Suproniuk, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition chapter III.3.1.8.

<sup>68</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> *Acta synodi dioeceseanae Luceoriensis*, p. 29.

<sup>70</sup> ADS, sign. D 18, f. 108v.

<sup>71</sup> See J. Suproniuk, *Location of of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition chapter III.3.1.8.

<sup>72</sup> “[...] in loco dicto Kożuchówek nullum habens vicinum et contiguitatem sed solus parochus cum suis subditis aliquot suo se loco et fundo ab aliis disterminat”, ADS, sign. D 149, f. 201.

<sup>73</sup> J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, Juchnowiec Kościelny 2013, pp. 34, 286–295.

<sup>74</sup> J. Maroszek, W.F. Wilczewski, *Niewodnica: dzieje kościoła i parafii 1596–1996*, Białystok 1996, pp. 15–19.

Certain difficulties accompany the correct location of the parish seat at Kadłuby – Ceranów (Czeranów) at the turn of the seventeenth century. In the parish register for the Łuck diocese of 1589 there is mentioned a parish at Kadłuby,<sup>75</sup> while in a subsequent register analysed for 1604 – at ‘Czeranów’.<sup>76</sup> The first church at Kadłuby existed already by 1488, though the actual foundation documents and the establishment of the parish itself were ascribed to the year 1508.<sup>77</sup> According to Tomasz Jaszczółt ‘A part of Ceranów, in which the church was constructed, bore until the mid sixteenth century the name Kadłuby.’<sup>78</sup> The location of the parish seat in Kadłuby results from the fact that on the main map Kadłuby and Ceranów have been designated as separate settlements. Kadłuby was in the second half of the sixteenth century absorbed by Ceranów – though it still appears in the registration of 1567,<sup>79</sup> but later the settlement bearing such a name disappears.

The parishes of Łosice and Hadynów in the register of 1604 were comprehended as a single registration entry (‘Łossicze et Hadinow’). Taking into consideration the title of the register: ‘Ecclesiae parochiales dioecesis Luceoriensis’ it follows to establish whether there should be two or just a single parish on the map. The church at Hadynów had older, fifteenth century, records. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, immediately following the founding of the town in 1505, a church was founded in neighbouring Łosice.<sup>80</sup> In the Sigismund I’s foundation charter document of 1511 there is talk of joining the filial church in Hadynów to the Łosice parish.<sup>81</sup> In the synod register of 1589 both churches are still referred to as being parish churches.<sup>82</sup> In the seventeenth century the church at Hadynów appears sometimes as being a dependent of the parish in Łosice (hence the appearance in one register position of 1604), though it was not to lose its own separate administrative district, to which the separate church registers bear witness. That both parishes were maintained in the sixteenth century as separately functioning entities from an administrative perspective is borne out by the fact that right until the end of the eighteenth century their own parish districts were in existence.<sup>83</sup>

The church at Starejwsi (Starej Wsi) had the status of a filial church with its own parish district. The parish at Jakimowicze, for such was the initial name of Starawieś, was separated from the Węgrów parish in the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Tomasz Jaszczółt, and here after Aleksander Jabłonowski, the initial church was raised in 1473 and was dependent on the parish at Węgrów. In the years 1474–1477 it acquired parish rights – while in 1477 mentioned is Mikołaj, a parish priest from Jakimowicze. One may conjecture that the material situation of the parish was not that good which might have been the result of the constant divisions of estates at the turn of the sixteenth century. In the period of the Reformation the churches at Starawieś and Węgrów were taken over by Protestants, after which a Protestant congregation was created in Węgrów. Following the regaining of the churches for the Catholic clergy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the parish at Jakimowicze was affiliated to Węgrów,<sup>84</sup> yet – and this is borne out by the act of the Łuck synod of 1726, it did not relinquish its parish district.<sup>85</sup>

As one of the register positions in the parish register of 1604 appear Suraż and Poświętne (Poświętne) in the Bielsk deanery. The church and parish at Suraż is among the oldest in Podlasie and could have been founded from the endowment of Duke Witold. Towards the end of the fifteenth century a chapel was to appear within its territory at Wilkogrzeby, which it follows to identify with Poświętne. Attempts at a formal separation undertaken in the sixteenth century were rejected by the

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<sup>75</sup> *Acta synodi dioecesis Luceoriensis*, p. 29.

<sup>76</sup> ADS, sign. D 18, f. 108v.

<sup>77</sup> Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 141.

<sup>78</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 40.

<sup>79</sup> *Popis 1567*, p. 1024.

<sup>80</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup> ADS, sign. D 162, ff. 5v–7; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 119; T. Dobrowolski, *500 lat łosickiego kościoła: dzieje parafii i dekanatu*, Łosice 2011, p. 75.

<sup>82</sup> *Acta synodi dioecesis Luceoriensis*, p. 29.

<sup>83</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Ee2v–Ffv; Szkice Perthésa, vol. 12, ff. 116, 125; T. Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 42.

<sup>84</sup> ADS, sign. D 20, f. 136v; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo* p. 123; Z.S. Rostkowski, *Kalendarium parafii i kościoła w Starej Wsi*, Białystok, Drohiczyn 2001.

<sup>85</sup> „Starawies ibi Ecclesia Parochialis Węgroviensi Parochialis Ecclesiae incorporata cui jure parochiae subsunt Villae 1. Starawies seu Krasnydwor”, Synod 1726, ff. Bb–Bb2v.

parish priest at Suraż – and a formal division occurred only in 1808.<sup>86</sup> Despite this in all the parish registers for the years 1604–1750 Poświętne appears as a separate parish. In the visitation of 1662-1664 its parish district is given: ‘Villas haec ecclesia habet iure parochiae sibi subiectas pro administratione sacramentorum.’<sup>87</sup> This distinction was also confirmed by the synod acts of 1726.<sup>88</sup> The joining (affiliation) of the church at Poświętne to the parish in Suraż, is marked in a document of 1536, yet this did not result in a relinquishing of the parish district.<sup>89</sup> In the parish records for the year 1589 mentioned separately are: ‘Soraz’ and ‘Poświętne’.<sup>90</sup> ‘Parochia Poswiaczienska’ also appears in the noble register for the Bielsk land swearing allegiance to the Polish Crown in Bielsk in 1569,<sup>91</sup> in the quoted register of those who had not paid taxes from the Łuck bishopric for the years 1567 and 1568 (the so-called *srebrszczyzna*)<sup>92</sup> as well as in the tax registers of 1578 (‘Paraphia Poswaczienska’) and 1591 (‘Paraphia Poswiaczinska’).<sup>93</sup>

Though a division and a parish district as such were not to be maintained by the parish at Budzieszyn following its incorporation into the provostship at Mokobody for the years 1539–1541. The parish at Budzieszyn was founded in the fifteenth century (the first mention being in 1458).<sup>94</sup> The joining of the old parish (Budzieszyn) with the new (Mokobody) took place not long after the bestowing of town rights on the village of Mokobody in 1496 and the funding there of the construction of a parish church. The year 1513 appears in the subject literature as the date for the foundation of the parish and church of St. Jadwiga in Mokobody.<sup>95</sup> Though this is not entirely accurate for in this year funded was only the mansionary which cannot be treated as being comparable to founding a parish and is rather merely the harbinger of its establishment as a parish as such.<sup>96</sup> As a result of the earlier merger of parishes certain historians treat the endowment of the church at Budzieszyn as the beginnings of the functioning of the parish at Mokobody.<sup>97</sup> The matter of the joining together of both benefices must have resulted in disputes and conflicts given that it was deemed necessary to convene in the seventeenth century a commission and confirm the joining of the abandoned (‘desertata’) parish at Budzieszyn to the parish of St. Jadwiga in Mokobody (1646).<sup>98</sup>

After taking into consideration the above comments on the status of individual parishes, their localization and territorial integrity, one may find on the main map and on the map dealing with Church administrative divisions 70 parishes of the Łuck diocese distributed across the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship including Dąbrowa Wielka (Długa Dąbrowa), with a few settlements finding themselves in Mazovia. This figure does not include parishes in Biała Podlaska (Biała), Milejczyce and Janów (Janów Podlaski), the seats of which were situated on the territory of the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship, while only a few settlements belonged to the Podlasie Voivodeship, about which more later. Nineteen parishes found themselves in towns (of which seven were royal properties and 10 – noble) as well as 51 in villages (of which 48 belonged to the nobles, two – to the Church, while one was of a mixed noble-Church mix). The number of parishes in the individual deaneries as well as the average area falling to each of them is given in Table 1.

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<sup>86</sup> Jaszczolt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 45.

<sup>87</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, f. 21.

<sup>88</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Bb2v–Cc2.

<sup>89</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 249v–250v; BN, MS 9133, pp. 29–32.

<sup>90</sup> *Acta synodi dioeceseanae Luceoriensis*, p. 28.

<sup>91</sup> AUPL, p. 247.

<sup>92</sup> ASK I 111, f. 108.

<sup>93</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 450v, 777v.

<sup>94</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, f. 223; “Haec capella [in Budzieszyn] fuit quondam ecclesia parochialis, nunc unita ad ecclesiam Mąkobodensem ad quam capellam nobiles Męczynscy pretendunt sibi ius patronatus”, ibidem, f. 11; Jaszczolt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 36.

<sup>95</sup> SGKP, vol. 6, p. 620; L. Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 294; A. Średzińska, *Miasta prywatne ziemi drohickiej i mielnickiej do końca XVIII wieku*, Białystok 2011, PhD thesis, University of Białystok, [https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/1016/1/Sredzinska\\_Aneta\\_doktorat.pdf](https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/1016/1/Sredzinska_Aneta_doktorat.pdf) (access: 20.04.2021), pp. 31, 211 (the page given in the footnote in T. Jaszczolt’s work does not contain the information shown).

<sup>96</sup> Jaszczolt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 228.

<sup>97</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 283; Z. Romaniuk, *Kościół katolicki w miastach podlaskich w późnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Małe miasta: religie*, ed. M. Zemło, Supraśl, Lublin 2006 (Acta Collegii Suprasliensis, vol. 8), p. 28.

<sup>98</sup> ADS, sign. D 26, ff. 152–153.

**Table 1. Number of parishes as well as their average surface area in the individual deaneries (the Podlasie part of the Łuck diocese)**

Deanery	Number of settlements	Surface area of deanery	Average km <sup>2</sup> for 1 parish
Bielsk	15	2,958	197
Brańsk	10	927	93
Drohiczyn	13	1,671	128
Łosice	16	1,417	89
Węgrów	16	1,312	82

Key to the development of the parish network in the Podlasie part of the Łuck diocese was the fifteenth century. The beginnings of parish activity for 58 parishes, which constituted 83% that were in existence around the year 1600 falls within this period (Figure 1). The characteristics and mechanisms for the development of the parish network in Podlasie differs from that observed in other parts of the Commonwealth. The first difference in contrast to the lands of Greater or Lesser Poland is the fact that the network of Latin churches came into existence in territories partly inhabited by Orthodox Christians, who had in these areas their own parishes. The second significant difference was the greater and speedier participation of the nobility than was the case in the central Crown lands, in the process of the endowment of new churches. This was the result of the later adoption of Christianity by Podlasie and here under conditions of the numerous landed endowments already functioning for the Mazovian and Lithuanian nobility. The initiative for the construction of the structure of the Latin Church lay in the hands of the bishops of Łuck, the authorities or nobility, whereby the Łuck bishops were chiefly involved in administrative-legal aspects,<sup>99</sup> while the king and nobility ensured the material conditions for the established parishes.

The overwhelming majority of parishes (60, i.e., 86%) came into existence on the initiative of private landed estate owners, something quite natural and corresponding with the structure of land ownership in Podlasie (see Figure 1). The statistics given on Figure 1 are collective and introductory in character. They need to be treated carefully for the data on the beginnings of parishes therein assembled as well as the type of endowment is, in many cases, fairly hypothetical in character. This particularly concerns the exact date when parish rights were obtained, the establishment of which is, given the absence of a source base, sometimes extremely difficult. This may be observed in the varied interpretations made by historians themselves. Here the main information is to be found in the already cited works by Aleksander Jabłonowski<sup>100</sup> and Tomasz Jaszczółt (for the entire voivodeship),<sup>101</sup> Ludwik Królik (for the entire diocese)<sup>102</sup> as well as Dorota Michaluk (for the Mielnik land),<sup>103</sup> supplemented by monographic works into the history of parishes or studies of a regional character (monographs on settlements or regions). Discrepancies in the chronology regarding the beginnings when Podlasie parishes functioned are the result of an array of factors but the most common is treating the very first mentions of a parish or the very endowment documents as being equal to the date the parish arose.<sup>104</sup>

## The Wilno diocese

In a similar way to the diocese of Łuck, it is also difficult in relation to the sixteenth-century Wilno diocese to talk about a division into rural deaneries (territorial, 'ruralis') in their classical modern understanding. According to Tadeusz Krahel 'the developing parish network within the Wilno diocese

<sup>99</sup> Only the parish at Skrzyszew was founded by the bishops of Łuck.

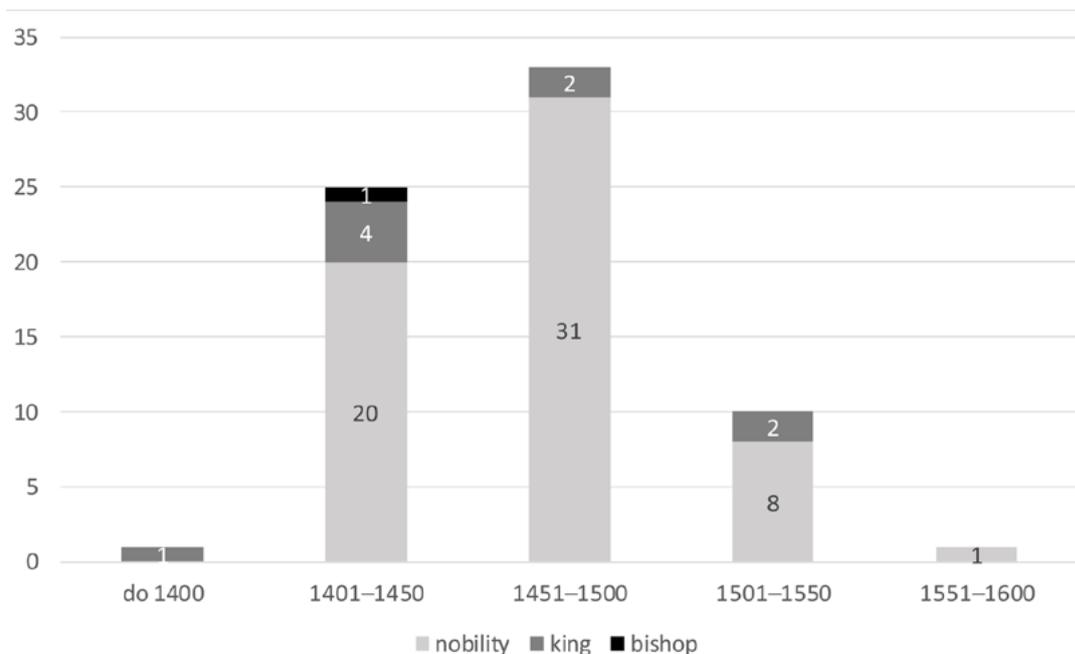
<sup>100</sup> Podlasie I, II, III, here Podlasie II, pp. 212–223.

<sup>101</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*.

<sup>102</sup> L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*; idem, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*.

<sup>103</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*.

<sup>104</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-rusko-litewskim od końca XIV do połowy XVII w.*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica“, vol. 1, 1964, p. 123.



**Figure 1. The development of the parish network in the Podlasie part of the Łuck diocese up to the end of the sixteenth century (according to the nature of the founding donations)**

was for a long time not organised into deaneries.’ One may search for the beginnings of such a division in the mid sixteenth century – in tax registers for the years 1553 and 1559, where we find parish churches being grouped into five demesnes: Troki, Mejszagoła, Antokol, Miedniki and Rudomina.<sup>105</sup> It is difficult to say whether the diocese synod of 1555 in recommending the establishment of rural judicial vicars ‘one for each deanery’ had actually these administrative divisions in mind.<sup>106</sup> Despite certain doubts<sup>107</sup> one may tentatively suppose that a certain division of the Wilno diocese into five parts lasted until the beginning of the seventeenth century, wherein the names of these parts given in the account of 1604 only partially correspond to the division conveyed in the taxation lists of a half a century earlier: Wilno, Niemenczyn, Rudniki, Rudomina and Miedniki. Here there can be no doubts that the account refers to rural deaneries (‘Dioecesis haec in quinque distincta est partes, quibus aliquot proprii praesunt decani rurales’).<sup>108</sup> Under the rule of Bishop Abraham Wojna the number of deaneries grew, but this figure was not a stable one – in 1608 there is talk of 12, while in 1635 a list is produced that enumerated just 10 deaneries, amongst which there appears the deanery at Knyszyn.<sup>109</sup> In the course of the subsequent two decades the network of deaneries underwent extensive growth – accounts on the state of the diocese of 1651 talk of 26 deaneries, amongst which there appear two from Podlasie: Knyszyn and Augustów.<sup>110</sup> Such a state of affairs was to last in Podlasie until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>105</sup> *Acta primae visitationis diocesis Vilnensis anno domini 1522 peractae*, pub. S.Ch. Rowell, Vilnius 2015, pp. 163–172.

<sup>106</sup> T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów (archi)diecezji wileńskiej*, p. 15; J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu*, p. 72.

<sup>107</sup> W. Müller has written about the founding by Bishop A. Wojna of five deaneries. In the same account from 1604 there is talk about the already existing division of the diocese into 5 parts; *Relationes status dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae*, vol. 2, p. 28; W. Müller, *Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim*, p. 95; V. Sidorka, *Geneza, powstanie i organizacja diecezji grodzieńskiej (1991 – 2011)*, Lublin 2018, PhD thesis, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, [https://repozytorium.kul.pl/bitstream/20.500.12153/390/1/Sidorka\\_Geneza\\_powstanie\\_i\\_organizacja\\_diecezji\\_grodzienskiej\\_1991-2011\\_edited.pdf](https://repozytorium.kul.pl/bitstream/20.500.12153/390/1/Sidorka_Geneza_powstanie_i_organizacja_diecezji_grodzienskiej_1991-2011_edited.pdf) (access: 20.04.2021), p. 45.

<sup>108</sup> *Relationes status dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae*, vol. 2, p. 28.

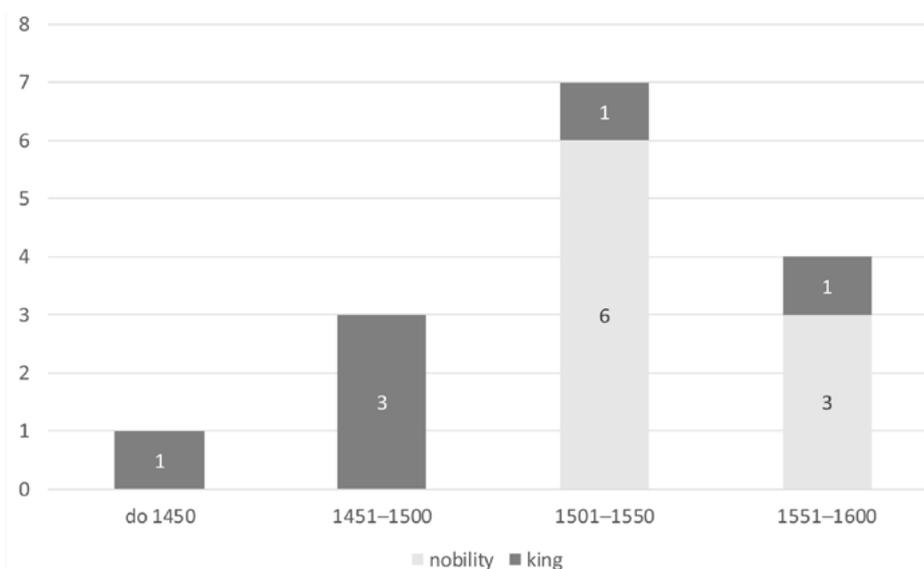
<sup>109</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 40, 67.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 91; J. Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie od jego założenia aż do dni obecnych, zawierające dzieje i prace biskupów i duchowieństwa diecezji wileńskiej, oraz wykaz kościołów, klasztorów, szkół i zakładów dobroczynnych i społecznych*, Wilno 1912, p. 469; T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów (archi)diecezji wileńskiej*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>111</sup> *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*; S. Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2006, pp. 299–302.

The source information available does not allow for one to implement a deanery division amongst the parishes of the Podlasie part of the Wilno diocese for the turn of the seventeenth century. Władysław Semkowicz in his work on the subject of a historical map for the Wilno diocese (unfortunately without the map itself) openly advances the possibility for a reconstruction of the deanery network for the period up until the second half of the seventeenth century. Incomprehensible is his ascertainment that the reputed deanery division broadly outlined from the visitation in the mid seventeenth-century had been in existence from the very beginning.<sup>112</sup> Presumably he was unaware of the descriptions for the organisation of the Wilno diocese given in the mentioned tax registers as well as in the accounts of bishops. Extremely valuable as far as the reconstruction of the deanery network at the end of the sixteenth century is concerned is the list of parishes of the Wilno diocese of 1598 published by Jerzy Ochmański, and included in the taxation subject register for bishop, capitular, parish estates. He confirms the division of the diocese into the five parts given in the registers for the years 1553 and 1559. Unfortunately this register did not include those parishes in Podlasie which after 1569 paid tax to the Crown treasury.<sup>113</sup> Taking into consideration the distribution of the ‘deaneries’ of the Wilno diocese as outlined in the sources and accounts as parts, sections, demesnes, the Podlasie parishes at the end of the sixteenth century may be included within the Troki part, as it had been in the aforementioned registers of 1553 and 1559. This is, however, merely a hypothesis and one not based on historical sources.

Parish churches in the Podlasie part of the Wilno diocese came into being later than was the case for those belonging to the Łuck diocese. This is well illustrated by Figure 2. In the first 100 years of its functioning the Wilno diocese parishes in Podlasie were founded exclusively from royal endowments (see Figure 2). Only in the sixteenth century did the foundation movement expand into noble estates, including, amongst others the possessions of the Radziwiłł family (Dobrzyniewo Kościelne, Kalinówka Kościelna (Kalinówka), Knyszyn). The number of works devoted to the development of parish structures within the Wilno diocese means that a reconstruction of the state of affairs as of the end of the sixteenth century is not overly problematic.<sup>114</sup> The compilation of materials prepared by J. Ochmański for the mid sixteenth century covers 13 parishes of the Wilno diocese situated within the territory of Podlasie. Amongst which is to be found the parish at Choroszcz, the settlement itself



**Figure 2. The development of the parish network in the Podlasie part of the Wilno diocese up to the end of the sixteenth century (according to the nature of the founding donations)**

<sup>112</sup> “Here the matter is whether we can now retreat even further and ask how the matter presented itself before the time of the appearance of Church visitations in the seventeenth century”, W. Semkowicz, *Mapa historyczna diecezji wileńskiej*, p. 449.

<sup>113</sup> J. Ochmański, *Powstanie, rozwój i kryzys sieci parafialnej w diecezji wileńskiej od chrystianizacji Litwy w roku 1387 do przelomu XVI/XVII wieku*, “Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 38, 1990, no. 2, pp. 55–57.

<sup>114</sup> Ibidem, pp. 23–60; S.K. Olczak, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w diecezji wileńskiej do II poł. XVIII w.*, „Studia Teologiczne: Białystok, Drohiczyn, Łomża”, vol. 5–6, 1987–1988, pp. 102–113.

as well as its environs was the subject of boundary disputes and, in 1558, its owners still included it within the Podlasie Voivodeship. But at the moment of concluding the Union of Lublin, the Choroszcz estates were not incorporated into the Podlasie Voivodeship because their lord Grzegorz Chodkiewicz did not swear allegiance to the Polish Crown. Such a situation was to have continued until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>115</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century three additional parishes had come into being – in Augustów (1565), Niewodnica Korycka (1596) as well as Grabowo (before 1571).<sup>116</sup> In total there were by the end of the sixteenth century 15 parishes in the Podlasie part of the Wilno diocese, without Choroszcz that was in point of fact a part of the Troki Voivodeship.: four in royal towns as well as in villages: six noble, two royal, one Church, and two royal-noble.

## Parish districts

A reconstruction of the parish districts in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century causes many problems because of the denominational structure of its inhabitants as well as the limited source base. This was an area inhabited in many parts by an Orthodox population which was obviously not subject to Catholic ministry. For this reason there is an absence in certain regions of information as to the affiliation of many villages to Latin parishes. The limited number of tax registers, discrepancies in the information given regarding parish affiliation to particular settlements as well as an absence in Church visitations for the period in question makes a reliable and comprehensive reconstruction of the parish network impossible. The extent of parish districts presented on the main map as well as in the List of settlements has been drawn up through the use of a retrogressive method with reference to the first relatively comprehensive registers supplying the parish affiliation of settlements as established on the synod acts of 1726 (for the Łuck diocese) and of 1744 (for the Wilno diocese). The drawback of employing such a solution is, obviously, the long period of time that separates the source used in the retrogression and the studied period itself (over 100 years). Such a worry is somewhat mollified by the small number of changes within the parish structure that occurred in this period. The synod for the Łuck diocese of 1726 enumerates 73 parishes in five Podlasie deaneries for the Łuck diocese (Węgrów – 19, Bielsk – 16, Brańsk – 14, Drohiczyn – 11, Łosice – 13).<sup>117</sup> Two parishes mentioned at the turn of the seventeenth century are omitted – Krześlin (Krześlino) and Kadłuby. Krześlin as a settlement appears within the parish of Suchożebry, while Kadłuby was not mentioned because the settlement along with the parish was absorbed into the parish of Ceranów.<sup>118</sup> As a result of the lack of source information as to the scope of the parish at Krześlin and also the poor level of verification with regard to its functioning it has been treated on the map and in the List of settlements as a single-village parish. Besides Ceranów, which follows to be treated as a continuation of the parish at Kadłuby, in the course of the seventeenth century there appeared four new parishes: Huszlew (1666), Niemirów (Niwicze) (1620),<sup>119</sup> Strabla (1616)<sup>120</sup> and Stara Bordziłówka (Borzyłowa Wola) (1647).<sup>121</sup> Analysis of the Wilno diocese synod for the year 1744 shows that also in the part of Podlasie belonging to the Wilno diocese the growth in the number of parishes was not great. In addition their status with regard to parish rights is not completely clear (Brzozowa, Karpowicze). This all allows one to adopt the working

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<sup>115</sup> E. Kalinowski, *Szlachta ziemi bielskiej wobec bezkrólewi*, pp. 65–66. On the subject of Podlasie Voivodeship borders in this region see M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition chapter III.2.1.8.

<sup>116</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Nieznaný oryginalny dokument lokacji Augustowa z 1557 roku*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 3, 1962, p. 432; idem, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1967, p. 133; M. Sokół, W. Wróbel, *Kościół i parafia pw. Bożego Ciała w Surażu*, p. 67.

<sup>117</sup> T. Długosz, *Sieć parafialna diecezji łuckiej w 1726 roku*, „Studia Theologica Varsaviensia”, vol. 1, 1963, no. 1, pp. 191–211.

<sup>118</sup> See above.

<sup>119</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 123–125.

<sup>120</sup> J. Hościłowicz, *Z przeszłości kościoła parafialnego w Strabli*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego”, vol. 6, 2000, p. 8; P. Karwowski, *Kult Matki Bożej w parafii w Strabli*, „Studia Teologiczne: Białystok, Drohiczyn, Łomża”, vol. 36, 2018, pp. 196–197.

<sup>121</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 125.

hypothesis that the stability of the parish network equally brought along with itself a relative durability in the affiliation of a parish settlement. The geographic location of the new parishes shows that new endowments concerned chiefly the south-east border region of the voivodeship and in particular the Mielnik land (Huszlew, Niemirów).

It is difficult to unequivocally indicate from which parish that Huszlew was allotted. Its initial catchment area encompassed the following settlements: Huszlew, Ogrodniki,\* Felin (Androsze), Bronin (Wólka), Żurawłówka, Mielniki (at present an abandoned former settlement), Zawadki (Zawadka),\*\* Pieczniki,\* Mostów (Mostowo), Kolonia Mostów (Prusinowo, Pruśniewo, Prosnów),\*\* Waśkówka (Wólka Waśkowska, Wólka Wośniewska).\*\*<sup>122</sup> All these settlements are listed as being part of the parish district for this parish as of 1726.<sup>123</sup> It is unknown, because of a lack of sources, to which either singular or plural parishes the mentioned settlements belonged prior to the creation of the parish at Huszlew. Dorota Michaluk has ascribed the majority of them to the parish at Górki, besides Mostów, which was under the jurisdiction of the parish in Sarnaki.<sup>124</sup> The actually endowment, founding and creation of the parish in Górki she moves right back to the second half of the sixteenth century (1577).<sup>125</sup> More reliable are possibly the findings of Tomasz Jaszczołt, who includes the parish in Górki as being one of the oldest in the Mielnik land and moves its 'terminus ante quem' to the year 1478 (the mention of a parish school teacher), that is dated before the year 1490 and the foundation document issued by Grzymała, the lord at Hruszniew and Szczekatowo.<sup>126</sup> It is probable that at the end of the sixteenth century the mentioned settlements were affiliated with the parish at Łosice, which could also have been caused by the temporary occupation of the church at Górki by Protestants.<sup>127</sup> The reasoning here being the entry of the settlement at Mostów within the Łosice parish as seen in the tax register of 1588.<sup>128</sup> The two earlier registers had affiliated this settlement with the more distant parishes in Mielnik or Sarnaki.<sup>129</sup>

The founding document for the parish at Niemirów of 1620 did not demarcate the parish district. However, one may suppose, taking into account the later extent of the parish, that it corresponded to the tithe district and initially encompassed: Niemirów (Niwicze), Gnojno, Sutno (Sutino), Wólka, Ponikwy,\*\* Kobylany,\*<sup>130</sup> Mętna.\*\*<sup>131</sup> The registered legal entry of the founding document at the town of Mielnik publically calls on all interested parties that might oppose the endowment as a result of loss of remuneration or tithe 'littera cridae in vim citationis'. This was to have been announced in the three parishes neighbouring Niemirów, Mielnik, Wysokie Mazowieckie (Wysokie) as well as Stawy, which shows that the aforementioned settlements had earlier belonged to these parishes.<sup>132</sup> One may with a high degree of probability, and here on the basis of tax registers and geographical location, conjecture that the majority of these belonged to the parish at Mielnik, Ponikwy to the Stawy parish, while Mętna to that at Wysokie.<sup>133</sup>

From the moment of its foundation in 1616 right up until the issuing of its erection document in 1723, the formal legal status of the parish at Strabla was unclear. Piotr Karwowski conjectures that this is a reestablishment of the parish following the loss of the original documents from the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>134</sup> Bishop Stefan Bogusław Rupniewski's document ascribes the parish to the

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<sup>122</sup> \* – unknown settlement localisation; \*\* – a settlement mentioned later or lying outside of the Podlasie Voivodeship boundaries.

<sup>123</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Ee2v–Ffv. In the light of treasury sources from the second half of the seventeenth century this was a single-village parish; Laszuk, Zaścianki p. 18.

<sup>124</sup> Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka, map 5.

<sup>125</sup> Ibidem, p. 123.

<sup>126</sup> Jaszczołt, Fundacje kościelne, p. 43.

<sup>127</sup> ASK I 111, f. 108.

<sup>128</sup> ASK I 47, f. 757v.

<sup>129</sup> Ibidem, f. 554 (1580, Sarnaki parish); ASK I 51 (1578, Mielnik parish).

<sup>130</sup> Settlement identification arouses doubts as a result of the distance separating Niemirów and Kobylany. Kobylany was not mentioned within the area of the Niemirów parish in 1726; Synod 1726, ff. Eev–Ee2v.

<sup>131</sup> \* – unknown settlement localisation; \*\* – a settlement mentioned later or lying outside of the Podlasie Voivodeship boundaries.

<sup>132</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 349–350v.

<sup>133</sup> Straight after the founding of the church at Niemirów, and here in 1620, the Mielnik parish priest came to an agreement with the newly founded parish priest in Niemirów, in which it was stated that the tithes from the village of Ostrowiec and Sutno had been for ages given to Mielnik; ADS, sign. D 20, ff. 182v–183.

<sup>134</sup> P. Karwowski, *Kult Matki Bożej w parafii w Strabli*, p. 199.

Bielsk deanery and precisely outlines its district as Strabla, Mulawicze (Moławicze), Lesznia (Leśna), Biały Dwór (the farmstead),\* Łapcie.<sup>135</sup> In the earlier foundation document there had appeared instead of the farmstead the unidentified settlement of 'Gatica'.<sup>136</sup> On the basis of tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century one may conclude that Strabla and those settlements that comprised its parish in the seventeenth century had earlier belonged to the extensive parish at Suraż.<sup>137</sup> However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the Strabla parish was carved out from the parishes at Suraż and Bielsk, for in 1617 protests against the founding of a church and parish were voiced by the Suraż and Bielsk parish priests.<sup>138</sup>

The parish in Stara Bordziłówka (Borzyłowa Wola) was established in 1647.<sup>139</sup> The foundation document sheds interesting light on the administration of the Latin Church in this part of Podlasie in the seventeenth century. For this document clearly indicates that the settlements incorporated into the district parish at Stara Bordziłówka had earlier not been formally registered to any of the existing district parishes. The inhabitants of two of the places mentioned, Droblin and Koszelówka, made use of services at the nearest church, situated in Górki.<sup>140</sup> Claims on the other settlements incorporated into the new parish – Stara Bordziłówka, Wygnanki,\*\* Kiełbaski,\*\* Witulin, Ossówka (Wola Osowska) – could be made though by the parish in Biała Podlaska (Biała) situated in the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship.<sup>141</sup> It consequently follows to accept that at the turn of the seventeenth century the parish in Biała was expanding its jurisdiction across the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship. This presumably concerned equally the settlements at Kolonia Kajków (Kajków) as well as Cicibór Mały (Cicibór), even though in the tax registers for the years 1577 and 1580 these settlements were mentioned as under the tutelage of the parish in Sarnaki. Known are cases from other areas of the Crown, where the seat of a particular parish lying beyond the borders of the voivodeship, the tax registers covered the settlements belonging to it within the framework of whatever border parish lay within the structure of the voivodeship or district (*powiat*) from which the taxation was taken.<sup>142</sup>

The synod of the Wilno diocese of 1744 cited only two new entities from amongst the parishes situated in Podlasie in relation to the list established for the second half of the sixteenth century. The formal status of the parish at Brzozowa is in doubt right up until the eighteenth century. Even though the diocese synod of 1744 recognised this church to be a parish church, ascribing to its parish district equally the village of Bobrówka and the farmstead at Grodzisk, there are no strong bases to suppose that it had had bestowed on it such a status in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>143</sup> In the light of the visitation of 1633 at Brzozowa was to be found a filial church of the parish at Kalinówka Kościelna (Kalinówka) and the same settlement was mentioned amongst those settlements belonging to the parish.<sup>144</sup> The descriptions of Lithuanian parishes from the second half of the eighteenth century

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<sup>135</sup> ADS, sign. D 148, f. 61v.

<sup>136</sup> One cannot rule out a connection between this name and the Gaciska grove on the WIG map, to the east of the village of Łapcie.

<sup>137</sup> M. Sokół, W. Wróbel, *Kościół i parafia pw. Bożego Ciała w Surażu*, pp. 62–67.

<sup>138</sup> ADS, sign. D 19, ff. 92v–94v.

<sup>139</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 125.

<sup>140</sup> “[...] nobiles et incolas villarum Droblin et Kosielówka – quod nulli hucusque ecclesiae parochiali iure parochiae adscripti sint, ad ecclesiam vero parochialem Gorecensem in qua tanquam viciniori sacramenta ecclesiastica hucusque percipiabant”, ADS, sign. D 26, f. 380. Problematic is the very Church affiliation of the village of Koszelówka – within the territory of the parish of Górki there functioned two settlements of the very same name – one lying next to Stara Bordziłówka, while the second approximately 10 km to the north between Wólka Nosowska and Dubicze (in the territory of the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship). In 1726 both Wólka Nosowska, as equally Koszelówka (Brześć) were counted as part of the parish at Górki. Wólka Nosowska had been incorporated within this parish already in the endowment document of 1490. However, it is difficult to point to the moment when the village of Koszelówka (Brześć) was included; ADS, sign. D 148, f. 25 (year 1490); Synod 1726, ff. Ee2v–Ffv; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 64 (the founding of both settlements is dated to the years 1580–1662).

<sup>141</sup> “[...] tum et alias villas convicinas et adiacentes nulli vero hucusque ecclesiae iure parochiae adscriptas videlicet Borziłówka, Wygnanki, Kiełbaski, Witulin, Osówka salvis nihilominus iuribus et privilegiis ecclesiae parochialis in Biała si qua ad dictas villas expressa habuerit”, ADS, sign. D 26, f. 380.

<sup>142</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 554, 765v. The settlement of Ciciborek (nowadays Cicibór Mały), together with the surrounding villages of Terebela and Hrud, appears in the synod register for the parish of Biała of 1726; Synod 1726, ff. Aav–Bb.

<sup>143</sup> A. Szot, *O filii kościoła kalinowskiego w Brzozowej*, [in:] *Parafia w Kalinówce Kościelnej 1511–2011: Pięć wieków historii*, ed. A. Szot, Kalinówka Kościelna-Białystok 2011, (Białostockie Studia Historyczno-Kościelne, vol. 7), pp. 125–126.

<sup>144</sup> BUWil, sign. F57-B53-50, ff. 251v, 273.

present a similar situation.<sup>145</sup> In this situation the only one that it follows to recognise as a new parish founded up to 1744 is the single-village parish of Karpowicze (Brzozowo-Karpowicze). As results from the visitation conducted in March 1700 it had been endowed in 1617 by Józef Karp, the Wołkowysk marshall, owner of the village of Brzozowo, and which, in the seventeenth century, started to function under the name Karpowicze. From the content of the rights bestowed by the Bishop of Wilno, Eustachy Wołłowicz, for the foundation of a new parish it results that the owner of Brzozowa had earlier paid tithes to the parish at Dolistowo Stare (Dolistowo).<sup>146</sup>

The construction of parish structures was to occur with a significant lag with regard to the development of settlements themselves. This was to mean that many settlements did not, in the second half of the sixteenth century, have a permanent parish affiliation and that their accreditation to specific parish districts conveys rather the scope of the influence of given Church centres than the demarcating of the precise borders of Roman Catholic parishes as such, and which did not cover the entirety of the denominationally mixed area of Podlasie. Still in the eighteenth century numerous inhabitants of many villages on this denominationally varied area were unable to point out which Catholic parish their settlement administratively belonged to. An example may be served by a series of villages of the Bielsk parish whose inhabitants in the first half of the eighteenth century made use of services provided by Uniate churches or the protection of the Bielsk Carmelites.<sup>147</sup>

Particularly dynamic and unclear is the parish affiliation of many settlements in the south-eastern part of the Mielnik land. This was partly the result of the impact of ownership relations, including the frequent divisions of estates, on the weak territorial cohesion of parishes (enclaves, exclaves). According to Dorota Michaluk 'the surrounding of the whole territory of an estate with the borders of a single parish was a common practice.'<sup>148</sup> The unclear extent of particular parishes and the changeability in parish affiliation amongst individual settlements can be well seen in the consensus and tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century.

After considering the changes brought about by the appearance or disappearance of a parish a retrogressive analysis has been conducted involving the comparison of information about parish affiliation from 1726 (Łuck diocese) and 1744 (Wilno diocese) as well as that contained in the sources from the second half of the sixteenth century, chiefly in the tax registers. It follows to repeat that the parish affiliation contained within tax registers for the Podlasie Voivodeship is far from being unequivocal and is extremely doubtful. The biggest role with regard to the tax registration was played by the property ownership order. In many cases with the aim of establishing parish affiliation it is necessary to make recourse to the endowment documents as well as to seventeenth-century visitations, which often speak openly about the parish district, while sometimes only giving place names and here merely through a characterisation of the benefice endowment. It follows to remember that as in other Polish dioceses the parish district does not necessarily always correspond with the tithe district.<sup>149</sup> As far as the Łuck diocese is concerned the fundamental verification material in the application of the retrogressive method has been supplied by the canonical visitation of 1662–1664<sup>150</sup> as well as the collection of rights and privileges of the Łuck diocese listed in the eighteenth century.<sup>151</sup> Employed chiefly for the Podlasie part

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<sup>145</sup> *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, p. 70.

<sup>146</sup> BCzart, MS 1775, p. 27; S. Ostrowski, *Karpowicze – dzieje parafii*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1995, no. 1 (37), 1995, p. 22.

<sup>147</sup> “Villae infrascriptae nobilitares super bonis terrestris locatae, non agnoscentes Parochiam pro sacramentis percipiendis, partim ad Unitam Ecclesiam advenientes, partim ad Patres Carmelitas divertentes, et ab illis sacramenta percipientes” (1716–1728), quoted from E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii katolickiej Narodzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny i św. Mikołaja w Bielsku Podlaskim*, Drohiczyń, Warsaw 2012, p. 23.

<sup>148</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 124.

<sup>149</sup> The payment of tithes did not always mean affiliation to a given parish. The village of Krzywa belonging to the parish in Jasionówka paid its tithes to the parish at Kalinówka Kościelna; BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40, f. 251v; *Synodus dioecesisana Vilnensis [...] anno Domini MDCCXLIV diebus 10. 11. 12. mensis februarii celebrata*, Vilnae [no date], p. 146; *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, p. 188; T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów parafii w Kalinówce Kościelnej*, [in:] *Parafia w Kalinówce Kościelnej*, p. 26. The village of Czechowizna belonging to the parish of Knyszyn paid its tithes in the seventeenth century to the parish of Trzcianna; BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40, f. 240v; *Synodus dioecesisana Vilnensis*, p. 147; *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, p. 78; K. Cyganek, *Kronika parafialna kościoła knyżyńskiego*, Knyszyn 2012, p. 194.

<sup>150</sup> ADS, sign. D 149.

<sup>151</sup> ADS, sign. D 148.

of the Wilno diocese have been the visitations of 1633<sup>152</sup> and 1700.<sup>153</sup> Other visitations of the Wilno diocese did not encompass the Podlasie deaneries,<sup>154</sup> while the minutes of the bishop suffragan Mikołaj Słupski are known to us only through the copies drawn up by Jan Kurczewski.<sup>155</sup> More valuable in terms of information are the inventories of certain Podlasie parishes prepared for the requirements of the 1674 visitation.<sup>156</sup>

Given the lack of information on parish affiliation in the above mentioned sources it has sometimes been necessary to make recourse to sources from the second half of the eighteenth century – first and foremost here is Karol Perthées's 'Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego' from the end of the eighteenth century as well as the analogical, though markedly richer in content, descriptions of Lithuanian parishes published by Wiesława Wernerowa.<sup>157</sup> The subject literature was also taken into consideration. In accordance with the method adopted for the AHP series, which assumes that parishes be treated first and foremost as units of Church administration, and not taxation or state entities, greater score was placed on sources of Church provenance even if this information came from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. It follows to add that the taxation sources for this area did not specify whether a given parish belonged to the Latin Church or was Orthodox in denomination. In the most difficult and the weakest in relation to cases of source authentication, there is noted in the List of settlements reference that a given parish could have been of a different denomination than the one stated on the parish map (parish X or Y).

There is need for a separate comment regarding the determining of parish affiliation for those settlements with an indeterminate location, one approximated or uncertain. These are often settlements that are poorly authenticated in the sources, which additionally makes it difficult to assign them to the appropriate parish. In order to conclude as probably as possible, and here given the lack of source information, endeavours have been made to employ all indirect forms of evidence. Consequently taken into consideration has been the parish affiliation of upper-level settlements or of other settlements situated in the same area or property demesne. Also taken into analytical consideration has been source context, for example e.g., the parish affiliation of settlements jointly paying taxation or that are included in the same registration entry. In one case, the village of Stelokowo in the Drohiczyn land, which is mentioned only once in the list of nobles swearing allegiance to the Crown in 1569, it was impossible to establish even a hypothetical parish affiliation.

The most hypothetical as well as uncertain and here in the light of the source information assembled, turned out to be a series of parishes in the Mielnik land – and here in particular the matter concerns the borders and boundaries between the parishes of Górki, Łosice, Hadynów and Niemojki. These did not constitute territorially cohesive areas centred around a parish church but rather a mosaic of criss-crossing fragments of parishes separated from their own parish church by settlements belonging again to yet other parishes. Poor on testimony is also the parish in Mielnik. The extent of this parish was de facto demarcated thanks to information on the affiliations of neighbouring settlements: Górki, Sarnaki and Siemiatycze. In a way similar to the above given extent for the parish at Górki, it seems that the boundaries for the Podlasie Voivodeship were encroached on by parishes from the neighbouring Brześć Litewski Voivodeship. This is seen in the case of the settlements at Bonin and Raczki ascribed in the synod acts of 1726 to the parish at Janów as well as of the hamlets of Gruzka (Hruska), Pokaniewo, Żerczyce, Zabłocie (Melechowicze) and Zalesie to the Milejczyce parish.<sup>158</sup>

Sometimes the sources for parishes in the Mielnik land result in completely conflicting conclusions. An example of such may be served by the affiliation of the settlement of Dąbrowa (Duplewicze) (parish Drohiczyn, Rusków, Przesmyki, Knychówek) or Łysów (Łysowicze) (parish Rusków, Przesmyki, Niemojki). The village of Duplewicze was registered both in the military rolls of the Lithuanian army

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<sup>152</sup> BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40.

<sup>153</sup> BCzart, MS 1775.

<sup>154</sup> W.F. Wilczewski, *Wizytacje generalne diecezji wileńskiej w XVII–XVIII w. Ewolucja problematyki*, "Soter Religijos Mokslo Žurnalas", 2010, no. 35 (63), pp. 99–109.

<sup>155</sup> LMAVB, sign. 318-26479; W.F. Wilczewski, *Wizytacja diecezji wileńskiej przeprowadzona przez biskupa Mikołaja Słupskiego: czas trwania i zasięg*, ABMK, vol. 72, 1999, pp. 473–487.

<sup>156</sup> LVIA, sign. 694-1-3970.

<sup>157</sup> Szkice Perthéesa; *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*.

<sup>158</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Aav–Bb, Ffv–Ff2v; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, ff. 101, 139.

of 1565 and in the taxation list of 1588 in the parish of Drohiczyn.<sup>159</sup> In 1580 this settlement, treated together with Tokary, appears in the parish of Przesmyki,<sup>160</sup> in a similar way to the poll tax register of 1673.<sup>161</sup> For if the matter relates to Church sources this village appears in the tithe district in the copy of the endowment document for the parish of Rusków from the second half of the fifteenth century as well as in the tithe district for the parish at Przesmyki.<sup>162</sup> In turn the synod register of 1726 as well as ‘Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego’ incorporates this settlement within the parish at Knychówek.<sup>163</sup> Taking into consideration the fact that information on the endowment of the parish at Rusków is from the fifteenth century and that in the interim the parish was occupied by Protestants, one should take as the most probable the turn of the seventeenth century for the information of Duplewicze’s affiliation to the parish at Przesmyki, but one equally cannot exclude an association with the parish at Knychówek, which also finds its relevant annotation in the List of settlements. As far as Łysów is concerned, a settlement of a similar sounding name (‘Lisowicz’) appears in the Międzyzlesie parish in the taxation registration of 1580 under the heading ‘Krzesslino’. Presumably such a notation results from the fact that Krześlin and Łysów belonged to the same estate complex.<sup>164</sup> In a way similar to Duplewicze the village of Łysów was mentioned in the endowment district in the founding document for the parish at Rusków.<sup>165</sup> In turn the poll taxation register of 1673 enumerates this settlement as part of the parish of Przesmyki.<sup>166</sup> As more reliable – and hence adopted on the map – should be regarded the affiliation of this village to the parish at Niemojki, for the eighteenth-century Church sources register it thus. A similar solution is adopted in the case of Wólka Łysowska.<sup>167</sup> An example of another fairly clear discrepancy between sources in the context of determining the parish affiliation of settlements within the Mielnik land may be served by the example of the village of Mężenin on the Bug River (Mężenino). The taxation registers from the second half of the sixteenth century (1577, 1580, 1588) accredit this settlement with being in the parish at Sarnaki.<sup>168</sup> This presumably results from the parish at Rusków having been taken over by Protestants. In the poll tax register of 1673 the village is situated within the parish of Rusków, something confirmed by Perthées’s parish description.<sup>169</sup> For otherwise unknown reasons the synod register of 1726 included this settlement within the parish of Drohiczyn, the other side of the river.<sup>170</sup>

As far as the Drohiczyn land is concerned, the village of Łazów (Łazowo) is worthy of attention because of its dubious parish affiliation. The treasury and census sources from the second half of the sixteenth century are not able to precisely resolve this ambiguity. In the light of the military rolls of 1565 this village is mentioned twice over – as being within the parish of Kadłuby (subsequently Ceranów) as well as in the parish of Mokobody and Sterdyń (Sterdynia) (Маковецка и Стердынська).<sup>171</sup> In 1567 the village of Łazów appears under the common heading of the parishes of Prostyń, Zembrów (Zembrowo) and Sterdyń.<sup>172</sup> T. Jaszczółt has ascribed this settlement to the parish of Sterdyń.<sup>173</sup> Such a pertinence has been shown by the taxation registers for the years 1578, 1580 and 1588, which place Łazów within the Orthodox parish of Łazów and the Latin one of Sterdyń.<sup>174</sup> A different interpretation results from an analysis of sources of Church provenance – for Łazów appears within the tithe

<sup>159</sup> Popis 1565, p. 322 (year 1765); ASK I 47, f. 745 (year 1588).

<sup>160</sup> ASK I 47, f. 510v.

<sup>161</sup> Laszuk, Zaścianki, p. 108.

<sup>162</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 318, 320; Jaszczółt, Fundacje kościelne, p. 43.

<sup>163</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Ee2v–Ffv; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 131.

<sup>164</sup> Jaszczółt, Osadnictwo, pp. 200–201; ASK I 47, f. 522.

<sup>165</sup> ASK I 47, f. 320.

<sup>166</sup> Laszuk, Zaścianki, p. 108.

<sup>167</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Ee2v–Ffv; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 121.

<sup>168</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 767v (year 1577), 553v (year 1580), 755v (year 1588); ASK I 51, f. 207; Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka, map 5.

<sup>169</sup> Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 118; Laszuk, Zaścianki, p. 109.

<sup>170</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Eev–Ee2v. Possibly commemorated was the fact that Mężenin was incorporated within the Drohiczyn parish in the first half of the sixteenth century; BN, MS 9133, p. 326.

<sup>171</sup> Popis 1565, pp. 329, 347.

<sup>172</sup> Popis 1567, p. 1022.

<sup>173</sup> Jaszczółt, Osadnictwo, pp. 157–159.

<sup>174</sup> ASK I 27, ff. 922–922v (year 1578, par. Łazów); ASK I 47, ff. 527–527v (year 1580, par. Łazów, Sterdyń), f. 746 (year 1588, par. Sterdyń).

district of the parish at Zembrów, and is not mentioned in the erection document for the parish at Sterdyń.<sup>175</sup> Such (Zembrów) a parish affiliation for the settlement is also given by the synod acts of 1726 as well as Perthées's materials from the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>176</sup> As was said earlier the discrepancies in the attributing of parish affiliation between sources secular (tax registers, inventories, military rolls) and Church ones (visitations, synod acts, the parish sketches of Perthées) works to the favour of Church sources even if the information is from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Such was the case in the Drohiczyn land, for example in the case of the village of Klukowo (parish Siemiatycze), Wierzchuca Nagórna, Wierzchuca Nadbużna (Wierzchuca Nadolna) (parish Śledzianów), Bryki (parish Ostrożany), Andryjanki (Andrianki) (parish Boćki), Kozłowo and Mierzynowo (parish Pobikry), Pełch (parish Perlejewo (Pierlejewo)).

Poorly certified in the sources is the parish affiliation of the villages of Hołowienki, Sabnie and Grodzisk (Grodzisko). These villages were inhabited by Ruthenians, and were presumably not under the jurisdiction of any of the surrounding Latin parish.<sup>177</sup> For this reason more probable appears their connection with the parish of Zembrów as seen in Perthées's sketches of the Crown parishes,<sup>178</sup> than the earlier mentions of their affiliation to the distant parish of Skrzyszew (Skrzeszewo) (taxation registers of 1578 and 1580) or to the parish Jabłonna Lacka (poll taxation list of 1674).<sup>179</sup> However, included within the parish of Jabłonna were the entire environs of Tchórznica (Tchórznica, Tchórznica Szlachecka (Tchórznica-Wyszki), Tchórznica Włościańska (Tchórznica-Mnich)). It is difficult to explain the ascribing of the settlement of Tchórznica Szlachecka (Tchórznica-Wyszki) to the parish at Zembrów as noted in the Łuck synod acts of 1726<sup>180</sup> – this settlement equally appears in the endowment description for the parish of Jabłonna from 1663 as well as in the list of settlements for this parish found in Perthées's sketches.<sup>181</sup> The description of the endowment of the parish at Jabłonna in 1663 provides important information about the relations between tithe districts and the parish at Jabłonna and Skrzyszew. In accordance with the content the borderline settlements of Wierzbice-Guzy, Wierzbice-Strupki, and possibly also (the term 'Quae quidem villae praefatae' is not precise here) the villages of Kamianka (Kamianka Ruska) and Niemirki (Niemierki), paid tithes in an alternate manner to the parish at Skrzyszew and Jabłonna in turn. However, as the inhabitants of those villages took sacraments in the church at Jabłonna that was situated nearby, it was to that very parish that future tithe payments were to be made from these settlements.<sup>182</sup> The affiliation of the settlement of Czekanów is fairly problematic in this area, the inhabitants of which were obliged in the seventeenth century to pay benefits to as many as three parishes: Jabłonna, Skrzyszew and Mokobody.<sup>183</sup> Traces of this unclear or divided affiliation of Czekanów were to last right up until the eighteenth century, when Perthées' parish sketches register this settlement as equally in the parish of Jabłonna as in Skrzyszew, wherein in the description of the first of these at the point of 'Czekanowa vel Czekanów' there appears an annotation in red ink 'vide parafia Skrzyszew.'<sup>184</sup> It is a paragraph found in the Łuck synod acts that ultimately decided on accrediting this village to the parish at Skrzyszew, for here the village is referred to as being in that parish.<sup>185</sup> The taxation registers for 1578 also show the parish of Skrzyszew as being the correct one for Czekanów.<sup>186</sup> Contradictory source evidence may also be found in relation to the village of Obniże, which in the taxation registers of the second half of the sixteenth century was included within the

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<sup>175</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 189v, 209v.

<sup>176</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Bb–Bb2v; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 23.

<sup>177</sup> Jaszczółt, Osadnictwo, p. 161.

<sup>178</sup> These settlements were not mentioned *expressis verbis* in K. Perthées's accounts of the parish. This may be explained by the fact that the populace inhabiting these settlements were in their entirety of the Eastern Rite and belonged to the parish of Grodzisk; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 23.

<sup>179</sup> ASK I 27, f. 925v (year 1578); ASK I 47, f. 529v (year 1580); Laszuk, Zaścianki, p. 105; Jaszczółt, Osadnictwo, pp. 161–162 (the parishes of Skibniew-Podawce (Skibniewo-Podawce), Zembrów and Nieciecz Włościańska (Nieciecza)).

<sup>180</sup> Certainly the distance from the parish church could have here been significant. The inhabitants of this village would have had to have covered 3 km to reach the church in Zembrów, while to Jabłonna almost 7 km as the crow flies.

<sup>181</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, f. 242v; Synod 1726, ff. Bb–Bb2v; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 22.

<sup>182</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, f. 242.

<sup>183</sup> Ibidem, f. 243; ADS, sign. D 148, ff. 30–30v.

<sup>184</sup> Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 22 (Jabłonna parish), 136 (Skrzeszew parish).

<sup>185</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Ee2v–Ffv.

<sup>186</sup> ASK I 27, f. 925v.

parish of Drohiczyn, while in Perthées's materials from the second half of the eighteenth century this village was included as equally in the Drohiczyn parish as in that of Śledzianów. In a way similar to the case of Czekanów, affiliation on the map and in the List of settlements is marked on the basis of information from the synod acts of 1726 (parish at Śledzianów).<sup>187</sup> Sometimes, as in the case of the villages of Czarna Cerkiewna (Czarna), Czarna Średnia (Czarna) or Płatowo the evidence relating to parish affiliation is information about the parish affiliation of other neighbouring settlements and the ownership and property relations with a particular estate complex (parish at Rudka).

The discrepancies between sources or their inadequacies also make the job of parish district reconstruction for the Bielsk land difficult and in many cases have lowered the reliability of the solutions and or the conclusions advanced and drawn. This particularly concerned the most easterly parishes of Narew, Kleszczele, Boćki and Bielsk. In a similar way to the south-easterly part of the Mielnik land, the presence of Catholics was scattered meaning that parishes were not cohesive territories, but rather a mosaic of merging fragments from various parishes. One may see this also in the taxation registers, which often subordinate settlements in this area to Orthodox parishes. The oldest Catholic parish in the region was the parish at Bielsk, which according to tradition came into being at the close of the fourteenth<sup>188</sup> or the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>189</sup> Eugeniusz Beszta-Borowski has devoted in his extensive monograph on the parish a separate subchapter to the territorial changes that occurred within the Bielsk parish. He considered that Catholics residing subsequently in neighbouring parishes (Boćki, Kleszczele, Łubin Kościelny (Łubino), Strabla) would have initially taken sacraments in the church in Bielsk. For this reason employed here also was the progressive method – in the case of a lack of information on the parish affiliation of settlements lying on the border of the Bielsk parish and the parishes established in this area in the sixteenth century sometimes the premise is adopted that they still remained within the framework of the original Bielsk parish (the absence of confirmation as to a change in affiliation). A more exact list of settlements belonging to this parish is only given for the eighteenth century.<sup>190</sup> Adopted for several settlements deprived of the relevant mentions in the Church sources and lying on the border of the Bielsk parish with the parishes of Boćki and Suraż, was the parish affiliation as noted in the poll taxation register of 1674 (the parish of Boćki: Toporki (Toporowo), Baranowce (Baranowczyzna), the parish of Bielsk: Płoski (Płoski)).<sup>191</sup> As far as the extent of the Narew parish is concerned information is scarce indeed, while the author of a monographic work devoted to the history of this parish presented its district from the beginning of the seventeenth century in the form of a scheme (ellipse 4 by 10 old Polish miles).<sup>192</sup> Most valuable in this context are the two documents of Zygmunt August directed to the Bielsk forester and starost on the matter of the Church affiliation of subjects from the newly inhabited Bielsk forest administrative region.<sup>193</sup> In the most doubtful cases, and here given the absence of source authentication, taken into consideration was also later affiliation to districts separated from the Narew parish (Kuraszewo (Kuraszowo), Narewka) – this refers to places such as Nowokornino (Kornino Nowe), Podrzeczany (Porzeczce), Rakowicze. For the same reason the boundaries of the parish of Narew, and with the same the Bielsk deanery, were shifted somewhat to the east beyond the borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship itself. It is difficult to establish the Church affiliation of these wooded, wild and uninhabited areas in the sixteenth century. The extent of the filial parish at Narewka,<sup>194</sup> marked out in the second half of the eighteenth century,

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<sup>187</sup> Popis 1565, p. 320; Popis 1567, pp. 880–881; ASK I 47, ff. 37v (year 1576), 505v (year 1580), 745 (year 1588); Synod 1726, ff. Eev–Ee2v; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, ff. 31, 41.

<sup>188</sup> E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii katolickiej*, p. 18. The church in Bielsk existed for certain in 1445 or 1446; Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 22.

<sup>189</sup> Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 44.

<sup>190</sup> E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii katolickiej*, p. 128.

<sup>191</sup> Laszuk, *Zaścianki*, p. 103. The settlements of Krywiatycze (Krzywiatycze), Antonowo (Wierwieczki), Wólka created in this way an exclave of the parish of Boćki situated between the parishes of Bielsk, Kleszczele and Narew. The spatial arrangement could indicate an ecclesiastical union of the aforementioned hamlets with the Bielsk parish.

<sup>192</sup> J. Poskrobko, *Dzieje rzymsko-katolickiej parafii Narew od jej powstania do wybuchu II wojny światowej (1528–1939)*, Lublin 1985, MS John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Annex.

<sup>193</sup> ADS, sign. D 133, ff. 240–242 (I would here like to thank Dr. T. Jaszczółt for making available copies of these documents).

<sup>194</sup> D. Michaluk, *Dobra i miasteczko Narewka na tle dziejów regionu (do końca XIX wieku)*, Białystok-Narewka 1997, pp. 82–83; J. Poskrobko, *Dzieje rzymsko-katolickiej parafii Narew*, pp. 34–35.

was to decide on extending the boundaries of the parish at Narew beyond the voivodeship borders. Also in reference to the parish of Kleszczele, given the lack of exact information as to its size and area in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, retrogressively was incorporated the area occupied in the eighteenth century by several settlements that belonged to the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship, and mentioned within its boundaries in the acts of the Łuck synod of 1726.<sup>195</sup> Other particularly doubtful cases in the Bielsk land include the affiliation of the mill settlement Solniki (Brańsk parish), and the villages of Koryciski (Koryciszczka) (Kleszczele parish), Miękisze (Bielsk parish), Kleszczewo (parish Kobylyno Poświętne, an exclave on the voivodeship border and that of the parish at Tykocin). No great doubts though were raised by the affiliation to the parish at Boćki of the village of Bystre, lying already within the territory of the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship.<sup>196</sup>

The difficulties highlighted above in the ordering of many locations to their relevant Church unit also concerned those Latin parishes situated further to the north and located on the eastern border of the Bielsk land: Suraż, Białystok, Juchnowiec Górny (Juchnowiec-Dwór), Niewodnica Korycka, Knyszyn, Dobrzyniewo Kościelne, Jasionówka and Kalinówka Kościelna (Kalinówka). Marta Sokół and Wiesław Wróbel maintain that the initial territory that made up the parish of Suraż was more expansive and extended both into later parishes of the Łuck diocese as into the Wilno diocese. According to them the parishes of Poświętne (Wielkogrzeby) (Łuck diocese), Turośń Kościelna (Turośna) (Wilno diocese), Pietkowo (Łuck diocese), Juchnowiec (Wilno diocese), Białystok (Wilno diocese), Niewodnica (Wilno diocese) were formed over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. They also conjecture that the extent and scope of the parish at Suraż could have extended into the territories of the later formed parishes at Płonka Kościelna, Sokoły and Kobylin-Borzymy (Kobylyno Poświętne).<sup>197</sup> Doubts concerning parish affiliation concern particularly the villages widely scattered over a huge area that belonged to the Suraż starost and named within the parish of Suraż, the inhabitants of which in effect used the services of the near-by parish churches at Niewodnica (Oliszki) or Juchnowiec (Hryniewiczze, Pomigacze (Pomihacze)). Within the composition of the new parishes carved out of the parish at Suraż were mainly the estates of the founder, so the royal villages were still formally within the original parish at Suraż.<sup>198</sup> This could have been the case with the parish in Białystok. The area covered by this parish, one exceeding the borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship, points to its territory being established and shaped already at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is before the division of the Białystok estates between the Raczkowicz and Chodkiewicz families.<sup>199</sup> As there is no complete information about its territorial extent at the end of the sixteenth century, it was decided to mark out its approximate extent on the basis of information derived from an endowment document of 1581 as well as a visitation conducted in 1633.<sup>200</sup>

Demesne areas, particularly those of the starost, as a result of the development of settlement networks did not always create territorially cohesive wholes, which meant that the newly endowed parishes on noble estates broke up areas previously covered by an older royal parish into two or three parts. Given the changing property relations it is not possible to treat any connection between the parish district and that of the demesne as permanent and unchanging. This may be seen, for example, in the

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<sup>195</sup> Werstok, Kuraszewo, Policzna, Bobinka, Opaka Duża (Opaka), Wołkostawiec; Synod 1726, ff. Bb2v–Cc2.

<sup>196</sup> ADS, sign. D 149, ff. 256–257 (year 1528); Synod 1726, ff. Bb2v–Cc2. It is difficult to explain why these settlements were passed over by A. Wawrzyńczyk in his work: eadem, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu w XV i XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1951 (map).

<sup>197</sup> M. Sokół, W. Wróbel, *Kościół i parafia pw. Bożego Ciała w Surażu*, pp. 61–67.

<sup>198</sup> Ibidem, p. 68.

<sup>199</sup> According to T. Krahel the Białystok parish was not carved out of the parish at Suraż. His claim is based on the conjecture that the parish following its foundation must have belonged to the self same diocese as its mother parish. However, given the conditions within which the political and ecclesiastical boundaries were etched in Podlasie this rule does not necessarily apply; idem, *Zarys dziejów parafii Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Białymstoku*, [in:] *Bazylika katedralna w Białymstoku. Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 100-lecia poświęcenia kościoła Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Białymstoku (1905 – 17 IX – 2005)*, ed. T. Krahel, Białystok 2005, pp. 11–22; T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, ed. J. Antoniewicz, J. Joka, Białystok 1968, pp. 110–119; J. Wiśniewski, *Początki Białegostoku i okolicznego osadnictwa*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 4, ed. H. Majecki, Białystok 1985, pp. 16–26.

<sup>200</sup> BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40, ff. 217–217v; *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, vol. 3: *Białystok*, intro. and comp. J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999.

village of Klepacze, which constituting a part of the Suraż starost in the first half of the eighteenth century was counted as belonging to the parish at Niewodnica,<sup>201</sup> while in the second half of the century it was already within the parish at Suraż.<sup>202</sup> According to Józef Maroszek and Waldemar F. Wilczewski the village of Klepacze was to change its parish affiliation several times.<sup>203</sup> Complicated was also the parish affiliation of villages lying within the district of Niewodnica, divided between the parishes of Juchnowiec and Niewodnica. The village of Zofiówka (Safiejewo) despite being subordinated in the synod acts of 1744 to the parish at Dobrzyniewo, was deemed to be a part of the parish at Knyszyn.<sup>204</sup> Poorly certified is the parish affiliation of such settlements as Wojszki (parish of Juchnowiec),<sup>205</sup> Kuczyn (Kuczyno-Bogdańce) (parish of Trzcianne).<sup>206</sup>

As is known from other areas of the Commonwealth the carving out of new parishes was not always a simple process involving the allocation of a whole and cohesive fragment to one or several parishes, with the aim of subordinating the said to the newly created parish entity. It was always connected with the loss of a part of the endowments of existing benefactors, something that resulted in protests. The evidence encountered in the sources on the division of endowments from one settlement between two parishes, decisions as to the payment of tithes from farmsteads and villages to two different parishes or the payment of 'alternatim' dues are the result of compromises taken in the matter. Given that in the AHP farmsteads are not presented as separate settlements as such, with rare exception when they function apart from a village and here under their own name, the majority of examples when a village and farmstead belonged to two different parishes is presented through the stating of a dual parish affiliation. Several cases of this ilk occurred on the territory under research; with the majority of these relating to the Bielsk land. Dual parish affiliation has been introduced in the case of the village of Szpakowo, where the farmstead (Szpakowo Farmstead) is registered in the sources at the parish of Goniądz, while the village itself at the parish in Kalinówka. This state of affairs lasted from the moment of the foundation of the parish in Kalinówka in 1511 right up until the end of the early modern era. Admittedly the foundation document presented by Mikołaj II Radziwiłł does not state this name either in the endowment area or in the pastoral area of the new parish, but this is mentioned in the royal confirmation of 1534 in which the monarch bestows on the parish priest at Kalinówka, among other things, the tithes from two villages – Boguszewo and Szpakowo. The realisation of this endowment was to already face difficulties in the sixteenth century. This may have been caused by the village inhabitants being already obliged to provide funding for the parish and Hospital of the Holy Spirit at Goniądz. One may suppose that the boundary between the parishes of Goniądz and Kalinówka were shaped on the meanders of the River Niereśla (Nereśl) – the manor house and village of Szpakowo lay on two banks of the same river. Such a state of affairs is presented by Karol Perthées's descriptions of Lithuanian parishes in 1784.<sup>207</sup>

The synod of the Wilno diocese of 1744 twice mentions the name Boguszewo in the parish of Trzcianne and in the parish of Kalinówka.<sup>208</sup> Somewhat more precise is the visitation of 1633 and Karol

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<sup>201</sup> *Synodus dioecesisana Vilnensis*, p. 148; J. Maroszek, W.F. Wilczewski, *Niewodnica*, pp. 42–43 (year 1727).

<sup>202</sup> "The road running through the land and village of Klepacze to the diocese of Łuck belonging to the Suraż starost", *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, p. 98; Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 12, f. 17; M. Sokół, W. Wróbel, *Kościół i parafia pw. Bożego Ciała w Surażu*, p. 74.

<sup>203</sup> J. Maroszek, W.F. Wilczewski, *Niewodnica*, p. 60.

<sup>204</sup> BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40, f. 205v (year 1633, Knyszyn parish); *Synodus dioecesisana Vilnensis*, p. 146 (year 1744, Dobrzyniewo Kościelne parish); *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, pp. 79, 84 (year 1784, Knyszyn parish); K. Cyganek, *Kronika parafialna kościoła knyszynskiego*, p. 194; Ł. Gołaszewski, *Spory o dziesięćiny. Świeccy i duchowni w Knyszynie na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, Warsaw-Podkowa Leśna-Białystok 2016, p. 109.

<sup>205</sup> According to J. Maroszek this village belonged to the parish in Bielsk. Yet this is not confirmed by the sources used or the analysis conducted by E. Beszta-Borowski; J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, p. 29; E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii katolickiej*, passim.

<sup>206</sup> E. Kalinowski, *Szlachta ziemi bielskiej wobec bezkrólewi*, p. 100; C. Kukło, *Funkcjonowanie społeczności parafialnej na tle analizy rejestracji chrztów parafii Trzcianne 1600–1654*, [in:] *Spółczesność staropolskie. Studia i szkice*, vol. 3, ed. A. Wyczański, Warsaw 1983, pp. 197–200.

<sup>207</sup> BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40, f. 251v (year 1633); BCZart, MS 1775, pp. 41, 300 (year 1700); *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich*, pp. 71, 176; W. Wróbel, *Dzieje kościoła parafialnego w Kalinówce Kościelnej do końca XVI w.*, [in:] *Parafia w Kalinówce Kościelnej* pp. 90–105; J. Kloza, J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Goniądza w 450 rocznicę praw miejskich*, Białystok–Goniądz 1997, pp. 27, 119, 125, 209.

<sup>208</sup> *Synodus dioecesisana Vilnensis*, pp. 146–147.

Perthées's descriptions of parishes of 1784, showing that the manor house at Boguszewo belonged to the parish at Kalinówka while the village to the parish at Trzcianne.<sup>209</sup> Doubts arise, however, over the two-part division proposed by Marta Sokół and Wiesław Wróbel for the settlement of Kowale – Kowale (buzuńskie) belonging to the parish at Turośń and Kowale (suburbs) connected with the parish at Suraz.<sup>210</sup> In the light of the description of the parish in 1784 the village of Kowale belonged to the parish at Turośń.<sup>211</sup> Given the act of the Wilno synod of 1744, one cannot exclude also a form of dual parish affiliation (Augustów, Bargłów Kościelny (Bargłowo)) for the village of Borsuki, something poorly covered within the source materials.<sup>212</sup> Borsuki was the property of the Augustów parish priest, however the inventories preserved from both parishes of 1674 clearly show that this settlement belonged to the parish at Bargłów.<sup>213</sup> Similarly the name Jaskra appeared twice in the synod acts of 1744, in the parishes of Knyszyn and Kalinówka<sup>214</sup> – other sources fairly explicitly ascribe the settlement only to the parish at Kalinówka.<sup>215</sup> The village of Zubowo appeared twice in the Łuck synod acts of 1726 – in the parishes of Bielsk and Narew<sup>216</sup> – but as there is no certainty that the matter concerns the self same settlement it has been decided to affiliate this settlement to the parish at Bielsk.<sup>217</sup>

## ANNEX

**Parishes whose boundaries extended beyond the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship are marked \*, parishes from outside of the Podlasie Voivodeship are marked \*\*, towns are labelled with the letter "t."**

### Łuck diocese

#### Bielsk deanery

Bielsk (Bielsk Podlaski) t., Boćki\* t., Kleszczele\* t., Kobylino Poświętne (Kobylin-Borzymy), Łubino (Łubin Kościelny), Narew\* t., Pietkowo, Płonka Kościelna, Poświętne (Poświętne, prawd. branch of Suraz), Sokoły, Suraz t., Topiczewo (Topczewo), Tykocin t., Waniewo t., Wyszki

#### Brańsk deanery

Brańsk t., Dąbrówka (Dąbrówka Kościelna), Długa Dąbrowa\* (Dąbrowa Wielka), Domanowo (Stare Domanowo), Jabłonia Kościelna (Jabłoń Kościelna), Jabłonka (Jabłonka Kościelna), Kuczyno (Kuczyn), Kulesze-Rokitnica (Kulesze Kościelne), Wysokie (Wysokie Mazowieckie) t., Wyszonki Kościelne

#### Drohiczyn deanery

Ciechanowiec t., Dołobowo (Dołubowo), Drohiczyn t., Dziadkowiec (Dziadkowice), Granne, Mielnik t., Ostrożany, Pierlejewo (Perlejewo), Pobikrowy (Pobikry), Rudka, Siemiatycze t., Śledzianów, Winna Stara (Winna-Poświętka)

#### Łosice deanery

Górki\*, Hadynów (branch of Łosice), Knychowo (Knychówek), Krześlino (Krześlin), Łosice\* t., Mąkobody (Mokobody) t., Mordy t., Niemojki, Paprotnia, Przesmyki, Ruskowo (Rusków), Sarnaki, Skrzyszewo (Skrzeszew), Suchożebry, Wyrozęby-Podawce, Wyszków

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<sup>209</sup> BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40, ff. 240v, 251v; *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, pp. 70, 214; T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów parafii w Kalinówce Kościelnej*, p. 26.

<sup>210</sup> M. Sokół, W. Wróbel, *Kościół i parafia pw. Bożego Ciała w Suraziu*, pp. 68–70, 74.

<sup>211</sup> *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, p. 103.

<sup>212</sup> *Synodus dioecesisana Vilnensis*, p. 145.

<sup>213</sup> LVIA, sign. 694-1-3970, parish Augustów, Bargłów; J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim*, pp. 132, 176, 207, 285.

<sup>214</sup> *Synodus dioecesisana Vilnensis*, p. 147.

<sup>215</sup> BUWil, sign. F57-B53-40, f. 251v; *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, p. 70; T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów parafii w Kalinówce Kościelnej*, p. 26.

<sup>216</sup> Synod 1726, ff. Bb2v–Cc.

<sup>217</sup> Szkice Perthéasa, vol. 12, f. 67; E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii katolickiej*, pp. 23, 128.

**Węgrów deanery**

Czerwonka, Jabłonna Lacka, Jarnicze (Jarnice), Kadłuby (in the seventeenth century Czeranowo), Kosowo (Kosów Lacki), Kożuchowo (Kożuchów), Międzyzlesie (Miedzna) t., Nieciecza (Nieciecz Włociańska), Prostynia (Prostyń), Rozbity Kamień, Skibniewo-Podawce (Skibniew-Podawce), Sokołów (Sokołów Podlaski) t., Stara Wieś (Starawieś, branch of Węgrów), Sterdynia (Sterdyń), Węgrów t., Zembrowo (Zembrów)

**Brześć deanery (Brześć Litewski)**

Biała (Biała Podlaska)\*\*

**Janów deanery (Janów Podlaski)**

Janów (Janów Podlaski)\*\*, Milejczyce\*\*

**Wilno diocese**

Augustów t., Bargłowo (Bargłów Kościelny), Białystok\*, Dobrzyniewo (Dobrzyniewo Kościelne), Dolistowo (Dolistowo Stare), Goniądz t., Grabowo, Jasionówka, Juchnowiec-Dwór (Juchnowiec Górny), Kalinówka (Kalinówka Kościelna), Knyszyn t., Niewodnica Koryckich (Niewodnica Korycka), Rajgród t., Trzcień (Trzcianna), Turośna (Turośń Kościelna).

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

### III.2.2a.8 THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

*Piotr Guzowski, Marzena Liedke*

The main assumption within the present chapter is to draw attention to the Orthodox Church geography in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century i.e., a description of the administrative structures of the Orthodox Church, its boundaries, parish and monastic networks as well their presentation on the map. However, it is not our intention to present yet again the history of Orthodoxy in these territories; for the history of the Orthodox Church in Podlasie has seen an array of publications. It has also found its place in the synthetic presentations of the history of the eastern Churches or monographic presentations of particular eparchies. As a result of the chronology adopted in the Podlasie volume of AHP the question of the Uniate Church in relation to the above mentioned questions is also not dealt with in detail, rather only touched on in the final paragraph on the issues arising from the Union of Brześć.

Under the auspices of an introduction we shall, however, recall the fundamental historical and legal questions and issues that enable one to understand the processes in shaping Orthodox Church structures within the geographical context as well as the quality and dimensions of the parish network. And here by far the most useful has turned out to be the fundamental work by Ludomir Bieńkowski.<sup>1</sup> In addition utilised have been the synthetic publications by Antoni Mironowicz,<sup>2</sup> Andrzej Gil and Igor Skoczylas<sup>3</sup> as well as by Józef Maroszek.<sup>4</sup> In turn the fundamental work on the Orthodox Church parish network in Podlasie remains the book by Antoni Mironowicz: *Podlaskie ośrodki i organizacje prawosławne w XVI i XVII wieku* (Białystok 1991). Despite the rather broad treatment territorially (covering equally the western divisions of the Lithuanian Voivodeships of Nowogródek, Troki and Brześć Litewski as well as Royal Lublin) and concentrating on the seventeenth century, the author brings together fundamental information about Orthodox religious centres in part critically verified by exacting reviewers of this work<sup>5</sup> as well as researchers undertaking this subject matter at the turn of the twenty-first century. The development of Orthodox Church structures in the Mielnik land was the subject of interest for Dorota Michaluk,<sup>6</sup> while in the case of the western part of the Drohiczyn land, the realm of Tomasz Jaszczółt.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the parish network of the Włodzimierz eparchy here the last word belongs to Andrzej Buczyło's PhD, which reconstructed an Orthodox parish network at the moment the Union of Brześć was concluded.<sup>8</sup> A lot of detailed information was also supplied

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<sup>1</sup> And to this we refer to specific information that concerns both the rights, entitlements as well as the endowments of particular offices and spiritual organs of the Orthodox Church; Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, pp. 780–1048.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok 2001; idem, *Kościół prawosławny w państwie Piastów i Jagiellonów*, Białystok 2003; idem, *Bractwa cerkiewne w Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok 2003.

<sup>3</sup> A. Гіль, І. Скочиляс, *Володимирсьько-берестейська єпархія XI–XVIII століть. Історичні нариси*, Львів 2013; A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim w procesie przemian i adaptacji. Metropolia kijowska w latach 1458–1795*, Lublin–Lwów 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*.

<sup>5</sup> See the review of A. Mironowicz's work by L. Postołowicz („Białostoczczyzna”, 1992, no. 1(25), pp. 36–43) and the polemic („Białostoczczyzna”, 1992, no. 2(26), pp. 45–48). Equally remarks were made in the review by T. Chynczewska-Hennel (SP, vol. 4, 1993, pp. 313–317).

<sup>6</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*.

<sup>7</sup> Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*.

<sup>8</sup> A. Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*.

by Józef Maroszek's publications,<sup>9</sup> the older works by Jerzy Wiśniewski connected with settlement and colonisation<sup>10</sup> as well as the less academic books by Grzegorz Sosna and Antonina Troc-Sosna.<sup>11</sup> The mentioned authors have had to struggle with the exceptionally poor source materials available. In the case of Podlasie royal estates the greatest amount of data on functioning Orthodox churches and possibly also their remunerations is supplied by the registers of the Vokod Reforms and ducal and royal property inventories. In turn the taxation of the Orthodox clergy allow crown taxation records to be used, which will be important first and foremost within the context of nobility property. Relatively rarely can historians make use of preserved foundation charters or the remuneration documents of individual Orthodox churches. Their content, often preserved in the form of seventeenth and particularly eighteenth-century copies and transumptms often show that historians are actually dealing with falsifications (e.g., the foundation documents of the Orthodox churches in Siemiatycze,<sup>12</sup> and Sawice<sup>13</sup>). Sometimes even source information about non-preserved yet earlier existing foundation bears witness to falsifications connected with describing a parish's origin (the Orthodox church in Żerczyce, for example).

### The genesis of Orthodoxy in Podlasie and the Orthodox Church's legal situation

The history of Ruthenian political and certain religious influences across the area broadly understood as Podlasie may go back to the period when its southern expanses were still under the control of Kijów Rus' in the tenth century. It was then that the towns, to Mielnik, Drohiczyń, Suraż, Bielsk, Brańsk or Kamieniec were raised by Ruthenian princes, and to where local Ruthenians and newcomers from Volyn came to settle.<sup>14</sup> From the end of the twelfth century Drohiczyń land came under the control of Casimir II the Just (1192/1193), but as a result of later Polish-Ruthenian conflicts<sup>15</sup> it was to find itself under the rule of Daniel Romanowych, the Halych prince, who was, ultimately, crowned king in the 1253 at the Drohiczyń Mother of God Orthodox Church with the consent of Pope Innocent III.<sup>16</sup> He died in 1264 and the weakened Kingdom of Galicia and Volyn was to be invaded several times by the Lithuanians. The lands of interest to us were set ablaze by the conflict between them and Mazovia.<sup>17</sup> As a result of these conflicts the lands of Drohiczyń and Brześć Litewski were incorporated into the

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<sup>9</sup> With the most important amongst them: *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony w planach króla Zygmunta Augusta. Z historii dziejów realizacji myśli monarchicznej między Niemnem a Narwią*, Białystok 2000.

<sup>10</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-rusko-litewskim od końca XIV do połowy XVIII wieku*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, pp. 115–135; idem, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1967, pp. 13–294; idem, *Osadnictwo wschodniej Białostoczczyzny. Geneza, rozwój oraz zróżnicowanie i przemiany etniczne*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 11, 1977, pp. 7–80.

<sup>11</sup> See, among others, G. Sosna, A. Troc-Sosna, *Zapomniane dziedzictwo. Nie istniejące już cerkwie w dorzeczu Biebrzy i Narwi*, Białystok 2002; idem, *Święte miejsca i cudowne ikony. Prawosławne sanktuaria na Białostoczczyźnie*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition amended and supplemented, Białystok 2006.

<sup>12</sup> J. Maroszek, *Siemiatycze jako ośrodek dóbr ziemskich w X–XVIII w. (do 1801 r.)*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Siemiatycz*, ed. H. Majecki, Warsaw 1989, pp. 10–11.

<sup>13</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 129.

<sup>14</sup> K. Bieńkowska, H. Karwowska, *Pradzieje*, [in:] *Historia województwa podlaskiego*, ed. A. Dobroński, Białystok 2010, pp. 16–17; K. Piasecka, *Grody nadbużańskie – źródła archeologiczne*, [in:] *Podlasie nadbużańskie. 500-lecie województwa podlaskiego*, ed. O. Łatyszonek, Ciechanowiec–Białystok 2013, pp. 61–72; Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 18. A separate question is the issue of research into the autochthonous nature of the Ruthenian people; see D. Michaluk, *O możliwościach badań struktury etnicznej ludności Podlasia w XVI wieku*, „Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, 2002, no. 17, pp. 59–61.

<sup>15</sup> O. Łatyszonek, *Ziemia brzesko-drohicka w X–XII wieku w świetle ostatnich badań*, [in:] *Podlasie nadbużańskie*, pp. 37–49.

<sup>16</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz król Rusi. (ok. 1201–1264). Biografia polityczna*, Cracow 2012, pp. 202, 224, 349 f.

<sup>17</sup> S. Alexandrowicz, *Działania wojenne w XI–XIII wiekach*, [in:] *Z dziejów wojskowych ziem północno-wschodniej Polski*, ed. Z. Koszyła, Białystok 1986, pp. 13–45.

Lithuanian state from more than likely 1340,<sup>18</sup> and here with certain breaks,<sup>19</sup> were to be found within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>20</sup> before the official conversion of Lithuania to Christianity in 1387. Christianity was present (and here both in its Catholic as Orthodox guise).<sup>21</sup>

While the Galicia-Volyn Chronicle informs us that already in 1253 there was an Orthodox church at Drohiczyn. There was a church in Mielnik, constructed before even 1260, as well as in Bielsk functioning since 1289.<sup>22</sup> One may cautiously speculate that relatively early Orthodox churches were erected in the environs or in the same towns raised by the Ruthenian princes, and here functioning as castle churches (for example, the recalled Orthodox church in Mielnik). However, we do not have at our disposal any sources that would be able to confirm such a state of affairs. The Orthodox churches that arose together with the initial Ruthenian settlement of Podlasie found themselves initially under the jurisdiction of the Turów bishopric created around 1088.<sup>23</sup> However later, already in the twelfth century, together with affiliation to the Kingdom of Galicia and Volyn, they started to come under the supervision of the diocese of Włodzimierz,<sup>24</sup> constituting a part of the Galician metropolitan see which encompassed in addition the dioceses of: Galicia, Przemyśl, Łuck, Turów, and Chełm.<sup>25</sup> The metropolitans of Kijów who had since 1308 combined the administration of two Orthodox provinces, Galicia and Kijów, proclaimed their claims to rule the metropolitan see that had come into being in 1303. Independence for the Galician metropolitan see was restored thanks to the Prince of Volhynia, Lubart Dymitr (son of Gediminas) and Bishop Teodor, but in 1347 it was annulled as a consequence of the efforts of the Muscovite prince Simeon Gordy (the Proud).<sup>26</sup> In 1354 the patriarch of Constantinople sanctioned inclusion within the centre of Orthodox authority that had been created at Nowogródek for those lands that entered into the composition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (as the metropolitan see of Lithuania).<sup>27</sup> However, claims of authority over the whole of Rus' were proclaimed by the Kijów metropolitans residing at Włodzimierz on the Klyazma River yet subordinated to Moscow.

The situation was complicated in the second half of the fourteenth century following the inclusion of Kijów within the Lithuanian state, the rulers of which strove to make the Orthodox Church on their lands independent of any hitherto existing metropolitans. Finally, in 1458, the Orthodox metropolitan of Kijów was created. Its jurisdiction paralleled with the then state boundaries, while the 'Lithuanian' metropolitans adopted the title of metropolitans of 'Kijów,<sup>28</sup> Galicia and all Rus'. In 1509 this title was renewed and it was formally recognised by the state authorities of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>29</sup> Though the metropolitans were to reside in Nowogródek or Wilno.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> H. Paszkiewicz, *Z dziejów Podlasia w XIV w.*, KH, vol. 40, 1928, pp. 229–246; S. Zajączkowski, *W sprawie zajęcia Podlasia przez Gedymina*, „Ateneum Wileńskie”, vol. 6, 1929, pp. 1–7; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Ziemia podlaska w średniowieczu (do połowy XVII w.)*, [in:] *Z nieznaney przeszłości Białej i Podlasia*, ed. T. Wasilewski, T. Krawczak, intro. J. Skowronek, Biała Podlaska 1990, pp. 13–36; J. Maroszek, J. Tęgowski, *Pogranicze polsko-rusko-litewskie*, [in:] *Historia województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 19–37; O. Łatyszonek, *O rzekomym przyłączeniu Podlasia do Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego przez Giedymina*, [in:] *Inter Regnum et Ducatum. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Janowi Tęgowskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, K. Boroda, Białystok 2018, pp. 365–373.

<sup>19</sup> Temporarily, in the years 1382–1401, and later 1440–1444 it was to be the Mazovian princes who ruled, something that was connected to the act of colonisation on the part of the petty Mazovian knighthood; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> G. Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności*, vol. 1: *Trudne początki*, Poznań 1998, pp. 44, 100–104.

<sup>21</sup> However, on ethnically Lithuanian lands the impact of Christianity was informal, and in addition these were influences that were not always met with peaceful acceptance; G. Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, pp. 166–178.

<sup>22</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów)*, pub., intro., and footnotes D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, with the cooperation of I. Juriewa, A. Majorow and T. Wiłkuł, Cracow–Warsaw 2017 (Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, ser. II, vol. 16), pp. 239, 406, 629.

<sup>23</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 63; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 26.

<sup>24</sup> Established most likely already in the years 1078–1085; A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim*, p. 102. For Drohiczyn only transitionally belonged to the Turów diocese; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 63; A. Mironowicz, *Diecezja włodzimierska do końca XVI wieku*, „Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski”, 2013, no. 4, pp. 13–23.

<sup>26</sup> A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim*, p. 73.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 74.

<sup>28</sup> For they were equally the heads of the Kijów diocese belonging to them; amongst the Orthodox hierarchy from 1415 onwards the bishops of Połock were titled archbishops; L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 797.

<sup>29</sup> A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim*, p. 95 f.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 128.

The most senior hierarches of the Orthodox Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the Polish Crown came under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople,<sup>31</sup> but this authority was not that exacting and chiefly manifested itself in the formal confirmation of candidates (and in the sixteenth century ones already nominated by the king) for metropolitan.<sup>32</sup> From the end of the 1580s attempts were made to strengthen this dependence.<sup>33</sup> The authority of the metropolitan within the territory of his province was also severely limited and chiefly as a result of the law of service given to the monarch, who in the sixteenth century took over a significant part of the canonical rights and entitlements of metropolitans and synods. He was to have a decisive say in the appointment of the clerics at the levels of metropolitans, bishoprics, hegumen or archimandrite, often deriving profit from it. As the main patron he took care of Church property<sup>34</sup> and also established parishes on royal estates. Almost a half of settlements (45%) in which were found Orthodox churches in the Podlasie Voivodeship, were a part of royal estates. He also gave permission for the holding of synods. Often these prerogatives were used more in the interests of the monarch than of the Orthodox Church itself.<sup>35</sup>

Tough the metropolitans possessed the right to judge and punish bishops, they had few possibilities to actually enforce their decisions (bishops were appointed by the king). They also did not have the right to sit in the Commonwealth's *Sejm* (Diet), so matters were consequently different than was the case for the heads of the Catholic provinces of Gniezno and Lwów as well as the suffragan bishops of the dioceses subject to them. Hence in practice the chief and actually practiced prerogatives of a metropolitan was the ordaining of bishops presented (in the sixteenth century) by the monarch and the calling into being of synods, for which the metropolitan needed the monarch's permission.

The above indicated monarch influence on the functioning of the 'Greek' Orthodox Church was, on the one hand, the entailment while on the other the effect of the legal position of this Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown. For in none of the parts that were to comprise the future Commonwealth was the Orthodox Church to obtain the status of the ruling denomination. The Roman Catholic Church had a permanent, and even given successes of the Reformation, leading position in the Crown, while in Red Ruthenia, in founding the Galician metropolitan in 1367 (renamed the Lwów archbishopship in 1412) Catholicism was already being strengthened and fortified by Casimir the Great.<sup>36</sup> In turn, the conducting of the official process of Christianisation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a result of the creation of the Union of Krevo was through the adoption of Catholicism even though Orthodoxy had been present amongst the Lithuanian dynasties (including through marriage with Ruthenian princesses) for centuries and was the ruling religion in the Ruthenian areas occupied by the great Lithuanian dukedoms. A series of resolutions and decisions were taken during the period in which Lithuania officially adopted Christianity that were to ensure the Catholic Church a ruling position. This resulted in a limiting in the functioning of the Orthodox Church; for at this time there was no such concept of equal rights amongst Churches.<sup>37</sup>

It is worth pointing out from amongst the limitations imposed on the Orthodox, and which was to have an impact on the development of the parish network within both the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

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<sup>31</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 788. It should be considered also that "from this time the Kijów archdiocese over the course of the subsequent decades was as equally in communion with Rome as Constantinople"; A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim*, p. 94.

<sup>32</sup> Formally metropolitans were to have been elected by a bishopric synod. In practice, and here particularly in the earlier period, they were nominated by the patriarch and sent to the Grand Duchy or to the Crown for ratification. Candidates could be selected by the local synod or, in the sixteenth century, through nomination by the ruler. They had to be anointed and (later by this only) on the blessing of the patriarch; Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 790.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 794.

<sup>34</sup> K. Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska. Zarys historyczny 1370–1632*, Warsaw 1934, pp. 33, 118.

<sup>35</sup> It would happen, for example, that the bestowing on someone of a bishopric was treated as a reward for loyal service, for example, military service, and it would be bestowed even on laymen burdened with families; Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, pp. 791, 798; A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>36</sup> The Latin bishoprics in Rus' were subordinated to the Lwów archbishopric, these being: Przemyśl, Łuck, Kamieniec, Kijów and Chełm. However, under his rule Orthodox law was preserved and maintained in these territories; A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 23.

<sup>37</sup> See, among others, W. Kriegseisen, *Stosunki wyznaniowe w relacjach państwo – kościół między reformacją a oświeceniem (Rzesza Niemiecka – Niderlandy Północne – Rzeczpospolita polsko-litewska)*, Warsaw 2010, p. 10.

and in the Polish Crown, was a ban on the construction of new or the conversion and extension of old Orthodox churches. This was more than probably in force from the moment Lithuania officially adopted Christianity. Reference about this is also to be found in the Wieluń-Kalisz statute of 1420 "O schizmatykach" referring its resolutions to the areas of the Gniezno province.<sup>38</sup> Limitations were also introduced by Władysław Jagiełło and Witold,<sup>39</sup> and were later to be renewed by subsequent monarchs.<sup>40</sup> However, this did not mean that no 'Greek' churches could be erected on receipt of special permission from the ruler.<sup>41</sup> These restrictions were only to refer to Lithuania strictly and to be in force on royal estates and in royal towns.<sup>42</sup>

Of significant impact on the place occupied by the Orthodox Church in the political life of the state was also the fact that the Orthodox hierarchs could not sit on the state council, nor in the future in the senate of the Commonwealth (later and to no avail the initiators of the Union of Brześć would demand this right). This ban was to have a significant influence on the lack of interest shown in fulfilling any religious rank amongst the Orthodox representatives of noble lines and wealthy nobility. There was consequently lacking any factor that would result in a strengthening of the Orthodox hierarchy. The secular Orthodox representatives of the mentioned social groupings managed in the years 1563–1568 to overcome the limitations in their political rights in effect from the Union of Horodło.<sup>43</sup> However, the religious processes connected with the expansion of the Reformation and subsequently with the activities of the Counter Reformation was to reduce in the sixteenth century the number of Orthodox magnates. This was to have a significant effect on the state of parish networks and the general position of the Orthodox Church; for on these estates they could administer in the case of parishes the canonical right to erect places of worship: in this case new Orthodox churches, the application of parish constraints,<sup>44</sup> as well as, on the other hand, the liquidation of parishes by, for example, their transformation into houses of worship of another denomination.<sup>45</sup> Hence the number of Orthodox churches on a given estate as well as the conditions of parish finances depended on the will of their secular patron. In the area of Crown-held Podlasie, in the case of large landed properties, this problem did not appear as intensively in the sixteenth century as it did in relation to Catholic places of worship or the territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; for the estates of such Orthodox magnates like the Chodkiewicz family, lay chiefly on the Lithuanian side (Zabłudów, Supraśl). However, even here with time, particularly after the concluding of Church union, changes started to occur, for example the Orthodox church in Boćki (owned by the Sapięha family) was converted into a Uniate church.

Burghers also constituted secular patrons of the Orthodox Church, particularly at the end of the sixteenth century, at the time of the Union of Brześć. For in the 1580s Orthodox brotherhoods became active in the capacity of reformers of spiritual life amongst the Orthodox. These brotherhoods were especially important and active in Lwów and Wilno, where they even obtained the right of stauropegion i.e., they were taken directly away from their dependence on bishops and placed under the direct jurisdiction of the patriarch.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> K. Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny*, p. 79.

<sup>39</sup> A. Łapiński, *Zygmunt Stary a Kościół prawosławny*, Warsaw 1937, p. 129.

<sup>40</sup> K. Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny*, p. 78 f.

<sup>41</sup> For example, in 1514, permission to build two new Wilno Orthodox churches was obtained by Konstanty Ostrogski, the grand Lithuanian hetman following victory at the Battle of Orsza in that very year; A. Łapiński, *Zygmunt Stary a Kościół prawosławny*, p. 132.

<sup>42</sup> On the remaining areas of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania new Orthodox churches in Ruthenian districts were founded without difficulties and many such were constructed under the rule of Sigismund the Old; *ibidem*, p. 136. For more on this subject: T. Kempa, *Gdzie i w jakiej postaci funkcjonowały ograniczenia we wznoszeniu cerkwi prawosławnych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim i w Królestwie Polskim w okresie panowania Jagiellonów*, [in:] *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Polityka kościelna i praktyki religijne Jagiellonów*, ed. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, P. Węcowski, Cracow 2020, pp. 299–319.

<sup>43</sup> M. Liedke, *Od prawosławia do katolicyzmu. Ruscy możni i szlachta Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec wyznań reformacyjnych*, Białystok 2004, pp. 41–42.

<sup>44</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 76.

<sup>45</sup> Particularly in the day of the Reformation, and later the Counter-reformation, although not always, together with the change in confession, on their lands there was carried out an eradication of all Orthodox churches. And for certain the condition of those that remained did not improve.

<sup>46</sup> Secular members of the brotherhoods were in charge of morality and the leadership of not only laymen but the clergy as well, being able to accuse them of shortcomings and misdemeanours before the bishop. They founded schools, did charitable works, maintained clergymen and Orthodox Church staff, maintained monasteries at brotherhood Orthodox churches;

Within the Podlasie Voivodeship the first Orthodox Church brotherhoods came about in 1594 and functioned at the cathedral church of the Epiphany (Bogoyavlenie) in Bielsk. Its charter envisaged the founding for its members – chiefly representatives of the furrier guild – of schools, hospitals and a poorhouse for the sick and destitute.<sup>47</sup> From the moment of the Brześć synod it was to become one of the main anti-Uniate centres in Podlasie. In 1599 called into being was a brotherhood at the Bielsk church of the Resurrection,<sup>48</sup> in Drohiczyn and Kleszczele, Orthodox brotherhoods were established in the seventeenth century.<sup>49</sup>

## Dioceses

The Kijów metropolitan was divided into dioceses (eparchy), at the head of which stood bishops. The spiritual and organisational life of the diocese fell under their care. The bishops gave permission, for example, for new parishes to be formed, they ordained lay clergymen and monks, they approved those chosen by patrons to be parish priests or monastery hegumens.<sup>50</sup> Yet they did not actually visit their dioceses – because the extent of the territories entrusted to them made this impractical,<sup>51</sup> so the duty fell to protopopes (archpriests). Given the symbolic power of the metropolitan and the relatively little significance of the rarely called synods, bishops gained in fact a large amount of independence, an independence only seriously limited by the secular patrons of the Church and the growing role of the secular Orthodox brotherhoods instigated by the Constantinople patriarch.<sup>52</sup> It is worth adding that in the case of Orthodox Church higher clerical office these were not reserved exclusively for the nobility, and if their representatives decided on a spiritual career then these were chiefly those from less significant families. For the magnates (see above) were uninterested in taking up Orthodox clerical functions.

Yet bishops could take advantage of their incomes for private and clerical purposes.<sup>53</sup> The basis of which was land – small towns, villages, farmsteads. In addition, priests in possession of parish benefices presented bishops with tithes as a mark of respect and subservience (*kunica* or *kunica soborowa*, *katedratyk* service and respect payments made to bishoprics). They also received payments for parish chrism (myron); there was also payment to mark a visit itself but as has been noted above these visits were rarities. Bishops also received payments for the ordaining of priests. An additional source of income was that derived from the leasing of archimandrite monastery complexes.<sup>54</sup> A metropolitan also gained profit from his own, largest Kijów diocese. Bishops took advantage of the help of cathedral kliros (*kryłos*) (with its seat in the capital), that is of the organs of the administrative and court authorities whose members were elders of the parish Orthodox churches from a centre being a bishopric seat.<sup>55</sup>

Bishops by dint of office were able to attend with a carrying vote Orthodox Church provincial synods (local religious councils). They were, next to the metropolitan, the central and collegiate organ

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Bieńkowski, Organizacja Kościoła, p. 832 f. Similar pastoral functions in relation to rural parishes were provided presumably by rural brotherhoods, i.e., collectives though there is actually little known about their functioning as such (also within the context of the Podlasie worship Voivodeship); *ibidem* p. 829.

<sup>47</sup> Mironowicz, *Bractwa cerkiewne w Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 86–93.

<sup>48</sup> G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*, Białystok 1995, p. 158.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 119, 127, 134–135.

<sup>50</sup> The competences of bishops included care for the purity of faith, the morality of the clergy and the faithful, the fulfilment by them of their duties as well as caring for the spiritual matters of the diocese's lay persons; Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 802.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 808.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 802 f.

<sup>53</sup> It follows here to mention that the question of remuneration for the clergy at various layers was of especial significance in the case of the Orthodox Church; for the clergy in this case could marry and therefore the costs involved were higher than was the case with the Catholic clergy. In addition even the upper members of the hierarchy often, including also monastic superiors, had their own families the maintenance of which was undoubtedly supplemented by Church funds.

<sup>54</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 803 f.

<sup>55</sup> Their competencies are comparable to chapter houses in the Catholic Church although they were widened to encompass the competencies of a consistory court, while on the other hand these same powers were not specified in their scope within canonical law; Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 805 f.

of Church authority.<sup>56</sup> Initially, and here in the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, these gatherings were sporadic in nature, with it only being in 1589 that we observe at the request of the Patriarch Jeremias II of Constantinople their annual occurrence. These yearly meetings took place at Brześć Litewski, and were called into being by the metropolitan with the permission of the ruler. Beside bishops they were attended by protopopes, the superiors of monastic orders, and from the moment of their sanctioning by Patriarch Jeremias II, by representatives of Church brotherhoods and lay patrons as well. These synods were mostly called to resolve organisational matters and issues connected with Church reform. They also had the powers to act as a metropolitan court in affairs amongst bishops or bishops and other parties.<sup>57</sup>

From 1514 onwards the dioceses lying within the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania came into the composition of the Kijów metropolitan: Kijów, Połock, Turów-Pińsk, Łuck and Włodzimierz; as well as within the Crown territories of Chełm, Przemyśl, Galicja.<sup>58</sup> The Orthodox Church in Podlasie was subject to two dioceses – Włodzimierz and Kijów. The diocese of Włodzimierz was composed of two ‘Church-organisational units: the krilos-officialities: of Włodzimierz (with the capital in Włodzimierz) and of Brześć Litewski (with the main institution in Brześć which since 1566 had been the voivodeship capital).’<sup>59</sup> These were separated from each other by part of the Chełm diocese beyond the Bug River.<sup>60</sup>

The boundary between the two Orthodox eparchies of Włodzimierz and that of the metropolitan ran through the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship in the land of Bielsk. Unfortunately details on the affiliations of particular parishes to particular bishoprics is only available from the eighteenth century onwards and concerning then the Uniate Church.<sup>61</sup> Antoni Mironowicz has attempted to reconstruct the jurisdictional range of dioceses at the beginning of the epoch, although he himself has admitted that ‘establishing the boundaries of individual Orthodox eparchies before the year 1596 is still purely hypothetical in character.’<sup>62</sup> However, he has drawn attention to the fact that the extent of the Brześć part of the Włodzimierz bishopric ‘corresponded, with only minor differences, with the extent of the Catholic diocese of Łuck [...] the boundary between the Catholic diocese of Wilno and that of Łuck ran in the sixteenth century along the River Narew, leaving Tykocin, Suraż and Narew within the latter bishopric.’<sup>63</sup> In the case of Orthodox dioceses a significant role was not only played by state and Roman Catholic administrative divisions but also by the extent of Belorussian and Volyn settlement as well as property ownership relations, amongst which of especial significance was the granting of the Błudowska Forest and Suraż Forest along with the estates at Choroszcz to Ivan Chodkievich.<sup>64</sup> One may therefore state that the basic boundary division for jurisdiction between the Orthodox eparchies was for certain the River Narew but as a result of settlement and colonisation coming from the south, the border on the side of the Forest of Bielsk was somewhat shifted to the north: leaving within the boundaries of the Włodzimierz eparchy the churches in the villages of the Bielsk estate (Ryboły, Puchły). According to Antoni Mironowicz equally both the Suraż Orthodox churches (on both sides of the River Narew) belonged to the Włodzimierz bishopric.<sup>65</sup> In turn Andrzej Buczyło, approaching matters from the state of administrative divisions in the Uniate period, considers Suraż to have remained within the metropolitan diocese, in a similar way to the parishes at Ryboły and Puchły.<sup>66</sup> Both authors agree that

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<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, p. 792; A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w państwie Piastów i Jagiellonów*, p. 210.

<sup>57</sup> Change in provincial synods were in the fifteenth century the (because in the sixteenth century election was exclusively the king's prerogative) electoral synods whose task was the selection of the metropolitan (from amongst three candidates); Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 797. Canon law also foresaw annual meetings of diocese synods to decide on matters more local in character but they were not summoned in the sixteenth century; ibidem, p. 797.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, p. 794.

<sup>59</sup> A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim*, p. 104.

<sup>60</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Przynależność diecezjalna Brześcia do końca XVI wieku*, „Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, 2007, no. 27, p. 13.

<sup>61</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, pp. 27–31.

<sup>62</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Diecezja włodzimierska do końca XVI wieku*, p. 21.

<sup>63</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, pp. 66–67; see also B. Szady, *Catholic Church administration borders* in AHP Podlasie volume, chapter III.2.2.8 in this volume.

<sup>64</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 69.

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>66</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 30.

further to the west from Suraż the boundary between the eparchies was the River Narew right up to the Tykocin estates, which were to be found on the metropolitan side of the divide.<sup>67</sup>

It is difficult having at one's disposal an extremely modest source base to unequivocally show which of the proposed options for the boundary course between the eparchies in the Podlasie Voivodeship best reflects the reality of the second half of the sixteenth century. Consequently it has been decided not to present this division on the map. Undoubtedly Andrzej Buczyło employed in his deliberations a broad source base (using visitation), but again here only eighteenth century ones. And so with regard to an earlier period we can but speculate. The proposal that the villages of Puchły and Ryboły be placed within the territory of the eparchy of Włodzimierz results, and here according to Antoni Mironowicz, from the fact that these two settlements were the property of the Bielsk estate,<sup>68</sup> while the capital of these lands was equally the place of administration for the protopope subject to the Włodzimierz eparchy. However, it follows to note here that the aldermanship belonging to the Bielsk starost was to be found at Ryboły, but Puchły was a nobility village (holding). And also both places were located much closer to Zabłudów than they were to Bielsk, and therefore the seat of the metropolitan eparchy protopope. Consequently, given the state of current research one may only take as hypothetical the jurisdictional affiliation of the Suraż Orthodox churches. Admittedly Antoni Mironowicz has categorically stated that 'undoubtedly, however, both Suraż Orthodox churches together with the chapel at Zawyki belonged to the Włodzimierz bishopric',<sup>69</sup> but he does not back up this opinion with a single footnote, any source references, or work cited. We may conjecture that the earlier Ruthenian settlement and colonisation that came here from the south<sup>70</sup> initially connected the Orthodox populace with the Włodzimierz eparchy, though it is difficult to unequivocally determine that such a situation was actually the case in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The overwhelming majority of Orthodox parishes within the Podlasie Voivodeship were to be found in the Brześć part of the Włodzimierz diocese. In the second half of the sixteenth century there were churches in 52 villages and towns while the Orthodox churches from only eight settlements belonged to the metropolitan diocese (accepting the River Narew to be the boundary between the eparchies, without shifting it to the north as proposed by A. Mironowicz).

## Protopope areal divisions

Dioceses were divided into protopope areas (archdeaconry), these being the bishops' representatives, and in relation to the structure existing within the Catholic Church the functional equivalents of deacons. And at their head stood the protopopes.<sup>71</sup> It is estimated that in the sixteenth century they enjoyed a broad range of entitlements. First and foremost they oversaw the parish clergy, and carried out visitation. They also acted in a legal court fashion (at the first instance) and judged those clergy subordinate to them, being able to administer and impose punishments if infringements and negligence were proven. They also were involved in matters of the faithful, for example separating married couples, or issuing dispensations in relation to obstacles in marriage. More than likely they also collected tithes from the clergy and paid these to the bishop.<sup>72</sup> It is thought that such a broad range of competences resulted from a neglect of duties and a weakening of the authority of the bishops.<sup>73</sup> The title of protopope was also used as an honorary title by priests of the more important parishes or the most important priests in a given parish (*protorej*).<sup>74</sup> Protopopes possessed their own benefices, while

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<sup>67</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 69; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 69.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>70</sup> *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 5, Wrocław 1975, pp. 483–484.

<sup>71</sup> In relation to Crown lands these were called governors while in the case of the Grand Duchy – protopopes; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 31. This was not always consistently implemented for at the Przemyśl eparchy both forms were employed; A. Krochmal, *Archiwum historyczne eparchii przemyskiej*, Warsaw–Przemyśl 2016, pp. 200–201.

<sup>72</sup> Bienkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 812 f.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 33.

<sup>74</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 32.

in addition they collected court payments as well as payments from the clergy subordinated to them.<sup>75</sup>

The bishop's representatives resided as a rule in the county or district towns,<sup>76</sup> for it was convenient to adapt the organisational structure of the Orthodox Church to those divisions resulting from state administration. The number of protopope areas underwent modification in conjunction with the development of a parish network although it could display an uneven number of parishes. In the Podlasie Voivodeship of the second half of the sixteenth century, and even in the seventeenth century, there is an absence of detailed data on the affiliation of particular places of worship to given existing protopope areas. This may, however, show that across the territory of Podlasie broadly understood, within the Włodzimierz diocese, there functioned three Church administrative representations: Bielsk, Drohiczyn and Brześć Litewski. The last of which was to find itself in the second half of the sixteenth century beyond the borders of the voivodeship but presumably it still controlled a part of the parishes located within the Mielnik land. In turn, in the metropolitan diocese for the major part of the sixteenth century the Podlasie parishes probably were initially subordinate to the Grodno protopope area lying beyond the voivodeship boundaries, although in the second half of the sixteenth century as a result of an increase in the number of parishes an additional Podlasie protopope area was established with its seat at Zabłudów, lying already within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>77</sup>

## Parishes

The smallest organisational and territorial unit of the Orthodox Church were the parishes that entered into the composition of particular protopope areas (archdeaconry). An Orthodox parish functioned in every location and small town across the Ruthenian lands, with some even boasting several parishes.<sup>78</sup> In the sixteenth century there was noted a significant growth in Orthodox parishes,<sup>79</sup> with a momentary break from this trend at the height of Reformation successes.<sup>80</sup> New parishes came into existence not simply for religious reasons but equally as a result of material needs; for even one poorly endowed still brought the patron as well as the bishop a certain profit.<sup>81</sup>

Orthodox parishes could have their own branches and chapels, for example at cemeteries. The reasons for founding branches, and consequently churches subordinated to the parish structure, were more often than not of a demographic and/or financial nature. It was simply cheaper to construct merely the Church building for this did not have to bring with it the additional expense of paying for a clerical living. This also occurred in situations where the number of eventual parishioners was small. Branches sometimes saw the transformation of hitherto Orthodox parishes, and this occurred when for concrete reasons the number of parishioners fell or the remuneration paid to the clergy turned out to be insufficient. It would happen that in the environs a new church was built designed to replace the old but that the earlier church was not dismantled and continued to function though now as a branch church.<sup>82</sup> Services could take place regularly in Orthodox parish branches, it could even entail a separate living, while at a later period separate registers of births, marriages and deaths were even kept by them<sup>83</sup> (although one needs to add that in the case of the Orthodox Church the recommendation that the registrations of births, marriages and deaths be conducted in churches was only to appear under Metropolitan Piotr Mołyła (1596–1647), with a subsequent period of several dozen years to see its actual realisation<sup>84</sup>). There also functioned Orthodox Church – chapels, parishes without

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<sup>75</sup> Bienkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 812.

<sup>76</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 70.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 70 ff.

<sup>78</sup> Bienkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 813 f.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 820.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 819.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 820, 822.

<sup>82</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 60 f.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 61.

<sup>84</sup> I. A. Antonowa, D. N. Antonow, *Метрические книги России Metriczeskije knigi Rossii XVII – nach. XX v.*, „Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego”, vol. 2, 2010, p. 154.

their own income, where services were conducted irregularly, most often to mark the major Christian feast days.<sup>85</sup>

It is extremely difficult to estimate the number of priests and deacons serving in parish churches or their branches, for the majority of the source material is scant and does not lend itself to statistical study and application. That said Antoni Mironowicz has attempted to calculate the numerical state of the clergy and according to him in Podlasie in the sixteenth century (here understood in a broader sense than simply the Podlasie Voivodeship), there were 207 clergymen, with this working out at on average 1.42 for each parish in the area.<sup>86</sup> The basic responsibilities of the parish clergy were taking care of Church buildings, the running, and here with the participation of deacons, of parish schools.<sup>87</sup> However, first and foremost the whole array of pastoral duties, including conducting services, administering the sacraments at various occasions, particularly weddings, christenings and funerals. The average number of parishioners to which these sacraments were to be administered in the Voivodeships of Rus, Podole, Volyn, and Bielsk was from 250 to 500 persons.<sup>88</sup> Given the similar levels of population density of Volyn and Podlasie as well as the similar ethnic and social structure of Orthodox believers one may assert that these are figures as equally representative for the sixteenth-century Podlasie parishes of the Brześć Litewski part of the Włodzimierz eparchy.

Remuneration for the clergy differed though if the matter concerns the total amount paid it was often so small that it was difficult for a priest to support himself and his family on such a sum, forcing the clergy to grow their own food.<sup>89</sup> In the Orthodox Church the practice was for the consecration and establishment of new parishes without recourse to whether they actually had a sufficient living or not.<sup>90</sup>

The basis for an Orthodox priest's income was land. It is shown that in Volyn and Red Ruthenia this was most often half a mansus (approximately 8.4 hectares),<sup>91</sup> while on lands to the north the area was greater – being two manus: equalling 33.6 ha,<sup>92</sup> while more land was given to priests (across Podlasie broadly understood to be around 2.46 voloks) in Crown lands, with less on private estates (2.18).<sup>93</sup> This was significantly less than the incomes of the Podlasie Roman Catholic parishes.<sup>94</sup> Also the material basis for Orthodox monasteries in Drohiczyn barely exceeded 2 voloks. Somewhat richer was the Monastery of St. Nicholas in Bielsk which not only had voloks in the town-held villages but also plots held in the Bielsk itself.<sup>95</sup> This was nevertheless incomparably small to what the cloister in Supraśl received from its initial benefactors – the Chodkiewicz family and Józef Sołtan; lying just beyond the voivodeship borders it had at its disposition, and from its very inception, several dozen villages and farmsteads as well as forests.<sup>96</sup> Various rights and freedoms constituted supplements to the livings enjoyed by the clergy and monastic houses.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 62.

<sup>86</sup> Particularly in urban centres there could be several clergymen; on the other hand not all parishes had deacons; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 81.

<sup>87</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Szkolnictwo prawosławne na ziemiach białoruskich w XVI–XVIII wieku*, „Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, 1994, no. 2, p. 21. According to J. Łukasiewicz there were a lot of them (idem, *Historia szkół w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794*, vol. 1, Poznań 1849, p. 349), while M.B. Topolska considers that with the exception of large towns they appeared rarely (eadem, *Czytelnik i książka w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w dobie Renesansu i Baroku*, Wrocław 1984, p. 60).

<sup>88</sup> Bienkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 817.

<sup>89</sup> Better off priests made use of the services of hired servants; *ibidem*, p. 825. It would happen that a clergyman together with his family would be kept by the lord of the manor – receiving from him food, clothing etc.; *ibidem*, p. 824.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 821.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>92</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 82.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 86.

<sup>94</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 437–447.

<sup>95</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, pp. 103–105.

<sup>96</sup> P. Chomik, *Życie monastyczne w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI wieku*, Cracow 2013, pp. 203–210.

<sup>97</sup> These were easements, common forests, the setting up of wild bee hives, the right to hunt and fish, the right to freely grind grain for the needs of the Orthodox priest or for monks, the right to brew beer without duty or take one's fill of mead, also for their own use, more rarely for sale, or if necessary to receive market fees with the agreement of the lord/master on fairdays. The clergy also received from the parish offerings of grain (skopszczyzna, tithes), gifts in kind to mark Christmas and Easter as well as payments for religious services: sometimes the parishioners themselves paid for the purchase of, for example, Communion wine, or lighting for the church etc.; L. Bienkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 823 f.

Within the sixteenth-century boundaries of the Crown Podlasie Voivodeship there were Orthodox churches functioning in at least 60 locations: 29 in the Bielsk land, 18 in the Drohiczyn land, and 13 in the land of Mielnik. This number relates to parishes, while in cities and towns it would happen that several parishes functioned. Four or five parishes (if we consider that a parish was founded at the St. Nicholas monastery) were to be found in sixteenth-century Bielsk. A similar situation existed in Drohiczyn where at least five parishes were in operation, of which one was connected with a monastic house, and even six if one considers that the hospital or refectory church of St. Barbara was the church of an independent community, and not a branch of the Holy Trinity Orthodox church. There were two Orthodox parishes in operation in Kleszczele, Łosice, Mielnik, Suraż and possibly in Gruzka (Hruska). With immense caution, taking into consideration the earlier mentioned reservations and first and foremost the scant rudimentary sources, one may state that there were in existence at least 73 Orthodox parishes across the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, any reconstruction of the parish districts from this period is an impossibility. Potential pointers as to their extent can be provided by the documentation created by the Uniate Church in the eighteenth century, but it follows to remember that this refers to a different settlement and denominational situation. As a result of the absence of possibilities to provide a detailed and unequivocal reconstruction of Church administrative divisions, it was decided that information about Podlasie Voivodeship churches and parishes would be grouped together according to the state structures in existence in the second half of the sixteenth century.

## Orthodox churches/parishes in the Bielsk land

The majority of the Orthodox parishes of the Bielsk land entered into the make up of the Brześć Litewski part of the Włodzimierz diocese. The first information we have on the existence of an Orthodox Church in Bielsk<sup>98</sup> comes from the Galicia-Volyn Chronicles. In the year 1289, among the services attributed to Vladimir Vasilkovich in propagating the faith, there is also the mention of an endowment of an otherwise undefined Orthodox church in the town.<sup>99</sup> According to A. Mironowicz and A. Buczyło this was the church of the Birth of Our Blessed Virgin Mary (*Preczystestieńska*) – the later castle Orthodox church was to also bear the same designation.<sup>100</sup> A preserved fragment of the Voloč Reform register for the years tells us that a further three Orthodox churches were operational in the town: these being of St. Michael the Archangel and Epiphany (*Bogoyavlenskaya*), of The Holy Trinity (*Troitsa*) and of the Resurrection (*Voskresenie*).<sup>101</sup> Other items of source literature point to the operations within the town itself of the Orthodox monastery and church of St. Nicholas.<sup>102</sup>

In Brańsk both a priest and sacristan were noted down in the starost inventory of 1558. The very same source mentions a ‘Ruthenian priest’ in Malesze and Hodyszewo.<sup>103</sup> The register of the Voloč Reforms for Kleszczele, and here for the year 1560, informs us about the existence of the Orthodox church of Saints Nicholas and George the Martyr (*Jura*).<sup>104</sup> From amongst other Orthodox churches on royal estates and lands the inventory of 1560 confirms the existence of the ‘Ruthenian Orthodox church’ in Narew<sup>105</sup> as well as Klejnik (Zygmunów)<sup>106</sup> and Łoknica.<sup>107</sup> The last of these churches was not to function for long, for none of its clergy appear in any taxation register following the inclusion

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<sup>98</sup> See M. Sierba, *Bielsk Podlaski* in AHP Podlasie volume, chapter III.6.28. in this edition.

<sup>99</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska*, p. 629.

<sup>100</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 101; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 81.

<sup>101</sup> APB, *Kamera Wojen i Domen*, sign. 2816, ff. 19–23v; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, pp. 101–114; G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*, pp. 14–21.

<sup>102</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Bractwo Objawienia Pańskiego w Bielsku Podlaskim*, Bielsk Podlaski 1994, pp. 5, 7; G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*, pp. 97–98.

<sup>103</sup> AWAK 14, p. 26, 27.

<sup>104</sup> *Rejestr pomiarowy włócznej Kleszczel z roku 1560 r.*, comp. J. Zieleniewski, SP, vol. 3, 1991, pp. 208, 210, 211; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 83.

<sup>105</sup> AWAK 14, p. 64.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 56; LWP 1602, p. 88.

<sup>107</sup> AWAK 14, p. 65.

of the Podlasie Voivodeship to the Crown. Andrzej Buczyło explains this through the creation of a new Orthodox church in neighbouring Czyże, the clergy for which were covered in the taxation register for 1578.<sup>108</sup> In the reports of the royal estates of 1576 there are noted Orthodox churches at Dubicze<sup>109</sup> and Rajsk.<sup>110</sup> They existed also at Pasyunki<sup>111</sup> and according to the taxation register equally in Proniewiczze.<sup>112</sup>

In the Bielsk district in the sixteenth century, and here on private estates, there functioned one or two Orthodox churches in the village of Gruzka (Hruska).<sup>113</sup> Possibly from 1513 or 1528 onwards there existed an Orthodox church in Boćki founded by Ivan Sapieha<sup>114</sup> as well as at Kośna being in the hands of Paweł Sapieha and noted in the register of the Vokol Reform for Kleszczele.<sup>115</sup> There was also an Orthodox clergyman in Hryniewiczze Duże<sup>116</sup> and Pietkowo.<sup>117</sup> An Orthodox church, possibly under the dual denomination of St. John Chrysostom and St. Simeon Stylites, was to function from the first half of the sixteenth century in Orla.<sup>118</sup> A taxation register of 1577 also points to an Orthodox clergyman deriving from Podbiele<sup>119</sup> and Kruhła.<sup>120</sup>

The Orthodox churches of the Bielsk land lying to the north of the line of the Narew more than likely belonged to the metropolitan diocese. These were located first and foremost within royal estates; amongst which are the two Orthodox churches at Suraż: on the left bank of the Narew the Spaska Orthodox church while on the right bank the church of St. Peter and Paul.<sup>121</sup> Besides that an Orthodox church was in operation in Tykocin,<sup>122</sup> Święciciele (Ciełuszke)<sup>123</sup> and Rybołe<sup>124</sup> as well as in Boguszew that was partly the king's property.<sup>125</sup> In Augustów there was an Orthodox church founded in 1553, and for its endowment two voloks of municipal land was provided<sup>126</sup> and two in

<sup>108</sup> ASK I 47, f. 399v.

<sup>109</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 46, 84.

<sup>110</sup> Ibidem, p. 84; LWP 1602, p. 76.

<sup>111</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 54; LWP 1602, p. 86; see Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 83.

<sup>112</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 399v, 42.

<sup>113</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 76. The identification of an Orthodox church in Gruzka has been questioned by L. Postołowicz in his review of Mironowicz's book („Białostoczczyzna”, 1992, no. 1(25), p. 45), but the information supplied by A. Mironowicz was later positively verified by A. Buczyło (*Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 120).

<sup>114</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 267; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, pp. 120–121. J. Maroszek points unequivocally to the second date; *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, vol. 2: *Boćki*, intro., comp. and transl. J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999, pp. 7–9.

<sup>115</sup> *Rejestr pomiarowy włoźnej Kleszczel*, p. 233.

<sup>116</sup> NGAB, sign. 1744-1-6, f. 136; AWAK 33, pp. 72–73.

<sup>117</sup> Denis, an Orthodox priest from Pietków, a Bielsk burgher appears on the pages of the unpublished book of the Lithuanian Metrica; RGADA, sign. 389, op. 1, no. 36, ff. 72–72v, 93v–94, 108–109. We would like to here thank Dr. Andrzej Buczyło for this information.

<sup>118</sup> According to A. Mironowicz there were two Orthodox churches in Orla: St. John the Evangelist founded by Jesko Iwanowicz circa. 1500 and the church of St. Simeon Stylites, founded by Bohusz Bohowitynowicz around 1516; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 75. However, it seems that it is A. Buczyło who is correct in arguing that there only functioned in the town a single church of a dual dedication: the use of the singular to describe the church in a document of 1525 of the settling in Orla of the Orthodox priest Karp and the deacon Zachariasz as well as the taxation register of 1577, which also informs one as to the payments incurred by a solitary priest; Buczyło *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 123; ASK I 47, f. 414; AR VIII 435, f. 3; In turn, M. Sierba shows the lack of direct sources as to the founding of the church by Jesko Iwanowicz, although he considers possible the functioning of two Orthodox churches: the estate church of John the Evangelist (earlier John Chrysostom) and the parish church of St. Simeon Stylites; idem, *Radziwiłłowskie dobra Orla (1585–1695)*, Białystok 2017, pp. 184–185.

<sup>119</sup> ASK I 47, f. 268.

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem, f. 262.

<sup>121</sup> *Rejestr pomiarowy miasta Suraża z roku 1562*, comp. J. Kazimierski, „Teki Archiwalne”, vol. 2, 1954, pp. 182, 185; Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 477; J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, Juchnowiec Kościelny 2013, pp. 39–40.

<sup>122</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 89–90, 100.

<sup>123</sup> Ibidem, p. 51; LWP 1602, p. 83.

<sup>124</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 50, 150; similiar LWP 602, p. 81.

<sup>125</sup> LWP 1602, p. 29; ASK I 47, f. 829.

<sup>126</sup> In hitherto subject literature the foundation document of 1553 is taken as the base information as to the Augustów Orthodox church; J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim* p. 115; J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, p. 412; G. Sosna, A. Troc-Sosna, *Zapomniane dziedzictwo*, pp. 20–21. However, it is possible that this referred to Augustów in the Chełm land, while we may talk about the founding of the Orthodox church in Augustów in the Bielsk land in the case of the document of 29 October 1569 entered into the unpublished Lithuanian Metrica book 53, f. 18v, in which the king informs

nearby Żarnów.<sup>127</sup> In 1551 the Orthodox church of the Transfiguration (St. Spas) was built in Knyszyn with the endowment of two voloks in the village of Chraboła.<sup>128</sup> A taxation register also points to the functioning of an Orthodox priest in noble village of Puchła.<sup>129</sup> A. Mironowicz, in his work on Orthodox centres within Podlasie, also enumerates Kożany and Kaniuki as parish centres in the second half of the sixteenth century. He points to the register edition of 1580 as his source base (Kożany)<sup>130</sup> as well as the study by A. Jabłonowski on Podlasie (Kaniuki).<sup>131</sup> In both places there is, however, no information about there having been Orthodox churches in the indicated settlements. However it is worth noting that in the inventory of the Suraż aldermanship of 1558 in the description of the village of Doroszka (bordering with Kożany) there is mentioned a half-volok belonging to the “Orthodox priest Jurgowski”,<sup>132</sup> while it is known that at a later time the Orthodox church in Kożany was named after St. George, the patron saint. In the case of Kaniuki we have not found any other confirmation as to the existence of an Orthodox church in the sixteenth century, in a similar way to the case of the alleged church at Nowy Berezów.<sup>133</sup>

A huge influence was exerted on the relatively small number of churches and parishes in the northern part of the Bielsk land, and here the matter goes beyond mere ethnic relations, by the decision of Grzegorz Chodkiewicz, the owner of estates on the borderlands of the Voivodeships of Novogrod, Troki and Podlaskie, to not swear an oath of loyalty to the King and the Polish Crown. In this way the former Chodkiewiczow estates with Orthodox churches in, among other places, Choroszcz, Fasty, Dojlidy as well as the Błudowska Forest remained within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>134</sup>

## Orthodox churches/parishes in the Drohiczyn land

The first Orthodox church in the Drohiczyn land to be individually named in the sources has its mention in the already referred to *Galician-Volyn Chronicle*.<sup>135</sup> Here reference is to the church of the Mother of God, possibly on the castle hill, built in Drohiczyn by Daniel Romanovich before the year 1253.<sup>136</sup> Late medieval Orthodox churches of the Pure Mother of God (Prichisteskaya) and of St. Nicholas, the clergy of which are known from the mid sixteenth century.<sup>137</sup> From the beginning of the sixteenth century the Orthodox church and monastery of the Holy Trinity had existed already in the royal town,<sup>138</sup>

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that Pilchowski allocated 2 voloks for the Orthodox church and appointed Łukasz Rozumowicz priest (we would like to thank A. Buczyło for the suggestion).

<sup>127</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 112.

<sup>128</sup> J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, p. 206; LWP 1602, p. 9.

<sup>129</sup> ASK I 47, f. 633.

<sup>130</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 268 points to Podlasie I, p. 113. But neither in this part of the edition nor in the source original is there any information about the Orthodox church; ASK I 47, ff. 614–614v.

<sup>131</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 228, after: Podlasie II, p. 229.

<sup>132</sup> AWAK 14, p. 53; J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, pp. 43–44.

<sup>133</sup> A. Mironowicz (*Mironowicz, Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 269) rather imprecisely cites the Crown Metrica (MK) journal XVIII, ff. 584. In reality the matter probably concerns the Crown Metrica, section XVIII, Inspections, sign. 64, f. 584, containing the inspections for the Crown lands for the second half of the seventeenth century, where talk is, among other things, that “the church is in this village Uniate to which belongs volok no. 2”, from which it is not possible to postulate that an Orthodox church existed there in the sixteenth century. A. Buczyło (*Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 178) draws attention to the fact that the village of Nowe Berezowo was founded in 1611, so the Orthodox church must have come into being somewhat later.

<sup>134</sup> J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, p. 114.

<sup>135</sup> See T. Jaszczółt, *Drohiczyn* in AHP Podlasie volume and in chapter III.6.8.8 in this volume.

<sup>136</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska*, p. 239.

<sup>137</sup> AWAK 33, pp. 35, 39–40.

<sup>138</sup> According to A. Mironowicz (*Mironowicz, Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 104) the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1494 and for this he points to the funding document talking about bestowing on it of “6 hands of honey”. Attention has also been drawn to the fact that more than likely the document of 1494 concerned the Roman Catholic church also of the Holy Trinity, whose parish priests in the sixteenth century collected rent in this very form; see Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 86. Possibly the Orthodox church had been built earlier already at the end of the fourteenth century, while at the beginning of the next an Orthodox monastery was found at the same location; see J. Maroszek, L. Postołowicz, *Fundacje sakralne w Drohiczyńce – jako przejaw mecenatu artystycznego*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1986, no. 2, p. 13.

a branch church of which was possibly the Orthodox church of St. Barbara.<sup>139</sup> In the first half of the sixteenth century the monastery of The Transfiguration was equally established here,<sup>140</sup> while in the mid sixteenth century there is source mention of the church of St. Elijah.<sup>141</sup>

The earliest traces of Orthodox clergy functioning within noble estates on the Drohiczyn land is the annotation in the Drohiczyn court book of 1480 regarding the Ruthenian Orthodox priest Tomashovich 'of Ciechanowiec.'<sup>142</sup> In 1503 there was also established the Orthodox parish of the Saints Kosma and Damian at Wysokie Mazowieckie.<sup>143</sup> While in the first half of the sixteenth century an Orthodox church functioned at Siemiatycze<sup>144</sup> and possibly equally in Sawice Ruskie inhabited by Ruthenian boyars (The Sawickis), and which became the holding of Maciej Sawicki in 1558: 'nec non iure patronatus seu collatura fundi et ecclesie ritus atque professionis Rutenice in bonis Savicze Ruskie.'<sup>145</sup> In the first half of the sixteenth century equally in operation were Orthodox parishes at Łazów,<sup>146</sup> Mordy,<sup>147</sup> Hołubla,<sup>148</sup> Wirów,<sup>149</sup> Kosów,<sup>150</sup> Krześlin<sup>151</sup> and Rogów.<sup>152</sup> In 1540 there is mention of the land of a 'Ruthenian priest' at Węgrów.<sup>153</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century references occurs in the sources of an Orthodox church at Andryjanki<sup>154</sup> as well as Czarna Cerkiewna,<sup>155</sup> the priest of which, Mantur, held fields in the village of Żurobice.<sup>156</sup> Towards the end of the century, between 1587 and 1596, the Orthodox church of the Platform of the Holy Cross was also founded in Seroczyno.<sup>157</sup> Taxation registers for the years 1580 and 1588 also supply information about an Orthodox priest, a tax payer from Małobody.<sup>158</sup> We may conjecture that an Orthodox place of worship was also in operation in Sokołów. Although the first concrete information about the church is from 1612, the historical division of the town into a Polish and Ruthenian part, as well as the presence of Ruthenians in the area, had already found its reflection in descriptions in the charter document, which indirectly proves the functioning of an Orthodox place of worship.<sup>159</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century there also operated an Orthodox church at Twarogi Ruskie, proof for which is the Orthodox priest's volok noted down in 1560 when land in this village was sold.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> AWAK 33, p. 114. A. Mironowicz (Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 164) concedes that this was an independent parish Orthodox church, while A. Buczyło (Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 87) shows that the source in this matter is not unequivocal in its meaning.

<sup>140</sup> AWAK 33, p. 44; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242.

<sup>141</sup> AWAK 33, pp. 47–48.

<sup>142</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 128.

<sup>143</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 478; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 517; G. Sosna, A. Troc-Sosna, *Zapomniane dziedzictwo*, pp. 279–280.

<sup>144</sup> AGAD, dok. perg. no. 6808 talks of the sale by Andrzej and Jan Tęczyński of the Siemiatycze estate to Bohusz Bohowitynowicz "cum iure patronatus ecclesiarum Romane et Grece religionum"; J. Maroszek, *Siemiatycze jako ośrodek*, pp. 10–11; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się*, pp. 128–129 (n these works discussed also were the controversies connected with the foundation document considered to be a falsification). The voloks belonging to the Orthodox parish at Siemiatycze are noted in the taxation register of 1580; ASK I 47, f. 501v.

<sup>145</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, sign. 1759-2-28, f. 150.

<sup>146</sup> AWAK33, pp. 30–31; ASK I 27, f. 921; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 130.

<sup>147</sup> Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242.

<sup>148</sup> AWAK 33, pp. 40–41; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 130; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242.

<sup>149</sup> AWAK 33, pp. 27–28; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242.

<sup>150</sup> AWAK 33, p. 30.

<sup>151</sup> AWAK 33, pp. 35, 41; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 269; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242.

<sup>152</sup> AWAK 33, pp. 42–43; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 270; Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242.

<sup>153</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, sign. 1759-2-24, f. 59. "a via, qua currit circa nemus noster Ruchenka usque ad agrum poponis Ruthenicorum".

<sup>154</sup> Kapijana 3, p. 34: in the transaction between the village heirs there is talk of "templo Ruthenico et ejus iure patronatus"; ASK I 47, f. 538v; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 456.

<sup>155</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 171v. "An Orthodox priestly common volok" is noted in the inventory for the Rudka estate of 1553; NGAB, Mińsk, sign. 1715-1-84, f. 118v; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 267; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 131.

<sup>156</sup> Despite what A. Mironowicz writes (Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 271) the inspection of the royal estates of 1576 does not note the Orthodox church at Żurobice; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 88.

<sup>157</sup> AWAK 33, p. 320; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 132.

<sup>158</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 557, 760.

<sup>159</sup> G. Ryżewski, *Pod panowaniem możnych rodów*, [in:] *Sokołów Podlaski: dzieje miasta i okolic*, ed. G. Ryżewski, Białystok–Sokołów Podlaski 2006, p. 257.

<sup>160</sup> AGAD, Drohicke ziemskie, no. 3, ff. 27v, 180.

It is difficult to establish the status of Orthodox churches that were to appear in the sources for the very first time in 1604 as Uniate houses of worship but which had been in existence for some time (Grodzisk and Gródek). A. Mironowicz acknowledges that they came into being before 1596 and that they were initially Orthodox churches, while in turn A. Buczyło has pointed out that they were to be found on lands belonging to the bishops of Płock and that as a result of Church patronage they could have already been founded as Greek-Catholic churches.<sup>161</sup> An Orthodox priest from Gródek has already appeared in the sources in 1601.<sup>162</sup>

## Orthodox churches/parishes in the Mielnik land

The oldest written entries concerning places of Christian worship for the Orthodox denomination within the Mielnik land refer to Mielnik itself. According to the account contained in the *Kronika halicko-wołyńska* at the Orthodox church of the Mother of God was to be found and already at the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century the miraculous icon of Christ the Saviour.<sup>163</sup> Academic literature directed to the general public makes reference to the presence of this medieval holy image, one hidden allegedly from the Tatars in the forests along the Bug, and derived from this the worship of Grabarka Hill. In the subject literature continuity in the functioning of a medieval parish and the identifying of it with the early modern Orthodox church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary is adopted.<sup>164</sup> In the inventory for the Mielnik and Łosice starosty of 1551, information appears confirming equally the existence of a second Orthodox church in Mielnik, and here that of the Resurrection.<sup>165</sup> This same document confirms the existence of two Orthodox churches in Łosice: that of the Assumption and St. Michael's.<sup>166</sup> Presumably at least one of these had operated in the town earlier, probably before the bestowing on the municipality of Magdeburg Rights in 1505, since the first Roman Catholic church was built in 1511 and the local community much surely have been in possession of some place of worship. The document giving town rights equally guaranteed the inhabitants four fairs a year, of which two were to fall on the Assumption and the feast day of Michael the Archangel.<sup>167</sup>

The inventory of the starosty of Mielnik and Łosice for 1551 confirm the existence of Orthodox churches at Kornica<sup>168</sup> and Żerzyce.<sup>169</sup> In turn the inventory of 1560 enumerates an Orthodox church in Żurobice, where Orthodox priest held voloks already in 1534,<sup>170</sup> and at Próchenki.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 257; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, pp. 151, 472.

<sup>162</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, sign. 1715-1-108, f. 1074.

<sup>163</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska*, p. 406. It was to have been much venerated – as one of the later editors of the source added. Academic literature directed to the general public makes reference to the presence of this medieval holy image, one hidden allegedly from the Tatars in the forests along the Bug, and derived from this the worship of Grabarka Hill. However, J. Maroszek has suggested that there are no other accounts as to the development of the worship of a Saviour icon in late medieval Mielnik, while information about Grabarka Hill as the place of worship is to only appear in sources several hundred years later, here already in the early modern era. As a consequence, for this researcher the account of a miraculous icon relates to the town of Brześć Litewski as earlier mentioned in the *Kronika halicko-wołyńska*, and not to Mielnik itself; J. Maroszek, *Ośrodki kultowe nadbużańskiego Podlasia miejscem spotkań różnych wyznań*, [in:] 497. rocznica urodzin województwa podlaskiego. Referaty z sesji historycznej, Mielnik, 29 sierpnia 2010 r., ed. A. Tobota, Białystok 2010, p. 159.

<sup>164</sup> Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 129–130; see A. Buczyło, *Mielnik* in AHP volume, chapter III.6.19.8 this volume.

<sup>165</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 12v; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 129–130; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, pp. 67, 87–88.

<sup>166</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 80.

<sup>167</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, pp. 88–89; S. Alexandrowicz, *Zarys dziejów Łosic (XIII–XVIII w)*, [in:] idem, *Studia z dziejów miasteczek Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Toruń 2011, pp. 332–339. As impossible to verify according to the authors involved in the subject matter (S. Alexandrowicz, A. Buczyło) is L. de Verdmon Jacques's claim (*Krótką monografią wszystkich miast, miasteczek i osad w Królestwie Polskim*, Warsaw 1902, pp. 146–147), whereby an Orthodox church of Our Lady was to have functioned in Łosice already in 1264; see *Przywileje królewskiego miasta Łosic 1505–1779*, pub. A. Buczyło, J. Zawadzki, Ciechanowiec–Warsaw–Białystok 2018.

<sup>168</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 17v; similarly in the tax register of 1577; ASK I 47, p. 672v.

<sup>169</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 37v.

<sup>170</sup> Ibidem, f. 171; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr 17 (1530–1536)*, pub. L. Karalius, D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 2015, p. 427.

<sup>171</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 218.

The inventory for the starosty of Mielnik and Łosice of 1551 conveys the information that in the village of Szpaki there are to be found voloks bestowed on the Orthodox church at Ostromęczyn (Chłopków).<sup>172</sup> Ostromęczyn (Chłopków) up until 1512 had also belonged to the monarchal estates and therefore the Orthodox church had presumably been founded there before Sigismund the Old bestowed the settlement on Niemira Hrymalicz.<sup>173</sup> The Niemir family also owned the village of Gnojno, where the Orthodox church of St. Praxedes the Martyr was situated.<sup>174</sup> The instructions from the will of Bohusz Michał Bohowitynowicz of 1529 confirm the existence of an Orthodox church in Witulin.<sup>175</sup> Witulin, in a way similar to Nosowo, where the Orthodox church was raised before 1542, as is borne out by the document of Sigismund the Old. From this very year confirming the earlier bequeathment for the sake of the church,<sup>176</sup> had an altered administrative affiliation and this already in the first half of the sixteenth century,<sup>177</sup> but royal taxation sources note a taxation collection from Witulin from a certain Kasper Dembiński<sup>178</sup> and at Nosowo from Teodor Lacki.<sup>179</sup> In the environs of these settlements an Orthodox parish functioned at the chapel of the Holy Trinity at the manor house in Witulin, which encompassed the village of Bukowiec.<sup>180</sup> There were equally Orthodox churches on the Woźniki estates, which in the sixteenth century belonged to, among others, the Kiszka family. We may learn from Mikołaj Kiszka's document of 1588 about the existence of the Orthodox church of the Raising of the Cross in Chotycze as well as the founding of a church in Mszanna.<sup>181</sup>

Orthodox churches were equally operative in the most southernly parts of Podlasie, which had permanently been incorporated into the Mielnik land only in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The most important of which being the Międzyrzec estates of Bokowicze and Kozierady.<sup>182</sup> In Międzyrzec an Orthodox house of worship (under the denomination of St. Nicholas) was presumably in operation already in the fifteenth century, while in the second half of the subsequent century the church of St. Peter and Paul was built.<sup>183</sup> In addition, in the sixteenth century, there were equally operational Orthodox churches in this area at the villages of Szóstka, Dołha, Horodyszczce, Jabłoń and Gęś.<sup>184</sup>

**Table 1. The seats of orthodox parishes in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Diocese	Land	Settlement
Metropolitan	Bielsk	Augustów
		Boguszewo
		Kożany*
		Knyszyn
		Puchły*
		Ryboły*
		Suraż*
		Święciciele

<sup>172</sup> Ibidem, f. 22.

<sup>173</sup> Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka, p. 80; Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci, p. 134.

<sup>174</sup> AWAK 33, pp. 25–127; Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci, p. 134.

<sup>175</sup> *Архивъ Юго-Западной Россіи*, vol. 1, Кіевъ 1867, p. 76; Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci, p. 135.

<sup>176</sup> Maroszek, Dzieje województwa, p. 480; A. Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci, p. 136.

<sup>177</sup> Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka, pp. 28, 40–45.

<sup>178</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 554, 755.

<sup>179</sup> ASK I 51, f. 206.

<sup>180</sup> Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka, p. 135; Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci, p. 462.

<sup>181</sup> AWAK 33, p. 115; AWAK 14, p. 410; Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka, pp. 87, 136; Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci, p. 137.

<sup>182</sup> D. Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka, p. 50.

<sup>183</sup> Ibidem, p. 132.

<sup>184</sup> Ibidem, pp. 131–136; Buczyło, Kształtowanie się sieci, pp. 468, 476, 491, 511.

Diocese	Land	Settlement
Włodzimierz	Bielsk	Bielsk
		Boćki
		Brańsk
		Czyże
		Dubicze
		Hodyszewo
		Hruska
		Hryniewicze Duże
		Kleszczele
		Kośna
		Kruhła
		Łoknica
		Malesze
		Narew
		Orla
		Pasynki
		Pietkowo
		Podbiele
	Proniewicze	
	Rajsk	
	Zygmuntowo	
	Drohiczyn	Andrianki
		Ciechanowiec
		Czarna
		Drohiczyn
		Hołubła
		Kosów
		Krześlin
		Łazów
		Mąkobody
		Mordy
		Rogowo
Sawice Ruskie		
Seroczyno		
Siemiatycze		
Sokołów		
Twarogi Ruskie		
Wirów		

Diocese	Land	Settlement
Włodzimierz	Drohiczyn	Węgrów
		Wysokie
		Twarogi Ruskie
		Wirów
		Węgrów
		Wysokie
	Mielnik	Chłopkowo
		Chotycze
		Gnojno
		Kornica
		Łosice
		Mielnik
		Mszana
		Nosowo
		Próchenki
		Witulín
		Żerczyce
		Żurobice

Legend: \* disputed affiliation to the Metropolitan eparchy.

## Monasteries and nunneries (monastic houses)

Within Orthodox Church structures it is essential to note the important form of life and religious service led by a part of the clergy and monks, this constituting the work of the monastic houses. These did not constitute a network of religious orders of a set monastic rule (in the Orthodox Church different monastic rules were not practiced but only a single practice known as the Rule of Basil the Great), though at times in the fifteenth and sixteenth century it could be subject to transformation at 'ordinary parish centres served by "white" clergy.'<sup>185</sup> Monastic houses played a significant religious and cultural role in the life of the Church (particularly in preserving the Slavonic-Byzantine tradition in the day of the Reformation's expansion and subsequently the activities of the Counter-Reformation<sup>186</sup>). They equally constituted evidence of the views and attitudes of their relevant founders, for they were founded by princes, magnates, and even the better-off nobility. In the same way as the Catholic monastic houses, Orthodox orders became the place of abode of widows and widowers, and not only from the families of founders and funders. They could also become a life choice for their sons though more frequently daughters, for Orthodoxy also had female orders. From our perspective it is also important that they were to have been and indeed were a bastion of clerical staff, as well as being centres of political-religious views, particularly in the day of the Union of Brześć. Monastic houses were also to play a role in the Orthodox educational system, as cloister schools were in operation at male monastic houses.<sup>187</sup>

Monasteries, inhabited chiefly by lay-monks, priests and deacons, were subject to the authority of a bishop, although in practice they were notably influenced by their founders and funders, who were able to appoint their own archimandrites (abbots) and hegumen (priors), that is those running

<sup>185</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, pp. 1008 f.

<sup>186</sup> A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim*, p. 89.

<sup>187</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Szkolnictwo prawosławne*, p. 21 f.

a monastic house. Such nominations often had little in common with the quality of life or the theological knowledge of the candidate and was often merely a form of reward on the part of the ruler. This was to impact in an obvious way on the mental, religious, and cultural formation of the monks at this time.<sup>188</sup> A significant reform of monastic life was only conducted in the seventeenth century, one that also involved the Uniate Church (here chiefly the reforms of Józef Welamin Rutki).

The first half of the sixteenth century was a period of expansion for Orthodox monastic orders in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, although these new monastic houses were to appear chiefly beyond the borders of the future Crown Podlasie Voivodeship.<sup>189</sup> Within the post-Union of Lublin borders of the Podlasie Voivodeship Orthodox monasteries were to be found in Bielsk and Drohiczyn. As results from the register of the Voloč Reform of 1560 they presumably were established at the turn of the sixteenth century, with the monastic house of St. Nicholas in Bielsk being relatively well endowed.<sup>190</sup> Thanks to which there was a cloister hospital and a parish school functioning at the monastery.<sup>191</sup> In Drohiczyn from the beginning of the sixteenth century, a monastery functioned at the church of the Transfiguration (known in sources from 1509 onwards).<sup>192</sup> Unfortunately we do not have at our disposal any source information that speaks of the numbers of such gatherings, nor of their social activity, although the very fact that they were functioning in the county town, at a place that lay on an important trade route allows one to conjecture that their religious role and cultural impact must have been significant.

However, there can be no doubt that for the Orthodox inhabitants of the Podlasie Voivodeship those monasteries that lay beyond the voivodeship's borders were of great significance. And here the matter concerns first of all the monastery of the Annunciation Supraśl (in the Grodno powiat),<sup>193</sup> and to a lesser degree the order at Jabłeczna (Brześć Litewski powiat) propagating the popular sixteenth-century worship of St. Onuphrius.<sup>194</sup> The first of the monasteries mentioned was to become the monastic centre 'of the greatest significance in the sixteenth century found on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,'<sup>195</sup> but with time it was to accept the Union of Brześć, while the monastery at Jabłeczna, which initially was only regional in significance, was to remain true to Orthodoxy.

## The Orthodox Church after the Union of Brześć – the legal position and organisational structure.

As a result of the activities of the Ruthenian episcopate and the monarchy over the period 1590–1596 crystalised and put into effect were steps aimed at Church union. Given the wealth of subject literature<sup>196</sup> we will not here describe the course of these events. Though it does follow to recall that

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<sup>188</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, pp. 997 ff.

<sup>189</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w państwie Piastów i Jagiellonów*, pp. 229–231; P. Chomik, *Życie monastyczne*, p. 264.

<sup>190</sup> APB, *Kamera Wojen i Domen*, sign. 2816, ff. 19–23v; G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*, pp. 21, 121–122; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 102; Bukowski, *Michałuk, Przywileje*, p. 20.

<sup>191</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 104.

<sup>192</sup> Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 242; Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się*, p. 87. A. Mironowicz (*Mironowicz, Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 104), citing the headword prepared by A. Poppe on Drohiczyn in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, claimed that the beginnings of the monastery of St. Spas „reach back to the thirteenth century”. The author of the cited headword does not refer at all to the history of this monastery in his text (*Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 1, Wrocław 1961, pp. 386–387).

<sup>193</sup> As to the genesis and character there is constant discussion, about which an outline one may find in the most important publications on the monastery, including J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, pp. 107–155; A. Mironowicz, *Największa fundacja Aleksandra Chodkiewicza. Spór o charakter fundacji*, [in:] *Władza i prestiż Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Urwanowicz, with the coop. of E. Dubas-Urwanowicz and P. Guzowski, Białystok 2003, pp. 529–550; P. Chomik, *Życie monastyczne*, p. 202 f.

<sup>194</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, pp. 97–101; С. Железнякович, *История Яблочинского Свято Онуфриевского Монастыря*, vol. 1, Варшава 2006.

<sup>195</sup> P. Chomik, *Życie monastyczne*, p. 200.

<sup>196</sup> See among other works O. Halecki, *Od unii florenckiej do unii brzeskiej*, vol. 1–2, Lublin 1997 (reissue), or works published on the eve of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Union, including B. Kumor, *Geneza i zawarcie unii brzeskiej*, [in:] *Unia brzeska. Geneza, dzieje i konsekwencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich*, ed. R. Łużny, F. Ziejka, A. Kepiński, Cracow 1994, pp. 26–44; B.A. Gudziak, *Kryzys i reforma. Metropolia kijowska, patriarchat Konstantynopola i geneza unii brzeskiej*, transl.

ultimately at the Brześć Synod of 1596, the union between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church was supported by six Orthodox bishops with two being opposed, the bishops of Lwów and Przemyśl. They had gained the support of Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, a part of the Orthodox Church Brotherhoods, the monasteries, the nobility and the burghers.

Following the announcement of Church union, the Uniate Church became the only legal Ruthenian Church, while Orthodoxy was banned, although in practice still tolerated by the authorities.<sup>197</sup> The bishops of Lwów and Przemyśl preserved their positions. The heads of the Metropolitan diocese – Michał Rahoza and of Włodzimierz – Hipacy Pociąg, under whose jurisdiction the centres of Orthodoxy in the Podlasie Voivodeship remained, accepted the Union when a significant part of lay society along with the monasteries rejected it.<sup>198</sup> The decision as to whether to embrace or reject the Union was impacted in the case of individual parishes by numerous factors, and here first and foremost the attitude of the funders and priests. As Andrzej Buczyło has written: “In the subject literature a long time ago a farewell was said to the once binding view (...) that the Uniate Church was a Church without faithful created by its hierarchs, while the faithful and the ordinary clergy were to have sided *en masse* for Orthodoxy.”<sup>199</sup> Unfortunately we do not have many turn-of-the-seventeenth-century sources from the period of conflicts over the Church. Without doubt the Union of Brześć aroused resistance, while its opponents also in alliance with Protestants,<sup>200</sup> managed if not in annulling it then at least returning the legal status previously enjoyed to Orthodoxy and regenerating its hierarchy.<sup>201</sup>

Thanks to these efforts in the years 1607 and 1609 the Sejm constitutions recognised the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth and its rights,<sup>202</sup> while Sigismund III Vasa promised that the spiritual positions within it would be granted to the Orthodox. However, following the death of the bishop of Przemyśl the king named Atanazy Krupecki in his place, who became a Uniate bishop.<sup>203</sup> So at this time the non-Uniate Orthodox Church had in organisational terms but a solitary diocese (Lwów), while on the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship the job of acting as leaders of those parishes that had chosen not to accept the Union was taken up by Zabłudów (in part Metropolitan), Bielsk and Drohiczyn (in part Włodzimierz) protopopes, who had been superiors in the respective monasteries there.<sup>204</sup>

The Orthodox both in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as equally in the Crown continued to undertake actions aimed at improving the situation of their Church. In 1620 there took place an illegal attempt to regenerate the Orthodox Church structures in the Commonwealth as a result of the Patriarch of Constantinople’s envoy, Teofanes. In secret he ordained a metropolitan (Hiob Borecki) in Kijów as well as bishops for the dioceses of Przemyśl and Połock, Włodzimierz and Łuck, Chełm and Pińsk.<sup>205</sup> This hierarchy was not recognised by the king, who referred to the tradition of bishops being appointed by the monarch. ‘The bishops nominated by Teofanes to the Włodzimierz-Brześć cathedral Leoncjusz Karpowicz and Izakiasz Kurcewicz did not take up the administration of their eparchies,’<sup>206</sup> while the Podlasie Orthodox churches were to be subordinated to the Chełm-Belz bishop, Pasjusz Hipolitowicz, who resided at the monastery in Jabłeczna.<sup>207</sup> Only after the death of Sigismund III Vasa did the legalisation of the Orthodox Church hierarchy occur and this from 1632 to 1635. The Orthodox Kijów metropolitan was resumed, who following the death of the Uniate Józef Welamin Rutski was to take over cathedral estates in the Kijów Voivodeship. After the death of the bishop of Przemyśl there

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H. Leskiw, A. Chrim, R. Łepa, Lublin 2008; T. Kempa, *Konflikty wyznaniowe w Wilnie od początku reformacji do końca XVII wieku*, Toruń 2016, pp. 181–243 f.

<sup>197</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 841.

<sup>198</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 175.

<sup>199</sup> Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 149.

<sup>200</sup> See R. Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni. Patronat wyznaniowy Radziwiłłów birżańskich nad Cerkwią prawosławną w księstwie słuckim w XVII w.*, Warsaw 2000; L. Jarmański, *Bez użycia siły. Działalność polityczna protestantów w Rzeczypospolitej u schyłku XVI wieku*, Warsaw 1992, p. 241.

<sup>201</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 842.

<sup>202</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 75.

<sup>203</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 843.

<sup>204</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 176.

<sup>205</sup> Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 844; A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>206</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 176.

<sup>207</sup> Ibidem.

was also to take place the taking over of the Przemyśl bishopric. The remaining Orthodox bishoprics were Łuck and the newly created see of Mstislaw (Belarus).<sup>208</sup> In order to adhere to the customs and sixteenth-century practices new bishops chosen by the king were ordained.<sup>209</sup> These decisions were ratified by the Sejm of 1635. At the same time the Uniates were confirmed as having their own Kijów metropolitan with the bishoprics of Połock, Włodzimierz, Chełm, Pińsk and Smoleńsk, giving them in practice seven bishoprics (with the additionally held bishopric of Przemyśl). However, as a result of activities, legal and illegal restricting the Orthodox Church post 1596, the Orthodox metropolitan consisted of five dioceses: those of the Kijów Orthodox metropolitan, Lwów, Łuck, Przemyśl and Mścisław. In 1649 the Chełm bishopric was also added to the Orthodox metropolitan, while in 1650 the diocese of Chernikiv was reinstated.<sup>210</sup>

Consequently from 1635 there existed two Kijów metropolitans: an Orthodox one and a Uniate. The relegalised Orthodox Church, again recognised by the monarch, was characterised in its functioning, and here particularly in the first half of the seventeenth century, under the governance of Metropolitan Peter Mohyła, by its strivings for organisational reform and attempts at a religious-cultural renewal within the faithful. However, this was to occur in highly unfavourable conditions and in no way prevented further Orthodox centres joining the Uniates.<sup>211</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>208</sup> Bienkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 847.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 847.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 849.

<sup>211</sup> See Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, *passim*.



**Map 1. Orthodox parish seats in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th century**

### III.2.2b.8 PROTESTANT COMMUNITIES AND PARISHES

*Piotr Guzowski, Marzena Liedke*

#### **The genesis and conditions for the development of the Reformation in Podlasie**

The history of Protestant churches (*zbórs*) in the Podlasie Voivodeship, despite its inclusion in the Crown in 1569, is connected to the Reformation history in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania itself. For the new denominations were supported in Podlasie by the Lithuanian noble families that had estates and properties also in the area.

‘Heretical’ ideas had permeated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by various routes already in the fifteenth century. Then known were probably the concepts of Jan Hus,<sup>1</sup> and from the east when the Judaizers and Metropolitan Zosimus were exposed, who shared their views, there commenced a wave of persecution of members of the movement who fled to the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and with the same propagated their views.<sup>2</sup>

In the first half of the sixteenth century initially in its Lutheran division, the ‘western’ Reformation reached the Polish and Lithuanian lands. Luther’s views penetrated through the Lithuanian-Prussian and Lithuanian-Livonian border<sup>3</sup> and equally as a result of, among others, the Lithuanian Franciscans: Franciszek Litwin, Wojciech Kozabovius, Stanisław Rapagellanus as well as the lawyer Abraham Kulwieć, not to mention Jan Tertyłowicz Batocki.<sup>4</sup> The initial adherents of the Reformation had emigrated, most often to nearby Königsberg. However, relatively quickly, chiefly as a result of educational tours of university centres covered by the Reformation within the territory of Germany, but also Königsberg, possibly because of the involvement of preceptors – foreigners, many of the Lithuanian nobles had encountered these religious innovations: initially in its Lutheran guise. However in the Crown, and through contact with it also in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, greater popularity amongst the nobility and landed nobility was slowly being enjoyed by Calvinism, although adherents of Lutheranism were still to be found in some magnate houses and amongst several rich noble families.<sup>5</sup> However, these did not have their estates and holdings in Podlasie. Consequently in the sixteenth century there were no Lutheran communities located in the area – leading protectors of the Reformation were no longer interested in Lutheranism because there were no large settlements with a German patriciate that willingly

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<sup>1</sup> Their spread was connected with Zygmunt Korybutowicz’s involvement in the struggle for the Czech throne – J. Wolff, *Kniaziowie litewsko – ruscy od końca XIV w.*, Warsaw 1895, p. 179; E. Maleczyńska, *Ruch husycki w Czechach i w Polsce*, Warsaw 1959, pp. 409, 430 f.; M.В. Дмитриев, *Православие и реформация. Реформационные движения в восточнославянских землях Речи Посполитой во второй половине XVI*, Москва 1990, p. 44; P. Kras, *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce*, Lublin 1998, pp. 53–54.

<sup>2</sup> O.A. Бевзо, *Львівський літопис і Острозький літописець. Джерелознавче дослідження*, Київ 1971, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> I. Lukšaitė, *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažajoje Lietuvoje: XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis*, Vilnius 1999, pp. 82 f.

<sup>4</sup> J.N. Fijałek, *Jan Tertyłowicz – Batocki: pierwszy Pierwszy ewangelik na Żmudzi i apostoł luterski na Litwie pruskiej*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 1, 1921, no. 2, pp. 97–104; I. Lukšaitė, *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje*, p. 134 f.

<sup>5</sup> T. Kempa, *Luteranie w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, [in:] *Kościół luterański na ziemiach polskich (XVI–XX w.)*, vol. 1: *W czasach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, ed. J. Kłaczek, Toruń 2012, p. 116.

adopted the teachings as they had in Wilno and Kowno.<sup>6</sup> However, and here with time on the magnate estates, particularly the Radziwiłłs of Birże, it was possible for Lutheran churches and communities to function, for example at Kiejdany (1640). Moreover, in opposition to reformist evangelicals, the Lithuanian Lutherans did not create an organised Church as such. 'In the seventeenth century they did not draw in new adherents from noble circles. While a significant part of the Lutheran nobility in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and here chiefly of a Livonian provenance, converted at this time to Catholicism.'<sup>7</sup>

The return from exile of Jan Łaski the Younger (John à Lasco), a leading Polish religious reformer of the mid sixteenth century, meant that within the Polish Reformation camp and consequently, as we have noted earlier, also within the Lithuanian, initially victorious were the views of John Calvin.<sup>8</sup> However shortly the ideas of the Polish Brethren started to take hold of a part of the magnates and nobles, that is the Anti-Trinitarians called by their opponents Arians, who in 1562 and in subsequent years left the Calvinist Church, creating their own denomination. Therefore, thanks to magnate protection, within the area of interest to us Calvinists and Anti-Trinitarians had their own temples and communities.

The roots of Reformation ideas in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are traditionally connected with the Radziwiłł family. The first Lithuanian magnate to adopt Lutheran ideas, was, most probably, Jan Radziwiłł (*incisor Lituaniae*), while Lutheranism initially interested his brother, Mikołaj Radziwiłł known as 'Czarny' (the Black). A similar situation was the case in some Lithuanian noble families. In 1553 'Czarny' called into being the first community at the castle in Brześć Litewski, far from Wilno – the centre of Catholicism in Lithuania.<sup>9</sup> He turned to Calvinism and consolidated this denomination on his estates. This was also adopted by a significant number of noble families who had started their connection with the Reformation from Lutheranism, like the Talwosz or Billewicz families (later they were faithful mainstays of the Helvetic Confession). However, 'Czarny' later was to succumb to anti-Trinitarian views and following the schism of Lesser Poland Protestantism, splitting into the greater Congregation (Calvinist) and lesser ('anti-Trinitarian'). He favoured an openness to the latter even removing Calvinist ministers from the congregations on his estates,<sup>10</sup> although he never did officially renounce Calvinism as such. Yet when he died prematurely in 1565, his properties were inherited by his sons who converted to Catholicism. The Reformation continued to be supported by Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'Rudy' (the Red), 'Czarny's' cousin. Red founded congregations and passionately supported reformist evangelism,<sup>11</sup> a policy continued by his heirs, particularly his son Krzysztof the 'Piorun' (the Thunderbolt), his grandson of the same name as well as his great grandsons: Janusz (the son of Krzysztof II) and Bogusław (the son of Janusz, the Wilno castellan).

Related to the Radziwiłł family were the Kiszaków family. Anna of Kiszaków was the mother of Mikołaj and Jan Radziwiłł, while Stanisław Kiszka, the Vitebsk voivode, an adherent of Calvinism, married Anna, the daughter of the last male representative of the Radziwiłł line in Goniądz and Medele, Jan. Anna was to soon become widowed and on her estates, as well as those of her children's, which she managed, she actively supported Calvinism ('under the reign of August His Majesty when a Catholic priest died she passed on the parishes to a dozen or so Evangelist preachers'<sup>12</sup>), and when she became interested in the anti-Trinitarian doctrine she zealously promoted it. Her son Jan was to exhibit a similar religious attitude, the *incisor Lituaniae*, and subsequently Wilno castellan and general

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<sup>6</sup> Lutheran communities appeared equally in certain settlements located on the borderlands of the Duchy of Prussia and Livonia; *ibid*, pp. 102–110. The first Lutheran churches were founded in, for example, Żejmely, Dziewałtów, Mejszagoła, Rykonty, Taurogi, Szkudy, Szawkiany, Skirstymoń, Ejragoła, Gojcieniszki, Wolanów and Wiszniewo.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> See S. Tworek, *Starania o ujednoczenie obrządku kalwińskiego w Polsce w XVI wieku*, OiRwP, vol. 16, 1971, pp. 117–139.

<sup>9</sup> M. Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w świetle propagandy wyznaniowej*, Wrocław 1973, p. 43; T. Kempa, *Konflikty wyznaniowe w Wilnie od początku reformacji do końca XVII wieku*, Toruń 2016, pp. 70–74.

<sup>10</sup> J. Jasnowski, *Mikołaj Czarny Radziwiłł (1515–1565), kanclerz i marszałek ziemski Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, wojewoda wileński*, Warsaw 1939, p. 387; H. Lulewicz, *Radziwiłł Mikołaj zwany Czarnym*, [in:] PSB, vol. 30, p. 344.

<sup>11</sup> H. Lulewicz, *Radziwiłł Mikołaj zwany Rudym*, [in:] PSB, vol. 30, p. 332.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted after: J. Zawadzki, *Anna z Radziwiłłów Kiszczyna, 2vo Sadowska – burzliwe losy dziedziczki fortuny*, [in:] *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Urwanowicz, with the coop. of E. Dubas-Urwanowicz and P. Guzowski, Białystok 2003, p. 390.

Samogitia starost.<sup>13</sup> However, he was to marry Elżbieta Ortrogska a Catholic (on her mother's side). He died without heirs in 1592, while the estate bequeathed to his wife was transferred to her subsequent husband, Krzysztof Radziwiłł, the Wilno voivode and grand Lithuanian hetman. He, as the chief guardian of reformed evangelists in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, re-Calvinised the lands. At a later stage shelter was to be found on Radziwiłł estates for the persecuted anti-Trinitarians (see below). In turn his brother Stanisław Kiszka converted to Catholicism and removed the heretical anti-Trinitarianism from his holdings and estates.<sup>14</sup>

Consequently the religious activity of magnates was to have a substantial significance for the creation of Protestant parishes, here chiefly Calvinist and anti-Trinitarian. They commenced their work in buildings confiscated from Catholics or the Orthodox, though equally they were founded *in cruda radice*: 'The example of Mikołaj 'Czarny' Radziwiłł [...] forced all into almost blind emulation. The Lithuanian nobility [...] rejected in droves the religion of their fathers both the Catholic and Greek and introduced into their estates and royal leased lands Calvinism, forming new parishes, but also setting up parishes in the churches of Catholics and the Orthodox.'<sup>15</sup> In time founding work based on the magnate example was also carried out in Podlasie by the middle nobility, applying the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*.<sup>16</sup>

## Reformed Church

The Lithuanian Reformed Church (*Jednota Litewska*) was one of the three the Reformed Churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>17</sup> It was synodical-presbyterian in structure with a provincial synod as the main organ of authority as well as a huge role being played by the secular patrons of the various churches and of the Church as a whole.<sup>18</sup> Administratively the Lithuanian Reformed Church was divided into districts, and these in turn into parishes. The first two districts were Wilno and Podlasie (known also at the beginning of the seventeenth century as Brześć<sup>19</sup>) were formed around 1560. The first was headed by Mikołaj Wędrogowski, while the second administered by Szymon Zacjusz of Proszowice,<sup>20</sup> while in the seventeenth century there functioned in addition Nowogódek, Ruthenian, Zawilejski and Samogitian. A unique organisational feature of the Lithuanian Church was the possibility of change in the district affiliation of individual parishes.<sup>21</sup> It depended on the superintendent's state of health or if the district had too great of an expanse; thus creating difficulties for the superintendents to

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<sup>13</sup> See J. Tazbir, *Jan Kiszka – ariański magnat*, [in:] idem, *Świat Panów Pasków. Eseje i studia*, Łódź 1986, pp. 355–363.

<sup>14</sup> T. Wasilewski, *Stanisław Kiszka h. Dąbrowa*, [in:] PSB, vol. 12, p. 517.

<sup>15</sup> Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów I*, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> T. Grzyb, *Zapomniane dziedzictwo? Ślady protestantyzmu w wielokulturowej przestrzeni Podlasia i ich wykorzystanie w internetowej promocji turystycznej na poziomie regionalnym i lokalnym*, „Turystyka Kulturowa” 2019, no. 3, p. 145.

<sup>17</sup> The Lesser Poland's Reformed Church, Greater Poland Reformed Church – of the Czech Brotherhood and Lithuanian Reformed Church.

<sup>18</sup> M. Liedke, *Struktura i kompetencje władz Kościoła ewangelicko-reformowanego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI i XVII w. na tle europejskim*, [in:] *Urzędy państwowe, organy samorządowe i kościelne oraz ich kancelarie na polsko-ruskim pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym od XV do XIX wieku. Materiały polsko-ukraińskiej konferencji naukowej w Okunince koło Włodawy 10–12 września 2007 roku*, ed. H. Gmiterek, J. Łosowski, Cracow 2010, pp. 347–366. In recent years a discussion has been conducted within Polish historiography as to the Church organisation of reformed Evangelists, which in part concerned the Lithuanian Reformed Church: M. Ptaszyński, *O ustroju kościoła. Uwagi na marginesie edycji Akt synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1626–1637*, OiRwP, vol. 56, 2012, pp. 203–226; K. Bem, *Ustroje kościołów ewangelicko-reformowanych w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, OiRwP, vol. 57, 2013, pp. 123–153; M. Ptaszyński, *O znakach kościoła i ich znaczeniu. Polemika z Kazimierzem Bemem*, OiRwP, vol. 58, 2014, pp. 153–175; K. Bem, *O znakach, ścięgniach i ustrojach kościelnych oraz o różnicach prawdziwych i mniemanych – w odpowiedzi Maciejowi Ptaszyńskiemu*, OiRwP, vol. 59, 2015, pp. 249–257; M. Liedke, P. Guzowski, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Akta synodów prowincjonalnych Synodów Prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1638–1655*, intro. and comp. M. Liedke and P. Guzowski [in print], pp. VIII–XI, XIV–XXVIII.

<sup>19</sup> „X. Superintendent Brzeski X. Maciej Bankowski” (synod of 1614), *Akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1611–1625*, Wilno 1915 (Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae, series IV, no. 2), p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> M. Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja*, p. 54.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

effectively reach the most distant parishes or the administrators of these organisational units, resulting in affiliative alterations.<sup>22</sup>

Decisions over such changes were the realm of the provincial synod as the main organ of authority for the Lithuanian Reformed Church. It convened once a year and took decisions on matters of faith, relations with other Reformed Churches, education and schooling, religious publications, clerical discipline, the moral matters of the faithful etc.<sup>23</sup> A lot of room during sessions was taken up by the legal and financial matters of the Lithuanian Church and its individual congregations.<sup>24</sup> The course of the synod was in line with protocol and minutes. Participation at sessions saw the secular patrons of the community attend, both nobility and burgher in origin as well as clergymen together with their superintendents.

The position held by the superintendents is difficult to compare to, for example, that of bishops in the Catholic or Orthodox Churches. Firstly, the Lithuanian Reformed Church structure was not episcopal; secondly, although they had a lot of responsibilities and administrative-disciplinary powers, they did not enjoy the privileges *per se* of the Catholic and Orthodox hierarchies. Finally, they did not gain from their benefices such notable material benefits. They were financially dependent, as with the entire Church, on their secular patrons. Their remunerations were more significant than was the case for many other ministers as a result of better off parishes, they were less often moved from parish to parish and consequently could count on a degree of stability but they paid for this by having extensive duties and obligations. Besides the standard ministry to be performed in their parishes, they were responsible for calling district synods at which more local matters could be decided on than those dealt with at provincial synod level (although in practice the latter also debated on matters, such as the equipping and repair work of individual churches as well as the disciplining of their clergymen), time consuming visits to the parishes under their jurisdiction and the supervising of their ministers.<sup>25</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century they were also responsible for the registering of parishes in the districts under their jurisdiction as well as the ministers and finances of particular churches. Formally all those in charge of districts were equal to each other. Only in 1636 as a result of introducing improvements in district supervision was the office of senior superintendent introduced.<sup>26</sup> This position was to be withdrawn together with the death of the first holder of the office,<sup>27</sup> and only to be reinstated in 1832.<sup>28</sup>

Their subordinates, the ministers, were obliged to live by their parishes,<sup>29</sup> and were first and foremost responsible for the spiritual well being of the faithful, ensuring, in some of the parishes, functioning of parish schools, the maintaining of Church and parish buildings in good repair<sup>30</sup> and providing their detailed inventory prior to being moved to another parish.<sup>31</sup> Their responsibilities involved attending provincial and district synod<sup>32</sup> and participating in the meeting sessions of individual parishes at which both the patrons and faithful of a given congregation sat and dealt with their affairs. In the sixteenth century pastors did not yet conduct baptismal registers; the first to appear in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was in the first half of the next century, although such a practice had sporadically been noted within the territory of the Crown already at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> It happened that ministers of limited income would work on the land or take on duties to supplement

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<sup>22</sup> LMAVB, sign. 40–1136, f. 176.

<sup>23</sup> See for example *ibidem*, f. 64.

<sup>24</sup> See P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, *Dobroczyńcy czy inwestorzy? Partnerzy kredytowi Jednoty Litewskiej w XVII wieku*, „Czasy Nowożytne” 31, 2018, pp. 301–324; M. Liedke, P. Guzowski, *Problemy finansowe ewangelickiej Jednoty Litewskiej w pierwszej połowie XVII w. w świetle akt synodów prowincjonalnych*, RDSG, vol. 78, 2017, pp. 95–130.

<sup>25</sup> M. Liedke, P. Guzowski, *Wstęp*, [in:] *akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1638–1655*, p. XIII.

<sup>26</sup> *akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1626–1637*, intro. and comp. M. Liedke, P. Guzowski, Warsaw 2011, p. 147.

<sup>27</sup> Reverend Andrzej Dobrzański.

<sup>28</sup> E. Cherner, *Słownik biograficzny duchownych ewangelicko-reformowanych. Jednota Litewska i Jednota Wileńska 1815–1939*, Warsaw 2017, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup> LMAVB, sign. 40–1136, f. 62.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 49.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 115.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 112.

<sup>33</sup> S. Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska w Polsce*, Warsaw 1936, p. X.

their salary and improve their financial situation. This was not always fitting work for a minister.<sup>34</sup> The synods attempted to prevent such situations by attempting to find solutions to the financial problems of the clergy.<sup>35</sup>

Remuneration for both superintendents and pastors was, traditionally, land, though also they were guaranteed payment in kind. One needs to add, however, that occasionally they had to support a teacher or to pay for repairs to congregation buildings from the salary given. The size of the endowments obviously varied much and were not necessarily sufficient for a decent life for the minister and his family (for both pastors and the superintendents recruited from them could marry). In general the better off parishes went to deserving pastors and superintendents who had served their time as such, though it also happened that certain clergymen almost immediately enjoyed a firm financial footing following being ordained and obtained the favours of a well-to-do patron, who would then ask the synod for a mission for his candidate for the parish maintained by him.

The dependence on secular benefactors meant that along with changes in the patron's denomination, or the passing on of estates to non-Calvinist heirs, those parishes that had come into being in former Catholic churches became the objects of court dispute and often the Unity ended up losing these properties. A more stable situation existed with regard to those that had been founded *in cruda radice*, immediately as Calvinist congregations, and where the Reformed Church possessed their charters and founding documents. For the Lithuanian Church had obtained legal personage, while its legal attorney defending the interests of the community was a congregational actor chosen from the ranks of noble patrons.

All of the congregations that functioned and had been founded in Podlasie in the sixteenth century belonged to the Podlasie district (this was to function until 1799), covering the territories making up the voivodeship in the years 1513–1520. Despite in 1566 the separation from it of the Brześć, Kamieniec and Kobryń lands, and subsequently the addition of the Bielsk, Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands to the Polish Crown in 1569, the Podlasie district covered the congregations from the territory of the former voivodeship already situated on both sides of the border.<sup>36</sup> After 1569 they lay within the Crown territories of the Podlasie Voivodeship, and within the Lithuanian Voivodeships of Brześć Litewski, Nowogródek and Troki. These have been the subject of several separate studies,<sup>37</sup> while the subject of the Reformation in Podlasie has also been explored by the authors of the most important works on the history of Reformation denominations in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>38</sup> Usually both general studies,<sup>39</sup> as equally monographs have concentrated on the later period.<sup>40</sup> This is the result of not

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<sup>34</sup> For example, conducting activities designed to obtain the best living at the cost of one's colleagues; see, among others, LMAVB, sign. 40-1136, f. 115.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 149.

<sup>36</sup> Concrete information on the territorial extent of the district, which here we only have at our disposal for the beginning of the seventeenth century – that is for the period from which synodal acts have been preserved, shows that the majority of the district communities were located on the Lithuanian side. Regulation in this matter occurred in 1614 (“to the Brześć superintendent belonged: Brześć, Grodno, Pińsk, Słonim”, and so did the Church communities from the area of these districts (*powiats*)) and in 1627 when the communities in Sielec, Pietuchów and Świsłocz were joined to these; J. Grodzki, *Czynniki wpływające na organizację dystryktu podlaskiego Jednoty Litewskiej w pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, [in:] *Granice i pogranicza*, ed. P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, W. Walczak, Białystok 2019, p. 51.

<sup>37</sup> M. Liedke, *Dystrykt podlaski w strukturze Kościoła ewangelicko-reformowanego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim do końca XVII wieku – źródła i stan badań*, [in:] *Kościół a państwo na pograniczu polsko-litewsko-białoruskim. Źródła i stan badań*, ed. M. Kietliński, K. Sychowicz, W. Śleszyński, Białystok 2005, pp. 62–68; J. Mironczuk, *Wyznania protestanckie na obszarze dystryktu podlaskiego*, *OiRwP*, vol. 62, 2018, pp. 139–162; J. Grodzki, *Czynniki wpływające na organizację dystryktu*, pp. 47–61.

<sup>38</sup> See, among others, Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów*, II; *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, comp. H.M. Merczyng, Warsaw 1904; M. Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja*; *idem*, *Protestanci i kontrreformacja. Z dziejów tolerancji w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1978; M. Liedke, *Od prawosławia do katolicyzmu. Ruscy możni i szlachta Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec wyznań reformacyjnych*, Białystok 2004. I. Lukšaitė, *Reformacja Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje* has incorporated Protestant Church communities, although not all, in his study of the history of the Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania up to the first decade of the seventeenth century (and in the comparison of the communities of various denominations attached to it).

<sup>39</sup> M. Kosman, *Litewska jednota ewangelicko-reformowana od połowy XVII w. do 1939 r.*, Opole 1986; W. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1697–1763). Sytuacja prawna, organizacja, stosunki międzywyznaniowe*, Warsaw 1996.

<sup>40</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrowie w XVII i XVIII wieku*, *OiRwP*, vol. 4, 1959, pp. 137–155; E. Bagińska, *Działalność religijna Radziwiłłów birżańskich w dobrach podlaskich w XVII wieku*, *SP*, vol. 12, 2002, pp. 205–228; M. Sierba, *Kalwiński zbor orlański w XVII wieku*, „Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, 2015, no. 44, pp. 45–61.

only the dynamic development of the reformist evangelicals during the course of the first half of the seventeenth century but also because of the much richer source base available. An especial role was played out in this by the acts of the provincial synods of the Lithuanian Unity, which took place annually in Wilno and made decisions on, among other things, the affiliation of congregations to particular districts (chiefly dependent on the health condition and the scope of responsibilities befalling individual superintendents, that is the preachers that stood at the head of the districts). The oldest preserved sources of this type are from the years 1611–1625,<sup>41</sup> therein documenting the organisational structures of the evangelist-reformists from a period exceeding the scope of the AHP. The district synodical acts for this district have not survived. Consequently the materials connected with the activities of secular players, particularly the magnate patrons of the congregations are especially valuable, of individuals who in several cases transformed churches and communities initially organised on Calvinist lines into anti-Trinitarian ones.

## Reformed congregations

A congregation (*zbór*) was as equally the church as the community of the faithful that attended it. On the territory of the Bielsk, Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands nine Calvinist congregations were founded in the second half of the sixteenth century, of which three in time were to be transformed into anti-Trinitarian parishes, commonly referred to as ‘Arians’. As actual locations for the functioning of Calvinist congregations within the Drohiczyn land the following were cited: Miedzna, Mordy, Węgrów, Sokołów, Siemiatycze and Suchożebry, in the Mielnik land: Górki and Rusków, and in the Bielsk land: Waniewo.

The appearance of the first Protestant congregations in Podlasie is connected with the already mentioned activities of Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘Czarny’, who, following the founding of a Protestant church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at Brześć Litewski (1552–1553),<sup>42</sup> removed the Catholic priest from the church at Mordy, and in his place installed an Evangelist preacher. In 1563 a synod was held in Mordy which in character was already anti-Trinitarian.<sup>43</sup>

In 1558 Anna née Radziwiłł Kiszczyna, already as a widow, removed Walenty Suchodolski, a Catholic priest from the church and presbytery at Węgrów and brought in Evangelist clergymen; an act which brought with it a legal dispute of many years standing.<sup>44</sup> The first preacher of the Węgrów congregation was Piotr of Goniądz, also an adherent of the anti-Trinitarian doctrine<sup>45</sup> and it is taken that from around 1563 the church started to be anti-Trinitarian in character.<sup>46</sup> Shortly its patron was to become Jan Kiszka, Anna’s son. Following his death in 1592 the Węgrów congregation was again to take on a Calvinist character and here under the influence of the subsequent husband of Elżbieta Ostrogska, Krzysztof Radziwiłł ‘Piorun’ (the Thunderbolt). A legal dispute over the church building and its estates was to rage with the Catholic Church, with the church itself remaining shut.<sup>47</sup> In 1596 an agreement was reached with the Łuck Bishop Bernard Maciejowski, on the strength of which the land belonging to the parish church was returned to the Catholics,<sup>48</sup> but the church itself was to remain Protestant until around the year 1630. Then it passed into the hands of the Roman-Catholic parish, while the reformist Evangelists received a new wooden church endowed for by Krzysztof II Radziwiłł.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *Akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1611–1625; Akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1626–1637.*

<sup>42</sup> Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 190.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 49–50; H. Lulewicz, *Radziwiłł Mikołaj zwany Czarnym*, p. 344.

<sup>44</sup> *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lihtuanicae*, series 1, no. 1, Wilno 1911, no. 6, pp. 29–33.

<sup>45</sup> I. Lukšaitė, *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje*, p. 313. The subsequent Węgrów minister, again a Calvinist was Jan Węgierski; J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 109.

<sup>46</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrowie*, p. 138.

<sup>47</sup> M. Gochna, „Porządki jako największe i najlepsze”. *Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrowa – rola magnata w funkcjonowaniu miasta prywatnego*, Węgrów 2016, p. 42 and f.

<sup>48</sup> *Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae*, series 1, no. 1, no. 7, pp. 34–36.

<sup>49</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrowie*, p. 139; E. Bagińska, *Działalność religijna Radziwiłłów birżańskich*, pp. 207–208; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 90.

Anna Kiszczyna after 1563 also took possession of the Roman Catholic church in Sokołów, forming an evangelist congregation. More than likely already after a lengthy period of holding the family estates on the part of her son, Jan Kiszka, the church became anti-Trinitarian and was to remain so up until Jan Kiszka's death in 1592.<sup>50</sup> In this same year there was to appear in the sources a Roman Catholic parish priest at Sokołów (and Węgrów) – Szymon of Urzędów.<sup>51</sup>

Around 1560 equally the Roman-Catholic church in Ruszków was transformed into an Evangelist congregation by its owner, Katarzyna Raczkowa, the widow of Stanisław Raczka, the parliamentary representative for the Mielnik land. Although by 1614 there is word of its collapse,<sup>52</sup> it was to function as a Calvinist church until about 1619, when Catholic intromission and reconciliation with the Church occurred.<sup>53</sup>

In Miedzna the local Roman Catholic church was to have been handed over to the evangelists by the town's owner, Jan Wodyński, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the future voivode for Podlasie. This was presumably to have happened after 1560 but already in the 1580s the sources note a return of Catholic parish priests brought in by Wodyński and his mother, Katarzyna née Kosiński, *secundo voto* Stanisławow Kryska.<sup>54</sup>

We are able to say somewhat more about the congregation at Górki. According to Tomasz Dobrowolski, the Roman Catholic parish here was changed into a Calvinist congregation by Stanisław Niemira, the Ostromęczyn owner.<sup>55</sup> According to register of the unpaid taxation on the part of the parish priests of the Łuck diocese and here for the years 1567–1568 there was noted in the entry for Górki the annotation 'hereticus'.<sup>56</sup> The wife of Stanisław Niemira was Jadwiga Firlejówna, the daughter of the Lublin and Ruthenian voivode Piotr Firlej, who had earlier acted as guardian for her future husband then a minor. Although Piotr Firlej himself was to have died as a Catholic, his sons converted to Calvinism and were to become powerful Protestant protectors in the lands of Lesser Poland.<sup>57</sup> Possibly Piotr Firlej's daughter also belonged to the Reformed community. The parish was to thus function until at least 1588.<sup>58</sup>

In older subject literature it is accepted that the Calvinist congregation founded by Krzysztof Radziwiłł 'Piorun' functioned in Siemiatycze from the year 1588.<sup>59</sup> However, according to Aneta Średzińska, a Calvinist preacher was in residence as early as 1565.<sup>60</sup> His presence was to have resulted from the transformation of the parish church into a Protestant congregation by the Olelkowicz dukes.<sup>61</sup> At that time the Roman Catholic parish priest Brzozowski became pastor and was sued by the Janów episcopal consistory for illegally taking possession of the parish.<sup>62</sup> In 1579 again a Roman Catholic priest was to appear in Siemiatycze – Father Bartłomiej Lazarowicz.<sup>63</sup> The Protestant community had presumably ceased to exist by then and before the town found itself in the possession of the evangelist Krzysztof Radziwiłł 'Piorun' or Lew Sapięha, who had married his daughter, and having been born into Orthodoxy, was a magnate with a reformist episode in his life characteristic for the epoch, though one finally to be a passionate Catholic. Consequently, a second verification of the notion ventured by Józef Łukasiewicz in the subject literature is required and here with regard to the Protestant commu-

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<sup>50</sup> G. Ryżewski, *Pod panowaniem możnych rodów*, [in:] *Sokołów Podlaski. Dzieje miasta i okolic*, ed. G. Ryżewski, Białystok-Sokołów Podlaski 2006, pp. 250–251.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>52</sup> *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy*, p. 96.

<sup>53</sup> ADS, sign. D. 20, f. 122v; Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 524.

<sup>54</sup> ADS, sign. D. 15, f. 155v; Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 514.

<sup>55</sup> T. Dobrowolski, *500 lat łosickiego Kościoła – dzieje parafii i dekanatu*, Łosice 2011, p. 374.

<sup>56</sup> ASK I 111, f. 108.

<sup>57</sup> A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski. Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*, vol. 5, Warsaw 1902, p. 288.

<sup>58</sup> T. Dobrowolski, *500 lat łosickiego Kościoła*, Łosice 2011, p. 374.

<sup>59</sup> Łukasiewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 78; J. Maroszek, *Siemiatycze jako ośrodek dóbr ziemskich w XV–XVIII w. (do 1801 r.)*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Siemiatycz*, ed. J. Majecki, Warsaw 1989, p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> A. Średzińska, *Miasta prywatne ziemi drohickiej i mielnickiej do końca XVIII wieku*, Białystok 2011, PhD thesis, University of Białystok, [https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/1016/1/Sredzinska\\_Aneta\\_doktorat.pdf](https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/1016/1/Sredzinska_Aneta_doktorat.pdf) (access: 20.04.2021), p. 119.

<sup>61</sup> T. Grzyb, *Zapomniane dziedzictwo?*, p. 147.

<sup>62</sup> ADS, sign. D 12, ff. 62v–74.

<sup>63</sup> ADS, sign. D 14, f. 125.

nity at Siemiatycze at the end of the sixteenth century,<sup>64</sup> and in particular the acts of the synod of the Łuck diocese of 1589 mentioning the local parish as among others filled and functioning within the framework of the Mielnik deanery.<sup>65</sup>

A register of unpaid Lithuanian taxation for the years 1567–1568 informs one of two Protestant churches where the term ‘hereticus’ designated the parishes at Suchożebry in the Drohiczyn land and Waniewo in the Bielsk land.<sup>66</sup> In 1565 a court case was held before the Janów consistory against ‘Alberto heretico et occupatore ecclesie in Suchożebry’.<sup>67</sup> Possibly the Catholic church was changed into a Protestant community by Krzysztof Olędzki, the Brańsk starosta and owner of the settlement, or by his brother Janusz, who was acting as guardian for the children of the deceased Krzysztof and was the heir to the office of Brańsk alderman. Janusz was to found the Lithuanian line of the Olędzki family, evangelist reformers who acted as guardians and protectors of the Protestant congregations in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and here still in the seventeenth century.<sup>68</sup>

In Waniewo, brought by Elżbieta Radziwiłłówna to her marriage with Hieronim Sieniawski, a conversion of the Catholic church to a Protestant congregation took place around the year 1559. At this time a dispute in the Janów consistory with the owners over the control of the Church benefice raged, one which was to result in Father Piotr Milewski resigning from his position at the presbytery.<sup>69</sup> Hieronim Sieniawski, then the Halocz chamberlain, was a protector of Protestantism (although he was to die as a Catholic).<sup>70</sup> Presumably the Reformed congregation functioned up until the moment Waniewo was sold to Jerzy Olekowicz or was given in perpetuity through his widow – Katarzyna Tęczyńska.<sup>71</sup>

Reformed evangelism turned out to be a denomination that had developed a stable administrative and organisational structure as well as having obtained a legal personality. Therefore despite the relatively strong support for anti-Trinitarianism in the second half of the sixteenth century on the part of some of the Lithuanian nobility, and here also in Podlasie, and later the Counter-Reformation steps on the part of the Roman Catholic Church,<sup>72</sup> new Reformed congregations and here chiefly *in cruda radice* arose within the territory subordinate to the Lithuanian Church towards the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century. These were also located in the Podlasie district, but the majority of new congregations of this district arose in territories situated within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania itself. And so in the second half of the sixteenth century a Calvinist endowment was carried out in Sidra in the Grodno district of the Troki Voivodeship (according to J. Łukaszewicz thanks to the Naruszewicz or Hołowczyński family,<sup>73</sup> at present ascribed to Ostafi Wołłowicz, as results from his will<sup>74</sup>). In 1589 Krzysztof Radziwiłł ‘Piorun’ founded the Evangelist congregation in Sielec (the Brześć district of the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship), which was to function until the mid eighteenth century).<sup>75</sup> Congregations were also situated in Świsłocz (Wołkowysk district, Nowogródek Voivodeship), Jamno, Niepokojczyce (both situated in the Brześć district in the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship), Nurzec (Bielsk district, Brześć Litewski Voivodeship), (where the endowments came from the noble families of the Piekarski and Kochlewski lines), and also Pietuchów, that is the later Izabelin (Wołkowysk district, Nowogródek Voivodeship), or in 1608 in Zabłudów (Grodno district, Troki Voivodeship),<sup>76</sup> where in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century resided the Podlasie superintendents.

<sup>64</sup> Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 78.

<sup>65</sup> *Acta synodi dioeceseanae Luceoriensis per Bernardum Maciejowski episcopum Luceoriensem tribus postremis diebus februarii anno Domini MDLXXXIV celebrate*, ed. Z. Chodyński, Varsaviae 1875, p. 28.

<sup>66</sup> ASK I 111, f. 108.

<sup>67</sup> ADS, sign. D 12, f. 85.

<sup>68</sup> R. Niewiatowska, *Olędzcy herbu Rawicz, właściciele Siedlec w XVII wieku*, SP, vol. 8, 2000, pp. 11–13.

<sup>69</sup> ADS, sign. D 10, ff. 47, 111.

<sup>70</sup> M. Plewczyński, *Hieronim Sieniawski h. Leliwa*, [in:] PSB, vol. 37, p. 122.

<sup>71</sup> W. Jarmolik, *Kilka uwag o dziejach Waniewa*, „Białostoczczyzna” 1989, no. (2)14, pp. 30–31.

<sup>72</sup> Manifesting themselves in, among others, acts of regaining those community buildings that earlier had been Catholic churches.

<sup>73</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 66.

<sup>74</sup> T. Wasilewski, *Testament Ostafiego Wołłowicza*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. 7, 1962, p. 169.

<sup>75</sup> J. Mirończuk, *Wyznania protestanckie*, p. 149.

<sup>76</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, pp. 19, 51, 55, 56, 83; J. Mirończuk, *Wyznania protestanckie*, pp. 148–149.

The subject literature points also to Dokudów (Brześć district in the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship), Nurzec (Bielsk district, Brześć Litewski Voivodeship), Nurzec (Bielsk district, Brześć Litewski Voivodeship), which functioned until around 1596.<sup>77</sup> This was initially a branch of the parish church in Biała, which converted into a Calvinist congregation in around 1555, and together with it the church at Dokudów became a Protestant church. Both churches presumably functioned for some time as Arian centres of worship and here under the patronage of Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘Czarny’,<sup>78</sup> while in the day of Mikołaj Krzysztof ‘Sierotka’ (the Orphan) Radziwiłł they were to be turned into Roman Catholic places of worship. This congregation was mistaken in the subject literature with a Calvinist congregation functioning in the seventeenth century and at another Dokudów situated that was situated in the Lida district of the Wilno Voivodeship, initially within the boundaries of the Wilno district, while from 1653 in that of Nowogródek.<sup>79</sup>

However, in the Crown part of the Podlasie district there came into existence, although only at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a Calvinist congregation at Orla (around 1615–1617) one important from the point of view of the integration of the Reformed Churches in the Commonwealth.<sup>80</sup> For it is worth noting that the Podlasie district of the Lithuanian Church, and in particular Radziwiłł (and royal) Orla fulfilled the role of being a unifying force for all the three Calvinist Churches of the Commonwealth. And it was to be at this centre as the most conveniently situated that the general synods of Calvinist clergy and secular representatives from Lesser Poland, Greater Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania would convene and devote themselves to the most important doctrinal, organisational and political matters. As was the case in 1644 over the matter advanced by Władysław IV Waza for 1645 of the so-called *colloquium charitativum* that was meant to bring about understanding and tolerance amongst the Christian denominations of the Commonwealth.

The elders of the Podlasie district in the sixteenth century were – the earlier mentioned Szymon Zacjusz, who moved from Wilno (and subsequently was redeployed to the deserted Cracow congregation) and Mikołaj Trzcicki, who resided in Brześć and died in 1614.<sup>81</sup> Tadeusz Wyszomirski has written that the office of Podlasie superintendent was held by Maciej Krowicki, who had his seat at Węgrów,<sup>82</sup> but here according to Józef Łukaszewicz, this clergyman ‘at the Mordy synod of 1563 was selected an elder of the Socyn congregations in Podlasie.’<sup>83</sup> He could not therefore be a Calvinist superintendent. Podlasie administrators did not have a designated permanent seat: ‘The normal home for elders [superintendents] of the Podlasie district was in former times Siedlce [here matters refer to Sielec in the Brześć district of the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship – P.G. and M.L.<sup>84</sup>], Węgrów,<sup>85</sup> and later Zabłudów’,<sup>86</sup> although elsewhere this author has also enumerated Brześć (as Mikołaj Trzcicki’s place of residence).<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 12.

<sup>78</sup> W. Urban, *Hieronim Piekarski h. Topór*, [in:] PSB, vol. 26, pp. 65–66; A. Rachuba, *Biała pod rządami Radziwiłłów w latach 1568–1813*, [in:] *Z nieznannej przeszłości Białej i Podlasia*, ed. T. Wasilewski, T. Krawczak, intro. J. Skowronek, Biała Podlaska 1990, p. 39; J. Flisiński, *Biała na Podlasiu: dzieje miasta i okolic do 1795 r.*, Biała Podlaska 2009, p. 355; A. Buczyło, *Dokument fundacyjny Jerzego Ilinicza z 1520 roku dla kościoła w Białej Podlaskiej*, „Rocznik Lituanistyczny”, vol. 5, 2019, p. 235.

<sup>79</sup> LMAVB, sign. 40-1136, f. 176; J. Grodzki, *Czynniki wpływające na organizację dystryktu*, p. 52, footnote 19; J. Mironczuk, *Wyznania protestanckie*, p. 149.

<sup>80</sup> M. Sierba, *Kalwiński zbór orlański*, pp. 46–47.

<sup>81</sup> The Podlasie superintendents holding office already in the seventeenth century were: Andrzej Wysocki, who “for a long time served in the community at Siedlec” [Sielec], Maciej Bańkowski and Mikołaj Wysocki (who also served in Sielec); J. Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*, p. 190 ff.

<sup>82</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrowie*, p. 138.

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem, p. 103. It seems therefore that Krowicki was simply the minister of this community; ibidem, p. 109; see also M. Gochna, *Porządki jako największe i najlepsze*. *Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrowa*, p. 38.

<sup>84</sup> J. Łukaszewicz in his work while describing the senior figures of the Podlasie district notoriously refers to Sielec as Siedlce although he employs the correct name – Sielec, in his presentation of Protestant congregations; Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów II*.

<sup>85</sup> The Podlasie superintendent Jan Krzysztof Kraiński also performed ministry there, dying in 1685; ibidem, p. 223.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem, p. 224.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, p. 220.

## Lesser congregation

The return of Jan Łaski the Younger to the country in 1556 was to significantly impact on a crystallising of Protestantism within the Calvinist spirit in Lesser Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; though shortly as a result of the Italian anti-Trinitarians including Jerzy Blandrata (Giovanni Biandrata), many ministers as equally their wealthy protectors started to move towards anti-Trinitarian views. This was to be the concern of the already mentioned Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'Czarny', Jan Kiszka, as well as, and here with influence on Białystok estates (see further) Ostafi Wołłowicz, the vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1562 a schism occurred resulting in the creation from a single congregation of the so-called Lesser congregation (*Zbór Mniejszy*), assembling the adherents of anti-Trinitarianism. At the synod held in Pińczów in 1563 this state of affairs was ratified. Although none of the already mentioned magnates officially went over to the side of this denomination, the support they provided the anti-Trinitarians depleted the network of Calvinist congregations. We do not know as much about the organisational structure of Unitarianism in Poland as we do in the case of reformist Evangelists because the synodical acts of the Unitarians, equally those from the seventeenth century, were lost and we know of them only from descriptions and information gleaned from various sources, with Stanisław Szczotka in the inter-war years providing an approximation of them.<sup>88</sup> We know that *Ecclesia Minor* was not divided into districts, but that the Polish Brethren conducted their synods on, according to S. Szczotka, principles modelled upon the Calvinist. Hence called to session were general synods and provincial ones with the participation of laymen as well as the holding of councils at which only the clergy attended.

General synods met once a year. These were the equivalents of the Calvinist provincial synods and involved themselves in similar matters, that is theological questions, the expansion and extension of the congregation network as well as its maintenance, issues of education, publication, the ordaining of new ministers, matters of the faithful's morality, care for orphans and widows etc.<sup>89</sup> The provincial synods, the equivalent of the Calvinist district ones, involved themselves in matters more local in nature, while the synods with issues of faith and theology although they did also address administrative-economic questions.<sup>90</sup> The meetings of the synods were minuted and protocoled. The anti-Trinitarians had their own network of parishes, while the responsibilities of ministers included the teaching of the fundamentals of the faith, the carrying out of the two sacraments of baptism and communion, and the holding of weddings. Ministers were helped in the running of their parishes by deacons as well as secular elders, looking after the finances of the congregation and acting charitably.<sup>91</sup>

After 1658, having been accused of collaboration with the Swedes, the anti-Trinitarians were forced to leave the country or convert back to Catholicism, although tolerated, and presumably fictionally, a return to the adoption of Calvinism. The latter was taken up the most willingly,<sup>92</sup> although the authorities of the Lithuanian Unity came out strongly against the anti-Trinitarian ideology. For the years 1658–1662 they were deemed illegal as a denominational congregation/ community in the Commonwealth (the last synod being held in 1662 and most probably in Zabłudów<sup>93</sup>).

## Anti-Trinitarian congregations

The loss of Unitarian synodical acts (see earlier) has also hampered attempts to create a picture as to the full extent of the congregation network belonging to this denomination, forcing historians sometimes to mere speculation as is the case with the supposed anti-Trinitarian church in Białystok (see further). Consequently, in a similar way to Calvinist congregations, researchers utilise archives and

<sup>88</sup> S. Szczotka, *Synody arian polskich od założenia Rakowa do wygnania z kraju (1569–1662)*, Cracow 1936, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 23 f.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24 f.

<sup>91</sup> J. Tazbir, *Socynianizm w Prusach Księżęcych XVII wieku*, OiRwP, vol. 17, 1972, p. 170.

<sup>92</sup> *Idem*, *Bracia polscy w Zabłudowie i Dojlidach. Z dziejów arianizmu na Podlasiu*, OiRwP, vol. 52, 2008, p. 7 ff.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24; J. Tazbir, *Arianie w Białymstoku i okolicach*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, ed. J. Antoniewicz, J. Joka, Białystok 1968, p. 102.

works on the large landed estates or, more generally, about the history of the Reformation.<sup>94</sup> Paradoxically, in contrast to the Arians' social principles, their churches would not have been able to function without the material support of wealthy and influential protectors.

On the map as an anti-Trinitarian congregation has been marked Suraż in the Bielsk land endowed by the Suraż starosta as well as Mordy, Sokołów and Węgrów in the Drohiczyn land, and these on the estates of the Kiszka and Radziwiłł families.

Marceli Kosman has written about Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'Czarny', that he was a child 'of the era of humanism, of a generation searching for the genuine interpretation of faith, hence his doubts and ultimate adoption of the evocative arguments of anti-Trinitarianism.'<sup>95</sup> He therefore led to a schism amongst Lithuanian Evangelists. One of the effects being the transformation, in around 1563, of the congregation at Mordy into an Unitarian church. This was to function up until the moment the settlement was taken over by the Catholic Ciecierski family in 1571.<sup>96</sup>

Unitarianism was also adopted by Anna Kiszczyna née Radziwiłł, who transformed evangelical congregations into anti-Trinitarian ones – first in Lithuanian Kiejdany, and then in Węgrów.<sup>97</sup> Her son, Jan Kiszka also established there a printing press around the year 1570, while the town itself became the location for regular Unitarian synods (beginning from 1565).<sup>98</sup> Janusz Tazbir has written that 'Despite purporting Unitarian views as well as supporting Arians, Kiszka never formally joined the congregation: for he was never immersed.'<sup>99</sup> Conflicts with the leading representatives of the radical Unitarian current, with Piotr of Goniądz and Szymonem Budny, were not to hinder him from conveying to his heirs in his last will and testament that they maintained anti-Trinitarian ministries on his estates.<sup>100</sup> In the case of Węgrów in 1592, following the death of Jan Kiszka, the congregation were to find themselves in the hands of Calvinist clergy (Węgrów was situated on the estates of the Calvinist Radziwiłł family), while the parish at Sokołów – under Catholic priests.<sup>101</sup>

The Unitarian congregation in Suraż was founded by Paweł Orzechowski following his taking up of office as Suraż starost in 1590. The patron followed this example on his own estates in the Lublin Voivodeship, in the small town of Piaski and the village of Krupe. As opposed to the churches on the family estate, ones looked after following Paweł's death (in 1612) by his son Stanisław,<sup>102</sup> the Arian Suraż congregation 'was however ephemeral and collapsed, more than likely after its founder's death'<sup>103</sup> although it was presumably still functioning in 1618.<sup>104</sup>

It is worth noting the possible existence of an Arian congregation in Ciechanowiec that belonged to the Kiszka family. For Aneta Średzińska has drawn attention to the fact that according to *Gazeta Białostocka* of 1913, up until the beginning of the twentieth century there were preserved, in the magnate part of the town, fragments of the walls of a building that was referred to by the local inhabitants as the 'Arian church' or simply 'the Arian'.<sup>105</sup> On the other hand, it follows to note that the Kiszka line succeeding in line in Ciechanowiec (as opposed to the line succeeding in Węgrów) for the entirety remained Catholic.

The subject literature also recalls an anti-Trinitarian congregation endowed in the 1560s by Jan Kiszka at Kostrów near Węgrów, which was to have ceased to have existed by the end of that century following the death of its founder and funder.<sup>106</sup> Although, we do not know of any localisation with such a time in proximity to the town, Henryk Merczyng has, however, located a congregation in another Kostrów, this being situated in the district of Pińsk in the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy*.

<sup>95</sup> M. Kosman, *Rola Radziwiłłów w ruchu kalwińskim na Litwie*, „Miscelanea Historico-Archivistica”, vol. 3, 1989, p. 131.

<sup>96</sup> T. Jaszczolt, *Osadnictwo* p. 218.

<sup>97</sup> J. Seredyka, *Dzieje zatargów i ugody o kościół kiejdański*, OiRwP, vol. 21, 1976, pp. 87–88.

<sup>98</sup> S. Gruszecki, *Węgrów kolebką arianizmu polskiego*, „Rocznik Mazowiecki” vol. 6, 1976, pp. 314–324.

<sup>99</sup> J. Tazbir, *Jan Kiszka – ariański magnat*, p. 360; idem, *Jan Kiszka h. Dąbrowa*, [in:] PSB, vol. 12, p. 508.

<sup>100</sup> AR X 422, pp. 11–14.

<sup>101</sup> G. Ryżewski, *Pod panowaniem możnych rodów*, p. 251.

<sup>102</sup> S. Tworek, *Paweł Orzechowski h. Rogala*, [in:] PSB, vol. 24, p. 284.

<sup>103</sup> Idem, *Działalność polityczna i reformacyjna Pawła Orzechowskiego*, OiRwP, vol. 5, 1959, p. 110.

<sup>104</sup> *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy*, p. 118.

<sup>105</sup> A. Średzińska, *Miasta*, p. 119.

<sup>106</sup> J. Mirończuk, *Miasta prywatne ziemi drohickiej i mielnickiej*, p. 149.

<sup>107</sup> *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy*, p. 109.

However there is in turn no certainty as to the confirmed functioning of a Calvinist or anti-Trinitarian congregation in Białystok, which from 1569 was to find itself within the Crown. That a church of another faith was to have existed was to have found credence in the fact that the heir to Piotr Wiesiołowski the elder, equally Piotr by name, the son of Katarzyna née Wołłowicz, was under the protection of his uncle the vice-chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ostafi Wołłowicz. This Lithuanian magnate had rejected Orthodoxy in favour of Calvinism, and had subsequently having become interested in the ideology of the Polish Brethren strongly supported both Evangelists and anti-Trinitarians. In 1556 he took over the guardianship of his sister's orphaned children from her marriage with Piotr Wiesiołowski, strongly impacting on their education and upbringing, sending Jan and Piotr to study at the Protestant universities in Königsberg and Tübingen.<sup>108</sup> It is conjectured that such an education and influence exerted by this anti-Trinitarian supporting uncle could have resulted in consent being granted to Calvinists or anti-Trinitarians to take from the Catholics this wooden church.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, Piotr Wiesiołowski the younger was to have converted from Calvinism to Catholicism in 1579, more than likely as a result of his marriage to Zofia née Lubomirski,<sup>110</sup> while in 1581 in Białystok there was commenced the construction of a new wooden Catholic church.<sup>111</sup> Janusz Tazbir has considered it probable that the Calvinist congregation only functioned between the years 1591 and 1617, when a stone Catholic church was erected, but this fact has not found its confirmation in the sources.<sup>112</sup> A sound argument for the possibility of such a congregation existing at the turn of the seventeenth century or earlier is a fragment of the charter (privilege) granted by Jan Kazimierz for the year 1661 in which the living of the Białystok parish is returned from before the period of 'deoccupationis ab hereticis', as well as stating that the founders Piotr Wiesiołowski and his son Krzysztof erected and built a church of brick 'post vindicationem eius de manibus hereticorum'.<sup>113</sup> Józef Maroszek is of the view that the need to return the living resulted from the occupation of the settlement in 1655 by the Swedes, and later the Russians, and not by Calvinists at an earlier period.<sup>114</sup> Also Wiesław Wróbel points to the noting in the sources of a Catholic parish priest Maciej Faszczka for the years 1599–1604.<sup>115</sup> Equally the absence of mentions about the Białystok Calvinist congregation in the oldest preserved (from 1611) acts of the synods of the Lithuanian Unity suggests that if in point of fact there did exist for a time a Protestant church in Białystok, then it is rather during the period 'of Piotr Wiesiołowski's infancy, or his childhood years when he adhered to Calvinism' as Tadeusz Wasilewski has written,<sup>116</sup> that is before the year 1579.

The anti-Trinitarians were to have settled later, already in the first half of the seventeenth century, in the part of Białystok belonging at the time to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that is in Dojlidy (leased from 1629 by Samuel Przyrkowski, an anti-Trinitarian), an estate of the Zabłudów demesne belonging to the Radziwiłł family as well as in Zabłudów itself. Presumably, with the permission of Krzysztof Radziwiłł, services took place there in private houses.<sup>117</sup> There were also leases of Radziwiłł estates in the parts belonging to the Crown. Despite the condemnation of the anti-Trinitarian ideology by the authorities of the Lithuanian Reformed Church, the wealthiest of its secular patrons supported the settlement of Unitarians, although in 1662, not wanting to be accused of offering them protection, Bogusław Radziwiłł ordered them to leave his estates and to move to Prussia.<sup>118</sup>

Hence in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century it was chiefly Calvinism and anti-Trinitarianism from amongst the Protestant denominations that took root, and consequently it was only

<sup>108</sup> T. Wasilewski, *Testament Ostafiego Wołłowicza*, p. 166.

<sup>109</sup> Idem, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, p. 119.

<sup>110</sup> Ibidem, p. 120.

<sup>111</sup> J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy Kościoła Farnego w Białymstoku z 4 grudnia 1581 roku*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1996, no. 2(42), pp. 3–8; *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, vol. 3: *Białystok*, intro. and comp. J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999.

<sup>112</sup> J. Tazbir, *Arianie w Białymstoku i okolicach*, p. 83.

<sup>113</sup> MK 203, ff. 298v, 298.

<sup>114</sup> J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument*, p. 7.

<sup>115</sup> W. Wróbel, *Proboszczowie parafii pw. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Białymstoku do roku 1806*, [in:] *Małe miasta: duchowość kanoniczna*, ed. M. Zemło, Białystok–Supraśl 2020, p. 392.

<sup>116</sup> T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, p. 119.

<sup>117</sup> See J. Tazbir, *Bracia polscy w Zabłudowie i Dojlidach*.

<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, p. 102 f.

Calvinist and anti-Trinitarian congregations that came into being. The latter generally did not function for long at all. Some churches and congregations under the influence of patrons sympathising with anti-Trinitarianism or Calvinism changed their denominational affiliation, and even several times. A part of them came into being on the basis of Catholic churches while others were to be founded *in cruda radice*. These were the endowments of magnates and the middle nobility.

## ANNEX LIST OF PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

The listing shows the state of development of Protestant communities in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century. Incorporated have been those religious communities confirmed as existing. The names of settlements are given alphabetically with the letter 't' indicating towns.

### **Bielsk district**

Reformed congregation: Waniewo t.

Anti-Trinitarian congregation: Suraż t.

### **Drohiczyn district**

Reformed congregations: Miedzna (a former town, at present a village), Mordy t., Siemiatycze t. Sokołów (Sokołów Podlaski) t., Suchożebry, Węgrów t.

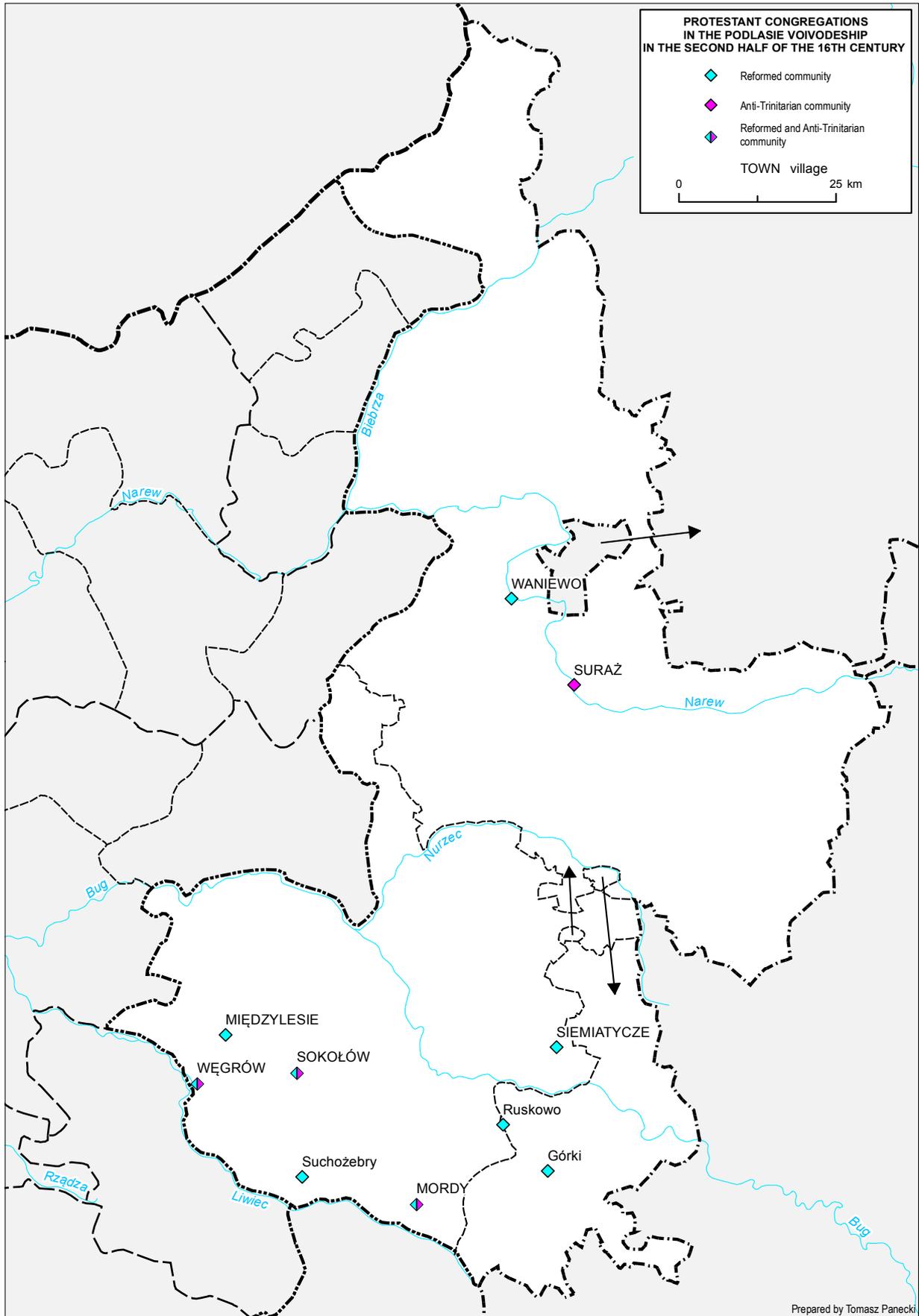
Anti-Trinitarian congregations: Mordy t., Sokołów t., Węgrów t.

### **Mielnik district**

Reformed congregations: Górki, Rusków.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*



**Map 1. Protestant congregations in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th century**

### III.2.2.9A ROYAL PRUSSIA, PART 1 (1961)

*Marian Biskup*

#### **Chełmno Voivodeship<sup>1</sup>**

The ecclesiastical division saw Chełmno Voivodeship falling under two dioceses: Chełmno and Płock dioceses. The predominant area of the voivodeship – 4,491 km<sup>2</sup> – fell under the jurisdiction of Chełmno bishopric, enlarged during Reformation by the acquisition of lands in the upper Drwęca and on the right bank of the Ossa (which had previously belonged to the Pomesanian Bishopric).<sup>2</sup> The lands on the left bank of the Drwęca, the old Michałowo Land and the village of Elgiszewo on the right bank of the Drwęca both fell under the jurisdiction of Płock diocese, while the land of the Polskie Brzozie parish was owned by the Bishop of Płock. The entirety of area under the influence of Płock diocese was 163 km<sup>2</sup>.

The number of parishes in Chełmno diocese was 112, in Płock diocese –seven, bringing their overall number to 119;<sup>3</sup> in this number, there were 105 rural parishes and 14 urban parishes. One parish incorporated from one to seven settlements.<sup>4</sup> The size of individual parishes was between 6.5 km<sup>2</sup> to 134 km<sup>2</sup>, with the average size being 39.1 km<sup>2</sup>.

The parochial network in Chełmno diocese in the second half of the sixteenth century took its shape in a series of transformations which had occurred following the Polish-Teutonic wars of fifteenth century, as well as a consequence of the spread of Reformation which had made great progress in the first half of the sixteenth century. The sharp fall in the number of parishes (down by 20%) was a direct result of these changes: 19 parishes had been liquidated, while 10 previously parochial churches were downgraded and incorporated into other parishes.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Malbork Voivodeship<sup>6</sup>**

Most of the voivodeship fell under the influence of Pomesania diocese, administered at the time by the bishops of Chełmno. Since the thirteenth century, Only the north-eastern part, including Tolkmicko and the territory of Elbląg, east of the river Elblązka, had already belonged to Warmia diocese.<sup>7</sup> However, due to the spread of Protestant faiths in the region, the territory of Elbląg (apart from a small

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<sup>1</sup> MPK, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> A more in-depth analysis can be found in M. Biskup, *Podziały administracyjne województwa chełmińskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Poznań 1956 (SMDWP, vol. 1, no. 2), p. 109ff.

<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the village of Elgiszewo belonged to Ciechocin parish, while the village of Łąszewo belonged to the Grażawy parish in Dobrzyń land, both in Płock diocese. Thus, the actual number of parishes in the voivodeship should be 121.

<sup>4</sup> For a more comprehensive list cf. M. Biskup, *Podziały administracyjne województwa chełmińskiego*, p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> Comparison on the basis of date from St. Kujot, *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej*, Toruń 1904–1905 (RTNT, vol. 11–12).

<sup>6</sup> MPK, p. 30f.

<sup>7</sup> J.M. Saage, *Grenzen des ermländischen Bistumssprengels seit dem 13. Jahrhundert*, „Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands”, vol. 1, 1860, p. 65; J. Bender, *Begrenzung, Einteilung und Kirchen der ehemaligen Diözese Pomesanien*, „Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands”, vol. 2, 1863, pp. 186–187.

enclave of the St. Nicolaus church in Elbląg) was practically removed from any jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. The actual size of Pomesania diocese thus, reflects the size of the voivodeship sans the territories of Elbląg and Tolkmicko – 1,466 km<sup>2</sup>, while Warmia diocese administered the 118 km<sup>2</sup> of the region of Tolkmicko (without its Brzezina enclave).

The number of parishes in Malbork Voivodeship in the mid-sixteenth century was established based on the documentation from of royal demesne inspection, tax registers, and Church visitations:

parishes in Pomesania diocese (excluding the Elbląg territory)	50
parishes in the territory of Elbląg	10
parishes belonging to Warmia diocese	2
altogether	62

The number of settlements within a single parish in Pomesania diocese (excluding the territory of Elbląg):

one settlement	16 parishes
two settlements	12 parishes
three settlements	3 parishes
four settlements	2 parishes
five settlements	3 parishes
six settlements	2 parishes
seven settlements	2 parishes
eight settlements	2 parishes
nine settlements	3 parishes
eleven settlements	1 parish
thirteen settlements	2 parishes
fifteen settlements	1 parish
sixteen settlements	1 parish
altogether	50 parishes

In this count, an average of four settlements was under the jurisdiction of a single parish; the size of parishes was between eight km<sup>2</sup> and 113 km<sup>2</sup>, with an average size of 29.3 km<sup>2</sup>. For the entire Malbork Voivodeship, this would have been an average of five settlements per single parish, each of an average size of 33.8 km<sup>2</sup>. There were 56 rural parishes and six urban parishes.

These numbers speak of a very dense parochial network, especially in the region of Pomesania diocese, which had the densest out of the three Royal Prussian voivodeships. The parishes containing numerous (more than ten) settlements present as striking outliers. This would have been the parochial model propagated in the region during the pre-Teutonic Polish Christianisation missions of Bishop Christian in the early thirteenth century; the parishes of Postolin, Dzierzgoń, Żuławka, and Tychnowy would in particular count as such relics.<sup>8</sup> In Wielkie Żuławy, there is only one such parish, Lichnowy, which is undoubtedly among the oldest in the region. The great majority of parishes contain just one or two villages, which could, in turn, encapsulate up to six smaller settlements. These types of parishes were especially common in Wielkie Żuławy and Małe Żuławy, which is proof of these parishes being established during the sixteenth century Teutonic colonisation.

However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, most of the fifty parochial churches in Pomesania diocese (even with the exclusion of the territory of Elbląg) would have been abandoned

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S. Kujot, *Dzieje Prus Królewskich*, part 1, Toruń 1913–1914, p. 716.

by the Catholic clergy due to the spread of Protestantism, particularly in Wielkie and Małe Żuławy. Some churches would have been taken over by Lutheran pastors.<sup>9</sup> Over time, this process influenced the shape of the parochial network, especially when it came to the number of independent Catholic parishes, which would eventually fall drastically, as evidenced by reports from Church visitations at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> The shape of the parochial network in Pomesania diocese depicted above was an echo of its pre-Reformation state; in the middle of the sixteenth century, the area was already undergoing radical changes.

## Pomeranian Voivodeship<sup>11</sup>

Pomeranian Voivodeship was divided among three dioceses: Wrocław diocese, the archdiocese of Gniezno, and Pomesania diocese.<sup>12</sup> Wrocław claimed the predominant part of the voivodeship, in an area between the Vistula, the Baltic Sea, and the Brda, which formed the so-called Pomerania Archdeaconry, to the size of around 9,723 km<sup>2</sup>. The Archdiocese of Gniezno claimed the south-western part of the voivodeship, which included Człuchów and Tuchola districts up to the line of the Brda. They formed the so-called Kamięńsk Archdeaconry. The whole region under Gniezno influence had the size of around 2,939 km<sup>2</sup>. Finally, a sliver of the territory of the town of Gdańsk fell under the influence of Pomesania diocese – an area size of 245 km<sup>2</sup>, which ran along the right bank of the Vistula (the Vistula Spit and Szkarpa).

The number of parishes in the area of these dioceses:

Pomerania Archdeaconry (Włocławek diocese)	126 parishes
Kamięńsk Archdeaconry (Archdiocese of Gniezno)	67 parishes
Pomesania diocese	4 parishes
altogether	
	197 parishes

Ten settlements within the voivodeship belonged to parishes that had their parochial seats beyond the borders of the voivodeship. Seven settlements were in the area of influence of the Pomerania Archdeaconry, with four parochial seats in the territory of Lębork<sup>13</sup> and three settlements of Kamięńsk Archdeaconry belonging to two parishes in Krajna.<sup>14</sup> Altogether, 181 parishes were rural parishes, while 16 – urban parishes.

It is worth mentioning that during the period in question, the population inhabiting the territory of Gdańsk was becoming increasingly Protestant, which would bring forth the downfall of the hitherto Catholic parish system in the region; a similar phenomenon was occurring in and around Elbląg. The phenomenon affected the Pomeranian territories of Pomesania diocese especially hard and no written sources concerning the four parishes remain from the period. As such, these parishes had to be excluded from the count of the number of settlements in individual parishes in the voivodeship, bringing the number of parishes (in Wrocław diocese and the Archdiocese of Gniezno Archdiocese) down to 193.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Zestawienie parafii W. Żuław z r. 1562 (List of parishes of Wielkie Żuławy from 1562) – Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, MS 1247 – cf. B. Schmid, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Marienburg*, Gdańsk 1919, p. XXXVI.

<sup>10</sup> Archiwum Diecezjalne w Olsztynie, Archiwum Biskupie, B. 58 and 63.

<sup>11</sup> MPK, p. 32f.

<sup>12</sup> For more information see M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, vol. 1: *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej*, vol. 2: *Sieć parafialna*, Toruń 1955 pp. 58–79.

<sup>13</sup> Settlements: Niepoczłowice (Bukowina parish); Okalice i Zakrzewo (Łebunia parish); Brzyn, Nadole, and Prusewo (Osieki Lęborskie parish); and Kętrzyno (Rozłazino parish).

<sup>14</sup> Settlements of Orzełek and Ovilav (lost) in Kamięń parish; and the settlement of Pamiętowo in Zalesie parish. The actual number of parishes within the borders of the whole voivodeship amounted to 203.

<sup>15</sup> List compiled based on the data in M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy*, p. 58ff. Additional information was supplied in the case of the 25 settlements which were listed by Tomczak as locations „with unidentified parochial affiliation” (p. 161) on the basis of nineteenth and twentieth centuries data. The list of settlements in question, mainly mills and estates:

**Table 1. Parish affiliation for settlements in Wrocław diocese and Gniezno diocese in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

number of settlements in individual parishes	Wrocław diocese	Gniezno archdiocese	number of parishes
1	17	30	47
2	19	16	35
3	8	7	15
4	16	3	19
5	7	2	9
6	7	2	9
7	4	2	6
8	5	2	7
9	6	3	9
10	4	–	4
11	7	–	7
12	4	–	4
13	3	–	3
14	8	–	8
15	3	–	3
16	–	–	–
17	1	–	1
18	2	–	2
19	1	–	1
20	–	–	–
21	–	–	–
22	2	–	2
23	1	–	1
24	–	–	–
25	–	–	–
26	–	–	–
27	1	–	1
Altogether	126	67	193

Settlement name, Parish, District  
Adamkowo, Mędromierz Wielki, Tuchola  
Barchnowy, Jabłonowo, Tczew  
Borowy Młyn, Borzyszkowy, Człuchów  
Brzeźnica, Białobór, Człuchów  
Czatkowy, Tczew, Tczew  
Czymanowo, Żarnowiec, Puck  
Drzewina, Skaryszewy, Tczew  
Dworzyska, Gruczno, Świecie  
Głazica, Szemud, Puck  
Grupa, Święte, Świecie  
Kołdowo, Człuchów, Człuchów  
Lipniki, Klonówka, Tczew

Lubania, Serock, Świecie  
Okiers, Cekcyn, Tuchola  
Ostrza, Cierznie, Człuchów  
Osusznica, Borzyszkowy, Człuchów  
Otomin, Żukowo, Gdańsk  
Patuły, Goręczyno, Tczew  
Pawłowo, Skaryszewy, Tczew  
Rębowo, Żukowo, Gdańsk  
Rotmanki, Święty Wojciech, Tczew  
Strzebielinko, Żarnowiec, Puck  
Sulmin, Żukowo, Gdańsk  
Zawada, Nowe, Nowe  
Zawada, Niewieścín, Świecie

An additional list of settlements identified for the region of Pomeranian Voivodeship in the sixteenth century can be found in footnote number 24.

One parish could thus consist of one to twenty-seven settlements, with the average number of settlements being five. One-village parishes were most abundant in the Kamięnsk Archdeaconry (Człuchów district); parishes of size from one to four villages were predominant in the Pomerania Archdeaconry.

The size of a single parish could vary from as little as 7.5 km<sup>2</sup> to as much as 417 km<sup>2</sup>, with the average size being around 65 km<sup>2</sup>. Compared to the size of parishes in other voivodeships, these numbers seem to be much bigger; they were, in fact, inflated by large swathes of woodland in some of the parishes.

In conclusion, the entire area of Royal Prussia was divided into the following parts:

Chełmno Voivodeship	4,654 km <sup>2</sup>
Malbork Voivodeship	2,096 km <sup>2</sup>
Pomeranian Voivodeship	12,907 km <sup>2</sup>
altogether	19,657 km <sup>2</sup>

Royal Prussia was further divided into eleven districts (if Malbork Voivodeship was considered a single district, with the exclusion of the territory of the town of Elbląg), as well as four separate territories: *latifundium* of the Chełmno bishopric as well as the territories of three major urban centres – Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Toruń.

Ecclesiastically, the east of Royal Prussia was divided among Chełmno diocese and Pomesania diocese (as well as, to a lesser degree, Płock diocese and Warmia diocese); the west of Royal Prussia was shared among the dioceses of Wrocław and Gniezno. Share of individual dioceses for the whole Royal Prussia was as follows:

diocese	area size
Wrocław	9,723 km <sup>2</sup>
Chełmno	4,491 km <sup>2</sup>
Gniezno	2,939 km <sup>2</sup>
Pomesania	1,711 km <sup>2</sup>
Płock	163 km <sup>2</sup>
Warmia	118 km <sup>2</sup>
altogether	19,145 km <sup>2</sup>

The remaining 512 km<sup>2</sup>, which comprised of the territory of the town of Elbląg, was in reality outside of the sphere of influence of the bishops of Pomesania or Warmia. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the territory of Elbląg had been split roughly in half among the two dioceses (which would have brought the total areas controlled by the Pomesanian diocese to 1,967 km<sup>2</sup> and by the Warmian diocese to 374 km<sup>2</sup>). However, the undisputed leading players in the region were Wrocław diocese and Chełmno diocese.

The number of parishes in Royal Prussia:

Chełmno Voivodeship	119
Malbork Voivodeship	62
Pomeranian Voivodeship	197
altogether	378

The average size of a parish in Royal Prussia was 52 km<sup>2</sup>, with an average of five settlements in a single parish.

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

### III.2.2.9B ROYAL PRUSSIA, PART 2 (2021)

*Tomasz Nowicki*

The territory of Royal Prussia belonged to five Latin dioceses within to the metropolitan province of Gniezno/Gnesen (Chełmno/Kulm, Płock/Plock, Włocławek/Leslau, Gniezno/Gnesen, and Pomesanian), as well as one exempted diocese subordinate directly to the Bishop of Rome, i.e., the diocese of Warmia/Ermland.<sup>1</sup> The territorial share in the entire area of the province varied between individual bishoprics, which will be discussed below.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the vast majority of the territory of Chełmno Voivodeship was part of the diocese of Chełmno, although its capital and bishops' cathedral were not situated in Chełmno but in more centrally located Chełmża. Twenty-two villages, however, belonged to the diocese of Płock. Apart from one (Elgiszewo, parish of Ciechocin), they were included in parochial districts, the centres of which were located in Royal Prussia and formed a fairly compact complex in the vicinity of Brodnica. The border between Chełmno and Płock dioceses ran along the Drwęca River, diverging to the east only near the village of Pokrzydowo; then, after passing a parish village called Polskie Brzozie, it turned to the south, reaching near Radoszki, the border between Royal Prussia and the Dobrzyń land, which in this area ran along the Brenica River.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, the diocese of Chełmno almost entirely comprised the area of Chełmno Voivodeship. To its original territory, detached in the thirteenth century from the diocese of Płock and shaped under Teutonic rule,<sup>3</sup> two deaneries previously belonging to the diocese of Pomesania were added in the sixteenth century: Łasin, with the parishes of Łasin, Mokre, Rogóżno, Szembruk, and Gubiny, as well as Nowe Miasto, with the parishes of Nowe Miasto, Skarlin, Szwarcenowo, Wonna, Chrośle, and Radomno. The official confirmation of this state of affairs by the Roman Curia did not take place immediately, but by the end of the sixteenth century the areas in question had already become an integral part of the diocese.<sup>4</sup>

For the most part, the boundaries of the diocese of Chełmno were identical to the external borders of Royal Prussia. The boundary line starting from the aforementioned fragment of Płock diocese located in Chełmno Voivodeship, ran along the Drwęca River, reached Vistula upstream of Toruń, and only beyond Grudziądz, having reached the border with the Duchy of Prussia, it changed its course towards the east. From there, it reached the territories belonging to the diocese of Płock again only in the vicinity of Lidzbark. At this point it changed its direction to the west, and, going mostly along the Brenica River, a left-bank tributary of the Drwęca, it reached that part of the territory of Płock diocese which belonged Chełmno Voivodeship near the parish of Radoszki.

Likewise, Malbork Voivodeship was situated on the territory of two dioceses. Its larger part belonged to the diocese of Pomesania, while the smaller one was part of the diocese of Warmia.

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<sup>1</sup> On the efforts to incorporate the dioceses of Chełmno and Warmia into the metropolis of Gniezno, see B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, ABMK, vol. 18, 1969, pp. 305–308, 317–319. Cf. J. Wiśniewski, *Pomezania. Z dziejów kościelnych*, Elbląg 1996, pp. 101–102.

<sup>2</sup> See *Diecezja chełmińska. Zarys historyczno-statystyczny*, Pelplin 1928, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> See B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii*, p. 330ff. Cf. W. Rozynkowski, *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej w diecezji chełmińskiej w czasach panowania zakonu krzyżackiego*, Toruń 2000, pp. 33–40.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibidem*, p. 332; A. Nadolny, *Granice diecezji chełmińskiej*, „*Studia Pelplińskie*”, vol. 16, 1985, p. 19; B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne diecezji chełmińskiej w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2009, p. 102. Cf. J. Wiśniewski, *Pomezania*, pp. 176ff; M. Józefczyk, *Z dziejów religijnych Pomezanii w XVII w.*, vol. 1, Malbork 2012, pp. 15ff.

As noted above, the area of the diocese of Pomesania was significantly reduced as a result of the secularisation of Teutonic Prussia, conversion of the last bishop, Erhard von Queiss, to Lutheranism, and his renunciation of the administration of the diocese of Pomesania in favour of a secular ruler – Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern - which eventually occurred in 1527.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, this decision concerned only that part of the diocese which included the newly created Duchy of Prussia. The southern parts of the former diocese of Pomesania, which were part of Chełmno Voivodeship, have been discussed above. The larger, northern part of the diocese, situated in Malbork Voivodeship was administered by the bishops of Chełmno with the consent of Rome. This state of affairs was fully sanctioned in a letter from Pope Clement VII to Wawrzyniec Gembicki, bishop of Chełmno, dated 16 April 1601, which confirmed the merging of the diocese of Chełmno with the diocese of Pomesania.<sup>6</sup> It should be noted, however, that the diocese in question also encompassed the northern strip of Pomeranian Voivodeship, i.e. Vistula Spit, situated on a territory which belonged to Gdańsk.

The external borders of the part of the diocese of Pomesania located in Royal Prussia<sup>7</sup> started from the area situated a little north of Kwidzyn, the official capital of Pomesanian bishopric in the Duchy of Prussia. Initially, the border overlapped with the border of the voivodeship, running not along the Vistula, but the Liwa, a former oxbow lake of the Nogat. It reached the Vistula only beyond Gniew, and then further it ran along the river, and the Vistula-Leniwka, up to Wisłoujście. The diocese encompassed the entire Vistula Spit up to the border with the Duchy of Prussia. Within Malbork Voivodeship, the diocese of Pomesania was separated from the diocese of Warmia by the Elbląg River and Lake Drużno. We should note that at the end of the sixteenth century this border existed only nominally, as it divided the territory belonging to Elbląg almost exactly in half, while all former Catholic churches were taken over by Lutherans.<sup>8</sup> Further on, the border of the diocese, initially running along the Dzierżgoń River, overlapped with the border of the Duchy of Prussia. We should mention here the existence of two small enclaves which, while located within the territory of the Duchy of Prussia, belonged to Malbork Voivodeship. One of them was centred around the town of Rychliki (*Reichenbach*), and the other was the village of Stare Kusy (*Alt Kusfeldt*). Both were part of the diocese of Pomesania, but they remained under the authority of Elbląg.

The diocese of Warmia, as already indicated, was separated from the diocese of Pomesania by a line formed by Lake Drużno, the Elbląg River, and the waters of the Vistula Lagoon. It essentially comprised the Elbląg Upland (although in this case, by the end of the sixteenth century, all parishes of the former Elbląg deanery were claimed by Protestants).<sup>9</sup> On the territory of Malbork Voivodeship within the diocese of Warmia, only two parishes were in Catholic hands: Tolkmicko and Podgrodzie (*Neukirch-Höhe*).

Considering the diocesan boundaries in Pomeranian Voivodeship, located on the left bank of the Vistula, it should be noted that apart from the aforementioned section of Pomesanian diocese covering a small fragment of Żuławy Wiślane and the Spit, the Voivodeship was divided between two Polish dioceses, i.e., Włocławek and Gniezno. The part administered by the bishops of Włocławek was much larger and formed the Pomerania archdeaconry of this diocese.<sup>10</sup> The borders of this district, departing

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<sup>5</sup> See J. Wiśniewski, *Pomezania*, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> See M. Józefczyk, *Z dziejów religijnych Pomezanii*, vol. 1, p. 15. The text of the papal brief is included in vol. 2, *Źródła do dziejów XVII-wiecznej Pomezanii*, Malbork 2013, pp. 9–10. The papal letter by no means meant the liquidation of the diocese of Pomesania, which was still subject to Church law despite the lack of its own bishop. See W. Zawadzki, *Oficjalat pomezański w l. 1601–1821*, ZH, vol. 72, 2007, no. 1, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 17–18. For a detailed description of the diocese area formation, see B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii*, pp. 266–271.

<sup>8</sup> SGKP, vol. 2, p. 331; A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn 1993, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> The course of the border between Pomesania and Warmia on the Elbląg River was given by Carl Peter Woelke and Johann Martin Saage, editors of Warmian sources. See *Sedes archiepiscopales dioecesis Warmiensis* [in:] *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschriften zur Geschichte Ermlands*, ed. C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, Braunsberg 1866 (*Monumenta historiae Warmiensis oder Quellensammlung zur Geschichte Ermlands*, vol. 3), p. 391.

<sup>10</sup> The area was so distinct within the diocese of Włocławek, that a phrase *episcopus Wladislaviensis et Pomeraniae* was listed among the titles of the Włocławek bishops as early as in the sixteenth century. This title was first used by bishop Stanisław Karnkowski, and then by all his successors. Later on, the term *diocese of Pomerania* was used instead of an *archdeaconry*, and in 1766 Clement XIII even preconized Bishop Cyprian Wolicki as a separate Pomeranian suffragan bishop residing in Gdańsk. Nonetheless, the Pomeranian part of the diocese of Włocławek was never regarded as a completely separate, autonomous unit.

north-west from the Vistula past the Kozielec village, adjoined to the south the archdeaconry of Kruszwica of the diocese of Włocławek. North of Koronowo, the border reached the Brda River. From then on, the boundary of the diocese of Włocławek was based almost entirely on this river, ultimately reaching the state border; on the western side, the parish of Borzyszkowy was left, as it belonged to Gniezno diocese. Next, the boundary ran northwards to the Baltic Sea, mostly along the national border.<sup>11</sup> The whole northern Gdańsk Pomerania, together with the Hel Peninsula, belonged to the diocese of Włocławek. The eastern external border was based on the line of the Vistula, starting from the outlet of one of its branches, the Wisła-Leniwka, up to the aforementioned Kozielec village situated on the southern cape of the Świecie district.<sup>12</sup>

The remaining territory of Pomeranian Voivodeship fell under the jurisdiction of Gniezno diocese. The northernmost part of this Church unit, with Tuchola, Chojnice, Człuchów, Hamersztyn, and Biały Bór, was part of the Kamień archdeaconry, which also included territories belonging to the Kalisz Voivodeship.<sup>13</sup> The southern border of the part of Pomeranian Voivodeship that belonged to the archbishops ran along the Kamionka River, a tributary of the Brda River. Then, starting from Debrzno (*Frydland*), along the Debrzynka River up to its outlet to the Gwda River, where it overlapped with the state border, running northwards along Gwda.<sup>14</sup> Leaving Biały Bór on the Polish side, the border changed its direction to the east and north-east towards the parish of Borzyszkowy, where it reached the boundary with territories owned by the bishops of Włocławek, separated from the area belonging to Gniezno archbishops by the Brda.<sup>15</sup>

From the Middle Ages, Latin dioceses have been divided into smaller territorial units, commonly called archdeaconries and deaneries.<sup>16</sup> A slightly different term for a deanery – archpresbyterate – was also used occasionally, in particular in the dioceses of Chełmno, Pomesania, and Warmia. The smallest unit of Church administration was a parish.<sup>17</sup> We should note that in this commentary the term “parish” is unambiguously construed as a territorial district that comprises several, or even just one settlement or place. From the legal system’s standpoint, the map, therefore, sought to include canonically established churches with parish rights. Such a church should always have its own parish district and an endowment, particularly consisting of a plot of land. It was not relevant, however, whether the church was administered by an independent overseer, a deputy he had appointed, or even by a parson from a neighbouring parish.<sup>18</sup>

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Cf. S. Chodyński, *Biskupi sufragani włocławscy*, Włocławek 1906, pp. 85–86; T. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae. Służba kościelna i witrycy w diecezji włocławskiej w XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2011, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> We should note that at the end of the sixteenth century, the boundaries of the diocese of Włocławek without a doubt encompassed the Lębork deanery, mentioned in the visitations of bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski (see Fon. 1–3, pp. 39, 536). On the other hand, the visitations do not provide any reference to the parishes in the Bytów district. Marian Biskup and Andrzej Tomczak (see *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, RTNT, vol. 58, 1953, no. 1, p. 58) suggested, based on German findings, the ecclesiastical affiliation of Bytów to the bishopric in Kamień. Conversely, Bolesław Kumor (*Granice metropolii*, p. 300), while mentioning the claims of bishops of Kamień to the jurisdiction, emphasised how both districts were linked with the diocese of Włocławek, also in the sixteenth century. It is certain, however, that after 1637 both Lębork and Bytów districts were incorporated into the diocese of Włocławek, and remained there even after the area was seized by the dukes of Prussia in 1657.

<sup>12</sup> On the territory and boundaries of the diocese of Włocławek, including its Pomeranian part, see Z. Chodyński, *Brevis narratio historica de episcopatu Wladislaviensi et Pomeraniae*, [in:] *Statuta synodalia*, pp. VII–IX; Cf. *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 19–21.

<sup>13</sup> In medieval times, however, the territory of the archdiocese reached as far as Słupsk – A. Gašiorowski, I. Skierska, *Początki oficjalatu kamińskiego archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej (wieki XIV–XV)*, KH, vol. 53, 1996, no. 2, pp. 4ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 21–22. For a detailed description of the boundaries and territory of the archdeaconry, see A. Mietz, *Archidiakoniat kamiński archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej. Struktura terytorialna i stan kościołów w czasach staropolskich 1512–1772*, Włocławek 2005, p. 24ff.

<sup>16</sup> It bears mentioning that the borders of the archdeaconries were usually more stable than that of the deaneries.

<sup>17</sup> The importance of a parish, including the purposes of state administration, has already been mentioned in the above comments. Cf. also S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII w.*, Lublin 2004, pp. 9–10.

<sup>18</sup> In this context, we face the problem of differentiating between parish churches, subsidiaries with a territorial district, and subsidiary churches with no district, which can de facto be treated as public chapels. This issue was particularly important in Royal Prussia, where many formerly established and well-endowed parish churches were treated as subsidiary churches after the upheaval of the Reformation when some of them lost their endowment or saw a reduction in the number of worshippers.

The divisions of Church administration units presented above existed in Royal Prussia, although the smaller dioceses of Chełmno, Pomesania, and Warmia were not divided into archdeaconry districts in the period in question.<sup>19</sup> In the dioceses of Włocławek and Gniezno, archdeacons were either wholly or partly located within the territory shown on the maps.<sup>20</sup>

Before discussing the internal divisions of particular dioceses, which territories were included in Royal Prussia, it is worth briefly noting key literature devoted to the Church territorial divisions for the late sixteenth century. For the Pomeranian part of Royal Prussia, the seminal study by Marian Biskup and Andrzej Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.* though published almost 70 years ago, remains the necessary starting point of any research due to its rich source documentation.<sup>21</sup> For Chełmno and Malbork regions, a similar study was produced by M. Biskup alone.<sup>22</sup> Both publications provide detailed information about the source base used for commentaries, lists and maps. Primary data about the Church administrative divisions are contained in the records of canonical visitations.<sup>23</sup> For the dioceses with territories belonging to Royal Prussia, the most valuable sources for the sixteenth century can be found in the Pomerania archdeaconry,<sup>24</sup> as well as in the dioceses of Warmia<sup>25</sup> and Płock.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, as far as the dioceses of Chełmno and Pomesania,<sup>27</sup> as well as the archdeaconry of Kamień<sup>28</sup> are concerned, no records from the sixteenth century have been preserved. The current data concerning the church network as researched by M. Biskup and A. Tomczak could

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See *ibidem*, p. 49; T. Nowicki, *Liczba i sieć świątyń w archidiecezji pomorskiej w l. 1583–1781*, „Studia Pelplińskie”, vol. 28, 1999, p. 171; B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne*, p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> There were, admittedly, archdeacons reported in the second half of the 13th c. in the dioceses of Chełmno and Warmia, but in the examined period, no archdeacons existed in the post-Teutonic Knights' dioceses (see B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne*, p. 20).

<sup>20</sup> The small importance of the archdeaconry divisions in Royal Prussia was pointed out by S. Kościelak (*Dzieje wyznaniowe Prus Królewskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Prusy Królewskie. Społeczeństwo, kultura, gospodarka 1454–1772*, ed. E. Kizik, Gdańsk 2012, p. 205).

<sup>21</sup> RTNT, vol. 58, 1953, no. 1. In part 1: *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej* the study covers the distribution of land ownership. For the purposes of this commentary, part 2, determining the parish network, is more valuable.

<sup>22</sup> M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, RTNT, vol. 61, 1955, no. 2.

<sup>23</sup> The importance of visitations for the investigation of Church structures has been pointed out by many authors. It is enough to mention Stanisław Litak (*Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 29ff). On the significance of visitations for the study of Church structures, see also B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne*, pp. 17ff.

<sup>24</sup> In this case, the most important are the visitations carried out in the 1580s and 1590s during the administration of Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski (Wiz. G1a, Wiz. G1b, Wiz. G11 and editions in Fon. 1–3 [1897–1899] and in MHDW vol. 15). They provide excellent documentation of the state of the archdeaconry almost at the very end of the period under scrutiny. They can be supplemented by protocols of later visitations, particularly those of Bishop Bonawentura Madaliński (from years 1686–1687, Wiz. G20a), Archdeacon Krzysztof Szembek (from years 1701–1702, Wiz. G24), and Bishop Konstanty Szaniawski (from years 1710–1711, Wiz. G26). Occasionally, it was necessary to consult even later archives, i.e., visitations of Archdeacon Józef Narzymski (from years 1728–1729, Wiz. G40), Archdeacon August Kliński (from years 1745–1750, Wiz. G56) or the very thorough visitations of Bishops Antoni Ostrowski (from years 1765–1766, Wiz. G61, Wiz. G62, Wiz. G63a, Wiz. G63b), and Józef Rybiński (from years 1780–1781, Wiz. G69, Wiz. G70, Wiz. G71, Wiz. G72).

<sup>25</sup> In the case of the diocese of Warmia, a description made during the pontificate of bishop Marcin Kromer was of primary importance. It included information on churches in the Elbląg deanery which at the end of the sixteenth century were already administered by Protestants (AAWarm, Wiz. B1). Earlier visitations from 1565–1572 (Wiz. B3), and a later visitation from 1622 were useful as well (Wiz. B7).

<sup>26</sup> The parishes of the diocese of Płock situated within Chełmno Voivodeship were included in the visitations of 1599 (Wiz. 2), 1605 (Wiz. 4, as well as the edition in Fon. 14, pp. 649–659), 1618 (edition in Fon. 14, pp. 660–672). Moreover, significant additions were made to the editions of the visitation of 1763 (Fon. 14, pp. 673–738) and of 1775 (*Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, vol. 10: *Ziemia dobrzyńska*, elab. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1999).

<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, for the dioceses of Chełmno and Pomesania the earliest visitations from the times of the rule of Bishop Piotr Kostka, i.e., from 1581 and 1588, were not preserved (see B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne*, pp. 59–60). However, slightly later protocols are available, primarily the incomplete visitations of Bishops Jan Lipski (from 1635, Wiz. C12) and Kasper Działyński (from 1640, Wiz. C13, pp. 219–265v), included in Curial records. Some information is also provided by an inventory of churches in the Chełmno deanery from 1641 (Wiz. C14). Considerably more data, also concerning parish villages, is supplied by the preserved visitations of Bishop Andrzej Leszczyński (from 1647, Wiz. C16 and the edition in Fon. 4) and Bishop Andrzej Olszowski (from 1667–1672 Wiz. C19 and edition in Fon. 6–10).

<sup>28</sup> The archdeaconry of Kamień has a visitation conducted in the years 1652–1653 by Archdeacon Stanisław Trebnica at the behest of Archbishop Andrzej Leszczyński (Wiz. K14 and the edition of Fon. 11–12). As a subsidiary measure, we had to refer to visitations conducted later, i.e., during the administration of Archbishop Michał Radziejowski (from 1695, sign. K15) and Archbishop Krzysztof Szembek (from 1743–1744, Wiz. K16).

be verified using the archival records from the seventeenth century and recent monographic studies supplied with source-documented lists of almost all parishes and places of worship.<sup>29</sup>

We will examine the internal territorial structures of the Roman Catholic Church in Royal Prussia starting with the diocese of Chełmno. According to B. Kumor, at the end of the sixteenth century, the diocese consisted of 12 archpresbyterates.<sup>30</sup> 10 of them were listed in the records of the visitation of Bishop Jan Lipski in the book of the Chełmno Curia in 1635,<sup>31</sup> while all 12, with their parishes, appear in the records of the synod held by Bishop Kasper Działyński in Lubawa in 1641.<sup>32</sup> The same list of archpresbyterates can be found in the visitation records of Bishop Andrzej Leszczyński in 1647 and as such it remained until the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, it may be assumed that at the end of the sixteenth century, the diocese of Chełmno was divided into the following archpresbyterates: Brodnica (10 parish districts), Chełmno (8), Chełmża (15), Golub (8), Grudziądz (4<sup>34</sup>), Lidzbark (6), Lubawa (11), Łasin (5), Nowe Miasto (13), Radzyń (9), Toruń (14<sup>35</sup>) and Wąbrzeźno (12). Thus, in the diocese of Chełmno there were an average of 9–10 parishes per deanery district, which makes a total number of 119 parishes and 474 corresponding settlements. An average parish of the diocese consisted of about five settlements (including the village with a church). 61 parishes (51%), thus more than half, comprised of one to four settlements, 41 (35%) possessed a parish district of five to nine settlements, and the least numerous in the diocese of Chełmno were parishes with 10 or more settlements (17 parishes, 14% of the total). It is worth adding that at the end of the sixteenth century there were probably five parishes occupied by Protestants. Among them were three churches in the vicinity of Toruń, namely Grębocin, Lubicz and Rogowo.<sup>36</sup> Further, Ostromecko,<sup>37</sup> located in the same deanery of Toruń but close to the bend of the Vistula, and a parish in Mokre within the deanery of Grudziądz.<sup>38</sup>

The later visitations suggest that within the diocese of Chełmno there were several settlements which may have belonged to two different parishes, namely Folwark (parish of Radzyń),<sup>39</sup> Mlewiec (parish of Kiełbasin),<sup>40</sup> Wałdowo Królewskie (parish of Boluminek)<sup>41</sup> and Łunawy Wielkie (parish of Chełmno).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The studies of Bogusław Dygdała (*Struktury parafialne*) for the diocese of Chełmno, Mieczysław Józefczyk (*Z dziejów religijnych Pomezanii*, vol. 1 and 2) and Jan Wiśniewski (*Kościół i kaplice na terenie byłej diecezji pomezkańskiej 1243–1821*, Elbląg 1999) for the diocese of Pomesania, and Andrzej Mietz (*Archidiakoniat kamiński*) for the archdeaconry of Kamiń.

<sup>30</sup> B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii*, p. 334.

<sup>31</sup> The following archpresbyterates were listed: Golub, Radzyń, Lubawa, Łasin, Toruń, Wąbrzeźno, Brodnica, Nowe Miasto, Chełmża, and Lidzbark. Therefore, the list omitted deaneries of Grudziądz and Chełmno. See Wiz. C12, pp. 78v–84v. Cf. B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne*, pp. 103–104.

<sup>32</sup> See Fon. 24, pp. 133–135.

<sup>33</sup> See B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne*, pp. 103–104.

<sup>34</sup> Including one parish occupied by Protestants as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century.

<sup>35</sup> Including four churches that were still held by Protestants at the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>36</sup> See Wiz. C19 pp. 17v, 108, 156v; Fon. 4. pp. 15, 194, 278, 805.

<sup>37</sup> According to B. Dygdała (*Struktury parafialne*, p. 45), Catholics recovered the church in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Indeed, in the visitations of 1640 and 1647, the parish was already administered by Catholics (see Wiz. C13 p. 221v; Wiz. C16 p. 7v; Fon. 4 p. 22).

<sup>38</sup> Similarly to Ostromecko, the church was still held by Protestants around 1620 (see B. Dygdała, *Struktury parafialne*, p. 45), but in 1640 and 1647 it was under the control of Catholics (see Wiz. C13 p. 226v; Wiz. C16 p. 16; Fon. 4 p. 44).

<sup>39</sup> Both visitations from the seventeenth century assigned the village of Folwark to two parishes: Radzyń (in 1647: Wiz. C16 p. 16v; Fon. 4, p. 46; in 1667–1672: Wiz. C19 p. 443; Fon. 6–10, p. 712) and Rywałd (in 1647: Wiz. C16, p. 18v; Fon. 4, p. 51; in 1667–1672: Wiz. C19, p. 468v; Fon. 6–10, p. 751). The parishes are adjacent to each other, but it is quite possible that in this case two entirely different villages were involved. Since each of them had a manor (*folwark*), they were recorded under that name in both parishes.

<sup>40</sup> Mlewiec was assigned doubly only in bishop Leszczyński's visitation of 1647, to parishes Kiełbasin (Wiz. C16, p. 9v; Fon. 4, p. 28) and Srebrniki (Wiz. C16, p. 10; Fon. 4, p. 28). This double affiliation is questionable, however, because Srebrniki was at that time a parish which was dependent on Kiełbasin, and perhaps for this reason it was listed both under the mother parish (under the name Mliwiec, but Srebrniki itself was omitted) and while describing Srebrniki (here under the name Mlewiec). In the next visitation under bishop Olszowski, Srebrniki was still recorded as a subsidiary of Kiełbasin, but without other villages. Mlewiec appeared only in the district of the parish of Kiełbasin (Wiz. C19, p. 29; Fon. 6–10, p. 71).

<sup>41</sup> The dual affiliation of Wałdowo Królewskie is probable, as it was indeed located on the border between the parishes of Boluminek and Ostromecko. In 1647, it was recorded in both parishes (Boluminek: Wiz. C16, p. 7v; Fon. 4, p. 21; Ostromecko: Wiz. C16, p. 7v; Fon. 4, p. 22). However, in 1667–1672 it was only present in the parish of Boluminek (Wiz. C19, f. 163v; Fon. 6–10, p. 288).

<sup>42</sup> Marian Biskup assigned Łunawy Wielkie to the parish of Chełmno (*Rozmieszczenie własności*, p. 79), but a visitation from 1647 noted this settlement only in the parish of Wabcz (Wiz. C16, p. 15; Fon. 4, p. 41). The next one, dated 1667–1672,

Potential double assignments were not included on the maps, and each village was assigned to a single parish centre as determined by M. Biskup. As there are no extant visitation records from the sixteenth century, it is not possible to confirm this statement, but the administrative affiliation to two parishes is actually indicated in the visitations records from 1647 and 1667–1672.

The parishes of Płock diocese located on the territory of Chełmno Voivodeship were part of the archdeaconry of Dobrzyń and the deanery of Rypin. The latter was created at the beginning of the sixteenth century as a result of the reorganisation introduced by Bishop Erazm Ciołek at the diocesan synod of 1506. The synodal census, known today only from copies made by W. Mąkowski in 1926–1939,<sup>43</sup> includes the deanery of Michałów, but only as a second name or even as a part of the deanery of Rypin. Later sources made no mention of such deanery, and, according to W. Müller, it is unlikely that it ever existed.<sup>44</sup> Supposedly, the deanery of Rypin was separated, together with the deaneries of Dobrzyń and Lipiny, from the deanery of Ciechanów, which was quite large and had already existed in the Middle Ages.<sup>45</sup> A. Borek<sup>46</sup> has demonstrated that this confusion resulted from the erroneous reading of W. Mąkowski's copies by H. Folwarski.<sup>47</sup>

At this point, we should note that the village of Elgiszewo, which was situated on the territory of Chełmno Voivodeship, belonged to the parish of Ciechocin, located in Dobrzyń land in the Lipno deanery of Płock diocese. This administrative division of the diocese of Płock on the territory of Royal Prussia was also valid at the end of the sixteenth century, and significant reorganisations, also concerning parishes of the Płock bishopric located on the territory of Royal Prussia, occurred in 1643 through the creation of the deanery of Górzno.<sup>48</sup>

Five parishes of the diocese of Płock comprised 20 villages located within the territory of Chełmno Voivodeship. Additionally, two villages were part of parishes that had their seats outside the borders of Royal Prussia. We should note that the discussed diocese included also a part of Brodnica, the so-called Przedmieście Mazurskie, situated on the left side of the river Drwęca. A hospital provostry of St. George was built there. The village of Michałowo was also located nearby; formerly it had a church, perhaps even a parish one. Interestingly, in the Chełmno visitations from 1647 and 1667–1672, Michałowo is listed among the villages in the parish of Brodnica, similarly to the provostry of St. George.<sup>49</sup> This could indicate that it belonged to the diocese of Chełmno. However, this is contradicted by earlier and later sources from Płock. "Brodnicza prepositura/prepositura ante Brodnicza" is mentioned in the Płock deanery census of 1506/10, in the deanery defined as "Rypin and Michałów".<sup>50</sup> The hospital provostry is also mentioned in the Płock visitation of 1597, as recently reclaimed from the Protestant burghers. Then, also the parish priest of Brodnica Jan Lubowski is known to have become a provost of St. George hospital, though instigated by the Górzno provost.<sup>51</sup> The information does not, however, indicate that the hospital provostry in Mazurskie Suburb was a part of Brodnica parish. The Płock visitation explicitly ascribes it to Płock diocese. Similarly, the provostry and Michałowo is said to be the part of Płock bishopric, as evidenced by the Płock visitation from 1618. The information on its endowment was

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ascribed it doubly, i.e., to Chełmno, including the value of tributes (Wiz. C19, p. 78v; Fon. 6–10, p. 151), and Wabcz, with the village name only (Wiz. C19, p. 97; Fon. 6–10, p. 177). Perhaps at that time, a distinction was already made between Łunawy Wielkie belonging to the parish of Chełmno and Łunawy Małe belonging to the parish of Wabcz.

<sup>43</sup> See Wiz. 9, p. 107.

<sup>44</sup> W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej w XVI–XVIII w.*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 15, 1969, no. 2, p. 161.

<sup>45</sup> See E. Wiśniowski, *Diecezja płocka u progu czasów nowożytnych*, „Studia Płockie”, vol. 3, 1975, p. 129; T. Żebrowski, *Zarys dziejów diecezji płockiej*, Płock 1976, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> See A. Borek, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Kujawy.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. H. Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek, biskup i dyplomata*, Warsaw 1935, p. 110.

<sup>48</sup> W. Müller, *Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej*, p. 161.

<sup>49</sup> The village is mentioned in the visitation of bishop Andrzej Leszczyński from 1647 (see C16, p. 19v; Fon. 4, p. 54) and the visitation of bishop Andrzej Olszowski from 1667–1672 (see C19, p. 314v; Fon. 6–10, p. 521).

<sup>50</sup> Wiz. 9, p. 107.

<sup>51</sup> Wiz. 2, pp. 31–31v. The parishes of Rypin deanery were visited in 1597. The priest Jan Lubowski had many benefices and titles. In 1592–1601, he was a castle preacher, a provost of the church of the Holy Spirit in Malbork, and a parish priest in Pogorzała wieś. He was also a canon priest of Lublin and a provost of Brodnica. He died on 6 January 1605 (cf. Józefczyk, *Z dziejów religijnych Pomezanii*, vol. 1, p. 16).

provided by the former parish priest from Cielęta parish.<sup>52</sup> The question arises, however, as to which parish both settlements might have belonged at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>53</sup> The visitations do not include direct mentions of their affiliation. A definitive answer to that requires a broader query of the documents housed by the bishoprics and the consistory. A clear indication that the left-bank part of Brodnica belongs to Szczuka parish is confirmed by the eighteenth century sources.<sup>54</sup>

The pre-Reformation division of the diocese of Pomesania consisted of a dozen or so deaneries, but after the Peace Treaty of Toruń (1466), within the borders of Royal Prussia, the northern part of the diocese lying entirely within the territory of Malbork Voivodeship was divided into five archpresbyterates: Dzierżgoń (13 parishes), Malbork (9), Nowy Staw (8), Sztum (13), and Żuławy (10).<sup>55</sup> Most likely this arrangement continued to exist at the end of the sixteenth century, as it is confirmed in the documents of the synod of Bishop Działyński held in Lubawa in 1641.<sup>56</sup> In addition, as noted above, the diocese of Pomesania at least nominally included parishes located in areas belonging to Gdańsk (Vistula Spit and part of Żuławy Wielkie, so-called Szkarpa) and Elbląg (Żuławy Elbląskie). Before the Reformation, they were most probably part of the Żuławy deanery. Eight former Catholic churches were identified in this area, i.e., in the territory belonging to Gdańsk: Bonsack (*Sobieszewo*), Kobbelgrube (*Stegna*), Pröbbernau (*Przebrno*) as well as Schönenbaum (*Drewnica*),<sup>57</sup> and in the territory belonging to Elbląg: Fürstenau (*Kmiecin*), Gross Mausdorf (*Myszewo*), Jungfert (*Marzęcino*) as well as Zeyer (*Kępkki*). Furthermore, the domain of Elbląg included the parish of Reichenbach (*Rychliki*), which functioned as an enclave within the territory of the Duchy of Prussia. Disregarding the parishes owned by Protestants, in the diocese of Pomesania there were on average 10 parish districts per one archpresbyterate. In total, excluding the parishes discussed above, the diocese of Pomesania comprised 53 parishes and 161 other settlements. Therefore, it can be easily calculated that a parish in this area consisted of four settlements on average. However, 2/3 of parishes consisted of a maximum of four villages (35 parishes, including as many as 16 districts made up of only one village with a church<sup>58</sup>). The ones comprising more settlements (over six) were located mainly in the deaneries of Sztum and Dzierżgoń, while the smaller ones (up to five) were fairly evenly distributed throughout the diocese.

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<sup>52</sup> About Michałów itself, it is stated that “*in ea (villa) fuit templum muratum, verum collapsum, in profanos usus haereticis converterunt, maxime vero eiusdem villae scultetus, qui sibi cellarium ex hac materia fieri fecit*”. The sołtys mentioned above additionally cultivated two church łans (see Fon. 14, p. 666–667).

<sup>53</sup> It is possible that the case of Brodnica is similar to that of Mstów, situated on the Warta River on the border between the dioceses of Gniezno and Cracow. According to Henryk Rutkowski, the parish of Mstów was divided between these two dioceses. See: H. Rutkowski, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Sieradz.

<sup>54</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the parishes in Cielęta and Szczuka as well as St. George Brodnica provostry were administered by a commendatory priest Bartłomiej Gościński (Wiz. 46, p. 556) Similarly, in 1724, the three churches were administered by one priest – Michał Bekierkiewicz (Wiz. 255, pp. 7–8). Another mention on the three churches administered together by priest Michał Chmielewski comes from 1763 (cf. Fon. 14, pp. 720ff). The visitation from 1775, in turn, explicitly denotes that the hospital prebend of St. George belongs to the parish of Szczuka, although at that time Michałowo was not mentioned among the settlements belonging to this parish (*Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, vol. 10, p. 163). S. Litak attributes the Brodnica suburb to the parish of Szczuka as well (cf. *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 r. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1996, p. 262; idem, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII w.*, Lublin 2006, pp. 121, 272). The issue of the parish affiliation of Mazurskie Suburb is also not clarified by the Brodnica monograph under Jerzy Drygała, though it confirms that the provostry was a part of Płock diocese (cf. *Brodnica. Siedem wieków miasta*, ed. J. Dygdała, Brodnica 1998, pp. 139–140).

<sup>55</sup> It is necessary to note here that after the secularisation of the diocese in 1525, the southern archpresbyterates of Łasin and Nowe Miasto, located on the territory of Chełmno Voivodeship, were incorporated directly into the diocese of Chełmno. See J. Wiśniewski, *Kościół i kaplice*, pp. 62–62; idem, *Skutki sekularyzacji w oficjalacie pomezkańskim (w świetle wizytacji biskupich XVII–XVIII wieku)*, [in:] *Laicyzacja i sekularyzacja społeczeństwa nowożytnego (XVI–XVIII w.)*, ed. J. Wiśniewski, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 45–46.

<sup>56</sup> See Fon. 24, pp. 135–136.

<sup>57</sup> They were probably these four churches that were mentioned in the visitation of bishop Rozdrażewski from 1583, stating in the discussion of the churches of Gdańsk that *sunt et in insula quadam cognomine Nereia ad Laternam quatuor ecclesiae similiter ab haereticis occupatae* (Wiz. G1a, p. 2a; Wiz. G1b, p. 3; Fon. 1–3, p. 9). Cf. J. Fankiejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej podług urzędowych akt kościelnych*, Pelplin 1880, pp. 192–193.

<sup>58</sup> Parishes comprising a single village were characteristic of German colonisation in the Teutonic Knights' times. Cf. M. Biskup, *Parafie w Państwie Krzyżackim*, [in:] *Państwo Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, ed. Z.H. Nowak, R. Czaja, Toruń 2000, p. 90.

The diocese of Warmia, similarly to the dioceses of Chełmno and Pomesania, was not divided into archdeaconries, although the records indicate that the post of archdeacon existed in the Middle Ages. The division into smaller territorial districts, also called here archpresbyterates, originated at least in the fourteenth century.<sup>59</sup> It was already firmly established at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and at that time it encompassed 14 archpresbyterates.<sup>60</sup> In the case of the territory of the diocese of Warmia that was part of Malbork Voivodeship, we should note that at the end of the sixteenth century, two Catholic parishes, Tolkmicko and Podgrodzie (*Neukirch-Höhe*), were assigned to the deanery of Frombork. The same deanery also included the parish of Bludowo (*Bludau*), which belonged to a different voivodeship even though its territory partly overlapped with Malbork Voivodeship. It should be added that before the Protestants took over the churches in Elbląg<sup>61</sup> and the lands on the Elbląg Upland, they were part of the Elbląg and Frombork archpresbyterate.<sup>62</sup> It is also worth noting that the assignment of the village of Majewo (*Maibaum*) to one of the Catholic parishes raises some doubts. Even though it was located within the boundaries of the starosta's district of Tolkmicko, it was often pledged to Elbląg, which resulted in its inhabitants being Protestants.<sup>63</sup> Perhaps for this reason it was not recorded in any parish.<sup>64</sup>

From the Middle Ages, the organisation of the territorial structure of the archdiocese of Gniezno and the diocese of Włocławek was based on a two-tier division, comprising archdeaconries and deaneries. Notably, the archdeaconries in both dioceses have a very early origin.<sup>65</sup> In the diocese of Włocławek, the division into three archdeaconries (Włocławek, Kruszwica and Pomerania) was already recorded in the thirteenth century.<sup>66</sup> The division into deaneries was similarly long-standing. At the end of the sixteenth century, parishes of the diocese of Włocławek situated on the territory of Pomeranian Voivodeship were grouped into 10 deaneries:<sup>67</sup> Gdańsk (19 parish districts), Gniezno (8), Mirachowo (13),<sup>68</sup> Nowe (18), Puck (13), Starogard (19),<sup>69</sup> Świecie (17), Tczew (16), and Wyspa Mniejsza (12).<sup>70</sup> The circumstances were slightly different for the Lębork deanery, which at that time was not part of

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<sup>59</sup> A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej*, pp. 162–163.

<sup>60</sup> See *Sedes archipresbyterales dioecesis Warmiensis*, pp. 386ff; cf. A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej*, p. 163.

<sup>61</sup> Before the Reformation, the town had two Catholic parishes, i.e., at St. Nicholas church for the Old Town and the Three Kings church for the New Town (A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej*, p. 200).

<sup>62</sup> The archpresbyterate of Elbląg included some parishes located in the territory of the archpresbyterate of Malbork: Elbląg, Przezmark (Preussischmark), and Pomorska Wieś (Pommehrendorf). The parishes of Milejewo (Trünz) and Łęcze (Lentz) belonged to the archdeaconry of Frombork. See *Sedes archipresbyterales dioecesis Warmiensis*, pp. 408–409, 414–415. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, all settlements with churches belonging to the diocese of Warmia and located on the territory of Elbląg were assigned to the archpresbyterate of Elbląg only. See Wiz. B1, pp. 60v, 61, 62, 163, 164.

<sup>63</sup> According to Eugen G. Kerstan (*Die Geschichte des Landkreises Elbing*, Elbląg 1925, p. 264), the inhabitants attended services in a church built in 1599 in Nowe Monasterzysko (Neu Münsterberg), which was located in the Duchy of Prussia.

<sup>64</sup> Majewo could be included in the territorially closest parish of Bludowo (Bludau), but the analysed Warmian visitations from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century do not mention the village. It is also not listed among the parish villages of Tolkmicko, Bludowo, or Podgrodzie in the visitation from 1729. (see A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej*, p. 261).

<sup>65</sup> See T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidjako­natu w Polsce*, Lwów 1927., pp. 96ff; J. Szymański, *Uwagi o organizacji archidjako­natu polskiego*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne”, vol. 6, 1960, no. 3, pp. 33ff.; idem, *Powstanie i zanik organizacji prepozyturalnej w średniowiecznej Polsce*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 15, 1967, no. 2, pp. 49–84; A. Gąsiorowski, I. Skierska, *Początki oficjalu kamieńskiego*, pp. 3–4; S. Kościelak, *Katolicy w protestanckim Gdańsku od drugiej połowy XVI do końca XVIII w.*, Gdańsk 2012, pp. 69–70.

<sup>66</sup> Z. Chodyński, *Brevis narratio historica*, p. IX.

<sup>67</sup> This division was introduced at the beginning of bishop Rozdrażewski's time in 1582. Cf. S. Kościelak, *1000 lat gdańskiego Kościoła*, Gdańsk 1999, pp. 71–72.

<sup>68</sup> The terminology used was “decanatus Mirochoviensis seu/sive Kościerzynensis”, probably because of the seat of the dean, as explained in the records of the synod of Gdańsk in 1585 (see *Statuta synodalia*, p. 92; cf. MHDW 1, pp. 22, 25).

<sup>69</sup> In the case of this deanery, as noted by the publishers of Włocławek sources under the year 1583, the names “Zaborzensis seu Podlaszensis (postea appellabatur Stargardiensis)” were used: see MHDW 1, p. 22. However, in the records of the synod of Gdańsk in 1585, the deanery was called only Starogard. The same is true for the documents of the synods held in Subkowy in 1589 and 1598 (see *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 92, 93, 125, 147).

<sup>70</sup> In the records of the visitation of bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski from 1583, this deanery was called “Minoris Insule seu Stobleviensis” (see Wiz. G1a, p. 2; Wiz. G1b, p. 1; Fon. 1–3, p. 7).

Royal Prussia. It was generally not included on the maps presented, except for a few villages located in Pomeranian Voivodeship which belonged to parish districts with seats within this deanery.<sup>71</sup>

It is possible that the town of Gdańsk with its dozen or so churches (at the end of the sixteenth century mostly occupied by Lutherans) and the adjacent areas constituted a separate Church territorial unit. Visitations and lists of churches quite clearly separate churches located in the town itself from the deanery of Gdańsk, but they do not explicitly state that this area constituted a separatedistrict. The 1583 census of deaneries lists all 10 but uses the term *rurales*, which may indicate that the town of Gdańsk, with its churches and adjacent settlements lying within its dominion, was treated as a separate and isolated ecclesiastical district.<sup>72</sup>

Some problems arose with regard to the assignment of parishes forming the archdeaconry of Pomerania to their proper deaneries. This was primarily caused by the fact that visitations carried out during the pontificate of Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski, did not always accurately indicate deanery affiliation.<sup>73</sup> In general though, lists of churches included in the records of synods are definitely helpful. These are primarily the lists from the times when Bishop Rozdrażewski was active, from the synods held in Gdańsk (1585)<sup>74</sup> and Subkowy (1598).<sup>75</sup> In addition, similar lists from the years 1583 and 1598 were published by the editors of synodal statutes of Włocławek diocese.<sup>76</sup> The analysis of these lists is crucial, as it allows us to capture the changes occurring in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century. The organizational structure of Pomeranian deaneries at the end of the century is confirmed by the list presented to the synod held in Włocławek in 1620 and presided over by Bishop Paweł Wołucki.<sup>77</sup> It should be noted, however, that the reviewed lists of churches were not entirely reliable on the matter of the affiliation of parishes to deaneries. Some of them provide contradictory information, assigning the same parish to two deaneries.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the names of certain settlements raise serious doubts over their interpretation.<sup>79</sup> Apart from these issues, the vast majority of Pomeranian parishes

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<sup>71</sup> The settlements in question were: Bzino, Nadole and Prusowo, situated on the left shore of Lake Żarnowieckie, which belonged to the parish of Osieki Lęborskie; Kętrzyno, which was part of the parish of Rozłazino; as well as Okalice and Zakrzewo, which belonged to the parish of Lębunia.

<sup>72</sup> In historical literature, various researchers interpret the deanery affiliation of Gdańsk in different ways. S. Kujot (*Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej?*, RTNT, vol. 10, 1903, p. 231) believed that in the second half of the sixteenth century there were two deaneries of Gdańsk: urban and rural. Conversely, according to I. Subera (*Terytorium diecezji włocławskiej i pomorskiej*, „Prawo Kanoniczne”, vol. 4, 1961, p. 741) there was always just one Gdańsk deanery. Without a doubt, this was the case in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. On the other hand, sources from the sixteenth century clearly distinguish between rural deaneries and the territory of Gdańsk. The visitation from 1583 enumerated 16 churches “intra et extra muros”. The visitor of Bishop Rozdrażewski included also the parish on the Hel Peninsula and four unnamed churches on the Vistula Spit, which were located on the territory of Gdańsk, but, in fact, belonged to the diocese of Pomesania (see Fon. 1–3, p. 9; MHDW 1, pp. 20, 22). The exceptional treatment of Gdańsk is corroborated by the fact that in the mid-sixteenth century there were 155 priests in the town churches. A detailed survey of churches, benefices and hospitals in Gdańsk including the number of working priests shows that there were over 200 clergymen in Gdańsk (see Fon. 1–3, pp. 515–517). See M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, pp. 65–65; T. Nowicki, *Liczba i sieć*, p. 79; idem, *Plebani archidiakonatu pomorskiego w XVIII w. Studium prozopograficzne*, Lublin 2008; p. 44; S. Kościelak, *Katolicy*, p. 71.

<sup>73</sup> The editors of these sources also faced these difficulties, and at times their interpretation of the deanery affiliation of certain parish centres seems to contradict the source records (see Fon. 1–3, pp. 5–7, 222b–222c; cf. MHDW 15).

<sup>74</sup> See *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 93–94.

<sup>75</sup> Not only the list of deaneries and parishes was of importance here, but also the regulations which changed the deanery affiliation of some parishes in relation to the changes of 1582. According to this decree, parishes in Żukowo, Oliwa, Chwaszczyno, Kielno, Matarnia, Przodkowo, Szemud and Wielki Kack were added to the Gdańsk deanery. On the other hand, Niedamowo was included in the deanery of Mirachowo, which was detached from the deanery of Tczew, to which it had previously belonged. For similar reasons, the deanery of Starogard was expanded to include Kleszczewo, Szczodrowo, Garczyno from the Tczew deanery, as well as Dąbrówka, Jabłowo, Bobowo from the Nowe deanery. The newly created parish in Topolno was also incorporated into the deanery. See *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 147–148.

<sup>76</sup> See MHDW 1, pp. 22–26.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 179–180.

<sup>78</sup> For example, in the list from the synod of 1598, Bobowo parish was listed in the deaneries of Starogard and Gniew (see *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 147, 148), while Nowa Cerkiew parish was listed in the deaneries of Nowe and Gniew in the list from the same year edited in MHDW 1, p. 26.

<sup>79</sup> For example, the names Zerenczino (deanery of Mirachowo) or Sędziszowo (deanery of Tczew) mentioned in the register appended to the records of the synod of Subkowo (see *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 147, 148) are completely unclear, as well as the names of parishes in the deanery of Gniew provided by the Włocławek editor of bishop’s documents, Scierzawo and Proszyn (MHDW 1, p. 26).

could be unambiguously assigned to deaneries. For some, however, a thorough analysis of visitations and synodal records was required.<sup>80</sup>

In the case of the archdeaconry of Pomerania, the Reformation brought about the most permanent and numerous loss of churches. The strongest and earliest influence Protestantism gained in Gdańsk itself.<sup>81</sup> We should note that before the Reformation there were six territorial parishes in the Main Town: St. Virgin Mary, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. John the Baptist, St. Barbara, St. Peter and Paul, and St. Bartholomew, as well as two further parishes in the New Town. However, the map does not include this detailed division, because just like in Elbląg, the Protestants took over all the parish churches in Gdańsk.<sup>82</sup> The situation was similar in the area belonging to the largest town of Royal Prussia. The Catholic deanery of Steblewo (the so-called Wyspa Mniejsza) virtually ceased to exist, as all but one parish – in Giemlice – were taken over by Lutherans. There were also significant losses in the suburban deanery of Gdańsk, especially in the areas where the patronage was held by the magistrate. Several parish districts were permanently withdrawn from the Catholic Church, namely Lublewo,<sup>83</sup> Rokitnica (*Müggenhahl*),<sup>84</sup> Pruszcz (*Praust*)<sup>85</sup> and Przyjaźni (*Reinfeld*),<sup>86</sup> as well as at least three chapels or subsidiary churches in the parish of St. Wojciech, i.e., Juszkowo (*Gischkau*), Orunia (*Ohra*) and Wojanowo.<sup>87</sup> In the records of Rozdrażewski's visitations, these churches are listed and recognised as subsidiaries of the parish of St. Wojciech. However, it is impossible to determine if they can be treated as churches with districts, as they were not mentioned in the synodal lists of churches, apart from one piece of information about Orunia in the records of the Gdańsk synod of 1585.<sup>88</sup>

Former Catholic parishes and churches were being taken over by Protestants not only in Gdańsk and within its dominion. Even at the beginning of the pontificate of Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski, a substantial number of churches in the whole archdeaconry had no Catholic priest, and the churches were turned into Lutheran places of worship. The visitations of that time show the process of reinstalling Catholic faith in these churches, which in many cases concluded successfully.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, at the end of the sixteenth century, Protestants owned well over 20 former parishes in the Pomerania archdeaconry, although if we include the churches in Gdańsk, the number certainly exceeded 30 sacral buildings. A number of other former Catholic parishes, due to the turmoil of the Reformation, essentially ceased to exist even before the end of the sixteenth century, e.g. in Poledno (deanery of

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<sup>80</sup> For example, the deanery affiliation of the parishes of Czersk and Łąg was problematic. The list of deaneries of 1583 included these parishes in both deaneries (MHDW 1, pp. 22, 23), while the lists of 1598 (MHDW 1, p. 25; *Statuta synodalia*, p. 147) and 1620 (*Statuta synodalia*, p. 180) listed them only in the deanery of Mirachowo. However, most probably it is a mistake and we should adopt the interpretation proposed by Stanisław Kujot, who in the edition of Pomeranian visitations included both parishes in the deanery of Starogard (cf. Fon. 1–3, pp. 5–7, 222b–222c). In any case, they were assigned to this deanery throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Cf. S. Kościelak, *1000 lat*, p. 74.

<sup>81</sup> On the development of the Reformation in the town area, see S. Kościelak, *1000 lat*, p. 59ff; idem, *Katolicy*, pp. 34ff; idem, *Dzieje wyznaniowe Gdańska od XVI do początków XIX w.*, [in:] *Gdańsk protestancki w epoce nowożytnej. W 500-lecie wystąpienia Marcina Lutera*, vol. 1: *Eseje*, eds. E. Kizik, S. Kościelak, Gdańsk 2017, pp. 65ff. A synthetic view of the development of Protestantism in Royal Prussia, see idem, *Dzieje wyznaniowe Prus Królewskich*, pp. 213ff. Cf. *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 76–80.

<sup>82</sup> J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, pp. 159–160, 168–171; S. Kościelak, *Dzieje wyznaniowe Prus Królewskich*, p. 206; idem, *Katolicy*, pp. 71–72ff.

<sup>83</sup> Visitations from the 1580s: Wiz. G1a, pp. 13, 108; Wiz. G1b, pp. 33, 184; Fon. 1–3, pp. 43, 215; Visitations from 90s: Wiz. G11, p. 63; Fon. 1–3, p. 413. Cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, pp. 185–186.

<sup>84</sup> Visitations from the 1580s: Wiz. G1a, pp. 13, 108; Wiz. G1b, pp. 33, 184; Fon. 1–3, pp. 43, 215. Cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, p. 184.

<sup>85</sup> Visitations from the 1580s: Wiz. G1a, pp. 12, 111v, 112v; Wiz. G1b, pp. 31, 188, 189; Fon. 1–3, pp. 40, 220, 221. Visitations from 90s: Wiz. G11, p. 60v; Fon. 1–3, p. 413. Cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, p. 184.

<sup>86</sup> Visitations from the 1580s: Wiz. G1a, p. 107v; Wiz. G1b, p. 184; Fon. 1–3, p. 215. Cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, pp. 194–196.

<sup>87</sup> See Juszkowo: Wiz. G11, pp. 53v, 55; Fon. 1–3, pp. 405, 406; MHGW 15, pp. 78, 79. Orunia: Wiz. G1a, pp. 112v, 113; Wiz. G1b, p. 189; Fon. 1–3, p. 221 and Wiz. G11, p. 55v; Fon. 1–3, pp. 405, 407; MHGW 15, pp. 78, 80. Wojnowo: Wiz. G1a, p. 111v; Wiz. G1b, p. 188; Fon. 1–3, p. 220; Wiz. G11, pp. 53, 54v; Fon. 1–3, pp. 404, 406; MHGW 15, pp. 78, 79. Cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, pp. 183–186, 192, 194.

<sup>88</sup> *Statuta synodalia*, p. 93. A similar opinion is held by S. Kościelak, *Katolicy*, p. 73.

<sup>89</sup> For example, the catalogue of churches revindicated in July and August 1596 lists 20 localities, but by the end of the sixteenth century bishop Rozdrażewski managed to revindicate nine churches (Fon. 1–3, pp. 535ff.). Cf. *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 79; S. Kościelak, *Dzieje wyznaniowe Prus Królewskich*, pp. 226–228.

Świecie).<sup>90</sup> It is possible that the parish and church in Michale (also deanery of Świecie) continued to exist until the end of the century.<sup>91</sup> Examples can also be found in other deaneries, but the focus will be made on the Świecie one. The loss of a church did not always mean the disappearance of a parish district. Rozdrażewski's visitations bear witness to that, and a good example is offered by the parish of Święte Wielkie and the chapel in Sartowice, situated on its territory, to which the centre of the parish was somehow relocated in the mid-1580s or in the early 1590s. Sacraments were administered in the chapel of Sartowice on a regular basis, although nominally the seat of the parish remained in the church of Święte Wielkie.<sup>92</sup> We should also note that in the second half of the sixteenth century, in the same deanery, a new Catholic parish was founded in Topolno.<sup>93</sup>

Within the territory of the Pomerania archdeaconry, some settlements can be found that were situated on the border between two parish districts and appeared in the lists of villages of both parishes. An obvious example is the village of Radonia<sup>94</sup> on the border between the parishes of Lipusz

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<sup>90</sup> Even the visitations of bishop Rozdrażewski from the 1580s mentioned a church that had long been destroyed, and included the village in the parish of Przysiersk (Wiz. G1a, pp. 25v, 50v; Wiz. G1b, pp. 65, 117; Fon. 1–3, pp. 83, 132). The events concerning the demolition of the church by Rafał Konopacki and the use of wood to build a dam on the lake are described in the visitation from the end of the 1590s (see Wiz. G11, p. 4v; Fon. 1–3, p. 344; cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, p. 278). These events must have taken place before 1565, as the dam is already mentioned in the inspection of the starosta's district of Świecie in 1565 (see *Lustracja województwa pomorskiego 1565*, ed. S. Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1961, p. 178). On Rafał Konopacki, see W. Nowosad *Konopaccy herbu Odwaga – dzieje pomorskiej rodziny senatorskiej w XV–XVIII wieku. Studium genealogiczno-majątkowe*, Warsaw 2014, pp. 74–80. This source also provides information on conversion to Lutheranism and events related to the demolition of the church in Poledno.

<sup>91</sup> The exact status of this one-village parish at the end of the sixteenth century is unknown. Even though it was listed among the churches of the deanery in 1598 and 1620 (see *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 148, 180) the visitation from 1583 already informed, similarly to Poledno, that “dudum ecclesia depopulate” (Wiz. G1a, p. 28v; Wiz. G1b, p. 73; Fon. 1–3, p. 94). However, the church in Michale most probably still existed at that time, as it is known that a year later it was “ab haereticis occupata” (Wiz. G1a, p. 58; Wiz. G1b, p. 129; Fon. 1–3, p. 148). Cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, pp. 277–278; *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 604–605.

<sup>92</sup> In 1583, the visitor described the parish of Święte assigning to it several settlements, including Sartowice (Wiz. G1a, p. 28v; Wiz. G1b, p. 73; Fon. 1–3, p. 93). Only Święte was named in the recommendations after the visitation (Fon. 1–3, p. 124). Likewise, the Bydgoszcz judicial vicar Sebastian of Szamotuły, Rozdrażewski's visitor, during the visitation in 1584, in the introduction mentioned only Święte, without Sartowice. In the description, he referred to four villages comprising it, without naming them (Wiz. G1a, p. 57v; Wiz. G1b, p. 128; Fon. 1–3, p. 147). At that time there was no separate protocol for Sartowice. The situation changed in the visitations from the 1590s. Then, apart from the protocol for the parish of Święte, there is also one for Sartowice. Moreover, the parish settlements, including Święte Wielkie, were listed by Sartowice. However, the protocol for the church in Święte shows that even though all the sacraments were transferred to Sartowice, it was treated as a subsidiary of Święte (probably without a separate parish district). (see Wiz. G11, pp. 118, 119; Fon. 1–3, pp. 364–366; MHDW 15 pp. 28–30). This state of affairs is confirmed by the lists of churches in the synodal acts of 1598 and 1620, where the name Sartowice does not appear even once, but Święte is listed every time (*Statuta synodalia*, pp. 148, 180). Cf. J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice*, pp. 276–277; *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 603, 604.

<sup>93</sup> The benefice was founded by Samuel Konarski, *chorząży* of Pomerania (see *Urzednicy Prus Królewskich. Spisy*, ed. K. Mikulski, Wrocław 1990, p. 127) The founding dates back to the 1580s, but probably the parish was not formally established until the 1590s. In the visitation of bishop Rozdrażewski in 1597, it was described as a parish with a district, including several neighbouring villages removed from the parishes of Gruczno and Niewieścín (see Wiz. G11, p. 5; Fon. 1–3, pp. 340, 344, 352). It was also mentioned in synodal records. For example, the synod of Subkowy in 1589 was attended by Wawrzyniec of Kraków, a commendatory priest from Topolno, while at the synod of 1598, Wojciech from Topolno, probably already a parish priest, was present. At that time, the church was formally incorporated into the deanery of Świecie and listed in the inventory of churches (see *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 125, 147, 148, 150). Cf. *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 611–614. At this point, we should mention that at the beginning of the seventeenth century another parish, not included on the map, was established in Sulęcyn (deanery of Mirachowo). It was also founded by the nobleman Reinhold Heidenstein. According to the authors of the historical study of the diocese of Chełmno (see *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 404), the parish was created in 1595, but it was not mentioned in the visitation of the 1590s and the settlement is only listed among the villages of the parish of Parchowo (see Wiz. G11, p. 70; Fon. 1–3, p. 463; MHDW 15, p. 94). It was established formally only in 1616 when the church was consecrated. It is indicated by the records of bishop Szaniawski's visitation in 1711: “Fundamentum erectionis et inscriptio mansorum est, in Actis Civitatem Bernensem Anno 1616” (Wiz. G26, p. 71).

<sup>94</sup> In the visitation of 1583, the village was assigned to Lipusz. It was also reported, rather oddly, that three and a half inhabitants were paying half a *korzec* of rye and oats per *lan* to the parish (Wiz. G1a, p. 10; Wiz. G1b, p. 25; Fon. 1–3, p. 33). In the visitation of 1584, the visitor noted Raduń in the parish of Lešno but stated that *medietatem solvit in Lipusz* (Wiz. G1a, p. 123; Wiz. G1b, p. 203; Fon. 1–3, p. 241). From the 1590s, there is only a visitation of the parish of Lipusz, but the record informs that the village pays only half (Wiz. G11, p. 68v; Fon. 1–3, p. 461; MHDW 15, p. 92), while the editor reported in a footnote that the other half of tithes is given to Lešno (Fon. 1–3, p. 461, footnote. 3). In later visitations, from seventeenth

and Leśno, and possibly also Rybna<sup>95</sup> (parishes of Żarnowiec and Góry). More ambiguous cases are Borowski Młyn,<sup>96</sup> listed among settlements in parishes of Lipusz and Parchowo as well as Brody (or Bród),<sup>97</sup> assigned to the parishes of Gniew and Dzierżążno. Some examples can be found in the deanery of Świecie, in the visitations from the 1580s<sup>98</sup> and 1590s.<sup>99</sup>

Overall, an average deanery in the archdeaconry of Pomerania, excluding the deanery of Lębork, had 15 parish territorial districts, without taking into account the division into parish and subsidiary churches. In total, 137 parishes were recorded in this area, comprising 1,029 settlements. Additionally, 18 settlements could not be assigned to any parish, and seven settlements had their parish centre located outside the area of Royal Prussia, which was discussed above. Disregarding the fact that at the end of the sixteenth century many parish districts were occupied by Protestants, an average parish in the archdeaconry comprised about seven to eight settlements. If the districts lost by the Catholics were to be excluded, an average parish would consist of just over eight settlements. The smallest ones (from one to four settlements) accounted for around 42% (58 districts), while the medium-sized ones included around 24% (33 parishes). More than 1/3 of districts were the largest ones, with 10 or more settlements (46 parishes).<sup>100</sup> However, taking into account the number of settlements in parishes, the smallest ones would include only 12% of all settlement centres, while the largest ones as much as 67%.

The fragment of Pomeranian Voivodeship which was under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of Gniezno was part of the archdeaconry of Kamień, existing since 1512. At that time, it was separated from the archdeaconry of Gniezno, which had existed earlier.<sup>101</sup> The division into deaneries in this area, however, had earlier origins, and it was a continuation of the territorial organisation existing at least as early as the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>102</sup>

As noted above, of the four deaneries belonging to the discussed archdeaconry, only Chojnice and Tuchola were located within the boundaries of Royal Prussia. They did not evenly cover the territory of the archdiocese that was part of Pomeranian Voivodeship. The deanery of Chojnice, with its 50 parishes, definitely covered a larger area. It also included three times more parish districts than the Tuchola deanery (16 districts). At the end of the sixteenth century, the discussed area included altogether 66 parishes, which encompassed 223 settlements. In addition, three Pomeranian villages belonging to parishes in the border area were part of the deanery of Sępólno, located outside of Pomeranian

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and eighteenth century, Radunia was assigned to the parish of Leśno (e.g. 1686/1697: Wiz. G20a, p. 27; 1701/1702: Wiz. G24, p. 112).

<sup>95</sup> The village of Rybna was simultaneously listed in both parishes in the visitation of the 1590s. See Wiz. G11, pp. 91v, 100v; Fon. 1–3, pp. 306, 482. In the visitation from 1687, it is mentioned only in the parish of Góra (Wiz. G20a, p. 43v).

<sup>96</sup> The mill settlement Borowski (recognised by the editor of the visitation as Borowiec) was listed among the parish villages of Lipusz in 1583 (Wiz. G1a, p. 10; Wiz. G1b, p. 25; Fon. 1–3, p. 33, also note 1). It is not mentioned in the visitation of Parchów of the same year, but is included in the visitation of Gniewosz, which presents the state of the 1590s, under the name Borowy Młyn (Wiz. G11, p. 70v). The same source records it in the parish of Lipusz but under the name “Molendinum Borowski” (Wiz. G11, p. 68v; Fon. 1–3, p. 461; MHDW 15, p. 92). Presumably, in this case, it is the same settlement.

<sup>97</sup> Demesne village Brody or Bród (currently Brody Pomorskie) is located by the river Wierzyca, close to its estuary but upstream of Gniew. Visitations of bishop Rozdrażewski mention only Brody belonging to the parish of Dzierżążno (Wiz. G11, p. 21v; Fon. 1–3, p. 390; MHDW 15, p. 67). Similarly, an inspection of the starosta’s district of Gniew records Brok demesne (*Lustracja województwa pomorskiego 1565*, p. 151), probably meaning the same settlement as mentioned in visitations. Visitation of bishop Madaliński from 1687 suggests that they were separate but neighbouring settlements, as it assigns Brody Polskie to Dzierżążno (Wiz. G20a, p. 92v) and Bród Niemiecki to Gniew (Wiz. G20a, p. 94).

<sup>98</sup> In the visitations from 1580s, Bładzim was doubly assigned (parish of Lubiewo: Wiz. G1a, p. 26v; Wiz. G1b, p. 68; Fon. 1–3, p. 87 and Świekatowo: Wiz. G1a, p. 54v; Wiz. G1b, p. 122; Fon. 1–3, p. 139), but later on it was only listed in the parish of Świekatowo (Wiz. G11, p. 104v; Fon. 1–3, p. 368; MHDW 15, p. 32). Likewise, the village of Więckowo was in 1580s included in the parish of Przysiersk (Wiz. G1a, pp. 25v, 50v; Wiz. G1b, pp. 65, 117; Fon. 1–3, pp. 83, 132) and Gruczno (Wiz. G1a, p. 53; Wiz. G1b, p. 118; Fon. 1–3, p. 134), but later it was only assigned to Gruczno (Wiz. G11, p. 4; Fon. 1–3, p. 343; MHDW 15, p. 7).

<sup>99</sup> This refers to Gołuszyce, listed in the parish of Serock (Wiz. G11, p. 109v; Fon. 1–3, p. 375) and Łąki Polskie (Wiz. G11, p. 106; Fon. 1–3, p. 371; MHDW 15, p. 35) as well as Różanna in the parish of Przysiersk (Wiz. G11, p. 106v; Fon. 1–3, p. 371; MHDW 15, p. 35) and Łąki Polskie (Wiz. G11, p. 105v; Fon. 1–3, p. 354; MHDW 15, p. 18).

<sup>100</sup> These figures are slightly different when including only parishes occupied by Catholics: the smallest and largest parishes are each 38%, and the medium-sized ones still around 24%.

<sup>101</sup> See A. Mietz, *Archidiakoniat kamiński*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 33.

Voivodeship.<sup>103</sup> In contrast to the archdeaconry of Pomerania, the area in question was clearly dominated by smaller parishes with up to four settlements, which accounted for nearly 76% of all parish districts in the area (50 out of 66). Medium-sized ones comprised approximately 21% of all the parishes (14). There were only two parish districts with 11 villages (3%).<sup>104</sup> As already mentioned, numerous one-village parishes were typical for the German colonisation in the Teutonic Order times.<sup>105</sup> It was a situation similar to some areas of the diocese of Pomesania. On the other hand, it contrasts sharply with the archdeaconry of Pomerania, where there were parishes with more than 20 settlement units. However, it was characteristic of this part of Pomeranian Voivodeship at that time that Protestants used many of their own, newly-built churches.<sup>106</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, the total number of parish districts on the territory of Royal Prussia was 397 (118 in the diocese of Chełmno, six in Płock, 61 in Pomesania, 9 in Warmia, 137 in Włocławek, 66 in Gniezno). In addition, there were nine parishes the centres of which were located outside the Prussian voivodeships, but their territories were partly within the borders of Royal Prussia. At the end of the sixteenth century, a significant number of former Catholic parishes were held by Protestants. In total, there were at least 60 such centres (5 in the diocese of Chełmno, 11 in the diocese of Pomesania, 7 in the diocese of Warmia, 22 in the diocese of Włocławek, and 15 in the diocese of Gniezno). Out of 397 parish districts of the Catholic Church, 35 were located in towns, 346 in villages, 10 in demesne villages, five in towns with a monastery (Kartuzy, Oliwa, Pelplin, Żarnowiec, Żukowo), and one parish settlement was referred to as a castle (Starogród). There was no town in Royal Prussia without a parish church.

Chełmno Voivodeship had 124 parish districts (including 8 on the territory belonging to Toruń). Malbork Voivodeship encompassed 66 parish districts (of which 12 belonged to the territory of Elbląg) Pomeranian Voivodeship had 207 districts (of which 20 belonged to the territory of Gdańsk).

## ANNEX

### OVERVIEW OF CHURCH ADMINISTRATION UNITS IN ROYAL PRUSSIA

This list reflects the ecclesiastical structures as they existed at the end of the sixteenth century. It includes parishes located within the boundaries of Royal Prussia, as well as the parish districts the churches of which were located outside the borders of the province, but with villages situated within the territory of Chełmno, Malbork and Pomeranian Voivodeships. Parish centres located outside the borders of Royal Prussia are marked with „\*”, and those belonging to Protestants at the end of the sixteenth century – with „+”. The list was compiled in alphabetical order according to the names of parish seats at that time, with the current name in parentheses if it differed from the earlier one. Towns are marked with the letter “t.”.

### The diocese of Chełmno

#### Archpresbyterate of Brodnica

Bobrowo, Brodnica t., Brudzawy, Kruszyny, Lembarg, Mszano, Nieżywięc, Pokrzydowo, Wrocki, Żmijewo

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<sup>103</sup> Namely, Jadamkowo and Pamiętowo from the parish of Zalesie as well as Orzełek belonging to the parish of Kamień. Cf. A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland.

<sup>104</sup> It was confirmed by the research of A. Mietz (*Archidiakoniat kamieński*, p. 57).

<sup>105</sup> See M. Biskup, *Parafie*, p. 90.

<sup>106</sup> A detailed account of Protestant centres of worship is given by A. Mietz, *Archidiakoniat kamieński*, pp. 90–108.

### **Archpresbyterate of Chełmno**

Chełmno t., Czyste (Czyste Wielkie), Kijewo (Kijewo Królewskie), Lisewo, Sarnowo, Starogród, Szynych, Wabcz

### **Archpresbyterate of Chełmża**

Biskupice, Chełmża t., Dźwierzno, Gostkowo, Gronowo, Grzybno, Grzywna, Kiełbasin, Nawra, Papowo Biskupie, Rychnowo (Wielkie Rychnowo), Srebrniki, Trzebcz Szlachecki, Unisław, Wielka Łąka, Zajączkowo

### **Archpresbyterate of Golub**

Golub t., Kurkocin, Lipnica, Łobdowo, Ostrowite, Pluskowęsy, Radowiska Wielkie, Zieleń

### **Archpresbyterate of Grudziądz**

Błędowo, Grudziądz t., Mokre+, Strzemięcín, Welcz Wielki, Wiewiórki

### **Archpresbyterate of Lidzbark**

Boleszyn, Kiełpiny, Lidzbark t., Mroczo, Radoszki, Wlewsk

### **Archpresbyterate of Lubawa**

Byszwałd, Grabowo, Grodziczno, Kazanice, Lubawa t., Prątnica, Rumian, Samplawa, Złotowo, Zwiniarz

### **Archpresbyterate of Łasin**

Gubiny, Łasin t., Rogóžno, Szczepanki, Szembruk, Szynwałd

### **Archpresbyterate of Nowe Miasto**

Brzozie Lubawskie, Chrośle, Gwiździny, Kurzętnik t., Lipinki, Łąkorz, Mikołajki, Nowe Miasto t., Radomno, Skarlin, Szwarcenowo, Tylice, Wonna

### **Archpresbyterate of Radzyń**

Bursztynowo, Gruta, Jabłonowo, Linowo, Okonin, Ostrowite, Płowęż, Radzyń (Radzyń Chełmiński) t., Rywałd (Rywałd Królewski)

### **Archpresbyterate of Toruń**

Bierzgłowo, Boluminek, Czarnowo, Czarże, Grębocin+, Kaszczorek, Lubicz+, Łążyn, Ostromecko+, Papowo (Papowo Toruńskie), Przeczno, Świerczynki, Toruń t.

### **Archpresbyterate of Wąbrzeźno**

Chełmonie, Dębowa Łąka, Kowalewo (Kowalewo Pomorskie) t., Łopatki, Niedźwiedź, Nowa Wieś (Nowa Wieś Królewska), Orzechowo, Płużnica, Ryńsk, Wąbrzeźno t., Wronie

## **The diocese of Płock**

### **Deanery of Lipno**

Ciechocin\*

## **Deanery of Rypin**

Cielęta, Gorczenica, Gortatowo, Jastrzębie, Grążawy\*, Brzozie, Szczuka

## **The diocese of Pomesania**

### **Archpresbyterate of Dzierzgoń**

Altmark (Stary Targ) Bągart, Dzierzgoń t., Fischau (Fiszewo), Königsdorf (Królewo), Lichtfelde (Jasna)+, Neumark (Nowy Targ), Notzendorf (Krzyżanowo), Posilge (Żuławka Sztumska), Reichenbach (Rychliki)+, Rozengarth (Rozgart), Schöwiese (Krasna Łąka), Thiergart (Zwierzno)

### **Archpresbyterate of Malbork**

Altmünsterberg (Stara Kościelnica), Biesterfelde (Bystrze), Gnojau (Gnojewo), Gross Montau (Mątowy Wielkie), Malbork t., Mielenz (Miłoradz), Schönau (Kraśniewo), Warnau (Kościeleczyki), Warnersdorf (Pogorzała Wieś)

### **Archpresbyterate of Nowy Staw**

Barendt (Boręty), Gross Lasewitz (Lasowice), Gross Lichtenau (Lichnowy)+, Kunzendorf (Końcewice), Liesau (Lisewo), Neukirch (Nowa Cerkiew), Neuteich (Nowy Staw) t., Schadwalde (Szawałd)

### **Archpresbyterate of Sztum**

Braunswalde (Gościszewo), Deutch Damerau (Dąbrówka Malborska), Dietrichsdorf (Straszewo), Kalwe (Kalwa), Kiesling (Koślinka), Kranswalde (Koniecwałd), Neudorf (Nowa Wieś Sztumska), Pestlin (Postolin), Peterswalde (Pietrzwałd), Schroop (Szropy), Stuhmdorf (Sztumska Wieś), Sztum t., Tiefenau (Tychnowy)

### **Archpresbyterate of Żuławki**

Fürstenwerder (Żuławki), Ladekopp (Lubieszewo), Lindenau (Lipinka), Marienau (Marynowy), Schöneberg (Ostaszewo), Schönsee (Jeziernik), Tannsee (Świerki), Tiege (Tuja), Tiegenhagen (Cyganek)

### **Parish districts of undetermined deanery affiliation**

Bonsack (Sobieszewo)+, Fürstenau (Kmiecin)+, Gross Mausdorf (Myszewo)+, Jungfert (Marzęcino)+, Kobbelgrube (Stegna)+, Pröbbernau (Przebrno)+, Schonenbaum (Drewnica)+, Zeyer (Kępki)+

## **The diocese of Warmia**

### **Archpresbyterate of Elbląg**

Dörbeck (Próchnik)+, Elbląg t.+, Lentz (Łęcze)+, Trünz (Milejewo)+, Pomerendorf (Pomorska Wieś)+, Preuschmark (Przezmark)+

### **Archpresbyterate of Frombork**

Bludau (Bludowo)\*, Neukirch (Podgrodzie), Tolkmicko t.

# The diocese of Włocławek

## Archdeaconry of Pomerania

### Deanery of Gdańsk

Chwaszczyno, Czapielsk+, Kielno, Kłodawa, Lublewo+, Łęgowo, Matarnia, Müggenhahl (Rokitnica)+, Oliwa, Pręgowo, Praust (Pruszcz)+, Przodkowo, Reinfeld (Przyjaźń), Rozemberk (Różyny), Szynwałd (Szemud), Święty Wojciech, Wielki Kack, Żukowo, Żuława (Żuławka)

### Deanery of Gniew

Barłożno, Garc (Wielki Garc), Gniew, Lignowy, Rajkowy, Szprudowo, Tymawa, Waliknowy (Walichnowy Wielkie)

### Deanery of Lębork

Bukowina\*, Łebunia\*, Osieki Lęborskie\*, Rozłazino\*

### Deanery of Mirachowo (also called deanery of Kościerzyna)

Chmielno, Goręczyno, Kartuzy, Kiełpino, Kościerzyna t., Lipusz, Luzino, Niedamowo, Parchowo, Sianowo, Sierakowice, Stężyca, Strzecz

### Deanery of Nowe

Bzowo, Czarny Las, Dzierżążno, Grabowo, Klonówka, Komorsk Wielki, Kościelna Jania, Królówlas, Lalkowy, Lubień Wielki, Nowa Cerkiew, Nowe t., Opalenie, Pączewo, Piaseczno, Pieniążkowo, Płochocin, Skórcz

### Deanery of Puck

Chylonia+, Góra, Krokowa+, Łebcz, Mechowo, Oksywie, Puck t., Reda, Rumia, Starzyno, Strzelno, Swarzewo, Żarnowiec

### Deanery of Starogard

Bobowo, Brusy, Czernsk, Dąbrówka, Garczyn, Jabłowo, Kleszczewo, Kokoszkowy, Leśno, Lubichowo, Łąg, Nowa Wieś, Pelplin, Skarszewy t., Starogard t., Subkowy, Szczodrowo, Szpęgawsk, Wiele

### Deanery of Świecie

Bysław, Cekcyn, Drzycim, Gruczno, Jeżewo, Lubiewo, Łąki (Polskie Łąki), Michale+, Niewieścín, Osie, Przysiersk, Serock, Śliwice, Świecie t., Świekatowo, Święte (Święte Wielkie), Topolno

### Deanery of Tczew

Dalwin, Demlin, Godziszewo, Gorzędziej, Kiszewa (Stara Kiszewa), Lubiszewo, Mierzeszyn+, Miłobądz, Obozin, Pinczyn, Pogódki, Polaszki (Stare Polaszki), Tczew t., Trąbki Wielkie, Wysin, Zblewo

### Deanery of Wyspa Mniejsza (also called deanery of Steblewo)

Giemlice, Gottswalde (Koszwały)+, Gross Zinder (Cedry Wielkie)+, Gütland (Koźliny)+, Käsemark (Kiezmark)+, Letzkau (Leszkowy)+, Reichenberg (Bogatka)+, Stüblau (Steblewo)+, Trutenau (Trutnowy)+, Wotzlaff (Wocławy)+, Wossitz (Osice)+, Zugdam (Suchy Dąb)+

### Parish districts of undetermined deanery affiliation

Gdańsk t.+ , Hel t.+

## Archdiocese of Gniezno

### Archdeaconry of Kamień

#### Deanery of Chojnice

Angowice, Barkenfeld (Barkowo), Berwald (Bincze)+, Biały Bór t., Biskupnica, Borzyszkowy, Bretfeld (Sierpowo)+, Brzeźno Człuchowskie, Brzeźno Szlacheckie, Buchole (Bukowo), Chojnice t.+ , Chojniczki, Człuchów t.+ , Dębica+, Domisław, Drzonowo+, Falkenwald (Sokole), Ferstnowo (Gwieździn), Frydland (Debrzno) t., Gockowo+, Hamersztyn (Czarne) t.+ , Hansfeld (Nadziejewo), Henrichswald (Uniechów), Jęczniki (Jęczniki Wielkie), Kiełpiny+, Koczała, Konarzyny+, Krępsk, Krystfeld (Chrzastowo), Kromża (Krzemieniewo), Landek (Lędyczek), Lichtenhagen (Ględowo), Losen (Łoża)+, Marienfeld (Myśligoszcz)+, Mosiny, Moszczenica, Jaruczewo (Nieżychowice), Peterswald (Cierznie), Powąki, Princenwald (Prusinowo), Przechlewo, Rosenfeld (Rozwory), Rychnowy, Rzeczenica, Sapolno+, Steinborn (Słupia), Strzerzona, Swornegacie, Szczytno+, Wierzchowo (Wierzchowo Człuchowskie).

#### Deanery of Sępólno

Kamień (Kamień Krajeński) t.\* , Zalesie\*

#### Deanery of Tuchola

Blumfeld (Niwy), Cerkwica Wielka, Dąbrówka, Gostycyn, Jeleńcz, Lichnowy+, Mędromierz Wielki, Nowa Cerkiew, Obkas, Ogorzeliń, Ostrowite, Pawłowo, Raciąż, Siedlno (Silno), Sławęcín, Tuchola t.

(2021)

*Translated by Paulina Wacławik*

## III.3 SETTLEMENT

### III.3.1 LOCATION OF SETTLEMENTS

#### III.3.1.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

Our main rule adopted for detailed maps of sixteenth century Poland was to present the complete settlement network in the second half of that century. The methods used were described thoroughly in previous volumes of the series, in the chapters on the localization of settlements, and will only be repeated here.<sup>1</sup>

Tax registers – the main sources used for the presentation of the settlement – fail to provide a complete list of settlements existing when the sources were written. The collectors did not record the names of settlements, which were not subject to taxation (demesnes), temporarily freed from taxation (newly-founded settlements, or settlements rebuilt after a natural cataclysm), or paying together with other settlements, e.g. towns (town villages).<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the registers were not free of inaccuracies, accidental omissions, and abuses. The latter usually meant undervaluation of the tax base, or omission of entire settlements. Hiding of a small village could have escaped the collector's attention, and a hamlet, being in fact an independent settlement, could have been formally treated as a part of a larger settlement of the same owner.

We were able to use tax records from 1593 and 1595 (this was an exceptional situation), and – for almost the entire territory of the voivodeship – the visitations from 1595–1599 (Cracow Voivodeship is an exception in this case), and could therefore find nearly all newly-located villages,<sup>3</sup> as well as those, which did not appear in the registers for the already mentioned reasons. Other sources (earlier and later) provided – in few cases – information about small hamlets, which existed in the second half of the sixteenth century, but did not appear in the usual sources used while preparing this series of AHP.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5.

<sup>2</sup> For the list and description of the registers see K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Cracow.

<sup>3</sup> The examples are some of the newly-located settlements on Vlach law in the key of Muszyna belonging to Cracow bishopric, which did not appear in the registers from 1593 and 1595 and – obviously – in the visitation, but the dates of their foundation were determined by Stanisław Płaza and Bolesław Kumor on the basis of the sources collected in the Chapter and Metropolitan archives in Cracow (S. Płaza, *Sołectwa w powiecie sądecko-czchowskim w XIII–XVIII w.*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 9, 1968, pp. 5–148; B. Kumor, *Osadnictwo lemkowski i sieć parafialna w kluczu muszyńskim biskupstwa krakowskiego (do 1780)*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 24, 1996, pp. 9–23) and some of the settlements in the Duchy of Siewierz, which belonged to Cracow bishopric. The fact that they existed already in the sixteenth century was confirmed by Zdzisław Noga, basing on these sources (Noga, *Słownik*).

<sup>4</sup> For instance, the village Biadaczów, listed in LDK, p. 59 (newly located, which belongs to Ojców starosta's district), then in the visitation from 1660 (MK L.XVIII, 24, f. 252, and in the register from 1680 (Rej. pob. 1680, p. 85) later appeared as Bodaczów (Quartermaster' Map; SGKP, vol. 1, p. 271), dziś część wsi Biały Kościół; settlement Balachówka mentioned in LDK, p. 55, later in nineteenth century XIX (SGKP, vol. 14, p. 323); a hamlet Strugi mentioned by Długosz (LB, vol. 3, p. 343), then in 1579 (J. Sygański, *Arendy klasztoru starosądeckiego*, Lwów 1904, pp. 10–11), in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Mieg's Map; SGKP, vol. 11, pp. 417–418 – exact location provided here), now part of Chełmiec village; Brzana and Obidza – hamlets in Nowy Sącz district, mentioned in the fifteenth century and in the beginning of the sixteenth then in the second half of the eighteenth century, [in:] E. Pawłowski, *Nazwy miejscowości Sądeczczyzny*, part 1: *Nazwy miast, wsi, przysiółków oraz dzielnic miejskich i wiejskich*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 19, 83, part 2: *Nazwy osiedli*, Wrocław 1975, pp. 54–55.

The map shows only independent settlements, which had their own name and comprised one, or several, groups of residential and utility buildings, whose dwellers exploited specified areas, more or less separated from the areas belonging to neighbouring settlements.<sup>5</sup> New settlements were rarely founded in densely inhabited, and especially less forested areas, where ownership relations were stable (districts of Proszowice, Książ, and Lelów), whereas in the densely forested, piedmont, and borderland territories of Silesian, Nowy Sącz, Szczyrzyc, and Biecz districts new settlements were regularly, and frequently created (most of all in 'Żywiec country' of the Komorowski family, in starosta's districts of Lanckorona, Nowy Targ, Czorsztyn, Nowy Sącz, Biecz, the key of Muszyn of Cracow bishopric, the estates of the family Stadnicki in Biecz district). Inns were shown only on the map of roads, and in the commentary to the map.

The range of autonomy of individual villages was fluid at times, especially in case of demesnes and mills. Usually, they were included under the name of the nearest village, even if they lay several kilometres from the nearest buildings. Some of these small settlement points, more remote, or more visibly economically autonomous (for instance, demesnes belonging to larger estates, cultivated by peasants from several villages) were given their own names, and treated as separate settlements. The sources do not always show, whether such a settlement should be treated as a demesne, or as a village. It must also be noted that mills, or inns, located in a village, and not a separate settlement, could have their own name, often derived from the name (or nickname) of the miller, or related to services provided in the inn or the results of the services.

Due to the abundance of sources, and their diverse origins, we did not – in contrast to other volumes of this series of AHP – meet any major difficulties with identification of villages,<sup>6</sup> or in determining, whether the recorded names denoted independent settlements, or just parts of settlements.<sup>7</sup>

In Cracow Voivodeship, there were no settlements of farm gentry, comprising small (at least three) hamlets under one name, and distinguished by an additional epithet, the second part of the name. Very few were the instances, when two villages had the same name, without a second, distinguishing epithet, where the differentiation occurred only in the seventeenth century, or never. Such settlements were marked with a single dot on the map, and in the index they were given a multiplication mark and a number, e.g. Branice x2, Wilkowisko x2.

When we lacked certainty, if a village belonging to two different great land owners (or when just one of the belonged to this category) constituted one settlement, or two having the same name, we obeyed the following rule: if there was no clear confirmation that these were two settlements in the sixteenth century, distinguished by means of a second part of the name (often an adjective pointing to the owner), then such a settlement, belonging to two owners, was treated as a single settlement.<sup>8</sup>

When in the sixteenth century there were two, or three nearby settlements of the same name (the differentiation with the second part of the name occurred later), we added a Roman number in the index.<sup>9</sup>

In Cracow Voivodeship, we found 16 suburbs given an individual name. They were marked as separate settlements on the map. Just as in previous volumes of this series, mills, ironworks, glassworks, and castles which could be localized precisely, were marked as separate settlement points.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> More on this subject: H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, in case of Podlesice village in Proszowice district, which was mentioned by Długosz (LB, vol. 2, p. 37) and then only in 1629 (Rej. pob. 1629, p. 151), we decided that Pokrzytowice, which in the sixteenth century were listed only in the 1597 visitation (AV Cap. 65, f. 326v) is probably the same village. Serafinowice, a village in Nowy Sącz district, visible still on Mieg's map, was identified as Zaprzerwie, which was located in exactly the same place on Chrzanowski's map and later maps.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, in case of Grodziec, a village in Silesian district, which was called 'Grodziec alias Łazy' in the register from 1589 (ASK I, 127, f. 215). Later these were – and still are – always two separate villages – Grodziec and Łazy – we decided that in the sixteenth century the name Grodziec denoted two later and present village. The village Grudzina in Książ district was often recorded as 'Grudzina alias Zegartowska Wola' in the registers, but because in the Middle Ages, in the 1595 register (BCzart, 329, f. 355), and later these were two separate villages, we did not identify Grudzina with Zegartowska Wola.

<sup>8</sup> These were: Przeginia now Przeginia Duchowna and Przeginia Narodowa in Proszowice district, Sławice now Sławice Duchowne and Sławice Szlacheckie in Proszowice district, Łubno now Łubno Opacie and Łubno Szlacheckie in Biecz district.

<sup>9</sup> There were two such instances, both in Silesian district: Rychwałd I now Rychwałd and Rychwałd II now Rychwałdek, and Międzybrodzie I now Międzybrodzie Kobiernickie, Międzybrodzie II now Międzybrodzie Żywieckie and Międzybrodzie III now Międzybrodzie Bielskie. We made the same distinction between Sikorka I and Sikorka II, situated on both sides of the border between Silesian district and the Duchy of Siewierz.

<sup>10</sup> We located 35 ironworks, three mill settlements, four glassworks and 11 castles situated outside towns or villages, see J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.2.1.

The diversity of the sources allowed us to find 24 demesne settlements with their own names, not related to any village.<sup>11</sup> It is dubious that this number would rise, provided we used other sources, but we cannot reject the possibility that some of the settlements known only from the 1595–1599 visitation were actually demesnes. Following the general rule, we did not mark on the map these demesnes, which were known only from sources created after the sixteenth century.

The term ‘localization of settlements’ denotes two operations. The first is the identification of a sixteenth century settlement with a settlement known from later, detailed cartographic records, and from lists of settlements from the end of the eighteenth century, Table 1827, or *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* (‘The Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland’). The other is the localization of a given settlement on our map. We also used these works, whose authors had access to hard to reach or non-existent sources.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes, a settlement listed in the eighteenth or nineteenth century sources familiar to us could be localized thanks to the lists from *Urzędowe spisy nazw miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych* (‘Official Lists of the Names of Settlements and Physiographic Sites’), a series meant to cover the entire country, published in the 1970s. It contains a rich list of site names, gathered in the field, mostly in the 1960s, even if unequal in value. The abundance of names usually exceeds what can be found in the eighteenth and nineteenth century sources. The published volumes cover the vast majority of our area (except for Kłobuck, Częstochowa, Myszków, Zawiercie, and Bielsko-Biała districts from the old Katowice Voivodeship).

Settlements were localized on the basis of maps at a scale of 1:100,000 from the twentieth century, but according to their location on oldest detailed maps from the end of the eighteenth century and the first third of the nineteenth century. In most cases, the localization differed from the current one, due to numerous shifts caused by the division and integration of agricultural land (especially related to enfranchisement), rebuilding of the road network, river regulation, and urbanization-related changes, e.g. in the area now occupied by the Nowa Huta agglomeration. The reconstruction of the state of a given settlement was easier thanks to the maps of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (‘The Military Institute of Geography’) from the Interwar Period, preceding the post-war settlement shifts, and – as a starting point – detailed maps from the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The localization of the vast majority of settlements presented on our map is certain, which could be described as certain identification with a settlement registered on the oldest detailed maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The localization of settlements on these maps is usually close to the reality of the second half of the sixteenth century, or even earlier.

Certain localization was based on the maps by Mieg and Heldensfeld, and the Topographical Map, which are known for the abundance of marked settlement points, as well as the precision, with which their names were placed.<sup>13</sup> W. Chrzanowski’s map played an auxiliary role. Even though its scale was slightly smaller than the scale of our map, the map itself was based on various, detailed maps.<sup>14</sup>

It is a known fact that in the period between the end of the sixteenth century, and the end of the eighteenth century, some settlements changed their location at times, due to floods, resulting in changes of the course of rivers, or fires, local relocations of road, and the foundation of towns on the site of old villages. These changes were usually small, not important for our map, and therefore – and also because they remain unrecognized – not included on our map.

Few settlements were localized in approximation. In such cases, we followed the two possible courses of action. A settlement located close to another settlement of certain localization was marked with a circle linked with the sign of the other settlement; in the key such villages were described as ‘villages of linked localization’, and the name of the village localized in approximation was not marked on the map, but only listed in the index.<sup>15</sup> Other settlements of approximate localization were marked

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<sup>11</sup> See *ibidem*.

<sup>12</sup> This means the works of S. Plaza, *Solectwa*; B. Kumor, *Osadnictwo lemkowski*; Noga, *Słownik*; J. Sygański, *Arendy klasztoru starosądeckiego*.

<sup>13</sup> These maps allowed us to localize in a certain manner 20 hamlets, which do not exist now, and did not become parts of present-day settlements – five in Lelów and Nowy Sącz district, three in Książ and Silesian district, two in Szczyrzyc district, one in Biecz district and the Duchy of Siewierz.

<sup>14</sup> See the chapter on cartographic sources.

<sup>15</sup> The majority of such instances occurred in Szczyrzyc (15) and Nowy Sącz (11) district.

with separate circles, with a dashed line, and signed with separate names. According to our findings, such a settlement was probably situated on the site occupied today by a settlement founded later, or nearby, but there is no way we could confirm that for certain (in the first case), or we are unable to indicate its precise location (in the latter case).

As approximated location we understand, therefore, two different types of uncertain location: an uncertain identification and an approximate, estimated localization *sensu stricto*. Hypothetical identification of a sixteenth century settlement with a later settlement is possible only, when the similarity of names, or the order, in which the names were listed, suggested they could have meant one settlement, but we had no information allowing for certain identification. Approximate localization was used, when a settlement could be localized only in estimation, i.e. with error exceeding the permissible 1 km (4 mm on the map), because we were unable to find any trace of the old settlement on detailed and precise maps. In such instances, the localization was based on less precise information, e.g. source records suggesting the same owner ('attinencja', 'solvit cum' and such), names of fields in villages existing today, and names of parts of these villages, recorded in *Urzędowe spisy nazw miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*.

We refrained from an approximate localization, when our information about the location of a settlement was too general, e.g. relating only to its parochial affiliation. Such a settlement was considered unlocalized, and its name appears only in the index of settlements, and in Table 1. Detailed research on settlement in smaller areas, using sources unknown to us, could confirm some approximate localizations in the future, or reduce the number of unlocalized settlements.

We were unable to localize, even in an estimated manner, 19 settlements from the sixteenth century (Table 1). At the end of the sixteenth century, there were 2,577 settlements in Cracow Voivodeship (without the Duchy of Siewierz), so the unlocalized ones are 0.7% of the total, more than in the Voivodeship of Sandomierz (0.3%), and the same as in the Voivodeships of Sieradz and Łęczyca (0.7%).<sup>16</sup>

Głębokki Dół, a village in Szczyrzyc district, was not included among the unlocalized settlements. The village was listed in the registers from 1581 and 1583,<sup>17</sup> and we can read in the 1588 register that 'there only the demesne should not give anything, and it was not paid for'.<sup>18</sup> It does not appear in any later source. We omit unlocalized demesnes, so Głębokki Dół was also not included. Likewise, the village Franciszowice, Silesian district, was excluded from our work. Since 1516 the village belonged to the burghers of Oświęcim, it was mentioned in the 1529 *Liber retaxationum*, and then only in the 1598 visitation, but we consider that last record to be copied from earlier sources, and the hypothetical identification with a much later village Pławy too risky.<sup>19</sup> Gawszyce, a village in the duchy of Siewierz was also omitted. It was mentioned in 1529 for the last time, and the assumption is it had been abandoned.<sup>20</sup>

Adolf Pawiński claimed that according to the register he published, there were 71 towns and 2,206 villages, i.e. 2,277 settlements, in Cracow Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> We had access to visitation from 1595–1599 for the entire area, and – secondly – the number of tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century was quite significant (also, we could use the registers from 1593 and 1595). Thirdly, mills, ironworks and castles, which had their own name and could therefore be localized, were treated as separated settlements. Finally, settlement expanded in the forested piedmont areas along the borderland with the Habsburg country. Because of all that, we were able to verify the above numbers. In total, in relation to Pawiński's data, the number of settlements was increased by 16.7%, and was higher than in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships (15.75%), not to mention Sandomierz Voivodeship (13.8%).<sup>22</sup> In Książ district the growth was definitely the lowest

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<sup>16</sup> K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5.

<sup>17</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 56; ASK I 125, f. 122.

<sup>18</sup> ASK I 127, f. 143.

<sup>19</sup> AKM, 17, f. 57; SHGK, part I, no. 4, p. 684.

<sup>20</sup> Noga, Słownik, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 3, pp. 20, 23.

<sup>22</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2.

(3.9%), it was average for the districts of Biecz (6.4%), Proszowice (7.0%), and Szczyrzyc (11.9%), and high in Silesian (14.2%), Lelów (16.8%), and the highest in Nowy Sącz district (32.2%). Lists of settlements in the duchy of Siewierz published by A. Pawiński are not from the sixteenth century, there would be no sense in comparing them.

Settlements in the discussed territory differed in size, from small hamlets, mill settlements to large cities. As such, the data contained in Table 2, related with density of settlement, is approximate. The density of settlement in Cracow Voivodeship (12.9 settlements per 100 km<sup>2</sup>) was higher than in the Voivodeship of Sandomierz (11.9). Although the mountain areas along the southern border were poorly inhabited, the remaining parts of the voivodeship are the areas of old, and very dense settlement, especially Proszowice and Książ districts, and almost entire Szczyrzyc district. Density of settlement depended also on forestation – high along the southern border and in part of Lelów district, as well as the lay of the land – piedmont areas are usually less inhabited than lowlands.

**Table 1. Unlocalized settlements**

District	Parish	Settlement	Last record
Proszowice	Bierków	Wielka Droga	1598
Proszowice or duchy of Siewierz	Chruszczobród	Przybysławice	1598 <sup>a</sup>
Książ	Kozłów	Stanowiska	1598
Książ	Mironice	Radziszów	1598
Książ	Sędziszów	Witkowice	1595 <sup>b</sup>
Szczyrzyc	Chełm	Biernaszowice	1597
Szczyrzyc	Droginia	Ratanica	1597 <sup>c</sup>
Szczyrzyc	Królewką	Zakliczyn	1597 <sup>a</sup>
Szczyrzyc	Niegowiec	Stara Wola	1595
Szczyrzyc	Wieliczka	Wolica	1595 <sup>d</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Ilmanowa	Rzeka	1596 <sup>a</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Jakubkowice	Porzecze	1596 <sup>a</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Łososina	Wolaków	1597 <sup>a</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Nowy Targ	Zawada	1564 <sup>e</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Sądecz Nowy	Gocz	1608 <sup>f</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Sądecz Nowy	Hamplowa	1608 <sup>g</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Tęgoborze	Podgórze	1596 <sup>a</sup>
Nowy Sącz	Tropie	Załogoszczce	1680
Silesia	Oświęcim	Sparowice	1598

a – The only record.

b – In the sixteenth century Witkowice always belonged to the same owners as Pawłowice, but – in our opinion – this does not mean they were situated close to each other.

c – In SGKP, vol. 9, p. 540 it is said that Ratanica was the name for a forester's lodge in Droginia.

d – Probably identical with Wólka, appearing only in 1629 and 1680 (Rej. pob. 1629, p. 86; Rej. pob. 1680, p. 95).

e – The 1564 visitation states: villa nova Zawada, they are locating a village between the town and the village Klukoszowa, which is called Zawada, because it stands in the way, where four serfs live (LK 1564, part 1, p. 47). This is the only information about this village.

f – SHGK, part I, no. 4, p. 764.

g – SHGK, part II, no. 1, p. 137.

**Table 2. Density of settlement**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Number of settlements	Number of settlements per 100 km <sup>2</sup>
Proszowice	3,293	607	18.4
Książ	1,451	215	14.8
Lelów	3,191	299	9.4
Szczyrzyc	3,394	527	15.5
Nowy Sącz	3,922	455	11.6
Biecz	2,163	281	13.0
Silesian	2,629	193	7.3
Cracow Voivodeship	20,043	2,577	12.9
Duchy of Siewierz	679	78	11.5
Duchy and voivodeship	20,722	2,655	12.8

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.1.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Kazimierz Pacuski*

The main rule for the preparation of a detailed map of sixteenth century Poland, was to present the complete settlement network, with site names for the second half of this century.<sup>1</sup> Our first task was to prepare a complete list of settlements. However, tax registers, the main source for the reconstruction of the state of settlement, do not – for all we know – list all settlements that existed at the time of the creation of the above-mentioned sources. Above all, the settlements which were not subject to taxation, were not mentioned, these were: monasteries forming individual settlement units, demesnes, and newly located villages, or settlements being rebuilt after a natural disaster (fire, flood) and temporary freed from taxation. We must also take into account possible imprecisions, accidental omissions, and finally: tax abuses. Admittedly, such abuses meant rather the lowering of the base for the taxation, not the omission of entire settlements, but it was possible, that the collectors failed to notice a concealed hamlet or small village, especially when it was peripherally situated.

Therefore, in order to fill in the missing data, from, after all, not so many surviving tax registers from individual districts of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century, we have decided to consult other sources.<sup>2</sup> These were, above all, the invaluable visitations of Cracow diocese from the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. We also used inventories and visitations of royal and Church property from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which provided information about, e.g. newly located settlements in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, which were not always listed in the documents of parish visitation.<sup>3</sup>

Our query in the sources also encompassed, as in the case of Mazovia, numerous earlier and later sources, as the settlements which did not appear in our sources from the second half of the sixteenth century, but which do appear in the sources from the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, and then in the seventeenth and eighteenth century records, must have existed also in the second half of the sixteenth century, and were thus marked on the map.<sup>4</sup> Few settlements attested to earlier, i.e. before 1550, and next only after the Partitions, were assumed aban-

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<sup>1</sup> The rules applied for the localization of settlements on detailed maps of the sixteenth century were thoroughly explained by H. Rutkowski see: H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7. Some terms used in this text were taken from the quoted text of H. Rutkowski. See also I. Gieysztorowa *Osadnictwo*, [in:] WP, p. 24 f.

<sup>2</sup> These registers and other sources were compiled by K. Chłapowski (K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz).

<sup>3</sup> In the visitation of Sandomierz archdeaconry in 1604 names of settlements were omitted in as many as 14 parishes, which constituted 28% of their number; these were mostly the parishes which remained in the hands of reformed denominations. In other Church districts of Sandomierz Voivodeship within the boundaries of Cracow diocese this percentage was lower; no documents of visitation survived for parishes belonging to Gniezno archdiocese within Sandomierz Voivodeship.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, in Opatów estates of Lubusz bishopric in the fifteenth century, there was a village Bielsz, according to Długosz's description it had an inn and a mill (Długosz LB, I, p. 638 f.). It was listed in 1519 because these estates were appropriated by Szydłowiecki (J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opatowski*, Radom 1908, pp. 300 f.), and then in the eighteenth century (since then it is called Bełcz). In the nineteenth century this was a small hamlet (Table 1827 – two houses, SGKP – four houses). Another example could be Borowno by the Kamienna near Ćmielów, listed in the estates of the family Szydłowiecki in 1510 (MRPS IV, no. 9775), and then – because of tithe – in a document of Piotr Brandysz (died in 1565), quoted by J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opatowski*, p. 110; according to Table 1827 this hamlet had four houses at the time.

done already before 1550 (their name persisted as a site name, which allowed their restoration later as a name for a settlement).<sup>5</sup>

Finally, we have marked some settlements mentioned in the sources from the first decade of the seventeenth century on the map, if the source indicated that this settlement had existed already in the sixteenth century. For instance, an visitation of Sandomierz archdeaconry in 1604 lists names of villages unknown to tax registers from the sixteenth century. Some of those villages must have had existed already in the end of the sixteenth century, as they appear in the inventories of royal property from this period;<sup>6</sup> this supports the thesis that also other settlements, which do not appear in the sixteenth century sources, but are mentioned in this visitation, had been founded before 1600.<sup>7</sup> Another example could be the mine called Szczukowskie Góry situated in the estates of the bishop of Cracow near Kielce in Chęciny district. Its functioning is proven since 1606 and we have assumed that the mine had already operated in the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from names that undoubtedly indicate separate settlements, other topographical names appear in the sources from the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, and it is not always possible to determine, whether such a name was also a settlement name. Some of them are mentioned in the seventeenth century sources as names of separated settlements. However, we have not put them on our map, if there was no clear information about a settlement existing in a given area already in the second half of the sixteenth century. Przewłoka by the Vistula south of Pokrzywnica-Koprzywnica could be an example here, the village is mentioned in 1662 and is still known today. The name of this settlement does indeed derive from an old, early-medieval nomenclature (undoubtedly it was the place where boats on the River Koprzywnianka, or Koprzywnica, took a shortcut to the Vistula or the other way round here), however, in the fifteenth century it was still probably a field name, and in the sixteenth century it was not mentioned in our sources.<sup>9</sup>

We decided not to include settlements mentioned in the second and third decade of the seventeenth century and not attested to in earlier sources, although some of them could have already existed in the sixteenth century as separate villages. For instance, there is a demesne Kąpie (later: Kępie) near Pokrzywnica-Koprzywnica known in the seventeenth century and related to the nearby village Niedrzwica; perhaps earlier it was considered a part of this, or one of neighbouring villages.<sup>10</sup> Another example is the mill Bykowiec on the River Łukawa, related to the village Góry Wysokie. It was mentioned in 1620, and on the Topographical Map it was presented as a separate settlement. In the sixteenth century tax registers this mill is, on the other hand, mentioned by Góry Wysokie

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<sup>5</sup> We did not include, for instance, Ocice near Machów. Prior to the fifteenth century it was a small village belonging to the Cistercians from Koprzywnica. After the village was deserted in the first half of this century, the monastery exchanged it for Siedleszany (Długosz, LB II, pp. 358–360; Długosz LB, II, p. 387). Ocice do not appear in the sources from the sixteenth–eighteenth century, nor on the oldest detailed maps from the turn of the eighteenth/nineteenth century. This village repopulated again in the nineteenth century (SGKP, vol. 7, pp. 369 f.), it appears on a Prussian map at a scale 1:300,000 from 1910, and later on WIG map 1:100,000 north-west of Machów.

<sup>6</sup> In Bieliny parish (Sandomierz district) the visitation in 1604 recorded a village Kurzyna, unknown to the registers (f. 15); however, we know that it was a royal village, located in 1571 (MRPS V, no. 10663), it is described in the inventories of Sandomierz starosta's district from 1586 (Wola Kurzyńska), 1589, 1597 and later. However, a royal village Komorów, located in 1599 was not listed in the 1604 visitation; according to later data it belonged to Sławogóra parish.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, in Górna parish, near the border with Przemyśl land, the 1604 visitation lists a village unknown to earlier sources – Dołęga, which belonged to a nobleman, not mentioning that it was a newly-located village. In 1662 it was described as *predium*, but there were serfs there; in the sixteenth century it could be a demesne, but we have no certainty.

<sup>8</sup> This mine (lead ore) was listed in 1606 in parochial documents of Kielce collegiate; two baptisms of children born in the village connected with the mine were recorded; See J. Pazdur, *Dzieje Kielc do 1863 roku*, Wrocław 1967, p. 64. The visitation of Kielce deanery from 1598 contains no information about villages in this parish.

<sup>9</sup> J. Nalepa paid attention to this Przewłoka J. Nalepa, *Krytyczne i metodyczne uwagi o nazwach miejscowych dawnego województwa sandomierskiego*, [in:] *Opuscula Slavica*, vol. 2, Lund 1973, p. 143. A. Wędzki did not use this name from Sandomierz, one of the few in the Polish lands, A. Wędzki, *Przewłoka*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 4, 1970, p. 390. The record of this name in Długosz: 'inter lacum Łanżek et Przewocze' (Długosz LB, II, pp. 321 f.) was naturally distorted. In the nineteenth century it was an average-size village with a demesne (SGKP, vol. 9, p. 181).

<sup>10</sup> The name of the demesne was recorded by Bastrzykowski (A. Bastrzykowski, *Monografia historyczna parafii Jankowice Kość. Sandomierskie*, Warsaw 1927 p. 136), in the estates of Andrzej Boboła, a seventeenth century administrator of the tax on alcohol in Sandomierz district, and his wife, Marcjanna from the family Łapsza Trembecka; they owned Niedrzwica with a manor and demesne Kąpie, Postronna with a demesne, and parts of Zbigniewice, among others.

and not given any individual name, which seems to suggest that at that time the mill was treated as a part of the village.<sup>11</sup>

We have also refrained from including names which appear only once, without any detailed data indicating that they were in fact names for a separate settlement. Therefore, we have omitted e.g. Zawierzbie, which appears once in a register from 1578 in Sandomierz district, but without information on payment,<sup>12</sup> or Miła listed only in the 1597 visitation of Słupia Nowa parish (it was probably an inn, and inns were usually included in a nearby larger village).<sup>13</sup>

On the map, we denoted only independent settlements with individual names consisting of one or several clusters of residential and farm buildings, whose inhabitants exploited specified area, more or less separated from the grounds of neighbouring villages.

Various factors, including topographical, property and economy related, or administrative-judicial ones, influenced the process of emergence of settlements.<sup>14</sup> In a long-inhabited area, e.g. on fertile soils in the vicinity of Sandomierz, Opatów and Pokrzywnica-Koprzywnica, where the process of intensive concentration of the settlement network was advanced already in the early-medieval period,<sup>15</sup> the borders between villages in the sixteenth century were usually clearly defined in the field and underwent only small changes. The stabilization of the borders was influenced by ownership relations – sometimes even permanent; especially in the case of villages belonging to Church institutions. The situation was different in larger forest complexes, areas subject to intensive colonization in the sixteenth century, e.g. in Sandomierz Forest; numerous newly-located settlements were created close to older ones. These new settlements were created in earlier undeveloped areas, both in royal and nobility estates; here, the borders between settlements stabilized later.<sup>16</sup>

The range of autonomy of individual settlements was fluid at times, and evolving in various directions. Most often this was the case with smaller settlements, like demesnes, ironworks and mills. They were usually given the name of the nearby village, even though the distance that separated them from the village buildings varied; sometimes they lay even several kilometres from the centre of the village. Yet, the more distant of these smaller settlement units, or more economically independent, like demesnes belonging to larger estates, where peasants from several village worked, were often given their own name and treated as separate villages. Similarly, a separate monastery or castle could be given a name, like Golez castle related to a demesne belonging to the Benedictines from Tyniec, situated for reasons of defense on a hill on the right bank of the Wisłoka.<sup>17</sup>

One type of settlement of farm gentry, common in Mazovia, did not appear in Sandomierz Voivodeship. Such settlements consisted of small hamlets, sometimes with only one manor, going under

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<sup>11</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 176, Bastrzykowski (A. Bastrzykowski, *Monografia historyczna parafii Góry Wysokie*, Sandomierz 1936, p. 204 f.), mentions this mill in a description of an argument in 1620 between the canon of Dwikozy prebend in Sandomierz chapter, and the abbess of the newly-founded monastery of the Benedictine sisters in Sandomierz. A separate mill settlement was, in fact, marked on the Quartermaster' Map, but it was omitted in Table 1827 and SGKP.

<sup>12</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 168. This name was recorded in the register at the end of Osiek parish; settlements in this parish lay south of Pokrzywnica (Koprzywnica). In the end of the eighteenth century Zawierzbie was a part of a different parish – Samborzec near Sandomierz, and belonged to Cracow bishopric (Czajkowski); according to Table 1827 there were three houses there.

<sup>13</sup> 1597 visitation, AV Cap. 8, f. 511. In the nineteenth century we know an identical name Miła for an inn village near Vilnius (SGKP, vol. 6, p. 432). Undoubtedly, the name Miła, given to a small village in Sandomierz Voivodeship near the Końskie–Odrowąż road, attested around 1830 by the Quartermaster' Map, also comes from the name of the inn (the course of the road on this fragment – see also K. Perthès's map of Sandomierz Voivodeship).

<sup>14</sup> More about it: H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements* [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>15</sup> See especially R. Mochński, *Zasięg pralasu na wyżynie kielecko-sandomierskiej* (map 1:300,000), Cracow 1937; *Studia sandomierskie*, 1967, passim; see also K. Pacuski, *Uwagi nad potencjałem gospodarczym Małopolski w XI w. w stosunku do innych dzielnic Polski*, KHKM, vol. 16, 1968, pp. 225–248.

<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, the documents of the demarcation of royal estates and the estates of Stanisław Mielecki and Jan Tarnowski in the edge of Sandomierz Forest (Archiwum ks. Sanguszków 1897, vol. V. 1513–1547, no. 103, 129, 178 in 1519, 1524, 1528). The outer borders of these estates set, among others, along watercourses, were naturally more permanent than the borders of particular villages in these estates. About the colonization of these areas see M. Dobrowolska, *Osadnictwo Puszczy Sandomierskiej między Wisłą i Sanem*, „Krakowskie Odczyty Geograficzne”, 1931, no. 14. About appropriation of the edge of royal forests, and appropriation of these areas to nearby villages of the nobility see W. Pałucki, *Przynależność własnościowa osad*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3.2.

<sup>17</sup> See Guerquin, Zamki, p. 138 (ibidem, bibliography). A village Podzamcze, later related to this castle did not exist in the sixteenth century. It is attested only in the eighteenth century; the Benedictines owned a nearby town Kołaczyce.

a common name and distinguished by means of an additional epithet (e.g. Zalesie Borowe, Zalesie-Grzymały, Zalesie-Lenki, Zalesie-Paczoski), where it was sometimes difficult to decide, whether these were separate settlements, or only parts of one village. H. Rutkowski stated: ‘In case of records in tax registers, which could denote separate settlements, or only parts of settlements, we usually assumed the first possibility, so as to not omit an existing settlement, rather than avoid taking parts of villages for separate settlements’.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, in Sandomierz Voivodeship we were not always certain, whether a village belonging to two different large property owners was in fact one village, or two separate settlements of the same name. This was mostly the case with villages, whose parts belonged to two different Church representatives, e.g. Cracow bishopric and a wealthy monastery. Given that large property owners usually preferred to separate their settlements, in terms of law and space, we followed the rule saying that a lack of clear proof that we were dealing with two settlements in the second half of the sixteenth century, distinguished by means of an epithet added to the name of a village, instructs us to treat a property of two different owners as one settlement.<sup>19</sup>

Suburban settlements with an individual name and clear spatial distinction, numerous in Sandomierz Voivodeship, were treated as separate settlements. Suburbs of Sandomierz, situated even several kilometres from the city walls belonged to this category; they consisted of clusters of demesnes belonging to burghers, as well as small hamlets owned by Sandomierz monasteries and churches, the nobility, or even the king. On the other hand, the main map does not show closer suburbs, tightly related to the city, and undoubtedly constituting its integral parts; they were presented on the map of Sandomierz.<sup>20</sup>

As in the map of Mazovia, mills, ironworks or even glassworks and mines were treated as separate settlement points, if they had an individual name and a fixed settlement autonomy, allowing for their precise localization.<sup>21</sup> Therefore we have omitted a significant number of these units – those without their own name and attested separate localization – which were treated as parts of already-marked settlements. Mills, appearing very often in tax registers and other sources, usually called by the miller’s name and situated near the village or in its vicinity, constituted parts of larger villages, not autonomous settlement points. Ironworks, usually called ores, were actually normally situated outside villages, but sometimes they deteriorated or moved, and having changed owner they also sometimes changed their name.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements* [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>19</sup> Doły in Sandomierz district near Kunów could be an example of such a village. Part from the part belonging to the bishop of Cracow, there was a smaller part belonging to the abbot of Święty Krzyż monastery, with a mill (LR 1529, p. 350). For these parts the names Doły Biskupie and Doły Opacie formed later, attested on maps and in written sources since the turn of the eighteenth/nineteenth century, preceded by K. Perthées’s record on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship from 1788/1791 (Doły Biskupie, Doły Opacie). Probably in the sixteenth century both these villages were already separated, but because they are not called with different names by the sources, we treated them a parts of a larger village; so only one settlement was marked here.

<sup>20</sup> About them see M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta Sandomierza*, Warsaw 1879, pp. 120–127. Some suburbs appear also in tax registers, like Chechły, suburbs of Ropczyce, in the fifteenth century called ‘Antiqua Robeczice seu Chechli’ (KDKK, no. 597, 605 from 1420, 1421). For the sixteenth century see P. Małopolska, p. 250 (y. 1581), 506 (y. 1536). Near Zawichost, next to Dziurów suburbs, which appears in Church sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth century and in the seventeenth-century registers, and probably – like the town – belonged to the Sisters of St. Clare from Cracow, we also marked a royal demesne, separately due to different ownership. The fields belonging to the demesne were scattered, but its buildings constituted an isolated cluster, administratively related to the royal castle situated in the Vistula’s clump. Information about the demesne come from the inventories from 1510 (ASK LIV 9, f. 90 – *predium zawichostense*) and from 1612 (ASK LVI 35, f. 4v – description of demesne buildings). See also LS 1564/1565, p. 155 f.

<sup>21</sup> Baryczka mill in Radom district is a peculiar example here. In the visitation from 1598 (AV Cap. 14, f. 292), in Zwolen parish, where the village Barycz is situated, the name Baryczka was also recorded, unknown here in fact. 11 km east of Barycza there is a village – Baryczka, attested in 1663 as a mill in Janowiec parish. The sixteenth century name, known only from visitations, could denote a demesne village, or a mill village, so this identification was considered as the most probably solution. However, we are not certain, whether in the sixteenth century Baryczka was a mill village, so in the index the term mill was marked with a question mark. ‘Grabcina’ mill was, on the other hand, omitted. It was mentioned in the 1597 visitation (AV Cap. 8, f. 507), Wzdół parish in Sandomierz district, but we are not certain about its identification with a mill called Grabka (1662), and then Grabków; in 1827 there were two houses in Grabków, and it was marked on the Quartermaster’s Map, then it disappeared (it belonged to the estates of Cracow bishopric).

<sup>22</sup> Nomenclature changes could be seen on the example of glassworks in the estates of the family Szydłowiecki (Huta Jakubek, Radom district). In 1569 it was recorded as ‘Hutha ku Sidlowczowy’ (P. Małopolska, p. 325), but in other registers from the sixteenth century as ‘Vitreaia Jakubek’. We identify the glassworks with Hucisko Jakubek (poll tax in 1662), then

The variety of the sources we used allowed us to discern a group of autonomous demesne settlements, much bigger than in Mazovia, which had their own names and were not related to a village. Borów in Sandomierz district in the estates of the Tarnowski family – definitely large property owners – could be an example here. In the fifteenth century it was still a village. However, in the sixteenth century it did not appear in tax registers, but was listed among the estates of the family Tarnowski, and in 1662 it was clearly called ‘Borow praedium’. We can therefore assume, that already in the sixteenth century it was only a demesne, that is why it was not listed in the registers; consequently, we marked Borów as a demesne on our map. The fact that Borów survived as a demesne until the first half of the twentieth century was also important in this matter.<sup>23</sup> Because also in the centuries following the sixteenth separate, autonomous demesne settlements were rare, it does not appear, that the cartographic picture of their location presented on our map would change much, if we used further sources.<sup>24</sup>

According to our rule, we did not distinguish demesnes connected to villages, treating them as integral parts of marked settlements. Perhaps some of the settlements marked on our map as villages or hamlets were, or became in the sixteenth century actual demesne settlements, devoid of serfs and *hortulani*, because the division between these two types of settlements was fluid. The term ‘praedium’ which appears in the sources was at times used also to denote settlements owned by the nobility, inhabited not only by the owner’s family and their servants, but also by several *hortulani*, e.g. the village called Gaj, where the well-known seventeenth century poet and historian Wespazjan Kochowski was born and where he spent much time, situated near Waśniów in Sandomierz district; in the second half of the sixteenth century the village paid for three *hortulani*, a mill and a quarter of a field.<sup>25</sup> According to the general rule, we did not mark demesnes known only from the sources created after the sixteenth century on our map.

Monasteries situated outside villages or towns, i.e. having features of separate settlement points of a specific nature, were marked on the map with a different sign. These were Benedictine monasteries: Sieciechów by the Vistula near the mouth of the Wieprz outside the city, also called Sieciechów, and Święty Krzyż situated on Łysa Góra (Łysiec), known for its great traditions; Cistercian monasteries situated outside located cities in Pokrzywnica (Koprzywnica) and Sulejów, but the latter was autonomous from the city located on the left bank of the Pilica, belonging to the neighbouring Sieradz Voivodeship; finally, a Bernardine monastery (for women from the nineteenth century), much younger than previously listed monasteries, lay in the vicinity of Łysica, it was called Święta Katarzyna.<sup>26</sup>

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Hucisko (Czajkowski, Perthées), Huta Szydłowiecka (Quartermaster’ Map), Huta (Hucisko) and finally Hucisko on the maps from the twentieth century. It was localized according to Heldensfeld’s and Topographical maps.

<sup>23</sup> According to Długosz (Długosz LB, II, p. 359) there were serf lans and two knights’ demesnes here. Borów was listed in 1527 among the estates of Spytek Tarnowski (MRPS IV, no. 15254), in 1571 – of Stanisław Tarnowski (MRPS V, no. 10626). On WIG map at a scale 1:100,000 this village was described as ‘Folwark Borów’ in 1938. Irzmanowice in the estates of the Święty Krzyż monastery could be another example. According to Długosz this settlement was turned into a demesne early (Długosz LB, II, p. 471); in the seventeenth or eighteenth century the name of this demesne changed to Wierzbontowice. In the nineteenth century it was a small hamlet, with only 1–2 houses (Table 1827; SGK, vol. 13, p. 401).

<sup>24</sup> Only three royal demesnes were marked on the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century: Buszyce in Sochaczew district, Szczawinek in Mszczonów district and Ruda in Przasnysz district (See H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.). The fourth royal demesne was omitted, it was called Rąbież and situated 2.5 to the north-east from Dzbonie village (Zbonie on the map) in Ciechanów district (localization according to the Quartermaster’ Map and WIG maps), described in the visitations from 1565 (without a name) and 1617; LM 1565, part II, p. 5; LM XVII, part I, p. 57 f. The name of the demesne was mechanically identified with a village of the nobility Rąbież near Grudusko (Przasnysz district), and as a result the latter was incorrectly marked as royal property. The mistakes in localization on the map of Mazovia were clarified in the errata and corrected in this edition.

<sup>25</sup> In tax registers Gaj was listed not in Waśniów parish but in the neighbouring Grzegorzewice parish (the same in P. Małopolska, p. 185), as praedium Gaj appears in registers from 1577 and 1581. The family Kochowski owned Gaj already in the fifteenth century, it was a demesne village (‘solus haeres agros arat’, Długosz LB, II, p. 475). About W. Kochowski see especially his biography by F. Bielak and R. Pollak, PSB, vol. 13, pp. 218–220. The localization of the village was based on the detailed map by Heldensfeld (the location west of Kowalkowice confirmed by Perthées’s map), another localization near Waśniów can be found on the Quartermaster’ Map. According to Table 1827 there was only one house in Gaj, and then the village disappeared; the field name should be remembered by the locals, but it was not listed in Urzędowe nazwy.

<sup>26</sup> See *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Cracow 1966, index and maps. On Łysa Góra, next to Święty Krzyż monastery, there were two inns in the times of Długosz (Długosz LB, III, p. 230), in 1529 at least one (LR, p. 350). About the location of Sulejów – city and abbey, see W. Pałucki, *Granice i podziały polityczno-administracyjne*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.1.2.

We are moving now to proper issues of the localization of settlements. This term denotes in fact two processes. The first is the identification of a settlement attested to in the sources for the second half of the sixteenth century with a settlement known to us from later, detailed cartographic records, and also lists of settlements from the end of the eighteenth century, Table 1827, or the monumental *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*. The second process is the proper localization of a given settlement on the map. Often we had to take into account the modern history of a given settlement, changes of its name and property affiliation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In such cases we have consulted archival materials, as well as former and more recent regional literature, which used sources that do not exist today, or are difficult to obtain, usually scattered and not catalogued. These sources were subject to necessary source evaluation.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes thanks to the lists of *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*, a post-war publication meant to cover the entire country and published in volumes for individual administrative units, whose publication was unfortunately stopped in the beginning of the 1970s, we were able to localize a settlement not mentioned in the seventeenth–nineteenth century sources known to us. This publication contains a rich set of now used site names, however uneven in value. For some areas there are visibly fewer names than there were earlier, as could be seen from the eighteenth and nineteenth century information. We have rarely tried to supplement the list with the information provided by field informants.<sup>28</sup>

Settlements were localized on the basis of detailed maps of WIG at a scale of 1:100,000 from the first half of the twentieth century, but according to their localization shown on oldest detailed maps from the end of the eighteenth and first third of the nineteenth century. In many instances this localization was different from the twentieth century one, due to numerous transfers of settlements caused by e.g. allotment and enclosure of fields, mostly related to enfranchisement, reconstruction of road network, river regulations, urbanization changes, and to the building of new industrial sites in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Serious changes affected the settlement e.g. in the valley of the River Kamienna as a result of the regulation of this river, the building of new industries and the rebuilding of older centres. Lately, great changes in the settlement have occurred in the valley of the Vistula near Tarnobrzeg and Machów, where since 1958 there has been a sulphur mine. WIG maps from the Interwar period, i.e. from the period preceding the post-war settlement changes, have made the reconstruction of the former state much easier, and the accuracy of these carefully prepared maps is enough for our purposes.

The schematic sign denoting a settlement was placed on the map according to the rules of cartographic generalization, for located cities – at the location of the market square, for villages – at the church, manor, place around which the buildings concentrated, and for villages where the buildings were scattered – at the location of the old road knot, if the other elements were lacking.

The vast majority of the settlements presented on our map were those of certain localization, which should be identified in a certain manner – provoking no doubts – with a settlement registered in the oldest detailed maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>29</sup> The localization of settlements shown on these maps is undoubtedly usually close to the reality of the second half of the sixteenth century, and when old, historical buildings (e.g. church, castle, manor, mill) or old urban layout survived, we are almost certain that it corresponds to the state from the sixteenth century, or even earlier centuries.

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<sup>27</sup> See the commentary on written sources. Rev. J. Wiśniowski's works were used, among others, which provided descriptions of parishes in particular deaneries, as well as comprehensive monographs of several parishes by Rev. A. Bastrzykowski. E. Wiśniowski's work proved very useful (E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka do schyłku XVIII w. Materiały do struktury organizacyjnej*, Lublin 1976), a large volume devoted to the history of Dąbrowa district (*Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Zarys dziejów miasta i powiatu*, ed. F. Kiryk, Z. Ruta, Warsaw–Cracow 1974) and the study by E. Wiśniowski, *Z dziejów opactwa benedyktynów w Sieciechowie*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, vol. 7, 1958 (1960), no. 2, pp. 23–120.

<sup>28</sup> Our questions sent to commune offices were usually answered negatively.

<sup>29</sup> Młogolice (Wiślica district) could be an example of certain identification. This village lay near the border of Sandomierz Voivodeship, by the Nidzica, near Podolany, situated already on the right bank of the Nidzica, and belonging to Cracow Voivodeship; in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Młogolice and Podolany had a common owner (Długosz LB, II, 143 f., 146, 411, 420; P. Małopolska, p. 13, 216). We identify it with a village Cło, existing to this day. This certain localization was based on a record in the 1610 visitation 'Młogolice alias Czło'; E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w prepozyturze wiślickiej w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 1965, p. 131, footnote 230, proceeded similarly.

However, sometimes specific examples, better grounded in the sources, show that also between the end of the sixteenth and the end of the eighteenth century changes in the location of particular settlements, especially small ones, must have occurred as a result of floods and related changes in stream channels, fires, changes in the local road network, and also the location of new towns on the grounds of old village settlements.<sup>30</sup> However, shifts below 1 km are not important in the generalized depiction of the settlement on the map at a scale of 1:250,000 (1 km in reality equals 4 mm on the map). The case of the town Ryczywół is a quite exceptional example of a serious change, which occurred in the first quarter of the nineteenth century: now the town lies 2 km from its previous location; on our map, as on the map of Mazovia, Ryczywół is situated near the voivodeship border, and was naturally marked in its former location, i.e. on the low flood bank of the Vistula, near the mouth of the rivulet Radomierza (Radomka).<sup>31</sup>

The localization of some settlements on our map is estimated (approximate). It was marked in two ways. A settlement localized separately was marked with a single circle, in discontinuous line and provided with its proper name. A settlement localized near a settlement of certain location was marked with an additional circle, linked with the circle marked with a continuous line; in the key such villages were described as ‘villages of linked localization’, and the name of the settlement localized in estimation was not put on the map, but listed in the index. A village presented on the map in this way could be a sixteenth century village situated in an area occupied by a given settlement, but we do not know its specific location. It could also be a village (or villages – marked with respective number of circles), related to a given area only hypothetically.<sup>32</sup>

As such, estimated localization denotes two different kinds of uncertain localization: estimated localization *sensu stricto*, and hypothetical identification. The first kind was used when we were able to locate a settlement only in approximation, i.e. with a possible mistake over 1 km (4 mm on the map). These were the cases where we were unable to find any trace of the old settlement on detailed maps, and its localization could not have been specified precisely enough, but we localized it on the basis of other, less precise data. For instance, according to Długosz, the village Mistrzowice belonging to the Scholastic of Sandomierz lay somewhere in the vicinity of Zawichost, by the Vistula, as proven by the information that the Vistula flooded the fields; it bordered then on Piotrowice, Linów and Wola Linowska. So, we localized it by the Vistula, north of Piotrowice and east of Wola Linowska, near the future location of Babin.<sup>33</sup> Another example is Kamień near Opatów; it was mentioned several times by the sources as situated near Karwów, in 1662 the village Kamień was described as ‘deserta’. We located it with Karwów on the basis of the information that in the

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<sup>30</sup> For instance, a sixteenth century village Klimuntów had to be identified not with a future town Klimontow, founded by Zbigniew Ossoliński in 1604, which lost town rights in the nineteenth century, but with the neighbouring village Górki, described in 1662 as ‘Klimuntów seu Gorki’. The town was founded on the grounds of Ramułtów village, as proven by the name (distorted) Rejmontowice, given to one part of the town (Urzędowe nazwy). So the sixteenth century Ramułtów was localized on town grounds.

<sup>31</sup> About this transfer, caused by great flood damages, especially in 1808 and 1814 see T.P. Szafer, *Ze studiów nad planowaniem miast w Polsce w XVIII i początku XIX w.*, [in:] *Studia z historii budowy miast*, „Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury”, vol. 5, 1965, pp. 61 ff. and footnotes: pp. 37–53; ibidem the reproduction of the plan of the old Ryczywół from 1813 (1:5,000) – p. 62 and later map 1:50,000 on the basis of Quartermaster’ Map, showing former situation – p. 63. Old location of Ryczywół can also be found on Heldensfeld’s map.

<sup>32</sup> Nieciecza, a sixteenth century village, was localized in approximation together with Szczytniki, which still exists. In the fifteenth century Nieciecza was a village belonging to Koprzywnica monastery, situated by the Vistula, and was sold to Łukasz z Słupca (Długosz LB, III, p. 386). In the 1662 register it was described as ‘absorpta Istula fluvio’, but in present-day Szczytniki there remains a name ‘Niecieckie’ denoting a part of the village and fields. We localize Nieciecza only in approximation, because due to the changes of the Vistula’s channel, the exact sixteenth century location of the village is impossible to determine. The name ‘Niecieckie’ could also denote the fields in the village Szczytniki, situated near the border with Nieciecza. Myślików in Pilzno district is a more hypothetical example. It appears in many tax registers from the sixteenth century near Biały Bór, which still exists, but we know that Biały Bór was a large village in the nineteenth century (SGKP, vol. 1, p. 197 – almost 4,000 morgen, including the forest). Myślików probably became part of this bigger village; however, we cannot reject the possibility, that it lay a bit further, several kilometres from our localization, certain for Biały Bór.

<sup>33</sup> In this area, the Scholastic owned also Marszów (with demesne). The location of Mistrzowice was provided by Długosz LB, I, p. 329, II, p. 493. Babin, situated in the area – attested in the registers from XVII–XVIII and on Heldensfeld’s map, later it also disappeared – belonged to the scholastic as well, so it could be a continuation of Mistrzowice. This old village belonging to the scholastic must have been located already beneath the scarp, on a low, flooded bank of the Vistula, which often changed its channel here, thus influencing the location of the villages along the riverbank.

nineteenth century Karwów estates consisted of Karwów demesne, Pobroszyn, Kamień contiguity, Kamień village and Pobroszyn village.<sup>34</sup>

Hypothetical identification of a sixteenth century settlement with a later settlement could apply to a modern settlement, or a settlement that has already disappeared, but is known to us from older maps. For instance, the village Bachowice in Pilzno district, property of Cracow bishopric, was identified in approximation with Dębina Łętowska, a hamlet of the bishopric village Łętowice, attested to from the second half of the eighteenth century. We know, that Bachowice bordered on the neighbouring village Zamoście, which belonged to a noble family and was situated already in Cracow Voivodeship.<sup>35</sup> Naturally, the margin of error for hypothetical identification could be larger than this approximate location. Of course, hypothetical identification may have a greater margin of error in the approximate location of the narrower concept.

However, we have refrained from any attempts at estimated localization, when our gathered information about the location of a village was too general, e.g. specified only its parochial affiliation.<sup>36</sup> In such cases a settlement remained unlocalized, and its name was only listed in the List. This does not mean, that there is no possibility of later localization. Thorough studies in the settlement of smaller regions, using sources unknown to us, could bring new results, and find relations which we were unable to discern.

Heldensfeld's map, Mieg's map and Topographical Map were our source basis for certain localizations. Obviously, these maps are distinctive in terms of the abundance of presented settlement points, provided with precisely situated name descriptions. For instance, the only record of Okręgów – a hamlet in Sandomierz district, could be found on the Topographical Map; this was a manor situated near the River Szeliga, on the left bank of the Koprzywianka, near its mouth flowing into the Świślina.<sup>37</sup>

We have often used W. Chrzanowski's map. This map, although set at a less-detailed scale of 1:300,000, was based on various precise maps preceding the state presented on the Topographical Map. Only rarely were we forced to use later maps in order to localize a village: e.g. the small hamlet Pułaczów (on the borderland of the districts of Sandomierz and Wiślica) was found only on the Prussian map at a scale of 1:300,000 from 1910, we identified it with a sixteenth century name Puchaczów.<sup>38</sup>

Of the cartographic materials used to localize settlements, only K. Perthées's and F. Czajkowski's maps could not have been accepted as a sole basis for certain localization, due to serious distortions, so settlements attested to only by these two maps, and then lost, were subject to estimated localization.

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<sup>34</sup> SGKP, vol. 3, p. 891. Kamień belonged to Włostów parish (already in Długosz LB, II, p. 344). This suggest that it lay closer of Karwów than Pobroszyn, which belonged to Opatów parish. Today Karwów is a large village, consisting of the village proper and several colonies, so it could cover the area of this small hamlet. The name Kamień does not appear in other written and cartographic sources from the eighteenth and twentieth century known to us.

<sup>35</sup> Długosz lists Bachowice and did not provide any data about its location; they had only four serf lans; Długosz LB, II, p. 138. The information Bachowice bordered on Zamoście belonging to Piotr Breński (from 1460, Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe in Cracow, town records of Pilzno, vol. 18, 106) was taken from the files of SHG Sandomierz, kept in Cracow division of IH PAN. Since the end of sixteenth century, there has been no information about Bachowice; in the second half of the eighteenth century Dębina appears in this area (Mieg's map), which was not mentioned by earlier sources. It was a hamlet of Łętowice, which belonged to Cracow bishopric, just like Bachowice. It could be assumed that Bachowice was incorporated into Łętowice in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century a new village formed here, treated as a hamlet of Łętowice (today it is called Dębina Łętowska). Our identification is approximate, because Bachowice could also have been situated within a radius of several kilometres from the future Dębina.

<sup>36</sup> A peculiar example of many unlocalized settlements can be found in Chęciny district, in a small key of property of the abbot of Jędrzejów, between the River Pilica and Kurzelów. In the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century only Rudniki lay here. Around 1470 it had three serf lans, and between 1527 and 1530 – six lans (Długosz LB, III, p. 372; P. Małopolska, p. 572). Soon, four other villages were created, as a result of active colonization of this area: Oblasy, Lipna Nowa, Wojciechów and Ruda Pękowiec, which appear in the sources since 1571, sometimes incorrectly described as property of the archbishop of Gniezno (P. Małopolska, p. 273). Two from these villages – Lipna and Wojciechów, appear still in the second half of the seventeenth century and disappear later, and were not localized. Undoubtedly, they lay in the area which belonged to Rudniki estates in the nineteenth century (see SGKP, vol. 9, p. 936).

<sup>37</sup> This settlement is known only from the 1565 register: 'Okręgłow nobiles': it is mentioned without any information about taxation in LS 1564/1565, p. 330. This Okręgłów is probably listed in Table 1827 in Michów parish (one house). The village ceased to exist then, and the name cannot be found even in the list of official names of this area.

<sup>38</sup> It was a small, newly-located village, which belonged to Jan Rusiecki, owner of Niedźwiedz village. The name Pułaczów can be found on WIG map 1:100,000 from 1938; in *Spis miejscowości Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej*, Warsaw 1968 (according to the state from 1966), Pułaczów was described as a colony of Niedźwiedz. The Prussian map at a scale 1:300,000 from 1910 distorts the name, and calls this village Płaców.

Information on site names from these maps and materials related to their creation (the so-called parish descriptions of K. Perthées) played an irreplaceable role in our localization, allowing us to solve many serious difficulties with identification.

**Table 1. Unlocalized settlements**

District	Parish	Settlement	Last mentioned	Comments
Chęciny	Kurzelów	Lipna (Lipna Nowa)	1662	located before 1571, property of the Cistercians from Jędrzejów
Chęciny	Kurzelów	Wojciechów	1662	
Chęciny	Włoszczowa	Meszna	1673	known from 1577
Radom	Kowala Stępcocina	Brzyściany (Wrzeszczany)	1598	not listed in tax registers <sup>a</sup>
Radom	Radzanów	Krukowa Wola	1662	mentioned in the first quarter of the sixteenth cent. <sup>b</sup>
Radom	Regów	Ostrów	1598	only mention <sup>c</sup>
Radom	Regów	Sosnowy Łąg	1598	only mention
Stężyca	Wargocin	Piaski	1598	only mention
Wiślica	Gręboszów	Świnia Wola	1711	only mention in the sixteenth cent. from 1598 <sup>d</sup>

a) Mentioned by Długosz (Długosz, LB, II, p. 520) along with a not very convincing information about its affiliation to Chlewska parish. Then in 1529 (LR, p. 409) and in an visitation from 1598. As a property of petty gentry it could become a part of Parznice, a large village of petty gentry in Kowala Stępcocina parish.

b) Appears in the description of Radzanów parish, but without information about the tithe, Łaski LB, I, p. 663. Not listed in tax registers from the sixteenth century, in 1662 called Krukowa Wólka.

c) In Regów parish, according to registers from the second half of the seventeenth century, and data from the eighteenth century, there was a large village Matygi, unknown before. It lay north of Gołąb, on the right bank of the Vistula (see especially Heldensfeld's detailed photography). However, it was included in Radom district; it could be a continuation of one or both unlocalized settlements.

d) Noted by E. Wiśniowski (E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka do schyłku XVIII w. Materiały do struktury organizacyjnej*, Lublin 1976, p. 182); in the visitations used by the author it appears until 1711.

In total, we were unable to localize, even in an approximate manner, nine sixteenth-century settlements. We know of 3,059 settlements situated in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century, so the unlocalized ones constitute only 0.3% of all settlements, several times less than in Mazovia (1.3%).<sup>39</sup> They did not exceed 1% in any of the districts. Usually these were small villages, poorly attested to in the source, which influenced our localization possibilities.

**Table 2. Density of settlement**

District	Number of settlements	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Number of settlements per 100 km <sup>2</sup>
Sandomierz	742	6,082	12.2
Radom	613	5,241	11.7
Wiślica	502	3,074	16.3
Pilzno	440	3,988	11.0
Chęciny	286	3,176	9.0
Opoczno	266	2,457	10.8
Stężyca	210	1,772	11.9
Sandomierz Voivodeship	3,059	25,790	11.9

<sup>39</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7. In the study on Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century there were 1.3% unlocalized settlements, the same as in Mazovia.

Adolf Pawiński established in his calculations that in the second half of the sixteenth century there were 100 towns and 2,586 villages, i.e. 2,686 settlements.<sup>40</sup> This calculation was based on sixteenth century tax registers of varying quality. Our research, based on more complete source materials, increased Pawiński's number by 373 settlements, i.e. by 13.8%. It is more than we were able to accomplish for the three voivodeships in Mazovia (9.8%). The majority of settlements not appearing in the registers published by Pawiński was situated in the following districts: Chęciny (20.2%), Sandomierz (17.35), and Radom (16.6%), the lesser number of such settlements could be found in Opoczno (6.8%) and Pilzno (7.8%) districts. Undoubtedly, this is partly a result of complementing the gaps in the registers chosen by Pawiński, and partly – a reflection of intense colonization processes in woodland areas in the period later than chronologic range of the registers published by Pawiński (1569–1581). It must be noted that we have certainly not portrayed the actual state of the settlement in Opoczno district in the second half of the sixteenth century, because of the poor quality of the source basis used in the reconstruction of the sixteenth century settlement in this district; only the 1577 register remains from the second half of this century, it was published (not always carefully) by Pawiński. Additionally, there were no documents of visitations from the end of the sixteenth century from this part of Gniezno archdiocese. Some data concerning settlements omitted in this register was found in Church sources and registers from the first half of the sixteenth century.

The table showing the number of settlements in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century (Table 2) includes settlements of various size: from mill villages with only one manor and small hamlets having their own name, to cities with thousands of inhabitants, like Sandomierz or Tarnów. So these are not comparable units. The list shows, however, that the district of Wiślica was the most densely inhabited. This district had a significant amount of good soils and lacked large forest complexes, characteristic of other areas of the voivodeship. The density of the settlement was similar to the fertile territories of Sandomierz district, north of the Vistula. The least densely inhabited, despite the fact that we included many settlements omitted by Pawiński, was Chęciny district, representing peripheral settlement of Sandomierz Voivodeship also in the Middle Ages. However, the soils there were usually not very fertile, and largely covered with forest. On the other hand, Stężyca district, situated on the right bank of the middle Vistula, a peculiar continuation of the former castellany and then Sieciechów land, poorly inhabited at the wake of the late Middle Ages, reached the average for our voivodeship due to intense development of the settlement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, minimally surpassing Radom district. Apart from Stężyca district, the differences in the density of the settlement in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century were usually a result of earlier, reaching many centuries back, differences in the development of the settlement in this part of Lesser Poland, as understood from the observation of medieval colonization processes in this area.

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>40</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 20, 23.

### III.3.1.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

Our map shows all settlements whose existence in the Voivodeship of Lublin in 1564 was more or less confirmed, even if some of them were deserted at the time (whereas parts of settlements were not included, even if they had their own individual names).

We began with the files of settlements in parochial order, as this was the way settlements usually appeared in the sources. The main source basis were the tax registers from 1531–1580, and the visitations. The file of each settlement contained its old names and the modern name, the old and present parochial affiliation, the owner or owners, and then all social and economic elements mentioned in the sources. The listed variants of names allowed us to determine the proper name of a settlement, regardless of spelling which was often provided in latinized form but with no respect to any rules, as the Polish orthography had not yet been fully formed before the second half of the sixteenth century, and the transcription of Polish sounds into writing – used to denote Latin sounds – was largely arbitrary.

Settlement points were marked on carbon paper, and the concept map was prepared at a scale of 1:300,000. At this stage, villages already identified with modern settlements when their file was being created posed no further difficulties. However, in case of sixteenth century village names which could not be easily identified with modern settlements, the identification and localization of settlements was much more difficult, especially for those settlements which disappeared completely, and they are quite numerous in the Voivodeship of Lublin. With help of our earlier study on this subject,<sup>1</sup> maps from the eighteenth – twentieth centuries, and various additional data found in written sources, such as the seventeenth century tax registers, we narrowed the number of unlocalized settlements down to 12. Still, some of them could only be localized in approximation (e.g. Podbiele in Ostrów parish, Szczepanów in Świeciechów parish). Here follows the list of villages which we failed to localize even in approximation:

In Lublin district

- Baranów parish – Stoczek
- Kamionka parish – Śnieżna Wola
- Końska Wola parish – Lipcowa Wola, Wola Tenczyńska
- Lewartów parish – Stanisławów, Wilków

In Urzędów district

- Wrzawy parish – Oczerchów, Sinie Kozy

In Łuków district

- Łuków parish – Izdbiska
- Pruszyn parish – Zawady
- Trzebieszów parish – Koszuty
- Zbuczyn parish – Boruty

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<sup>1</sup> S. Wojciechowski, *Zaginione osady w Lubelskiem*, „Pamiętnik Lubelski”, vol. 1, Lublin 1929.

The map provides the names of settlements in their sixteenth century wording and modern spelling. Significant variants of names were listed in the List.

In total, there were 915 settlements, including 36 towns, in the Voivodeship of Lublin.

**Table 1. Towns and villages**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Total number of settlements		1 settlement per km <sup>2</sup>	1 town per km <sup>2</sup>	1 village per km <sup>2</sup>	1 town per villages
		towns	villages				
Lublin	6,666	27	499	12.7	246.4	13.3	19
Urzędów	1,929	2	108	17.5	964.5	17.8	54
Łuków	2,089	7	272	7.4	298.4	7.6	38
In total	10,684	36	879	11.6	296.7	12.1	24

The arrangement of settlements points to their connection with physiographic conditions, although one must not forget that this arrangement depended also on social and political relations. The obvious dependence of man from natural environment was much more important in the past than it is now, and it was particularly crucial when a new settlement was founded in undeveloped area. When possible, people sought the most favourable conditions, both in terms of soil and the access to water, forest, etc. Soil type was especially important for the agricultural economy with its relatively poor development of agricultural engineering.

Hence, the high density of settlements in Zbuczyn parish was caused by the availability of good soils, better than in other territories: podsols, whereas in Tuchowicz parish the scattered settlements were the result of poor, sandy soils. Ostrów and Parczów, two large parishes in the eastern part of Lublin district covered mostly with forest, had and still have very poor sands, the area is also often water-logged. There were only five settlements on the sandy grounds situated on the right bank of the River Wieprz, between the village Czemierniki and Łańcuchów. However, the density of old villages, reaching back at least to the thirteenth century, was particularly high on good loess soils in the northern part of Lublin Upland (more or less to the line of Puławy, Końskowola, Kurów, Garbów, Dys and Łęczna).

In the century preceding the period depicted on our map the number of settlements in Lublin Voivodeship grew significantly. This growth was small in the areas already densely developed, such as on the banks of large rivers, even the ones flowing through large forests. On the other hand, new settlements were being founded since the third quarter of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century in the lands between the Rivers Wieprz and Tyśmienica, or Wieprz and Minina, south of the downstream Wieprz and the Liwiec, and south of the Lublin Upland. These settlements usually belonged to the nobility: in the north, in Łuków land, they were inhabited by petty gentry, and in the south – by peasants.

Directly after the period presented on our map, that is in 1580–1620/26 several villages were created near Parczów (Kopina, Wola Tulnicka), Bystrzyca (Wola Rozkopaczewska, Wola Zawieprzycka, Zalesie), in Opole parish (Niezdów, Trzciniac, Trzebieszka) and in Goraj parish (Rzeczyca, Wola Kątecka). Several new villages were also founded elsewhere.

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.1.4 GREATER POLAND

*Arkadiusz Borek, Michał Słomski*

The main assumption behind the work on AHP is to show on the map a complete network of settlement in the Polish lands of the Kingdom of Poland (the ‘Crown’) in the second half of the sixteenth century. Apart from the settlements that functioned during the entire half-century, the map shows those localities which vanished or were chartered in the period concerned. The historical records and sources used to this end are specified in one of the preceding sections (see M. Słoń, *Written sources* in this edition). This chapter repeats the principles of localisation known from the previous volumes<sup>1</sup> and describes, in general terms, the settlement in Voivodeships of Poznań and Kalisz, with particular focus on the new colonisation in the north of Greater Poland. The term ‘localisation’ refers here to a two-stage methodology of reconstruction of a settlement network, consisting of (i) identification of localities mentioned in the records against those shown in the earliest cartographic representations (since the end of the eighteenth century; see T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources* in this volume); and, (ii) marking of the thus identified locality on the map.

Plotted on the map have been autonomous settlements having their own names and forming a settlement cluster whose residents used a certain defined area.<sup>2</sup> The ownership- or parish-based affiliation was not the decisive factor. A division into two localities is shown only for the cases where two separate names for each of the two localities have been found attested and the units concerned could be made spatially discernible.

The differentiation and separateness has varied as to scope, which is particularly true for demesne farms and farmstead or commercial facilities (water mills and ore mills/ironworks; saws/sawmills). In many a case, units of both categories formed parts of one and the same village, and in such cases are not shown as separate settlement points. In the event, however, that they formed a separate grouping of buildings bearing its own name, they would have been plotted on the map, provided that their location was certain. The spatial separateness between mills and settlements was completely ignored in the tax registers, and only if verified against the other records of relevance (written and cartographic), they could be localised in the map. The most glaring example is the mill called Gromadzki, in Kcynia district. The tax registers mentioned it together with Grocholino,<sup>3</sup> a locality 10 km away of the mill, with several other localities between them. In the same district, the registers mentioned ironworks near Jaktorowo and Oleśnica,<sup>4</sup> but it was the information from the hearth tax (*podymne*) register dated 1635 that has enabled us to mark them as separate facilities (and units)<sup>5</sup>.

The villages to which a two-part name applied, consisting of the shared name and its complementing segment, usually connected with a fragmented noblemen’s property (a common thing in Mazovia),

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<sup>1</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5; idem, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.1.1.

<sup>2</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>3</sup> RPWK, kcn, 1577, no. 137; RPWK, kcn, 1578, no. 149; RPWK, kcn, 1579, no. 134; RPWK, kcn, 1581, no. 133; RPWK, kcn, 1591, no. 128.

<sup>4</sup> RPWK, kcn, 1564, no. 51; RPWK, kcn, 1565, no. 51; RPWK, kcn, 1576, no. 44; RPWK, kcn, 1577, no. 61; RPWK, kcn, 1578, no. 70; RPWK, kcn, 1579, no. 55; RPWK, kcn, 1581, no. 55; RPWK, kcn, 1582, no. 52; RPWK, kcn, 1583, no. 51; RPWK, kcn, 1591, no. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Podymne 1635, f. 73r.

which were grouped into at least three units, only appeared in the districts of Gniezno (Grzybowo, Gulczewo, Małachowo, Mikołajewice, Popowo, and Strzyżewo),<sup>6</sup> Kalisz (Gać, Prusy), and Pызdry (Murzynowo, Nadarzyce). In most of the cases, singling out their parts was rather plain, since they remained autonomous at least until the nineteenth century. In some cases, it is quite possible that property ownership partitions were meant, rather than autonomous settlement units; however, following the adopted principle of deciding in favour of a given settlement's autonomy (separateness) if in doubt, they have been featured as such. With some localities, however, such interpretation proved to be weakly evidenced, and names appearing in the records – arguably referring to the divisions – has been treated as a variant of the locality's name (as in Dębsko, Kamień, Karmin, and Kościelec in Kalisz district).

Suburban settlements are plotted whenever they appeared as clearly separated settlement units with their own names (e.g. Świętopietrze outside Przemęt, or, Sarnówka by Sarnowo – the suburbs in Kościan district). Suburbs are treated as a part of the town or city in two cases: (i) when understood as an area strictly attached to the town (city) proper, even if the suburb bore its own name; and, (ii) when the suburb had no such name. So, though the suburban area of Żnin (Kcynia district) was called Rybaki, Piskorzewo, and Ostrów, it was not approached as a separate settlements unit, and so is not plotted on the map.<sup>7</sup>

The village called Leszczyńska Wieś, situated near Leszno, in Wschowa district, has not been plotted, either. The split into a town and its namesake village took place probably at the moment the town of Leszno was chartered, in 1547–9. Albeit Leszczyńska Wieś is marked on the maps by Karol H. Perthées and David Gilly, it does not appear in the tax registers used by us, and is not mentioned as a separate settlement point in the 1631 *podymne* register.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, we do not have it marked on our map. The suburbs being part of conurbations and named, in most cases, with use of an adjectival name derived from the name of the locality to which the road led from the town or city through the suburb, are only reflected in the reconstruction plans of individual towns (incl. Wschowa, Dolsk, Pleszew, and other) and thus are not mentioned in the list. We have localised suburban villages which were singled out spatially and later on became integrated into their adjacent towns; in most cases, the maps by Perthées and Gilly, and the *Urmesstischblätter* proved sufficient for their localisation.<sup>9</sup> One such example is Doktorowo near Grodzisk, Kościan district, today a western part of the town of Grodzisk. A specific form of suburban village appeared in the case of Kissy – the village near Wieleń and its namesake village near Czarnków (both in Poznań district), the latter being at times mentioned as a suburb.<sup>10</sup> Presently, both of them are part of their respective towns, and are marked in the Rybaki Street area on both towns. Their establishment and the present-day names of the streets in their former locations have to do with the fishing character of both settlements.<sup>11</sup>

It has at times happened, though, that with use of the earliest maps we could use, we have failed to find some of the suburban villages otherwise mentioned in the tax registers. This is true for Kwiatkowo, Sobótka Wielka (the towns in Kalisz district), as well as Wojszczyno near Lwówek (Poznań district). In any such case, we have deemed the localisation of the suburban village to be a tied one and thus have associated it with the town near which it was situated.

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<sup>6</sup> J. Karczewska, *Rozmieszczenie wsi zagrodowych i drobnoszlacheckich w powiecie gnieźnieńskim na przełomie XV i XVI wieku*, „Klio. Czasopismo Poświęcone Dziejom Polski i Powszechnym”, vol. 29, 2014, no. 2, pp. 21–27, 29–30, 33–34.

<sup>7</sup> The names are mentioned by the 1591 tax register; see RPWK, kcn, 1591 (ASK I 4, f. 789r); Z. Schmidt, *Rozwój układu przestrzennego miasta, jego architektura i sztuka*, [in:] *Żnin. 700 lat dziejów miasta*, Bydgoszcz 1965, map III; Z. Górczyk, *Lokacja miejska Żnina oraz dzieje osady do końca średniowiecza*, [in:] *Żnin. 750 lat dziejów miasta*, ed. T. Janicki, Żnin 2013, p. 64; R. Witkowski, *Czasy nowożytne (od początku XVI w. do 1815 r.)*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 90.

<sup>8</sup> The appearance of the village of Leszno/Leszczyńska Wieś is mentioned in: A. Wędzki, *Najdawniejsze dzieje Leszna do roku 1547*, [in:] *Historia Leszna*, ed. J. Topolski, Leszno 1997; T. Jurek, *Zagadki najdawniejszych dziejów Leszna*, [in:] *Leszno i Leszczyńscy. Sesja naukowa z okazji 450-lecia lokacji miasta Leszna*, ed. A. Konior, Leszno 1997, pp. 13–21; *idem*, *Leszno*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 590.

<sup>9</sup> The settlement around Poznań is as if a separate category; see P. Dembiński, *Poznań settlement complex*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.6.24.4.

<sup>10</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 147.

<sup>11</sup> From Kissy near Czarnków, money was paid in the second half of the sixteenth century almost exclusively upon five to seven fishermen (RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 147; RPWP, pzn, 1567, no. 192, 586; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 126; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 130–131; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 135; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 94, 134; RPWP, pzn, 1582, no. 92; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 129–130). For more on such settlement, see. H. Ludat, *Die Ostdeutschen Kietze. Mit einem Nachwortversehen*, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1984.

No inns or taverns are plotted in the main map that bore their own names which have been identified as settlement units;<sup>12</sup> their localisation is shown on the map of roads.

The map features the castles and abbatial monasteries that formed a separate settlement unit – that is, in the event that no permanent rural settlement was emerging and consolidating around the castle/monastery. The castle in Drahim, Wałcz district was such a separate settlement unit, as were the Cistercian monasteries in Łąd, Konin district, and Paradyż, Poznań district. Another separate settlement unit is, to our mind, the castle in Koło, Konin district, situated more than 1.5 km away of the town and separated from it by a creek of the Warta River.<sup>13</sup>

In line with the series' original assumptions, no deserted villages have been marked in the map, whose area was used in the second half of the sixteenth century as a farming soil for the demesne farms or serfs from the neighbouring villages.<sup>14</sup> Since their locations are oftentimes known (surviving in the landscape names, or because of resettlement), their district and parish affiliations being recognisable, such information has been used to mark out the borders of the state and ecclesiastical administration. An exception to this assumption is the deserted village named Ostrówce (Ostroszcze), in Kcynia district. Only a tumbledown church stood there, whilst the locality was regarded a parochial centre with its own parish district until the middle of the seventeenth century (see A. Borek, *The Church administrative borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek* in this edition).

The technological change mentioned in the introduction to this volume implied the need to more precisely specify the method of setting up a settlement point, which in turn stems from a much higher cartographic precision required in the work with the Geographical Information System (GIS). When preparing the preceding volumes, the plotting of a point in the map was all along based on making a given settlement with a two-dimensional sign which became, in relation to the cartographically elaborated area, a circle with the diameter of several hundred metres (in the real scale). Presently, a locality is marked by plotting a dimensionless point on the base-map equipped only with the coordinates, which translates into a much higher precision of initial marking. The point gains real dimensions only upon editing the map. Hence, more precise guidelines have been adopted with regard to putting the settlement points on the background map, as referred to in the preceding volumes.<sup>15</sup> For towns (cities), the centre of the market square was marked, or another known central point of the former urban area's centre. In case of a parochial village, the parish church would be marked; in other villages, the clearly identifiable centre of the settlement, its geometric centre, the main crossing of the roads, or a facility that has, in all probability, remained in its former location (the manor). If information was available that strongly suggested to recognise another place as the settlement's centre, an appropriate modification has obviously been made. As a base-map on which localities were directly localised, used have been – as with the preceding volumes – the maps published by the Military Geographic Institute (WIG) in the 1920s/1930s. However, in some cases the location of a presently non-existent settlement was last plotted on a nineteenth-century map.

The series' main maps feature the locations of localities in one of the three options: definite, linked, or approximate. A definite majority of the settlements plotted in the map has a definite location (95%); consequently, while their localisation in the map should arouse no doubt, it has not always been an obvious thing. The potential 'shifts' of localities between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, caused by altered riverbed, fire, changes to the road network, or, simply, building developments could not be reflected here as they are by no means graspable or perceptible. As has been said, wherever possible, the centre of a settlement was marked based on the earliest buildings (church, manor), which in some cases nullified the alterations in question. The significance of these 'shifts' are additionally restricted by the map's scale (4 mm = 1 km). Linked location (2% settlements plotted) indicates that we have

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<sup>12</sup> Górkki in Kościan district and the inn 'Bełzant', est. 1593 by the Lake Trzebieszki, have been recognised as such; S. Chmielewski, *Górkki*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 645; Żmidziński, p. 59. In 1598, the king confirmed yet-another privilege for the Bełzant inn, which is mentioned as a separate settlement unit also as of 1627; MK 142, k. 206v–207r; AP Poznań, Akta miasta Ujście, I/1, f. 17r.

<sup>13</sup> See, also, M. Słomski, *Character and size of settlements: Castles and abbeys* [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2c.4.

<sup>14</sup> S. Mielczarski, J. Szaflik, *Zagadnienie łąnów pustych w Polsce w XV i XVI wieku*, SMDWP, vol. 1, 1956, no. 2, pp. 95–102; A. Nowak, *Pustki na wsi kaliskiej w końcu XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, „Rocznik Kaliski”, vol. 41, 2015, pp. 32–35.

<sup>15</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.1.1.

only had information suggesting that a given locality was situated near or far from another settlement. This method mainly pertains to those villages which shared their name with another village or settlement, with addition of the adjective ‘Małe’ (Little) or another (as in the aforementioned villages with fragmented nobility ownership). Approximate location (1.3% settlements plotted) has been given to settlement points in two cases. First, if a given locality has been found in none of the available maps, while we had descriptive information on its location or other guideline regarding its location in regard to the nearby settlements (for Poznań Voivodeship, the SHGPoz was a priceless aid). The other group consists of where identification of the locality found in the relevant source before that in the earliest maps has proved doubtful. We would have not localise a locality when only having information about its parochial affiliation. Linked and approximate location is with respect to villages only (also if associated with a town/city): in the event that we were incapable of exactly localising a mill of demesne farmstead, it has not been plotted but is specified anyway in the List of settlements.

The initial difficulties with identification of some of the settlements, mainly in Wałcz district and in the Greater Poland and Margraviate of Brandenburg borderland, were caused also by the naming of localities. Names of settlements oftentimes appeared in the German form, which in a number of cases differed from the names used today. In such cases, dictionaries and linguistic studies have been helpful.<sup>16</sup>

Some of our localisation decisions call for justification. We have decided to treat Zawadka (Zawady) in Konin district as one locality, though there are premises for its splitting into two. Zawadka appears in the tax registers as a small royal village, whose size is confirmed by the canonical visitations.<sup>17</sup> An exception is the appearance in the 1581 register of an additional insert portraying the village as much larger and richer, possessing a mill, without specifying the owner’s name.<sup>18</sup> This information should probably be related to the Zawady referred to in *Teki Dworzaczka*, which in the second half of the sixteenth century belonged to the Cisnowski family and to Krzysztof Iwiński, forming a small demesne that moreover included Powiercie and Leśnica. Church records refer to a Zawadka in more than one parish – namely, Kościelec<sup>19</sup> (probably the royal part) and Grzegorzewo<sup>20</sup> (the noble part). This actually points to two different villages. This being the case, the localisation of the noble-owned village would be definite – namely, the buildings with a mill on the Warta River, close to Powiercie, as visible in the maps. Where the royal village (part) should be placed in this context is uncertain. Fundamental is the statement that the estate of the *Starosta* of Koło, whose part was the royal village of Zawadka, was situated on the opposite side of the River Warta to that of the nobility’s Zawadka. The mention that the meadow of the Bernardines of Koło ‘is situated between the villages of Zawady nad Kościelec, along the Koło highroad’ is rather vague.<sup>21</sup> The editors of the 1616 royal demesne visitation record indicate that the ‘Koło highroad’ is a road leading toward Kalisz. To be specific, it was the highroad set through Brudzew and leading toward Turek (see the map ‘Main roads in the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century’). It can be presumed that the description refers to the ‘royal’ Zawadka, which means that it needs to be localised east of the road, toward the location of the ‘noble’ Zawadka. With all the pieces of information taken together, along with the coincidence of the names, close location, and the fact that strictly localisation of the unit is impossible, finally one ‘Zawadka’ has been plotted – with mixed ownership, in the place identified with the noble segment.

The location of Mielżynek, Pyzdry district, varies in the earliest maps. The Gilly’s map clearly marks it south of Mielżyn;<sup>22</sup> the later *Urmesstischblätter* sheet shows it as adjacent on the west.<sup>23</sup> We have followed the latter location, due to the map’s larger scale.

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<sup>16</sup> W. Kętrzyński, *Nazwy miejscowe polskie Prus Zachodnich, wschodnich i Pomorza wraz z przezwiskami niemieckimi*, Lwów 1879; A. Chłudziński, *Nazwy miejscowe gminy Czaplinek (wybór)*, [in:] *Z dziejów ziemi drawskiej i szczecineckiej. Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa. Siemczyno, gm. Czaplinek 6 lipca 2012 r.*, ed. A. Chłudziński, Pruszcz Gdański 2013, pp. 43–68; and, the below-mentioned literature used in determining the development of settlement in the second half of the sixteenth century, plus selected relevant entries in SHGPoz. As an auxiliary source, the study by E. Callier, *Powiat walecki w XVI stuleciu. Szkic geograficzno-historyczny*, Poznań 1888, being a geographic-historical portrait of sixteenth-century Wałcz has been used. Moreover, relevant volumes of the NMP have proved useful.

<sup>17</sup> LWWK 1616, p. 342; LWWK 1628, p. 121; LWWK 1659, p. 181.

<sup>18</sup> RPWK, knn, 1581, no. 71.

<sup>19</sup> LBG I, p. 247; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, p. 146.

<sup>20</sup> LBG I, p. 219; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, p. 284.

<sup>21</sup> LWWK 1616, p. 331.

<sup>22</sup> Gilly 1802.

<sup>23</sup> UMTB, ark. 2002 (Mielżyn, 1830).

Mała Wieś and Wielka Wieś near Targowa Górka (Milesna Górka), Pyzdry district, have been plotted as definite locations. The location data are based on the information provided by regionalists.

The sixteenth-century location of Dębówko in Nakło district, being the present location of Dębówka Nowa, should be deemed certain. The development in the place of today's Dębówko Stare is only attested by late nineteenth-century maps,<sup>24</sup> and is not compact. Although in Gilly's map<sup>25</sup> Dębówko is moved northward against Krostkowo, this area is outside the actual scope of the map. The maps from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century<sup>26</sup> clearly show developments directly west of Krostkowo, the place where Dębówko Nowe is today.

The localisation of Kościerzyn Mały and Kościerzyn Wielki (Kościerzyna), the villages in Nakło district, reversed in our map compared to the locations shown in the maps since the early eighteenth century, calls for a more detailed comment. The present location is based on the records regarding the parochial affiliation of these localities and their localisation with respect to Łobżonka. The tax registers consistently name Kościerzyn Wielki as part of Luchowa parish and Kościerzyn Mały within Glesno (Gliśno)<sup>27</sup> – the parishes situated, respectively, on the northern and southern side of the River Lubcza. A mid-seventeenth-century Church visitation record assigns 'Kościerzyn' to the parish of Łobżenica<sup>28</sup> (to which Luchowo, was affiliated; *The Church administrative borders. A. Dioceses of Gniezno and Włocławek* in this edition), whilst 'Kościerzyn Minor' (i.e. Kościerzynka) appears as an object of dispute between the parsons of Gromadno and Glesno. This suggests that the church in Gromadno had laid claims to the part of the village situated on one of the banks of the Łobżonka.<sup>29</sup> Also *Teki Dworzaczka* tell us that Kościerzyn Mały spanned both banks of the river,<sup>30</sup> whereas Kościerzyn Wielki is described as situated near Łobżenica and Trzeboń.<sup>31</sup> According to the cartographic sources it is Kościerzyn Wielki that is located on both banks of the Łobżanka; opposite to Kościerzyn Mały is the village called Szczerbin (Szczerbinko), which also existed in the sixteenth century. It is therefore clear that the localities' names have been swapped. Based on the *regests* in *Teki Dworzaczka*, one concludes that the alteration took place probably in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century, the moment when a 'Kościerzyna Spalona' ('Burnt' Kościerzyna) appears for some time.

The location of Wierzchosław in Kalisz district, which is at times identified with today's Żychlin, has been slightly corrected. In the earliest maps<sup>32</sup> the settlement of Wierzchosław is closer to the road between Karsy and Sobótka, somewhat south-east of today's Żychlin built-up area – and it is right there that Wierzchosław is plotted on our map.

The location of the demesne farm and then mill settlement of Błotnino, Kalisz district, has been adopted as definite. It was identified as the 'Maślanka' mill shown on the maps, following the information of a miller named Maślanka who owned a 'Błotnino' mill as of 1612.<sup>33</sup> In this case, the miller's (nick)name has ousted the facility's original name.<sup>34</sup>

The location of Gniezno district's village of Jeziercze (Jeziercza) has been deemed certain. The namesake demesne farm is marked in all the cartographic sources we have used. In 1534, the village appears as *deserta*.<sup>35</sup> The tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century refer to only one smallholder (*hortulanus*) there.<sup>36</sup> The 1673 and 1674 head-tax (*poglówne*) registers repeat the description

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<sup>24</sup> Karte des Deutschen Reiches 1893.

<sup>25</sup> Gilly 1802.

<sup>26</sup> Schrötter, ark. s20+24; Pfau, ark. 57.

<sup>27</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1564, no. 28, 55; RPWK, nkl, 1565, no. 31, 32, 68; RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 41, 42, 43, no. 73; RPWK, nkl, 1577, no. 28, 56; RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 46, 47, no. 48, 82; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 37, 38, 3974; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 45, 46, 47, 79; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 44, 78; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 40, 41, 73; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 28, 57.

<sup>28</sup> Panske, p. 290.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, pp. 298, 368.

<sup>30</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2095 (no. 158) 1580.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, 2681 (no. 163) 1597.

<sup>32</sup> Perthées Kalisz; Gilly 1802; UMTB, ark. 2422 (Sobótka, 1829).

<sup>33</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2570 (no. 8) 1612.

<sup>34</sup> T. Gołębiowska, *Nazwy polskich młynów*, „Onomastica”, vol. 14, 1969, no. 1–2, pp. 106–110; J. Wiśniewski, *Nazwy młynów w Polsce*, KHKM, vol. 18, 1970, no. 3, pp. 449–455.

<sup>35</sup> Ulan. Visit., p. 497.

<sup>36</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 245; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 235; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 320; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 317; RPWK, gzn, 1581, no. 263; RPWK, gzn, 1582, no. 233; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 240; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 261.

*deserta*.<sup>37</sup> According to the information provided by Jan Korytkowski, the forests near the village supplied timber to the Cathedral of Gniezno, and the settlement became completely deserted during the eighteenth century; its area was afforested and its former limits became unidentifiable. The local forest inspectorate was apparently named after the village.<sup>38</sup> In spite of the settlement discontinuity, it seems that the development identifiable in the midst of the forest is a trace of the once-village.

Pępowo Małe and Pępowo Wielkie have been recognised as separate settlements. The tax registers continually mentioned two settlements named Pępowo. Their identification was not facilitated by the lack of consistency in the records from different sources. The name Pępowo Małe (Pępowko) refers at times to the nobility's partition, whilst the tax registers named the latter Pępowo Wielkie. The SHGPoz<sup>39</sup> recognises this information as communications of property partitions – namely, the Gniezno custody and the noble share. The division of Pępowo was not reflected by the cartographic sources we have used; today, there is only one Pępowo. We have identified the two villages based on the difference in the names recorded in the tax registers, which is reflected in the River Dąbroczna dividing the locality into two parts in our map. Following the registers, the parochial centre is localised in Pępowo Małe, which belonged to the Chapter. The church's location in the custody partition is confirmed by the mention on the presentation by the Gniezno treasurer of the Pępowo parson in the mid-fifteenth century<sup>40</sup> and the information from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1612, the treasurer part (*Pempowo s. Pempówko*) was purchased by Andrzej Konarzewski,<sup>41</sup> who had already possessed a share in Pępowo Wielkie); in 1625, he is reported to have erected a new brick church to replace the former one,<sup>42</sup> which evidently relates to the transfer of the custody partition together with the church and the right of patronage.

The relation between two localities in Gniezno district, parish of Modliszewko (Modliszewo Małe): Dębłowo and Przysieka, both appearing in the tax registers, is unclear. The difficulty appears because of the ownership parts in those villages and the onomastics. As per the tax registers, Klemens and Szymon Rudnicki (an uncle and his nephew), the two consecutive custodians of the Gniezno Cathedral, appear as the only payers at Dębłowo.<sup>43</sup> The village's affiliation to the endowment of the Gniezno treasurer benefice is also indicated by the information from 1535 and 1612,<sup>44</sup> while there is no such mention in the visitation records of the Chapter estates edited by Bolesław Ulanowski, or in the catalogues of canons compiled by Jan Korytkowski.<sup>45</sup> It is also known that the partition in that village was held by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre from Gniezno;<sup>46</sup> it is however described as *sortis in Deblowo Przesieka dicta*.<sup>47</sup> Associating this place with the Przysieka of the tax registers does not seem appropriate due to the clear determination that the Order's partition was situated in Dębłowo. That a royal partition was situated there as well, held on a lease basis, is likewise undoubtful.<sup>48</sup> The basic problem lies in the presence of a nobility's partition in Dębłowo, as confirmed by the 1659–65 visitation<sup>49</sup> (two noble partitions) and by *Regestr diecezjów*.<sup>50</sup> In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Goryński family appears as the noble proprietors at Dębłowo<sup>51</sup> – probably as leaseholders (*tenu-tarii*).<sup>52</sup> As for Przysieka, Krzysztof Mileński appears as the payer. No mention has been found in

<sup>37</sup> ASK I 74, ff. 62v, 205.

<sup>38</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitalnej gnieźnieńskiej od roku 1000 aż do dni naszych*, vol. 1, Gniezno 1883, pp. 226–227.

<sup>39</sup> See T. Jurek, *Pępowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 638.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>41</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2275 (no. 1408) 1612.

<sup>42</sup> SGKP, vol. 8, p. 37.

<sup>43</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1565, no. 201; RPWK, gzn, 1576, no. 189; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 182; RPWK, gzn, 1580, no. 251; RPWK, gzn, 1583, no. 190; RPWK, gzn, 1588, no. 212.

<sup>44</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 166 (no. 262) 1535; 2321 (no. 1408) 1612.

<sup>45</sup> Ulan. Visit.; J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy*, vol. 1, pp. 173–174.

<sup>46</sup> F. Sikora, *Najstarsze dokumenty i dzieje klasztoru bożogrobców w Gnieźnie*, SŻ, vol. 19, 1974, p. 63.

<sup>47</sup> AmGn, I 155, p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> MK 51, f. 184; MK 65, ff. 344v–345r; LWWK 1564, p. XXXVIII; LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 150; LWWK 1659, p. 192.

<sup>49</sup> LWWK 1659, p. 192.

<sup>50</sup> Czaykowski, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 10909 (no. 1398) 1571, 3440 (no. 51) 1571; also, 9797 (no. 1420) 1640.

<sup>52</sup> MK 29, f. 338; MK 51, f. 184.

*Teki Dworzaczka* for the second half of the sixteenth century that would with certainty refer to this particular locality, all the more than two other namesake localities existed in Gniezno district at the time, one of them situated in the neighbouring parish of Sokolniki. No other mention of the locality in question has been found in any other record whatsoever. The 1581 register offers an interesting clue as it has the phrase *sive Deblowo vocata*<sup>53</sup> relating to Przysieka. Given the apparent difficulty in interpretation, it has been resolved that Dębłowo be identified with the Church and royal parts as well as with Dębłowo Królewskie, whereas Przysieka (Dębłowo) would be identical with Dębłowo Szlacheckie (the latter is attested in the aforementioned 1659–65 visitation record). Both localities are visible in the later maps, Przysieka's location being approximate. This solution probably simplifies the sixteenth-century settlement and ownership situation; the fragmentary information available makes any detailed interpretation ungrounded.

We have localised Rakoniewice in Kościan district, in the place of the former village of Rakoniewice, situated south-west of Rakoniewice the town, established in 1662 on the village's land,<sup>54</sup> and marked in the maps by Perthées and Gilly and in the UMTB. Czesram, also in Kościan district, is marked in the place of the parish church, in the north-eastern part of Golejewko. A church with the same name is plotted, beside Golejewko, in the Perthées and Gilly maps.<sup>55</sup> The location of Dębrzno in Poznań district has been determined as today's settlement of Ławica near Sieraków.<sup>56</sup> The placement of Gorzuchowo, Poznań district, south-west of Rogoźno is justified by the information in the Gilly map and the *Urmesstischblätter*, where the demesne farmstead of Gorzuchowo is marked north of Budziszewo (it does not appear in Perthées). Smyczyna Stara in Kościan district was technically deserted in the latter half of the sixteenth century; it was probably situated in the vicinity of today's forest settlement of Smyczyna. The present-day village named Smyczyna is approximately 2.5 km east of where Smyczyna Stara has been localised, being an extension of Smyczyna Nowa, first attested in 1608.<sup>57</sup> Trzebiec in Kościan district has been localised based on the information on a demesne farm named *Trzepiec*, west of Siemowo.<sup>58</sup> Trzcielín Mały and Trzcielín Wielki in Poznań district form one village today, called Trzcielín, through which a stream flows. We have localised these villages based on the *Urmesstischblätter*. East of the rivulet, *Trzcielino Königlich* is marked, and *Adlich* west of it.<sup>59</sup> The localities of Trzek and Widzierzewice (Poznań district), both situated east and north-east of Czerlenin, have been localised on the basis of the *Urmesstischblätter*, where they form separate settlement units.<sup>60</sup> The *Messtischblätter* sheet and the later maps feature a locality named Trzek in lieu of what had been Widzierzewice. Today, Widzierzewice (modern name, Wydzierzawice) form part of Trzek.

To begin our discussion of the approximate localisations, let us begin with Kobyllice village, Pyzdry district. It appears in the inventory of the estates of the Bishopric of Poznań dated 1564<sup>61</sup> and in the tax registers dated 1553 and 1565.<sup>62</sup> We have identified it as a western part of what is Ciężęń today. The basis was the 1565 register's phrase *Kobielicze sive alia Ciaszim*; the subsequent tax registers have *Ciązym Alia*. The first part of Ciężęń appeared once as *Ciązim koscielne* ('of the church'),<sup>63</sup> which

<sup>53</sup> RPWK, gnz, 1581, no. 205.

<sup>54</sup> Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Nowe lokacje miejskie w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII wieku. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Poznań 1964, p. 15, footnote 66.

<sup>55</sup> Also, see S. Chmielewski, *Czesram*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 314.

<sup>56</sup> J. Luciński, *Debrzno*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 347, footnote 1.

<sup>57</sup> T. Jurek, W. Baran-Kozłowski, *Smyczyna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 568. Most entries concerning Smyczyna in the tax registers we have used is deserted and void of people; however, in the 1580s, the collection upon the mill, four smallholders, and a *rataj* (*arator/colonus*) was paid (RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 589). The village was deserted probably around mid-sixteenth century, and was often described as such in property transactions (e.g., Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 7249 (no. 1393) 1534; 416 (no. 5) 1560f.).

<sup>58</sup> UMTB, ark. 2269 (Lubin, 1826). The WIG map mentions no name of the former demesne farmstead. A part of the village of Nowy Belęcin, named Czepiec, is presently located there; K. Górńska-Gołaska, G. Rutkowska, *Trzebiec*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 351.

<sup>59</sup> UMTB, ark. 1996 (Dombrowka, 1830). At the time the UMTB was compiled, Trzcielino Małe was called 'Królewskie' ['royal'], resulting from the takeover of Church estates by the state in 1796; cf. T. Jurek, *Trzcielín Kapiulny*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 338.

<sup>60</sup> UMTB, ark. 1999 (Kostschin, 1830).

<sup>61</sup> Inw. bp. poz. 1564, p. 294.

<sup>62</sup> RPWK, pzd, 1552, no. 45; RPWK, pzd 1565, no. 61.

<sup>63</sup> RPWK, pzd, 1576, no. 51.

suggests a reference to the present-day eastern part. Such a solution is rendered even more plausible by today's division of Ciężen into two parts. The solution in question being hypothetical, Kobylice has received an approximate location.

Hypothetical, in our view, is also the localisation of Wielka Wieś near Dźwierzno, Nakło district. Its singling out as a separate settlement unit in the second half of the sixteenth century does not raise any doubts, as it is treated as separate from Dźwierzno not only by the tax registers but also by a number of other records.<sup>64</sup> Upon the division of Dźwierzno and Wielka Wieś in 1566, two settlements were clearly named.<sup>65</sup> The deed of demarcation of Dźwierzno and Wielka Wieś, and that issued for Topola in 1579, indicate that Wielka Wieś was situated on the side of Topola<sup>66</sup> in the western part of today's Dźwierzno Wielkie. This fact is additionally confirmed by the information on the local demesne farm, which is moreover marked on the WIG map.<sup>67</sup> The limitation of Dźwierzno proper to a settlement on a pass between the lakes lends credence to its description as *Wieś Dzwierzno or Ostrów* in the 1579 division document. However, since there is no direct confirmation of Wielka Wieś in the cartographic records, it has been given an approximate location here.

A similar marking of Radziczek in Nakło district is based on the information on its parochial affiliation. Though the tax registers assigned Radzicz and Radziczek to the parish of Glesno,<sup>68</sup> the visitation records from the beginning and middle of the seventeenth century<sup>69</sup> mention that a part of the village belonged to the parish in Sadków (Satków). Following this information, the development in Radzicz south of the River Orla has been marked as Radziczek.

Parochial affiliation has determined the localisation against the local river of Kalisz district's Kliszewo and Kotynino localities. Kliszewo would be situated between Zagorzyn, the later Młyn Deska, Pruszków, and Kościelna Wieś (Kościół).<sup>70</sup> Except for the latter, all were situated on the right bank of the Prosna, and it was the location of the parochial village that has prevailed in the localisation of Kliszewo. Kotynino is said to have bordered on Osiek and Śmiłowo, itself being located not far from Radziszewska Struga (unlocalised).<sup>71</sup> It belonged to Godziesze Wielkie (Godzieszewy) parish, and therefore the settlement has been located on the right bank of the Prosna.

An approximate localisation has moreover pertained to Bartodzieje, a settlement in Kalisz district. It is only featured on the Perthées map as a spot in a clearing amidst the forest. Since no other cartographic record shows it there, and there is no other related element in Perthées that might have provided a spatial context (such as a road or river), we have decided not to adopt this localisation as definite, given the map's low accuracy. Furthermore, the name of Bartodzieje was applied into the 1970s to a field in Stary Kiączyn – a locality further to the west compared to the Perthées localisation.<sup>72</sup> In this particular case, in indicating the possible location, the latter information was taken into account.

The presently non-existent village of Zamysłowo, once in Kcynia district, has been given an approximate location, even though no direct information on the district's borderline is available. The decisive factor was the property ownership context as specified in *Teki Dworzaczka*, where the village appears beside those of Koźlanka, Rąbczyn, and Żabiczyn.<sup>73</sup> Another premise was the locality's affi-

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<sup>64</sup> J. Pakulski, *Stosunki własnościowe i gospodarcze w czasach nowożytnych. Między wojną trzydziestoletnią a zaborem pruskim*, [in:] A. Mietz, J. Pakulski, K. Rybacki, *Parafia i kościół św. Mikołaja w Dźwierznie Wielkim*, Toruń 1999, pp. 31–39, 49–50.

<sup>65</sup> Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS 1732, Inwentarz kościoła Dzwierskiego ... po uspokoiniu wojny szwedzkiej spisany, f. 52.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, f. 65.

<sup>67</sup> J. Pakulski, *Stosunki własnościowe*, p. 49.

<sup>68</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1564, no. 29, 31; RPWK, nkl, 1565, no. 33, 34, 38; RPWK, nkl, 1576, no. 44, 45, 212, 213; RPWK, nkl, 1577, no. 29, 31; RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 52, 53, 54; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 43, 44, 45; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 51, 52; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 48, 49, 50; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 44, 45, 46; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 30, 31.

<sup>69</sup> Panske, pp. 364, 366.

<sup>70</sup> J. Majchrowski, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa kaliskiego*, vol. 2, TS, Instytut Języka Polskiego PAN, Cracow [no date], 505: [ASK 108, 46] 1789: Kliszewo: "solely fields and meadows are there, and no buildings; these lands are situated betwixt the frontiers of Zagorzyn, Deska Mill, and Pruszków, & also Kościelna Wieś".

<sup>71</sup> SHGKart, Kotynino.

<sup>72</sup> *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*, vol. 80: Powiat kaliski i powiat miejski Kalisz, województwo poznańskie, [no place] 1971, p. 15.

<sup>73</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 5312 (no. 1392) 1523, 4662 (no. 335a) 1532, 11803 (no. 1398) 1576, 4318 (no. 56) 1578, 1039 (no. 1405) 1604, 2645 (no. 1408) 1613, 9922 (no. 58) 1668.

liation to the parish of Mieścisko. These data points quite clearly suggest that Zamysłowo must have been situated in the bend of the River Wełna, possibly between Koźlanka and Rąbczyn – and this is where its location is marked.

Bielawy village, of Poznań district, has been localised based on the information about its adjacency to Biezdrowsko, Chojnica, and Owińska.<sup>74</sup> Dobiertki in Poznań district, situated at the border between this district and that of Kościan, has been plotted based on the information about the village's location between Rogalin and Świątniki, and on its being situated on the right bank of the Warta.<sup>75</sup> Kościan district's Grobia has been plotted thanks to the information on the village's limits from around the mid-sixteenth century; as of 1547, a corner mound between Grobia, Sęczkowo, and Sęczkówek, and as of 1568, a corner mound between Grobia, Dłużyna, and Charbielin were mentioned.<sup>76</sup> Sienno in Kościan district, last mentioned in 1558, has been localised based on mentions in court registers; it was associated with Gronowo (Grunau), located north of Leszno.<sup>77</sup> The location of Poggenpol village in the district of Wałcz has been established on the basis of mentions of so-named wetlands in the border recesses between the Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Pomerania, near the Lake Kołbackie. The point standing for the locality is marked at the place of today's Polne village.<sup>78</sup>

Approximate localisations refer in some cases to the localities that presumably were void in the period under discussion. For example, Radwankowo near Buk, Poznań district, appears as a deserted area already in the Poznań diocese's book of benefice; albeit the tax registers did mention the village's name, all the related entries were blank.<sup>79</sup>

It is worth paying attention to Żmin in Kościan district, associated with Modrze village. The town named Żmin was established in the fifteenth century, which was then absorbed by the thriving village of Modrze, on whose land the town had been incorporated.<sup>80</sup> The space of those settlements has not been precisely distinguished; the royal demesnes' inventory of 1564 merely mentions that the land on which Żmin was founded was situated between Modrze and the village's manor.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, Żmin has received a linked localisation, beside the village of Modrze.

Another instance of tied localisation is the villages called Chwarstnica and Mielęcín in Wałcz district. Chwarstnica appeared in the records earlier than Mielęcín (first attested in the fourteenth century), situated not far away from the former. Since the late fifteenth century, both villages were often described as *Swarsnycza alias Malentin*.<sup>82</sup> The Wałcz district's tax registers mentioned these two villages separately – Chwarstnica as property of Stanisław Tuczyński and Mielęcín as that of Rudiger Wedelski.<sup>83</sup> A similar situation is the case with the locality of Lipia Góra, Konin district, which is associated with Sługocin based on a mention from the tax register for the years 1616–20 (*Slugocin seu Lipiagora*)<sup>84</sup> and the head-tax (*poglówne*) register of 1673 (*Lipiegory inclusa summa cum villa Slugocino*).<sup>85</sup> The tax registers have these villages appearing separately.<sup>86</sup> In Kościan district, Piotrowice

<sup>74</sup> K. Górską-Gońska, *Bielawy*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 42.

<sup>75</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2166 (no. 1407) 1611; K. Górską-Gońska, *Dobiertki*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 365. As of 1767, mentioned as void (deserted); Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 16320 (no. 1344) 1767.

<sup>76</sup> K. Górską-Gońska, *Grobia*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 673.

<sup>77</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 7230 (no. 897) 1556, 8268 (no. 1396) 1556, 8674 (no. 1396) 1558; G. Rutkowska, W. Baran-Kozłowski, *Sienna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 400–404.1.

<sup>78</sup> K. Górską-Gońska, *Poggenpul*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 719; also, see note 106 in this chapter.

<sup>79</sup> LBP, p. 97; RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 353; RPWP, pzn, 1576, no. 347; RPWP, pzn, 1577, no. 377; RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 383; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 380; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 390.

<sup>80</sup> G. Rutkowska, *Modrze*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, pp. 181–186 and footnote 1, p. 185.

<sup>81</sup> LWVK 1564, p. 161: "Zmin, or Modrze, it is one village or domain that the people have there, in this country. In this Zmin, or Zmigia, are but gardens which the gardeners hold upon rents, of which gardens there are 30 of number; ... Settled are those gardeners betwixt the manor built upon Modrze the demesne farmstead and Modrze the village, collectively and indivisibly, and betwixt the demesne farm soils, and betwixt those of the serfs. There are no rights that those gardeners would have, of which it might ever be demonstrated that the site they are settled upon might have ever been a burgh".

<sup>82</sup> K. Górską-Gońska, *Chwarstnica*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 248; eadem, *Mielęcín*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 115, footnote 1; HistPowWał, p. 320: the village's relation to that of Marta is erroneously described.

<sup>83</sup> RPWP, wlc, 1563, no. 30, 45; RPWP, wlc, 1577, no. 24, 35; RPWP, wlc, 1579, no. 41, 71; RPWP, wlc, 1582, no. 48, 77.

<sup>84</sup> Parczewski, p. 119.

<sup>85</sup> ASK I 74, f. 30v.

<sup>86</sup> RPWK, knn, 1564, no. 177, 179; RPWP, knn, 1565, no. 190, 192; RPWP, knn, 1576, no. 148, 149; RPWP, knn, 1577, no. 198, 200; RPWP, knn, 1579, no. 210, 212.

was most probably situated west or north-west of Goniębice. Mentions survive from the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century regarding two demarcations of the villages of Goniębice and Piotrowice from those of Klunowo and Żakowo.<sup>87</sup> The village was possibly absorbed in as early as the latter half of the sixteenth century by Goniębice, but ‘survived’ in the tax registers where amounts paid from the mills and windmills operating in Piotrowice were specified.<sup>88</sup> The village of Szamarzewo, Kościan district, appearing only in the tax registers, has been associated with Szymanowo village, following the suggestion expressed in the SHGPoz.<sup>89</sup>

In the Voivodeships of Kalisz and Poznań, altogether sixty-five localities, 1.7% of all the settlements, have not been localised (see Table 1). This number is significantly higher compared to the preceding volumes in the series (0.3% for Sandomierz Voivodeship, 0.7% for Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships, and 0.7% for Cracow Voivodeship).<sup>90</sup> This outcome is partly owed to the use of *Teki Dworzaczka*, which specify a number of localities not mentioned elsewhere.

**Table 1. Localities in Voivodeships of Kalisz and Poznań whose location is unidentified**

District	Parish	Locality name	Last attested as of
<b>Kalisz Voivodeship</b>			
Nakło	[unknown]	Gliszczyno	1577*
Nakło	Zalesie	Jełowa	1579
Kcynia	[unknown]	Łoscica	1576*
Kcynia	Chomętowo	Kościenkowo	1610
Gniezno	Gniezno–St. Michael’s	Wełnicki	1557
Gniezno	Strzyżewo	Płociczny	1588
Gniezno	Trląg	Broniewiczzi	1581
Pyzdry	Bnin	Góra	1552*
Pyzdry	Bnin	Łuckowo	1552*
Pyzdry	Brudzewo	Wyrzutowo	1695
Pyzdry	Giewartowo?	Stawiska	1552*
Pyzdry	Gorazdowo	Góra	1552
Pyzdry	Gozdowo	Cieczna	1552*
Pyzdry	Gozdowo	Głochowo	1552
Pyzdry	Grodziszczko	Bunice	1574*
Pyzdry	Kobelin	Chwalenice	1611
Pyzdry	Lutogniew	Cerekwica	1552*
Pyzdry	Milesna Górka	Chwalenice	1580
Pyzdry	Nietrzeanowo	Zwola	1676
Pyzdry	Niezamyśl	Miechnin	1586
Pyzdry	Ostrów?	Sbakow	1552*
Pyzdry	Pyzdry	Sieka	1576*
Pyzdry	Wyganowo	Turkowiec	1552*
Konin	Cienino Wielkie	Inopole	1810
Konin	Gosławice	Pąclaw	1756
Konin	Morzysław	Błozino	1612

<sup>87</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Goniębice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 539.

<sup>88</sup> The village was reportedly deserted as of 1510; LBP, p. 132.

<sup>89</sup> I. Skierska, *Szamarzewo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 761.

<sup>90</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.1.1.

District	Parish	Locality name	Last attested as of
Konin	Siedlimowo	Siedlec	1583
Kalisz	[unknown]	Niedźwiady	1565
Kalisz	[unknown]	Wiesiołowo	1704
Kalisz	Dobrzec	Gaj	1620
Kalisz	Droszewo	Głuchowo	1674
Kalisz	Gać Powężowa?	Gać Stirkowa	1592
Kalisz	Gorzno?	Wierzbowa	1580*
Kalisz	Gostyczyna	Chrostowo	1634
Kalisz	Kajewo	Morza	1674
Kalisz	Kamion	Bielawy	1617
Kalisz	Witaszyce?	Prusy Wielkie	1585*
Kalisz	Ociąż	Oswaldowo	1620
Kalisz	Opatówek	Gorski	1591
Kalisz	Pamięcino	Pruskowo Małe	1674
Kalisz	Pogrzybowo	Ociążek	1674
Kalisz	Pogrzybowo	Szyjakowo	1766
Kalisz	Pogrzybowo?	Świeligów	1674
Kalisz	Przespolewo	Poroże Puste	1616
Kalisz	Rajsko	Gotardy	1642
Kalisz	Rajsko	Kraszewo	1591
Kalisz	Skalmierzyce	Rzekty	1780
Kalisz	Sowina Kościelna	Sowina Pusta	1624
Kalisz	Staw	Deszna	1552*
Kalisz	Staw	Siedliska	1674
Kalisz	Szymanowice	Zarzecze	1634
Kalisz	Tłokinia	Świędrew	1591
Kalisz	Żegocino	Buszkowo	1571
<b>Poznań Voivodeship</b>			
Wałcz	[unknown]	Rudna	1582
Poznań	[unknown]	Trejelny Młyn	1567*
Poznań	Głęboćek	Wiesiołowo	1622
Poznań	Głuszyna	Dupice	1592
Poznań	Głuszyna	Wojkowo	1583
Poznań	Sieraków	Piotrów	1577*
Poznań	Słomowo	Zalesie	1583
Poznań	Tulce	Podanino	1628
Kościan	[unknown]	Robienko Małe	1567*
Kościan	[unknown]	Wierzbno	1583*
Kościan	Osieczna	Krowi Lasek	1619
Kościan	Krobia	Badurkowo	1692

Source: Authors' own compilation.

Legend: \* Date refers to the only mention of the locality.

The settlement in Voivodeship of Poznań in the second half of the sixteenth century is divisible into two main parts, separated latitudinally along the strip of the Warta, Notecka Primeval Forest, and the Noteć River. Only in the eastern edge of the forest – in the area of Oborniki, Rogoźno, and Ryczywół – the settlement was denser and, in its origins, mainly focused on the voivodeship's southern part.

The northern area of Poznań district and the district of Wałcz underwent in that period a rather scarce, though fairly intense, colonisation of the numerous primeval forests, swamps, and wastelands. The relatively densest settlement appeared in the area of Czarnków. Rather stable and numerous localities appeared in the western part of the area under discussion, in the neighbourhood of Człopa, Tuczno, and Mirosławiec (Frydland), right next to the state border with Brandenburg. Twenty-one of those settlements dated back to at least the fourteenth century; they are listed in the 1337 *Landsbuch* of the Brandenburg Margrave Ludwig.<sup>91</sup> It was only at the end of the sixteenth century that the settlement network grew denser in that part of the voivodeship (for more on the progress of the colonisation, see below), mainly in the area of Ujście, Wałcz, and Czaplinek. Some of the settlements belonging to this part of Poznań district, situated north-east of Rogoźno, formed a segment of a somewhat denser settlement in the vicinity of Chodzież, a locality situated at the western edge of Kcynia district, Kalisz Voivodeship. The least dense settlement was definitely that in the area of today's Trzcianka, at the borderline of the districts of Wałcz and Poznań, and in the north-east of the region under discussion, in the vicinity of Jastrowie (these areas were more densely populated east of the Gwda, in Nakło district territory).

The main identifiable reason behind such a low population in the northern part of Poznań Voivodeship is the geographic conditions. The numerous and extensive forest complexes, swampy areas of the Noteć, the landform with numerous moraine hills, and sandy soils in the major part of the area all caused that the terrain was mostly not easy to colonise.<sup>92</sup> The impact of border hassles between the Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Pomerania and, to a lesser extent, with Brandenburg, was no less considerable: they were gnawing primarily in Wałcz district and the locals had been suffering them since the fifteenth century. The picture was completed by the banditry and aggressive actions of Polish and foreign nobles.<sup>93</sup>

The southern part of the voivodeship, with its dissimilar settlement profile, consisted of the remainder of Poznań district as well as of Kościan district and Wschowa land. The area of the largest settlement began in the vicinity of Rogoźno and, circumventing the eastern edge of the Notecka Primeval Forest, stretched southwards up to the voivodeship's frontier (the southern border of Kościan district, to be specific) and the state's border with Silesia; westwards, it reached the vicinity of Międzychód, Pniewy, and Lwówek, Opalenica, Grodzisk, Śmigiel, and Włoszakowice. Also in this part of the voivodeship, the settlement was unevenly distributed. The western ends, beginning with P[sz]czew, via Skwierzyna, Bledzew, Międzyrzecz, Trzciel, Babimost, Wolsztyn, up to Przemęt and, further on, the Wschowa land, was much more scarcely populated, compared to the eastern part of this administrative unit. Only in the western part of Kościan district, somewhat larger settlement aggregations were located in the area delineated by Babimost, Wolsztyn, and Zbąszyń.

The voivodeship's largest settlement cluster was the agglomeration of Poznań, with its suburbs, surrounding towns and villages.<sup>94</sup> In Kościan district, a fairly high population density appeared in the area

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<sup>91</sup> The settlements included: Arnsfelde (later, Gostomia), Bercholt, Bronikowo, Chwiram, Giżyno, Henkendorf, Knaken-dorf, Lubsdorf, Łowicz, Marcinkowice, Marta, Mielęcín, Miłogoszcz, Nakielno, Orla, Ruschendorf, Sadowo, Schulzendorf, Stralenberg, Stręczno, and Stubowo; see *Das Neumärkische Landbuch Markgraf Ludwig's des Aelteren vom Jahre 1337*, ed. L. Gollmert, „Historisch-Statistischer Verein zu Frankfurt a.O.”, vol. 2, 1862 (=Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins zu Frankfurt), pp. 27–29; F. Schultz, *Das Deutsch Kroner Land im 14. Jahrhundert*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins”, vol. 39, 1899, pp. 44–58; B. Janiszewska-Mincer, *Osadnictwo ziemi waleckiej do początków XVI w.*, „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie”, vol. 9, 1965, pp. 621–630. Let us remark, though, that a number of the villages enumerated in 1337 were described as abandoned.

<sup>92</sup> HistPowWał, pp. 13–15; B. Janiszewska-Mincer, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 603–608; Bąk, Wałcz, pp. 59–60; also, see the SHGPoz entries: K. Górską-Gołąska, *Czarnkowska Puszcza*, part I, p. 287; eadem, *Człopska Puszcza*, part I, p. 318; eadem, [*Notecka Puszcza*], part III, pp. 299–312.

<sup>93</sup> HistPowWał, pp. 40–55; Z. Boras, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku. Zarys polityczny*, Poznań 1965, p. 205; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Zasadzka rycerstwa wielkopolskiego na Drodze Margrabskiej pod Turzą Górą w 1430 r.*, SMDWP, vol. 12, 1976, no. 1 (23), pp. 53–62.

<sup>94</sup> See P. Dembiński, *Poznań settlement complex*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.6.24.4; also: J. Majewski, *Gospodarstwo folwarczne we wsiach miasta Poznania w latach 1582–1644*, Poznań 1957; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji osadniczej Poznania od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1969.

of Kościan, Śmigiel, and Charbielin, the longitudinal strip stretching between Śrem and Dolsk, on the one side, and ending in the area of Krobia, on the other, as well as the south-eastern vicinity of Grodzisk.

Colonisation was also attracted by the Warta River; a large number of localities were situated along both of its banks, from the river's entry into the voivodeship up to the area of Oborniki. Further on, in the Warta's longitudinal course, settlement – somewhat less dense but still considerable – tended to concentrate on the southern, left bank, up to Międzychód. While the Warta bonded the settlement network together, the other two large rivers of Greater Poland, the Obra and the Noteć, often posed barriers to the development of colonisation. On the Obra, which flowed through Kościan district and the western edge of Poznań district, towns (Krzywiń, Kościan, Zbąszyń, Trzciel, Międzyrzecz) and villages were situated, yet in the central part of the river's course its main bed and the numerous and vast flood plains were a serious barrier to the colonisation and settlement at that time.<sup>95</sup> The River Noteć itself did not favour settlement in its direct vicinity, though the towns of Czarnków and Wieleń, with their associated estates, were situated on the Noteć. The river's valley became actively colonised since in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, not infrequently by establishing villages inhabited by Dutch (or German) settlers, so-called *Olęders*.<sup>96</sup>

The border between the districts of Poznań and Kościan was unevenly populated. East of Grodzisk and Opalenica, settlement in the border area of the two districts came across no obstacles and was continuous, whereas west of those towns the border was formed of pretty extensive primeval forests that stretched up to the western state border.

As a general observation, settlement/colonisation in the western part of Poznań Voivodeship (the vicinity of P[*sz*]czew, Międzyrzecz, and Trzciel) was much less dense, possibly because of the borderland location of those areas and their worse natural condition, with lower-quality soils and stronger developed hydrographic network.

The density of settlement in Kalisz Voivodeship can be outlined as rather evenly spread, with a diminishing trend observable northwards. The settlement network in Krajna area, Nakło district, was the scarcest and the most diverse. Even after the foundations that occurred during the sixteenth century, the division is clearly visible into the district's two regions: the weaker colonised north-western region and the south-eastern one, featuring a denser settlement. The borderline between them went from Kamień Krajeński to Ujście, extending toward the south-east in the area between Dźwierzno and Mrocza. A clear caesura between the settlement in the districts of Nakło and Kcynia was the Noteć River together with its boggy banks. In its central and southern part, Kcynia district was evenly populated. The territory around Chodzież, neighbouring in the west with the weakly populated areas of Poznań district, was separated with a strip of forests from that centre of the district. In the eastern part of Kcynia district, the parishes of Samokłęski and Łabiszyn were separated from the settlement's centre as well. The latter parish retained continuity in the east with the colonisation area in southern Cuyavia. The aforesaid central part of Kcynia district had its extension in the settlement in Gniezno district. The western part of the latter, together with the northern part of Pyzdry district, in the area between the Wełna and the Warta, was one of the most densely populated areas in Kalisz Voivodeship, particularly in the vicinity of Gniezno.

Compared to those, the eastern area of Gniezno district and the north-eastern area of Konin district had a sparser settlement network and bigger afforestation. In Konin district, settlement concentrated along the Warta, especially in the area of Koło (*Starosta's* district of Koło). Very low-populated was the area of forests between the districts of Konin and Kalisz; the latter was highly diverse in terms of settlement density. Apart from the Kalisz-Konin borderland, which was occupied by a large primeval forest complex, the border area with the southern part of Pyzdry district and further southwards, on the border with Silesia and Ostrzeszów district (the vicinity of Odolanów), was rather sparsely populated, with settlements situated almost only along the rivers. The situation was quite similar on the border with the district of Sieradz, south-east of Godziesze Wielkie.

One of the quite densely inhabited areas within the voivodeship was the central area of Kalisz district, where settlement was concentrated along the Prosna River, and the border area between Kalisz and Sieradz districts along the eastern section. Two settlement areas are discernible in the southern fragment of Pyzdry district. Its northern part was concentrated along the tributaries of the Warta and

<sup>95</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Obra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 384.

<sup>96</sup> M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo olęderskie na ziemi wieleńskiej*, Wieleń 2014, pp. 27, 29.

was connected with the north-western settlement territory of Kalisz district. Its southern part tended to concentrate near the tributaries of the Oder [Odra] River and showed continuity with the settlement in the southern part of Kościan district. In Kalisz Voivodeship, settlement was clearly connected with the geological conditions. Sandy soils tended to be omitted; they appeared in the lowest populated north-western area of Nakło district,<sup>97</sup> the north-east of Kcynia district, the Konin-Kalisz borderland, and the southern fragments of Kalisz district.

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In the Voivodeship of Poznań, the second half of the sixteenth century saw the most intense settlement development partly in Poznań district and in the entire district of Wałcz, in the areas situated north of the Notecka Primeval Forest and the River Noteć. The territory was highly afforested and had rather low-quality soils, an expanded hydrographic network and numerous lakes, especially in Wałcz district.<sup>98</sup> The colonisation was carried out in the estates owned by the king and noblemen; the progress of this action is shown in the tables below (with more exact data for the royal demesnes).

**Table 2. Settlement development in Drahim *Starosta*'s district, second half of the sixteenth century<sup>99</sup>**

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Ruda	c. 1564
Piła	c. 1564
Piła	c. 1564
Rakowo	c. 1564
Flokesia	c. 1564
Lubowo	c. 1564
Swartężel	c. 1564 <sup>100</sup>
Klaushagen*	c. 1564 <sup>101</sup>
Sarphenort	1565 <sup>102</sup>
Nabliny	1565 <sup>103</sup>
Swartężel Nowy	1569 <sup>104</sup>
Cykier	1577 <sup>105</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Szafran, p. 52.

<sup>98</sup> For more, see E. Rutkowska, *Geographical environment*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.1.4.

<sup>99</sup> Based on: LWWK 1564, pp. 178–82; LWWK 1569, ff. 41v–47r; LWWK 1628, pp. 33–64; K. Górska-Gońska, *Drahim*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 394. The study by E. Bahr, *Die Starosteie Draheim zwischen 1565 und 1632*, „Baltische Studien. Neue Folge”, vol. 57, 1971, pp. 27–42 has proved not quite useful as it is only based on the information from the 1564–5 and 1632 visitation records and thus does not satisfactorily discuss the development of settlement/colonisation in the *Starosta*'s district in the second half of the sixteenth century. Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., pp. 84–85 mentions, within the Drahim *Starosta*'s district: Cieminko (Ceminy), a settlement absent in the present comment, probably being a seventeenth-century purchase (as per LWWK 1628, p. 40, the village has been the district's property for two years); and, Uraz (Gołagóra/Kolberg), also a village known from the seventeenth century (LWWK 1628, p. 41; also, see K. Górska-Gońska, *Gola Góra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 528).

<sup>100</sup> As per a mention dated 1569, the village had two more years of rent-free period (*wolnizna*). Assuming that it was granted ten years of the period, it might have been established in 1560 or 1561. LWWK 1569, f. 44v.

<sup>101</sup> As per a mention dated 1569, the village had four more years of rent-free period. Assuming that it was granted ten years of the period, it might have been established in 1563 or 1564; *ibidem*, f. 45r.

<sup>102</sup> As per a mention dated 1569, the village's dwellers had enjoyed a rent-free period for four years, with six more to go; *ibidem*, f. 45r.

<sup>103</sup> As per a mention dated 1569, the village's dwellers had enjoyed a rent-free period for four years, with six more to go; *ibidem*, f. 45r.

<sup>104</sup> In 1569, the village is mentioned as founded in the same year: “*Swartenzeiek Nowi thego roku zasazadzeni*”; *ibidem*, f. 45r. U. Piotrkowska (Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., p. 20) mentions the village, though the source reference she quotes (LWWK 1564, p. 182) only refers to Swartenzel Wielki.

<sup>105</sup> Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., p. 65; cf. LWWK 1628, p. 43.

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Poggenpol	1582 <sup>106</sup>
Prosino	c. 1590
Nowa Wieś	c. 1590 <sup>107</sup>

Legend: \* Re-founded/re-chartered.

**Table 3. Settlement development in Wałcz *Starosta*'s district, second half of the sixteenth century<sup>108</sup>**

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Róża	c. 1555 <sup>109</sup>
Sypnow	1570 <sup>110</sup>
Brzeźnica	1577 <sup>111</sup>
Duderlak	1582 <sup>112</sup>

<sup>106</sup> The village named Baugienbul appears in the 1582 tax register (RPWP, wlc, 1582, no. 6). Its name is also mentioned by Z. Boras, in the context of an agreement between serfs from the Pomeranian village of Patzke and a Polish village on the other side of the border in 1586 (idem, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie*, p. 205, footnote 49: "Ein interim contract sowegen der Dörfer Patzkeund Poggenpful anno 1586 getroffen"). The Pomeranian description of the Polish-Pomeranian borderline mentions two units – Poggenpul, a 'Small' and a 'Big' one, through which the state border was set, identified as wetlands or lakes situated between the Lakes Kołbackie and Komorowo (K. Górską-Gołąska, *Poggenpul*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 719; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, no. 3, p. 587). We presume that the locality was situated in the area of today's Polne village.

<sup>107</sup> LWWK 1628, p. 42. Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., p. 57, perceives the villages of Prosino and Nowa Wieś as one locality. However, LWWK 1628 mentions two different localities.

<sup>108</sup> Based on: a document dated 19 April 1590, whereby Hieronim Gostomski, the then-*starosta*, transfers the *Starosta*'s district of Wałcz to his son Jan Gostomski (MK 135, ff. 752r–752v [=SMK IV, no. 891]), as corroborated on 15 Jan. 1593 by the king (MK 138, ff. 13r–14r [=SMK VII, no. 18]); BOss, 334, II, 'Inwentarz wałeckiego starostwa anni 1619 in Iulio oddany w aręndzie panu Mikołaiowi Nieborowskiemu przez pana Iana Gostomskiego starostę wałeckiego', ff. 381r–394r; Schmitt; Bocheński; HistPowWał; Bąk, Wałcz; K. Górską-Gołąska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, no. 3, p. 500.

<sup>109</sup> Schmitt, p. 221; Bocheński, p. 71; HistPowWał, p. 341; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 66. The editors of Ignacy Bocheński's study state (ftn. 4, p. 71) that the village of Róża was deserted in 1582; as it seems, Duderlak was actually the case. The fragment the editors refer to (so does Bąk, Wałcz, p. 66) clearly states that in 1602 a plague raged in the district of Wałcz, which caused the dying out of the dwellers of Róża, a village set up in 1582, which neighboured on Brocz village owned by the Golec family (G. Brümmer, *Die Goltzen Herrschaft Brotzen. Geschichtliche Darstellung der Entwicklung eines ländlichen Bezirkes mit einem Anhang bisher ungedruckter Urkunden*, Danzig 1893, pp. 14–15). It is otherwise known that a privilege was granted in 1582 to Duderlak by the *Starosta*'s district of Wałcz (Schmitt, p. 220; K. Górską-Gołąska, [*Margrabska Droga*], [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 89).

<sup>110</sup> In the foundation charter of 1570, the village was called Nałęcz (Schmitt, p. 223). The king's confirmation of the 1570 privilege is dated 1589: Schmitt, p. 223; Bocheński, pp. 53, 72; HistPowWał, p. 346; though L. Bąk has 1577 (Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67).

<sup>111</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Brzeźnica*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 127; Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., p. 15. In 1574, the mill 'on [the River of(?) Brzeźnica]' is reported to have been attacked by *Starosta* Andrzej Górka (Z. Boras, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie*, p. 200). The HistPowWał authors (p. 318) that the 1577 foundation was secondary. An interpretive difficulty is caused by identifying Łodzia village of the Ujście *Starosta*'s district by some authors with Brzeźnica (as in K. Górską-Gołąska, *Brzeźnica*, p. 127). Also, see the erroneous mention in a *regest* in SMK VIII, no. 367, where a Łodzia inn is mentioned as of 1595 – otherwise, an inn in the village of Łodzia is referred to: "in usu et possessione pacifica tabernae in villa Lodzia ad capitaneatum nostrum Walcensem pertinente". These mentions suggest that a village so named still existed at the end of the 16 c. However, the 1619 inventory mentions no name of Łodzia, Brzeźnica appearing instead (BOss, 334, II, f. 391r). Apparently, the village's name had meanwhile been altered, or the land of Łodzia village absorbed into Brzeźnica village. Ignacy Bocheński has found in the Wałcz municipal registers a privilege for Brzeźnica dated 1601 r. (Bocheński, p. 56); F.W.F. Schmitt believes that the privilege confirms that Brzeźnica was established in 1600 (Schmitt, p. 219). All in all, it is somewhat plausible that Brzeźnica was set up on the land of Łodzia village, or the latter's land was absorbed by the later foundation of Brzeźnica; however, a newly-founded village of Brzeźnica was mentioned in 1586 (K. Górską-Gołąska, *Brzeźnica*; eadem, *Samborsko*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 281).

<sup>112</sup> Bocheński, p. 61; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67. Initially (1582) under the name of Róża, Duderlak/Dudyłany attested as of 1587 (Schmitt, p. 220; K. Górską-Gołąska, [*Margrabska Droga*], p. 89). Z. Boras provides unsettling information from the 1570s: a 1574 complaint submitted by the *podstarosta* [sub-*starosta*] of Szczecinek to the duke of Pomerania refers to a 'quite recently founded' village of Dudyłany, next to which another villages had apparently been set up by the *Starosta* of Wałcz. In 1576, the *starosta* is said to have invaded the Pomeranian [*sic*] village of Dudyłany (Z. Boras, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie*, pp. 200–201).

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Budy	1584 <sup>113</sup>
Nadorycz	1586 <sup>114</sup>
Nowy Dwór	1586 <sup>115</sup>
Wiesiołka	1586 <sup>116</sup>
Klawiter	1590 <sup>117</sup>
Szwecja	1590 <sup>118</sup>
Gostomia*	1590 <sup>119</sup>
Zbytno	1595 <sup>120</sup>
Leżenica	1596 <sup>121</sup>
Jaroszewo	1596 <sup>122</sup>

Legend: \* Re-founded/re-chartered.

<sup>113</sup> Bocheński, p. 57; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67. Budy was reportedly first mentioned in 1574–1584, with a mill initially operating at the place of the later settlement (Schmitt, p. 220; HistPowWał, p. 319; see also Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., p. 15). Z. Boras (idem, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie*, pp. 191–192) moreover mentions that *Starost* Andrzej Górka had a hunting manor built in what later became Budy village, by the River Plytnica – possibly earlier than the mill was put into operation. There is also a privilege for the administrator (*soltys*) of the village of Budy from 1590: MK 135, ff. 741v–742r [=SMK IV, no. 871].

<sup>114</sup> Bocheński, pp. 65–66; HistPowWał, p. 336. A 1589 privilege for the village administrator (*soltys*): MK 135, ff. 513v–515r [=SMK IV, no. 551]. Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67, has 1589, whereas Schmitt (p. 217) dates the village at 1590. Interestingly, the Pomeranians stated in as early as 1576 that Nadarzyce had been set up on a Pomerania-owned land (Z. Boras, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie*, p. 201).

<sup>115</sup> Established in 1560 as a demesne farm, mentioned in 1586 as a village: Schmitt, p. 220; Bocheński, p. 66 (referring the 1560 mention to the existing village; this is repeated in Bąk, Wałcz, p. 66); HistPowWał, pp. 337–8; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Nowy Dwór*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 335.

<sup>116</sup> Schmitt, pp. 222–3; Bocheński, p. 81 and footnote 50 therein; HistPowWał, p. 350. In these authors' opinion, Wiesiołka was re-founded; this statement is repeated by Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., p. 77. Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67, observes, in turn, that the founding charter for Wiesiołka is from 1593, though some historical records would re-date the settlement's appearance back to the fifteenth century. Also, see the 1594 entry in Wałcz municipal register: Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 191 (no. 77a) 1594. The author of the dictionary entry believes instead that Wiesiołka emerged in the early 1590s (T. Jurek, *Wiesiołka*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 640). In any case, Wiesiołka is mentioned by a 1590 document containing the Wałcz *Starosta*'s district's first consent for transfer (MK 135, ff. 752r–752v).

<sup>117</sup> HistPowWał, p. 323; Schmitt, p. 219, and Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67 have 1593.

<sup>118</sup> The 1590 founding deed, as the king's *transumpt* [copy establishing the document's validity] from the same year, is published by G. Raddatz, *Geschichte des Dorfes Freudenfier (Kreis Dt. Krone)*, „Grenzmärkische Heimatblätter”, 1934, no. 2, pp. 5–7; also, see Schmitt, p. 220; Bocheński pp. 71–72; HistPowWał, pp. 346–347; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67; T. Jurek, *Szwecja*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 859.

<sup>119</sup> Schmitt, p. 218; Bocheński, pp. 53, 63; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67; see also an entry in the municipal register of Wałcz, dated 1591, with the founding deed by the *Starosta* of Wałcz entered, along with the corroboration by the king from 1590: Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 160 (no. 30) 1591.

<sup>120</sup> Zbytno is apparently associated with the village called *Konieczbyczny*. The latter is twice referred to in the *Metrica Regni Poloniae* entries, namely: a consent for *in cruda radice* foundation of a thus-named village, dated 1589 (MK 135, ff. 490v–491r [=SMK IV, no. 530]); and, a corroboration of a privilege re. the *solectwo* [local territorial unit] thereat, 1595 (MK 139, f. 350r [=SMK VIII, no. 369]). It seems that the suggested name of the settlement had to do with the Lake Zbyczno, by which the village of Zbytno was later on situated. On the other hand, doubt is raised as regards unambiguous identification of the *Konieczbyczny* village as Zbytno, for the first mentioned privilege refers to no benefits potentially gainable by the founder from the Zbyczno Lake (in contrast to what is attested with regards to privileges for *soltyses* or residents of villages situated, broadly speaking, on a water; cf. K. Górka-Gołaska, *Krapskie jeziora*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 446) to mention but this aspect. The privilege corroboration information only quotes the title, without the document's content. The village is moreover absent in the above-enumerated *starosty*'s transfer documents from 1590 and 1593. Another negative premise may be the excerpt from the founding deed of the village of Szwecja, where, in determining the limits of the village to be founded, the settlement is mentioned that was to spread “usque ad campum quod iacet penes stagnum Zbyczno” (G. Raddatz, *Geschichte*, p. 7). We presume that these notices primarily illustrate the difficulties the Wałcz *Starostas* and their founders came across when colonising the area.

<sup>121</sup> The king's corroboration, dated 1600, of the Wałcz *starosta*'s document issued in 1596 for the *soltys* in Leżenice, in recognition of his village founding merits: MK 145, ff. 116v–117v. L. Bąk mentions a privilege from only 1624, which refers to a resettlement of the village completed a few years earlier, and so dates it at 1620 (Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67).

<sup>122</sup> Schmitt, p. 223; Bocheński, p. 53; HistPowWał, p. 326; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 67.

**Table 4. Noble-owned villages in Walcz district until 1600, absent in the district's tax registers**

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Fulbek	1570 <sup>123</sup>
Bysze	1592 <sup>124</sup>
Laczk	1594 <sup>125</sup>
Langenhof	1594 <sup>126</sup>
Warnięg	1595 <sup>127</sup>
Apelweth	1600 <sup>128</sup>
Byszki	1600 <sup>129</sup>
Hamer	1600
Nowy Golcz	1600 <sup>130</sup>
Schönholtzig	1600 <sup>131</sup>

**Table 5. Settlement development in Ujście *Starosta's* district, second half of the sixteenth century<sup>132</sup>**

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Jastrowie	1560 <sup>133</sup>
Hamer Stobnieński	1564 <sup>134</sup>

<sup>123</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Fulbek*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 447. F.W.F. Schmitt identifies the settlement of Fulbek with the locality named Wielboki, situated on the Brandenburg side, right near the frontier with the Crown (Schmitt, pp. 250–251). Also, see *HistPowWał* (p. 325), where Fulbek is a village first attested in 1593. Fulbek is indeed referred to as a village at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 406 (no. 24) 1608; or, *ibidem*, 483 (no. 78) 1613). We could not however establish the exact date of founding of the village beside the mill mentioned in 1570, and hence Fulbek is marked in the main map as a mill settlement.

<sup>124</sup> *HistPowWał*, p. 319; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Bysze*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 161–162.

<sup>125</sup> Schmitt, p. 248, has a Protestant preacher in office in Lack as of 1540, his successor being attested as of 1584.

<sup>126</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 14000 (no. 1401) 1594 (re. both localities mentioned in 1584). The entry by K. Górską-Gołąska, *Frydland*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 443, as part of discussion of the distribution of Frydland estate, mentions a demesne farm of Langenhof; also, see K. Górską-Gołąska, *Latzke*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 577.

<sup>127</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 202 (no. 31) 1595.

<sup>128</sup> F.W.F. Schmitt notes the foundation of a Protestant community church in this locality in 1586 (Schmitt, p. 249). It is probably on this basis that *HistPowWał*, p. 325, dates the village's establishment.

<sup>129</sup> For an annotation of the *Beskye* brothers (dated 1509), associated by authors with Byszki: *HistPowWał*, p. 319.

<sup>130</sup> F.W.F. Schmitt mentions a Protestant preacher in Nowy Golec, as at 1540 (Schmitt, p. 246).

<sup>131</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 260 (no. 23) 1600 (re. all the localities enumerated in 1600); *HistPowWał*, p. 337. F.W.F. Schmitt names Schönholtzig as non-existing before 1754 (Schmitt, p. 244).

<sup>132</sup> Based on: LWWK 1564, pp. 139–56; LWWK 1569, ff. 7r–19r; Ujście 1627; Żmidziński, pp. 49–69; also, *HistPowWał*; Bąk, *Wałcz*. The map does not feature the village of Kotuń, apparently attested in 1592. The details given by F. Żmidziński are not quite certain; his dating of the village's establishment at the 1580s is probably based on later sources and on a temporal correlation with the founding of the nearby Kłapsztyn mill. Also the details given in footnote 57, p. 59 therein seem not quite precise. The author of the dictionary entry 'Kotonia', basing on the same source, only mentions a forest named Kotunia (K. Górską-Gołąska, *Kotonia*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 414; see also Bąk, *Wałcz*, p. 68). Kotonia the village is referred to in the 1627 inventory of the *Starosta's* district of Ujście (AP Poznań, Akta miasta Ujście, I/1, ff. 19r–19v), or perhaps even in 1607 (K. Górską-Gołąska, *Kotonia*, p. 414 mentions a road from Biała Góra to a place called Kotunia, interpreting the latter as the former forest (with a question mark, though); Żmidziński that the village existed in 1607: Żmidziński, p. 59). The settlement is not featured on the main map as we have failed to find its attestation before 1600.

<sup>133</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 152; LWWK 1569, f. 16r; Żmidziński, p. 57; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Jastrowie*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 56–57.

<sup>134</sup> Żmidziński, p. 57. As of 1564, mention of Hamer Stobnieński on the Pokrzywnica River; LWWK 1564, p. 140; also, see T. Związek, *Kuźnica w Stobnie. Uwagi osadnicze na marginesie edycji przywileju dla rudnika Jana Gelinghausa z 1560 roku*, [in:] *Fines testis temporum. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Elżbiecie Kowalczyk-Heyman w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. M. Dzik, G. Śnieżko, Rzeszów 2017, pp. 127–147.

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Smolany	c. 1569 <sup>135</sup>
Gędek	1567 <sup>136</sup>
Pokrzywnica	1567 <sup>137</sup>
Głochotka Młyn	c. 1569 <sup>138</sup>
Kaczory*	c. 1577
Ptusza	1580 <sup>139</sup>
Skórka	1583 <sup>140</sup>
Plecemin	1584 <sup>141</sup>
Krępa	1584 <sup>142</sup>
Dolaszewo	1586 <sup>143</sup>
Biała Góra	1586 <sup>144</sup>
Klapsztyn	1586 <sup>145</sup>
Dobrzyca	1590 <sup>146</sup>
Płytnica	1594 <sup>147</sup>
Czechy	1597 <sup>148</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Żmidziński, p. 57. The 1569 visitation record reads: “Hamer newly builde halve a mille from the vylylge in the thykkett upon Lipnicza [*recte*: Piltwica] River is working not as yett ... Bessyde that Hamer fewe logdes are newly inhabited of bloomeres”; LWWK 1569, f. 16r. The 1627 Ujście *Starosta*’s district revision mentions it as a ‘village beside Hamer’; Ujście 1627, ff. 18r–18v.

<sup>136</sup> Żmidziński, p. 57; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Gędek*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 473.

<sup>137</sup> The 1569 visitation has, “newely founded since two yeares”; LWWK 1569, f. 15r. The founding charter for the village is only from 1579; Żmidziński, p. 57, footnote 48; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68; also, see K. Górską-Gołąska, *Pokrzywnica*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 720.

<sup>138</sup> As per the 1569 visitation, “the syxthe myll Simek Glochotka upon the brooke beyonde Lubianka”; LWWK 1569, f. 14r; Żmidziński, p. 57.

<sup>139</sup> Żmidziński, p. 57; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Ptusza*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 915.

<sup>140</sup> Żmidziński, p. 58. In 1564 and 1569, only the mill is mentioned (LWWK 1564, p. 140; LWWK 1569, f. 8r). Polaszewski, *Własność feudalna w województwie kaliskim w XVI wieku*, Poznań 1976, p. 84, gives the date 1588. As the mill operated on the River Głomia, it seems that the king’s confirmation of the holding by Stefan Chibor and his wife Anna the *solectwo* [territorial unit] at the village of Głomia, *penes molendinum Skorki sitam*, dated 1595, referred to the village that developed beside it (MK 139, ff. 349v–350r).

<sup>141</sup> Żmidziński, p. 58; cf. K. Górską-Gołąska, *Plecemin*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 691, with a quote from the Poznań municipal register, 1616, noting that certain villages in the estate of Krajenka, Plecemin included, have ‘lately’ been founded by the *starostas* of Ujście.

<sup>142</sup> Żmidziński, p. 58; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68. We presume that this particular village might have been concerned by the permit for buyout of the *solectwo* ‘in pago Krampczigensi’, issued for Paweł Prinn in 1599 (MK 143, ff. 165r–165v).

<sup>143</sup> Żmidziński, p. 58; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68 (the date given is 1585).

<sup>144</sup> Żmidziński, p. 58; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Biała Góra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 31–32; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68 (the date given is 1585).

<sup>145</sup> Żmidziński, p. 59; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Klapsztyn*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 196. In 1591, the king confirmed to the miller Daniel Klapsztyn the possession of a mill, described as “molendini aquatici ad villam praefatam Białagora in capitaneatu Ustensi consistentis”; MK 136, ff. 273r–273v [=SMK V, no. 328].

<sup>146</sup> Żmidziński, p. 58; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68.

<sup>147</sup> Żmidziński, pp. 59–60; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68. In 1596, the king granted a *solectwo* and a mill in Płytnica village to Stanisław Łącki, a royal chancellor (MK 143, ff. 49r–50r). Interestingly, two years later, in 1598, the king allowed Paweł Prinn to redeem from Joachim Medach, a lodger in the village (Żmidziński, 60, note 62), a *solectwo* in the village named Now Płytnica (MK 142, ff. 63v–64r). Hence, either the bestowal to Stanisław Łącki had not been put into effect, or two different villages were meant (Płytnica and Nowa Płytnica). It is worth noticing, though, that the *starosta*’s district revision of 1627 only mentions one Płytnica (Ujście 1627, ff. 15v–17r). A village named Płytnica was situated also in the Duchy of Pomerania, north of Sypniewo and Nadarzyce, and is mentioned in the context of border disputes of the late 1560s/early 1570s (Z. Boras, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie*, p. 194). This is, perhaps, why the village set up in *Starosta*’s district of Ujście was referred to as ‘new’. This would not point to the village actually concerned by the royal document of 1596, though.

<sup>148</sup> Żmidziński, p. 60; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68.

Name of locality	Established or first attested
Garbaty Most	c. 1597 <sup>149</sup>
Ołędrowo (Ługi Ujskie)	1597 <sup>150</sup>
Zawada	1598 <sup>151</sup>
Jaracz	1598 <sup>152</sup>
Jeziorki	1598 <sup>153</sup>
Huta Pokrzywnicka	1599 <sup>154</sup>

Legend: \* Re-founded/re-chartered.

**Table 6. Settlement development in noble-owned estate in Poznań district, Noteć River area<sup>155</sup>**

Człopa estate	
Czuczarcz*	c. 1557 <sup>156</sup>
Szonowo*	c. 1557 <sup>157</sup>
Trzebinia*	c. 1557 <sup>158</sup>
Pieczyska*	c. 1557 <sup>159</sup>
Gołęża*	c. 1559 <sup>160</sup>
Załomie*	c. 1559 <sup>161</sup>
Bercholt*	after 1560 <sup>162</sup>
Bukholt*	after 1560 <sup>163</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Żmidziński, p. 60; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68.

<sup>150</sup> Żmidziński, p. 60; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68; Z. Chodyła, *Ługi Ujskie – najstarsza osada ołędowska w Wielkopolsce (1597–1772)*, „Rocznik Nadnotecki”, vol. 30, 1999, pp. 25–58.

<sup>151</sup> Żmidziński, p. 60; Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68. As of 1564, the unit is still mentioned as a mill; LWWK, p. 140.

<sup>152</sup> Żmidziński, p. 60. There is, however, a king's bestowal for the mill of Jaracz, dated as of 1598, for Paweł Piątkowski, a musician to the royal court, in which the mill is described as part of Śmiłowo village: “molendinum Jaracz dictum ad villam Smielowo capitaneatus Ustensis consistentem” (MK 142, ff. 136v–137r). The mill is separately mentioned in the 1627 revision's list of the *starosta's* district's mills (Ujście 1627, f. 38r), F. Żmidziński notes a privilege for Walenty Kussow. Jaracz appears as a separate settlement unit in the earliest surviving visitation of the Archdeaconry of Kamień, 1652 (Panske, p. 349). In spite of certain doubts, we have decided to mark Jaracz as a separate mill settlement.

<sup>153</sup> Żmidziński, p. 60; Polaszewski, Własność, p. 84.

<sup>154</sup> Żmidziński, pp. 57–8.

<sup>155</sup> Based on: LWWK 1564, pp. 189–206; E. Raczyński, *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski to jest wojewodztw poznańskiego, kaliskiego i gnieźnieńskiego*, vol. 1, Poznań 1841; Schulz, Merktafel; Schulz, Quellen; Schulz, Netzegau; W. Dworzaczek, *Zastaw Wielenia Brandenburczykom*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, vol. 3, 1951, p. 342; M.D. Zawadzka, *Dzieje Wielenia nad Notecią (do pierwszego rozbioru)*, „Rocznik Nadnotecki”, vol. 7, 1976, no. 1, pp. 40–43; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Notecka Puszcza*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 302; M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo ołędowskie*, p. 24; T. Jurek, *Wielen – dobra i starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 559–562.

<sup>156</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Czarnków – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 289; eadem, *Czuczarcz*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 319. A village called Czuczarcz is attested as of 1546 (whether a deserted village was meant, is not known).

<sup>157</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Czarnków – dobra*, p. 289; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Szonowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 852.

<sup>158</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Czarnków – dobra*, p. 289; T. Jurek, *Trzebinia*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 353–354.

<sup>159</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Czarnków – dobra*, p. 289; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Przelewice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 834.

<sup>160</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Gołęża*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 537.

<sup>161</sup> The village's attested origins date to the fourteenth century; described as deserted in as late as 1559. HistPowWał, p. 352; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Holgrund*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 732.

<sup>162</sup> The village's attested origins date to the fourteenth century. As of 1532, it was subject to a property transaction; in 1559 and 1560, mentioned as deserted. A privilege for the village is dated 1578, so it might be presumed that Bercholt had been resettled by then; Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 8924 (no. 1396) 1560; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Bercholt*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 25; HistPowWał, p. 318.

<sup>163</sup> Mentioned in 1560 as deserted, the village was (once again) transacted in 1574, possibly after its resettlement; Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 8924 (no. 1396) 1560; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Człopa [dobra]*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 317.

Gogolce	after 1560 <sup>164</sup>
Trzciana Łąka	1561 <sup>165</sup>
Wołowe Lasy	1564 <sup>166</sup>
<b>Czarnków estate</b>	
Radosiewie	1557 <sup>167</sup>
Jędrzejewo	1585 <sup>168</sup>
Siedliska*	1591 <sup>169</sup>
<b>Wieleń estate</b>	
Żelichowo	c. 1564 <sup>170</sup>
Kwiejce	1592 <sup>171</sup>
Dzierżążno Małe	1592 <sup>172</sup>
Smrodyński	1592 <sup>173</sup>
Dzierżążno Wielkie	1593 <sup>174</sup>
Piła	1593 <sup>175</sup>
Mniszek	1595 <sup>176</sup>
Piotrowo	1595 <sup>177</sup>
Janowo	1600 <sup>178</sup>

Legend: \* Re-founded/re-chartered.

<sup>164</sup> The only mention of Gogolce before the second half of the sixteenth century is from the preceding century. In the 1550s, the village is several times mentioned in the property partitions of the Czarnkowski family; described as deserted as of 1560; Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 8924 (no. 1396) 1560.

<sup>165</sup> T. Jurek, *Trzciana Łąka*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 320. Trzciana Łąka was an object of property transactions to which the Czarnkowski family was a party, in 1561, 1565, and 1570; Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 63 (no. 1) 1565; 10740 (no. 1398) 1570. The year 1567 is given by Schulz, *Merktafeln*, pp. 13, 37. G. Wróblewska argued that the village emerged before 1586; eadem, *Rozwój przestrzenny miasta Trzcianki*, „Rocznik Nadnotecki”, vol. 1, 1966, p. 38. Some authors say that Trzciana Łąka was erected in the land of a former village named Rozdruzga (Schulz, *Merktafeln*, p. 37; cf. K. Górską-Gołąska, *Rozdruzga*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 179; T. Jurek, *Trzciana Łąka*, pp. 320–321).

<sup>166</sup> In 1564, Wojciech Sędziwój Czarnkowski pledged his debt against, *inter alia*, Wołowe Lasy, named in the record ‘Wołowelaski’; Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 56 (no. 1) 1564; also, see Schulz, *Merktafeln*, p. 13 (not pointing to the source of the 1564 fact).

<sup>167</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 8340 (no. 1396) 1557; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Radosiewie*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 17.

<sup>168</sup> The date is given after: Schulz, *Merktafeln*, p. 13; Schulz, *Quellen*, pp. 9–10, no. 5; in the sixteenth century, the village is also mentioned as of 1595; Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 14320 (no. 1401) 1595; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Radosiewie*, p. 17.

<sup>169</sup> The foundation most probably took place at the site of the earlier-mentioned settlement of Maństwo; Schulz, *Merktafeln*, p. 13; Schulz, *Netzegau*, p. 232; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Maństwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 87; I. Skierska, *Siedliska*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 367.

<sup>170</sup> At the moment the visitation was written down, in 1564, the name referred to a newly dug-up demesne farm; LWWK 1564, p. 197.

<sup>171</sup> E. Raczyński, *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski*, p. XLVI; Schulz, *Netzegau*, p. 3 (giving the date 1593); K. Górską-Gołąska, *Kwiejce*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 564.

<sup>172</sup> Schulz, *Quellen*, p. 10–12, no. 6; Schulz, *Merktafeln*, pp. 13–14; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Dzierżążna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 435; M.D. Zawadzka, *Dzieje Wielenia*, p. 42; M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo ołęderskie*, p. 24.

<sup>173</sup> E. Raczyński, *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski*, p. XLVI; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Smrodyński*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 566.

<sup>174</sup> Schulz, *Quellen*, 12–15, no. 7; Schulz, *Quelle*, 139; Schulz, *Merktafeln*, 14; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Dzierżążna*, p. 435; M.D. Zawadzka, *Dzieje Wielenia*, p. 42; M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo ołęderskie*, p. 24.

<sup>175</sup> The 1564 visitation record mentions Piła on the River Biała, which belonged to Pęckowo village; LWWK 1564, p. 191; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Piła*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 665. In 1593 and 1603, Piła is noted as a separate village (Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 4031 (no. 959) 1593 and 16569 (no. 1404) 1603, as is recorded as such in the 1631 *podymne* tax register (Podymne 1631, f. 26r).

<sup>176</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Bukówka*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 152. The information that a Mniszek mill existed in 1570 r. has not been successfully confirmed (as in M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo ołęderskie*, p. 24).

<sup>177</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Piotrowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 681; M.D. Zawadzka, *Dzieje Wielenia*, p. 42 (giving the date 1592); M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo ołęderskie*, p. 24.

<sup>178</sup> Schulz, *Quellen*, pp. 16–17, no. 9; Schulz, *Merktafeln*, p. 14; M.D. Zawadzka, *Dzieje Wielenia*, p. 42; M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo ołęderskie*, p. 24.

The tables above take account of re-founded (re-chartered) localities; such cases prevailed in the noble-owned estates around Człopa (nine re-foundations out of eleven attested), though localities in were resettled as well.<sup>179</sup> In the vicinity of Człopa, quite a number of deserted settlements have been identified, among them those from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is possible that some difficulties were subsequently caused by the environment, or the owners' mismanagement prevailed. In any case, the Człopa estate appear in the tax registers only in the 1580s, which might be yet another premise attesting to problems with settlement in this part of Poznań Voivodeship.<sup>180</sup>

In all probability, at least one failed foundation occurred. In 1586, the 1579 privilege for a *solectwo* in the village of Jastrzębiec, Wałcz *Starosta's* district, was entered in the files at the Nakło court register.<sup>181</sup> No other mention of a so-named village is known, which possibly means that the foundation design eventually failed or the settlement functioned under a different name (see below).

The dates of the first mentions of the settlements concerned, when juxtaposed, lead to the conclusion that in the period under discussion the earliest foundations or incorporations, datable to the 1550s/1560s, took place in the *Starosta's* district of Drahim and in the area of Człopa, though single settlements did appear in the other parts behind the Noteć as well. Only later on, since the late 1570s, intense colonisation appeared in the areas of *Starosta's* districts of Ujście and Wałcz, though mill settlements and ironworks tended to appear a few or a dozen years earlier in the former. The latest instances of settlement appeared in the Noteć River area in the vicinity of Wieleń, with an intensified colonisation attested for the last decade of the sixteenth century.

The image of an intense colonisations in the royal demesnes does not merely reflect the condition of the surviving records. The attempts at colonising those areas made by the *starostas* of Drahim, Wałcz, and Ujście were incentivised economically as well as politically. The process of populating the primeval forests in *Starosta's* districts of Wałcz and Ujście was related to the clashes occurring in the Polish-Pomeranian border area. Apart from its apparent political aspects, colonisation in *Starosta's* districts of Drahim had to do with the excessive, unrestrained distribution of estates by *starostas* to the local noblemen (especially the Golec family), and with the problem of deserting villages in the area in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and during the first half of the latter.<sup>182</sup> The setting up of new settlements was probably designed to increase the gains from those low-fertile areas. In the first years of the latter half of the sixteenth century, the *Starosta's* districts of Wałcz<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Kaczory in *Starosta's* district of Ujście, mentioned in 1513, when it came to demarcating Śmiłowo and Kaczorów from noble-owned villages, was granted another foundation charter in 1577; MK 26, f. 268v [=MRPS IV/2, no.10461]; Żmidziński, p. 60. In 1590, the village of Gostomia was founded, in *Starosta's* district of Wałcz, Gostomia village was founded upon the land of the older village of Arnsfeld, the latter last mentioned probably as of 1552: "villae nostrae desertae Granswelle, in territorio Walcensi"; MK 82, ff. 70v–71v [=MRPS V, no. 5581]. Some scholars believe that also Wiesiołka, in Wałcz *Starosta's* district as well, was re-founded (see note 116).

<sup>180</sup> Cf. W. Schulz, *Die zweite deutsche Ostsiedlung im westlichen Netzegau*, Leipzig 1938, pp. 10–14.

<sup>181</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 889 (no. 56 Rel.) 1586; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Ruschendorf*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 221.

<sup>182</sup> Until the mid-sixteenth century, the castle of Drahim, the town of Czaplinek, and the villages of Heinrichsdorf and (Nowe) Worowo were named as the settlements forming permanent part of the *Starosta's* district of Drahim. Moreover, mentioned as affiliated to the district were the surrounding villages which by the mid-sixteenth century were lost to Brandenburg, or were kept by the Golec family. As of 1505, Bolegorzyn, Klauslagen, Vfstete (unidentified), Clensko, Nowy Dwór, Turbergk, and the Lakes Krosino and Wilczkowo are specified; MK 21, f. 245r [=MRPS III, no. 2322]; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Drahim*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 393. As of 1553, the following settlements are enumerated: Czaplinek, Heinrichsdorf, Plumwerder, Worowo, and the deserted ones of Clauslagen, Falkenhagen, Schuldendorf, and Karbon; MK 83, f. 342v [=MRPS V/1, no. 1670]; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Drahim*, p. 393. The deserted villages called Falkenhagen and Schuldendorf have not been localised, though the name of the former appears in the Schrötter map of Pomerania; Schrötter, ark. 013; also, see K. Górską-Gołąska, *Falkenhagen*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 440–441; eadem, *Schuldendorf*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 326. Freienhagen, another desolated village, might have been part of the same district; eadem, *Freienhagen*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 442. On Freienhagen, see moreover the remark in eadem, *Bolegorzyn*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 87: in 1493, the Popielewski family transferred to Andrzej Górski, *starosta* of Drahim, the localities of Falkenhagen, Freienhagen, and Bolegorzyn. Given their small number and their becoming deserted, residents of the nearby Golec-owned villages were hired to do works at the castle; LWWK 1564, pp. 186–188; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Drahim*, p. 393.

<sup>183</sup> The settlements attested as belonging to the *Starosta's* district of Wałcz before the second half of the sixteenth century included: Wałcz (1303), Arnsfeld, Chwiram, Witkowo (all mentioned in 1337), Skrzatusz (founded 1438), Rozwałd (re-founded 1449; in 1448, the same Jan Wedel granted his wife Anna with dowry and bridewealth, incl. Rozwałd village); Schmitt, pp. 218, 221–222, 224; K. Górską-Gołąska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – starostwo*, p. 500. Altogether, one town and five villages are so attested.

and Ujście<sup>184</sup> ranked among royal demesnes with a small number of settlements, whereas by the century's end, their holdings in this respect proved among the Greater Poland's largest.<sup>185</sup>

Economic aspects propelled the foundation and chartering trend in the noble estates, which appeared the most intense in the area of Wieleń estates. In the 1560s, the royal inspectors named nine settlements situated around the town,<sup>186</sup> whilst the tax collection registers noted payments from eleven villages;<sup>187</sup> by 1600, another eight such units emerged. Settlement in the area of Wieleń and Czarnków continued to develop well into the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>188</sup>

It is however difficult to conclude, in some cases, whether the first mention of a locality indeed refers to a newly founded settlement or such that had eluded documentary evidence, for whatever reason. This is particularly well visible for noble-owned villages in the district of Wałcz, though the noblemen may be believed to have established new settlements in that area as well. The district's tax registers (1563, 1577, 1579, 1582) mention a total of forty localities owned by the local noblemen or noble families, of which thirty-one cropped up in 1563, five in 1577, and four in 1579. By the end of 1600, another eight villages, one mill settlement and one ironworks settlement owned by the local nobility have been identified.

In Wałcz district, noble-owned localities were also situated in the latter half of the sixteenth century which were covered by a tax register. As it seems, the main reason was that certain new settlements were established by the local noblemen, though it cannot be stated with certainty. Such a possibility can basically be adopted, for six of the villages specified in Table 3 were situated in the district's central part, which separated noble estates dating at least to the fourteenth or fifteenth century from the *Starosta's* district of Wałcz territory.

The afforested areas near the border of the Kingdom of Poland, situated on the lands belonging to the Pomeranian royal holdings (*ekonomia*) of Szczecinek and to the local Pomeranian families (Glase-napp, von Wolde, Zastrow, Münchow), as well as the area of the Lower Noteć, west of Wieleń, were at that time colonised by the rulers and nobility from the Duchy of Pomerania and Brandenburg. The northern areas of Poznań district and the districts of Wałcz and Nakło formed therefore an essential part of a greater settlement action carried out in the second half of the sixteenth century in and near the Polish-Brandenburg-Pomeranian borderland.<sup>189</sup> Also in the areas under the rule of Pomeranian dukes and Brandenburg margraves, neighbouring on the part of both voivodeships beyond the Noteć, the latter half of the sixteenth century was a period of intense colonisation.

Similarly to Voivodeship of Poznań, Kalisz Voivodeship saw an intense trend of founding new villages in the nobility's estates – most evidently in the north-western part of Nakło district (the estates owned by Kościelecki and the families Grudziński and Potulicki).<sup>190</sup> Lists of newly founded localities are given also by Nakło district's tax registers, from 1578 onwards.<sup>191</sup> The breakdown is complemented with the data contained in *Teki Dworzaczka* and provided by Przemysław Szafran.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Two towns and thirteen villages until 1560; LWWK 1564, pp. 143–155; T. Jurek, *Ujście – starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 440.

<sup>185</sup> In total, one town and eighteen villages, and two towns and twenty-six settlements, in *Starosta's* districts of Wałcz and Ujście, respectively.

<sup>186</sup> LWWK 1564, pp. 189–206.

<sup>187</sup> Including: Biała Górna, Drawsko, Hamer Bliższy, Hamer Dalszy, Hamer Kamiennik, Kissy, Miały, Pęczkowo, Rosko, Wrzeszczyna, Żelichowo; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 774–784.

<sup>188</sup> M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo ołęderskie*, pp. 24–26; M.D. Zawadzka, *Dzieje Wielenia*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>189</sup> Colonisation of Pomeranian primeval forests proved intense virtually throughout the second half of the sixteenth century; the establishment of new settlements in the Brandenburg-Pomeranian border area gained strength by the very end of the century; see E. Gohrbandt, *Das Bauernlegen bis zur Aufhebung der Erbuntertätigkeit und die Kolonisation des 16. Jahrhunderts in Ostpommern*, „Baltische Studien. Neue Folge”, vol. 38, 1936, pp. 192–227; Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Kolonizacja niemiecka na wschód od Odry*, Poznań 1945, pp. 149–154; A. Wielopolski, *Polsko-pomorskie spory graniczne w latach 1536–1555*, PZ, vol. 10, 1954, no. 5–6, pp. 82–83; S. Talarczyk, *Początki osadnictwa w pradolinie Noteci*, „Przegląd Zachodniopomorski”, vol. 7, 1992, no. 36, 1, pp. 27–37.

<sup>190</sup> Szafran, p. 52.

<sup>191</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 256–258.

<sup>192</sup> Szafran, p. 52.

**Table 7. New locations in noble estates in Nakło district, second half of the sixteenth century**

Name of locality	First attested
Jełowa	1555 <sup>193</sup>
Downica (Lędyczek)	1556 <sup>194</sup>
Górzna*	1557 <sup>195</sup>
Radawnica (Radownica)	1564 <sup>196</sup>
Buka (Nowa Wieś)	1578 <sup>197</sup>
Czyżkowo (Szyszkowo)	1578 <sup>198</sup>
Grudna	1578 <sup>199</sup>
Krukowo	1578 <sup>200</sup>
Potulice	1578 <sup>201</sup>
Skarpa*	1578 <sup>202</sup>
Stare Dzierżążno (Dzierżążna)*	1578 <sup>203</sup>
Śmiardowo Złotowskie (Śmiardowo)	1578 <sup>204</sup>
Wersk	1578 <sup>205</sup>
Żeleznica (Hamer Żelazny)	1578 <sup>206</sup>
Batorowo	1579 <sup>207</sup>
Osówka	1579 <sup>208</sup>
Buczek Mały	1580 <sup>209</sup>
Kujan	1582 <sup>210</sup>
Trudna	1582 <sup>211</sup>
Skórka	1588 <sup>212</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2151 (no. 213) 1555; RPWK, nkl, 1565.

<sup>194</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 7112 (no. 897) 1556.

<sup>195</sup> Ibidem, 2170 (no. 213) 1557; LWWK 1564, p. 141: the village is mentioned as set up seven or eight years earlier on the Ujście-Piła *Starosta's* district lands.

<sup>196</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2262 (no. 215) 1564; LWWK 1564, p. 141: the village is mentioned as set up seven or eight years earlier on the Ujście-Piła *Starosta's* district lands. Szafran (p. 184) speaks of 1432 (after K.J. Hładyłowicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu i rozwój osadnictwa w Wielkopolsce od XIV do XIX wieku, z dodatkiem 2 map*, Lwów 1932), but this date seems little probable.

<sup>197</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 262; the year 1553, given by Szafran, refers to a locality in Dźwierszno Wielkie parish, so a different village is meant.

<sup>198</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 259.

<sup>199</sup> Ibidem, no. 238.

<sup>200</sup> Szafran, p. 163.

<sup>201</sup> RPWK, nkl 1578, no. 258.

<sup>202</sup> Ibidem, no. 263.

<sup>203</sup> Ibidem, no. 257.

<sup>204</sup> Ibidem, no. 263. Szafran (p. 198) has 1560, but the note he refers to is not records-based and may refer to Śmiardowo Krajeńskie, an earlier-existing locality.

<sup>205</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 260.

<sup>206</sup> Ibidem, no. 261. Szafran (217) has 1534, but the tax register he refers to only mentions a '*minera ferri*' (ASK I 11, f. 418r.), which is insufficient to definitely refer this mention to a specific site/facility.

<sup>207</sup> Szafran, p. 126.

<sup>208</sup> Ibidem, p. 179.

<sup>209</sup> Evidenced as a separate village ever since 1580; before then, probably, the łans in Buczek Wielki. Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2619 (no. 215) 1580; Szafran, p. 120.

<sup>210</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2665 (no. 215) 1582.

<sup>211</sup> Ibidem, 2678 (no. 215) 1582.

<sup>212</sup> Szafran, p. 192.

Name of locality	First attested
Sokolna*	1596 <sup>213</sup>
Osowo (Ostrogóra)	1597 <sup>214</sup>
Paruszka	1598 <sup>215</sup>

Legend: \* (Probably) re-founded/re-chartered.

Not all of those were villages founded *in cruda radice*. The references about them, as per *Teki Dworzaczka*, date to before the middle of the sixteenth century. 1544, Dzierżążno was mentioned as a void area;<sup>216</sup> Skarpa was reported as such in 1541 (an arable and cultivated noble-owned partition was still there by the end of the first half of the sixteenth century),<sup>217</sup> and Sokolna in 1545.<sup>218</sup> Jełowa was still settled in 1470.<sup>219</sup> As for Górzno, noted as of 1564 as newly founded, its deserting lasted at least twenty-five years, though it was still colonised in 1508<sup>220</sup>, between 1532<sup>221</sup> and 1557 it was referred to as a deserted place.<sup>222</sup> Radawnica is noted as a village in a 1440 document.<sup>223</sup> This proves that, in some cases, we have to do with discontinued settlement and re-management of the area.

The new localities were primarily set up on the banks of rivers or lakes; such locations certainly ensured the basis of existence and communication between settlements. One of the characteristic traits of the new colonisation in the areas of both voivodeships behind the Noteć River, especially in the wilderness or forest areas of the *Starosta* districts of Wałcz and Ujście and in the vicinity of Wieleń, was the emergence of settlement aggregations around industrial facilities such as, mainly, watermills, ore mills or sawmills. With the increasing numbers of residents at such places, separate villages were formed around them. This process continued after 1600. The industrial facilities and structures mentioned in the records were oftentimes located at a significant distance from the villages to which they had initially belonged. Both these observed features taken into account, some of the said facilities have been marked as separate settlements.

Tough natural conditions and the rivalry in the frontier areas made the setting up of villages in that territory not an easy task. It should be presumed that the above-enumerated dates of first mention of a village, or source-based information on the privileges granted to their lodgers or administrators (*sołtysy*) point to the essential difficulties encountered in the course of the colonisation. This is the reason why we have often been unable to precisely reconstruct it, particularly in the northernmost areas of Poznań Voivodeship's part located behind the Noteć.

Another characteristic trait, which was particularly evident for the villages emerging in the *Starosta's* district of Wałcz, was giving the village a name that, although stated in the founding charter, would not survive in common use among the locals, with the later records produced by the state administration, most frequently reflecting such alteration.<sup>224</sup> This probably ensued from populating the villages

<sup>213</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2611 (no. 162) 1596.

<sup>214</sup> Szafran, p. 178.

<sup>215</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 2786 (no. 163) 1598; also, see p. 86.

<sup>216</sup> Ibidem, 2563 (no. 1395) 1544.

<sup>217</sup> Ibidem, 602 (no. 144) 1468, 4999 (no. 335a) 1541; Szafran, p. 191.

<sup>218</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 1995 (no. 213) 1545; Szafran, p. 194.

<sup>219</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 57 (no. 1382) 1470.

<sup>220</sup> Ibidem, 459 (no. 146) 1508.

<sup>221</sup> Ibidem, 1736 (no. 213) 1532.

<sup>222</sup> The 1564 visitation record points to Piotr Czarnkowski as the founder of Górzno, but the data in Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty basically deny this statement. Until mid-sixteenth century, the locality was owned by the Kościelecki family, later also by the Grudziński family. The said information on Piotr Czarnkowski is probably related with the fact that he was married to Regina Kościelecka, who received Górzno (among other items) and then assigned thereupon an amount of money for her husband; Teki Dworzaczka, Regesty, 872 (no. 1394) 1540, 1920 (no. 213) 1541.

<sup>223</sup> KDW X, 1531. Szafran (p. 184) also has 1432 (after Hładyłowicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu*).

<sup>224</sup> Such dependence has been noticed for Sypniewo (Nałęcz), Brzeźnica (Łódzia), and Dudylan (Róża). It also seems that the name Szwecja [the Polish for 'Sweden'] given to the village was used by its dwellers not as frequently as the German name Freudenfier. Jastrowie also had its German name (Weinkrug, Witunk); K. Górską-Gołąska, *Jastrowie*, p. 56. The earlier-mentioned Jastrzębiec village (1579/1586) might have also been named otherwise; as a result, we have been unable to assign it to any specific locality.

with German-speaking people, or from the villages being founded on areas that had been inhabited earlier.<sup>225</sup> Characteristic of the new colonisation was its Protestant character: the colonisers organised their own religious life by building their community churches (*zbórs*), their villages functioned outside the Catholic Church structures.<sup>226</sup>

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, at least 107 new settlement units, of which 51 emerged in the royal estates (14 in *Starosta's* districts of Drahim, 14 – Wałcz, and 23 – Ujście) and 56 in nobility estates (at least 10 in Wałcz district, 23 – in Nakło district, and 23 – in the part of Poznań district beyond the Noteć).

South of the Noteć, the setting up of new settlements occurred rarely:<sup>227</sup> it was an area of the older and much denser settlement. In Poznań Voivodeship, nine newly set-up localities have been identified, almost all of which were situated in its southern part, in the borderland of Kościan district and Wschowa land (with the Duchy of Głogów). However, the earliest locations south of the Noteć occurred not far from Połajewo, near which Krośninko was set up before 1555;<sup>228</sup> before 1561, the village of Ciężym was established between Połajewo and Czarnków (both locations within Poznań district).<sup>229</sup> In Kościan district, the villages of Szreniawa (1570, within the estate of the Cistercian abbey of Przemęt),<sup>230</sup> Szlemsdorf (before 1580),<sup>231</sup> Ostoje (1585),<sup>232</sup> and Zaorle (1593) came into existence.<sup>233</sup> Within the limits of Wschowa land, three new villages: Buchwald (between 1527 and 1563), Potrzebowo, and Śmieszkowo were set up.<sup>234</sup> In the Przemęt monastery estate, the villages of Ciosaniec and Łupice (Kościan district) were re-founded.<sup>235</sup> The same is true also for Gaj near Śrem<sup>236</sup> and Kokoszki (before 1563; both in Kościan district).<sup>237</sup> The analogous cases in Kalisz Voivodeship were: Wałownica, at the border of the districts of Kcynia and Inowrocław (as of 1539, the name was used for the thicket on the Noteć; a mention of the namesake village is from 1558<sup>238</sup>); Toporowo, Kalisz district (first mentioned 1576);<sup>239</sup> Macieje, Pyzdry district (1586);<sup>240</sup> Biadki (Biejatki), Pyzdry district (1550s).<sup>241</sup> In Konin district, the town named Krystynowo, north of Kazimierz Biskupi, was established at the end of the sixteenth century (see, hereinafter, J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements. Cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, III.3.2b.4).

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<sup>225</sup> A. Wielopolski, *Polsko-pomorskie spory*, p. 81, observes that the settlements of Nadorycz, Sypniewo, and Brzeźnica were mentioned on the occasion of the mid-sixteenth-century border recesses between Poland and Pomerania. Bąk, Wałcz, p. 68, is of opinion that those settlements might have actually been inns by the fords along Margrabska Droga. Z. Boras remarks, in turn, that Nadorycz and Dudylany were mentioned in records of Pomeranian origin from the 1570s (see notes 110 and 112). Even at the end of the sixteenth century, Pomeranians complained that the subjects from Jastrowe, Sypniewo, and Nadorycz failed to pay their fees to the office of the *starosta* of Szczecinek; Z. Boras, *Stosunki polsko-pomorskie*, p. 206.

<sup>226</sup> Mietz, pp. 63–67.

<sup>227</sup> Our check of the lists of localities comprised in Hładyłowicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu*, pp. 109–250, has demonstrated, for several districts, that most of the localities he refers to, apparently founded between 1523 and 1600, can actually be attested for an earlier period.

<sup>228</sup> K. Górka-Gołaska, *Krośnino*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 468.

<sup>229</sup> First attested 1561, in the course of a property transaction (Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 9148 (no. 1397) 1561); described as ‘*noviter locata*’ in the Poznań district 1563 tax register (RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 12).

<sup>230</sup> T. Jurek, *Szreniawa*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 853.

<sup>231</sup> Idem, *Szlemsdorf*, [in:] ibidem, p. 846.

<sup>232</sup> I. Skierska, *Ostoje*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 486.

<sup>233</sup> Eadem, *Połuszyny*, [in:] ibidem, 731. The villages of Szlemsdorf, Ostoje, and Zaorle emerged right by the border with the Duchy of Głogów. The latter two were located in the area where several other localities appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century – namely, Cegielnia (1611), Izbice (1620), Sworowo (1620), Ugoda (1620), and Łąka (1631).

<sup>234</sup> T. Jurek, *Śmieszkowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 7–8; A. Borek, *Ziemia wschowska w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, [in:] RPWP, § 5.1.

<sup>235</sup> Both villages are named in the earliest bestowal for the cloister in Wieleń (which later on moved to Przemęt). In the first half of the sixteenth century, Ciosaniec was described as a deserted village (S. Chmielewski, *Ciosaniec*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 262); Łupice was last mentioned in mid-fifteenth century (I. Skierska, *Łupice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 67). The Kościan district 1563 tax register, the phrase ‘*novo adscripta*’ is added to the names of both villages (RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 463, 468).

<sup>236</sup> S. Chmielewski, *Gaj*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 450; RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 9.

<sup>237</sup> J. Luciński, *Kokoszki*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 238–239; RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 70.

<sup>238</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 594 (no. 1394) 1539, 2398 (no. 37) 1558.

<sup>239</sup> Ibidem, 5059 (no. 4) 1576.

<sup>240</sup> Ibidem, 12646 (no. 1399) 1586.

<sup>241</sup> RPWK, kls, 1563, 19: “Bieiatki [has been] settled for a few years”.

According to Adolf Pawiński, Voivodeship of Poznań included in the last quarter of the sixteenth century a total of 62 towns (and cities) and 1,313 villages, while Kalisz Voivodeship had 88 towns and 1,869 villages,<sup>242</sup> altogether, 3,332 localities for both voivodeships. In the work on the present AHP volume, the use of other sources apart from tax registers, particularly *Teki Dworzaczka*, has enabled us to recognise, for the second half of the sixteenth century, a total of 3,784 settlement points, thereof: 160 towns/cities (67 and 93 in Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeship, respectively); 3,394 rural settlements (1353 and 2041, resp.); 71 demesne farmsteads (24, 48); 126 mill settlements (67, 59); 22 ironworks settlements (13, 9); two autonomous castles (Drahim, Koło); two autonomous abbeys (Łąd, Paradyż); three tar settlements (in Nakło district); two inn settlements (Górki, Belzant); and, one glassworks (Huta Pokrzywnicka). Compared to Pawiński's findings, the figure is higher by 13%. The definitely biggest difference appears for Wałcz district (an 81.3% increase), which is due to new foundations of the late sixteenth century having been taken into account. The high increase in the number of localities was the case also for the districts of Kcynia (24.9%), Nakło (21.9%), and Gniezno (20.8%). The differences are lower for the other districts – namely, those of Konin (14.3%), Poznań (12%), Kalisz (13%), and, in particular, Pызdry (5.1%), Kościan (5%), and Wschowa land (2.3%).

The number of settlements for the period concerned has also been calculated by Konstanty Hładyłowicz. Of the two voivodeships, he however ignored Konin and Wałcz districts. His calculations for the end of the sixteenth century were based on tax registers (following Pawiński) and court registers (following Stanisław Kozierowski, the credibility of whose information is limited), and probably took into account the desolated settlements.<sup>243</sup> It is, therefore, not fully justifiable to have these data compared. In general, however, for the eight districts of the Voivodeships of Kalisz and Poznań, Hładyłowicz obtained 3,332 settlements; for the same territory, as part of our work on the settlement in both voivodeships, we have found 3,358 of them – this making a slight, 0.7% difference between the figure proposed herein and the one given by Hładyłowicz. Moreover, the outcomes vary by district: Gniezno – 0.4% less settlements; Kcynia – 7.9% more; Kalisz – 8% more; Kościan – 5.7% less; Nakło – 2.8% more; Pызdry – 3.1% less; Poznań – 3% more; and, Wschowa land – 4.3% less.

**Table 8. Density of settlement in Greater Poland, second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Area, km <sup>2</sup>	Total number of localities	Number of localities per 100 km <sup>2</sup>
Nakło	3,229	223	6,9
Kcynia	2,384	286	12,0
Gniezno	3,058	516	16,9
Pызdry	2,880	433	15,0
Konin	2,312	336	14,5
Kalisz	3,264	461	14,1
Kalisz Voivodeship	17,127	2,255	13,2
Wałcz	1,945	87	4,5
Poznań	8,979	770	8,6
Kościan	5,175	628	12,1
Wschowa land	554	44	7,9
Poznań Voivodeship	16,653	1,529	9,2
Total for Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships	33,780	3,784	11,2

Source: Authors' own compilation.

<sup>242</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, p. 63.

<sup>243</sup> Hładyłowicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu*, pp. 16–17, 78, 83.

Table 8 specifies the density of settlement in the territory of Greater Poland, the division into districts and voivodeships being observed. Let us remark that these data are approximate. The calculation approached big cities on equal terms with mill settlements. The average density of settlement was higher in Voivodeship of Kalisz than in that of Poznań, due to low-populated western extents spread in the latter. The average number of localities in both voivodeships proves to be the lowest among the territories hitherto covered in this series. The figure is depressed by Poznań Voivodeship, for Kalisz Voivodeship had itself a denser settlement network compared to Voivodeships of Sieradz (12.1 localities per 100 km<sup>2</sup>), Sandomierz (11.9), or Cracow (12.9).<sup>244</sup>

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>244</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [w] AHP Mazovia, pp. 75–76, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [w] AHP Sandomierz, p. 75, in this edition III.3.1.2; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5; idem, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.1.1.

### III.3.1.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

When working on detailed maps of Poland in the sixteenth century we have assumed a base rule of presenting the complete settlement network from the second half of this century. The methods used have been fully presented in published volumes of the series, in the commentary chapters devoted to site location. The following text repeats them for the sake of convenience of the readers.<sup>1</sup>

Tax registers – the main source basis for the settlement state of our interest – do not include a complete list of sites existing at the time when they were written. Most importantly, the settlements freed from taxation, i.e. demesnes, town villages (they paid taxes together with the town), newly founded hamlets or hamlets being rebuild after natural catastrophes (fire, flood) and for that reason temporarily relieved from taxation, were not noted in the registers.<sup>2</sup> Also, the registers did not avoid inaccuracies, occasional omissions or abuses. The latter were more often related to undervaluation of the tax base than to exclusion of entire settlements. A small, concealed hamlet could have escaped the collector's attention, and several farmsteads in reality constituting a separate village could have been treated formally as a part of a bigger settlement belonging to the same owner.

In order to fill in the missing data from the tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, we have reached for other sources, even earlier or later ones.<sup>3</sup> It was necessary, especially given that the relative abundance of the registers from Łęczyca Voivodeship was accompanied by gaps in the registers for Sieradz Voivodeship and Wieluń land. Moreover, in contrast to the works on the previous maps from this series, we lacked Church visitations from the end of the sixteenth century. Our earliest visitations came from the first half of the seventeenth century and they applied only to a fragment of the area of our interest. With help of earlier and later sources we completed the list with those settlements that were mentioned in the first half of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century, and so they must have existed in the period presented on our map.<sup>4</sup>

Two categories of settlement mentioned in the sources from the first half of the sixteenth century have been omitted: firstly – settlements that do not appear later, secondly – those mentioned for the next time in the nineteenth century. However, we have included those settlements from the second category, that were free from taxation due to their character (demesnes, town villages) and also mills that were included in the registers as belonging to a village and not having a name of their own, and yet the sources from the end of the eighteenth century and from the nineteenth century allowed us to consider them separated mill villages.<sup>5</sup> Settlements appearing only at the beginning of the sixteenth century were often described (especially in Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum*) as 'haereditas deserta', and

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<sup>1</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2.

<sup>2</sup> List and characteristics of registers see K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Sieradz.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> The highest number of such settlements occurred in Ostrzeszów and Sieradz districts, because the registers from these districts were not numerous, and – above all – contained many omissions and gaps.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, Dzieściarty demesne in Rozprza parish, town villages Zapusty near Sieradz, Dobra mill in Dobryszyce parish belonging to the provost, that was listed in the 1779 visitation with a remark: 'now called Karkoszki' (J. Warężak's materials in IH PAN in Warsaw).

that allows us assume that they either never repopulated,<sup>6</sup> or, if their existence is documented in the sources no sooner than in the eighteenth century or later, the repopulation occurred after a long interval, so in the second half of the sixteenth century these settlements did not exist.<sup>7</sup> Settlements known from visitations from the first half of the seventeenth century and not earlier were not marked on the map, even if we suspected that some of them could have been created before 1600.<sup>8</sup>

The map presents only independent settlements having their own name, which constitute one or more clusters of dwelling and farm buildings, whose dwellers worked on a specified area, more or less separated from the areas surrounding the neighbouring villages.<sup>9</sup> New settlements were rarely created in densely populated, especially less wooded areas of old settlement with stable ownership relations. Whereas in bigger forest territories the settlement was more intense. In Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships there existed two large forest areas in the sixteenth century: one covering the borderland between the districts of Sieradz, Wieluń and Ostrzeszów, mostly royal property, and the other one in the borderland between the districts of Brzeziny, Szadek and Piotrków, property of the Cracow chapter and Włocławek bishopric. Many new settlements were created in both these territories in the course of the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In the remaining regions of the voivodeships of our interest, location of new villages was exceptional.

The range of independence of particular settlements was fluid at times, especially in the case of demesnes and mills. Usually they carried the name of the village near which they were situated, even though they could be a few kilometres from the buildings. Some of those small settlement points, farther or more economically separated (e.g. demesnes constituting a part of a larger estate, cultivated by peasants from several villages), were given their own name and treated as a separate village. The sources do not always specify whether such a place should be treated as a demesne or as a village. It must also be noted that mills or inns in a village, that were not independent settlement points, could have individual names, often derived from a name (a nickname) of the miller, or referring to services offered in the inn, or the consequences of these services.

In the area of the two voivodeships described in this volume there existed settlements of farm gentry, consisting of several small hamlets functioning under one name, but each was given a second part of the name, in order to distinguish them. This was sometimes a cause of difficulties, whether such hamlets were separate villages or just parts of one village. We have rather assumed the first possibility, for fear of omitting an existing settlement. Together, we have found 28 clusters of at least three villages sharing a common first part of the name in Łęczyca Voivodeship in the sixteenth century (21 in Łęczyca district and seven in Orłów district), and nine such clusters in Sieradz Voivodeship. The largest clusters sharing a common name are: Idzikowice and Bielice in Łęczyca district, Gumino in Orłów district and Pęgowo and Szadków district (each with seven hamlets). When the sources showed that in the sixteenth century there were two or three hamlets lying close to each other and having the same name but without the second part of the name – distinguished only in the seventeenth century, or not at all – we marked them as one point on the map, and in the index we used the symbol consisting of the multiplication sign and the number of the hamlets, e.g. Topola × 3 or Nieradza × 3.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The majority of such villages appear in Łęczyca district, as it was an area with a large number of farm gentry settlements, that was unable to rebuild a destroyed village, and rather moved to another place.

<sup>7</sup> For example Dudy mentioned by Łaski (Łaski LB, II, p. 361) as 'haereditas deserta' and later appearing only in the nineteenth century as Dudły.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. in the visitation of the rent of Klonów from 1616 there are two villages: Lipica and Leliwa, without any trace suggesting a new location (LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 140), but not attested in any earlier source known to us. Perhaps they were located before 1600.

<sup>9</sup> More: H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>10</sup> In the second mentioned territory the Cracow chapter located 11 new hamlets in the sixteenth century (Karpino, that is Zarzeczce in Brzeziny district, Malówka, Wola Latałska that is Latalice, Wola Sulątorska, Wola Zamojska that is Zamoście in Szadek district, Brojce, Kochanie, Giezmów that is Stróża, Huta, Leszczyny, Łaziska in Piotrków district), and Włocławek bishop – five (Chrosty, Mierzączka that is Wólka, Rozrażew in Brzeziny district, Podstoła, Radociny in Piotrków district).

<sup>11</sup> One Topola in three parts appears in tax registers, but we concluded, that the real state of affairs was described in a remark in the 1564/65 visitation: 'there are three villages called Topola, one royal leased by the burghers from Łęczyca, and two belonging to the gentry' (LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 137). In the end, the formation of three villages, each having a second part of the name, occurred in the nineteenth century; in Łaski's Liber and in the 1636 inspection there is an epithet: 'Nieradza triplex' (Łaski LB, I, pp. 410–411; ADWł, AAG 5, f. 214), and the hearth tax register from 1662 lists: Nieradza Wysoka, Nieradza Niska, Nieradza Piaski (ASK I 74, ff. 277v–278).

Żakowice in Łęczyca district will serve us as an example of how we resolved difficulties arising from names of various settlements noted in the sources, that could relate either to separate villages or only to parts of those villages. In the tax registers from the sixteenth and seventeenth century Żakowice appears in several different configurations: Żakowice Wielkie, Żakowice Małe, Puśniki, Jeże, Gose. This could mean two or three villages belonging to farm and partial gentry. Three villages appear in Łaski's Liber beneficiorum and in Czaykowski's Regestr, however, only two villages were presented on detailed maps from the first half of the nineteenth century: Żakowice and Puśniki that exist to this day. Careful analysis of the source data has led us to the following conclusions: Żakowice Wielkie is the present day Żakowice. Żakowice Małe – i.e. Puśniki (clearly stated in 1543 register) – was created when two villages listed by Łaski were merged; in the 1564 and 1576 registers these are Żakowice–Puśniki–Jeże. The 1563 register probably connects the name Gose with the Żakowice, which bears the name Puśniki in other registers, but we cannot reject the possible connection of this name with Żakowice Wielkie, that was not specifically mentioned here.<sup>12</sup> Undoubtedly, however, Gose should be treated as a part of one of these two villages, not as a third separate village, as suggested in Czaykowski's Register and Perthées' map (it places Gossy west of Żakowice–Puśniki road, which is unacceptable because of the border of arable lands of these villages running along the river on the side of Wojciechowice Małe).

Another example is the possibility of identifying Nieradów, that appears only in Łaski's Liber Beneficiorum, with Bujnice Małe village, also mentioned in this source.<sup>13</sup> The basis for the identification was found in the passages concerning the tithe.

In cases in which we had no certainty, whether a village belonging to two different representatives of great landowners (or when only one of those owners belonged to this category) constituted one settlement or two with the same name, we obeyed the following rule: if there is no direct evidence, proving that in the second half of the sixteenth century we are dealing with two villages, differentiated by the second element of the name (often an adjective indicating the ownership), then we treat a village belonging to two owners as one settlement.<sup>14</sup>

In Sandomierz Voivodeship suburban villages with their own name and a clear territorial separation were relatively common, but in Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships we found only three villages of this sort: Zamońnice – Inowódz suburbs, lying on the opposite bank of the River Pilica, Żychelska Wieś – Żychlin suburbs and Plebańska Wieś – Szadek suburbs.<sup>15</sup>

As in the previous studies in this series, mills and ironworks situated outside villages were treated as separate settlement units, if they had their own name and an established settlement distinction that would allow for precise localization of these settlements.<sup>16</sup>

One inn with a specific name was marked as a separate settlement unit on the map. It was Żeglin inn in Sieradz parish, that in the nineteenth century was still considered a separate village, and was marked as such on the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland and on Chrzanowski's map.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See the data from the 1576 register, where Jan Żakowski Gosz appears among the owners of plots in both Żakowice (P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, pp. 85, 139).

<sup>13</sup> Łaski LB, II, 216 (Nieradów), I, 555 (Bujnice Małe).

<sup>14</sup> Swędowo (now Swędów and Swędów Szlachecki) in Brzeziny district and Unków (now Uników and Uników Kapitulny) in Sieradz district, Lutosławice (now Lutosławice Rządowe and Lutosławice Szlacheckie), Wodzin Wielki (now Wodzin Majoracki and Wodzin Prywatny) in Piotrków district, Kruplin (now Kruplin Poduchowny and Kruplin Radomszczański) in Radomsko district, Biała (now Biała and Biała Rządowa) in Wieluń district – all these could be listed here. It also happens, that today two villages with names that differ in the adjective proving, that these villages constituted one village in the past, in which the part belonging to the parson in time developed into a separate hamlet; in the sixteenth century this part was too small to qualify a given village among the villages belonging to churchmen and to the nobility, or to churchmen and to the king, e.g. Dylów (now Dylów Szlachecki and Dylów Rządowy), Męka (now Męka and Męka Księża), Unienie (now Umień and Umień Poduchowny).

<sup>15</sup> Zamońnice are mentioned in Łaski's Liber (II, p. 315) and in the 1609 visitation (SGKP, vol. 3, p. 292); Żychelska Wieś and Plebańska Wieś appear in tax registers.

<sup>16</sup> We have localized over 50 mills with their own name and eight ironworks, see K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5.

<sup>17</sup> As an inn by the royal village Bogumiłowo it is mentioned in Łaski's Liber and in the visitations from 1564/5, 1569, 1616, 1628–32, and 1661 (Łaski LB, I, p. 431; LWWK 1564, vol. II, p. 27; ASK XLVI, 103 d, f. 125; LWWK 1616, p. 95; LWWK 1628, vol. II, p. 155; LWWK 1659, vol. II, p. 88); Table 1827 mentions a hamlet Żeglnia, with one house and five inhabitants.

The tax registers of Piotrków district from 1535, 1553 and 1577 mention the name of Przeora in Milejów parish (1535 and 1577 after Milejów, 1553 at the end of the parish), and by it respectively ½, 1 and 1½ of lan.<sup>18</sup> In the 1553 register, which contains ownership specification, Przeora is listed without an owner ('Przicora' mill appears in 1511 and 1518 registers).<sup>19</sup> As this name is absent from any other source, earlier or later (also from nineteenth and twentieth century maps) we have assumed that – despite appearances – it was not a separate settlement unit, but a part of Milejów village, a property of the abbot of Sulejów, separated for the benefit of the prior of the monastery.

The diversity of sources allowed us to grasp 12 demesne villages having their own name, unrelated to a village.<sup>20</sup> It seems unlikely that this number could be increased by using other sources, as in centuries after the sixteenth, separate demesne settlements were rare. Perhaps some settlements, presented on our map as villages, were or became demesne villages without serfs or peasants in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the sources the term 'praedium' was sometimes used to denote gentry villages, inhabited not only by the owner's family and servants, but also by a few peasants. According to the general rule, our map does not include demesnes known only from the sources created later than sixteenth century.

Demesnes lying outside villages, corn mills, ironworks and one inn together constitute 77 small hamlets, collectively called mill and demesne settlements (see Table 5 in the chapter III.3.3.5).

The term 'settlement localization' defines two actions. Firstly it means identification of a sixteenth century settlement with a settlement known from later, more detailed cartographical records, or from lists of settlements from the end of the eighteenth century, 1827 Table or the Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland. Secondly, it denotes the localization of a given settlement on the prepared map. At times we had to take into consideration studies whose authors used sources that no longer exist or are difficult to obtain, scattered or not catalogued.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes a hamlet not listed in eighteenth and nineteenth century sources, but known to us, could be localized thanks to lists of *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych* ('Official names of settlements and physiographical objects') – the series published in the 1970s which was meant to cover the entire country. It comprises a rich, though unequal in value, list of site names gathered in the field mostly in the 1970s. The abundance of names for some areas does not match information from eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, usually, however, it is greater. Unfortunately, the volumes on some of areas of our interest have not been published – the following former districts are lacking: Kutno district, Łask district, Łódź district, Pajęczno district and Rawa district, from the Voivodeships of Łódź and Ostrzeszów, and from Turek district in Poznań Voivodeship.

The settlements were located on the basis of a 1:100,000 map from the twentieth century, but in accordance with their location shown on oldest detailed maps from the end of the seventeenth century and the first third of the nineteenth century. In most cases the location differs from the present one, due to numerous shifts caused by division and consolidation of arable land (usually related to land appropriation), the rebuilding of roads, river regulation, urbanization-related changes; an example of the latter could be the emergence of industrial settlements in the nineteenth century in Łódź district, including newly-located towns (Aleksandrów Łódzki, Konstantynów Łódzki, Tomaszów Mazowiecki) and rapid transformation of old, small hamlets into industrial cities (Łódź, Ozorków, Zduńska Wola). Lately, the open-pit coal mine in Bełchatów has caused significant changes in the area. The WIG maps ('Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny', i. e. 'Military Institute of Geography') from the interwar period, preceding the after-war shifts in the settlement, and – treated as a base material – detailed maps from

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<sup>18</sup> ASK I, 24, f. 481; P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 252; ASK I, 25, f. 255.

<sup>19</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> Demesnes are listed in: K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5.

<sup>21</sup> These were, for example, studies on the area of Łódź, which helped us identify and localize the following mills: Chrapek, Kulan, Lamus (A. Zand, *Łódź rolnicza 1332–1793*, „Rocznik Łódzki”, vol. 2, 1930, pp. 53 f.; H.S. Dinter, *Dzieje wielkiej kariery 1332–1860*, Łódź 1965, pp. 30 f.). *Łódź. Dzieje miasta*, ed. R. Rosin, vol. 1, Warsaw 1980, and Rosin, *Słownik* were important for us, whereas the materials for the dictionary of Łęczyca and Sieradz land prepared by the Zajęczkowski turned out not so useful, due to the chronological scope of these materials. Similar was the case of the maps of the settlement in these voivodeships in the sixteenth century prepared by these authors, which were added to S. M. Zajęczkowski, *Studia nad osadnictwem dawnych ziem łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej w XII–XVI w. Uwagi i spostrzeżenia*, „Studia z dziejów osadnictwa”, vol. 4, 1966.

the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century created before the changes related to the industrialization of Łódź area made the reconstruction of the state of old settlement easier.

The localization of the vast majority of settlements on our map is certain, which could be defined as certain identification with a settlement registered on the oldest maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The localization of settlements on these maps is usually close to the state from the second half of the sixteenth century, and in case the monuments (church, manor, castle) or the old urban structure survived we have certainty that it corresponds to the state from the sixteenth century or even earlier.

Gilly-Cron and Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland formed the base for certain localizations. The number of marked settlement points is remarkably high for both these maps, as is the precision with which the settlements were named.<sup>22</sup> W. Chrzanowski's map was also helpful. It was created on a lower scale, but was based on various precise maps. Perthées's map could not be taken as a basis for certain localization due to serious deformations of the position of settlement points. However, the information about site names obtained from these two maps, and the materials related to their creation have provided us with the possibility of solving some difficult identification cases.

The location of Dobiesławice in Orłów district, a village that disappeared in the nineteenth century, was considered certain. It was marked on Perthées and Chrzanowski's map. Gilly-Cron's map and the Topographical Map show a crossroads and a small, not described, settlement point. It is an example of a relatively certain localization, with a rate of probability higher than estimated localization (Dobiesławice is listed as a lost place in the index). Bielawki village in Leźnica Wielka parish, in Łęczyca district were roughly localized on the basis of source information from the fifteenth century concerning its neighbouring villages. On the same grounds the estimated localization of Przykuty village in Żychlin parish in Orłowo district was related to the village of Rakowiec. Records from the fifteenth century, in which village names Głowaczewice and Stypuły (Marzenin parish, Szadek district) were used interchangeably to denote one village. This information allowed us to link the location of Głowaczewice with Stypuły, a village mentioned that is parallel to it in the sixteenth century and exists to this day.<sup>23</sup>

It is known, that between the end of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century there were instances of a shift in location of some settlements, caused by floods that led to changes in the course of rivers, fires, local shifts of roads and town location on old village sites. Such changes have not been closely recognized and could not be taken into account in the localization of settlements. It could be assumed, however, that these changes were small, and of no importance to our map.

Only a few settlements are of estimated localization. Here we have used two methods of conduct. A hamlet lying close to a settlement of certain localization was marked with a circle connected with the mark of the other settlement; in the legend such villages were described as 'villages of linked localization', and the name of the estimated localization settlement was not put on the map, it appears only in the index.<sup>24</sup> Other sites of estimated localization were marked with separate circles, drawn with a discontinuous line, and given separate names. A settlement marked in such a way lay, according to what we have found, probably in the area occupied today by a settlement that was created later, or in its vicinity, but we are unable to define its exact location.

Thus, as estimated localization we understand two different kinds of uncertain location: estimated localization *sensu stricto* and uncertain localization. The first was used when we were able to localize a village only in approximation, i.e. with a margin of error higher than 1 km (4 mm on the map). These were the instances when we failed to find any trace of a village on detailed and precise maps,

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<sup>22</sup> Thanks to these maps we were able to localize in certain manner around 45 settlements that no longer exist, and that did not merge with settlements existing to this day. The highest number of such settlements occurred in the following districts: Sieradz 10, Łęczyca 9, Orłów 8, Szadek 7. Among them there is a village Śleszyno-Sołek, which deserves a separate mention, as it was a parish seat. According to Łaski's description the parochial church was situated outside Śleszyno Wielkie and Śleszyno Małe 'in loco, qui dicitur Sołek' (Łaski LB, II, pp. 497 f.). In 1885 when the church fell into ruin, a new one was built in Śleszyno Wielkie and the original name of the parish was changed (SGKP, vol. 11, p. 57).

<sup>23</sup> Source information from the fifteenth century concerning Bielawka, Przykuty and Głowaczewice were provided by our adviser, prof. Jan Szymczak, as data established with dr. Tadeusz Nowak and dr. Alicja Szymczakowa.

<sup>24</sup> Roughly half of around 35 linked localizations appears in Łęczyca district, as the settlement in this district in sixteenth century was characterized by a significant number of small hamlets that disappear later on. Using property information we were able to link them with settlements of certain localization.

so we based its localization on less precise information. In most cases these were suggestions about a common owner (records of poll tax register from the seventeenth century, such as: ‘attinencja’, ‘solvit cum’ or similar records from the eighteenth century), as well as names of fields in still existing villages or names of parts of such villages memorized in *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*. Hypothetical identification of a sixteenth century hamlet with a later settlement applies mostly to situations, when the similarity of names or the order in which they appear in sources would suggest that this could be one settlement, but there was no information that would allow a certain identification.

We refrained from estimated localization when information about the location of a settlement we had was too general, e.g. concerning only parochial affiliation. We considered such hamlets unlocalized. That is why the name of such a settlement appears only in the index of settlements and in Table 1. Detailed research on the settlement in smaller regions, using source records unknown to us could secure some estimated localization in the future, or decrease the number of unlocalized settlements.

We were unable to localize, even in an estimated manner, 17 sixteenth century settlements (Table 1). As there are 2,468 settlements in Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeship, the unlocalized constitute 0.7%, significantly more than in Sandomierz Voivodeship (0.3%) and fewer than in Mazovia (1.3%).<sup>25</sup> The obstacle that would prevent even an estimated localization most often lay – in the case of Sieradz Voivodeship – in the sparsity of detailed information in tax registers. Unlocalized settlements in Łęczyca Voivodeship were mostly small hamlets, whose inhabitants, as it was mentioned before, moved elsewhere after a catastrophe or crop failure. It must be emphasized that the name of Golebki in Chorzęcin parish appears without a payment in the 1576 tax register of Piotrków Voivodeship. This is the only appearance of this name known to us, and we considered it a mistake of the person writing the register and therefore we have not included Golebki in the index table of unlocalized settlements.

In the list of the number of towns and villages in voivodeships and districts of the Greater Poland province, presented in the introduction to his publication, Adolf Pawiński claimed that, according to the data from the registers, there were 67 towns and 1,985 villages, i.e. 2,052 settlements, in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> The number of villages in Sieradz district presented in Pawiński’s table – 197 raised reservations, we have calculated it once more and found a compository mistake in the above-mentioned table: 197 instead of 297, so the collective number of settlements should be 2,152.

Even though we did not have visitations from the end of the sixteenth century, and the surviving registers of Sieradz Voivodeship are few, our research allowed us to verify the number given by Pawiński (Table 2). It was possible thanks to other sources, described above<sup>27</sup>, and partly resulted from treating mills with a separate name, that could be localized, as separate settlements. It was not, however, strongly influenced by colonial efforts from the end of the sixteenth century. In general the increase in the number of settlements in relation to Pawiński’s data equalled 15.7%. Therefore, it was higher than the result for Mazovia (9.8%) and Sandomierz Voivodeship (13.8%).<sup>28</sup> In Łęczyca Voivodeship the increase equalled 6.9%, in Sieradz land 21.4% and 15.9% in Wieluń land. This was partly due to the fact, that the registers from Łęczyca Voivodeship and Wieluń district published by Pawiński as were more complete and richer in information than the registers from Sieradz land and Ostrzeszów district. The lowest increase was observed in districts: Brzeziny (3%), Wieluń (5.3%) and Łęczyca (7.3%), the highest in Ostrzeszów (55.5%), Piotrków (31.8%) and Szadek (27%) district. The cause of the significant increase of the number of villages in Ostrzeszów district is the result of an exceptional sparsity of the register published by Pawiński and our use of Rosin’s dictionary, based on an extremely broad source basis, which included court books.

The number of settlements of the described territory consists of settlements of various sizes, from mills and small hamlets to larger towns, so the data from table no. 2, presenting information about the density of the settlement, are of approximate value.<sup>29</sup> They show that the density of occupation in the

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<sup>25</sup> K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>26</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, p. 63.

<sup>27</sup> See K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5.

<sup>28</sup> K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>29</sup> Planimetric calculations of parish area, that allowed to estimate the area of districts, were done by K. Chłapowski and M. Wilska.

area of our interest was greater than in Sandomierz Voivodeship (11.9), and lower than in Mazovia (19.9).<sup>30</sup> Łęczyca Voivodeship was more densely populated than Sieradz and Wieluń land. This was the result of the specific character of gentry settlement, similar to the Mazovian one, i.e. a large number of small hamlets of serfless gentry, and relatively low forestation. Serfless gentry hamlets could also be found in northern areas of Szadek and Sieradz districts, and as a result, the density of occupation of these districts is a bit higher than in Piotrków and Radomsko districts. Forestation also had some effect – higher in the north and east of the territory described and lower in the north and west, as well as the fact that the areas occupied by large tracts of Church property were characterized by less numerous, yet bigger settlements, contrary to middle and petty nobility settlement areas.

**Table 1. Unlocalized settlements**

District	Parish	Settlement	Last mentioned
Łęczyca Voivodeship			
Brzeziny	Wolborz	Czerwie	1676
Łęczyca	Krośniewice	Lasocin	1583
Łęczyca	Krośniewice	Pękawki	1590
Łęczyca	Łąkoszyn	Kurosze Skonieczne	1673
Łęczyca	Słaboszewo	Bojarki	1590
Orłów	Oporów	Wola Dryzdek	1581
Sieradz land			
Piotrków	Bogdanów	Dylędy	1577
Piotrków	Drużbice	Kozarze	1673
Piotrków	Krzepczów	Wola Głazowa	1673
Piotrków	Srockie	Wola Hucka	1577
Sieradz	Błaszki	Kolędzice	1607 <sup>a</sup>
Sieradz	Jeziersko	Wola Bierułtowa	1576
Sieradz	Warta	Kawieczynko	1659–1665 <sup>b</sup>
Sieradz	Widawa	Stara Wola	1576 <sup>c</sup>
Szadek	Strońsko	Trojaki	1565
Szadek	Wygielzów	Starczyny	1564
Wieluń land			
Ostrzeszów	Wieruszów	Białalęka	1563 <sup>d</sup>

a – mentioned by Łaski (Łaski LB, II, p. 58) and in 1511 and 1518 registers (P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 180) and later only in the 1607 visitation (ADWł., AAG 2, f. 299).

b – appeared in 1511 and 1518 registers (P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 182) and in Łaski (Łaski LB, I, pp. 410–411), later related to Warta reeve's district and described 'deserta' (MRPS IV, no. 5231, 17953); in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century without this description (MK 114, ff. 33v–34; 134, ff. 297–298; 151, ff. 41v–42v; 152, ff. 228–229v) in the 1636 visitation (ADWł., AAG 5, f. 214) and for the last time in 1659–1665 visitation (LWWK 1659, part 1, p. 100).

c – Wola Pilchowa appears in 1662 in Widawa parish, perhaps it is identical with Stara Wola, also unknown later,

d – unknown from tax registers, in 1563 mentioned as deserted, this name appears also in 1722–1731 (Rosin, Słownik, p. 58). Rosin (Ziemia wieluńska, appendix map) localized it in approximation, but we claim, that the data the quotes in the text (ibidem, p. 186) is not enough to enable even estimated localization.

<sup>30</sup> K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

**Table 2. Density of settlement**

<b>District, land, voivodeship</b>	<b>Area in km<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Number of settlements</b>	<b>Number of settlements per 100 km<sup>2</sup></b>
districts: Łęczyca	2,343	592	25.3
Brzeziny	1,318	179	13.6
Orłów	665	177	26.6
Łęczyca Voivodeship	4,326	948	21.9
districts: Sieradz	2,326	367	15.8
Szadek	2,228	386.5	17.3
Piotrków	2,117	301	14.2
Radomsko	2,340	239	10.2
Sieradz land	9,011	1,293.5	14.4
district: Wieluń	2,443	160.5	6.6
Ostrzeszów	1,071	66	6.2
Wieluń land	3,514	226.5	6.4
Sieradz Voivodeship	12,525	1,520	12.1
TOTAL	16,851	2,468	14.6

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.1.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Urszula Zachara-Zwiqzek, Tomasz Zwiqzek*

When establishing the location of settlements in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, we adhered to the same principles as those applied in previous volumes of the AHP series, in particular the rules governing the Greater Poland volume.<sup>1</sup> The main map of settlement in the second half of the sixteenth century shows both settlements which existed throughout the analysed timeframe and settlements abandoned or newly chartered at some point over that period.<sup>2</sup> The process of identifying settlement location (localising) consisted in comparing the lists of settlements which we drafted based on the written sources covering the period of interest, against available cartographic sources. Three fundamental identification factors guided our reconstruction of the settlement network in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land: geographical location, name, and spatial distinction.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the main map depicts settlement as at the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

As in previous AHP volumes, locating or localising settlements (understood as the process of identifying and establishing the location of settlements in the strict sense) on the map yielded a precise (univocal), an approximate or a linked location. The List of Settlements hereto also lists settlements of unknown location (see: Table 3). When pinpointing settlements on the reference maps, we looked for the central points of the mapped settlements – churches and manors. If no such point was to be found, we identified the spatial centre of a given settlement and placed the settlement point there. Settlements known to have existed in a given area, *i.e.* which we identified to have neighboured on specific villages, yet which were unidentifiable in old maps were localised in approximation. A linked location means that we linked a settlement with its nearest neighbour, with whom it often shared spatial and economic relations.

The objective of this Commentary is to discuss the most controversial and interesting cases typical of Cuyavia.<sup>5</sup> In this Commentary, we elaborate on villages, mill settlements and suburbs.

Some settlements came into existence when other localities split or merged. A split brought about the emergence of Przyłubie (Przyłubie Nowe, n) in Inowrocław Voivodeship, a settlement not located by Zenon Guldon.<sup>6</sup> What we do know is that in 1594 Maciej Przyłubski designated part of Przyłubie (Przyłubie Stare, n) for Dutch-type settlement.<sup>7</sup> As a result, the village split up into a new and an old part. The former Przyłubie Village was incorporated into Solec Kujawski (Solec, r) in the early twentieth

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<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive summary of these rules was provided by A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.1.4.

<sup>2</sup> However, the main map does not show settlements recorded as abandoned throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Garbacz, A. Ławrynowicz, B. Szady, *Identity Criteria for Localities*, [in:] *Formal Ontology in Information Systems. Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> International Conference, FOIS 2018*, ed. S. Borgo, P. Hitzler, O. Kutz, Amsterdam 2018, pp. 47–54; G. Myrda, B. Szady, A. Ławrynowicz, *Modeling and Presenting Incomplete and Uncertain Data on Historical Settlement Units*, „Transactions in GIS”, 5 II 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1111/tgis.12609> (access 8.10.2020).

<sup>4</sup> Still, it ought to be emphasised that the series selected 1600 as the cut-off date for any location-related doubts triggered by changes to settlement character, affiliation or ownership. The main map shows the cumulative number of settlements for the whole second half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> It ought to be underlined that Inowrocław Voivodeship has produced a substantial part of the examples presented below. The multitude of interesting cases stems from the ownership relations characteristic of this area, which enjoyed a relative abundance of royal and ecclesiastical property.

<sup>6</sup> Guldon, Kujawy, p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Z. Guldon, R. Kabaciński, *Przywileje lokacyjne Przyłubia z lat 1359–1594*, [in:] *Dokumenty do dziejów Kujaw i ziemi dobrzyńskiej XIV–XIX w.*, pub. Z. Guldon, R. Kabaciński et al., Warsaw–Poznań 1974, pp. 23–27.

century. To give another example, in Inowrocław district, Piotrkowice (n) absorbed Stankowice between 1573 and 1576. Until 1573, tax registers distinguished between these villages.<sup>8</sup> Starting from 1576,<sup>9</sup> the records started using the designation *Piotrkowicze seu Stankowicze*.<sup>10</sup> For that reason, we linked Stankowice with Piotrkowice on the main map. Another example is Beryno, a settlement swallowed by Stary Dwór. The last mention of the autonomous village of Beryno dates to 1527.<sup>11</sup> Over time, it was consumed by Stary Dwór demesne, as unequivocally confirmed by the cartularies of Koronowo Monastery.<sup>12</sup> Records from the 1560s mention Berziny meadows, which were used by Koronowo burghers.<sup>13</sup> Beryno, classed as an abandoned village in the second half of the sixteenth century, is thus not found on the main map.

Tax registers often provided information on small parcels of land, which sometimes merged with neighbouring settlement units in the course of the settlement process.<sup>14</sup> The case of Popowiczki (Smolsko, c) in Brześć Kujawski parish (Brzeście, r) illustrates such relationships. In the second half of the sixteenth century, this settlement absorbed Ardżiankowo (currently part of Popowiczki).<sup>15</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, when it was determined that Ardżionkowo had one serf lan, the settlement was recognised as an autonomous village.<sup>16</sup> Late-sixteenth-century registers, however, do not mention this settlement. This may indicate that Ardżionkowo had become part of the neighbouring Popowiczki by then. On the basis of available cartographic materials, we determined that Ardżionkowo was situated to the west of Popowiczki. It ought to be mentioned here that Popowiczki experienced a name change. From the 1630s, records referred to Popowiczki as *Smolsko alias Popowiczki*.<sup>17</sup> Later hearth tax registers dated to 1662<sup>18</sup> and 1673<sup>19</sup> followed suit. Cartographic materials and the 1711 visitation alike confirm the eventual change to Popowiczki.<sup>20</sup>

Kruszynek-Kolonia (Kroszyno Wielkie, n) proved to be a source of serious localisation difficulties.<sup>21</sup> In 1598, Kruszynek-Kolonia was mentioned in the description of the boundaries of the bishop-held Brzeźno Village.<sup>22</sup> However, Gilly's 1802 map shows that Kruszynek (Kroszyno Małe, n) was situated closer to Brzeźno than Kruszyn, which was located to the south-west of Kruszynek. The Quarter-master's Map shows only Kruszynek, while Perthées erroneously mapped spatial relations. While the location of Kruszynek does not give rise to any uncertainty, it is unclear whether Kruszynek-Kolonia was situated south of Kruszynek.

We determined that Pełczyce (probably part of Grodztwo today) was located in the former Jewish cemetery, which Kowal had before World War II. At present, this location corresponds to the terminal point of Jędrzejewskiego Street. We based this decision on the document certifying the purchase of Kowal lands by Jews for the purpose of creating a Jewish cemetery near Pełczyce Village in 1568.<sup>23</sup>

We established that Korabniki near Włocławek was in turn located outside of the present boundaries outlining the contemporary part of Włocławek bearing that name today. Some argue that the medieval settlement of Korabniki sat in the same spot as present-day Korabniki (about 6 km to the north of

<sup>8</sup> See e.g.: ASK I 50, f. 549 r. (1552), f. 791 r. (1565), f. 753v (1573).

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, f. 725v: 'Piotrkowicze seu Stankowicze simul de decem mansis possessionatis, de taberna manuali una molendinoque ventili manuali uno solvit'.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, ff. 725v (1576), 673v (1581), 637v (1582), 598r (1583), 787v (1589).

<sup>11</sup> MHDW 11, p. 69.

<sup>12</sup> *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw w średniowieczu*, comp. Z. Guldon, przyg. J. Wijaczka, atlasfontium.pl (access 22.11.2020), p. 83: 'Berin.o seu Stary dwor, Starydwor olim Beryno' (BR 134, f. 251, OMC 145); cf. Guldon, Kujawy, p. 33, footnote 152.

<sup>13</sup> AGAD, VO1, ff. 3v, 37v, 95v, 96v, 125r.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. K. Fokt, *Późnośredniowieczne osadnictwo wiejskie na Dolnym Śląsku w świetle badań archeologicznych*, Cracow 2012, pp. 258–273.

<sup>15</sup> *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw w średniowieczu*, p. 350; MHDW 11, p. 7: 'item predium in Smolsko dictum Jardzyakonsthwo'; cf. MHDW 12, p. 26.

<sup>16</sup> ASK I 29, f. 381 (1567); ASK I 50, f. 778 (1570); ASK I 29, f. 327r (1576), 418 (1577), 454v (1579).

<sup>17</sup> Podymne 1634, f. 81v.

<sup>18</sup> ASK I 65, f. 279r.

<sup>19</sup> ASK I 74, f. 837r.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Perthées, Brześć; Repertorium 71, p. 148.

<sup>21</sup> Kruszynek's location was determined based on 1598 and 1604 inventories of the Włocławek Bishopric; see: Inw. 1598, p. 69; Inw. XVII, p. 8. We mapped this settlement at the location of today's Kruszynek.

<sup>22</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup> Z. Guldon, *Żydzi w miastach kujawskich w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ZK, vol. 9, 1993, p. 101.

Włocławek centre).<sup>24</sup> Yet maps drafted at the turn of the nineteenth century indicate that this settlement was the work of Dutch colonists, who appeared at a later time. Indeed, the discussed settlement covered land which in the Middle Ages stretched from Włocławek's borders to Lubanie Village.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the early seventeenth-century inventories indicate that the village lay in the close vicinity of Włocławek Castle,<sup>26</sup> and by the late eighteenth century this closest part of Korabniki was referred to as Zazamcze.<sup>27</sup> We marked the medieval centre of this settlement in this very town quarter of Włocławek.

In the case of some settlements, extant cartographic relics were of paramount importance. In this context, it is worth mentioning the demesne settlement of Zamyślin (Zamyślino).<sup>28</sup> By the seventeenth century, Zamyślin had already been abandoned.<sup>29</sup> On Perthées's map, Zamyślin, which should be identified with sixteenth-century Zamyślów, sits right next to the border with Brześć Voivodeship, to the south of Kruszyna and Kruszynka. Gilly's 1802 map shows *Zamyslin Hol.* to the south of the road between Kruszyn and Brudnowo (Blatt C1). The Quartermaster's Map also features the demesne farm of Zamyślin and places it between Kruszynek and Brudnowo, to the south of the road connecting these villages. Be that as it may, MTB and the later WIG map show Wiktoryn and Michalin in this region. By re-applying the spatial relations presented in the three above-listed maps (Perthées, Gilly 1802 and Quartermaster's), we determined that sixteenth-century Zamyślów was in fact Zamyślin, a settlement situated to the north of the line connecting Kruszyn and Brudnowo. At present, Zamyślin is a colony of Kruszynek-Kolonia Village (PRNG).

Mątwy illustrates a similar process. The 1770 Kayser map placed Mątwy on the left, south bank of the Noteć (Blatt 8), just like the von Pfau (Blatt 4) and Schrötter (Section 21+25) maps did. UMTB marked buildings on both Noteć banks, but the label was placed on the left river side (Blatt 1722). MTB indicates a larger settlement unit on the right bank, an effect of a sugar refinery and soda factory being constructed there at the turn of the 1880s.<sup>30</sup> Today, the south part of Mątwy forms part of Tupadły, but should not be confused with Mątwy, a town quarter of Inowrocław. Cartographic analysis enabled localising Sławsko Dolne (Sławsko Małe, c) as well. UMTB (Blatt 1794) shows Sławsko Village and Sławsko Colony, but Schrötter placed only one settlement on his map – Sławsko Małe. The shape of the settlement depicted by Schrötter resembles that visible on the UMBT sheet. We placed the settlement near today's Sławsko Dolne, which the MTB named *Kaiserhöf*, and the WIG map – Sławsko Małe. As concerns Ptur settlement (currently part of Ptur), Schrötter marked Ptur and Ptur separately (Blatt Schubin and Blatt Inowrocław). UMTB also reflects this division, but its label arrangement suggests a location different than that of Schrötter. UMTB places Ptur closer to Barcin, with Ptur farther away (Blatt 1650), yet Schrötter locates Ptur closer to Barcin. Similarly, Gilly (Blatt B1) marked Ptur (*Klein Turke*) nearer Barcin than Ptur (*Gross Turke*). MTB shows only Ptur, like the WIG map. In line with Schrötter's and Gilly's interpretations, we placed Ptur in a part of today's Ptur, which is situated at a distance from Barcin. Still, we must admit that UMTB shows similar spatial relations between Barcin, Ptur and Ptur as the maps by von Pfau (Blatt 4) and Gilly.

The settlement history of Swarowo area (currently part of Bachórka) appears deeply interesting. This village had been known to exist since the Middle Ages, and survived until the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> The sixteenth-century settlement could have had a population of about 100, but was abandoned after the Deluge: not one serf was recorded by the 1673 poll-tax register, and the watermill was not in operation.<sup>32</sup> A year later, the register listed a mere eight serfs, while the mill was still shut down.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> K. Jażdżewski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne osadnictwo miasta Włocławka i jego najbliższej okolicy*, „Materiały Wczesnośredniowieczne”, vol. 4, 1956, pp. 121, 134.

<sup>25</sup> J. Bieniak, *Powstanie miasta samorządowego – najstarsze lokacje miejskie*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1: *Od początków do 1918 r.*, ed. J. Staszewski, Włocławek 1999, pp. 88–90, 100; J. Pakulski, *Władze i społeczność miejska w dobie polokacyjnej (XIV–XV w.)*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 125–126.

<sup>26</sup> MHDW 24, p. 19; Inw. XVII, p. 91.

<sup>27</sup> Szkice Perthéesa, vol. 9, f. 42r.; Czaykowski, p. 843.

<sup>28</sup> ASK I 30, f. 783v; MHDW 21, p. 62.

<sup>29</sup> ASK I 65, f. 303r; ASK I 73, ff. 4r, 18r.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. Brzezichowa, *Przeobrażenia gospodarcze miasta w okresie zaboru pruskiego (1815–1919)*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1: *Do 1919 r.*, ed. M. Biskup, Warsaw–Poznań–Toruń 1978, pp. 325, 329.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw w średniowieczu*, pp. 74–75.

<sup>32</sup> ASK I 74, f. 839r.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 872r.

Bachórka, which emerged as a neighbouring village in the seventeenth century, pushed Swarowo to the margin.<sup>34</sup> We can assume that in the sixteenth century, it was part of a field or village which over time transformed into a proper settlement and absorbed Swarowo. The phrase used to refer to this settlement, *Bachorka seu Swarowo*,<sup>35</sup> gives confirmation. The main map describes the location of Swarowo Village as approximate.

Osiek Wielki (Osiek, r) is a potential vacant settlement. The 1489 land tax inspection and later records define this settlement as *deserta*.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, *Liber Retaxationum* mentions one layman near Osiek who made payments to Płonkovo parson.<sup>37</sup> The 1577 visitation, however, describes this settlement unit as *praedium dictum Osiek* in Płonkovo parish.<sup>38</sup> This means that part of Osiek had been abandoned in the sixteenth century, while another was converted into a demesne farm of the nobility. For this reason we marked Osiek as a demesne settlement on our map.<sup>39</sup>

Tupadły are an example of linked location. Currently part of Siarzewo Village, this settlement does not appear on any extant old maps. On the basis of information provided by the 1604 inventory of the set of Raciążek property, we determined that Tupadły were situated on the banks of the Vistula River and bordered on Nieszawa, Niestuszewo, Raciążek, and Siarzewo (Psarzewo, c).<sup>40</sup> Indeed, later mentions suggest close spatial relations with Siarzewo.<sup>41</sup> Relics of local microtoponymy confirm these findings by proving that Tupadły was described as a part of Siarzewo.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, we decided on linking this settlement with Siarzewo.

Tax registers can also help identify close spatial relations, as they provide information on collective payments made by several settlement units. The spatial relation between Papros (c) and Droszewo (vacant settlement) in Przedecz district illustrates this well. In the entries on Papros, the 1580 register mentions two lans in Droszewo Village.<sup>43</sup> Each entry about Droszewo stated that the tax was paid collectively by Papros and Droszewo.<sup>44</sup> It was not possible to determine the spatial location of Droszewo; therefore we decided to determine its location on the basis of the close relations which linked these two settlement units. We coupled Droszewo with Papros, which we were capable of locating.

We used approximate locations for settlements whose borders were described in great detail in written sources, but whose spatial location could not be unequivocally determined. Unimierze (n) was one such village. It bordered on Dąbrówka and Niestuszewo.<sup>45</sup> Initially, this settlement was located between Dąbrówka, Sierzchowo/Sierzchów, Markuszewice, Niestuszewo and Raciąż. In 1661, the village was still recognised as inhabited.<sup>46</sup> However, in 1674 sources describe the settlement as *deserta*.<sup>47</sup> Later sources cease to mention its existence.<sup>48</sup> It is worth noting that eighteenth-century sources list Sierzchowo and Markuszewice together.<sup>49</sup> Von Pfau (Blatt 11) placed Unimierze between Niestuszewo and Chromowola, and the map shows that the settlements were separated by a river. Unimierze sits on the right bank. Despite a very detailed description of the borders, it proved impossible to identify the location of this settlement. Therefore, we agreed on an approximate location.

In Brześć Voivodeship, we linked Starczewa with Kąkowa Wola. Both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources confirm that the two settlements enjoyed tight spatial relations.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, f. 872v.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. MHDW 11, p. 39 (1527); Inw. 1598, p. 10; *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw w średnio-wieczu*, p. 74.

<sup>36</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 158; MK 50, f. 510r (=MRPS IV, no. 17242); LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 303.

<sup>37</sup> MHDW 11, p. 61: 'Ossiek 1 Laicus qui nihil dat, dicit habere ius quod per quinque gr. debet solver.'

<sup>38</sup> MHDW 17, p. 135.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Guldon, Kujawy, p. 90.

<sup>40</sup> Inw. XVII, pp. 5–6.

<sup>41</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo województwa inowrocławskiego w latach 1775–1789*, ZK, vol. 6, 1981, p. 111, no. 62 and p. 112, no. 71.

<sup>42</sup> *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*, vol. 172: *Powiat aleksandrowski, województwo bydgoskie*, [no place] 1971, p. 18.

<sup>43</sup> ASK I 29, f. 590r.

<sup>44</sup> Such payments were made in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 443r), 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 601v), 1582 (ibidem, f. 662v), 1583 (ibidem, f. 725r) and 1589 (ibidem, f. 768r).

<sup>45</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 67, Inw. XVII, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> ASK I 65, f. 302v.

<sup>47</sup> ASK I 73, f. 4r.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Czaykowski, p. 854.

<sup>49</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo województwa inowrocławskiego*, p. 111, no. 64.

<sup>50</sup> MRPS IV, no. 3167 (1519); LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 272.

For some settlements, it was a single reference that formed the grounds for determining their existence. This group encompasses two demesne villages in Inowrocław Voivodeship: Podgaj,<sup>51</sup> which is not located, and Kielczew,<sup>52</sup> whose location is approximate. Kurzelewo is another village presumed to have existed. Its location is unknown, yet the village name appears in Stanisław Kozierowski's materials. The reference to Kurzelewo dates to 1591.<sup>53</sup> A 1596 entry, in turn, mentions the name *na Prądziech*, which is used when discussing the endowment of St. Giles's Chapel, situated outside the town walls of Bydgoszcz.<sup>54</sup> However, this is a reference to a meadow. Indeed, this area went on to become Prądy Village, and was forgotten until the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>55</sup>

It is worth noting that the AHP volume on Cuyavia does not take into account a small group of settlements which Zenon Guldon set forth in his settlement network of sixteenth-century Cuyavia. This was not possible, as we agreed on different interpretations of extant source material. One such settlement is Jabłowo.<sup>56</sup> Hypothetically, it was located in Wudzyn parish and listed as a locality belonging to Koronowo Monastery. In 1527, it was described as an abandoned village.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, in the early fifteenth century (1420), and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well, this name was used to refer to a meadow.<sup>58</sup> The alleged village does not appear in the 1489 list of villages. Even if we assume that Jabłowo had in fact been a village for a short period during the Early Modern times, the sources do not provide sufficient information for presuming it was an active settlement of this type in the second half of the sixteenth century. Thus, Jabłowo is absent from the map and the List of Settlements. We adopted a similar approach to Nowa Góra,<sup>59</sup> which is mentioned only once in 1527.<sup>60</sup>

While working on the settlement network of Cuyavia, we noticed that Zenon Guldon identified Dębice (n) as Poddębice Wielkie (n). This assumption was based on the fact that most tax registers pair the names of these settlements and list either Poddębice Wielkie – Poddębice Małe, or Poddębice – Dębice. Only the 1579 tax register clearly illustrates Poddębice Małe as equivalent to Dębice,<sup>61</sup> and this record provided the grounds for assigning both these names to a single settlement.

Of the settlements Guldon failed to locate, Kopanie presents an interesting case. At present, Kopanie is a colony of Górki Village. It is present in UMTB, MTB and WIG maps. Mochelek is another settlement whose location is based on UMTB. We established that it lay between Lisewo Kościelne and Jordanowo, near the south-western bank of the lake. At present, it forms part of Lisewo Kościelne. In contrast to Mochelek, based on the spatial criterion we identify Kopanina<sup>62</sup> demesne settlement as tantamount to Chrusty (Chrosty) on Perthées's map based on SGKP information.<sup>63</sup>

Some settlements were re-chartered in the sixteenth century. The extant source base enabled confirming two such cases across Cuyavia. Until the 1560s, Szczutki (Szczutrkowy, c) was described as an abandoned village.<sup>64</sup> In 1570, a soltys was settled on two lans in Szczutki.<sup>65</sup> It was revealed

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<sup>51</sup> MHDW 17, p. 135.

<sup>52</sup> MHDW 19, p. 65.

<sup>53</sup> Guldon, Kujawy, p. 87; S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych na obszarze dawnej zachodniej i środkowej Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1921, p. 439; see: Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego w Bydgoszczy, Gr. 18, ff. 258v–259v (*non vidi*).

<sup>54</sup> *Documenta Ecclesiae civitatis Bidgostiensis (Bromberg) concernentia*, pub. E. Becker, Berlin 1918, p. 23.

<sup>55</sup> *Opisy starostwa bydgoskiego z lat 1661–1765*, pub. Z. Guldon, Bydgoszcz 1966, pp. 21, 28.

<sup>56</sup> Guldon, Kujawy, p. 84.

<sup>57</sup> MHDW 11, p. 69.

<sup>58</sup> *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw w średniowieczu*, p. 491; AGAD, VO1, ff. 2v, 36v, 95r, 96v, 124v; S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych*, p. 292.

<sup>59</sup> Guldon, Kujawy, p. 85.

<sup>60</sup> MHDW 11, p. 69.

<sup>61</sup> ASK I 29, f. 462r: 'Poddąbicze Minor seu Dąbicze'; *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw w średniowieczu*, pp. 141, 345; see also Guldon, Kujawy, p. 57.

<sup>62</sup> MHDW 21, p. 156.

<sup>63</sup> SGKP, vol. 4, p. 373; cf. R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo województwa inowrocławskiego*, p. 106, no. 7 and p. 108, no. 27.

<sup>64</sup> ASK I 50, ff. 559v (1552), 851v (1553). Similarly as in 1563: ASK I 92, f. 13r: 'Istę villae [also Stronno and Mokre – U.Z.-Z., T.Z.] dudum sunt desertate, quod in registris vetustioribus patet nullosque agros habent cultos.' 1564 and 1565 entries were empty.

<sup>65</sup> ASK I 50, f. 775v: 'Scultetus ibidem Thomas Chirurgus de mansis 2 sculteciae suae noviter extirpatis contributionem adhuc nunquam solvebat.'

that Kobelniki in Tuczno parish had shared a similar fate of resettlement – in 1562.<sup>66</sup> The existence of the village is confirmed by the 1557 document on the sale of Kobelniki to Wojciech Tupadlski by the Włocławek Chapter.<sup>67</sup>

It is worth underlining that while analysing the districts of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, we did not note any intensified colonisation in the Early Modern Era.

Pursuant to AHP rules, watermills are classed as independent mill settlements under two criteria: 1) **spatial**, which look at the distance between a village or town, and 2) **toponomastic**, which are related to whether a mill had a separate name of its own. Determining their status and location was a major challenge for this volume. Cuyavian tax registers recurrently recorded mills bearing their own names as separate from villages or towns. This was the main reason for the difficulty of this task. Radziejów district gathered a particularly high number of such mill names, including Chrzan, Jęczmion, Kaczka and Kozubek, yet only the oldest registers from the second half of the sixteenth century (1553 and 1557)<sup>68</sup> confirm their existence. The mill in Noć lends itself as a good example. Despite being recorded separately in the tax collection formulary in 1577,<sup>69</sup> 1580,<sup>70</sup> 1581,<sup>71</sup> 1582,<sup>72</sup> 1583<sup>73</sup> and 1589,<sup>74</sup> it could not be identified on any available map. We therefore assigned all mill-related entries to entries on the town.

Ruda Otorowska (currently part of Otorowo) is an interesting example of location-related quandaries. Sources mention the ore processing settlement *prope oppidum Solecz* already in the first half of the sixteenth century. At the time, the name of the mill could have been different, derived from the name (or nickname) of a miner – Kośka.<sup>75</sup> The original limonite deposit must have become depleted, forcing the ironworks to find a new, more convenient location. Such relocation was common practice in the pre-industrial era.<sup>76</sup> Tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century provide information on both the old (abandoned) and new ore mills.<sup>77</sup> Although the ore mill in Otorowo was linked with the nearby village, we class it as an independent settlement unit: *Ottorower Mühle*, present on Gilly's map, UMTB (Blatt no. 1508) and MTB (as *Friedrich Wilhelms Mühle*) maps, and WIG map (no name). We combined information on the mill with records about two utility structures – a mill and an ironworks – leased out to the Wilde family in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup>

We identified and located Ruda, a former ironworks in Radziejów district, in a similar fashion. The 1557 register lists Ruda (without any additional information) and 'Ruda circa Ruskowo generosi Joannis Ruskowski'<sup>79</sup> under hereditary mills. Ruda Mill (without precise settlement details) does not appear in earlier or later materials, while the mill near Ruskowo is carried in later sources.<sup>80</sup> Although Ruda Mill is known only thanks to a 1557 mention and is not present in sources from subsequent years, the context of the entries made in that year clearly indicates that two separate units existed (at least in that one year). We determined the location of this site on the basis of the WIG map, which shows the settlement of Stara Ruda.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, f. 802r: 'Kobilniki non solvunt, quia a duobus annis locari noviter incepit, de quo relacio ministerialis habetur.'

<sup>67</sup> MK 89, ff. 141–141v (=MRPS V, no. 7756).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. e.g. ASK I 29, f. 209r; ASK I 30, f. 279r; ASK I 29, f. 261.

<sup>69</sup> ASK I 29, f. 442.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem, f. 599v.

<sup>71</sup> ASK I 30, f. 600.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem, f. 661v.

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, f. 723v.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, f. 767r.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Z. Guldon, *Dzieje hutnictwa żelaznego na Kujawach i w ziemi dobrzyńskiej do XVI wieku*, ZK, vol. 4, 1974, p. 36.

<sup>76</sup> T. Związek, *Kuźnica w Stobnie. Uwagi osadnicze na marginesie edycji przywileju dla rudnika Jana Gelinghausa z 1560 r.*, [in:] *Fines testis temporum. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Elżbiecie Kowalczyk-Heyman w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. M. Dzik, G. Śnieżko, coop. M. Starski, Rzeszów–Warsaw 2017, pp. 127–147. Nevertheless, this issue requires further investigation to establish whether the entire settlement was transferred, or rather just the migrating *locus molendini* (literally milling site, understood here as the limonite extraction site) was relocated.

<sup>77</sup> ASK I 50, ff. 727r (1576), 705r (1577).

<sup>78</sup> MK 82, ff. 406v–408v (=MRPS V, no. 5912) of 1551; MK 108, f. 365 (=MRPS V, no. 10536) and SMK VI, no. 300 of 1592.

<sup>79</sup> ASK I 29, f. 260v.

<sup>80</sup> See e.g. ASK I 29, f. 499r: where it is referred to as 'molendinum ibidem [...] Ruda' or ASK I 30, f. 723v (1581): where it is referred to as 'Molendinum Ruskowski'; cf. Z. Guldon, *Dzieje hutnictwa żelaznego*, pp. 40–41.

Zenon Guldon did not mark the mill settlement in Jasnów (currently part of Toruń) on his maps. In this AHP volume, we established that its location was identical to that of Klucznik Mill, which was mentioned in the 1765 inspection of Dybów Gord Starosty.<sup>81</sup> Klucznik has been marked on UMTB and MTB maps. Likewise, we established that Dolny near Lubraniec, a late modern mill, was tantamount to Szych Mill (currently Marysin).<sup>82</sup> We linked Wilunt (currently part of Toruń) with Staw Village.<sup>83</sup> Written sources place Zieleniec Mill (currently part of Toruń) *circa villam Nieszewka*.<sup>84</sup> The mill's location was determined based on the UMTB map (Blatt 1583), where Zieleniec is clearly marked.

Although we do not mark suburbs on the 1:250,000 map, it is worth discussing those which proved impossible to locate. Let us start with Obory, which was recorded as part of Radziejów in the 1494 inventory of royal estates in Brześć Voivodeship.<sup>85</sup> The 1616–1620 inspection lists houses on Oborna Street,<sup>86</sup> which means that the street either ran towards Obory or was situated in the former suburb. However, it follows from a 1519 document issued by Sigismund I the Old that Obory was a suburb of Radziejów,<sup>87</sup> at least in the early sixteenth century. Based on a 1596 reference,<sup>88</sup> we also identified Babia Wieś as a suburb, as it was treated as a suburb of Bydgoszcz in the seventeenth century.<sup>89</sup>

**Table 1. Number of unlocalized settlements**

Distrit	Number of unlocalised settlements	Number of settlements with approximate location	Number of settlements with linked location
Brześć	10	13	9
Kowal	2	2	1
Kruszwica	4	3	1
Przedecz	4	3	2
Radziejów	10	–	3
<b>Brześć Voivodeship</b>	30	21	16
Bydgoszcz	4	1	–
Inowrocław	11	5	10
<b>Inowrocław Voivodeship</b>	15	6	10
Dobrzyń	3	–	4
Lipno	5	–	–
Rypin	2	–	1
<b>Dobrzyń land</b>	10	–	5

<sup>81</sup> *Lustracja województw wielkopolskich i kujawskich: 1765. Województwo inowrocławskie*, pub. Z. Górski, R. Kabaciński, A. Mietz, Bydgoszcz 2011, p. 31: 'Jasnów id est Klucznik'; cf. MK 143, ff. 250v–251v.

<sup>82</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu brzesko-kujawskiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, series E: *Kształtowanie środowiska*, 1985, p. 152: 'Nadolny alias Sych'.

<sup>83</sup> MK 78, f. 526v (=MRPS V, no. 5303) of 1551 and MK 138, f. 447v (=SMK VII, no. 632): 'molendinum Weland dictum penes villam nostram Staw nuncupatam sittum prope civitatem nostram Toruń et arcem.'

<sup>84</sup> MK 136, f. 321v (=SMK VI, no. 396).

<sup>85</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 385.

<sup>86</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 348.

<sup>87</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 92: 'the late King Sigismundus divisionem prati, Obora nuncupati, inter suburbanos praedictos per venerabilem olim Stanislaum de Budzow, custodem Crusviciensem et canonicum Gnesnensem et capitaneum Radzieioviensem, volens capitaneatus praedicti commoda ampliare et augere'.

<sup>88</sup> *Documenta Ecclesias civitatis Bidgostiensis*, p. 35: 'Pro dote habet [St Stanislaus Hospital in Bydgoszcz – U.Z.-Z., T.Z.] Villam Babiawies ad Suburbium Bidgostiense sitam'.

<sup>89</sup> It is certain that it was described as a suburb in the second half of the seventeenth century; see: *Opisy starostwa bydgoskiego*, p. 12; M. Czachorowska, M. Czaplicka-Jedlikowska, M. Jaracz, A. Paluszak-Bronka, *Słownik toponimów miejskich Bydgoszczy*, Bydgoszcz 2008, p. 33. Babia Wieś could have been, more or less, an integral part of the Cuyavian part of Bydgoszcz suburbs (also called the Toruń suburb); cf. *ibidem*.

**Table 2. Density of settlement in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the late sixteenth century**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Settlements in total	Number of settlements per 100 km <sup>2</sup>
Brześć	1157.2	268	23.2
Kowal	611.5	79.5	13.0
Kruszwica	302.9	59.5	19.6
Przedecz	494.5	122	24.7
Radziejów	727.2	150	20.6
<b>Brześć Voivodeship</b>	<b>3293.3</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>20.6</b>
Bydgoszcz	1386	115	8.3
Inowrocław	1389.1	228.5	16.4
<b>Inowrocław Voivodeship</b>	<b>2775.1</b>	<b>343.5</b>	<b>12.4</b>
Dobrzyń district	508.5	108	21.2
Lipno	1,323.2	146	11.0
Rypin	1,231.6	133	10.8
<b>Dobrzyń land</b>	<b>3,063.3</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>12.7</b>

**Table 3. Unlocalized settlements in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land**

Voivodeship	Parish	Name	Last mention (*only mention)
Brześć	<b>Brześć district</b>		
	Zgłowiątko	Borzygniew	1634
	[unknown]	Ciepliński Młyn (Mill)	1557
	Witowo	Gąska	1598*
	Chalino?	Lędwiczyny	1598
	Świniarzewo	Krajewice	1639
	Chocień	Krzykosz	1634
	Zgłowiątko and/or Lubraniec	Przeborowski Młyn (Mill)	1557*
	[unknown]	Ruda	1557
	Lubraniec	Stępa	1582
	Witowo	Toruńczka	1598*
	<b>Kowal district</b>		
	[unknown]	Grodzeń	1557
	[unknown]	Zygmunt	1557*
	<b>Kruszwica district</b>		
	Kościeszki	Gościejewo	1699
	Gębice?	Kłopot	1589*
	Warzymowo?	Ołdrzenica	1557
	Warzymowo	Sokołowo	1577*

Voivodeship	Parish	Name	Last mention (*only mention)
Brześć	<b>Przedecz district</b>		
	[unknown]	Bardy	1557
	Chodecz	Głębocek	1639
	[unknown]	Kruszewski Młyn (Mill)	1557
	Korzecznik?	Nadolny Młyn (Mill)	1583
	<b>Radziejów district</b>		
	[unknown]	Chrzan	1557
	[unknown]	Jęczmień	1557
	[unknown]	Kaczka	1557
	Ostrów	Kokoszyce	1639
	Sadlno	Kozubek	1598
	Piaski	Krery	1634
	Lubotyń	Nasiegniewice	1639
	Radziejów	Obora	1589
	Radziejów	Zacieżny	1589
Bytom	Złotniki	1639	
Inowrocław	<b>Bydgoszcz district</b>		
	Bydgoszcz?	Koska	1589
	[unknown]	Kurzelowo	1591*
	Dźwierzno	Mochel	1699
	Bydgoszcz	Nowy	1577*
	<b>Inowrocław district</b>		
	Staromieście	Bądkówko	1628
	Góra	Dupki	1699
	Służewo	Kobyle Błota Sobiesierskie	1598
	Parkanie	Łagiewniki	1699
	Płomykowo	Podgaj	1577*
	Staromieście	Rogowo	1628
	Płomykowo	Ściborze Małe	1699
	Staromieście	Wierzbie	1628
	Góra	Wilczkowice	1699
Kościelec	Wilkowo	1577	
Ostrów	Wioteski	1699	
Dobrzyń land	<b>Dobrzyń district</b>		
	Bądkowo	Gołębki	1573
	Szpital Nadolny	Łuszkowo	1639
	Tłuchowo	Ruslawy	1609

Voivodeship	Parish	Name	Last mention (*only mention)
Dobrzyń land	<b>Lipno district</b>		
	Ciechocin	Czajka	1639
	Bobrowniki	Czerwino	1584*
	Bobrowniki	Rudawa	1639
	Karnkowo	Sroki	1725
	Bobrowniki	Sczerbino	1639
	<b>Rypin district</b>		
	Sieprc	Paprotki-Kłobuki	1565
	Sieprc	Paprotki-Ogony	1573*

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

### III.3.1.7 MAZOVIA

*Henryk Rutkowski*

Settlement is the most important of all the elements marked on our map, as it determined the scale of the map, the depiction of other elements, and finally – and significantly – the reconstruction of the state of settlement required most of our efforts and time. The main assumption of the map is to present all settlements, which existed in Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century. Also, we mean to include those villages, which either disappeared, or were founded in this period. Naturally, the degree, to which these assumptions were fulfilled, depends on the source basis. Two main problems caused by various insufficiencies of the sources and the complicated situation of contemporary Mazovian settlement concern the relationship between settlements and their individual parts, and the settlements absent from tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century.

Beginning with the first of these problems, it should be noted that **the autonomy of settlements** was determined by three factors: a) spatial separation of buildings, that is cluster (or clusters) of houses and farm buildings, b) separation of grounds belonging to a given settlement from grounds of neighbouring settlements, c) proper name. The borders of settlements were usually marked (which does not mean there were not any disagreements), sometimes – rarely – they were replaced by undeveloped areas, especially forest. Topographic factors influenced the development of economic (e.g. corvée done in the local demesne) and administrative (e.g. village court) autonomy.

The degree of autonomy varied from village to village. So, there existed settlements spatially not separated (village buildings neighbouring the buildings of another village directly), or even without specified territory. The latter concerns villages of petty gentry, founded on the basis of one bestowal, which had a common general name and common external borders, but were not separated from each other and with their fields interspersed.<sup>1</sup> In such cases, some building clusters were considered separate villages by some, and considered by others as hamlets constituting parts of larger settlements.

Ownership relations had a significant influence on the separation of villages. The simplest pattern can be seen in a one-village property, where settlement borders overlapped the borders of the estate. In a larger property complex, particular villages were usually clearly spatially separated from each other, forming building clusters (one or more per village). Demesnes in the sixteenth century Mazovia shared names of villages with which they were linked. Demesnes given their own name, or situated far from their village – and which should therefore count as separate villages – are extremely rare.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The patchwork of the landscape was diversified further by various family divisions and sales. See W. Smoleński, *Szkice z dziejów szlachty mazowieckiej*, Cracow 1908, pp. 36–46; K. Tymieniecki, *Procesy twórcze formowania się społeczeństwa polskiego w wiekach średnich*, Warsaw 1921, pp. 226–235; S. Rosłonec, *Samorzutne scalanie gruntów wśród mazowieckiej i podlaskiej szlachty zagrodowej*, Warsaw 1928, pp. 81–101, 114–116; A. Żaboklicka, *Zmiany w strukturze drobnej własności szlacheckiej w XV–XVI w. na przykładzie ziemi liwskiej*, PH, vol. 49, 1958, pp. 250–260; S. Russocki, *Formy władania ziemią w prawie ziemskim Mazowsza (koniec XIV – połowa XVI wieku)*, Warsaw 1961, pp. 38–40, 89–96, 132–134; A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej w XV wieku (1370–1526)*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 128–132.

<sup>2</sup> There were only three autonomous demesne settlements (see below) in the royal estates in Mazovia – which, thanks to the published visitations, is the best known type of estates in this area. According to J. Wiśniewski, his thorough studies on the settlement of north-eastern Mazovia did not reveal demesnes, which would be called by a different name than their village, in any type of property.

The most complicated situation was the one of petty land ownership, i.e. of villages of farm and partial gentry. Parts of villages belonging to different owners were given individual names, usually in form of an epithet added to the proper name of the entire village, or to a general name of a group of villages belonging to one large family.<sup>3</sup> Such divisions tended to be long-lasting, and as a result parts of villages were often treated as separate villages, even though topographically they still comprised one village.

**Tax registers** – the main source basis for the presentation of settlements on our map – should originally include names of all settlements, in order to appropriate to them the names of taxpayers, which formed the basis for the taxation and payments. Only two groups of settlements were to be excluded, as they were freed from taxation: newly-located settlements, still in their tax-free period, and demesne settlements, as demesnes were not taxed. In reality, however, tax registers, treated as lists of the sixteenth century settlements, show other deficiencies. This is particularly visible in the cases of the settlements of petty gentry.

On the one hand, these are the cases where a register treats parts of one village as separate settlements, for instance when the payment was recorded only from one part, and the name of the entire village was omitted. On the other hand, we have instances, when a given part was ascribed to different neighbouring villages in different years, and also when separate villages were treated as one in the register. For example, Kąty and Lubiewo, two villages in Gąbin district, were recorded together in the registers (sometimes as Kąty alias Lubiewo). Their later situation, visible particularly on the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, allowed us to determine these had to be two villages in the sixteenth century as well.

Finally, we must mention the most severe kind of deficiency found in tax registers: the omissions of entire villages. Disregarding the already-mentioned lack of newly-located villages and demesne settlements, such omissions were caused by temporary tax exemption, caused by burning down of an entire village for example, or as a result of abuse. Usually, however, omissions of entire villages in the registers could not have been numerous, as it would have been difficult to hide a village from the collector, well-oriented in a given area, or his assistant. Only smaller settlements, located deep in the forest could more easily escape registration. The situation was different in terms of the real number of włóki and subjects, which was taxed, and which often were not recorded in the registers. As we used all surviving tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, which complement one another, we may consider instances, when entire villages were omitted in the sources, insignificant.

However, in order to fill in the gaps in the registers and present the complete picture of settlement on our map, when possible, we resorted to **other sources**. These were mostly earlier tax registers and the registers of poll and hearth tax from the second half of the seventeenth century, then also Church visitations, visitations of royal property, entries collected in the files of *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny Mazowsza w średniowieczu* ('The Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Mazovia in the Middle Ages'). Other sources, such as the Crown Metrica, were used sporadically. We assumed that a settlement attested to in the first half of the sixteenth century, or even in the fifteenth century, and later in the seventeenth century, must have existed in the period depicted on our map.<sup>4</sup>

Using sources other than the tax register, we had to remember that not all names, which appear in these sources, prove that such a village existed. The visitations, inventories of property, documents of financial transactions, royal privileges and parochial foundation documents could have consisted, apart

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<sup>3</sup> Here we could add that sometimes the names of villages located in petty gentry area combined: e.g. in Nur district in the borderlands between numerous villages sharing a common name Sienica with villages called Godlewo, there was a village Sienica Godlewo, and between the villages Godlewo and the villages Łętowo – Łętowo Godlewo.

<sup>4</sup> The case of the village Grodzisko, marked in Warsaw district near Bródno, is different, as here also the meaning of the name played a role. The name does not appear in the tax registers, but the 1569 visitation mentions a closed mill Grodzisko (LM 1569 f. 79); in 1602 it is a farm with buildings, and in 1619/20 – a village called Grodzisko, inhabited by four peasants (LM XVII, p. 237). Kałęczyn in Ciechanów or Sąchock district is another example of a village which did not appear in the registers; this village belonging to the nobles is mentioned in the visitation from 1565 (LM 1565, vol. II, pp. 21–22), and then in the visitation from 1609 (ADP, no. 11, f. 262v). However, we decided not to include Wola Paprocka in Warka district, which was mentioned by Długosz (Długosz LB, I, p. 348), and later only in the twentieth century (in *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* – a settlement consisting of one house).

from names of villages and demesnes, also of names of fields, meadows, groves and forest ranges.<sup>5</sup> Maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped us resolve some of these doubts, even though the area occupied then by a given settlement could have been only a field of the same name two centuries before. Therefore, the results obtained this way should not be considered certain, but only likely.

In cases where we were dealing with various register entries of names, which could mean autonomous settlements or just their dependent parts, we usually accepted the first possibility, so as not to omit **an existing settlement** rather than consider one part of a village a separate settlement. This rule was also applied, when the registers listed only one settlement, but other sources, cartographic included, suggested a different solution. This was the case, for instance, of the present-day village Kaski in Sochaczew district, treated as one village by the sixteenth century tax registers and visitation, and yet the records from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and from the seventeenth century mention three villages (Kaski Gałolina, Kaski Młyńska Wieś and Kaski Wyczółki).<sup>6</sup> Wałowice in Rawa district is an example of a settlement listed as one village consisting of three parts by some of the registers, and as three separate villages by the other. Using building clusters showed on Gilly's and the Quartermaster's maps, we decided to mark three villages Wałowice.<sup>7</sup>

However, this rule was abandoned in cases, when two names more likely denoted one settlement, rather than two different ones. Above all, this relates to names of partial and farm gentry villages recorded in the registers from different years, and consisting of the same main element and various additional epithets. Given the complicated and quite fluid nomenclature of petty gentry villages, should each name be treated as denoting a different village, it would lead us to an excessive increase in the number of settlements localized in approximation or even unlocalized. So, if the later situation depicted on the maps permitted us to localize only one village, and the information from both records (name of the owner, number of włóki, etc.) allowed for the possibility we were dealing with two names of one village, we opted for the following solution: both names were listed together in the List of Settlements, the first one as the main entry (i.e. the one placed on the map), and the other was provided in brackets with a question mark. For example, these were the village Tymianka Wachnie (Tymianka Przeczki?) in Nur district, Nieznachy (Piasek?, Długi Ostrów?), that is Kępa Antonińska now, in Gąbin district.

Different names appearing in one tax register were treated as belonging to one village only in exceptional cases. Here are examples: Zaborowie Plebańskie in Grójec district denoted a part of Zaborowie Małe, a village belonging to the parson of Lewiczyn, and the remaining part belonged to farm gentry.<sup>8</sup> Names of two parochial centres, Rokitno Górne and Rokitno Dolne, mentioned in tax registers from Błonie district, were related to one village Rokitno, as nothing would suggest these were two separate settlements.<sup>9</sup> Podole, Zalesie and Nowy Dwór in Rawa district were considered one village, according to the tax registers and visitations.<sup>10</sup>

Suburbs are parts of settlements which were not depicted on our map. However, we included villages situated near towns which were sometimes called suburbs (e.g. Kozina near Goszczyn,<sup>11</sup> Gniewań near Latowicz<sup>12</sup>), including these villages, which shared the name of the neighbouring town (e.g. Karczew). In this case the foundation of the town created a new settlement of a different nature

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<sup>5</sup> In the ecclesiastical visitation, this could be a field sharing the name of a village which had been located in this place before, listed because of the tithe. Names recorded in visitations by the description of the borders of royal estates should be treated equally carefully. For instance, Komorów, a village in Biała district was to border on Korabiewice (here it was meant Podskarbice) and with 'Pruskie' (Ossowice, or their part belonging to the family Pruski). LR XVI, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Registers from 1496, 1508 and 1510, Tariffs 1789–1790, Perthées's, Gilly's and the Quartermaster's maps.

<sup>7</sup> J. Łaski mentions Wałowice triplex (Łaski LB, II, pp. 293–294); in 1789 Wałowice Potrójne (Tariffs 1789–1790).

<sup>8</sup> P. Mazowsze, p. 233, 1576; Zaborowie Plebana recorded also in the register from 1573.

<sup>9</sup> This way also in the 1603 visitation (Wiz. arch. warsz. 1598–1603, f. 152) and in the Files of SHG Mazowsze. Compare with Now2, p. 517.

<sup>10</sup> Tax registers from 1534–1582: Podole alias Zalesie, Podole Zalesie. In 1523: 'Podolye et Zalyeschye, villa in duas partes divisa et cognominibus praedictis cognominata' (Łaski LB, II, pp. 288–289). In the visitations from 1564 and 1570 the villages Nowy Dwór and Podole were ascribed to one hereditary property (LR XVI, pp. 17–19, 159); in the visitations from 1616, 1630, and 1661 – the same with an added name Zalesie (LR XVII, pp. 42, 64, 127). The visitation from 1789 stated that the village Nowy Dwór 'consisted of unseparated and undivided villages Nowy Dwór, Podole and Zalesie' (LR 1789, p. 46).

<sup>11</sup> LM 1565, vol. I, p. 51; LM XVII, p. 163.

<sup>12</sup> LM 1565, vol. I, pp. 119, 177, 188.

near the village, or rather on some of the village's grounds. On the other hand, in case of Chojnata, the long-lasting ownership division (of the strongest type, as one of the owners was a Church institution) resulted in the separation of two villages: Chojnata Mniska and Chojnata Pańska. The division was influenced by the fact that the border between the lands of Rawa and Sochaczew ran between the two villages, but this could not have been the primary cause, as seen in the example of Jeruzal, which remained a single village despite being cut by the same border.

According to our rule, which allowed us to mark only autonomous settlements on the map, only those mills which had their individual name (corn and ore mills, that is ironworks), situated outside villages and constituting separate mill settlements were depicted on our map of Mazovia. As the majority of the mills lay on grounds belonging to villages or towns, in cases in which we were unable to identify a sixteenth century mill with a mill or a hamlet shown on a later map, or when this identification was to be only hypothetical, we decided to leave such a mill out. In other words: only mills of certain localization were included in our map. Other mills were considered as parts of marked villages and towns. The only exception localized uncertainly is Przejma, a mill in Kamieniec district, because as many as two modern villages called Przyjmy (in Poręba Kocęby and Brańszczyk communes) could be its trace.

An attempt to present **demesne settlements** based on the same rule, which was applied for mill settlements, proved futile. Not only does this reflect the said rarity of demesnes with proper names in this region, but also a result of the deficiencies of our source basis. Only three royal demesnes were marked on the map – Buszyce in Sochaczew district, Szczawinek in Mszczonów district, and Ruda in Przasnysz district.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps some settlements absent from tax registers, but taken from other sources, were actually demesne settlements. However, without any information concerning their nature, we marked them with a sign, which dominated on our map, i.e. as villages or hamlets. Three royal manors (earlier: ducal manors) appear on our map as separate settlements of particular nature, all located in the Zagajnica Forest: Krusko, Rososza, and Szkwa.<sup>14</sup>

Before we proceed to the matter of the **localization of settlements**, we must first emphasize, that the term 'localization' is used mostly in its broader meaning, which consists of two narrower. These are two subsequent methodical processes: the **identification** of a settlement appearing in the sixteenth century sources with a settlement marked on later cartographic records, and then the proper **localization** of the old settlement on our map, i.e. the localization sensu stricto. Apart from this typical method, the localization encompasses also the rare cases, when an old settlement could not be identified from the maps, but written information or field names allow us to mark it on our map.<sup>15</sup>

The settlements were localized on the basis of maps from the twentieth century, yet according to their location recorded on old maps from the eighteenth/nineteenth century. In most cases there was no difference from modern maps, but a significant number of settlements were not localized to their modern location, this being related to changes caused by agrarian reforms, the parcelling out and joining together of land. For example, according to old maps, the sixteenth century village Podskarbie Małe that is Szlacheckie in Biała district was localized not on its present location, but on the grounds, which today belong to a village Tadzinek (distance 1.5 km). Sulistryjewo, called Siwów from the seventeenth century, was localized at the location of the present day Częstoniew-kolonia, and the modern Siwów serves as the location of the sixteenth century Zamoście (villages in Grójec district).

Schematic signs for settlements were marked on the map according to the rules of cartographic generalization, e.g. at the location of a church, the central point of the buildings, etc.<sup>16</sup>

The localization of the majority of settlements on our map is certain, which should more precisely be called relatively certain. This is mostly a certain identification of a settlement known from the

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<sup>13</sup> MRPS IV, no. 14131; LR XVI, pp. 59–62, 175; LR XVII, pp. 21–22; LR 1789, pp. 135–136; LM 1565, vol. II, pp. 19–20; LM XVII, pp. 68–69.

<sup>14</sup> LM 1565, vol. II, p. 92. Later, villages were founded on the site of Rososza and Szkwa, Krusko was called Rudera Pałacu ('Castle Ruin') on Perthées's map.

<sup>15</sup> We used, among others, the field data gathered by mail, see WP, p. 24. Field names were also included in the publication *Urzędowe nazwy*. This publication is, however, incomplete, as proven by the case of Żdżarki: in issue 18 (*Białobrzegi district*) the name Żdżarki is omitted. According to field data (letters of the principal of the school in Sucha from 20 August and 20 November 1953) the name denoted a field and a forest belonging to the village Sucha.

<sup>16</sup> Compare with WP, p. 25; J. Szaflarski, *Zarys kartografii*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 343–345, 428.

sixteenth century sources with a settlement appearing in later cartographic records. It should be noted here that detailed maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as written sources from the second half of the eighteenth century,<sup>17</sup> allowed us sometimes to avoid incorrect identification, which so to say forced itself upon us. For instance, Wierzchy in Rawa district was not identified with the present-day Wierzchy Stare, which – its name notwithstanding – is newer and still did not appear in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Settlements named **‘Wola’** require a separate explanation. As we know, already several hundred years before the period depicted on our map, this name denoted a newly-founded village, temporarily freed on this occasion from liabilities towards the owner or the State. With time, this temporary term became fixed in the name of villages (e.g. Wielka Wola near Warsaw). We also believe, the meaning of the term ‘wola’ broadened gradually, in some cases identifying with the term ‘wieś’ (‘village’). So, in the sixteenth century, mostly newly-founded villages were called Wola, or just new parts of older villages, which could later become separate settlements.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, the name Wola could denote an older village, having the same meaning as ‘wieś’, as proven by the following examples: Stara Wola (now Starowola), Stara Wola that is Wola Brzeska (Brzuskowola), Wola Stara that is Sienica Stara (Stara Siennica), Wola Kołybielska that is Stara Kołybiel (Stara Wieś) – all in Garwolin district. It seems that in these cases (except for Wola Brzeska) the name Wola was influenced by nearby foundations of towns, and the older settlement was given the name Wola, meaning ‘village’.<sup>19</sup>

The localization was based on the maps by Textor, Gilly, Heldensfeld – Benedicti, and the Quartermaster’s Map. The latter was used only when older depictions made by the occupants failed to show a settlement of our interest, and when their location on older maps appeared less precise. For instance, Stryków in Biała district was localized at the site, where there is a demesne Stryków on the Quartermaster’s Map, the demesne is marked also on Perthées’s map, but does not appear on Gilly’s map, nor on the detailed depiction by Gilly and Cron. These last maps show Strikow Haus at a different location, where there is Hollender on the Quartermaster’s Map.

In exceptional cases we had to accept localization based on later data. For example, Suchy Łąg (now Suchołęg), a village in Warsaw district, which did not exist in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was reborn in the twentieth century, was localized on the basis of a map from 1937.<sup>20</sup> Also, in some situations a settlement was localized according to its location from before the end of the eighteenth century, which was different from the location recorded on cartographic sources. Ostrów in Warka district could be an example here. Old maps show it at the site of the present-day Ostrówek, but earlier the village was situated, where the village Pólko now lies.<sup>21</sup>

Of all cartographic sources utilized to localize settlements, only Perthées’s map could not have been accepted as a basis for certain localization, as there are too many distortions. In this case the conclusion is: certain localization on our map relates to the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and for the second half of the sixteenth century it is usually probable. However, in some instances we can be certain of the sixteenth century localization, e.g. a church standing invariably in one place for several centuries, or a market of an old town showing us the old location precisely. In the areas of petty property in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, the degree of certainty of localization is high, as the location of a settlement could change only within property borders. In fact, changes in a village’s location were generally rare between the end of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth.<sup>22</sup> That is why our depiction of settlement – in terms of the precision of localization – undoubtedly bears close resemblance to reality in the chosen chronological period.

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<sup>17</sup> Maps of Perthées, Gilly, Textor, Heldensfeld-Benedicti, and the Quartermaster’s map; Tariffs 1789–1790; Regestr Diecezyów.

<sup>18</sup> See *Lustracja województwa lubelskiego 1565*, pub. A. Wyczański, Wrocław 1959, p. 64.

<sup>19</sup> Various names of villages related to towns were listed by W. Kuhn, but he did not notice the names consisting the word ‘Wola’. *Die Stadtdörfer der mittelalterlichen Ostsiedlung*, „Zeitschrift für Ostforschung”, vol. 20, 1971, no. 1, pp. 37–59.

<sup>20</sup> SGKP, vol. 1, p. 722, mentions Suchołąg forest.

<sup>21</sup> The terrain is elevated there, and becomes an island during the flooding of the rivers. Information obtained by A. Niewęglowski of IHKM PAN (now IAiE PAN – Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences) on the basis of local Church sources and experience.

<sup>22</sup> See J. Burszta, *Od osady słowiańskiej do wsi współczesnej*, Wrocław 1958, pp. 78–108.

**Estimated, approximate localization** was shown on the map in two ways: with a symbol (circle) made with a dashed line, when it denoted a settlement located separately, and with a link between two signs made with continuous line (described as two villages sharing a name in the key to the map), when a given settlement was localized together with another one. We followed this pattern also when more than two sixteenth century settlements were situated in an area now occupied by one settlement, and it was impossible to localize them in a more precise manner – the map shows a group of a proper number of signs. This could denote settlements, which certainly lay on the grounds of a given present-day settlement, but the impossibility of determining their mutual location forces us to accept a less precise solution. These could also be settlements (all or some from the group), whose relation with this area is assumed. The name of the group was given either after one of the settlements, or the common element appearing in the names of individual settlements (see below).

Approximate localization on our map means in fact two different kinds of uncertain localization: hypothetical identification, and approximate localization *sensu stricto*.

**Hypothetical identification** of a sixteenth century settlement can denote a settlement which exists today or one which appears only on old maps. For instance, Tworzyjany, a village in Biała district was hypothetically identified with Parchle; Tworzyjany disappeared already in the second half of the seventeenth century, when Parchle appeared in the same parish. They in turn disappeared in the nineteenth century. An identification was considered uncertain also in such cases, as the identification of the village Grochy, which does not appear in the sources after the sixteenth century, with later Wólka Grochowa. The latter could have been founded next to Grochy without immediate reflection in the sources.

Proceeding to **approximate localization** *sensu stricto*, it should be stated that this type of localization was used when a settlement could be localized only in estimation, i.e. with an error over 1 km (4 mm on the map). This occurred when the old settlement disappeared before our cartographic sources were created, and it was localized on the basis of other, less precise information. For example, let us mention Cywino Malinie, a village in Płońsk district, located according to the sixteenth century data about its situation,<sup>23</sup> or Osowo, a village in Czersk district, which was localized on the basis of field information. However, when information concerning a settlement's location was too general, e.g. mentioning only its parochial affiliation, we avoided even approximate localization. In such cases the settlement remained unlocalized. Given the above, hypothetical localization permits a greater possibility of error than approximate localization.

**The List of Settlements** supplements the map in terms of identification and localization. For each of the settlements the List provides: its name from the second half of the sixteenth century, i.e. the one marked on the map, the important variations of the name, the modern name (in Italics), when it differs from the main entry, the district and parochial affiliation and the letter and number coordinates of the location on the map. As such, the List shows with which present-day settlement the sixteenth century settlement was identified. When the modern name is not provided, it means it is identical with the old name.

As the localization was conducted on the basis of the eighteenth/nineteenth century maps, the fact that a given sixteenth century settlement was identified with a modern settlement in the List does not mean the old settlement was localized in the present-day centre of a settlement, or even within its boundaries. The List does not distinguish settlements located invariably on the same spot from those, which changed their location sometime between the beginning of the nineteenth century and modern times. This concerns shifts of settlements from a location now unoccupied by any other settlement to a place, which was uninhabited in the sixteenth century. However, when a sixteenth century settlement was moved in the nineteenth–twentieth century to another location, but a new settlement, with a new name, exists now on its previous site (i.e. the one shown on the eighteenth/nineteenth century maps), then the sixteenth century settlement was linked with its successor in the List. An example could be the aforementioned location of Podskarbice Małe on the grounds of the present-day Tadzinek. Here are some more examples: Faski Rykacze in Zambrów district was localized (based on the Quartermaster's Map) on the edge of the modern Laskowiec Nowy. And so, in the List we read: Faski Rykacze,

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<sup>23</sup> Data from 1548 and 1593, mentioning that Cywino Malinie, Mystków Grzymki and Brześć neighboured on each other (Files of SHGM). Cywino Malinie does not appear in the tax registers, the last entry from the tithe register from the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Czaykowski) describes this village as deserted. See WP, p. 25.

Laskowiec Nowy. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Grabie, a village in Grójec district, was situated where the village Dąbrówka now lies, that is some 2.5 km from the modern village Grabie. In the List, Grabie was identified with Dąbrówka.

When more than one sixteenth century settlement was localized at the location of one present-day settlement, the List adds the word 'part' to each of the entries. Known names of such parts (districts) were added. For instance: Biejkowo, Bikówek – part; Mokotowo, Warsaw – Mokotów.

Instances of an opposite situation were extremely rare. Here we provide one of them: Radwankowo in Czersk land, a royal village, with the vogt's office was owned by the nobility and a parochial church with parson's benefices, was divided into two parts. In the nineteenth century, these parts became separate villages, which still exist today as Radwanków Królewski and Radwanków Szlachecki. Both names were listed in the List as the equivalent of the sixteenth century village.

Names of old settlements localized **certainly** on our map (i.e. whose localization was based on the eighteenth/nineteenth century maps), but which **do not exist today**, were marked with a cross in the List. Following the rule described above, this concerns only those cases, where the old settlement was localized at the location now uninhabited. In total, we marked 141 such settlements.

Names of settlements localized **in approximation** were marked with an asterisk in the List. This is particularly important in the cases of groups of two or more signs on the map, as it offers an explanation, if and which settlements from the group have a certain localization. Or, more precisely – only one settlement in a group can have certain localization, all the remaining settlements – certain identification at the most. An asterisk in the List by names of villages, which appear individually, means either hypothetical identification (then the modern name is given, as it differs from the old name), or approximate localization.

**Groups of symbols** on the map were presented in the List in the following manner: the name marked on the map constitutes the main entry in the List, followed by an equation mark, and next by the names of the settlements in alphabetical order. For instance: Wądołki Borowe = Wądołki Borowe (Wądołki Wierzch Prądnika – part), Wądołki Kałęczyno\*, Wądołki Kopki\* (villages in Zambrów district). At the same time, this example shows that two settlements located at different, but neighbouring locations, can share a common name. In this case the name Wądołki Wierzch Prądnika encompasses the aforementioned Wądołki Borowe and Wądołki Buczki, which appear separately.

As it was already stated above, one of the individual names, or their common element, constitutes the name of the entire group. A common element of the names was accepted when all settlements marked in a group were localized approximately, or more than one settlement was localized certainly, and there were no other settlements (groups) in the vicinity, which would have an identical name. For example: Rudno = Rudno Bystre\*, Rudno Czachy Stare\*, Rudno Janowięta\*, Rudno Jeziorowe (in Przasnysz district); Bieliny = Bieliny Małe, Bieliny Myślachowice (in Biała district). If there was a name with a broader meaning, which encompassed all settlements from the group, it was naturally used to denote the group, e.g. Mężenino Wierzch Olszanka = Mężenino Stare\*, Mężenino Nowe\* (in Zambrów district).

In other cases, the name of the group was taken after one of linked settlements. We chose a name of a settlement with certain localization, and when there was no such settlement, this sixteenth century name, which survived for the longest period, or the one which denoted the largest settlement. For example: Rokitnica Wielka – R. Bogufały\*, R. Marcinki\*, R. Mileska\*, R. Wielka, R. Zarzecze\*, Rokitnica (in Biała district). This rule applies also to instances, when there was no common element in the names of grouped settlements. For example: Bońkowa Wieś = Bońkowa Wieś, Pisarskie\*, Rzyńska\* (Rzyśkowa Wieś), Palczew – part (in Warka district). The name of a group situated on the site of a lost village, but known from older maps, was marked with a cross, e.g. Kurzątki† = K. Mierki\*, K. Strachomiry\* (in Kolno district).

The aim of the List is, among other things, to offer a more detailed explanation in cases, when settlements marked in one group belonged to various parishes or districts. The map gives only a general description, it is the List, which specifies the administrative affiliation of the settlements. For example: Przydanowo = Drewnowo P., Konarze P., Nur district, Nur parish; Łętowo Dmochy\*, Łętowo Godlewo\*, Łętowo Kalinowo\*, Nur district, Czyżewo Kościelne parish, Drewnowo Konarze.

When two neighbouring villages, known only under one name (e.g. listed as Dzierżanowo dwoje – 'two', or Ciemne Zaręby, altera Ciemne Zaręby), could not be localized separately, the group marked

on the map was represented in the List as, for instance, Dzierżanowo x2. There are some exceptionally more numerous examples: Nieździno x3, Korytowo x4, Sarnowo x5 (all in Wyszogród district).

When a **sixteenth century settlement could be identified hypothetically with more than one present-day settlement**, and each of these identifications is equally probable, the map presents one of them as an approximate localization, and the List lists all possible solutions (the one, with which the old settlement was identified with on the map, listed first). For instance: Białe Pieczonki\*, Białe Gieźki, or Białe Chorasze, or Białe Figle, or Białe Papieże (Nur district).

We acted in a similar manner when the identification of several old settlements with an equal number of modern settlements was uncertain. In such cases, similar names, i.e. common elements of individual names, were marked on the map next to the signs of villages, and Roman numerals were added. The List lists then the sixteenth century names and modern names (the latter ordered by respective numerals). For instance, Kutylowo I, II, III = K. Bliższe\*, K. Dalsze\*, K. Średnie\*, Złotki Stara Wieś, Złotki Przeczki, Złotki Pułapki (Nur district). Analogically, when several old settlements were identified uncertainly with a lower number of modern settlements, the only difference was visible in the number of signs, as their sum on the map should equal the number of the sixteenth century settlements. In such cases, the List lists: Otwocko I, II = O. Całowańskie, O. Duckie, O. Zbroszek, Otwock Wielki, Otwock Mały (Czersk district).

There were exceptional situations, when several old settlements were identified with a higher number of modern settlements. The old settlements were marked on the map at some of the present-day locations (as localized approximately) and assumed identical names differentiated with numbers; the List lists those modern names, which were used for the localization first. For instance: Zawisty Zuzalka I, II, III, Zawisty Dworaki, or Zawisty Piotrowce, or Zawisty Koziany, or Zawisty Kruki, or Zawisty Króle, or Zawisty Wity (Nur district).

Apart from all settlements marked on the map, the List contains also names of **unlocalized settlements**, marked with two asterisks, e.g. Chodziszewo\*\* (Sąchocin district).

**Table 1. Unlocalized settlements**

District	Parish	Settlement	Last entry*
<b>Plock land</b>			
Plock	Miszewo Murowane	Proczynie	1598
Bielsk	Będziszław	Gołaki	1598
Bielsk	Będziszław	Zalesie	1598
Bielsk	Łęg	Kukalice	1598
Raciąż	Uniecko	Tyszki	1598
Raciąż or Szreńsk	Zgliczyno	Płona	1598
Sierpc?	Rościszewo	Odnoga	1598
<b>Zawkrze land</b>			
Szreńsk	Dłotów	Żuki	1598
Szreńsk	Szreńsko	Ruski	1598
Mława	Wyszyny	Sienice	1598
Niezbórz	Sulerzyż	Grzybsk	1676
<b>Rawa land</b>			
Rawa	Jeżów	Wierzbie	1676
Rawa or Sochaczew		Kosowo	1553
Biała	Biała	Krochów	1676
Biała	Biała	Laski	1603
Biała	Mogilnica	Wola Lipieńska	1573
<b>Sochaczew land</b>			
Sochaczew	Kozłowo Biskupie	Kałęcz	1676
Sochaczew	Pawłowice	Welcza	1616
Sochaczew	Sochaczew	Drozdy	1661
Sochaczew	Sochaczew	Kałęczyn	1564
Sochaczew	Sochaczew	Łażęki	1581

District	Parish	Settlement	Last entry*
<b>Gostynin land</b>			
Gostynin	Solec or Sokołowo	Łęzek	1589
Gostynin	Solec	Meszne	1676
Gąbin	Ilów	Wicie	1589
<b>Czersk land</b>			
Czersk	Chynowo	Przekory	1623
Czersk	Cieciszewo	Grąd	1676
Czersk	Cieciszewo	Sosnka	1676
Czersk	Góra	Zelawino	1676
Czersk	Góra	Żerdź	1638
Czersk	Jazgarzewo	Godek	1588
Czersk	Radwankowo	Grodzisko	1640
Czersk	Sobikowo?	Duczoły	1588
Czersk	Sobikowo	Górki	1588
Grójec	Worowo	Byczyna	1676
Grójec	Worowo	Dąbrówka	1676
Grójec	Worowo	Mlekitki	1603
Grójec	Worowo	Zdzieszki	1603
Warka	Grabowo	Pawłowo Grabowskie	1588
Warka	Konary	Skowera	1576
Warka	Wrociszewo	Wola Myszczyzna	1676
Garwolin	Garwolin	Gorazdy	1676
Garwolin	Kiczki?	Glonkowa Wola	1603
Garwolin	Mińsko	Wólka Rososz	1588
Garwolin	Sienica	Przydanowo	1667
Garwolin	Żeliszewo	Kobierzec	1588
Garwolin	Żeliszewo	Rogoźnica	1676
<b>Warsaw land</b>			
Warsaw	Okuniew	Zadworze	1569
Warsaw	Raszyniec	Dziuracze	1653
Warsaw	Raszyniec	Skupie	1676
Warsaw	Raszyniec	Ślasy	1676
Warsaw	Służewo	Stojarty	1676
Warsaw	Zyrzno	Kąty	1676
Błonie	Borzęcin	Wola Rososka	1674
Tarczyn	Lutkówka	Osowa Wola	1676
<b>Zakroczym land</b>			
Nowe Miasto	?	Zastocze	1569
<b>Ciechanów land</b>			
Ciechanów	Ciemniewko Kościelne	Rapaty	1567
Ciechanów	Klukowo	Ślubowo Kurzyny	1573
Ciechanów	Suńsk	Buksy	1599
Ciechanów	Zielona	Groty	1599
Sąchocin	Wierzbowiec	Chodziszewo	1580
Przasnysz	Chorzele	Młodzianowo	1599
Przasnysz	Chorzele	Płodowica	1633
Przasnysz	Krasne	Wzgórz	1599
Przasnysz	Węgra	Pilchy	1567
Przasnysz	?	Wola Kamborska	1552
Przasnysz	?	Zalesie Jaszczuły	1580
<b>Rożan land</b>			
Rożan	Ostrołęka	Grabownica Brzoski	1567
<b>Łomża land</b>			
Łomża	Nowogród	Borzymy	1693

District	Parish	Settlement	Last entry*
<b>Nur land</b>			
Nur	Czyżewo Kościelne	Somaniewice	1552
Nur	?	Protowa Wola	1563
Ostrów	Wąsowo	Żarnowo	1563
Kamieniec	Barcice	Grzymały	1580
Kamieniec	Barcice	Kownaty	1578
Kamieniec	Barcice?	Suchodół	1576
Kamieniec	Brańsk	Czczoty	1673
Kamieniec	Długosiodło or Lubiel	Niedźwiedzica	1578
Kamieniec	Klembowo	Ławnino	1552
Kamieniec	Niegowo or Dąbrówka	Krukówka	1564
Kamieniec	Pniewo or Wyszkowo	Karłowo Wola	1676
Kamieniec	Pniewo or Zamska	Zalesie	1563
Kamieniec	Postoliska	Janowo	1552
<b>Liw land</b>			
Liw	Czerwonka	Rudki	1673
Liw	Czerwonka	Tarnowo	1578
Liw	Kałużyno	Ostrów	1673
Liw	Kałużyno	Ruszna	1667
Liw	Kałużyno	Szczurowo	1673
Liw	Niwiska	Chojeczno Drozdowa Wola	1567
Liw	Niwiska	Wiernoszówka	1673

\* Date of last entry in utilized sources, including entries on abandoned villages, see I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, and H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, III.3.1.7 in this edition.

These are usually small villages belonging to the nobility, yet with some exceptions, like Kosowo or Kąsów, a large village owned by the archbishop of Gniezno in the key of Skierniewice. In 1553, there were 19 serf lans in the village, but this is the last entry about the village, which must have disappeared soon afterwards without any trace to allow for localization (perhaps it was absorbed by a neighbouring village?).<sup>24</sup>

In total, we were unable to localize 88 villages, even through estimation. The number of all known settlements in Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century is 6,679, so the unlocalized ones constitute 1.3%.<sup>25</sup> The majority of those settlements lay in the south-eastern part of Mazovia, i.e. in the lands of Czersk, Warsaw, Nur, and Liw (50 unlocalized settlements, i.e. 2.5% of all settlements in the area).

A. Pawiński, basing on single tax registers from each land, found 6,084 settlements in Mazovia. Our study increased this number by 595 settlements, that is 9.8%, of which 563 settlements lay in Mazovian Voivodeship (14% increase), and 32 in Rawa Voivodeship (3%). In Płock Voivodeship the number did not change, but this does not mean we counted only settlements known to Pawiński.<sup>26</sup> Changes in particular districts are partly a result of a different range of certain administrative units than the one accepted by Pawiński, hence the decrease in the numbers in several districts in relation to the number of settlements presented by Pawiński. The highest increase in the number of settlements occurred in the districts of Nur (37%) and Ostrów (34%).

<sup>24</sup> Rejestr pob. z. rawskiej 1553; J. Warężak, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny księstwa łowickiego*, no. 1, Wrocław 1961, p. 157; idem, *Osadnictwo kasztelanii łowickiej*, part 1, Łódź 1952, p. 162. The order of names in the document from 1359 (KDW, vol. III, no. 1404) and an entry from 1553, which told us it was a settlement in the key of Skierniewice, would point to the vicinity of Samice, not Łyszkowice, where a meadow in Kossowo was noted in 1510.

<sup>25</sup> Research on Płock Voivodeship around 1578 left seven settlements unlocalized (WP, p. 25), of which we were now able to locate 3, but other earlier unused sources provided us with the localization of other seven settlements not localized before. In case of AHP Lublin, unlocalized settlement also constitute 1.3% (see S. Wojciechowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Lublin, in this edition III.3.1.3).

<sup>26</sup> P. Mazowsze, introduction, pp. 15–19. The study on Płock Voivodeship (WP, p. 24) revealed 1075 settlements, which is less than in Pawiński. It was possible, because some settlements, calculated as separate settlements by Pawiński, were considered only parts of settlements (demesnes, farms in villages).

Naturally, it must be remembered that these **settlements varied in size**, from one-manor mill settlements or hamlets counting several farms to large cities. As such, the above calculation should not be treated as a comparison of comparable units.

**Table 2. Settlements according to districts, lands and voivodeships**

District, land, voivodeship	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Number of settlements	Number of settlements per 100 km <sup>2</sup>
districts: Płock	548	161	29.4
Bielsk	429	183	42.7
Płońsk	281	114	46.6
Raciąż	491	130	26.5
Sierpc	776	163	21.0
Płock land	2,525	751	29.7
districts: Sześćsk	953	159	16.7
Mława	433	139	32.1
Niedzbórz	393	82	20.9
Zawkrze land	1,779	380	21.4
Płock Voivodeship	4,304	1,131	26.3
districts: Rawa	1,420	225	15.8
Biała	814	178	21.9
Rawa land	2,234	403	18.0
districts: Sochaczew	1,601	208	13.0
Mszczonów	405	67	16.6
Sochaczew land	2,006	275	13.7
districts: Gostynin	794	128	16.1
Gąbin	1,139	159	14.0
Gostynin land	1,933	287	14.8
Rawa Voivodeship	6,173	965	15.6
districts: Czersk	664	144	21.7
Grójec	687	172	25.0
Warka	948	126	13.3
Garwolin	1,890	301	15.9
Czersk land	4,189	743	17.7
districts: Warsaw	2,027	269	13.3
Błonie	455	117	25.7
Tarczyn	408	96	23.6
Warsaw land	2,890	482	16.7
Wyszogród land	587	184	31.4
districts: Zakroczym	417	94	22.5
Nowe Miasto	721	241	33.4
Serock	208	42	20.1
Zakroczym land	1,346	377	28.0
districts: Ciechanów	779	364	46.7
Sąchock	350	100	28.6
Przasnysz	1,852	444	24.0
Ciechanów land	2,981	908	30.5
districts: Rożan	569	144	25.3
Maków	353	66	18.7

District, land, voivodeship	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Number of settlements	Number of settlements per 100 km <sup>2</sup>
Rożan land	922	210	22.8
districts: Łomża	1,006	138	13.7
Ostrołęka	1,416	122	8.6
Kolno	1,135	117	10.3
Zambrów	652	191	29.2
Łomża land	4,209	568	13.5
districts: Wizna	385	96	24.9
Radziłów	361	98	27.1
Wąsosz	651	140	21.5
Wizna land	1,397	334	23.9
districts: Nur	844	274	32.5
Ostrów	550	78	14.2
Kamieniec	2,063	217	10.5
Nur land	3,457	569	16.5
Liw land	1,038	208	20.0
Mazovian Voivodeship	23,016	4,583	19.9
Mazovia	33,493	6,679	19.9

**The highest density** can be observed in the districts, where the uninhabited area constituted a minor part of the whole, and settlements were rather small (districts of Ciechanów, Płońsk, Bielsk, Nowe Miasto). **The lowest density** occurred in the districts with vast woodland areas, like the forest now called Kurpiowska (Ostrołęka and Kolno districts).

If we disregarded mostly and completely uninhabited territories, then the density of settlements could be considered approximately equal to the one for the fragmentation of settlement. Łomża and Nur lands offer a good example here, as they consist of densely populated districts (Nur and Zambrów), as well as sparsely populated ones (Ostrołęka, Kolno, Kamieniec, Łomża, Ostrów). The comparison of the density of population factors with percentages of large villages in individual lands<sup>27</sup> shows the following result: lands with the lowest density of settlements (Łomża, Sochaczew, Gostynin, Nur) have the highest percentage of large villages, and on the other hand – lands with the highest density of settlement (Ciechanów, Płock, Zakroczym, Wizna, Rożan, except only the small Wyszogród land) show percentages of large villages below the Mazovian average, including very low ones.

In general, all districts with more than 25.7 settlements per 100 km<sup>2</sup> (density in Błonie district), and there are 12 such districts, were situated in the northern part of Mazovia, in the land of fragmented gentry settlement. Whereas the indicators for southern Mazovia are average and low, both due to large woodland areas, and large villages in greater property estates.

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

<sup>27</sup> See I. Gieysztorowa, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7.

### III.3.1.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Jarosław Suproniuk*

The main task of this volume – as with the whole AHP series – is to present the entire network of settlement for the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century. Here we shall equally recall the principles employed in settlement localisation as used in previous volumes.<sup>1</sup> On the map, besides the presence of settlements existing and functioning for the entirety of the half century, we have also taken into consideration settlements that actually disappeared in this period, as well as those that were then created.<sup>2</sup> The degree of accuracy to which this task is in fact realised depends obviously on the source basis, and particularly the difficulties resulting from the absence of written sources.<sup>3</sup> The use of the term ‘location’ means, as hitherto, a two-stage method for the reconstruction of the settlement network:

- a) the identification of settlements mentioned in the sources with those presented on the earliest cartographic maps,<sup>4</sup>
- b) the labelling of the identified settlement on the map drawn up.

<sup>1</sup> See S. Wojciechowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Lublin, in this edition III.3.1.3; H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5; idem, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.1.1; A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.1.4; U. Zachara-Związek, T. Związek, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.1.6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Podlasie II, pp. 190–196: *Osadnictwo w drugiej połowie w. XVI-go*. On the economic exploitation and use of royal forests and river valleys in the sixteenth century see, for example: Ревизія пуць и переходовъ звѣрныхъ въ бывшемъ Великомъ Княжествѣ Литовскомъ, съ присовокупленіемъ грамотъ и привилегій на входы въ пущи и на земли, составленная старостою Мстибоговскимъ Григоріемъ Богдановичемъ Воловичемъ въ 1559 году, съ прибавленіемъ другой актовъ книги, содержащей въ себѣ привилегіи, данныя дворянамъ и священникамъ Пинского повѣта, составленной въ 1554 году, приготовлены къ печати Начальникомъ Центрального Архива [Н.И. Горбачевским] и его помощниками [П.А. Гильтебрандтом, И.Я. Спрогисом], Вильна 1867; B. Dederko, *Polityka leśna za Zygmunta Augusta*, „Las Polski”, 1926, pp. 600–607; J. Jakubowski, *Przykład zmienności granic administracyjnych na Litwie w w. XVI*, vol. 10, 1935, pp. 161–164; O. Hedemann, *Dzieje Puszczy Białowieskiej w Polsce przedrozbiorowej (w okresie do 1798 roku)*, Warsaw 1939, in particular pp. 251–296; E. Wroczyńska, *Eksploatacja lasów na Podlasiu w XVI w.*, [in:] *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. A. Wyrobisz, Warsaw 1981, pp. 145–171; Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, plan [4] *Obszary leśne trzebione i kolonizowane przez Bielsk w XV i XVI w.*, J. Smykowski, *Ochrona Puszczy Bielskiej w XVI–XVIII w.*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1991, no. 4 (24), pp. 6–8; L. Postolowicz, *Administracja leśna w puszczech ekonomii grodzieńskiej do połowy XVII w.*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1993, no. 1 (29), pp. 5–11; J. Maroszek, *Dolina Biebrzy w przeszłości - do końca XVIII wieku*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1995, no. 1 (37), pp. 1–21; idem; *Dolina Nereśli w przeszłości*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1997, no. 2 (46), pp. 3–19; idem, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony w planach króla Zygmunta Augusta. Z historii dziejów realizacji myśli monarszej między Niemnem a Narwią*, Białystok 2000, pp. 397–409; A. Kołodziejczyk, *Z dziejów kolonizacji puszczy na Podlasiu w XV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XIV do XVI wieku. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Antoniemu Czacharowskiemu w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 29–93; eadem *Kompleksy leśne na pograniczu mazowiecko-krzyżacko-litewskim od XV do połowy XVI w.: lasy włości rajgrodzkiej i goniądzkiej*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, 2006, no. 2, pp. 195–208; J. Maroszek, *Goniądzko-rajgrodzkie „państwo” Radziwiłłów (1509–1571)*, [in:] *Czas na Podlaskie – Rajgród 496 rocznica urodzin województwa podlaskiego. Referaty z sesji historycznej 8 sierpnia 2009*, Białystok 2009, pp. 17–31; idem, *Puszcze i gospodarka leśna XV–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Historia województwa podlaskiego* ed. A. Dobroński, Białystok 2010, pp. 38–41; idem, *Przemiany struktury agrarnej i krajozbrazu kulturowego w wyniku reform królowej Bony i króla Zygmunta Augusta*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 42–47; A. Kołodziejczyk, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu w XV–XVI wieku*, Olsztyn 2012, pp. 47–59, 101–155; T. Naruszewicz, *Wpływ osadnictwa dorzecza Douspudy (Douszpudy, Dowspudy, Rospudy) na przemiany środowiska naturalnego do XVII wieku*, SP, vol. 20, 2012, pp. 91–127; J. Maroszek, *Chodkiewiczowie i ich puszcza Błudów w XV–XVI w.*, SP, vol. 21, 2013, pp. 7–27.

<sup>3</sup> See K. Boroda *Written sources*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition II.1.8.

<sup>4</sup> See T. Panecki *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition II.2.8.

The main base upon which settlement localisation has been formulated, and here as with the entire AHP series, has been the WIG maps of the 1920s and 1930s and here in a scale of 1:100,000. In earlier volumes of the Atlas series (AHP Lublin, AHP Mazovia, AHP Sandomierz, AHP Sieradz and AHP Cracow) the marking of points on the map involved the imposing onto the base map of a two-dimensional sign, which in a real scale would have had an area with a diameter of several hundred metres. From the AHP Greater Poland volume onwards the marking of settlement points has been based on GIS.<sup>5</sup> The application of GIS programs for the localisation of settlements allows for any exactness in their positioning to be corrected. In the case of towns the positioning of settlements constitutes the centre of a market square or some other point constituting the centre of the settlement. In parish villages this was the church in as far as it had not changed its position. While in remaining settlements these were clear built-up centres or their geometric centre, chiefly crossroads in the area of a given settlement or an object which to a great degree of probability had not changed its localisation. Settlements no longer in existence have been localised on the basis of the cartographic material described in the chapter *Cartographic sources*.

The settlements that appear on the main map can appear in a three-way form: a) certain known localisation, b) approximated localisation and c) tied localisations. Approximated and tied localisations concern only villages (hamlets); in cases where a farmstead or miller settlement could not be precisely located these were not included on the main map, but information about them may be found in the List of settlements as well as in the commentary.

The overwhelming majority of settlements on the main map (1515 of the 1675 settlements, which constitutes 90.4%) have a certain localisation, that in their positioning raises no serious doubts. Any eventual changes in the position of settlements between the sixteenth century and the turn of the nineteenth century being the result of natural disasters, war destruction, fires, changes in the road network or course of rivers are not discernible for us in the source material to any satisfactory degree and scale.<sup>6</sup> We have adopted the view that the cartographic picture from the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century is most likely to refer to settlement from the second half of the sixteenth century. We may also ascertain that small spatial changes would not be visible when applying the scale of 1: 250,000, where 1 cm on the map equals 2.5 km on the ground (1 km = 4 mm).

Approximated localisation (46 settlements of which 24 in the Bielsk land, 20 in the Drohiczyn land and two in the Mielnik constituting 2.8% of all the settlements) has been employed by us in two instances. The first when a settlement does not appear on maps yet we have sufficient additional source information (descriptive) relating to the subject of its location or other pointers on localisation such as descriptions of the boundaries or the names of fields, meadows or forests still remaining to this day. Secondly, when the identification of settlements confirmed by sources in the sixteenth century with those identified on the earliest maps raise fundamental doubts.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.1.4.

<sup>6</sup> Known are examples of villages being razed along the Podlasie-Lithuanian border, for example: on the 5 November 1641 "There occurred a certain and irreversible decision, between their revered persons Father Nikodem Szybinski the Suprasl archimandrite with the reverend chapter house of the Supraśl monastery on the one hand, and Father Adam Moczarski the Niewodnica parson, also with Krzysztof Skiwski Esq., and the spouse Mrs Katarzyna Korycka Skiwska, and Mr Andrzej Wilczewski and his wife Mrs Zofia Korycka Wilczewska on the other hand, and in this way [...] razed the small village of Piszczewo in order to propagate the lands of the demesne farm of Baciuty, while the farmers he presumably transferred to Baciuty, to those seats from which the Boyars proudly derived; and the very same with certain villages that had belonged to the Topilec demesne farm, he acted for these two demesnes farms of Baciuty and Topilec had scant lands; with a sizeable number to work and they did not have anything to do", quoted from: Археографический сборник документов относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа, vol. 9, Вильна 1870, pp. 168–169, 172. The impact of fires on the housing stock of Podlasie towns has recently been discussed by Józef Maroszek, see idem, *Pożary w miastach podlaskich do końca XVIII w.*, [in:] *Ars historiae historia artis. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyrzbińskowi*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Maroszka, Białystok 2012, pp. 187–201; cf. also: J. Topolski, *Wpływ wojen połowy XVII wieku na sytuację ekonomiczną Podlasia*, [in:] *Studia Historica w 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Warsaw 1958, pp. 309–349 (as well as J. Ochmański's review [in:] „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 1, 1961, pp. 346–348); A. Laszuk, *Straty niektórych miast podlaskich po wojnach połowy XVII wieku*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1992, no. 2 (26), pp. 1–4; A. Karpiński, *Pożary w miastach Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku i ich następstwa ekonomiczne, społeczne i kulturowe*. Katalog, in cooperation with E. Kalinowski, E. Nowosielska, Warsaw 2020 (Podlasie Voivodeship pp. 283–290).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. H. Rutkowski, *Metoda retrogresji w geografii historycznej Polski (wybrane zagadnienia)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 150–151. "The approximate localisation on our map means in point of fact two types of uncertain localisation: a hypothetical identification and an approximated localisation sensu stricto."; idem, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

Tied localisation (66 settlements of which 42 in the Bielsk land, 21 in Drohiczyn and three in Mielnik constituting 3.9% of all the settlements) has been applied in those cases when an exact location was not known but when source information suggested that a given settlement was situated within the environs of another settlement. The greatest instances of tied localisation we find in nobility holdings and noble-held neighbourhoods where often they acted under their own names and where smaller settlements or villages belonging to impoverished nobility were incorporated within neighbouring settlements, were divided or became deserted before they were recorded in cartographic material.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes the only reference with regard to localisation was the surname of the owner himself.

The remaining 48 settlements (2.9% of all the settlements) of which 21 were in the Bielsk land, 25 in Drohiczyn and two in the Mielnik land of an unknown localisation have been described in a latter part of the commentary.

In Podlasie – as was the case with settlement in Mazovia – two fundamental problems come to the fore – the independence of settlements and their particular parts, as well as settlements that do not feature in the tax registers of the second half of the sixteenth century but which appear noted in other sources (including the military rolls of 1565 and 1567, inventories, the Voloč Reform, the inspections of 1570 and 1576). The independence and herein unique separateness of a settlement was based on: a) the spatial separateness of the buildings constituting the settlement's centre, b) possessing its own name, c) the division in relation to usage on the part of the inhabitants of the territory from the environs adjacent to the settlement.<sup>9</sup>

The degree of separateness for individual settlements differed. A part of them formed, and here particularly in the Mazovia-Podlasie border areas, where nobility properties appeared in fragmented forms (particularly across the border region between the Narew and the Bug Rivers), the so-called 'nobility environs (holdings)', known in the subject literature as equally as environs, nobility nests, minor nobility settlements (more rarely: serfless gentry) or petty gentry holdings.<sup>10</sup> These were settlements that came about in the course of property divisions of ducal or royal estates in favour of the nobility. As a rule these settlement retained the first joint element of the name derived from the name of the initial settlement, to which with time were added partial names derived on the whole from the first names or appellations of the owners of the particular lots.<sup>11</sup> Depending on factors such as the magnitude of the initial bequeath, the degree of issue of the owner's family and their fates, natural disasters and war destruction, the environs evolved constantly for the whole of the modern era. Some of these were small, three- or four-village strong, while others comprised a dozen or more settlements, like for instance Falki and Tybory (10 settlements each), Jabłoń, Roszki and Wojny

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<sup>8</sup> For example: I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe środkowej i zachodniej Białostoczczyzny: dzierżawcze, patronimiczne i rodzinne*, Warsaw 1976, p. 15: Abramowięta "the present-day no longer existing part of the village of Truskolasy", p. 106: "the Łapy-Rechy part of the village of Łapy-Szołajdy"; Kondratiuk, p. 134: "the Niemyje-Wity part of the village of Niemyje-Siudy" (present-day Niemyje Nowe).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>10</sup> A phenomenon present not merely on the terrain here mentioned, see J. Karczewska, *Rozmieszczenie wsi zagrodowych i drobnoszlacheckich w powiecie gnieźnieńskim na przełomie XV i XVI wieku*, „Klio – Czasopismo Poświęcone Dziejom Polski i Powszechnym”, vol. 29, 2014, no. 2, pp. 19–40.

<sup>11</sup> "When as a result of a partial reselling or division of a district amongst siblings, new settlements and hamlets, all of which had a single common surname, while the second component was usually taken from the name of the founder or from the new owner. Hence arose the double and triple and sometimes four-times names that today almost every village held by the patril nobility in Mazovia and Podlasie has. On greater districts as a rule several or even a dozen or so separate villages would be founded" Z. Gloger, *Dawna ziemia bielska i jej cząstkowa szlachta*, Warsaw 1873, p. 6. In a later part of the work mentioned will be the villages of nobility in possession of small holdings with division for the territory of the Łomża and Grodno governorate as well as the author's conclusion: "If we are to take up the premise that every village or district that takes its name from the surname of some nobility family therein resident, or that has taken its name from a great family residing in it and here for centuries, then we would have to correctly consider them as the family seats of separate nobility lines, and on this premise we would have in the Bielsk land two hundred and several dozen odd" (ibidem, p. 10). A. Jabłonowski drew up a list of 15 nobility manors within the Drohiczyn land in 1580 as well as 22 for the Bielsk land in 1528, see Podlasie III, p. 56. A. Laszuk for the second half of the seventeenth century has marked out for the Drohiczyn land 34 nobility village districts, while claiming only the existence of one for the Mielnik land, while in the Bielsk land she noted 37 districts inhabited by nest nobility (*szlachta gniazdowa*), see Laszuk, *Zaścianki*, pp. 91–92; cf. equally: eadem *Ludność województwa podlaskiego w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 60–61, 76. A list of nobility manor districts to be found in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century is located at the end of this text in the Appendix.

(11 each), Długa Dąbrowa (14 settlements), or Łapy (20 settlements).<sup>12</sup> Petty gentry villages formed on the basis of a royal or ducal grant, possessing a joint common name and external boundaries were very often not divided off from each other and had mixed fields.<sup>13</sup> The first donations (generally fifteenth-century) turned into increasingly smaller and smaller lots as a result of multi-generational divisions and inheritance. Purchase, sale or exchange transactions of land were operations that impacted on the creation of new villages.<sup>14</sup> The names of settlements appearing in the sources could relate to both separate locations as equally their dependent parts (for example the names of petty gentry holdings, individual manors, or voloks). Often the sources provide the owners without giving the name of the village. In instances where the name of the village is identical with the family name this causes little doubt, however the sources mention many names of petty gentry villages together and it is not clear if the notation refers to a single village of several names or to several separate settlements of the same name.<sup>15</sup>

The main source for compiling the present map of the Podlasie Voivodeship, the tax registers, caused many difficulties in the reconstruction of the Podlasie environs. This was connected, among other things, with the incorporation of Podlasie to the Crown in 1569 and the consequent lack of experience with the tax registers and registration of field tax (lan taxation) according to the Crown model (scheme). Analysis of the taxation registers shows that in the collection of taxes and registers creation, earlier models were employed, for example registration for the needs of military rolls.<sup>16</sup> This took place particularly in the case of the names of payees – extremely rarely is the surname given; most often it is the name of the father that is given, less often some other appellation. In such a way those noted down are those who would have registered for military rolls at the time when the Podlasie Voivodeship belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. One may also conjecture that practical considerations meant, given that anyone actually conducting such a register would have known that, for example, the heirs in Łapy are Łapińscy, in Kosów – Kosowcy, in Krasów – Krasowscy, that in Kulesze they were Kulesze or in Wojny they were Wojno, in Wróble – Wróblewscy, while in Wyczółki they were Wyczółkowscy, that only the ‘new’ owners of given settlements were noted down in the registers. This has made it difficult and in many cases completely impossible to identify individuals even though they were mentioned several times in various registers, inventories or military rolls of loyalty to the Crown drawn up in 1569. Equally given the significant degree by which collective money payments of a single payee was made in the name of several (or several dozen?) plot owners from a given village (in-payments with cup-holders (*cześnik*): co-owners or co-users), and that we do not know in fact how many of these lots there were – the reconstruction of ownership relations within the scope of a single settlement, and sometimes an entire district, is simply an impossibility given the source materials available. This settlement situation often being complicated by the fact that particular parts of a village were given their own names, even though topographically this was a single settlement constituting the property of a single large family. The length of time associated with the aforementioned divisions often

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<sup>12</sup> Z. Gloger, *Dawna ziemia bielska*, pp. 9–10 quotes data from the Bielsk land hearth tax for the year 1775 and draws attention to, among others, Popławy numbering 74 cottages, owners 72 as well as at the smallest village at that time of Rzepniewo Małe with but a solitary house (hearth).

<sup>13</sup> See J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-rusko-litewskim od końca XIV do połowy XVII wieku*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, pp. 118–120; H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, footnote 1, in this edition III.3.1.7; idem, *Metoda retrogresji*, p. 150; cf. also: S. Russocki, *Elementy wspólnoty w okolicach drobnoszlacheckich Mazowsza (XV–XIX w.)*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Filii UW w Białymstoku”, no. 19, Humanistyka, vol. 4, Dział H – Prace historyczne, 1977, pp. 175–199 as well as idem: J. Wiśniewski, *[Zrelacjonowany głos w dyskusji]* (ed. E. Kaczyńska, J. Waczyński), pp. 307–332; Laszuk, Zaścianki, pp. 89–90; T. Jaszczółt, *Napływ rycerstwa i szlachty na pogranicze mazowiecko-podlaskie w XV i pierwszej połowie XVI wieku (obszar dzisiejszego powiatu wysokomazowieckiego)*, [in:] *Rody, rodziny Mazowsza i Podlasia. Źródła do badań genealogicznych*, ed. D.K. Rembiszewska, H. Krajewska, Łomża 2013, pp. 159–242.

<sup>14</sup> See T. Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 72–74: (subchapter 5: *Kupna i sprzedaże części nadań jako zalążki nowych wsi*); idem, *Osadnictwo Podlasia nadbużańskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku*, [in:] *Podlasie nadbużańskie: 500-lecie województwa podlaskiego*, ed. O. Łatyszczek, Ciechanowiec-Białystok 2013, pp. 76–86.

<sup>15</sup> See J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa*, p. 119, where the example is of the characteristic reading from the tax register of 1580; cf. S. Rosłonec, *Samorzutne scalanie gruntów wśród mazowieckiej i podlaskiej szlachty zagrodowej*, Warsaw 1928, pp. 106–108 (Chapter XI: *Nazwy gruntów drobnoszlacheckich*).

<sup>16</sup> We are not in possession of the silver tax registers and we do not know the extent to which the experience of raising this tax impacted on the act of collecting land taxation. The taxation registers from Podlasie prior to 1569 that were taken to the Lithuanian treasury in Wilno have also not survived.

resulted in parts of a village being considered even separate settlements. The difficulties resulting from the identification of particular settlements is also enhanced by the changes in names or their alternate use in sources. This occurred not only in the second half of the sixteenth century but was also noted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>17</sup>

Being directed by the principles adopted in the AHP series, we have adopted as a rule the possibility 'in order not to be guilty of missing an actual existing settlement the risk has been run of recognising a part of a village to be separate settlement in itself.'<sup>18</sup> In the majority of cases this has resulted in any doubts being decided to the advantage of the independence of a given settlement; with this being even more the case given that the majority of them retained their separateness to the end of the nineteenth century and often even to our day. Help came in the form of academic works based on archive research into Podlasie municipal and land registers.

We have recognised as being nobility holdings (noble-held neighbourhoods) a minimum of three settlements covered by a double-barrelled name – a common denomination as well as a distinguishing complement. Additionally we have also applied a spatial criterion – settlements forming a holding had to be situated on a fairly dense area. In applying these criteria we have determined for the second half of the sixteenth century 82 noble holdings. In the Bielsk land we have noted 39 of the said, in the Drohiczyn land 42 and one nobility holding in the Mielnik land.

In the Drohiczyn land we have recognised the existence of holdings in the case of Wierzbie: Wierzbie Górne (Wierzbie-Żerebczyce) located around 8.5 km to the south-east of the village of Wierzbie-Strupki and around 8 km from the village of Wierzbie-Guzy. While on the terrain between these (i.e., between Wierzbie Górne and Wierzbie-Strupki as well as Wierzbie-Guzy) there was to be found the lands of other villages including: Kamianka (Kamianka Ruska), Żółkwy, Kanabród (Kamionobród), Mołomotki-Folwark (at present a part of the village of Mołomotki-Dwór, in the sixteenth century Momotki). The application of the aforementioned spatial criterion has resulted in the allocation of two holdings of the name Moczydły as well as two others of the name Miodusy; these have been symbolically labelled as A and B, for they lay at a certain distance from each other, while the settlements forming the holding belonged to different parishes. We have not taken into consideration in the statistical data and the tabular lists the holdings of Poniaty mentioned in 1547 (Poniaty-Kosioriki, Poniaty-Krzepisie, Poniaty-Starawieś and Poniaty-Zagaje), although one may conjecture that the settlements comprising the recalled area had already been in existence in the 1550s (and maybe even 1560s?);<sup>19</sup> but these have been collated in the Appendix.

From amongst the 895 settlements in the Bielsk lands 216 settlements (24.1%) constituted the aforementioned nobility holdings. In the Drohiczyn land out of 651 settlements, 188 (28.8% of all the settlements from the given lands) entered into such a composition. Only in the Mielnik land was the percentage of the settlements comprising a part of holdings small, a mere three settlements out of 129 (2.3%). On the scale of the Podlasie Voivodeship as a whole for the period under discussion

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<sup>17</sup> For example: HerKM, p. 243: *de Łapy Lynki seu Kosmytki* (1577 r.), *ibidem*, p. 101: *in Franki Chrościele seu Dąbrowa* (1600), or later mentions (1695), *ibidem*, p. 450: *sorte suam dictam Jasiewizna seu omnia bona in Kapice Lipniki sita donant*; Kondratiuk (quoted from: „Archiwalne materiały własne Prof. dra J. Wiśniewskiego”), p. 87: *Kłopoty seu Bańki* (1551 r.); LWP 1602, p. 11: *Siolo Przymulki albo Sowniki*, *ibidem*, p. 61: *Supraśla alias Lence*, *ibidem*, p. 64: *Siolo Młodzianowo alias Stryki*, *ibidem*, p. 65: *Siolo Kosczino alias Szastały*. Sometimes information coming from the seventeenth century, and even the eighteenth century, has enabled settlement identification, for example the poll tax register for 1676, see BCzart., Zbiór Łoyki, MS 1099 IV, p. 767 (f. 378): *Dzierzki Marcinowięta seu Ząbki*, p. 773 (f. 381): *Truskolas Niwisko videatur Kruszewo Brodowo et Głąby*, p. 775 (f. 382): *Perki Mazowsze seu Xiki, Perki Stara Wieś seu Lachy*, *ibidem*, p. 778 (f. 383v): *villa Rymki seu Dupki*, *ibidem*, p. 782 (f. 385v): *Borowskie Nowa seu Wypychy*; Kondratiuk (quoted after: „Taryfa dymów i podatku podymnego z dóbr ziemskich w woj. podlaskim ziemi bielskiej leżących - - z nowej lustracji roku 1790 - - ”), p. 98: *Falki Nowosady czyli Kowale*, p. 103: *Wyszki Krupice czyli Tworki*; F. Łoyko, *Małopolska. Alfabetyczny zbiór wsiów: Alphabetica enumeratio omnium villarum Maioris Poloniae. Indicuntur districtus et parochia cuiusvis villae, necnon an in regia, ecclesiae aut nobilitatis consistit proprietate*, XVIII w., Bibl. Czart., Zbiór Łoyki, MS 1112, p. 454: *Czapple seu Skrzyszewo, Chrome seu Remiszew Wielki, Czarna alias Milewskie, Chroczewice alias Długie Hozanki*, p. 458: *Dasze vel Dajzewicze alias Kossna*, p. 462: *Grabowiec alias Obychodnik*, p. 470: *Kozanki alias Martynowice, Kozanki drugie alias Chroczewice*, p. 475: *Nurzec alias Czeremcha*, p. 479: *Padarewo seu Kopow*, p. 500: *Zarywiec alias Dubicze*.

<sup>18</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>19</sup> In 1547 noted were (ADS, sign. D 45, f. 453): “Poniaty Kosioriki, Krzepysie, Starawieś, Zagayne, mansos 40, pro 20 taxant.”

407 settlements (24.3% of all settlements) should be considered units comprising nobility holdings. A detailed representation is presented in Table 1. While a detailed list of nobility holdings may be found in the Appendix.

**Table 1. The number of settlements in nobility environs in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century**

land	number of nobility holdings	number of settlements entering into the composition of nobility holdings	total number of settlements	as a percentage (%)
Bielsk	39	216	895	24.1
Drohiczyn	42	188	651	28.8
Mielnik	1	3	129	2.3
<b>Podlasie</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>1,675</b>	<b>24.3</b>

The localisation of demesne and mill settlements has not incurred notable localisation problems.<sup>20</sup> Sixteenth-century mills were normally denominated by means of the owner's surname, which at the beginning of the seventeenth century became the name of the mill or mill settlement;<sup>21</sup> in such situations we have entered a point on the main map. Krupki Mill we have marked in the place of the contemporary name for the forest *Krupki*,<sup>22</sup> on the right bank of the River Panasówka, around 1 km from it joining the River Bronka; the Niestrowicz mill has been marked by us on the basis of von Stein's map, at the place called *Nelchi od: Kunitzki*.<sup>23</sup>

In the Mielnik land we have not managed to localise the Chmielów demesne settlement (the environs of Chotycze); in turn in the Bielsk land it has not been possible to locate three mill settlements: Markolewski (parish Dolistowo), Suskowski (the environs of Boćki) as well as Wyzonki-Cicholas (the environs of the village of Mień). Despite the information from 1602, and in accordance with the lack of mentions from an earlier period, and in accordance with the principles employed in the AHP series, we have not marked on the map the mills at Jeleń and Wodziłówka, although it is likely that they functioned prior to the year 1600.<sup>24</sup>

In Podlasie, in the second half of the sixteenth century, we have confirmed the existence of two smithy settlements as separate settlement units – Ruda and Turowczyzna; both were situated in the Bielsk land. The localisation of Ruda was connected with the present-day name of the *Rudnik* forest, approximately 1.5 km to the south of the village of Czechowizna, and around 530 m from the Nereśl River.<sup>25</sup> The unlocated Turowczyzna was to be found in the environs of the village of Klejniki (Zygmuntowo)<sup>26</sup> – possibly between Klejniki and the River Łoknica. We have not found any source confirmation as to the existence of independent (with their own name) abbeys, inns, glass works or mines in Podlasie for the period of interest to us. In accordance with the premises within the AHP series itself we have also not marked on the main map empty villages (*pustka*, i.e., deserted settlements).

<sup>20</sup> See M. Gochna, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.2a.8.

<sup>21</sup> See P. Złotkowski, *Nazwy młynów i osad młyńskich dawnego starostwa brańskiego*, „Studia Wschodniosłowiańskie”, vol. 16, 2016, pp. 345–364; cf. T. Gołębiowska, *Nazwy polskich młynów*, „Onomastica”, vol. 14, 1969, no. 1–2, pp. 81–120; J. Wiśniewski, *Nazwy młynów w Polsce*, KHKM, vol. 18, 1970, no. 3, pp. 449–455.

<sup>22</sup> PRNG no. 62639; see P. Złotkowski, *Nazwy młynów*, pp. 348–349.

<sup>23</sup> See P. Złotkowski, *Nazwy młynów*, pp. 350, 358; Nelchy is visible on Perthées' map between the Nurzec River and the settlement of Pace.

<sup>24</sup> LWP 1602, p. 11: “The hamlet Czechowczyzna [...] The second mill is in the name Jeleń [...] The third mill is in the name Wodziłówka [...]”. These do not appear in the inspections for the Podlasie Voivodeship for the years 1570 and 1576, see LWP 1570, 1576, p. 74.

<sup>25</sup> PRNG no. 118091; the inventory for the Knyszyn starosty of 1561 noted that: “Ruda [...] now pays nothing, for it is deserted through want”, Chomętowski, *Materiały*, p. 265.

<sup>26</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 61: “In the Zygmuntów starosty [...] At Thurowczyzna ore and a flour mill, and there was fulling mill [...] Now upon our ruling there is no ore and no land for you to extract ore from, and equally wood or charcoal and presumably the land would have been subtracted which previously had belonged to the ore and there is no more to be paid from this ore one for 4 Lithuanian *kopas*”. The blacksmiths and forge workers who functioned within these places have been mentioned in M. Gochna, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.2a.8.

Only in the Bielsk land is there source confirmation for the royal deserted settlement of Zaprudzie of an unknown location.<sup>27</sup> This has not been taken into consideration in either the statistical data or the tabular lists.

The specific feature of Podlasie was the founding of settlements on the bases of towns. Although spatially they constituted separate settlement entities, they were legally parts of these towns.<sup>28</sup> On the main map they have been presented on the whole as villages being town property to differentiate them from the remaining villages of the starosty (then royal property) that did not constitute a part of a town.<sup>29</sup> In turn the directly encircling suburbs, that is the areas directly adjacent to a town (with their own name or not) have been represented on the maps of selected towns (Bielsk, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Węgrów) as well as described in the commentaries to them.<sup>30</sup>

As with previous volumes of the AHP series we have adopted the approach that “a settlement confirmed in the first half of the sixteenth century or even in the fifteenth century as well as later in the seventeenth century existed in the period presented on our map.”<sup>31</sup> In the present volume thus taken into consideration (in the List of settlements, the commentaries or the statistical compilations) are settlements such as: Długie-Wola Kamionka (1567, 1726),<sup>32</sup> Głęboćzek (1491, 1579, 1673, 1726),<sup>33</sup> Juchnowiec Górny and Juchnowiec Dolny (1536, 1540, 1676),<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 75: “To the starosty and hamlets of the Boguszewo demesne belong [...] Zaprudzie Siolo [hamlet], 1 volok and that deserted”; LWP 1602, p. 30: “Siolo Zaprudzie in this hamlet was once a single volok, but now they know not of this volok, nor do they use it.” The *pustka* (deserted settlement) of Nowikowski appears in the sources as terrain, see LWP 1570, 1576, p. 139: “There is also the Nowykowski terrain empty, whose nobility the king’s nobility Sorczów defend, changing their ownership of it” ASK XLVI 149, ff. 121–121v: “There is also the Nowykowski terrain, but it lies fallow and none can find profit from it” (1616).

<sup>28</sup> See K. Boroda, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.3.8.

<sup>29</sup> See M. Gochna, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.2a.8; there also a list of the castles that functioned in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>30</sup> See the descriptions of towns and suburbs as well as their boundaries connected with the Volok Reform: Brańsk and Suraż 1560–1563 are to be found [in:] PKGE (Brańsk pp. 317–412, Suraż pp. 413–528); Suraż 1562, pp. 138–191, cf. also H. Rutkowski’s review [in:] *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 61, 1954, no. 3, pp. 261–262; Kleszczele: J. Zieleniewski, *Rejestr pomiaru włócznej Kleszczel z roku 1560*, SP, vol. 3, 1991, pp. 201–248 (see also: *Aneksy. Źródła do dziejów Kleszczel*, [in:] M. Roszczenko, *Kleszczele*, Bielsk Podlaski-Kleszczele 2002, pp. 321–421, which as the author emphasises “Has not been drawn up in accordance with the principles of academic editing and will require a separate editing in the future. However we have decided to publish it in the form as it is so as to allow access to those admirers of the history of Kleszczele.”); Narew: *Miasta Narwi prętowanie (Excerpt wyjęty z lustracyi Dziewiałtowskiego miasta Narwi zapadley w roku 1560 (Sub folio 479))*, [in:] AWAK 14, pp. 61–76. On the sixteenth-century Volok Reform see, for example: В. Пичета, *Аграрная реформа Сигизмунда-Августа и литовско-русская шляхта*, [in:] *Сборник статей в честь Матвѣя Кузьмича Любавскаго*, Петроградъ 1917, pp. 542–594; idem, *Аграрная реформа Сигизмунда-Августа в литовско-русскомъ государствѣ*, part 1: *Подготовка и производство реформы*, Москва 1917; L. Kolankowski, *Pomiara włóczna*, „Ateneum Wileńskie”, vol. 4, 1927, no. 13, pp. 235–251; J. Szewczyk, *Włóka. Pojęcie i termin na tle innych średniowiecznych jednostek pomiaru ziemi*, Warsaw 1968 (Prace Geograficzne Instytut Geografii PAN, vol. 67); J. Ochmański, *Reforma włóczna na Litwie i Białorusi w XVI wieku*, [in:] idem, *Dawna Litwa. Studia historyczne*, Olsztyn 1986, pp. 158–174; A. Czapiuk, *Reformy agrarne w dobrach królewskich na Podlasiu w XVI wieku na tle ich funkcjonowania*, Białystok 1990, PhD thesis, typescript, Library of the University of Białystok, P.Dr. 264 (there selected literature); see also *Miasto Knyszyn R. 1561*, [in:] Chomętowski, *Materiały*, pp. 263–290; Goniądz 1571, pp. 135–197; „Ustawa na wołoki hospodara Korola Jeho-Miłosti” as well as “The correction of certain articles in this act above described. The year of 1557 this 20 day of October” [in:] J. Jaroszewicz, *Obraz Litwy pod względem jęj cywilizacji, od czasów najdawniejszych do końca wieku XVIII*, part 2: *Litwa w pierwszych trzech wiekach po przyjęciu wiary chrześcijańskiej*, Wilno 1844, pp. 229–276.

<sup>31</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

<sup>32</sup> *Popis 1567*, f. 1023: „Долгая Воля Каменка”; *Synod 1726*: „Kámienskie”.

<sup>33</sup> Podlasie II, p. 216: “In Granne – founded [a church – J.S.] 1491 by Misek the heir at Sielec and Krzemień and his son Jan Miskowicz the (Lithuanian Grand Master of the Hunt has five voloks at Głęboćzek, a spot (haunt) at Łazy, etc”; Głęboćzek appears in 1579 in the privileges of the Podlasie voivode Mikołaj Kiszka confirming the endowment of the church at Granne (entered into the Drohiczyn land ledger) – information supplied by Dr Tomasz Jaszczolt; 1673 see Laszuk, *Zaścianki*, p. 105; *Synod 1726*: „Głębock”.

<sup>34</sup> In October 1536 the Great Chancellor of Lithuania Olbracht Gasztołd (together with his son Stanisław, the Nowogród voivode) bequeathed his property to his wife Zofia, including: “*manor Juchnowski, manor Juchnowski Huy called*”, see *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga nr 1 (1380–1584), Užrašymų knyga 1*, edition A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius, Vilnius 1998, nos. 94, 95; 1540: “*Juchnowiec Stare Siolo*”, “*Juchnowski Dwór*”, see Kondratiuk (quoted after „Archiwalne materiały własne Prof. dra J. Wiśniewskiego”), p. 78; cf. J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, Juchnowiec Kościelny 2013, pp. 239–248; 1676: *Juchnowiec Góra, Juchnowiec Stary*, see BCzart., *Zbór Łoyki*, MS 1099 IV, p. 788 (f. 388v).

Juchnowszczyzna (1567, 1744),<sup>35</sup> Łapy-Żaki (1528, 1726),<sup>36</sup> or Piszczaty-Tusiki (1528, 1634, 1635, 1726).<sup>37</sup>

We have not marked on the main map those settlements denoted in sources only in the first half of the sixteenth century for which – given the current state of research – we do not have source references post 1550. Often solitary pieces of information have made it impossible to locate individual settlements and here even approximately.

In 1528 mentioned were (situated within the Bielsk land) Łapy-Kwity,<sup>38</sup> Niwino-Janowięta<sup>39</sup> and Szepietowo-Mikołajowięta,<sup>40</sup> about which we possess no later source records. A similar situation was to be found in the Drohiczyn land, where for the 1530s we have source notations for the settlements of Mikołajewo (presumably the Miedzna parish) from 1534,<sup>41</sup> as well as of Nosale and Suchowierchy (both most likely in the parish of Rudka), and noted in the year 1538.<sup>42</sup> The cadastre conducted in 1547 of military duties for the nobility of the Drohiczyn land<sup>43</sup> enumerates 25 settlements which – given the current state of research – are not testified for in other sources post this date,<sup>44</sup> and therefore given the criteria adopted for the AHP series they have not been included within the statistics and listings. Some

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<sup>35</sup> Popis 1567, f. 463: „Мѣсяца октября 17 дня. Пань Станиславъ Влошекъ [...] з ымѣней своихъ – зъ Юхновщины въ повѣте Белскомъ а зъ Ростонянь въ повѣте Виленскомъ ставиль почту татарь и хрестьянь коней чотырнадцать збройне”; J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, p. 254 gives the information that: “For the first time Juchnowszczyzna as an independent entity of settlement is mentioned in the Juchnowiec (parish locality list) of 1744”, see *Synodus Dioecesisana Vilmensis Ab [...] D. Michaele Joanne Zienkovicz [...] Episcopo Vilmensi [...] Anno D[omi]ni MDCCXLIV [...]*, Vilnae, p. 148.

<sup>36</sup> Popis 1528, p. 125: „Село Лапы Жакове Земане Марько Рожко самъ. Марько Сасинъ самъ. Матей Закревський самъ.”, cf. Podlasie I, p. 199; Synod 1726: „Łapy Ziaki”. See also Laszuk, Łapy, p. 23, tab. 1: Wsie Łapy w XVI–XVIII w.; Lubicz-Łapiński, p. 27 as well as map 4: *Podział wsi Łapy około 1528 r.*, p. 51, on p. 143, footnote 15, informs that for the hamlet of Sioło Łapy Żakowe the landed nobility “mean Łapy Zięciuki”; one of the possible locations for the placing of Łapy-Żaki is between Łapy-Bursięta and Łapy-Kosmytki; I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe*, p. 106.

<sup>37</sup> Popis 1528, p. 133: Село Пищаты Тосики Земане Матей Щепановичъ самъ. Михаль Щепановичъ самъ. Янь Томьковичъ самъ. Павелъ Томьковичъ самъ. Петръ Щепановичъ самъ. Щепановаа вдова самъ. С тихъ всехъ 2 кони.”, cf. Podlasie I, p. 207; APB, księga grodzka brańska 1640 r., f. 16 (taxation register for the Bielsk land for the year 1634): „Piszczaty Tuszyki”; *ibidem*, f. 35 (taxation register for the Bielsk land for the year 1635): „Piszczaty Tuszyki”; Synod 1726: „Piszczaty tuški”.

<sup>38</sup> Popis 1528, p. 124: „Село Лапы Квиты Земане Матых Якубовичъ самъ. Якубъ Яновичъ Воеводичъ самъ. Томько Яновичъ самъ. Станиславъ Яновичъ самъ. С тихъ Лапъ кон.”; cf. Podlasie I, p. 199; see I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe*, p. 106. One of the interpretations for a possible approximated localisation reads “The Ruthenian notation Kwity may be translated as *K Wity*, that is in the environs of Wity or in the direction of Wity”, Lubicz-Łapiński, p. 39, footnote 27; cf. also map 4: *Podział wsi Łapy około 1528 r.*, where marked is “K Wity” between Wity and Rechy, *ibidem*, p. 27. Elsewhere the information that “the hamlet of Łapy Kwity” is “the latter-day Łapy Wity and Barwiki”, *ibidem*, p. 142 as well as footnote 7.

<sup>39</sup> Popis 1528, p. 113: „Село Нивино Яновята земляне Шчепанъ Яновичъ самъ. Аньдреевая Вдова самъ. Янь Томьковичъ самъ. Бернатъ Томьковичъ самъ. Щасный Томьковичъ самъ. Томьковая Вдова самъ. С тихъ 2 кони”; cf. Podlasie I, p. 188.

<sup>40</sup> Popis 1528, p. 142: „Село Шепетово Миколаевата Земане Серафинъ Петровичъ. Венцьлавъ Яновичъ сам. Шчепанъ Яновичъ сам. Павелъ Якубовичъ сам. Янь Жакъ сам. Марко Станиславовичъ сам. Петръ ЯкѠбовичъ сам. Аньдреи Станиславовичъ сам. С тихъ всехъ 3 кони. Село Шепетово Миколаевата Земане Миколаи Миколаевичъ самъ. Янь Миколаевичъ сам. Якубъ Миколаевичъ сам. С тихъ конь”; cf. Podlasie I, p. 216.

<sup>41</sup> In 1534 Jan the son of Mikołaj Wodyński bequeathed to his wife Małgorzata, the daughter of Jan Radzanowski, a dowry in properties: “Stara Wola, Tchórzowa, Miedzna, Kozołupy, Ugoszcza, Rostky, **Mikołajewo** [bold J.S.], Pogorzal, Krześlino, Kownaciska, Borki, Suchożebry, Naykory, Rzeszotkowo, Brzozowo, Lyssowo et Wola Lysowska”, copy of Dr. T. Jaszczółt from the excerpts of Father Zygmunt Dunin-Kozicki, The Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Cracow (Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie), MS 8822, issue 2, p. 117. In 1561 Mikołaj Wodyński (the son of Jan) bequeathed a dowry to his wife Katarzyna Kosińska and enumerated at the time were: “oppidum Międzylesie cum castro, Orzeszowka, Stara Wola, Wolka, Tchorzowa, Miedzna, Kozołupy, Ugoszcza, Rostki, Wrotnowo, Kielczewo”, AGAD, Drohicckie ziemskie, no. 3, f. 326 (information derived from Dr. T. Jaszczółt).

<sup>42</sup> In 1538 Zofia Hlebowiczowa gave the estate at Rudka to her son-in-law Maciej Kłoczka, including *Nossale* and *Suchowierchy* (LMAVB, f. 1-139); their absence in a latter division of the estate and here between Mikołaj Hlebowicz and Stanisław Połowski in 1553 (NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1715-1-84) as well as the gifting of the estate at Rudka by Maryna Mścislawska Kiszkowa to the Mostów and Skidel starost Jan Wiktorzyn in 1562 (RGADA, f. 356-2-6, f. 304, information derived from Dr. T. Jaszczółt).

<sup>43</sup> See K. Boroda, *Written sources*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition II.1.8; ADS, sign. D 45, ff. 452–457v.: “Commensurationis bonorum villarum in Terra Drohicensi sitarum et Tariffae ingrossatio Acta Commissorialia Dimensurationis Fundorum Terrestrium ex Commissione Sacrae Regiae Majestatis factas in se continentem.”

<sup>44</sup> These are: Biernaty, Boguszki, Dąbrowa Biernatowięta, Dąbrowa Serafinowięta, Dąbrowa Tymianka, Dębowe, Jabłona Świdry, Kamianki, Kęsza, Miłkowice Najewnik, Miodusy Szymanowięta, Piotrowice, Poniaty Krzepysie, Poniaty Starawieś, Rytele Adamowięta, Rytele Dominikowięta, Rytele Zapalkowięta, Rzewuski Smyczki, Sasiny, Świnopasy, Tarkowo Średnie, Trębice Wąchały, Winna Piętki, Wólka, Wólka Borychowska.

of these, for example Dąbrowa Biernatowięta, Dąbrowa Serafinowięta, Dąbrowa Tymianka, Miodusy Szymanowięta, Poniaty Krzepysie, Poniaty Starawieś, Rytele Adamowięta, Rytele Dominikowięta, Rytele Zapałkowięta, Rzewuski Smyczki, Winna Piętki – presumably entered into the composition of particular districts and which over a given time became a part of them.

We have not marked on the main map the contemporary village of Jasionowo Dębowskie and the nearby settlement of Kopytkowo. The first source references for these settlements are from the inspection of 1602,<sup>45</sup> and though it is possible that they were already in existence at the end of the sixteenth century the already mentioned premises guiding the compilation of the AHP series cover only places that have a proven source record up until the year 1600. Equally missing from the main map is the settlement of Bujakowszczyzna, which only appears in documents for the first time in 1604 as “an agricultural volok of the backwater one volok or zaścianek of *Buiakowszczyzna*.”<sup>46</sup>

Having presented the main principles accompanying the localisation of settlements in the AHP series we move to a detailed description of selected examples. We commence with a description of certain localisations for lost settlements and those of a changed location, later for approximated locations, tied ones, finishing up with unlocated settlements.

The certain localisation of settlements at present non-existent is based first and foremost on cartographic sources from the nineteenth and twentieth century. We commence our description of these types of example from the Bielsk land.

Visible on Perthées’ map (*Bohmole*), on the road between the villages of Pietkowo and Osówka, the village of Bohomole was incorrectly marked on the left bank of the River Liza. On the main map its localisation has been marked on the basis of von Stein’s map, on which this time *Bohomete* is presented on the right bank of the River Liza, on the aforementioned road at the junction with the road running towards the Kalisz mill, located around 1.1 km to the north of the crossroads. This settlement now presented as *Pohornele*, is visible on Textor’s map as well as the map by Chrzanowski (the survey of the terrain presented on the Quartermaster’s Map finished on the left bank of the River Liza). This village does not appear in later cartographic material: on the one, two, and three-verst scale maps, KdWR as well as the maps produced by WIG, there appears a vacant field in place of Bohomole. We have marked the village at the road described, at the crossroads with the road heading in the direction of the forester’s lodge at Pietkowo and the Ostrów colony, about 1.3 km to the south-east of the village of Pietkowo Drugie and approximately 600 m to the north of the forest called *Piaszczany Bród*.<sup>47</sup>

The village of Chmiele (to the west of Rajgród) was located on the basis of the Quartermaster’s map, where visible is *Fol. Chmiele*. We do not know whether this appeared on von Stein’s map, for the section on which Chmiele should have been placed has a small defect – for the top right-hand corner has been ripped off. In this very place is to be found terrain between the settlements of Karwowo – Skrodzkie – Przestrzele. The settlement of Chmiele does not appear on Textor’s map. On the two-verst scale map, to the north-east of Karwów, can be seen the abbreviation (without a name) ДВ. The village of Chmiele is visible on the *Szkice terenowe przemarszu wojsk szwedzkich* of 1655.<sup>48</sup>

Duchny has been marked on the basis of von Stein’s map, in the place where at present there is to be found a piece of forest of the self same name.<sup>49</sup> It can also be seen on the Quartermaster’s map as well as that of Chrzanowski map; it is absent in later cartographic accounts.

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<sup>45</sup> LWP 1602, p. 61: “There is to this *osocznicтво* (an area or village inhabited by animal hunters who take part in circling animals or guarding the forest) a rangers commune in Zabieli four voloks, at Jesionowka 2½ voloks, in Kopytków 8 voloks. They pay a money rent for each volok of 5 złoty, making for 72/15 złoty”.

<sup>46</sup> Kondratiuk, p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> PRNG no. 99845.

<sup>48</sup> See *Szkice terenowe przemarszu wojsk szwedzkich, 1655*, [in:] K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *Mapy i plany Rzeczypospolitej XVII w. znajdujące się w archiwach w Sztokholmie*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2011, pp. 268–269: *Szkic terenowy miejscowości Augustów – Rajgród, 13 (23) listopada 1655*. Chmiele was mentioned in the description of the Rajgród parish of 1784 r. (the descriptions constituting the basis of Perthées’s maps): “The Chmiele of Squire Purzycki, between the summer setting and the south a great mile,” *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku: dekanat knyszyński i dekanat augustowski*, ed. W. Wernerowa, Warsaw 1996, p. 201 (an earlier edition: W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z roku 1784*, SP, vol. 4, 1993, p. 213). “Chmiele was placed between Przestrzele and Karwów amongst the minor nobility’s manor villages,” J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie grajewskim do połowy XVI w.*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, vol. 1, ed. M. Gnatowski, H. Majecki, Warsaw 1975, p. 229.

<sup>49</sup> PRNG, no. 26812.

Gołasie-Wola was marked on the basis of subject literature findings. It appears in sources from the second half of the sixteenth century as: Wola, Wolica Klepacka.<sup>50</sup> It was located approximately 2 km to the east of the village of Gołasze-Puszcza, in the place where at present can be found *Wola*, a hamlet of the village Gołasze-Puszcza. Finally the findings of Emil Kalinowski identify Gołasie-Wola with Wola Klepacka.<sup>51</sup>

We have marked sixteenth-century Joški around 950 m to the south-east of the present-day centre of the village Joški (Joški Centralne) at the place called Joški Wschodnie.<sup>52</sup> Such a location results from the nineteenth-century cartographic picture: on von Stein's map to the west of Hodyszew, on the eastern bank of the Liza (the name of the river according to Textor's map and that of the Quartermaster's) it is marked as *Hof Hodischewo*, the Quartermaster's shows *Jaski* situated at the aforementioned river. Here on the one-verst scale map can be seen buildings described as Буды-Лендово, on the two-verst scale map this is noted as Къ Юзькамъ, while on the KdWR *zu Józki*. A settlement point was placed at the crossroads at Joški Wschodne, about 470 m to the east of the contemporary small irrigation ditch linking the River Markówka to the Liza.

The village of Koćmiery has been marked according to von Stein's map, in the place where *Kuczemery* can be seen, on the right bank of the River Tłoczewka. In this place, that is between the villages of Jabłoń-Jankowce and Jabłoń-Piotrowce, it was marked on the map by Perthées (*Kocmiery*), Textor (*Kuczemery*) as well as on the Quartermaster's map (as *J[abłon] Koczemery*). The last time Koćmiery appeared marked on a map was by Chrzanowski map (*Koćmery*); it is absent from all later cartographic representations.

Kościany was marked on the basis of von Stein's map; it is visible equally on the Quartermaster's map as that of Chrzanowski map. In the place where Kościany should be situated the two-verst scale map presents merely a field. The contemporary name for a part of the *Kościany* forest is to be found approximately 980 metres to the south of the village as marked by us on the main map.<sup>53</sup> The settlement of Kościany is located on our map around 800 metres to the north-west of *Kościańska Góra*.<sup>54</sup>

It follows to devote a few words to the village of Kośna. Instead of a single symbol for the said settlement of a mixed property character (town and noble) it has been marked on the main map with two separate points: Kośna szlachecka (*nobility*) (the property of the Sapieha family) as well as Kośna town charter founded on grounds belonging to the town of Kleszczele. Sapieha Kośna has been marked in the place of the contemporary colony of Kośna (St. Nicholas Orthodox church)<sup>55</sup> and which presumably covered the terrain of the present-day village of Żuki.<sup>56</sup> The settlement point for town Kośna was where the present-day village of Dasze is located.<sup>57</sup> The actual distance in terrain of both

<sup>50</sup> ASK I 47, f. 196 (Bielsk tax register from 1577): "from the wolicy kliepaczkicy".

<sup>51</sup> E. Kalinowski, *Historia obszaru gminy Wysokie Mazowieckie*, Wysokie Mazowieckie 2015, p. 109.

<sup>52</sup> PRNG no. 47173.

<sup>53</sup> PRNG no. 180883.

<sup>54</sup> PRNG no. 59370.

<sup>55</sup> PRNG no. 59589; see SGKP, vol. 15, part 2, p. 135.

<sup>56</sup> "The bequeathing of voloks to this hamlet stretching from the Orthodox church of St. Paul by Sapieha the Nowogród voivode", Minsk NGAB, f. 1705, 1, 69, ff. 300v. Buczyło, *Kształtowanie się sieci*, p. 122, footnote 636; *ibidem*, p. 122: "A second Orthodox church under the patronage of the Sapieha family was founded on the territory of the Bielsk district at Kośna. Mention of the said appears in the Voloł reform register for Kleszczele for the year 1560. According to the information therein noted its founder (and funder) was the Nowogród voivode Paweł Sapieha. The village of Kośna was divided into two parts: one remained in the hands of the king, while the other became a private holding, hence the patron of St. Nicholas Orthodox church being P. Sapieha. The Orthodox church appears in the inventory as it was built on the border of the two parts (in the thinking of the founder it was to have acted as a parish church for the whole village)"; cf. also *Rejestr pomiarów włócznej Kleszczel*, p. 233; M. Roszczenko, *Kleszczele*, p. 55: "In turn the Sapieha family had even built in Kośna belonging after all to the suburban villages of the Kleszczele starosty, an Orthodox church for their serfs from the neighbouring settlements of Pohreby and Żuki, which was also used by the inhabitants of Kośna."

<sup>57</sup> *Rejestr pomiarów włócznej Kleszczel z roku 1560*, pp. 233–234: "The town hamlet at Kośna is of 42 voloks of good land [...] This hamlet straddles two lots on an average field. The street reaches with its one end the boundary of squire Paweł Sapieha the Nowogród voivode, and with the other towards the land boundary of Mr. Baka.[...] This field which runs on its side from squire Sapieha's Orthodox church, the Kośna brook, crosswise is distributed so that the Orthodox priest of this hamlet is employed (the hamlet of an Orthodox priest is supposed to be the same (it is to have the same size) with the hamlet of the town of Kleszczele) at the town of Kleszczele"; F. Łoyko, *Małopolska. Alfabetyczny zbiór wsiów*, p. 458: *Dasze vel Dajzewicze alias Kosna*; *Rewizja przez komornika Pelchowskiego pomiaru miasta JKMC I Kleszczel* of 1784 mentions: *Granica wsi Daszow czyli Kosney*, see M. Roszczenko, *Kleszczele*, p. 418.

of the mentioned settlements (the distance from Koźna – Dasze is around 1.5 km as the crow flies) has allowed for two points to be placed on the main map of the same name but of different property ownership characteristics.

The village of Kruhła – on maps until the 1920s with the same name – has been marked where present-day Pawlinów is located. Cartographic material from the eighteenth-nineteenth century shows it always situated on the right bank of the River Nurzec (Nurzek, Nurczyk), marked as *Kruhle* (Perthées), *Kruhle* (von Stein), *Krole* (Textor), *Króle* (Chrzanowski). On the two-verst scale map it appears next to the name *Крылное* a designation for the eastern part of the settlement – *Г.дв. Павлиново*. This state of affairs is also visible on the WIG map of 1922 – at the western part of the built-up area is visible the name *Kruchle*, while in the eastern – *Pawlinowo*. On the subsequent edition of the WIG map of 1937 the name *Kruchle* has already disappeared, and appears simply as *Pawlinowo Fw*.

Commentary is equally needed with respect to the settlement of Krukowszczyzna on the Brzozówka River.<sup>58</sup> The identification and localisation of this settlement has been hampered by the existence to this day of a village of an identical name located on the right bank of this river, to the south of Korycin. This second Krukowszczyzna is visible on all maps up until the end of the eighteenth century, but one can search in vain for the Podlasie village of interest to us.

In the inspection of 1576 mentioned among the villages belonging to the Krzywa demesne are Krzywa, Olszanka and Krukowszczyzna.<sup>59</sup> Then all these settlements were under the leasehold tenancy of Jan Lisowski, the royal chef. The publishers of the inspection state in the footnote that the Krukowszczyzna of interest to us disappeared, and direct us to two other sources. The first of these is the delimitation of the Kryńsk royal forest of 1559. The boundary of this forest runs for the section of interest to us along the Rivers Brzozówka and Czarna, which confirms the permanence of the border demarcated in 1358.<sup>60</sup> Mentioned on the River Brzozówka is the Krukowszczyzna mill, belonging to the abovementioned Lisowski.<sup>61</sup> In turn, a source from 1561 is a review of the manor houses of the Knyszyn forest, where the Kruk mill is mentioned.<sup>62</sup> Additionally the authors of the inspection edition of 1576 have noted that on the terrain of both this map and the map compiled by von Stein there is indeed to be found *Kruczek*, but that this is not a mill but a tavern (*Krug*). While a mill of that name was marked on Perthées's map.

The next mention of Krukowszczyzna we can find in the *recognitiones (rekognicjarz poborowy)* of the Bielsk land of 1581. At the time it was the “noble Ambroży Czarnacki, an administrator of a certain Mr. Piotr Komorowski who gave over the tax from the estates of his master from Krzywa voloks half seven per gr 30, from Olszanka from six settled voloks per gr 30, from Krukowizna from settled voloks 3 per gr 30, from a mill of two rental wheels per gr. 12, and from the fulling wheel gr 15. And from the unspecified smallholders eight six grosze a man. For which the rekognicja he gave sub sigillo.”<sup>63</sup> The acreage in all three villages is the very same as given in the inspection. From the data it results that more than likely between 1576 and 1581 it was given over for leasing. The property of Krzywa is not covered by the inspection of 1602, but in the inspection of 1616 it still remained under the leasehold of the Komorowski family (under Zygmunt and from 1603 Florian).<sup>64</sup> Additionally the village of Krukowszczyzna appears in the the poll tax registers of 1674 and 1676 when it became the property of Stanisław Niemiera, the Lublin cup bearer, and numbered, respectively – 9 and 20 persons.<sup>65</sup>

The descriptions of the parishes commissioned for the needs of compiling the special maps of Karol Perthées in the parish of Korycin mention the village of Krukowszczyzna within the economy of Grodno.<sup>66</sup> In the description of one of the roads noted in addition is “the 3tio (third) road to Jasienowka

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<sup>58</sup> The below fragment on Krukowszczyzna was prepared by M. Gochna.

<sup>59</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 145.

<sup>60</sup> Ревизія пушць и переходовъ, pp. 28–29, 32.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem, footnote 361.

<sup>62</sup> Chomętowski, Materiały, p. 247.

<sup>63</sup> ASK I 47, f. 710.

<sup>64</sup> ASK XLVI 149, ff. 93–93v.

<sup>65</sup> ASK I 70, ff. 844v, 901v, 938v; BCzart, Zbiór Łoyki, MS 1099 IV, p. 768 (formerly f. 348v); see Laszuk, Zaścianki, pp. 47–48, 76, where Niemiera as the owner and certified in 1663, though the author incorrectly describes Krukowszczyzna as lying within the territory of the Sokółka forest.

<sup>66</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z roku 1784*, SP, vol. 1, 1990, p. 168.

with the same the public Warsaw right of way, where situated is the parish church between the south and the winter west/sunset, through an open field one needs to go past a mill on the River Brzozowa named Kruczek (Kruczek mill owned by the wife of the chamberlain of Nur), where the boundary of the Korycin parish ends.”<sup>67</sup> In turn in the parish of Jasionówka appears the double notation *Kruczek*. It is described the first time as: “Kruczek where once the village and mill (the property of Kuczyński) and here according to folk tales and certain signs was half a mile great from the church to the summer east/sunrise” while in the second: “Kruczek mill and demesne farm (manor) of this squire half a quarter of a mile to the winter east/sunset.”<sup>68</sup>

We know that the boundary within this territory was demarcated by the River Brzozówka. In the description of the parish of Korycin we may read: “The parish of Korycin is on the very border of Podlasie and it is separated from the Crown by the River Brzozowa, with all its villages and settlements falling within the economy of Grodno of His Majesty, as was earlier mentioned.”<sup>69</sup> Noted for the parish of Jasionówka is: “The Parish of Jesionowska with all its villages and settlements is situated in the Podlasie Voivodeship, in the Bielsk land, in the district of Brańsk, which touches on through the so-called River Kruczek [Brzozowa – M.G.] with the Grodno district to the summer east/sunrise.”<sup>70</sup>

Taking the above remarks into consideration, we have located Krukowszczyzna on the left bank of the Brzozowa, at the height of the Lithuanian settlement of the same name (and thus in the way that the publishers of the aforementioned inspection marked it on the map that constituted an appendix to it). Presumably both of these villages came into being on grounds belonging to the owner of a mill designated in the sixteenth century as Kruk or Krukowszczyzna, with one belonging within the borders of the Polish Crown and the other the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Podlasie village had disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century, but the Lithuanian one survived. We have adopted for Krukowszczyzna, Krzywa and Olszanka royal ownership, although these settlements moved over to nobility ownership at the end of the sixteenth century.

The placing of three settlements located on the map in the territory of the Bielsk land requires a joint summary: these being Krzywa Wola and two settlements by the name of Krzywiatycze.<sup>71</sup> In the sixteenth-century taxation registers and inspections for royal properties the name Krzywiatycze appears in relation to two settlements: a village comprising a part of the Bielsk starosty<sup>72</sup> as well as the ranger (organising forest guardianship and hunting) settlements that comprised the make-up of Bielsk forestry.<sup>73</sup> The first of these has been identified by the publishers of the inspection of 1576 for the Podlasie Voivodeship as being the village of Krzywa known to us contemporarily, and lying approximately 2 km to the east of the entry of the River Krzywa to the River Orlanka. This identification in the light of the notations contained in the inspection of 1664 raises no doubts whatsoever.<sup>74</sup> However, problematic is determining the spatial localisation of the second settlement by the name of Krzywiatycze – a ranger settlement for the Bielsk forests. The publishers of the inspection for 1576 with no expression of doubt or question have identified it with the present-day village of Krywiatycze.<sup>75</sup> However, the authors of works devoted to the history of the Orla properties bordering on the Bielsk forestry area have considered Krywiatycze to be identical to the settlement belonging to these properties and appearing in the second half of the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth century under the name of Krzywa Wola, Wola or Wólka.<sup>76</sup> Any inclination to identify one of these settlements as being the same as present-day Krywiatycze would constitute the necessity to recognise the validity of the other’s location. In the case of recognising Krzywa Wola (equally appearing under the name Wola or Wólka)

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<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, p. 172.

<sup>68</sup> W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z roku 1784*, p. 204.

<sup>69</sup> Eadem, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z roku 1784*, p. 172.

<sup>70</sup> Eadem, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z roku 1784*, p. 206.

<sup>71</sup> The below fragment on Krzywa Wola and Krzywiatycze was prepared by K. Boroda.

<sup>72</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 54, 65; LWP 1602, p. 85.

<sup>73</sup> ASK I 47, f. 95; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 127.

<sup>74</sup> LWP 1602, p. 85, footnote 176.

<sup>75</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 127, footnote 301.

<sup>76</sup> M. Sierba, *Radziwiłłowskie dobra Orla (1585–1695)*, Białystok 2017, p. 37; G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Orla na Podlasiu. Dzieje Cerkwi, miasta i okolic*, Bielsk Podlaski–Ryboły–Białystok 1997, p. 19; J. Wiśniewski, *Osadnictwo wschodniej Białostoczczyzny – geneza, rozwój, zróżnicowanie i przemiany etniczne*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 11, 1977, p. 23.

as being identical with the present-day settlement of Krywiatycze would result in the only location possibility for the Krzywiatycze of the Bielsk forestry area to be the assumption that the settlement formed a single settlement in conjunction with the Krzywiatycze of the Bielsk starosty and here one divided between these two institutions. However, on the assumption that present-day Krywiatycze is identical to the Krzywiatycze of Bielsk forestry then the problem would be to show a localisation for Krzywa Wola and to explain the source of its name. The situation is made here difficult by the lack of sources relating to Bielsk forestry other than the inspection of 1576 and the tax register of 1577. Luckily there have been preserved for the Orla estates sources from the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century which allow one to resolve this dilemma. Here a key role is played by the letter of Olbracht Gasztołd, Aleksander Iwanowicz Chodkiewicz and Andrzej Borysowicz Łozka to Bohusz Bohowitynowicz of 1529<sup>77</sup> as well as the inventory of the Orla estate for the years 1635 and 1655.<sup>78</sup> The recalled letter came into being as a result of a demarcation conducted by the letter's authors of the Orla estates of Bohusz Bohowitynowicz with the grand-ducal estates. The course of the boundary is described in the same twice over. The first description, placed at the beginning of the letter and which is fairly brief, is adopted from the grand-ducal privilege presented by Bohusz Bohowitynowicz. The second – longer and more detailed – was a description of a letter compiled by the authors in 1529 of the detours in the boundaries and their renewal. In both descriptions the place name Krzywiatycze appears as the orientation point for the course of the boundary. According to the latter, the more detailed description, there was to have run on the eastern bank of the River Orla the border between the nobility estates (besides the Orla properties there was to be located also the village of Szczyty, being at the beginning of the sixteenth century the property of Jan Jakubowicz Szczytowski) and the royal forest: "Along the Krzywa River straightening the border up to the oak where first laid the border Mr Loska and according to which he built a mound and corrected the border. And from the oak through the forest past his meadows Krzywiathyczkie [...] up to the top of the Kimbarew pool to the River Orla."<sup>79</sup> From this description it results that the place name *Krzywiatycze* for certain did not refer to terrain that belonged in the second half of the sixteenth century to the Krzywiatycze village (subsequently Krzywa) of the Bielsk starosty. In addition it is clear that evidently this village at this time did not exist, for in the letter's content named as victims of the unlawful utilisation by Bohusz Bohowitynowicz's serfs of forays (entrances to the Grand Ducal Forest) into the grand-ducal forest – amongst other royal serfs – are the inhabitants of Łoknica, which is present-day Porzecze. Given that contemporarily between the River Krzywa and the settlement of Łoknica (Porzecze) lie the land of the village of Krzywa (sixteenth-century Krzywiatycze of the Bielsk starosty), then any violation of the economic rights of the inhabitants of Łoknica (Porzecze) on the part of Bohusz's serfs could have taken place only when the settlement of Krzywiatycze (Krzywa) was still unfounded. At the same time the place deemed in 1529 as *Krzywiatycze* was not the property of Bohusz Bohowitynowicz. In this letter, similarly to the original act of Sigismund I the Old proclaimed in 1516, he is the possessor of "the Krzywiatycze meadows" and also the "Krzywiatycze *sianożęci* (those who scythe) hay fields". Hence the matter concerned the situation around the environs of Krzywiatycze, on terrain where fodder could be obtained, while with the very name itself *Krzywiatycze* it follows to relate it to a rangers' settlement recalling the present-day village of Krywiatycze. That the identification of Krzywa Wola/Wola/Wólka belonging to the Orla estates with Krywiatycze is flawed results from sources preserved for the Orla estates. In a letter of 1529 there is no mention whatsoever of the settlement of Krzywa Wola/Wola/Wólka. The first piece of information about it appears in the taxation register of 1577 where it is noted as Krzywa Wola, whose taxed acreage is given as 8 voloks. In the deed of gift of the Orla estates of Katarzyna Radziwiłłowa née Tęczyński in favour of her husband Krzysztof Radziwiłł of 1585 it appears, without any information about acreage, as Wola.<sup>80</sup> In turn, in the inventory of the Orla estate for 1635 it figures as Wólka with a farmed acreage of 8 voloks.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> BJ, MS 6 III, pp. 198–201.

<sup>78</sup> Inventory of the manor and town of Orla as well as of the Orla estate of 1635, [in:] G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Orla na Podlasiu*, pp. 148–174; AR XXV 2905, 2906.

<sup>79</sup> BJ, MS 6 III, pp. 198–201.

<sup>80</sup> M. Sierba, *Radziwiłłowskie dobra Orla*, p. 53.

<sup>81</sup> Inventory of the manor and town of Orla as well as the Orla estate of 1635, [in:] G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Orla na Podlasiu*, pp. 173–174.

The name of Krzywiatycze or Krywiatycze does not appear in any of these sources. The first references to the existence of a settlement of the name Krywiatycze within the Orla properties are registered in the inventories of 1654 and 1655, where its cultivated acreage is given as being 9 voloks. However, at the same time there appears in inventories the settlement of Wólka, which – despite a similar acreage (8 voloks) – is beyond any doubt to be identified with the Wólka mentioned in the inventory of 1635. Given that amongst the farmers mentioned in Wólka in 1635, five individuals are noted once again for the settlement of Wólka in the inventory of 1655, then we are dealing with one and the same settlement. This thereby confirms the accuracy in the settlement identification contained in the inspection of 1576 for the ranger settlement by the name of Krzywiatycze with present-day Krywiatycze. While the inclusion of Krywiatycze into the composition of the Orla estates should be dated for the period from 1635 to 1654, research into this matter lies beyond the scope of the present commentary.<sup>82</sup> While along with Krywiatycze it follows to identify Krzywa Wola appearing in the tax register of 1577 (called in 1585 Wola, while for the years 1635, 1654 and 1655 Wólka) with the present-day settlement of Wólka that lies between Orla and Parczew. This is shown in the aforementioned letter of 1529 a description of the boundary course between the lands of the town of Bielsk and the Orla estates. Admittedly there is no mention in it of the existence of a settlement of the name of Wola but it does give information as to the existence of the River Krzywa that has its source in the terrain of the Orla estates and that flows in the direction of Bielsk: “And to the top of the Wiotheskowska River from the head of which leaked out another stream called the Krzywa and which flowed to the town.” And it is on the former Krzywa Riverlet that the present-day settlement of Wólka lies, while the name of the river – Krzywa – makes for the name Krzywa Wola and its sixteenth-century usage clear.<sup>83</sup>

To establish the location of the village of Kulesze-Maćkowięta we have employed the findings of the subject literature. In the sources from the second half of the sixteenth century it appears but twice as Kulesze Maćkowięta and Kulesze Litwa Maćkowięta.<sup>84</sup> We have adopted on the basis of Emil Kalinowski that: “in the second half of the sixteenth century there occurred the division of Kulesze-Litwa into two parts – Maćkowięta and Bogdanowięta. The descendants of Maciej, possibly he died before 1528, gave the beginnings to present-day Stara Litwa.”<sup>85</sup> Kulesze-Maćkowięta has been marked by us on our map in the place of present-day Stara Litwa.

Łapy Nowosiółki we have marked according to von Stein’s map; it is also visible on Textor’s map as *Lapy-Nowosiolky*. On the Quartermaster’s map as well as later cartographic representations of this area (up to the 1920s) Łapy Leśniki can be seen in this place. “In as far as the genesis of Łapy Leśnik was a plot of one of the heirs of Łapy Rechy, then the neighbouring hamlet of Łapy Nowosiółki came into existence at the end of the sixteenth century as the colony Łapy Wity and Bociany. [...] Both hamlets adjoined each other and with time fused into being a single settlement. Already in the second half of the seventeenth century Leśniki and Nowosiółki were referred to most often as a single settlement. The name Łapy Nowosiółki was to finally disappear in the nineteenth century.”<sup>86</sup>

The village of Oczkowizna has been marked in the place of the present-day village of Piętki-Żebry (PRNG, no. 101014; Krajowy Rejestr Urzędowy Podziału Terytorialnego Kraju [TERYT], no. 0398729). At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Żebrowski family of Żebry bought from Andrzej Oczko of Piętki and his sons their land, which was known as Oczkowizna; and created on these lands was

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<sup>82</sup> It is possible that this was preceded by a transfer of the hitherto ranger communities – or a part of them – to another settlement. A part of the forest service of the Bielsk forest area was transferred to newly created settlements at the beginning of the seventeenth century; see J. Smykowski, *Ochrona Puszczy Bielskiej*, p. 7. In an incident known for the year 1670 the rangers from Dmitrowice and Sawczyce, under the jurisdiction of the Białowieża forest area, and here as a result of a limited need for their services, experienced the imposition of serfdom and its regulatory practices as for the normal peasant populace and here for a half of the acreage cultivated by them; see A. Kołodziejczyk, *Z dziejów kolonizacji puszczy*, pp. 87–88.

<sup>83</sup> In the subject literature there does admittedly appear speculation as to the existence of this village even at the turn of the fifteenth century (G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Szczyty: dzieje wsi i parafii*, Bielsk Podlaski–Ryboły–Białystok 2005, pp. 36–37), though this now appears to be an unjustified claim.

<sup>84</sup> ASK I 47, f. 591 (Bielsk tax register of 1580): „Villa Kuliessie Maczkowiętha”; ASK IV 41, f. 39 *recognitiones* (rekognicjarz poborowy of 1581): „s Kuliesz Lithwa Maczkowyałh”.

<sup>85</sup> Quoted from: E. Kalinowski, *Historia obszaru gminy Kulesze Kościelne*, Kulesze Kościelne 2018, p. 42.

<sup>86</sup> Quoted from: Lubicz-Łapiński, p. 48; cf. also Laszuk, Łapy, pp. 21, 23–25.



“The demesne near to the town [Goniądz – J.S.] called Wielki Dworzec”<sup>95</sup> has been marked on the basis of source records and cartographic accounts from the sixteenth century. We know on the basis of information contained in the inventory for the Goniądz starosty and here for 1571 that the demesne was situated half a mile to the east of Goniądz, in the vicinity of the the River Boberek (in the sixteenth century Klewianka), at the village of Klewianka.<sup>96</sup> On Perthées’s map the *Dwor* (manor) was marked to the north-east of the village of Smogorówek, but to the west of the settlement at Jodeszka, but according to the source information this cannot constitute the basis for the localisation of Wielki Dwór. Dated to around the year 1561 “the map of the Knyszyn and Rajgród-Goniądz estates of the third quarter of the sixteenth century,” on a scale of approximately 1:100,000 (with numerous deviations from this value on individual parts of the map),<sup>97</sup> shows *Dworzec Goniczky* to the east of Goniądz, on the left bank (southern) bank of the Biebrza, more or less midway between Goniądz and the inflow of the present-day Jegrznia River to the Biebrza. We have marked Wielki Dworzec to the east of Goniądz, half an *average Polish mile* (that is approximately 3,515 m)<sup>98</sup> from the aforementioned town, close in proximity to the present-day village of Dawidowizna; through the application in localisation of the *Polish great mile* the difference in placement is around 390 metres, which when employing the scale of the main map (1 km = 4 mm) results in the demesne being moved on the map not a whole 1.6 mm in an easterly direction.

Settlements currently non-existent yet possessing a definite location on our map as well as those whose sixteenth-century localisation differs from their current position (according to PRNG) have been noted by us equally in the Drohiczyn land.

The settlement of Glina does not appear in cartographic material until the middle of the nineteenth century. It only appears on the three-verst scale map (as *Омд. д. Глина*) as well as on KdWR (*Glina*); in both cases it was marked on the Stara Maliszewa – Rostki road. It is visible on the WIG map as a loosely built-up area to the west of the aforementioned road. The modern village of Glina is situated about 1 km to the west of the said Rostki – Stara Maliszewa road. Sixteenth-century Glina has been marked according to the position on the three-verst scale map and the KdWR, around 1 km to the east of the present-day settlement.

Koce-Chybowo was marked on the basis of the localisation provided on von Stein’s map (*Koce Chibowo*); it is equally marked on Textor’s map. The picture of the terrain as presented on the Quartermaster’s map finished in this region at the River Nurzec. There is no Koce-Chybowo settlement on Chrzanowski’s map; it also does not appear on the two- and three-verst scale maps or on later maps. More than likely the village became abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century.

The villages of Łempice-Klesie and Radziszewo-Przyrodki have been marked on the basis of the map by von Stein – on the left bank of the Siennica are visible *Klessie* and *Przyrotki*. Equally on the earlier map by Perthées can be seen, and here also on the left bank of the River, *Lempice Klosie* as well as *Radziszewo Przygrodkie*. *Przyrotki* is also visible on the Quartermaster’s map, even though they are situated on the left bank of the River Nurzec besides a detailed photograph of the terrain. In the cartographic material the last time that *Przyrodki* is to be seen is on that of Chrzanowski. Łempice-Klesie has been marked along the Kobusy – Radziszewo-Sieńczuch road at the place where on the

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<sup>95</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 78.

<sup>96</sup> Goniądz 1571, p. 164: “The village of Smogorowka near to Wielki Dworzec”; ibidem, p. 165: “the village of Klewianka right at Wielki Dworzec”; ibidem, p. 187: “the Folwark Wielki Dworzec half a mile from [the] town”; ibidem, p. 189: “behind that manor house is a pond and small mill on the River Klewianka and a second higher up from that which is now in disrepair. Not having reached Wielki Dworzec, two small ponds are situated between the town and this Wielki Dworzec in a field, but in the time of the voivode’s wife fish are there caught.” ibidem, p. 184: “The mill behind Wielki Dworzec and with a pond on the River Klewianka, but it has fallen into disrepair and so no use from it can be had. Above this little mill is another small mill with a sizeable pond on the same River Klewianka, but extremely run down with the sluice all gone. It needs repair. At these mills are four miller areas and there are meadows, which yield around 60 wagons of hay and an alder grove of sorts.”

<sup>97</sup> Map description [in:] S. Alexandrowicz, *Mapy majątkowe północnego Podlasia z XVI wieku*, KHKM, vol. 4, 1966, no. 2, pp. 296–300; idem, *Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2012, pp. 136–137. I would like to thank Dr. M. Sierba for allowing access to a colour photograph of the aforementioned map kept at present at BUWil (F23-135).

<sup>98</sup> Small mile = 6,350 m, average mile = 7,030 m and a great mile = 7,810 m; see *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 14, Wrocław 1982, p. 155; J. Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii*, Warsaw 2004, p. 164.

WIG map is found “a cross or religious figure” on the territory of a field of the name *Klesie*,<sup>99</sup> around 700 m to the south of Łempice. The localisation of the village Radziszewo-Przyrodki is found on the Radziszewo-Sieńczuch – Czaje road, around 800 m to the south-east of the settlement of Radziszewo-Sieńczuch and about 500 m to the north-west of the village Czaje-Wólka.

Von Stein’s map was employed in locating the village of Porzeziny-Jelitki, where it is marked as *Porezini Gelitki*. This was situated around 750–800 metres to the north-east of the village Krynki Borowe and around 1 km to the north-west of the settlement of Porzeziny-Mendle, on the right bank of the River Kukawki (Winna). Such a location is also shown on Textor’s map, where it is written up as *Porzini-Gelitki*. Porzeziny-Jelitki is also visible on the two-verst scale map as *П.-Елумку* as well as the WIG map of 1934 as *Porz. Jelitki*. It is absent on the WIG map of 1937.

The settlement of Reczki has been marked on the basis of the location given on the WIG map, on the area of the demesne of the same name. It was shown on, among others, the map by Perthées (*Hreczki*), Heldensfeld (*Reck H*), the Quartermaster’s (*Fol. Reczki*), on Chrzanowski’s map (*Rętki*), and the three-verst scale map (*Ф. Речку*). Present in this place, according to PRNG, is a “charming former settlement” by the name of *Reczki*.<sup>100</sup> In as far as the localisation of the village Reczki is certain, its existence in the sixteenth century arouses doubts, something that results from the fact that only a few source references could refer to the village of Dmochy-Rętki situated around 1.4 km to the north-east of the settlement of Reczki.<sup>101</sup> The tax registers mention *Reczki* only in 1580, while *Ręthki Dmochy* only in 1588.<sup>102</sup> Information as to the simultaneous existence of both settlements (*Reczki* and *Rętki*) comes to us from 1547 and the cataster of military dues for the nobility of the Drohiczyn land, in which there is mentioned “*Jaruzele, Reczki, Dmochy Mingosy, Rętki, viginti, pro decem*”.<sup>103</sup>

Sarnowo can be seen on Perthées’s map as *Sarnow* on the right bank of the River Kołodziejka (Kamianka), to the south of Knychówek. An exact localisation is presented on Heldensfeld’s map (*Żarnów*) as well as the Quartermaster’s (*Sarnów*). Also Chrzanowski’s map shows Sarnów. On the two-verst scale map where there should be the village of Sarnowo one can see empty fields at a crossroads. The settlement of Sarnowo was marked in a place where on the WIG map is to be found the symbol of “cross or religious figure,” at the crossroads, around 990 m from Knychówek and around 980 m from Józefin. The contemporary forrest settlement of *Sarnowiec*<sup>104</sup> is separated about 1.7 km to the south-east of the spot marked by us for Sarnowo on the main map (about 540 m to the east of the village of Kamianki-Czabaje).

Warchoły was marked about 1.3 km to the east of its present location. Up until the 1930s Warchoły was situated here on the left bank of the River Miedzanka (Miedzna), about 600 m to the east of the Węgrów – Tchórzowa road. Such a state of affairs is visible on the WIG map of 1933. The changes that occurred in localisation up until the mid 1930s are visible on the subsequent edition of the WIG map of 1937. Warchoły is situated about 700 m to the west of the Węgrów – Tchórzowa road on wooded terrain and this state of affairs is true to this day. We have marked the village of Warchoły to the east of the aforementioned road, on the river (about 160 m from the river).

The village of Winna-Krzyczki has been marked according to von Stein’s map, on which may be seen *Hof Krziczki*, on the right bank of the River Kukawka (Winna), between *Winna Wilki* and *Winna Poswientna*. Perthées’s map also depicts *Dwor Krzycki* between *Winna Wilki* and *Winna Poswientna*. Yet

<sup>99</sup> PRNG no. 53740.

<sup>100</sup> PRNG no. 183217.

<sup>101</sup> Popis 1567, f. 998 (entry under the heading „Параоѣя Розбицка”): „Дмохи Редки. Янь Клепачъ кляча, мечъ. Янь Пузо кляча, кае., рогати.. Шиманъ Кесикъ кляча, кае., рогати.. Щасный Войтеховичъ пешо, рогати.. Войтехъ Счасникъ пешо, мечъ. Щасный Клепацкий пешо съ кор.. Станиславъ Пузо выслать сына Яна, кляча, кор.. Валенты Лавъринцовичъ пешъ, мечъ.”; *ibidem* ff. 1003-1004 (entry under the heading „Параоѣя Монкобоцка и Будеска”): „Дмохи Редки. Андрей Станиславовичъ кляча, кае., мечъ. Янь Миколаевичъ кляча, кае., мечъ. Янь Миколаевичъ Долгого кляча, кае., мечъ. Станиславъ Бартошевичъ кляча, кае., мечъ.”

<sup>102</sup> ASK I 47, f. 515 (the year 1580): “Mingosi Ieruselie Reczki the noble Stanisław Jarkowicz paid from these villages with his partners on 10 voloks of land at 15 grosz for every volok which gives for 5 złoty”, an earlier entry concerned the village *Dmochi rogalie rozummi*; *ibidem*, f. 741 (the year 1588): “Ręthki Dmochy Stanisław with partners paid on 10 land voloks 5 florens.”

<sup>103</sup> ADS, sign. D 45, ff. 455v; according to T. Jaszczolt this is a notation from the beginning of the eighteenth century from a now lost Drohiczyn land register of 1547; cf. also T. Jaszczolt, *Osadnictwo lewobrzeżnej części*, pp. 101–102.

<sup>104</sup> PRNG no. 120919.

the settlement of Winna-Krzyczki is not registered in later cartographic materials; the Quartermaster's map ends on the right bank of the Nurzec, it is also absent on the map by Chrzanowski. On the three-verst scale map visible are only *Винно Посвешное* and *Винно Старе (бол)*.

Wólka was marked in the place of the present-day hamlet of Wólka Zamkowa and named Janówek (about 1.8 km to the south-east of Wólka). On the maps of von Stein, Textor, the Quartermasters, the two-verst and the three-verst maps the village of Wólka can be seen. On the aforementioned two-verst, as well as on the KdWR (both 1915) as well as on the WIG of 1934 next to Wólka is also presented Wólka Zamkowa; the name Janówek (in the place of Wólka) appears on the WIG maps of 1937.<sup>105</sup>

A few words of explanation need to be devoted to the localisation of the villages of Wyrozęby-Konaty and Wyrozęby-Podawce. They have been marked on the basis of Perthées's map as well as PRNG, where Wyrozęby-Konaty is located on the left bank of the River Grobelka while Wyrozęby-Podawce (the seat of the parish) on its right bank. Perthées's map shows the parish village of Wyrozęby as well as to the west of it *Wyrozęby Kunaty*. Confirmation of this state of affairs we find also in "Perthées's sketches" where it is noted: "Wyrozęby Kunaty 200 [steps to] the Wes[t]" of the parish village of Wyrozęby.<sup>106</sup> On Heldensfeld's map the village is described simply as *Wyrozemby* (a possible reading of the name *Wyrczemby*) without any differentiation as to Konaty and Podawce. The change in the localisation of the described villages in relation to the situation presented on Perthées's map appears on the Quartermaster's map – on this Wyrozęby Podawce is marked on the left bank of the River Grobelka while Wyrozęby Konaty (together with the symbol of a church) on the right bank.<sup>107</sup> This state of affairs is visible on maps to the end of the 1940s, including the two-verst (sheet from 1915) as well as the three-verst (sheet from 1912) depict "Вырозембы-Конаты" on the east and "Вырозембы-Подавцы" on the west (relative to the course of the River Grobelka), KdWR (sheet from 1915) presents this self same state of affairs: Wyrozęby-Konaty on the east and Wyrozęby-Podawce on the west; Chrzanowski's map shows only Wyrozęby. Even the WIG maps of the 1930s reflect such a state: on maps of a scale 1:25,000 (from 1935) as well as 1:100,000 (published in 1934 and 1937) the terrains adjacent the church are called *Wyrozęby-Konaty* while the built-up area to the west of the church *Wyrozęby-Poniaty*. Of interest is that the Austro-Hungarian map *Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa* of a scale 1:200,000 (sheets 40-52 of 1913) presents the view from Perthées's map: Wyrozęby-Podawce is located at the church on the right bank of the river while Wyrozęby-Konaty to the west of the church.<sup>108</sup>

We have employed an approximation in the localisation of settlements as has been similar in the above group in any case whereby a settlement has disappeared and the available source materials do not allow one to localise it with precision (often all that remains of it is the currently existing topographic designation). Often there are cases where the localisation of a settlement has been established only on the basis of Perthées' map. While here as a result of its lack of cartographic features and precision, it simply cannot be the basis for any certain location. We shall commence our description here as earlier from the Bielsk land.

Boguchwały, as mentioned in the Goniądz starostvo inventory of 1571, is described as bordering with Kramkowskie: "the Kramowka River divides Boguchwały from Kramkowskie and constitutes the boundary between them."<sup>109</sup> On Perthées's map between Kramkówka Wielka and Kulesze can be seen *Boguszewka Zaścianek*.<sup>110</sup> A similar name *Boguszówek* appears on the WIG map of 1930 on the Kosodka River between the settlements of Kulesze and Mejły. Utilising the recalled information, we

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<sup>105</sup> Janówek as well as Wólka Zamkowa appear in *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z oznaczeniem terytorjalnie im właściwych władz i urzędów oraz urządzeń komunikacyjnych*, edited by the Editorial Committee under the direction of T. Bystrzycki, Przemysł-Warsaw [ca] 1933, pp. 594, 1905.

<sup>106</sup> Perthées's sketches, vol. 12, f. 133.

<sup>107</sup> See B. Niemirka, *Szpital Fundacyjny św. Tadeusza w Wyrozębach (Fundacja Tadeusza i Stanisława Doria-Derwałowiczów)*, „Prace Archiwalno-Konserwatorskie na Terenie Województwa Siedleckiego”, 1999, no. 11, pp. 40–41 as well as footnote 35: "the former and frequent mistakes in the siting of the hospital resulted from an oversight on the part of topographical map creators of the nineteenth century, including the Quartermaster's Map of the Kingdom of Poland, where Wyrozęby Podawce is noted as being Wyrozęby Kunaty (and vice versa)." I would like to thank B. Niemirka for consultations on this matter.

<sup>108</sup> See <http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/200e/40-52.jpg> (access 17.06.2021).

<sup>109</sup> Goniądz 1571, p. 162.

<sup>110</sup> *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich*, p. 173 (description of the Goniądz parish): "the Boguszewka backwater of squire Kramkowski, beyond Kramkowa Wielka, five quarters of a mile to the winter west/sunset." (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego*, p. 193).

have located Boguchwały to an approximated degree on the left back of the Kosodka, about 1.2 km to the south-east of the village of Kulesze.

In a similar way we have marked the village of Chudziabino. In describing the voloks of the town of Suraż in 1558 it has been defined that: “At the end of these urban town voloks near to Chudziasyn s kątha [at the end, in the corner of the field], which is curiously known as Kowale by the inhabitants”;<sup>111</sup> from 1562 comes the information that: “In the second place, the hamlet with one end of the hamlet reaching the border of Iliasz Borowski and the other ending at the 16 Zarzeckie volok, while with one side it reaches and touches the voloks of the village of Kowale, and the other side the fields of the doctor’s wife, whose hamlet is called Chudziabina”<sup>112</sup> According to PRNG about 960 m to the south-west of the village Dołki there is to be found a field called *Chudziabino*.<sup>113</sup> The approximate location of the village Chudziabino we have marked on the area of the aforementioned field, about 4.5 km to the south-east of Suraż.

We have marked the localisation of the village Ciekuny according to the PRNG names: between Juchnowiec Dolny and Hołówki Małe, on the right bank of the River Turośnianka (Turosna), where there exist fields called *Ciekuny*.<sup>114</sup> We have marked the settlement around 620 m to the south of *Góra Ciekuńska* and about 420 m from the banks of the Turośnianka.<sup>115</sup>

Falki Nowosady has been located by us to an approximate degree between the settlements of Filipy and Kowale. As an indication of this as the location is the note of 1790 “Falki Nowosady or Kowale.”<sup>116</sup> It is highly likely that this was a settlement founded on the grounds of the village of Filipy (Falki-Filipy) close to Kowale (Falki-Kowale). It is possible that the remains of Falki Nowosady is today visible in the few buildings on the road between Filipy and Kowale, around 800 metres to the north of the village of Kowale.<sup>117</sup>

The village of Grabówka is not visible on maps until the mid twentieth century. One trace of its localisation is the two-verst scale map file of 1913 on which one can see *Ур. Грабовка*, marked to the west of the village of Kamionka; it does not appear on the WIG map of 1930. The sixteenth-century settlement we have marked in the place of the present-day hamlet of the village of Słomianka, called *Grabówka*.<sup>118</sup>

The town hamlet of Hruskie was founded “in the year 1562 on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November administered by Michał Łapa” and comprised three fields.<sup>119</sup> This newly founded village was only then to be developed and built: “The hamlet, in two fields of average sizes, are to be planted facing the houses to the west threshing floors (barnyards) over the street, which is 3 rods across”.<sup>120</sup> This location presumably turned out to be inaccurate; there is an absence of source data concerning the functioning of the village towards the end of sixteenth century as well as in the seventeenth century.<sup>121</sup> Despite the lack

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<sup>111</sup> AWAK 14, p. 50; see J. Maroszek, *Układ przestrzenny miasta Suraża, „Białostoczczyzna”*, 1995, no. 3(39), pp. 48–49, 51. There is no mention of this village in Demidowicz’s work, pp. 21–47.

<sup>112</sup> Suraż 1562, p. 186; the poll tax register of 1676 mentions *Chudziabin et Kowale*, see BCzart, the Łoyko collection, MS 1099 IV, p. 783 (f. 386); F. Łoyko, *Małopolska. Alfabetyczny zbiór wsiów*, p. 455 mentions *Chudziabin*.

<sup>113</sup> PRNG no. 16867; F. Łoyko, *Małopolska. Alfabetyczny zbiór wsiów*, p. 455 mentions *Cekuny*.

<sup>114</sup> PRNG no. 17350; J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, p. 145: “Ciekuny, a former village, now non-existent, at present the fields and grazing are in the village of Juchnowiec Dolny”; the same E. Borysiak, *Ciekuny*, [in:] NMPol, vol. 2, p. 128 as well as Kondratiuk, p. 42.

<sup>115</sup> PRNG no. 17351; J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, p. 252: “Ciekuny was a village belonging to the Góra Juchnowiecka estate. In 1673 the village belonged to the holdings of Góra Juchnowiecka. Here resided 17 of Gabriel Kurzeniecki’s serfs, the Parnawa province land ensign.”

<sup>116</sup> Kondratiuk, p. 98; the same NMPol, vol. 5, p. 215.

<sup>117</sup> On the WIG of 1922 the surrounding settlements still had the common component “Falki” in the name: Falki Filipy, Falki Godziemby, Falki Kowale, Falki Stare.

<sup>118</sup> PRNG no. 37675.

<sup>119</sup> Suraż 1562, p. 186, cf. also: *Siolo Hruskie Mieszkcie*, [in:] PKGE, pp. 451–452; see J. Maroszek, *Układ przestrzenny miasta Suraża*, pp. 49–50 as well as the map *Miasto Suraż w 1562 r. – odtworzenie struktur rolnych*, and insert at the end of this edition of “Białostoczczyzna”. The layout of the fields for the village of Hruskie is presented by map 7: “Suraż east bank, Kowale and Hruskie, 1563”, [in:] Demidowicz, p. 34.

<sup>120</sup> Suraż 1562, p. 187; the same [in:] PKGE II, p. 451.

<sup>121</sup> An absence of information about the village Hruskie e.g., in the poll tax register of 1676 see BCzart, Łoyko collection, MS 1099 IV, where the Suraż parish is described from p. 778 (f. 383v) to p. 785 (f. 387); F. Łoyko, *Małopolska. Alfabetyczny zbiór wsiów*, p. 463 mentions a *Hruska* in the Brańsk district.

of certainty as to whether the location actually reached fruition and over what period the settlement could have functioned we have marked it in the present-day field called *Hruska*,<sup>122</sup> about 1.4 km to the north of built-up area of the town of Suraż.

We have marked the settlement of Koziółek (Koziełki) at the inflow of the River Kurówka to the Narew. Perthées's map presents (in the Narew forks) *Dawny Okop Koziółek zwany*, while on the Quartermaster's map visible on the left bank of the Narew is *Koziółek Red[uta]*. The aforementioned settlement has been marked on our map as a village with an approximated location in the forks of the Kurówka and Narew, in place of the then visible remains of the so-called 'Swedish sconce.'<sup>123</sup> The village finds a mention in 1673 in the parish of Waniewo; *Koziółek* is equally the name of a forest situated on the remains of the fortification still visible to this day, about 370 m to the north of the *Zerwany Most* nature reserve (*uroczysko*) [Uroczysko – a part of a forest (less often of fields or meadows) of indicative significance, without strictly defined borders and one often forming a small area for a nature reserve].<sup>124</sup>

The settlement of Krasowo-Rybałty has received an approximated location on our map in the place of the present-day village of Wierzbowizna, on the right bank of the River Tłoczewka. In the military rolls (*popis*) of 1528 Jan Rybałt is mentioned at the village of Tłoczewo.<sup>125</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century the owners of the settlement were the Wierzbowski family – in 1565 mentioned is Baltazar Wierzbowski, while for the years 1578–1580 Jan Wierzbowski. On Perthées's map visible is *Kraszewo Wierzbowizna*, von Stein's map presents *Kraszewo Wierzbowizna*, on Textor's map there appears *Kraszewo*, the Quartermaster's map shows *Kraszowo Wierzbowizna*, while on the map by Chrzanowski visible is *Krassowo*.

Łapy-Rechy has been located on the basis of the findings of Łukasz Lubicz-Łapiński: "Łapy Rechy constitutes today the northern part of the settlement of Łapy Szołajdy, into which it was absorbed during the course of the seventeenth century."<sup>126</sup> Łapy-Stryjce has been marked down as an approximated location between the settlements of Łapy-Kołpaki and Łapy-Pluśniaki. The point is placed to the north of *Sokołowski Gościniec*, on the terrain belonging to the settlement of Łapy-Kołpaki, in the place of the field called *Strycze*.<sup>127</sup>

Łopienie-Grochy has obtained an approximated location. This results from the fact that we cannot be certain as to which of the contemporary parts of Łopienie constituted the initial endowment.

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<sup>122</sup> PRNG no. 180783.

<sup>123</sup> See S. Herbst, *Potrzeba historii czyli o polskim stylu życia. Wybór pism*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1978, pp. 125–127, where equally is the author's measurement notation. J. Maroszek has contended that: "from the description of 1560 it in no way results that Koziółek belonged to the Tykocin fortress, it could have been protected by not the Gosztołd castle but by the Radziwiłł castle at Waniewo, for it was situated at the mouth of the River Kurówka and connected by land on the side of the Waniewo manor in Kurów," idem, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, p. 343, footnote 84, ibidem (tabl. XXIV after p. 384) fort Koziółek according to J. Adamski's measurements of 1991; approx. 850 m to the north-west of Waniewo and around 820 m to the north of the River Waniewka's outlet into the Narew is to be found the hill fort Zamczysko (PRNG, no. 180081); cf. also A. Oleksicki, *Waniewo. Dzieje regresu dawnego miasta, „Białostoczczyzna”*, 1988, no. 3(11), pp. 10–11; idem, *Waniewo, z przeszłości dawnego miasta, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego”*, vol. 7, 2001, pp. 162, 164, 166; for more on the castle in Waniewo see M. Gochna, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.2a.8.

<sup>124</sup> Laszuk, Zaścianki, p. 111; PRNG no. 60676.

<sup>125</sup> Popis 1528, p. 145: „Село Тлоче земляне Идко Щепановичъ сам. Лавринецъ Презьдецкий сам. Станиславъ Лавринцевич сам. Янь Рыбалтъ сам. Аньдреевад Прошевскаад сам. С тых 2 кони”.

<sup>126</sup> Lubicz-Łapiński, p. 28, cf. ibidem pp. 28–29: *Łapy Szołajdy i Rechy* oraz Map 5: *Wsie Łapy Szołajdy i Rechy*; see also Laszuk, Łapy, p. 23, Table 1: *Wsie Łapy w XVI–XVIII w.*; I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe*, p. 106: „Rechy the part of village Szołajdy”.

<sup>127</sup> PRNG no. 132189. Lubicz-Łapiński, p. 35: “Here at Łapy Pluśniaki was there hamlet – Łapy Stryjce (or Strycze) where the Łapy (Łapowie) family with the nickname of Baran resided. With time a part of the village that belonged to this branch of the family was named Łapy-Barany or Barany. The name of this hamlet was to disappearance from documents towards the end of the eighteenth century along with the disappearance of the dynastic line Łapy-Barany.” and map 9: *Wsie Łapy Pluśniaki i Stryjce*, where Stryjce is marked to the south-west of Łapy Pluśniaki; elsewhere the author writes (p. 71): “Baran (the line died out). The Łapiński line with this appellation possessed a plot between Łapy Korczaki and Pluśniaki. Towards the end of the sixteenth century this hamlet was known as Łapy Stryjce (or Strycze), with the name Łapy Barany also sometimes appearing. [...] The remains of this family is the customary name of the field *Strycze* as well as *Góra Baranicha* [*Baranicha Hill*] in Łapy Pluśniaki”. The aforementioned hill (at present *Góra Baranicka*, PRNG no. 2651) is to be found to the north of *Sokołowski Gościniec* between Łapy-Pluśniaki and Łapy-Kołpaki as well as between *Sikanowa Górka* (PRNG no. 122563) and the field called *Strycze* (PRNG no. 132189). See also Laszuk, Łapy, p. 23, Table 1: *Wsie Łapy w XVI–XVIII w.*, p. 24, Table 2: *Liczba majątków szlacheckich w Łapach na przełomie XVII i XVIII wieku* as well as the table (without designation) on p. 25.

Łopienie-Grochy has been marked by us on the terrain of the present-day village of Łopienie-Jeże, at the crossroads with the road heading in the direction of the village of Skłody-Przyrusy, employing the localisation presented on the Quartermaster's map. Von Stein (and following him Textor also) as well as the map by Chrzanowski show the differences in the placing of the settlements of Łopienie-Jeże and Łopienie-Szelągi when compared with that of the Quartermaster's map, and subsequently with the later two- and three-verst scale maps.<sup>128</sup>

The approximated localisation of Niewodnica Brzosczyńska is based on hitherto research and the subject literature: "Stanisław Brzoska was a close neighbour of the Chołonecki family, his manor house called Niewodnica Brzosczyńska was situated on the left bank of the brook, Niewodnica Nargilewska, and Niewodnica Lewickich. Today in its place is a deserted, ploughed under buildingless manor site with traces of a water mill."<sup>129</sup> The point signalling Niewodnica Brzosczyńska has been placed between the present-day scant buildings and the River Niewodnica, in the place where on the photographs of the Numerical Terrain Model (NMT) are visible the remains of pools.

The settlement of Olszanka is visible only on Perthées's map between the village of Krzywa and the demesne Grodzisk (Grodzisko), to the north-east of the settlement of Romejki (Romiejki).<sup>130</sup> It does not appear in the cartographic material of the nineteenth and twentieth century; presumably towards the end of the eighteenth century it ceased to exist and function. Olszanka has been marked to an approximated degree in the place of a forest of the same name, about 600 metres to the north of Kolonia Kamionka.<sup>131</sup>

Parszyce, mentioned in the years 1581 and 1593–1594,<sup>132</sup> we have marked on the basis of the subject literature. Jerzy Wiśniewski conjectured that: "The village of Parszyce was on the right bank of the River Biała, its place taken by the demesne Wysoki Stoczek and Ogrodniczki (the remains of the Parszyno field)."<sup>133</sup> Józef Maroszek has spoken of the location of Parszyce to be in the place of

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<sup>128</sup> Present-day Łopienie-Szelągi, Łopienie-Zyski, Łopienie-Ruś, Łopienie-Pamięciaki as well as Łopienie-Jeże are situated – in order from the north to the south – on the left bank of the River Dzieża. On von Stein's map the layout of the aforementioned settlements is the reverse: *Jeze Lopienie* was marked in the north, with the subsequent settlements in a southerly direction being: *Tyszki Lopienie*, *Rus: Lopienie*, *Szelongi Lopienie*; the same being the case on Textor's map, where visible in the north is *Lopienie Jeze*, and in the south *Lopienie Szelongie*. Chrzanowski's map also reflects the arrangement as given by von Stein (and Textor).

<sup>129</sup> *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, vol. 1: *Niewodnica*, ed. J. Maroszek, W.F. Wilczewski, Białystok 1997, pp. 3–4; same J. Maroszek, W.F. Wilczewski, *Dzieje obszaru gminy Turośń Kościelna*, Turośń Kościelna 1997, p. 4; eidem, *Niewodnica: dzieje kościoła i parafii 1596–1996*, Białystok 1996, pp. 7–8; „[...] already in the interwar period the manor house was significantly destroyed. With this process continuing to this day. The manor house was ruined, other manor buildings were taken apart and dismantled while many new ones were raised. The ponds became overgrown with rushes and the environs of the river with alders. The entrance drive was removed. Almost all the ornamental trees were removed from the gardens.” J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, p. 270, see also: *Niewodnica Brzosczyńska*, ibidem pp. 266–269 as well as idem, *Lewickie*, „Rubieże. Pismo poświęcone historii, tradycji i kulturze polskiej”, 1993, no. 2–3, pp. 107–111.

<sup>130</sup> Chomętowski, *Materiały*, p. 280: "The hamlet of Olszanka. For this hamlet and from Jasiński the King's cook was taken in exchange and for which was given 10 voloks, the starosty that Mr. Jasiński held in the (royal villages, that is in the hamlet Bobrówka 5 voloks while in Brzozowa five voloks, which he had for the starosty;" *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich*, p. 188 (description of the Jasionówka parish): "Olszanka an average mile to the north" (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego*, p. 204); see J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, pp. 404, 458, 477.

<sup>131</sup> PRNG no. 92542.

<sup>132</sup> *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, vol. 3: *Białystok*, ed. and intro. J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999; see also J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy Kościoła Farnego w Białymstoku z 4 grudnia 1581 roku*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1996, no. 2(42), pp. 3–8; T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów parafii Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Białymstoku*, [in:] *Bazylika katedralna w Białymstoku: Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 100-lecia poświęcenia kościoła Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Białymstoku (1905 – 17 IX – 2005)*, ed. T. Krahel, Białystok 2005, p. 14; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A.C. Dobroński, Białystok 2012, pp. 64–66; ZZG, sign. no. 2, pp. 109–112.

<sup>133</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Początki Białegostoku i okolicznego osadnictwa*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 4, ed. H. Majecki, Białystok 1985, p. 26; on the map *Osadnictwo okolic Białegostoku* (ibidem, p. 19) Parszyce is marked with the symbol “+” on the bend of the River Białystok, close to the inlet of the Studena Woda stream (at present the inflow of the Bażantarka to the River Biała). Of interest is that T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, ed. J. Antoniewicz, J. Joka, Białystok 1968, p. 112 as well as the map on p. 113, do not mention Parszyce at all: "In 1581 these settlements are listed in the privilege for the Catholic church in Białystok under the names Zawady and Miłasze", see ibidem, footnote 23: "the documents names only Zawady nad Supraślą [sic!]"

the former village of Ogrodniczki Wysokostockie<sup>134</sup> (separated by about 700–750 m to the north of the village of Wysoki Stoczek); similar opinions to those expressed by Maroszek have been voiced by, among others, Tomasz Popławski<sup>135</sup> and Tadeusz Krahel.<sup>136</sup> We have placed Parszyce in an approximated location between the villages of Wysoki Stoczek and Ogrodniczki Wysokostockie on the territory of the present-day housing estate Osiedle Wysoki Stoczek.

The settlement of Puszkarze is only visible on Perthées's map of Podlasie, and here between Piwowary and Ołdaki. The inventory of Goniądz starosty of 1571 describes that "Puszkarzowie [...] Boundaries are held with Hołdaki."<sup>137</sup> The village of Puszkarze has been marked in the place of the present-day field which PRNG defines as *Puczkarzy*,<sup>138</sup> around 900 m to the north-west of the settlement of Kosioriki.

Roszki-Trojanki is marked only on the map by Perthées; it has been localised, according to the aforementioned on the left bank of the River Awissa, between the settlements of Roszki-Ziemaki and Roszki-Bieńki (today a part of the village of Roszki-Wodźki).

The village Solistowo (Szelistowo) also only appears on the map by Perthées. Enhanced by information that the settlement was 'divided between Solistówka and Żrobki'<sup>139</sup> we have placed Solistowo with an approximated localisation on the left bank of the River Słuczka, about 800 m to the north of Solistówka.

Trubianka was mentioned and described in *Rejestr pomiaru włócznej Kleszczel w roku 1560*, however the description therein contained does not allow for one to precisely locate a point on the map.<sup>140</sup> The point has been placed where PRNG has determined it to be a part of the forest called *Trubianka*, around 3 km to the north-east of Kleszczele.<sup>141</sup> The inspection of 1616 mentions the wild Trubianka nature reserve (*uroczyisko*).<sup>142</sup>

Wólka has been marked in an approximated location between the settlements of Mazury and Brok. In 1576 the hamlet of Wolka, belonging to the demesne Mazury, had "10 voloks of average

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<sup>134</sup> J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument*, p. 6: "Presbytery tithes were to be given by the inhabitants of the village of [...] Parszyce (presumably Ogrodniczki Wysokostockie)"; the same idem, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, p. 66; the aforementioned researcher in producing *Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych* (vol. 3: *Białystok*), as conjectured on another possibility re. the location of Parszyce: "an unidentified name. I. Grochowska claimed that from amongst the names of the grounds cultivated by peasants from the villages of Białystoczek were to be found grounds called *Parszyna*, which was to have been a reminiscence of the lost Parszyce. We personally are of the view that Parszyce is the name of a boyar village of boyars in existence until the eighteenth century around the present-day Warszawska Street (formerly Bojarska Street) known from 1676 but without a name designation", *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, vol. 3: *Białystok*, p. 32, footnote 23.

<sup>135</sup> T. Popławski, *Przestrzeń współczesnego miasta Białegostoku na tle historycznych podziałów*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1996, no. 2(42), p. 16: "the date of the village's foundation is unknown even though much points to, Ogrodniki being together with the manor establishment of Wysoki Stoczek referenced in historical records, the Church village of Parszyce existing already in 1581. And although it may sound rather unconvincing the fundamental reason for which I claim that Parszyce be located in this place is the lack of anywhere else in the Białystok estate where it could have been founded."

<sup>136</sup> T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów parafii Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, p. 14: "Parszyce was in the place of the subsequent demesne of Wysoki Stoczek and Ogrodniczki".

<sup>137</sup> Goniądz 1571, p. 162.

<sup>138</sup> PRNG no. 112914.

<sup>139</sup> P. Swoboda, *Solistowo* [in:] NMPol, vol. 15 p. 63; see J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1967, pp. 81, 85, 90–92.

<sup>140</sup> *Rejestr pomiaru włócznej Kleszczel z roku 1560*, pp. 237–238: "The town demesnes at Trubianka are 25 voloks of poor quality land. In distribution they spread from Czochów [...] The fields lying with one ends to the wall of the town voloks, have their other end on the volok of the hamlet of Czochów and the royal forest, with one side to the town voloks at Dobra Woda, and the other side to the voloks at the hamlet of Jelonka. The boundaries around staked out and measured in rods. One wall borders with the town voloks. The second wall borders with the voloks of the hamlet of Jelonka. The third side with the voloks of the hamlet of Czechów and the royal forest of Kamieniecka."

<sup>141</sup> PRNG no. 140564; Kondratiuk, p. 204: "Trubianka, today a field in the village of Kleszczele"; on the WIG map of 1931 visible are fields (right up to Jelonka) to the right of the Kleszczele-Hajnówka road; cf. *Schematyczny plan gruntów Kleszczel z podziałem na pola miejskie [...] i przedmieścia według pomiaru włócznej z 1560 r.* placed within: M. Roszczenko, *Kleszczele*, p. 42.

<sup>142</sup> ASK XLVI 149, f. 141: "The Trubianka (*uroczyisko*) reserve is 25 voloks. A rent of 22 Lithuanian grosz is paid on each, facit zł 22/27/9". *Rewizja przez komornika Pelchowskiego pomiaru miasta JKMCi Kleszczel* of 1784 mentions: *Granica obrembu Trubianki*, see M. Roszczenko, *Kleszczele*, p. 419.

ground.”<sup>143</sup> The inspection of 1616 contains information that the hamlet of Wólka “was deserted and its land held by serfs from the villages of Mazury and Brok. There were 10 voloks.”<sup>144</sup> What remained of this village is presumably the name of the forest *Mazury*<sup>145</sup> situated between the indicated settlements. We have marked Wólka on the terrain of the aforementioned forest, about 6.3 km to the north-east of Wysokie Mazowieckie.

Similar problems have occurred in the location of settlements in the Drohiczyn land.

Budkowszczyzna received an approximated location around 2 km to the west of Drohiczyn. Such a location is implied in the document of 1522 concerning land distribution – then it was Jan Radziwiłł the Drohiczyn starost who gave ground to the Drohiczyn usher Bartłomiej Budka. This document contains a description of the boundaries of the bequeathed lands; on the one side enumerated is the boundary with the municipal lands of Drohiczyn, while on the other with those of the village of Runice.<sup>146</sup> It is possible that the remains of the aforementioned village of Budkowszczyzna (in 1551 under the name Sadowiec) is the eastern, contemporary part of the lands of the village of Wólka Zamkowa, which fairly ‘untypically’ separated the village of Runice from Drohiczyn (according to the data of the State Boundary Register, *PRNG*).

The settlements of Blochy and Cholewy, lying on the right bank of the River Buczynka, we have marked as approximated taking as suggestions those resulting from its location on the map by Perthées. We have decided to locate the settlement of Blochy on the main map between the settlements of Sterdyń and Stelągi and the village of Cholewy between Stelągi and Kuczaby. Both these settlements do not appear in later cartographic materials.

The village of Choszczówka has received an approximated location on the map; it has been marked on the right bank of the River Myśla, on the Liszki – Skrzeszew road, about 500 m from the last buildings of the village of Liszki.<sup>147</sup>

Koce-Masły, the colony as well as the name of a field in the village of Koce-Basie and Koce-Schaby,<sup>148</sup> has been marked in an approximated location within the territory of the village of Koce-Basie. Thanks to the information obtained in the village administration (sołectwo) at Koce-Schaby it has been possible to locate the settlement with more accuracy: Koce-Masły we have marked around 630 m to the south of the crossroads of the roads Koce-Basie – Kobusy and Koce-Schaby – Trzaski as well as about 620 m to the north of the *Dąbrówka* forest.<sup>149</sup>

Krakówki-Świdry has been marked between the settlements of Krakówki-Dąbki and Borzomy. Amidst the aforementioned settlements is a field which the local inhabitants call Świdry.<sup>150</sup> This information has allowed us to make an approximated location for the settlement of Krakówki-Świdry and here around 500 m to the west of Krakówki-Dąbki and around 600 m to the east of the village of Borzomy.

The village of Leszczka-Mikulicze, appearing in sources from the 1560s as Mikulicze, Leszczka Mikulicze,<sup>151</sup> does not appear in any available cartographic material until the 1930s. For the first time Leszczka is visible on the WIG map of 1937. It is interesting that on the map by von Stein marked is a glade in a forest on the road heading from Czartajew to Wiercień Duży, of dimensions of approxi-

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<sup>143</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 106: “The hamlet Wolka. In this hamlet there are 10 voloks of average land, this comprising: cultivated voloks 7, of which they pay a Polish złoty and 4/5, which from all the cultivated voloks makes for a Polish złoty 29/5. Unbroken [translator: designed for pulling, working with animals or a large volok] other voloks 2, they pay for each Polish złoty 1/25, and from both these unbroken these voloks makes for Polish złoty 3/20. An empty, uncultivated volok – 1.”

<sup>144</sup> ASK XLVI 149, f. 115v.

<sup>145</sup> PRNG no. 78678.

<sup>146</sup> Information from Dr. T. Jaszczółt.

<sup>147</sup> The exact location of Choszczówka was possible thanks to information from Bogusław Niemirka, for which we are most grateful.

<sup>148</sup> Kondratiuk, p. 90; they do not appear in PRNG.

<sup>149</sup> PRNG no. 22411.

<sup>150</sup> Information from Dr Tomasz Jaszczółt.

<sup>151</sup> In 1565 Mikołaj Kiszka the Drohiczyn starost changed lands with the Leszczyński family of the Perlejewo parish: in exchange for certain lots in Leszczka in the parish of Perlejewo he gave them ground called Mikulicze, situated at his Czartajew properties; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-9, ff. 525v–526 (information from Dr Tomasz Jaszczółt); Popis 1567, f. 981: „Село Микуличе Ваврынецъ Станиславовичъ [...] Юри Миколаевичъ [...] Янь Павловичъ [...] Станиславъ Андрѣевичъ”; AUPL, p. 293: „Leszczka Mikulicze: nobleman Jan son Pawłow, nobleman Jerzy son Mikołajow, nobleman Stanisław son Andrzejow, nobleman Wawrzyniec son Andrzejow, the heirs of Leszczka Mikulicze”.

mately 650 m length and around 170 m in width, in the place where at present is to be found Leszczka. Whether this empty forest terrain constitutes the remains of the deserted, neglected or destroyed settlement of Leszczka-Mikulicze is difficult to state unequivocally. Given such a conjecture, this would be an example of the survival of a settlement's name within the consciousness of the region's inhabitants for 300–400 years. We have placed the sixteenth-century settlement in the aforementioned location as an approximation.

An extended commentary is required in the case of the village and town of Miedzna vel Międzyzylesie.<sup>152</sup> The village of Miedzna has fifteenth-century registers. In that century the church of St. Stanisław was founded, the first mention being 1470. The church funder could have been the then owner of the village, Stanisław Karski. The said in 1469 bequeathed the Miedzna estate to his daughter and her husband Stanisław Wodyński. Following Wodyński's death in 1503 the owner of Miedzna became his son Mikołaj, who died in 1528, and after him the next in line from the Wodyński family was Jan, who bestowed Magdeburg rights on Miedzna in 1531. At the time beside the bestowing of a town charter and rights, the settlement changed its name to Międzyzylesie.<sup>153</sup> This name was to function simultaneously in the mid sixteenth century and for the duration of the seventeenth century with the old name of Miedzna.<sup>154</sup>

The location of a town did not completely eliminate, as it seems, the village of Miedzna. Both settlements, the town of Międzyzylesie vel Miedzna and the village of Miedzna, functioned in the second half of the sixteenth century, something borne out by the tax registers. The register of 1578 although it does not contain the tax payments from towns, does mention the village of Miedzna, which paid was 7 peasant voloks and five smallholders with land. The most information is provided by the register of 1580. Mentioned is the small town of Miedzna (58 municipal voloks, 16 market square houses, 84 street houses, an impoverished glass worker, a baker and four peddlers) as well as the village of Miedzna (6 peasant voloks). Both registers also note payments from the *poświętne* of Międzyzylesie – in 1578 from five smallholders with land, while in 1580 only from five unspecified smallholders. The liquor excise tax of 1580 notes under the heading “Miedzna” a payment of this tax brought by “the mayor with council, a Międzyzylesie burgher.”<sup>155</sup> The last register of 1588 mentions merely the town of Międzyzylesie (58 municipal voloks, 16 market-square town houses, 20 street houses, 64 poor dwellings) as well as a collective payment (five annual rental mills, 39.5 peasant voloks, 19 smallholders with land) from the Międzyzylesie parish from Katarzyna Kryska of Lisowo, 1<sup>mo</sup> voto Wodyńska, the wife of Stanisław Kryski, the Mazovian governor.<sup>156</sup> The tax registers consistently define the parish as Międzyzylesie.<sup>157</sup> The appearance of the village of Miedzna next to the town of Międzyzylesie was equally noted in 1599 by Aleksander Jabłonowski.<sup>158</sup>

The exact location of the village of Miedzna following the founding of the town of Międzyzylesie remains unknown. Its identification is made all the more difficult by the fact that in the seventeenth century the village of Międzyzylesie appears (in existence to this day),<sup>159</sup> situated about 9 km to the north-west of the former small town of Międzyzylesie (at present the parish and district village of Miedzna). The appearance of this settlement in later sources make the employment of a retrogressive method

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<sup>152</sup> The below fragment concerning Miedzna vel Międzyzylesie was prepared by M. Gochna.

<sup>153</sup> Jaszczolt, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 126–129. According to E. Borowski Miedzna gained its charter already in 1522 while in 1531 Jan Wodyński merely proclaimed the said rights. E. Borowski, *Sanktuarium Matki Bożej w Miedznej*, Drohiczyn 1996, p. 10.

<sup>154</sup> ASK I 70, ff. 31v, poll tax register of 1663: in the headings “Parochia Miedzilescen[sis]” and “Miedzna cum villis et Miedzilesz”, in the Miedzna notes. Ibidem, f. 229, poll tax register of 1674: in the heading “Paraphia Miedznienska”, in the notes the demesne and Miedzna townlet. BCzart., Łoyko Collection, MS 1099 IV, f. 607, poll tax register of 1676: “Miedzna townlet”. The sejm constitution for the year 1631 establishing the land court terms in the same place denominates the townlet as Międzyzyleś. In the constitution of 1678 reestablishing the land court sessions anew following the failure of the previous act to be realised used the name “Międzyzyleś alias Miedzna” as well as Miedzna. In turn, the privilege of Jan Butler of 1690, the nota bene heir “at Miedzna and Krześlno”, defines it as the townlet of Miedzna alias Międzyzyleś. VL, vol. 3, p. 331 (692), vol. 5, p. 284 (582); M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym*, Warsaw 1886, vol. 3a, p. 417.

<sup>155</sup> ASK I 47, f. 560.

<sup>156</sup> Boniecki, *Herbarz polski. Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*, vol. 12, Warsaw 1908, p. 385.

<sup>157</sup> ASK I 27, ff. 917v; ASK I 47, ff. 522, 748v. For more on the parish and parish church see B. Szady, *Catholic Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.2.2a.8.

<sup>158</sup> Podlasie II, p. 252.

<sup>159</sup> ASK I 70, ff. 31v, the poll tax register of 1663; ibidem, f. 229, poll tax register of 1674 r; BCzart., Łoyko Collection, MS 1099 IV, f. 607, poll tax register 1676 PRNG no. 80199.

difficult. In accordance with the principles of the Atlas we have nevertheless decided to locate the settlement to a degree approximated to the sixteenth-century village of Miedzna in the place of the seventeenth-century village of Międzyzylesie (a hypothetical identification).<sup>160</sup> Evidence pointing to just such an identification is the document of 1534 in which the owner of both settlements Jan Wodyński bestowed a dowry and dower on to his wife Małgorzata Radzanowska. In this act of bequest, mentioned are the settlements from the Drohiczyn land belonging to Wodyński in three estate demesnes – Miedzna, Krześlin and Łysów. The settlements mentioned in the document from the particular demesnes are enumerated in an order geographically determined, while from where a given settlement appears on the list one can conjecture as to its location. In the demesne of interest to us, that of Miedzna, the village of Miedzna is mentioned after Stara Wola, Tchorzowa, but before Kozolupy, Rostki, Ugoszcz, the lost village of Mikołajewo and Pogorzela.<sup>161</sup> It is therefore a localisation identical with the seventeenth-century localisation of the village of Międzyzylesie. And we have adopted the name from the location founding document – Międzyzylesie<sup>162</sup> to enable a differentiation in the present volume of the town of the Wodyński family from that of their village of Miedzna. Given such an assumption the village of Miedzna, initially lying in the place of present-day Miedzna, following the founding of the town of Międzyzylesie was moved together with the name to a new place, while leaving the church in the old location. Subsequently, more than likely in the first half of the seventeenth century, a swap in the place names occurred, so during the course of the seventeenth century the use of both names in reference to the same town were employed.

Perthées's map has been used to locate the approximated settlement of Miodusy-Michałowięta. It has been placed between Miodusy Wielkie (Miodusy-Stara Wieś) and Miodusy-Perki (at present a part of the village of Miodusy Wielkie), on the right bank of the River Brok Mały. In 1546, the sons of the late Michał owned the village of *Miodusy Antiqua*.<sup>163</sup>

The settlement of Płatowo has been marked between the settlements of Mierzynówka and Czarna Wielka, in the place of the field referred to by PRNG as *Platowo*.<sup>164</sup> It is to be found around 2.3 km to the south-east of Mierzynówka and around 2.5 km to the north-west of Czarna Wielka, to the north of the road between the mentioned villages.

Porzeziny-Surały as well as Porzeziny-Sipki have been localised to the north-west and north of Porzeziny-Giętki (to the west and south-west of Kozłowo). Around 350–450 metres to the north-west of Porzeziny-Giętki is to be found a field called by the local inhabitants *Suwały*; and it is there that we have also marked Porzeziny-Surały.<sup>165</sup> Appearing in court ledgers Porzeziny-Sipki has been described as a settlement bordering on the lands of the settlement of Koryciny, which would point to Porzeziny-Sipki being the most northern most village in this area.<sup>166</sup> It was marked about 800 m to the north of Porzeziny-Giętki on the Kozłowo – Sypnie road.

The village of Winna-Cibory has been marked in an approximation degree thanks to the map by Perthées. *Cibory* was placed on it between the settlements of Winna-Wilki and *Bojenka*, on the right bank of the River Kukawka (Winna). On von Stein's map one can see in this place a building referred to as *Heu Scheune*. Taking into consideration the positioning on Perthées's map we have marked an approximated location for the settlement of Winna-Cibory on the Winna-Wilki – Bujenka road, about 600 m from the village of Winna-Wilki.

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<sup>160</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; see footnote 7 above.

<sup>161</sup> The PAAS and PAS Library in Cracow (Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie), MS 8822, no. 2, p. 117; AGAD, Sumariusz księgi ziemskiej drohiczyńskiej z l. 1529–1534, p. 138. Both sources are copies from the lost Drohiczyn ledger for the years 1529–1534. The second excerpt lists also Orzeszówka up to Rostki and before Mikołajew, but the author of the extracts has put a question mark next to this note. The first extract does not recall this settlement even though it is known it existed in the sixteenth century and was the property of the Wodyński family. Even if in fact Orzeszówka was mentioned in the original, this would not upset the logical arrangement of the list of settlements in this document.

<sup>162</sup> Kopicjana 3, pp. 314–321. Under such a name this settlement appears also in the itinerary of Stefan Batory. The king stopped off there on his return trip from Tykocin to Warsaw on the 1 August 1576. A. Pawiński, *Księgi podkarpackie z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, Warsaw 1881 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 9), part 1, p. 58; M. Wrede, *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, Warsaw 2010, p. 81.

<sup>163</sup> ADS, sign. D 5, f. 197. Information from Dr T. Jaszczółt.

<sup>164</sup> PRNG no. 102308.

<sup>165</sup> Information from Dr T. Jaszczółt.

<sup>166</sup> Information from Dr T. Jaszczółt.

We have also marked settlements within the Mielnik land by means of an approximated degree of location.

Cieciorki (at present: Jeziorki) has been marked according to information that has been found in the Mielnik ledgers including one of 1551 with the division of lots between the heirs of Malinowo and Korzeniówka.<sup>167</sup> The approximated localisation of the settlement of Cieciorki has been marked about 750 m to the south-west of the village of Korzeniówka, to the east of the road between Malinowo/Lipiny and Korzeniówka; in this region also the local inhabitants referred to the field, grazing land and forest as *Jeziorki*.

Of interest is the example of the settlement of Młynarze on the River Moszczona.<sup>168</sup> The demise of the village(?) of Młynarze and its division into separate settlements may be seen to this day in the names of the settlements derived from the surnames of the owners themselves.<sup>169</sup> Besides the source information it was impossible to establish a precise point for the actual location of the village of Młynarze. The approximated location point has been placed between the present-day settlements that grew out of the positions of mills on the left bank of the River Moszczona, between the contemporary villages of Homoty and Kudelicze, at the level of the settlement of Szerszenie.

Having discussed localisation in its approximated degree we shall now describe several examples of tied location in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The village of Dupki has been marked as a settlement tied to that of Rymki. The grounds of the settlement at Dupki were attached to the village of Rymki at the turn of the 1550s and 1560s; in 1563 there appeared in the entry for the hamlet of Rymki the surnames of those who had figured in Dupki in 1558.<sup>170</sup> The name of the settlement at *Dupki* presumably functioned for a long time given that the poll tax register for 1676 mentions: “villa Rymki seu Dupki.”<sup>171</sup>

The Karpowszczyzna demesne, appearing in sources for the year 1581,<sup>172</sup> has received a localisation connected to the village of Werweczki. Prior to 1581 this demesne was held by a certain Karp, after him Piotr Osmolski, and from 3 November 1609 Erazm Sankiewicz;<sup>173</sup> in 1617 it numbered 7 voloks 29 morgens and 14½ rods.<sup>174</sup> The name of the demesne had ceased to appear in inventories by the 1650s. According to the findings of Michał Sierba: “The grounds of this demesne were incorporated into the composition of the voloks of the village of Werweczki, although it still belonged to Sankiewicz’s widow it was free of all obligations in relation to the Radziwiłł family, while its acreage was again six voloks. Right after the Swedish Deluge none of Sankiewicz’s descendants took up their right to the land.”<sup>175</sup>

The localisation of the village Miłosze also requires a few words of explanation. Jan Glinka was of the view that Miłosze was situated on the River Supraśl,<sup>176</sup> Tadeusz Wasilewski saw its existence to the

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<sup>167</sup> Information from Dr T. Jaszczółt.

<sup>168</sup> See in this volume M. Gochna, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.2a.8, where can be found an extensive description of the problem area and research doubts connected with the Młynarze on the River Moszczona.

<sup>169</sup> *Maskowic* = Maćkowicze, *Kudzielicz* = Kudelicze, *Wawryzn Homoty* = Homoty, *Matys Pawłowicz* = Pawłowicze, *Oxincic* = Oksiutycze; Moszczona Młynarze has been placed by Dorota Michaluk on the right bank of the River Moszczona at its initial course without giving any convincing arguments for such a localisation, Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, map no. 4: *Osadnictwo w ziemi mielnickiej w 1674 r.* as well as pp. 68, 130.

<sup>170</sup> *Regestr pożytków zamku y dwora Saraskiego w roku 58* enumerates: “Dupki village. In which are 5 voloks. Rent is paid on these of 60 grosze a head, making for 5 threescore,” AWAK 14, p. 46. Dupki again appears in the account of the Zawyki starosty for 1558: “Dupki village. Dorosz Hriniewicz [voloks] 1 Andrzej Chwieckowicz 1 Jacko y Ustian 1 Mikita with Iwanicha 1 Dorosz 1 In this village voloks 5”, *ibidem*, p. 52; the account of the hamlet of *Rimki* of 23 November 1563 mentions among others: “Rosdanie wlok thego siola [...] a poczina sie rosdawanie od gruntow ziemian Szredzinskih. Rezy. [...] Dorosz [wloki] 1 Ustian Jaczko 1 Andrzej Jasiewicz, Iwanowa, Mikita, Klimko, Pasko 1 Andrzej Chwieczko; thim czterem wiszei pisanim wlok 1”, PKGE, p. 462. The village Dupki has been marked to the north of the village Rymki on the map “The Suraz estate, 1558”, [in:] Demidowicz, p. 25. ASK I 47, f. 118 (1577 r.): “Rimki hamlet 10 voloks making for 6/20 zloty”.

<sup>171</sup> BCzart, Łoyko Collection, MS 1099 IV, p. 778 (f. 383v)

<sup>172</sup> ZZG, sign. 32, p. 575 (information from Dr. M. Sierba).

<sup>173</sup> M. Sierba, *Radziwiłłowskie dobra Orla*, pp. 57–58; tam też tekst dokumentu, w którym Krzysztof II Radziwiłł zastawia folwark zwany Karpowszczyzna. W 1581 r. Katarzyna z Tęczyńskich nadaje Piotrowi Osmolskiemu „na Jmieniu naszym nazwanym Karpowszczyzna ktorego jest włok szeszcz z lasami, z łąkami, y z ogrody, ku nim należącizmy ktore pomienione Jmienie leżące w Dzierzawie Orlenskiej między Graniczą Paniey Jerzikowiczowey, a między Graniczą Wierwiczką”, wypis źródłowy otrzymany od dr. T. Jaszczółta.

<sup>174</sup> M. Sierba, *Radziwiłłowskie dobra Orla*, p. 58.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 58.

<sup>176</sup> J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny w Białymstoku na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 2, 1961, p. 55,

north of Białystok and on the left bank of the aforementioned river,<sup>177</sup> Jerzy Wiśniewski combined Miłosze with Bojary, and subsequently with the name Sielachowskie,<sup>178</sup> Józef Maroszek identified Miłosze with the present-day village of Osowicze,<sup>179</sup> Tadeusz Krahel (after Wiśniewski) accepted that Miłosze is Bojary,<sup>180</sup> Elżbieta Kowalczyk-Heyman (similarly to Wiśniewski) treats Miłosze, Sielachowskie and Bojary as one and the same place,<sup>181</sup> while Henryk Rutkowski see the possibility to identify the settlement of Miłosze with the present-day Białystok district of *Pietrasze*.<sup>182</sup> The lack of concrete bases for an exact localisation of where the mentioned Miłosze would have stood in the second half of the sixteenth century has meant that they are marked in a location connected with the village of Osowicze (in the sixteenth century Supraśla).

Oziabły was marked as a settlement tied to that of Baranki. It appeared in 1558 as *Oziabły* as well as *Usziebli* and is identified with the village of Baranki.<sup>183</sup> We do not know whether the grounds of the village of Oziabły were increased and the name of the settlement changed to Baranki (Oziabły is 14 voloks, while Baranki 31), or whether it was incorporated into the newly founded settlement. As with the village of Dupki some of those mentioned in 1558 in the village *Usziebli* appear in 1563 in the distribution of voloks for the hamlet of Baranki.<sup>184</sup>

The village of Zapole (mentioned only 1558) is recalled in the source together with the village of Tryczówka.<sup>185</sup> The lack of any information whatsoever with regard to the localisation of Zapole was to decide on giving the said settlement a location tied with the aforementioned Tryczówka.

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footnote 16: „Wsie bojarskie we włości białostockiej, podzielone według przynależności do dwóch kluczów: w kluczu wysokostockim wieś Bojary n. rz. Białą (ob. w m. Białymstoku, ul. Warszawska od rogu ul. 1 Maja do rogu ul. Marchlewskiego) i Bojary Miłosze n. Supraślą w miejscu późniejszego poligonu”.

<sup>177</sup> T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, p. 112: “To the north the Białystok estates reached to the River Supraśla. On its southern bank were situated the settlements of Zawady and Miłosze, belonging to the Białystok estates and inhabited by free peasants”; *ibidem*, footnote 23: “The village Usowicze was presumably initially a part of the lost village of Miłosze”; on the map p. 113 Miłosze has been marked between Białystok and Jurowce.

<sup>178</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Początki Białegostoku i okolicznego osadnictwa*, p. 26: “Miłosze (Miłosze), known also later as Bojary, appearing already in 1784 under the name Sielachowskie (taken from the boyar line of Sielachowski), was to be found to the north of Białystok”; on the map (*ibidem*, p. 19) Miłosze is marked with an “+” to the south of Sielachowskie between the villages of Zawady and Pietrasze.

<sup>179</sup> J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument*, p. 6: “Miłoszów (presumably Usowicz on the River Supraśl)”, the same [in:] *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, vol. 3: *Białystok*, p. 14; the aforementioned researcher conjectures the possibility of a location with the village of Sielachowskie: “Miłoszów (of the Sielachowski family?)”; *idem*, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, p. 66.

<sup>180</sup> T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów parafii Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, p. 14: “Miłosze – Bojary”.

<sup>181</sup> E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, *O mazowiecko-litewskiej ugodzie granicznej z 1358 r. (głos w dyskusji)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, p. 220: “Firstly the name *Sielachowskie* is very late, mentioned only in 1784. Earlier the village bore the name *Miłosze* (known from 1581), and subsequently *Bojary*. To which it initially lay to the north of Białystok (I am not able to determine however on which side of the River Biała it lay, this being the left bank inflow of the River Supraśla). In the nineteenth century it was relocated to Supraśl while today it constitutes a district of Białystok.”

<sup>182</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Odpowiedź na krytykę artykułu o granicy z 1358 r.*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, p. 229: “Miłosze, later known also as Bojary, in 1784 it was to bear the name *Pietrasze* as of present.”

<sup>183</sup> AWAK 14, p. 46: “The village of Oziabły. In it 13 voloks. Payment on the 13 voloks 60 grosze each, paid from the three fields (*obrub*) [land cultivated outside rural fields, sometimes a place where a new village was built] of Dziekciarowski, Bohdankowski and Zimnochowski, in which there are 14 voloks at 60 grosze making for 27 three kopas. One volok for the voyt is free of rent”; has been identified with the settlement of *Usziebli* appearing in the sources, (AWAK 14, pp. 52–53: “The village of *Usziebli* [...] In this village there are 14 voloks”), see Kondratiuk, p. 150: “Oziabły a village lost or unidentified in the Łapy district: the village *Oziabły*, *Usziebli* 1558 wójt. zawoykowskie, star. Suraż”; is considered equally to be equal to the earlier name for the village of Baranki: “Thus *Usziebli* (Oziabły) in 1558 is known as Baranki in 1563”, Demidowicz, p. 32; ASK I 47, f. 118 (1577): “the hamlet of Baranki has 31 voloks making for 20/20 złoty. In this village one tavern makes for 12 grosze.”

<sup>184</sup> AWAK 14, pp. 52–53: “the village *Uszebli* [...] Prokop Sierhieiewicz [...] Apun [...] Narko [...] Grzesz [...] Marchołka Oliexa [...] Sienko Lewonowicz [...] Nestor [...] Chyc Stepanowicz [...] Iliasz Stepanowicz [...] Wieremiej Wiesz [...] Konon Szczepanowicz [...] Choma Skoczkwicz [...] Klimko Antonowicz [...] Onacz Sarko [...] Kacz Woyth [...]”; PKGE, pp. 463–464: “Siolo Baranki [...] distribution of voloks [...] according to squire Dziewiałtowski the names of the serfs are written thus [...] Procop Sergieiwicz [...] Hapun [...] Narko [...] Grzes [...] Oliexa Marchowka [...] Zienko Liewonowiczi [...] Niestor [...] Liewon Stepanowicz, Micz [...] Wieremei Wieszc, Iliasz Stepanowicz [...] Choma Skoczkwicz [...] Klimko Antonowicz [...] Onacz Sarko [...] Kacz woith [...]”.

<sup>185</sup> AWAK 14, p. 46: “The village Tryczowka Zapolie. In it 24 voloks. Rent paid on the 24 voloks at 60 grosze a throw. Paid from 6 gardens at 6 grosze; paid from 2 fields (*obrub*) [land cultivated outside rural fields, sometimes a place where a new village was built], in which there are 9 voloks at 60 grosze each; one backwater hamlet paid at 1 gr. 24, all together making 34 kopas. 1 volok is free of rent for the voyt. 1 volok for the miller whose patch is at the mill”; *idem*, p. 54: “The village of Tryczowka at Zapole [...] there are 26 voloks in the village”; both pieces of information from 1558.

Situated in the Drohiczyn land Długa Dąbrowa-Dworaki received a localisation tied to the settlement of Dąbrowa Wielka (in the sixteenth century Długa Dąbrowa). In sources from the sixteenth century it was sometimes referred to in connection with Dąbrowa Wielka (Długa Dąbrowa) or with Dąbrowa-Cherubiny.<sup>186</sup> Dworaki has not appeared in the cartographic material, something that has made its location more difficult. It is possible that Długa Dąbrowa-Dworaki was situated in the region between Dąbrowa Wielka and Dąbrowa-Cherubiny.<sup>187</sup>

Kajków may be treated as an example of a settlement with tied localisation in the Mielnik land. It is mentioned only in 1580 together with the village of Cicibór (at present Cicibór Mały).<sup>188</sup> It does not appear on the cartographic material thereby making its location impossible. The scant later references do inform one, however, that Kajków at the beginning of the 1880s belonged to the parish at Bordziłówka, but in 1880 as a awuls demesne (farm without peasants) it was a part of the Roskosz and Hrud estate.<sup>189</sup> The close proximity of the boundary of the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century which ran in this region along the course of the River Klukówka (in the sixteenth century Białka), reduces somewhat the area upon which Kajków could be found. We may suppose that it was located somewhere between Cicibór Mały and Hrud, to the west of the road connecting Biała Podlaska with Janów Podlaski. The Kolonia Kajków mentioned in PRNG (no. 48292), being a part of the village Roskosz, is located about 2 km to the south-east of the village of Cicibór Duży and is set on the right bank of the River Klukówka, which in the second half of the sixteenth century was located within the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship.<sup>190</sup> Given the absence of information on the location of Kajków it has received on our map a tied location to the village of Cicibór Mały.<sup>191</sup>

Unknown localisation. Across the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship for the second half of the sixteenth century we have not been able to locate 48 places and settlements (21 in the Bielsk land, 25 in Drohiczyn and 2 in the Mielnik land), which constitutes 2.9% of all settlements. Some of them appear only sporadically in the source material, sometimes being just a single mention or solitary entry. Often the scant brevity of the information makes it simply impossible to locate a settlement either in an approximated way or even with regard to determining its parish affiliation.<sup>192</sup> It also follows to remember that many village names that appear in the military rolls (*popis*) for the years 1565 and 1567

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<sup>186</sup> For example: *Popis 1565*, p. 337: “Bernat Dombrowski Бернать з Дл҃кгеи Домьбровки, з Двораковъ, з часты Сарафановьскои, ставиль кон в пань[серу], в пр[ыльбицы], з ощепомъ”; *Popis 1567*, f. 934: “Двораки Долгая Дуброва”; ASK I 47, ff. 556v (1580): “Cherubiny Dworaki on one rental water wheel”; idem, f. 542 (1580): “Długa Dąbrowa Dworaki the nobleman Jan wdzielczy[e?]nski with his partners paid taxation on the Dworaki properties of 10 voloks at 15 grosz a pop giving for 5 złoty all in.”

<sup>187</sup> On the map *Województwo podlaskie w II połowie XVII w. Osadnictwo i struktura własności ziemskiej* and included within A. Laszuk’s work Dąbrowa, Dworaki, Serafiny have been marked to the north of Dąbrowa Długa and to the east of Dąbrowa Cherubiny, however no arguments are given to substantiate such a localisation; see Laszuk, *Zaścianki*. An absence of information on the localisation of Dąbrowa-Dworaki in, among others, the work by J. Maroszek on the history of the parish of Szepietowo; see idem, *Dzieje obszaru gminy Szepietowo w XV–XX wieku*, Szepietowo 2006, p. 72.

<sup>188</sup> ASK I 47, f. 554: “Cziczibor Kaikow the nobleman Stanisław Oleński in the name of his wife from Czicziborz paid on 3 voloks at 30 grosz for each [...] paid on two landless gardeners at 4 grosz a head giving for 8 grosz and on a rental water wheel grosz 12. Miss Jadwiga Zarczyńska paid on five landless gardeners 4 grosz a head making for 20 grosz.” cf. *Podlasie I*, p. 68.

<sup>189</sup> SGKP, vol. 3, p. 671; ibidem, vol. 9, p. 757.

<sup>190</sup> On the division of the estate of Jerzy Ilinicz and the history of the area in the mid sixteenth century see, among others, A. Buczyło, *Dokument fundacyjny Jerzego Ilinicza z 1520 roku dla kościoła w Białej Podlaskiej*, “Rocznik Lituanistyczny”, vol. 5, 2019, pp. 233–249; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 25–52; T. Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616) – wojewoda wileński*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 220–222; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu w XV i XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1951, pp. 19–21, 24–26, 121; *Podlasie II*, pp. 24–25. Cicibór (Duży) numbered 17 voloks in 1537; see P.A. Аляхновіч, С.А. Рыбчонак, А.І. Шаланда, *Род Іллінічаў у Вялікім Княстве Літоўскім у XV–XVI стагоддзях*, Мiр 2015, p. 259, no. 139 (many thanks to Dr. A. Buczyło for pointing things out on this matter).

<sup>191</sup> In the work of D. Michaluk (*Michaluk, Ziemia mielnicka*) on the attached maps (map 3: *Osadnictwo w ziemi mielnickiej w 1580 roku*, map 5: *Sieć parafialna kościoła katolickiego w ziemi mielnickiej w 1580 roku*, map 6: *Sieć parafialna kościoła katolickiego w ziemi mielnickiej w 1674 roku*, map 10: *Własność ziemska w ziemi mielnickiej w 1580 roku*) Kajki has been marked on the left bank of the River Klukówka, to the south-east of a Cicibor without providing any argumentation for such a localisation; Kajki does not appear on map II: *Powiat brzeski w drugiej połowie XVI w.* attached to A. Wawrzyńczyk’s work, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu*.

<sup>192</sup> See in this volume B. Szady’s *Catholic Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.2.2a.8.

are in fact distorted, referring to plots or parts of a village, or reference the surnames of the owners, which all in complicates any correct identification.<sup>193</sup>

Known are examples of villages which were incorporated into demesne. An inventory from the Goniądz starosty of 1571 mentions, among others, Szpakowo Stare, Szpakowo Wielkie and Koleśniki.<sup>194</sup> “Through the air that there was in the year 1572 and also because of poverty”<sup>195</sup> noticeably increased the number of deserted fees and reduced the number of inhabitants. One of the results of the aforementioned plague was an increase in the acreage of many demesnes. The inventory of the Knyszyn starostvo compiled in 1573 mentions only a single Szpakowo with 14 voloks for “the hamlet of Szpakowo is great and was turned into a demesne.”<sup>196</sup> A similar fate was to meet the village of Koleśniki: “this is the land of a fallen volok 1¾. They left it and it was turned over to the Potoczizni demesne.”<sup>197</sup> However Koleśniki, as opposed to Szpakowo Wielkie, did not become a part of a demesne. We do not know when the lands were taken out of the demesne and once again farmed and here possibly by returning inhabitants.<sup>198</sup> The inspections for the years 1602 and 1616 lists Koleśniki as 1.5 voloks (an acreage less than that of 30 years previously).<sup>199</sup> On the main map we have presented the state of affairs after the year 1573 – the solitary settlement of Szpakowo, demesne of the same name as well as the village of Koleśniki.

We shall present below a list of places the location of which has been impossible to establish on the main map. For each place whose location is unknown we give the type of ownership if this was not nobility (n): (r) – royal, (c) – Church, as well as the date that it appeared in the sources. An asterisk \* denotes cases when this was the sole source of information. Mill settlements, smiths, demesnes and abandoned settlements have been described in the text above.

**Table 2. Unlocated settlements in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

land	settlement	parish	ownership	source references
Bielsk	Czowczyzna <sup>200</sup>	Narew	(c)	1577*
Bielsk	Czuczerepki <sup>201</sup>	Brańsk	(r)	1527 1558*

<sup>193</sup> For example: Popis 1565, p. 297: Froncek Bernatowicz “з ЫкВльковъ, з Нековъ”, p. 299: Jan Machowicz “с Митковской всы”, p. 340: Jakub Mikołajewicz “с Прыжежыцкой стороны и с Помпъковской”; Popis 1567, f. 1141: “Матеушь Ленартовичъ Чайко съ Преровы”.

<sup>194</sup> Goniądz 1571, pp. 168–170: “The village of Szpakowo Stare has in it 10 voloks of average land [...] The village of Szpakowo Wielkie in which are 13 voloks of average land”, p. 181: “The hamlet of Koleśniki a mile from the town. And there 1¾ voloks of poor quality ground.”

<sup>195</sup> ASK LVI K11, f. 37.

<sup>196</sup> Ibidem, f. 55: “Szpakowo village, in this village are 14 voloks - - [voloks] empty in the year [15]72 as a result of death and abandoned 8.5 voloks - - Rye out of poverty is not given. There were 6 gardeners at this village. All of these in the year [15]72 left (abandoned/deserted) their garden (allotments) and not one off these paid (on them), nor took advantage of them. The village of Szpakowo Wielkie was changed into a demesne manor (*folwark*).”

<sup>197</sup> Ibidem, f. 58; cf. J. Maroszek, *Dobra goniądzkie w XVI–XVIII w.*, “Białostoczczyzna”, 1993, no. 4(32), p. 8.

<sup>198</sup> In the village of Krypno a part of the farmland that was deserted and abandoned in 1572 had come back into cultivation two years later, see ASK LVI K11, f. 38v: “as a result of death/the plague in the year [15]72 there were 20¼ voloks to which in the year [15]74 6 voloks were added and in the year [15]74 taxes were to be paid.”

<sup>199</sup> LWP 1602, p. 55: “Koleśniki village. In this village there are 1½ voloks of ploughed land [that is under constant serfdom namely cultivated with their own horses and ploughs], and they pay from each volok 60 grosz making for 3 złoty in total” ASK XLVI 149, f. 91: Kolesniki village. In this village are 1½ volok of ploughed land. With each year 2 złoty being paid for each giving a total of 3 złoty from this village” I would like to thank Dr. M. Sierba for these excerpts from the inspection of 1616.

<sup>200</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 261v: „Plebania Narewska Slachatni Marczin Jablonsky Vrzednik Plebaniey Nareusky dal poboru od Poddanych [...] Plebaniey z wlok ossiadlych wsy 2 z zigmunthowa y czowczizny z wlok 20 po gr 20 czyni fl. 13 gr 10”; this does not appear in the work by D. Michaluk, *Z dziejów Narwi i okolic. W 480 rocznicę nadania prawa chełmińskiego 1514–1994*, Białystok-Narew 1996.

<sup>201</sup> AWAK 14, p. 26: “The village of Czuczerepki. In which with field (*obrub*) Daskowo are 10 voloks. 1 volok for the starost. In this year on 9 voloks at 60 grosze only have been paid, making for 10 three score”; ibidem, p. 39: “The village of Czuczerepki. Decz Titowicz ½ Joach Reska ½ Marcin Żegadlow son-in-law ¾ Jarosz Lit ¼ Sanek starost 1 Wasilicha Barwichowicz ½ Wasko Przystupka ½ Maciey Duda with Paweł ½ Michno son-in-law Mikołajow ¼ Wasko Smaga ¼ Maczko Łabun ½ Mikołaj Olszewski ½ Nogalia ¾ Maciey Klimkowicz ½ Sienko Krupka ½ Jan Koboska ¼. Voloks in total 9”. Kondratiuk, p. 47: “The village of Czuczerepki is unidentified or disappeared from the Bielsk district.” Według rozgraniczenia

land	settlement	parish	ownership	source references
Bielsk	Doktorowizna <sup>202</sup>	Rajgród		1591, 1634, 1635
Bielsk	Dymidy <sup>203</sup>	Kalinówka Kościelna	(r)	1571, 1576, 1602, 1616, 1664
Bielsk	Jędrale <sup>204</sup>	Sokoły		1578, 1579, 1580, 1581
Bielsk	Kałużyno <sup>205</sup>	Sokoły		1565, 1567, 1569, 1580, 1581
Bielsk	Komorowo <sup>206</sup>	Tykocin		1565, 1567, 1577, 1591, 1634, 1635
Bielsk	Kostrzy-Masłowizna <sup>207</sup>	Wyszonki Kościelne		1588*
Bielsk	Koszewicze <sup>208</sup>	Narew	(r)	1576*

z 1527 r. dokonanego przez Olbrachta Gasztolda wieś Czuczerepki należąca do Ostafieja Daszkowicza starosty czerkaskiego i kaniowskiego leżała w sąsiedztwie wsi Poletyły, wsi plebańskiej Załuskie Kościelne i rzeczki Bobrek (RGADA, f. 389-1-38, k. 134), information from Dr T. Jaszczół.

<sup>202</sup> ASK I 47, f. 802: “Dokthorowizna, Ruthki Danowskich. 10 land voloks”; APB, Księga grodzka brańska 1640, f. 24 (taxation register for the Bielsk land for 1634): “Doktorowizna”, ibidem, f. 40v (tax register for the Bielsk land for 1634): “z Doktorowi.”

<sup>203</sup> “The village Dziemidy in which are 2 voloks of poor land. [...] The duty of this hamlet. They pay 2 Polish kopa a volok and a measure of rye (*solanka*). Other duties and works as in Smogorówka, these are hay mowing, also equally the custom of brewing beer and other things”, Goniądz 1571, p. 168; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 69: “The starosty and hamlets belonging to the Szpakowa demesne [...] the hamlet of Dymidy Lithuanian kop 2/24 [...]”; LWP 1602, p. 50: “The hamlet of Dimidy. In this hamlet are 2 voloks. On rent is one volok. They pay 5 zł on it. One volok, they pay 4 zł on it. The sum from this hamlet being 9 zł” as well as footnote no. 101: “an unidentified village. It is possible it disappeared. The inspection of 1616 mentioned it, while the inspection of 1664 called it Dymidy and described the said as *a complete void* [...]”; cf. I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe*, p. 51.

<sup>204</sup> ASK I 47, f. 449v: “Noble Tomasz Czajkowski Stanisławowicz paid tax on Endralow for 4.5 land voloks”; ibidem, f. 350v: “Noble Tomasz Czajkowski Stanisławowicz of Ondralów paid tax on 4.5 land voloks”; ibidem, f. 595v: “The village of Jędrale Noble Stanisław the son of Jan in his name and from his partners [paid] on 2.5 land voloks - - noble Piotr Jędral son of Stanisław [paid] from his estates on 1.5 land voloks”; ASK IV 41, f. 46v: Jędrale village I Jakub Gieralch was there when the noble Stanisław son of Jan of Jendraliow paid tax - - passed for the year [15]80 [he paid] for himself and his co-participants from his village that being Iendraliow on 2.5 land voloks with each volok at 15 grosz - - the village Jendrale I Noble Piotr son of Stanisław paid tax on Yądraliow on 1.5 land voloks which amount in me giving a bill of 22.5 grosz.” SGKP, vol. 12, p. 532, notes Truskolasy-Ochale “not given in the census of 1827.”

<sup>205</sup> Popis 1565, p. 299: “Як8бъ Воитеховичъ з Дроков и с Талечына – к?он в каф(ътане) з оше(помъ)”; Popis 1567, f. 1068: “Калечино. Мѣсяса октебра 9 дня. Якубъ Войтеховичъ конь, кор. Станиславъ Войтеховичъ конь, кор. Павелъ Войтеховичъ конь, кор.”; AUPL, p. 249: “Paulus olim Alberti de Caleczino, Martinus olim Alberti de ibidem”, p. 250: “Jacobus olim Alberti de Caleczino, Stanislaus olim Alberti de ibidem”; ASK I 47, f. 600v: “Noble Frącz son of Łukasz from his properties - - further from Kałużyno from voloks bought”, f. 602v: (both mentions of 1580) “The villages of Porosla Głuchi, Grziwy y Kije, Kałużyno - - the noble Michał son of Jarzy - - He of Kałużyno on 0.5 bought voloks [taxation paid], f. 717: (1581) “Noble Michał son of Jerzy - - and from Kałużyno on 0.5 voloks 7 grosz paid”; ASK IV 41, f. 67: (1581) “The village of Kałużyno which is situated at the village of Racibory Bzdyszewie – as well as on the 0.5 land voloks at Porośl Głucha and Grzywy.”

<sup>206</sup> Popis 1565, p. 317: “Матыс Серафиновичъ с Комарова – к?он в каф(ътане) з ошепом”; Popis 1567, ff. 1179–1180: “Парафия Тыкотинска [...] Коморово [...]”; ASK I 47, f. 269v: (1577 r.) “The village Bagińskie the noble Andrzej son of Aleks from their estate and from others of their co-participants of Komorzowo and Dopkowo”, ibidem, f. 799: “Paraphia Thykoczka - - Siekierki. Niecziczka. Hermany. Komorowo. Włok slacheczkich 20. Włok osiadłych 3.” “The Tykocin parish - -Siekierki. Niecziczka. Hermany. Komorowo. 20 land voloks and three voloks settled” (1591); APB, księga grodzka brańska 1640, f. 20v (taxation register of the Bielsk land of 1634): “Komorowo”, ibidem, f. 37v (taxation register of the Bielsk land of 1635): “Komorowo”; cf. I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe*, p. 85 where there is confirmation for the years 1598, 1604 and 1668 coming from the collections of Ignacy Kapicy Milewski; the information is contained in *Herbarz Ignacego Kapicy Milewskiego* (HerKM p. 138: “The house of Hermanowski. The estate of former Komorowo, now Hermany called lying in the Bielsk land) suggests that the estate of was incorporated (joined) to the settlement of Hermany or they changed the name to Hermany; however the above cited source mentions show that the name Komorowo still functioned in the second half of the sixteenth century as well as in the seventeenth century. The pieces of information contained in the excerpt from the Volo Reform of the Tykocin starosty of 1559 allow one to suppose that Komorowo was most likely situated between Łopuchów and Hermany, on the right bank of the River Ślina, cf. “Teki Glinki”, file 278, p. 150, (microfilm APB, no. 278): “[...] Near the hamlet of Łopuchów near (at the village Komarowa on the Ślina Rver over one place of average soil are four voloks poorly cultivated.”

<sup>207</sup> ASK I 47, f. 745v: “Kocze Schaby Kostrj Masłowizna.”

<sup>208</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 127: “The village of Koszewicze and Rakowicze – in these villages 16 *leziw* [a hollow in a tree where there is honey and bee], of which 5 *leziw* are fallow, and 11 *leziw* are cultivated; for each they pay 20 Lithuanian grosze, making for 9/5 Polish złoty.”

land	settlement	parish	ownership	source references
Bielsk	Kruszewo Mateuszowięta <sup>209</sup>	Sokoły		1578*
Bielsk	Piotrowizna <sup>210</sup>	Goniądz		1591*
Bielsk	Przytułki <sup>211</sup>	Knyszyn	(r)	1569, 1576, 1578, 1602, 1664
Bielsk	Roszki-Czirzunki <sup>212</sup>	Płonka Kościelna		1580*
Bielsk	Solniki <sup>213</sup>	Rajgród		1577–1581, 1591, 1634
Bielsk	Wolica <sup>214</sup>	Brańsk	(r)	1558*
Bielsk	Wyprothka <sup>215</sup>	Suraż	(r)	1558*
Bielsk	Żyranowie <sup>216</sup>	Tykocin		1591*
Drohiczyn	Długa Dąbrowa-Buczewizna <sup>217</sup>	Dąbrowa Wielka		1576*
Drohiczyn	Długa Dąbrowa-Marcinówka <sup>218</sup>	Dąbrowa Wielka		1576*
Drohiczyn	Dzieweczka <sup>219</sup>	Paprotnia		1588*
Drohiczyn	Grabowo <sup>220</sup>	Kuczyn		1554, 1576, 1580, 1588, 1717

<sup>209</sup> ASK I 47, f. 445v: “Noble Adam of Kruszewo the son of Wojciech of Mateuszowięta with his co-participants from the 2 land voloks at 15 grosz each gives a florin [1 złoty].”

<sup>210</sup> Ibidem, f. 801: “Goniądz parish - - Piotrowizna. 3 settled voloks.”

<sup>211</sup> ASK LVI K11, f. 13v: “The village of Iowniki in which lie 9 voloks of good land of which 1 volok of the millers goes to the carpenter”; LWP 1570, 1576, p. 74: „Pierwsze wójtostwo hrabolewskie, w którym jest siół 5: [...] Sióło Przytułki albo Jowinki lit. kop 9/28”; ASK I 47, k. 392: „Wolosc [village] Knyszynska - - Wiesz przitulka w niey wlok 9”; LWP 1602, p. 11: “The village of Przytułki or Sowniki. In this village there are 9 voloks of which one is the carpenter’s who works for the manor - - there is also a mill which gives daily 25 barrels of miller measure” as well as footnote 28: “An unidentified village, most probably one that disappeared. It was situated on the River Nereśla to the south of the village of Kropiwnica. In the inspection of 1664 – Przytuły alias Sowniki. MK, dz. XVIII, sign. 64, p. 593.”; cf. I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe*, p. 142.

<sup>212</sup> ASK I 47, f. 606v: “the recalled Augustyn paid on Roszki Czirzunki” on 1 land voloks and on 7 morgen”.

<sup>213</sup> “This was presumably an ancillary village, inhabited by Rajgród salt workers, although one cannot exclude a link in its designation with Solistów and the River Solistówka. Its close localisation suggests certain difficulties. It is known that a part of the land within the village comprised a half of the village of Żrobki, Łabętnik, Pomiany and Solistówka. [...] Today the name of the Solniki field and forest is known only to the north of Pomiany, and to the east of Łabętnik, as well as Solnikowa Biel to the north-east of Solistówki (materials by T. Zdancewicz). On the other hand in 1577 there is mention of the villa Solniki and voloks on burgher land at Solniki”, J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim*, p. 82; an absence of the recalled names in PRNG; cf. I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe*, p. 160.

<sup>214</sup> AWAK 14, p. 27: “Wieska Wolycza. There are 15 garden plots. Paid on each of these 6 grosze, making for kop 1 grosze 30”, ibidem, p. 44: „Ogrodnikow. Wioska Wolica [...] Summa ogrodnikow 15”.

<sup>215</sup> Ibidem, p. 46: “The village of Wyprothka Mienka. Here 21 voloks. Ground rent paid on the 21 voloks is 60 grosze. Paid from fields (*obrubów*) 2 amounts of rent from Woczniov and Stepankow, where there are 5 voloks, at 60 grosze a volok making for 26 kop”, p. 54: “The village Wyprothka Mienka [...] in this village 21 voloks.”

<sup>216</sup> One may also surmise that the *Zyranowie* mentioned in 1591 (ASK I 47, f. 799: “Zyranowie Tatory Dobki Babino Baginskie land voloks 25 settled voloks 2.5) refers to a concrete owner or tax payer, cf. *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych*, ed. W. Taszycki, vol. 5, no. 1, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk 1977, pp. 77–78.

<sup>217</sup> ASK I 47, f. 60v: “Długodabrowa gogolia Dziecziel Buczewizna the noble Grzegorz, son of Stanisław, paid tax on his part, on three gardeners at 4 grosz a head; noble Sebastian Kamiński, the son of Paweł, paid tax along with his partners on 5 noble voloks, each at 12 grosz.”

<sup>218</sup> Ibidem, f. 60v: “Długodabrowa Dziecziel Zablotna the noble Serafin, son of Bartosz, paid the taxation on marczinow- wthi for three gardeners, each at 4 grosz a head”.

<sup>219</sup> Ibidem, f. 743v: “Krinki Kaliski Dziezewczka Andrzej Kaliski [paid] on 3 land voloks and 10 morgen 1/20 florins”; one may also conjecture that *Dzieweczka* refers to a concrete owner or tax payer, cf. *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych*, ed. W. Taszycki, vol. 1, no. 3, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1967, p. 563.

<sup>220</sup> NGAB Minsk, f. 1759-2-27, f. 260: in 1554 Rafał and Waclaw the sons of the deceased Abraham of Lubowicz bequeath parts or divisions from Płonki to the Moczydłowska boundary at the estates of Grabowo Lubowicz, and Szepietowo, to Wojciech the son of Jan Piotrasz of Wojny-Piętki, - this information comes from Dr. T. Jaszczolt; ASK I 47, f. 56: “Noble Jerzy Woyno, the son of Jan, paid tax on 1.5 land voloks, each at 12 grosz that is from Grabowo, 0.5 voloks and on voloks at Szadowo i Lubowicz”, ibidem, f. 541: “Noble Szymon Piętka with his brothers - - paid tax on 0.5 voloks at Grabowo”; ibidem, f. 749: “Lubowicz Grabowo Jan and Szczęsny paid taxation on 1 settled volok, on 4 gardeners with smallholdings, on two land less gardeners; Lenart, Wojciech, Jerzy and Stanisław Krupa paid out on 4.5 land voloks.” Wiktoryn Kuczyński, the Podlasie catellan, in his diary for the year 1717 noted: “I also purchased an a plot called Zabłocie for fl. 900 from squire

land	settlement	parish	ownership	source references
Drohiczyn	Kaczyno Małe <sup>221</sup>	Dąbrowa Wielka		1567*
Drohiczyn	Kamień Średni <sup>222</sup>	Dąbrowa Wielka		1567*
Drohiczyn	Klimuntowszczyzna <sup>223</sup>	Kuczyn		1580*
Drohiczyn	Kłopoty-Piotry <sup>224</sup>	Drohiczyn		1567, 1580
Drohiczyn	Krynki-Pławy <sup>225</sup>	Pobikry		1547, 1588
Drohiczyn	Łempice Andrale <sup>226</sup>	Winna-Poświętna		1567, 1576, 1588
Drohiczyn	Łempice Nowe <sup>227</sup>	Winna-Poświętna		1578, 1580
Drohiczyn	Małki <sup>228</sup>	Paprotnia		1565, 1567, 1580
Drohiczyn	Miodusy-Szczepanowięta <sup>229</sup>	Miodusy Wielkie		1567, 1578, 1580
Drohiczyn	Moczydły-Szosty <sup>230</sup>	Perlejewo		1567*

Tomasz Woliński, the pastures to which belonged to Piętki-Gręzki, and were sold to the previous heir to Wilków, lying between the borders of Grabowo, Moczydły, Szepietowo and Szeligi Piętki”, W. Kuczyński, *Pamiętnik 1668–1737*, ed. J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999, p. 48.

<sup>221</sup> Popis 1567, f. 938: „Кацыно Малые. Мартинъ Якубовичъ кляча, кор.. Михаль Авкгуштынович кляча, кор. Жикгимонтъ Авкгуштынович кляча, мечъ. Петръ Шимановичъ выслалъ сына Войтеха, кляча, мечъ. Янь Шимановичъ, кляча, мечъ. Янь Петровичъ кляча, мечъ. Брикцы Яновичъ кляча, кор.. Адамъ Щасновичъ кляча, кор.. Яронимъ Авкгуштынович кляча, кор.. Станиславъ Мартиновичъ кляча, кор.. Матей Мартиновичъ кляча, кор.. Янь Бернатовичъ кляча, кор.”.

<sup>222</sup> Ibidem, ff. 932–933: “Камень Средни. Алекши Яновичъ кляча, каѡ., рогати. Матысь Яновичъ кляча, каѡ., саб. Якубъ Матысовичъ кляча, мечъ. Станиславъ Миколаевич кляча, мечъ. Войтехъ Яронимовичъ кляча, рогати. Ябрамъ Станиславовичъ кляча, мечъ. Вавърынецъ Станиславовичъ Вошчолокъ кляча, мечъ. Катерына, Щасного девька, выслала мужа своего, кляча, каѡ., мечъ”.

<sup>223</sup> ASK I 47, f. 541: “Noble Szymon Piętka paid together with his brothers on 3 and ¼ voloks at klmunthowszczyzna each at 15 groszy.” This being probably a part of Kuczyn that belonged to Klemens-Klimunt Kuczyński at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>224</sup> Popis 1567, ff. 878–879: „Клопоты Петры. Михаль выслалъ сына Крыштоѡа конь, каѡ., рогати. Мартинъ Шимановичъ конь, мечъ. Собостьянь Петровичъ конь, каѡ., мечъ. Станиславъ Якубовичъ конь, каѡ., рогати. Михаль Степановичъ конь, каѡ., рогати., мечъ. Кгабриель Степановичъ конь, каѡ., рогати., секер. Петръ Сетковичъ конь, рогати., мечъ. Станиславъ Малиновский конь, каѡ., рогати.”; ASK I 47, f. 505: “Klopothi Piothry noble Jakub Waskow with his partners paid a tax on 9 and 1/3 voloks and each at 15 grosz, which makes for 4 złoty and 20 grosz”.

<sup>225</sup> ADS, sign. D 45, f. 453v: “Krinky Plewty, Borowe, Białokunki, mansos viginti duos, pro decem taxant”; ASK I 47, f. 751v: “Krinky Pławy Białokunki Borowe Jerzy Kriński paid with his partners taxation on 10 land voloks at five florins.”

<sup>226</sup> Popis 1567, f. 914: “Лампице Андрияле. Щасный Яновичъ з Ламьпиць зъ Ендриялевь пешъ з рогати..”; ASK I 47, f. 49v: “Lempicze Vndrale, Tomek the son of Rafał paid tax on 0.5 voloks in total 10 grosz. Noble Tomasz, the son of Mikołaj Wiński, paid a tax of 4 grosz on a homestead. Noble Baltazar, Teofil and Andrzej the sons of Wojciech paid a tax of 12 grosz on a land volok which they themselves cultivated. Noble Bartosz, the son of Stanisław, paid on his part a taxation of 4 grosz on 1 gardener. Noble Stanisław Łempicki Krawiecz paid tax on 1 land volok which he himself cultivated and here at 12 grosz. This said Stanisław with his co-participants paid tax on a Janowska gentry Polok, which they themselves cultivated/ worked.” ASK I 47, f. 745v: “Łempicze Kleszie Andrale. Tomasz with partners from 21 land voloks”; cf. Kondratiuk, p. 115.

<sup>227</sup> ASK I 27, f. 933: “Łempicze nowe [new] Jan the son of Wojciech with his co-participants paid on 10 land voloks”; ASK I 47, f. 533: „Łempicze nowe [new] the noble Stanisław of Andraliów Nowa Wieś paid tax with his partners on 3.5 land voloks and 1/3 at grosz 15.”

<sup>228</sup> Popis 1565, p. 343: „М(е)с(е)ца аѡгѡста 18 днѡ Вацлавъ и Адамъ Миколаевичъ з Люзовъ, з Пань, з Малкъ и с Таркова ставили 2 кони зброино з ошепы”; Popis 1567, f. 953: „Малки. Станиславъ Петровичъ пешъ, рогати.. Едамъ Кролевичъ конь, каѡ.”; ASK I 47, f. 512: „Lozi Papi Malki, Noble Stanisław Loza with his partners paid tax on 5 settled voloks, and each at 15 grosz - - Noble Andrzej Papinski and Marcin from Malk paid with their partners taxation on 5 settled voloks, and each at 15 grosz”.

<sup>229</sup> Popis 1567, f. 939: “Параѡня Яблona Мала Свирчево. Село Медусы Степановента. Станиславъ коваль кляча, мечъ. Казимеръ Раѡаловичъ кляча, мечъ. Станиславъ Раѡаловичъ кляча, мечъ. Матей Андреевичъ кляча, мечъ. Яронимъ з маткою своею кляча, мечъ. Якуб Матеевичъ кляча, мечъ. Жикгимонтъ Станиславовичъ кляча, мечъ, секер. Удова Мартинова выслала сына Яна, кляча, мечъ.”; ASK I 27, f. 931: „Mioduszy Szczepanowiętha Noble Maciej, the son of Andrzej, with his brothers from miodussow Lithwy Szczepanowięth Sthankowięth and Wojciech with his nephews paid on 11 land voloks”; ASK I 47, f. 556v: „Szczepanowiętha miodusi noble Kazimierz paid on 4 settled voloks and each at 15 grosz which makes for 2 złoty”.

<sup>230</sup> Popis 1567, f. 906: „Мочидлы Шосты Рафаль Матеевичъ выслалъ сына Станислава, кляча, кор.”

land	settlement	parish	ownership	source references
Drohiczyn	Orły <sup>231</sup>	Mokobody		1547, 1567, 1580, 1588, 1726
Drohiczyn	Poręgi <sup>232</sup>	Wysokie Mazowieckie		1552, 1578,* 1579, 1582
Drohiczyn	Sadowo <sup>233</sup>	Kuczyn		1576, 1578, 1580, 1588, 1726
Drohiczyn	Siennica <sup>234</sup>	Rudka		1538, 1553, 1562
Drohiczyn	Stelokowo <sup>235</sup>	[unknown]		1569*
Drohiczyn	Sułki <sup>236</sup>	Winna-Poświętna		1578, 1580, 1588
Drohiczyn	Tybory-Żuławy <sup>237</sup>	Jabłonka Kościelna		1578, 1580, 1588
Drohiczyn	Uleski <sup>238</sup>	Rudka		1538, 1558
Drohiczyn	Wichowo <sup>239</sup>	Kuczyn		1576, 1580, 1726

<sup>231</sup> ADS, sign. D 45, f. 455v: „Zemły, Pieńki, Orły quatuordecem, pro decem”; Popis 1567, f. 1004: „Orлы. Матей Депа Павлович кляча, као., кор. Янь Аньдреевичъ отъ ойца своего кляча, кор. Янь Андреевичъ”; ASK I 47, f. 517v: „Pienki zemli orli Noble Jakub Swinarski paid tax on 10 settled voloks, each at 15 grosz which makes for 5 zloty”; ibidem, f. 741v: „Zemli Pienki Orły Stanislaw Szwinarski with his partners paid on 10 land voloks which makes florins 5”; Synod 1726: „Orły”.

<sup>232</sup> “The village of Pożegi has not survived to our day. We do not even know its exact location, one may only conjecture that it was situated somewhere between Osipy and Bryki on ground belonging to the town of Wysokie. [...] The visitation of 1605 makes no mention of Pożegi at all”, E. Kalinowski, *Historia obszaru gminy Wysokie Mazowieckie*, p. 47; ASK I 27, f. 931v: „Noble Marczin Młodzianowski paid on behalf on his tenant of Wysocko - - from ossipow and Pożekow on 5 and 1/4 settled voloks and 8.5 empty voloks”. Cf. also Kapićjana 9, p. 67 (1552); ZZG, sign. 1, p. 105: „Stanislaw Wnethrek de Pożegi” (1558 r.); MK 120, f. 486v (1579); MK 127, f. 76 (1582); source materials for the village of Pożegi were assembled by E. Kalinowski; idem, *Historia obszaru gminy Wysokie Mazowieckie*, p. 47.

<sup>233</sup> ASK I 47, f. 56: „Sadowo Liubowicz - - Noble Jerzy Voino the son of Jan, paid taxation on 1,5 land voloks, each at 12 grosz, that is 0.5 volok from Grabowa and 1 volok together from Zadowa and Liubowicza”; ASK I 27, k. 928: „Sadowo Noble Jerzy paid on 1.5 land voloks from Lubowicza Sadowa Grabowa, and noble Jakub Woino with his brother paid on 1 land volok and 1 smallholder without land”; ASK I 47, f. 541: „Sadowo Noble Stanislaw pank paid on 2 settled voloks”; ASK I 47, f. 749v: „Sadowo Kuczino Stanislaw Pak paid on 3 land voloks”; Synod 1726: „Sadowo”.

<sup>234</sup> In 1538 Zofia Hlebowiczowa gave the land at Rudka to her son-in-law Maciej Kłoczka, including *Sennycza* (BLAN Wilno, F. 1-139); *Siennica* appears in the land division between Mikołaj Hlebowicz and Stanislaw Połoński in 1553 (NGAB Mińsk, 1715-1-84) as well as in the donation of the estate of Rudka (*Syenicza*) of Maryna Mściławska Kiszkowa to the Mostów and Skidel starost Jan Wiktorzyn in 1562 (RGADA, f. 356-2-6, f. 304); information from Dr T. Jaszczółt. It is possible it lay close to the River Siennica.

<sup>235</sup> AUPL, p. 271: „noble Stanislaw Czeciborski from Stelokowo with his old father.”

<sup>236</sup> ASK I 27, f. 932v: „Winna Krziszczki Wilky Czibory Sulky Noble Szczesny, the son of Mikołaj, on behalf of parson of Winna paid from Sulk, Kryszcz on 0,5 land volok and 2 inquilini each at 2 grosz, and 1 smallholder without land. Noble Maciej, the son of Jan, paid with his partners from Cziborow Winney Sulk Wilkow on 6.5 land voloks”; ASK I 47, f. 532v: „Winni Kriszczki Witki Czibory Sutki Noble Stanislaw, the son of Jan Sulkow, with his partners paid from his villages on 6.5 voloks - - Noble Jan, the son of Maciej and Wojciech (sic!) with his partners paid on 3.5 settled voloks each at 15 grosz”; ASK I 47, f. 745v: „Villa Kriski Wilki Sulki Czibory Maciej Winski with his partners paid on 6.5 land voloks”.

<sup>237</sup> ASK I 27, f. 930v: „Trzianka Żuława Thybory Noble Salomon Jablonski Barthosz Kulchan s Thyborow Trzianki on 5 land voloks - - Noble Daniel with his partners on 4 land voloks”; ASK I 47, k. 543: „Trzianka Żuława Thib[o]ri Noble Salomon Jablonski with his partners from Thiborow and Trzianki paid on 5 settled voloks, each at 15 grosz - - Noble Dawid with his partners from Thiborow Trzianki paid on 5 settled voloks, each at 15 grosz”; ASK I 47, f. 753v: „Tibory Kamionka Żuława Jezierna Barthosz szesny with his partners on 10 land voloks [...] Jarosz Jalbrzikowski paid on 1.5 and 1/4 settled voloks and 3 smallholder with land”. „[...] there also appears [...] a part of Tybory called Żuława, more than likely located somewhere between Trzianka and Kamińska. Consequently one can say little about this village or hamlet, it does not appear in the poll tax registers for the subsequent century”, E. Kalinowski, *Historia obszaru gminy Wysokie Mazowieckie*, p. 102. According to the sources found in transcript in the Drohiczyn court ledgers for the year 1568 the village of Tybory-Żuława was most probably located between the villages of Tybory-Trzianka, Tybory-Kamińska, Tybory-Jezierna and Jabłonka Świerczewo (NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-31, f. 25, 368v; information supplied by Dr. T. Jaszczółt).

<sup>238</sup> In 1538 Zofia Hlebowiczowa bequeathed the estate of Rudka to her son-in-law Maciej Kłoczka, inter alia: *Vlesky* (LMAVB, f. 1-139); there is a absence of them in the later division of the estate between Mikołaj Hlebowicz and Stanislaw Połoński in 1553 (NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-84) as well as the donation of the Rudka estate on the part of Maryna Mściławska Kiszkowa to the Mostów and Skidel starost Jan Wiktorzyn in 1562 (RGADA, f. 356-2-6, f. 304), *Vlezki* appear in Mikołaj Kiszka's intromission to a part of the Rudka estate in 1558 (NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-28, ff. 103v, 116v); information from Dr T. Jaszczółt.

<sup>239</sup> ASK I 47, f. 55v: “Noble Jan, the son of Klimunt, with his partners paid a tax from his part of village Kuczyn, from Wichowo Trojanowa on 1,5 settled voloks each at 10 grosz, and 2 smallholders each at 4 groszy - - Noble Wojciech Kuczynski,

land	settlement	parish	ownership	source references
Drohiczyn	Wola Niemojska <sup>240</sup>	Mordy		1567*
Drohiczyn	Ziemaki <sup>241</sup>	Dąbrowa Wielka		1569*
Mielnik	Wólka <sup>242</sup>	Sarnaki		1567, 1580*

Aleksander Jabłonowski has estimated the number of villages in Podlasie (data only for the years 1571–1591) to be 1,304 settlements, where the Drohiczyn district had 534 settlements, Mielnik – 109, Brańsk – 235, Suraż – 208 as well as 218 in the Tykocin district.<sup>243</sup> The ZAH findings are presented in Table 3.

**Table 3. Settlement density in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century**

land	surface area km <sup>2</sup> according to ZAH	surface area km <sup>2</sup> according to Jablonowski <sup>244</sup>	number of settlements in total	number of settlements for 100 km <sup>2</sup>
Bielsk	5,811	5,410.85	895	15
Drohiczyn	3,550	2,779.26	651	18
Mielnik	1,169	1,375.68	129	11
in total	10,530	9,565.79	1,675	15.9

As can be seen from the presented material the average density of settlement in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century was 16.1 settlements per 100 km<sup>2</sup>. It follows to remember, however, that these are merely approximate data and are consequently only approximations in character. These data take into consideration, on the one hand, large towns, while on the other one-manor-house mill settlements and demesnes such as a hamlet comprised of a few homesteads. Within the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship, besides areas with a high settlement density, there are also poorly populated areas as well as ones completely unpopulated such as forest and wooded areas, bogs, marshes and

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the son of Mikołaj from Grodka Kuczina, paid tax with his brother Marcin from all the parts of Kuczina Grodka Wichowa Trojanowa Zabincza on 1 volok, and 1 smollholer at 4 groszy”; *ibidem*, f. 541: „Noble Wojciech Luniewski paid from Wichowo on 1 settled volok which makes for 1 zloty”; Synod 1726: „Wichowo”.

<sup>240</sup> Popis 1567, ff. 953–954: „Параѡна Мордска Воля Немойска и Яйкимовска Мартинь Ревуски конь, каѡ. пр., рогати. Миколай Ляковски Андреевич конь, каѡ., рогати. Мартинь Здебьский пешь съ кор. Аньна вдова Трёмьбицка выслала зятя Счасного съ Обичовь, кляча. Сераоинь Сошенский кляча, мечь. Езоѡъ Сошенский кляча, мечь. Томько Декгетка выслалъ сына, конь, кор. Валенты Сошенский выслалъ сына Яна конь, каѡ. Станиславъ Здебьски выслалъ сына Яна, кляча, мечь. Криштоѡъ Сошенский Вахноиць кляча, каѡ.”

<sup>241</sup> AUPL, p. 282: “[...] heirs from Długa Dąbrow Kask and Ziemaki”; see T. Jaszczółt, *Napływ rycerstwa i szlachty*, pp. 209–210.

<sup>242</sup> In 1567 Stanisław Niemira the heir of Ostromęczyn, Niwice and Gnojno left „villa dicta Volka Kyssełowa” (in the transaction text there are also the designations: „Kyssełowa Volka”, „Volka Kyssełowska”) to Stanisław Poniatowski of Borzyłowa Wola; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1726-1-1, Księga grodzka mielnicka, f. 363 (information from Dr. T. Jaszczółt); ASK I 47, f. 553: “Ostromieczin Noble Piotr Skarbek paid a tax through his servant Ogunowski on 3 settled voloks”; Dorota Michaluk has marked Wola (without providing arguments for such a localisation) to the north west of Ostromęczyna, see D. Michaluk, *Ziemia Mielnicka*, map 3: *Osadnictwo w ziemi mielnickiej*, map 4: *Osadnictwo w ziemi mielnickiej w 1674 r.*, map 5: *Sieć parafialna Kościoła katolickiego w ziemi mielnickiej w 1580 roku*. Piotr Skarbek (mentioned in 1580) was the son-in-law of Stanisław Niemira, who in his wife’s dowry took Wólka; presumably located close to Kisielew, and possibly from the side of Ostromęczyn.

<sup>243</sup> Podlasie II, p. 48; there is an incorrect summing up in the table: for it should be 660 hamlets and as a consequence 1,303 settlements with a given figure of 207, in the Suraż district there should be **208**, as is the case in subsequent lists, see the tables on pp. 52, 78 where for the Suraż district visible is the figure 208.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27; the surface area of the land in square miles is: the Bielsk land – 98.27, Drohiczyn - 50.47, Mielnik – 24.98, which gives a total for the entirety of Podlasie of 173.72 square miles. In 1795 the area of the Podlasie Voivodeship was estimated at 174.15 square miles; for a detailed calculation for the individual districts (together with the number of inhabitants) see A.C.A. Friederich, *Historisch-geographische Darstellung Alt- und Neu-Polens mit 2 Karten*, Berlin 1839, pp. 151–152: where *Das Land Bielsk* is 77.14 square miles, *Das Land Mielnik* – 23.92 and *Das Land Drohiczyn* – 73.09 square miles, for a brief description of Podlasie (*Die Woivodschaft Podlachien oder Bielsk*) see pp. 149–152.

wetlands, as well as river valleys.<sup>245</sup> We may observe the greatest settlement density in the Drohiczyn land – 18.4 settlements per 100 km<sup>2</sup>, with the least occurring in the Mielnik land – 11 settlements per 100 km<sup>2</sup>. The average number of settlements for the Bielsk land (15.4 settlements per 100 km<sup>2</sup>) is close to the average for the whole Podlasie Voivodeship.

Settlement density in the individual Crown voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century is presented in Table 4.

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<sup>245</sup> On Perthées's map the terrain between Goniądz and Rajgród is described as "Significant mud and bog through which in summer is impassable unless it is winter"; see also *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich of 1784*, e.g., p. 23–24: "The forest in the Białystok parish to the summer sunrise stretches length and breadth for four miles, and which is called Puszcza Sobolewska. To the south the Solnicki forest, birch and aspen, between noon and the winter sunset the Marczycki Bór extends for around 20 acres. For the Bór Zawadzki [forest] the length and breadth is around a half mile to the summer sunset. To the north overgrown [...]" (earlier edition: W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z roku 1784*, p. 114); p. 81: "The mud and bogs are huge and expansive, commencing from the hamlet called Krypno and the small village of Długołęka, lying between the south and the winter sunset up to two miles in width, and these come up to the navigable river called the Narew. Brushwood is greater in the Knyszyn parish, than is open field. There is the Knyszyn forest [...] which stretches in length and breadth up to three miles [...] while in many places the brushwood and undergrowth are significant in their width and height, the names of which are unknown and therefore are not expressed." (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z roku 1784*, p. 162); p. 90: "The forest in the parish of Korycin variedly for fuel and building is used, His Majesty's forestry belongs to the Grodno economy, extending for 10 miles and more." (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z roku 1784*, p. 171); p. 120: "There is more forest in the parish of Zabłudów than open field [...] to the left hand side of a distance of five miles, across two miles. [...] Some of the hamlets have their own groves." (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszyńskiego z roku 1784*, p. 198); p. 139: "The bog the most significant at Zgniłka is not as broad as it is long, for at most a quarter of the mile (A larger Zgniłka swamp of varying widths and lengths of no more than a quarter of a mile) [...] The Pogorzałka bog of a width and length of a quarter of a mile, through which there is an awkward (uncomfortable) bridge [...] There is more forest in the Augustów parish than field itself [...] it extends right up to the River Neta right to the south, with its breadth and length being several miles. [...] Along this very river can be found the greatest areas of wetlands, which stretch to the south, on the other side of the river brushwood and shrub begin from the south and extend right up to the neighbouring parish of Janów [...]" (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z roku 1784*, p. 168); pp. 148–149: "The most significant areas of bog occur, to the fore from Augustów along the port river called the Neta they expand to the south for a mile or two and are even greater in length, with a width of several dozen lengths, though not even everywhere. The second along the River Bobra so-called and stretching toward Goniądz and further to the south for several miles of both breadth and length. The more significant marshlands of so-called Trokiele half a mile in length, while the width is close on to a quarter of a mile [...]. The so-called Zgniłka bog, being a half mile in length and width, lies between the south and the winter sunset one-and-a-half miles. The so-called Bagno Paluchowo [...] whose length and breadth cannot be measured for it lies amidst inaccessible forest and shrub [...] Forest in the Bargłów parish is in abundance. [...] in many places amidst the forests shrub and inaccessible wetlands, in scope running into several acres in length and width." (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego*, p. 175); pp. 178–179: "The Łosiabieli wetlands extend beginning from Downary right up to the River Biebrza of a length of three quarters of a mile, width a quarter. Shrouded by various undergrowth [...] the marsh between Downary and Kramkówki covers a width of twenty rods, with a length of a quarter of a mile. It has no name. [...] The Goniądz forest belonging to the town of Goniądz [...] is of a half mile's width and a mile long right to the River Biebrza [...] The Kramkówka forest belongs to great and lesser Kramkówka. [...] stretching to the summer sunrise along two miles, of breadth [...] a half mile. The Krzczków Forest belongs to Krzczów and the presbytery [...] It is a quarter of a mile long, and several acres in width. [...] The Kułakoszczyzna Forest of the Knyszyn starosty [...] is filled with bogs and only useless undergrowth, long to the tune of one and a half a quarter mile, as wide as a half. [...] Squire Kramkowski's Puszczarze Forest [...] long to a quarter of a mile, wide to a dozen or so rods. [...] The Rybacki Forest belongs to Rybaki and Zblutowo [...] wide to six acres, and as long as a half quarter mile. [...] It is in the main covered by patches of scrub on farms and on fields deserted as the soil is useless and of no purpose." (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego*, pp. 196–198); pp. 205–206: "sizeable wetlands on the River Łek starts [...] at the nobility village Szymany and stretches towards the winter sunrise close on half of a third of a mile along its length, while in width a large mile. The mud on these wetlands is notable, and no one can cross them in summer, possibly in the winter [...] Forest is more abundant in the Rajgród parish than is open field, particularly beginning from the winter sunrise right to the west, length at a mile a half of a third, width one-and-a-half miles. Wood [...] is in abundance." (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego*, p. 216); p. 219: "Forests with wetland meadows reaching to the River Biebrza in the parish of Trzcianne are few, which is not on a par with the open field to be found, beginning from the River Nereśl [...] on the opposite bank where in places a small mile, in places a large mile, and with wetland meadows lying on the River Biebrza, to two average miles, where it demarcates the Podlasie Voivodeship from that of Mazovia, and the Trzcianne parish from that at Burzyn. [...]" (as well as W. Wernerowa, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego*, p. 225); cf. also *Miasta Narwi prętowanie (Excerpt wyjęty z lustracyi Dziewiałtowskiego miasta Narwi zapadley w roku 1560 (Sub folio 479)*, [in:] AWAK 14 pp. 72–76, where are the descriptions: *Zascianki y błota przy miescie Narwi* as well as *Błota puste, nikczemne przy miescie Narewskim*.

**Table 4. Settlement density in the Crown in the second half of the sixteenth century<sup>246</sup>**

Voivodeship	Number of settlements per 100 km <sup>2</sup>	Number of settlements	Area km <sup>2</sup>
Płock	26.3	1,131	4,304
Łęczyca	21.9	948	4,326
Brześć	20.6	679	3,293
Mazovia	19.9	4,583	23,016
Podlasie	15.9	1,675	10,530
Rawa	15.6	965	6,173
Malbork	13.8	290	2,096
Chełmno	13.7	636	4,634
Kalisz	13.2	2,255	17,127
Cracow	12.9	2,577	20,043
Dobrzyń land	12.7	388	3,063
Inowrocław	12.4	343 <sup>247</sup>	2,775
Sieradz	12.1	1,520	12,525
Sandomierz	11.9	3,059	25,790
the Siewierz Duchy	11.5	78	679
Poznań	9.2	1,529	16,653
Lublin	8.6	915	10,684
Pomerania	8.4	1,079	12,907
<b>The Crown (without Warmia)</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>24,650</b>	<b>180,638</b>

As can be seen from the above data the average settlement density in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century is bettered only by four Crown voivodeships (Płock, Brześć, Łęczyca, Mazovia). In terms of the number of settlements the Podlasie Voivodeship is fifth in position after the Voivodeships of Mazovia, Sandomierz, Cracow and Kalisz. Looking through the prism of surface area of the individual Crown voivodeships for the period under consideration, Podlasie finds itself in ninth position bettered only by the following voivodeships: Sandomierz, Mazovia, Cracow, Kalisz, Poznań, Pomerania, Sieradz and Lublin.

<sup>246</sup> MRP, p. 35; S. Wojciechowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Lublin, in this edition III.3.1.3; H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2; K. Chłapowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.1.5; idem, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.1.1; A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.1.4; U. Zachara-Związek, T. Związek, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.1.6.

<sup>247</sup> U. Zachara-Związek, T. Związek, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.1.6, 87 they give for the Inowrocław Voivodeship a figure of 343.5 settlements; while here we have rounded the figure down to 343.

## APPENDIX

### Noble environs in Podlasie as confirmed by sources 1550–1600<sup>248</sup>

(in brackets given is the contemporary modern name)

• **Bielsk land:**

1. Borowo (Borowskie)<sup>249</sup> = -Cibory, -Gziki, -Michały, -Skórki, -Stare, -Szepiotki, Wypychy, -Żaczki;
2. Brzeziny = -Chrościanka, -Janowięta, -Wytrykusy;
3. Brzozowo = -Antonie, -Chrzczony, -Korabie, -Maćkowięta, -Panki, -Solniki, -Stare;
4. Chojane = -Bąki, -Boruty, -Gorczyany, -Pawłowięta, -Piecki, -Sierocięta, -Stankowięta, -Stara Wieś;
5. Dzierżki = -Janowięta, -Stankowięta, -Starawieś, -Tomkowięta, -Ząbki;
6. Falki = -Bartki, -Filipy, -Godzieby, -Janowięta, -Klimowięta, -Kowale, -Nowosady, -Paskowięta, -Stare, -Włosty;
7. Franki = -Chrościele, -Dąbrowscy, -Piaski;
8. Gąsówka = -Oleksino, -Stara Wieś, -Wojtkowięta;
9. Gołacie<sup>250</sup> = -Dąb, -Górki, -Mościska, -Puszcza, -Wola;
10. Grodzkie = -Nowa Wieś, -Stare, -Szczepanowięta;
11. Jabłonia (Jabłoń) = -Biskupki, -Dąbrowa, -Dobki, -Jankowce, -Kościelna, -Markowięta, -Piotrowce, -Rykacze, -Wspały, -Zarzecze, -Zębrowizna;
12. Jamiołki = -Kłosy, -Kowale, -Piotrowięta, -Świetliki;
13. Kalinowo<sup>251</sup> = -Czosnowo, -Sulki, -Trojanki, -Trojanki-Nowa Wieś;
14. Kamińskie (Kamińskie) = -Jaski, -Ocioski, -Wiktory;
15. Kobyliń (Kobylin)<sup>252</sup> = -Gnatki, -Kuleszki, -Pieniążki, -Poświętne;
16. Kostrzy<sup>253</sup> = -Masłowizna, -Podsędkowięta, -Pułazie, -Stare;
17. Krasowo = -Częstki, -Rybały, -Wielkie;
18. Kropiwnica (Kropiewnica) = -Gajki, -Kiernoski, -Racibory;
19. Kruszewo = -Brodowo, -Głąby, -Mateuszowięta;
20. Kulesze = -Litwa, -Maćkowięta, -Miziołki, -Podawce, -Podlipne, -Rokitnica, -Wykno Nowe, -Wykno Stare;
21. Łapy = -Barwiki, -Bociany, -Bursięta, -Dębrowizna, -Dzięciele, -Korczaki, Kosmytki, -*Kwity*,<sup>254</sup> -Leśniki, -Łynki, -Nowosiółki, -Pluśniaki, -Rechy, -Stryjce, -Szołajdy, -Wągle, -Wity, -Wojtasze, -Zięciuki, -Żaki;
22. Niewodnica<sup>255</sup> = -Bronczany, -Brzozczyńska, -Koryckich, -Lewicka, -Nargilewska, -Siestrzytowskich, -Wysockich;

<sup>248</sup> The absence of source research within those Podlasie municipal and rural register ledgers that have been preserved in no way makes this list exhaustive.

<sup>249</sup> Borowo-Prokuratowszczyzna is situated at a distance of approx. 5.5–6.5 km to the south of the environs of Borowo and does not constitute a part of it.

<sup>250</sup> On the environs of Gołacie see E. Kalinowski, *Historia obszaru gminy Wysokie Mazowieckie*, pp. 107–109.

<sup>251</sup> On the environs of Kalinowo see *ibidem*, pp. 110–111.

<sup>252</sup> Kobylin-Cieszmy appears in the sources from the second half of the sixteenth century as Cieszmy.

<sup>253</sup> We have not included within these environs the village of Kostrzy-Litwa and Kostrzy-Noski (Kostrzy-Borówka) located at a distance from Kostrzy-Śmiejski (Kostrzy-Pułazie) of approx. 11 km and approx. 9 km to the north; Kostrzy-Masłowizna is not marked on the map (unknown localisation).

<sup>254</sup> Mentioned in 1528; Popis 1528, p. 124: „Село Лапы Квиты Земане Матых Якубовичъ самъ. Якубъ Яновичъ Воеводичъ самъ. Томько Яновичъ самъ. Станиславъ Яновичъ самъ. С тых Лапъ конъ”; cf. Podlasie I, p. 199. The subject literature does not specify precisely where the aforementioned Łapy-Kwity was to be found though one of the interpretations reads: “The Ruthenian notation Kwity may be explained as *K Wity*, that is *at Wity* or *on the way to Wity*”, Lubicz-Łapiński, p. 39, footnote 27; cf. map 4: *Podział wsi Łapy około 1528 r.*, where marked is “K Wity” between Wity and Rechy; *ibidem*, p. 27; in another place the information that: “the village Łapy Kwity [...]” is “the later Łapy Wity and Barwiki”, *ibidem*, p. 142 as well as footnote 7.

<sup>255</sup> The distance from Niewodnica Nargilewska to Niewodnica Kościelna (measuring the route through Niewodnica: Brzozczyńska – Lewickich – Siestrzytowskich – Wysockich – Koryckich) is approx. 14 km, which means that with regard to surface area these environs were one of the largest in Podlasie in the second half of the sixteenth century.

23. Niwino (Niewino) = -Borowe, -*Janowięta*,<sup>256</sup> -Leśne, -Mruczki, -Popławy, -Spasy, -Stare;
24. Perki = -Bujenki, -Mazowsze, -Stara Wieś, -Wypychy;
25. Piszczaty = -Kończany, -Piotrowięta, -Tusiki;
26. Płonka = -Kościelna, -Kozły, -Matyski, -Strumieńskie;
27. Porośla (Porośl) = -Głuchy, -Grzywy, -Kije, -Wojślawy;
28. Roszki = -Bachy, -Bieńki, -Chrzczony, -Czirzunki, -Dusięta, -Piszczaty, -Sączki, -Trojanki, -Włodki, -Woćki, -Ziemaki;
29. Sasiny = -Stare, -Tworki, -Wity;
30. Sikory = -Bartkowięta, -Bartyczki, -Janowięta, -Pawłowięta, -Piotrowięta, -Tomkowięta, -Wojciechowięta;
31. Stypułki = -Giemzino, -Koziełki, -Szymany, -Świąchowięta;
32. Szembory (Szymbory) = -Andrzejewięta, -Jakubowięta, -Włodki;
33. Szepietowo = -Janówka, -*Mikołajowięta*,<sup>257</sup> -Podleśne, -Wawrzyńce, -Żaki;
34. Średnica = -Jakubowięta, -Maćkowięta, -Pawłowięta;
35. Truskolas (Truskolasy) = -Lachy, -Niwisko, -Olszyna, -Stara Wieś, -Wola;
36. Warele = -Filipy, -Nowe, -Stare, -Wyszonki;
37. Wnory = -Kużele, -Stara Wieś, -Wandy, -Wypychy;
38. Wojny = -Bakałarze, -Dąbrówka, -Izdebnik, -Janowięta, -Króle, -Piecзки, -Piotrasze, -Pogorzal, -Pułazie, -Stara Wieś, -Szuby;
39. Wyszonki = osada młyńska -Cicholas, -Klukowo, -Kościelne, -Nagórki, -Posele, -Ruś, -Włosty, -Wojciechy, -Wypychy;

• **Drohiczyn land:**

1. Bielony (Bielany) = -Borysy, -Jarosławy, -Wąsy, -Żyłaki;
2. Bogusze = -Litwa, -Stara Wieś, -Żale;
3. Czaple = Czaple, -Andrzejewice, -Jarki, -Obrapałki;
4. Czarkówka = -Bydytki, -Chudaki, -Dobki, -Rolimy, -Zawady;
5. Długa Dąbrowa<sup>258</sup> = Długa Dąbrowa, -*Biernatowięta*,<sup>259</sup> -Buczewizna, -Bydytki, -Cherubiny, -Dworaki, -Dzięciel, -Gogole, -Kaski, -Łazy, -Marcinówka, -*Moczydły*,<sup>260</sup> -*Serafinowięta*<sup>261</sup> -*Tymianka*,<sup>262</sup> Tworki, -Wilki, -Zablotne;
6. Długie = -Grodzisko, -Łuki, -Wola Kamionka, -Wszebory;
7. Dmochy = -Mingosy, -Rętki, -Rogale, -Rozumy;
8. Kaczyno (Kaczyn) = -Harbasy, -Małe, -Stare;
9. Kamianka (Kamianki) = -Czabaje, -Lacka, -Mytki, -Wańki;
10. Kłopoty = -Bańki, -Patry, -Piotry, -Stanisławowięta, -Waśki;
11. Kobyłany = -Koziełta, -Reczki, -Skorupki, -Stara Wieś;

<sup>256</sup> Mentioned only in 1528, Popis 1528, p. 113: „Село Нивино Яновята земляне Шчепань Яновичъ самъ. Андреевая Вдова самъ. Янь Томьковичъ самъ. Бернать Томьковичъ самъ. Щасный Томьковичъ самъ. Томьковая Вдова самъ. С тыхъ 2 кони”; cf. Podlasie I, p. 188.

<sup>257</sup> Mentioned only in 1528, Popis 1528, p. 142: „Село Шепетово Николаевата Земане Серафинъ Петровичъ. Венцлавъ Яновичъ сам. Щепань Яновичъ сам. Павелъ Якубовичъ сам. Янь Жакъ сам. Марко Станиславович сам. Петръ ЯкѠбовичъ сам. Андрей Станиславович сам. С тыхъ всихъ 3 кони. Село Шепетово Николаевата Земане Миколаи Миколаевичъ самъ. Янь Миколаевичъ сам. Якубъ Миколаевичъ сам. С тыхъ конь”; cf. Podlasie I, p. 216.

<sup>258</sup> In 1547 mentioned were (ADS, sign. D 45, ff. 452v–453): „Dąbrowa Dworaki, Cherubiny quinque mansos № 5, Dąbrowa Serafinowięta, Biernatowięta duodecem № 12, mansos, pro quinque, № quinque taxant, Dąbrowa Łazy, Dzięciela mansos quadraginta № 40 arenosi fundi, Dąbrowa Kamień, Dzięciela mansos triginta № 30, pro viginti № 20, Dąbrowa Kaski mansos duodecem № 12, Dąbrowa Wilki, Bydytki, Tymianka, Tworki mansos triginta № 30, Dąbrowa Moczydły viginti quinque № 25, pro viginti no viginti taxant, Dąbrowa Zablotna viginti tres № 23, pro viginti № 20 taxati, Dąbrowa Gogole, Dzięciela mansos viginti duos № 22, pro viginti № 20”.

<sup>259</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

<sup>260</sup> Długa Dąbrowa-Moczydły 1578 and 1579 appears in the tax register for the Bielsk land (see ASK I 47, f. 466v; ibidem, f. 367v).

<sup>261</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

<sup>262</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

12. Koce = -Basie, -Borowe, -Chybowo, -Kobusy,<sup>263</sup> -Masły, -Piskuły, -Schaby, -Stara Wieś;
13. Kosianka = -Boruty, -Leśna, -Stara Wieś, -Trojany;
14. Koski = -Falki, -Starawieś, -Wypychy;
15. Krasnodęby = -Kasmy, -Rafały, -Sypytki;
16. Krasowice (Krasewice) = -Czerepy, -Jagielki, -Stare;
17. Krynki = -Białokunki, -Borowe, -Jarki, -Pławy;
18. Księżopole = -Budki, -Jałmużny, -Komory, -Smolaki;
19. Łempice = -Andrale, -Klesie, -Nowe, -Stare;
20. Łuniewo = -Szczyby, -Wielkie, -Wyszki;
21. Miłkowice (Miłkowice) = -Jankowice, -*Najewnik*,<sup>264</sup> -Pazkowice, -Ruskie, -Stawki;
22. Miodusy (A)<sup>265</sup> = -Litwa, -Michałowięta, -Perki, -Piotrowięta, -Stara Wieś, -Stasiowięta, -Stok, -Szczepanowięta, -*Szymanowięta*;<sup>266</sup>
23. Miodusy (B)<sup>267</sup> = -Bogusławy, -Junochoy, -Koprzywne;
24. Moczydły (A)<sup>268</sup> = -Kukielki, -Pidaje, -Pszczółki, -Stare;
25. Moczydły (B)<sup>269</sup> = -Lachowskie, -Stare, -Zalesie;
26. Niemyje = -Jarmuły, -Siudy, -Skłody, -Stare, -Wity, -Zębki;
27. Piętki = -Basie, -Gręzki, -Szeligi;  
*Poniaty*<sup>270</sup> = -*Kosiorki*, -*Krzepisie*, -*Starawieś*, -*Zagajne*;
28. Porzeziny = -Gętki, -Jelitki, -Mędle, -Sipki, -Surały;
29. Radziszewo = -Króle, -Przyrodki, -Sieńczuch, -Sobiechowie, -Stare;
30. Ratyniec = -Mursy, -Nowy, -Stary;
31. Rytele<sup>271</sup> = -*Adamowięta*,<sup>272</sup> -Borki, -*Dominikowięta*,<sup>273</sup> -Olechny, -Średnie, -Święckie, -Wólka, -*Zapalkowięta*;<sup>274</sup>
32. Rzewuski<sup>275</sup> = -*Smyczki*,<sup>276</sup> -Starawieś, -Suchodół, -Śmieszki, -Zawady, -Żale;
33. Skolimowo = -Cierpigórze, -Ptaszki, -Rogoziec, -Stara Wieś, -Wojnowo;
34. Sosna = -Korabie, -Kuzołki, -Trojanki;
35. Tchórznica<sup>277</sup> = Tchórznica, -Mnich, -Wyszki;
36. Toczyska (Toczyski) = -Chrome, -Czortki, -Średnie;
37. Trzcieniec (Trzcinięc) = -Dupy, -Szłapy, -Średni;
38. Twarogi = -Lackie, -Mazury, -Ruskie, -Trubnica, -Wypychy;
39. Tybory<sup>278</sup> = -Jezierna, -Gołasie, -Kamianka, -Mistale, -Olszewo, -Trzcianka, -Usza, -Wola, -Żochy, -Żuławy;

<sup>263</sup> Koce-Kobusy in 1567 appears only as Kobusy (Popis 1567, f. 920: „Кобусы Венцлавъ Якубовичъ кляча, рогати. Харубинъ Якубовичъ пешь, рогати. Войтехъ Михайловичъ кляча, мечъ”).

<sup>264</sup> Mentioned in 1547: “Miłkowice Najewnik, octo, pro quinque” (ADS, sign. D 45, f. 454).

<sup>265</sup> The environs were situated approx. 10 km to the west of Wysokie Mazowieckie, in the north-west part of the Drohiczyn lands. In 1547 mentioned were (ibidem, f. 453): “Miodusy Starawieś, Michałowięta, Szymanowięta, Stankowięta, Piotrowięta mansos 40”. On the environs of Miodusy see E. Kalinowski, *Historia obszaru gminy Wysokie Mazowieckie*, pp. 84–89.

<sup>266</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

<sup>267</sup> The environs were situated approx. 17 km to the south-east of Ciechanowiec.

<sup>268</sup> The environs were situated approx. 10 km to the south-east of Ciechanowiec.

<sup>269</sup> The environs were situated approx. 10 km to the south-west of Siemiatycze.

<sup>270</sup> In 1547 mentioned were (ADS, sign. D 45, f. 453): “Poniaty Kosiorki, Krzepysie, Starawieś, Zagayne, mansos 40, pro 20 taxant”.

<sup>271</sup> In 1547 mentioned were (ibidem, f. 457): ‘Rytele Olechny viginti quinque, Rytele Dominikowięta, Zapalkowięta, Adamowięta, Wszołki, Borki, Święckie, Starawieś, centum, pro quinquaginta’.

<sup>272</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

<sup>273</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

<sup>274</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

<sup>275</sup> In 1547 mentioned were (ADS, sign. D 45, f. 455): “Rzewuski Żale octodecem, pro quindecem, Rzewuski Smyczki, Zawady quinquaginta, pro quadraginta, Rzewuski Suchodół quadraginta, pro triginta, Rzewuski Beydy quadraginta, pro triginta”.

<sup>276</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

<sup>277</sup> We recognise Tchórznica, the name of which constitutes a component in the nomenclature for the environs while in the sources from the second half of the sixteenth century it is designated simply as Tchórznica.

<sup>278</sup> Mentioned in 1547.

40. Winna<sup>279</sup> = -Cibory, -Krzyszczki, -Nowa Wieś, -Piętki,<sup>280</sup> -Stara, -Wilki, -Wypychy;
41. Wojtkowicze (Wojtkowice) = -Dady, -Glinna, -Stare;
42. Żery = -Bystry, -Czubiki, -Pilaki;

- **Mielnik land:**

1. Biernaty = -Rudniki, -Stare, -Świrzbły.

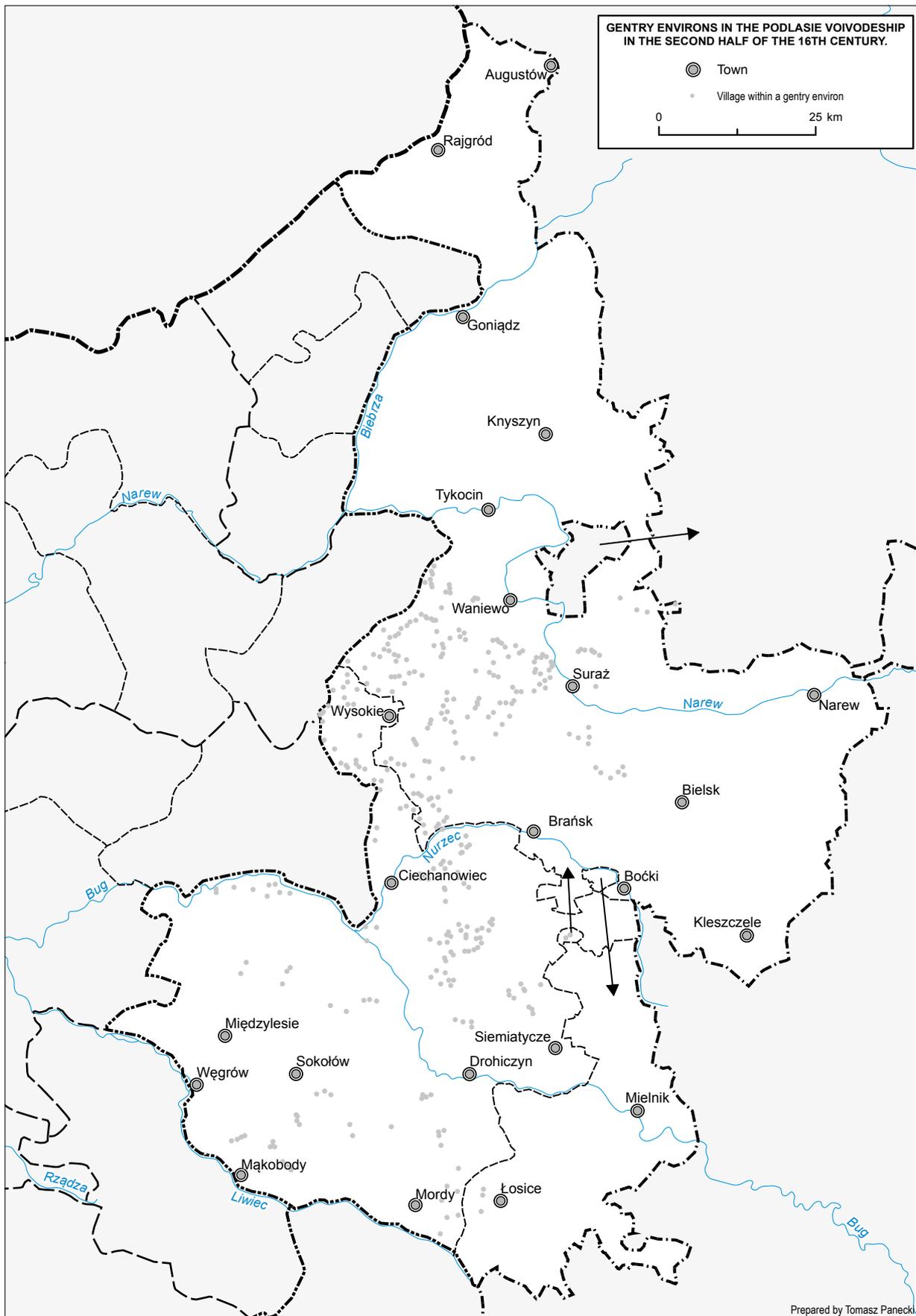
(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>279</sup> In 1547 mentioned were (ADS, sign. D 45, f. 453): “Winna Starawieś, Wypychy, Kryńki, Piętki, Wilki, Cybory 37 mansos, pro 20 taxant”.

<sup>280</sup> Mentioned in 1547.



**Map 1. Noble environs in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th century**

### III.3.1.9a ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Marian Biskup*

In Royal Prussia, settlement network density varied significantly from area to area. The tables below list the number of settlements per km<sup>2</sup> in each of the voivodeships and districts (or equivalent administrative units).

The data show that the highest density of settlements can be observed in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships, where the number of settlements per area size is more or less equal (1 per 7.3 km<sup>2</sup> and one per 7.2 km<sup>2</sup> respectively). In Chełmno Voivodeship, the highest settlement density was in Chełmno district and the lowest in the territory of Toruń (1 per 10.5 km<sup>2</sup>). Conversely, Pomeranian Voivodeship showed much internal variation in settlement density, from one per 6.6 km<sup>2</sup> up to one per 19.5 km<sup>2</sup>, with the average being one per 12.1 km<sup>2</sup>. The highest density could be observed in the north-eastern part of the voivodeship, in districts of Gdańsk, Puck, Tczew, and in the territory of the Town of Gdańsk (from one per 6.6 km<sup>2</sup> to one per 10.5 km<sup>2</sup>). The lowest settlement density was seen in the southern and western Człuchów, Mirachowo, Nowe, and Tuchola districts (1 per 14 km<sup>2</sup> up to one per 19.5 km<sup>2</sup>). The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the sizeable woodland cover of Royal Prussia, which was especially extensive in the areas of low settlement density – several districts in Pomeranian Voivodeship and the territory of Toruń in Chełmno Voivodeship. Likewise, weak soils were a factor that negatively impacted the development of these regions.

The urban settlement density in Royal Prussia was almost identical in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships – one per 332.4 km<sup>2</sup> and one per 349.3 km<sup>2</sup>. In Pomeranian Voivodeship, the urban network was much sparser, with one urban settlement per 806.7 km<sup>2</sup>.

Correspondingly, the ratio of urban to rural settlements in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships was similar – 1:44 and 1:47 respectively, which was almost 50% higher than the 1:66 ratio in Pomeranian Voivodeship. In the entire region of Royal Prussia, there were 54 villages per town. This ratio varied internally, especially in Pomeranian Voivodeship, where the highest urban settlement density could be found in the southwestern regions and districts adherent to the Vistula (Człuchów, Nowe, and Tczew), as well as the territory of the Town of Gdańsk, where the urban-to-rural settlement ratio remained between 1:24 to 1:57. This contrasted with the situation in the central, northern, and southern parts of the Pomeranian Voivodeship (Mirachowo, Puck, Świecie, Tuchola districts), where the ratio could be 1:111 – 1:127, or even a stark 1:0. Of course, the urban population of individual towns, as well as their economical roles, remained an important factor, especially in the cases of Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Toruń.

As a consequence of these urban-to-rural ratio variations, the distances between the major urban centres vary. In Chełmno Voivodeship, distances – as the crow flies – could measure from 3 km to 94 km, with an average distance of around 43 km; in Malbork Voivodeship the distances ranged from 11 km to 55 km, 30 km on average. Finally, the distances between towns in Pomeranian Voivodeship ranged from 13 to 157 km, 79 km on average. For the entire region of Royal Prussia, the distances ranged from 3 km to 157 km, averaging at around 42 km.

**Table 1. Number of urban and rural settlements in Chełmno Voivodeship**

district/equivalent administrative unit	area in km <sup>2</sup>	number of settlements		km <sup>2</sup> per one settlement	km <sup>2</sup> per one urban	km <sup>2</sup> per one rural	urban to rural settlement ratio
		urban	rural				
Chełmno	2,065	5	323	6.3	413.0	6.4	64
Michałowó	1,314	3	145	8.8	438.0	9.1	48
Bishopric of Chełmno	916	5	121	7.3	183.2	7.6	24
Territory of Toruń	359	1	33	10.5	359.0	10.9	33
total	4,654	14	622	7.3	332.4	7.5	44

**Table 2. Number of urban and rural settlements in Malbork Voivodeship**

administrative unit	area in km <sup>2</sup>	number of settlements		km <sup>2</sup> per one settlement	km <sup>2</sup> per one urban settlement	km <sup>2</sup> per one rural settlement	urban to rural settlement ratio
		urban	rural				
Malbork Voivodeship (without the territory of Elbląg)	1,584	5	221	7.0	316.8	7.2	44
territory of the Town of Elbląg	512	1	63	8.0	512.0	8.1	63
total	2,096	6	284	7.2	349.3	7.4	47

**Table 3. Number of urban and rural settlements in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district/equivalent administrative unit	area in km <sup>2</sup>	number of settlements		km <sup>2</sup> per one settlement	km <sup>2</sup> per one urban settlement	km <sup>2</sup> per one rural settlement	urban to rural settlement ratio
		urban	rural				
Człuchów	2,436	5	120	19.5	487.2	20.3	24
Gdańsk	661	–	100	6.6	–	6.6	–
Mirachowo	1,137	–	81	14.0	–	14.0	–
Nowe	720	1	49	14.4	720.0	14.7	49
Puck	981	1	114	8.5	981.0	8.6	114
Świecie	1,473	1	127	11.5	1 473.0	11.6	127
Tczew	3,038	5	285	10.5	607.6	10.7	57
Tuchola	1,818	1	111	16.2	1 818.0	16.4	111
the territory of the Town of Gdańsk	643	2	76	8.2	321.5	8.5	38
total	12,907	16	1,063 <sup>1</sup>	12.1	806.7	12.2	66

<sup>1</sup> The abovementioned number of rural settlements in Pomerania deviate from the accounts by M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, vol. 1: *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej*, Toruń 1955, p. 30, where the number of rural settlements was 1046. The difference of 17 settlements, of which ten are royal castles in starostwos and their adherent manorial estates. Those were counted as separate settlements in the current list, independent of nearby urban centres. Those were:

Białobór Estate I	parish Białobór	district Człuchów	Świecie-Zamek (Castle)	parish Świecie	district Świecie
Białobór Estate II	Białobór	Człuchów	Gniew-Zamek (Castle)	Gniew	Tczew
Czarne-Zameczek	Czarne	Człuchów	Zamek Kiszewski (Castle)	Stara Kiszewa	Tczew
Człuchów-Zamek (Castle)	Człuchów	Człuchów	Skarszewy-Zamek (Castle)	Skarszewy	Tczew
Nowe-Zamek (Castle)	Nowe	Nowe	Tuchola-Zamek (Castle)	Tuchola	Tuchola

**Table 4. Number of urban and rural settlements in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	area size in km <sup>2</sup>	number of settlements		km <sup>2</sup> per a settlement	km <sup>2</sup> per 1 urban settlement	km <sup>2</sup> per one rural settlement	urban to rural settlement ratio
		urban	rural				
Chełmno	4,654	14	622	7.3	332.4	7.5	44
Malbork	2,096	6	284	7.2	349.3	7.4	47
Pomeranian	12,907	16	1,063	12.1	806.7	12.2	66
total	19,657	36	1,969	9.8	546.0	10.0	54

*(1961)**Translated by Paulina Waclawik*


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Settlements: Olszynka (Territory of Gdańsk) and Turza (Tczew district) were listed, true to the sixteenth century sources, as were Olszynka Mała and Olszynka Wielka, and Turza Mała and Turza Wielka. On the basis of further sources, another five settlements were identified:

- Zakoniczyn, Gdańsk parish, Gdańsk district – Church property, St. Elisabeth’s Hospital in Gdańsk – estate – H. Schuch, *Nachrichten über Lappin und andere Hospitalgüter von Danzig*, Gdańsk 1894 (Abhandlungen zur Landeskunde der Provinz Westpreussen, vol. 7), p. 9;
- Ruda Suchowska, Drzycim parish, Świecie district – royal property, Ściecie starostwo – ironworks – ASK XLVI 28, p. 593;
- Broda – Młyn (Mill), Wiele parish, Tuchola district – noble property – mill – Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 1–3, p. 242;
- Męcikał, Brusy parish, Tuchola district – royal property in Tuchola starostwo – inn – ASK LVI vol. 1, p. 97;
- Prądzonka, Leśno parish, Tuchola district – royal property in Tuchola starostwo – ca. 10 lan of peasant-owned land – ibidem, p. 96, 108.

## III.3.2 CHARACTER AND SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS

### III.3.2.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Jarosław Suproniuk*

In this edition of the Historical Atlas of Poland we observed the rules applied in previous volumes. The following elements were presented on our maps:

- Centres of State administration, i.e. of voivodeships and districts;
- Centres of Church administration, i.e. of archdeaconries, deaneries, and parishes;
- Towns and villages, marked according to their size;
- Mills, ironworks, glassworks, and demesnes having their own names, localized in a certain manner as separate settlements;
- Castles.

We did not mark mines having their own names situated in Cracow Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century, even though we know the names of mines and shafts from the middle of the sixteenth century (it was not always possible to locate them precisely in the field).<sup>1</sup> In spite of that, the sign of mine, symbolizing clusters of shafts and mines (without distinguishing between lead and salt mines) was marked on the main map by four settlements: Bochnia, Olkusz, Ujków, and Wieliczka. Ore mining (coal and silver) is represented by Olkusz and Ujków, salt mining by Bochnia and Wieliczka.

We were able to find three mills (separate mill settlements) with their own name and certain localization in Cracow Voivodeship and the duchy of Siewierz in the second half of the sixteenth century:

- Dąbie in the district of Szczyrzyc,
- Czaniec Mały in Silesian district,
- Smardzów in the duchy of Siewierz.

Mills situated in towns and villages were omitted, because they were not included in the program and assumptions of the Atlas.<sup>2</sup>

We marked 35 ironworks, either having an individual name, or named after the nearest village, but located outside, whose localization was known to us.<sup>3</sup> We omitted ironworks, whose existence in the

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<sup>1</sup> See LK 1564, vol. 2, pp. 57 f.: *Ratio orborae SMR Ilkusiensis anni 1550 summaria*; ibidem, p. 62: *Ratio orborae Ilkusiensis SMR 1558 summaria*; *Acta actorum officii zupariatus Ilkusiensis sub regimine Generosi Iosti Lodouici Decii [...]* 1567–1570, Bibl. Jag., MS 1 [microfilm in BN no. 12470]. Also see K. Pieradzka, *Przedsiębiorstwa kopalniane mieszczan krakowskich w Olkuszu od XV do początków XVII wieku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” no. 16, Seria Nauk Społecznych, Historia, no. 3, 1958, pp. 57–60, for names of shafts and mines in 1552 r. The list of mine names appearing in the sources since 1430 in D. Molenda, *Górnictwo kruszcowe na terenie złóż śląsko-krakowskich do połowy XVI w.*, Wrocław 1963 (Studia z Dziejów Górnictwa i Hutnictwa, vol. 8), pp. 375 f. Names of shafts and mines in Bochnia in the beginning of the sixteenth century see J. Piotrowicz, *Żupy krakowskie w pierwszych wiekach rozwoju od połowy XII do początków XVI wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje żup krakowskich*, ed. A. Jodłowski, Wieliczka 1988, p. 149; in the second part of the sixteenth century in A. Keckowa, *Żupy krakowskie w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] ibidem, p. 165. About the names of shafts in Wieliczka see J. Piotrowicz, *Żupy krakowskie*, p. 150; for the 1560s and 1570s see A. Keckowa, *Żupy krakowskie*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Laberschek, *Kraków i okolice w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.6.15a.1; also see: J.W. Rączka, *Młyny królewskie w krajobrazie Krakowa*, „Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury”, vol. 12, 1978, pp. 19–28, vol. 13, 1979, pp. 7–15; see AHMP Cracow, Map 4.10 – „Kraków i okolice na przełomie XV i XVI wieku”, comp. J. Laberschek (scale 1:10,000). Data from 1629 y. and 1660s see in: E. Trzyna, *Położenie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich województwach krakowskiego w XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1963, pp. 213, 215, 217.

<sup>3</sup> J. Laberschek, *Kuźnice żelazne w ziemi krakowskiej w średniowieczu*, „Teki Krakowskie”, vol. 3, 1996, pp. 97–115; S. Miczulski, *Hutnictwo żelaza w księstwie siewierskim od średniowiecza do XVIII wieku (kuźnice dymarskie)*, [in:] *Siewierz*,

sixteenth century was uncertain, or those, which operated for a short period of time, or were difficult to localize. We marked:

- In Proszowice district:<sup>4</sup> Kuźnica Błędownska, Kuźnica Okradzionowska, Laski;
  - In Lelów district:<sup>5</sup> Czyżówka, Dąbrowica, Gnaszyn (Połęcz),<sup>6</sup> Kawka, Kostrzyn, Krzemienda, Kuźnica (Kromołów parish), Kuźnica Chybakowska, Kuźnica Dzbowska, Kuźnica Łaziec,<sup>7</sup> Kuźnica Marcisza,<sup>8</sup> Kuźnica Niczowa,<sup>9</sup> Kuźnica Pradelna, Kuźnica Przestańska, Kuźnica Stanowska, Ławy, Myszków, Panek (Kuźnica Herbułtowska), Piła, Poczesna, Poręba, Trcianka, Wąsosze,<sup>10</sup> Wiesiołka, Własna, Zawadzka;<sup>11</sup>
  - In the duchy of Siewierz:<sup>12</sup> Czekanka, Kamienica, Kuźnica Stara,<sup>13</sup> Kuźnica Sulikowska,<sup>14</sup> Mijaczów (Kuźnica Będuska), Piwonia (Kuźnica Siekaczowska).
- We were able to localize 24 demesnes with their own name:<sup>15</sup>
- In Proszowice district: Biedaczów, Bolowiec, Damianice, Laski, Marszowice, Podchełmie, Wola;

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*Czeladź, Koziegłowy. Studia z dziejów Siewierza i księstwa siewierskiego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Katowice 1994, pp. 467–498, particularly pp. 469–475; B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego XIV–XVII wiek*, Warsaw 1954, pp. 269–272; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, vol. 2: *Tablice i materiały statystyczne*, Poznań 1929, pp. 324–326. About ironworks founded in the Middle Ages and in the first half of the sixteenth century see: SHGK, part III, no. 2, pp. 381–398. J. Laberschek, *Kuźnice żelazne*, p. 111 claims that there were 27 operating ironworks in 1550 in the land of Cracow and the Duchy of Siewierz; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa*, p. 326 – that there were 28 ironworks with 81 wheels and 233 workers in 1570s and 1580s in Cracow Voivodeship.

<sup>4</sup> Bolesławska ironworks in Proszowice district was excluded (B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa*, p. 271: ‘Sławków, Parish of the Chełmski family, listed in 1578 as ‘newly-located’, demolished in 1589’).

<sup>5</sup> Sierakowska ironworks in Lelów district was excluded (ibidem, p. 271: ‘Przyrów parish, mentioned in the Crown Metrica in 1580, does not appear in tax records or in inspections’), just like Zawada ironworks (ibidem, p. 270: ‘mentioned in the inspection from 1569 as ‘newly-built’ – does not appear in the sources otherwise’).

<sup>6</sup> Liquidated before 1573, see ibidem, p. 269; SHGK, part III, no. 2, p. 385.

<sup>7</sup> B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa*, p. 270: ‘Częstochowa parish, founded in 1553 (privilege), in tax records appears only in 1595, belonged to the Konopka family (ironworkers), in 1620 bought by Wolski, the great furnace abandoned in 1631’.

<sup>8</sup> SHGK, part III, no. 2, p. 383: earlier called Bilanowska; liquidated in 1588 by Wojciech Padniewski. Since the 1530s it belonged to the family Marcisz vel Marciszko.

<sup>9</sup> 1552 minera Nycz, 1563 kuźnica Niczowa, liquidated in 1588 (Wojciech Padniewski liquidated Kuźnica Nowa and converted it into a demesne), reactivated in the beginning of the seventeenth century, in Zawiercie Mniejsze at the close of the eighteenth century, see: SHGK, part III, no. 2, pp. 397 f.: Kuźnica Zawiercka.

<sup>10</sup> B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa*, p. 271: ‘In Częstochowa parish, described in 1589 as ‘new’, in the hands of the Konopko family, bought by Wolski in 1620, abandoned 1631’.

<sup>11</sup> SHGK, part III, no. 2, p. 391: ‘Called Zawadzka in the second part of the sixteenth century; [...] 1565 Kuźnica Zawadzka was listed as new in the hands of the family Marcisz (ironworkers); in 1588 Wojciech Padniewski banished Zawadzki, and ironworker from Kuźnica Nowa, and turned the ironworks into a demesne, which was called Zawadzka’.

<sup>12</sup> The following ironworks were not included in the Duchy of Siewierz, founded in the seventeenth century: Kuźnica Remiszowska (S. Miczulski, *Hutnictwo żelaza*, p. 474: ‘built on request of bishop M. Szyszkowski in 1617–1618, [...] closed down probably before 1645, Kuźnica Tapkowska (first entry – 1621, see B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa*, p. 271), or those, which might have been founded at the close of the sixteenth century, but it is unlikely: Kuźnica Przeczycka (S. Miczulski, *Hutnictwo żelaza*, pp. 474 f.: ‘perhaps it was founded in the beginning of the seventeenth century, because it was not listed in Targoszyce parish in the visitation conducted in 1598. One reliable entry comes from the 1645 inventory. [...] In 1668 there was a paper-mill on the spot, so it is possible that the ironworks was destroyed by the Swedes after 1655’), or Kuźnice Jawiszów (ibidem, p. 475: ‘founded probably after 1598, because the visitation does not mention them in Wojkowice parish. In 1611 the ironworks appear in the visitation under Wojkowice and Wareżyn as «kuźnice Jachiszów». [...] These ironworks do not appear in the inventories from 1645 and 1668’).

<sup>13</sup> S. Miczulski, *Hutnictwo żelaza*, p. 473: ‘Concerning the name of Stara Kuźnica [...]. In the end of the sixteenth century it was called Stara Kuźnica, or Kuźnica Frankowska, in 1661 – Kuźnica Szwankowska. In the first half of the seventeenth century it usually appears as «Marciszewska kuźnica», or – sporadically – as «Frankowska», the final name Stara Kuźnica established later’; see also Noga, *Słownik*, pp. 79–81.

<sup>14</sup> SHGK, part III, no. 2, p. 398: ‘two ironworks in Sulików [by the River Mitręga] – one near Bobrowy Staw, built in cruda radice prior to 1553, the other by Kuźniczy Staw was much older. Sometime before 1575 they two ironworks were joined and functioned as one until 1763.’

<sup>15</sup> See K. Mikulski, J. Wroniszewski, *Folwark i zmiany koniunktury gospodarczej w Polsce XIV–XVII wieku*, „Klio”, vol. 4, 2003, pp. 25–39; W. Urban, *Przeptyw ziemi między chłopami a folwarkiem w Małopolsce u schyłku XVI wieku*, [in:] *Studia nad gospodarką, społeczeństwem i rodziną w Europie późnofeudalnej*, ed. J. Topolski, coop. C. Kuklo, Lublin 1987, pp. 119–129; A. Wyczański, *Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim w Polsce w latach 1500–1580*, Warsaw 1960.

- In Lelów district: Borowy, Brzostek, Ciecierzyn, Duliszyce, Kuków;
- In Szczyrzyc district: Kopań, Wieża;
- In Sącz district:<sup>16</sup> Bieniowa,<sup>17</sup> Niecew,<sup>18</sup> Ratnowy;
- In Biecz district: Dąbrowa, Gądky, Załawie, Zimna Wódka;
- In Silesian district: Czerмна, Miejsce, Wilczkowice.

Four glassworks were marked, either having their own name, or named after the nearest settlement, but of known location:<sup>19</sup>

- In Lelów district: Huta;
- In Szczyrzyc district:<sup>20</sup> Huta Trzebuńska,<sup>21</sup> Huta Zasańska;<sup>22</sup>
- In Silesian district: Huta Strzeszawa.

The list of those inns, which formed separate villages (i.e. without inns situated in villages and towns) was included by Małgorzata Wilska in her commentary on the roads (see below, p. 621–622). These objects were shown on Map 5 (Major roads of Cracow Voivodeship in the sixteenth century), but not on the main map, and – consequently – not in the index of settlements.

The number of inhabitants was needed to assess the size of towns and villages. Obviously, the results obtained were hypothetical. For that purpose, we used tax registers from the sixteenth century, inspections of royal estates, inventories of Church estates, and results of studies.<sup>23</sup> The number of houses served as a basis for our calculations. As in previous volumes (Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships and Sandomierz Voivodeship), we assumed that one house was inhabited by nine people on average. In case there was no data on the number of houses, we used as a base the number of artisans living in a given town, and recorded in tax registers.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> We did not mark Lubomirka demesne, localized in an uncertain manner ('in the forest by the River Czarna') in Słonica parish, Sącz district. It was mentioned in two source entries from 1569 and 1620; see S. Płaza, *Sołectwa w powiecie sądecko-czchowskim w XIII–XVIII w.*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 9, 1968, p. 27, footnote 55.

<sup>17</sup> H. Stamiński, *Powodzie przyczyną zagłady Ciecierzyn, Gocza, Hampłowej i Zastonia w dawnej Sądecczyźnie*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 5, 1962, p. 146: 'Bieniowa [...] was never included in tax registers, because it was only a demesne belonging to the Sisters of Sv. Clare'.

<sup>18</sup> Year 1563: 'here you have only a demesne, nothing to mention in the register', quoted in: H. Stamiński, *Poprawki i uzupełnienia prac historycznych o Sądecczyźnie*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 9, 1968, p. 402.

<sup>19</sup> J. Laberschek, *Huty szkła w ziemi krakowskiej od XIV do końca XVI w.*, „Teki Krakowskie”, vol. 12, 2000, pp. 115–128; SHGK, part II, no. 1, pp. 149–153; A. Wyrobisz, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie hut szklanych w Małopolsce w XIV–XVII w.*, PH, vol. 57, 1966, no. 3, pp. 366–387; idem, *Szkło w Polsce od XIV do XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1968, pp. 19–38. According to Wyrobisz (A. Wyrobisz, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie*, p. 386), there were 38 glassworks open in the entire Lesser Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>20</sup> We did not mark Osiecka glassworks (Droginia parish), because the last source record mentioning it comes from 1524, see SHGK, part II, no. 1, p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 212: 'Villa Trzebunia [...] there is one glassworks, where they pay...'; see SHGK, part II, no. 1, pp. 150 f.

<sup>22</sup> AV Cap. 7, f. 36.

<sup>23</sup> See K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Cracow.

<sup>24</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5; A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2; see P. Małopolska, vol. 3, pp. 45–48; I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 146–161. See also K. Górka, *Przyczynek do krytyki rejestrów poborowych z XVI w.*, SŻ, vol. 1, 1957, pp. 185–189; Z. Guldon, *Uwagi w sprawie przydatności badawczej rejestrów poborowych z XVI w.*, ZH, vol. 31, 1966, no. 1, pp. 73–79; P. Szafran, *Inwentarze czy rejestry poborowe?*, ZH, vol. 31, 1966, no. 1, pp. 53–71. The amount paid by the towns of the so-called town tax was practically useless: W. Czerkawski, *Metoda badania zaludnienia Polski w XVI wieku*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie”, vol. 2, 1897, no. 2, p. 11: 'The amount of money paid by the towns did not change for decades, almost centuries even, while the number of inhabitants naturally rose or fell'; W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną w dawnej Polsce*, RDSG, vol. 13, 1951, pp. 63 f.: Szos 'depended on wealth, or income of the taxpayers, because it was levied rather roughly, and often in the lump, it was easy to make it [...] a tool of correcting the existing division of income [...]'. Compare: 'The nature of this tax, as well as the flat rate maintained since the turn of the fifteenth/sixteenth century, and acknowledged disproportions between these lump sums and the range of town development deprived the sums paid by towns and recorded in tax registers of any informative value concerning the number of inhabitants' (I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii*, p. 166); A. Pawiński (P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 46) assumed that 1 złoty of the town 'roughly equals four or five houses, so around 24 heads'. E. Wielosé claimed that 'the number of people per 1 złoty of the town tax varies significantly from 17 to 180 people', see idem, *Ludność Polski od X do XVIII wieku*, KHKM, vol. 5, 1957, no. 1, p. 37, see also I. Gieysztorowa, T. Ładogórski, *W sprawie nowych badań nad zaludnieniem dawnej Polski*, KHKM, vol. 6, 1958, no. 1–2, pp. 45–60; I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła i szacunki w badaniach osadnictwa i demografii Polski XVI i XVII w.*, KHKM, vol. 10, 1962, no. 3–4, pp. 575–591; eadem, *Badania*

We found 73 cities and towns, i.e. settlements granted town rights and paying town tax ('szos'), in Cracow Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>25</sup> We did not include unsuccessful locations, like the one from 10 February 1550 of the town Lipowiec, and towns, which lost their town character quickly, like Czyżówka.<sup>26</sup> Also, there were three towns in the duchy of Siewierz.

The list of towns in particular districts, with ownership type (r – royal, c – Church, n – of the nobility) runs as follows:

- Proszowice district: Będzin (r), Brzesko Nowe (c), Chrzanów (n), Działoszyce (n), Kleparz (r), Koszyczki (r), Kraków (r), Nowa Góra (n), Olkusz (r), Proszowice (r), Skała (c), Skarbmierz, (c), Sławków (c), Słomniki (r).
- Książ district: Andrzejów (c), Książ Wielki (n), Miechów (c), Wodzisław (n), Wolbram (r), Żarnowiec (r).
- Lelów district: Częstochowa (r), Kłobucko (r), Kossów (n), Kromołów (n), Krzepice (r), Lelów (r), Mrzygłód (n), Mstów (c), Ogrodzieniec (n), Olsztyn (r),<sup>27</sup> Pilcza (n), Przerów (r), Szczekociny (n), Włodowice (n), Żarki (n).
- In Szczyrzyc district: Bochnia (r), Brzeżek (n), Dobczyce (r), Jordanów (n), Kazimierz (r), Lanckorona (r), Myślimice (r), Skawina (c), Tymbark (r), Uście (r), Wieliczka (r).
- In Sącz district: Czchów (r), Ilmanowa (n), Krościenko (r), Lipnica (r), Muszyna (c), Nowy Targ (r), Piwniczna (r), Sądecz Nowy (r), Sądecz Stary (c), Wojnicz (r), Zakliczyn (n).
- In Biecz district: Biecz (r), Bobowa (n), Cieszkowice (r), Dębowiec (r), Dukla (n), Gorlice (n), Grębów (r), Jasło (r), Jaśliska (c), Osiek (r), Żmigród (n).
- In Silesian district: Kęty (r), Oświęcim (r), Wadowice (r), Zator (r), Żywiec (n).
- In the duchy of Siewierz: Czeladź (c), Koziegłowy (c), Siewierz (c).

The highest number of towns and cities was observed in the districts of Lelów (15) and Proszowice (14), and the lowest – in Książ (six), and Silesia (five), excluding the duchy of Siewierz. There were significantly more royal towns in the districts of Szczyrzyc (eight royal towns of 11), Sądecz Nowy (seven royal towns of 11), and Silesia (four royal towns of five); the majority of towns in Lelów district belonged to the nobility (eight of 15). All towns in the duchy of Siewierz belonged to the Church. In Książ district the proportions were equal: two towns of each type.

Only one town in our area could be included in the category of large cities (above 5,000 inhabitants) – Cracow.<sup>28</sup> The settlements, which were granted town rights and most likely had more inhabitants than 1,000, were marked on the map as cities.

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*nad historią zaludnienia Polski*, KHKM, vol. 11, 1963, no. 3–4, pp. 523–558; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrobiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, compare pp. 353–392, chapter: *Typologia miast na podstawie kryteriów demograficznych*.

<sup>25</sup> See J. Wyrozumski, *Rozwój sieci miejskiej w Małopolsce w średniowieczu i u progu czasów nowożytnych*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, pp. 363–371. Compare Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Oznaczenia i klasyfikacje miast w dawnej Polsce (XVI–XVIII w.)*, CPH, vol. 8, 1956, no. 2, pp. 253–268; Szczygieł, annex I: *Nowe inicjatywy lokacyjne*, particularly pp. 231 f.; H. Samsonowicz, *Liczba i wielkość miast późnego średniowiecza Polski*, KH, vol. 86, 1979, no. 4, pp. 917–931.

<sup>26</sup> F. Kiryk, *Lokacje miejskie nieudane, translacje miast i miasta zanikłe w Małopolsce do połowy XVII stulecia*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, pp. 374, 381; Szczygieł, pp. 231 f.

<sup>27</sup> F. Kiryk, *Lokacje*, p. 381: '[...] the foundation [in 1478] did not revive the town, as in 1534 there were still only 10 burgher houses there, and the owners were freed from taxation'. Olsztyn (Olsztynek), however, still appears in the lists of cities and towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth tax registers. Tax reg. 1595, p. 636 lists 11/2 city lan, two artisans, two landless peasants, and paid town tax (fl. 3, gr. 6).

<sup>28</sup> In this study, K. Follprecht, Z. Noga, *Kraków w 1598 r.*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.6.15b.1, determine the number of inhabitants of Cracow to be 14 700 or even 15 900. LK 1569, f. 81v: 'there is [...] houses of tenement houses [...] numero 538', 'there are 129 free houses'. LK 1659–1664, vol. 2, p. 317: 'Tenement houses, manors and houses 'in possessione personarum spiritualium are ad praesens in the town no.o 228, of the nobility no.o 120, burgher, and almost all rented, no.o 324'. In 1578 Cracow paid 13,017 fl. 16 gr liquor excise tax, see *Księgi podskarbińskie z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586 w dwóch częściach*, pub. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1881 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 9), p. 268.



**Map 1. Cities in Cracow Voivodeship**

These were:

- In Proszowice district: Będzin,<sup>29</sup> Olkusz,<sup>30</sup> Proszowice,<sup>31</sup> Sławków,<sup>32</sup> Słomniki,<sup>33</sup>
- In Książ district: Jędrzejów,<sup>34</sup> Miechów,<sup>35</sup> Żarnowiec;<sup>36</sup>
- In Lelów district: Częstochowa,<sup>37</sup> Przerów;<sup>38</sup>
- In Szczyrzyc district: Bochnia,<sup>39</sup> Kazimierz,<sup>40</sup> Wieliczka;<sup>41</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Tax reg. 1595, p. 618 lists: 24 city lans, 72 artisans and 32 landless peasants. In 1578 Będzin paid 595 fl. 11 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>30</sup> Tax reg. 1595, pp. 620 f. lists 64 artisans. D. Molenda, *Dzieje Olkusza do 1795 r. (Rozwój górnictwa i hutnictwa w okresie sztolniowym)*, [in:] *Dzieje Olkusza i regionu olkuskiego*, vol. 1, ed. F. Kiryk, R. Kołodziejczyk, Warsaw-Cracow 1978, p. 250: 'Mines and ironworks, which developed quickly at the time, offered work places to a higher number of people than before, some 1500'; pp. 309 f.: 'This tax was paid by 181 people in the town, and 249 in the suburb. The 1032 miners were listed separately. So, there were 1469 taxpayers altogether. With children clergymen, and 161 Jews, who paid a different tax, over a dozen ore miners and mining clerks living in Olkusz, the population in 1662 can be assessed at some 2600 to 2700 people'. In 1578 Olkusz paid 709 fl. 8 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>31</sup> LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 43: 'there are 110 houses'. In 1578 Proszowice paid 1226 fl. 11 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 270).

<sup>32</sup> Tax reg. 1595, p. 620 lists 14 city lans, 48 artisans and 15 landless peasants. See also Z. Noga, *W okresie nowożytnym*, [in:] *Dzieje Sławkowa*, ed. F. Kiryk, Cracow 2001, p. 147: 'The sixteenth century was generally favourable for Sławków, however, it ended in with a great fire in 1600 [...]. Despite that, the city was back on its feet quite fast, and soon had 555 inhabitants'. For the list of houses and squares in Sławków in the second part of the seventeenth century, *ibidem*, pp. 163–168, Table 1. F. Kiryk, *Pozostałe miasta regionu olkuskiego*, [in:] *Dzieje Olkusza i regionu*, pp. 382 f.: The number of inhabitants – 602 – calculated on the basis of the register from 1581 is imprecise and definitely lowered. In 1668, after the Swedish Deluge, 121 inhabited houses, 22 empty, 91 undeveloped plots, and finally nine houses belonging to the vogt's office were found, we can assume that in the sixteenth and seventeenth century there were 243 residential houses in the town, as well as six farmstead in Podzamcze and Podedworze hamlets, and several houses in the manor'. In 1578 Sławków paid 128 fl. 17 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>33</sup> LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 111: 'there are 104 inhabited houses in the town'; LK 1569, f. 377v: 'Oppidum Człomniki [...] there are 116 houses, together with undeveloped plots'. In 1578 Słomniki paid 547 fl. 12 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 270).

<sup>34</sup> Tax reg. 1595, pp. 627 f. lists 21 city lans, 102 artisans and 30 landless peasants. In 1578 Jędrzejów paid 322 fl. 14 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 270).

<sup>35</sup> Tax reg. 1595, p. 630: 'Miechów burned down'. The tax register from 1593 f. 311v lists 29 lans, 72 artisans and 17 landless peasants. See Z. Peckowski, *Ziemia miechowska. Zarys dziejów osadnictwa do końca XVIII wieku*, Cracow 1992, p. 118: 'In 1581 Miechów could have had some 1400 inhabitants, in 1629 – 1206'. In 1578 Miechów paid 455 fl. 14 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 270).

<sup>36</sup> LK 1617–1620, f. 63: 'Oppidum Żarnowiec – some 228 houses can be found', 'there are 12 undeveloped plots'; The visitation of Cracow Voivodeship conducted in 1627, LK 1627, f. 94v: 'Żarnowiec: 215 houses in total according to town registers', '30 undeveloped plots'. In 1578 Żarnowiec paid 494 fl. 29 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 270).

<sup>37</sup> LK 1564, vol. 2, p. 33: 'domus in oppido numero 218'; LK 1569, f. 538: 'there are 249 houses'; LK 1617–1620, f. 42v: 'house tax – there are 351 in the entire town'. J. Rajman, *Rozwój miasta do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje miasta i klasztoru jasnogórskiego*, vol. 1: *Okres staropolski*, ed. F. Kiryk, Częstochowa 2002, p. 169, calculated the population of Częstochowa at: 1569 – around 2060, 1620 – around 2830, around 1630 – some 3210 people living in the city. In 1578 Częstochowa paid 132 fl. 4 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 270).

<sup>38</sup> LK 1564, vol. 2, p. 37: 'there are 84 elder burghers who pay the rent according to the privilege'; LK 1617–1620, f. 50v: 'there are 136 houses'. In 1578 Przerów paid 36 fl. 18 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 270).

<sup>39</sup> F. Kiryk, *Bochnia do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Bochnia. Dzieje miasta i regionu*, ed. F. Kiryk, Z. Ruta, Cracow 1980, p. 118: 'No source information survived from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, which would allow us even to partially determine the town's population. Tax reg. 1595, pp. 596 f. lists 20 city lans, 95 artisans and 46 landless peasants. We must also remember the works of Bochnia mine (around 500 people), see J. Piotrowicz, *Żupy krakowskie*, p. 153. In 1578 Bochnia paid 2245 fl. 20 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>40</sup> Tax reg. 1595, pp. 590 f. lists 188 artisans and 26 landless peasants in Kazimierz. In 1578 Kazimierz paid 6573 fl. 1 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>41</sup> LK 1569, f. 333: 'the burghers pay the rent from 82 houses', f. 333v: 'there are 15 counsellor houses, for which they do not pay', 'there are 34 empty plots for which they do not pay'. We must also remember about the administration workers in Wieliczka, see J. Piotrowicz, *Żupy krakowskie*, p. 153: 'The staff of Wieliczka mine comprised of: the clerks and workers of the shaft – 50 people, mine workers – at least 290 people, saltworks workers – around 100 people. This would equal around 440 workers in Wieliczka mine, but this number can easily be increased to 500 workers'; compare: J. Piotrowicz, *Dole i niedole Wieliczki za panowania ostatnich Jagiellonów i królów elekcyjnych (do „potopu” szwedzkiego)*, [in:] *Wieliczka: dzieje miasta (do roku 1980)*, Cracow 1990, p. 158: 'ill-fated events and cataclysms, which often affected the town, fully explain the abnormal situation, when cyclically the number of workers of the mine was higher than the population of the town and the suburbs'. Exemplary data: in 1518– population of Wieliczka = around 2000, mine workers = around 440; 1569 – population = around 1000, workers = 850; 1580– population = around 635, mineworkers = around 600 (?), J. Piotrowicz, *Dole i niedole*, p. 158.

- In Sącz district: Lipnica,<sup>42</sup> Sądecz Nowy,<sup>43</sup> Zakliczyn;<sup>44</sup>
- In Biecz district: Biecz,<sup>45</sup> Gorlice;<sup>46</sup>
- In Silesian district: Kęty;<sup>47</sup>
- In the duchy of Siewierz: Koziegłowy,<sup>48</sup> Siewierz.<sup>49</sup>

Only four of these towns belong to the category between 2,000 and 5,000 inhabitants: Biecz, Częstochowa, Sądecz Nowy, and Żarnowiec. The largest percentage of towns can be found in the districts of Lelów (13 towns of 15), Biecz (nine towns of 11), Szczyrzyc and Sądecz Nowy (both eight towns in 11). The most favourable was the balance in Książ district: three larger cities and three towns. Detailed data can be found in the tables at the end of the chapter.

The Jews inhabiting towns and cities of Cracow Voivodeship should also be mentioned here. According to Prof. Jacek Wijaczka, in the second half of the sixteenth century the Jews clustered around 14 towns in the voivodeship: Będzin, Bobowa, Bochnia, Dobczyce, Jasło, Kazimierz, Lanckorona, Lelów, Sądecz Nowy, Olkusz, Oświęcim, Pilica, Sławków, Uście Solne.<sup>50</sup>

In the case of villages – their size was calculated on the basis of the number of lans and taxed persons (e.g. smallholders, landless peasants, miller, innkeeper).<sup>51</sup> Proper conversion factors and multipliers were difficult to determine due to the fragmented nature of source records (the number of serfs and the size of cultivated area), and the vast majority of the surviving inventories describes royal villages. However, there are some discrepancies as well in these records. In Książ district, the lowest serf/lan (mansus) rate was observed in the village Dłużec (1.1), the highest – in Jeżówka (2.37). If we assume five adults per 1 serf farm, we will have, respectively: 5.6 and 11.6 people per lan. In royal estates in Proszowice district (1564) the lowest serf/lan rate occurred in the village Wielga Wieś (Biały Kościół parish) – 0.9 (which means 4.5 people per lan), and the highest in Łobzów (St. Stephen parish): 17.1 (85.5 people per lan); in a Church village Czulów Więszy (Rybna parish) the rate equalled 2.7 (13.5

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See also: I. Pawłowska, *Pożary wielickie do 1914 roku*, „Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Żup Solnych w Polsce”, vol. 22, 2002, pp. 173–196; K. Kolasa, K. Kubik, *Poeksploatacyjne zapadliska wielickie*, „Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Żup Solnych w Polsce”, vol. 12, 1983, pp. 7–62, particularly pp. 27–34.

<sup>42</sup> F. Kiryk, *Najdawniejsze dzieje Lipnicy Murowanej (XIII–XVI wieku)*, [in:] *Lipnica Murowana. Gród króla Władysława Łokietka*, Cracow 2007, p. 24: ‘We have no information concerning the city’s population from the period until the middle of the seventeenth century. [...] We can only assume that in 1580 it was inhabited by roughly over 1000 people’. Similarly idem, *Inne miasta regionu bocheńskiego do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Bochnia. Dzieje miasta i regionu*, p. 145. Tax reg. 1595, p. 610 lists 43½ City lan, 24 artisans, two landless peasants and 23 smallholders. In 1578 Lipnica paid 136 fl. 26 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>43</sup> *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, ed. F. Kiryk, Warsaw–Cracow 1992, p. 403: ‘When assessing the number of houses in Nowy Sącz, in the second half of the sixteenth century at 240 [...] the town alone was inhabited by 1440–1920 people. We can calculate the population of the urban district of Nowy Sącz at between 3.5 and 4 thousand people’. In 1578 Sądecz Nowy paid 2,163 fl. 37 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>44</sup> Szczygieł, p. 232: ‘In 1567 there were 157 residential houses’. Tax reg. 1595, p. 611 lists three city lans, 65 artisans and 24 landless peasants. In 1578 r. Zakliczyn paid 118 fl. liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>45</sup> In 1626 there were 150 houses inside city walls, see *Materiały do historii miasta Biecza (1361–1632)*, comp. F. Bujak, Cracow 1914, no. 495; *Regestum stationum exactarum sub Proconsulatu Famati D. Stanislai Mądrowicz data [...] ad oppidum [...] in April Anno Domini 1626*, AP Cracow, Dep. 32, pp. 1–7 and *Regestr stacyei wydatku na żołnierze Jego Msci Pana Przyleckiego ktorzy przyiechaly [...] za Burmistrza pana Stanisława Mądrowicza A.D. 1626*, Dep. 32, pp. 15–24. See T. Ślowski, *Studia nad ludnością Biecza w wiekach XIV–XVII*, „Małopolskie Studia Historyczne”, vol. 1, 1958, no. 3–4, p. 29: ‘Even though, we are unable to calculate the population of Biecz in the sixteenth century’; p. 30: ‘In 1629 3,712 people lived in Biecz and in the suburbs’; p. 36: ‘we can say that in the first quarter of the seventeenth century the population of Biecz alone was at least 1771 people’. See F. Kaćki, *Ludność powiatu bieckiego od I połowy XIV wieku do II połowy XVI wieku*, „Historia. Organ Młodych Historyków”, vol. 4, 1937, pp. 20–27. In 1578 Biecz paid 568 fl. 29 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>46</sup> Tax reg. 1595, p. 603 lists 29 artisans and 15 landless peasants. J. Barut, *Gorlice. Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne miasta*, Brzozów 1991, p. 78, calculates the number of all residential houses in 1608 at 192, and the population at around 1500. In 1578 Gorlice paid 70 fl. 18 gr liquor excise tax (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 269).

<sup>47</sup> Tax reg. 1595, p. 615 lists nine city lans, 156 artisans and 55 landless peasants.

<sup>48</sup> F. Kiryk, J. Rajman, *Miasta ziemi siewierskiej*, [in:] *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy*, p. 333: ‘In 1645 there were as many as 196 houses in Koziegłowy, and 20 years later (1668) 204 houses in the town, and 58 empty plots, remaining after demolished houses. We can therefore assume that before the Swedish Deluge there were 262 houses in Koziegłowy.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, p. 333: ‘188 houses were found in Siewierz in 1669, as well as 10 empty and 69 plots for development’.

<sup>50</sup> The study concerning the Jewish settlements in the Crown in the second half of the sixteenth century was submitted for publication.

<sup>51</sup> The surviving 1590 poll tax registers for Łobzów and Nowa Wieś in Proszowice district are an exception here, see J. Senkowski, *Zachowane rejestry podłównego 1590 r.*, KHKM, vol. 18, 1970, no. 3, pp. 415–418.

people per lan), and in the village Dziewięciele (Nasiechowice parish), belonging to the nobility, this was, respectively two and 10 people per 1 serf lan. In Szczyrzyc district (1564) the situation presented itself as follows: the lowest rate among royal estates occurred in the village Zamieście (Tymbark parish) – 0.6 (three people per lan), the highest in Osielec (Maków parish) – 13.5 (67.5 people per lan); among the estates belonging to the Church the lowest rate was that of Sidzina, a village in Skawina parish – 0.97 (4.85 people per lan), and the highest in Trzciana village – 2 (10 people per lan); in Kamyk, a village belonging to the nobility, we have the following situation: 2 (10 people per lan). In Sącz district, the situation in royal estates (1564) looked as follows: the lowest rate occurred in the village Wolica (Podegrodzie parish) – 1.1 (5.5 people per lan), the highest in Iwkowa – 6.7 (33.5 people per lan) in three villages belonging to the Church: Moszczenica Niżna, Moszczenica Wyżna (Sądecz Stary parish), and Nieszkowa (Podegrodzie parish) the result was identical – the rate equalled 2 (10 people per lan); in the villages of the nobility the lowest rate appeared (1576) in the village Połomia (Wojakowa parish) – 2 (10 people per lan), and the highest in Milejówka (Wojnicz parish) – 4 (20 people per lan). We possess relatively much data on the villages in Silesian district. In royal estates (1564) we found the following: the lowest rate was noted in Ponikiew, a village in Wadowice parish – one (five people per lan), the highest in Bujaków village (Kęty parish) – eight (40 people per lan); in the villages belonging to the Church (1532–1533) the evaluated rate varied from four (20 people per lan) in Zegodowice village (Woźniki parish), and 4.8 (24 people per lan) in Ryczów (Woźniki parish); in the villages of the nobility (1532–1533) the lowest rate was found in Stanisław (Zebrzydowice parish) – 0.8 (four people per lan), and the highest (1598) in the village Cisiec (Cięcina parish) – 13 (65 people per lan). The arithmetic mean derived from this fragmentary information (together with other data falling between the described limits) equals: in royal estates – 15.75 people per lan, in Church estates – 12.86 people per lan, in the villages of the nobility – 12.96.

Fully aware of the controversies surrounding the presented conversion factors, we decided to assume the following indicators for our calculations: 14 people per lan, six people per mill, or inn, five per a smallholders household, four people per a landless peasant household, and five people in the case of an artisan (e.g. baker, or shoemaker).<sup>52</sup> Our calculations were based on the data from the tax register of Cracow Voivodeship from 1595, or – in the case of the lack of data – from the tax register of this voivodeship from 1593.<sup>53</sup> The Duchy of Siewierz is an exception here: the lack of complete sources forced us to use information from 1443 and 1667.<sup>54</sup> The surviving sixteenth century data was found in the extremely helpful *Słownik miejscowości księstwa siewierskiego* compiled by Zdzisław Noga.<sup>55</sup> In several cases, it was impossible to determine the size of settlement, because the data from the registers treated the shared land of several villages together, e.g. in the district of Proszowice: Balice, Burów, and Szczeglice, or Trzebinia, Trzebinka, and Górka; in Szczyrzyc district: Chodzinice, Ryczywół, and Podedworze; in Sącz district: Brzozowa and Polikta; in Silesian district: Bobrowniki, Gromiec, and Gorzów.

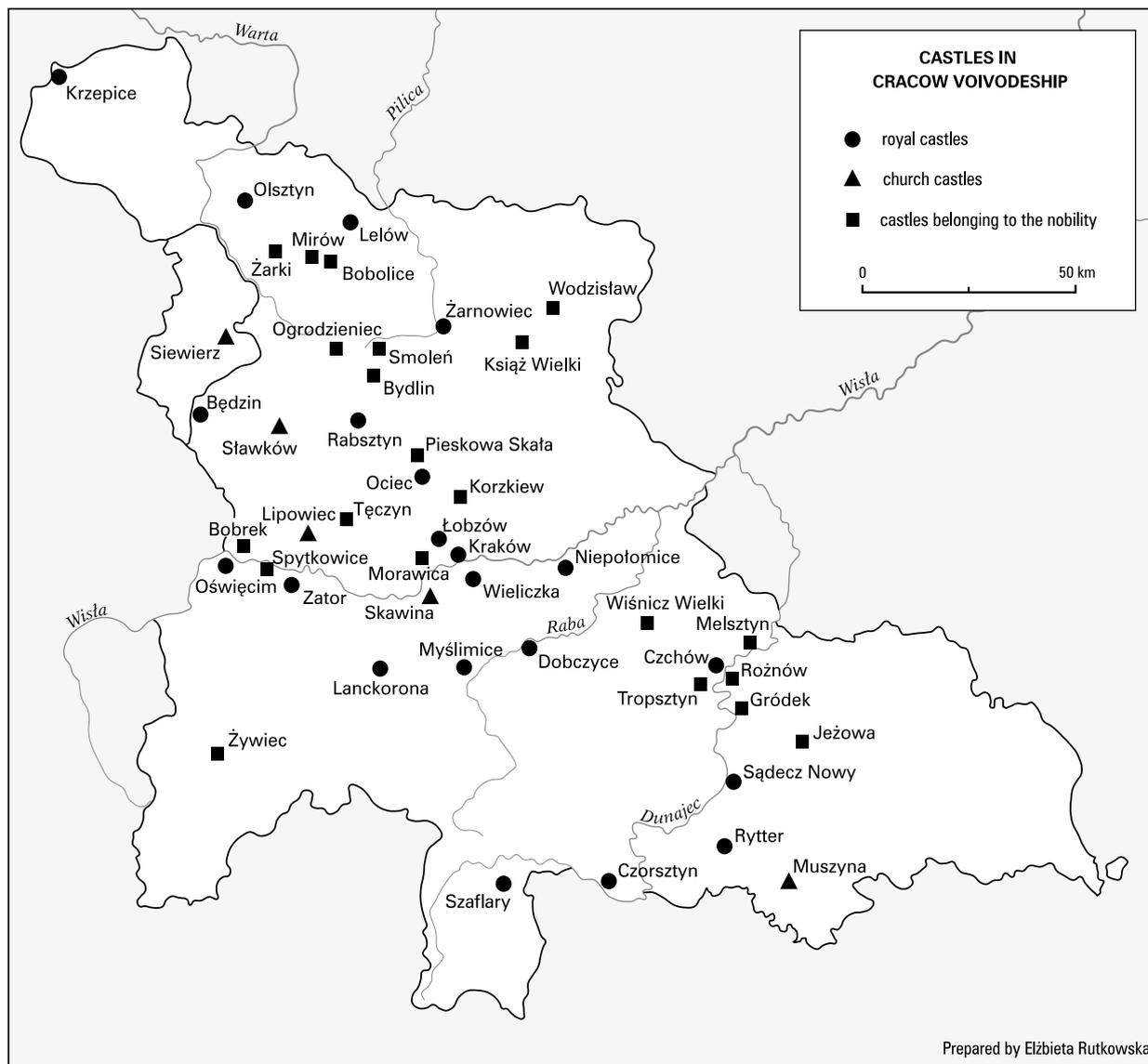
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<sup>52</sup> See for instance: C. Kukło, *Wielkość i struktura gospodarstwa domowego w Polsce wczesnonowoczesnej. Próba charakterystyki*, [in:] *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi... Studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyczańskiemu w 80-tą rocznicę urodzin i 55-lecie pracy naukowej*, ed. C. Kukło, coop. P. Guzowski, Białystok 2004, bibliography included; M. Koczyński, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie w XVII–XVIII w.*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 32, 48; A. Kiełbicka, *Zbiegostwo chłopów w województwie krakowskim na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1989, p. 18; A. Izydorczyk, *Rodzina chłopska w Małopolsce w XV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Spółczesność staropolskie. Studia i szkice*, vol. 3, ed. A. Wyczański, Warsaw 1983, pp. 7–26, particularly p. 21; I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii*, pp. 161–184; W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią*, pp. 39–73 (particularly pp. 58–61), discussion with earlier literature; P. Małopolska, vol. 3, pp. 35–45. See also P. Guzowski, *Warunki gospodarowania chłopów w starostwie sanockim w XVI w.*, KHKM, vol. 54, 2006, no. 1, pp. 11–24; W. Jakóbczyk, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich zachodnich województw Korony w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, RDSG, vol. 5, 1936, pp. 45–68; G. Jawor, *Ludność chłopska i społeczności wiejskie w województwie lubelskim w późnym średniowieczu. Schyłek XIV – początek XVI wieku*, Lublin 1991; A. Nowak, *Przeobrażenia struktury społecznej ludności wiejskiej w Polsce w okresie panowania systemu folwarczno-pańszczyźnianego (XV–XVIII w.)*, [in:] *Badania nad historią gospodarczo-społeczną w Polsce (Problemy i metody)*, Warsaw–Poznań 1978, pp. 131–146, particularly pp. 136–142; A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku. Studia*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 70–191; L. Żytkowicz, *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim w dobrach kościelnych XVI w.*, Warsaw 1962, pp. 79 f.

<sup>53</sup> See K. Boroda, *Kmieć, lan czy profit? Co było podstawą poboru lanowego w XV i XVI wieku*, [in:] *Człowiek wobec miar i czasu w przeszłości*, ed. P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, Cracow 2007, pp. 152–169. For later periods cf. E. Trzyna, *Położenie ludności wiejskiej*, pp. 65–152.

<sup>54</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 4, p. 451.

<sup>55</sup> Noga, *Słownik*, especially the commentary on the used sources: pp. 5–10.



**Map 2. Castles in Cracow Voivodeship**

Our calculations, using the aforementioned multipliers and indicators, allowed us to mark these villages on the map, which had 200 and more inhabitants. They were marked with the same sign as towns, distinguished by different letters in names. In the following list of larger villages, type of ownership was put in brackets (r – royal, c – Church, n – nobility), rc – royal-Church, rn – royal-nobility, cn – Church-nobility, t – town).

- In Proszowice district: Bąbel (r), Bibice (c), Bieńczyce (c), Bierków (n), Bolesław (n), Borunice (r), Bronowice (c), Bukowno (c), Chechło (n), Chrystoporzyce (n), Czubrowice (r), Czuszków (n), Długoszyn (rc), Dziewięczyce (n), Garlica (cn), Gołaczów (c), Gorynice (n), Gruszków (cn), Gunów (c), Igołomia (cn), Irzmanowice (r), Jangrot (c), Jaworzno (c), Jeleń (c), Karniów (n), Karwin (c), Kaszów (c), Kazimierza Wielka (n), Klimuntów (c), Kobylany (c), Kosmałów (r), Kosmerzów (n), Krowodrza (c), Krzesławice (c), Krzeszowice (n), Krzyszowice (n), Kwaczała (c), Lubocza (cn), Luborzycza (c), Łęka (r), Łętkowice (r), Łosień (c), Łuczyce (n), Michałowice (c), Mogiła (c), Moniaczkowice (n), Morawica (n), Niedźwiedź (n), Nowa Wieś (r), Olszenica (c), Ostrów (c), Paczółtowice (n), Pleszów (n), Płaza (n), Prądnik Wielki (c), Prędocin (c), Przegonia (n), Przymków (rc), Raclawice (r), Rudawa (c), Rybna (c), Sarbie (c), Sieciechowice (n), Stanisławice (n), Stradomia (r), Strzelce Wielkie (n), Strzemieszyce Małe (c), Strzemieszyce Wielkie (c), Sułoszowa (n), Tanie (c), Topola (cn), Tropiszów (c), Wawrzyńczyce (c),<sup>56</sup> Węgrce (c), Wiąckowice (n), Wielga Wieś (r), Wielmoża (n), Wyciąże (c), Zagórze (n), Zalas (n), Zaszczytów (c), Zelków (r), Zielonki (rc), Zimnodół (r), Zwierzyniec (c); 13 of the villages listed exceeded the number of 400 inhabitants (Bibice, Bolesław, Igołomia, Irzmanowice, Krowodrza, Michałowice, Niedźwiedź, Prędocin, Sieciechowice, Stradom, Sułoszowa, Wawrzyńczyce i Zielonki).
- In Książ district: Boryszowice (n), Chlina (r), Czaple Małe (c), Dziaduszyce (n), Jeżówka (r), Kalina (n), Kozłów (n), Krzcęcice (n), Łysaków (c), Nawarzyce (c), Niegosławice (c), Piotrkowice (n), Poręba Dzieżyca (n), Przybysławice (r), Sędowice (c), Sędziszów (n), Słupów (n), Tczyca (n), Tur (c), Węchadłów (n), Wierzbica (r), Wola (r), Wrocirysz (c), Zarzyszn (n); only three villages here exceeded the number of 400 inhabitants (Chlina, Sędowice i Tur).
- In Lelów district: Bleszno (n), Częstochówka (c), Irzędze (n), Kocznia (r), Łany Wielkie (r), Łany Małe (r), Łobodna (r), Miedzwno (r), Mirów (r), Nagłowice (n), Nakło (n), Ostrowy (r), Otolą (r), Pierszne (rn), Podlesie (n), Raszków (n), Rokitno (c), Sprowa (n), Strzegowa (n), Truskolasy (r), Walenczów (r), Wręczyce (r), Zarębice (r); only two villages exceeded the number of 400 inhabitants (Łany Wielkie and Miedzwno).
- In Szczyrzyc district: Biezanów (c), Bodzanów (c), Borzęta (r), Brody (n), Brzezcie (n), Bysina (r), Bystra (n), Dziewin (r), Gdów (n), Głogoczów (n), Jasień (n), Jodłówka (r), Kłaj (r), Królewka (r), Krzyszkowice (c), Kunice (c), Lubień (r), Łapczyca (c), Łazy (c), Łętownia (n), Miłoszów (r), Mogilany (n), Mszana Niżna (r), Mszana Wyższa (r), Naprawa (n), Niepołomice (r), Okocin (n), Olszówka (r), Pcin (r), Poręba (Spytkowska) (n), Prokocin (n), Przypkowice (n), Raba (n), Rabka (n), Rabrot (r), Radziszowska Wola (c), Radziszów (c), Rudnik (r), Rzezawa (r), Skawa (n), Skotniki (r), Spytkowa (n), Stróża (r), Sulikowice (r), Targowisko (c), Tarnawa (n), Toporzysko (n), Uszew (c), Wilkowiska (c), Wiśniowa (r); of the villages listed, five had more than 400 inhabitants (Jodłówka, Królewka, Pcin, Rzezawa and Wiśniowa).
- In Sącz district: Bieganice (c), Bruśnik (n), Chełmiec (c), Dębno (n), Filipowice (n), Gnojnik (n), Godprzydowa (n), Gostwica (r), Gwoździec (n), Iwkowa (r), Jadowniki (r), Jastrzębia (n), Kamienica (c), Kamionka (c), Lipnica Niemiecka (n), Niedźwiedza (n), Pisarzowa (r), Podegrodzie (c), Przedanica Niżna (n), Sufczyn (n), Trzetrzewnia (r), Tymowa (n), Złota (n); only two villages exceeded the number of 400 inhabitants (Jadowniki i Złota).
- In Biecz district: Barwinek (n), Bieniarowa (rc), Błaszczkowa (n), Cherowa (n), Czeluśnica (c), Czerwna (n), Dębowa (n), Grabie (n), Hartłowa (r), Jodłowa Niemiecka (c), Jodłowa Polska (c), Kryg (rc), Libusza (rc), Łużna (n), Miscowa (n), Moszczenica Niemiecka (r), Moszczenica Polska (r), Mszana (n), Mszanka (r), Olszyny (n), Ołpiny Wyższe (n), Ossownica (r), Przedmieście (t), Raclawice (r), Rozembark (r), Ryglice Wyższe (n), Rzepiennik (c), Rzepiennik Marciszów (r), Rzepiennik Strzeżów (r), Siemichów (r), Staszkówka (r), Strzeszyn (r), Szerzyny

<sup>56</sup> Called a city once: AV Cap. 10, f. 189: ‘Villa Wawrzynczice seu oppidum’.

- (n), Święcany (n), Świętkowa (r), Trzciana (n), Turza (r), Tylowa (n), Wójtowa (r), Zydranowa (n); eight villages had more than 400 inhabitants (Bieniarowa, Błaszkowa, Jodłowa Niemiecka, Moszczenica Niemiecka, Ossownica, Przedmieście, Siemichów and Szerzyny).
- In Silesian district: Bachowice (n), Barwałd Średni (r), Bestwina (n), Bielany (r), Chocznia (r), Czaniec (n), Frydrychowice (n), Głabowice (n), Grodziec (n), Hałcnów (n), Inwałd (n), Jawiszowice (n), Kletcza (n), Kobiernice (r), Kozy (n), Krzeszów (n), Krzęcin (c), Lipnik (r), Łękawica (n), Łęki (r), Osiek (n), Piotrowice (r), Pisarzowice (n), Polanka (n), Poręba Markowa (n), Poręba Wielka (n), Przeciszów (n), Przyborów (n), Spytkowice (n), Stanisławie (rn), Stara Wieś (n), Stryszów (n), Strzeszawa (n), Wieprz (n), Wilamowice (n), Witanowice (n), Witkowice (n), Zembrzyce (n); of which eight exceeded the number of 400 inhabitants (Kozy, Lipnik, Osiek, Pisarzowice, Polanka, Przeciszów, Stryszów and Wieprz).
  - In the Duchy of Siewierz: Gniazdów (c), Grodziec (c), Lgota (c), Siedlec (c); none of them exceeded the number of 400 inhabitants.

These rates allow us to indicate the ‘record holders’ in terms of the number of inhabitants: in Proszowice district it was Sułoszowa, with some 1,360 inhabitants, and Prędocin with some 910, and Osiek in Silesian district (around 810 inhabitants).

The highest percentage of villages above 200 inhabitants was observed in Silesian district (20.2 %), and the lowest in the district of Sącz (5.2%). Almost identical percentages appear in the districts of Proszowice (14.3%), Książ (14.5%), and Biecz (14.8%). Detailed data was presented in the table at the end of the chapter.

As in the previous volumes of this series, a castle was considered a place of undoubtedly defensive character, described as *castrum*, *arx*, or ‘zamek’ (‘castle’) in the sources. Exceptions were made for Jeżowa and Książ. Jeżowa was called *fortalicium* in 1527, brick manor, or residential-defensive building in literature, and in the *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego* is consistently called a castle.<sup>57</sup> In Książ there was a late-Renaissance palace, called the Castle in Mirów, built between 1585 and 1595, which was called both: palace and castle by Szymon Starowolski.<sup>58</sup> Szymbark and Tarnowiec in Biecz district were treated as a defensive manor (‘kasztel’), as in the literature. The name of a castle was given according to the sixteenth century name, or – in case the castle did not have a name – the name the nearby settlement was given, following the main map. Castles having their own name, as well as those constituting separate settlement points (e.g. Ogrodzieniec), were listed in the index along with the term ‘castle’, the index lists 11 such castles. Altogether, we localized 46 castles in the territory encompassed in this volume of the Atlas:<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> SHGK, part II, no. 2, pp. 305–308; T. Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany w Polsce w wieku XVI (wieża – kamienica – kasztel)*, Warsaw–Poznań 1979, p. 190; S. Kołodziejcki, *Średniowieczne rezydencje obronne możnowładztwa na terenie województwa krakowskiego*, Cracow 1994, pp. 141–143; *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, ed. L. Kajzer, Warsaw 2004, pp. 216 f.

<sup>58</sup> SHGK, part III, no. 2, p. 312; S. Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, transl. from Latin, intro. and com. A. Piskadło, Cracow 1976, p. 70: ‘there are castles built in high places and on rocks, like Książ’, p. 79: ‘Książ had a monastery, beautifully paved with marble’.

<sup>59</sup> See also: Guerquin, *Zamki*; M. Kornecki, *Zamki i dwory obronne ziemi krakowskiej*, Cracow 1966; J. Laberschek, *Czy istniał w średniowieczu system obronny na Jurze?*, „Teki Krakowskie”, vol. 12, 2000, pp. 167–179; T. Poklewska-Kozieł, *Les châteaux sur les chemins des rois polonais (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, [in:] *Châteaux, routes et rivières (Actes des Rencontres d’archéologie et d’histoire en Périgord 26–28 septembre 1997)*, Bordeaux 1998, pp. 73–84; *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, ed. M. Antoniewicz, Warsaw 2002 (particularly: M. Antoniewicz, *Zamki na Wyżynie Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej w przestrzeni społecznej XIV–XV w.*, pp. 275–312; L. Kajzer, *Małe czy duże, czyli o tzw. zamkach rycerskich na Niżu Polskim*, pp. 111–131; K. Olejnik, *Zamek w strukturach politycznych i militarnych państwa szlacheckiego*, pp. 216–227). See also: W. Błaszczuk, *Inwentaryzacja średniowiecznych zamków i strażnic warownych na Wyżynie Jurajskiej*, „Rocznik Muzeum w Częstochowie”, vol. 2, 1966, pp. 9–32; J. Bogdanowski, *Dawna linia obronna Jury Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej. Problemy konserwacji i adaptacji dla turystyki*, „Ochrona Zabytków”, vol. 17, 1964, no. 4 (67), pp. 3–36, particularly pp. 6–16; G. Leńczyk, *Sprawozdanie z inwentaryzacji i planowania grodzisk w okolicy Krakowa*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności”, vol. 37, 1932, no. 9, pp. 36–40; idem, *Drugie sprawozdanie z inwentaryzacji i planowania grodzisk w województwie krakowskim w r. 1933*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności”, vol. 39, 1934, no. 3, pp. 28–33; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 62–65: Town castles and castles adjoining towns.

- in Proszowice district: Będzin (r),<sup>60</sup> Korzkiew (n),<sup>61</sup> Cracow (r), Lipowiec (c), Łobzów (r), Morawica (n), Ociec (r),<sup>62</sup> Pieskowa Skała (n), Rabsztyn (r),<sup>63</sup> Sławków (r),<sup>64</sup> Tęczyn (n);<sup>65</sup>
- in Książ district: Bydlin (n),<sup>66</sup> Książ Wielki (n), Wodzisław (n), Żarnowiec (r);<sup>67</sup>
- in Lelów district:<sup>68</sup> Bobolice (n),<sup>69</sup> Krzepice (r),<sup>70</sup> Lelów (r),<sup>71</sup> Mirów (n),<sup>72</sup> Ogrodzieniec (n),<sup>73</sup> Olsztyn (r), Smoleń (n), Żarki (n);<sup>74</sup>
- in Szczyrzyc district: Dobczyce (r),<sup>75</sup> Lanckorona (r), Myślimice (r),<sup>76</sup> Niepołomice (r), Skawina (c),<sup>77</sup> Wieliczka (r), Wiśnicz Wielki (n);
- in Sącz district:<sup>78</sup> Czchów (r), Czorsztyn (r),<sup>79</sup> Gródek (n), Melsztyn (s), Muszyna (c), Rożnów (n), Rytter (r),<sup>80</sup> Sądecz Nowy (r),<sup>81</sup> Tropsztyn (n);
- in Biecz district: Jeżowa (n);

<sup>60</sup> LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 254: ‘The border castle Będzin. People say that everybody who drives past it regret this place is in ruin’. Materials MWK, p. 5: ‘Castle surrounded by a wall, built on a rock by the River Przemsza, ruined’.

<sup>61</sup> Materials MWK, p. 101: ‘There is a stone castle on the nearby hill, it is old-fashioned and empty, according to the 1748 inspection, there was a chapel at the castle’.

<sup>62</sup> LK 1617–1620, f. 89: ‘Ojców castle, abandoned...’. Materials MWK, p. 207: ‘An old-fashioned castle, resembling a small fortress built on bare and high rock, called Ociec in ancient texts, in good condition, having large storeys, shingled’.

<sup>63</sup> LK 1789, part 1, p. 139: ‘The description of the castle – the one build on a rock, abandoned, only half of the walls remains, only ruins, the roof is falling apart on the other part, so the rooms are rotten’. Materials MWK, p. 253: ‘The castle is abandoned, and half of the walls is in ruin’.

<sup>64</sup> J. Pierzak, *Zamek biskupów krakowskich w Sławkowie*, Bytom 2002 (Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu, Archeologia, no. 15), pp. 250 f.: ‘The sixteenth century print shows the castle in all of its glory, as such we should verify our opinion and claim that the buildings were repaired after the foray in 1455. Basing on written sources it is difficult to say, when the rebuilding began. It seems, however, that it was shortly after the foray [...] The Würzburg panorama confirms the defensive character of the castle. The residential and defensive tower seen from the southwest is in good condition, just like the staircase built in a small tower reaching the last level of the tower’. Materials MWK, p. 282: ‘Castle Sławków, brick, right outside the town, surrounded by a deep moat, in 1791 in a state of ruin’.

<sup>65</sup> Materials MWK, p. 307: ‘There is a mountain in this village, with a ruined castle on it, quite tall, resembling a fortress with three towers, and four hill around the castle, like fortress ditches (1783)’.

<sup>66</sup> In the end of the sixteenth century, Mikołaj Frej, the owner of the village, conversed the castle into church of the Holy Cross, see Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 104; S. Kołodziejcki, *Średniowieczne rezydencje*, p. 122; *Leksykon zamków*, p. 119; SHGK, part I, no. 2, p. 303.

<sup>67</sup> LK 1564, vol. 2, p. 101: ‘Castro Zarnowiec singulis quartalibus m. 4’; LK 1789, part 1, p. 285: ‘A castle made of stone and brick, which suffered in a fire in 1775, walls scratched, requires general repair. Houses brick, shingled, in which there are eight rooms, two dressing rooms, a granary and a kitchen [...]’.

<sup>68</sup> In Lelów district we excluded the castle in Bąkowiec, due to the lack of sources about it from the sixteenth century, see: SHGK, part I, no. 1, pp. 31 f. the last entry come from the 1440s; S. Kołodziejcki, *Średniowieczne rezydencje*, p. 112: ‘No archaeological or architectural research’; *Leksykon zamków*, p. 558: ‘It is difficult to say, when it ceased to be a defensive residence’.

<sup>69</sup> Materials MWK, p. 12: ‘The castle in the northern part of the village recently abandoned and ruined’.

<sup>70</sup> LK 1564, vol. 2, p. 3: ‘The ruined castle in Krzepice, two sides falling apart, walls, ceilings and buildings, one towards the river, the other towards the castle, where there is a gate. His Majesty sent inspectors there and ordered the starosta to improve the ruin certis conditionibus ex relatione of the inspectorp. Like the third side was improved’. For the description of the castle in Krzepice, see LK 1636, ff. 64–65v. Materials MWK, p. 149: ‘There is a castle outside the city, near the bridge over the Liswarta, by the road from Krzepice to Kuźniczka. It is made of brick, surrounded by walls and abandoned’.

<sup>71</sup> For the description of Lelów castle see: LK 1627, ff. 89–91v.

<sup>72</sup> Materials MWK, p. 185: ‘Old and abandoned castle’.

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, p. 233: ‘Castle Ogrodzieniec lies to the east, in 1748 it was partially inhabited, in 1783 – empty’.

<sup>74</sup> The document of the division of private estates of Piotr Myszkowski, the bishop of Cracow, between his three nephews from 1 April 1591 mentions: ‘oppidum Żarki cum arce’, MK 136, f. 146v.

<sup>75</sup> For the description of the castle in Dobczyce see LK 1617–1620, ff. 106v–110v.

<sup>76</sup> *Leksykon zamków*, p. 314: ‘A new castle was built in the city in middle of the sixteenth century by the hereditary vogt in Myślenie, Spytek Wawrzyniec Jordan, future castellan of Cracow’.

<sup>77</sup> See *Leksykon zamków*, pp. 458 f.; J. Mitkowski, *Najstarszy widok Skawiny*, „Małopolskie Studia Historyczne”, vol. 6, 1963, no. 1–2, pp. 31–37; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 425, 429.

<sup>78</sup> In Sącz district we decided to exclude the castle in Homola (Jaworki, part of the town Szczawnica), for instance, called ‘castrum desertum’ in 1529 (S. Kołodziejcki, *Średniowieczne rezydencje*, p. 138).

<sup>79</sup> For the description of Czorsztyn castle see: LK 1616, ff. 129v–130v; LK 1627, ff. 286v–289.

<sup>80</sup> LK 1616, f. 95: ‘There was a small brick castle there, ruined because of negligence of its former leaseholders, some walls on a high hill remain’; the same in LK 1627, f. 211.

<sup>81</sup> For the description of Sącz castle see: LK 1627, ff. 184–185v.

- in Silesian district:<sup>82</sup> Bobrek (n),<sup>83</sup> Oświęcim (r),<sup>84</sup> Spytkowice (n), Zator (r), Żywiec (n);
- and in the Duchy of Siewierz:<sup>85</sup> Siewierz (c).<sup>86</sup>

**Table 1. Number of towns in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Towns			In total
	Royal	Of the Church	Of the nobility	
Proszowice	7	4	3	14
Książ	2	2	2	6
Lelów	6	1	8	15
Szczyrzyc	8	1	2	11
Sącz	7	2	2	11
Biecz	6	1	4	11
Silesian	4	–	1	5
Cracow Voivodeship	40	11	22	73
The Duchy of Siewierz	–	3	–	3

**Table 2. Density of the settlement network in the end of the sixteenth century**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Cities	towns	In total	Km <sup>2</sup> per 1 town
Proszowice	3,293	6	8	14	235
Książ	1,451	3	3	6	242
Lelów	3,191	2	13	15	213
Szczyrzyc	3,394	3	8	11	309
Sącz	3,922	3	8	11	357
Biecz	2,163	2	9	11	197
Silesian	2,629	1	4	5	526
Cracow Voivodeship	20,043	20	53	73	275
The Duchy of Siewierz	679	2	1	3	226
In total	20,722	22	54	76	273

<sup>82</sup> In Silesian district castle Barwałd was excluded: it was demolished by order of Casimir Jagiellon. It was mentioned in the 1564 inspection in the lease of Krzysztof Komorowski as: ‘arx Berwalth’, LK 1564, part 1, p. 216. Compare: SGH Cracow, part I, no. 1, pp. 24 f.

<sup>83</sup> LDK, p. 61: ‘We arrived at the village called Bobrowniki. It belongs to the castle Bobrek of the lord of Zawichost’; Materials MWK, p. 12: ‘The castle on a small island on a muddy moat, bricked, quondam and during the national revolution was a fortress, now ruined by the Russian army. There is a road from the castle, built on a bridge because of the swamps’.

<sup>84</sup> For the description of the castle in Oświęcim see LK 1617–1620, ff. 130v–132v; also: *Kronika Sarmacyey europejskiej [...] przez Aleksandra Gwagnina [...] a przez Marcina Paszkowskiego [...] z łacińskiego przełożona roku pańskiego 1611*, [in:] *Zbiór dziejopisów polskich*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1768, p. 196: ‘Oświęcim is a wooden town among the meadows, the castle is also wooden, but covered in clay. It is situated by the rivulet Skawa’.

<sup>85</sup> In the Duchy of Siewierz we excluded the castle at Koziegłowy, which was described as ‘long abandoned’ already in 1548 (S. Kołodziejcki, *Średniowieczne rezydencje*, p. 148). M. Antoniewicz, *Znaczenie zamku w Koziegłowach na tle dziejów pogranicza śląsko-malopolskiego w XIV i XV w.*, „Rocznik Muzeum Okręgowego w Częstochowie”, Historia, no. 1, 1985, p. 45: ‘The devastation must have continued, as in 1589 the castle was completely ruined’.

<sup>86</sup> Materials MWK, p. 277: ‘There is a three-storeyed castle by the pond, it had a tower and is situated on a mound, surrounded by a moat, over which there is a bridge leading to the castle’.

**Table 3. Villages above 200 inhabitants in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Number of villages altogether	Villages above 200 inhabitants	% of all villages	Villages above 200 inhabitants						
				r	c	n	rc	rn	cn	t
Proszowice	593	85	14.3	13	36	28	3	–	5	–
Książ	209	24	14.5	4	7	13	–	–	–	–
Lelów	284	23	8.1	12	2	8	–	1	–	–
Szczyrzyc	516	50	9.7	20	11	19	–	–	–	–
Sącz	444	23	5.2	5	5	13	–	–	–	–
Biecz	270	40	14.8	17	2	17	3	–	–	1
Silesian	188	38	20.2	7	1	29	–	1	–	–
Cracow Voivodeship	2,504	283	11.3	78	68	127	6	2	5	1
%	–	100	–	27.2	24.1	44.5	2.0	0.5	1.4	0.3
The Duchy of Siewierz	75	4	5.3	–	4	–	–	–	–	–

Ownership type: r – royal, c – Church, n – nobility, rc – royal-Church, rn – royal-nobility, cn – Church-nobility, t – town.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.2.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*

According to the rules accepted for detailed maps of the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> centres of state and Church administration (of voivodeships and districts,<sup>2</sup> as well as archdeaconries, deaneries and parishes<sup>3</sup>) were marked on the map. The distinction between towns and villages was introduced, and their approximate size was added. Other settlement units, which had their own name in the sixteenth century, usually one manor and were linked with utility buildings (mills, ironworks, glassworks, mines and demesnes<sup>4</sup>), defensive structures (castles)<sup>5</sup> of places of worship (monasteries).<sup>6</sup> All these found their respective signs in the key to the map.

<sup>1</sup> See I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Pałucki, *Granice i podziały polityczno-administracyjne*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.1.2.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Granice administracji kościelnej*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.2.2 (stolice diecezji leżały poza woj. sandomierskim).

<sup>4</sup> Assuming that the map shows only these settlements, which had their own name in the sixteenth century, and which we were able to localize precisely (see I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7), we present their list (district affiliation in brackets).

Mills: Baranek (Chęciny), Baryczka (Radom), Białogon (Chęciny), Bocheniec (Chęciny), Cedzyna (Chęciny), Charęza (Chęciny), Drynia (Opoczno), Gorczyca (Sandomierz), Górny (Radom), Jaroski (Radom), Krupa (Radom), Krupa (Stężyca), Księżek (Radom), Łąceń (Chęciny), Ojrzenia (Opoczno), Pacyna (Radom), Pianka (Radom), Piechota (Sandomierz), Pipała (Sandomierz), Polny (Opoczno), Siczek (Radom), Słopiec (Chęciny), Stary Młyn (Radom), Śmietanka (Radom), Taraska (Opoczno), Tracz (Radom), Zachwiejów (Sandomierz), Zagożdżon (Radom), 28 mills altogether.

Ironworks (Usually they have 'Ruda' – ore, in their name, which we omit in this list, except for when it is the whole name alone): Adam (Chęciny), Andryszowa (Sandomierz), Babin (Radom), Babiradek (Radom), Bałutowska (Radom), Baranów (Sandomierz), Bełno (Chęciny), Berezów (Sandomierz), Białaszek (Chęciny), Błaszaków (Opoczno), Błotnica (Opoczno), Borków (Wiślica), Bród (Radom), Bzin (Sandomierz), Czarna (Opoczno), Duraczowa (Radom), Gozek (Opoczno), Grodzisko (Chęciny), Grzybów (Opoczno), Jakubek (Opoczno), Janikowska (Radom), Jaskowska (Sandomierz), Kosior (Radom), Kowalikowska (Radom), Krzysztoperek (Sandomierz), Kuczów (Sandomierz), Kunowska (Sandomierz), Kurosz (Radom), Lepieńska (Radom), Machor (Opoczno), Majek (Sandomierz), Marcinkowska (Sandomierz), Mędrów (Wiślica), Michałkowa (Sandomierz), Michałowska (Chęciny), Miłcza (Radom), Mroskowska (Radom), Mrozkowa (Opoczno), Niedźwiedź (Chęciny), Niewola (Opoczno), Nieznach (Radom), Odachowska (Radom), Pękowiec (Chęciny), Pianowska (Chęciny), Pilczyca (Chęciny), Płaczków (Opoczno), Ruda (Pilzno), Ruda (Radom), Ruda (Sandomierz, Bieliny parish), Ruda (Sandomierz, Charzowice parish), Ruda (Sandomierz, Zbylutka parish), Ryj (Radom), Seliga (Wiślica), Siekliny (Sandomierz), Stara Krzynecka (Sandomierz), Starzechowska (Sandomierz), Stąpor (Opoczno), Stefan (Radom), Stefanek (Radom), Stolin (Radom), Styczów (Sandomierz), Suchyniowska (Sandomierz), Szałas (Chęciny), Śmiłowska (Radom), Wierzbnik (Sandomierz), Wojtan (Opoczno), Wól (Opoczno), Zaborowska (Chęciny), Zbroja (Opoczno), Żupawa (Sandomierz). Altogether, 70 ironworks with individual names were localized, almost all situated in the so-called Zagłębie Staropolskie; 21 ironworks lay in Sandomierz district, 20 in Radom district, 14 in Opoczno district, 11 in Chęciny district, three in Wiślica district and one in Pilzno district. See B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1954.

Glassworks (six localized): Huta (today: Kucębów in Opoczno district), Huta Chlewicka (Radom), Huta Jakubek (Radom), Huta Małacentów (Sandomierz), Huta Niemiec (today: Węgrzyn, Chęciny district), Widelki (Wiślica).

Mines (four localized, all in the district of Chęciny): Miedziane Góry, Miedzianka, Szczukowskie Góry and Zelejowa.

Demesnes – according to our assumption, actually only demesnes unrelated to any village or town were localized, namely: Borów (Sandomierz), Brusów (Stężyca), Brzezna (Pilzno), Brzozówka (Radom), Garbek (Pilzno), Golez (Pilzno), Grochowiska (Wiślica), Irzmanowice (Sandomierz), Kołków (Wiślica), Modrzewie (Chęciny), Ostrów (Radom), Rudniki (Chęciny), Soselów (Wiślica); as an exception, the royal demesne in Zawichost was marked (see K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2).

<sup>5</sup> Defensive structures – castles, were connected with towns, or villages, only Golez was connected just with a demesne.

<sup>6</sup> Monasteries were marked on the map only when they constituted autonomous settlement units, these were: Benedictine abbeys – Święty Krzyż and in Sieciechów, Cistercian abbey in Sulejów and Pokrzywnica (Koprzywnica) and Bernardine monastery of St. Catherine.

There were 3,059 settlements in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the end of the sixteenth century. Of these 108 were towns, constituting 3% of all settlements.

Among settlements of rural nature, the majority of villages was inhabited – apart from the owners – by serfs and various categories of hortulani and landless peasants, some of whom did various jobs not related to agriculture (rural crafts and trades). Settlements of different vocational and social structure were usually specifically located. Villages inhabited by serfless gentry, or farm gentry formed few, although usually dense clusters. Their number did not exceed several dozens, situated mainly in Sandomierz and Wiślica districts.<sup>7</sup> Villages inhabited by huntsmen (venatores) appeared mainly in Sandomierz Forest on the right bank of the Vistula.<sup>8</sup> Industrial settlements were usually connected with the area where a given supply was obtained, e.g. ironworks in the so-called later Zagłębie Staropolskie, or mines in Chęciny district. In the scale of the entire voivodeship they did not exceed several per cent of all settlements,<sup>9</sup> but their significance as a source of income for the state and large property was incomparably great. Villages inhabited by a large number of artisans or peddlers formed another group. They served as local centres of exchange and were usually related to a key of property of one owner, who did not have a city within the borders of his estates; the localization of such villages depended upon the placement of landed property in a given area.<sup>10</sup> The supply base of the town was often inhabited by a greater number of artisans and traders than other villages in the region. ‘Farther’ suburbs with their own name were marked as villages.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly to our proceedings during the preparation of other detailed maps in the sixteenth century,<sup>12</sup> we assumed the legal and political criterion in distinguishing towns (town privilege realized before or during the sixteenth century; records of municipal tax payments were decisive here, or even – if the sixteenth century sources could not lead us to a conclusive decision about town character of a settlement – a proof of town status from a later period).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were 80 towns and cities altogether in Sandomierz Voivodeship;<sup>13</sup> in the course of this century this number increased to 108.<sup>14</sup> In the sixteenth century

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<sup>7</sup> For instance, in the left-bank of the district of Sandomierz, in the villages situated in the parishes Olbierzowice, Kielczyna, Strzeżowice, Mamina, etc., especially in the villages in Waśniów parish (see P. Małopolska, pp. 171, 173–176, 181, 184–188, 190, 192–196, 199); several settlements of this type could be found in Wiślica district, in the parishes Kije, Chotel or Gnojno (ibidem, pp. 209–211, 219, 222, 224–225, 227), and in the remaining districts they appeared only sporadically; in Opoczno district, in 1577 we find parts belonging to farm gentry in four villages (ibidem, pp. 290, 292–293); in Pilzno district (y. 1581), in Chęciny district (y. 1573), and in Steżycza district (y. 1569) there appear isolated parcels (ibidem., pp. 263, 271, 333), and in Radom district in 1569 the tax registers recorded no serfless parcels of the gentry ‘propriae culturae’. In the sixteenth century the districts of Radom and Opoczno were the regions of petty gentry property, where serfless gentry property, i.g. farm gentry, appears only in the seventeenth century.

<sup>8</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 196–203.

<sup>9</sup> See footnote 90.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Gogołów (Pilzno), the property of Andrzej of Górka (P. Małopolska, p. 245), where apart from six craftsmen there lived an innkeeper, or Padew situated on the right bank of the Vistula, on a newly-colonized area, isolated from towns. 30 craftsmen and four butchers lived in the part of the village which belonged to the parson (ibidem, p. 203).

<sup>11</sup> Closer suburbs, as well as those without individual name were not shown on the map. The map shows: Chwałki (Sandomierz), Chechły (Pilzno), Dziurów (Sandomierz), Gierlachów (Sandomierz), Gołębice (Sandomierz), Góra (Pilzno), Gryfów (Pilzno), Kobierniki (Sandomierz), Kuchary (Wiślica), Kunice (Pilzno), Nabrzezie (Sandomierz), Nawsie (Chęciny), Osieczko (Sandomierz), Pietrzejowa (Pilzno), Przedmieście Wielkie (Pilzno), Przedmieście Żarnowskie (Opoczno), Radoszyce (Chęciny), Rzeczyca Sucha (Sandomierz), Strochocice (Sandomierz), Suchorzów (Sandomierz).

<sup>12</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7.

<sup>13</sup> In the district of Radom 17 towns: Radom, Szydłowiec, Skrzynno, Solec, Siemno, Skarzeszów, Przytyk, Nieznamirów, Wierzbica, Klwów, Jedlińsk, Sieciechów, Zwolen, Ryczywół, Kozienice, Iłża and Jastrząb (P. Małopolska, pp. 325–329); in the district of Steżycza six towns: Steżycza, Łaskarzew, Żelechów, Okrzeja, Łysobyki and Bobrowniki (ibidem, pp. 340–342); in the district of Opoczno nine towns: Opoczno, Białaczów, Odrzywół, Drzewica, Gielniów, Goworców, Łęgonice, Fałków, Żarnów (ibidem, pp. 288, 295–296); in the district of Chęciny seven towns: Chęciny, Radoszyce, Małogoszcz, Przedbórz, Secemin, Kurzelów, Kielce (ibidem, pp. 279–280); in the district of Pilzno 14 towns: Pilzno, Strzyżów, Żochów, Tuchów, Brzostek, Ropczyce, Frysztak, Kołaczyce, Dębica, Wielopole, Czudec, Przeclaw, Tarnów and Sędziszów (ibidem, pp. 265–269, 500–549); in Sandomierz district 15 towns: Sandomierz, Opatów, Pokrzywnica, Połaniec, Osiek, Staszów, Łagów, Słup Nowa, Bodzęcin, Wąchock, Kunów, Iwaniska, Zawichost, Mielec, Waśniów (ibidem, pp. 204–208); in Wiślica district 12 towns: Wiślica, Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Szydłów, Pierchnica, Pińczów, Busko, Opatowiec, Pacanów, Żabno, Stobnica, Kurozweki and Oleśnica (ibidem, pp. 235–239).

<sup>14</sup> We do not include Odrowąż in Opoczno district here. Its owners received the permission for the location of the city in 1570; A. Wolff, *Zniszczone dokumenty Biblioteki Ordynacji Krasińskich*, [in:] *Straty archiwów i bibliotek warszawskich*

Daleszyce belonging to Cracow bishops and situated in Chęciny district was granted town privileges,<sup>15</sup> as well as royal Kozienice in Radom district.<sup>16</sup> Other town locations were related to magnate property and larger estates of the nobility, e.g. the Firlej family founded Janowiec (Serokomla) in Radom district,<sup>17</sup> as well as Radomyśl in Pilzno district.<sup>18</sup> The family Sieniński: Dębno in Wiślica district, and Raków in Sandomierz district,<sup>19</sup> the family Rusiecki – Jadamów (Adamów) in Stężycza district.<sup>20</sup>

The majority of locations of private towns occurred in Sandomierz district, where – apart from the aforementioned Raków – we should note Rudnik founded by the family Gnojeński,<sup>21</sup> Ścimiłów (Ćmielów) founded by the family Szydłowiecki,<sup>22</sup> Ożarów founded by the family Ożarowski,<sup>23</sup> Michów by the family Michowscy (this town was later moved to Denków, also situated in the estates of this family),<sup>24</sup> Lasocin founded by Lasota family,<sup>25</sup> Gliniany by the family Bidziński;<sup>26</sup> the family Tarło founded the town of Tarłów,<sup>27</sup> also Janików was granted town privilege at this time.<sup>28</sup> Except for Rudnik, which lay by the San, all newly-located towns in Sandomierz district were created on the left bank of the Vistula.

On the other hand, we do not observe many instances of town location in Opoczno district.<sup>29</sup> In the district of Chęciny three private cities were located; these were: Włoszczowa founded by the family Szafraniec,<sup>30</sup> Oksza founded by Mikołaj Rej,<sup>31</sup> and Sobków founded by Stanisław Sobek from Sulejów.<sup>32</sup> In Wiślica district, apart from Dębno belonging to the family Sieniński, Chmielnik was founded by Oleśnicki family.<sup>33</sup> In Pilzno district Niebylec was granted town privileges (owned respec-

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*w zakresie materiałów rękopiśmiennych*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1957, p. 230, no. 315; later sources, hearth and poll tax records from the seventeenth century, list this settlement amidst villages; we also omit Michów (location privilege in 1564, MRPS V, no. 9318), because ultimately the town was located in Denków in 1584 (*Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 526), both settlements lay in Sandomierz district.

<sup>15</sup> Daleszyce – location privilege from 1569; MRPS V, no. 10195.

<sup>16</sup> Kozienice – the permission for the location of the town ‘in cruda radice ex parte villae regiae eiusdem nominis, quae curiae regiae est proprior’ on Magdeburg law for the starosta of Radom and the Voivode of Ruthenia Piotr Firlej of Dąbrowica and Kocko, in 1549 (MRPS V, no. 4692) was probably a regulation of an earlier privilege, because already in 1537 there is a record mentioning a church ‘oppidi nostri Kozienice [...] annis superioribus locatum’ [s], J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat kozienicki*, Radom 1913, part II, p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> Janowiec – location privilege in 1537 for Piotr Firlej of Dąbrowica and Kocko, the Voivode of Ruthenia, (J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat kozienicki*, part II, p. 18); see the granting of Magdeburg law in 1580 (*ibidem*, pp. 21–32).

<sup>18</sup> Radomyśl – the king’s permission in 1581 for the location of town ‘in fundo villae Ruda et Dolcza’ (MK, 123, ff. 505 f.); according to the town tax register, in 1589 this town paid 5 florens, with an adnotation: ‘oppidum in nova radice locatum Nicolai Firley’ (ASK I, 7, f. 889). See also B. Idzik, *Rys historyczny Radomyśla Wielkiego*, „Rocznik Ziemi Mieleckiej”, 1971, p. 106.

<sup>19</sup> Dębno – location privilege unknown; in a document from 1589 there is a mention about the third measure ‘in oppido novo erecto’ (MK, 135, f. 604); town tax register 1591 lists a small number of houses which paid the tax ‘ob paupertatem oppidanorum’ (ASK I, 7, f. 712); Raków – location in 1567, J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat ilżecki. Monumenta dioecesis Sandomiriensis*, Radom 1911, pp. 116–118; *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 535; *Raków ognisko arianizmu*, ed. S. Cynarski, Cracow 1968, p. 13. J. Wiśniewski dated this location to 1569, J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opatowski*, Radom 1907, pp. 374 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See footnote 134.

<sup>21</sup> Rudnik – permission from 1552 for Krzysztof Gnojeński, allowing to found a town ‘in cruda radice’ in hereditary estates of his wife Katarzyna from the family Tarnowski, in Kopki village near the stream Rudnik (MRPS V/1, no. 1305; MK, 80, f. 283).

<sup>22</sup> King Alexander’s permission from 19 V 1505 for the foundation of Ścimiłów by Jakub Szydłowiecki, the Royal Treasurer and starosta of Łęczycza, MRPS III, no. 2138; confirmed 9 October 1512 on request of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki’s, Vice-Chancellor and castellan of Sandomierz, the heir of Ścimiłów, MRPS IV/1, no. 1745.

<sup>23</sup> Ożarów – location privilege in 1569; SGKP, vol. 8, p. 793; *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 526.

<sup>24</sup> See footnote 100.

<sup>25</sup> Lasocin – Sigismundus Augustus’s permission in 1549 for the foundation of the town on Magdeburg law in the forest near Dębno, granted to Andrzej Lasota of Łopiennik (MRPS V, no. 479); see *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 516.

<sup>26</sup> Gliniany – location privilege in 1595; J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opatowski*, pp. 172 f.; *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 506.

<sup>27</sup> Tarłów – town founded in 1550 by Andrzej Tarło on grounds of the village Szczekarzewice (MRPS V, no. 940; *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 559).

<sup>28</sup> Janików – town founded before 1578 (that year Janików paid the town tax, ‘szos’); in the visitation in 1592 a mention: ‘parochia noviter extracta’; see *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 508.

<sup>29</sup> Odrowąż omitted, see footnote 101.

<sup>30</sup> Włoszczowa – location privilege in 1539, *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 553.

<sup>31</sup> Oksza – town located by Mikołaj Rej in 1554 on grounds of the village Tworów; MRPS V, no. 6854; see *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 520.

<sup>32</sup> Sobków – permission in 1563 for Stanisław Sobek, the castellan of Biecz, for the location of a town in a part of the village Nida; MRPS V, no. 9172; MK, 96, ff. 106–107v.

<sup>33</sup> Chmielnik – permission for the location of a town granted to Jan Oleśnicki in 1551; MRPS V, no. 5190.

tively by Machowski family, Roman family and Pieniążek family),<sup>34</sup> the already-mentioned Radomyśl of the Firlej family, and Głowów (Głogów) founded by Krzysztof Głowa.<sup>35</sup>

In Radom district, apart from the already-mentioned Janowiec of the Firlej family, the Kazanowski family founded Ciepiałów;<sup>36</sup> they also located Kazanów.<sup>37</sup> The family Ciołek – Odechów,<sup>38</sup> and the family Oleśnicki – Lipsko.<sup>39</sup>

In Stężyca district, in the area of relatively late settlement network of the so-called Podlasie,<sup>40</sup> five private towns emerged in the sixteenth century, namely: (apart from the aforementioned Jadamów) the family Maciejewski located Maciejowice,<sup>41</sup> Męciński family – Nowodwór, or Wyprządów,<sup>42</sup> Dzik family – Wojcieszków (or: Nowe Miasto),<sup>43</sup> the family Kłoczowski – Drażgów.<sup>44</sup> Survey analysis of the property of the owners of the newly-located cities in Stężyca district showed, that these were usually wealthy nobles, having estates at least holding several villages, and the newly-located town was meant to serve as a centre for local exchange.<sup>45</sup>

After all, many private towns located in the sixteenth century in Sandomierz district kept their agricultural, semi-rural nature. Unsuccessful locations in this area should also be mentioned, i.e. the settlements, which – despite being granted town privilege in the sixteenth century – remained villages, like Michów in Sandomierz district and Róża, which was to be located on the grounds of Strupicze village in 1556;<sup>46</sup> Mirów in Wiślica district could be another example, after location it merged with the town complex of Pińczów;<sup>47</sup> the mysterious case of Jadaromin (Radom district) could also be mentioned here. However, given the similitude of the data, we identify this town with Jadamów in Stężyca district.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> It seems that we should question the information provided by *Miasta polskie*, vol. II, p. 372 concerning the foundation of the town in the fifteenth century. Royal consent for the location of the town that was later called Niebylec on grounds of the village Jawornik, granted to Mikołaj Machowski, comes from 1509–1510; MRPS IV, no. 866 and 1000; see tax register from 1527–1530: ‘Niebيلية villa, nunc malum [?] oppidum noviter locatum’, P. Małopolska, p. 520.

<sup>35</sup> Głowów – location privileges from 1570–1578; see F. Kotula, *Głowów, renesansowe miasteczko*, BHS, 16, 1954, pp. 3–10; S. Herbst, *Uwagi nad renesansowym rozplanowaniem Głowowa*, BHS, 16, 1954, pp. 11–14.

<sup>36</sup> Ciepiałów – permission for town location of Grzymałów on grounds of Ciepiałów village, granted to Marcin Kazanowski in 1548, MRPS IV/3, no. 23072.

<sup>37</sup> Privilege to found Kazanów on grounds of Miechów village for Marcin Kazanowski, granted by Sigismundus Augustus in 1566 (SGKP, vol. 3, p. 920; Boniecki, vol. 9, p. 356); Marcin Strzałkowski was incorrectly described as the recipient of this privilege (*Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 510).

<sup>38</sup> Odechów – permission to found the town Nowy Targ in Odechów village belonging to Andrzej Ciołek, MRPS IV/3, no. 18448.

<sup>39</sup> Lipsko – mentioned in the visitation of Solec deanery in 1595 as ‘oppidum noviter locatum’; AV Cap. 3, f. 504, belonged to Oleśnicki, according to *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, p. 517, the foundation was to occur in 1613.

<sup>40</sup> LR, p. 407: ‘sub decanatu radomiensi in Transilvania’; pp. 412, 414, 419, 422, 423; ‘sub decanatu Radom in Podlasze’.

<sup>41</sup> Maciejowice – the privilege from 1524 freed Ostrów town from taxes, as it was newly-located by Kacper Maciejowski (MRPS IV, no. 13808); according to: *Miasta polskie*, vol. II, p. 480, Maciejowice were granted Sigismundus the Old’s permission for location in 1507.

<sup>42</sup> Nowodwór located in Wyprządów village in the first half of the sixteenth century; *Miasta polskie*, vol. II, p. 490.

<sup>43</sup> Wojcieszków – privilege in 1540 for Mikołaj Pierściński Dzik to locate the town on German law ‘in bonis Voczie-skow’; MRPS IV, no. 6714.

<sup>44</sup> Drażgów – permission for Marcin Kłoczowski to locate the city and granting Magdeburg law in 1544; MRPS IV, no. 21493.

<sup>45</sup> The owners of Drażgów – the family Kłoczowski, in 1569 paid lan tax for six villages, which together had 62.5 lan and 6.5 empty lan (Mikołaj Kłoczowski paid for Tyrzyn, Strych, Kobylnica, Zawitała, Lipiny and Ułęż; Piotr Kłoczowski for Kawęczyn, Przesmyk, Podarz, Przeklewo and Czernice; P. Małopolska, pp. 331 f.). The family Męciński, the owners of Nowydwór, that is Wyprządów, had three villages in the vicinity of this town: Białki, Trojanka and Wola Chojdak, together over 30 lans (ibidem, p. 332); about the estates of Rusiecki, the owner of Jadamów, see footnote 1429.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Locatio oppidi ex villa Strupicze Roza nuncupati in fundo Svieskovicensi [...] libertas 12 annorum [...] Alberti Meczinski conceditur’, MRPS V/2, no. 7353 from 1556; see also F. Kiryk, *Lokacje miejskie nieudane, translacje miast i miasta zanikle w Malopolsce do połowy XVII stulecia*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, pp. 373–384, where the author lists also, among others, Rembowo, Skotniki, Dębno and Spotów as unsuccessful locations.

<sup>47</sup> The foundation of ‘new town Mirów’ in 1592; see T. Zarębska, *Przemiany przestrzenne miast w dobie renesansu i baroku*, [in:] *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie środkowo-wschodniej*, Warsaw–Poznań–Toruń 1976 (Prace XI Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich), p. 241; J. Małecki, *Zarys dziejów Pińczowa do końca XVIII w.*, [in:] *Pińczów i jego szkoły w dziejach*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, Cracow 1979, „Zeszyty Naukowe UJ”, Prace Historyczne, no. 62, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> In 1539 ‘Adae et Hieronimo Rusieczkim, fratribus germanis, oppidum in cruda radice Jadaromin in districtu Radomiensi [...] erigere iure theutonico consensus datur’ by Sigismundus I the Old (MRPS IV/3, no. 19711). Full text in the *Metrica* (MK,

The assesment of the size of towns (the number of inhabitants) in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century stumbled across significant difficulties resulting not only from generally acknowledged methodical shortcomings in determining the figures for the population of individual settlements in pre-statistical period. Another difficulty were the losses in town documents of the majority of towns in the region,<sup>49</sup> which could help us verify our calculations, made on the basis of the data contained in fiscal documents.<sup>50</sup> We tried, when it was possible, to verify our results with the results of monograph research on the economic potential, political importance or localization of individual towns in the layout of the nationwide and transitional communication network, their participation in trade, as centres of local and regional exchange, their administrative functions (centres of keys of property; place where sejmiks (dietines) gathered, where one would expect e.g. a reserve of lodgings), finally: their residential role (taking into account the position of the owner). This additional information allowed us to asses the size of towns in an approximate manner.

**Table 1. Cities in Sandomierz Voivodeship**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Cities			
		in total	royal (r)	Church (e)	nobility (n)
Sandomierz	6,082	24	3	8	13
Radom	5,241	22	5	5	12
Pilzno	3,988	17	2	3	12
Chęciny	3,176	11	4	3	4
Wiślica	3,074	14	5	2	7
Opoczno	2,457	9	1	2	6
Stężyca	1,772	11	1	1	9
In total	25,790	108	21	24	63

Fiscal sources from the second half of the seventeenth century, namely: hearth and poll tax registers allowed us to verify this data; these sources alone are not especially valuable, yet sometimes they helped us find marginal values (towns of the highest relative number of hearths or heads), as well as control our assumed indicators of the number of inhabitants of a house in cities and towns or this region, within districts.<sup>51</sup>

58, ff. 166–170) does not contain additional elements, which would allow for identification. However, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the settlements located in Stężyca district were often included into Radom district, undoubtedly because the land and town court in Stężyca operated in Radom, where it was moved after Stężyca was destroyed during the Tatar invasion in 1500–1502, to remain to its initial place in 1563/1564 (W. Pałucki, *Granice i podziały polityczno-administracyjne*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.1.2). That is why we identify this unknown Jadaromin with Jadamów, well-attested in later sources, which belonged to the family Rusiecki. In 1595 the inspector of churches in Łuków deanery recorded: ‘Jadamów, op. g. d. Russieczki’ (AV Cap. 3, f. 239v). In 1560 Rusiecki also owned the surrounding villages: Gułów, Wola Ruszcza, Turzystwo, Wola Gułowska, Konorzatka and Dębowica, that is all villages in Jadamów parish (P. Małopolska, p. 338). Let us add that the church in Jadamów, existing since 1545, was endowed by Hieronim Rusiecki (see chapter Church administration borders, p. 267, footnote 300).

<sup>49</sup> A. Wolff, *akta partykularne przedrozbiorowe Archiwum Głównego* [in:] *Straty archiwów i bibliotek warszawskich w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1957, pp. 183, 209.

<sup>50</sup> See the criticism on town fiscal sources, especially the town tax, as a basis for calculating the size of population, I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 183 f.

<sup>51</sup> An attempt was made to compare (for Radom district) data from poll tax in 1662 from all towns of this area (P. Małopolska, introduction, p. 53, see ASK I 67, ff. 58 f.) and data from hearth tax in 1667 (ASK I 65, ff. 58 f.). On this basis the lowest indicator obtained was five people per one house (Nieznamierowice), and the highestes – 16 people per one house Skaryszew), with the average of around nine people per one house (in 17 towns that were compared: Radom, Skaryszew, Ciepiałów, Hża, Szydłowiec, Zwoleń, Przytyk, Wierzbnik, Jedlińsk, Odechów, Jastrząb, Nieznamierowice, Klwów, Skrzywno, Sieciechów, Solec and Kozienice, for which the registers mention both – number of hearths and heads, we obtained 5202 inhabitants and 599 hearths).

**Table 2. Density of town network in the end of the sixteenth century**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Number of towns	Area in km <sup>2</sup> per 1 town
Sandomierz	6,082	24	253
Radom	5,241	22	238
Pilzno	3,988	17	235
Chęciny	3,176	11	289
Wiślica	3,074	14	219
Opoczno	2,457	9	273
Stężyca	1,772	11	161
voivodeship	25,790	108	239

The obtained results are as follows: for 108 towns in Sandomierz Voivodeship, 21–30 of them exceeded the number of 1,000 inhabitants. Apart from Sandomierz, the capital of the voivodeship (estimated 3,500 inhabitants),<sup>52</sup> these settlements should be considered towns: Zwoleń in Radom district,<sup>53</sup> Połaniec in Sandomierz district,<sup>54</sup> Chęciny in Chęciny district<sup>55</sup> and Tarnów in Pilzno district (each around 2,500 inhabitants),<sup>56</sup> and then: Radom<sup>57</sup> and Kozienice<sup>58</sup> in the district of Radom, Szydłów,<sup>59</sup> Nowe Miasto Korczyn<sup>60</sup> and Pińczów<sup>61</sup> in Wiślica district (each around 1,500 inhabitants). All towns, where the population, according to our calculations, reached at least 1,000 inhabitants, were listed in Table 4. The table covers, among others, these towns in Sandomierz Voivodeship, which were marked class II cities in the 1520 classification for tax purposes ('civitates et oppida secundi ordinis'); of the towns listed these were: Sandomierz, Tarnów, Radom and Szydłów, also: Pilzno, Opoczno, Wiślica, Opatów, Iłża and Bodzentyn.<sup>62</sup>

**Table 3. Larger cities**

District	City name and ownership character		Number of cities
	undoubtedly above 1,000 inhabitants	probably above 1,000 inhabitants	
Radom	Radom (r) Zwoleń (r) Kozienice (r)	Iłża (c) Szydłowiec (n)	3 + 2 = 5

<sup>52</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza w okresie Odrodzenia*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, p. 295.

<sup>53</sup> Zwoleń was inspected in 1565 as a royal town. There were 221 inhabited houses and 40 burned houses then in the town – LS 1564/1565, p. 204. The seventeenth century materials show that quite a high multiplier of inhabitants per one house could be used for this town.

<sup>54</sup> Połaniec, according to LS 1564/1565, p. 92 had 287 houses and paid for 500 plains, meadows, gardens and demesnes.

<sup>55</sup> Many craftsmen lived in Chęciny according to LS 1564/1565, p. 281, and there were 283 houses there.

<sup>56</sup> According to assessment register of Pilzno district from 1527–30, there were 200 houses in Tarnów and 83 serfs in the suburbs (P. Małopolska, p. 549. Datation of register see p. 14).

<sup>57</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century there was around 120 houses within Radom city walls, and some 180 together with the suburbs. LS 1564/1565, p. 162; SGKP, vol. 9, p. 401; *Urbanistyka i architektura Radomia*, ed. W. Kalinowski, Lublin 1979, pp. 58, 67–69.

<sup>58</sup> Kozienice according to LS 1564/1565, p. 217 had 177 houses, 55 town lans, 194 gardens and 107 meadows.

<sup>59</sup> According to LS 1564/1565, pp. 142 ff., there were 124 houses in Szydłów and 56 in the suburbs, and a significant number of craftsmen.

<sup>60</sup> Nowe Miasto Korczyn, according to LS 1564/1565, pp. 21 ff., paid for 148 houses in the town and in the suburbs, and many craftsmen lived in the town.

<sup>61</sup> In Pińczów, in the second half of the seventeenth century there was the highest number of taxable houses of all towns of Wiślica district, namely 1967, that is twice as many as in Nowe Miasto Korczyn, and three times the number in Szydłów (P. Małopolska, introduction, p. 51, according to poll tax from 1662).

<sup>62</sup> Analogous classification from 1590 does not list first and second class towns by name, but only specifies that the second class consists of towns which paid over 500 złoty of alcohol tax. Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Oznaczenia i klasyfikacje miast w dawnej Polsce (XVI–XVIII w.)*, CPH, vol. 8, 1956, no. 2, pp. 262 f.; A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 218 f.

District	City name and ownership character		Number of cities
	undoubtedly above 1,000 inhabitants	probably above 1,000 inhabitants	
Stężyca	Stężyca (r)	–	1
Wiślica	N. Miasto Korczyn (r) Wiślica (r) Szydłów (r) Pińczów (n)	Opatowiec (c) Busko (c) Pacanów (n)	4 + 3 = 7
Opoczno	Opoczno (r)	–	1
Pilzno	Pilzno (r) Tarnów (n)	Ropczyce (r)	2 + 1 = 3
Chęciny	Chęciny (r) Kielce (c) Przedbórz (r) Daleszyce (c) Secemin (n)	Małogoszcz (r)	5 + 1 = 6
Sandomierz	Sandomierz (r) Bodzentyn (c) Koprzywnica (c) Opatów (n) Połaniec (r)	Staszów (n) Zawichost (c)	5 + 2 = 7
In total	21 + 9 = 30		

(r) – royal property, (c) – Church property, (n) – property of the nobility

**Table 4. Larger cities according to type of property**

Type of property	Number of cities		
	undoubtedly above 1,000 inhabitants	probably above 1,000 inhabitants	In total
Royal (r)	13	2	15
Church (c)	4	4	8
Nobility (n)	4	3	7
In total	21	9	30

Royal property dominated among larger cities (13–15), the second place was occupied by cities belonging to churchmen (4–8), the cities of the nobility were the fewest (4–7).

The size of rural settlements was determined on the basis of similar methodical assumptions as in the case of Mazovia in the sixteenth century, but with different conversion rates specifying the number of serfs per 1 lan. Tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century allow us to individualize these rates for different types of property, including the property of the nobility, on the example of three out of seven then existing districts, namely: Sandomierz, Pilzno and Wiślica. The registers from these districts usually show the number of serfs along the number of lans, which was the basis of taxation. This allowed us to calculate the average number of serfs in districts.<sup>63</sup> However, our calculations did not take into account the records from this part of Sandomierz district, which lay south of the Vistula, as for this area the result of the calculations of average number of serfs, especially in royal estates, was significantly different than averages from other territories. We are unable to explain this result; we can only suspect that this was the effect of the lack of settlement and economic stabilization in the newly created villages in Sandomierz Forest, from which some inhabitants could escape after the end

<sup>63</sup> P. Małopolska, Sandomierz district y. 1578, pp. 165–208; Wiślica district y. 1579, pp. 209–240; Pilzno district y. 1581, pp. 241–269.

of the tax free period, as well as the fact that the number of all settlers was accompanied only by the number of lans subject to taxation, without those still freed from payment.

Supplementary materials were taken from recognitions. However, they rarely refer to other districts of our voivodeship.<sup>64</sup> Whereas, we have not taken into account inspections and inventories of royal estates, as well as inventories of royal property. Controlling calculations made of these sources on the basis of royal property in Wiślica district and the estates of the bishop of Cuyavia in Sandomierz district have, in fact, provided slightly different conversion rates, but the differences were insignificant when the results were rounded up.

The results of our calculations look as follows: for 1 serf farm there was an average of 0.37 to 0.44 of lan in particular districts (i.e. from 2.2 to 2.7 of serf farm per 1 lan). Keeping the rate five people per one serf family,<sup>65</sup> we obtain – as in Mazovia – the multiplier 11 to 13.5 people per 1 serf lan;<sup>66</sup> however, this multiplier contains the element of territorial diversity. The smallest average size of a serf farm occurred in Pilzno district (0.37 lans), and the biggest – in Wiślica district (0.44 lan). As we did not have access to mass data on the diversity of respective values for the four remaining districts, we have decided to assume uniform rates in the scale of the entire voivodeship for these districts, based on the average calculated for the above-mentioned three districts, individualized only for each of type of property.

Larger farms could be found in royal and Church estates (average 0.5 lan per 1 serf farm, i.e. two farms per 1 lan), smaller in the estates of the nobility (average 0.38 lan per 1 serf farm, i.e. 2.5 farm per 1 lan). According to the above, the following rates were assumed: in royal and Church estates 10 people per 1 serf lan, and in the estates of the nobility 12.5 people per 1 serf lan. We assumed here a similar rate of people per one farm, because there is no basis, which would allow us to diversify it according to the size of a farm and type of ownership.

Additionally, rates of people per family used were similar to those assumed during the preparation of the map of Mazovia: for hortulani and landless families – four people, for noble and artisan families – five people.<sup>67</sup> The rate of five people was also used in controlling the size of families of the so-called venatorum (huntsmen) living in villages in Sandomierz Forest.<sup>68</sup>

The multiplier in the villages of farm gentry per 1 lan was the same as in Mazovia (11 people per 1 lan), because this phenomenon was very rare in Sandomierz Voivodeship, and thereby we were unable to verify the rate given the modest basis. The property of farm gentry, as mentioned earlier, appeared in more dense complexes only in several parishes, it was scattered and related to single sections in the villages of partial gentry, as well as in small villages, where even the highest rates would not decide on qualifying the settlement to villages above 200 inhabitants.

On the basis of the above calculations, we have decided to mark on the map large villages, where the number of inhabitants probably exceeded 200.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Recognitions from 1563, mixed from the entire territory of the Crown, included in ASK I, 59 were surveyed. The recognitions come mostly from the district of Wiślica, and only sporadically from other districts of Sandomierz Voivodeship, like e.g. from Bolmin village in Chęciny district, where the tax was paid 'de cmetonibus 9 in quartis residentibus'.

<sup>65</sup> See WP, p. 27; I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7.

<sup>66</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7.

<sup>67</sup> WP, p. 59; I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7 (slightly different indicators were used for the map of Royal Prussia – MRP).

<sup>68</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 196–203.

<sup>69</sup> The number of large villages in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the end of the sixteenth century was estimated on 212, that is around 7% of all villages in this voivodeship. 70 were marked in the district of Pilzno, 57 in the district of Sandomierz, 27 in the district of Wiślica, 23 in the district of Stężyca, 22 in the district of Radom, nine in Chęciny, and four villages in Opoczno district, all with an estimated number of 200 inhabitants. These are the following villages (ownership type in brackets):

Pilzno district: Biadoliny (c), Bielcza (c), Borek (r), Bodzęcin (c), Borowa (n), Brzeziny (n), Bystrzyca (r), Chechły (r), Dąbrowa Wielka (n), Glinnik (n), Glinnik Dolny (n), Gnojnica (r), Godowa (n), Gogołów (n), Góra (n), Grabówka (n), Gumniska in Gumniska parish (n), Gumniska in Tarnów parish (n), Januszkowice (cn), Jastrząbka (n), Kielków (n), Klikowa (n), Kolbuszowa (n), Kunice (n), Lubcza Górna (r), Lubla (c), Ludcza (n), Łękawica (n), Łęki (n), Łęki Dolne (n), Łęki Górne (n), Łęki Wielkie (n), Łopuchowa (r), Mała (r), Meszna (cn), Niechobrz (n), Niedźwiada (r), Nockowa (n), Nowa Wieś Pstrągowa (n), Oporyszów (n), Pietrzejowa (r), Połomia (n), Pstrągowa Niżna (n), Róża (n), Skodna (r), Skrzyszów (n), Słotowa (r), Szczurowa (c), Szufnarowa (n), Szywnałd (n), Wadowice (n), Warzyce (c), Węglówka Ruska (n), Wierciany (r), Wiewiórka (n), Wiśniowa (n), Witkowice (r), Wola Dąbrowska (n), Wola Szarwark (n), Wyrzynia (n), Zabłocie (n), Zagórzycze (r), Zalasowa (n), Zgłobień (n), Zgłobień Nowy (n), Zwiernik (n), Żędzin (n), Żyznów Wyższy (n).

The above calculations are based on lans, used by fiscal register to collect taxes; in the present state of research the relation of ‘fiscal’ lans to standard lans (Chełmno lan, Flemish lan of Frank lan) is not fully explained.<sup>70</sup> However, we believe that it was possible to base our research on this material, because they referred to mass phenomena, and the end results – being the average of the sum of many detailed values – were influenced by the law of large numbers (as such any possible mistake was reduced).

**Table 5. Villages above 200 inhabitants**

District	Villages in total	Villages above 200 inhabitants							
		in total	%	Type of ownership					
				r	c	n	rn	cn	t
Radom	591	22	3.7%	3	1	16	–	–	2
Stężyca	199	23	11.5%	10	–	13	–	–	–
Wiślica	488	27	5.5%	4	4	18	–	1	–
Opoczno	257	4	1.5%	2	–	2	–	–	–
Pilzno	423	70	16.5%	14	6	47	–	3	–
Sandomierz	718	57	7.8%	24	5	25	3	–	–
Chęciny	275	9	3.3%	–	6	3	–	–	–
In total	2,951	212	7.1%	57	22	124	3	4	2
%	–	100	–	26.9	10.4	58.5	1.4	1.9	0.9

The aforementioned settlements with only one manor, accompanying industrial and other kind of settlements, were included in the group of smallest settlements, i.e. villages below 200 inhabitants.

Finally, our introduction of the sign for castle requires some explanation. This sign accompanies some of the cities and town settlements.<sup>71</sup> The criteria for marking were as follows: the map shows sites, whose defensive character could not be doubted and which were described as ‘castrum’, ‘arx’ or ‘zamek’ in the sources.<sup>72</sup> Eleven royal castles were marked on the map, three castles belonging to

Sandomierz district: Borowa (n), Boruja (n), Charzewice (n), Chmielów (r), Chorzelów (n), Cmolas (n), Czajków (r), Czermin (n), Dąbrowica (n), Dzikowiec (r), Dzików (n), Gołego Wola (n), Gorzyce (r), Grębów (rn), Jaskowice (r), Jaśłany (rn), Jeżowa Wola (r), Leśna (c), Łączna (c), Malinie (n), Michocin (n), Nawodzice (n), Nieskurzów (c), Nisko (r), Padew (r), Pław (r), Pysznica (r), Raclawice (n), Siedliszczany (n), Skopanie (n), Sławogóra (r), Słupcza (n), Sobótka (r), Sokolniki (rn), Stodoły (r), Strzegom (r), Sucha (r), Szczekarzewice (n), Śmierdzina (r), Świniary (n), Trzciana (n), Trzeźnia (n), Turbia (c), Tursko Wielkie (n), Tuszów (r), Wiązownica (r), Wiśniowa (n), Włostów (n), Wola Kamień (r), Wola Lipnica (r), Wola Pliska (r), Wola Ramizowska (r), Wzdół (c), Zaduszniki (n), Zarzeczce (c), Zdziec (r), Zgórsko (n).

Wiślica district: Bejsce (n), Biechów (n), Biskupice (c), Bogucice (r), Chroberz (n), Czarnocin (n), Dzierżazna (c), Góry (n), Gręboszów (n), Grotniki (r), Jurków (n), Kije (n), Krzyżanowice (c), Mędrzechów (r), Michałów (n), Otwinów (n), Pełczyńska (n), Piasek Wielki (n), Piestrzec (cn), Sędziejowice (n), Słupiec Wielki (n), Stawiany (c), Szczucin (n), Świniary (n), Welcz (r), Wójcza (n), Złota Wielka (n).

Stężyca district: Bazanów (r), Dęba (r), Górzno Wyższe (n), Jarczów (n), Kłoczów (n), Korytnica (n), Kozice (r), Lipiny (n), Ownia (r), Pawłowice (n), Przetoczno (n), Rososz (r), Ryki (n), Sobieszyn (n), Stryj (r), Swaty (r), Trojanów (n), Wargocin (r), Wilczyńska (n), Wola Długa (n), Wola Łączna (n), Wola Zadybska (n), Życzyn (r).

Radom district: Bałutów (n), Bieliny (n), Brzoza (r), Chechły (n), Dzierzków (t), Gutów (n), Gzowice (r), Gościszowice (n), Jedlna (r), Krępa (n), Krzyżanowice (n), Pakosław (n), Ruda Wlk. (n), Rzeczniów Większy (n), Skrzyń Stara (n), Sławno (c), Wir (n), Wola Gołębiowska (t), Wola Kadłubska (n), Wola Kaszowska (n), Wola Sienieńska (n).

Chęciny district: Konieczno (c), Korytnica (n), Kostomłoty (c), Krajno (c), Masłów (c), Niewachłów (c), Oleszno (n), Sułków (n), Zagnańsko (c).

Opoczno district: Błogie (cn), Brudzowice (r), Końskie (n), Radzice (r).

<sup>70</sup> E. Stamm, *Miary powierzchni w dawnej Polsce*, Cracow 1936; I. Rychlikowa, *Staropolskie miary ziemi*, KHKM, vol. 18, 1970, pp. 85–105; I. Rychlikowa, *Wieloznaczność i ewolucja pojęcia lanu w Małopolsce w okresie folwarku pańszczyźnianego*, KHKM, vol. 21, 1973, pp. 575–616; J. Szewczyk, *Włóka. Pojęcie i termin na tle innych średniowiecznych jednostek pomiaru ziemi*, Warsaw 1968 (IG PAN, Prace Geograficzne, no. 67).

<sup>71</sup> The fragment of the text concerning castles was prepared by Krzysztof Chłapowski.

<sup>72</sup> In territorial layout this looks as follows: in the district of Sandomierz – royal castles: Sandomierz, Zawichost and Przyszów, bishop’s Bodzentyn, and private: Baranów, Czyżów, Ćmielów (Śćmielów), Konary, Mielec, Międzygórz, Podgrodzie, Rytwiany and Tudorów; in the district of Wiślica – royal: Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Szydłów and Stopnica, private: Chroberz, Kurozwęki, Pińczów and Rembów; in the district of Radom – royal: Radom and Solec, bishop’s castle in Iłża, and private:

churchmen and 21 private castles;<sup>73</sup> it must be noted here, that some small castles of the nobles could have been omitted, if they had not appeared in our sources. A selection of places in case of an unclear source record caused much difficulty at times.<sup>74</sup>

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Translated by Agata Staszewska

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Janowiec and Szydłowiec; in the district of Chęciny – royal: Chęciny and Przedbórz, private: Mokrsko Górne and Sobków; in the district of Pilzno – abbot's castle Golesz and private: Tarnów (Tarnowiec) situated on Św. Marcin mountain near Podgrodzie village and Rzemień; in the district of Opoczno – royal in Opoczno, and private: Drzewica and Damujowice (now: Zameczek). The castle Golesz was still inhabited in 1614 – W. Sarna, *Opis powiatu jasielskiego*, Jasło 1909, p. 372; in 1689 it was described as long deserted – the inventory of the estates of the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec from 1689, Library of PAN in Cracow, MS 2885, f. 39v.

<sup>73</sup> For royal castles the inspections – both: published and manuscripts – are the basic sources. Mainly, this concerns the visitation conducted in 1629 (AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 33), the inventories, records in the Crown Metrica and source records in J. Wiśniewski's works on particular deaneries. For bishops' castles, apart from Długosz's Liber beneficiorum, for confirmation – the inspection of the estates of the bishop of Cracow from 1789 (ASK XLVI, 67, 69). Finally, for private castles the records from the Crown Metrica, records in the works of J. Wiśniewski, mentions in Długosz's and Łaski's LB and in LR 1529, in the inspections from the end of the sixteenth century, and in published documents, like Archiwum Sanguszków. The documentation of the surviving buildings or their traces can be found in relevant issues of *Katalog zabytków*. B. Guerquin's work, Guerquin, Zamki, was the most important work from the literature on the subject used.

<sup>74</sup> Surviving descriptions allow us to conclude that the buildings in Stężycza and Ryczywół, which sometimes were called castles, in reality were old starosta's manors, surrounded by moat and wooden palisade. (AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 33, ff. 394–396; ASK LVI, S 3 II, f. 78v; LS 1564/1565, p. 219; Ryczywół – AGAD, Dz. XVIII 33, ff. 454–457; SPPP, vol. 6, no. 18; MRPS IV/2, no. 9378). The case of the castle in Wiślica is more complicated. According to a record in the 1765 inspection (AGAD, Dz. XVIII 35, f. 62) and sparse indirect data gathered by J. Widawski (Widawski, Mury, p. 502), the castle was to be situated outside city walls, on an island. Because it is impossible to determine with complete certainty, whether there was a castle in this place, or just ramparts (relics of a gord rebuilt in the fifteenth century?), we resigned from marking the castle in Wiślica. Accidental, and often imprecise mentions, given the lack of detailed descriptions, do not allow us to determine the character of the castles in Gnojno, Kazanów, Maciejowice (Podzamcze), Zborów and Zgórska, or whether they really existed in the second half of the century. In Gnojno, according to *Katalog zabytków*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 19, a castellum was built, and expanded in the seventeenth century. In 1783 'old castle, brick' was mentioned in Kazanów (Kartoteka SHG). The remnants of this castle are described in *Katalog zabytków* (vol. 3, no. 3, p. 14). Given the lack of earlier records, we cannot say, whether the castle existed already in the sixteenth century, what would be actually possible, given the owners – the family Kazanowski. In 1557 a 'fortalicium' in Maciejowice is recorded (MRPS V/1, no. 1918); we do not know the character of this structure before it was expanded into a palace in the eighteenth century. A. Gruszecki assumed that there was a castle in Zgórska on the basis of surviving traces, A. Gruszecki, *Zamki bastionowe w Małopolsce*, Warsaw 1962, p. 255; this was a residence of the family Ossoliński (*Pamiętnik Zbigniewa Ossolińskiego, wojewody sandomierskiego, 1623*, pub. W. Kętrzyński, Lwów 1878, p. 29), and earlier of the family Mielecki, but its defensive character is not attested. In Zborów Marcin Zborowski (died in 1565) 'built a manor at great costs' (*Herby rycerstwa polskiego przez Bartosza Paprockiego*, pub. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1858, p. 146); S. Starowolski (*Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, pub. A. Piskadło, Cracow 1976, p. 83) describes a castle in Zborów, but the elements suggesting that it is about the castle in Jastrzębiec dominate in the description, so this information is unreliable. We do not know, whether the castle in Zborów was built in the sixteenth century in the shape it existed before 1803 (*Katalog zabytków*, vol. I, no. 1, pp. 86–87).

Our research shows that there was only a standalone, one-storey brick manor in Przecław in the second half of the sixteenth century – J. Teodorowicz-Czerepińska, T. Augustyniak, *Wyniki badań architektonicznych w renesansowym dworze w Przecławiu w pow. Mielec*, [in:] *Architektura rezydencjonalna i obronna woj. Rzeszowskiego*, Łańcut 1972, pp. 193–203.

Jastrzębiec castle was not marked on the map. It was at least partially pulled down by Piotr Zborowski, who died in 1581 (*Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, pp. 139, 142); Guerquin, Zamki, p. 140, repeats the mistake of S. Gawęda (*Możliwość malopolskie w XIV i pierwszej połowie XV w.*, Cracow 1966, p. 92) and claims it happened in the seventeenth century.

### III.3.2.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

Settlements in sixteenth century Lublin Voivodeship were divided in legal and systematic terms into towns and other settlements, and in terms of their economic nature – into mill and furnace settlements, i.e. ores (ironworks).

The number of towns, 36 around 1564, grew slightly before the end of the sixteenth century. On the site of the village Sanny – mentioned still in 1563 – or next to it, the town of Zaklików was founded,<sup>1</sup> and the town Radomyśl<sup>2</sup> was founded prior to 1592. Both these towns lay in Urzędów district.

The settlements were divided into four size groups, in agreement with the general assumptions of the AHP series, which go beyond Lublin Voivodeship. The groups were described in the key to the map. Naturally, it is difficult to determine the size of a settlement based on the number of inhabitants. The number can only be calculated in estimation based on fiscal sources, which had different tax base for different types of settlements. Moreover, the sources are incomplete to various degrees, and in order to turn the number of inhabitants into size we need conversion factors, more reliable on a mass scale but often deceptive in relation to individual settlements.

Group I was reserved for large cities, i.e. those which had over 5,000 inhabitants in the second half of the sixteenth century, group II – towns – consists of settlements which had town rights and probably between 1,000 and 5,000 inhabitants. All the remaining towns and villages over 200 inhabitants belong to group III (towns and large villages), and group IV encompasses all other settlements.

Evidently, this division is inconsistent – purposefully, in order to avoid unnecessary multiplication of divisions between groups. So a village over 200 inhabitants will belong to a lower group than a small town with even lower population. Still, given the small number of size groups, the possibility of erroneous classification is relatively low, naturally when compared with other methods of determining and defining the size of settlements in the sixteenth century or similar periods.

Our calculations were based on data found in tax registers from 1560s. When a settlement did not appear in the registers, but the files told us it existed earlier and later, we utilized information from the register or inspection chronologically closest to 1563–1564, out of necessity. Data from these years helped us in our calculations concerning 76.3% of settlements in Lublin district, 71% in Urzędów district, and 52% in Łuków district. The size of only 16% of settlements in Lublin Voivodeship was calculated on the basis of the detailed data from 1580.

The registers recorded the number of serf lans, inns, mills, sawmills, hortulani, landless peasants, artisans, fishermen, beekeepers, pipers, and rascals. In analogy with the standards accepted earlier<sup>3</sup> for the calculations of the data found in tax registers, we proceeded as follows: 1 serf lan equalled 13 people, one artisan – five people, one mill, one presbytery, one sawmill, one inn – six people each, one fisherman, one beekeeper, one piper – five people each, one farm – four people, one landless peasant – three people. Additionally, every other family – that is an owner of a large and average estate (nobleman), or one farm gentry family, one family of a town servant, estate governor, vogt or sołtys,

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<sup>1</sup> In the tax register from 1580 Zaklików was called 'oppidum' (ASK I 33, f. 764); in 1592: 'oppidum in cruda radice locatum, ecclesia ante 12 annos per oppidanos aedificata' (ibidem, f. 549).

<sup>2</sup> See above, *Podziały administracyjne*, footnote 4.

<sup>3</sup> WP, pp. 26–32; *E. Kartogramy 3–10. Zagadnienia demograficzne*, [in:] MRP.

serf, town artisan or of a Jew living in a town – equalled five people. Also, in villages in which there were peasants settled in farmland half of the land cultivated by peasants was added as a demesne, with as many demesne servants as there were lans in it.

It was much more problematic to determine the number of the inhabitants of towns. Usually the data concerning towns found in the registers is scant, limited to the number of artisans (rarely dividing them into professions). Sometimes it includes the number of apprentices (journeymen), taverns, mills, landless peasants and the amount of szos (the town tax), and the size of the town's fields (in lans). The exceptional information about the number of houses in a given town was particularly valuable (inspections mentioning Ostrów and Wąwolnica).

Very little is known about two small towns in Lewartów parish. Firlejów (now called Firlej) was founded by Mikołaj Firlej in 1557.<sup>4</sup> Serocko (now called Serock) was founded as a village prior to 1330,<sup>5</sup> in 1563 it is mentioned under Lewartów parish, in 1569 it paid the town tax, so it must have been a town,<sup>6</sup> but in 1626 it was a village again.<sup>7</sup> As a town it could not have been much bigger than a village, so we accepted the data from 1531. There were more such small towns, just to mention Rawa in Rudno parish, or Budzyń in Kozirynek parish.

**Table 1. Towns**

District	Under 400 inhabitants	400–1,000 inhabitants	1,000–2,000 inhabitants
Lublin	Baranów Chodel Czemierniki Firlejów Kamionka Kliczkowice Lewartów Markuszów Mnichów Piasek Puhaczów Rawa Serocko Wąwolnica Wysokie	Bełżyce Biskupice Bychawa Goraj Końska Wola Kurów Łączna Opole	Kazimierz Ostrów Parczów
Urzędów		Kraśnik	Urzędów
Łuków	Budzyń Serokomla Tuchowicz	Kocko Radzyń Siedlce	Łuków

Lublin was the only large city in the voivodeship, with more than 5,000 inhabitants it was much larger than other towns.<sup>8</sup> The traders and artisans were numerous, there were five mills there, a paper-mill, a chandler's shop, bleachery, a parochial church and an Eastern Orthodox church, monasteries of: the Bernardines, the Dominicans, and the Brigittine Order, a hospital, a school, and an entire Jewish

<sup>4</sup> M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, vol. II, part 2, Warsaw 1885, p. 1114. In 1580 – ASK I, 33, f. 783 – paid liquor excise tax. In 1626 – *Rejestr poborowy województwa lubelskiego (Powiat lubelski i urzędowski z r. 1626, Ziemia lukowska z r. 1620)*, comp. J. Kolasa, K. Schuster, ed. S. Inglot, Wrocław 1957, p. 142 – it was already a parish and still a town.

<sup>5</sup> KDMłp, vol. II, no. 602. Also recorded by Długosz in LB, I, 631, 632 as a royal village in 1496, the Archive of the Princes Sanguszko, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> ASK I, 33, f. 425v; P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 406.

<sup>7</sup> *Rejestr poborowy*, p. 143.

<sup>8</sup> R. Szewczyk, *Ludność Lublina w latach 1583–1650*, Lublin 1947. The author argues in this work with Pazyra (S. Pazyra, *Studia z dziejów miast na Mazowszu od XVI do pocz. XX w.*, Lwów 1939), who calculated 15 people per one town lan and a family with six members per one house. The author also argues with results obtained by Z. Daszyńska-Golińska as to Uście Solne, and with F. Bujak as to Limanowa. He himself based on the metrical books of Lublin, baptism and marriage register, and obtained the number of 5175 inhabitants in 1583. See W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski*, RDSG, vol. 13, 1951, pp. 84–86. Our calculations, in which we also included the Jews, showed a result slightly bigger than the one of Szewczyk (5714).

district next to the starosta's castle. Already in the sixteenth century numerous jurydyki (juridical enclaves) began to appear around the city.<sup>9</sup>

The Table 1 lists other towns in the remaining three size groups, a bit smaller than the ones used on the map.

These small, short-lived towns deserve to be mentioned here. Some of them were absorbed by neighbouring, larger towns, other returned to their former state, i.e. became villages again. Only the ambition of noblemen could explain why, in the period presented on our map, there were two towns and one village in an area less than 1 km<sup>2</sup>: Budzyń, which belonged to the Kazanowski family, situated next to a royal town Radzyń, and a royal village Kozirynek.<sup>10</sup> In time, the three settlements became one town – Radzyń, where the once-autonomous Budzyń and Kozirynek became districts.

The tiny town of Serock was founded thanks to the same ambition, just like the nearby Rawa.<sup>11</sup> These two did not remain towns long and soon returned to their previous, village existence. All other towns, small but serving as centres of crafts and trade, usually maintained their town rights until the end of the Republic. In the nineteenth century most of them became, something between a small town and a village ('osady').

Let us also add here that the Jews appear in towns already in the sixteenth century. They were most numerous in Lublin, then in Łuków, Parczów, and Kazimierz. There were no Jews south of the line Opole – Lublin – Piasek, and they did not inhabit villages.<sup>12</sup>

The following castles existed around 1564: three royal castles in Lublin district: in Lublin, Wąwolnica and Kazimierz, and nine castles belonging to the noblemen, situated in Dąbrownica, Bełżyce, Wojciechów, Bochońnica, Końska Wola, Lewartów, Bychawa – in Lublin district, Kraśnik in Urzędów district, and Kock in Łuków land.

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>9</sup> J. Mazurkiewicz, *Jurydyki lubelskie*, Wrocław 1956.

<sup>10</sup> Compare with S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiaconatu radomskiego w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL”, vol. 9, 1958, pp. 33–34, 51–52.

<sup>11</sup> Rawa appears for the first time in 1563 (ASK I, 33, ff. 39, 415) on a previously empty area as a town, and it remained a town almost to the end of the seventeenth century.

<sup>12</sup> The concentration of Jews in Lublin had some 350 members. They had a prayer house here, a rabbi school, a printing house, their own peddlers, artisans, doctors, and those schooled in the scripture (S. Wojciechowski, *Gmina żydowska w Lublinie w XVI wieku*, „Biuletyn ŻIH”, 1952, no. 2(4), pp. 204–230). There were around 240 Jews in Łuków, 120 in Parczów, 60 in Kazimierz. These royal towns probably offered better conditions to developing Jewish communes. In Kamionka there were 36 Jews, around 20 in Opole, 10–15 in Końska Wola and Piasek, and only one family in Bychawa and Ostrów.

### III.3.2.4 GREATER POLAND

#### III.3.2a.4 CHARACTER AND SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS: RURAL SETTLEMENTS

*Michał Gochna*

In this volume of the AHP we observed the rules applied in previous volumes. The following elements were presented on our maps:

- rural settlements
- mill settlements
- demesnes
- ironsmith settlements
- glasswork settlements

In both voivodeships, we recorded two inn settlements – Górkki and Piaskinia (known as Belzant in the sixteenth century).<sup>1</sup>

On the main map, we distinguished mill settlements, which lay outside of bigger settlements and had their own names. In the following lists, the name in brackets is the one from the sixteenth century; furthermore, we have used abbreviations to note ownership status: r – royal, c – Church, n – of the nobility, t – of the town, rn – royal and of nobility, ct – belonging to the Church and to the town, cn – belonging to the Church and to the nobility, ctn – belonging to the Church, town and nobility. These are:

- In the Poznań Voivodeship:
  - In the Wałcz district: Iłowiec (Fulbek; n), Piłów (Pilawka; n), Żerdno (Piła; r);
  - In the Poznań district: Bobrówka (n), Borowy Młyn (n), Cietrzewka (n), Cyk (Klapsztyn; r), Czaplino (Głochotka; r), Czapury (c), Czerwonak (c), Czerwony Młyn (c), Dąbie (n), Drawski Młyn (n), Grabowiec (Grabowy Młyn; n), Jaracz (n), Krapka (r), Kuźnik (Kopermil; r), Łysy Młyn (n), Mitręga (n), Mniszek (n), Niwka (n), Niziołek (n), Nowy Młyn (n), Oberski Młyn (n), Osuch (n), Ptusza (r), Sapolny Młyn (n), Skoki (Stary Borowy Młyn; r), Smolnica (Smolenica; n), Topolnik (c), Węgielny Młyn (n), Witobel (Witowle Małe; n), Zawada (n), Zielonka (n);
  - In the Kościan district: Błotkowo (Błutkowo; n), Chachle (n), Goworek (c), Kuźnica Zbąska (Borujka; n), Markowo (n), Mokrzec (Mokrski; n), Nowy Młyn (n), Ruchocki Młyn (c), Stary Młyn (n), Ziomek (Ziemek; n);
- In the Kalisz Voivodeship:
  - In the Nakło district: Bielawy (Bielawski; r), Chwałka (n), Dolnik (n), Janowo (Nowy; n), Jaracz (r), Klawek (n), Kujan (n), Leśnicki Młyn (Leśnik; n), Rudki (r), Rudki (n), Sadkowski Młyn (Sakowski; r), Samostrzel (Słojek; n), Stara Lubcza (Lubcza; n), Tarnowski Młyn (Tarnowski; r), Toboła (n);
  - In the Kcynia district: Dziekszyn (Dziekczyño; n), Chomiąza Szlachecka (Grzmiąca; n), Gromadzki (n), Kłos (n), Nadolnik (n), Ostrowski (c), Prostkowo (Proszków; n), Skoczka Młyn (Skoczek; n), Straszewski (c), Tur (n), Zrazim (n);
  - In the Gniezno district: Bełki (c), Biskupi Młyn (c), Bystrzycki Młyn (c), Kątno (Kątny Młyn; c), Korzecznik (n), Kruchowski Młyn (n), Ławiczno (Ławiczyn; c), Nadrożno (Nadrożny; r), Nagórny (c), Orchoł (Warchoł; c), Ruda Kozłanka (Ruda; r);
  - In the Konin district: Dzierzny (n), Radzimia (Radzymia; n);

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<sup>1</sup> See in this volume: T. Związek, *Roads*, in this edition III.5.4, and A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Settlement. Location of settlements*, in this edition III.3.1.4.

- In the Pyzdry district: Szyba (n), Trzykolne Młyny (Młyny; n);
- In the Kalisz district: Rudzki Młyn (n).

We did not mark mill settlements on the map when we were unable to localize them (in brackets we added the information about their possible location; after the semicolon we added the information about ownership): Bliższy Młyn (near Czarnkowo; n), Borowy Młyn (near Poznań; c), Gędek (r), Górny Młyn (near Czarnków; n), Kaszuba (the parish of Stobnica; n); Kosiczek (near Piła; r); Mędzikowski Młyn (near Mędzisko; n), Nadolny Młyn (near Czarnków; n), Niestachów (near Poznań; n), Nowy Młyn (near Poznań; c), Olszowy Młyn (near Poznań; c), Piotrów (in the parish of Sieraków; n), Stary Folusz (near Poznań; r); Trejelny Młyn (n), Ungrow (near Poznań; t), Wierzbak (near Poznań; t); Wójtowski Młyn (near Oborniki; n) in the Poznań district; Węgliny (in the parish of Gryżyna; n), Zalas (the parish of Czerwony Kościół; n) in the Kościan district; Biała (the parish of Góra; c), Chojenka (the parish of Chojna; n), Krotoszyński (near Kopaszyn; n) in the Kcynia district; Borowy (c), Płociczny (the parish of Strzyżewo), Przedmiejski (near Trzemeszno; c), Radzicki (near Pyszczycyn; c), Rudki (Rudny Młyn; c), Wełnicki (the parish of Gniezno św. Michał) in the Gniezno district; Powierski Młyn (near Powiercie; n) in the Konin district; Mroczyki and Zwola (both in the parish of Nietrzechanowice; n) in the Pyzdry district; Młyny Odalanowskie (near Odolanów; r), Psarski Młyn (near Psary; n), Rokitno (near Kakawa; n), Świądrew (in the parish of Tłokinia; r) in the Kalisz district.

On the main map, we also marked forges that were separate, named settlements in the second half of the sixteenth century. These are:

- In the Poznań Voivodeship:
  - In the Wałcz district: (Hamer; n), Kuźnica Drawska (Ruda; r);
  - In the Poznań: Kuźniczka (Hamer Bliższy; n), Kuźnica Czarnkowska (Hamer Czarnkowski; n), Kuźnica Żelichowska (Hamer Dalszy; n), Kamiennik (Hamer Kamiennik; n), Kuźnica Pilska (Hamer Pilski; r), Hamerski Młyn (n), Hamrzycko (Hamrzysko; n), Ruda (r), Smolary (Smolany; r);
  - In the Kościan district: Kuźnica Zbąska (Hamer; n);
- In the Kalisz Voivodeship:
  - In the Nakło district: Sokole Kuźnica (Hamer; c), Żeleznica (Hamer Żelazny; n), Młoty (n);
  - In the Kcynia district: Hamer Jaktorowski (n), Trojanki (Hamer Oleski; n), Kozarzyn (Hamer Szamociński; n);
  - In the Pyzdry district: Ruda (Ruda Bestwińska; n).

We were unable to localize the forges of Kuźnica Przegocka and Kuźnica Odolanowska in the Kalisz district (near Przygodzice and Odolanów) and Hamer Trzecielski (close to Hamrzysko near Trzciel) in the Poznań district.

On the main map, we marked the mere demesnes with proper names:

- In the Poznań Voivodeship:
  - In the Poznań district: Chrustowo (Chrostowo; r), Cieśle (r), Gąsawy (n), Kobylarnia (n), Młynkowo (c), Piaskowo (n), Rojewo (c), Stare (n), Strumiany (Stromiany; n);
  - In the Kościan district: Gaj (r), Grodztwo (r), Grzymysław (Grzymisław; r), Maliny (Malinie; n), Nowy Dwór (c), Pianowo (c), Roszkowo (n), Zaborówiec (Zaborowo; n), Zaborowo (c);
- In the Kalisz Voivodeship:
  - In the Nakło district: Byszki (Byszkowy; n), Krukówko (Krukowo; n), Lutówko (c);
  - In the Kcynia district: Budki (n), Ciszewo (Czeszewo; n), Trzaskowice (Huta; n), Obórznia (Oborznia; n), Ujazd (c);
  - In the Gniezno district: Kustodia (n), Ludkowo (Lutkowo; n), Świerczewiec (c); Wójtostwo (r);
  - In the Konin district: Wola Rozostowa (Wola; n);
  - In the Pyzdry district: Dzieźmierowo (Dziećmiarowo; n), Grójec (Grodziec; n), Kromolice (n), Lipowiec (n), Orla (n), Parniczewo (n), Runowo (n), Zdiesz (n);
  - In the Kalisz district: Błotnino (n), Gręblów (Gręblewo; n), Kamień (n), Kowalew (Kowalewo; n), Macew (Macewo; n), Osuchów (Osuchowo; n), Roszkówko (Prusy Roszkowo; n), Rypino (c), Sulisław (n), Zdzienice (n).

We were unable to place the following demesnes: Kamienna Górka (near Lubasz; n), Wilda (near Wierzbica; t) in the Poznań district; Ciąszczewo (the parish of Lubiń; n), Krowi Lasek (the parish of Osieczna; n), Najdaka (near the demesne Pianowo, the parish of Kościan; n), Troska (near Osiek, the

parish of Gryżyna; n) in the Kościan district; Kościenkowo (the parish of Chomętowo; n) in the Kcynia district; Błozino (the parish of Morzysław; n), Drzązgi (near Szetlew; n), Piątnice (near Police; n), Tarnówka (near Łagiewniki; n) in the Konin district; Bielawy (the parish of Kamion; n), Chrostowo (the parish of Chlewo; n), Deszna (the parish of Chlewo; n), Gorski (the parish of Opatówek; c); Gotardy (the parish of Rajsko; n), Kraszewo (the parish of Rajsko; n), Międzyborze (the parish of Czermino; n), Oswałodowo (the parish of Ociąż; n), Poświatne (near Złotniki Wielkie; n), Sowina Pusta (the parish of Sowina Kościelna; n), Waliszewice Stare (near Waliszewice Nowe; n), Zarzecze (the parish of Szymanowice; n) in the Kalisz district.

We marked one glasswork on the main map – Pokrzywno (in the sixteenth century – Huta Pokrzywnicka).<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, we marked three tar-making settlements: Jastrzębiec, Osiek, Popielewo.<sup>3</sup> They were all located in the Nakło district. At the end of the sixteenth century (1597), Ługi Ujskie (in the sixteenth century named Olendrowo) – a Dutch type settlement – was established.<sup>4</sup> These settlements have been marked on the main map as villages and hamlets.

On the map, we have marked rural settlements with a division into large villages (probably more than 200 inhabitants) and small ones. We estimated the size of the settlements on the basis of the data contained in the tax registers. As in the previous volumes of AHP, we adopted multipliers to convert data from registers to an estimated population. In the case of data about the number of representatives of individual professional groups, we adopted multipliers allowing us to estimate the size of a family per person entered in the register. And so, for craftsmen, seasonal workers (Pol. *rataje*, Lat. *coloni*), cotters (Pol. *komornicy*, Lat. *inquilini*) with property and shepherds, we adopted a multiplier of 4, for *hortulani* with and without land – 5, for unspecified cotters – 3, for cotters with and without cattle and for apprentices (journeymen) – 2, for unaffiliated people (Pol. *hultaje*, Lat. *vagi*) and female cotters – 1. For mills and taverns, we have adopted a multiplier of 6. However, the size of the settlement was most often confirmed by the number of recorded *lans*. We carried out these estimates in two stages; first we estimated the number of peasant farms per *lan*, and then size of the peasant farm. Ultimately, we adopted a multiplier of 11 people per *lan* (belonging to the peasants, to the vogt or *soltys*, or cultivated by the serfless gentry). In the case of empty *lans*, the multiplier is 1.

We must highlight here that the abovementioned multipliers do not offer precise results, but rather allow for a general estimate of the population numbers. These are the average values for both voivodships; we did not differentiate between the different types of ownership, where – as we know – the average the size of peasant farms differed slightly. Similarly, the size of peasant farms varies by region. For both voivodships discussed in this volume, we prepared the multipliers primarily on the basis of various sources. And so, in 1552, the tax was collected not based on the *lans*, but from the peasants, which is why in two tax registers from this year – from the Kalisz and Pызdry districts – there was information about the number of peasants in each settlement.<sup>5</sup> Thanks to this, it was possible to compare the data on the number of peasants with the data on the number of *lans* from later registers for these areas. A similar comparison could be made for the end of the sixteenth century, thanks to the preserved hearth register for the Poznań Voivodeship from 1631 and the Kcynia district from 1635.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, we used data taken from the inspections of the royal estates, the visitations of Church domains and excerpts from the poll tax from 1590.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, we consulted secondary scholarship.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Żmidziński, pp. 57–58.

<sup>3</sup> RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 283, 290; RPWK, nkl, 1579, no. 245, 246, 247; RPWK, nkl, 1580, no. 269, 275; RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 257, 265; RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 235; RPWK, nkl, 1591, no. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Chodyła, *Ługi Ujskie – najstarsza osada ołederska w Wielkopolsce (1597–1772)*, „Rocznik Nadnotecki”, vol. 30, 1999, pp. 29–58; Żmidziński, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> RPWK, kls, 1552; RPWK, pzd, 1552; see tax universal: VL, vol. 2, pp. 9 (600)–11 (605); VC, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 35–38.

<sup>6</sup> Hearth tax 1631; Hearth tax 1635.

<sup>7</sup> LWWK 1564; LWWK 1616; LBG; LBP; J. Senkowski, *Uniwersał poboru pogłównego z 1590 roku*, KHKM, vol. 18, 1970, no. 1, pp. 61–84; idem, *Zachowane rejestry pogłównego 1590 roku*, KHKM, vol. 18, 1970, no. 3, pp. 403–425. For estimates of the number of inhabitants from particular settlements with further divisions, see the digital edition of the tax registers for both voivodships; see RPWK, RPWP.

<sup>8</sup> K. Boroda, *Przeszłość przeliczników demograficznych dla szesnastowiecznych źródeł podatkowych*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 27–52; K. Boroda, P. Guzowski, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia terenów wiejskich w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 53–75; see bibliography in those papers for further readings.

Bearing this in mind, villages with more than 200 inhabitants have been marked on the main map. These are:

- In the Poznań Voivodeship:
  - In the Wałcz district: Broczyno (Brocz; n), Chwarstnica (n; tied to Mielęcín); Dobino (Braksztyn; t), Dzikowo (Dykowo; n), Giżyno (n), Hanki (Henkendorf; n), Jeziorki (Schulzendorf; n), Jeziorna (Flokesia; r), Kłębowiec (Klausdorf; n), Kłosowo (Hansfeld; n), Lubiesz (Lubsdorf; n), Lubno (n), Lubowo (r), Machliny (n), Marcinkowice (Marcinkowo; n), Martew (Marta; n), Mielęcín (n), Nakielno (n), Nowe Worowo (Worowo; r), Orle (Orla; n), Popielewo (n), Prusinowo Wałeckie (Prusendorf; n), Różewo (Rozwałd; r), Rutwica (Hermansdorf; n), Rzeczyca (Knakendorf; n), Siemczyno (Heinrichsdorf; rn), Skrzatusz (r), Strzalin (Stralemburg; n), Witankowo (Witkowo; r), Zdbowo (Stibowo; n);
  - In the Poznań district: Biała (n), Bolewice (Bolelice; n), Brody (n), Bukowiec Międzyrzecki (Bukowiec; n), Bzowo (n), Chelmsko (c), Chociszewo (c), Dobrzyca (r), Dopiewo (Dupiewo; n), Duszniki (c), Gaj Mały (Gaj; n), Gościejewo (r), Górczyno (ct), Jastrowie (n), Jastrowie (r), Jeżyce (t), Kaława (c), Kalsko (c), Kęszycza (Kęsica; r), Komorniki (c), Koninek (Konino; n), Konino (n), Lubikowo (n), Lubosz (n), Lutol Suchy (r), Łagowiec (n), Muszyńska Góra (t), Nowa Wieś (n), Ordzin (Ordzino; n), Osiecko (c), Pamiątkowo (n), Pieski (n), Plewiska (c), Podrzewie (c), Podstolice (r), Połajewo (n), Prusim (n), Przytoczna (Przetoczno; n), Rogoziniec (r), Rokitno (c), Rosko (n), Rożnowo (n), Samołęż (Samoląsz; n), Siercz (n), Śliwno (n), Stara Łubianka (Łubianka; r), Stary Dwór (c), Szczuczyn (Szczuczyno; n), Szewce (n), Tarnowo (Tarnowiec; r), Templewo (c), Trzemeszno Lubuskie (Czarmyśl; n), Wąsowo (n), Wielonek (Wielim; n), Wielowieś (Langfuld; c), Winiary (t), Wróblewo (n), Wymykowo (t), Wysoka (c), Zemsko (Zębsko; c), Zemsko (Zębsko; c), Żarzyn (c), Zębowo (n);
  - In the Kościan district: Bukowiec Górny (Bukowiec Wielki; n), Błociszewo (n), Bodzewko Drugie (Bodzewko; n), Bodzewo (n), Bonikowo (r), Borowo (n), Brenno (n), Brodnica (n), Bukowiec (Bukowiec Mały; n), Chociszewice (n), Chwalim (n), Chwałkowo (n), Czacz (n), Czerwona Wieś (Czerwony Kościół; n), Dąbcze (Dąbiec; n), Dalewo (c), Dąbrówka Wielkopolska (Dąbrówka; n), Dłużyna (n), Dokowo Mokre (n), Dokowo Suche (n), Doktorowo (n), Domachowo (c), Golina Wielka (Golina; n), Gołaszyn (Gołaszyno; n), Gorzyce (n), Gościejewice (n), Górka Duchowna (Górka Mnisza; c), Gradowice (c), Granowo (n), Granówko (n), Grąbkowo (n), Grodzisko (n), Grunowo (n), Jarogniewice (n), Jerka (c), Kąkolewo (n), Kawcze (n), Kąkolewo (Kokalewo; n), Kiełpiny (c), Kłoda (n), Kluczewo (n), Kiełczewo (Kielczewo; c), Kołaczkowice (n), Konojad (c), Kościelna Wieś (c), Kosieczyn (Kosiczyno; n), Koszanowo (Koszonowo; n), Kręcisko (Kręsko; n), Krzekotowice (n), Krzemieniewo (n), Krzyżanowo (n), Lubiń (c), Lubonia (n), Łaszczyn (Łaszczyno; n), Łęka Wielka (n), Łęki Małe (n), Łomnica (n), Łubnica (n), Łuniewo (n), Łuszkowo (c), Mchy (n), Modrze (r), Mórkowo (n), Mościszki (c), Naclaw (t), Niemarzyn (Niemarzyno; n), Niepart (n), Nochowo (r), Nowa Wieś Zbąska (Nowa Wieś; n), Nowe Kramsko (Krapsko Wielkie; c), Obra (c), Oporowo (n), Osiek (n), Pakosław (n), Pawłowice (n), Perzyny (Pyrzyny; n), Piechanin (Piechinino; n), Podmokłe Małe (r), Podmokłe Wielkie (r), Posadowo (c), Przedmieście Dupińskie (n), Przyprostynia (Przeprostynia; n), Przyborowo (n), Rakoniewice (n), Rąbiń (Rąbino; n), Rębowo (c), Roszkowo (Roskowo; n), Siemowo (c), Sierakowo (t), Skoraszewice (Skoroszewice; n), Słupia Kapitulna (Słupia; n), Sobiałkowo (n), Stara Dąbrowa (Dąbrowa; n), Stara Krobia (c), Stara Przysieka Druga (Przysieka Niemiecka; c), Stare Bojanowo (Bojanowo; n), Stary Gołębin (Gołębino; n), Strzelce Wielkie (n), Sułkowice (c), Szkaradowo (Skaradowo; n), Szymanowo (Szymunowo; n), Śląskowo (n), Świerczyna (n), Targowisko (c), Tłoki (n), Turew (n), Tworzanice (Tworzyjanice; n), Wijewo (n), Wilkowo Polskie (n), Włoszakowice (n), Wonieść (Woniesiecz; c), Wyrzeka (c), Zakrzewo (n), Zalesie (n), Zbęchy (Zbechy; c), Żychlewo (c), Żytowiecko (n);
  - In the Wschowa district: Boguszyn (Boguszyno; n), Dębowa Łęka (n), Długie Stare (n), Dryżyna (Dreżyna; n), Górczyna (n), Jezierzyce Kościelne (Jezierzyce; n), Jędrzychowice (n), Kandlewo (c), Konradowo (Kunersdorf; c), Kowalewo (n), Lasocice (n), Lgiń (n), Łysiny (Łysina; n), Niechłód (n), Osowa Sień (n), Przybyszewo (n), Przyczyna Dolna (t), Przyczyna

- Górna (t), Siedlnica (Sidnica; n), Stare Drzewce (Drzewce; n), Tylewice (n), Wilkowice (Wilkowo; n), Wygnańczyce (n), Zamysłów (Szymolewo; c), Zbarzewo (n).
- In the Kalisz Voivodeship:
    - In the Nakło district: Bagienica (n), Białośliwie (n), Czajcze (n), Dąbki (n), Debrzno Wieś (Debrzno; n), Dębionek (Dębienek; n), Dębno (n), Dębowo (n), Dziedno (c), Glesno (Glisno; n), Głomsk (n), Głubczyn (Głupczyno; n), Grabionna (Grabiona; n), Grabówno (Grabowo; r), Gromadno (n), Jezioroki Kosztowskie (Jezioroki; n), Kościerzyn Mały (Kościerzyna Wielka; n), Krostkowo (n), Kruszki (Gruszka; n), Liszkowo (Liskowo; n), Lucim (c), Mała Cerkwica (Cerkwica; c), Mała Klunia (Klunia Mała; n), Mąkowsko (Mąkowsko; c), Morzewo (n), Mościska (n), Niezychowo (Niezychowo; n), Orle (n), Osiek nad Notecią (Osiek; n), Pęperzyn (Pemperzyno; n), Płocicz (c), Pobórka Wielka (Pobórka; n), Podrózna (n), Radawnica (Radownica; n), Rościmin (Rościmino; n), Runowo Krajeńskie (Runowo; n), Rządkowo (Żatkowo; n), Sadki (Satki; r), Sypniewo (n), Skic (Skicz; n), Skórka (r), Sławianowo (n), Słupowo (Słupowa; n), Stara Wiśniewka (Wiśniewka; n), Stare (n), Stawnica (n), Śmielin (Śmielino; n), Śmiłowo (Śmiełowo; r), Święta (n), Tłukomy (Tłukom; n), Wałdowo (n), Wąwelnio (n), Wielka Klunia (Klunia Wielka; n), Wierzchucin Królewski (Wierzchucino; c), Witostaw (n), Witrogoszcz (n), Włociborz (n), Wyrza (n), Wyrzysk (Wyrzysko; n), Wysoczka (n), Zakrzewo (n), Żelazno (Żelazne; n);
    - In the Kcynia district: Chojna (n), Czerlin (Czerlenino; n), Czeszewo (n), Dochanowo (Dochunowo; c), Dziewierzewo (n), Dziewoklucz (n), Grocholin (Grocholino; n), Górki Zagajne (Górki Daronie; n), Jaroszewo (c), Junczewo (Janczewo; c), Kopaszyn (Kopaszyno; n), Lipiny (n), Łukowo (n), Morakowo (n), Murczyn (Murczyno; c), Niemczyn (Miemczyno; n), Panigródz (c), Próchnowo (n), Retkowo (n), Sielec (Siedlec; n), Słębowo (n), Smuszewo (n), Srebrna Górka (n), Stołęzyn (Stołyżyno; n), Uścikowo (n), Wójtostwo (r), Zbyszewice (n), Żelice (n), Żurawia (Żórawia; n);
    - In the Gniezno district: Dąbrowa (n), Dziekanowice (c), Grzybowo (n), Izdby (c), Jankowo (n), Komorowo (n), Krotoszyn (Krotoszyno; n), Lisewo Parcele (Lisowo; n), Marzenin (Marzenino; c), Mierucin (Mierucino; n), Mierzewo (n), Napruszewo (Napruszewo; n), Nieborzyn (Nieborzyno; n), Nożyczyn (Nożyczyno; n), Ostrowite (Ostrowite Kapitulne; c), Ostrowite Prymasowskie (Ostrowite Arcybiskupie; c), Pawłowo (c), Popowo Kościelne (Popowo; n), Przedmiejska Wieś (n), Rakowo (n), Sadłogoszcz (n), Strzelce (c), Szelejewo (c), Szydłowo (c), Witkowo (n), Wójcin (Wójcino; c), Zdziechowa (c), Złotków (Złotkowo; c);
    - In the Konin district: Kielczewo Smużny Pierwszy (Kielczewo Wielkie; n), Kowalewo-Sołectwo (Kowalewo; c), Królików (Królikowo; n), Kuchary Borowe (n), Lisiec Wielki (r), Lubstów (Lubstowo Wielkie; n), Myślubórz (n), Splawie (n), Wrząca Wielka (n);
    - In the Pyzdry district: Benice (n), Borzęcice (n), Galew (Galewo; n), Głuchów (Głuchowa; n), Golina (n), Grabowo Królewskie (Grabowo; r), Kleszczewo (r), Lutogniew (n), Nowa Wieś (n), Nowa Wieś Królewska (Nowa Wieś; r), Rusko (n), Zieliniec (Zieleniec; n), Zimin (Ziemino; n);
    - In the Kalisz district: Blizanów (Blizanowo; r), Brzezcie (n), Chwaliszew (Chwalczewo; r), Dębsko (n), Długa Wieś Druga (Długa Wieś; r), Dobrzec (dt), Godziszewy Wielkie (c), Gołuchów (Gołuchowo; n), Janków Przygodzki (Jankowo; n), Jedlec (n), Kamiona (n), Karmin (Karmino Wielkie; n), Kościelna Wieś (Kościół; c), Kotlin (Kotlino; n), Morawin (Morawino; n), Ołobok (c), Piwonice (n), Przygodzice (n), Russów (Russowo; r), Rychnów (Rychnowo; n), Skrzebowa (n), Sławoszew (Słaboszewo; n), Stary Kiączyn (Kiączyno; r), Strzałków (Strzałkowo; n), Tłokinia Kościelna (Tłokinia; r), Wielka Wieś (Tursko Wielkie; n), Tykadłów (Tykadłowo; r), Tyniec (ctn), Wola Książęca (n), Wyrów (Wyrowo; r), Zborów (Zborowo; r), Złotniki Wielkie (n).

The largest villages, counting between 500 and 1,000 inhabitants, are: Zakrzewo in the Nakło district, Dobrzec and Tłokinia Kościelna (Tłokinia) in the Kalisz district, Jastrowie in the Poznań district (a city from 1602 onwards), Bukowiec Górny (Bukowiec Wielki), Gołaszyn (Gołaszyno), Granowo, Kielczewo (Kielczewo), Sobiańkowo in the Kościan district and Dębowa Łęka, Konradowo (Kunersdorf), Przyczyna Dolna, Przyczyna Górna, Siedlnica (Sidnica), Wilkowice (Wilkowo) in the Wschowa land.

**Table 1. Percentage of the number of large villages in relation to the number of all rural settlements in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Number of all settlements	Number of rural settlements	Number of large villages	Percentage
Nakło	233	213	62	29%
Kcynia	286	272	29	11%
Kalisz	461	444	32	7%
Gniezno	516	494	28	6%
Pyzdry	433	414	13	3%
Konin	336	319	9	3%
<b>Kalisz Voivodeship</b>	<b>2,255</b>	<b>2,156</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>8%</b>
Wschowa	44	41	25	61%
Wąlcz	87	82	30	37%
Kościan	628	595	117	20%
Poznań	770	729	63	8%
<b>Poznań Voivodeship</b>	<b>1,529</b>	<b>1,447</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,784</b>	<b>3,603</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>11%</b>

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

### III.3.2b.4 CHARACTER AND SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS: CITIES AND TOWNS IN GREATER POLAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Jarosław Suproniuk*

As in the previous volumes of the AHP, we have marked on our maps the urban network in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century. We have included settlements, which had town privileges, paid the town tax (*szos*) and were referred to as *civitas*, *oppidum*, *oppidulum* or *miasto*, *miasteczko* in sources. In accordance with the tenets adopted by the AHP, urban centers have been designated based on ownership (royal, church or nobility), as well as size: small towns (less than 1,000 inhabitants), towns (1,000–5,000 inhabitants) and large towns (more than 5,000 inhabitants).<sup>1</sup>

The typology of towns previously suggested by Henryk Samsonowicz<sup>2</sup> and Jacek Wiesiołowski<sup>3</sup> has more recently been reviewed and improved by Marek Słoń, who updated the list of towns compiled by Samsonowicz and proposed the development of the calculations made by Wiesiołowski.<sup>4</sup> By analyzing select numerical data from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (i.e., the number of infantrymen deployed by towns in 1458, the amount of liquor excise tax paid in 1463–1464, the coronation tax amount from 1507, the town tax amount and the number of taxed craftsmen noted in the tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century), Słoń was able to recategorize the towns of Greater Poland from the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

Scholars believe that at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were around 152 to 170 cities and towns in Greater Poland.<sup>6</sup> In the sixteenth century, several centers in Greater Poland

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<sup>1</sup> Compare with J. Suproniuk, *Settlement. Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.2.1. Even in the “experimental” issue titled *Województwo płockie ok. 1578 r.*, seven size categories for settlements in the voivodeship were applied: category I – less than 30 inhabitants, category II – 30–100, category III – 100–200, category IV – 200–400, category V – 400–1,000, category VI – 1,000–2,000 and category VII – over 2,000 inhabitants, see WP, pp. 32–33.

<sup>2</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Liczba i wielkość miast późnego średniowiecza Polski*, KH, vol. 86, 1979, no. 4, pp. 917–931; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, ch. 3: *Typologia miast na podstawie kryteriów demograficznych*, pp. 353–392.

<sup>3</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Sieć miejska w Wielkopolsce w XIII–XVI wieku. Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, pp. 385–395.

<sup>4</sup> M. Słoń, *Miasta prywatne w sieci miejskiej Wielkopolski XV–XVI wieku*, RDSG, vol. 77, 2016, pp. 93–123.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, Annex 1, pp. 116–121.

<sup>6</sup> O. Lange estimated the number of towns in Greater Poland at the end of the fifteenth century to be 152; see *idem*, *Lokacja miast Wielkopolski właściwej na prawie niemieckim w wiekach średnich*, Lwów 1925, p. 45; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, citing O. Lange, believed there to be 153 towns and small towns in Greater Poland at the end of the fifteenth century; see *eadem*, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem lokacji miejskich w Wielkopolsce w XVI–XVIII w.*, PZ, vol. 9/3, 1953, no. 9–12, p. 181; *eadem*, *Nowe lokacje miejskie w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII w. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Poznań 1964, p. 7. H. Samsonowicz suggested that there were 83 cities and towns in the Kalisz Voivodeship and 87 in the Poznań Voivodeship; see *idem*, *Liczba i wielkość miast*, pp. 917–931 (in the „tabular territorial division of towns in Poland around the year 1500”, the number 84 was erroneously attributed to the Kalisz Voivodeship); see also comments by L. Polaszewski about H. Samsonowicz’s text: L. Polaszewski, *Uwagi do artykułu prof. dr Henryka Samsonowicza, Liczba i wielkość miast późnego średniowiecza Polski*, KH, vol. 88, 1981, no. 3, pp. 912–914; H. Samsonowicz, *Odpowiedź na list dr Leona Polaszewskiego w sprawie liczby i wielkości miast późnego średniowiecza Polski*, KH, vol. 88, 1981, no. 3, pp. 914–915. B. Rogalski estimated that by the end of the fifteenth century, there would have been about 165 cities and towns in Greater Poland, see *idem*, *Kształtowanie się form przestrzennych sieci osadniczej Wielkopolski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 1988, p. 103. J. Wiesiołowski attributed 164 towns to the „urban network for Poznań and Kalisz” in the first half of the sixteenth century, see *idem*, *Sieć miejska*, p. 386, tab. 1.

stopped functioning as towns.<sup>7</sup> Most of these were reduced to the status of a village, while some, as in the case of Półpie for example, disappeared completely in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the sixteenth century saw new locations of towns as well.<sup>9</sup>

During the sixteenth century, eleven new urban centers were founded in the Kalisz Voivodeship. We still have the location privileges for five of them (Ciężęń, Jaraczewo, Łopienno, Rusocice and Tabor), while the remaining six (Korab, Mielżyn, Nosków, Strzałków, Tarnówka and Wysoka) are attested through other source materials.<sup>10</sup> Among the listed settlements, Ciężęń, Nosków, Rusocice, Strzałków, Tabor and Tarnówka did not manage to maintain their town character in the sixteenth century and turned out to be unsuccessful locations. Only two new towns were located in the Poznań Voivodeship: Leszno and Bojanowo, though the location of the latter (from 8 March 1583) turned out to be an unrealized venture.<sup>11</sup>

In Greater Poland, some town locations appeared near existing towns. These functioned as so-called new towns.<sup>12</sup> Among the town locations from the second half of the sixteenth century, we marked these centers, which functioned as separate administrative units and had separate authorities. With these criteria in mind, Krystynowo<sup>13</sup> and Stanisławowo<sup>14</sup> were added to the map.

Zduny in the Konin district (sometimes called the suburb of Koło) was marked on our maps – in accordance with the terminology of the tax registers from the years 1579, 1581 and 1583 (*villa*)<sup>15</sup> – as

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<sup>7</sup> R. Szczygieł lists Benice, Czeszewo, Dzwonowo, Gołańcz, Lutynia, Łubowo, Półpie, Rogowo, Rozdrażew, Smogulec, Srebrna Górka, Stepuchowo and Strzelce for the Kalisz Voivodeship (all settlements belonged to the nobility), as well as Modrze (royal property) and Drożyn, Głębocek, Lewice, Mchy (property of the nobility) for the Poznań Voivodeship; see Szczygieł, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Compare with Szczygieł, p. 187; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Nowe lokacje*, p. 10, footnote 23.

<sup>9</sup> See, among others: Szczygieł, pp. 33–38, 211–214; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Ze studiów*, p. 182, eadem, *Nowe lokacje*, pp. 9–11.

<sup>10</sup> Szczygieł, pp. 35–36, 211–214.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, pp. 33–34, 211.

<sup>12</sup> In 1562, Stanisławowo was located, in 1574, Nowe Miasto in Łobżenica is mentioned, in 1584 – Piotrowo (on the lands of a village of the same name), in 1593, Grodzisk Nowy was located, and in 1597 – Krystynowo, see Szczygieł, pp. 328, 331. The founding of Nowe Miasto in Łobżenica is most often dated by scholars to the sixteenth century; see, among others, Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Nowe lokacje*, p. 9 and p. 12, footnote 41. However, little to no attention was paid to “the notes of the gord court of Nakło from 1450, which point to the existence of the old and new town in 1450 [...] It is possible that the first buildings and properties appeared at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is most likely them that Piotr Wałdowski mentions in the privilege from 26 January 1404”, *W Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (XVI–XVIII w.)*, [in:] A. Mietz, J. Pakulski, Łobżenica. *Portret miasta i okolicy*, Toruń 2014, p. 94. In the case of Grodzisk Nowy, there was a formula in the location document issued by Jan Ostroróg on 2 November 1593, which stated that the later voivode of Poznań “did not strive to create a new, legally separate town district. He only wanted to fund a new colony, linked to Stary Grodzisk, which would help provide for the already existing settlement”, G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie nowożytnych miast w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVII wieku*, Warsaw–Poznań 1977, p. 82; Szczygieł, p. 35: “The decision about the joint right of the inhabitants of both communities to choose municipal authorities revealed that he did not intend to create a separate urban district there. Therefore, Nowy Grodzisk should be treated as part of the spatial development of the old town”. Piotrowo “did not develop and despite having been awarded a foundation act by the Poznań charter in 1602, it played the role of a jurydyka during the seventeenth century”, *ibidem*, pp. 34–35. Koźmin Nowy is mentioned from 1447 onwards; see M. Słoń, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne w średniowiecznej Europie*, Wrocław 2010, p. 413. Compare with S. Łukomski, *Koźmin Wielki i Nowy. Monografia historyczna*, Poznań 1914, pp. 255–259, where the mayors of Koźmin Wielki and Koźmin Nowy are listed. Z. Kulejewska-Topolska (eadem, *Nowe lokacje*, p. 9; eadem, *Ze studiów*, p. 182) gives the date of the location of Koźmin Nowy as 1518; the lack of information about Koźmin Nowy in the work of R. Szczygieł, while *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1967, p. 247, informs us that “at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the city grew thanks to the foundation of the so-called Nowe Miasto”. About the Gniezno settlement complex (i.e. Cierpięgi, Grzybowo, Jędrzejewo, Targowisko, Wójtostwo) in the sixteenth century, see A.P. Orłowska, *The settlement complex of Gniezno in the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.6.11.4.

<sup>13</sup> Szczygieł, pp. 37–38, 328; see the preserved “The files of the councilors and vogts of the small town Krystynowo, otherwise known as Nowe Miasto [of Kazimierz]” (“Akta radzieckie i wójtowskie miasteczka Krystynowa inaczej Nowego Miasta [Kazimierza]”) from the years 1597–1682, AGAD, group 1/124/0, town books of Kazimierz, Kazimierz 3 (manuscript on-line: [szukajwarchiwach.pl/1/124/0/-/3#tabSkany](http://szukajwarchiwach.pl/1/124/0/-/3#tabSkany), access 17.03.2017); Compare with Z. Chodyła, *Czasy nowożytne (1504–1793)*, [in:] *Dzieje Kazimierza Biskupiego*, part 1: *Monografia*, ed. Z. Chodyła, Kazimierz Biskupi–Konin 2001, pp. 80–81, 100–101.

<sup>14</sup> The city was located in 1562; in 1599, the Łacina suburb was included within the borders of Poznań; see T. Jurek, *Stanisławowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 634 ([www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=stanis%C5%82awowo&d=7&t=1](http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?q=stanis%C5%82awowo&d=7&t=1), access 16.03.2017).

<sup>15</sup> See RPWK, knn, 1579, Zduny, ASK I 13, f. 220; RPWK, knn, 1581, Zduny, ASK I 3, f. 216; RPWK, knn, 1583, ASK I 11, p. 1366.

a village, even though Sigismund I the Old apparently had “granted to the inhabitants of the suburb the privilege to choose their own mayor (proconsul), whose activity is evidenced by the council book, which begins in 1585 and which was stored with other evidence in the guild chest”,<sup>16</sup> Michał Rawita-Witanowski adds that “a separate mayor with a council stood at the head of the suburbs’ administration, independent of the mayor of Koło, and the first one we came across was Wojciech Garncarz, one of the guild brothers”.<sup>17</sup>

On the main map, we have not marked suburbs that belonged to a different settlement<sup>18</sup> with a separate symbol (these were only marked on individual town plans). Suburbs near towns (and occasionally referred to as villages) have been marked as villages or – as in the case of Święty Marcin (a suburb of Poznań), Pysząca (suburb of Śrem) or Świętopietrze (suburb of Przemęt) – as large villages. The character of each settlement has been specified in the index.

Among the centers named by Ryszard Szczygieł as having lost their town status, we find among others Gołańcz and Smogulec. However, following Marta Piber-Zbieranowska’s arguments, that both centers did in fact keep their urban character at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we did mark Gołańcz and Smogulec as small towns.<sup>19</sup>

In our lists and statistics we have included the bishop’s town Ślesin, although from 1579, sources refer to it as a village.<sup>20</sup> We have not included individual mentions about the municipal character of settlements, which raise reasonable doubts as to their status. This concerns Witkowo, for example, which is believed to have received town privileges in the years 1676–1684, and which has been named in the *rekognicjarz* from 1591 as *the town of Withkowo*.<sup>21</sup> In 1567, Słupia (its own parish, in the Poznań Voivodeship) was called an *oppidum* in the tax register,<sup>22</sup> while Wyrzysk was named a town in the court books of Greater Poland in 1525, 1533 and 1565 (it is mentioned along with the village Wyrzysk), similarly as Stopachowo in 1517 and 1521 and Dźwierzno in 1549, 1558, 1561, 1572 and 1583.<sup>23</sup> We did not mark Królikowo (Królików) on our maps, as it was only referred to as a town in LBG.<sup>24</sup> There is no information about the status of Królikowo in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century.

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<sup>16</sup> Cited from: SGKP, vol. 14, p. 548; followed by: “in the year 1655, the armies of Charles Gustav burned down the suburb [...] The mayoral office disappeared then, only to be, unlawfully, replaced by the potters’ guildmaster. This lasted until the year 1780”.

<sup>17</sup> Cited from M. Rawita-Witanowski, *Wielkopolskie miasto Koło, jego przeszłość i pamiątki*, Piotrków 1912, p. 128; the author also informs that “this suburb, called *Miasteczko Zduny* since most of its inhabitants were potters, was founded around 1559 based on the privilege issued by Sigismund Augustus and through the efforts of Stanisław *grabie* from Górka, the local starosta – at least the *Księga Spraw* begins with this date. According to the words of the starosta himself, which were beautifully inscribed on the title page – “I gave the books to this town, to their mayor, in which the burghers will record exnunc (from now) all the legal cases, that will be brought to the mayor and the council, including the gifting of land, houses given as security, bonds, deposits, all other entries belonging to this office and to these books” *ibidem* p. 128.

<sup>18</sup> See: A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Settlement. Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.1.4; compare also with: H. Rutkowski, *Settlement. Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7; K. Pacuski, *Settlement. Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2.

<sup>19</sup> M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Powiat kcyński w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, SG, vol. 3, 2015, p. 98 and the footnote 48. What is of particular interest is that Gołańcz appears on maps in the sixteenth century, among others on the map by Bernard Wapowski from 1526, on the map of Europe by Gerard Mercator from 1554 (second publication in 1572), on maps of Poland: map by Waclaw Grodecki from around 1562, map by Andrzej Pograbka from 1570 and map by G. Mercator from 1585 (on the maps of Poland, the settlement is marked as *Golan*); see H. Rutkowski, *Kartografia wschodniej Wielkopolski do początku XIX w.*, Materiały z konferencji “Województwo kaliskie w XVI w.”, Kalisz, 29-30 IX 2011 r. ([www.wbc.poznan.pl/Content/203950/index.pdf](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/Content/203950/index.pdf), access 11.05.2017).

<sup>20</sup> Tax registers from the years 1578, 1579, 1581 and 1583 name four taxed craftsmen, six smallholders without land and two fishermen in Ślesin; see RPWK; compare with *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 2, p. 306.

<sup>21</sup> ASK I 11, f. 1750, “The register and the entries in the *rekognicjarz* of the *lan* tax from the town, the smaller towns and the villages, both belonging to the Church and to the nobility, during the Sejm in Warsaw for the year [15]91 were passed”. The location of Witkowo is dated to 1684 according to Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Nowe lokacje*, p. 13; eadem, *Ze studiów*, p. 183, claims that Witkowo was located in 1680; according to *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 2, p. 319, Witkowo obtained its town privileges in the years 1676–1684.

<sup>22</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1567, Słupia, ASK I 5, f. 320v: *Słoppia oppidum*.

<sup>23</sup> See Teki Dworzaczka.

<sup>24</sup> LBG I, p. 279: *Crolykowo oppidum*.



**Map 1. The town network in Greater Poland in the second half of the 16th century**

Estimates place the number of cities and towns in Greater Poland to around 150–158 at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>25</sup> According to the AHP calculations, there were 160 cities and towns in Greater Poland around the year 1600: 93 in the Kalisz Voivodeship and 67 in the Poznań one (in the square brackets we have added the settlement's sixteenth-century name or its legal status, in regular brackets we have included its ownership status: r – royal, c – Church, n – nobility, cn – joint ownership between the Church and the nobility).

**Table 1. The number of towns in the Kalisz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century<sup>26</sup>**

District	Towns			Total
	Royal (r)	Church (c)	Nobility (n)	
Gniezno	5	5.5*	9.5*	20
Kalisz	4	1	11	16
Kcynia	1	2	10	13
Koniń	3	3	9	15
Nakło	1	1	8	10
Pyzdry	2	1	16	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>63.5</b>	<b>93</b>

– in the Gniezno district: Czerniejewo (n), Gąsawa (c), Gniezno (r), Janowiec (n), Jędrzejewo [part of Gniezno] (cn), Kiszkowo (n), KłECKO (r), Kwieciszewo (c), Łopienno (n), Mieścisko (r), Mogilno (c), Orchowo (n), Pobiedziska (r), Powidz (r), Rogowo (n), Skoki (n), Trzemeszno (c), Wylatowo [Wielatowo] (c), Wilczyn [Wilczyno] (n), Września (n);

– in the Kalisz district: Chocz [Chodecz] (n), Dobrzyca (n), Iwanowice (n), Kalisz (r), Korab (n), Koźminek (n), Kwiatków [Kwiatkowo] (n), Odolanów [Odalanów] (r), Opatówek (c), Ostrów Wielkopolski [Ostrów] (n), Pleszew [Pleszów] (n), Raszków [Raszkowo] (n), Sobótka [Sobótka Wielka] (n), Stawiszyn (r), Sulmierzyce [Sulimierzyce] (r), Zduny (n);

– in the Kcynia district: Barcin (n), Chodzież (n), Gołańcz [Gołańcza] (n), Kcynia (r), Łabiszyn (n), Łekno (n), Margonin (n), Rynarzewo (n), Smogulec (n), Szubin (n), Wągrowiec (c), Żerniki (n), Żnin (c);

– in the Konin district: Brdów [Brdowo] (r), Brudzew (n), Golina (n), Grzymiszew (n), Kazimierz Biskupi [Kazimierz] (n), Kleczew (n), Koło (r), Konin (r), Krystianowo [Krystynowo, part of Kazimierz Biskupi] (n), Łądek (c), Licheń Stary [Lichyń] (n), Rychwał (n), Ślesin (c), Tuliszków (n), Zagórów (c);

– in the Nakło district: Kamień Krajeński [Kamień] (c), Krajenka (n), Łobżenica (n), Miasteczko Krajeńskie [Miasteczko] (n), Mrocza (n), Nakło nad Notecią [Nakiel] (r), Sępólno Krajeńskie [Sempolbork] (n), Więcbork (n), Wysoka (n), Złotów [Złotowo] (n);

– in the Pyzdry district: Bnin (n), Borek Wielkopolski [Borek] (n), Jaraczewo (n), Jarocin (n), Jutrosin (n), Kobylin [Kobelin] (n), Koźmin (n), Koźmin Nowy [part of Koźmin] (n), Krotoszyn (n), Kórnik [Kurnik] (n), Mielżyn (n), Milesna Górka [part of Targowa Górka] (n), Miłosław (n), Nowe Miasto upon Warta [Nowe Miasto] (n), Pogorzela [Pogorzel] (n), Pyzdry (r), Słupca (c), Środa Wielkopolska [Środa] (r), Żerków (n).

<sup>25</sup> A. Pawiński has estimated the number of towns in the Kalisz Voivodeship to be 88 (19 in the Gniezno district, 18 in the Pyzdry one, 16 in the Kalisz one, 14 in the Konin one, 11 in the Kcynia one and 10 in the Nakło one) and 62 in the Poznań Voivodeship (32 in the Poznań district, 24 in the Kościan one and three each in the Wałcz and Wschowa ones); see P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, p. 63. J. Wiesiołowski assumed that around the year 1580, there were 152 towns in the “urban network of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships”; see idem, *Sieć miejska*, p. 392, tab. 5. M. Bogucka and H. Samsonowicz believed that both voivodeships had a total of 152 towns at the end of the sixteenth century; see eidem, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 371. R. Szczygieł calculated 90 towns for the Kalisz Voivodeship and 68 for the Poznań one at the end of the sixteenth century (altogether, there would have been 158 urban centers), see Szczygieł, p. 99.

<sup>26</sup> Jędrzejewo in the Gniezno district was marked with a \*. It belonged partially to the Gniezno chapter and partially to the Grodziecki and Żydowski families.

**Table 2. The percentage of the various ownership categories in the Kalisz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Royal towns	% of total	Towns belonging to the Church	% of total	Towns belonging to the nobility	% of total	Town total
Gniezno	5	25	5.5	27.5	9.5	47.5	20
Kalisz	4	25	1	6	11	69	16
Kcynia	1	8	2	15	10	77	13
Konin	3	20	3	20	9	60	15
Nakło	1	10	1	10	8	80	10
Pyzdry	2	10	1	5	16	85	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>63.5</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>93</b>

In the Kalisz Voivodeship, most of the towns belonged to the nobility; they account for 68% of the towns. This same percentage can be seen in the Kalisz district, a larger one can be seen in the Pyzdry district (85%), Nakło district (80%) and Kcynia district (77%). The smallest percentage is found in the Gniezno district (48%).

On the other hand, the percentage of Church-owned towns is very small in the Kalisz district (6%), Nakło district (10%) and Pyzdry district (5%) – each only had one town. The largest percentage can be found in the Gniezno district (28%). Church-owned property constituted 15% of the towns in the Kalisz Voivodeship.

The towns classified as royal property made up 17% of the urban property in the Kalisz Voivodeship – one town in the Kcynia district (8%), Nakło district (10%) and Pyzdry district (10%) each. The greatest number can be found in the Gniezno and Kalisz districts (25% each) and in the Konin district (20%).

**Table 3. The number of towns in the Poznań Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Towns			Total
	Royal (r)	Church (c)	Nobility (n)	
Kościan	5	5	15	25
Poznań	9	7	19	35
Wałcz	2	-	2	4
Wschowa land	1	1	1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>67</b>

– in the Kościan district: Babimost (r), Brójce (r), Czempiń (n), Dolsk [Dolsko] (c), Dubin [Dupino] (n), Miejska Górka [Górka] (n), Gostyń (n), Grodzisk Wielkopolski [Grodzisko] (n), Kęblowo [Kieblów] (n), Kopanica (r), Kościan (r), Krobia (c), Krzywiń (c), Książ Wielkopolski [Książ] (n), Opalenica (n), Osieczna (n), Poniec (n), Przemęt (c), Rydzyna (n), Sarnowa [Sarnowo] (n), Śmigiel (n), Śrem (r), Wielichowo (c), Wolsztyn (n), Zbąszyń (n);

– in the Poznań district: Bledzew (c), Budzyń (r), Buk (c), Chwaliszewo [part of Poznań] (c), Czarnków (n), Człopa (n), Murowana Goślina [Goślina Kościelna] (n), Kamionna [Kamiona] (n), Kaźmierz [Kazimierz] (n), Kostrzyn (c), Lewice (n), Lwówek (n), Międzychód (n), Międzyrzecz (r), Mosina (r), Oborniki (r), Ostroróg (n), Ostrów [part of Poznań] (c), Pszczew [Pczew] (c), Piła (r), Pniewy (n), Poznań (r), Rogoźno (r), Ryczywół (n), Sieraków (n), Skwierzyna (r), Stanisławowo [part of Poznań] (n), Stęszew (n), Stobnica (n), Szamotuły (n), Śródka [part of Poznań] (c), Trzciel (n), Ujście (r), Wieleń (n), Wronki (n);

– in the Wałcz district: Czaplinek (r), Mirosławiec [Frydland] (n), Tuczno (n), Wałcz (r);

– in the Wschowa land: Leszno (n), Świąciechowa [Świąciechów] (c), Wschowa (r).

**Table 4. The percentage of the various ownership categories in the Poznań Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Royal towns	% of total	Towns belonging to the Church	% of total	Towns belonging to the nobility	% of total	Town total
Kościan	5	20	5	20	15	60	25
Poznań	9	23	7	20	19	57	35
Wałcz	2	50	–	–	2	50	4
Wschowa land	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>67</b>

In the Poznań Voivodeship, the towns belonging to the nobility constituted 57%, similarly as in the Poznań district; there appears to have been more private towns in the Kościan district – 60%. Royal property made up 24% of the towns in the Poznań Voivodeship, with the highest percentage found in the Wałcz district (50% – two towns) and in the Wschowa land (33% – one town). Church-owned towns in the Poznań Voivodeship account for 19% of the total; there are none in the Wałcz district. In the Kościan and Poznań districts, the percentage of church-owned towns is 20%.

**Table 5. The number of towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Voivodeship	Towns			Total
	Royal (r)	Church (c)	Nobility (n)	
Kalisz	16	13.5	63.5	93
Poznań	17	13	37	67
Greater Poland	33	26.5	100.5	160

One of the most difficult and controversial tasks was the estimation of the size of individual urban centers.

Remembering that all population estimates for the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries “are based on indirect fiscal sources, due to the lack of direct sources, and are tentative, determining only the general size”,<sup>27</sup> we made an attempt to estimate the size of towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century in accordance with the rules adopted in the AHP.<sup>28</sup> As the basis for our calculations of the population in towns, we used the number of houses and, in its absence, the number of taxed craftsmen<sup>29</sup> and buildings, the amount of tax paid on each item produced and from the sale of alcohol (liquor excise tax). Additionally, we supplemented our findings with the appropriate scholarship on this matter.

Aware that the conversion factor applied in AHP is considered somewhat controversial by other scholars and that the more recent studies in the field of historical demography have called for a lowering of the conversion factor to five to six people per house,<sup>30</sup> we nonetheless have decided to remain with our

<sup>27</sup> Cited from I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1976, p. 146.

<sup>28</sup> See J. Suproniuk, *Settlement. Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.2.1; compare with J. Kleczyński, *Spisy ludności w Rzeczypospolitej polskiej*, ”Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny”, II, vol. 5 (30), 1894, pp. 33–61; idem, *Poglówne generalne w Polsce i oparte na niem popisy ludności*, ibidem, pp. 240–262; see also: T. Lalik, *Funkcje miast i miasteczek w Polsce późniejszego średniowiecza*, [in:] idem, *Studia średniowieczne*, Warsaw 2006, pp. 366–380; H. Samsonowicz, *Wiejskość osad miejskich w późnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Civitas & villa. Miasto i wieś w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, Wrocław–Prague 2002, pp. 13–16.

<sup>29</sup> The list of Greater Polish towns from the second half of the sixteenth century according to the number of taxed craftsmen, in: M. Słoń, *Miasta prywatne*, Annex 1, pp. 116–121.

<sup>30</sup> “We believe that in the case of smaller centers, characterized mainly by wooden buildings, the most appropriate conversion factor used to estimate the number of their inhabitants will be six people per house.”; P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, p. 90 (see also pp. 78–79: “Próby wykorzystania szosu” and pp. 79–91: „Domy a liczba ludności”). „The optimal solution will therefore be to adopt a conversion factor of five people per one taxpayer from burgher craft and trade groups and 3 people per one registered cotter”, ibidem, p. 92; see also: K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok

previously established number of nine people per house in order to maintain balance and consistency with our remaining calculations of town sizes in the Crown. For the first time, in this volume we have created a separate category (in the tables) of towns whose possible population was around 500 inhabitants or less.<sup>31</sup>

**Table 6. Population of cities and towns in the Kalisz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Number of inhabitants						Total
	Up to 500	Up to 1,000	Up to 1,000 (with 500)	Up to 2,000	Up to 5,000	Over 5,000	
Gniezno	16	3	19	–	1	–	20
Kalisz	13	2	15	–	1	–	16
Kcynia	9	1	10	2	1	–	13
Konin	13	–	13	2	–	–	15
Nakło	6	–	6	4	–	–	10
Pyzdry	11	4	15	2	2	–	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>93</b>

We marked the following as towns in the Kalisz Voivodeship:

- in the Gniezno district: Gniezno;<sup>32</sup>
- in the Kalisz district: Kalisz;<sup>33</sup>

2016, ch. 1: *Rejestry podatkowe i problem ich wiarygodności badawczej*, pp. 63–81; P. Guzowski, *Stan i perspektywy badań nad liczbą ludności Polski w późnym średniowieczu i w początkach epoki nowożytnej*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 7–25; K. Boroda, *Przeszłość przeliczników demograficznych dla szesnastowiecznych źródeł podatkowych*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 27–52; C. Kukło, *Badania nad demografią rodzin w mieście doby preindustrialnej*, [in:] *Struktury demograficzne rodziny na ziemiach polskich do połowy XX wieku. Przegląd badań i problemów*, ed. P. Guzowski, C. Kukło, Białystok 2014, pp. 51–78. J. Łojko assumes that „these markers range from four to six inhabitants per hearth or household and are dependent on the century and conditioned by elementary disasters (epidemics, fires)”; J. Łojko, P. Łojko-Wojtyniak, *Zaludnienie*, [in:] *Civitas Konin. Dzieje miasta i starostwa do schyłku XVIII w.*, vol. 1, ed. J. Łojko, Konin 2011, p. 105. T. Lalik believed that the multiplier of five people per one house is too low; see idem, *Geneza sieci miasteczek w Polsce średniowiecznej*, [in:] idem, *Studia średniowieczne*, p. 350, footnote 1. I. Gięsztorowa was of the opinion that „the multiplier of six to seven inhabitants per house, currently used in Polish scholarship, should be increased a bit, depending on the rank of the urban center, assessed on the basis of all the preserved documentation”; eadem, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, p. 184 and footnote 287, where previous literature on the topic was referenced. Compare with: H. Samsonowicz, *Późne średniowiecze miast nadbałtyckich. Studia nad dziejami Hanzy nad Bałtykiem w XIV–XV w.*, Warsaw 1968, ch. 3: *Zaludnienie miast nadbałtyckich*, pp. 73–108; W. Czerkawski, *Metoda badania zaludnienia Polski w XVI w.*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie”, vol. 2, 1897, no. 2, pp. 8–12.

<sup>31</sup> In this category we find, for example, the small town of Budzyń (“the small town of Budzin. 35 people live there, who have a bit of land to work; they do not pay rent or tributes, but they work on foot and get food from the manor” and „The small town of Budzin. In this town, there are 20 properties, of which 10 are on the fields. [...] eight wheelers [...] they do not pay market tax due to poverty”, LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 84), Stawiszyn („the small town Stawiszyn [...] There are 18 inhabited houses, 33 empty ones, 2 belonging to the nobility, vogt’s district empty square, 5 breweries, 10 sheds”, LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 182) or Wieleń („In this town, there are 51 burghers who have houses, and each of these has 4 meadows, 2 gardens. For each house with gardens and meadows they pay gr 2, [facit] fl. 3 gr 12 of rent”, LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 189).

<sup>32</sup> In 1564, 195 craftsmen were taxed in Gniezno; see RPWK, gzn, 1564, Gniezno, ASK I 12, f. 551. „As a result of our calculations, we obtained an estimate of 3,200 people inhabiting Gniezno around the mid-sixteenth century. This number should be treated as a lower estimate, as it is impossible to capture the population of the smaller ones Jurisdiction”; J. Topolski, *Gniezno miejscem wielkich jarmarków*, [in:] *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, Warsaw 1965, p. 272. „To the number of around 3,250 people obtained so far, the population of *jurydyki* should be added. [...] We estimated the population of the royal town (excluding the clergy and nobility) at about 2,650 people, which is about 60% of the entire town population. In this case, the population of Cierpięgi, Grzybów and Wójtostwo, constituting [...] about 40% of the town’s population, would amount to about 1,760 people. We will now add this number to the estimated population of the royal town, the Jewish population, the clergy and nobility, i.e., about 3,250 people, and we will get about 5,000. people. [...] However, it must be noted that these 5,000 people were the population of several formally separate towns: the royal town and the *jurydyki*”; ibidem, p. 274; the calculations of J. Topolski are quoted by M. Zwierzykowski; compare with idem, *Mieszkańcy*, [in:] *Dzieje Gniezna – pierwszej stolicy Polski*, ed. J. Dobosz, Gniezno 2016, p. 244. In 1578, Gniezno paid 1544 fl. of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>33</sup> In 1591, 240 craftsmen were taxed in Kalisz; see RPWK, kls, 1591, Kalisz, ASK I 11, pp. 1630–1633. „In total, the entire population of Kalisz in 1579 amounted to about 2,700 people”; A. Nowak, *Ludność Kalisza i jej struktura. A. Okres do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, ed. W. Rusiński, Poznań 1977, p. 155. In 1578, Kalisz paid 1070 fl.25 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

- in the Kcynia district: Kcynia,<sup>34</sup> Wągrowiec,<sup>35</sup> Żnin;<sup>36</sup>
- in the Konin district: Koło,<sup>37</sup> Konin;<sup>38</sup>
- in the Nakło district: Nakło,<sup>39</sup> Krajenka,<sup>40</sup> Łobżenica,<sup>41</sup> Złotów;<sup>42</sup>
- in the Pyzdry district: Krotoszyn,<sup>43</sup> Pyzdry,<sup>44</sup> Słupca,<sup>45</sup> Środa Wielkopolska.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Tax register from 1577: „Kczinia town” (ASK I 13, f. 201v). In 1579, 92 craftsmen were taxed in Kcynia; see RPWK, kcn, 1579, Kcynia, ASK I 4, f. 378. „[...] the number of inhabitants of the capital of the district can be estimated to 1,000”; M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Powiat kcyński*, p. 99. The hearth tax register 1635 noted that Kcynia had a total 166 houses and 20 Jewish houses; see Hearth tax 1635, f. 79. In 1578, Kcynia paid 404 fl. 16 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>35</sup> In 1577, 125 craftsmen were taxed in Wągrowiec; see RPWK, kcn, 1577, Wągrowiec, ASK I 13, f. 212. In 1591, 30 houses by the square, 44 houses by the street, 14 houses (3 gr. each) and 95 shabby houses paid the town tax in Wągrowiec; see A. Borek, *Rejestr poborowy powiatu kcyńskiego 1591 r.*, [in:] RPWK, kcn, 1591, introduction. The hearth tax from 1635 informs about 305 houses in Wągrowiec; see Hearth tax 1635, ff. 79–79v. In 1578, Wągrowiec paid 507 fl. 22 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>36</sup> The tax register from 1591 notes that Żnin has 37 houses by the square, 261 houses on streets and seven shabby houses; see A. Borek, *Rejestr poborowy powiatu kcyńskiego 1591 r.*; the tax register of the Kalisz Voivodeship from 1618–1620 mentions that Żnin had 201 houses; see Parczewski, p. 265. „It can be assumed that in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, about 2,000 people lived in Żnin”; C. Sikorski, *Zarys dziejów Żnina*, Żnin 1990, p. 42. The hearth tax register from 1635 notes that Żnin had 257 houses; see Hearth tax 1635, f. 80. In 1578, Żnin paid 904 fl. 17 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>37</sup> „Item from the houses, which were residential, of which there were 209, but now there are only 138, 7 of the nobility, 20 of Jews, each should give gr 1 den. 3. Facit fl. 5/11”, LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 100. In 1578, Koło paid 727 fl. 26 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>38</sup> In 1565, there were 128 craftsmen taxed in Konin; see RPWK, knn, 1565, Konin, ASK I 13, f. 27. J. Łojko, referencing the work of A. Wędzki, states that „Konin in the year 1559 may have counted 1200 inhabitants including clergymen, noble officials (affiliated with the land and gird chancellor in the town) and the castle servants”; J. Łojko, P. Łojko-Wojtyński, *Zaludnienie*, p. 105. In 1578, Konin paid 306 fl. 27 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>39</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 356: „There were 186 houses in the town and the suburbs”; LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 191: „There was a total of 186 houses in the town and the suburbs before the inspection. Only 80 are inhabited, 76 are empty, 16 are Jewish and the synagogue was the seventeenth. The rest is empty”. In the tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, there are 39–44 taxed craftsmen. In 1458, only two towns were able to afford armed men: Łobżenica – 1 and Nakło – 4; in the sixteenth century, Łobżenica gains an economic advantage over Nakło, Złotów and Krajenka; see M. Słoń, *Miasta prywatne*, Annex 1; Compare with S. Łaniecki, *Kamień okresu staropolskiego (XVI–XVIII w.)*, [in:] *Dzieje Kamienia Krajeńskiego i okolic od pradziejów do współczesności*, ed. J. Dorawa, T. Fiałkowski, Sepólno Krajeńskie 2009, p. 97. T. Bobowski wrote that „the town was very extensive and developed on both sides of the Noteć River, it had over 3,000 inhabitants before the Swedish wars”; T. Bobowski, *Co się działo w Nakle i okolicy od czasu pierwszego rozbioru Polski do dni ostatnich*, [in:] *Krajna i Nakło. Studia i rozprawy wydane z okazji pięćdziesięciolecia gimnazjum im. Bolesława Krzywoustego w Nakle*, Nakło [1926], p. 194. In 1578, Nakło paid 191 fl. 4 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>40</sup> S. Łaniecki estimated the population of Krajenka to be around 1900 people in 1580; see idem, *Kamień okresu staropolskiego*, p. 97. In 1576, 60 houses paid the town tax; see RPWK, nkl, 1576, Krajenka, ASK I 12, f. 670. In 1578, Krajenka paid 85 fl. 28 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>41</sup> „In 1580, Łobżenica had 2,250 inhabitants”; *W Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (XVI–XVIII w.)*, p. 95. In 1565, 108 craftsmen and 56 apprentices in Łobżenica were taxed; see RPWK, nkl, 1565, Łobżenica, ASK I 5, f. 275v. In 1578, 142 craftsmen were noted in the register; see RPWK, nkl, 1578, Łobżenica, ASK I 5, f. 829. In 1578 r. Łobżenica paid 515 fl. 12 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>42</sup> S. Łaniecki estimated the population of Złotów in 1580 to be about 1940 people; see idem, *Kamień okresu staropolskiego*, p. 97. In 1578, Złotów paid 74 fl. 16 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>43</sup> „In the town itself, at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were 60 houses, inhabited by about 400 people”; R. Marciniak, *W Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (1415–1793)*, [in:] *Krotoszyn*, vol. 2: *Historia*, ed. R. Marciniak, Krotoszyn–Poznań 1996, p. 82. „In the year 1629, it already had 311 houses [...] It may have had up to 2,000 inhabitants”; ibidem, p. 98. In 1578, Krotoszyn paid 228 fl. of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>44</sup> “In this town, there are 196 buildings in the market square, in the streets, in the suburbs and in the demesnes, 35 empty houses, 11 buildings belonging to the parish clergy and to the Church of the Holy Spirit, 17 monastic houses, 13 noble houses”; LWWK 1628, part 1, p. 157. In 1578, Pyzdry paid 1108 fl. 16 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>45</sup> “[...] at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were about 300 houses within the walls of Słupca, and an additional 200 outside”; *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 2, p. 297; J. Dobosz, *Słupca od lokacji miasta do końca XVI wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Słupcy*, ed. B. Szczepański, Poznań 1996, p. 54: „according to H. Samsonowicz’s calculations, it can be assumed that Słupca had around 2,000 inhabitants at the end of the fifteenth century”. In 1578, Słupca paid 864 fl. 10 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>46</sup> In 1578, 101 craftsmen were taxed in Środa; see RPWK, pzd, 1578, Środa, ASK I 11, pp. 627–269. In 1578, Środa paid 903 fl. 20 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

**Table 7. Population of cities and towns in the Kalisz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century (percentage of each category)**

District	Number of inhabitants												Total
	Up to 500	% of total	Up to 1,000	% of total	Up to 1,000 (with 500)	% of total	Up to 2,000	% of total	Up to 5,000	% of total	Over 5,000	% of total	
Gniezno	16	80	3	15	19	95	–	–	1	5	–	–	20
Kalisz	13	81	2	13	15	94	–	–	1	6	–	–	16
Kcynia	9	69	1	8	10	77	2	15	1	8	–	–	13
Konin	13	87	–	–	13	87	2	13	–	–	–	–	15
Nakło	6	60	–	–	6	60	4	40	–	–	–	–	10
Pyzdry	11	58	4	21	15	79	2	10.5	2	10.5	–	–	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>93</b>

There is a clear prevalence of small towns (up to around 1,000 inhabitants) in the Kalisz Voivodeship, which make up 85% of all the towns. There were only ten towns containing between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants: two in the Kcynia district, Konin district and Pyzdry district each; the most (four towns) were in the Nakło district. Five towns had over 2,000 inhabitants (5% of total): one in Gniezno, Kalisz and Kcynia districts each and two in the Pyzdry district. There were no large towns (over 5,000 inhabitants) in the Kalisz Voivodeship.

**Table 8. Density of the urban network of the Kalisz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup> according to the AHP	Town over 1,000 inhabitants	Small town	Total	The number of km <sup>2</sup> per 1 town
Gniezno	3,058	1	19	20	153
Kalisz	3,264	1	15	16	204
Kcynia	2,384	3	10	13	183
Konin	2,312	2	13	15	154
Nakło	3,229	4	6	10	323
Pyzdry	2,880	4	15	19	152
Kalisz voivodeship	17,127	15	78	93	184

**Table 9. Population of the cities and towns in the Poznań Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Number of inhabitants						Total
	Up to 500	Up to 1,000	Up to 1,000 (with 500)	Up to 2,000	Up to 5,000	Over 5,000	
Kościan	8	9	17	7	1	–	25
Poznań	18	9	27	7	–	1	35
Wąlcz	–	2	2	2	–	–	4
Wschowa land	–	–	–	2	1	–	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>67</b>

In the Poznań Voivodeship, we have marked one large town – Poznań.<sup>47</sup>

We have marked the following as towns in the Poznań Voivodeship:

- in the Kościan district: Miejska Górka,<sup>48</sup> Gostyń,<sup>49</sup> Grodzisk Wielkopolski,<sup>50</sup> Kościan,<sup>51</sup> Poniec,<sup>52</sup> Rydzyna,<sup>53</sup> Śmigiel,<sup>54</sup> Śrem;<sup>55</sup>
- in the Poznań district: Buk,<sup>56</sup> Czarnków,<sup>57</sup> Człopa,<sup>58</sup> Lwówek,<sup>59</sup> Międzyrzecz,<sup>60</sup> Piła,<sup>61</sup> Skwierzyna;<sup>62</sup>
- in the Wałcz district: Czaplinek,<sup>63</sup> Wałcz;<sup>64</sup>
- in the Wschowa land: Leszno,<sup>65</sup> Świąciechowa,<sup>66</sup> Wschowa.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>47</sup> In 1563, 542 craftsmen were taxed in Poznań; see RPWP, pzn, 1563, Poznań, ASK I 5, ff. 243–243v. S. Waszak estimates the population of Poznań to be around 19,000–20,000 inhabitants; see idem, *Ludność i zabudowa mieszkaniowa miasta Poznania w XVI i XVII w.*, PZ, vol. 9/3, 1953, no. 9–12, p. 122: “The left and right banks of Poznań could have counted about 19,000–20,000 inhabitants at the end of the sixteenth century”. In 1578, Poznań paid 11,050 fl. 9 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 272.

<sup>48</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Miejska Górka had 221 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 28v. In 1578, Miejska Górka paid 153 fl. 25 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>49</sup> “In 1528, there were 149 residential houses in Gostyń”; *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 2, p. 224. Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Gostyń had 190 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 28v. In 1578, Gostyń paid 25 fl. 24 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>50</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Grodzisk had 204 houses (including 26 Jewish houses) and 142 houses in Nowe Miasto; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 28v. In 1578, Grodzisk paid 1,141 fl. 6 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>51</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Kościan had a total of 318 houses; see Hearth 1631, f. 29. In 1578, Kościan paid 1730 fl. of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>52</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Poniec had a total of 218 houses and 31 houses in the suburbs; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 31v. In 1578, Poniec paid 359 fl. 10 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>53</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Rydzyna had a total of 220; see Hearth tax 1631, ff. 31v–32. In 1578, Rydzyna paid 85 fl. 6 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>54</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Śmigiel had a total of 283 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 32v. In 1578, Śmigiel paid 414 fl. 12 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>55</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Śrem had 281 houses (including 29 Jewish houses); see Hearth tax 1631, f. 32v. In 1578, Śrem paid 568 fl. 16 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>56</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Buk had a total of 229 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 28. In 1578, Buk paid 1788 fl. 24 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 272.

<sup>57</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Czarnków had a total of 218 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 28. The liquor excise tax register is lacking a number for Czarnków; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 272.

<sup>58</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Człopa had a total of 180 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 28.

<sup>59</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Lwówek had a total of 346 houses; see *ibidem*, f. 29. In 1578, Lwówek paid 544 fl. 24 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 272.

<sup>60</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Międzyrzecz has 241 houses and 101 houses in the suburbs, see Hearth tax 1631, f. 29v. “It seems that the population of Międzyrzecz [...] can be estimated to around 600–1,000 inhabitants, although more exact calculations are very difficult. It must, however, be noted that according to the town chronicle, about 1,100 people died in 1601. These data seem to increase the city’s population at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, compared to previous estimates.”; M. Tureczek, *Międzyrzecz od momentu lokacji miejskiej do przelomu czasów średniowiecznych i nowożytnych*, [in:] *Międzyrzecz – dzieje miasta*, ed. W. Strzyżewski, M. Tureczek, Międzyrzecz 2009, p. 159. In 1578 r. Międzyrzecz paid 479 fl. 1 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 272.

<sup>61</sup> “There are 153 houses, from each they pay gr 6 den. 12, [facit] fl. 34 [...]. There are 114 burghers, who held marshlands, which included meadows [...], 10 fishermen [...], 13 cobblers [...], 2 butchers [...], 6 wheelers [...], 15 beekeepers [...], potters [...] of whom there are now 18 [...], 3 Jewish houses”; LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 139. Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Piła has 273 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 31v. In 1578, Piła paid 288 fl. 10 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 272.

<sup>62</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Skwierzyna had 290 houses altogether (including 34 Jewish houses), see Hearth tax 1631, f. 32. In 1578, Skwierzyna paid 173 fl. 28 gr of liquor excise tax, see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>63</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Czaplinek had 249 houses; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 28.

<sup>64</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Wałcz had 226 houses and 64 houses in the suburbs, see *ibidem*, ff. 33–33v.

<sup>65</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Leszno had 289 houses (including 27 Jewish ones) and 46 new as well as 75 houses in the suburbs, see *ibidem*, ff. 29–29v. Leszno paid 188 fl. of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>66</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Świąciechowa had 280 houses, see Hearth tax 1631, f. 32v. In 1578, Świąciechowa paid 269 fl. 15 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

<sup>67</sup> Hearth tax register from 1631 mentions that Wschowa had 163 houses and 512 houses in the suburbs; see Hearth tax 1631, f. 33v. Compare with: A. Borek, *Wschowa*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.6.34.4. In 1578 r. Wschowa paid 1849 fl. 18 gr of liquor excise tax; see Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 273.

**Table 10. Population of cities and towns in the Poznań Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century (percentage of each category)**

District	Number of inhabitants												Total
	Up to 500	% of total	Up to 1,000	% of total	Up to 1,000 (with 500)	% of total	Up to 2,000	% of total	Up to 5,000	% of total	Over 5,000	% of total	
Kościan	8	32	9	36	17	68	7	28	1	4	–	–	25
Poznań	18	51	9	26	27	77	7	20	–	–	1	3	35
Walcz	–	–	2	50	2	50	2	50	–	–	–	–	4
Wschowa land	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	66.7	1	33.3	–	–	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>67</b>

In the Poznań Voivodeship, just as in the Kalisz one, small towns are the most frequent: 69% are towns with under 1,000 inhabitants. The numbers are similar in the Kościan district (68%), and larger in the Poznań district (77%). Eighteen towns in the Poznań Voivodeship had more than 2,000 people (27%), but only two had even more inhabitants, though under 5,000 (3% of the total number). Only Poznań had over 5,000 inhabitants; we marked it as a large town.

**Table 11. Density of the urban network of the Poznań Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup> according to the AHP	Town over 1,000 inhabitants	Small town	Total	The number of km <sup>2</sup> per 1 town
Kościan	5,175	8	17	25	207
Poznań	8,979	8	27	35	256
Walcz	1,945	2	2	4	486
Wschowa land	554	3	–	3	185
Poznań Voivodeship	16,653	21	46	67	248

**Table 12. Population of cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Number of inhabitants						Total
	Up to 500	Up to 1,000	Up to 1,000 (with 500)	Up to 2,000	Up to 5,000	Over 5,000	
Kalisz	68	10	78	10	5	–	93
Poznań	26	20	46	18	2	1	67
Greater Poland	94	30	124	28	7	1	160

In Greater Poland (160 towns), small towns were the most common (under 1,000 inhabitants); they made up 124 settlements in the region (78%). Towns between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants constituted 17% of the Greater Poland towns. Out of the 160 urban centers, only seven counted over 2,000 inhabitants (4% of total). In Greater Poland, we have noted only one large town (over 5,000 inhabitants).

**Table 13. Density of the urban network of the Poznań Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup> according to the AHP	Town over 1,000 inhabitants	Small town	Total	The number of km <sup>2</sup> per 1 town
Kalisz	17,127	15	78	93	184
Poznań	16,653	21	46	67	248
Greater Poland	33,780	36	124	160	211

The maps of seven towns of Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century have been included in this volume: Dolsk, Gniezno, Kalisz, Kościan, Pleszew, Poznań and Wschowa. Below, we have presented the surface area of the town within the city walls or – as in the case of Dolsk and Pleszew – the area designated as containing urban buildings.

**Table 14. Surface area of towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Town	Surface area (m <sup>2</sup> )
Poznań	210,600
Kalisz	181,000
Dolsk	144,065
Kościan	116,312
Pleszew	106,412
Gniezno	62,406
Wschowa	56,200

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

### III.3.2c.4 CHARACTER AND SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS: CASTLES AND ABBEYS

*Michał Słomski*

As in previous volumes of the AHP series, castles from the second half of the sixteenth century were marked on the main map in the Greater Poland tome. We treated as the castle building defined in the sources with the Latin terms *castrum*, *arx* and the Polish word *zamek*, which had defensive properties and functioned as the permanent or temporary residence of the owner or his official, as well as were usually located in the center of the property or estate complex and played a role in property administration, additionally performing representative and ideological functions. We are aware of the many problems caused by the selection of this type of criterion.

The first is the lack of precision and the arbitrariness of the terminology of the time. The same building could be referred to through a variety of different terms (not only *castrum* and *arx*, but also *fortalicium* or *curia*). The same term could be used to describe buildings with varying degrees of defensive properties and in different stages of construction. This issue is well-known and broadly discussed among scholars.<sup>1</sup> In all Polish territories in the sixteenth century, not only in Greater Poland, there were many manors that referenced castles in their construction scheme or layout. Like castles, they were surrounded by some defensive perimeter (a moat, palisade, earth embankment). These, however, had reduced architectural and functional features.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes, it is difficult to establish what types of buildings we are dealing with.<sup>3</sup> These types of buildings were constructed in settlements belonging to the king, the clergy and the nobility, although they are most frequently found in estates belonging to nobles (which is tied to the proportions of the general structure of property ownership in the country). They were often named to in sources as *castrum*,<sup>4</sup> though this term tended to refer to buildings larger than the average.

The second problem – which is connected to the first one – is the fact that presently, a castle can be understood as a “castle” in the modern (often intuitive) sense of the word, as well as an “ordinary” wooden manor house on a mound, which only included a sliver of the castle layout (mainly due to financial factors).<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century were a time during

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<sup>1</sup> J. Dobrzański, *Castrum. Problematyka badawcza*, [in:] *Początki zamków w Polsce*, Wrocław 1978 (Prace Naukowe Instytutu Historii Architektury, Sztuki i Techniki Politechniki Wrocławskiej. Studia i Materiały, vol. 5), pp. 5–21; J. Rozpędowski, *Gród a zamek w Polsce – problem genezy i typologii*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 91–92; L. Kajzer, *Zamki i społeczeństwo. Przemiany architektury i budownictwa obronnego w Polsce w X–XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1993, pp. 12–14; S. Kołodziejski, *Średniowieczne rezydencje obronne możnowładztwa na terenie województwa krakowskiego*, Cracow 1994, p. 13; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki państwowe prowincji wielkopolskiej na przełomie średniowiecza i nowożytności*, [in:] *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, ed. M. Antoniewicz, Warsaw 2002, pp. 148–150; *idem*, *Zamki i dwory obronne w dobrach państwowych prowincji wielkopolskiej. Studium z dziejów państwowych siedzib obronnych na przełomie średniowiecza i nowożytności*, Łódź 2003, pp. 19–22.

<sup>2</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 59; *Leksykon*, pp. 65–73; S. Kołodziejski, *Średniowieczne rezydencje*, p. 12; M. Kutzner, *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemie łączycza i sieradzko-wieluńska*, [in:] *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, ed. T. Mroczko, M. Arszyński, Warsaw 1995, pp. 162–163.

<sup>3</sup> Compare with discussion about the building in Bąkowa Góra upon Pilica: L. Kajzer, *Czy Zbigniew Bąk mieszkał w prawdziwym zamku?*, KHKM, vol. 51, 2003, no. 3–4, pp. 337–354.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *idem*, *Uwagi o „zamku” w Kutnie i jego przemianach*, KHKM, vol. 35, 1987, no. 3, p. 455.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, *Zamki i społeczeństwo*, pp. 171–172, 175; K. Olejnik, *Zamek w strukturach politycznych i militarnych państwa szlacheckiego*, [in:] *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna*, pp. 218–219.

which the ideas about the functionality of castles changed. The defensive value of a castle began to be substituted by the need to conform to comforts of daily life and the representational function, even though the older architectural designs remained in use.<sup>6</sup>

When selecting castles, we relied primarily on existing scholarship, which allowed for the selection of the buildings qualified to be placed on the map.<sup>7</sup> They are listed in the latter part of this chapter and are marked on the map. We included structures in Babimost, Chodzież, Iwanowice and Rogoźno in the category of castles.

The castle in Babimost (Kościan district) was frequently mentioned in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. In 1566, the castle mill was also referenced. The inspection from the seventeenth century provided information about two buildings, one called a castle. It seems that some sort of complex appeared to fulfill the criteria required to qualify it as a castle in Babimost, due to its location on the western border of the country.<sup>8</sup> The castle in Chodzież (Kcynia district) was first mentioned in 1520, when it was described as a *castrum seu fortalitium*.<sup>9</sup> It was most often referred to as a castle in the town books of Chodzież.<sup>10</sup> It seems that this structure, studied by Tomasz Wujewski, could indeed be classified as a castle.<sup>11</sup> Mentions of a *castrum* and *fortalicium* in Iwanowice, which occurred in the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the sixteenth century, began in 1472.<sup>12</sup> Information about the upstairs room in Iwanowice where valuables were stored,<sup>13</sup> suggest that the structure had at least two stories, though it remains uncertain whether this was a defense tower or whether the owners simply used the attic for storage purposes.<sup>14</sup> Mentions about the castle in Iwanowice are present throughout the entire

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<sup>6</sup> L. Kajzer, *Zamki i społeczeństwo*, pp. 169–170.

<sup>7</sup> The essential works we consulted are: Guerquin, *Zamki and Leksykon*. We also included: T. Jakimowicz, *Architektura świecka w Wielkopolsce*, [in:] *Studia nad renesansem w Wielkopolsce*, ed. T. Rudkowski, Poznań 1970, pp. 9–38; K. Olejnik, *Grody i zamki w Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1993; Tomala Kal.; Tomala Wlkp.; L. Kajzer, *Małe czy duże, czyli o tzw. zamkach ryckich na Niżu Polskim*, [in:] *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna*, p. 115; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne*; M. Strzałko, *Wielkopolskie zamki*, Poznań 2006.

<sup>8</sup> LWWK 1628, pp. 71–72; K. Górka-Golaska, *Babimost*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 7–9; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne*, pp. 37–38; Tomala Wlkp., pp. 143–144.

<sup>9</sup> MK 35, 115: „Significamus etc, quia nos ammonentes supplicationibus generosi Nicolai Pothuliczki de Chodziesza volentes, quo prospicere securitati castrum seu fortalicii ipsius hereditarii dicti Chodziesza” [=MRPS IV/2, no. 12754, the register is not precise]. R. Kabat, *Historia zabudowy Chodziesza*, Chodzież 2008, pp. 110–111, states that the building was erected in 1482, even though this most likely was the date of the construction of the hospital in Chodzież; Tomala Wlkp., pp. 161–162. See also KZS, vol. 5: *Województwo poznańskie*, no. 1: *Powiat chodzieski*, ed. U. Czartoryska, M. Kutzner, Warsaw 1965, p. 4; S. Chmielewski, B. Dzieduszycka, *Początki Chodziesza na tle najstarszego osadnictwa*, [in:] *Dzieje Chodziesza*, ed. S. Chmielewski, Chodzież 1998, p. 31; T. Wujewski, *Zamek w Chodziesza*, Chodzież 2005.

<sup>10</sup> KZS, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 4; S. Chmielewski, *Od lokacji miasta do połowy XVII wieku (1434–1654)*, [in:] *Dzieje Chodziesza*, pp. 68, 70; Tomala Wlkp., pp. 161–162. The building was also called a castle in 1600, in the note about the dowry of Zofia Rostworowska among others in the castle in Chodzież by Jan Potulicki (Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 15784 (no. 1403) 1600), though based on the Polish register, it is not certain what form was used in the source.

<sup>11</sup> The remains of the factory of porcelain, which functioned until 1991, stand in the presumed location of the castle; S. Chmielewski, B. Dzieduszycka, *Początki Chodziesza*, p. 31. Currently, there is a supermarket on the terrain of the old factory, yet the building that was supposedly built on the remains of the castle was not torn down; R. Kabat, *Historia zabudowy Chodziesza*, p. 115

<sup>12</sup> MK 12, k. 69v: “In et super castro, opido et villa Iwanowicze” [=MRPS I, no. 794] – the note about the dowry of Jadwiga of Żelazna, wife of Bartłomiej Gruszczyński, among others in the castle (*castrum*) in Iwanowice. See also Tomala Kal., p. 98. Other mentions, e.g., AP Poznań, *Księgi ziemskie*, 19, ff. 496v–497r (“castrum et fortalitium Iwanowicze”; 1514), where the castle burgrave is also referenced.

<sup>13</sup> “– pro violenta repercussione castrum in Iwanowicze et caminate superioris ibidem in castro, ubi prefatus venerabilis dominus Joannes depositum habuit”; AP Poznań, *Księgi ziemskie*, 19, f. 446r. See A. Wyczański, *Uwagi na temat dworu szlacheckiego w Wielkopolsce w XVI stuleciu*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 24, 1979, no. 4, pp. 353–354.

<sup>14</sup> L. Kajzer, *Wstęp do badań nad siedzibami obronnymi Kaliskiego (uwagi na marginesie zakończenia edycji Inwentarzy dóbr szlacheckich powiatu kaliskiego)*, KHKM, vol. 32, 1984, no. 3, pp. 400, 403, where the author treats the building in Iwanowice as an ordinary sixteenth-century manor made of masonry, belonging to the aspiring class of nobility holding clerical offices. Unfortunately, this building is not mentioned in A. Szymczakowa, *Szlachta sieradzka w XV wieku*, Łódź 1998, p. 397, in which the author wrote about the initiatives of the Gruszczyński family (primarily of the archbishop of Gniezno, Jan Gruszczyński) in Iwanowice, mentioning the masonry church, near which the office of the provost and the college of mansionaries, as well as the hospital of the Holy Spirit, were built. No clues were also given by Z. Górczak, *Kariery majątkowe rodzin aspirujących do kręgu elity możnowładztwa wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XV i początkach XVI w.*, Poznań 2013, pp. 83–135 (chapter about the Gruszczyński family), who mostly focused on the activities of the Gruszczyński family in regard to revenues of the land estate. The most extensive discussion of the activity of the archbishop Gruszczyński in the region was presented by

sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Based on the information provided, we decided to place the castle in Iwanowice on the main map, though we are aware that it was probably a small structure, which may have resembled in size some of the other residential and defensive buildings that we decided to not include.<sup>16</sup> The inspection of royal properties from the 1560s named the residence of the starosta in Rogoźno (Poznań district) as a manor,<sup>17</sup> even though sources from the fifteenth century as well as the inspection from the seventeenth century call it a castle.<sup>18</sup> While in the fifteenth century, this building was referred to as a *castrum* and *fortalitium*, the inspection of the starosta's district from 1631 clearly indicates that the castle – as it was defined in the source – was “newly built” by Michał Sokołowski of Warzymowo, the starosta in the years 1583–1619.<sup>19</sup> Some scholars link these changes (or reconstruction) made to the building with the raid conducted by the Potulicki, Grudziński and Kaczkowski families in 1581.<sup>20</sup>

A brief explanation must be offered about two castles marked on the map: Zbąszyń (Kościan district) and Gniezno (Gniezno district).

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Abraham Zbąski, the owner of Zbąszyń, began reconstructing the old defensive building (frequently referred to as a *fortalicium*). Before he died in 1577, he presumably was able to build a four-sided brick tower that later became part of the fortress in the *palazzo in fortezza* style, constructed by Abraham Ciświcki in 1627.<sup>21</sup> Although the final shape of the building was only attained in the first half of the seventeenth century, it appears that in the second half of the sixteenth century, the building already fulfilled the criteria required to be included in the main map.<sup>22</sup>

The construction of the sixteenth-century castle in Gniezno, located by Lake Jelonek, was originally started by Jan Łaski in 1518. During his lifetime (the archbishop died in 1531), a masonry residential house and other unspecified buildings were erected. The older royal complex, located on the Lech Hill

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I. Skierska, *Ad fratres et nepotes secundum carnem totus intensus. Późnośredniowieczny biskup polski wśród krewnych*, [in:] *Fundamenty średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. Ż. Szyłc et al., Pelplin 2013, pp. 261–265.

<sup>15</sup> In 1532, Piotr Koźmiński mortgaged a fourth of the town of Iwanowice with the castle, suburb and village for 700 Polish złote. Two years later (1534), Jan Koźmiński exchanged with Piotr Koźmiński, among others, the castle in Iwanowice. In 1567, Jan Koźmiński from Iwanowice, the master of the hunt of Kalisz, sold “his castle in Iwanowice with a pond surrounding it” together with the part of the town that belonged to him and a suburb to Dobrogost Potworowski, general deputy (Pol. *podśudek*) of Kalisz. In 1588, Paweł Potworowski bequeathed a debt to his wife Katarzyna Nasięgniewska at the Iwanowice castle, the square, the gardens, the ditch and the pond; Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 2788 (no. 4 inser. and res.) 1532, 7158 (no. 1393) 1534, 4451 (no. 3) 1567 and 1299 (no. 6) 1588.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps – this is only a research hypothesis – the castle in Iwanowice can be associated with the foundations of defensive structure that appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the family estates of Polish Church hierarchs. In that case, the building in Iwanowice would be another example of the activity of fifteenth-century Polish bishops, which has been noticed in sources (in the case of Iwanowice, this would have been the archbishop of Gniezno, Jan Gruszczyński). These bishops are seen to erect castles thanks to their obtained benefice and an often-temporary increase in the importance of the family. Such castles include Gosławice (Konin district), Borysławice Zamkowe (Łęczycza district), Jastrzębiec (Wiślica district), Rytwiany (Sandomierz district) and Oporów (Orłów district). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the bishop of Poznań, Jan Lubrański, together with his brother Mikołaj Lubrański, founded another such building in his hometown of Lubraniec, which was referred to both in sources and in scholarship as a *fortalicja* or a manor, and – finally – a little later, the castle of the archbishop of Gniezno, Maciej Drzewicki, was built in Drzewica (Opoczno district); L. Kajzer, *Szesnastowieczne „fortalicjum” wojewody poznańskiego Mikołaja Lubrańskiego w Lubrańcu na Kujawach*, SMDWP, vol. 18, 1991, no. 2, pp. 57–77; J. Pietrzak, *Prywatne zamki biskupów polskich w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, [in:] *Oporów. Stan badań. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej z okazji 50. rocznicy Muzeum w Oporowie 22 listopada 1999 roku*, [ed. G. Kin-Rzymkowska, U. Kowalska, A. Majewska-Rau], Oporów 2000, p. 111; *Leksykon*, pp. 160–163.

<sup>17</sup> LWWK 1564, pp. 47–48. Perhaps when writing about the “manor” (Pol. *dwór*) of Rogoźno, the definition of the word manor was the one that included the complex of both residential and farm building.

<sup>18</sup> K. Górską-Gołaska, *Rogoźno – starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 123–124; LWWK 1628, p. 79; see also J. Łojko, *Od początku XVI wieku do końca Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, [in:] *Dzieje Rogoźna*, ed. Z. Boras, Poznań 1993, pp. 69–70. J. Tomala (Tomala Wlkp., p. 313) names the building a castle.

<sup>19</sup> LWWK 1628, p. 79; K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie w Wielkopolsce, na Kujawach i Mazowszu 1565–1696 (materiały źródłowe)*, Warsaw 2007, p. 40.

<sup>20</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 8970 (no. 936) 1581; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne*, p. 129, footnote 1244. This author as well (pp. 128–129) calls the structure in Rogoźno a castle.

<sup>21</sup> *Leksykon*, p. 561; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne*, p. 38; Tomala Wlkp., pp. 376–377; Z. Chodyła, *Zbąszyń w czasach nowożytnych (1501–1793)*, [in:] *Dzieje Zbąszynia*, ed. K. Rzepa, Poznań 2014, pp. 105, 124–126.

<sup>22</sup> It must be added that in 1571, Abraham Zbąski bequeathed 3,000 Polish złote to his wife Dorota from Opalenica. Polish zlotys, among others at the Zbąszyń castle; Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 11066 (no. 1398) 1571. It is difficult, however, to establish based on a Polish register prepared by W. Dworzaczek how the building was referred to in the source.

near the Church of St. George, was given by Casimir Jagiellon to the Church in Gniezno in 1457. Later, the cathedral vicars used its rooms for their own purposes.<sup>23</sup>

Szamotuły presents an interesting scenario, where – due to the ownership divisions of the town in the second half of the sixteenth century – two castle structures existed, one belonging to the Świdwa family (south of the town) and the second to Górką family (north of the town).<sup>24</sup>

We did not include certain buildings on the map, even though they were referred to as castles in scholarship. Some of them did already exist in the fifteenth century but lost their castle nature in the sixteenth century and were abandoned. Others were called castles at the time yet did not fulfill the present-day criteria required for a building to be classified as such. We did not mark the castle of the archbishops of Gniezno in Kamień in the Nakło district. The sixteenth-century inventories of the archbishopric estates repeatedly name the building as a *curia*.<sup>25</sup> The structure in Kamień was also called a *fortalicium* in the exemption from Jan Krowicki's war expedition in 1513.<sup>26</sup> It seems likely that the archbishops' castle from the late medieval period, which was destroyed numerous times during the wars with the Teutonic Order, was never reconstructed in its previous form once the fighting stopped in the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, in the Kcynia district, we did not include the castle in Wenecja. This castle built by Mikołaj of Chomiąza in the fourteenth century, purchased in 1420 by Mikołaj Trąba, the archbishop of Gniezno, was taken apart in the 1470s on the order of the archbishop Jakub of Sienno. The material from which the castle in Wenecja was built was used to repair the archbishops' manor in Żnin.<sup>28</sup> In the Kcynia district, we also did not mark two other buildings, one in Danabórz and the other in Smogulec. The castle in Danabórz, which was the seat of the influential Danaborski family in the fifteenth century, was abandoned at the end of the century when the family moved their residence to Krajenka.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the stronghold located in Smogulec was the residence of the Smogulecki family; however, it probably functioned only until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The manor located in the cluster of royal estates in Pobiedziska in the Gniezno district is also sometimes called a castle in scholarship. Nonetheless, it is certain that in the sixteenth century, this building did not have the features of a castle, even if it may have had them in the late medieval period.<sup>31</sup> Some scholarly works mention a castle in Krotoszyn in the Pyzdry district. It was most likely a wooden manor, which in 1585 was renovated by Jan Rozdrażewski to incorporate masonry elements.<sup>32</sup> Town sources connected to Pleszew in the Kalisz district suggest that the building, which was the residence of the owners of the town, was

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<sup>23</sup> Leksykon, p. 185; C. Sikorski, *Uwagi o gnieźnieńskim zamku arcybiskupim*, [in:] *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 3, ed. J. Topolski et al., Warsaw–Poznań 1990, pp. 250, 261–265; K. Śmigiel, *Rezydencje prymasowskie*, „Studia Gnesnensia”, vol. 26, 2012, pp. 255–260.

<sup>24</sup> Leksykon, pp. 473–474; T. Jurek, *Średniowieczne Szamotuły i ich dziedzice*, [in:] *Szamotuły. Karty z dziejów miasta*, vol. 1, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Szamotuły 2006, pp. 39–41; idem, *Szamotuły – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 782, 799.

<sup>25</sup> Ulan. Visit., pp. 311–314 (1512 r.), 695–697 (1548 r.); AAG, ACap. I, B. 147, *Inventarium omnium proventuum et aedificiorum Archiepiscopatus Gnesn. sub Stanislao Karnkowski per Iacobi Pradzewski*, ff. 295–296v; Leksykon, p. 218.

<sup>26</sup> MK 28, k. 14v: „Johanni Crowiczsky terrigene [...] littera absolucionis a bello data est propter provisionem et custodiam fortalicii archiepiscopalis Kamyen” [=MRPS IV/1, no. 1949].

<sup>27</sup> K. Olejnik, *Grody i zamki*, pp. 193–194; see also: S. Łaniecki, *W czasach średniowiecza*, [in:] *Dzieje Kamienia Krajeńskiego i okolic od pradziejów do współczesności*, ed. J. Dorawa, T. Fiałkowski, Sępólno Krajeńskie 2009, p. 87; Tomala Wlkp., p. 217.

<sup>28</sup> Ulan. Visit., p. 306, footnote 6; Leksykon, pp. 532–534.

<sup>29</sup> C. Sikorski, *Zamek w pałuckiej Wenecji*, Bydgoszcz 1986, pp. 109–111; Leksykon, p. 151; M. Dernoga, *Ruiny budowli gotyckiej w Danaborzu, stan. 18 (gm. Wągorowiec, woj. wielkopolskie). Badania archeologiczno-architektoniczne*, [in:] *Współczesne środowisko naturalne, osadnictwo i folklor Pałuk*, ed. A.M. Wyrwa, Poznań 2003 (Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Pałuk, vol. 5), pp. 103–104; Tomala Wlkp., pp. 167–168.

<sup>30</sup> C. Sikorski, *Zamek*, pp. 112–113; E. Cnotliwy, *Badania weryfikacyjne późnośredniowiecznych siedzib obronnych w zachodniej części Pałuk*, [in:] *Osadnictwo i architektura w rejonie Łekna we wczesnym średniowieczu*, ed. A.M. Wyrwa, Poznań 1995 (Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Pałuk, vol. 2), pp. 329–334.

<sup>31</sup> LWWK 1564, pp. 51–53; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne*, pp. 120–121; see Tomala Wlkp., pp. 286–287, where the author mentions about the existence of the building in the late medieval period, though its nature is difficult to establish; see: Z. Karoleczak, *Gród – zamek – dwór starościński w Pobiedziskach*, „Kronika Wielkopolski”, vol. 31, 2003, no. 2, pp. 27–42.

<sup>32</sup> Leksykon, p. 252 (the authors believe that under the remains of the older building are hidden under the relics of the manor); J. Tomala, *Późnośredniowieczne i nowożytnie założenia obronne między Krotoszynem a Żerkowem*, „Archaeologia Historica Polona”, vol. 15, 2005, no. 1, p. 249.

called a castle.<sup>33</sup> In turn, the construction in a different part of the Kalisz district, specifically Chodecz (Chocz), appeared to be a masonry defensive manor rather than a castle. It had been assumed that the construction of the castle in Chodecz was initiated by Casimir III the Great but was not completed during his lifetime. Currently, the complex is treated as a masonry defensive manor,<sup>34</sup> which probably remained in this form until the decision of the owners of the town at the time, the Lipski family, to turn it into a baroque palace in the eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The manor in Chodecz was also mentioned in the contracts establishing the lease and mortgage of the town in 1592 and 1619.<sup>36</sup> A masonry manor (sometimes called a “stone house”, Pol. *kamienica*) built in Dobrzyca in the sixteenth century in the Kalisz district, which resembled the castles in Gołuchów and Koźmin in terms of architecture, was not included as a castle.<sup>37</sup>

Similar mentions of seats and residences of the nobility from the Poznań Voivodeship, which are difficult to unambiguously interpret, are probably numerous in the court books from that area. Many such examples can be found in the SHGPoz. On their basis, it can be asserted that there were numerous structures called *castrum* in the fifteenth century within the administrative borders of the Poznań Voivodeship, which we have not included on the map. Instead, we classified them as a defensive manor, sometimes very expansive ones.<sup>38</sup>

The structure in Ujście requires an additional explanation. It seems that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it already did not present any functional value. The building mentioned several times in the fifteenth century (as a *castrum* and a *fortalicium*)<sup>39</sup> was supposedly built by Hieronim Mosiński, which was stipulated by the king in 1512, confirming his ownership of the Ujście starosta’s district.<sup>40</sup> The inspection from the 1560s mentions a tower located on a hill behind the starosta’s manor, which the aforementioned Mosiński did in fact begin to erect. It appears, however, that the endeavour was continued by the following starostas.<sup>41</sup>

Some of the castles from the end of the sixteenth century most likely were in such a state of disrepair that they were abandoned. These include, among others, the buildings in Wałcz and Koło. In the case of the Wałcz castle, it burned down several times in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, at some point the town simply decided to no longer reconstruct it and moved the residence of the starostas to a new place.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, the castle in Koło was supposed to be unoccupied in the second half of the sixteenth century, but evidence suggests that it may have in fact been in use until the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> For more information see M. Stępnik, M. Gochna, *Pleszew*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.6.22.4; see also: L. Kajzer, *Wstęp do badań*, p. 400; Tomala Kal., pp. 128–130.

<sup>34</sup> Leksykon, p. 129; L. Kajzer, *Małe czy duże*, p. 126.

<sup>35</sup> Tomala Wlkp., pp. 160–161.

<sup>36</sup> *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich powiatu kaliskiego*, vol. 1: *Od XVI do połowy XVIII w.*, ed. W. Rusiński, Wrocław 1955, p. 54 (“a manor with a malt house and with all manor amenities”), 79 (“a mill near the manor house”); see Tomala Kal., p. 66, for information about the note from 1629 concerning the *castrum* in Chocz.

<sup>37</sup> R. Kašinowska, *Dobrzyca. Fortalicja – pałac – muzeum*, Dobrzyca [no date], pp. 21, 23; see also: L. Kajzer, *Wstęp do badań*, p. 403; Tomala Kal., pp. 72–75.

<sup>38</sup> We are specifically referring to the buildings in the following settlements in the Poznań Voivodeship: Gostyń, Górka Miejska, Kopanica, Książ, Oborniki, Obrzycko, Pczew, Poniec, Popielewo, Sarnowa, Stęszew, Trzciel. Additionally, Niepart and Włoszakowice should be included; L. Kajzer, *Małe czy duże*, pp. 115, 127.

<sup>39</sup> T. Jurek, *Ujście – starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 440–441.

<sup>40</sup> MK 25, k. 154r: „Ita tum, quod castrum ipsum Usczye construat et edifi ciet et construere sit obligatus” [=MRPS IV/1, no. 1505]. J. Tomala (Tomala Wlkp., p. 350) believes that the pledge was about a fortified manor house rather than some kind of castle structure.

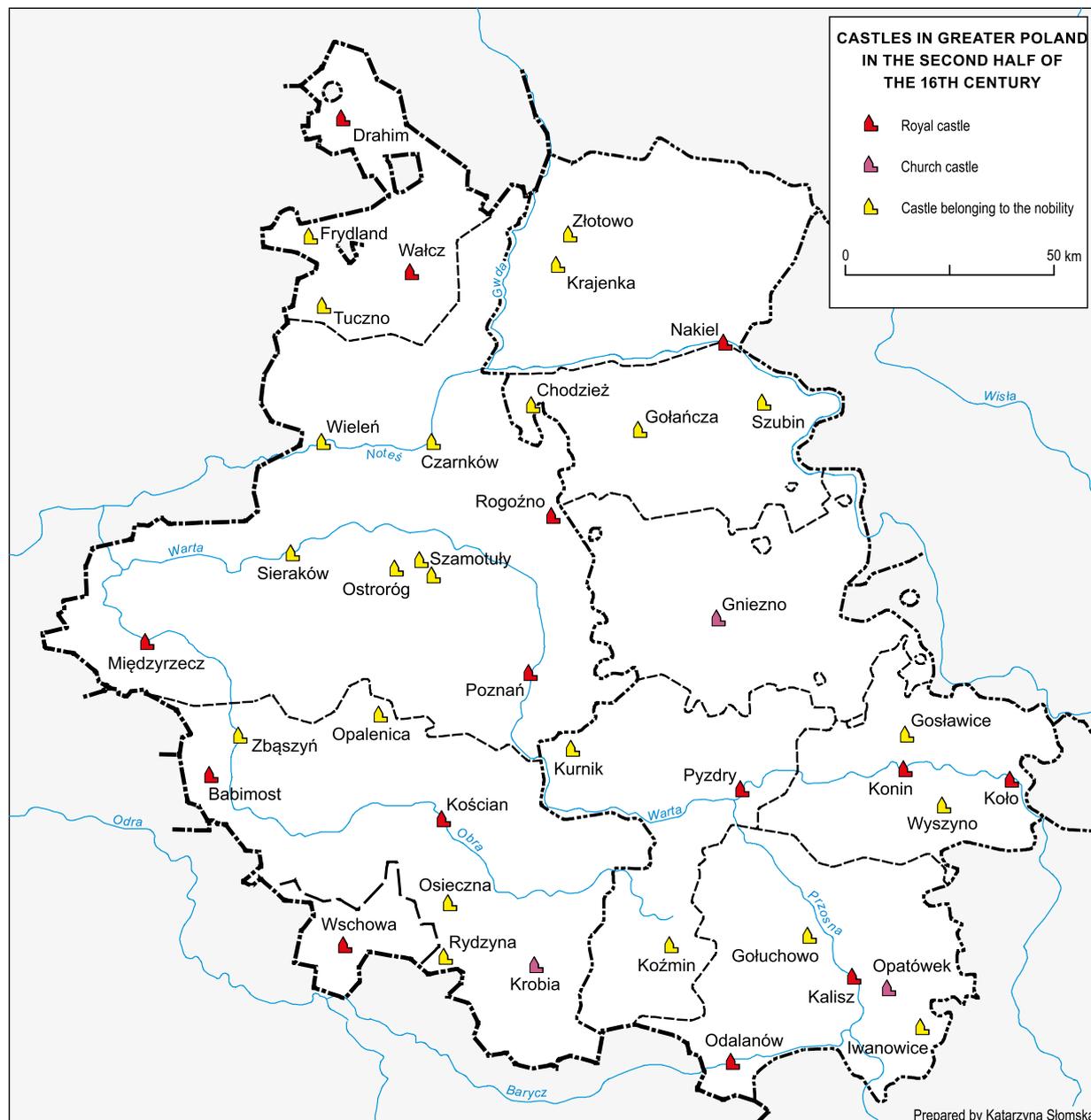
<sup>41</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 24; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne*, p. 47. Idem in his earlier work (*Zamki państwowe*, p. 153) stated, that the castle in Ujście was taken apart at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

<sup>42</sup> K. Górka-Gońska, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, no. 3, p. 497. The fires in Wałcz were noted in the years 1520, 1563, 1577 and 1584; eidem, *Wałcz*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 494. In the inventory of the Wałcz starosta’s district from 1619, created at the time of passing on the district as a lease to Mikołaj Nieborowski by Jan Gostomski, the starosta of Wałcz, the building is described as a manor by the author of the inventory.

<sup>43</sup> Leksykon, p. 226; see: J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne*, p. 49; T. Olszacki, *Zamek w Kole w świetle wyników badań archeologicznych (1977–1983) i nowych interpretacji*, [in:] *Królewskie miasto Koło. Studia w 650. rocznicę lokacji miasta*, ed. I. Skierska, Koło 2012, pp. 106–111, who treat the description from the inspection of 1616–1620 as evidence of the use of the castle in Koło.

In Greater Poland, the castle in Drahim (Stary Drawsk) was a separate settlement unit and the residence of the starosta of the Drahim district.<sup>44</sup> The castle in Koło was also located further from the town, which is why we also treated it as a separate settlement unit.<sup>45</sup>

In total, we identified 40 castles in the territory we studied.



Map 1. Castles in Greater Poland in the 16th century

<sup>44</sup> Only the bawn, where the Drahim farm was located, was associated with the castle in Drahim; LWWK 1564, pp. 20–21.

<sup>45</sup> We understand the castle in Koło to be a distinct settlement unit due to its distance from the town (about 1.5 km). We are aware that the residences were often built at a distance from other settlements (Z. Morawski, *Miejskie układy przestrzenne*, [in:] *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, p. 36; R. Grygiel, *Curia cum fortalicio (dwór i wieża obronna) podstawą układu rezydencjonalnego późnośredniowiecznej siedziby rycerskiej w Wielkopolsce*, [in:] *Rezydencje w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*, ed. E. Opaliński, T. Wiślicz, Warsaw 2001, p. 206), but usually this distance was not as big.

In the Poznań Voivodeship, these were (in order to highlight the ownership, we used the following abbreviations: n – nobility, r – royal, c – Church):

- In the Wałcz district:  
Drahim (Stare Drawsko) (r),<sup>46</sup> Frydland (Mirosławiec) (n),<sup>47</sup> Tuczno (n),<sup>48</sup> Wałcz (r);<sup>49</sup>
- In the Poznań district:  
Czarnków (n),<sup>50</sup> Międzyrzecz (r),<sup>51</sup> Ostroróg (n),<sup>52</sup> Poznań (r),<sup>53</sup> Rogoźno (r),<sup>54</sup> Sieraków (n),<sup>55</sup> Szamotuły (n – Świdwa family), Szamotuły (n – Górka family),<sup>56</sup> Wieleń (n);<sup>57</sup>
- In the Kościan district:  
Babimost (r),<sup>58</sup> Kościan (r),<sup>59</sup> Krobia (c),<sup>60</sup> Opalenica (n),<sup>61</sup> Osieczna (n),<sup>62</sup> Rydzyna (n),<sup>63</sup> Zbąszyń (n);<sup>64</sup>
- In the Wschowa district:  
Wschowa (r).<sup>65</sup>

In the Kalisz Voivodeship these were:

- In the Nakło district:  
Krajenka (n),<sup>66</sup> Nakło (r),<sup>67</sup> Złotów (n);<sup>68</sup>
- In the Kcynia district:  
Chodzież (n),<sup>69</sup> Gołańcz (n),<sup>70</sup> Szubin (n);<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Leksykon, p. 465–468; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 17–22; K. Górską-Gołaską, *Drahim*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 392–395; H.W. Janocha, F.J. Lachowicz, D. Ptaszyńska, *Gród i zamek w Starym Drawsku*, Poznań 1972.

<sup>47</sup> Leksykon, p. 308; K. Górską-Gołaską, *Frydland*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 443; eadem, *Frydland – dobra*, [in:] ibidem, p. 446.

<sup>48</sup> Leksykon, pp. 506–508; K. Górską-Gołaską, *Tuczno – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 378; H.W. Janocha, *Tuczno – badania archeologiczne zamku*, „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie”, vol. 8, 1962, pp. 547–548; H.W. Janocha, F.J. Lachowicz, *Tuczno. Z dziejów zamku i miasta*, Poznań 1981.

<sup>49</sup> Leksykon, p. 526; SMK VII, no. 18; K. Górską-Gołaską, T. Jurek, *Wałcz – starostwo*, p. 497.

<sup>50</sup> Leksykon, p. 137; K. Górską-Gołaską, *Czarnków – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 289–294.

<sup>51</sup> Leksykon, pp. 304–307; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 12–15; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 3; G. Rutkowska, *Międzyrzecz – starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 155 and p. 159, footnote 1.

<sup>52</sup> Leksykon, p. 362; E. Callier, *Ostroróg. Monografia w głównych zarysach*, „Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego”, vol. 18, 1891, no. 1, pp. 136, 140, 146; G. Rutkowska, *Ostroróg – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 493.

<sup>53</sup> Leksykon, pp. 396–397; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 3–6; E. Linette, *Zamek w Poznaniu. 700 lat dziejów*, Warsaw–Poznań 1981; J. Skuratowicz, *Zamek starostów generalnych Wielkopolski*, KMP, 2004, no. 4, pp. 162–172; A. Zarzycki, *Rezydencja władców polskich od XIII do XVIII w.*, [in:] *Zamek królewski w Poznaniu. Historia i restytucja*, ed. A. Kaszubkiewicz et al., Poznań 2014, pp. 69–91.

<sup>54</sup> See footnotes 17–20.

<sup>55</sup> Leksykon, pp. 455–456; J. Skuratowicz, *Zamek w Sierakowie*, „Kronika Wielkopolski”, vol. 1 (68), 1994, pp. 58–69; T. Jurek, *Sieraków*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 410, 415, 420.

<sup>56</sup> Leksykon, pp. 473–474; T. Jurek, *Szamotuły – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 782, 799.

<sup>57</sup> Leksykon, p. 536; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 27–30; T. Jurek, *Wieleń – dobra i starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, p. 599.

<sup>58</sup> See footnote 8.

<sup>59</sup> Leksykon, p. 231; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 8–11; K. Górską-Gołaską, *Kościan – starostwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 411–412.

<sup>60</sup> Leksykon, p. 251; MK 35, p. 829 (1522: “In castro Crobya mense episcopalis Posnaniensis”) [=MRPS IV/2, no. 13286]; MRPS IV/1, no. 3499 (1520: “custodiam arcis Crobya”); G. Rutkowska, *Krobia – klucz dóbr, folwark i zamek (dwór)*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 458.

<sup>61</sup> Leksykon, p. 353; T. Jurek, *Opalenica – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, pp. 427–428.

<sup>62</sup> Leksykon, p. 359–360; T. Jakimowicz, *Zamek w Osiecznej*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, vol. 32, 1970, pp. 404–407; K. Górską-Gołaską, *Osieczna – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 463, 469.

<sup>63</sup> Leksykon, pp. 436–439; L. Preibisz, *Zamek i klucz rydzynski*, Rydzyna 1938 (reprint: 1992); T. Jurek, *Rydzyna – dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 254.

<sup>64</sup> Leksykon, p. 561; R. Linette, *Twierdza w Zbąszyniu*, [in:] *Studia nad renesansem w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 39–50.

<sup>65</sup> Leksykon, p. 548; SMK VI, no. 243; LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 23–24.

<sup>66</sup> Leksykon, pp. 236–237; H.W. Janocha, F.J. Lachowicz, *Zamki Pomorza Środkowego*, Koszalin 1990, pp. 89–92.

<sup>67</sup> Leksykon, p. 315.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, pp. 563–564; H.W. Janocha, F.J. Lachowicz, *Zamki Pomorza Środkowego*, pp. 213–216.

<sup>69</sup> See footnotes 9–11.

<sup>70</sup> Leksykon, pp. 189–191; C. Sikorski, *Zamek*, pp. 106–107; M. Strzałko, *Pałace i dwory w dawnym województwie kaliskim*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1997, pp. 31–63.

<sup>71</sup> Leksykon, pp. 482–483; C. Sikorski, *Zamek*, pp. 107–109; A. Wędzki, *Rezydencja w Szubinie na Patukach w świetle źródeł pisanych*, Żnin–Szubin 1992 (Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Szubina, vol. 2).

- In the Gniezno district:  
Gniezno (c);<sup>72</sup>
- In the Konin district:  
Gosławice (n),<sup>73</sup> Koło (r),<sup>74</sup> Konin (r),<sup>75</sup> Wyszyno (n);<sup>76</sup>
- In the Pyzdry district:  
Koźmin (n),<sup>77</sup> Kórnik (n),<sup>78</sup> Pyzdry (r);<sup>79</sup>
- In the Kalisz district:  
Gołuchowo (n),<sup>80</sup> Iwanowice (n),<sup>81</sup> Kalisz (r),<sup>82</sup> Odolanów (r),<sup>83</sup> Opatówek (c).<sup>84</sup>

In the Poznań Voivodeship, we localized 21 castles, in the Kalisz Voivodeship – 19. Over Remove the comma half (23, which is 58%) belonged to the nobility, 14 were found in the estates of the king (35%) and three (8%) were owned by the bishops of Greater Poland (archbishops of Gniezno in Gniezno and Opatówek, the bishop of Poznań in Kroba). Most of the castle structures (35, so 87.5%) functioned near towns. Only the castles in Gołuchowo, Gosławice and Wyszyno (all in the south-eastern part of the Kalisz Voivodeship) were located near rural settlements. We already discussed the two castles located away from town and treated as separate settlement units.

At the end of the sixteenth century, 11 abbeys existed in the area we studied; they were marked on the main map, also in instances when they were not separate settlement units.<sup>85</sup> In the Poznań Voivodeship, in the Poznań diocese, abbeys were located in Lubiń (Benedictines), Bledzew, Obra, Owińska (female), Paradyż, Przemęt (all five Cistercians) – together there were six.<sup>86</sup> In the Kalisz Voivodeship, in the Gniezno diocese, there were five abbeys: Benedictines in Mogilno, Cistercians in Łąd, Ołobok (female) and Wągrowiec, canons regular in Trzemeszno.<sup>87</sup> All the abbey monasteries were located further away from settlements, to which they were connected: the exceptions were the abbeys and monasteries of the Cistercians in Łąd (Konin district) and Paradyż (Gościkowo; Poznań district).

(2017)

Translated by Karolina Frank

<sup>72</sup> Leksykon, p. 185; C. Sikorski, *Uwagi*, pp. 261–265; K. Śmigiel, *Rezydencje*, pp. 255–260.

<sup>73</sup> Leksykon, p. 194.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, pp. 226–228; J. Baciński, *Zamek królewski w Kole*, Koło 2005, pp. 13–17; T. Olszacki, *Zamek w Kole*, pp. 106–111.

<sup>75</sup> Leksykon, p. 228; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 34–38; LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 31–32.

<sup>76</sup> Leksykon, p. 549; Z. Hirsch, Z. Reichert-Hirschowa, *Wyniki badań architektonicznych zamku w Wyszyńcu*, SMDWP, vol. 13, 1962, pp. 317–324.

<sup>77</sup> Leksykon, pp. 232–234; *Zamek w Koźminie. Dzieje budowlane*, part 1, ed. T. Poklewski-Kozieł, J. Nekanda-Trepka, Łódź 1994; J. Tomala, *Późnośredniowieczne i nowożytnie założenia*, pp. 236–239.

<sup>78</sup> Leksykon, pp. 234–236.

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem, p. 410; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 41–45; L. Kajzer, T. Olszacki, *Zamek w Pyzdrach w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych*, „*Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses*”, vol. 47, 2011, pp. 255–283.

<sup>80</sup> Leksykon, pp. 191–193; T. Jakimowicz, *Gołuchów*, [Poznań 1973]; Tomala Kal., pp. 80–97; compare with L. Kajzer, *Wstęp do badań*, p. 403.

<sup>81</sup> See footnotes 12–16.

<sup>82</sup> Leksykon, p. 217; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 31–33; Tomala Kal., pp. 32–33, 103–111.

<sup>83</sup> Leksykon, p. 335; Tomala Kal., pp. 33, 120–123.

<sup>84</sup> Leksykon, p. 353; Ulan. *Visit.*, pp. 407 (1512), 704–705 (1548); AAG, ACap. I, B. 147, ff. 266–266v; Tomala Kal., pp. 33–34, 123–127.

<sup>85</sup> Compare with two volumes of the series, in which monasteries were marked on the main map. On the map of the Sandomierz Voivodeship, abbeys were only marked, when they were independent settlement units (K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, footnote 6, in this edition III.3.1.2), on the map of the Cracow Voivodeship, the abbeys were marked even if they were not independent settlement units (M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Church administration borders*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.2.2.1).

<sup>86</sup> LBP, p. 57; Now2, pp. 756–760, 775; K. Górka-Gołaska, *Bledzew – opactwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 58–62; eadem, *Lubiń – opactwo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, pp. 633–655; T. Jurek, *Obra – opactwo cystersów i jego dobra*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, pp. 388–404; idem, *Owińska – opactwo cysterek*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 539–548; idem, *Paradyż – opactwo cystersów*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 576–593; idem, *Przemęt – klasztor cystersów*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 842–850.

<sup>87</sup> *Constitutiones*, f. C4r: Ordo et numerus ecclesiarum archidioecesis Gnesnensis; A.M. Wyrwa, *Organizacja wewnętrzna w klasztorach cysterek polskiej prowincji cystersów w świetle statutów Edmunda od Krzyża z 1580 r.*, [in:] *Cysterki w dziejach i kulturze ziem polskich, dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Europy Środkowej. Materiały z siódmej Międzynarodowej Konferencji Cystersologów odbytej z okazji 800. rocznicy fundacji opactwa cysterek w Trzebnicy. Trzebnica, 18–21 września 2002 r.*, ed. A.M. Wyrwa, A. Kiełbasa SDS, J. Swastek, Poznań 2004, p. 53.

### III.3.2.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

While working on the character and size of the settlements we followed the same rules that accompanied our work on the previous maps from this series.<sup>1</sup> We have therefore distinguished:

- Centres of state administration, i.e. of voivodeships, lands and districts (See State administration borders),<sup>2</sup>
- Centres of Church administration, i.e. archdeaconries, deaneries and parishes (see Church administration borders),<sup>3</sup>
- Towns and villages with their size,
- Mills, ironworks and demesnes that were given their own name, localized for certain as separate settlements,
- Castles in towns and villages.

All these signs have been described in the key to the map. We have established, that in the second half of the sixteenth century there were no glass works or mines that would have their own name.<sup>4</sup>

The list of mills marked on the map goes as follows:

In Łęczyca Voivodeship:

- In Łęczyca district: Borowiec, Rudny;
- In Brzeziny district: Chachuła, Chrapek, Konewka, Krępa, Kulan, Lamus, Laskowski, Pluskwa, Ruchna, Spała;

In Sieradz Voivodeship:

- In Sieradz district: Ciągnisz, Czartek, Czekaj, Grzybek, Jaryszek, Karśnia, Kiełbaska, Kolasa, Koszatka, Lipka, Lisek, Szłop;
- In Szadek district: Księży Młyn, Łetowski, Malczewski;
- In Piotrków district: Borowiec, Bugaj, Depczyk, Dziewuliny, Franek, Kocielek, Mąka, Wierzchny, Zbyszek;
- In Radomsko district: Barycz, Borowy, Dąbrowa, Dobra, Olszyński, Osty, Ruda, Soczewka, Stępka, Wójcik, Wójtowski
- In Wieluń district: Bezula, Drab;
- In Ostrzeszów district: Czyżowski, Drożdżyny, Korpys, Krok, Kuźnica Bobrowska, Mysłaki, Niesób, Smolny.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7 A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Rutkowski, *Granice państwowych jednostek terytorialnych*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.2.1.5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. idem, *Granice administracji kościelnej*, [in:] ibidem, in this edition III.2.2.5.

<sup>4</sup> In the inventories of Church property of Cracow chapter in the first half of the sixteenth century we find the following mentions: in 1508 villa vitreatorium, 1516 vitreatorium alias Huta, in 1531 Huta fuit officina vitreatoria (SPPP, vol 12, pp. 448, 459, 477 f.). Later only a village Huta appears (Brzeziny district). In the inventories of the property of Cuyavia bishopric from 1534 and 1568 we find mentions about the existence of glass works near Łaznowo in Brzeziny district (Inv. 1534, p. 66 f.); in the tax register of Piotrków district from 1577 there is a 'huta szklana' ('glass works') mentioned by Dłutów (ASK I 25, f. 262). The glass works lying several kilometres from the village later developed into village called Huta Dłutowska.

We have localized only eight ironworks,<sup>5</sup> all in Sieradz Voivodeship:

- In Sieradz district: Kuźnica Brąszowska and Kuźnica Klobar;
- In Szadek district: Ruda;
- In Piotrków district: Kuźnica, Kuźnica Lubiecka;
- In Radomsko district: Dąbek;
- In Wieluń district: Kuźnica Skakawska;
- In Ostrzeszów district: Kuźnica Kraszowicka.

We have marked the following demesnes that had their own name:

- In Łęczyca Voivodeship: Wójciki (in Łęczyca district);
- In Sieradz Voivodeship: Baszków, Cienia Mała, Garbów, Kociaty, Kołowa, Noski (in Sieradz district), Sepułki, Ubysław (in Szadek district), Dzieciarty (in Piotrków district), Cisów (in Wieluń district).

The only inn with its own name localized, Żeglina, lay in Sieradz district.

The villages were inhabited, apart from their owners, by serfs, hortulani and landless peasants. Only a small part of the population held a profession not related to agriculture (rural crafts and trade). It must be stated here, that the tax registers from Sieradz Voivodeship contain relatively little information, so the assessment of the diversity of the inhabitants can be formulated only on the basis of the materials related to Łęczyca Voivodeship and information from inspections of crown property and inventories of the property of the Church. Now, the number of villages in Łęczyca Voivodeship inhabited by a higher number of craftsmen did not exceed twenty.<sup>6</sup> When it comes to villages of specific vocational structure, eight villages in Sieradz and Szadek districts must be listed: these villages (gentry and archbishopric) were inhabited only by fishermen. This explains the fact, that some of them are absent from tax registers.<sup>7</sup>

As in previous volumes of this series, as towns were treated settlements that paid the municipal tax ('szos'), both: those for which we know the town charter, and those whose charter we do not know. We have included towns that existed in the second half of the sixteenth century, i.e. those settlements that certainly or probably were towns at that time, while we have disregarded those settlements, whose town character was evidently unstable, temporary (failed locations) and those, that were not located despite being granted the charter (unrealized locations).

Here follows the list of towns in Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century, along with the category of ownership (r – royal, c – Church, n – nobility) and – in specific cases – present name:

Łęczyca Voivodeship:

- Łęczyca district: Budzynek (n), Dąbie (r), Grabowo (n), Grzegorzewo (c), Kazimierz (c), Kłodawa (r), Krośniewice (n), Łąkoszyn (n), Łęczyca (r), Parzynczów (Parzęczew –n), Piątek (c), Poddąbice (n), Zgierz (r);
- Brzeziny district: Będków (n), Bratoszewice (n), Brzeziny (n), Inowłódz (r), Łodzia (Łódź –c), Skoszewy (n), Stryków (n), Ujazd (n);
- Orłów district: Bielawy (n), Oporów (n), Orłów (n), Sobota (n), Żychlin (n).

Sieradz Voivodeship:

- Sieradz district: Burzenin (n), Dobra (n), Sieradz (r), Staw (n), Szczerców (r), Turek (c), Warta (r), Widawa (n), Zamysłów (Dobra – part, n);
- Szadek district: Buczek (n), Lutomirsko (Lutomiersk –n), Łasko (Łask –n), Pabianice (c), Szadek (r), Uniejów (c);

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<sup>5</sup> There was a number of ironworks in villages as well. B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego w XIV–XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1954, p. 280, listed the ironworks in Wieluń district in the appendix, and we were able to identify and localize one of them. In Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships there is much less iron ore, crucial for the existence of ironworks, than in Sandomierz Voivodeship.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, in Sokołów in Zgierz parish there were 12 craftsmen (P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 63), in Chełm in its own parish – 12 fishermen, in Lubocheń Wielki in its own parish – three sellers, seven craftsmen, two butchers, four brewers, in Sadykierz in Rzeczyca parish – six sellers and four craftsmen.

<sup>7</sup> Wielgiłak, Brzozówka, Kozubów, Sarbice, Kawieczyno, Welszczyce, Boczek, Zaspy (Łaski LB, I, p. 345; Ulanowski, *Visitationes*, p. 239; J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundiów arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego od XVI do XVIII w.*, Poznań 1955, p. 80; P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, pp. 184, 405).

- Piotrków district: Grocholice (c), Piotrków (r), Rozprza (n), Rzgów (c), Sulejów (c), Tuszyn (r), Wolbórz (c);
- Radomsko district: Brzeźnica (Nowa Brzeźnica –r), Kamieńsko (n), Nowopole (Konicopol –n), Pajęczno (r), Pławno (n), Radomskie (Radomsko –r), Żytne (Żytno –n);
- Wieluń district: Bolesławiec (r), Działoszyn (r), Kamion (Kamień –r), Lututów (Lututów –n), Osjaków (n), Praszka (n), Toporów (cn), Wieluń (r), Wieruszów (n), Wodziezna (n);
- Ostrzeszów district: Baranów (n), Borek (r), Grabów (r), Kobyla Góra (n), Mikstat (r), Ostrzeszów (r).

In the wake of the sixteenth century there were – according to Roman Szczygieł – 68 cities in the territory of our study.<sup>8</sup> At the end of this century – according to our research – 72. It must be noted that we have not included Goraj and Kałów (listed by R. Szczygieł) in the end of the sixteenth century list, because the last time they were mentioned along with the term ‘oppidum’ is in Łaski’s *Liber beneficiorum*.<sup>9</sup> We have not counted towns Brus, Gieczno (unsuccessful locations),<sup>10</sup> Nowy Dobrzelin and Nakielnica (unrealized locations)<sup>11</sup> and also Chełm (unsuccessful or only planned location).<sup>12</sup> All these settlements lay in Łęczyca Voivodeship. In Sieradz Voivodeship, however, there was Małyń, whose location was also unsuccessful. In 1549 Marek Łubnicki was granted a privilege to transform this village into town, and in 1551 people in surrounding towns were encouraged to inhabit this village.<sup>13</sup> The efforts, however, must have brought no results, as in registers from 1552–1576 Małyń appears as a village, as well as in inspections from 1635–36 and 1683.<sup>14</sup> That is why the information that in parish registers from the local parishes around 1654 Małyń was described as town<sup>15</sup> should be treated as an inaccuracy of the source, if it is not a mistake of the first informer.

In the course of the sixteenth century the number of towns in the area described in this volume was increased by 6.<sup>16</sup> As convincingly proven by R. Szczygieł, the realization of the town charter of Rzgów from 1467 did not begin until 1505.<sup>17</sup> In 1544 Stanisław Przerębski, the Sieradz Pantler, was allowed to transform his village Pławno in Radomsko district into a town.<sup>18</sup> In 1546 Jan Russocki, (the Kalisz Sword-bearer) was granted the privilege to transform his village Długa into a town named Niezamyśl.<sup>19</sup> Długa was situated by the town Dobra to the west, whereas Russocki located his city on the south-eastern side of Dobra, and changed its name to Zamysłów. In 1550 the archbishop issued an act of erection of the church in Zamysłów, and in 1563 there were eight craftsmen in ‘Niemysłów’ and it paid the town tax. Soon afterwards the place lost the character of a separate town and became a part of Dobra.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Szczygieł, p. 22, lists 31 towns in Łęczyca Voivodeship and 39 in Sieradz Voivodeship (70 in total), but Głowno and Łęgonice must be removed from the number of towns in Łęczyca Voivodeship, as the first one was situated in Rawa Voivodeship and the second one in Sandomierz Voivodeship.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*; Łaski LB, II, pp. 371, 435; also R. Rosin, *Studia z dziejów dawnych miast województw łęczyckiego i sieradzkiego (XII–XVI w.)*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego”, vol. 14, 1959, pp. 1–12 and *Miasta regionu łódzkiego. Próba periodyzacji dziejów*, „Region Łódzki. Studia i Materiały”, 1971, p. 128 failed to find any source information.

<sup>10</sup> Szczygieł, pp. 39, 214 f., see also A. Tomczak, *Zarys dziejów parafii Gieczno do roku 1939*, Toruń 1997, pp. 82 f.

<sup>11</sup> Szczygieł, pp. 38, 215.

<sup>12</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 442 call Chełmno a town only once, in the introduction to the description of this parish, apart from that, there are no other references to the town character of this settlement, contrary to e.g. Kałów or Goraj (*ibidem*, p. 373, 435); see Szczygieł, pp. 38 f., 214 f.

<sup>13</sup> Szczygieł, pp. 40, 216.

<sup>14</sup> AGAD, I, 25, f. 665; 26, f. 825; P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 236; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, pp. 136, 147.

<sup>15</sup> This information, obtained from Roman Kaczmarek was given by R. Rosin, *Pabianice w XV i XVI wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Pabianic*, ed. G. Missalowa, Łódź 1968, p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> Against Szczygieł’s suggestions on p. 41 f., 117 f., 330, we did not include Nowe Miasto near Pabianice, because the 1553 document only added new building plots and a new market square to the existing city, but did not create another town commune near Pabianice, that would have its own authorities, see M. Baruch, *Pabianice, Rzgów i wsie okoliczne. Monografia historyczna dawnych dóbr Kapituły Krakowskiej w sieradzkim i łęczyckim*, Warsaw 1903, pp. 161–164, 341, 347; J. Goldberg, *Dzieje Pabianic w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 1990, pp. 7 f.

<sup>17</sup> Szczygieł, pp. 40 f., 167, 217.

<sup>18</sup> MRPS IV, no. 21508; see Szczygieł, pp. 39, 166, 217.

<sup>19</sup> MRPS IV, no. 7568; Szczygieł, pp. 39 f., 167, 216 f.

<sup>20</sup> The poll register from 1662 mentions ‘Dobra et Zamysłów’ (ASK I 74, f. 281v). the location of Zamysłów is shown on Perthées’s map and on Gilly’s map. The church (chapel) of St. John outside the town Dobra appears in inspection from 1635–1779. Rybus, p. 177 (two mentions); P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 209; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 1, no. 1, pp. 140, 179; Librowski, *Repertorium*, part 4, p. 88.

The acts of location of Buczek in Szadek district come from 1549 (Buczkwowscy).<sup>21</sup> Wodziczna in Wieluń district (property of the nobility) was mentioned in 1570 as a town, and in 1670 and later it appears as village.<sup>22</sup> We assume that at the end of the sixteenth century it was (temporarily) a town. In the second half of the sixteenth century Zborowscy placed the town Borek right by Ostrzeszów, probably in an earlier uninhabited area. In 1591 Borków became Crown property ('frymark').<sup>23</sup>

In order to determine the size of towns (number of burghers) we used tax registers from the sixteenth century, Crown property inspections from three periods (1564/5, 1616–20, 1628–32), Church property inventories, poll tax registers from the seventeenth century (comparatively)<sup>24</sup> and studies. We based our evaluation on the number of houses, and if the number of houses was not known – the number of craftsmen.<sup>25</sup> We used the same division into size categories as in the commentaries to the maps of Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeship, and the same conversion rate as in Sandomierz Voivodeship (average nine persons per one house).<sup>26</sup>

The results of our calculations of town size brought the following results: 18 out of 72 towns in the territory had more than 1,000 burghers (these were marked as cities on the map). These were: Kłodawa,<sup>27</sup> Łęczyca<sup>28</sup> and Piątek<sup>29</sup> (Łęczyca district), Brzeziny<sup>30</sup> (Brzeziny district), Sieradz,<sup>31</sup> Warta<sup>32</sup> (Sieradz district), Łask,<sup>33</sup> Pabianice,<sup>34</sup> Szadek,<sup>35</sup> Uniejów<sup>36</sup> (Szadek district), Piotrków (see III.2.2.2),<sup>37</sup> Rzgów,<sup>38</sup> Tuszyn<sup>39</sup> and Wolbórz<sup>40</sup> (see III.2.2.2) (Piotrków district), Brzeźnica<sup>41</sup> and Radomsko<sup>42</sup> (Radomsko district), Wieluń<sup>43</sup> (Wieluń district), Grabów<sup>44</sup> (Ostrzeszów district). Perhaps

<sup>21</sup> Szczygieł, pp. 39, 216.

<sup>22</sup> Rosin, Słownik, pp. 177 f., Szczygieł passes over Wodziczna in silence.

<sup>23</sup> This town does not appear in tax registers. The act of the location is missing and earliest mentions come from the documents issued in relations to the ownership change (MK 136, ff. 37–38, 86–87); see Szczygieł, pp. 40, 215 f.

<sup>24</sup> About this sources see K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Sieradz.

<sup>25</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Sieć miejska w Wielkopolsce w XIII–XVI wieku. Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, p. 391 assumed the number of craftsmen as a basis for the classification of towns according to size around 150. As cities (large towns), counting 90–100 craftsmen, or more, in the area of our interest (map no. 5), he classified: Łęczyca, Piątek, Brzeziny, Kłodawa, Sieradz, Piotrków and Wieluń. For sake of comparison, it could be added that H. Samsonowicz (M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 155) divided the cities that existed around 1500 into four categories, according to size. He did not include any of the cities in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships in the first category, in second category he placed: Piotrków, Radomsko, Sieradz, Szadek, Uniejów, Warta, Wieluń and Wolbórz from Sieradz Voivodeship, and from Łęczyca Voivodeship: Brzeziny, Inowłódz, Łęczyca and Piątek.

<sup>26</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, footnote 51, in this edition III.3.2.2.

<sup>27</sup> In 1616 there were 206 houses in Kłodawa, LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 227.

<sup>28</sup> In 1564/1565 there were 183 plots in the city and 134 in the suburbs LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 131.

<sup>29</sup> In the end of the sixteenth century there were 180 houses in Piątek, in the middle of the seventeenth century – 320 (Miasta polskie, vol. II, p. 64); S.M. Zajączkowski, *Zarys dziejów klucza piątkowskiego i tenuty zdunskiej arcybiskupa gnieźnieńskiego (do lat siedemdziesiątych XVI wieku)*, Acta Universitatis Lodzianis, Folia Historica, 29, 1987, p. 61 claims that in the sixteenth century Piątek had 900 inhabitants, without people related to the archbishop's manor.

<sup>30</sup> Around 1580 over 300 craftsmen worked in Brzeziny, mostly drapers (A. Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie w XIV–XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1955, pp. 245–253); T. Nowak informs, that in the middle of the sixteenth century there were 441 craftsmen in the city (T. Nowak, *Brzeziny. Dzieje miasta do 1995 roku*, ed. K. Badziak, Łódź–Brzeziny 1997, p. 63), and H. Żerek-Kleszcz, basing on the analysis of metrical registration claimed, that in the beginning of the seventeenth century the number of inhabitants could reach even 3800 (ibidem, p. 106).

<sup>31</sup> 336 houses in 1628, LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> 260 houses in 1616, LWWK 1616 part 1, p. 107; see K. Wiliński, K. Bryński, *Dzieje miasta Warty*, Warsaw 1984, p. 35.

<sup>33</sup> 147 houses burned in 1620; Miasta Polskie, vol. II, p. 52.

<sup>34</sup> 163 houses in 1606; M. Baruch, *Pabianice, Rzgów i wsie okoliczne*, pp. 162 f.

<sup>35</sup> 266 houses in 1616; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> Around 1512 there were even 290 houses in Uniejów (Ulanowski, *Visitationes*, p. 227) but soon the role of archbishop's main residence was taken over by Łowicz (archdeaconry seat since 1522, there – beside Piotrków – the synods gathered), and so the golden era of Uniejów ended (J. Szymczak, *Uniejów do schyłku XVI wieku*, [in:] *Uniejów. Dzieje miasta*, ed. J. Szymczak, Łódź–Uniejów 1995, pp. 77, 95, 97 f.).

<sup>37</sup> See footnote 49.

<sup>38</sup> 247 houses in 1606; J. Goldberg, *Dzieje Pabianic*, p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> 153 houses in 1546/65; LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> See footnote 51.

<sup>41</sup> 160 houses in 1628; LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 104.

<sup>42</sup> 353 houses in the city and suburbs in 1616; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 96.

<sup>43</sup> 133 craftsmen in 1563, P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 309.

<sup>44</sup> 167 houses in 1628, LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 199.

Inowłódz<sup>45</sup> (Brzeziny district), Turek<sup>46</sup> (Sieradz district), Lutomiersk<sup>47</sup> in Szadek district exceeded the number of 1,000 burghers.

Brzeziny (see III.2.2.2),<sup>48</sup> Piotrków,<sup>49</sup> Sieradz<sup>50</sup> and Wolbórz<sup>51</sup> should be distinguished. They were the biggest cities, with the number of burghers certainly exceeding 2,000.

Cities which were deemed not to exceed the number of 1,000 burghers were marked on the map as towns.

The following bigger cities belonged to the Church: Pabianice, Piątek, Rzgów, Turek, Uniejów and Wolbórz, and the following to the nobility: Brzeziny, Lutomiersk and Łask. The remaining were royal cities.

The size of rural settlements was established with the use of methodology similar to that used while working on this subject for the volumes on Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeship. Tax registers for Sieradz Voivodeship from the second half of the sixteenth century do not contain data necessary to calculate the rate specifying the number of serfs per lan. Thus, we have assumed the rates used for Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeship, i.e. 10 to 13 persons per serf lan, dependent on the number and size of sections. A higher rate was used for higher ownership fragmentation.<sup>52</sup> We have also taken into consideration the fact that in Crown and Church property farms were bigger than in estates of the nobility and for these two types of property we have used (as in previous volumes) 10 persons for 1 serf lan rate. When it comes to the rate defining the number of people in a family, we assumed the one used for the map of Mazovia, i.e. four people in case of hortulani and landless peasants, five people for gentry and craftsmen families.<sup>53</sup> In the cases of villages belonging to farm gentry we have also used the same multiplier as in the case of Mazovia (11 people per lan). As farm gentry were quite numerous in the area described in this research, perhaps the source basis would allow to specify the multiplier in a more precise manner, but – it could be supposed – it would not be a significant verification and would not influence the list of settlements with more than 200 inhabitants.

Using the sources and the above-mentioned rates and multipliers we were able – after calculations – to indicate and mark on the map the following villages, that probably numbered more than 200 inhabitants:

- Łęczyca district: Błonie (n), Gaj (n), Grabowo – village (n), Kopy (n), Kościół (c), Krzepocino Wielkie (c), Ladorucz Wielki (c), Leszno Wielkie (n), Łęka (c), Mazowo (c), Mąkolice (c), Podgórzyce (c), Rdułtów (c), Sarnowo Wielkie (n), Słupeczka (cn), Sobota (r), Sokołowo (n), Topola (rn), Wiczkowice (rn);
- Brzeziny district: Będzelin (c), Brynica (r), Gałków (c), Glinnik (r), Królowa Wola (r), Kurowice (c), Lubocheń Wielki (r), Łaznowo (c), Popielawy (c), Rokiciny (c), Rzeczyca (r), Sadykierz (r), Siernia (n), Wiskitno (c);
- Orłów district: Bąkowo (c), Boguria (c), Borowo Wielkie (n), Dobrzelino (n), Łażniki (c), Łęki (n), Plecka Dąbrowa (n), Skrzyszewo Wielkie (n), Sobocka Wieś (n), Strugienice (n), Urzeczce (c), Wiskitnia (c), Zduny (c);
- Sieradz district: Brzeźno (n), Dąbrowa Wielka (n), Goszczonów (c), Grąbków (c), Jakubice (r), Klonowa (r), Luboła (r), Męka (r), Woźniki (r), Ziemięcino (n);
- Szadek district: Behcice (n), Borzewicko (n), Chocianowice (c), Rypułtowice (c) Wielenino (c);
- Piotrków district: Czarnocin (c), Gościmowice (c), Milejów (c), Podolin (c), Wielga Wieś (r), Wola Rakowska (c);
- Radomsko district: Makowiska (c), Uszczanowice (r);
- Wieluń district: Dietrzychowice (c), Krzywa Rzeka (r), Łubnice (c), Sokolniki (r).

<sup>45</sup> 122 houses in 1564/1565; LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 199.

<sup>46</sup> Around 1563 there were 142 houses in Turek (Ulanowska, *Visitationes*, p. 242), but in 1563 only 45 craftsmen (P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 309)

<sup>47</sup> 97 craftsmen in 1563; P. Wielkopolska, vol. II, p. 309.

<sup>48</sup> See footnote 30.

<sup>49</sup> H. Rutkowski (*Piotrków Trybunalski w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku jako miejsce zjazdów szlacheckich*, [in:] 750 lat Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego, Piotrków 1967, p. 48 calculated, that around 1800–2000 inhabited only the city proper in the 1560s.

<sup>50</sup> See footnote 28.

<sup>51</sup> Rosin, Wolbórz, p. 53 assesses that in the second half of the sixteenth century 2800 people lived in Wolbórz.

<sup>52</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7; A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2.

<sup>53</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7.

A castle was signed by some towns and rural settlements. As in previous volumes of this series, the decisive criterion was the unquestionable defensive character of the building, defined in the sources as castrum, arx or castle.<sup>54</sup> As in the case of other substantial matters, the problem lay in the sparsity of the sources in comparison to, e.g. Sandomierz Voivodeship. At the same time, works of L. Kajzer and J. Augustyniak that covered the entire area of our interest proved extremely helpful.<sup>55</sup> These authors have thoroughly used not only sources, but also – above all – professional literature, including unprinted materials. Thanks to the publications of the above-mentioned authors and B. Guerquin’s work<sup>56</sup> we can be certain that we have not made any critical mistake.

The following castles were marked on the map: royal castle Łęczycza and nobility castles Biesiekiery and Borysławice (Zamkowe) in Łęczycza district, royal Inowódz and nobility Brzeziny and Ujazd in Brzeziny district, nobility castle Oporów in Orłów district, royal castle Sieradz in Sieradz district, archbishop’s castle Uniejów in Szadek district, royal castle Piotrków, bishop’s castle Wolbórz and nobility castles Byki and Majowice in Piotrków district, royal castle Brzeźnica in Radomsko district, royal castles Bolesławiec and Wieluń and nobility castles Danków and Wieruszów in Wieluń district, and royal castles Grabów and Ostrzeszów in Ostrzeszów district.

Together we have included 20 castles (nine royal castles, two castles of churchmen and nine castles of the nobility). Following L. Kajzer’s findings we did not treat objects in Bąkowa Góra, Kępno, Sobota and Stryków as castles.<sup>57</sup>

**Table 1. Major towns in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District, land, voivodeship	Cities			Together
	Crown	Church	Nobility	
district: Łęczycza	5	3	6	14
Brzeziny	1	1	6	8
Orłów	–	–	5	5
Łęczycza Voivodeship	6	4	17	27
district: Sieradz	3	1	5	9
Szadek	1	2	3	6
Piotrków	2	4	1	7
Radomsko	3	–	4	7
Sieradz land	9	7	13	29
district: Wieluń	3	0.5	6.5	10
Ostrzeszów	4	–	2	6
Wieluń land	7	0.5	8.5	16
Sieradz Voivodeship	16	7.5	21.5	45
<b>Together</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>38.5</b>	<b>72</b>

<sup>54</sup> The information was provided by inspections and inventories of royal property (royal castles), Łaski’s Liber, Church property inventories (castles of churchmen), MRPS and entries in MK (castles of all categories).

<sup>55</sup> L. Kajzer, *Studia nad świeckim budownictwem obronnym województwa łęczyckiego w XIII–XVII wieku*, Łódź 1980 (Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Archeologica 1); L. Kajzer, J. Augustyniak, *Wstęp do studiów nad świeckim budownictwem obronnym Sieradzkiego XIII–XVII/XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1986; L. Kajzer, *Dwory obronne wieluńskiego w XIII–XVII wieku*, Łódź 1984 (Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Archeologica 6). T. Nowak, J. Szymczak, *Obiekty obronne w Sieradzkim i Wieluńskim w świetle źródeł pisanych (do końca XVI w.)*, [in:] *Między Północą a Południem*, pp. 81–93, also concerns settlements, in which earthen or wooden fortifications were situated, called fortalium, and that is why these authors list more settlements than we do.

<sup>56</sup> Guerquin, Zamki.

<sup>57</sup> Kępno was omitted on purpose, as in the sixteenth century (and probably later) it was a forticalium (Rosin, Słownik, pp. 91 f.); Bąkowa Góra due to some doubts of L. Kajzer concerning the character of the object (L. Kajzer, J. Augustyniak, *Wstęp*, pp. 57–59); Sobota – because according to Kajzer (L. Kajzer, *Studia*, pp. 281–287) in the first half of the sixteenth century it was a brick manor with a moat, and the only source entry mentioning ‘in arce’ comes from 1632; Stryków, that – according to Kajzer (L. Kajzer, *Studia*, pp. 287 f.) – in 1505 was called forticalium, and a castle or a manor in 1632.

**Table 2. Density of town network at the end of the sixteenth century**

District, land, voivodeship	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	City	Town	Together	Km <sup>2</sup> per 1 city
district: Łęczyca	2,343	3	11	14	167
Brzeziny	1318	2	6	8	165
Orłów	665	–	5	5	133
<b>Łęczyca Voivodeship</b>	<b>4,326</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>160</b>
district: Sieradz	2,326	3	6	9	258
Szadek	2,228	5	1	6	371
Piotrków	2,117	4	3	7	302
Radomsko	2,340	2	5	7	334
Sieradz land	9,011	14	15	29	311
district: Wieluń	2,443	1	9	10	244
Ostrzeszów	1,071	1	5	6	179
Wieluń land	3,514	2	14	16	220
<b>Sieradz Voivodeship</b>	<b>12,525</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>278</b>
<b>Together</b>	<b>16,851</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>234</b>

**Table 3. Villages above 200 inhabitants in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District, land, voivodeship	General number of villages	Villages above 200 inhabitants	% of all villages	Villages above 200 inhabitants				
				r	C	n	rn	cn
district: Łęczyca	575	20	3.5	5	8	5	1	1
Brzeziny	161	14	8.7	6	7	1	–	–
Orłów	172	13	7.6	–	6	7	–	–
<b>Łęczyca Voivodeship</b>	<b>908</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
district: Sieradz	337	10	3.0	5	3	2	–	–
Szadek	374.5	5	1.3	–	3	2	–	–
Piotrków	282	6	2.1	1	5	–	–	–
Radomsko	220	2	0.9	1	1	–	–	–
Sieradz land	1,213.5	23	1.9	7	12	4	–	–
district: Wieluń	146.5	4	2.7	2	2	–	–	–
Ostrzeszów	51	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wieluń land	197.5	4	2.0	2	2	–	–	–
<b>Sieradz Voivodeship</b>	<b>1,411</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>–</b>
<b>Together</b>	<b>2,319</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
%	–	100	–	27.0	47.3	23.0	1.35	1.35

r – royal property, c – Church property, n – nobility property

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.2.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

#### III.3.2a.6 CHARACTER AND SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS: RURAL SETTLEMENTS

*Wiesława Duży*

In keeping with the guiding principles of the AHP series, we have marked the following on the main map:

- villages,
- mill settlements,
- smithy settlements (ironworks),
- demesne settlements,
- pitch production settlements,
- inn settlements.

As in previous volumes of the AHP series, the lists below provide the sixteenth-century name in brackets for those settlements whose name underwent alteration or distortion.

The mill settlements placed on the main map had names of their own and were situated outside of settlements. These are:

- in Cuyavia:
  - in Brześć Voivodeship:
    - in Brześć district: Chaliński Młyn (Mill) (n), Dulewski Młyn (Mill) (n), Janiszewski Młyn (Mill) (n), Kawka (c), Kłobski Młyn (Mill) (r), Lisek (c), Luba (c), Lubrański Młyn (Mill) (n), Olszak (n), Olszak (Olszowy, n), Ośla (c), Piaski (r), Poraza (c), Prusak (c), Ruda (c), Słodowo (c), Starobrzeczki Młyn (Mill) (Staromiejski; c), Sych (n), Wulsk (c), Zawada (c), Zochel (n);
    - in Kowal district: Bobrek (n), Diabełek (r), Maślanka (Motorąg; n), Słapa (Człapa; r);
    - in Kruszwica district: Koszewski Młyn (Mill) (n);
    - in Przedecz district: Kołatki (n), Pasięka (n);
    - in Radziejów district: Dziadoch (n), Łysek (n), Nykiel (n), Ruda (n), Żelasko (c);
  - in Inowrocław Voivodeship:
    - in Bydgoszcz district: Chelczonka (Chelczący; c), Miedzyn (Miedzna; r), Rudy (Rudny; r), Smukała (c), Wojdal (c);
    - in Inowrocław district: Chrzęst (Chrząst; r), Czerniak (n), Dulinów (r), Filipia (Kukielka; r), Jarki (r), Jasień (r), Jasnowski Młyn (Mill) (Jasnow; r), Kąkol (r), Kuczek (c), Kuta (Kot; c), Osikowy (n), Zieleniec (r);
- in Dobrzyń land:
  - in Dobrzyń district: Kuzki (c), Soszki (n), Uniechowo (n);
  - in Lipno district: Bierzgło (c), Dulnik (Nadolny; c), Mień (n), Miszek (r), Ruda (Rudny; n), Sęk (c);
  - in Rypin district: Gniazdek (r), Kwaśno (n), Mały Zakroczy (r), Rudny (Rudne; r).

The main map does not show mill settlements whose location is unknown, approximate, or linked. These are:

- in Cuyavia:
  - in Brześć Voivodeship:

- in Brześć district: Czepliński (n), Gaska (n), Przeborowski Młyn (Mill) (n), Ruda (n), Stępa (n), Tornuczka (n) – location unknown; Swarowski Młyn (Mill) (n), Świech (c), Wilcze Gardło (r), Zawada (n) – approximate location; Wierzbowy (n) – location linked with Dębice Village (n);
- in Kowal district: Grodzień (n) and Zygmunt (n) – location unknown; Piątczyna (r) – location linked with Kowal Town (r);
- in Kruszwica district: Kłopot (n) and Ołdrzenica (n) – location unknown, and Trzcionka (Trzcionek; n) – approximate location;
- in Przedecz district: Bardy (c), Kruszewski (n), Nadolny (n) – location unknown for all;
- in Radziejów district: Chrzan (n), Jęczmion (Jęczmień; n), Kaczka (n), Kozubek (n) – location unknown for all – and Pogorzały (n) and Ruda (n) – approximate location for both;
- in Inowrocław Voivodeship:
  - in Bydgoszcz district: Koska (r) and Nowy (n) – the latter of unknown location;
  - in Inowrocław district: Wilczak (c) – approximate location; Olender (c) – location linked with Ołtoczyn (c); Podgórski Młyn (Mill) (r) – location linked with Podgórz Town (currently part of Toruń Town); Rwaça (r) – location linked with Dybowo/Cierpice mill settlement (Chrząst/Chrząst; r); Wilunt (r) – location linked with Stawki Village (Staw; r), which nowadays forms part of Toruń.
- in Dobrzyń land:
  - in Dobrzyń district: Zazdrość (n) – location linked with Szpetal Dolny Village (cn);
  - in Lipno district: Czajka (Czayka; c) – location unknown (probably near to Ciechocin Village; c); Rudawa (n) – location unknown (probably in the vicinity of the later-established Wąkolek, but not confirmed by cartographic sources).

The ironworks marked on the map meet the same criteria as the two settlement types mentioned above: they had names of their own and constituted separate spatial units. These are the Cuyavian settlements of Ruda Otorowska (r) in Bydgoszcz district, and Ruda (r) and Ruda (n) in Kowal district. In Dobrzyń land, Ruda (c) was such a settlement in Rypin district. The size of one settlements is worth underlining: Ruda (r), which belonged to Przedecz Gord Starosty in Kowal district, and probably had a population of even up to 100 residents. We used the same signature for mill and smithy settlements (ironworks) on the map. This decision follows from the fact that flour mills and smithies (iron smelting works) were powered by water, thus their location depended on the terrain and resulted in the formation of the same settlement type.<sup>1</sup>

Demesne settlements are another settlement type marked on the main map. What is typical of these localities is that they had names of their own and were located beyond settlement borders. These are:

- in Cuyavia:
  - in Brześć Voivodeship:
    - in Brześć district: Chromowola (n), Falborek (r), Głuszynek (n), Gołębin (r), Janiszewko (n), Kalinowiec (r), Kopanina (n), Krukowo (r), Kucierz (c), Łopatki (c), Stawiec (n), Turowo (n), Wola Zagajkowa (n), Zduny (n), Zgłowiączka (c);
    - in Kowal district: Dąbrowka (n), Dziardonice (c), Grodztwo (Grodzkie; r), Kaliska (n), Rzegocin (n), Stępka (n);
    - in Kruszwica district: Janikowo (n), Probostwo (c);
    - in Przedecz district: Arkuszewo (r), Nowa Wieś Wielka (r), Ślázewo (r), Święta Katarzyna (r), Uklejnica (n), Wolka Komorowska (n), Żórawice (n);
    - in Radziejów district: Brylewo (n), Pruchnowo (r), Świątniki (n), Świesz (n), Zakrzewek (n);
  - in Inowrocław Voivodeship:
    - in Bydgoszcz district: Borówno (n), Byszewo (c), Krężoły (n), Kusowo (n), Miedzyn (Miedzna; n), Nowy Dwór (ct), Osowiec (Osowice; n), Stary Dwór (c), Trzebień (n), Trzęsacz (c), Wudzynek (Wodzinek; c), Żółwin (n), Żurczyn (n);

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Z. Guldon, *Dzieje hutnictwa żelaznego na Kujawach i w ziemi dobrzyńskiej do XVI wieku*, ZK, vol. 4, 1974, pp. 31–45, who lists also other ironworks and takes note of the fact that these settlements often become mill villages from the sixteenth century onwards. On the main map, we marked these as mill settlements. A. Andrzejewska discusses the difficulties in identifying ironworks in Dobrzyń land on the example of Zakroczek (Mały Zakroc; r) in: A. Andrzejewska, *Przyczynki do dziejów hutnictwa żelaznego na ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica”, vol. 24, 2004, pp. 157–165; T. Związek, *Człowiek i środowisko we wzajemnych relacjach. Powiat kaliski od schyłku XV w. do około 1600 r.*, Warsaw 2020, TS of doctoral dissertation prepared at IH PAN under the supervision of M. Słoń.

- in Inowrocław district: Balin (Balino; n), Ciechocinek (Ciechocino; n), Dalkowo (c), Gnojno (n), Kopanie (n), Niemojewo (n), Osiek Wielki (Osiek; r), Ossówka (n), Podgaj (n), Popowiczki (Popowice; c), Raciążek Wola (Wola; t), Sławęcín (Sławęcino; n), Sławęcinek (Sławęcinko; r), Truszczyzna (c), Zamysłowo (Zamyślino; n);
- in Dobrzyń land:
  - in Dobrzyń district: Strachoninek (r);
  - in Lipno district: Ostrowitko (n).

Two demesne settlements in Bydgoszcz district merit special attention, as they stand out in terms of size: Osowiec (Osowice) and Trzebień could have been inhabited by as many as 100 residents. We provided demesne settlements with a separate signature on the main map.

For demesne settlements, we adopted similar rules as for mills. If the name of a given demesne settlement was unknown, approximate or linked, the settlement was not placed on the map. These are:

- in Cuyavia:
  - in Brześć Voivodeship:
    - in Brześć district: Ciemięga (c), Popowiczki (c), Zagurówko (Zagarówko; n), Załuskowo (n) – approximate location for all; Dąbrowa (n) – location linked with Toporzyszczewo Village (n), Kaniewko (c) – location linked with Kaniewo Village (n), Starczewo (Starczewa; r) – location linked with Kąkowa Wola village (r), Zaduśniki (n) – location linked with Borzymie Village (n);
    - in Kruszwica district: Gościejewo (r) – unknown location; Poświętne (n) – approximate location;
    - in Radziejów district: Maszonki (c) – location linked with Rusinowo Village (n), Posikowo (n) – location linked with Pścínno village (n);
  - in Inowrocław Voivodeship:
    - in Inowrocław district: Podgaj (n), Ściborze Małe (n), Wilkowo (c) – unknown location for all; Kielczew (n) – approximate location; Balinek (Balinko; n) – location linked with Balin Village (n);
- in Dobrzyń land:
  - in Rypin district: Mantyki (n) – location linked with Dzierzno Village (n).

At this point, it is worth reiterating that Ciemięga (c), marked on the map as a demesne settlement, was a mill settlement for the major part of the second half of the sixteenth century. One could identify Ciemięga as Kokoszka, a mill mentioned in 1550s tax registers, and referred to also as Lasek Mill. The mill burned down before 1594, and until 1607 sources describe Ciemięga as an unused demesne.<sup>2</sup>

In the last years of the sixteenth century, Dutch settlers colonised northern Cuyavian lands on the banks of the Vistula. The first Dutch colonists settled in the Lower Vistula Valley already in the first half of the century. The colonisers came from the Netherlands and entered into contracts with local landowners on long-term lease (emphyteusis) of the settled land with the right to collect profits. The so-called Dutch Law, which regulated the foundation of Dutch settlements, safeguarded favourable personal and property rights.<sup>3</sup> It follows from extant source information that Przyłubie (Przyłubie Nowe, n) was the oldest Dutch village on the Cuyavian bank of the Vistula. Maciej Przyłubski, Przyłubie's noble owner, settled Dutch colonists under a contract signed with a group of settlers in January 1594.<sup>4</sup> Two years later, Bydgoszcz Starosta Jan Kościelecki was granted permission to lease Łęgnowo (Łęg, c), a village situated between Bydgoszcz and Solec Kujawski, to Dutch settlers.<sup>5</sup> Wielka Nieszawka (r), a settlement in Dybów Gord Starosty, was the third oldest Dutch village in the analysed area. It was colonised by Dutch settlers from Przyłubie, who in early 1600 took up contractual lease of Wielka Nieszawka's land from Starosta Wojciech Padniewski.<sup>6</sup> In all discussed cases, Dutch colonists were settled in already

<sup>2</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka (Włocławia)*, Włocławek 1933, pp. 100–101; Inw. XVII, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Z. Chodyła, *Zarys dziejów osadnictwa ołederskiego w Polsce*, [in:] *Ołedry. Przestrzenie obok nas*, Poznań 2006, pp. 32–34.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Guldon, R. Kabaciński, *Przywileje lokacyjne Przyłubia z lat 1359–1594*, [in:] *Dokumenty do dziejów Kujaw i ziemi dobrzyńskiej XIV–XIX w.*, pub. Z. Guldon, R. Kabaciński et al., Warsaw–Poznań 1974, pp. 23–27.

<sup>5</sup> Ph. Rudolf, *Z historii Solca Kujawskiego i okolicznych wsi*, transl. A. Domanowski, Solec Kujawski 2003, pp. 41–43.

<sup>6</sup> MK 145, ff. 264–270; for more on similar settlements and more details on Mała Nieszawka (r), which also attracted Dutch settlers, see: M. Słomski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.3.6.

existing villages whose foundation dated back to the Middle Ages, which was probably connected with changes to spatial layout and relocations of previous inhabitants.<sup>7</sup> In subsequent years, Cuyavia witnessed intensive Dutch colonisation, which continued until the end of the eighteenth century.

We used the village symbol to mark such settlements on the main map. The same signature denotes Dębowa Góra (c), the only pitch production settlement in Bydgoszcz district we identified as a settlement of this sort. The source material collected helped identify the only inn settlement situated in Cuyavia. Distinctive was not only the type, but also the size of Dunaj (n), a newly isolated settlement in Brześć district. Estimates made in the second half of the sixteenth century put the resident count as high as 100. In keeping with the principles of the AHP series, we did not place inn settlements on the main map. We marked Dunaj on the map of roads and inns.

In line with the previous AHP volumes, the main map shows large (probably more than 200 residents) and small villages. Like in previous volumes, estimates of village size relied on data harvested from tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. In keeping with the principles applied to date, we converted register data into population size by means of appropriate multipliers. These were used mainly to determine the number of specific population groups. This included all categories of *hortulani* (smallholders): smallholder without land, smallholder with land, smallholder with house, and unspecified smallholder, where the multiplier equals five, as well as craftsmen, coloni (*rataje*), fishermen, shepherds, *inquilini* with property; an *inquilinus* was a landless peasant who performed labour in exchange for the right to live in a dwelling – where the multiplier used amounted to four, unspecified *inquilini* (multiplier of three), *inquilini* without property and servants (two), peasants without a master and short-term hired labourers (*ludzie luźni*) and female *inquilini* (one). For mills, inns and windmills, we used a multiplier amounting to six. With these multipliers, we were able to estimate how many people resided in each household of all the groups listed in the register. These estimates also take into account the multiplier for the number of lans in a given settlement. As agreed in the previous AHP volumes, we applied the multiplier of eleven persons per lan. We used the same multiplier value for lans held by peasants, village headmen (*sołtys*) and farmed by serfless gentry.<sup>8</sup> For empty lans, we used a multiplier of 1 per lan. The literature of the field provides a detailed analysis of how such multipliers can be put to use.<sup>9</sup>

It ought to be underlined that the information provided are estimates and constitute a model averaged at the scale of individual voivodeships and lands. Owing to the varied source base, any comparisons between the Cuyavian voivodeships and Dobrzyń land districts should be very prudent. This source base is constituted mainly by tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century covering Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships and tax registers on Dobrzyń land dating to the 1560s.<sup>10</sup> Registers on Cuyavian districts are more numerous and follow a similar formula, meaning that they recorded the number of taxable lans, which provides more ample material for analysis. Concerning Dobrzyń land, we have at our disposal only three tax registers dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, which creates even greater imbalance. The most recent tax register, which dates to 1573, fails to present information on many settlements identified in earlier registers and newer sources. To make matters even more complicated, the 1573 register follows a different format for registering selected tax categories. Unlike the other two registers, the 1573 register did not take into account the ownership of parcels in individual villages. The structure of the earliest, 1564 register has a structure different from that of the two other Dobrzyń and Cuyavian registers in the part on lan tax. The 1564 register lists serfs and specifies the total tax paid by a given village (or part of a village), along with the tax rate per lan. However, it fails to indicate the number of lans in a given village (or part of village). What is more, the 1564 tax rate applied to serf lans does not correspond to the provisions of the tax collection universal, which set the rate at 20 grosze per lan.<sup>11</sup> The tax rate following from the 1564 register is 16 grosze 2 solidi per serf lan. As a result, this register gives us a list of settled serfs (with names of

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<sup>7</sup> M. Targowski, *Olendrzy z Wielkiej Nieszawki i okolic. Studium z dziejów osadnictwa olenderskiego w starostwie dybrowskim w XVII–XVIII w.*, Toruń 2020, pp. 22, 28–29.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. M. Gochna, *Character and size of settlements: rural settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2a.4.

<sup>9</sup> See: K. Boroda, P. Guzowski, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia terenów wiejskich w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 53–75.

<sup>10</sup> For detailed information on individual registers see: A. Borek, *Written Sources*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition II.1.6.

<sup>11</sup> VC, vol. 1, p. 147.

the subjects), but not the number of lans in a given village. Without the number of lans, using the lan conversion factor adopted for the whole analysed area poses certain difficulty. Our analyses show that the number of listed serfs may be tantamount to the lan count in a given village (or part of village). We recalculated total village tax based on the tax rate and the number of serfs and compared the 1564 lan count with data for the following year (1565 register). Initial results indicate that differences between 1564 and 1565 acreage arise mainly where lans had been vacated or burnt down, and were thus rendered non-taxable. Available data may suggest that single- and half-lan households were common in Dobrzyń land. Yet these preliminary observations require further study, mainly comparative analyses carried out on a larger sample of registers following a similar tax registration format (based on serf number, not lan number). Therefore, we based our estimates of the size of Dobrzyń land settlements mainly on the 1565 tax register, and supplemented its data with information from the 1564 register. Only in exceptional cases did we resort to the 1573 register.

Given the above reservations and circumstances, on the main map we marked the following villages with populations over 200 inhabitants:

- in Cuyavia:
  - in Brześć Voivodeship:
    - in Brześć district: Bądkowo (c), Brzezcie (n), Chocień (n), Czamanin (n), Gęsin (n), Grabie (n), Jaranowo (n), Kłobia (r), Koneck (n), Kościelna Wieś (n), Kruszyn (r), Łowiczek (n), Opoki (c), Paniewo (n), Przybranowo (n), Przypust (m), Redecz Wielki (n), Śmiłowice (r), Smogorzewo (c), Sokołowo (rc), Święte (n), Ujma Wielka (c), Wieniec (c);
    - in Kowal district: Białotarsk (Białotarczek; c), Duninów (r), Grabkowo (c), Kłótno (c), Kurowo (c), Pierowa Wola (n);
    - in Kruszwica district: Młyny (c), Stodoły (c);
    - in Przedecz district: Dziwie (r), Kubłowo (r), Rybno (r), Wierzbie (n), Zakrzewo (c);
    - in Radziejów district: Bronisław (c), Chełmce (c), Dobrze (n), Latkowo (n), Sadlno (n), Stary Radziejów (r), Szóstka (c), Wąsewo (n), Wola Wapowska (c);
    - in Inowrocław Voivodeship:
      - in Bydgoszcz district: Będzito (n), Dobrcz (Dóbrcz; c), Gądecz (n), Gogolin (Gogolina Wielka; n), Gościeradz (c), Nieciszewo (n), Osielsko (c), Sienno (n), Ślesin (Ślesino; n), Strzelce (n), Trzeciewiec (Cietrzewiec; c), Więżowno (c), Wtelno (c), Żołędowo (n);
      - in Inowrocław district: Broniewo (r), Dulsko (Dolsko; r), Łojewo (c), Markowice (n), Markowo (n), Murzynno (Murzyno; r), Niszczewice (Miszczewice; r), Orłowo (r), Ośno Dolne (Ośno; n), Ostrowąs (c), Parchanie (Parkanie; c), Przybysław (c), Rojewo (n), Rządkwino (Rzotkwino; c), Sędzin (Sędzino; c), Sławsko Wielkie (c), Szadłowice (Szawłowice; c), Tuczno (r), Wielowieś (Wielawieś; n), Wierzbiczano (n);
  - in Dobrzyń land:
    - in Dobrzyń district: Bogucin (n), Chalin (n), Chełmca Mała (n), Chełmice (n), Glewo (n), Głowina (n), Grochowalsk (n), Jasień (n), Lanie Wielkie (r), Michałkowo (n), Mokówko (c), Mysliborzyce (n), Nasięgniewo (n), Nowa Wieś (n), Oleszno (n), Szpetel Górny (n), Tłuchowo (n), Uniejewo (n), Więclawice (n), Wielgie (n), Witkowo (n), Zaduszniaki (n);
    - in Lipno district: Biskupin (c), Ciechocin (c), Czarne (n), Czerniakowo (c), Czerniakówko (r), Głodowo (n), Jankowo (r), Karnków (n), Kijaszkowo (n), Kłokock (n), Liciszewy (n), Lubin (n), Łachocin (n), Łążyn (n), Maliszewy (c), Małszyce (c), Młyniec (n), Moszczonno (n), Oborowo (n), Osiek (n), Osówka (n), Radomice (r), Rudaw (c), Silno (r), Sitno (c), Steklin (n), Steklinek (n), Sudrągi (n), Sumin (n), Świętosław (n), Węgiersk (c), Wielgie (n), Wola (n), Zębowiec (n), Zębowo (n), Złotopole (n);
    - in Rypin district: Długie (n), Dobrze (n), Dylewo (n), Giżynek (n), Godziszewy (n), Gulbiny (n), Janowo (c), Kłóšno (n), Kotowy (n), Krecki Wielkie (n), Księża (n), Linne (n), Łukomie (n), Miesiączkowo (c), Nadróż (n), Nowa Wieś (n), Piórkowo (n), Półwiesk (n), Pręczki (n), Radomin (n), Radziki Małe (n), Rętfiny (Rentyfin; n), Rokitnica (n), Sadłowo (n), Sokołowo (n), Starorypin (rn), Świedziebnia (n), Trażyn (c), Ugoszcz (n), Wąpieliska (n), Wojnowo (n), Zasady (n), Zduniec (Sznancz; n), Żałe (n).

What attracts attention in this list is the large number of sizable villages in Dobrzyń land, notably exceeding the average for the entire analysed area (cf. Table 1), which might arise from the peculiar

source base, as described above. To establish the full picture, let us point to the considerable fragmentation in nobility-owned villages in this area, which is elaborated on in the *Ownership Affiliation of Settlements* chapter in this volume.

The main map shows the following largest Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land villages (with populations probably between 500 and 1,000) of the second half of the sixteenth century:

- in Cuyavia:
  - in Brześć Voivodeship:
    - in Brześć district: Guźlin (t), Lubanie (c);
    - in Kowal district: Rakutowo (r);
  - in Inowrocław Voivodeship:
    - in Inowrocław district: Jaksice (r);
- in Dobrzyń land:
  - in Lipno district: Dobrzejewice (c), Działyń (n), Grodzień (n), Kikół (rn), Mazowsze (n);
  - in Rypin district: Dulsk (n), Osiek (n), Płonno (n).

**Table 1. Share of large villages in the total number of villages in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	All settlements (total)	Number of rural settlements	Number of large villages (more than 200 residents)	Share of large villages in total number of villages (in %)
Brześć	268	265	25	9.4
Kowal*	79.5	77.5	7	8.9
Kruszwica*	59.5	55.5	2	3.6
Przedecz	122	119	5	4.2
Radziejów	150	147	9	6.1
Brześć Voivodeship	679	664	48	7.2
Bydgoszcz	115	111	14	12.6
Inowrocław*	228.5	222.5	21	9.5
Inowrocław Voivodeship	343.5	332.5	35	10.5
Cuyavia	1,022.5	997.5	83	8.3
Dobrzyń	109	108	22	20.4
Lipno	146	142	41	29.1
Rypin	133	131	37	28.7
Dobrzyń land	388	381	100	26.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,410.5</b>	<b>1,378.5</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>13.3</b>

\* We identified two settlements to be the subject of dual administrative affiliation. These are the villages: Łąkie (c) – situated partly in Inowrocław Voivodeship (Inowrocław district) and partly in Brześć Voivodeship (Kruszwica district), and Górki (n) in Białotarsk Parish (Białotarczek), located partly in Rawa Voivodeship (Gostynin district) and partly in Brześć Voivodeship (Kowal district). So as not to overstate the absolute number of settlements, in the list above we placed one half of each divided settlement in each of the two respective administrative units.

(2021)

Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak

### III.3.2b.6 CHARACTER AND SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS: CITIES AND TOWNS IN CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Patrycja Szwedo-Kielczewska*

In accordance with the principles adopted in the AHP series, this volume contains detailed maps depicting a network of towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century. Traditionally, the basic criterion used by scholars to distinguish towns from other types of settlements was their legal and political status, confirmed by the location privilege (if known) and the terms used to describe said settlements in source documents (*civitas*, *oppidum*, *miasto*, *miasteczko*, etc.). Another important source of information was the data concerning town inhabitant's payment of *szos* – the town tax. On this basis, we identified localities that were classified as towns, taking into account their role in the State and Catholic Church administration. Individual towns were analysed and described in terms of their properties and size. However, the localities which did not obtain the status of a town or lost it over time, despite the fact that sources confirm that they had been charted under German law, were not counted as towns.

As far as the existing literature of the subject is concerned, the works of Zenon Guldon are the primary source for basic information on the towns located in the territory of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, including data concerning the chronology of their foundation process, their ownership affiliation and estimated sizes.<sup>1</sup> The subject was also partially covered by Henryk Samsonowicz,<sup>2</sup> Maria Bogucka,<sup>3</sup> Ryszard Kabaciński,<sup>4</sup> Ryszard Szczygieł,<sup>5</sup> Dariusz Karczewski,<sup>6</sup> Joanna Karczewska,<sup>7</sup> Daniela Szymańska<sup>8</sup> and – in the latest work on the issue – Adam Kosecki.<sup>9</sup> The reference materials concerning the subject included also numerous monographic studies devoted to individual towns whose authors also discussed the above-mentioned issues. However, no comprehensive studies focusing on the network of Cuyavian towns and their classification have been published so far.

According to the findings of the hitherto conducted research, in the period from the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, there were 41 instances of town foundation initiatives in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.<sup>10</sup> This process was most intense in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (70% of the undertaken foundations), but some of these attempts were unsuccessful. There is no consensus in

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<sup>1</sup> Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, pp. 51–74; Z. Guldon, *Zaludnienie Bydgoszczy w XVI–XVIII wieku*, PKHBTN, vol. 2, 1964, pp. 99–126; Guldon, *Kujawy*; Guldon, *Lokacje*, pp. 19–46.

<sup>2</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Liczba i wielkość miast późnego średniowiecza Polski*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, vol. 86, 1979, no. 4, pp. 917–931; idem, *Tendencje rozwoju sieci miejskiej w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, pp. 343–344; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 87, 116 f.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, pp. 353 f; 393 f.

<sup>4</sup> R. Kabaciński, *Geneza i rozwój miast kujawskich do końca XIV w.*, Toruń 1970, TS, PhD thesis, Biblioteka UMK w Toruniu

<sup>5</sup> R. Szczygieł, *Lokacje miast w Polsce XVI wieku*, Lublin 1989.

<sup>6</sup> D. Karczewski, *Urbanizacja regionu nadgoplańskiego do połowy XVI w.*, „Studia z Dziejów Pogranicza Kujawsko-Wielkopolskiego”, vol. 1, 2011, pp. 25–30.

<sup>7</sup> J. Karczewska, *Własność szlachecka na pograniczu wielkopolsko-kujawskim w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Cracow 2010.

<sup>8</sup> D. Szymańska, *Przemiany miejskiej sieci osadniczej województwa bydgoskiego, toruńskiego i wrocławskiego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem miast małych*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Geografia”, vol. 24, 1993, pp. 181–199.

<sup>9</sup> Kosecki, *Miasta*.

<sup>10</sup> Guldon, *Lokacje*, pp. 31–33; cf. M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 87; Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 153–158; R. Szczygieł, *Lokacje miast*, p. 33.

the literature of the subject as to the number of towns which functioned in this area at the end of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century. The conclusions presented in the studies of Samsonowicz,<sup>11</sup> Kosecki,<sup>12</sup> Guldon<sup>13</sup> and Szczygieł<sup>14</sup> differ in this respect. The researchers' positions on this issue are summarised in the table below.

**Table 1. Number of towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land – current state of research**

Voivodeship	fifteenth century		sixteenth century	
	Samsonowicz	Kosecki	Guldon	Szczygieł
Brześć Voivodeship	10	15	14	15
Inowrocław Voivodeship	12	11	9	11
Dobrzyń land	6	–	7	7
Total	28	26	30	33

By the second half of the sixteenth century, Kościelec lost its town status. Founded in 1443, in 1489 the settlement was referred to as an *oppidum*,<sup>15</sup> and, in 1512, the owners obtained confirmation of the foundation privilege from Sigismund the Old.<sup>16</sup> It can be assumed that the latter venture was an attempt to stimulate the economic development of the settlement which did not develop as expected or even deteriorated over time.<sup>17</sup> In the tax registers from 1536 and 1541, Kościelec is listed among the towns of Inowrocław district, but it paid neither the extraordinary land tax (*pobór*) nor the liquor excise tax (*czopowe*); it paid tax from two lans.<sup>18</sup> Pre-1550s, the settlement was occasionally referred to as a town; such information is also provided in the register from 1552, but the mention refers to an empty entry, and the town does not appear in the liquor excise tax list.<sup>19</sup> In the following years, there are consistently no premises that could indicate that the settlement was a town. There is no information on *szos* payments, and most mentions concern payables from serf lans.<sup>20</sup> The visitations from 1577,<sup>21</sup> 1578,<sup>22</sup> and 1596<sup>23</sup> refer to Kościelec as a town, although the last of these sources uses the phrase *villa vel oppidum*, which indicates that there were some doubts as to the status of this locality. In the poll tax registers from 1673<sup>24</sup> and 1674,<sup>25</sup> Kościelec was listed among villages, as was the case in the hearth

<sup>11</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Liczba i wielkość miast*, pp. 925–926: Dobrzyń land: Bobrowniki, Dobrzyń, Górno [sic!], Lipno, Rypin, Skępe; Brześć Voivodeship: Brześć, Chodecz, Izbica, Kowal, Łubień [sic!], Nieszawa, Przedecz, Radziejów, Smulsko [sic!], Włocławek; Inowrocław Voivodeship: Bydgoszcz, Fordon, Gniewków, Inowrocław, Koronowo, Kruszwica, Łabiszyn, Pakość, Raciążek, Solec, Służewo, Strzelno. The list includes Łabiszyn, located at the border between Inowrocław and Kalisz Voivodeships, which in the second half of the sixteenth century was under the administration of the Greater Poland Voivodeship. On the other hand, the list does not include Gębice, Sompolno, Kościelec and Noć; cf. Guldon, *Lokacje*, pp. 26–30; Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 153–157.

<sup>12</sup> Kosecki, *Miasta*, p. 152. Kosecki describes the number of towns at the end of the fifteenth century. The publication does not cover town foundations implemented in Dobrzyń land.

<sup>13</sup> Guldon, *Lokacje*, p. 33. He mentions Przepust as one of the settlements which temporarily had the status of a town in the fifteenth century. Podgórz is not included in the list due to the Magdeburg Law privilege obtained in 1611.

<sup>14</sup> R. Szczygieł, *Miasta prywatne w Polsce od XIV wieku do 1772 roku – chronologia, właściciele, pełnione funkcje*, RDSG, vol. 77 (specjalny), 2016, p. 30.

<sup>15</sup> *Lustracja 1489*, p. 154.

<sup>16</sup> MK 25, f. 210; MRPS IV/1, no. 1683: In the heading of the document, Kościelec was referred to as a village: 'Innovatio et confirmatio litterarum super villam Coszcielec'. The request for confirmation, submitted by Stanisław Kościelecki, was, in turn, motivated by the expiration and destruction of the previous document: 'Supplicat humiliter nostre Maiestati ut eidem privilegium tenor[is] infrascripti vetustatis rubigine et timearum corrosione pene iam consumptum de gratia et munificentia nostr[is] Regiis innovare, approbare, ratificare, confirmare dignemur'.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Guldon, *Lokacje*, p. 32; Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 151–152.

<sup>18</sup> ASK I 50, ff. 503–503v, 874–874v. The nature of the settlement was not defined in the visitation of 1527; see MHDW 11, p. 63.

<sup>19</sup> ASK I 50, ff. 556v, 557v.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 583; 623v, 660v, 696, 717, 780, 784v, 801, 838.

<sup>21</sup> MHDW 1, p. 17: 'Kościelec oppidum Magnifici D. Joannis Koszcieleccki Capitanei Bithgostiensis'; pp. 124 f.

<sup>22</sup> MHDW 17, p. 17: 'oppidum Kościelec'.

<sup>23</sup> AAG, sign. E44, f. 22 r.: 'villa vel oppidum'.

<sup>24</sup> ASK I 73, ff. 2r, 8v.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 16r, 22v.

tax register from 1662.<sup>26</sup> Taking the above-mentioned facts into account, Kościelec was ultimately not marked as a town on the main map.

The status of Noć, which was founded before 1489, was rather unclear. In the 1557 tax register, the locality was described as an *oppidum*.<sup>27</sup> The same designation, along with the term *oppidulum*, appeared in the *Liber Retaxationum of 1527* and the visitations of 1527,<sup>28</sup> 1584<sup>29</sup> and 1598.<sup>30</sup> In the inspection from 1564–1565, Noć was described as a small town in Radziejów district, one half constituted royal property and the other was owned by Krzysztof Sokołowski, the Starosta of Rogoźno.<sup>31</sup> This description appears also in later inspections. The locality, which was then on lease, was first visited by royal officials only in the eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> The register of 1564<sup>33</sup> contains a brief reference to the payment of liquor excise tax, placing Noć on the list of towns. In the summary of tax records of 1564, it is again listed among towns with the payment of liquor excise tax in the amount of 30 florins and 12 grosze.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in 1565, Noć paid 28 florins and 24 grosze.<sup>35</sup> Noć does not appear in the summary from 1569, but, at the same time, it was also not mentioned among the villages of Brześć Voivodeship.<sup>36</sup> In the register of overdue taxes (*rejestr retent*) of 1571, the settlement was listed among the towns that had paid the liquor excise tax.<sup>37</sup> It is no longer referred to as a town in the tax registers from the 1570s and 1580s, which, additionally, contain no information on any payments of *szos* or liquor excise tax. There is also no record of Noć being granted a period of exemption from tax payments. Irena Gieysztorowa, however, drew attention to the fact that in Mazovia the small towns that did not pay *szos* because of their poverty were usually listed in parochial arrangement.<sup>38</sup> The settlement is not included among the towns listed in the 1634 hearth tax register.<sup>39</sup> In the 1662 hearth tax register,<sup>40</sup> as well as the poll tax registers of 1673<sup>41</sup> and 1674,<sup>42</sup> it is consistently listed among villages. According to Z. Guldon, in spite of source references which point to the town status of Noć, by the second half of the sixteenth century, it had become once again a rural settlement.<sup>43</sup> However, the number of craftsmen given in the tax registers suggest that the locality could have performed economic functions for the neighbouring villages and functioned as a settlement of urban character, in some scope.<sup>44</sup> References to the status of the settlement remain ambiguous in the second half of the seventeenth century. This is evidenced by a document entered in the Crown Metrica, dated 7 July 1667, concerning the mortgage on the royal half of the small town, in which the locality was described as ‘oppidi Notes dicti ad fluvium Notes siti’.<sup>45</sup> Despite the lack of documented data on *szos* payments, but taking into account the above premises as well as evidence from other sources, we assume that in the second half of the sixteenth century Noć had the status of a small town. Still, it constituted a very underdeveloped settlement.

<sup>26</sup> ASK I 65, ff. 22v, 301r, 308r.

<sup>27</sup> ASK I 29, f. 256.

<sup>28</sup> MHDW 11, p. 46: ‘oppidulum Notes regium’.

<sup>29</sup> MHDW 22, p. 134.

<sup>30</sup> MHDW 21, p. 70: ‘oppidum Noc’.

<sup>31</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 261.

<sup>32</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 269: ‘Half of the small town of Notes’; LWWK 1789, part 3, p. 198: ‘On 16 January 1767, we visited a courtier of His Royal Majesty, as assigned by the Crown Treasury Commission on 18 December of the same year, recorded on the territory of a royal half-town of the village of Noć, its legal holder’.

<sup>33</sup> ASK I 29, f. 316r.

<sup>34</sup> ASK II 24, f. 149v.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, f. 276.

<sup>36</sup> ASK I 112, ff. 25v–28v.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, f. 73r.

<sup>38</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7.

<sup>39</sup> Podymne 1634, ff. 106r–106v.

<sup>40</sup> ASK I 74, ff. 830r, 831r.

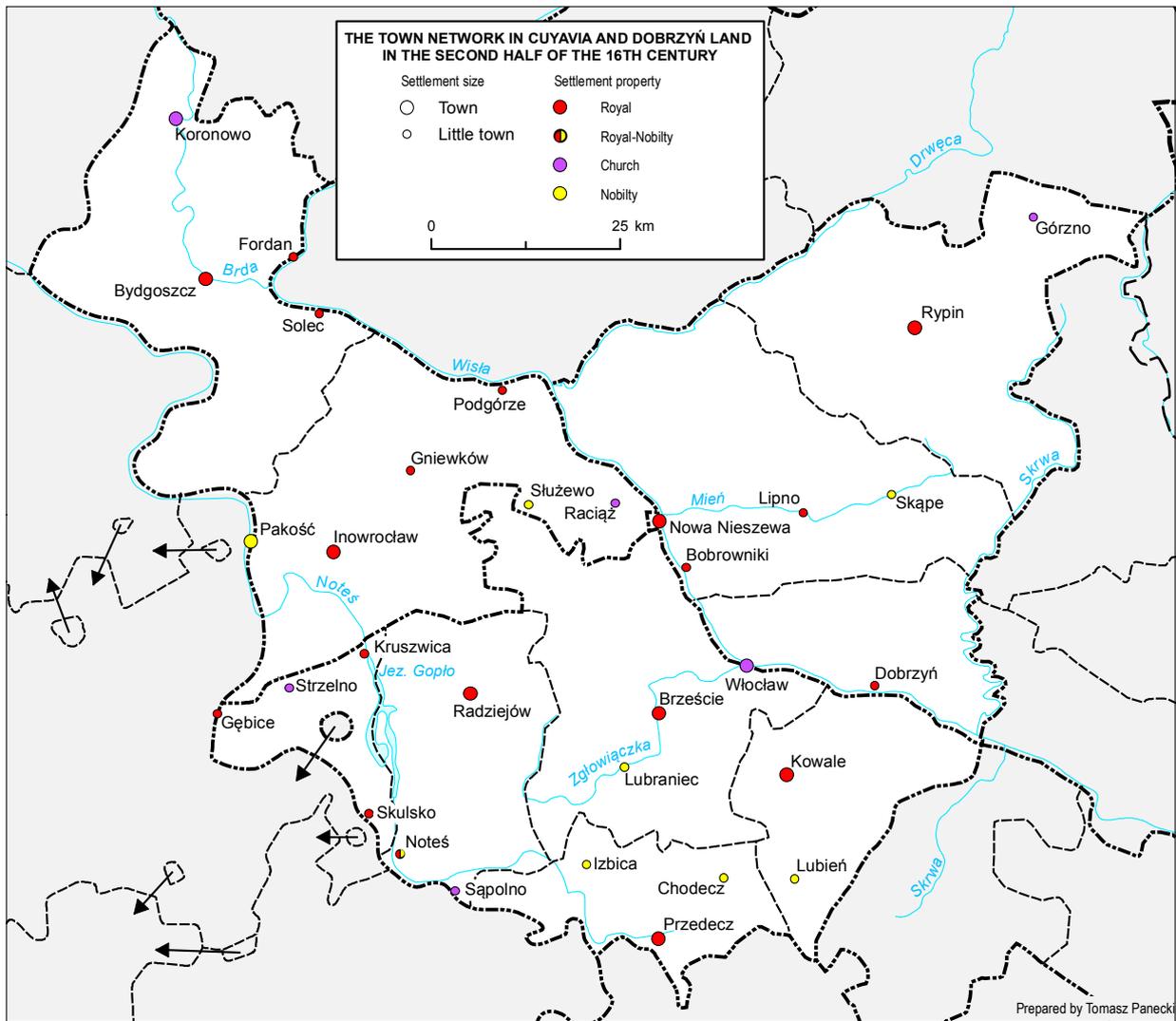
<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, ff. 855r, 857r.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, ff. 889r, 891r.

<sup>43</sup> Guldon, *Lokacje*, p. 32.

<sup>44</sup> ASK I 29, f. 499; ASK I 30, f. 599v: the register lists e.g. a trader; ibidem, f. 661: the register lists two peddlers; ibidem, f. 723: the register lists e.g. a peddler; ibidem, f. 767.

<sup>45</sup> MK 206, ff. 327–327v.



**Map 1. The town network in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the 16th century**

Similar doubts about the character of the settlement can also be raised in relation to Lubień, a small nobility town. In 1581, 1582, 1583, and 1589, the tax called from this settlement was recorded among the villages.<sup>46</sup> According to earlier registers, the locality, admittedly referred to as an *oppidum*, did not pay *szos*.<sup>47</sup> However, a mention of the town burning down was recorded in 1579,<sup>48</sup> and similar notes referencing burnt lans were also made in 1581.<sup>49</sup> The visitation from 1594<sup>50</sup> used two terms for describing the status of Lubień; others from 1584<sup>51</sup> and 1598<sup>52</sup> refer to the locality only as a town. According to the document entered in the Crown Metrica with the date of 24 December 1613, Sigismund III Vasa renewed the deed on re-chartering the town with Magdeburg Law, and established two fairs and a weekly market in the town,<sup>53</sup> at the request of the then owner of Lubień. In 1634, the settlement was mentioned among the towns paying hearth taxes,<sup>54</sup> and the 1665 inventory describes it also as a small town inhabited by 32 people.<sup>55</sup> On the maps, we marked Lubień as a town, interpreting any facts contradicting this status as evidence of the substantial destruction of the town as a result of a fire.

It is also worth noting that, in individual registers, the taxes collected in Chodecz,<sup>56</sup> Przedecz,<sup>57</sup> Izbica Kujawska,<sup>58</sup> Lubraniec,<sup>59</sup> and Radziejów<sup>60</sup> (tax reg. from 1557), Podgórz (tax reg. from 1552<sup>61</sup> and 1553<sup>62</sup>), Skulsk (tax reg. from 1579,<sup>63</sup> 1580,<sup>64</sup> and 1583<sup>65</sup>), Służew (tax reg. from 553,<sup>66</sup> 1564,<sup>67</sup> and 1565<sup>68</sup>), Strzelno (tax reg. from 1553<sup>69</sup>) and Sompolno (tax reg. from 1581<sup>70</sup>) were also recorded among villages. However, these entries usually concern the amounts paid for facilities and categories for which fees were also paid from villages, or they testify to the damage incurred by these places as a result of fires.

In the sixteenth century, there was only one successful town foundation in the area of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. On 14 April 1509, at the request of Poznań Bishop Jan Lubrański, Sigismund the Old issued a privilege allowing for the foundation of Lubraniec under Magdeburg Law.<sup>71</sup> However, it is possible that the first foundation was not successful, because for unknown reasons, the King renewed this charter on 5 March 1512.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the locality

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<sup>46</sup> ASK I 30, ff. 580, 645, 704.

<sup>47</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 266, 392r, 449, 477.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, f. 477: 'Lubien conflagratum'.

<sup>49</sup> ASK I 30, f. 580.

<sup>50</sup> MHDW 23, p. 72.

<sup>51</sup> MHDW 22, p. 31.

<sup>52</sup> MHDW 20, p. 70.

<sup>53</sup> MK 156, ff. 154v–156. The above data was obtained as a result of research carried out as part of the grant of the National Science Centre no. 2016/21/P/HS3/04034 entitled 'Annual fairs in Greater Poland from the late Middle Ages to the Deluge'. The project was implemented with the funds from the European Union's 'Horizon 2020' research and innovation programme under the 'Marie Skłodowska-Curie' grant agreement No. 665778.

<sup>54</sup> Podymne 1634.

<sup>55</sup> See: Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 60.

<sup>56</sup> ASK I 29, f. 276v.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, f. 277.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, f. 277. In 1579, the town was burned and partially exempted from taxes in the subsequent four years. In 1578, it was not included on the list of towns paying liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274.

<sup>59</sup> ASK I 29, f. 247.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, ff. 253, 261.

<sup>61</sup> ASK I 50, f. 549v.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, f. 847v.

<sup>63</sup> ASK I 3, f. 413;

<sup>64</sup> ASK I 13, f. 723.

<sup>65</sup> ASK I 30, f. 728v.

<sup>66</sup> ASK I 50, f. 839v.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, f. 803v.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, f. 787. There are also records of Służew getting burned several times.

<sup>69</sup> ASK I 29, f. 211v.

<sup>70</sup> ASK I 30, f. 601.

<sup>71</sup> MK 24, f. 94; MRPS IV/2, no. 8972.

<sup>72</sup> MK 25, f. 140; MRPS 1, no. 1440. S. Muznerowski believed that the first privilege had not entered into force, which is why the second foundation was needed, see: idem, *Lubraniec (monografia)*, Włocławek 1910, pp. 156–157. Z. Guldon assumed that the foundation took place in 1509, also noting the repeated permission for the foundation from 1512, see: Guldon, *Lokacje*, p. 30, footnote 'u'. W. Kubiak stated, however, that the failure to implement the first charter could have resulted

operated on the basis of municipal rights, as evidenced by, for example, the *szos* it paid, and sparse information on the existence of a town council.<sup>73</sup> However, the attempts of founding two nobility-held towns in Dobrzyń land proved unsuccessful: Strzygi in 1552 and Płonno in the following year.<sup>74</sup> According to Ryszard Szczygieł, in 1589, there was also an unsuccessful attempt to transform the parish village of Piotrków Kujawski, which belonged to Jan Rusinowski, into a town.<sup>75</sup> Source references from the second half of the sixteenth century provide evidence that there was also an urban settlement in Podgórz (Dybów). It was most likely rebuilt already at the turn of the sixteenth century, after the destruction of Nieszawa and its transfer to the present location in 1460–1462, and functioned as a trade settlement participating in the Vistula River trade.<sup>76</sup> Podgórz-Dybów was probably formally granted a charter under Magdeburg Law only on the basis of the document issued by Sigismund III Vasa on 7 November 1611.<sup>77</sup> Because of this, it was not included in the list of Cuyavian towns published by Z. Guldon.<sup>78</sup> However, there is no doubt that the settlement performed the functions of a town long before obtaining said municipal rights. In 1555, on the basis of the document of Sigismund Augustus, Podgórz, also referred to as Stara Nieszawa, a harmful competitor for Toruń, was moved to a hill located far away from the banks of the Vistula.<sup>79</sup> In 1576, it obtained significant trade privileges from Stephen Báthory.<sup>80</sup> The settlement was described as the town of ‘Dibow alias Podgorze’ in the first royal inspection 1564–1565.<sup>81</sup> The tax registers from 1563 also clearly confirm its municipal status.<sup>82</sup>

Therefore, in this volume of AHP, we assume that ca. 1600, there were 32 cities and towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land: 15 in Brześć Voivodeship, 10 in Inowrocław Voivodeship, and seven in Dobrzyń land. The list below presents the number of towns with their ownership affiliations, divided into voivodeships:

- Brześć district: Brześć Kujawski (Brzeście, r), Lubraniec (n), Włocławek (Włocław, c),
- Kowal district: Kowal (Kowale, r), Lubień Kujawski (Lubień, n),
- Kruszwica district: Gębice (r), Kruszwica (r), Skulsk (Skulsko, r), Strzelno (c),
- Radziejów district: Noć (Noteś, m), Radziejów (r), Sompolno (Sapolno, c),
- Przedecz district: Chodecz (n), Izbica Kujawska (Izbica, n), Przedecz (r),
- Bydgoszcz district: Bydgoszcz (r), Fordon (Fordan, r), Koronowo (c), Solec Kujawski (Solec, r),
- Inowrocław district: Gniewkowo (Gniewków, r), Inowrocław (r), Pakość (n), Podgórz (Podgorze, r), Raciążek (Raciąż, c), Służewo (n),
- Dobrzyń district: Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń, r),
- Rypin district: Górzno (c), Rypin (r),
- Lipno district: Bobrowniki (r), Lipno (r), Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszawa, r), Skępe (Skąpe, n).

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from the protest of the neighbouring towns of Izbica Kujawska, Radziejów and, above all, Brześć Kujawski, see: idem, *Dzieje Lubrańca*, Toruń 2006, p. 40.

<sup>73</sup> W. Kubiak, *Dzieje Lubrańca*, p. 41. In the 1513 document of Sigismund the Old concerning the incorporation of Bytom Parish into Lubraniec Parish, the settlement was referred to as an *oppidum* (AGAD, Nabytki Niedokumentowane Oddziału I (‘Non-documented acquisitions of Division I’), sign. 20, f. 51). There are no descriptions specifying the status of this settlement in the documents of the Monastery of the Canons Regular of the Lateran in Lubraniec from 1511–1513, concerning the incorporation of Zgłowiączka Parish into Lubraniec Monastery, which were entered into the same cartulary. I would like to thank Professor Zbigniew Zyglewski, PhD (dr. hab.), of the Kazimierz Wielki University, for his comments.

<sup>74</sup> Guldon, *Lokacje*, p. 29; idem, *Osadnictwo ziemi dobrzyńskiej w XVI–XVII wieku*, ZK-D, series D: *Gospodarka*, 1981, p. 235.

<sup>75</sup> R. Szczygieł, *Lokacje miast*, p. 33.

<sup>76</sup> I. Janosz-Biskupowa, *O położeniu i przeniesieniu Nieszawy (z dziejów handlu wiślanego w XV w.)*, „Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”, vol. 20, 1954, p. 190; eadem, *Dzieje miasta Podgórza (1555–1938)*, ZH, vol. 27, 1962, no. 3, p. 360; cf. *Dzieje Nieszawy*, vol. 1: *Do 1945 r.*, ed. R. Czaja, Toruń 2004; M. Duda, S. Józwiak, *Nowa Nieszawa in the Late Middle Ages According to New Research. The Town on the Border of Countries, Cultures and Nations*, „Klio. Czasopismo Poświęcone Dziejom Polski i Powszechnym” vol. 43 (4), 2017, pp. 23–45.

<sup>77</sup> K. Ciesielska, T. Zakrzewski, *450 lat toruńskiego Podgórza 1555–2005*, Toruń 2005, pp. 58–59.

<sup>78</sup> Guldon, *Lokacje*, p. 20 f.

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem, p. 56; I. Janosz-Biskupowa, *Dzieje miasta Podgórza*, p. 361; K. Mikulski, *Komturstwo nieszawskie i starostwo dybowskie w XIII–XVII wieku – zasięg, osadnictwo*, [in:] *Zamek dybowski: archeologia, historia, przyszłość. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej 10 września 1999 roku w Toruniu z okazji Dni Dziedzictwa Europejskiego*, Toruń 1999, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> Guldon, *Lokacje*, p. 56; I. Janosz-Biskupowa, *Dzieje miasta Podgórza*, p. 361; K. Mikulski, *Komturstwo nieszawskie*, p. 13.

<sup>81</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 239: ‘The town of Dibow aka Podgorze, which belonged to Dybów Castle’.

<sup>82</sup> ASK I 30, f. 796v; ASK I 50, ff. 615v, 652, 688v, 751v, 739, 766, 793; ASK I 92, f. 11.

**Table 2. Number of towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Voivodeship	Towns			Total
	royal towns	Church towns	nobility towns	
Brześć Voivodeship	7.5	3	4.5	<b>15</b>
Inowrocław Voivodeship	6	2	2	<b>10</b>
Dobrzyń land	5	1	1	<b>7</b>
Total	18.5	6	7.5	32

In Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, there is a predominance of settlements belonging to the royal domain, which constitute approximately 58% of the total number of all towns located in this area. However, taking into account the distribution of ownership of landed property in the analysed area, the royal estates were the least prominent. However, the estates of nobility dominated in the region, which is discussed in detail in a separate chapter of this volume.<sup>83</sup> The shares of ecclesiastical (Church) and private (nobility) towns in the area was, respectively, 18.75% and 23.4%. Royal settlements dominated both in the Brześć (50%) and Inowrocław (60%) Voivodeships, as well as in Dobrzyń land (71.4%), although in none of the analysed districts was the number of settlements higher than four. No ecclesiastical towns were situated in Kowal, Przedecz, Dobrzyń, and Lipno districts. There were no nobility's towns in Kruszwica, Bydgoszcz, Dobrzyń, and Rypin districts.

In this respect, the proportions of ownership affiliations concerning the towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land differ slightly from the general trends of the urban networks of the Polish Kingdom in the sixteenth-century which were dominated by small nobility's settlements. This phenomenon can be observed in the neighbouring voivodeships. In Płock Voivodeship (16 towns), royal property constituted only 25% (4 towns) of the total number of towns, with 68% (11 towns) representing nobility's property.<sup>84</sup> This trend was even clearer in Greater Poland, where the percentage of private towns is estimated at 68% in Kalisz Voivodeship (63.5 towns) and 57% (38 towns) in Poznań Voivodeship, with a relatively low share of royal towns, amounting to 17% (16 towns) and 24% (16 towns), respectively.<sup>85</sup> Also in the small Łęczyca Voivodeship, out of 27 towns, 63% (17) were owned by nobility, and 39% constituted royal property (6 towns).<sup>86</sup> Similarly, in Sieradz Voivodeship, the percentages were, respectively, 47.8% (21.5 towns) and 35.5% (16 towns).<sup>87</sup> There's also a relative dominance of royal towns in Rawa Voivodeship – out of 23 towns, 43% (10 towns) belonged to the Crown, and 34% (eight towns) were privately owned. On the other hand, there were no nobility's towns in Chełmno Voivodeship, where the percentage of royal towns was 64.28% (nine towns), while the remaining 35.71% were ecclesiastical towns (five towns).<sup>88</sup> The king also owned all the settlements located in Pomeranian Voivodeship (16).<sup>89</sup> The percentage share of royal towns located in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land also corresponds to the estimates made for Cracow Voivodeship (54.8%), however, these areas differed diametrically, both in terms of their size and degree of urbanization.<sup>90</sup>

The most difficult part of analysing the source material was estimating the size of towns at that time. Both the basis of the calculations and the indicators adopted by the researchers are up to debate.<sup>91</sup> Most of the source materials we used in this study were tax registers from the second half

<sup>83</sup> M. Słomski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.3.6.

<sup>84</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7, pp. 84–85.

<sup>85</sup> J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2b.4.

<sup>86</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>88</sup> M. Biskup, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] MRP.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>90</sup> J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, w tej edycji III.3.2.1.

<sup>91</sup> *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 12–24, comp. A. Pawiński, A. Jabłonowski, I.T. Baranowski, J.F. Jakubowski, J. Kordzikowski, Warsaw 1883–1915; J. Kleczyński, *Spisy ludności w Rzeczypospolitej polskiej*, „Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny”, II, vol. 5 (30), 1894, pp. 33–61; W. Czerkawski, *Metoda badania zaludnienia Polski w XVI*

of the sixteenth century, as well as inspections and inventories of royal and ecclesiastical property. A single inventory of nobility's property was also used.<sup>92</sup> As the basis for the calculations, we mainly used the recorded information on the number of houses, and in the absence of such information, the data on craftsmen taxed in individual towns. The references to the amount of *szos*<sup>93</sup> and the amount of tax paid on the production and sale of alcoholic beverages, *i.e.* the liquor excise tax (*czopowe*), were taken into account for comparison purposes.

We also decided to use the previously adopted system of estimating the size of individual settlements, assuming the conversion factor of nine people per house (household), as was the case in the previous volumes. Taking into account the development of research in the field of historical demography and its recent findings, the validity of these choices may also be debatable. In the Greater Poland volume, this problem was already discussed by Jarosław Suproniuk.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, we rely on the solution he chose, the purpose of which is primarily to maintain the consistency of the series.

The amount of information contained in the sources was also an issue. It turned out to be highly unsatisfactory, especially in the case of Dobrzyń land, where the lack of data on the number of houses, as well as only very sparse information on the number of craftsmen, forced us to take into account information from later sources or base our analyses on the findings reported in the literature of the subject. In the case of Dobrzyń land towns, the decisive factor was, first of all, the information on the amount of liquor excise tax, which allowed us to estimate the economic potential of individual settlements. Taking into account the discussion and assumptions underlying the series, it should be emphasised that the presented findings are to a large extent probable, but should be treated only as representation of the order of magnitude of the population of the towns located in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century.

In line with the principle adopted in the previous volumes, towns have been divided into three categories: small towns (with populations up to 1,000 inhabitants), towns (with larger populations of up to 5,000 inhabitants), and large towns (over 5,000 inhabitants). There are no settlements that could be classified as large towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. The breakdown into categories is as follows:

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wieku, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności” 1897, no. 2, pp. 8–12; W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski (do początków XIX wieku)*, RDSG, vol. 13, 1951, pp. 23–106; K. Górka, *Przyczynek do krytyki rejestrów poborowych z XVI wieku*, *SŻ*, vol. 1, 1957, pp. 184–189; E. Vielrose, *Ludność Polski od X do XVIII wieku*, KHKM, vol. 5, 1957, no. 1, pp. 37–42; I. Gieysztorowa, T. Ładogórski, *W sprawie nowych badań nad zaludnieniem dawnej Polski*, KHKM, vol. 6, 1958, no. 1–2, pp. 45–60, 134–135; I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła i szacunki w badaniach osadnictwa i demografii Polski XVI i XVII w.*, KHKM, vol. 10, 1962, no. 3–4, pp. 575–593; Z. Guldon, *Uwagi w sprawie przydatności badawczej rejestrów poborowych z XVI w.*, *ZH*, vol. 31, 1966, no. 1, pp. 73–80; Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 55. When calculating the population of Cuyavian towns, Guldon assumed the rate of 6 people per house (family). I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7, pp. 77–87. Gieysztorowa adopted the conversion factor of 6–7 people per house. Later, she called for an increase of this number; see also: eadem, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warsaw 1976, p. 182. Therefore, the conversion factor of nine people per house (family) was adopted for subsequent volumes: A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2; K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5; J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.2.1; idem, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2b.4; cf. A. Wyczański, *Historyk wobec liczby*, [in:] *Metody i wyniki. Z warsztatu historyka dziejów społeczeństwa polskiego*, ed. S. Kalabiński, Warsaw 1980, pp. 11–31; H. Samsonowicz, *Wiejskość osad miejskich w późnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Civitas & villa. Miasto i wieś w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, Wrocław–Praha 2002, pp. 13–16; C. Kukło, *Badania nad demografią rodzin w mieście doby preindustrialnej*, [in:] *Struktury demograficzne rodziny na ziemiach polskich do połowy XX wieku. Przegląd badań i problemów*, ed. P. Guzowski, C. Kukło, Białystok 2014, pp. 51–78; P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, p. 90; P. Guzowski, *Stan i perspektywy badań nad liczbą ludności Polski w późnym średniowieczu i w początkach epoki nowożytnej*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 7–26; K. Boroda, *Przeszłość przeliczników demograficznych dla szesnastowiecznych źródeł podatkowych*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 27–52.

<sup>92</sup> *Materiały do dziejów rolnictwa w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku, poprzedzone wiadomością o życiu i pismach Jana Ostroroga, wojewody poznańskiego*, comp. W. Chomętowski, Warsaw 1876.

<sup>93</sup> Due to the flat-rate nature of this tax, the information on the amounts given in the footnotes are provided for supplementary purposes only.

<sup>94</sup> J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2b.4.

### Towns in Brześć Voivodeship:

- Brześć district: Brześć Kujawski,<sup>95</sup> Włocławek,<sup>96</sup>
- Kowal district: Kowal,<sup>97</sup>
- Przedecz district: Przedecz,<sup>98</sup>
- Radziejów district: Radziejów.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> The rate of *szos* in Brześć Kujawski was 96 florins. In 1578, the town paid 95 florins of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The basic data for the calculations are taken from the inspections which state that there were 192 houses inside the town walls. There is no information concerning suburbians, as they were exempt from tax. The inspections mention 115 craftsmen, and 108 female bakers and peddlers; see LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 207–208. The inspection of 1569 gives the same number of houses. It also lists 109 craftsmen and 28 female bakers with female sellers; LWWK 1569, f. 325. The number of houses remained unchanged in the 1616–1620 inspection, but the number of craftsmen fell to 89, while the number of female bakers with peddlers was recorded as 69. The tax registers listed 48 apprentices in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 447), 106 craftsmen in 1579 (ibidem, f. 453), 109 craftsmen, 3 fishermen and 17 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 610), 95 craftsmen, 13 fishermen and one *inquilinus* in 1582 (ibidem, f. 662), 96 craftsmen, 2 fishermen and one *inquilinus* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 733), 119 craftsmen and 29 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 774). At the end of the fifteenth century, there were 48 suburban families in Brześć, together with about 220 families living within the town walls; see: Brzeskie 1494, pp. 363–369; cf. Guldon, Zaludnienie, pp. 56–57.

<sup>96</sup> *Szos* was paid in the amount of 48 florins. In 1578, the town paid 503 florins and 29 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The number of houses in Włocławek was quite well-documented. The inventory from 1534 enumerates 117 families living within the town walls and in the suburbs. However, one sheet is missing from the part where the list of taxed town's inhabitants and their real properties begins; see: Inw. 1534, pp. 5–6. The 1582 inventory mentions about 170 town inhabitants paying rent from town parcels, 65 of which were defined as *combustae*, 17 as suburbians and 15 as fishermen; see: Inw. 1582, pp. 2–6; Inw. 1598, p. 1: “Domus in civitate 194 exceptis domibus civitati donatis et advocatialis. Domus in nova civitate et in duobus suburbiis 61”; Inw. XVII, p. 85: ‘The number of settled parcels was 110’. The tax registers from 1570 mention an unspecified number of craftsmen, nine fishermen, a confectioner and nine innkeepers (ASK I 50, f. 9); in 1577, the register recorded tax from four craftsmen, four apprentices, 16 fishermen and 31 *inquilini* (ASK I 29, f. 448); in 1581, from 63 craftsmen and 15 fishermen (ASK I 30, f. 681); in 1582, from 62 craftsmen, 20 *inquilini* and 15 fishermen (ibidem, f. 673); in 1583, from 66 craftsmen, 16 fishermen, 24 *inquilini* (ibidem, f. 737); in 1589, from 76 craftsmen, 14 fishermen and 20 *inquilini*; cf. S. Ingot, *Stosunki społeczno-gospodarcze ludności w dobrach biskupstwa włocławskiego w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Lwów 1927, p. 80; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka (Włocławia)*, Włocławek 1933, p. 40. Z. Guldon reports that the sources confirm the existence of 43 houses of vicars, who were exempt from paying the rent, estimating that their total number could amount even to 100; cf. Guldon, Zaludnienie, p. 64.

<sup>97</sup> The rate of *szos* in Kowal amounted to 76 florins. In 1578, the town paid 167 florins and 16 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The 1616–1620 inspection provides information on 240 burghers' houses, including Jewish ones, and two butchers; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 257. Brzeskie 1494, pp. 379–383, provides information on 66 craftsmen and 207 houses in the hearth tax list. According to the visitation from 1598, the organist in Kowal was paid by the town's residents who were charged 1.5 *grosze* from each house. The amount obtained was 10 florins, which means that the payment was collected from 200 houses; cf. T. Nowak, *Zarys dziejów powiatu kowalskiego do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Siedziby obronno-rezydencjonalne w powiecie kowalskim na Kujawach XIII–XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1991, p. 73. The tax registers report that there were 6 fishermen, 13 *inquilini*, and 14 apprentices in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 447), 92 craftsmen, four fishermen and 18 *inquilini* in 1579 (ibidem, f. 473v), 67 craftsmen, 16 *inquilini*, and five fishermen in 1582 (ASK I 30, f. 671), 59 craftsmen, 14 *inquilini*, and five fishermen in 1583 (ibidem, f. 735), 47 craftsmen and 7 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 776). Z. Guldon reports that there were 950 inhabitants in the town before 1583; Guldon, Zaludnienie, p. 59.

<sup>98</sup> The rate of *szos* was 32 florins. In 1578, the town paid 166 florins and 8 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. According to the 1500 inventory, there were 45 houses in Przedecz, and the later inventory from 1538 reports 78 houses. In the inventory from 1556, the number of houses was estimated at 88; see: Guldon, Zaludnienie, p. 61. The same figure appears in the later 1616–1620 inspection; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 217. The inspection from 1564–1565 lists 124 taxed parcels, also mentions 28 brewers, two blacksmiths, one furrier, 7 shoemakers, one cooper, four tailors, and 6 fishermen; LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 167. Another inspection, from 1569, provides information on 125 houses, 32 brewers, two blacksmiths, 7 shoemakers, one cooper, one carpenter, and five tailors; LWWK 1569, ff. 304v–305. The tax registers listed 8 *inquilini* in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 447v), 13 craftsmen, five fishermen and 8 *inquilini* in 1579 (ibidem, f. 480), 26 craftsmen in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 612v), 31 craftsmen and 6 *inquilini* in 1582 (ibidem, f. 651v), 25 craftsmen and 6 fishermen in 1583 (ibidem, f. 736), 13 craftsmen in 1589 (ibidem, f. 776v); cf. Guldon, Zaludnienie, p. 61.

<sup>99</sup> The rate of *szos* was 80 florins. In 1578, Radziejów paid 334 florins of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The inspection from 1616–1620 lists 24 houses located on the market square, 113 “street houses”, 29 houses at Oborna Street, 40 at Krakowska Street, eight nobility's houses, and eight Evangelical houses. This gives 198 houses in total. The source also mentions 47 burnt parcels which were not rebuilt after the fire. It also states that there were 23 shoemakers and eight butchers in the town; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 348. Brzeskie 1494, pp. 383–390, records 155 houses. The tax registers list 11 craftsmen, 12 *inquilini*, 3 *homines vagi*, and 47 apprentices in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 447), 169 craftsmen and 14 *inquilini* in 1579 (ibidem, f. 491), 140 craftsmen and 13 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 611v); 158 craftsmen and 17 *inquilini* in 1582 (ibidem, ff. 657, 670), 149 craftsmen and 24 *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 734), 110 craftsmen, 10 fishermen, and 15 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 775); cf. Guldon, Zaludnienie, p. 62. He estimates that there were about 980 inhabitants.

### Small towns in Brześć Voivodeship:

- Brześć district: Lubraniec,<sup>100</sup>
- Kowal district: Lubień Kujawski,<sup>101</sup>
- Kruszwica district: Gębice,<sup>102</sup> Kruszwica,<sup>103</sup> Skulsk,<sup>104</sup> Strzelno,<sup>105</sup>
- Przedecz district: Chodecz,<sup>106</sup> Izbica Kujawska,<sup>107</sup>
- Radziejów district: Noć,<sup>108</sup> Sompolno.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> *Szos* was paid in the amount of 4 florins. In 1578, Lubraniec paid 15 florins and 15 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The tax registers listed four apprentices in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 448v), 13 craftsmen in 1579 (ibidem, f. 469), 14 craftsmen and 3 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 614), nine craftsmen in 1582 (ibidem, f. 675), nine craftsmen in 1583 (ibidem, f. 740), seven craftsmen and 2 *inquilini* (ibidem, f. 777v). The oath (*jurament*) from 1634, entered into the gord court books of Brześć, mentions 47 houses; see Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 61.

<sup>101</sup> Lubień was exempted from paying *szos*, most probably because the town was seriously damaged in a fire. In 1578, 5 florins were paid for liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The tax registers listed 13 craftsmen and two *inquilini* in 1567 (ASK I 29, f. 392), and seven craftsmen in 1579 (ibidem, f. 477); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 60: more detailed data is available only for the post-Deluge period, but Guldon estimates that the population was about 129 people.

<sup>102</sup> The rate of *szos* was 48 florins. In 1578, the town of Gębice paid 108 florins and 26 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. Tax registers list the following: 6 craftsmen and 10 *inquilini* in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 449), 41 craftsmen and 8 *inquilini* in 1579 (ibidem, f. 507), 78 craftsmen and 18 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 605), 65 craftsmen and 13 *inquilini* in 1582 (ibidem, ff. 665, 672v), 76 craftsmen and 21 *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, ff. 737, 776v), 47 craftsmen in 1589 (ibidem, f. 776v); Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 58.

<sup>103</sup> The rate of *szos* was 4 florins. In 1578, the town paid 40 florins and 4 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The registers include information on two fishermen and one *inquilinus* in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 448), 6 craftsmen and 2 fishermen in 1579 (ibidem, f. 503), 9 craftsmen and 3 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 612v), eight craftsmen in 1582 (ibidem, f. 672), 15 craftsmen and two *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 736v), 10 craftsmen and five *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 777); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 60; K. Górski, *Dzieje Kruszwicy do końca XVII wieku*, [in:] *Kruszwica. Zarys monograficzny*, ed. J. Grześkowiak, Toruń 1965, p. 210.

<sup>104</sup> The rate of *szos* was 10 florins 6 *grosze*. In 1578, the town of Skulsk did not pay liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. According to the tax registers, in Skulsk, there were five craftsmen and two *inquilini* in 1579 (ASK I 29, f. 445), five craftsmen, nine fishermen and 2 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 504), five craftsmen, nine fishermen and two *inquilini* in 1582 (ibidem, f. 665), seven craftsmen and six *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 777). On the other hand, the register from 1583 noted 21 houses in the town. The 1616–1620 inspection provides information about 220½ settled parcels an two butchers; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 349; cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 63.

<sup>105</sup> The rate of *szos* in Strzelno was 32 florins. In 1578, the town paid 113 florins of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The tax registers mention 31 craftsmen in 1570 (ASK I 50, f. 782), 3 craftsmen, 15 *inquilini*, and five apprentices in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 448), 45 craftsmen and 8 *inquilini* in 1579 (ibidem, f. 506v), 62 craftsmen and 15 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 613), 46 craftsmen and nine fishermen in 1582 (ibidem, f. 673v), 63 craftsmen in 1583 (ibidem, f. 738); in 1589, the town was exempted from the tax because of a fire (ibidem, f. 777v); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 64.

<sup>106</sup> The rate of *szos* in Chodecz was 16 florins. In 1578, the town paid 49 florins and 4 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The tax registers listed 12 craftsmen and five *inquilini* in 1579 (ASK I 29, f. 486), 23 craftsmen and 3 *inquilini* in 1581 (ASK I 30, f. 613v), 16 craftsmen and 3 *inquilini* in 1582 (ibidem, f. 674v), 25 craftsmen and 2 *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 739), eight craftsmen and 3 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 777v); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 58.

<sup>107</sup> The rate of *szos* in Izbica Kujawska was 12 florins. In 1578, the town paid 24 florins of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The tax registers listed four *inquilini* in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 449), two craftsmen and four *inquilini* in 1582 (ASK I 30, f. 675), two craftsmen and four *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 739v), five craftsmen and 3 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 777). The town was burnt down in 1579, which is why the rate of *szos* was lowered in 1582–1583 (ASK I 29, f. 483v; ASK I 30, ff. 675, 739v); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 59.

<sup>108</sup> ASK I 29, f. 499: in 1579, four craftsmen and two butchers; ASK I 30, f. 599v: in 1581, four unspecified craftsmen, two butchers, one seller, one female baker; ibidem, f. 661: in 1582, four craftsmen, one female baker, two peddlers, two butchers; ibidem, f. 723: in 1583, 4 craftsmen, one female baker, one peddler, two butchers; ibidem, f. 767: in 1589, four unspecified craftsmen, and one butcher.

<sup>109</sup> The rate of *szos* in Sompolno was 2 florins 6 *grosze*. In 1578, the town paid 7 florins and 23 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The inspection of the town and village of Sompolno in 1590, quoted by A. Gajda, contains information that there were 56 taxed houses in the town; see: idem, *Monografia Sompolna: z dodatkiem o Lubustwie i okolicy (z zastosowaniem nowej pisowni)*, Koło 1936, p. 33. The tax registers report 6 craftsmen, 15 *inquilini*, and five apprentices in 1577 (ASK I 29, f. 449), seven craftsmen and 3 *inquilini* in 1579 (ibidem, f. 501), 11 craftsmen and two *inquilini* (ASK I 30, f. 674), 10 craftsmen and two *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 738v), 6 craftsmen in 1589 (ibidem, f. 777v); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 63.

### Towns in Inowrocław Voivodeship:

- Bydgoszcz district: Bydgoszcz,<sup>110</sup> Koronowo,<sup>111</sup>
- Inowrocław district: Inowrocław,<sup>112</sup> Pakość.<sup>113</sup>

### Small towns in Inowrocław Voivodeship:

- Bydgoszcz district: Fordon,<sup>114</sup> Solec Kujawski,<sup>115</sup>

<sup>110</sup> The rate of *szos* collected from Bydgoszcz was 240 florins. In 1578, paid 1352 florins and 27 *grosze*; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The visitation from 1596 mentions 300 houses within the town walls of Bydgoszcz; see: *Documenta ecclesias civitatis Bidgostiensis (Bromberg) concernentia*, pub. E. Becker, Berlin 1918, p. 25. The same number is mentioned in a court judgement of 1600 issued in a dispute between the town and the vogt's office, entered into *Liber Privilegiorum Civitatis Bidgostiensis* (State Archives in Bydgoszcz); see Z. Guldon, *Zaludnienie Bydgoszczy*, pp. 109–110. He estimates that there were about 240 suburbians in the second half of the seventeenth century; cf. *Dzieje Bydgoszczy* ("History of Bydgoszcz"), vol. 1: *Do roku 1920* ("Up to 1920"), ed. M. Biskup, Warsaw–Poznań 1991, pp. 156–157. Earlier studies incorrectly placed Bydgoszcz among the largest Polish towns of that time; cf. K. Kantak, *Przedmowa*, [in:] *Kronika Bernardynów bydgoskich*, pub. K. Kantak, Poznań 1907, pp. 19–20. The tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century list the following: 98 taxed craftsmen, 3 merchants, two Scots, and 42 *inquilini* in 1563 (ASK I 92, f. 17), 12 craftsmen in 1565 (ASK I 50, f. 798), 17 craftsmen and 20 female innkeepers in 1573 (ibidem, f. 763), in 1576, the register mentioned two fishermen and eight innkeepers (ibidem, f. 734), in 1577, the register mentioned only two fishermen (ibidem, ff. 711v–712), in 1581, it referred to 94 craftsmen and two fishermen (ASK I 30, f. 689), in 1582, 102 craftsmen and two fishermen (ASK I 50, f. 652v), in 1583, 105 craftsmen and two fishermen (ibidem, f. 616), and in 1589, 89 craftsmen and 15 *inquilini* (ASK I 30, f. 797 v).

<sup>111</sup> The rate of *szos* in Koronowo was 12 florins. In 1578, the town paid 249 florins and 12 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. Inventory of the estates of Koronowo Monastery from 1564–1565 (AGAD, Division I, Varia IV, ff. 4–7v, 38–41v) lists: 153 burghers paying taxes from lans, five female sellers, three butchers, eight female bakers, 20 shoemakers in 1564. In the following year, it mentions 149 burghers, four female sellers, 10 female bakers, 6 butchers, and 22 shoemakers. The tax registers contain information on 53 craftsmen, two fishermen, and one Jew in 1563 (ASK I 92, f. 17v), 52 craftsmen and 17 *inquilini* in 1564 (ASK I 50, ff. 818–181v), 22 craftsmen, 14 *inquilini* and 15 apprentices in 1565 (ibidem, f. 798), 35 craftsmen, 26 *inquilini*, and nine apprentices in 1573 (ibidem, ff. 764v–767), 39 craftsmen and eight *inquilini* in 1576 (ibidem, f. 737), 30 craftsmen in 1577 (ibidem, ff. 713v–714), 38 craftsmen and 6 *inquilini* in 1581 (ibidem, f. 690), 52 craftsmen and 6 *inquilini* in 1582 (ibidem, f. 653v), 55 craftsmen and 6 *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 617), 60 craftsmen and 34 *inquilini* in 1589 (ASK I 30, f. 798); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 66: reports that there were 975 burghers.

<sup>112</sup> The rate of *szos* was 120 florins. In 1578, Inowrocław paid 489 florins and 11 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The 1564–1565 inspection provides information about 220½ settled parcels and 6 butchers (LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 244) and 27 Jewish houses (ibidem, p. 274); the same number of town parcels is also given by the inspection from 1569, and it also mentions 13 shoemakers and five butchers (LWWK 1569, f. 340v). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of houses rose to 310; see LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 276. The tax registers from 1553 mention 15 taxed Jews (ASK I 50, f. 848), 156 Jews in 1563 (ASK I 92, f. 10), 168 Jews in 1564 (ASK I 50, ff. 810–810v), 50 craftsmen, eight female peddlers, seven *inquilini* and *homines vagi*, 16 apprentices and 136 Jews (ibidem, f. 792), four *inquilini*, seven *homines vagi*, 12 apprentices and 1 female innkeeper in 1573 (ibidem, f. 672v), two female innkeepers in 1576 (ibidem, f. 766v), 3 *inquilini*, 11 apprentices, and two *homines vagi* in 1577 (ibidem, f. 711v), 57 craftsmen, 3 fishermen, and 10 *inquilini* in 1581 (ibidem, f. 686), 83 craftsmen and 16 *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 613), 98 craftsmen and 32 *inquilini* in 1589 (ASK I 30, p. 795); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 66: 1,860 inhabitants; *Dzieje Inowroclawia*, vol. 1: *Do 1919 r.*, ed. M. Biskup, Warsaw–Poznań–Toruń 1978, pp. 250–251.

<sup>113</sup> The *szos* rate in Pakość was 30 florins, and in 1582 and 1583, it increased to 84 florins. In 1578, the town paid 864 florins and 14 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. In the registers from 1534 (ASK I 12, f. 396v) and 1535 (ibidem, f. 497), tax collections from Pakość were recorded in Gniezno district. The registers from the second half of the sixteenth century list the following: 74 craftsmen, 172 Jews, 36 *homines vagi* and *inquilini*, and 10 female peddlers in 1563 (ASK I 92, f. 10), 173 Jews (craftsmen paid taxes collectively) in 1564 (ASK I 50, ff. 548, 810), nine craftsmen, 140 Jews, and 40 apprentices in 1565 (ibidem, f. 792v), 15 craftsmen in 1573 (ibidem, f. 764), 1 craftsman, 23 *inquilini*, and 24 apprentices in 1576 (ibidem, ff. 735v–736), two bakers, 1 apprentice in 1577 (ibidem, ff. 712v–713), seven fishermen, 70 craftsmen and 46 *inquilini* in 1581 (ibidem, f. 687), 121 craftsmen, seven fishermen, and 45 *inquilini* in 1582 (ibidem, f. 650v), 119 craftsmen, 7 fishermen, and 21 *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 614), 104 craftsmen, seven fishermen, and 35 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 796); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 67: using one register from 1583 as his source, Guldon reports that there were 850 inhabitants in the period in question.

<sup>114</sup> The rate of *szos* was 4 florins. In 1578, the town of Fordon paid 13 florins and 5 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. Tax registers list the following: 6 craftsmen in 1564 (ASK I 50, f. 818), 3 craftsmen in 1573 (ibidem, f. 767), four craftsmen in 1576 (ibidem, f. 740), four craftsmen and four fishermen in 1581 (ibidem, f. 691), 3 craftsmen and two fishermen in 1582 (ibidem, f. 654), while the register from 1583 mentions 24 burghers, four craftsmen, and 3 fishermen, and its 1589 counterpart includes 25 *inquilini* and 3 fishermen (ASK I 30, f. 798); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 65.

<sup>115</sup> The rate of *szos* in Solec Kujawski was 9 florins 18 *grosze*. In 1578, the town paid 120 florins and 19 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The tax registers mention four craftsmen in 1563 (ASK I 92, f. 18), 5 craftsmen and 6 *inquilini* in 1564 (ASK I 50, f. 818), 24 craftsmen and 14 *inquilini* in 1581 (ibidem, f. 690v), 22 craftsmen and 14 *inquilini* in 1582 and 1583 (ibidem, ff. 617v, 654), 6 craftsmen and 12 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 798v); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 68.

- Inowrocław district: Gniewkowo,<sup>116</sup> Raciążek,<sup>117</sup> Podgórz,<sup>118</sup> Służewo.<sup>119</sup>
- Towns in Dobrzyń land:
- Lipno district: Nieszawa,<sup>120</sup>
- Rypin district: Rypin.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>116</sup> The rate of *szos* was 24 florins. In 1578, the town paid 293 florins and 13 *grosze* of liquor tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. According to the inspection from 1569, there were 37½ plots (?) and two breweries in Gniewkowo, the source also mentions seven *hortulani*; LWWK 1569 f. 350. The same number is given two years earlier in the inventory of the Gniewkowo lease; see: Z. Guldon, K. Wajda, *Zarys dziejów Gniewkowa*, Bydgoszcz 1970, p. 87. The tax registers mention 10 craftsmen and 10 *inquilini* in 1563 (ASK I 92, f. 11), 8 craftsmen in 1564 (ASK I 50, f. 810v), two craftsmen and eight *inquilini* in 1565 (ibidem, f. 793), 24 *inquilini* in 1576 (ibidem, ff. 737v–738), 11 craftsmen, 20 *inquilini* in 1581 (ibidem, f. 678v), 3 craftsmen and 6 *inquilini* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 651), nine craftsmen and four *hortulani* 1589 (ASK I 30, f. 797); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 66: the number of inhabitants is not given because the sources provide only general information on the subject.

<sup>117</sup> *Szos* rate in Raciążek was 3 florins 6 *grosze*. In 1578, the town paid 90 florins and 22 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The inventory of the estates of Włocławek Bishopric from 1582 lists 76 burgher families paying various kinds of fees; see: Inw. 1582, pp. 184–188. On the other hand, a later inventory from 1598 states as follows: “Sunt in eodem oppido domus cum suis partibus familias nro 94; areae desertae nro 21”; cf. Inw. 1598, p. 64; cf. S. Inglot, *Stosunki społeczno-gospodarcze*, p. 79. The tax registers mention 35 craftsmen in 1563 (ASK I 92, f. 11), 26 craftsmen in 1564 (ASK I 50, f. 810), 21 craftsmen and five *inquilini* in 1570 (ibidem, f. 777v), 16 craftsmen and five *inquilini* in 1573 (ibidem, f. 765v), 17 craftsmen in 1576 (ibidem, f. 738), seven craftsmen and 8 *inquilini* in 1581 (ibidem, f. 688), seven craftsmen and four *inquilini* in 1589 (ASK I 30, f. 796), while in 1582 and 1583, the town was exempted from the tax because of a fire (ASK I 50, ff. 652, 615v); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 68.

<sup>118</sup> The rate of *szos* in Podgórz was 14 florins. In 1578, the town did not pay the liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. The 1616–1620 inspection states that there were 103 houses in the town; LWWK 1616, part 1, f. 295. On the other hand, the tax registers listed 12 craftsmen and 12 *inquilini* in 1564 (ASK I 50, f. 810v), 12 craftsmen, seven fishermen, 10 *inquilini*, six *homines vagi*, and one apprentice in 1565 (ibidem, f. 793), nine craftsmen, five apprentices, and six fishermen in 1573 (ibidem, ff. 766–766v), seven craftsmen, five fishermen, and 25 *hortulani* in 1576 (ibidem, ff. 739–739v), 6 fishermen in 1577 (ibidem, f. 715v), 14 craftsmen and eight *inquilini* in 1581 (ibidem, f. 688v), 23 craftsmen, 10 *inquilini*, and five fishermen in 1582 (ibidem, f. 652), 20 craftsmen, 10 *inquilini*, and five fishermen in 1583 (ibidem, p. 615v), 20 craftsmen and 15 *inquilini* in 1589 (ibidem, f. 796v); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 67.

<sup>119</sup> The rate of *szos* was 24 florins. In 1578, the town paid 122 florins and 24 *grosze* of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. According to the tax registers from 1576, the town had 22 craftsmen, 3 *hortulani* and two apprentices (ASK I 50, f. 738v), two craftsmen, 3 *hortulani*, and 3 apprentices in 1577 (ibidem, f. 715), 26 craftsmen in 1581 (ibidem, f. 688), 40 craftsmen and five *hortulani* in 1582 (ibidem, f. 651v), 42 craftsmen and five *hortulani* in 1583 (ibidem, f. 615). The town was exempt from taxes in 1563, 1573, 1577 because of fires (ASK I 92, f. 4; ASK I 50, ff. 766, 715); cf. Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 68.

<sup>120</sup> The rate of *szos* in Nowa Nieszawa was 76 florins 24 *grosze*. In 1578, the town paid 308 florins and 12 *grosze* of liquor tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. In 1564 and 1565, the town consistently paid a fairly high amount of the liquor excise tax, *i.e.* 363 florins 10 *grosze* (ASK II 24, f. 156v) and 207 florins and 20 *grosze* (ibidem, f. 282v). In 1569, because of a plague, the amount decreased to 174 florins (ASK I 112, f. 79v). Tax registers do not provide a specific number of craftsmen, the tax was most often paid collectively (ASK I 30, ff. 446 and 349). The first information on the number of houses comes from the inspection from the second half of the seventeenth century; see: LWWK 1659, p. 290: “There are 61 settled houses and tenement houses, seven nobility’s houses, and 31 *włoki* in the town.” Earlier, in a tax declaration from 1659, submitted by representatives of the town’s authorities to the gord office of Bobrowniki, 117 houses were indicated in Nieszawa in 1654. In turn, according to these books, the number of inhabitants of Nieszawa in 1658 was 666; see: Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 249. On the basis of the high amount of the liquor excise tax paid by the town, comparable to other larger settlements, it should be assumed that Nieszawa was at that point a town with more than 1,000 inhabitants. At that time, the town benefited from the intense sale and river transport of grain, as evidenced by the large number of granaries there; see: J. Dumanowski, *Czasy nowożytnie*, [in:] *Dzieje Nieszawy*, vol. 1, p. 56 f. There was also a Franciscan monastery in the town.

<sup>121</sup> The rate of *szos* was 60 florins. In 1578, the town of Rypin paid 180 florins of liquor tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. In 1564 and 1565, the amount was, respectively, 129 florins 7 *grosze* (ASK II 24, f. 155v) and 115 florins and 24 *grosze* (ibidem, f. 283r), while in 1569, Rypin paid 136 florins and 5 *grosze* (ASK I 112, f. 80v). The tax registers from 1565 mention six unspecified craftsmen and 15 apprentices (ASK I 30, ff. 354–355). Other registers contain no information on the subject. The inspection from 1628–1632 states that the small town got severely damaged by the Swedes, and, at that time, there were only nine houses there, inhabited by 13 burghers, while before the attack, the population was 150; see: LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 62. Based on the above, Z. Guldon reports that there were about 150 families in the town at the turn of the seventeenth century; see: idem, *Dzieje powiatu rypińskiego*, [in:] *Szkice rypińskie. Materiały z sesji popularno-naukowej [sic!] zorganizowanej z okazji 900-lecia Rypina w dniu 27 listopada 1965 r.*, Bydgoszcz 1967, p. 87; cf. P. Bokota, P. Gałkowski, *Rypin w czasach nowożytnych (XVI–XVIII wiek)*, [in:] *Rypin – dzieje miasta*, vol. 1: *Do 1918 roku*, ed. K. Mikulski, Rypin 2010, pp. 201–206. In comparison, Z. Guldon reports 72 hearths in the eighteenth century; see: idem, *Zaludnienie ziemi dobrzyńskiej w końcu XVIII wieku*, ZH, vol. 39, 1974, no. 1, p. 101. The town was surrounded by town walls as early as in the fourteenth century. It included three churches and a hospital; see: C. Biały, *Parafie rypińskie oraz kościoły i kaplice na ich terenie*, Rypin 1983. Taking into account the above premises, as well as similar amounts of liquor excise tax collected from other settlements with populations of more than 1,000 inhabitants, we assumed that, in the analysed period, Rypin belonged to the category of towns with more than 1,000 inhabitants.

Small towns in Dobrzyń land:

- Dobrzyń district: Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula,<sup>122</sup>
- Lipno district: Bobrowniki,<sup>123</sup> Lipno,<sup>124</sup> Skepe,<sup>125</sup>
- Rypin district: Górzno.<sup>126</sup>

The presented lists of the number of towns located in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, taking into account their ownership status and differentiation in terms of size, prove the relatively low level of urbanization of this region. However, it should be noted that the density of the urban network in individual areas was uneven. Most towns, including settlements with more than 1,000 inhabitants, were located in Brześć Voivodeship (1 town per 220 km<sup>2</sup>), where the ratio of towns to other settlement types was approximately 1:44. The ratio varied across districts. There was one town for about 14 settlements in Kruszwica district, but these urban settlements were small and poorly developed. In Brześć district, there

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<sup>122</sup> The rate of *szos* was 80 florins. In 1578, the town paid 80 florins of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. In 1564 and 1565, the amount of the liquor excise tax was, respectively, 121 florins 27 *grosze* (ASK II 24, f. 157v) and 74 florins and 14 *grosze* (ibidem, f. 281v), and 78 florins in 1569 (ASK I 112, f. 78v). The registers from 1564, 1565 and 1573 do not give the number of taxed craftsmen. They contain only information on the total sum of the collected tax, which sometimes applies also to other groups of people. The 1565 inspection provided information on nine Jewish houses and three houses which were rented by Jews from Christians; see LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 274. A later inspection from the second half of the seventeenth century lists 30 residences. On the other hand, Z. Guldon states that the poll tax at that time (1658) was paid by 363 people. However, the town suffered greatly during the Swedish invasion in 1626–1629. Elsewhere, for the eighteenth century, Guldon states that there were 162 hearths in Dobrzyń; see: idem, *Zaludnienie ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 101. The collected amount of *szos* and liquor excise tax suggest that, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the town's population was over 1,000 people.

<sup>123</sup> Bobrowniki paid 12 florins of *szos*. In 1578, the town paid 80 florins of liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. In 1564 and 1565, the amount was, respectively, 55 florins (ASK II 24, f. 156v) and 52 florins and 8 *grosze* (ibidem, f. 282v) for the liquor excise tax, and 54 florins 12 *grosze* in 1569 (ASK I 112, f. 79v). It is difficult to determine the supposed order of magnitude of this settlement on the basis of data from tax registers: ASK I 30, p. 507: six unspecified craftsmen and one miller; ASK I 30, f. 352: six *homines vagi*; ibidem, f. 452v: six *homines vagi*; five florins of tax were paid for an unspecified number of *hortulani*. The first information on the number of houses comes from the inspection from the second half of the seventeenth century; LWWK 1659, p. 292: "There used to be 80 residences. Now, there's only 20 settled houses." K. Mikulski, in the table concerning population of town of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century, indicates that it had 200 inhabitants; see: idem, *Dzieje nowożytne*, [in:] *Dzieje regionu kujawsko-pomorskiego*, ed. A. Radziwiński, Toruń 2017, p. 258. Z. Guldon states that, in 1775, there were 61 hearths; cf. idem, *Zaludnienie ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 101.

<sup>124</sup> The rate of *szos* in Lipno was 64 florins. In 1578, paid 89 florins and 18 *grosze*; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. While in 1564 and 1565, it paid: 67 florins 20 *grosze* (ASK II 24, f. 156v) and 46 florins and 12 *grosze* (ibidem, f. 282v), while in 1569, the payment was 90 florins (ASK I 112, f. 79v). The tax registers list: 31 *hortulani* (ASK I 30, ff. 333 and 413) and 54 unspecified craftsmen (ibidem, f. 507). In accordance with the inspection from the first half of the seventeenth century, there were 46 settled houses in the town, while 160 parcels were abandoned. LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 68 informs as follows: "There are 46 residences in this town. The rest consists of empty parcels, of which there are 160, both in the town and in the suburb." In turn, Z. Guldon provides information on the number of people living in the suburbs, but they refer to the second half of the seventeenth century. He lists 11 suburbians settled in Zastawie and five in Św. Barbara suburb. He also reports that, in accordance with the inspection of 1661, there were 13 houses in the town at that point, with the proviso that "there used to be, *quondam*, 300 settlements"; see: Guldon 1981, p. 249.

<sup>125</sup> The rate of *szos* was 4 florins. In 1578, the town did not pay the liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. In 1564 and 1565, it paid, respectively, 9 florins 3 *grosze* (ASK II 24, f. 156v) and 11 florins and 12 *grosze* (ibidem, f. 282v), and in 1569, 14 florins (ASK I 112, f. 79v). According to the tax register from 1564, the town had nine craftsmen, three innkeepers, and one *hortulanus* (ASK I 30, f. 352). The register from 1573 mentions taxation of three unspecified craftsmen (ibidem, f. 507). According to the inventory of the local estates from 1571, there were 230 houses in the town: "The town's inhabitants of Skepe pay 1 grosz from a morgen; the number of morgens is the number of *grosze* paid. They also pay 1 grosz from a house each. The total number of houses is two hundred and thirty. From the gardens they have in the field, they pay 1 ½ each. There were three settled wheelwrights there"; see: *Materiały do dziejów rolnictwa w Polsce*, p. 105; cf. Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 250. The information raises some doubts, however, as it is a number comparable to the population of Brześć Kujawski.

<sup>126</sup> In 1578, the town did not pay the liquor excise tax; Ducillorum contributionum 1578, p. 274. In 1564 and 1565, the following amounts were recorded: 18 florins 3 *grosze* and 6 denarii (ASK II 24, f. 155v) and 17 florins and 3 *grosze* and 6 denarii (ibidem, f. 282r), while in 1569, the amount was 14 florins and 6 *grosze*. The registers mention eight fishermen in 1564 (ASK I 30, p. 325v), and in 1565, the tax in the amount of 6 florins and 6 *grosze* was collected from an unspecified number of craftsmen, while the registers of 1573 refer to one coppersmith and five *homines vagi*, and *szos* was counted together with the tax from the number of craftsmen. The inventory of Płock Diocese from 1595 provides slightly more information about the population of the town, listing 43 town inhabitants that work in farming, eight tailors, 11 shoemakers, two furriers, three blacksmiths, one cooper, and one stove-fitter; see: Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 250.

**Table 3. Urban network density in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Area in km <sup>2</sup> acc. to AHP	Towns with population exceeding 1,000 inhabitants	Small towns	Total	Number of km <sup>2</sup> per town
Brześć district	1,157.2	2	1	3	386
Kowal district	611.5	1	1	2	306
Kruszwica district	302.9	0	4	4	76
Przedecz district	494.5	1	2	3	165
Radziejów district	727.2	1	2	3	242
<b>Brześć Voivodeship</b>	<b>3,293.3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>220</b>
Bydgoszcz district	1,386	2	2	4	347
Inowrocław district	1,389.1	2	4	6	232
<b>Inowrocław Voivodeship</b>	<b>2,775.1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>278</b>
Dobrzyń district	508.5	0	1	1	508
Lipno district	1,323.2	1	3	4	331
Rypin district	1,231.6	1	1	2	616
<b>Dobrzyń land</b>	<b>3,063.3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>438</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,131.7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>285</b>

**Table 4. Settlement-to-town rate in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century**

District	Towns	Villages	All village settlements (without towns and deserted settlements)	Number of village settlements per town	Number of all settlements per town
Brześć district	3	209	265	70	88
Kowal district	2	62.5	77.5	31	39
Kruszwica district	4	47.5	55.5	12	14
Przedecz district	3	108	120	36	40
Radziejów district	3	128	147	43	49
<b>Brześć Voivodeship</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>665</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>44</b>
Bydgoszcz district	4	88	111	22	28
Inowrocław district	6	179.5	222.5	30	37
<b>Inowrocław Voivodeship</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>267.5</b>	<b>333.5</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>33</b>
Dobrzyń district	1	103	108	103	108
Lipno district	4	133	142	33	35.5
Rypin district	2	124	131	62	65.5
<b>Dobrzyń land</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>381</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1,182.5</b>	<b>1,378.5</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>43</b>

were 88 settlements per one town, including approx. 70 villages. The density of settlements was slightly lower in Inowrocław Voivodeship (one town per 278 km<sup>2</sup>). The ratio of towns to remaining settlement types was 1:33 there, with a greater concentration of urban settlements in Bydgoszcz district (one town per approx. 28 settlements). However, the extremely poorly developed urban network in Dobrzyń land (1 town per 438 km<sup>2</sup>) stands out in particular. In Dobrzyń district, there was one town for 508 km<sup>2</sup>, and in Rypin district, this area was as large as 616 km<sup>2</sup>. In Dobrzyń land, there was one town for about 55 settlements, while in Dobrzyń district, there was only one town for 108 other types of settlements. The largest number of towns in relation to other types of settlements (1 for 35.5) was in Lipno district, however, just as in the case of Kruszwica district, these were all poorly developed, small, local settlements.

The density of urban development was lower in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land than in the neighbouring Greater Poland (1 town per 220 km<sup>2</sup>),<sup>127</sup> Łęczyca Voivodeship (1 town per 160 km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>128</sup> and Sieradz Voivodeship (one town per 234 km<sup>2</sup>).<sup>129</sup> It seems that it can be compared with the then state of urbanisation of Mazovia (one town per 313 km<sup>2</sup>).<sup>130</sup> In terms of the density of urban settlements, the territory of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land did better than the area of Royal Prussia, where in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships there was 1 town per, respectively, 332 km<sup>2</sup> and 349 km<sup>2</sup>, and, in Pomeranian Voivodeship, even 806 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>131</sup> However, the low density of urban settlements in this area resulted from the presence of strong settlements, the best-developed ones in the country, and the lack of small towns belonging to nobility. The phenomenon characteristic of other areas of the Crown in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – an intense process of private town foundation – did not occur on a larger scale in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. The only successfully established settlement, Lubraniec, did not develop sufficiently and remained a small town. The few foundation attempts which were undertaken later ended in failure. Perhaps it was due to the influence of geographic conditions, combined with a slightly peripheral location in relation to the leading land trade routes and the monopolization of the Vistula trade by larger settlements located outside the discussed territory.

In Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, as in other areas of the Crown, the most numerous town settlements were small towns (with populations of 1,000 inhabitants or less). They constituted 68.75% of the total number of urban settlements in this area. In Brześć Voivodeship, the percentage ratio of the number of small towns to the total number of towns is 53.3%. Only small towns were located in Kruszwica district. The advantage of this type of settlements is also visible in Inowrocław Voivodeship (60%), especially in Inowrocław district, where it amounted to 66.7% of the total number of towns. This group included almost all ecclesiastical and noble-held towns and villages, except Koronowo, Pakość and Włocławek. It also included 11 royal small towns, or a total of 61.1% of the towns belonging to the domain. In Dobrzyń land, small towns constitute 71.42% of all settlements.

Most towns with over 1,000 inhabitants were located in Brześć Voivodeship. This group included almost all towns that were capitals of districts, except for Kruszwica, which were owned by the king. The largest settlement was Włocławek – the capital of the bishopric with a large number of clergy living in the town of over 3,000 inhabitants. On the other hand, the remaining settlements including Brześć Kujawski, Kowal, Przedecz, and Radziejów had slightly smaller populations of up to 2,000 inhabitants. Of the towns in Inowrocław Voivodeship, the most populated was the capital of the Bydgoszcz district – Bydgoszcz (over 3,000 inhabitants), with Inowrocław being slightly smaller, even though it performed important administrative functions as the capital of the district and voivodeship (up to 3,000 inhabitants). As it turns out, larger settlements included also Pakość and Koronowo (up to 2,000 inhabitants), and in Dobrzyń land, the grain-trading Nieszawa, a former competitor of Toruń, as well as Rypin – the district capital. In the analysed region, there was no settlement that could be classified as a large town with over 5,000 residents.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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<sup>127</sup> J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2b.4.

<sup>128</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5.

<sup>129</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>130</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Charakter i wielkość osad*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.5.

<sup>131</sup> M. Biskup, *Settlements density*, [in:] MRP, in this edition III.3.1.9a.

### III.3.2c.6 CHARACTER AND SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS: CASTLES AND ABBEYS

*Michał Słomski*

#### **Introductory remarks**

As in the previous volumes of the AHP series, the main map in the Cuyavia-Dobrzyń volume depicts castles which existed in the second half of the sixteenth century in Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships and in Dobrzyń land. It is based on the entries included in the *Leksykon Zamków w Polsce* (*Lexicon of Polish Castles*; hereinafter: *Lexicon*). There were altogether 17 castles across Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land mentioned in the *Lexicon*,<sup>1</sup> and most of them were included on the main map. The catalogue of castles created by Bohdan Guerquin<sup>2</sup> was another source used for the map, albeit to a smaller extent. We also analysed numerous works on the castles of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, published in relatively extensive literature of the subject related mainly to the Brześć part of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, treating them as important sources of information.<sup>3</sup> The castles of Włocławek bishops were also frequently referenced in the written works that we took into account in our work.<sup>4</sup>

In this volume, castles are understood to refer to buildings which were defined in the Latin sources with the Latin terms *castrum* and *arx*, and the Polish word *zamek*, which were fortified seats constituting a permanent or temporary residence of the owner or an official appointed by said owner. They were usually located in the centre of an estate or a cluster of estates, and played a role in the administration of the estate(s), performed representative functions and conveyed certain symbolic meanings.<sup>5</sup> We are aware that such a choice of classifying criterion is somewhat troublesome.

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<sup>1</sup> *Lexicon*. In alphabetical order: Bobrowniki, Brześć Kujawski (Brzeście), Bydgoszcz, Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń), Dybów, Inowrocław, Kowal (Kowale), Kruszwica, Mała Nieszawka (Nieszewka Mała), Pakość, Przedecz, Raciążek (Raciąż), Radziejów, Radziki Duże (Radziki), Sadłowo, Włocławek (Włocław), and Złotoria. The references to specific pages of the *Lexicon* can be found in the footnotes devoted to individual castles.

<sup>2</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*.

<sup>3</sup> L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne ziemi dobrzyńskiej. Wstęp do badań*, Włocławek 1995; L. Kajzer, *Warownie Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w świetle nowszych badań*, [in:] *Stolica i region. Włocławek i jego dzieje na tle przemian Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej. Materiały z sesji naukowej (9–10 maja 1994 roku)*, ed. O. Krut-Horonziak, L. Kajzer, Włocławek 1995, pp. 105–122; idem, *Z badań zamków kujawskich i pałuckich*, [in:] *Z dziejów Kujaw i Pałuk. Studia dedykowane pamięci dr. Czesława Sikorskiego. Materiały z sesji naukowej w Inowrocławiu (22 kwietnia 2005)*, ed. J. Kozłowski, M. Woźniak, Inowrocław 2005, pp. 62–68; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory obronne w dobrach państwowych prowincji wielkopolskiej. Studium z dziejów państwowych siedzib obronnych na przełomie średniowiecza i nowożytności*, Łódź 2003; T. Olszacki, *O trzech zamkach ziemi dobrzyńskiej w piętnaście lat później*, RMZDR, vol. 2, 2011, pp. 119–152; A. Andrzejewska, A. Andrzejewski, *Zamki Kujaw brzeskich i ziemi dobrzyńskiej w badaniach Profesora Leszka Kajzera*, „*Archaeologia Historica Polona*”, vol. 26, 2018, pp. 9–24, and literature specified in footnotes devoted to individual castles.

<sup>4</sup> S. Chodyński, *Zamki, pałace i rezydencje biskupów włocławskich*, [in:] MHDW 24, pp. 66–93; S. Chodyński, *Zamki, pałace i rezydencje biskupów włocławskich*, [in:] MHDW 24, pp. 281–298; E. Kubiak, *Rezydencje biskupów włocławskich w okresie nowożytnym*, Łódź 2010, and the literature referenced in the footnotes devoted to the castles in Włocławek and Raciążek.

<sup>5</sup> The broad context in which castles operated has recently been outlined in S. Gawlas, *Zamek średniowieczny: geneza i funkcje społeczno-ustrojowe*, [in:] *Początki murowanych zamków w Polsce do połowy XIV w. Materiały z I Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Colloquia Castrensia zorganizowanej przez Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum i Zakład Architektury Polskiej Wydziału Architektury Politechniki Warszawskiej: 15–16 października 2015 r.*, ed. A. Bocheńska, P. Mrozowski, Warsaw 2017 (*Colloquia Castrensia*, vol. 1), pp. 17–46.

Subject literature has already identified two underlying issues: that different terms were used to denote a single type of building, and that the prevailing concept made *castle* an umbrella term for buildings with differing defensive qualities and structural complexity.<sup>6</sup> The semantics of the terms could vary depending on the perception of the person describing a given building or the information about the building they had received from a person interested in recording such information. The conceptual range could also evolve over time.<sup>7</sup> Subject literature generally assumes that the term *castrum/zamek* (castle) was used for describing ‘fortified seats serving military, economic, and administrative functions, etc.’<sup>8</sup> The numerous fortified manors (*dwory obronne*) which were built across all Polish lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, first by magnates and later on by other nobles (including on royal and ecclesiastical property), could also have shared the above-mentioned characteristics. Such manors could include stone and brick houses which constituted their owners’ residences and whose size and building materials gave them comparatively greater defensive properties than was the norm in other manors, but also wooden buildings erected on mounds or earth embankments and surrounded by moats, fences, or ramparts.<sup>9</sup> These fortified manors used castle complexes as points of reference, incorporating elements of their construction or layout designs and achieving certain defensive properties, but remaining less broad in their architectural and functional scope. Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to say what kind of building is referenced when a text mentions, for example, a fortified manor (see below: example of Lubraniec in Brześć district).<sup>10</sup>

This difficulty follows from the discrepancies between the historical terminology and the terminology currently used by researchers, including historians, archaeologists, architects, and art historians. The basic criterion used in subject literature to distinguish gords from castles (referred to in Latin as *castrum* in both cases) is the building material used, and the use of wood and earth ramparts in fortification structure.<sup>11</sup> The main criterion for differentiating between a castle and a fortified manor (very often referred to in the sources as *castrum* or *fortalicium*) seems to be the size of the discussed complex,<sup>12</sup> but also its scale and scope of the spatial planning or the assessment of its defensive properties.<sup>13</sup>

Two castles marked on the main map fell prey to the above-discussed doubts arising from difficulties in unequivocally classifying defensive structures as either castles or manors. Leszek Kajzer noted that the complexes in Kowal (Kowal district) and Radziejów (Radziejów district) were referred to as castles, which was understood to mean the seats of a *starosta*’s administration – a place where court

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<sup>6</sup> J. Dobrzański, *Castrum. Problematyka badawcza*, [in:] *Początki zamków w Polsce*, Wrocław 1978 (Prace Naukowe Instytutu Historii Architektury, Sztuki i Techniki Politechniki Wrocławskiej. Studia i Materiały, 5), pp. 5–21; J. Rozpędowski, *Gród a zamek w Polsce – problem genezy i typologii*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 91–92; L. Kajzer, *Zamki i społeczeństwo. Przemiany architektury i budownictwa obronnego w Polsce w X–XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1993, pp. 12–14; S. Kołodziejki, *Średniowieczne rezydencje obronne możnowładztwa na terenie województwa krakowskiego*, Cracow 1994, p. 13; A. Marciniak-Kajzer, *The Term Castle – what it Means to Us, and what it Meant to Medieval People*, [in:] *Building a Castle. Preparing for War or Keeping the Peace? Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Vordingborg, Nyborg and Elsinore in Denmark on the 24<sup>th</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup> August 2015*, ed. N. Engberg et al., Bonn 2018 (Castella Maris Baltici, vol. 13), pp. 177–186.

<sup>7</sup> J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory*, pp. 19–21.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> L. Kajzer, *Dwory „zwyczajne” i „obronne” kowalskiego*, [in:] T.J. Horbacz, L. Kajzer, T. Nowak, L. Wojda, *Siedziby obronno-rezydencjonalne w powiecie kowalskim na Kujawach w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1991 (Budownictwo Obronno-Rezydencjonalne Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej, vol. 2), p. 180.

<sup>10</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 59; S. Kołodziejki, *Średniowieczne rezydencje obronne*, p. 12; L. Kajzer, *Czy Zbigniew Bąk mieszkał w prawdziwym zamku?*, KHKM, vol. 51, 2003, no. 3–4, pp. 337–354. Based on the inventories of gentry property recorded in Bobrowniki books, L. Kajzer and A. Horonziak (L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, p. 100) provide examples of structures described as castles which should not be referred to as such from the architectural point of view.

<sup>11</sup> The material used for construction – where gords are made of wood and soil, while castles are constructed with bricks – was used as a differentiating factor in, e.g. B. Guerquin, *Problematyka zamków na pograniczu polsko-krzyżackim*, [in:] *Średniowieczne zamki Polski Północnej. Wybór materiałów z sesji*, [ed. A. Pawłowski], Malbork 1983, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> L. Kajzer, *Warownie Kujaw*, p. 114: ‘For a historian of art and architecture, a small complex which combines defensive and residential qualities, is foremost a *manor*’; *idem*, *Małe czy duże, czyli o tzw. zamkach rycerskich na Niżu Polskim*, [in:] *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, ed. M. Antoniewicz, Warsaw 2002, p. 112: castles are ‘defensive-residential complexes, and later also purely residential complexes, built on a considerable scale’.

<sup>13</sup> J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory*, p. 22, defined a fortified manor as ‘a complex with a clear defensive-residential or residential-defensive function which meets all the criteria of the term *castle* in the strict sense (from the point of view of the history of architecture, *i.e.* in spatial, defensive and construction terms)’; see also: A. Marciniak-Kajzer, *The Term Castle*, p. 183.

proceedings were held and *starosta*'s court books were kept.<sup>14</sup> Kajzer treated them as fortified manors with brick tower houses surrounded by wooden buildings, in both cases, located near district towns. In his opinion, the use of the term *castle* in relation to these complexes was traditionally established both in medieval and early modern sources, as well as in the literature of the subject.<sup>15</sup> It should be emphasised that in an inspection description from the seventeenth century, Radziejów castle is explicitly defined as a manor.<sup>16</sup>

A similar use of the term *castle* can be observed in the 1598 and 1616–1622 inventories of the Ciechocinek set of estates held by Włocławek bishops. The 1616–1622 descriptions of the Ciechocinek complex refer to it as a manor, but the demesne located in the village was described as 'belonging to the castle'. In addition, serfs from the bishop's village of Pomorzany (Lipno district) were to work in Ciechocin (Lipno district) 'in the castle, as guards and in the kitchen', although, in 1598, the subjects from Nowa Wieś and Malszyce (both in Lipno district) were indicated as having to guard *curiae Czechoczinensis*.<sup>17</sup>

It is worth emphasising the functional changes that castles underwent in the Early Modern Period, which was also true for the ones located in Cuyavia and in Dobrzyń land. The sixteenth century marked the end of an era of the defensive-and-residential complexes in the form known from the Middle Ages. At that time, the former castle complexes were often rebuilt to match the trends of the time. Greater emphasis was placed on their residential and representative function. Residential sections and the supply base were expanded and began to dominate complex structure. This, however, generally deprived castles of all defence properties.<sup>18</sup> This evolution is clearly noticeable in both royal and private castles. The castle in Przedecz (Przedecz district)<sup>19</sup> was rebuilt in the Renaissance style, and there was also a Renaissance stone house in Inowrocław (Inowrocław district).<sup>20</sup> Just like the castle-manor in Radziejów, the fortified structure in Przedecz was also referred to as a manor in the inspection from the late 1620s and early 1630s, although the same sources referred to it also as a castle.<sup>21</sup> Such designations presumably resulted from the very fact that the complex underwent a Renaissance-style reconstruction. The pontificate of Włocławek Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski, who rebuilt the castles in Raciążek (Raciąż; Inowrocław district) and Włocławek (Włocław; Brześć district), was marked by the Bishop's great enthusiasm for investments.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Radziejowie w świetle badań terenowych 1987 r.*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica”, vol. 12, 1991, p. 159; T.J. Horbach, L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Kowalu w świetle badań 1981–1982 roku*, [in:] T.J. Horbach, L. Kajzer, T. Nowak, L. Wojda, *Siedziby obronno-rezydencjonalne*, pp. 91–92, 116.

<sup>15</sup> The stone houses in Kowal and Radziejów were the only brick elements of the complexes (L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Radziejowie*, pp. 156, 159; idem, *Warownie Kujaw*, pp. 111–112); however, the stone house in Kowal was erected in the second half of the sixteenth century or even in the first half of the next century; T.J. Horbach, L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Kowalu*, p. 115. A. Andrzejewska, A. Andrzejewski, *Zamki Kujaw*, pp. 13–14. A similar complex in Radziejów was described in: J. Danielewicz, K. Rolirad, *Zarys dziejów Radziejowa do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Radziejowa Kujawskiego*, ed. J. Danielewicz, Bydgoszcz 1982, p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 90–91, although in the 1767 inventory of Radziejów Gord Starosty, it is referred to as a castle: Z. Górski, *Inwentarz starostwa radziejowskiego z 1767 roku*, ZK-D, vol. 7: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1990, pp. 242–243.

<sup>17</sup> Inw. 1598, pp. 46–47; Inw. XVII, pp. 139–140.

<sup>18</sup> L. Kajzer, *Warownie Kujaw*, p. 113. L. Kajzer, writing about the manor of the Włocławek bishops in Pomeranian Subkowy, noted that its definition as a castle in the 1600 inventory source may have resulted from the fact that 'the complex, after the reconstruction [commissioned by] H. Rozdrażewski, clearly increased its defensive properties'; idem, *Z problematyki budownictwa obronnego*, p. 288, see also p. 296.

<sup>19</sup> L. Łbik, *Zamek w Przedczu na Kujawach*, MDKSBR, vol. 6, 2001, pp. 134–136.

<sup>20</sup> C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia. Encyklopedia wiedzy o zabytkach Inowrocławia*, comp. i przyg. J. Sikorska, Inowrocław 2002, p. 534. To read about assumptions concerning a similar transformation of the castle in Bydgoszcz into an early modern residence, with a nearby park, see: F. Mincer, *Kultura, nauka i szkolnictwo w latach 1466–1772*, [in:] *Historia Bydgoszczy*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1920*, ed. M. Biskup, Warsaw–Poznań 1991, p. 258, footnote 2.

<sup>21</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 39–40.

<sup>22</sup> E. Kubiak, *Tradycja, historia, nowoczesność. Rezydencje biskupa Hieronima Rozdrażewskiego w Subkowach, Raciążku i Wolborzu w latach 1582–1600*, [in:] *Rzeczpospolita domów*, part 1: *Zamki, dworki i pałace*, ed. K. Krawiec-Złotkowska, Słupsk 2008, p. 211; eadem, *Rezydencje biskupów*, p. 184.

## When were castles created?

The oldest brick castles in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land were built around the mid-fourteenth century. Their construction should be treated as an element of an intense spike in the defence properties of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land strongholds after the end of 1327–1333 hostilities with the Teutonic Order.<sup>23</sup> The brick complexes of Brześć Kujawski (Brześć; Brześć district), Bydgoszcz (Bydgoszcz district), Inowrocław and Kruszwica (Kruszwica district), as well as Przedecz, which became a royal property in 1347,<sup>24</sup> emerged in the time of Casimir the Great. The bishops of Włocławek, Maciej of Gołańcza and Zbylut of Gołańcza, transformed the gords in Włocławek (Włocław) and Raciążek (Raciąż) into brick complexes more or less at the same time.<sup>25</sup> The noble-held castle in Pakość (Inowrocław district)<sup>26</sup> originates from the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and the nobility castles located in Sadłów and Radziki (both in Rypin district) appeared at the turn of the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century (1370s and 1380s).<sup>27</sup> There are doubts concerning the foundation date and name of the founder of the brick complex in Bobrowniki (Lipno district), although recently it has been assumed that it must come from the period before Dobrzyń land was pledged by Vladislaus II of Opole to the Teutonic Knights at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Although the first and indirect mention of a castle in Radziejów comes from 1494, it is assumed that the defensive complex could have been built at the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> It seems that Kowal Castle also comes from that very period.<sup>30</sup> The castle in Dybów (Inowrocław district) is a fifteenth-century investment. Its construction was commissioned by order of King Ladislaus Jagiello after the Treaty of Melno of 1422. It is the earliest structure marked on the main map.

## Castles not marked on the main map

There are a few objects that were not marked on the map as ‘castles’, despite being mentioned in the Lexicon, Guerquin’s publication, or other works of subject literature. This choice requires a brief explanation, along with a discussion of individual cases. The history of Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land castles was heavily influenced by somewhat uneasy relations with the Teutonic Knights. Some of these castles were destroyed during the 1409–1411 war with the Teutonic Order, and others during the Thirteen Years’ War. Once warring with the Order was over in the second half of the fifteenth century, several castles lost their previous importance as border defence points.<sup>31</sup> The castle in Mała Nieszawka (Nieszewka Mała; Inowrocław district), whose construction by the Teutonic Knights had already begun in the second half of the thirteenth century, was demolished in 1424 in accordance

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<sup>23</sup> B. Guerquin, *Problematyka zamków*, pp. 10–11, 13; L. Kajzer, *Warownie Kujaw*, pp. 110–111; A. Andrzejewski, L. Kajzer, *Castles of King Casimir the Great along the Border with State of the Teutonic Order*, [in:] *Building a Castle*, pp. 149–162. To read about the role of Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land strongholds in military efforts see: T. Nowak, *Znaczenie budowli obronnych w Wielkopolsce, Kujawach, ziemiach dobrzyńskiej, łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej w działaniach wojennych w XIV w. (1313–1385)*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Historica”, vol. 36, 1989, pp. 33–75.

<sup>24</sup> L. Łbik, *Zamek w Przedczu*, pp. 128–130. Lexicon (p. 403) dates the construction of the castle to the post-1364 period. The unknown author of *Quomodo regebat regnum et populum*, a text which contains a list of defensive investments of Casimir the Great, mentioned Kruszwica, Złotoria, Przedecz and Bydgoszcz among the castles erected by the King in Cuyavia; T. Poklewski-Kozieł, *Przydatność tekstu „Quomodo regebat regnum et populum” do badania wielkości inwestycji obronnych Kazimierza Wielkiego*, [in:] idem, *Studia o zamkach średniowiecznych*, comp. J. Maik, M. Żemigala, Warsaw 2012, p. 65.

<sup>25</sup> L. Kajzer, *Warownie Kujaw*, pp. 111, 113.

<sup>26</sup> Lexicon, pp. 368–369.

<sup>27</sup> L. Kajzer, *Relikt zamku i jego badania*, [in:] *Zamek w Sadłowie na ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, ed. L. Kajzer, Rypin 2004, p. 16; J. Bieniak, *Radziki (Radzikowo) i ich dziedzice w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Zamek w Radzikach Dużych na Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*, ed. L. Kajzer, Rypin 2009, p. 47.

<sup>28</sup> T. Olszacki, *O trzech zamkach*, p. 125; or otherwise: Lexicon, pp. 96, 98.

<sup>29</sup> In the inventory of Brześć Gord Starosty of 1494, in the context of description of Radziejów, one of streets was called *platea castrensis*; Brzeskie 1494, p. 387; L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Radziejowie*, pp. 137, 158.

<sup>30</sup> T.J. Horbacz, L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Kowalu*, p. 116; Lexicon, p. 231.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. L. Łbik, *Zamek w Przedczu*, p. 134.

with the agreement of the Treaty of Melno.<sup>32</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, the castle in Złotoria (Lipno district) was recorded to be in ruins and was not in use, having fallen victim to the 1409–1411 Polish-Teutonic war.<sup>33</sup> The castle, or rather a wood-and-earth gord in Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń, Dobrzyń district), located on the Vistula scarp called Góra Zamkowa ('Castle Mountain'), was destroyed by the Teutonic Knights in 1409, never to be rebuilt.<sup>34</sup> The seat of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty was called a manor in its description in the 1616 inventory.<sup>35</sup> The building was identified as a brick complex with the properties of a castle or a fortified manor in Rypin (Rypin district), dating from the mid-fourteenth century<sup>36</sup> or the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>37</sup> It also did not survive to the second half of the sixteenth century. It was most likely located in the eastern or north-eastern part of Rypin market square. The last mentions of this structure come from the fifteenth century, which gives rise to assumptions that the building was destroyed, dismantled or lost its function as the seat of the ruler in this very century.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the castle in Starorypin (Rypin district), built in the first half of the fourteenth century, did not survive into the sixteenth century. The period in which it functioned as a (wooden) stronghold of the ruler was probably limited to the years 1320–1345.<sup>39</sup>

It should by no means be inferred that the remaining castles, which survived until the second half of the sixteenth century, were preserved in good condition. After the wars with the Teutonic Order, the Bobrowniki castle ceased to be a border stronghold, and became the seat of the *starosta* and the place where *starosta*'s court books were stored. The castle's condition reflected its new role. Although construction work was undertaken in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the castle had already suffered serious damage by that time.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Lexicon, p. 302; R. Domagała, *Zamek krzyżacki w Małej Nieszawce koło Torunia w świetle badań archeologicznych*, „Rocznik Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu”, vol. 11, 2002, pp. 86–113; S. Józwiak, *Zburzenie zamku komturego w Nieszawie 1422–1423*, „Rocznik Toruński”, vol. 30, 2003, pp. 19–33. See also an interesting website of the 'Stara Nieszawa' project, where a lot of information about the local conventual castle, as well as its location and layout, <https://staranieszawa.wordpress.com/informacje/>, 'Mała Nieszawa' tab; (access 10.02.2020).

<sup>33</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, pp. 342–343 (B. Guerquin assumed that the castle was rebuilt after the damage it suffered in the fifteenth century); Lexicon, pp. 562–563; L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, pp. 85–86, 214–217; T. Olszacki, *O trzech zamkach*, pp. 137–138.

<sup>34</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 143; Lexicon, p. 159; T. Olszacki, *O trzech zamkach*, pp. 121–122; see: W. Duży, *Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.6.6.6.

<sup>35</sup> Z. Górski, *Inwentarz starostwa dobrzyńskiego z 1616 roku*, ZK-D, vol. 7: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1990, pp. 231–233. However, in M. Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu, obyczajach, urządach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie*, transl. S. Kazikowski, intro. and comp. R. Machwiński, Olsztyn 1977, p. 33, Dobrzyń is mentioned as one of the 'fortified' castles located on the Vistula River (next to Bobrowniki, Raciążek [Raciąż], Służew, Dybów and Nieszawa [Nowa Nieszawa]; *ibidem*, pp. 33–34).

<sup>36</sup> As stated in: L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, p. 88.

<sup>37</sup> As, quoting J. Bieniak, stated in: J. Wroniszewski, *Rypin – gród i miasto w czasach średniowiecza*, [in:] *Rypin – dzieje miasta*, vol. 1: *Do 1918 roku*, ed. K. Mikulski, Rypin 2010, p. 117.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 116–118 and f.n. 144 on p. 118. In the Early Modern period, there was no starosta's manor in Rypin (P. Bokota, P. Gałkowski, *Rypin w czasach nowożytnych (XVI–XVIII wiek)*, [in:] *Rypin – dzieje miasta*, pp. 184–185) that could be seen as a functional continuation of the medieval starosta's seat.

<sup>39</sup> L. Kajzer, *Nowy zamek w Starym Rypinie*, [in:] *Archaeologia et historia. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Pani Profesor Romanie Barnycz-Gupieńcowej*, [ed. L. Kajzer et al.], Łódź 2000, pp. 165–173.

<sup>40</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 304–305. The castle's description included in the inspection from 1628–1632 mentions that the castle contains 'an archive for storing books'. LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 58; T.J. Horbacz, *Z badań nad zamkiem bobrownickim w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, ZK, vol. 7, 1985, pp. 84–85; T. Olszacki, *O trzech zamkach*, pp. 126, 135. Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 107, wrote that the reconstruction of the castle, which was destroyed after the wars with the Teutonic Order, was approved in 1461, but it was not in fact rebuilt.

## Other unmarked objects

We do not categorise the manor of Płock bishops in Górzno (Rypin district) as a castle.<sup>41</sup> Służewo (Inowrocław district) was not marked on the map either, although subject literature does occasionally offer information that this seventeenth-century palace was built on the site previously occupied by an older castle and retained some of its elements – we assume that it was a fortified manor, constituting the residence of the town owners. Presumably, it was the same structure as the one which Jan of Czarnków mentions in his chronicle in 1375 ('turre Jaroslai in Sluzewo') as being supplied by Sędziwoj of Szubin with troops who were to defend it against the army of Ladislaus the White, Duke of Gniewków.<sup>42</sup> Marcin Kromer also referred to the Służewo residence as a fortified castle,<sup>43</sup> but we treat it as a brick manor. The *castrum* in Gniewków (Inowrocław district), which is mentioned in the fourteenth-century sources and was included in the Guerquin catalogue,<sup>44</sup> was not rebuilt after its destruction during the fights between the armies of Sędziwoj of Szubin and Ladislaus the White in the 1470s.<sup>45</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, the seat of a small non-gord starosty in Gniewków was consistently referred to as a manor, which most probably was not built on the site of an earlier architectural complex.<sup>46</sup> The fourteenth-century *castrum* in Szarlej (Inowrocław district), which was also associated with Ladislaus the White, was referenced by Jan Długosz in his work *Chorografia* ("Chorography").<sup>47</sup> The architectural complex in Chodecz (Przedecz district) had most likely more features associated with typical brick fortified manors, although bricks probably became the building material only in the second half of the sixteenth century, rather than features linked to castles, as indicated by Leszek Kajzer.<sup>48</sup> Such a conclusion was reached only after the archaeological research carried out in the area of Zameczek, the north-western part of Chodecz, where the complex was located. In 1489, the building located on that site was referred to as a *fortalicium*, and later also a *castrum*.<sup>49</sup> The 1639 visitation of Chodecz Parish mentions the manor of the Chodecz Parish church's patron and two nearby mills, one of which

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<sup>41</sup> L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, pp. 140–142. Writing about the history of the bishop's residence in Górzno, K. Grażawski uses the word 'castle' (see: K. Grażawski, *Z badań archeologicznych w Górznie. Od średniowiecznego grodu do biskupiego dworu i kościoła bożogrobców*, RMZDR, vol. 1, 2009, p. 64). We can assume that this is a literal translation of the term *castrum* which appears in the sources, because in later parts of this work, Głażewski describes the residence of the bishop as a manor (e.g. on p. 73). The bishop's castle in Górzno is described as the centre of the cluster of estates in the Early Modern period in A. Mietz, J. Pakulski, *Górzno – zarys dziejów*, Toruń 1989, p. 49.

<sup>42</sup> *Joannis de Czarnkow Chronicon Polonorum*, comp. J. Kanty Szlachtowski, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 2, pub. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1892, p. 658. Kajzer (*Kujawy brzeskie w XVII-wiecznym opisie Andreasa Cellariusi*, ZK-D, vol. 7: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1990, p. 262) thought that it was probable that a castle existed in Służewo in the Early Modern period. The researcher based his work on the description of the Brześć area of Cuyavia created by Andrzej Cellarius from 1659, in which Służewo was mentioned among the towns of the Brześć Voivodeship (as were Raciąż (Raciążek) and Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszawa)). This description does not mention the castle in Służewo, but it does mention that Służewo was a town (ibidem, p. 258: *Sluzewia oppidulum*). The mention from the chronicle of Jan of Czarnków does not constitute enough of a justification for us to state that the afore-mentioned tower in Służewo was 'part of a larger medieval forticile' (ibidem, p. 658).

<sup>43</sup> M. Kromer, *Polska*, pp. 33–34; S. Paczkowski, *Służewo na Kujawach wschodnich. Zarys dziejów*, Włocławek 1999, p. 41; P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, *Służewo – zespół pałacowy*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce. Kujawy wschodnie*, vol. 1, part 3, ed. S. Kunikowski, Włocławek 2004, pp. 186–187.

<sup>44</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 153; B. Guerquin, *Problematyka zamków*, p. 11; see also: J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory*, pp. 74–75 (possibly as a wood and earth manor house). The castle in Gniewków is not listed in the Lexicon.

<sup>45</sup> *Joannis de Czarnkow Chronicon Polonorum*, pp. 654–655, 657.

<sup>46</sup> ASK I 50, ff. 570r–571r = Z. Guldon, K. Wajda, *Zarys dziejów Gniewkowa*, Bydgoszcz 1970, pp. 92–93; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory*, p. 74; W. Chorażyczewski, *Gniewkowo i starostwo gniewkowskie w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Pamięć – tradycja – trwanie. Szkice z dziejów Gniewkowa i okolic*, ed. T. Łaszkiwicz, Gniewkowo 2014, pp. 61–62.

<sup>47</sup> *Joannis de Czarnkow Chronicon Polonorum*, p. 655; *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ks. 1–2, pub. I. Dąbrowski, Varsoviae 1964, p. 91; J. Pietrzak, *Zamki i dwory*, p. 75.

<sup>48</sup> L. Kajzer, *Czy poznamy zamek prywatny w Chodczu na Kujawach?*, ZK, vol. 12, 1997, p. 49.

<sup>49</sup> The reference to *fortalicium* comes from the land tax inspection of 1489: *Lustracja 1489*, p. 129. J. Pakulski advocated for defining the building as a castle on the basis of sources from the sixteenth century, such as the purchase of the castle in Chodecz by Grzegorz Kretkowski; A. Mietz, J. Pakulski, M. Pawlak, *Wpisani w dzieje Chodcza*, Chodecz–Włocławek 1989, pp. 13, 123–124. The Chodeczek residence is also referred to as a castle in P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, *Chodeczek – dwór*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce. Kujawy wschodnie*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. S. Kunikowski, Włocławek 2001, pp. 49, 52–53; T. Sławiński, *Materiały do dziejów własności ziemskiej Kretkowskich w latach około 1500–1613*, ZK-D, vol. 17: *Gospodarka (XX – początek XXI wieku)*, 2002, p. 263.

was also mentioned in the hearth tax register from 1634.<sup>50</sup> The bishop's residence in Ciechocin was called a manor in the inventory of the Ciechocin cluster of estates, created between 1616 and 1622.<sup>51</sup> It was most probably a brick tower manor, constituting a functional continuation of a wooden motte-and-bailey-style manor (*dwór stożkowy*), and probably destroyed in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>52</sup> It remains unclear whether there was a castle complex in Lipno (Lipno district). The only mention of a *castrum* in Lipno comes from 1330; it was probably a wood-and-earth gord which was in use in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>53</sup> Deciding on whether to mark the location of the defensive complex in Lubraniec (Brześć district) on the main map was a most difficult task. Built in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the manor of Poznań Voivode Mikołaj Lubrański was called *arx* in 1598.<sup>54</sup> The term was also used in reference to this building several times in seventeenth century sources. It was probably an impressive, multi-storey stone house built on a mound at the bifurcation of Zgłowiączka River. It was surrounded by wooden buildings and a fence. The decision not to place Lubraniec castle on the main map results from Leszek Kajzer's doubts about its architectural form and defensive properties, as described in his research.<sup>55</sup> Most likely this complex resembled the tower in Ciechocin, which we also did not mark on the map.

## List of castles

Ultimately, we have marked a total of 14 castles on the main map of the analysed territory.

Brześć Voivodeship

– in Brześć district:

Brześć Kujawski (Brzeście; r),<sup>56</sup> Włocławek (Włocław; c);<sup>57</sup>

– in Kowal district:

Kowal (Kowale; r);<sup>58</sup>

– in Kruszwica district:

Kruszwica (r);<sup>59</sup>

– in Przedecz district:

Przedecz (r);<sup>60</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Podymne 1634, f. 96v: 'molendinum Zameczek' (1634); ADWł, sign. 0213/1, p. 380: see also: R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu przedeckiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, series B: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1979, p. 184, no. 141.

<sup>51</sup> Inw. XVII, pp. 136–139. Examples of referring to the manor in Ciechocin as castle in studies from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are quoted in T. Grabarczyk, L. Kajzer, *Średniowieczny dwór murowany biskupów włocławskich w Ciechocinie nad Drwęcą*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica”, vol. 8, 1987, p. 112, Ciechocin was marked as a castle on the map published in the article on Dobrzyń land castles – T. Olszański, *O trzech zamkach*, p. 151.

<sup>52</sup> L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki budownictwa obronnego*, pp. 288–289; E. Kubiak, *Rezydencje biskupów*, pp. 175–176.

<sup>53</sup> L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, pp. 77–78, 157–160.

<sup>54</sup> MHDW 20, p. 39: 'Autenticum harum indulgentiarum privilegium in arce Lubranensi depositum servatur'; ibidem, p. 43: 'Habet et hortum spaciosum iuxta viam publicam, versus arcem Conventui contiguum'.

<sup>55</sup> L. Kajzer, *Średniowieczne „fortalicjum” wojewody poznańskiego Mikołaja Lubrańskiego w Lubrańcu na Kujawach*, SMDWP, vol. 18, 1991, no. 2, p. 76. The castle in Lubraniec is not listed in Guerquin, *Zamki* or *Lexicon*.

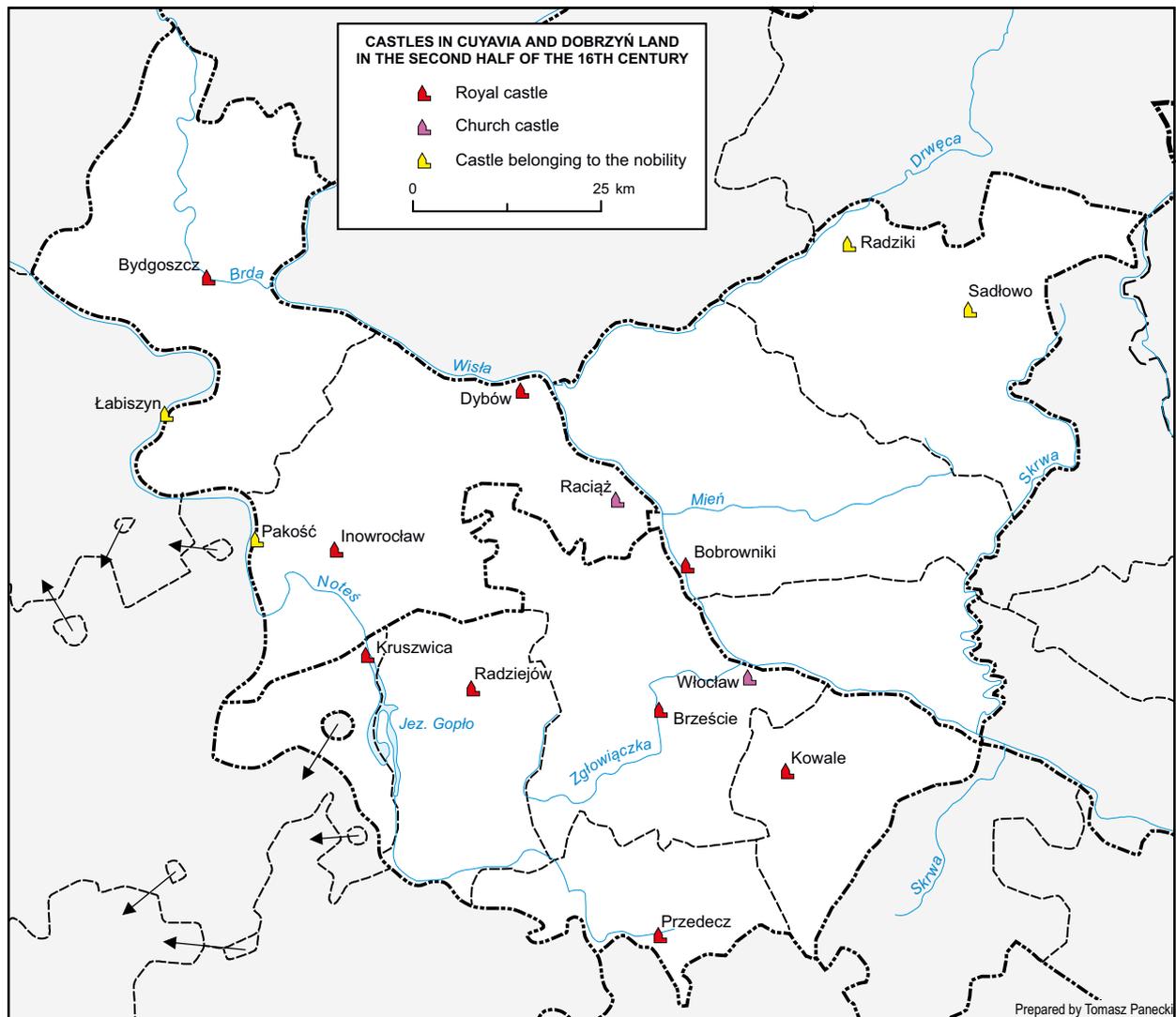
<sup>56</sup> Brzeskie 1494, pp. 396–397; description of the castle: LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 107–111; Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 118; *Lexicon*, pp. 116–117; L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Brześciu Kujawskim w świetle badań terenowych*, [in:] *Stolica i region*, pp. 155–164.

<sup>57</sup> Descriptions of the castle in Włocławek (Włocław) of 1604: MHDW 24, pp. 4–8, of 1607: Inw. XVII, pp. 82–85; Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 332; *Lexicon*, pp. 543–544; L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki budownictwa obronnego*, p. 285; S. Chodyński, *Zamki, pałace i rezydencje*, pp. 73–81; L. Wojda, *Zamek we Włocławku na tle średniowiecznego miasta*, [in:] *Stolica i region*, pp. 129–135; E. Kubiak, *Rezydencje biskupów*, p. 184.

<sup>58</sup> The castle in Kowal was not described in the inspection of 1616–1620 (LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 256–265, where the gord starosty is also described); Guerquin, *Zamki*, pp. 173–174; *Lexicon*, p. 231; T.J. Horbacz, L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Kowalu*, pp. 86–117.

<sup>59</sup> Description of the castle: LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 247–248; Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 188; *Lexicon*, pp. 253–255; D. Kurzawa, *Zamek w Kruszwicy w świetle najnowszych badań (zarys problematyki)*, [in:] *Z dziejów pogranicza kujawsko-wielkopolskiego. Zbiór studiów*, ed. D. Karczewski, Strzelno 2007, pp. 113–123; W. Dzieduszycki, M. Maciejewski, M. Małachowicz, *Zamek kruszwicki*, Kruszwica 2014.

<sup>60</sup> Descriptions of the castle: LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 99–103; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 39–40; a reference to the description of the castle of 1613 in LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 216; Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 262; *Lexicon*, p. 403; L. Łbik, *Zamek w Przedczu*, pp. 123–144.



**Map 1. Castles in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the 16th century**

- in Radziejów district:  
Radziejów (r).<sup>61</sup>

#### Inowrocław Voivodeship

- in Bydgoszcz district:  
Bydgoszcz (r);<sup>62</sup>
- in Inowrocław district:  
Dybów (r),<sup>63</sup> Inowrocław (r),<sup>64</sup> Pakość (n),<sup>65</sup> Raciążek (Raciąż; c).<sup>66</sup>

#### Dobrzyń land

- in Lipno district:  
Bobrowniki (r);<sup>67</sup>
- in Rypin district:  
Radziki Duże (Radziki; n),<sup>68</sup> Sadłowo (n).<sup>69</sup>

We have located six castles in Brześć Voivodeship (43% of all the castles existing in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land at that time), five in Inowrocław Voivodeship (36%), and three in Dobrzyń land (21%). An analysis of castle distribution across districts indicates that most castles were located in Inowrocław district (four, *i.e.* 29%). In the second half of the sixteenth century, two castles existed within the boundaries of Brześć and Rypin districts. Most often, however, there was only one castle per district (in Bydgoszcz, Kruszwica, Radziejów, Przedecz, Kowal, and Lipno districts). There was no castle in Dobrzyń district. In the case of Cuyavian voivodeships, there is a clear connection between the location of royal castles and towns constituting administrative and judicial centres of districts – only Dybów

<sup>61</sup> L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Radziejowie*, pp. 135–160. Radziejów is not listed in Guerquin, *Zamki*.

<sup>62</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 118; Lexicon, pp. 118–119; J. Woźny, *Zamek bydgoski w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, MDKSBR, vol. 1, 1996, pp. 14–18; R. Grochowski, *Zamek bydgoski*, „Kronika Bydgoska”, vol. 27, 2005, pp. 11–74; L. Łbik, *Zamek bydgoski*, „Kalendarz Bydgoski”, vol. 39, 2006, pp. 216–219; *Bydgoszcz późnośredniowieczna i nowożytna w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, [ed. M.F. Woźniak], Bydgoszcz 2014, pp. 27–29.

<sup>63</sup> Description of the castle: LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 138–139; Guerquin, *Zamki*, pp. 146–147; Lexicon, pp. 164–166; M. Rzeczkowska-Sławińska, I. Sławiński, *Zamek dybowski w świetle źródeł historycznych, architektonicznych i ikonograficznych*, [in:] *Zamek dybowski – archeologia, historia, przyszłość. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej 10 września 1999 roku w Toruniu z okazji Dni Dziedzictwa Europejskiego*, [ed. L. Grzeszkiewicz-Kotłowska, L. Kotłowski, T. Zakrzewski], Toruń 1999, pp. 17–60; L. Grzeszkiewicz-Kotłowska, *Zamek Władysława Jagiełły w Dybowie w świetle badań archeologicznych w latach 1998–2001*, „Rocznik Toruński”, vol. 29, 2002, pp. 19–38.

<sup>64</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Inwentarz starostwa inowrocławskiego z 1510 roku*, ZK, vol. 3, 1971, pp. 190–191. Descriptions of the castle: LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 114–117; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 122–123. A mention of money for the repair of the castle: LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 284. Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 164; Lexicon, p. 205; Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej i początkach zaboru pruskiego (1466–1815)*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, ed. M. Biskup, vol. 1: *Do 1919 r.*, Warsaw–Poznań–Toruń 1978, pp. 259–261; J. Frycz, *Architektura i sztuka Inowrocławia*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 2: *Od 1919 r. do końca lat siedemdziesiątych*, ed. M. Biskup, Warsaw–Poznań 1982, pp. 486–487; C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia*, pp. 516–535; S. Koc, *Panorama Inowrocławia Fryderyka Bernarda Wenera*, MDKSBR, vol. 11, 2006, pp. 73–77.

<sup>65</sup> Lexicon, pp. 368–369; L. Kajzer, *Małe czy duże*, pp. 124–125. Pakość is not listed in Guerquin, *Zamki*.

<sup>66</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 267, Lexicon, pp. 412–413; Description of the castle: Inw. XVII, pp. 1–2 (1604). S. Chodyński, *Zamki, pałace i rezydencje*, pp. 81–83; L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Raciążku*, Łódź 1990; L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki budownictwa obronnego*, pp. 285–286; E. Kubiak, *Rezydencje biskupów*, p. 181.

<sup>67</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 304–305; Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 107; Lexicon, pp. 96–99; T.J. Horbacz, *Z badań nad zamkiem bobrownickim*, pp. 71–113; idem, *Zamek w Bobrownikach. Dzieje i konserwacja – zarys problematyki*, [in:] *Stolica i region*, pp. 145–154; L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, pp. 118–121; T. Olszacki, *O trzech zamkach*, pp. 123–136.

<sup>68</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, pp. 269–270; Lexicon, pp. 415–416; L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, pp. 90–91, 176–179; L. Bokota, P. Bokota, G.J. Budnik, *Radziki Duże – zamek i zespół dworski*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce. Ziemia dobrzyńska*, vol. 2, part 2, ed. S. Kunikowski, Włocławek 2003, pp. 85–126; A. Marciniak-Kajzer, L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Radzikach Dużych w świetle badań terenowych 2007 roku*, RMZDR, vol. 1, 2009, pp. 77–88; P. Gałkowski, *Zamek i wieś w czasach nowożytnych*, [in:] *Zamek w Radzikach Dużych*, pp. 53–84.

<sup>69</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 281; Lexicon, pp. 445–446; L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne*, pp. 91–93, 186–192; L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Sadłowie na ziemi dobrzyńskiej – wstęp do problematyki badawczej*, ZK-D, vol. 11: *Archeologia i etnologia*, 1997, pp. 41–51; *Zamek w Sadłowie na ziemi dobrzyńskiej*; L. Kajzer, *Zamek Świnków w Sadłowie i jego badania*, [in:] *Z dziejów ziemi dobrzyńskiej. XI Konferencja Historyczna „Dzieje Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej”*, Sadłowo, 23 października 2006 r., ed. R. Bartoszewski, Dobrzyń nad Wisłą 2007, pp. 7–16.

Castle was not located next to a district capital. The pattern was completely different in Dobrzyń land, as there were no castles functioning in the centres of its districts. The castle in Bobrowniki, which was the seat of the gord *starosta*, was the only structure of this type related to the state administration of Dobrzyń land, even though physically it was located within the administrative boundaries of Lipno district.<sup>70</sup> Most of the castles were royal complexes (nine or 64%). Three castles were owned by the nobility (21%), and two belonged to the bishops of Włocławek (14%). No castle owned by nobles was recorded in Brześć Voivodeship, while in Dobrzyń land, there was no castle complex that belonged to a church institution. In Dobrzyń land, only the nobility's castles from Sadłów and Radziki Duże (Radziki) were built near rural settlements, the other above-mentioned castles were located next to towns.

On the main map, there are castles which were located within a settlement or in its vicinity. Their signatures contain information indicating their presence within a given town. Therefore, we did not follow the example of Zbigniew Guldon, who – on his maps of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land – marked castles as separate settlement units, and placed them near municipal district centres and two episcopal towns.<sup>71</sup> The only structure we marked as a separate settlement unit is Dybów Castle. Its history is related to the relocation and establishment of new urban centres on the left bank of the Vistula near Toruń. It was constructed near the town of Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszewa), founded in 1425. After the town was moved up the Vistula to its present location after 1460, the castle's history became linked with the villages and mill settlements of Dybów Gord Starosty. In the second half of the sixteenth century, another town developed near the castle – Podgórz, sometimes referred to as *Podgorz alias Dybow*.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, we can conclude that the location of the complex remained relatively stable in the context of the settlement processes taking place in this part of Inowrocław Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup> The castle also had its own name, it was consistently referred to as Dybów Castle, and the royal cluster of estates of which it was the administrative centre was consistently referred to as Dybów Gord Starosty.<sup>74</sup> Although some of the castles were located quite far from the town, we did not consider it prudent to designate them as separate settlement units.<sup>75</sup> For example, Bobrowniki Castle was not only located about 350 m away from the town, but it was also additionally separated from it by a section of the Vistula flowing between the castle and the town.<sup>76</sup>

## Abbeys

There were more than a dozen monastic establishments in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.<sup>77</sup> They included, however, only one abbey – the Cistercian Abbey in Koronowo,<sup>78</sup> which we have marked on the map, although it did not constitute a separate settlement unit.<sup>79</sup> The Abbey was located at a relative

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<sup>70</sup> For more, see: W. Duży, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.2.1.6.

<sup>71</sup> Z. Guldon mentioned the castles in Brześć Kujawski (Brześć), Bydgoszcz, Dybów, Inowrocław, Kowal, Kruszwica, Przedecz, Raciążek (Raciąż), Włocławek (Włocław); Guldon, *Kujawy*, pp. 100, 102–103, 105, 108, 110–111, 113. Interestingly, the author did not mark the castles in Dobrzyń land as separate settlements.

<sup>72</sup> See: P. Szewdo-Kielczewska, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.2c.6.

<sup>73</sup> M. Rzeczkowska-Sławińska, I. Sławiński, *Zamek dybowski*, p. 24: 'The moment the settlement [Podgórz – M.S.] was moved to the high bank of [the Vistula – M.S.], it was separated from the Dybów Castle with which it was linked'.

<sup>74</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 294; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 138–139.

<sup>75</sup> F. Mincer, *Kultura, nauka i szkolnictwo*, p. 258: 'However, the separate character of the castle [in Bydgoszcz – M.S.] in relation to the town was very strongly marked, both in terms of administration and architecture'.

<sup>76</sup> T.J. Horbacz, *Z badań nad zamkiem bobrownickim*, p. 85.

<sup>77</sup> A.M. Wyrwa, *Rozwój sieci klasztornej zakonów mniszych, kanonicznych i żebrzących na Kujawach i ziemi dobrzyńskiej w średniowieczu*, ZK, vol. 12, 1997, pp. 53–80; Z. Zyglewski, *Stan badań nad dziejami klasztorów kujawskich do ich kasat*, [in:] *Historiograficzna prognoza 2000. Stan i potrzeby badań nad dziejami regionów kujawsko-pomorskiego i sąsiednich*, ed. M. Grzegorz, Bydgoszcz 2000, pp. 109–110; M. Biłska-Ciećwierz, *Instytucje życia religijnego*, [in:] *Dzieje diecezji włocławskiej*, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, ed. A. Radzimiński, Włocławek 2008, pp. 46–62.

<sup>78</sup> E. Okoń, P. Oliński, *Byszewo-Koronowo*, [in:] *Katalog męskich klasztorów cysterskich na ziemiach polskich i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A.M. Wyrwa, J. Strzelczyk, K. Kaczmarek, Poznań 1999, pp. 42–63.

<sup>79</sup> See the two volumes of the series in which abbeys were marked on the main map. On the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship, abbeys were marked only when they were independent settlement units; K. Pacuski, *Location of settlements*, [in:]

distance from the town, to the south of its borders. In 1563, the Koronowo Abbot incorporated a settlement called Waliszew (or Nowy Waliszew) into Koronowo. It was located on the right bank of Brda River, between the town and the monastery.<sup>80</sup> Despite this spatial separation of Koronowo Monastery from the town, we decided not to treat it as a separate settlement unit.<sup>81</sup>

## Addendum to the castles of Greater Poland

In one of his articles, Leszek Kajzer mentions the castle in Łabiszyn (Kcynia district in Kalisz Voivodeship), including it among the castles of the region of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.<sup>82</sup> Inadvertently, we omitted it from the list of Greater Poland's castles.<sup>83</sup> This castle was located on Łabiszyn island, and its Gothic cellars are the only remains which have survived to this day. They are now located next to the library in Łabiszyn.<sup>84</sup> The Łabiszyn island was surrounded on both sides by Noteć riverbeds, the course of which outlined the border between Inowrocław and Kalisz Voivodeships.<sup>85</sup> The state administration border ran along the right branch of the river, while Łabiszyn was never mentioned in the Inowrocław tax records as a town that paid taxes in Cuyavia. Nevertheless, we decided to mark Łabiszyn Castle on the main map, due to its location on the administrative border and the need to make up for the previous omission.

The castle in Łabiszyn is not included in the Cuyavian listings. However, we ought to update the statistics for Greater Poland, as the castle in question was located in the Kcynia district of Kalisz Voivodeship. It was one of the four castles located in this area; the other three were located near Chodzież, Gołańcza, and Szubin. When we add Łabiszyn Castle to Kalisz Voivodeship's tally, it turns out that there were in total 20 castles in this voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century (to compare: there were 21 in Poznań Voivodeship).

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.1.2, footnote 6. On the map of Cracow Voivodeship, the seats of abbeys were taken into account, even if they were not independent settlement units; M. Piber-Zbieranowska, *Borders of Church administration units*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.2.2.1. We marked abbeys in a similar way on the map of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships; M. Słomski, *Character and size of settlements: Castles and abbeys*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2c.4.

<sup>80</sup> *Koronowo*, historical comp. E. Okoń, R. Czaja, cartographic comp. R. Golba, Z. Kozieł, A. Pilarska, Toruń 2016 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, vol. 2: Kujawy, no. 2), p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> We took a similar approach to marking the abbeys of Greater Poland. All abbey monasteries were located some distance away from the nearest villages; M. Słomski, *Character and size of settlements: Castles and abbeys*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2c.4.

<sup>82</sup> L. Kajzer, *Małe czy duże*, pp. 122–123.

<sup>83</sup> M. Słomski, *Character and size of settlements: Castles and abbeys*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2c.4.

<sup>84</sup> T. Zajęczkowska, A. Trzcicka-Kałużna, *Gotycki zamek w Łabiszynie. Historia ukryta w ziemi*, MDKSBR, vol. 8, 2003, pp. 144–154. The castle, as long since empty, is mentioned by the inspection of the Łabiszyn estates from 1742; Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego w Bydgoszczy, sign. 90, f. 104v.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. W. Duży, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.2.1.6.

### III.3.2.7 MAZOVIA

*Irena Gieysztorowa*

The map of Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century shows centres of State and Church administration. The former are the capitals of the voivodeships, lands and districts, marked by font gradation. The latter consist of centres of dioceses, archdeaconries, deaneries and parishes, represented by appropriate symbols.

Towns and villages were differentiated on the basis of legal and political criterion, and marked with capital and small letters respectively. The criterion was the obtaining of town foundation privilege<sup>1</sup> and later confirmation that the privilege was realized, visible in a different kind of taxation (town tax 'szos'), or even in source entries, which proved that a given settlement was a town in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The resulting additions to the list of contemporary Mazovian towns, prepared by A. Pawiński,<sup>3</sup> concern smaller, less documented settlements, causing certain doubts as to the range and continuity of town functions. Grodzisk,<sup>4</sup> Kiernozia,<sup>5</sup> and Pacyna<sup>6</sup> were acknowledged as towns based on the unpublished town tax registers. On the basis of other contemporary sources, Biała,<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Z. Kulejowska's proposal (Z. Kulejowska, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem lokacji miejskich w Wielkopolsce w XVI–XVIII w.*, „Przegląd Zachodni”, vol. 3, 1953, p. 181) to distinguish towns on the basis of their economic values – while the legal aspect, the foundation privilege, would be a secondary issue – seems only partially justified, and cannot be fulfilled at the present state of research on village markets in the sixteenth century Mazovia. The list of Mazovian town foundations to the 16th century inclusive was provided by Pazyra, pp. 111–124. During our works on the map of Mazovia, we eliminated the incorrect foundation of Zajezerze from the list (Gostynin land 1356), and added the foundation of Wodynia, of unknown date prior to 1573 (see footnote 15). We also considered the eighteenth century foundation of Kiernozia a repeated foundation, as Kiernozia was called town in 1523 (MRPS IV/2, no. 13450) and tax registers from 1563 and 1567 (see footnote 5). See also R. Szczygieł, *Miasta polskie za ostatnich Jagiellonów – przegląd badań*, „Rocznik Lubelski”, vol. 11, 1968, pp. 123–253.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the popular belief that the way payments were recorded in tax registers – which distinguished income from towns – decided on whether a given settlement was a town or a village, we think that towns which did not pay town tax because they were too poor, or for other reasons, were placed in the parochial structure, as proven by the documentation collected below.

<sup>3</sup> P. Mazowsze, introduction, pp. 37–39.

<sup>4</sup> In 1563 this town, belonging at the time to Piotr Okuń, the castellan of Czersk, did not pay the town tax, but the lan tax, and – *respectu aliorum oppidorum* – from eight artisans, four distilleries, two inns, peddlers and landless peasants (ASK I 48, f. 316). In the following years the payments from Grodzisk were registered in the parochial pattern. In 1579 the payments were collected from three blocks, including the estates of the family Okuń, who paid from 4½ lans, 17 artisans, 14 hortulani, and seven landless peasants, see P. Mazowsze, p. 146. This would support the thesis that the town maintained its functions, and perhaps constituted only a part of a village, which was granted town rights in 1522 thanks to the efforts of the family Okuń. Church sources call Grodzisk a village in 1630, a town in 1672; cf. Knapiński, Notaty, pp. 148a, 150 and ff.

<sup>5</sup> Described as town in 1563 it does not pay the town tax, but pays only from the number of inhabitants, because after the village was burnt down, its dwellers were forced by the owners to work (ASK I 22, f. 258). A similar justification for not paying the town tax was repeated in 1567 (ASK I 48, f. 506). In the register from 1579 they only pay for Kiernozia, listed in the parochial structure, four blocks, each without any artisans, and only two report several hortulani. However, a village Kiernozia appears in the register next to Kiernozia, see P. Mazowsze, p. 200. The 1616 inspection calls Kiernozia a village, in 1672 it was recorded as a town belonging to the nobility, cf. Knapiński, Notaty, p. 242. In 1869 Kiernozia lost its town rights for good.

<sup>6</sup> Divided between two owners, does not pay the town tax in 1563 because of a fire (ASK I 22, f. 258). In 1567 paid 2 florins of the town tax from each of the two blocks and 26 florins of the liquor excise tax (ASK I 48, f. 506). The taxes paid in 1579 confirm that the settlement was divided between four owners and nothing would prove that it maintained its town functions, see P. Mazowsze, p. 197. However, the inspection from 1616 calls Pacyna a town; cf. Knapiński, Notaty, p. 470.

<sup>7</sup> A district town belonging to the bishops of Chełm; cf. T. Wierzbowski, *Uchańsciana*, vol. 5, Warsaw 1895, p. 147, 1557; Świącicki, p. 104; Wiz. arch. warsz. 1598–1603 and poll tax register from 1662. Tax registers mention Biała at the head

Budziszewice,<sup>8</sup> Hów,<sup>9</sup> Kapinos (Kampinos),<sup>10</sup> Magnuszew,<sup>11</sup> Nowy Dwór,<sup>12</sup> Sandomierz,<sup>13</sup> Wiskitki Kościelne,<sup>14</sup> and Wodynie<sup>15</sup> were also considered towns, despite the lack of any information on town tax payments from the sixteenth century. On the other hand, some villages were not marked as towns, even though they were granted town rights thanks to their owner's efforts to multiply wealth. Yet these villages did not manage to fulfil, or develop, proper permanent town functions, probably because of insufficient economic conditions. This would apply to seventeen unsuccessful town foundations from different periods. In the case of twelve of these foundations, their realization was not confirmed by the sixteenth century sources,<sup>16</sup> and five, despite being confirmed in 1539 (perhaps as a result of an unknown verification of market rights), failed to develop town organization according to later documentation.<sup>17</sup>

In the end, the total number of settlements in Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century was: 107 towns and 6,572 villages.<sup>18</sup> Our calculations were not without reservations, as in some cases the insufficient source basis made it difficult to determine whether a given settlement was a village or a town. The sources were limited to – particularly in case of the smallest towns belonging to the nobility – single or rare entries from the Crown Metrica, and mostly to fiscal registration, which – as seen in the quoted documentation – could not settle the matter. However, even more complete inspections of smaller royal towns require a thorough reading due to various discrepancies in the records.

Wiskitki Kościelne could be an example here. The settlement was confirmed as town as early as 1349, and several times later in for the beginning of the sixteenth century,<sup>19</sup> but listed in tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century at the top of the villages from its parish. In 1579, Wiskitki paid tax from 18 lans and a large – in Mazovian terms – gathering of 36 hortulani, and, surprisingly for a village in this region, over 20 artisans.<sup>20</sup> Wiskitki were inspected as a royal property twice: in 1564 and 1570. Both inspections frequently call this settlement a village, and its many inhabitants serfs or

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of the parish, of which it was the seat, with 20 taxed artisans; cf. P. Mazowsze, p. 168; cf. also A. Świeżawski, *Biała Rawska w średniowieczu*, „Rocznik Łódzki”, vol. 14 (17), 1970, pp. 373–382.

<sup>8</sup> Basing on LR XVII, p. 34, 1602 and poll tax registers from 1662 and 1674. Listed in the parochial structure in the sixteenth century tax registers, next to a village of the same name; no payments for craftsmanship or hortulani.

<sup>9</sup> Located in 1506 by the Radzanowski family and confirmed in 1532 together with Radzanów town as a centre of cloth making (MRPS IV/1, no. 6152). The register from 1579 lists it in the parochial structure with 19 hortulani, five artisans and seven landless peasants; cf. P. Mazowsze, p. 201. The inspections from 1616 and 1672 describe Hów as a town belonging to the nobility, compare with Knapiński, Notaty, pp. 173, 175. In 1869 Hów lost its town rights for good.

<sup>10</sup> Founded in 1414. In the sixteenth century appears interchangeably as a village (1508, 1546) and as a town (1517, 1521, 1530, 1557, 1559; MRPS IV/1, no. 357, 3966, 5498; MRPS IV/2, no. 11164; MRPS V/2, no. 8072, 8554). Leased to the Radziejowski family in the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was not inspected until 1661, and then it was certainly a village; cf. LR XVII, p. 159. We do not know when it lost its town rights, the register from 1579 lists Kampinos in the parochial structure, with 20 hortulani and one butcher; cf. P. Mazowsze, p. 144. The inspection from 1616 describes Kampinos as a royal village; see Knapiński, Notaty, pp. 210, 213.

<sup>11</sup> Mentioned several times in tax registers as a town (1540, 1541, 1564, 1573), but also as a village of this name situated nearby (1564, 1573).

<sup>12</sup> On the basis of MRPS IV/3, no. 21811, 1545; MK 190, f. 360, 1648.

<sup>13</sup> Founded in 1549 near Mińsk, no source entries confirming its town functions in the second half of the sixteenth century. Only two separate market squares, still clearly visible in the spatial arrangement, offer a proof that the location privilege was indeed realized; cf. M. Benko, *Sandomierz miasto nieznane*, „Miasto”, vol. 2, 1951, nr. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Based on LR XVI, p. 41, cf. below.

<sup>15</sup> Called a town in the tax register from 1573, and in the seventeenth century listed interchangeably as a town as a village; cf. W. Trzebiński, *Działalność urbanistyczna magnatów i szlachty w Polsce w XVIII w.*, Warsaw 1962, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> These are: Borowe (Jastrzębie), Buraków, Grajewo, Kalabona (Zwola), Kleczkowo, Kozłów, Oleksin, Raszny (Rażny), Raszyn, Ślubów, Zambski and Zgierz (Zegrze); cf. *Miasta polskie*, vol. 1, p. 260, vol. 2, pp. 459, 473, 476, 492, 507, 517, 525.

<sup>17</sup> Dmoszyn (MRPS IV/1, no. 6658; IV/3, no. 19938), Grabowo (MRPS, IV/1, no. 6601), Miastków (ibidem, no. 6429), Ostrołęka by the Pilica (ibidem, no. 6366) and the unidentified Prążnik in Łomża land (ibidem, no. 6362). About expenses which could not be borne by newly-founded settlements see G. Labuda, *Miasta na prawie polskim*, [in:] *Studia historica. W 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Warsaw 1958, p. 193.

<sup>18</sup> According to Pawiński: 95 towns and 5990 villages; cf. P. Mazowsze, introduction, pp. 37–39 (Czerwińsk listed twice) and below.

<sup>19</sup> KDMaz., no. 70 (year 1349): *Actum in Wyskythki oppido nostro*. This testimony does not lose its importance even in the light of the fact that Wiskitki was granted town rights only in 1417 (MRPS III/3, suppl. no. 84); cf. S. Russocki, *Etapy lokacji miejskich na Mazowszu w XIV–XV wieku*, PH, vol. 55, 1964, pp. 189–195. As a town Wiskitki appear in various documents from 1451, 1476 and 1506 (KDMaz., no. 196, 232; MRPS III, no. 2537); cf. Pazyra, pp. 106, 112. Between 1538 and 1546 they appear as a village (MRPS IV/3, no. 19101, 20972, 22411, 22450; MRPS IV/1, no. 7723).

<sup>20</sup> P. Mazowsze, p. 140.

subjects. As a result, we could certainly consider the sixteenth century Wiskitki a village, were it not for a piece of information, which said: 'all subjects from this village should pay no tribute to the castle, nor do corvée, as in other villages, because this village was founded as a town'. Wiskitniki therefore is an example of a town, where the town organization was undeveloped, but the settlement did fulfil some town functions and was freed from corvée by virtue of the original foundation privilege.<sup>21</sup> Yet the 1602 inspection informs that prior to the new foundation of Wiskitki in 1595, its inhabitants 'worked in the demesne in Guzów' for some time.<sup>22</sup>

The vicissitudes of fortune, shown by the example of Wiskitki's, appear to offer an explanation of numerous reconfirmations of the foundation privileges of small towns. Such efforts must have been costly, so the aspirants must have expected benefits, mostly from markets and propination rights. The price was the necessity of re-granting the inhabitants with the prerogatives of burghers, even if only to the lowest degree possible. As in Wiskitki, town rights were probably utilized incompletely or temporarily in some, if not the majority, of the aforementioned towns.

Numerous foundation initiatives could have been annulled by a change of the owner of a given settlement<sup>23</sup> and the division of their property. Relatively low income could discourage from measuring the town area, or from long-lasting and expensive market and constructional investments. In the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, Mazovia witnessed an excessive city-forming action, caused by economic development and the ambitions of wealthy noblemen. As a result, the town network became too dense in some areas and sometimes linked towns were being formed,<sup>24</sup> surpassing the needs of their agricultural background and Mazovian trade. Some of these enterprises did not survive the general downslide of the economy, which began at the close of the sixteenth century. Years of bad crops, wars and famine devastated the country and forced the liquidation of the newly-founded towns, as well as a long-lasting stagnation of old town centres. The economic depression erased the autonomy of the majority of Mazovian agricultural towns, already quite faint, from their rural background. Only empty market squares, the only relicts of the old character of a town, remained after the frequent fires, often causing utter obliteration.

Many a Mazovian village in the sixteenth century, parish seats and larger keys of property did not differ from smaller Mazovian towns, or even surpassed them in development, probably operating as well in the local exchange of goods. Kamion, a village situated at the mouth of the River Bzura into the Vistula, opposite to Wyszogród, could be an example here. The village owned numerous fields and housed 40 hortulani and 30 bakers, indicating the consumer needs of this port. Also Kałuszyn in Liw land, granted town rights no sooner than the seventeenth century, had a significant, higher than average, group of artisans of various profession.<sup>25</sup>

Petty farm ownership formed a characteristic kind of settlement, different from large estates of the Church, Crown or the nobility. It consisted of a group of hamlets, connected in terms of territory and nomenclature. Their number, depicted by the variety of records mentioning the names of these hamlets of petty gentry, seems less grounded than the number of royal and Church villages, or settlements belonging to wealthy nobility. This thesis is based on relatively frequent record shifts of individual parts – within the entire settlement group – which paid tax in different years. Moreover, some hamlet names appear in tax registers only once or twice. These findings would lead us to acknowledge a certain freedom of petty gentry payers in formulating their residential classification. Difficulties with locating many of the recorded hamlet names could mean that these settlements did not establish their

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<sup>21</sup> LR XVI, pp. 41, 172. Both inspections tell us that meat and grain markets were held there on Sundays, and the market payment was quite large: 10–12 złoty; the inn that sold piątkowskie beer brought over 19 złoty of income, and other inns paid the liquor excise tax; the vicinity of the forest attracted related artisans. Also the parish was quite large for a village, with 14 houses on the parochial grounds. Still, no town authorities, like a mayor or counsellors, are mentioned.

<sup>22</sup> LR XVII, p. 18; *ibidem* in the title and in the text Wiskitki Kościelne are called a town, and its dwellers – burghers. Wiskitki kept their town rights until 1896.

<sup>23</sup> An example: Grabowo, which first belonged to the Mazovian dignitaries from Ława and then to the wealthy nobility; similarly, Raszyn of the family Wolski became property of Włocławek bishopric, see further; also Kozłów changes its owners, from the family Oborski to the family Parys, the heir of a nearby town. The new owners could have no possibility, or interest, to fulfil the town rights of these settlements.

<sup>24</sup> For instance, the royal towns Liw Stary and Liw Nowy, and the towns of the nobility Dobre Stare and Dobre Nowe, Mińsk and Sandomierz; two last complexes which resulted from ownership divisions.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. P. Mazowska, pp. 301–417.

autonomy, or had never had it at all, these names being only an expression of a self-determination of local payment group. Thus, it is possible that some settlements hypothetically linked with localized settlements on the map of Mazovia constitute parts of the latter, ascribed or linked differently during subsequent collections. As such, in the cases of the settlements of petty gentry, the List may perhaps display a tendency to increase their numbers. Also, sixty mill settlements were included on the map of Mazovia. This category consists of mills mentioned by name in tax registers, and especially in the inspection, which could be localized.<sup>26</sup> The three Mazovian demesnes with an individual name were taken from the inspections and the Crown Metrica.<sup>27</sup>

Castles are another type of settlement presented on our map of Mazovia. These were stone or brick buildings with brick defensive structures, called *arx* or *castrum* in Latin terminology.<sup>28</sup> Only fortified castles of the Mazovian dukes, which raised no doubts, were marked on the map of Mazovia. These castles were built in place of old gords in the fourteenth and fifteenth century in Płock, Wyszogród, Warsaw, Czersk, Ciechanów, Liw, Gostynin, Rawa and Sochaczew. The map also presents brick defensive castles belonging to Church dignitaries: the primate's castle in Łowicz, the bishop's castle in Pułtusk, and the defensive castle in Sześćńsk, built in the first half of the sixteenth century by the Voivode of Płock, Feliks Sześćński.<sup>29</sup> In the sixteenth century, there was also a wooden defensive castle in the gord (*castrum*) in Wizna, with a storeyed gate, and five towers. It was surrounded by an embankment, partially strengthened by a wall and a moat.<sup>30</sup>

The imprecise variety of accidental records, as well as the lack of detailed descriptions and proper archaeological reconnaissance, make it impossible for us to determine, whether the structures, sometimes indeed called castles, found in royal towns of Zakroczym and Rożan, Church towns of Czerwińsko and Sieluń,<sup>31</sup> and the estates of the nobility in Radzanów, Leżenice or Kozłów,<sup>32</sup> were really castles. Some of them perhaps resembled rather fortified manors or bigger fortified settlements, called *fortalitium* or *castellum* in Latin, and attested to by the sources e.g. in the royal Osieck,<sup>33</sup> or in

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<sup>26</sup> A drawback of this assumption is the incomplete picture of the location of mill settlements in the sixteenth century Mazovia, concentrated on the map – because of the source basis – mostly in royal estates. See above.

<sup>27</sup> The demesne Szczawianek, earlier called Prawda (LR XVI, p. 175; LR XVII, p. 21 ff.), Buszyce (MRPS IV, no. 14131; LR XVI, pp. 59–62; LR 1789, pp. 135–136) and Ruda (LM 1565, vol. II, pp. 19–20; LM XVII, pp. 68–69).

<sup>28</sup> Materials on the Mazovian castles were prepared by K. Chłapowski. The terms mentioned earlier were also used to denote a gord as a centre of the administration, and should not cause and doubts about the architectural object to which they referred; see numerous entries in Mazovian inspections from the sixteenth century about compulsory services provided by the servants for the benefit of the castle.

<sup>29</sup> The documentation of the surviving buildings, or their remains, can be found in *Katalog zabytków sztuki*, the published issues and the materials kept in the Institute of Art PAN, and the collection of the Ośrodek Dokumentacji Zabytków (e.g. the so-called Łopaciński's Files). Of the written sources, M. Wargawski's description from 1549 was the most important source concerning castles (see I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, footnote 49). Of Church castles, the castle in Łowicz – which did not survive – was described in: Ulanowski, *Visitationes*, p. 1; Święcicki, p. 102. The castle in Sześćńsk was listed in: Święcicki, p. 98; Gwagnin, p. 204. Święcicki uses only one term, *arx*, hence his testimony offers little help in distinguishing between a castle and a defensive manor.

<sup>30</sup> *Inventarium omnium privilegiorum in archivo Regni confectum 1682*, pub. E. Rykaczewski, Paryż 1862, p. 350, year 1505; see also H. Rutkowski, *Wizna. Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne do planu zagospodarowania przestrzennego*, Warsaw 1959, mps w Pracowni Konserwacji Zabytków; A. Kamiński, *Wizna na tle pogranicza polsko-rusko-jaćwieskiego*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 1, 1961, pp. 32–36.

<sup>31</sup> In Zakroczym, LM 1565, vol. II, p. 141 there was a great manor mentioned, in other places: a manor or a castle; Gwagnin, p. 205 and M. Kromer, *Polonia*, pub. W. Czermak, Cracow 1901, p. 27. In Wargawski's description, f. 492, no fortifications are mentioned. The manor was not located on a gord. In Rożan LM 1617, p. 91, tells about a manor; Gwagnin, p. 206 about 'a castle on a hill'. In Czerwińsko, divided between the bishop of Płock and the Canons Regular, the fifteenth century sources mention only a bishop's manor, Kromer, *Polonia*, p. 27, among castles – a monastery. According to W. Łuszczkiewicz, *Kościół klasztorny w Czerwińsku*, „Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce”, vol. 4, 1891, p. 40, in the eighteenth century there was a storeyed building next to the monastery. It had round towers, palisades and a drawn bridge. According to W. Smoleński, *Mazowiecka szlachta w poddaństwie proboszczów płockich*, [in:] *Pisma historyczne*, vol. 1, Cracow 1901, p. 144 – *fortalitium* in Sieluń was expanded into a castle in the first half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>32</sup> In Radzanów *fortalitium*; Płockie grodz. wiecz. 9, f. 80, 1543; Gwagnin, p. 204 calls it 'a bricked castle on a hill in the marshes'. In Leżenice Święcicki, p. 83 writes – *arx* (perhaps situated inside Głowaczów, a town founded in 1445 on the grounds of this village). Idem, p. 85, mentions an *arx* in Kozłów, where now there remain traces of the moat and brick ruins; cf. *Katalog zabytków sztuki*, vol. 10, no. 2: *Pow. garwoliński*, Warsaw 1967, p. 14.

<sup>33</sup> KDMaz., 265, 1497 and MRPS IV/2, no. 14258, 1526 – *fortalitium*; Wargawski, f. 532 – *curia, blankowanie*; LM 1565, part I, p. 68 – manor.

Karniszyn, Sarnów, Zegrze, Radziejowice, Petryków, and Zwola,<sup>34</sup> all of which belonged to wealthy nobility. Some remnants of defensive character survived still in the middle of the sixteenth century in the wooden manor in Łomża, incorrectly called a castle by the literature.<sup>35</sup>

Let us proceed to calculating the population on the basis of tax registers. The solution of this issue is controversial. The work on the map of Mazovia, since 1964 focusing on a detailed reconstruction of settlement,<sup>36</sup> limited the size distinction of villages to two groups, called 'villages' and 'large villages' in the key to the map. The latter group consists of villages over 200 inhabitants. The simplified classification allowed us to broaden the source basis significantly in comparison to the previous calculations published by A. Pawiński. The differences found in the basis for the taxation of particular villages in different collection years prove they were almost always incomplete. As such, our calculations of a village's population cannot be based on the payment from one year, but should utilize the entire surviving fiscal documentation to formulate our conclusions from the analysis.<sup>37</sup> It also appears that the multipliers calculated for broader territorial ranges, allowing for estimated assessment of the population in large areas, fail when applied to single villages. These multipliers were derived from the calculated average size of a serf farmstead, eliminating individual significant differences, not only between remote areas, or depending on ownership category, but also even in the case of two nearby villages of one key of property.<sup>38</sup> The conclusion should therefore be obvious, for calculating the population size direct demographic data providing the number of resident serfs, smallholders or landless peasants, as well as artisans, rare in Mazovian villages, is much more valuable than the size of taxed cultivated land. Hence the importance of the registers from the 1552 tax, collected exceptionally not per lan, but per number of serfs. The low tax base applied<sup>39</sup> promises relatively reliable results. The sixteenth century inspections are even more valuable, as they contain more detailed information on the population of royal villages in Mazovia. The lack of analogic data for Mazovian Church estates is a particularly severe loss.

Still, the conversion factor had to be applied for these villages, for which we know only the number of resident lans, without any data concerning their development. The research on the size of serf farms in royal and Church estates,<sup>40</sup> and the comparison of the number of serfs in 1552 with the

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<sup>34</sup> In Karniszyn according to MK 34, f. 19, 1519 and MK 37, f. 13, 1520 – *castellum*, according to Święcicki, p. 99 – *arx*; in Sarnów there was a *fortalitatum* in the fifteenth century, with a *przygródek, quod iacet in aqua, praeterea pons et samborza*, MK 337, f. 28, 1467 and MK 9, f. 126, 1480, the remains of which survived until the nineteenth century; SGKP, vol. 10, p. 323; in Zegrze – *fortalitium*, AGAD, Zakroczymskie ziem. wieczyste, no. 17, 79, 1502. In Radziejowice, according to *Katalog zabytków sztuki*, vol. 10, no. 4: *Pow. grodzisko-mazowiecki*, Warsaw 1967, p. 29, there was a small castle in the sixteenth century, a *fortalicja*; in Petrykozy at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century a *fortalitium sive opugnaculum* with a *hostium more castrorum vulgaliter dictum wzvod* was built, cf. KDMaz., p. 333; now no traces remain, *Katalog zabytków sztuki*, vol. 10, no. 4, p. 25. The consent to build an *arx seu fortalitium* in Zwola, cf. MRPS IV/3, no. 18173, the remnants of the defensive layout confirmed by *Katalog zabytków sztuki*, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 30.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Wargawski, f. 21. In the document from 1532 opposed are *arcem Visnensem et curias Lomsensem et Novogrodensem*, AGAD, dok. perg. 673, cf. MRPS IV/2, no. 16646.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. S. Herbst, *Atlas na rozdrożu*, [in:] *Studia historyczne. Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 70 rocznicy urodzin prof. dra Stanisława Arnolda*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 143–149; I. Gieysztorowa, *O właściwą drogę Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, KHKM, vol. 14, 1966, no. 4, pp. 687–694; H. Rutkowski, *Mapy podstawowe i atlas historyczny*, KHKM, vol. 14, pp. 695–700; T. Ładogórski, *Uwagi o nowej koncepcji Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, KH, vol. 74, 1967, pp. 89–97; W. Pałucki, *Atlas historyczny ziem polskich drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, KH, vol. 74, 1967, pp. 99–110; idem, *Na atlasowym gościńcu*, KHKM, vol. 15, 1967, no. 2, pp. 385–393; M. Kiełczewska-Zaleska, *W sprawie Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, KHKM, vol. 15, 1967, no. 2, pp. 395–400.

<sup>37</sup> All taxation documents available for the lands of Wyszogród, Zakroczym, Różan, Łomża, Wizna, Warsaw and Sochaczew were used. For Płock Voivodship the registers from 1531, 1552, 1553, 1567 and 1578; for the remaining Mazovian lands, we limited ourselves to supplements from the registers which proved the most useful for the calculation of the population in the 1560s (usually the largest amount of taxation data) and from 1552, preserved for Ciechanów and Nur land.

<sup>38</sup> The issue of the diversified size of peasant farmsteads in the royal estates of Mazovia was broadly discussed by A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie na Mazowszu w XVI w. i na początku XVII w.*, Warsaw 1962, p. 17 ff. An example: two villages in Płock starosta's district: Wykowo, where there were 24 serfs in seven Chełmno lans, and Chełpowo, with 16½ Chełmno lans and 11 serfs; cf. LP, pp. 9 and 12.

<sup>39</sup> 2 groschen per 1 serf (VL, vol. II, p. 9), whereas the land tax in the first half of the sixteenth century was 6 to 18 groschen, usually 12 groschen per resident lan.

<sup>40</sup> A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie*, p. 19. Average size of peasant farmsteads in royal estates were gathered from older literature by W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski (do początków XIX wieku)*, RDSG, vol. 13, 1951, pp. 56 ff.; see also L. Żytkowicz, *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim w dobrach kościelnych XVI w.*, Warsaw 1962, pp. 35 ff.

number of resided lans in villages with over a dozen lans belonging to one owner,<sup>41</sup> show that peasant farmsteads in these estates were usually bigger than 0.5 lan, often 1 lan, and sometimes even more. This supports the opinion formulated already in the commentary to the map of Płock Voivodeship that the conversion factor should be lowered to 10 persons per 1 serf lan in large property.<sup>42</sup> Other factors accepted with caution were: 11–13 persons per 1 serf lan in large villages of partial gentry<sup>43</sup> and 11 persons per 1 lan in the villages of farm gentry.<sup>44</sup> Family factors were kept, equalling five persons per noble or artisan family, four persons per hortulani or landless peasant families, often incomplete, or with children sent away to work. The less important element in our calculations – the number of servants in a settlement – was reduced to five persons at the most in a demesne, but we found it necessary to include servants also in larger peasant farmsteads.

The general tendency in our calculations of the population of large villages was to use the most complete source information in relation to the moderate rate of multipliers, as well as to disregard those villages, which might have had fewer than 200 inhabitants. Naturally, the degree of difficulty and the possibility of a statistical error, especially given the frail basis of our calculations, grows near the division line. During our works on the map of Płock Voivodeship, we dedicated much more attention to the settlements calculated between two size groups than to the others. In the case of Mazovia, lower size categories were excluded from our research. As a result, the division between size groups had to be set with particular certainty. It is possible, however, that some of the excluded villages did in fact exceed the number of 200 inhabitants, and yet were not marked on the map.

The calculations of the population of Mazovian towns in the sixteenth century are even more problematic, and their results even less certain than the results obtained for rural settlements. The reason lies in the unreliable source basis. The main element of town tax payments, the so-called royal szos, was a property tax, so it depended on wealth, not the number of inhabitants. In the second half of the sixteenth century, szos had long been paid in the lump, sometimes permanently lowered in relation to the sum paid at the beginning of the century because of natural disasters. The disproportions between these lump sums and the size of town buildings could only lead to subsequent reattempts at assessing the population of a given town on the basis of tax income astray and cause further misunderstandings.<sup>45</sup> However, the size of trade and artisan areas, calculated from tax income, constitutes an important element of the description of a town, providing indirect information about its size. Still, their part in the total number of inhabitants of a given town remains difficult to assess. The conclusions coming from the relation between the number of non-agricultural inhabitants and the number of town inhabitants employed in farming, derived from the number of taxed town lans,<sup>46</sup> is questionable, if only because of partial overlapping of these two groups.

As such, the number of houses remains our main basis for calculating town population. The numbers are known for royal and Church towns, and in some cases for the towns of the nobility, from the post-fire registers. Still, in the inspections the numbers were often recorded along with undeveloped habitations and gardens, and the houses freed from taxation were not always mentioned. Also, our knowledge about the number of dwellers in a town house is limited, it mostly relies on our certainty concerning various differences related to the rank of a town, the location of a plot, and building type.

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<sup>41</sup> Data from the 1533 register is usually lower, because they were probably based on the old tariff, and therefore the number of serfs from 1552 seems more appropriate, together with the respective number of lans from 1563. Also in Z. Guldon, K. Wajda, *Źródła statystyczne do dziejów Pomorza Wschodniego i Kujaw od XVI do początków XX w.*, Toruń 1970, pp. 18–20.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. WP, p. 27.

<sup>43</sup> Depending on the number and size of blocks; a higher indicator was used for a higher fragmentation of ownership.

<sup>44</sup> The indicator derived from the size of lands owned by farm gentry in respective districts, where there were villages over 200 dwellers inhabited by farm gentry.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. WP, p. 30 ff.; I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła i szacunki*, p. 589 ff.; Z. Guldon, *Zaludnienie miast kujawskich w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, „Prace Komisji Historii Bydgoskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego”, Prace Wydziału Nauk Humanistycznych, Series C, no. 2, 1963, pp. 51–74 raises the question of the difficulty of calculation of town population in the sixteenth–seventeenth century and the unreliability of the data from the town tax in this respect; also in Z. Guldon, K. Wajda, *Źródła statystyczne*, p. 21.

<sup>46</sup> The unexplained broad range of the size of the bestowals and the unknown – and probably diverse – conditions of the exploitation of town lans in various towns, limit the value of an uniform indicator, specified as 15 people per lan, see WP, p. 30 ff.

Given the lack of detailed information, the factor, accepted out of necessity, was 6–7 dwellers per house,<sup>47</sup> depending on the supposed size of a town, calculated in approximation on the basis of the surviving fiscal documentation. In case the number of houses was unknown, we had to limit ourselves to this assessment.

The map of Mazovia groups towns into three categories: cities, towns, and small towns. The first group, where the lower limit was set modestly at 5,000 inhabitants, consisted only of Old Warsaw.<sup>48</sup> The second (1,000–5,000 inhabitants) – of the following towns, listed below and ordered by the number of inhabitants: Płock, Łomża, Przasnysz and Ciechanów probably exceeded 4,000 inhabitants, and Łowicz, Pułtusk, Rawa, Sochaczew, Brok and Ostrów – 3,000. We believe that over 2,000 people inhabited the next 10 towns: Warka, Wyszogród, Mława, Stanisławów, Zakroczym, Gąbin, Ostrołęka, Goszczyn, Rożan and the New Warsaw. The population of the remaining 26 towns in this group was calculated at some 1,000–2,000 inhabitants.<sup>49</sup> The population of the majority of Mazovian towns (60 towns) was assessed to below 1,000 inhabitants, and these settlements were called small towns.<sup>50</sup> Even though the scarcity of information about the smallest town settlements of Mazovia sometimes leaves us uncertain, whether they had more than 200 inhabitants, all small towns were marked with the same sign as large villages.

**Table 1. Number and population of Mazovian towns in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Voivodeship	Plock				Rawa			
	royal	Church	nobility	in total	royal	Church	nobility	in total
Over 5,000 inhabitants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1,000–5,000 inhabitants	3	1	1	5	5	2	–	7
below 1,000 inhabitants	1	–	10	11	5	3	8	16
In total	4	1	11	16	10	5	8	23

Voivodeship	Mazovian				Mazovia			
	royal	Church	nobility	in total	royal	Church	nobility	in total
Over 5,000 inhabitants	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	1
1,000–5,000 inhabitants	30	3	1	34	38	6	2	46
below 1,000 inhabitants	5	7	21	33	11	10	39	60
In total	36	10	22	68	50	16	41	107

The table above offers a collective summary of the number of Mazovian towns in the second half of the sixteenth century, and groups the towns according to their ownership affiliation and size. It shows that almost 50% of towns, and at the same time 85% of those above 1,000 inhabitants, belonged to the king. Almost 40% of all towns belonged to the nobility, but – apart from two of them – these were small towns with several hundred inhabitants. Only 15% of Mazovian towns belonged to the Church, and these were usually small.

<sup>47</sup> Despite the negative evaluation of this method in the Western European research, cf. I. Gieysztorowa, *Badania nad historią załudnienia Polski*, KHKM, vol. 11, 1963, no. 3–4, p. 527, footnote 22.

<sup>48</sup> Taking into account the latest findings of W. Szaniawska, *Mieszkańcy Warszawy w latach 1525–1655*, „Rocznik Warszawski”, vol. 7, 1966, p. 131, which decrease the estimated number of the population of both towns around 1580 to below 6500 inhabitants. This estimation is particularly surprising in its evaluation of the buildings of Krakowskie Przedmieście (5.5 people per house). As such, we decided to decrease the evaluation slightly, believing that Old Warsaw with suburbs had more than 5000 inhabitants.

<sup>49</sup> In alphabetical order these were: Andrzejewo, Bolimów, Gostynin, Czersk, Garwolin, Grójec, Janowo, Kamieniec, Kolno, Latowicz, Stary Liw, Maków, Mińsk, Nowe Miasto (Zakroczym land), Nowogród, Nur, Płońsk, Piaseczno, Raciąż, Radziłów, Serock, Sierpc, Wąsosz, Wizna, Zakroczym, Zambrów.

<sup>50</sup> Following the suggestion made by J. Ochmański, *W kwestii agrarnego charakteru miast W. Ks. Litewskiego w XVI w.*, [in:] *Studia historica. W 35-lecie*, p. 294, who assumed 6–6.5 people per one hearth. The fluidity of the terminology used in the sources was addressed by Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Oznaczenia i klasyfikacje miast w dawnej Polsce (XVI–XVIII w.)*, CPH, vol. 8, 1956, no. 2, pp. 253–268. LM 1565 calls Radziłów, among others, a small town. It had ‘309 houses with empty habitations’ (p. 55). Ostrołęka, considered a small town as well, had 334 houses (p. 41 ff.).

It is difficult to present a summary statistic of the advancement of the urbanization process in sixteenth century Mazovia. The size of the towns varied significantly, and so did the functions of particular settlements. As such, it might not be appropriate to equal them in the final summary. On the other hand, the broad scale of Mazovian settlement diversity weakens the value of the statistical average values levelling the said variety. The comparison of the general number of Mazovian settlements, inflated by the settlements of petty gentry, become unreliable both in terms of relations between districts and between voivodeships.<sup>51</sup> The relation between the number of burghers and the total number of inhabitants is questionable.<sup>52</sup> The same could be said about the relation of the number of towns to the area of the entire district, or particular voivodeships, as the inner diversity of Mazovian voivodeships surpasses, as shown by the table, the differences between the voivodeships.

Moreover, the figures on the density of town network in each voivodeship, and particularly in each land, distort the real image of the cooperation between towns and agrarian settlements in highly forested areas. Łomża land could be an example here, as it encompassed the major part of Zagajnica Forest, and the density indicator was one town per 842 km<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, the lowest indicators of Czersk land (1:168) and Zawkrze (1:198) are justified by the existence of complexes of small town settlements, which could function thanks to the wealthy nobility of Czersk – the families Miński, Siennicki, Oborki, Parys or Wodyński,<sup>53</sup> and of Płock – the families Sierpski, Srzeński, Radzanowski or Kuczborski.

In both cases, the excessive growth of competing urban centres in a small area dwindled their chances of development in comparison with royal or Church towns, more scattered and growing for a long time with a background of much larger estate complexes and offering services to many petty noblemen, who could not afford their own urban investments.

Table 3 presents the results of our calculations of the population of Mazovian villages, which had over 200 inhabitants in the second half of the sixteenth century, along with their ownership division. The table shows that such villages constituted a mere 7.6% of the total Mazovian rural settlement. The majority of the villages belonged to the Church. Royal villages were a bit fewer, and the number of royal and Church villages was 1.5 times higher than the number of villages of the nobility. The relation of the villages of demesne nobility to those of farm gentry was similar.

The largest villages in Mazovia were irregularly scattered in each voivodeship and land. This usually agrees with the opinion about their different ownership situation, which influenced the variety of settlement forms. The highest number of villages over 200 inhabitants occurred in Rawa Voivodeship (12.7%) and was related to the largest area of Church and royal property and a relatively insignificant number of petty settlement in this territory. The total number of Church and royal villages was three times higher than the number of the villages belonging to the nobility of the same rank. Of all three lands of Rawa Voivodeship, Gostynin land – the most fertile and the wealthiest – had almost the same number of villages over 200 inhabitants as the two remaining lands, where the nobility's share of property was quite considerable.

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<sup>51</sup> Given the amount of small settlements of petty gentry in Mazovia and Płock Voivodeships, Rawa Voivodeship surpassed them in its 1½ time higher share of towns (respectively 1.5% and 2.2% of all settlements). However, inside Mazovia Voivodeship the relation between the towns in Ciechanów land was only 0.65%, whereas in Czersk land it was over 3% of all settlements.

<sup>52</sup> It appears that in the second half of the sixteenth century burgher constituted 20% of the population of Płock and Rawa Voivodeships, in Mazovia Voivodeship the share was a bit higher, mostly thanks to the concentration of several of the largest town centres, for which the calculations of population can contain the largest margin of error.

<sup>53</sup> Thanks to the family Oborski, the following settlements were granted town rights: Kuflew (around 1520), Kozłów (1526) and Żeliszew (Jeruzal, 1533). The family Dobrzyniecki, who owned estates in Liw and Czersk lands, also obtained three foundation privileges: for Dobre Stare (1530), Dobre Nowe (prior to 1563), and Wawrzyńczewo (Glinianka, 1557). Two towns own their existence to the family Siennicki: Siennica, founded in 1526, and Seroczyn, founded in 1548. One year later the family Wolski obtained two market privileges for their hereditary towns, Sandomierz and Raszyn, wrongly considered town privileges by Pazyra 1939, p. 124. In fact these towns were founded by the father of the recipients of these bestowals, Mikołaj Wolski, the castellan of Sandomierz and the Marshall of Queen Bona's court.

**Table 2. Mazovian urban network in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Land, voivodeship	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Number of towns	Km <sup>2</sup> per 1 town
lands: Płock	2,525	7	361
Zawkrze	1,779	9	198
Płock Voivodeship	4,304	16	269
lands: Rawa	2,234	8	279
Sochaczew	2,006	7	287
Gostynin	1,933	8	242
Rawa Voivodeship	6,173	23	268
lands: Czersk	4,189	25	168
Warsaw	2,890	10	289
Wyszogród	587	2	293
Zakroczym	1,346	5	269
Ciechanów	2,981	6	497
Rożan	922	2	461
Łomża	4,209	5	842
Wizna	1,397	3	466
Nur	3,457	6	576
Liw	1,038	4	259
Mazovian Voivodeship	23,016	68	338
Mazovia	33,493	107	313

**Table 3. Villages with over 200 inhabitants in Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Land, voivodeship	Total number of villages	Villages over 200 inhabitants	% of all villages	Villages			
				royal	Church	of the nobility	
						demesne nobility	farm gentry
lands: Płock	744	35	4.7	6	11	17	1
Zawkrze	371	28	7.5	2	2	24	–
Płock Voivodeship	1,115	63	5.6	8	13	41	1
lands: Rawa	395	22	5.6	4	15	3	–
Sochaczew	268	39	14.6	17	18	4	–
Gostynin	279	59	21.1	13	23	23	–
Rawa Voivodeship	942	120	12.7	34	56	30	–
lands: Czersk	718	38	5.3	27	3	8	–
Warsaw	472	20	4.2	10	5	5	–
Wyszogród	182	16	8.8	4	9	3	–
Zakroczym	372	21	5.6	9	11	1	–
Ciechanów	902	33	3.7	14	3	13	3
Rożan	208	12	5.8	6	6	–	–
Łomża	563	56	10.0	20	5	2	29
Wizna	331	20	6.0	3	–	4	13
Nur	563	88	15.6	7	42	7	32
Liw	204	15	7.4	7	3	3	2
Mazovian Voivodeship	4,515	319	7.1	107	87	46	79
Mazovia	6,572	502	7.6	149	156	118	80

According to current calculations, of all three voivodeships, the ratio of the largest villages to all villages was the lowest in Płock Voivodeship.<sup>54</sup> Church and royal property was rare here, hence the proportions between the number of villages over 200 inhabitants were reversed in comparison to other voivodeships. The number of large villages belonging to the nobility was twice as high as the number of Church and royal villages altogether.

In Mazovian Voivodeship, the share of large villages was similar to the one in Płock Voivodeship, but the number of such villages was half as high again in Church and royal estates than in the estates of the nobility. Yet, the individual lands in the voivodeship display a much varied image, depending on the dominance of different types of property in the area. The number of large villages was – relatively – the lowest (3.7%) in Ciechanów land, and the highest – in Nur land (15.6%), both thanks to the concentration of large villages of the Church and of farm gentry. Similarly, a relatively high share of villages over 200 inhabitants in Łomża land (10%) is a result of a high concentration of large villages of farm gentry in Zambrów district, as well as royal villages in the starosta's district of Łomża. However, the exceptionally high concentration of royal estates in Czersk land<sup>55</sup> was expressed only in the highest number in the entire voivodeship of royal villages over 200 inhabitants, which still did not raise the general rate (5.3%), given the low number of large villages of the Church and the nobility.

Two comments should be added regarding the conclusions formulated on the basis of Table 3. Firstly, the multipliers used in the calculations to isolate the villages with over 200 inhabitants are debatable, and therefore further research could introduce certain, probably inconsiderable, changes in the numbers presented in the table. This should not, however, influence the proportions and the general outcome of the table. Secondly, the percentage share of settlements from different ownership categories in the lower size group, which was still significant in Mazovia (e.g. around 150 inhabitants), would present itself a bit differently.

This does not change our opinion on the influence of large landed property, royal and Church, on the size of particular settlements. It would be difficult to consider it a coincidence that the concentration of the majority of the largest towns and villages in Mazovia occurred in royal and Church estates.

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>54</sup> The differences between the assumptions made in WP, p. 33, result mostly from the aforesaid necessity to diversify the calculation indicator per serf lan depending on the size of an estate (see *ibidem* p. 27).

<sup>55</sup> See LM 1565, vol. I, p. XX.

### III.3.2.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

#### III.3.2a.8 CHARACTER OF SETTLEMENTS

*Michał Gochna*

This volume showcases various types of settlement in accordance with the same set of principles as applied for the rest of the AHP<sup>1</sup> series. The main map depicts the following types of settlement:

- villages,
- mill settlements,
- demesnes settlements (*folwark*),
- smithy settlements,
- towns,
- peripheral suburbs,
- castles.

Additionally, both centres of secular (capitals of voivodeships and lands, starosty, places of *Sejmik* (Diet) meetings) and religious (locations of deaneries and parishes) administration.

When specifying the nature of individual inhabited units, numerous queries concerning the definition of the concept of ‘settlement’, the factors that contribute to its status and the criteria required for a place to be classified as such, have arisen. This matter was tied to the relatively intensive changes of the Podlasie settlement network endured in the sixteenth century, which occurred for a host of reasons such as the division of large villages into several smaller ones (eg. the expansion of noblemen’s properties),<sup>2</sup> or changes introduced during the VoloK Reform. These factors contributed to the creation of new settlements, located either in previously uninhabited areas or ones developed on the site of pre-existing infrastructure, as well as the disappearance of existing communities, along with the grouping or division of settlements themselves. Finding source information on these changes is a difficult task, as many of them were omitted from the available resources. All these factors have caused many problems of an ontological nature. Taking into consideration the scope of the available source materials and the AHP series as a whole, creating a complete directory of terms that would accurately categorise and describe the types of settlements and the relations between them was not possible. However, basing matters on experience earlier gained while working on other volumes in the AHP series, we have compiled a list of criteria defining the different types of settlement; one that shall be presented below. However, it is important to note that these are not ultimately finalised and in the future might, or even should, be verified in the process of any additional in-depth research.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7; A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2; K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5; J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.2.1; M. Gochna, *Character and size of settlements: rural settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2a.4; J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] ibidem, in this edition III.3.2b.4; M. Słomski, *Character and size of settlements: Castles and abbeys*, [in:] ibidem w tej edycji III.3.2c.4.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Suproniuk, *Settlement. Location of settlements*, [w] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.1.8.

<sup>3</sup> This matter of late was the subject of research on the part of a team headed by Dr. hab. Bogumił Szady, a professor of the Polish Academy of Sciences History Institute, and conducted within the framework of the research project “Ontologiczne podstawy budowy historycznych systemów informacji geograficznej” [Ontological bases in the construction of historical systems of geographical information]. See *Metodologia tworzenia czasowo-przestrzennych baz danych dla rozwoju osadnictwa oraz podziałów terytorialnych*, ed. B. Szady, <https://zenodo.org/record/3751266> (access 16.06.2020), in particular the chapter by P. Kulicki, T. Związek, *Definicje typów jednostek osadniczych i administracyjnych*, idem, pp. 437–454.

Those settlements falling into the ‘village’ category were ones that in the original source materials were given the Polish designation *siolo*, one was used interchangeably with the term *village* though it is important to draw attention to the linguistic difference between the English words *village* and *hamlet*; both of which will be used in the course of the volume in relation to settlements designated in Polish by the terms *wieś*, *siolo* and *przysiółek* and their Latin equivalent of *villa* (Translator’s note: *Hamlet* – a small village, especially (in Britain) one without a church. – ORIGIN ME: from OFr. *hamelet*, dimin. of *hamel* ‘little village’; rel. to home; *Village* – a group of houses situated in a rural area, larger than a hamlet and smaller than a town. – ORIGIN ME: from OFr., from L. *villa* ‘country house’. Both definitions OUP Concise Oxford Dictionary, Guy Torr). Places marked as *obrąb* (*obrúb*, *obręb*) or *zaścianek* pose a different problem altogether. The source material gathered reveals that putting units described with these terms within the same category as *village* or *folwark* properties is simply in some cases unjustifiable. The term *obrąb* signified a village or other part of a land or property, usually bearing its own unique name. *Zaścianki* were not, as it was usually understood, settlements inhabited by lower-class noblemen who owned no land themselves, instead what they did signify was a place located near another residential unit (such as a village, town or *folwark*), from which it was in fact ‘divided’ (hence the employment of the Polish term ‘*ściana*’, meaning ‘wall’) by some sort of barrier. These were either naturally occurring (a forest or waterway, for instance) or man-made (the border of a neighbouring village or Volok Reform division line). The liberal usage of this terminology has created the need to examine the settlements on a case-by-case basis.<sup>4</sup> In accordance with the rules established in the AHP series, the map and accompanying List of settlements do not feature units of a status lower/smaller than that of a settlement (be it a village, *folwark* or settlement of a different nature). If a unit’s status was unclear as to whether it constituted a fully developed village or it was simply an *obręb* or *zaścianek* area, then it was marked as the former under the condition that it was confirmed as such in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> Villages were divided according to their size, into those of a large or small category.<sup>6</sup>

A case that illustrates the problems encountered when classifying these units well is the settlement called Solnicy in the Tykocin forestry, located in the Bielsk land. In a 1576 survey the settlement’s nature was not explicitly defined, only listing its name as *Solnicy obrębnycy*, an area encompassing 18 voloks in total.<sup>7</sup> This unit was similarly described in both a 1577 register and a inspection of 1616 – each document featuring the term *obrębnycy* which implies that this was not a village, but instead a peripheral strip or multiple strips of land belonging to the salt extractors themselves (out of which 4 voloks belonged in 1576 to the arsenal warden of Tykocin castle, Bartosz Nacz, and which in 1616 were transferred to a certain Markiewicz).<sup>8</sup> The privilege granted to Bartosz Nacz by Stefan Batory in 1580 mentions only voloks of land located between the boundaries of two villages, and does not speak of any areas belonging to specific administrative units.<sup>9</sup> All the aforementioned indications support our decision to classify this unit as an *obręb*, or peripheral zone, therefore omitting it from the map, especially given its exact location was unclear. The compilers of the 1576 inspection point toward the

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<sup>4</sup> In the Podlasie inspections for the years 1570 and 1576 *zaścianki* are divided into *folwark*, urban (defined as ‘at the town’ with here being included mill *zaścianki* and one ‘wilderness’), suburban, rural (defined as ‘at villages’; including both mill *zaścianki* and deserted ones); LWP 1570, 1576, p. 191 (index); in footnote 12 on p. 30 the authors, in relation to the context of *zaścianki*, narrow matters down somewhat: ‘The matter is not about so-called gentry *zaścianki* but about the ground that lay beyond the boundaries of village fields (often beyond a forest ‘wall’), and taken into cultivation, not necessarily inhabited, and known equally as *nowiny*, *naddawki*.’ Cf. idem p. 112: ‘Obrąb albo siolo Żarnowo’, idem p. 139 ‘obrąb Nowykowski pusty, którego Sorczowie ziemianie KJM ronią, mieniąc być swym’. AWAK 14, p. 72 ‘obrúb wójta narewskiego, pana Matyssa Sawickiego włók 10 na Czortkowie przy Narwi mieście’. *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 8, comp. J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, A. Niedźwiedzki, Warsaw 1983, p. 303; S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 4, Lwów 1858, p. 765; *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 10, ed. W. Doroszewski, 1968, ‘zaścianek’ <https://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/zascianek;5527493.html> (access 18.07.2020).

<sup>5</sup> We were directed by the principle ‘to rather not pass over actually existing places than to avoid considering a part of a village to be a separate settlement.’ H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.1.7. See J. Suproniuk, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.1.8.

<sup>6</sup> See P. Guzowski, *Size of settlements*, [w] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.2b.8.

<sup>7</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> ASK I 47, f. 116v; ASK XLVI 149, f. 121.

<sup>9</sup> MK 123, ff. 327v–328v.

wilderness that is Solniki, located to the south of Trzcianne as a possible candidate for its location.<sup>10</sup> The National Registers of Geographical Names classify this place as a marsh or wetland area.<sup>11</sup> The aforementioned privilege granted by Stefan Batory locates the *obrzeb* of Solniki to be somewhere between the villages of Chobotki and Góra, that is 9–13 kilometers to the southeast of the marsh itself. On the other hand, an inventory list pertaining to the Goniądz starosty, which dates back to 1571, mentions the existence of three ‘*solnickie voloks*’,<sup>12</sup> located at the village of Trzcianne. This state of affairs suggests that the voloks belonging to the aforementioned salt extractors could have been scattered across a wider territory and did not in fact constitute a compact agricultural area as such. This theory is supported by the way this territory was structured, as different tax rates could have corresponded to the different grades of soil found there. According to an inspection that dates back to the year 1576, out of the 18 mentioned voloks eight were taxed at the rate of 1 *złoty* 26 *groszy* and 4.5 denars, while six voloks were taxed at 2 *złoty*; with the remaining four voloks that belonged to the arsenal warden being exempt of taxation.<sup>13</sup> In the 1577 tax register it is recorded that 20 *groszy* was collected for each of the 13 voloks (a sum that was in accordance with the generally accepted flat rates of tax applied at the time).<sup>14</sup> At the time of the 1616 survey the four aforementioned voloks still remained exempt of taxation, 11 voloks were subject to 2 *złote* 15 *groszy* in taxation dues, while the remaining three were laid fallow due to the ground being ‘of a poor, sandy quality.’<sup>15</sup>

The main map, aside from villages, also features *folwark* settlement complexes, that is to say *folwarks* bearing their own unique name and constituting a separate residential entity from nearby villages. These settlements have been labelled in the sources as *folwark* or *praedium*. The *folwark*'s name could be the same as that of the neighbouring village's or carry its own unique designation. These units were identified solely in the Bielsk land and are as follows: Grodzisko (r), Hołowiesk (r), Kiersnowski (r), Lipniki (r), Stołowacz (r), Szpakowo (r), Wielki Dworzec (r), Użyki (Huzyki; r). One *folwark* settlement – Karpowszczyzna (n) – possessed a localisation connected to another village (Antonowo, in the sixteenth century Wierwieczki), and so in accordance with the principles employed in the present series it has not been entered onto the map.<sup>16</sup> In the Mielnik land one such unit of unknown location existed, Chmielów (n; the environs of Chotycze).

The main map also shows the location of mill settlements, that is to say mills bearing their own unique title that were located at a fair distance from surrounding towns and villages, forming as a consequence their own settlement unit. Historical sources rarely mention the names of these mills, designating them instead with the surname of their proprietor. These instances have featured on the map under the condition that they operated under their own unique title no later than the first half of the seventeenth century.

- Drohiczyn land: Przekop (r);
- Bielska land: Burchaty (Burkat; r), Frącki (r), Jacewicze (r), Jarmakowczyzna (Jarmarkowczyzna; n), Kiermusy (r), Krupki (r), Leszczyny (r), Niestrowicz (r), Pace (r), Puchacze (r), Solniki (r), Torule (Turule; r), Wilginie (r), Wojtki (Wojtkowic; r), Żegunia (r).

In accordance with the principles established and applied by the AHP series, the main map does not feature mill settlements the location of which can be merely approximated. An example of such a settlement existing in the Podlasie Voivodeship is that at Surojeska (r).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 139, footnote 326.

<sup>11</sup> PRNG, no. 126485.

<sup>12</sup> Goniądz 1571, p. 178.

<sup>13</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 139.

<sup>14</sup> ASK I 47, f. 116v; VC, vol. II, vol. 1, p. 398.

<sup>15</sup> ASK XLVI 149, f. 121. The inspection of 1616 is the last known source to me in which this area appears. It is not mentioned, and even more so the village itself in the poll taxation registers of 1663, 1672, 1674 and 1676. It is also absent in the descriptions of the Trzcianne parish published by W. Wernerowa; eadem, *Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z roku 1784*, SP, vol. 4, 1993, pp. 222–234. The problem in the registration of Podlasie settlements is revealed also by the charter privilege of King Stefan Batory of 1576 bestowing on Florian Łobeski the Tykocin forest in which salt extractor, ranger, and honey gatherer communes were treated as if they were separate villages: „cum praediis et villis: Wolie, Brzezyny, Psczółczyno, Choyniki, Osoczyniki et Barthniki ut praedio nostro Thrzezianensi cum subditis et aliis omnibus pertinentiis huius praedii vide licet villis Ogródniki, Solniki ac Chobotki”, MK, 114, f. 62.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Suproniuk, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.1.8.

<sup>17</sup> Surojeska, Wysokie in the seventeenth century, is visible only on the map by Perthées in the environs of the rivers Nurzec, Czarna and Leszczka. The settlement no longer exists.

The only cases of mill settlements with unknown locations were recorded in the Bielsk land and are as follows: Markolewski Mill (n; Dolistowo parish), Suskowski Mill (n; the environs of Boćki), Wyszonki-Cicholas (n; located in the vicinity of the village of Mień, Domanowo parish).<sup>18</sup>

The settlement of Młynarze located by the Moszczona River in the Mielnik land requires rather more extensive coverage. An inventory of the Mielnik starosty dating back to 1560 describes it as “*Siolo Młynarz*” (Miller Village), inhabited by six serfs on 12 voloks of land.<sup>19</sup> The inventory further lists all the relevant dues and taxes,<sup>20</sup> as well as describing the extent of the settlement’s boundaries. To the east and south the settlement flanked the village of Moszczona, to the west it reached down to a river bearing the same name, and to the north it bordered with the ‘*sumine*’<sup>21</sup> grounds. The same inventory list mentions six ‘castle’ mills. These were also owned by the inhabitants of the village of Młynarze.<sup>22</sup> The inspection survey of 1576 also mentions the existence of a village going by the name Młynarze, though the authors of the edition of this source remark that ‘These days the place is an agglomeration of villages situated by the Moszczona River that bear the names of their proprietors, who own mills situated on this very waterway.’<sup>23</sup> The survey mentions 19 mills located in the Mielnik starosty in total. Another later survey, created in the year 1616 contains information about the existence of seven functional mills<sup>24</sup> located upon the Moszczona River. It also notes the existence of six voloks of land in the Młynarze village area, remarking that they ‘belong to those who also own the mills that lie along the Moszczona River’.<sup>25</sup> The 1661–1664 inspection provides vital information, disclosing that the aforementioned village did not have any agricultural areas of its own, bar the acres belonging to the six millers.<sup>26</sup> The village of Młynarze is mentioned again in a poll tax register of 1676 as well

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<sup>18</sup> LWP 1602, p. 11. Two mill settlements in the area of Knyszyn – Wodzilówka and Jeleń – do have source confirmation from the year 1602. It is highly likely that they were still in existence at the end of the sixteenth century however in the light of the principles adopted by the AHP series represented on maps are only those settlements which have mentions and referencing for the year 1600 at the very latest.

<sup>19</sup> ASK LVI 171 (formerly M.2-I), f. 167v: „Siolo Młynarz [...] Oxiuta kleszkowicz [...] Olich osipowicz [...] Stanko Proszynczycz [...] Wasko Cimoszewicz [...] Szczęsny Ambrozy iurkowicze [...] Jwazsko kleszkowicz”.

<sup>20</sup> Including “For the arrival of His Majesty the King, in the autumn and here following the resolving of their affairs, the courtly buildings they will have to repair together with other millers and the estate and here instead of carpenters. While from communal works, corody and patrols they should be exempt in duty for they mind the mills from violence and theft as if on the border.” idem, f. 168.

<sup>21</sup> Idem, f. 168. Unclear is the status of the said *sumine* grounds – the name could have referred to the name of the area or their owner’s name. In the seventeenth century there existed in this place the village of Sumicz Wólka. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, p. 172.

<sup>22</sup> ASK LVI 171 (former signatory number M.2-I), f. 184v: “Castle Mills on the River Moszczona, 6 mills Szczęsny and Ambrozy Jurkowicz, a mill of one water wheel in the same place a fulling and felting works Stanisław Ploszynczycz, a mill of one water wheel in the same place a fulling and felting works Jwazsko kleszkowicz, a mill of one water wheel in the same place a fulling and felting works Wasko Cimoszewicz, a mill of one water wheel in the same place a fulling and felting works Olich osipowicz, a mill of one water wheel in the same place a fulling and felting works Oksiuta Kleszkowicz, a mill of one water wheel in the same place a fulling and felting works. These mills grind always when there is a load.”

<sup>23</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 88, footnote 164; “The Młynarze Village facit lit. Kop 16/4”.

<sup>24</sup> ASK XLVI 149, ff. 154–154v: “There are at this village on the River Moszczona 7 mills. The millers take a third measure, and from two royal measures to the manor house the loans drawn for the year for the acreage derived from: 1. A fulling and felting mill is maintained by Maskowic. From this they obtain fl. 25. 2. A fulling and felting mill is maintained by Łapkowic. They get from this fl. 25. 3. A fulling and felting mill is maintained by Kudzielicz. They get from this fl. 25. 4. A fulling and felting mill is maintained by Wawrzyn Homoty, from this they obtain fl. 25. 5. A fulling and felting mill with a saw is maintained by Matys Pawłowicz. They get from this fl. 25. 6. A fulling and felting mill is maintained by Oxincic. They get from this fl. 25. 7. A mill is maintained by Pawłowic Kuźma, but it lies on weak water and is remote hence it makes nothing only fl. 6. The income from these mills is 156 fl. At six of the mills there are acres, on which according to each mill they pay fl. 5/25, facit fl. 35;” I would like to thank Dr. M. Sierba for access to these excerpts from the 1616 inspection.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, f. 155. “They pay for all taxes and dues, described in the former act, for a year per fl. 5/25, facit fl. 35. In relation to those voloks they should work for the Mielnik demesne 24 days a year with an axe. The sum of the incomes from this village being facit fl. 35”.

<sup>26</sup> MK XVIII, p. 558: “The Młynarze village does not have any measured out farmland, millers occupy but a few acres, the number of which is six. Each of these should pay rent to St. Martin on the mill they work at a rate of 5/25 and here proportionally a third of the measure for them a two thirds is owed his lord Starosta. 10 barrels of rye they may deliver within a year at 2 złoty, facit zł 20. The sum of incomes from this village facit zł 55;” I would like to thank Dr. M. Sierba for supplying this information.

as in a Church inspection to Siemiatycze in 1726 (here as *Moszczona Młynarze*).<sup>27</sup> This settlement no longer exists and neither does it appear on historical maps. There is, however, as was pointed out by the earlier cited editors of the Podlasie inspection, a string of villages that were created on the basis of mill settlements, whose names come from the names of the original founders. All this information we are presented with provokes the question as to whether the village of Młynarze can be classified as a separate unit. And, if so, what was its relation to the aforementioned mills? Even though we do not know whether the proprietors lived in the mills themselves or resided in the village and whether the village of Młynarze contained any buildings, it is certain that the unit had its own name, was situated within a defined area (with clearly designated boundaries) and was subject to a series of dues (mills were taxed separately). Due to all of these factors we have decided to include the village of Młynarze on the main map, treating the aforementioned mills as economic objects aligned with it.<sup>28</sup>

In the Podlasie Voivodeship two smithy settlements constituting separate independent residential units have also been noted, these going by the names Ruda (r) and Turowczyzna (r). The former was located in the vicinity of the village of Czechowizna.<sup>29</sup> The exact location of the latter remains unknown (it was situated somewhere near the village of Klejnik, known in the sixteenth century as Zygmuntowo, and located in the Bielsk land).<sup>30</sup> Blacksmith forges existed in Podlasie mainly in the form of trading entities within settlements. These smithy works have been noted in the following places (though here solely within the Bielsk land): Ruda (located in the Knyszyn starosty),<sup>31</sup> Trościanica,<sup>32</sup> Hukowicze,<sup>33</sup> Ruda (under Kleszczele lease).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> BCzart., Łoyko Collection, MS 1099 IV, p. 680 (f. 333v): “the same from the villages of the Moszczona River both from Millers and Baczykow.”; APL, Chełmski Konsystorz Greckokatolicki, sign. no. 101, f. 348v (“the village of Moszczona Młynarze”); LMAVB, f. 41–322, p. 701 (“Millers”) (I would like to thank Dr. Andrzej Buczyło for supplying the information contained in the Orthodox church inspection visit of Siemiatycze).

<sup>28</sup> For its exact localisation see J. Suproniuk, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.1.8.

<sup>29</sup> In the light of the inventory for the Knyszyn starosty, this forge was already redundant by the year 1561: “Ruda. From which initially was paid 4 and 3 kop they now pay nothing on for they have been ravaged by poverty.” Chomętowski, *Materiały*, p. 265. LWP 1602, p. 11, notes a mill in this place: “At this village [Czechowczyzna – M. G.] there is a mill, known as Ruda, below the Augustów pond. They get from it 16 miller measure barrels of rye, each at gr 32, making for 17/2.” Presumably the bog iron had been used up and this resulted in a change from forging to grain milling. At present approx. 1.4 km to the south of Czechowizna is occupied by a forest called Rudnik. PRNG, no. 118091.

<sup>30</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> The inventory for the Knyszyn starosty for the year 1561 speaks of the Ruda village and forge: “The village of Ruda is 30 voloks in acreage, of which 3 voloks was left for the measurer, 1 volok for the miller, an half a volok left fallow,” “On the River Jaskra at the same mill is Ruda, from where in the year [15]60 blacksmith[?] gave 60 *sosnikow*, which coming in at 2 grosze make for 2 kop. But in the current year [15]61 blacksmith have to pay a lease of kop 2”. Chomętowski, *Materiały*, pp. 242, 243. In a list of unclaimed incomes for the year 1557 it is noted: “And so Ruda, which Jan holds on the River Jaskra, which is at the same village, from which every year paid is grosze kop 4, for three years in the years [15]57, [15]58, [15]59 was deserted because of poverty, nothing came from it. But the past year [15]60 the blacksmith gave 60 *sosnikow*, which coming in at 2 grosze makes for 2 kop. And in some way this has already been described above at the Knyszyn mills.” Idem, p. 254. LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 73, 75; LWP 1602, pp. 31–33; ASK I 47, ff. 276, 279. Cf. *Prawa i przywileje miasta Knyszyna 1509–1795. Monografia historyczna miasta Knyszyna z uwzględnieniem najnowszych badań archiwalnych*, comp. J. Maroszek, Knyszyn 2018, p. 46 footnote 159.

<sup>32</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 60; LWP 1602, p. 94.

<sup>33</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 61; J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia nad produkcją rzemieślniczą w Polsce (XIV–XVIII w.)*, ed. M. Kwapien, J. Maroszek, A. Wyrobisz, Wrocław 1976, pp. 105–107. Although the author links the comment about ore belonging to Szczech Rudnik with Zygmuntów according to the source note this was in fact located at the village of Hukowicze on the River Łoknica.

<sup>34</sup> J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich*, pp. 105–106. The author states that a smithy was equally in operation in Dobrzyniewo, however the mention of ore in the inventory of the Knyszyn starosty of 1561 relates to the planned construction of a foundry and not to an already existing object. Its operational existence is not confirmed by other sources, including the inspections of 1602 and 1616; see Chomętowski, *Materiały*, p. 246; LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 73, 75; LWP 1602, pp. 31–33; ASK I 47, ff. 276, 279 (rej. pob. bielski 1577); ASK LVI 110 (former signatory number K 11), ff. 20, 44, 76–77, 79v. The existence of a smithy foundry at Narew has yet to find confirmation. Though the inventory of the Narew estate of 1560 mentions inhabitants by the nickname of Rudnik (from *ruda* – ore in Polish: GT), this on its own in no way constitutes proof of the working of a smithy foundry. See AWAK, p. 63: „Mosiey Rudnik Pawlow”; ibidem, p. 66: “Matys Rudnik”, “Tomko Rudnik”; ibidem, p. 69: “Szczech Rudnik”; ibidem, p. 70: “Szczęsny Rudnik”. The mentioned Szczech Rudnik may be identified with the rudnik from the ore at Hukowicze; see footnote 33 above. Possibly there was also in existence a smithy foundry at the village of Kroszewo (Krosiewo) – in 1580 tax was paid by Jakub Karwowski, the son of Wojciech Karwowski Rudnik. The same Wojciech was mentioned in the endowment by Jan Radziwiłł of 200 voloks for Maciej Srebrowski in 1532. These voloks, on which later were to appear the settlements of Neta and Brzozówka, bordered with the ore (*Rudnica*) belonging to Karwowski; ASK I 47, f. 617; LMAVB, f. 1–109.

There is no evidence that points in the Podlasie Voivodeship to the existence of monasteries, taverns, mines or glass works in the form of autonomous, self-governed settlement units during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Before we describe the development of the sixteenth-century Podlasie town network it follows to recall the notable impact that its affiliation prior to 1569 to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had on its character. The medieval urbanistic processes that occurred recall Lithuanian relations. As Stanisław Alexandrowicz has noted, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from amongst settlements which in the fifteenth and sixteenth century obtained town rights, many such town settlements already had an urban economic character, but which from a legal viewpoint in no way differed from other settlements situated within state, Church or private estates. Only some of Lithuanian towns had foundation charters.<sup>35</sup> This situation was equally true for Podlasie, though here the urbanising processes were distinguished by a somewhat different than purely Lithuanian specific, and here as a result of Podlasie connection with Mazovia and its influence (which manifested itself in numerous charters on the basis of Kulm Law while Lithuania was dominated by Magdeburg rights).<sup>36</sup> In connection with the above, and also as a result of the poor source basis for many of the towns, it is in many cases simply unknown whether a given centre was in its beginnings a town understood as a developed economic centre of the Lithuanian type or as a town with a foundation charter. For many Podlasie towns it is impossible to establish the date and nature of the initial foundation charter as well as to ascertain to what extent sixteenth-century charters actually resulted from the founding of new towns or merely confirmed an already existing fact or altered earlier issued charters. At the end of the sixteenth century all the below mentioned centres had fulfilled one or even several criteria adopted by the current AHP series to consider the given settlement a town, i.e., they possessed a foundation act, had paid property tax (*szos*), or had fulfilled other conditions confirming the urban nature of the settlement.<sup>37</sup>

The following Podlasie towns are known from the sixteenth century (in brackets the date of the oldest known town charters with the type of rights stipulated) – royal towns and earlier ducal: Drohiczyn (1498, Magdeburg rights),<sup>38</sup> Mielnik (1440, Kulm Law),<sup>39</sup> Bielsk (1496, Magdeburg rights),<sup>40</sup> Brańsk (1493, Magdeburg rights),<sup>41</sup> Suraż (1445, Magdeburg rights),<sup>42</sup> Tykocin (1425, Kulm Law),<sup>43</sup> Goniądz<sup>44</sup> and Rajgród,<sup>45</sup> private towns: Sokołów Podlaski (1424, Środa Law),<sup>46</sup> Węgrów,<sup>47</sup> Ciechanowiec,<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie sieci miejskiej Podlasia na tle wczesnych procesów urbanistycznych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, p. 415.

<sup>36</sup> Idem, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV – I połowa XVII w.)*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, p. 146.

<sup>37</sup> See footnote 1 above.

<sup>38</sup> See T. Jaszczółt, *Drohiczyn*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.8.8. As T. Jaszczółt shows although the first known bestowing of an vogt's office for the town of Drohiczyn is of the year 1439, a Drohiczyn vogt appears in sources already in 1414; *ibidem*.

<sup>39</sup> See A. Buczyło, *Mielnik*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.19.8.

<sup>40</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 67–76. In 1430 the grand duke of Lithuania Witold founded an vogt's office in Bielsk; *ibidem*; see also M. Sierba, *Bielsk Podlaski*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.2.8.

<sup>41</sup> Z. Romaniuk, *Rozwój i znaczenie ośrodka miejskiego w Brańsku w XV w.*, „Ziemia Brańska”, vol. 4, 1993, pp. 4–8.

<sup>42</sup> W. Jarmolik, *Prawa miejskie Suraża za Jagiellonów*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1995, no. 3(39), pp. 1–7.

<sup>43</sup> Z. Romaniuk, *Tykocin w XV w.*, [in:] *Małe miasta: przestrzenie*, ed. M. Zemło, Supraśl 2003, p. 279. A year earlier the Mazovian duke Janusz I established the said vogt's office.

<sup>44</sup> Although no foundation charter from the fifteenth century for Goniądz is known of as a document, it is highly likely that this settlement already had municipal rights at that time; J. Kloza, J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Goniądza w 450 rocznicę praw miejskich*, Białystok–Goniądz 1997, pp. 11–12; W. Jarmolik, *Prawa miejskie Goniądza w XVI w.*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1991, no. 2(22), pp. 5–6.

<sup>45</sup> Founded most likely in the fifteenth century, with the first burghers being noted at the turn of the sixteenth century; J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie grajewskim do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, ed. M. Gnatowski, H. Majecki, Warsaw 1975, pp. 211–212.

<sup>46</sup> W. Jarmolik, *Pierwsza lokacja miejska na Podlasiu (Sokołów Podlaski 1424 r.)*, SP, vol. 1, 1990, pp. 71–84.

<sup>47</sup> See M. Gochna, *Węgrów*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.30.8.

<sup>48</sup> The charter act for Ciechanowiec has not been preserved, while the foundation document of 1429 raises doubts. Ciechanowiec burghers appear in fifteenth-century sources; T. Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo Podlasia nadbużańskiego w XV i początkach XVI w.* [in:] *Podlasie nadbużańskie. 500-lecie województwa podlaskiego*, ed. O. Łatyszczek, Ciechanowiec–Białystok 2013, pp. 86–87; N.D. Tomaszewski, *Historia Ciechanowca do 1989 roku*, Białystok 2012, pp. 40–45.

Mordy (1488, Kulm Law)<sup>49</sup> and Mokobody (1496).<sup>50</sup> Amongst these in the sixteenth century town rights were bestowed on Bielsk, Suraż, Mielnik and Mokobody (1501)<sup>51</sup> as well as Goniądz (1547)<sup>52</sup> and Rajgród (1568).<sup>53</sup> In the sixteenth century in the Podlasie Voivodeship 10 new towns were granted charter rights. The towns founded on the basis of Kulm Law were as follows: Waniewo (post 1510),<sup>54</sup> Narew (1514)<sup>55</sup> and Kleszczele (1523).<sup>56</sup> The following settlements were granted Magdeburg rights: Wysokie Mazowieckie (1503),<sup>57</sup> Łosice (1505),<sup>58</sup> Boćki (1509),<sup>59</sup> Miedzna (1531),<sup>60</sup> Siemiatycze (1542),<sup>61</sup> Augustów (1557),<sup>62</sup> Knyszyn (1568). A part of these centres functioned as a town even before being granted a town charter – as was the case in Augustów, Miedzna, Łosice and Knyszyn.

The last of the above – Knyszyn – was first mentioned as a municipal centre in 1538, when Aleksander Chodkiewicz, the leaseholder of the Knyszyn estate, undertook the division of plots of land into voloks under the instruction of Queen Bona, assigning thus 90 voloks to the town of Knyszyn. In 1540 the Queen validated the town's charter, though the type of charter rights granted at the time remain unknown. The oldest Knyszyn court ledgers are from the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>63</sup> The giving by King Sigismund II August of Magdeburg rights in 1568 was therefore either their confirmation or a change in rights from Kulm Law to Magdeburg rights.<sup>64</sup>

We have decided to include Waniewo amongst the towns marked on the map. The town's charter, and here on the basis of Kulm Law, was granted to Mikołaj Radziwiłł by King Sigismund I the Old in 1510; however it is not known exactly when this occurred, as the charter document remains unknown. Mikołaj Radziwiłł a year later was to fund the construction of the parish church of the Holy Ascension.<sup>65</sup> Waniewo was to develop its municipal potential to only a limited degree, dropping down to the rank

<sup>49</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 213.

<sup>50</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Własność możnowładcza, średnio- i drobnoszlachecka na obszarze tzw. „podlaskiej” części powiatu węgrowskiego do poł. XVI wieku*, „Rocznik Liwski”, vol. 5, 2010/2011, pp. 21–22.

<sup>51</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, Przywileje, p. 85; W. Jarmolik, *Prawa miejskie Suraża*, p. 4; see A. Buczyło, *Mielnik*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.19.8. Mielnik had at this time its rights changed from operating under Kulm Law to adopting on Magdeburg rights. T. Jaszczółt, *Własność możnowładcza*, pp. 21–22. During the confirmation of municipal rights for Mokobody there was also an attempt to change the place name to Nowe Miasto, however the change was not adopted and they reverted to the older designation.

<sup>52</sup> J. Kloza, J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Goniądza*, pp. 11–12, 80–81, 129–131; W. Jarmolik, *Prawa miejskie Goniądza*, pp. 5–7.

<sup>53</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 186, 212, 214.

<sup>54</sup> See below.

<sup>55</sup> D. Michaluk, *Z dziejów Narwi i okolic. W 480 rocznicę nadania prawa chełmińskiego 1514–1994*, Białystok–Narew 1996, pp. 16–18; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga no. 8 (1499–1514)*, published by A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius, D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 1995, p. 141; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga no. 9 (1511–1518)*, published by K. Pietkiewicz, A. Baliulis, Vilnius 2002, p. 151.

<sup>56</sup> *Rejestr pomiaru włócznej Kleszczel z roku 1560*, edited by J. Zieleniewski, SP, vol. 3, 1991, pp. 201–248, 201, 242–244; M. Roszczenko, *Kleszczele*, Bielsk Podlaski–Kleszczele 2002, pp. 24–30, 321–322.

<sup>57</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 213.

<sup>58</sup> *Przywileje królewskiego miasta Łosic 1505–1779*, ed. A. Buczyło, J. Zawadzki, Ciechanowiec–Warsaw–Białystok 2018, pp. 6, 36–44. From the content of Aleksander Jagiellończyk's document for Łosice of the 10 May 1505, in which the king gave Magdeburg rights, it results that this centre had already earlier been municipal in character.

<sup>59</sup> Z. Romaniuk, *Boćki na Podlasiu. Monografia historyczna*, Boćki 2013, p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Własność możnowładcza*, p. 7; SGKP, vol. 6, p. 334. Eugeniusz Borowski dates the royal document for Międzyzlesie to the year 1522, claiming that in 1531 it was merely proclaimed. Idem, *Sanktuarium Matki Bożej w Miedznej, Drohiczyn* 1996, p. 10. Miedzna was mentioned as a town already in 1523 in the will of Elżbieta Wodyńska, the wife of Mikołaj Wodyński (the document was to be ratified the following year by king Sigismund August) and in 1528, when Mikołaj Wodyński issued the *in Miedzilessie oppido* document, in which he gave his servant from Dmochy voloks at Suchożebry and 1 in Kownaciska; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga no. 12 (1522–1529)*, ed. D. Antanavičius, A. Baliulis, Vilnius 2001, p. 569; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-27, f. 216v.

<sup>61</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 214. The original charter document for Siemiatycze is held at present by a private individual (information from Dr. T. Jaszczółt); see T. Jaszczółt, *Miasto Siemiatycze w XVI w. pod rządami Tęczyńskich i Radziwiłłów*, [in:] *Прыватнаўласніцкія гарады Вялікага Княства Літоўскага: лёс праз стагоддзі. Матэрыялы міжнароднай навукова-практычнай канферэнцыі Нявіж, 23–24 красавіка 2014 г.*, ed. З.Л. Яцкевіч, Minsk 2014, pp. 23–44.

<sup>62</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Nieznany oryginalny dokument lokacyjny Augustowa z 1557 roku*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 3, 1962, pp. 425–437; J. Szlaszyński, A. Makowski, *Augustów - monografia historyczna*, Augustów 2007, pp. 21–24. 17 May 1557 issued was a charter bestowing municipal rights for Augustów, though from its contents it results that it had been functioning as a town previously.

<sup>63</sup> *Akta albo sprawy sądów miasta knyszynskiego: 1553–1580*, vol. 1, intro., ed. J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999, pp. 1–8.

<sup>64</sup> *Prawa i przywileje miasta Knyszyna*, pp. 7–8, 64–67, 71–75.

<sup>65</sup> A. Oleksicki, *Waniewo, z przeszłości dawnego miasta*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego”, vol. 7, 2001, pp. 159–164; *ibidem*, *Waniewo. Dzieje regresu dawnego miasta*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1988, no. 3(11), pp. 9–12.

of village in the eighteenth century.<sup>66</sup> The evidence which lead to this settlement being classified as municipal in status was based on the descriptive terms employed in two fiscal sources for the years 1577 and 1581 – these refer to Waniewo as *miasteczko* (little town/townlet) or *civitas*<sup>67</sup> – as well as granting by Paweł Szczawiński, the owner of a part of the town, a new municipal statute in 1604.<sup>68</sup>

The settlement at Orla was in the sixteenth century not urban. The granting by King Aleksander Jagiellończyk of permission for the town's founding was not to be realized in the year 1500, with it only gaining municipal rights in 1614.<sup>69</sup>

In total, for the Podlasie Voivodeship for the second half of the sixteenth century, confirmation as to their legal existence as municipal entities has been established in relation to 23 towns that were either royal or noble property (no towns belonging the clergy have been found):<sup>70</sup>

- in the Bielsk land: Bielsk (r), Augustów (r), Boćki (n), Brańsk (r), Goniądz (r), Kleszczele (r), Knyszyn (r), Narew (r), Rajgród (r), Suraż (r), Tykocin (r), Waniewo (n);
- in the Drohiczyn land: Drohiczyn (r), Ciechanowiec (r), Miedzna (Międzyzlesie; n), Mokobody (Mąkobody; n), Mordy (n), Siemiatycze (n), Sokołów Podlaski (Sokołów; n), Węgrów (n), Wysokie Mazowieckie (Wysokie; n);
- in the Mielnik land: Mielnik (r), Łosice (r).

**Table 1. Types of settlements in Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Type	Drohiczyn land	Mielnik land	Bielsk land	Total
town	9	2	12	23
village	641	126	820	1,587
suburb	–	–	33	33
mill settlement	1	–	19	20
<i>folwark</i> settlement	–	1	9	10
smithy settlement	–	–	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>651</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>895</b>	<b>1,675</b>

**Table 2. Percentage share of property holding rights of Podlasie Voivodeship municipal centres in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Land	Crown-owned towns		Nobility-owned towns		Towns total
	number	% overall	number	% overall	
Drohiczyn	1	11	8	89	9
Mielnik	2	100	0	0	2
Bielsk	10	83	2	17	12
Podlasie Voivodeship	13	57	10	43	23

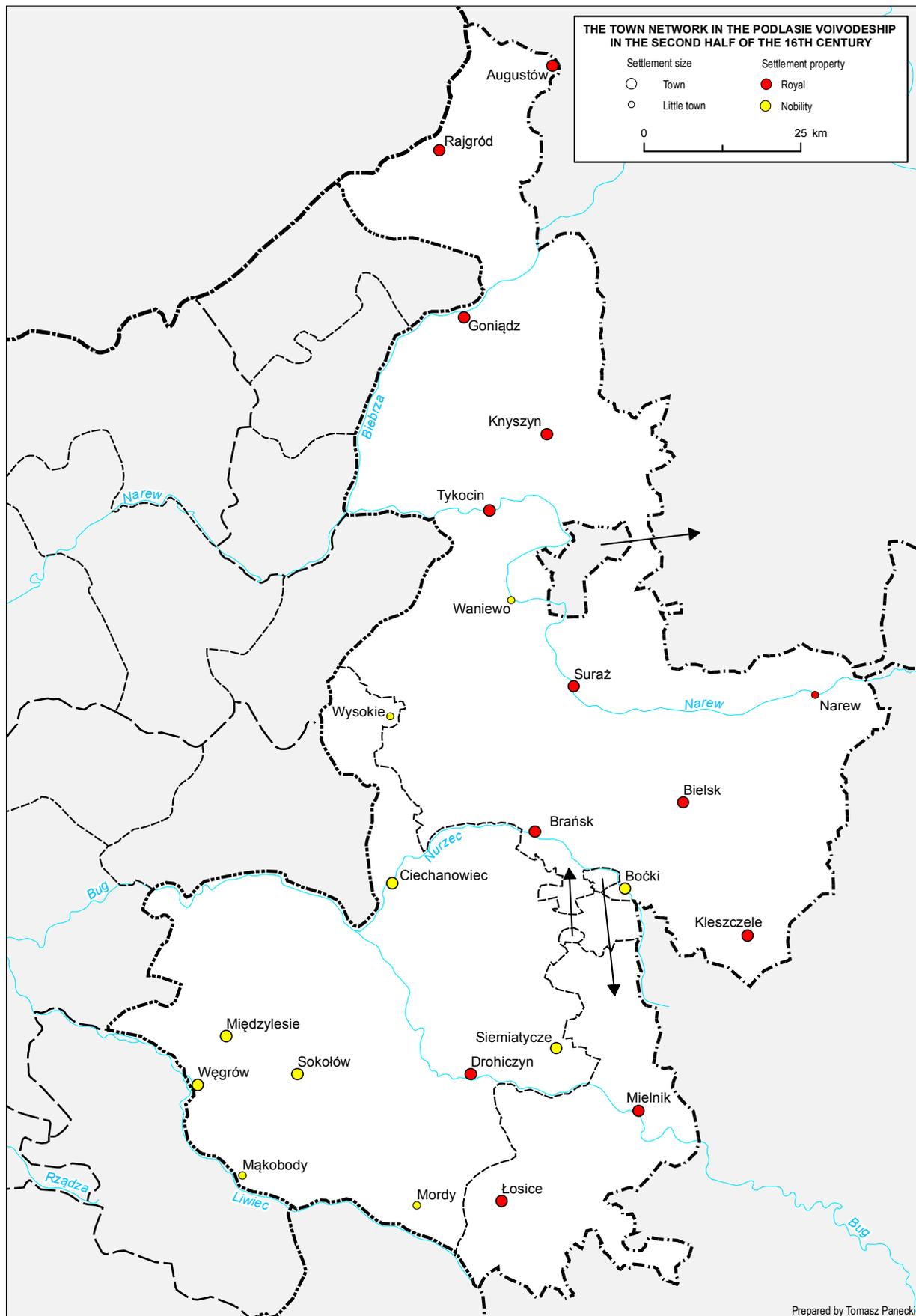
<sup>66</sup> BCzart., Łoyko Collection, 1099 IV, f. 387v: “in the village of Waniewo there are 65 peasants.”

<sup>67</sup> ASK IV 41, p. 77; ASK I 47, f. 222v (tax register of the Bielsk land, 1577). In 1577 tax from Waniewo was paid on the 25 settled voloks, four presbytery voloks, 14 cottage gardens, a three water wheel annual mill. Tax was not paid on two vacant voloks, two hospital cottage gardens. A. Oleksicki and A. Jabłonowski also list for Waniewo four artisans (one cobbler, two tailors, one locksmith), although in the register they were entered down for all the settlements of the Waniewo demesne. Consequently it is unclear where they resided although placing them in Waniewo itself appears the most probable. ASK I 47, f. 87v; A. Oleksicki, *Waniewo, z przeszłości dawnego miasta*, p. 166; Podlasie I, p. 182.

<sup>68</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 216–220.

<sup>69</sup> M. Sierba, *Radziwiłłowskie dobra Orla (1585–1695)*, Białystok 2017, pp. 89–95. There a summary of the state of research into Orla and its municipal rights. On the matter of Podlasie towns cf. also J. Bardach, *Miasta na prawie magdeburskim w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od schyłku XVI w. do połowy XVII stulecia*, KH vol. 87, 1980, no. 1, pp. 21–51; J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich*, pp. 88–195; W. Jarmolik, *Rozwój niemieckiego prawa miejskiego na Podlasiu do Unii Lubelskiej 1569 roku*, PH, vol. 73, 1982, no. 1–2, pp. 23–46; J. Maroszek, *Miasta – rzemiosło i handel*, [in:] *Historia województwa podlaskiego*, ed. A. Dobroński Białystok 2010, pp. 48–60.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. K. Boroda, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.3.8.



**Map 1. The town network in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th century**

**Table 3. Density of the Podlasie Voivodeship municipal network in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Land	Number of towns	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Number of km <sup>2</sup> per 1 town	Number of village settlements	Number of village settlements per one town
Drohiczyn	9	3,550	394	641	71
Mielnik	2	1,169	585	126	63
Bielsk	12	5,811	484	820	68
Podlasie Voivodeship	23	10,530	458	1,587	69

The relatively large (in comparison to other royal towns) amounts of land allocated to the royal towns of Podlasie resulted in the creation of settlements in these allotted regions, sometimes located only a few kilometres away from the town. Their nature and relations to the neighbouring towns has already been described in detail in this volume by Krzysztof Boroda in the chapter concerning settlement property holding rights.<sup>71</sup> We will only recap the fact that formally they were a part of the municipal agglomerations they belonged to. The classification methods of the AHP series so far have treated these cases as more distant suburbs and marked them on the map as villages of a municipal holding nature (suburbs located in the nearer vicinity have been marked on the relevant town plans).<sup>72</sup> That is how these settlements have been marked on the maps depicting sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship. They are the suburbs of the following towns:

- Augustów: Biernatki, Turówka, Uścianki (Zaścianek), Żarnowo;<sup>73</sup>
- Bielsk Podlaski: Augustowo, Stryjki (Młodzianowo), Szastały (Koszczyno), Widowo (Stanisławowo), Parcewo (Piotrowo), Spiczki;<sup>74</sup>
- Brańsk: Glinnik;<sup>75</sup>
- Goniądz: Białosuknie, Boguchwały, Downary, Jaski, Kosiorki (Kosiorkowie), Łupichy, Puszkarze, Pyzy, Owieczki, Zyburty, Żodzie;<sup>76</sup>
- Kleszczele: Dasze (Kośna), Dobrowoda (Dobra Woda), Kuzawa (Babicze), Czeremcha-Wieś (Nurzec), Pogreby (Pohreby), Trubianka;<sup>77</sup>
- Narew: Makówka, Waniewo;<sup>78</sup>
- Suraz: Daniłowo, Kowale, Hruskie.<sup>79</sup>

What is characteristic is the fact that such settlements only appeared in the Bielsk land which should be linked with the decisively larger number of royal towns than privately held ones to be found there when one compares the matter to the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands.

Similarly to the previous volumes of the AHP series, the Podlasie volume marked on the main map are the locations of the principal castles that existed in the area in the second half of the sixteenth century. The main factor qualifying an object as a castle was its description appearing in historical sources, and featuring terms such as *arx*, *castrum* or ‘castle’ (though it is important to bear in mind

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>72</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2; J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2b.4.

<sup>73</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 111–112; Kopicjana 43, pp. 474–478 (the confirmation of the suburban rights of the inhabitants of Augustów by Queen Anna in 1584).

<sup>74</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 30–31, 43–44; LWP 1602, pp. 64–66, 71; Kondratiuk, p. 212; ASK I 47, f. 145–146v (lists of delayed taxes for the year 1577); Bukowski, Michaluk, Przywileje, p. 23. Cf. M. Sierba, *Bielsk Podlaski*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.2.8.

<sup>75</sup> AWAK 14, p. 36.

<sup>76</sup> J. Kloza, J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Goniądza*, p. 35; Goniądz 1571, pp. 159–163: “Local burghers who live around the town and near it though secondary are still part of the town”; Podlasie I, p. 129 (hamlets; municipal voloks).

<sup>77</sup> *Rejestr pomiaru włócznej Kleszczel*, pp. 229–238.

<sup>78</sup> AWAK 14, pp. 70–72; D. Michaluk, *Z dziejów Narwi i okolic*, pp. 30–33.

<sup>79</sup> PKGE II, pp. 441–450.

the looseness with which these terms were used back in the day).<sup>80</sup> The majority of castles that existed in the area were wooden constructions. The only fully or at least partially stone building was that of Tykocin Castle.<sup>81</sup> In total the map displays nine castles:

- in the Drohiczyn land: Drohiczyn,<sup>82</sup> Ciechanowiec,<sup>83</sup> Miedzna;<sup>84</sup>
- in the Bielsk land: Tykocin,<sup>85</sup> Bielsk (burnt down on 22 July 1564<sup>86</sup>), Goniądz,<sup>87</sup> Suraż,<sup>88</sup> Waniewo;<sup>89</sup>
- in the Mielnik land: Mielnik.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Doubts over the adoption of the recalled criterion have been summed up by M. Słomski in the Greater Poland volume of AHP; see idem, *Character and size of settlements: Castles and abbeys*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2c.4.

<sup>81</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Jagiellonian Castles in Northern Podlasie*, [in:] *Building a Castle – Preparing for War or Keeping the Peace? Proceedings of a symposium held in Vordingborg, Nyborg and Elsinore in Denmark on the 24th to the 28th August 2015*, ed. N. Engberg, V. Etting, L.M.S. Jens, C. Sørensen, D. Wille-Jørgensen, Bonn 2018, pp. 144–145. The author, besides the royal defence castles of the Jagiellons mentioned in the present list (Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Bielsk, Suraż, Tykocin), divides the Podlasie seats of the grand dukes of Lithuania and the kings of Poland into municipal residences which came into being on the basis of hunting lodges or castles (Łosice, Knyszyn, Narew as well as Krynki and Milejczyce lying beyond the borders of sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship) and hunting lodges that still fulfilled their primary function (Burzyce, Wodziłówka, whose role was taken over by Knyszyn, and beyond the border of the sixteenth-century Podlasie Voivodeship – Białowieża); ibidem, passim; cf. D. Michaluk, *Z dziejów Narwi i okolic*, p. 27.

<sup>82</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 5–7. The inspection only provides sporadic references to the castle and folwark “at Drohiczyn castle” which does not necessarily have to mean only a stronghold and merely the headquarters and seat of the starosta and municipal office; A. Gwagnin, *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres*, vol. 2, Frankfurt 1584, p. 45: only “curia regia”; L. Pawlata, *Problematyka badań nad powstaniem i organizacją przestrzeni miejskiej średniowiecznego Drohiczyzna*, [in:] *Male miasta. perspektywa archeologiczna*, ed. M. Zalewski, M. Zemło Lublin–Supraśl 2014, pp. 64–67; J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, „Athenaeum”, vol. 3, 1847, no. 4, pp. 36–38; Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 91–93; see T. Jaszczółt, *Drohiczyn*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.8.8.

<sup>83</sup> Guerquin, Zamki, p. 111; Leksykon, p. 132; KZS, seria nowa, vol. 9: *Województwo łomżyńskie*, no. 2: *Ciechanowiec, Zambrów, Wysokie Mazowieckie i okolice*, comp. M. Kałamajska-Saeed, Warsaw 1986, p. 23; SGKP, vol. 1, p. 678: *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 1, ed. M. Siuchniński, Wrocław 1965, p. 252; N. D. Tomaszewski, *Historia Ciechanowca*, p. 66; M. Czarnecki, *Ciechanowiec, woj. łomżyńskie, stanowisko „Zamczysko”*, „Informator Archeologiczny”, vol. 13, 1979, p. 245; AR XXIII 86, file 1 p. 13.

<sup>84</sup> Kopicjana 3, p. 318: „Laniatores hic macella habendo lanificium que exercendo annuatim ad arcem nostram per lapidem saepis dare tenebuntur”; AGAD, Sumariusz księgi ziemskiej drohickiej z l. 1529-1534, p. 138: „gorad Miedzylies, w kriposti”; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-7, ff. 484–485: „oppidum Miedzyliese cum arce”. AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie, no. 3, f. 326 „oppidum Miedzyliese cum castro”.

<sup>85</sup> Guerquin, Zamki, pp. 291–292; Leksykon, p. 508; A. Gwagnin, *Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 2, p. 44; ZZG, signatory no. 527, pp. 5–7 (inventory of the Tykocin starosty 1571); A. Gruszecki, *Metoda i wyniki badań fortyfikacji bastionowej zamku w Tykocinie*, „Studia i Materiały do Historii Sztuki Wojennej”, vol. 12, 1966, no. 1, pp. 22–37; *Tykocin – zamek nad Narwią (XV-XVIII w.)*. *Badania archeologiczne w latach 1961–1963 i 1999–2007*, ed. M. Bis, W. Bis, Warsaw 2015.

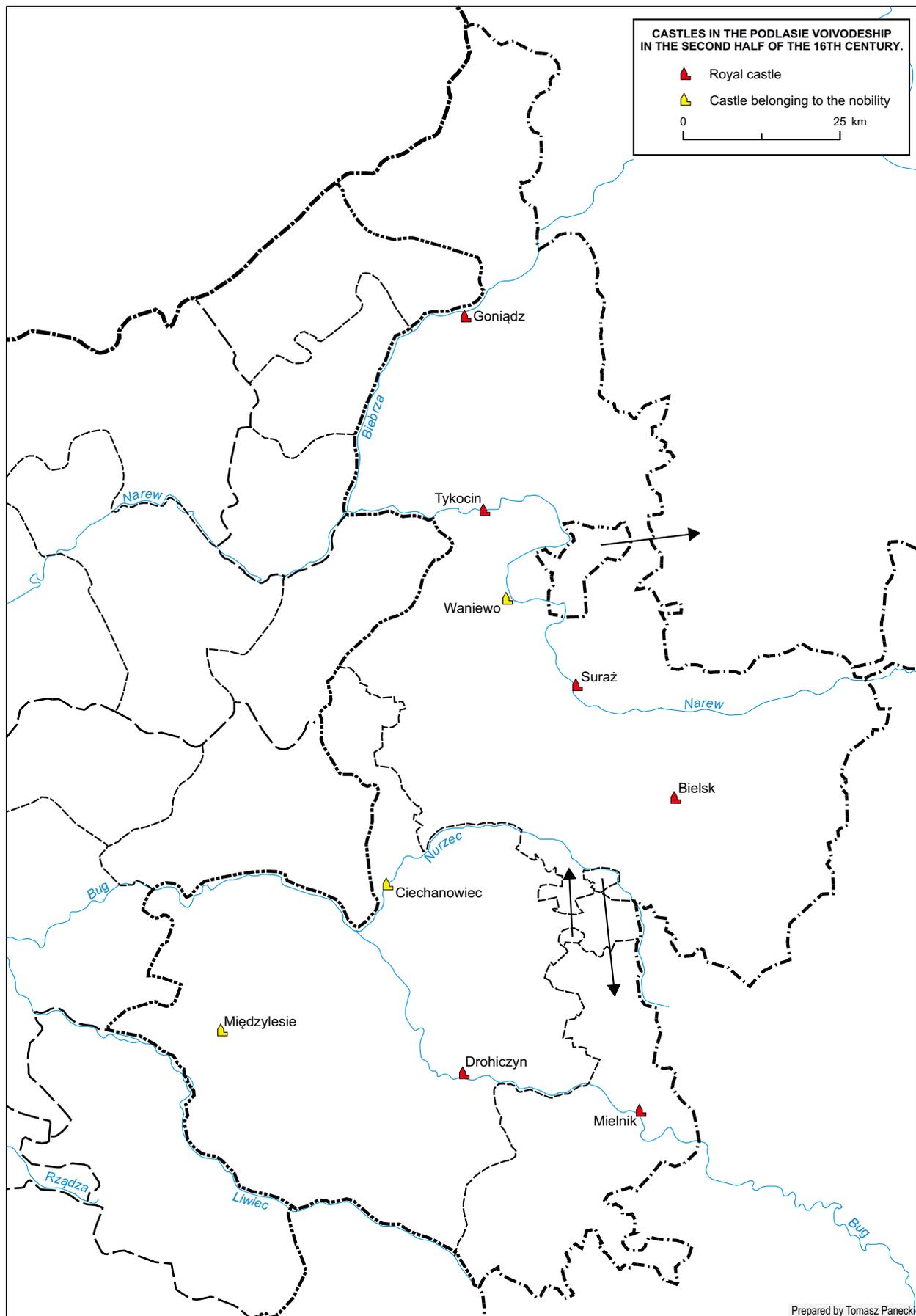
<sup>86</sup> A. Gwagnin, *Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 2, p. 43: „Arx lignea fulminis ictu in praesentia regis incensa, penitusque exusta est[...]; *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 1, pp. 249–250; Podlasie II, p. 198; KZS, new series, vol. 12: *Województwo podlaskie (białostockie)*, no. 4: *Powiat bielski. Tekst*, ed. Z. Michalczyk, D. Pyramidowicz, K. Uchowicz, M. Zgliński, Warsaw 2019, pp. 10–12, 44; see M. Sierba, *Bielsk Podlaski*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.2.8.

<sup>87</sup> *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 1, p. 259; J. Kloza, J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Goniądza*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>88</sup> A. Gwagnin, *Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 2, p. 44: castle on the hill “arx in colle fossa circumducta”; *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 1, p. 286; Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 95; PKGE II, pp. 453–154.

<sup>89</sup> The castle at Waniewo was destroyed already in the first half of sixteenth century and here by Olbracht Gasztold, as a reprisal for the burning by Mikołaj Radziwiłł of the castle at Tykocin. It was to a degree rebuilt given that it is mentioned in the estate and properties of the Stuck Duke Aleksander in 1591. A. Oleksicki, *Waniewo, z przeszłości dawnego miasta*, p. 164; KZS, new series, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 78; *Księga wpisów podkanclerzego Jana Tarnowskiego MK 136 z Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie 1591*, ed. K. Chłapowski, Warsaw 2009 (Sumariusz Metryki Koronnej. New Series, vol. 5), no. 180; Kopicjana 9, p. 72: „Waniewo oppidum cum arce”; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-32, f. 336v: „Waniewo, zamok z miastom”; ZZG, signatory no. 375, p. 29: „Waniewo [...] oppidum et castrum”. W. Bis, *Podlaska siedziba Radziwiłłów w Waniewie z początku XVI wieku w świetle źródeł pisanych i archeologicznych*, KHKM, vol. 68, 2020, no. 4, pp. 463–492. The author conjectures that the castle could have existed to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

<sup>90</sup> A. Gwagnin, *Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 2, p. 45: „arx vero in colle eminenti”; D. Michaluk, *Rezydencja gospodarska w Mielniku w XIV-XVI w.*, „Białostockczyzna”, 1991, no. 3(23), pp. 1–4; A. Andrzejewska, *Jagiellonian Castles in Northern Podlasie*, pp. 141–143; eadem, *Wzgórza zamkowe w Mielniku w świetle ostatnich badań terenowych*, „Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne”, vol. 4, 2008, pp. 223–245; idem, *Castle Hill in Mielnik in the Light of the Latest Archeological Excavation*, “Materials on the Archaeology of Belarus”, vol. 19, 2010, pp. 149–152; A. Andrzejewska, A. Andrzejewski, *Ogrzewanie hypocaustum na zamku w Mielniku nad Bugiem*, [in:] *Hereditas praeteriti. Additamenta archaeologica et historica dedicata Ioanni Gurba Octogesimo Anno Nascendi*, ed. H. Taras, A. Zakościelna, Lublin 2009, pp. 457–463; see A. Buczyło, *Mielnik*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.19.8.



**Map 2. Castles in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th century**

Apart from the Ciechanowiec Castle that belonged to the Kiszka family and the castle in Miedzna, which was owned by the Wodyński line, as well as the fortifications at Waniewo (Olelkowicze) all fortresses were royal property. The map does not feature the fortified unit situated in Białystok, which subject literature predating the discussed epoch refers to as a castle. Contemporary research suggests that in the second half of the sixteenth century it functioned as a wooden manor house, converted at some point in the early decades of the seventeenth century by Piotr Wiesiołowski into a brick construction, encircled by a fence that enclosed it and the adjacent agricultural buildings.<sup>91</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>91</sup> For a summary of the latest research see *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. 1: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 1, comp. K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 80–87; K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *The History of Branicki Palace until 1809. The Influence of “Versailles od Podlasie” on the Development of Białystok*, transl. A. Stawikowska, Białystok 2015, pp. 107–115, where the authors question the sixteenth-century authenticity of the walled nobility seat. Cf. KZS, new series, vol. 12: *Województwo podlaskie (białostockie)*, no. 2: *Miasto Białystok*, ed. K. Kolendo-Korczak, Z. Michalczyk, A. Oleńska, D. Piramidowicz, K. Uchowicz, M. Zgliński, Warsaw 2015, pp. 88–90; W. Wróbel, M. Grassmann, *Pierwszy raport z badań piwnic pałacu Branickich*, „Medyk Białostocki”, 2012, no. 109, pp. 24–26; cf. older considerations: U. Stankiewicz, *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku – źródła archeologiczne z lat 2001–2002*, „Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne”, vol. 3, 2007, pp. 29–32; J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny w Białymstoku na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 2, 1961, pp. 53–100; W. Paszkowski, *Wątki gotyckie pałacu Branickich w Białymstoku*, „Ochrona Zabytków”, 1952, no. 4, p. 287. Józef Maroszek is for the creation in 1546 of a wooden manor house, though there is an absence of source evidence to substantiate such a claim; idem, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A. C. Dobroński, Białystok 2012, p. 54; *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu*, vol. 1, p. 242.

### III.3.2b.8 SIZE OF SETTLEMENTS

*Piotr Guzowski*

In accordance with the practice employed hitherto within the AHP series marked on the map is the settlement network with its division into settlement size according to the demographic criterion adopted.<sup>1</sup> Differentiated amongst rural settlements are those hamlets numbering up to 200 inhabitants, more populated settlements with up to 1,000 persons, equally small towns operating under municipal rights with a population of less than one thousand and towns with a population division of between 1,000–5,000 inhabitants. The basis for estimations as to the state of population levels for the individual settlements was the data drawn from tax registers, inspections and inventories of royal property holdings that gave information about inhabitant categories, the amount of acreage cultivated and the number of households (houses). These were then converted in the case of rural settlements according to the multipliers adopted in the Greater Poland volume of the AHP, which has been considered equally appropriate for the Podlasie Voivodeship. Amongst these the most important concerns 11 persons per peasant/nobility and village lan/volok (1 lan = 30 morgen  $\approx$  16.8 hectares) (*cornfield*). Though admittedly in relation to other regions of the country we do not have information as to the number of peasants for Podlasie, as was recorded by the royal taxation registers for the year 1552. The hitherto research employing the inventories of royal holdings have shown that the most frequently encountered acreage farmed by peasant farmsteads was 0.5 voloks.<sup>2</sup> Half-lan nobility holdings were equally the most characteristic for the Podlasie petty nobility independently cultivating farmland.<sup>3</sup> In turn, demographic analyses of population density for nobility estates based on seventeenth-century poll taxation lists show that as equally for nobility estates as that for peasant holdings the average number of individuals above 10-years of age was for the Podlasie Voivodeship fewer than four.<sup>4</sup> After estimating the number of the youngest children (approximately 30% of the population) we may adopt an average at a level of 5.5 persons for peasant holdings. While the figure for petty nobility farmsteads and estates at the end of the eighteenth century numbered 5.55 persons.<sup>5</sup>

The remaining conversion rate is six persons per mill, windmill and tavern, four individuals for artisan holdings, gardeners and landless peasants with livestock, three persons for a landless peasant unspecified in the sources as to economic standing, and two persons for a landless peasant without

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<sup>1</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7; A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2; K. Chłapowski, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.2.5; J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.2.1; M. Gochna, *Character and size of settlements: rural settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.2a.4; M. Słomski, *Character and size of settlements: Castles and abbeys*, [in:] ibidem, in this edition III.3.2c.4; J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century*, [in:] ibidem, in this edition III.3.2b.4.

<sup>2</sup> A. Czapiuk, *Reformy agrarne w dobrach królewskich na Podlasiu w XVI wieku na tle ich funkcjonowania*, PhD thesis written under the supervision of Prof. A. Wyczański, Warsaw 1990, tables 10c, 16, 23, 30, 39a–39E.

<sup>3</sup> Ł. Lubicz-Łapiński, *Rodzina drobnoszlachecka na Podlasiu w XVI-XIX wieku. Gospodarstwo uwarunkowania rozrostu rodu*, [in:] *Rodzina, gospodarstwo domowe i pokrewieństwo na ziemiach polskich w perspektywie historycznej – ciągłość czy zmiana?*, ed. C. Kukło, Warsaw 2012, pp. 129–138.

<sup>4</sup> A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 102, 108.

<sup>5</sup> P. Guzowski, *Rodzina szlachecka w Polsce przedrozbiorowej. Studium demograficzne*, Białystok 2019, p. 162.

cattle. These are to a greater extent modifications of the proposals advanced by Adolf Pawiński,<sup>6</sup> which in future detailed research into social estate divisions and population numbers may be modified.<sup>7</sup> Adopted in the case of towns have been the proposals advanced by Jerzy Topolski and Stanisław Alexandrowicz.<sup>8</sup> Both authors have most correctly employed the conversion rate of six persons per household with their results not noticeably differing from each other. The basis for their calculation has been the primary resources employed equally within the current project (taxation registers, inspections, and volok reform registers).<sup>9</sup>

The most populated town in the voivodeship was Bielsk, numbering over 3,300 inhabitants. The remaining 'capitals' of their respective lands, Drohiczyn and Mielnik were significantly smaller centres with the former inhabited by approximately 2,000 souls, while the latter had a population of around 1,500. The size and significance of the urban centres resulted first and foremost from their position in the domains (demesne) system first that of the grand ducal as functioning within Lithuania and subsequently that of the Polish Crown. The following functioned as the seats of starosty: Augustów, Bielsk, Drohiczyn, Goniądz, Knyszyn, Łosice, Mielnik, Rajgród and Tykocin. The centre of royal estate complexes was also located at Kleszczele and Narewka. From amongst private towns the largest was Ciechanowiec numbering around 2,000 inhabitants. Around 1,700 persons resided in Węgrów and about 1,500 in Siemiatycze. The populations of all the remaining small towns that entered into the structures of magnate estates and here chiefly in southern Podlasie did not exceed 1,000 inhabitants.

The plentiful land possessed by Podlasie towns meant that in the main their inhabitants engaged in agriculture. Over 300 voloks were given to the residents of Bielsk and Kleszczele, while over a hundred or more voloks were made available to the populations of Boćki, Brańsk, Goniądz, Mielnik, Narew, Siemiatycze and Suraż.<sup>10</sup> A part of this acreage became the basis for differentiating rural settlements or the suburban, while small towns and towns across the voivodeship successfully operated as craft and artisan centres as well as transport communication points. Half of the populations of such towns such as royal Łosice and Narew as well as the private town of Wysokie earned their living from craft workshops. Equally a large percentage of the populations (around 40%) of Bielsk and Drohiczyn were craftsmen and artisans as were their families.<sup>11</sup> The trade and service significance of a centre can be clearly seen through the prism of the liquor tax collected in an urban centre,<sup>12</sup> a taxation levy that was paid in the greatest degree in 1578 at Drohiczyn and Bielsk (over 400 złoty annually), from which at least a half less was gathered by the exchequer in Augustów, Brańsk, Tykocin, Suraż, Knyszyn and Ciechanowiec (over 100 złoty). Some of the towns took advantage of their favourable geographical location to become key ports in the transportation of, first and foremost, timber and agricultural products to Gdańsk. The Bug River was to play an important role in southern Podlasie with a port situated at Drohiczyn and to a lesser degree at Mielnik and Brańsk, situated on the River Nurzec, being an

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<sup>6</sup> W. Czerkawski, *Metoda badania zaludnienia Polski w XI wieku*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności”, 1897, no. 2, pp. 8–12; W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski (do początków XIX wieku)*, RDSG, vol. 13, 1951, pp. 57–59; E. Vielrose, *Ludność Polski od X do XVIII wieku*, KHKM, vol. 5, 1957, no. 1, pp. 4–49; I. Gieysztorowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, pp. 77–87, in this edition III.3.2.7; see K. Boroda, *Przeszłość przeliczników demograficznych dla szesnastowiecznych źródeł podatkowych*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 27–52.

<sup>7</sup> K. Boroda, P. Guzowski, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia terenów wiejskich w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 53–75.

<sup>8</sup> J. Topolski, *Wpływ wojen połowy XVII wieku na sytuację ekonomiczną Podlasia*, [in:] *Studia Historica w 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Warsaw 1958, p. 341; S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV – I połowa XVII w.)*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, p. 151; P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, no. 2, pp. 77–93.

<sup>9</sup> Both J. Topolski and S. Alexandrowicz have employed a conversion rate more in keeping with Crown lands than Lithuanian, in the case of which more often the figure of 7 is employed (S. Alexandrowicz, *Zaludnienie miasteczek Litwy i Białorusi w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, RDSG, vol. 27, 1965, p. 55) or 8 (J. Morzy, *Kryzys demograficzny na Litwie i Białorusi w II połowie XVII wieku*, Poznań 1965, pp. 129–132; 288–305); cf. P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne*, pp. 77–93.

<sup>10</sup> S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego*, p. 151.

<sup>11</sup> J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich w XVI-XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia nad produkcją rzemieślniczą w Polsce (XIV-XVIII w.)*, ed. W. Kwapić, J. Maroszek, A. Wyrobisz, Wrocław 1976, p. 181.

<sup>12</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, pp. 76–80, 519.

inflow to the Bug River itself.<sup>13</sup> In the north of the voivodeship Tykocin on the River Narew was of tremendous importance, but goods were equally floated from the river ports at Narew and Suraż. In turn, on the Biebrza, there was an important trade centre at Goniądz, although the customs houses in Włocławek regularly noted down merchants who had come from Podlasie towns situated a distance from the river ports themselves, such as Bielsk, Knyszyn and Rajgród.<sup>14</sup>

**Table 1. Town and small town (townlet) populations in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Land	Town	Ownership	The population number according to Jerzy Topolski	The population number according to Stanisław Alexandrowicz
Bielsk	Augustów	royal	1,770	1,800
	Bielsk	royal	3,350	3,342
	Boćki	nobility		1,400
	Brańsk	royal	1,650	1,746
	Goniądz	royal	1,660	1,482
	Kleszczele	royal	2,250	2,310
	Knyszyn	royal	1,860	1,674
	Narew	royal	1,040	750
	Rajgród	royal	870	774
	Suraż	royal		1,902
	Tykocin	royal	1,440	1,440
	Waniewo	nobility		600
Drohiczyn	Ciechanowiec	nobility	2,020	1,998
	Drohiczyn	royal	1,970	1,980
	Miedzna	nobility		600
	Mokobody	nobility		306
	Mordy	nobility		720
	Siemiatycze	nobility	1,450	1,446
	Sokołów Podlaski	nobility		1,140
	Węgrów	nobility		1,698
	Wysokie Mazowieckie	nobility	860	854
Mielnik	Mielnik	royal	1,520	1,524
	Łosice	royal	1,130	1,134
<b>In total</b>			<b>24,840</b>	<b>32,620</b>

Source: J. Topolski, *Wpływ wojen połowy XVII wieku na sytuację ekonomiczną Podlasia*, [in:] *Studia Historica w 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Warsaw 1958, p. 341; S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV – I połowa XVII w.)*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, pp. 150–151.

<sup>13</sup> A. Wyrobisz, *Splaw na Bugu w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, KHKM, vol. 32, 1984, no. 4, pp. 471–490.

<sup>14</sup> J. Oleksicki, *Splaw zboża rzeką Narwią w XVI wieku*, [in:] *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI-XVIII*, ed. A. Wyrobisz, Warsaw 1981, p. 121.

**Table 2. The size of cities and towns in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Land	Number of inhabitants						
	up to 1,000	% of the whole	1,000–2,000	% of the whole	2,000–5,000	% of the whole	In total
Bielsk	3	13	7	30	2	9	12
Drohiczyn	4	17	5	22			9
Mielnik			2	9			2
<b>In total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>

Source: see Table 1.

There were differentiated amongst rural settlements (passing over the matter of the suburban) those whose populations probably did exceed 200 persons. There were to be found 263 (16%) of such large villages in the Podlasie Voivodeship. The greatest number of these were to be found in the Bielsk land with 186 of them (71%), significantly fewer in Drohiczyn land with 46 (17%) and in Mielnik land with 31 (12%). Large villages constituted the greatest percentage out of all the rural settlements in the Mielnik land (25%), slightly less in the Bielsk land (23%), and the least in the Drohiczyn land (7%).

The following settlements in the Bielsk district should be classified as large villages, the affiliation of which in relation to ownership is shown in brackets (r – royal, c – Church, n – nobility, t – town, rn – royal-nobility, cn – Church-nobility, rc – royal-Church): Bagno (r), Bajki (n), Bańki (n), Baranki (r), Bargłów (r), Bargłówka (r), Berezowo Stare (r), Białosuknie (n), Białystok (n), Biele (r), Bielki (r), Bobrówka (r), Boguszewo (rn), Brok (r), Broniszewo (rn), Bruszewo (n), Brzeźnica (n), Brzozowa, parish Kalinówka (r), Brzozówka, parish Bargłów (r), Bujnowo (Bonowo, r), Buzuny (n), Chojewo (r), Chrańboły (r), Czajki (n), Czochoy (r), Czyże (Czyżowicze, r), Dąbrowa Moczydły (n), Daniłowo (r), Dawidowo (r), Deniski (r), Długoleka (r), Dobra Woda (t), Dobrzyniewo Kościelne (r), Dołęgi (n), Dorozki (r), Dręstwo (r), Dubicze Cerkiewne (r), Dubno (n), Filipy (Falki-Filipy, n), Góra (rn), Grabowiec, parish Bielsk (r), Grabowiec (Obychodnik, r), Gredele (Hredele, r), Haćki (r), Hodyszewo (r), Hołody (r), Holonki (r), Hornostaje (r), Horodniany (rn), Husaki (Husakowo, r), Istok (r), Jaświły (rn), Jatwież (r), Jagodniki (Jahodnik, r), Jaskra (r), Jelonka (r) Stare Jeżewo (r), Jośki Wschodnie (r), Juchnowiec Dolny (n), Kalejczyce (n), Kalinówka Królewska (r), Kamień (r), Klepacze (r), Klewianka (r), Knorozy (r), Knorydy (n), Kojły (r), Kołodziej (r), Stary Kornin (Kornino, r), Koryciski (Koryciszca, r), Kośna (t), Kostry-Litwa (n), Koszki (Kuzki, n), Kotły (r), Kowale (n), Koziańce (Kozopatry, r), Kramkówka Duża (Kramkówka, n), Krasna Wieś (Krasne, n), Kropiwnica (r), Krypno Wielkie (rc), Krzywiatycze (r), Kulikówka (rcn), Kuraszewo (r), Leśniki (r), Letniki (r), Lewki (n), Łoknica (rn), Łopienie Grochy (n), Łopuchowo (r), Łubin Kościelny (Łubino, n), Łukawica (n), Łupianka Stara (n), Malesze (r), Mazury (r), Mierzwin Duży (Mierzwin Stare, n), Mikicin (n), Milewskie (Czarna, r), Mochnate (r), Mocieszce (r), Mokre (n), Morze (r), Mołoczki (n), Mystki-Rzym (Myski, n), Nałogi (r), Neta (r), Niewodnica Korycka (n), Ołędzkie (n), Oleksin (r), Orzechowicze (r), Gąsówka Osse (Osse, n), Pajewo (rn), Patoki (r), Pawły (Pawłowicze, r), Pasynki (r), Piliki (r), Pilipki (r), Płoski (r), Plutycze (r), Płonka Kościelna (cn), Podrzeczany (r), Pogorzałki (r), Pomigacze (r), Popławy (n), Proniewiczze (r), Pszczółczyn (n), Radule (rn), Rajsk (r), Rakowicze (r), Romejki (r), Rostoły (r), Ruda (r), Rutki Stare (n), Rumejki (n), Ryboły (Antonowicze, r), Rzepniki (r), Saniki (rn), Sawino (r), Sielec (rn), Sierki (r), Jabłoń Śliwowo (n), Smogorówka Goniądzka (r), Soce (r), Starowieś, parish Boćki (n), Stacewicze (r), Stok (r), Stryki (t), Suchowolce (r), Cieluszki (Święciciele, r), Świrydy (r), Szepietowo Podleśne (n), Szpakowo (r), Szumki (n), Tajno Stare (rn), Toczyłowo (n), Topczykały (n), Toporki (n), Trześcianka (r), Tryczówka (r), Trzcianne (r), Turośń (n), Wilkowo Stare (n), Wyszowate (n), Witowo (r), Stare Wnory (n), Wojszki (r), Wyszonki Kościelne (n), Zabiele (r), Zalesie, parish Topczewo (n), Zaminowo (n), Zapole (r), Żarnowo Drugie (t), Zastocze (r), Zawyki (r), Zbucz (r), Złotoria (r), Zubowo (r), Klejnik (Zygmuntowo, rc).

In the Drohiczyn land marked as large villages were: Andryjanki (Stanisławowo, n), Bujaki (n), Czarna Wielka (r), Czarnoty (n), Czekanów (n), Ceranów (n), Dołubowo (n), Głuchówek (n), Gródek,

parish Jabłonna (n), Hołowienki (c), Kosów Lacki (cn), Krupice (n), Krynica (n), Krynki-Sobole (n), Kuczyn (n), Kupientyn (n), Łazów (n), Łysów (n), Malinowo (n), Nieciecz Włociańska (n), Olendy (n), Osmola (n), Ostrożany (cn), Patrykozy (n), Piętki-Basie (n), Piotrowo-Trojany (n), Podnieśno (n), Przesmyki (n) Przywózki (n), Repki (n), Rogów (n), Rudka (cn), Sabnie (n), Sady (n), Skórzec (n), Skrzyszew (c), Słochy Annapolskie (n), Świeck Wielki (n), Świniary (n), Telaki (n), Turna Duża (n), Twarogi Lackie (n), Włodki (n), Zawady (n), Zembrów (n), Żeleźniki (n).

In turn in the Mielnik land more than likely the following were large villages: Borsuki (r), Hołowczyce (r), Hruszniew (n), Huszlew (n), Jakubowicze Stare (n), Kisielew (n), Mężenin (n), Mostów (n), Moszczona Królewska (r), Niemirów (n), Nosów (n), Olszanka (r), Ostromęczyn (n), Płosków (n), Próchenki (r), Radziwiłówka (r), Rudka (r), Rusków (n), Sarnaki (n), Stara Kornica (r), Stare Łepki (r), Stare Mierzvice (r), Stare Szpaki (r), Tołwin, (n), Witulin (n), Wyrzyki (n), Zabłocie (r), Zalesie, parish Siemiatycze (r), Żerczyce (rn), Żurobice (r).

**Table 3. Large villages in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century**

Land	Number of total settlements	Number of rural settlements	Number of large villages	Percentage of all rural settlements
Bielsk	895	820	180	22
Drohiczyn	651	641	46	7
Mielnik	129	126	31	25
<b>total</b>	<b>1,675</b>	<b>1,587</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>16</b>

Source: own calculations

In the differentiation of rural settlement size in the Podlasie Voivodeship the decisive impact besides the general level of settlement was had by the structure of land ownership. From amongst 257 large villages a whole 125 were located on royal possessions (48.6%). In the case of large nobility-held villages, doubts arise by the frequent notation in the taxation registration for a single payment for several plots, as a result one may conjecture that the 105 large villages arrived at out of generalisation is an approximate figure (40.9%). Five municipal villages need to be added to the large villages (1.9%), two to Church (0.8%) and 20 that found themselves on land belonging to at least two owners derived from different social estates (7.8%).

The relatively significant number of settlements owned by the monarch amongst the large villages in Podlasie is connected with the modernisation action conducted on the grand ducal estate complexes lying in the western part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for the period 1547–1566. The so-called volok reform had as its aim not only the enclosure and measurement of lands, the change in the shape of villages as well as the introduction of a new system of agricultural management, but also the acceleration and systemization of colonisation itself.<sup>15</sup> The largest villages of the Augstów starosty (Bargłów, Netta, Tajno Stare),<sup>16</sup> Bielski (Hołody, Kuraszewo, Ploski, Plutycze, Pawły, Rajsk, Ryboły, Trześcianka),<sup>17</sup> Knyszyn (Bobrówka, Brzozowa, Długoleka, Jaświły),<sup>18</sup> Mielnik (Hołowczyce, Moszczona Królewska),<sup>19</sup> Tykocin (Złotoria)<sup>20</sup> and the Kleszczele estates (Dubicze Cerkiewne, Czochy)<sup>21</sup> had each more than 50 voloks of land measured out and farmed. And some such as Żurobice and Żerczyce in the Mielnik starosty exceeded 100 voloks,<sup>22</sup> while Klejniki (Zygmuntowo) in the Bielsk starosty

<sup>15</sup> J. Ochmański, *Reforma włocznia na Litwie i Białorusi w XVI wieku*, [in:] idem, *Dawna Litwa. Studia historyczne*, Olsztyn 1986, p. 166; more on this A. Czapiuk, *Reformy agrarne*; see also В. Пичета, *Аграрная реформа Сигизмунда-Августа в литовско-русском государстве*, ed. 2, Москва 1958.

<sup>16</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 113, 114, 117.

<sup>17</sup> Idem, pp. 53, 47, 51, 46, 52, 132; LWP 1602, pp. 66–96.

<sup>18</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 74, 76; LWP 1602, pp. 12–21.

<sup>19</sup> ASK LVI, 171, pp. 158v–160v, 164–167, 175–177.

<sup>20</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, p. 84.

<sup>22</sup> ASK LVI (Inventories of starostys), sign. 171, 170v–175, 177v–181.

extended 150 voloks.<sup>23</sup> Although it had been assumed that an acreage of a single volok would be the amount bestowed on peasants, in practice the area allocated within Podlasie was to create farmsteads of an acreage of half a volok, or more rarely ones covering 0.75 voloks. The volok reform besides modernising peasant agricultural practices was also to bring about the development of the folwark, whose lands were adapted to peasant and vogt's fields.<sup>24</sup>

According to Aleksander Jabłonowski's estimates around the year 1580 the Podlasie Voivodeship was inhabited by around 233,300 persons.<sup>25</sup> His calculation is accepted by Jerzy Topolski<sup>26</sup> and only to a little extent adjusted by Jerzy Ochmański, according to whom the number of people inhabiting the voivodeship was 243,000.<sup>27</sup> This would give for a population density of 23 persons/km<sup>2</sup>, and thus somewhat larger than was the case for Lesser Poland, Greater Poland or Mazovia.<sup>28</sup> After many years reservations as to these estimations were advanced by Anna Laszuk. She has drawn attention to Aleksander Jabłonowski's errors in totalling up the figures he had arrived at for the numbers of representatives for various social groupings, while she has considered all hitherto calculations as to the sixteenth-century population of Podlasie to be, given the data context of the subsequent century, overly optimistic.<sup>29</sup> Still relevant, though as yet unrealised, is her demand that a new study into the structure and estate divisions of the Podlasie Voivodeship be conducted for the second half of the sixteenth-century.<sup>30</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>23</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 56, LWP 1602, p. 88.

<sup>24</sup> A. Czapiuk, *Uwagi o gospodarce folwarcznej w starostwie knyszyńskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, [in:] *Studia nad gospodarką, społeczeństwem i rodziną w Europie późnofeudalnej*, ed. J. Topolski with C. Kukło, Lublin 1987, pp. 131–137; M. Sierba, *Powinności kmienci ciągłych we wsiach podlaskich – przykład starostwa tykocińskiego*, [in:] *Chłopi na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej do czasów uwłaszczenia*, ed. D. Michaluk, Ciechanowiec–Warsaw 2019, pp. 63–84.

<sup>25</sup> Podlasie III, p. 117.

<sup>26</sup> J. Topolski, *Wpływ wojen*, p. 324. A certain criticism with regard to J. Topolski's calculations appears in J. Ochmański's review of the article ("Rocznik Białostocki" vol. 1, 1961, pp. 346–348).

<sup>27</sup> J. Ochmański, *Struktura feudalnej własności ziemskiej na Podlasiu w XVI w.*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, p. 161.

<sup>28</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Ludność*, [in:] *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 r.*, vol.1, ed. A. Mączak, Warsaw 1981, p. 431.

<sup>29</sup> A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

### III.3.2.9a ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Marian Biskup*

One important aspect addressed in the Maps of Royal Prussia is demographics. This follows directly from the research directions adopted, as discussed above.

The demographic issues addressed in this elaboration cover both questions of the density of rural population and the occurrence of the basic types of wage labourers (smallholders and cotters). Issues related to the occupational diversity of the rural population have also been investigated in addition to the structure of the group of feudal landowners.

This rather broad focus required a correspondingly broad treatment of the numerical representation of the population of Royal Prussia; this, however, posed quite a challenge. The reasons were twofold: 1) there was a lack of comprehensive works devoted to the demographics of the Prussian province; 2) the socio-economic specificity of Prussia required new methods for calculating the population, in particular in the countryside.

The issues of the population and demographics of Prussia in the sixteenth century had not been addressed by I.T. Baranowski in the introduction to the edition of tax registers, which went against the practice established in the other volumes of that series by A. Pawiński and A. Jabłonowski.<sup>1</sup> We only have at our disposal the overall figures concerning the populations of individual Prussian lands in the Teutonic period, in particular of Chełmno land and Pomerania in the mid-fourteenth century calculated by T. Ladenberger-Ładogórski on the basis of the accounts of Peter's Pence, and some approximate calculations by H. Łowmiański.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, J. Paradowski<sup>3</sup> attempted to estimate the population of the land of Chełmno in the fourteenth century. Without addressing the values themselves, we would like to indicate that for the sixteenth century, we can only consult the work by W. Jakóbczyk concerning the stratification of the rural population in several sets of royal estates based on incomplete registers of Prussian starostwos.<sup>4</sup> For our purposes, however, it can only serve an auxiliary function. A similar value can be attached to the work on the stratification of the population of Prussian starostwos in 1664 by W. Rusiński.<sup>5</sup> In fact, when it comes to the entire area of Royal Prussia, the only fairly complete data on the rural and urban population from the years 1772–1793 onwards were drawn up by the Hohenzollern's administration of Prussia.<sup>6</sup> This short overview clearly demonstrates that the discussion of the demographics of Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century

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<sup>1</sup> I.T. Baranowski postponed the preparation of the demographic statistics until the publication of the inspections of Prussian royal estates in the second half of the sixteenth century by J. Paczkowski, which, however, never happened; cf. *Introduction*, [in:] P. Prusy Królewskie, p. XI.

<sup>2</sup> T. Ladenberger, *Zaludnienie Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Lwów 1930, pp. 11, 29, 32, 35; T. Ładogórski, *Studia nad zaludnieniem Polski XIV wieku*, Wrocław 1958, pp. 131, 165–168; H. Łowmiański, *Polityka ludnościowa Zakonu Niemieckiego w Prusach i na Pomorzu*, Gdańsk 1947, pp. 42 f., 67 f.

<sup>3</sup> J. Paradowski, *Osadnictwo w ziemi chełmińskiej w wiekach średnich*, Lwów 1936, pp. 124–125.

<sup>4</sup> W. Jakóbczyk, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich zachodnich województwach Korony w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, RDSG, vol. 5, 1936.

<sup>5</sup> W. Rusiński, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich Prus Królewskich w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, RDSG, vol. 6, 1937.

<sup>6</sup> Published by M. Bär, *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, vol. 2, Lipsk 1909, pp. 707 f. For Pomeranian Voivodeship with Gdańsk's territory more detailed calculations can be found in G. Dabinnus, *Die ländliche Bevölkerung Pommerellens im Jahre 1772 mit Einschluss des Danziger Landgebietes im Jahre 1793*, Marburg 1953, pp. 73, 115 f.

really had to be prepared from scratch; consequently, we believe that we are now offering the first comprehensive treatment of the problem.

The elaboration on the demographics of Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century was supposed to correspond fully to the analogous works prepared for the neighbouring Crown lands (in particular, Greater Poland and Mazovia). However, in the course of preparatory work, it turned out that we had to adopt new assumptions for the statistical calculations, ones that would differ slightly from those developed for the other lands, in particular by A. Pawiński. One contributing factor was the socio-economic specificity of the Prussian lands, which was reflected in their demographics. At the same time, the source material made it possible to develop a new method delivering, supposedly, slightly more accurate results.

In the existing demographic calculations, the basis for the calculation of the peasant population has always been the number of cultivated lans.<sup>7</sup> There was no alternative, because the main source, i.e., tax registers, included no peasant count. The author of this method, A. Pawiński, also assumed that the amount of land at a peasant's disposal was generally fixed and amounted to 0.5 lan. Consequently, he accepted that one lan indicated two peasants, which, together with their families and servants and staff, amounted to 11 persons. By multiplying this number by the number of cultivated lans, he obtained the data for the peasant population.

This method underwent some modifications, in particular, introduced recently by W. Kula (who, for example, increased the multiplier for Lesser Poland from 11 to 13–15 persons),<sup>8</sup> however, its key assumption (about the cultivated lan and two peasant families per one lan) did not change.

The same criterion could not be adopted for the demographic calculations pertaining to Royal Prussia. The main obstacle was the fact that a Prussian peasant was provided with much more land than in the other lands of the Crown, and not only in royal estates. And anyway, it differs for every type of ownership in each of the voivodeships. For example, in the royal estates in Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships, it amounted to 2–3 lans and 3–4 lans in Malbork Voivodeship; on average, approximately 3 lans.<sup>9</sup> The emolument of a sołtys in this category of ownership oscillated between 4–5 lans on average, while in Malbork Voivodeship, between 6–7 lans.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, in the Church estates in Chełmno Voivodeship, the area of land a peasant had at his disposal oscillated between two and 3 lans, averaging 2.5 lans. In noble estates (for which the data are scarcer), the average was a bit lower, 1–2 lans. Inside the territories of the 3 great Prussian towns, the allotments provided were very huge, oscillating between 3–4 lans on average. Without delving into the reasons for such generous provision of land to the Prussian peasant, which most likely dated back to some extent to the Teutonic period and exerted a serious impact on the development of barter and currency economy of Royal Prussia, we can only say that for entire Royal Prussia, the average land a peasant had at his disposal was approximately two lans. This fact, rendering the average rates proposed by A. Pawiński invalid, would prompt us to lower the peasant count per one lan. However, in our calculations, we opted out of using this risky approach.

This was because the source material collected for the Prussian lands provides not only information about cultivated lans in Prussian villages, or even demesnes; in many cases, it also gives the numbers of peasants in individual villages. The data are fuller not only in inspections of royal estates but partially also in tax registers, where for some villages they even exceed the scope covered by the data on cultivated lans, especially in Chełmno Voivodeship. Similarly, Church inventories and accounts of town estates offer abundant material in this respect. Such data are relatively the least informative in the case of noble property. In general, however, the collected material informs at least 50%, and sometimes even more than 90% (for royal and Church property), about the numbers of peasants. This makes it possible to calculate the average provision of land to peasants in individual regions and for each type of ownership, supplementing the missing peasant counts (where the source listed only the resident lans (*lan osiadły*)).

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, pp. 84 f.

<sup>8</sup> W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski*, RDSG, vol. 13, 1951, pp. 39 f.; cf. also minor corrections by E. Vielrose, *Ludność Polski od X do XVIII wieku*, KHKM, vol. 5, 1957, no. 1, pp. 22 f.

<sup>9</sup> Calculated on the basis of a cross-analysis of tax registers, inspections of the royal property and Church inventories; see also W. Jakóbczyk, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej*, pp. 58, 60.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. W. Rusiński, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej*, p. 94.

For the reasons discussed above, it seemed advisable to employ a different method for the calculation of the numbers of peasants, namely using peasant count or peasant family count in individual villages. We believe that in practice this method is much more accurate than A. Pawiński and W. Kula's general assumptions. It forces one to analyse the number of particular peasant groups within each type of ownership and each administrative unit avoiding the previously inevitable simplification and unification of the entire peasant population in terms of land provision.

The obtained peasant counts serve, in the next step, as the basis for the calculation of the number of peasant family members. According to the common practice, we assumed that one peasant family consisted of five persons (i.e., one peasant and four family members). The greatest difficulty was to take into consideration the servants and staff employed at peasants' households.

The previous studies discussed the main issues related to the number of independent wage labourers in royal demesnes in Prussia.<sup>11</sup> The source material we have collected provides also much information about the staff in royal, Church and town estates. Unfortunately, we lack information about the staff who were certainly employed at the households of Prussian peasants, with more draft animals at their disposal, for the cultivation of so vast areas.<sup>12</sup> For this reason, it was necessary to adopt approximate numbers of the peasant staff. For the central lands of the Crown, A. Pawiński adopted in general one farmhand per one peasant family, and usually per one lan (i.e., two peasant households), one person only, because in his view, staff were not always used by peasant households. It seems indisputable that in Royal Prussia, staff (farmhands, maids) were used in the vast majority of peasant households. For this reason, it seemed reasonable to accept two persons of staff per a middle-sized, i.e., 1–2 lans, peasant household. For larger peasant households, exceeding two lans, the number of three persons of staff was adopted. Consequently, the household of a Prussian peasant consisted of five family members and two staff members, on average seven persons in total. In larger households, there could be three staff members, equalling eight persons in all.

We are perfectly aware of the hypothetical nature of the assumptions above, but at the present stage of the preparatory work on the socio-economic aspects of Prussia, no other criteria could be applied. It is possible that in some larger peasant households (e.g., owned by sołtyses, in particular in the Żuławy region), the number of staff was slightly higher. At the same time, we believe that for the group of peasant families as a whole, the multiplier of 2–3 is justified and, it seems, not too high.

As far as the staff employed at royal, Church and town demesnes are concerned, the obtained source information made it possible to calculate the average indicators. These are different in each of the voivodeships, usually numbering five to seven persons in Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships, reaching 12–16 per one demesne at maximum. The greatest numbers had been recorded for the demesnes in Malbork Voivodeship, reaching 28. For the demesnes without the number of staff explicitly stated, the average of five to seven persons was adopted. The category of demesne servants covers also the small group of castle servants.

It must be noted that when calculating the peasant population, the group of sołtyses and lemans (*vassals*) was not distinguished, as they occurred only in sources concerning royal and, partially, Church ownership; instead, they were treated as peasants of the category provided with more land.

The second large group of the rural population, namely wage labourers (in particular, smallholders and cotters) and craftspeople, was reflected well in the collected source material. The data from tax registers for this group were abundant and often confirmed also in related sources (such as inspections of royal property and inventories of Church estates).

In the group of wage labourers, smallholders (Latin: *hortulani*) come first. For this group, the multiplier of four persons per one family was adopted, following A. Pawiński's assumption. For the other, smaller category of wage labourers, namely cotters (German: *Kammerleute*), the multiplier of three persons only was adopted due to the fact that sources often mention poor lonely cotter women.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In particular J. Rutkowski, *Pańszczyzna i praca najemna w organizacji folwarków królewskich w Prusach za Zygmunta Augusta*, RH, vol. 4, 1928, pp. 40 f.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. L. Żytkowicz, *Uwagi o gospodarstwie chłopskim w dobrach kościelnych w XVI w.*, [in:] "Studia z dziejów gospodarstwa wiejskiego", Warsaw 1957, p. 63.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 2, 5, 7, 8 f.; cf. a similar observation and the method of A. Pawiński, presented in P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, p. 98.

The third, equally small group of wage labourers were the so-called “loose people” (Polish: *hultaj*, German: *Dienstlose*), for whom the multiplier of two was adopted. As data are indicating that in the summer, loose people in Prussia did not go to the countryside alone, but with their families and cattle, which had to be taken into consideration in our calculations.<sup>14</sup>

For (rural) craftspeople, the multiplier of five persons<sup>15</sup> was adopted everywhere except for innkeepers owning plots of land (usually adding two persons as staff) and millers. In the case of the latter, one person was added (hand) in the case of facilities with one to two mill wheels, and two persons in the case of larger facilities. The multiplier of five was also adopted for breeders (beekeepers and fishermen). When it comes to the small group of ‘spirits vendors’ (*szynkarze wódki*), no multiplier was adopted, because there are data to support the claim that provision of spirits was a side job of some groups of the population (in particular, of smallholders and innkeepers). This issue will also be addressed below.<sup>16</sup>

A greater number than usual was adopted for a rural parish, namely eight persons. This number includes the parson, five church servants and two farmhands, added because almost every parish was well equipped with land, four lans on average, and cultivated by the parish inhabitants themselves.

Another problem for the calculations was the gentry population. When choosing the method, no reference was made to the approach suggested by A. Pawiński, who, for the neighbouring Greater Poland, mechanically adopted one family of demesne gentry of 11 persons (including five persons of the family + six staff) per one village. Per each smallholder lan (*łan zagrodowy*) in Greater Poland, he adopted two gentry families, on average 11 persons per one smallholder lan.<sup>17</sup> In the case of Royal Prussia, these multipliers are unacceptable for two reasons, including the differences in terms of the size of land owned by demesne gentry families and the much greater provision of land to farm gentry.

In our calculations, we opted for a more precise method than the rather hypothetical assumptions made by A. Pawiński. This reservation applies in particular to the manner of calculating the number of demesne gentry families based on the number of villages, which should be replaced with the most accurate possible determination of the factual number of gentry families in Prussia. The point of departure was the aforementioned catalogue of all noble families. It made it possible to precisely list 80–90% of noble families in each voivodeship (mainly based on tax registers) and to assign the owner(s) to the appropriate village when calculating. It also made it possible to distinguish the group of demesnes operated with paid labour and then, inside that group, to distinguish the group of factual farm gentry, who owned 0.5–3 lans.<sup>18</sup> By slightly increasing the estimated number of the gentry in some administrative units (in particular in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships) for which the tax registers were missing some information, we were able to obtain figures which we believe are close to the factual state of affairs.

Based on the aforementioned findings, for each individual owner, the following multipliers were adopted: per the family of a demesne nobleman – six persons<sup>19</sup> and three persons of staff, totalling nine persons. With gentry families owning over 10 lans, four persons were added as staff (totalling 10 persons). For farm gentry owning 0.5–2 lans, the multiplier of six (family) + two (staff), totalling eight persons was adopted. For farm gentry families owning 2–3 lans, 3 persons were added as staff, totalling nine persons.

It is plain to see that the above rates for farm gentry refer partially to the estimations adopted for the peasant population (two to three persons of staff). Due to the fact that the amount of land provided to a landed nobleman, in reality, equalled the average amount owned by a Prussian peasant, this step appears to be justified. As far as demesne gentry is concerned, the number of three to four

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<sup>14</sup> This issue will be addressed below.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. P. Wielkopska, vol. 1, p. 102.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. further.

<sup>17</sup> P. Wielkopska, vol. 1, pp. 105–107.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. earlier.

<sup>19</sup> The size of a noble family in the sixteenth century is still debated; cf. T. Furtak, *Kilka zagadnień z demografii historycznej szlachty polskiej*, RDSG, vol. 6, 1937, pp. 31–58; W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań*, p. 101. It seemed advisable to accept the multiplier of six persons rather than 5, assuming that in addition to the five persons of the nuclear noble family, a resident should also be taken into consideration, given the preponderance of middle-sized gentry families in the whole of Prussia. Anyway, the surplus (i.e. accepting six persons) would total approximately 1,440 persons for the entire group of the gentry.

persons of staff is only slightly below the average figure related to the staff employed at royal and Church demesnes (five persons), which can be justified by the smaller size of noble demesnes. On the other hand, the approximated figures mentioned above relating to gentry servants are, at least partially, supported by specific source materials, true enough, coming from the mid-seventeenth century. It is the personal tax register of 1662, which includes the most details for the Chełmno Voivodeship.<sup>20</sup> It states, for example, the number of two to three persons of staff in farm gentry families, and three to four persons of servants<sup>21</sup> in families of demesne gentry.<sup>22</sup> This suggests that the adopted estimations concerning servants can mostly reflect reality.

We must emphasise that staff, both those employed at Prussian peasant households and in demesnes, cannot be treated as the only workforce, which alone satisfied the needs of the economy. This view, justified to an extent for the situation in the central lands of the Crown, would be incorrect by default for Prussia. Both peasant and demesne households used auxiliary and permanent paid labour to a large extent, provided mainly by smallholders and cotters as well as “the loose men” (the latter in the harvesting period). Without delving into this issue, which will be elaborated on in some statistical calculations presented below, we only want to stress that it accounts for a certain underestimation of peasants’ and demesne gentry’s servants in relation to the figures adopted for the other lands of the Crown.

The afore-discussed methodological assumptions were adopted when calculating the rural population of Royal Prussia, excluding the territories of two large towns: Gdańsk and Elbląg, in addition to Chełmno. Unfortunately, the scarcity of appropriate source materials (lost, to some extent, during the Second World War) made it impossible to calculate their populations precisely and to analyse their occupational structures. The tax registers do not cover villages owned by these cities at all, and the existing replacement material (mainly rent lists) is full of gaps and incomplete. For these reasons, it was necessary to resort to a rather uncertain method of approximating the population globally, basing on the population figures from the second half of the eighteenth century. Naturally, it was not possible to represent the demographics of these territories fully in the form of maps.

Calculating the rural population of Royal Prussia, despite all the difficulties related to the materials and methods, has proven much easier than the determination of the urban population. We have already stressed the scarcity of source materials, in particular tax registers, for urban centres in Prussia. This scarcity not only prevented the presentation of the occupational diversity of the urban population, but also the determination of the number of inhabitants in individual centres in general. These difficulties were especially problematic when determining the populations of the 12 towns in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships and the two large towns: Elbląg and Toruń (for Gdańsk, the hypothetical number of inhabitants at the end of the sixteenth century had been established by P. Simson), which accounts for 1/3 of the Prussian urban settlements.

Usually, the populations of those towns for which more specific data were available were calculated on the basis of the number of dwellings, following S. Pazyra’s<sup>23</sup> assumption of six persons per one dwelling, and for town square dwellings (for which in Prussian towns a higher rent was usually paid) – 12 persons. For three towns in Chełmno Voivodeship (Golub, Lubawa, Wąbrzeźno), for which only the overall sums paid for all the dwellings had been available, the comparative method was employed for the calculation of the hypothetical number of dwellings and then, on this basis, the number of inhabitants was established.

For the remaining 12 Prussian towns, the approximation method had to be used, basing on the data from the late eighteenth–early nineteenth century. We assumed that their populations, after the economic crisis and war destruction of the seventeenth century, could in the late eighteenth–early nineteenth century reach the same level they had had in the Renaissance period. Certainly, drawing on monographs on individual towns, we took into consideration their development between the sixteenth century and eighteenth century (e.g., natural disasters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and restoration failure towards the fall of the Polish Commonwealth), making appropriate adjustments to

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<sup>20</sup> ASK I 52, pp. 324–372.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, pp. 347, 349 f.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 333 f., 350 f.

<sup>23</sup> S. Pazyra, *Studia z dziejów miast na Mazowszu od XIII do początków XX wieku*, Lwów 1939, p. 275.

the estimations. Our motivation was that the application of the method of calculating urban population on the basis of taxes paid (e.g., *schoss* = tax paid by town residents on their property), prone to error as it is, proved to be impossible due to the lack of sufficient source data.

We are perfectly aware that the figures obtained based on the afore-presented methodological assumptions for rural and urban populations are all too often hypothetical. Nevertheless, using these assumptions, we were able to obtain a demographic picture of Royal Prussia, which, even if not entirely free of gaps or shortcomings, is the first comprehensive description of this sort. It can and should provide the point of departure for further studies, improved in the course of time, with more detailed monographs for individual socio-economic problems getting published.

The obtained results made it possible to draw up population maps, the method and results of which are given below. We must also stress that in the text, several demographic issues have been touched upon, in particular in the form of tables offering supplementary information which could not always find its way into the graphic content, but which is nevertheless important from the point of view of the comprehensive description that we are aiming at.

For a fuller understanding of the contents of all the maps, we start by presenting the global results of calculations concerning the rural and urban populations of individual voivodeships, moving the issue of the social structure of the rural population to the discussion of map number 7.

The rural population of Chełmno Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century in districts and per land ownership type was as follows:

**Table 1. Rural population of Chełmno Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	total	%	of which			
			Chełmno district	Michałow district	Chełmno bishopric territory	Toruń territory
royal	22,500	34.5	14,542	7,958	–	–
noble	20,736	31.8	14,051	6,685	–	–
Church	15,567	23.9	2,286	1,030	12,251	–
town-Church	800	1.2	–	–	800	–
town-royal	5,247	8.0	1,114	373	–	3,760
undefined	400	0.6	230	170	–	–
total	65,250	100.0	32,223	16,216	13,051	3,760
%	100		49.4	24.8	20	5.8

As indicated in the table, the majority of the rural population was located in the western part of Chełmno district; the majority inhabited royal and noble estates.

The data on the urban population of Chełmno Voivodeship in sixteenth century are as follows (figures for early nineteenth century included for comparison):

**Table 2. Urban population of Chełmno Voivodeship**

town name	district – administrative unit	no. of dwellings in 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	number of inhabitants in 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	total	number of inhabitants in early 19 <sup>th</sup> c.
Golub	Chełmno	233	approx. 1,866	6,662	year 1826 – 1,760
Grudziądz		?	approx. 2,000		1826 – 5,621
Kowalewo		?	approx. 600		1826 – 512
Łasin		175	approx. 1,170		1826 – 1,294
Radzyń		135	1,026		1826 – 1,008

town name	district – administrative unit	no. of dwellings in 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	number of inhabitants in 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	total	number of inhabitants in early 19 <sup>th</sup> c.
Brodnica	Michałowó	?	approx. 2,000	4,248	1826 – 2,669
Lidzbark Welski		172	1,248		1826 – 1,336
Nowe Miasto		?	approx. 1,000		1826 – 1,067
Chełmno	Chełmno bishopric territory	?	3,000	6,546	1826 – 5,271
Chełmża		120	846		1826 – 791
Kurzętnik		50	420		1826 – 600
Lubawa		170	1,200		1819 – 1,297
Wąbrzeźno		160	1,080		1826 – 1,194
Toruń	Toruń territory	?	approx. 12,000	12,000	
			<b>total</b>	<b>29,456</b>	

The comparison of the population figures for eight smaller towns in the voivodeship for which we had the data on the number of dwellings in the sixteenth century at our disposal with their populations in the early nineteenth century, as obtained from Roscius,<sup>24</sup> indicates a prevailing convergence, in particular in the case of six towns (Golub, Łasin, Lidzbark Welski, Chełmża, Kurzętnik and Wąbrzeźno). This fact made it possible to adopt approximate figures for Kowalewo and Nowe Miasto. In the case of Brodnica and Grudziądz, the nineteenth century figures had to be reduced to account for the well-known population increase after 1772,<sup>25</sup> in particular in Grudziądz. For Chełmno, the number of 3,000 inhabitants in the the sixteenth century was established by S. Sadowski.<sup>26</sup> The population of Toruń, unknown for the sixteenth century, in 1772, according to the calculations made by T. Korzon,<sup>27</sup> amounted to 11,000 persons; in 1796–1804 – according to the data from A.C. Holsche – 8,954,<sup>28</sup> in 1846 – 10,473.<sup>29</sup>

The global figures for the rural and urban population of the voivodeship are presented in the table below.

**Table 3. Rural and urban population of Chełmno Voivodeship**

district – administrative unit	district km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	urban population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	rural and urban population	per one km <sup>2</sup>
Chełmno	2,065	32,223	82.9	15.6	6,662	17.1	3.2	38,885	18.8
Michałowó	1,314	16,216	79.2	12.3	4,248	20.8	3.2	20,464	15.6
Chełmno bishopric territory	916	13,051	66.6	14.2	6,546	33.4	7.2	19,597	21.4
Toruń town territory	359	3,760	23.9	10.5	12,000	76.1	33.4	15,760	43.9
<b>total</b>	<b>4,654</b>	<b>65,250</b>	<b>68.9</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>29,456</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>94,706</b>	<b>20.4</b>

In percentage terms, the urban population constitutes 31.1% or nearly 1/3 of the total population of the voivodeship. This extraordinarily high percentage of the urban population is explained by the existence of the large urban centre, Toruń. One km<sup>2</sup> was inhabited on average by 6.3 urban residents.

<sup>24</sup> Roscius, *Westpreussen von 1772 bis 1827 als Nachtrag zu den statistischen Übersichten in den Ortsverzeichnissen der Marienwerderschen und Danziger Regierungsbezirke*, Marienwerder 1828, p. 48.

<sup>25</sup> X. Froelich, *Geschichte des Graudenzers Kreises*, vol. 1, Gdańsk 1884, pp. 82 f., vol. 2, pp. 30 f.

<sup>26</sup> S. Sadowski, *Ludność i stosunki narodowościowe miasta Chełmna do schyłku dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Toruń 1951, typescript in the Archive of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

<sup>27</sup> T. Korzon, *Wewnętrzne dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta*, vol. 1, Cracow 1897, p. 274.

<sup>28</sup> A.C. Holsche, *Geographie und Statistik von West-, Süd- und Neu-Ostpreussen*, vol. 1, Berlin 1807, p. 131.

<sup>29</sup> *Der Führer durch Thorn*, Toruń 1847, p. 18.

A comparison of these figures with related ones, obtained by W. Kula for the central lands of the Crown, indicates that the population density of Chełmno Voivodeship in relation to the rural population is similar to the population of Greater Poland (13.1 per one km<sup>2</sup>) and Cracow Voivodeship (14.7 per one km<sup>2</sup>). The figures on the urban population in these areas vary (6.3 per one km<sup>2</sup> as compared to 4.4 and 7.1. per one km<sup>2</sup>). The average value of population density in relation to the rural and urban population of Chełmno Voivodeship (i.e., 20.4 per one km<sup>2</sup>) is very similar to the figures for Cracow Voivodeship (21.8 per one km<sup>2</sup>) and the entire Mazovia region (21.4 per one km<sup>2</sup>).<sup>30</sup> It is also higher than the averages for the densely populated Greater Poland (17.5 per one km<sup>2</sup>) and Sandomierz Voivodeship (17.6 per one km<sup>2</sup>).

The obtained overall population figures for the sixteenth century can be compared with the population figures for Chełmno land from the mid-fourteenth century. According to the original calculations made by T. Ladenberger, the number of inhabitants of this area amounted to 87,318 at that time. Accepting the number of 3,405 km<sup>2</sup> as the total area of Chełmno land, he calculated the average population density of 25.6 per one km<sup>2</sup>. This was an extraordinarily high number in comparison with the figures obtained for the other Polish territories.<sup>31</sup> And anyway, it resulted from the adoption of the underestimated value of 3,405 km<sup>2</sup> as the area of the diocese of Chełmno (erroneously equated with Chełmno land, excluding Lubawa land, which in the fourteenth century was a constituent part of the diocese).<sup>32</sup>

In 1958, T. Ładogórski introduced major modifications to his calculations, making them more accurate; basing on the number of villages and parishes of the diocese of Chełmno, he managed to establish its population. Rejecting overestimations made by J. Paradowski (101,300 inhabitants) and underestimations made by H. Łowmiański (50,000–60,000 inhabitants), he arrived at the number of approximately 85,800 inhabitants of the diocese of Chełmno (which included the lands of Chełmno and Lubawa),<sup>33</sup> which, assuming the area of 4,490 km<sup>2</sup>, gives the population density of 19.1 per one km<sup>2</sup>. These figures normally do not raise major objections, testifying to a large population density in Chełmno land, in fact, the largest in comparison with the other Polish territories. They are also pretty close to the figures we have determined for the sixteenth century. This would support the conclusion about the relatively high population density of Chełmno land already in the Teutonic period and the non-occurrence of major demographic changes in this area since the end of the fourteenth century. Undoubtedly, the wars of the fifteenth century, which significantly impacted the population of this region, affected also the obtained results.

As far as Malbork Voivodeship is concerned, the demographic data concerning the rural population are presented in the table below.

**Table 4. Rural population of Malbork Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	total	%	of which	
			voivodeship excluding Elbląg town territory	Elbląg territory
royal	18,408	58.8	18,408	–
noble	5,020	16.0	5,020	–
Church	313	1.0	313	–
town-royal	7,571	24.2	71	7,500
total	31,312	100.0	23,812	7,500
%	100	–	76%	24%

<sup>30</sup> W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań*, p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> T. Ladenberger, *Zaludnienie Polski*, p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Because the author based on the erroneous map by S. Kujot, which showed the line of the Drwęca River as the eastern border of the diocese of Chełmno, excluding the entire land of Lubawa of approximately 900 km<sup>2</sup>; S. Kujot, *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej*, RTNT, vol. 12, 1905 (the map of the diocese of Chełmno). A similar mistake was reproduced in the map in vol. 10.

<sup>33</sup> T. Ładogórski, *Studia nad zaludnieniem*, pp. 131, 165.

When it comes to the territory of Elbląg, due to the scarcity of the source material, we could only adopt an estimated number of population. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, it amounted to 15,052 inhabitants.<sup>34</sup> For the period discussed here, we decided to adopt the number amounting to 50% of that value, i.e., approximately 7,500 due to the fact that starting from the end of the sixteenth century, a major increase in the settlement activities and population numbers was noted in the western and south-eastern parts of the territory, driven by advances in the colonisation of lowland and swamp areas.<sup>35</sup>

The urban population of Malbork Voivodeship (excluding Sztum) could only be estimated. This was caused by the disastrous condition of the town source materials for the sixteenth century. For five towns (including Elbląg), we had to use the figures from 1772–1826 complemented with the data from *Deutsches Städtebuch* by E. Keyser. Using historical monographs of individual towns, we were able to offer the approximate numbers for the sixteenth century, as follows:

**Table 5. Urban population of Malbork Voivodeship**

town name	unit	no. of dwellings in 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	no. of inhabitants in the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	total	number of inhabitants in late 18 <sup>th</sup> – early 19 <sup>th</sup>
Dzierzgoń	voivodeship excluding Elbląg town territory	?	approx. 1,500	8,720	1782 – 1,595
					1826 – 2,105
Malbork	voivodeship excluding Elbląg town territory	?	approx. 4,500		1776 – 5,117
					1826 – 5,258
Nowy Staw	voivodeship excluding Elbląg town territory	?	approx. 1,100		1816 – 751
					1826 – 1,514
Sztum	voivodeship excluding Elbląg town territory	50	420		1816 – 751
					1826 – 895
Tolkmicko	voivodeship excluding Elbląg town territory	?	approx. 1,200		1816 – 1,400
Elbląg	Elbląg territory	?	approx. 15,000		15,000
				1810 – 16,710	
				1826 – 20,707	
			total	23,720	

The generous estimation of the population of Elbląg is justified by the major economic advancement of this town manifested in the mid-sixteenth century as well as the need to take into account the inhabitants of the suburbs. The relatively high number of inhabitants of Malbork, namely 5,400 (excluding castle residents, the number of which, together with the castle boroughs, amounted to approximately 500 persons), was dictated by the fact that the town acted continuously as an important centre for grain and wood trade and brewing for the entire area of Żuławy.<sup>36</sup> In general, per one km<sup>2</sup> of the voivodeship area, the high number of 11.3 urban inhabitants applies. This fact, unprecedented in the Crown's demographics, results from the very small size of the voivodeship together with the existence of the large urban centre, namely Elbląg.

<sup>34</sup> M. Bär, *Westpreussen*, vol. 2, p. 708.

<sup>35</sup> H. Bertram, *Die Eindeichung, Trockenlegung und Besiedlung des Weichseldeltas seit dem Jahre 1300 in ihrer geopolitischen Bedeutung*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins”, vol. 72, 1935, pp. 192 f. and the map.

<sup>36</sup> G. Berg, *Geschichte der Stadt Marienburg*, Malbork 1921, p. 112.

**Table 6. Rural and urban population of Malbork Voivodeship**

administrative unit	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	urban population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	rural and urban population	per one km <sup>2</sup>
voivodeship excluding Elbląg town territory	1,584	23,812	73.2	15.0	8,720	26.8	5.5	32,532	20.5
Elbląg town territory	512	7,500	33.4	14.7	15,000	66.6	29.2	22,500	43.9
Total	2,096	31,312	56.9	14.9	23,720	43.1	11.3	55,032	26.3

The share of the urban population in percentage terms amounts to 43.1%, which makes up over 2/5 of the total population. This is the greatest share in comparison with the other voivodeships. The average population density in relation to the rural population is close to the population density of Greater Poland and Lesser Poland (14.9 in comparison with 13.1 and 13 per one km<sup>2</sup>), while in relation to the rural and urban population (26.3% per one km<sup>2</sup>), it is greater than the population density of Mazovia (21.4 per one km<sup>2</sup>).

The numbers relating to the rural population of Pomeranian Voivodeship are as follows:

**Table 7. Rural population of Pomeranian Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	total	%	per district								
			Człuchów	Gdańsk	Mirachowo	Nowe	Puck	Świecie	Tczew	Tuchola	Gdańsk-town
royal	32,794	35.6	6,225	856	1,728	1,665	2,742	4,144	10,012	5,422	–
noble	29,208	31.7	6,917	1,564	1,637	2,306	2,269	5,771	6,217	2,527	–
Church	13,782	14.9	153	3,319	602	453	2,487	977	5,214	577	–
town-royal	16,116	17.5	–	451	–	–	–	113	548	4	15,000
undefined	347	0.3	–	60	48	–	–	10	152	77	–
total	92,247	100.0	13,295	6,250	4,015	4,424	7,498	11,015	22,143	8,607	15,000

Of necessity, in these calculations, we had to adopt an approximate number of inhabitants of the territory of Gdańsk, given the serious shortages in the source material. The number of approximately 25,000 inhabitants of the territory of Gdańsk in 1793<sup>37</sup> was the only viable choice for the basis of our calculations. Adjusting for the certainly significant increase in the number of inhabitants in this territory (the Dutch colonisation, a major increase in the number of settlements), which, however, was slightly smaller than in the territory of Elbląg, we decreased it by approximately 40%, arriving at the number of 15,000 inhabitants.

The urban population of Pomerania was calculated in a much more precise manner when compared with the urban population of the remaining voivodeships. This was partially because of the fact that the tax registers of 1570/1571 stated the number of dwellings in 14 smaller towns. When it comes to Gdańsk, the hypothetical number of residents in 1577 was established by P. Simson,<sup>38</sup> while for Hel, the number of the population in the years 1527–1554<sup>39</sup> was given in the sources.

<sup>37</sup> G. Dabinnias, *Die ländliche Bevölkerung*, p. 91. In fact, it amounted to 26,428, provided we include the population of Hel and the rural estates of Gdańsk's hospitals, which we treat separately in our calculations.

<sup>38</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 2, Gdańsk 1918, p. 347.

<sup>39</sup> M. Foltz, *Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushalts*, Gdańsk 1912, p. 195.

**Table 8. Urban population of Pomeranian Voivodeship**

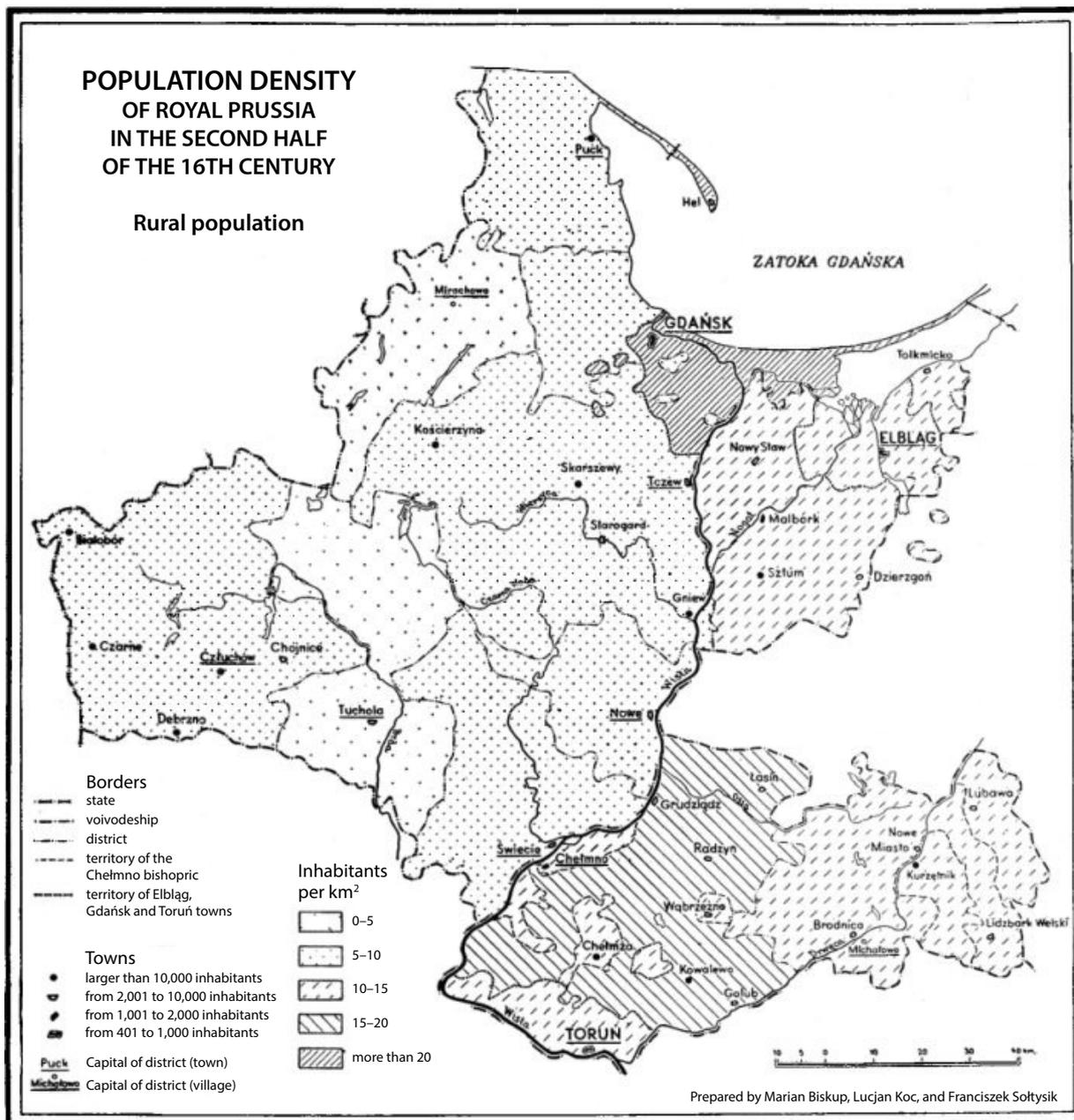
town name	district – administrative unit	no. of dwellings in 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	no. of inhabitants in 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	total
Białobór	Człuchów	81	654	4,470
Chojnice		242	1,644	
Czarne		78	720	
Człuchów		65	510	
Debrzno		127	942	
Nowe	Nowe	151	1,098	1,098
Puck	Puck	105	864	864
Świecie	Świecie	165	1,182	1,182
Gniew	Tczew	122	966	5,088
Kościerzyna		90	690	
Skarszewy		114	888	
Starogard		161	1,254	
Tczew		190	1,290	
Tuchola	Tuchola	201	1,446	1,446
Gdańsk	territory of the town		approx. 40,000	41,170
Hel			1,170	
<b>total</b>				<b>55,318</b>

The preponderance of small and medium-sized urban centres is clearly visible, however, none of them exceeds the number of 2,000 inhabitants, the only exception being the 40,000 of Gdańsk, which was the largest urban centre not only of Pomerania but of the entire Royal Prussia and the Crown in general. In spite of that, the urban population density per 1km<sup>2</sup> amounts to 4.3, which in essence corresponds to the situation noted in the other lands of the Crown. This was caused to an extent by the large size of Pomerania with its forest areas and a sparse network of urban settlements.

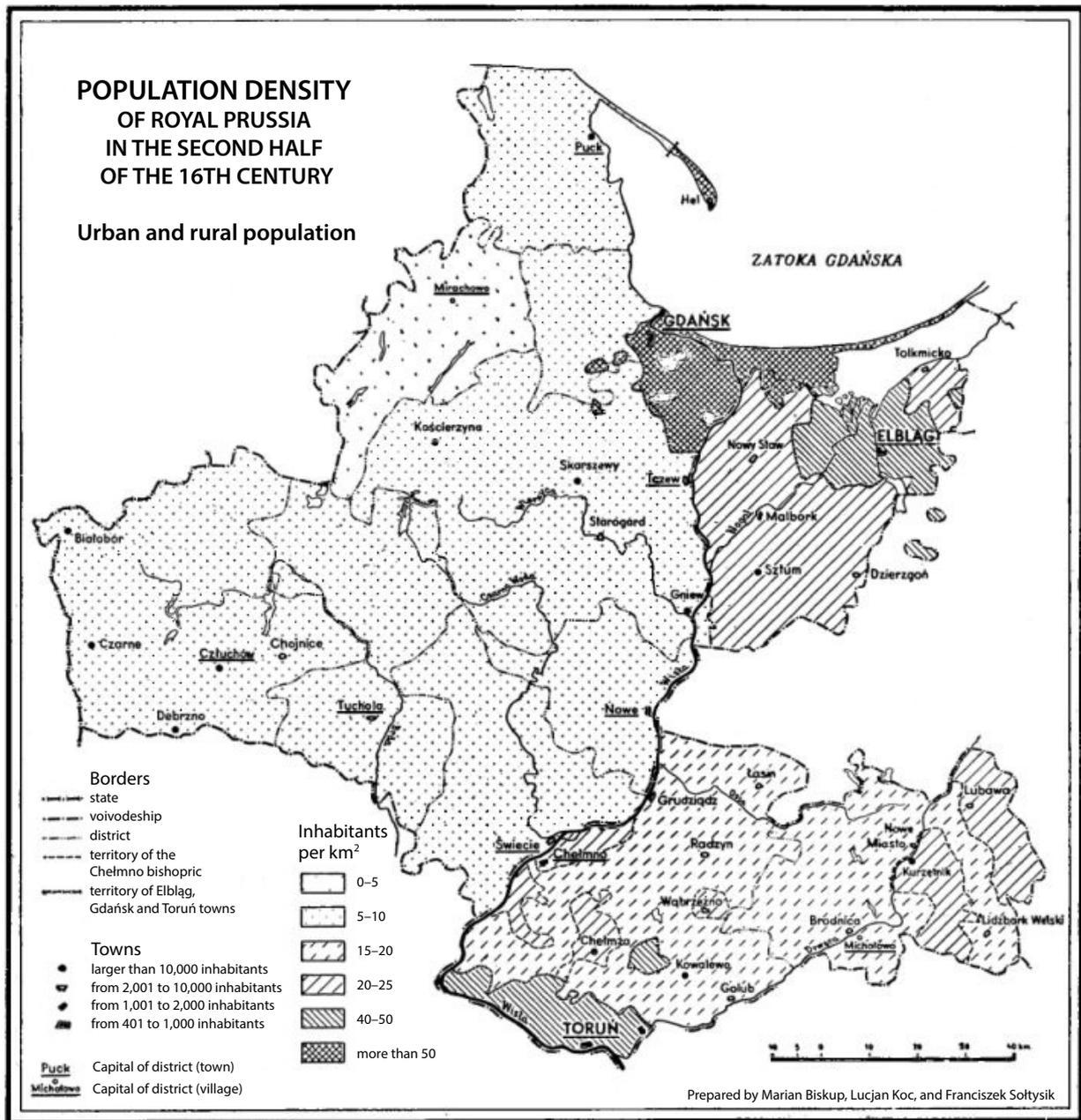
**Table 9. Rural and urban population of Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district – administrative unit	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	urban population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	rural and urban population	per one km <sup>2</sup>
Człuchów	2,436	13,295	74.8	5.4	4,470	25.2	1.8	17,765	7.3
Gdańsk	661	6,250	100.0	9.4	–	–	–	6,250	9.4
Mirachowo	1,137	4,015	100.0	3.5	–	–	–	4,015	3.5
Nowe	720	4,424	80.1	6.1	1,098	19.9	1.5	5,522	7.7
Puck	981	7,498	89.7	7.7	864	10.3	0.9	8,362	8.5
Świecie	1,473	11,015	85.3	7.4	1,182	14.7	0.8	12,197	8.3
Tczew	3,038	22,143	81.3	7.3	5,088	18.7	1.7	27,231	8.9
Tuchola	1,818	8,607	85.6	4.7	1,446	14.4	0.8	10,053	5.5
Gdańsk-town	643	15,000	26.7	23.3	41,170	73.3	64.0	56,170	87.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>12,907</b>	<b>92,247</b>	<b>62.5</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>55,318</b>	<b>37.5</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>147,565</b>	<b>11.4</b>

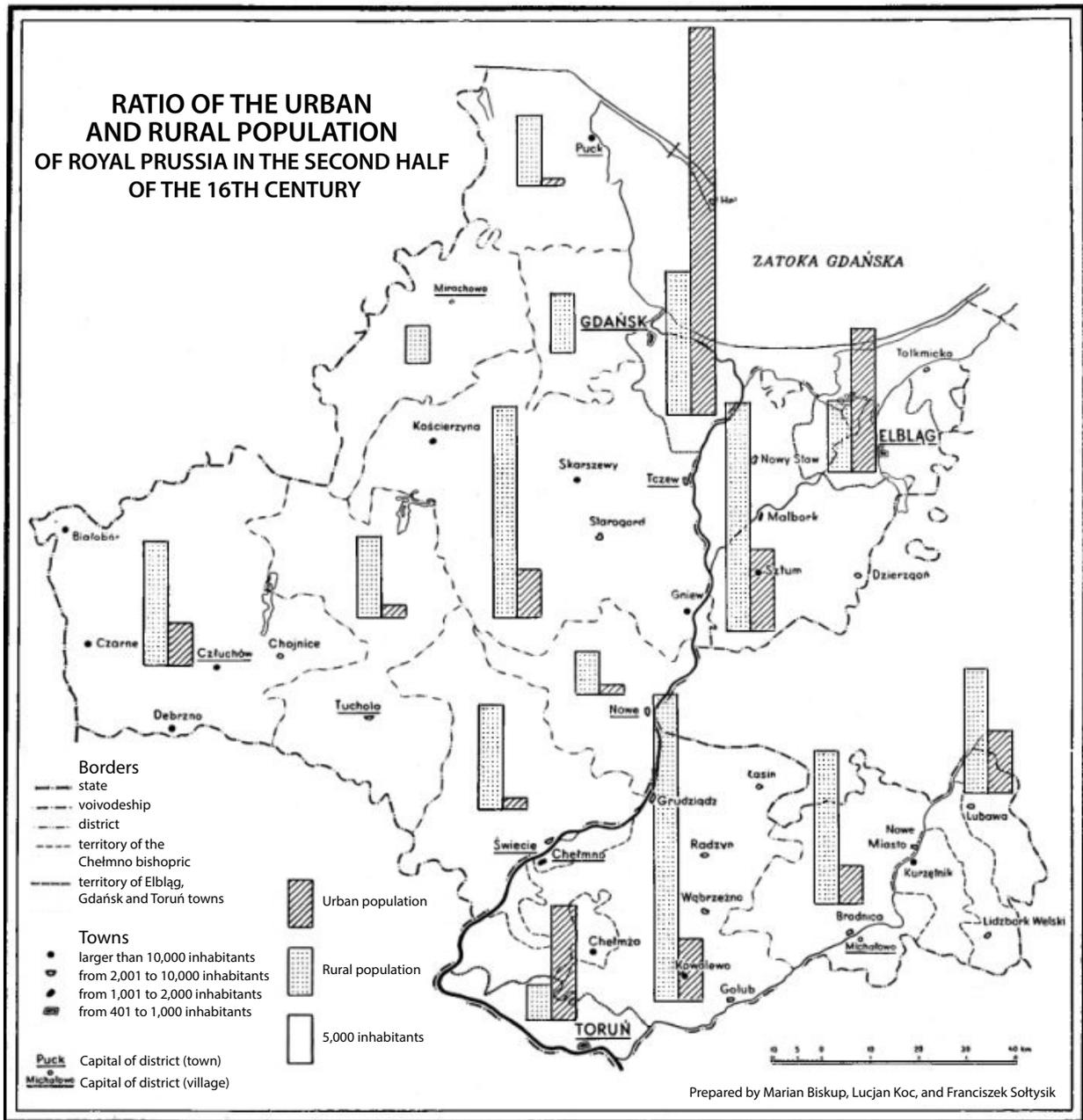
In percentage terms, the urban population makes up 37.5%, which translates to over 1/3 of the total population (the ratio being similar to Chełmno Voivodeship) thanks to the great number of Gdańsk's population. However, even this large number does not significantly increase the average density of population in relation to the rural population, i.e., 7.2 per one km<sup>2</sup>, raising it to 11.4 per one km<sup>2</sup>.



**Map 1. Population density of Royal Prussia in second half of the 16th century.  
Rural population**



**Map 2. Population density of Royal Prussia in the second half of the 16th century. Urban and rural population**



**Map 3. Ratio of urban to rural population of Royal Prussia in the second half of the 16th century**

These numbers are the lowest not only in relation to the remaining two Prussian voivodeships, but also to the majority of the Crown's territories; they are comparable with the population density in Lublin Voivodeship (8.8 and 10.5 per one km<sup>2</sup>), and lower than the average for all the Crown's lands (14.2 and 18.4 per one km<sup>2</sup>).

The figures obtained for the territory of Pomerania can be compared with the figures calculated for the mid-fourteenth–early fifteenth centuries by T. Ładogórski.<sup>40</sup> By slightly adapting his values through the omission of the data for the Bytów and Lębork districts, we obtained the number of approx. 12,045 km<sup>2</sup> of the area of Pomerelia (even though it fails to include a part of the diocese of Pomesania with the territory of Gdańsk) and approximately 89,500 inhabitants (or 87,500), which gives approximately 7.4 or 7.3 per one km<sup>2</sup>. In comparison with the sixteenth century, the population increase would then be approximately 65% and the greatest in relation to the urban population, which would increase threefold (20,500 in comparison with 55,318). Clearly, the growing demographic potential of Gdańsk played a key role here. Be that as it may, the demographic development of Pomerelia between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries is much greater than in the case of Chełmno Voivodeship.

For the entire area of Royal Prussia, the following results have been obtained:

**Table 10. Rural and urban population of Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	area km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	urban population	%	per one km <sup>2</sup>	rural and urban population	per one km <sup>2</sup>
Chełmno	4,654	65,250	68.9	14.0	29,456	31.1	6.3	94,706	20.4
Malbork	2,096	31,312	56.9	14.9	23,720	43.1	11.3	55,032	26.3
Pomeranian	12,907	92,247	62.5	7.2	55,318	37.5	4.3	147,565	11.4
Total	19,657	188,809	63.5	9.6	108,494	36.5	5.5	297,303	15.1

Thus, the average population density of Royal Prussia (15.1 per one km<sup>2</sup>) is close to the population density of Greater Poland and Lesser Poland and it is lower than the average population density of the entire Crown (18.4 per one km<sup>2</sup>). One of the reasons for this situation is clearly the low population density of the largest, Pomeranian Voivodeship, which remained at a relatively low level.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, when it comes to the average density of the urban population (5.5 per one km<sup>2</sup>), Royal Prussia tops the other lands of the Crown with their average of 4.2 per one km<sup>2</sup>. The percentage of the urban population of Prussia, amounting to 36.5, is very high indeed. Rounding up the obtained overall figures a bit, one might conclude that out of some 300,000 inhabitants of Royal Prussia, approximately 200,000, or  $\frac{2}{3}$ , were rural population, while 100,000, or  $\frac{1}{3}$  – urban population. In this respect, the Prussian province was clearly different from the other Crown territories.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> T. Ładogórski, *Studia nad zaludnieniem*, pp. 131, 168.

<sup>41</sup> For the Pomerania of the fourteenth century together with Chełmno land T. Ladenberger, *Zaludnienie Polski*, p. 35, assumed 10.3 inhabitants per one km<sup>2</sup>, subsequently changing the number to approximately 9.7; T. Ładogórski, *Studia nad zaludnieniem*, p. 131.

<sup>42</sup> Approximate population figures for Royal Prussia at the end of the eighteenth century (years 1772–1793) obtained from the data of M. Bär and G. Dabinnus (with an approximate addition of 5,000 inhabitants for the territory of Toruń and 9,000 for the town):

Voivodeship	Rural population	Urban population	Total
Chełmno	91,934	18,725	110,659
Malbork	65,501	17,900	83,401
Pomeranian	140,199	62,091	202,290
Total	297,634	98,716	396,350

The population increase between the sixteenth and eighteenth century would amount to approximately 100,000, which corresponds in total to 33% of the sixteenth century's population. This indicates a smaller increase than in the other parts of the Crown, where it reached approximately 58%; cf. S. Hoszowski, *Dynamika rozwoju zaludnienia Polski w epoce feudalnej*,

The population density of royal prussia broken down into districts is shown in the maps. They clearly indicate the greatest rural population density in Malbork and Chełmno Voivodeships (in particular, in the territory of Chełmno district – 15.6 per one km<sup>2</sup>) as well as in the territory of Gdańsk in the northern part of Pomeranian Voivodeships (23.3 per one km<sup>2</sup>). In all the remaining districts of pomerania, we noted low population density (from five to 10 per one km<sup>2</sup>), descending to the scale's lowest range in two districts: Mirachowo and Tuchola (3.5 and 4.7 per one km<sup>2</sup>).

The picture changes when the rural and urban populations of Prussia are taken into consideration, especially inside the territories of Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships. the average population density of the former gets 'promoted' to the scale range of 15–20 per one km<sup>2</sup>, and in the territory of the Chełmno bishopric, to the range of 20–25 per one km<sup>2</sup>. Inside the territory of Toruń, it reaches the number of 43.9 inhabitants per one km<sup>2</sup>. a similar phenomenon can be noted even more easily inside the territory of the Malbork Voivodeship, where the average population density gets increased to 20.5 per one km<sup>2</sup>, and inside the territory of Elbląg – to 43.9 per one km<sup>2</sup>.

When it comes to the territory of Pomeranian Voivodeship, the change is noticeable only in the territory of Gdańsk, where the average rises to 87.4 per one km<sup>2</sup>, and in the territory of the Tuchola district, where the average rises from the lowest scale range 0–5 per one km<sup>2</sup> to 5.5. per one km<sup>2</sup>.

The afore-presented phenomena can be explained well using the afore-mentioned figures for urban populations, in particular those pertaining to large cities. a comparison of the sizes of both population categories per individual districts is clearly illustrated in the attached map – 'Ratio of urban to rural population of Royal Prussia'.

### Village population density (thematic map 4)

The above-mentioned cartographic presentation of demographics in Royal Prussia is subject to more detailed scrutiny on the map number 3 presenting the population density in parishes of Royal Prussia, the calculations for which are as follows:

**Table 11. Population density in Royal Prussia in parishes (excluding the population of the towns)**

voivodeship	rural population per one km <sup>2</sup>					unknown	total no. of parishes (or their counterparts)
	0–5	5–10	10–15	15–20	over 20		
Chełmno	6	14	36	45	18	2	121
%	5	11.5	29.8	37.1	14.9	1.7	100
Malbork	1	2	8	27	9	–	47
%	2.1	4.3	17.0	57.4	19.2	–	100
Pomeranian	49	53	52	27	6	1	188
%	26	28.2	27.7	14.4	3.2	0.5	100
total	56	69	96	99	33	3	356
%	15.8	19.4	26.9	27.8	9.3	0.8	100

The table speaks of the particularly high diversity of the population density in all of the voivodeships. In Chełmno Voivodeship, the parishes with an average population density between 10 and 20 and over 20 were predominant, with the maximum at 29.5 per one km<sup>2</sup>. In Malbork Voivodeship,

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RDSG, vol. 13, pp. 139 f. What is striking is the decrease in the urban population by approximately 10,000, which is related to the well-known fall of smaller Prussian towns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the percentage of the urban population in the eighteenth century is only approximately ¼. The most significant increase was noted for Malbork and Pomeranian Voivodeships, which would confirm the conclusion about the distinct intensification of settlement processes in these areas in the late sixteenth century.

the majority of parishes were populated by 15 to 20 people per one km<sup>2</sup> (29.8 maximum) while in Pomeranian Voivodeship is the one with the highest number of parishes with the lowest density (49) and the majority of parishes are populated by 0 to 15 people per one km<sup>2</sup> (with the maximum density at 25,8). As far as the entire Prussia is concerned, however, the parishes with an average population (10–20) predominate.

The highest population density can be observed in a deforested area of Malbork Voivodeship, particularly, in alluvial soil deposits in Żuławy and in the southeast where clayey soils can be found. Less populated (10–15 per one km<sup>2</sup>) is the area of the territory of the town of Elbląg, the western part of which, located on both banks of the Nogat, was waterlogged and not yet developed. Similarly, in the eastern part of Elbląg Voivodeship, lying on the Elbląg Upland and around Tolkmicko, there are vast areas of forest and fertile soils – sandy soils and podzols – good for cultivation, which resulted in them being less populated. However, the only areas with the lowest population density at 0–10 people per km<sup>2</sup> are those in the vast forests near Sztum and Drużno Lake, where boggy meadows were only improved and developed by the Malbork engineers in the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century.

In Chełmno Voivodeship, the highest population density (15–20 per one km<sup>2</sup>) we observe in the parishes in the west of Chełmno district and Chełmno bishopric stretching from Toruń district, through Radzyń, Łasin as far as the northern borders of the voivodeship. It is, undoubtedly, the result of the presence of fertile clayey soils and lack of forests; those areas had been inhabited the longest – as early as since the pre-Teutonic period. The second highest populated areas are the parishes in the western part of Michałowo district inhabited mostly by the Chełmno petty gentry, those in the west and south of Brodnica, and some parishes in Lubawa land (near Kurzętnik and Lubawa). All of the said areas are interwoven with those of lower and the lowest populated ones. It is clearly visible in the southwest of the Voivodeship within the territory of the town of Toruń, which, due to its forested area and sandy soils, is among the less populated ones. Some parallel phenomena occur even in the highest populated lands of the Voivodeship, i.e., near Chełmża (with boggy and forested lands), on the right bank of the Drwęca, near Golub (densely forested), and near Wąbrzeźno (bogs and forests). Among less populated lands (10–15 people per one km<sup>2</sup>) we can quote the Vistula riverside stretching from Chełmno up to Grudziądz, which consist mostly of meadows and pastures subject to much later (Olander) colonisation since the end of the sixteenth century. The least populated parts of the Voivodeship are located in the centre of Michałowo district and in the densely forested Brodnica Lakeland. Also, the less populated areas stretch further east along the Brodnica River valley and forests as far as Lidzbark in the southeast of Lubawa Lands.

We can observe a particularly characteristic phenomenon in the Pomeranian Voivodeship; with the exceptions of the Vistula riverside and south-western parts, its entire area is incomparably low populated (less than five people per one km<sup>2</sup>). The reason behind that is the share of forested land, especially Tuchola Forests, covering the majority of central and western parishes, paired with a tenuous settlement network. The most important of settlement clusters of Pomerania are the deforested riverbanks of the Vistula – near Tczew, Skarszew, and Gdańsk – abundant with fertile clayey and alluvial soils.

The most important centres of settlement in Pomerania are the open riverside areas, especially the northern riverbank near Tczew, Skarszewy, and Gdańsk, thriving with fertile clayey and alluvial soils. The average population density in the voivodeship reaches 20 per one km<sup>2</sup>, and even exceeding this threshold in some parishes within the town of Gdańsk. The parishes closest to the Gdańsk, Tczew, and partially, Nowe district were mostly inhabited by the gentry or Church demesne population.

In the northern part of the voivodeship, in Puck district, some less populous settlement areas are notable – the fertile lands of islands (*kępa*): Puck and Swarzewska, though their average population is impacted by the vast areas of wetlands and the forests of Darżlubska Forest (*Puszcza Darżlubska*).

In the southern parts of the Voivodeship, the biggest settlement cluster is at the Vistula's riverside, in the open areas of Świecie district, southern parts of Człuchów, and Tuchola (with fertile clayey soils) where average population density reaches 20 people per one km<sup>2</sup>.

It bears mentioning that geomorphological and soil conditions may indicate various ways of land use in the area of parishes. The depiction of the phenomena using that level of administrative unit resulted in including in the areas of the parishes' less populated lands, consequently changing the

average population indicator, which in turn rendered some of the settlements impossible to detect, and impossible to depict on a map. As such, there are the parishes in the north of Człuchów district (Borzyszkowy and Brzeźno Szlacheckie) and Puck district (Krokowo parish). Even though they were the major clusters of Kashubian gentry, their average population does not exceed 10 people per one km<sup>2</sup>. It shows that an indicator calculated in such a way does not serve the purpose of depicting the real population distribution in the investigated area, e.g., in the arable lands only, excluding the forested and uncultivated lands. The issue is better addressed in the next map.

### Relative village population density (thematic map 4)

The map was based on the total area of arable land given in lans presented at the scale of parishes. The population density index was recalculated as follows: 16.8 ha, i.e., six lans per one km<sup>2</sup>; then the total population was divided by such recalculated arable land in lans to arrive at an average population density per one km<sup>2</sup> of arable land.

**Table 12. Village population density per 1 km<sup>2</sup> of arable land in Royal Prussia (in parishes)**

voivodeship	number of people per one km <sup>2</sup> of arable land							unknown	total no. of parishes (or their counterparts)
	0–15	15–20	20–25	25–30	30–35	35–40	over 40		
Chełmno	1	12	59	28	17	2	1	1	121
%	0.9	9.9	48.8	23.1	14.0	1.7	0.8	0.8	100
Malbork	–	7	29	7	2	2	–	–	47
%	–	14.8	64.3	14.9	4.3	4.3	–	–	100
Pomeranian	23	80	48	17	11	3	3	3	188
%	12.2	42.6	25.5	9.0	5.9	1.6	1.6	1.6	100
total	24	99	136	52	30	7	4	4	356
%	6.7	27.8	38.2	14.6	8.5	2.0	1.1	1.1	100

The table above indicates that in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeship, the parishes with 20–30 people per one km<sup>2</sup> of arable land predominate. The maximum population in Chełmno parishes reaches 38.9, while in Malbork it is 38.5. On average, in Chełmno, there are 24.8 people per one km<sup>2</sup> of arable land, while in Malbork 23.9.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, however, the parishes with 15–25 inhabitants per one km<sup>2</sup> of arable land come to the fore (68.1%). As many as 23 parishes (which constitutes 12.2%) had the lowest density – below 15 people (minimum 8.6) per one km<sup>2</sup>; the maximum density reached as many as 47 inhabitants per one km<sup>2</sup>. The average for the entire Voivodeship was at 22.6 people per one km<sup>2</sup>.

In Chełmno Voivodeship, as far as the largest settlements are concerned (understood as regions with more than 25 inhabitants per one km<sup>2</sup> of arable land), they are located near Toruń, Grudziądz, Radzyń, Golub, and Brodnica, or, more generally, in the western part of Chełmno district and eastern part of Michałowo district. In the east of the voivodeship, the largest settlement area is located in the centre of Lubawa lands. The least populated lands (less than 20) could be found in the south and north of Lubawa lands, as well as north of the town of Brodnica, while in the western regions such low population density is fairly rare and can be observed in Gubiny parish in the north of Chełmno district with the lowest population density of 12.6 per one km<sup>2</sup>.

In comparison with the absolute population density, this indicator presenting relative population density per one km<sup>2</sup> of arable land yielded some different results in the case of the territory of the town of Toruń, the Vistula riverbank area and by the Drewęca, near Golub, where heavily forested areas with previously low density now are among those with the high relative population density areas.

In Malbork Voivodeship, the highest population density (over 25 per one km<sup>2</sup>) can be observed within the town of Elbląg, in Dzierzgoń and Sztum vicinity, and the centre of Malbork in particular. The majority of Wielkie and Małe Żuławy Malborskie (*Greater and Lesser Żuławy*) is among the regions with average relative population density (with the sole exception of Lisewo by the Leniwka River). The parishes with lower relative population density could be found in the Tolkmicko region, and in the centre of Wielkie Żuławy Malborskie, though the ratio is never below 15 people per one km<sup>2</sup>.

So, the major differences, in comparison to the absolute population density, were in the Elbląg region and near Sztum. In Żuławy, however, there is no noticeable difference between the two maps. It can be explained by the lack of forested areas and wastelands in those heavily cultivated settlement regions.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, the highest relative population density (over 25 per one km<sup>2</sup>) can be observed in the riverside areas near Świecie, Gniew, and Gdańsk (including the town itself). The other stretches of, slightly less, populated areas are: the north-western part of the Puck district and the region near Mirachowo, as well as the north of Człuchów district. We can observe the average density (up to 25 per one km<sup>2</sup>) in Tuchola district, including the Tuchola Forests, while the lowest density – in the centre of the voivodeship, near Kościerzyna, Starogard, and Skarszewy.

It is clearly visible that in comparison to the absolute population density, the greatest settlement regions in Pomerania (*Pomorze*) were not located exclusively near the Vistula river and Gdańsk, and even in the northwest regions, particularly in Puck, Człuchów, and Tuchola district, which are heavily forested. It points to the existence of settlement “islands” in the vast body of the Tuchola Forest (parishes: Wiele, Brusy, Czersk, Osie, and Śliwice). The high relative population density in Puck and Mirachowo districts, as well as in the north of Człuchów district, indicates that important settlements, mostly of Kashubian gentry, were located there. On the other hand, the increase of population density is sometimes a result of the higher percentage of craftsmen among the villages, e.g., innkeepers in Lisewo, in Malbork Voivodeship, or ore miners in Oliwa parish, in Pomeranian. This issue will be elaborated on later.

To sum up, the map of relative population density neatly balances the one-sided perspective presented by the absolute population density data. It shows a greater variation of the population in the settlement regions, which we deem a better depiction of the actual state of the distribution of settlement in Royal Prussia. However, the key conclusion remains intact: Pomeranian Voivodeship was less populated than the two others.

## **The size of the rural and urban settlements (thematic map 5)**

Map number five complements the two previous ones depicting the rural and urban settlements in Royal Prussia, taking into account the number of their inhabitants.

The settlements were divided into eight groups as follows:

<b>category</b>	<b>no. of inhabitants</b>
I	1 – 30
II	30 – 100
III	100 – 200
IV	200 – 400
V	400 – 1,000
VI	1,000 – 2,000
VII	2,000 – 10,000
VIII	over 10,000

In terms of the type of settlement, the first z categories are rural, though the last one might also include smaller towns.

The results of such a division of settlements, grouped by voivodeship, are presented in the table below; the settlements belonging to the towns of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk were not included in the tally due to lack of data.

**Table 13. Size of the rural settlements in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	rural settlements with population of [no. of inhabitants]					size unspecified	total
	1–30	30–100	100–200	200–400	400–1,000		
Chełmno	106	175	187	71	2	72	613
%	17.4	28.5	30.5	11.6	0.3	11.7	100
Malbork	30	72	64	30	–	25	221
%	13.6	32.6	28.9	13.6	–	11.3	100
Pomeranian	211	420	219	56	1	80	987
%	21.3	42.6	22.2	5.7	0.1	8.1	100
Total	347	667	470	157	3	177	1821
%	19.1	36.7	25.8	8.6	0.1	9.7	100

The same division was applied to the settlements grouped by their ownership, which rendered the following results:

**Table 14. Size of the rural settlements in Chełmno Voivodeship, grouped by the ownership affiliation**

ownership affiliation	rural settlements with population of [no. of inhabitants]					size unspecified	total
	1–30	30–100	100–200	200–400	400–1,000		
royal	36	27	63	35	2	6	169
noble	36	94	61	7	–	42	240
Church	26	42	43	26	–	6	48
town-royal	8	12	19	3	–	6	48
unspecified	–	–	–	–	–	6	6
total	106	175	186	71	2	73	613
%	17.3	28.6	30.3	11.6	0.3	11.9	100

**Table 15. Size of the rural settlements in Malbork Voivodeship, grouped by the ownership affiliation**

ownership affiliation	rural settlements with population of [no. of inhabitants]					size unspecified	total
	1–30	30–100	100– 200	200– 400	400–1,000		
royal	15	42	52	27	–	7	143
noble	15	29	10	3	–	17	74
Church	–	–	2	–	–	–	2
town-royal	–	1	–	–	–	1	2
total	30	72	64	30	–	25	221
%	13.6	32.6	28.9	13.6	–	11,3	100

**Table 16. Size of the rural settlements in Pomeranian Voivodeship, grouped by the ownership affiliation**

ownership affiliation	rural settlements with population of [no. of inhabitants]					size unspecified	total
	1–30	30–100	100–200	200–400	400–1,000		
royal	61	106	107	33	1	15	323
noble	105	235	69	10	–	44	463
Church	34	72	41	12	–	14	173
town-royal	10	7	2	1	–	2	22
unspecified	1	–	–	–	–	5	6
total	211	420	219	56	1	80	987
%	21.4	42.6	22.2	5.6	0.1	8.1	100

**Table 17. Size of the rural settlements Royal Prussia, grouped by the ownership affiliation**

ownership affiliation	rural settlements with population of [no. of inhabitants]					size unspecified	total
	1–30	30–100	100–200	200–400	400–1,000		
royal	112	175	222	95	3	28	635
noble	156	358	140	20	–	103	777
Church	60	114	86	38	–	27	325
town-royal	18	20	21	4	–	9	72
unspecified	1	–	–	–	–	11	12
total	347	667	469	157	8,6	3	1 821
%	19.1	36.7	25.8	8.6	0.1	9.7	100

The average size of the rural settlement in Chełmno Voivodeship was at about 105 inhabitants, in Malbork at 108, while in Pomeranian only 78. The average for the entire Royal Prussia is 91, and the maximum size of the village was 625.

The distribution of urban settlements is presented below:

**Table 18. Size of the urban settlements in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	urban settlements with population of [no. of inhabitants]				total
	400–1,000	1,000–2,000	2,000–10,000	over 10,000	
Chełmno	3	9	1	1	14
Malbork	1	3	1	1	6
Pomeranian	8	7	–	1	16
total	12	19	2	3	36
%	33.4	52.8	5.5	8.3	100

In Chełmno Voivodeship, the average settlement is inhabited by approximately 2,100 people, in Malbork c.a. 3,950, and Pomeranian – 3,450. In the entire Royal Prussia, the average town is inhabited by 3,140 (with a minimum value of 420 and maximum 40,000 burghers).

The tables above indicate that among the rural settlements those of average size with 30–100 and 100–200 inhabitants prevail. They are usually smaller or middle-sized peasant villages and villages

inhabited by the farm gentry (*szlachta zagrodowa*) and demesne gentry (*szlachta folwarczna*). The settlements of 200–400 inhabitants, just like the remaining three villages of more than 400 (Lisewo and Gruta in Chełmno district and Skórcz in Nowe district in Pomeranian Voivodeship – all of which are royal property), were usually large peasant villages.

The category of smaller settlements includes mostly those located by the mills or inns, but also villages belonging to the demesne gentry (one or two families in one village), which is particularly notable in Pomeranian Voivodeship. A general conclusion can be made that the size of the village usually, though not always, corresponds to the ownership of the villages. The villages with more than 100 inhabitants usually belong to the king or the Church. We do, of course, infrequently encounter larger villages (more than 200 inhabitants) belonging to the nobility, though mostly in Człuchów district.

The conclusion above is supported by the findings of the map analysis. It is particularly visible for Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships; a greater density of smaller and middle-size in the western parts of Chełmno Voivodeship corresponds to the higher proportion of the noble property. The larger settlements, however, are located in Lubawa lands (the Chełmno bishopric territory) and in the lands belonging to the starosts of Brodno and Rogoźno.

In Malbork Voivodeship (excluding the Elbląg area) the greater density of smaller villages can be observed in the south-eastern region, which mostly belongs to the nobility, while the larger settlements are located in Żuławy, especially between the Leniwka and the Nogat (Malbork royal estates, *ekonomia malborska*).

In Pomeranian Voivodeship (excluding the territory of the town of Gdańsk), the majority of the settlements are of smaller size (1–30 and 30–100 inhabitants). It is, undoubtedly, eventuated by the considerable share of inn and mill villages (royal property mostly) scattered throughout the Pomeranian forests. Similarly, contrary to the two other Voivodeships, a smaller number of peasants in royal and Church villages, and a higher number of farm gentry families does not allow for drawing any swift conclusions concerning the ownership affiliation on the basis of the property's population. In the voivodeship, there is a majority of smaller settlements (1–100 inhabitants) each belonging to all categories of the property owners likewise. Only the largest settlements (of more than 200 villagers) belong either to the Crown or the Church; they cluster in the riverside stretch and the south of Tuchola and Człuchów district. The larger noble settlements are notable in the northern and central part of Człuchów district (Kashubian gentry area).

As far as the urban settlements are concerned, we can observe the prevalence of smaller ones which is particularly visible in Pomeranian Voivodeship, and the middle-sized ones, particularly those of 1,000–2,000 burghers (52.8%). The presence of the three largest towns of more than 10,000 residents leaves its mark on the entire settlement landscape, especially if we take into consideration the fact that in the remaining 2,000–10,000 category there are only two towns: Chełmno and Malbork.

## **Distribution of smallholder and cotter population (thematic map 6)**

Map number six aims to present one of the major socio-economic problems in Royal Prussia, which is the issue of wage labourers among peasants, known in Polish under the names “komornik” (Cotter) and “zagrodnik” (*hortulani, smallholders*).

The importance of smallholders in the peasant and manorial economy of Prussia as early as in the times of the Teutonic Order has drawn the attention of scholars often enough.<sup>43</sup> Many an interesting remark were made by J. Rutkowski,<sup>44</sup> and more recently by A. Mączak and W. Odyńiec.<sup>45</sup> The works

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. H. Plehn, *Zur Geschichte der Agrarverfassung in Ost- und Westpreussen*, „Forschungen zur brandenburgisch-preussischen Geschichte”, vol. 17, 1904, p. 82 f.; H. Steffen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des ländlichen Gesindes in Preussen am Ausgange des Altmittelalters*, Królewiec 1903, p. 70 f.

<sup>44</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Pańszczyzna i praca najemna*, p. 40 f.

<sup>45</sup> A. Mączak, *Folwark pańszczyźniany a wieś w Prusach Królewskich w XVI–XVII w.*, PH, vol. 47, 1956, no. 2, pp. 359 f.; W. Odyńiec, *Ghurzy i golce na Żuławach w roku 1673*, „Rocznik Gdański”, vol. 14, 1955.

based on the starostwos' [*lands governed by starosta* – translator's note] inspections emphasise as a key factor the need for smallholders, especially in the royal estates. The acquired sources enabled us to fairly precisely estimate the population of landless peasants for the first time (apart from the territory of the towns of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk).

We know that the landless peasants (commonly known as "ogrodnicy" [*hortulani*]) were located near the Prussian villages and manor demesnes to serve as hired hands. Sometimes they were grouped in special "*hortulani*" villages (*wsie zagrodnicze*) near the manors,<sup>46</sup> a practice present already in the Teutonic times. They could not be counted as wage labourers per se, as they were forced to do additional work for a specified pay, usually paid in kind, and their freedom of movement was also restricted. Yet, they were relatively mobile; despite all the measures to prevent that, they often changed their whereabouts. They can be roughly divided into three categories: demesne/castle *hortulani* (*folwarczni/zamkowi*), peasant *hortulani* (*gburscy*), and commune's *hortulani* (*gmińscy*), who were located for the benefit of the entire village or community. The peasant and commune ones were often additionally forced to work in the manor demesnes, particularly the royal ones.

The division proposed above is not represented in the majority of the source material (especially in the key primary source – tax registers) where another criterion is used, namely division into smallholders without and with arable land. The first group occupied separate cottages with a garden paying 1–2 grosz in 1570 in Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships, and presumably four grosz in 1581 in Mabork Voivodeship.<sup>47</sup> The latter, called "*robotnych, co rolę mają*" (*hard-working, with arable land*), undoubtedly owned a small plot of land next to their cottage, which was granted outside of the village peasants' fields, and for which they paid four grosz in 1570 and, supposedly, six grosz in 1581.<sup>48</sup> Small as they were, the fields could not constitute a separate farmstead. The third category found in the sources were the "free, commune" *hortulani* (*wolni gmińscy*) or "hired hands" also called "those who earn the rent", paying the highest tax – six or 12 grosz.<sup>49</sup> Apart from the cottage and the garden, the smallholders also owned cattle, or sometimes became craftsmen, which will be addressed below in greater detail.

We should note that the term *hortulani* is often used to describe the group of "rataje" (*oracze, ploughmen*) who, despite formally being servants, undoubtedly can be counted as hired hands.<sup>50</sup> However, drawing on the fact that they often owned land (i.e., cottage with a garden) the sources, especially the tax registers, often equate them with the smallholders. Such a practice is rarely possible to detect in the sources,<sup>51</sup> which results in counting them in the group of smallholders<sup>52</sup> and only specifying the possible difference in the footnotes.

The previous considerations, though incomplete in their nature, are necessary to properly understand the tables below presenting the categories of smallholders in Royal Prussia. They are, to a large extent, based on the data acquired from tax registers, because only those sources proved satisfactory to establish and widely apply the categories mentioned above. Due to some supplementary sources failing to provide any detailed distinction, except the total number of smallholders, an "unspecified" category was introduced. It also includes the estimated, relatively small number of smallholders, especially in the case of Chełmno Voivodeship (about 9%) added to the tally. The tables do not pertain to the territories of the towns of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk.

It was decided to elaborate the table presenting each Voivodeship separately because the tax registers from Malbork Voivodeship (years 1581–1582) list and assume slightly different categories than those from the two other voivodeships (from years 1570–1571).

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. B. Geremek, *Problem siły roboczej w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV w.*, PH, vol. 48, 1957, no. 2, p. 201.

<sup>47</sup> The criteria were assumed by the tax registrars in Royal Prussia on the basis of tax proclamations from 1569 and 1581; VL, vol. 2, pp. 103, 213.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 18 (Błędowo, Grudziądz starostwo), 20 (Skarszewo, Pokrzywin starostwo).

<sup>49</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 6 (Lisewo, Lipień starostwo), 16 (Linowo, Radzyń starostwo), 20 (Wiewiórki, Pokrzywin starostwo).

<sup>50</sup> A. Mączak, *Folwark pańszczyźniany*, p. 363.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 39 (Salno), 299 (Krotoszyny i Mózgowo); ASK I 120, p. 12 (Igły) – „ab five hortulanis rattays”.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the notes by J. Rutkowski, *Pańszczyzna i praca najemna*, pp. 44–45.

**Table 19. Classification of smallholders in Chełmno Voivodeship (1570–1571)**

ownership affiliation	no. of smallholders paying rent [grosz]						total
	1 (without arable land)	2 (without arable land)	4 (with arable land)	6 gr (free wage labourers)	12 gr	unspecified	
royal	15	952	57 <sup>53</sup>	85	1	102	1,212
noble	14	1,235	11	6	–	206 <sup>54</sup>	1,472
Church	–	502	–	18	1	137	658
town-royal	–	119	–	–	–	177	296
<b>total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>2,808</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>622</b>	<b>3,638</b>

The total number of smallholders in the entire Royal Prussia amounts to 7,636 (workers) and having included also the estimated numbers for the area of the three largest towns, most probably to approximately 8,000. The tables above indicate that the most notable category of the smallholders is that called “bezrolni” (*without arable land*) who paid 1–2 grosz rent in the year 1570, and four grosz in 1581. It amounts to 4,783 people, which translates to 62.6% of their total number. Apart from them, there was a significant group of smallholders who owned land and paid four grosz in 1570 and six grosz in 1581. It accounts for 1,108 out of 6,300 smallholders in Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships. The dominance of the smallholders without arable land, which renders them more mobile and less connected with particular villages, remains indisputable.

**Table 20. Classification of smallholders in Malbork Voivodeship (1581–1582)**

ownership affiliation	no. of smallholders paying rent [grosz]					total
	4 gr	6 gr	8 gr	2 gr	unspecified	
royal	592	18	32	116	151	909
noble	324 <sup>55</sup>	7	1	20	75	427
Church	–	–	–	–	–	–
town-royal	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>total</b>	<b>916</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>1 336</b>

**Table 21. Classification of smallholders in Pomeranian Voivodeship (1570–1571)**

ownership affiliation	no. of smallholders paying rent [grosz]						total
	2 gr (without arable land)	4 gr (with arable land)	6 gr (free wage labourers)	8 gr	12 gr	unspecified	
royal	395	461	153	–	7	116	1,132 <sup>56</sup>
noble	540	275	56	1	–	92	964
Church	90	275	56	–	–	108	529
town-royal	5	29	3	–	–	–	37
<b>total</b>	<b>1,030</b>	<b>1,040</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>2,662</b>

<sup>53</sup> Two ploughmen listed in Krotoszyny and Mózgowo, Michałowo district; cf. footnote no. 51.

<sup>54</sup> Two ploughmen listed near Salno, Chełmno district; cf. footnote no. 51. The number 206 of unspecified smallholders includes also the 99 estimated smallholders.

<sup>55</sup> Including 32 ploughmen in: Chojty – 4, Cieszynowo W. – 1, Cieszynowo M. – 1, Dąbrowa (Dammerau) – 2, Górki – 2, Igly – 5, Jeziorno – 2, Labusztyn – 2, Linki – 2, Polaszki – 4, Wątkowice M. – 1, Wątkowice W. – 2, Witki – 2, as well as two ploughmen of M. Branta (with no designated village) ASK I 120, pp. 12, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24. It is notable that in the printed tax register of 1582, the ploughmen are given in the total number of smallholders, which renders them indistinguishable.

<sup>56</sup> Including 14 ploughmen in: Brody – 1, Ciepłe – 4, Gronowo – 4 (manor demesnes in Gniewno district), Kłonówka, Tczew district – 3; ASK XLVI 28, pp. 509, 515, 520, 547; Bralewica – 1, Dąbrówka – 1 (Tuchola starostwo’s demesnes); ibidem, pp. 91, 93.

The role of the smallholders in Royal Prussia is well depicted by the comparison of total numbers of peasants and smallholders in the voivodeships.

voivodeship	smallholders	peasants	proportion
Chełmno	3,638	4,968	73/100
Malbork	1,336	1,811	74/100
Pomeranian	2,662	6,199	43/100

The table indicates that in the two first voivodeships there are 1.5 as many peasants as smallholders. In Pomeranian, however, there are twice as many. We have to bear in mind, though, that some of the smallholders were employed in the manor demesnes, particularly the royal ones.

Assuming that the number of smallholders should be, on average, multiplied by four to account for the number of people in their families, we arrive at the following numbers of the village population (excluding the territory of the towns of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk):

**Table 22. Village population of Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	smallholder population	entire village population	share of the smallholders
Chełmno	14,552	64,450	22.6
Malbork	5,344	23,812	22.5
Pomeranian	10,648	77,247	13.8
<b>total</b>	<b>30,544</b>	<b>165,509</b>	<b>18.5</b>

In comparison to 12% of the share of smallholders in the central Crown lands,<sup>57</sup> the share at 13.8% – 44.6% in Prussia testifies to their vital importance. The numbers for the particular voivodeships become even more vivid when applied to the parishes' scale (depicting parishes and their administrative counterparts).

**Table 23. Share of smallholders in parishes of Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	parishes						
	no. smallholders.	0–10%	10–20%	20–30%	over 30%	unknown	total
Chełmno	2	10	42	42	21	4	121
%	1.6	8.3	34.7	34.7	17.4	3.3	100
Malbork	–	2	19	18	7	1	47
%	–	4.3	40.4	38.3	14.9	2.1	100
Pomeranian	18	78	56	28	6	2	188
%	9.6	41.5	29.8	14.9	3.1	1.1	100
total	20	90	117	88	34	7	356
%	5.6	25.3	32.9	24.7	9.5	2.0	100

The table above speaks of the predominant share of parishes with 10–30% of smallholders in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships. The highest share can be observed in parishes in Chełmno where the smallholders can account for as much as 45% of the entire village population (the minimum share there is 2.2%); in Malbork, the highest population share of smallholders is 43.2%, and the minimum –2.4%.

<sup>57</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1947, p. 146.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, however, there are 18 parishes with no smallholders whatsoever and parishes with their 0–20% share are predominant. The maximum numbers there are 76% and 1.2%. The numbers clearly indicate their less vital role in the rural economy of the voivodeship.

As far as the entire Royal Prussia is concerned, the parishes with 10–20% of smallholder families are most common and account for 32.9% of all the parishes.

Map number six depicts the spatial distribution of the smallholder population in Prussia. Their share is notable (over 20% of the village population) in the western part of the Chełmno Voivodeship, particularly in Chełmża, Grudziądz, and Radzyn area. In the east of the Voivodeship, in Michałowo district (excluding the Brodnica, Kurzętnik, and Nowe Miasto regions), their share is usually smaller (less than 20%).

In Malbork Voivodeship, the greatest clusters of smallholders can be observed in the central area stretching from the Leniwka (near Tezew) as far as the eastern border near Dzierzgoń and Lake Drużno. There is even a separate smallholder village by Mątowy Małe manor demesne (Mątowy Wielkie parish). The lowest concentration of smallholders is in the Tolkmicko region and in the north-western part of Żuławy, where it usually does not even reach 10% (in all but two parishes in Żuławy).

Pomeranian Voivodeship, however, presents a completely different picture. The highest concentration of smallholders can be observed in the riverside area stretching from Świecie up to Gdańsk, although only in five cases it exceeds 30% of all village population. Parishes with 20–30% of smallholders are among those with their lower or even the lowest share. The parishes with average share are scattered near Tuchola and Człuchów (with the smallholder village called Ledyczek in the parish of the same name being particularly notable), as well as Puck and Żarnowiec. The majority of the western part of the voivodeship is characterised by a relatively low share of smallholders (0–10%). Most of the area is densely forested and is characterised by the lowest soil classes, cultivated by Kashubian petty gentry.

It is worth noting that in the area of the largest towns, i.e., Elbląg and Gdańsk, the share of shareholder population is supposedly at a high level, at least 20–30%, which is supported by some partial sources for particular villages there, as well as by the guidelines from the sixteenth century for the peasants to settle one smallholder per every four lans of arable land<sup>58</sup> in Gdańsk Żuławy (Żuławy Steblewskie), a similar region to abutting Great and Lesser Żuławy in Malbork Voivodeship.<sup>59</sup>

The map also illustrates the distribution of cotters (*komornicy, inquilini*) in the parishes. Cotters, similarly to smallholders, play an important role as wage labourers in the Prussian villages.

Little is known of the legal standing of this social group. It was common for the cotter to be single, often widowed. Similar to the smallholders, the cotter population was diverse. It is exemplified by the level of tax they paid – the lowest two grosz fee, or higher if they owned cattle, e.g., in 1570 – four grosz or more. The division is illustrated by the tables showing the number of the working people only, given below. Just like the previous tables, they were based on the tax registers from 1570–1571 in Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships, and 1581–1582 ones in Malbork, with some minor corrections, introduced based on some supplementary sources in the case of Chełmno Voivodeship (the towns of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk excluded).

**Table 24. Classification of cotters in Chełmno Voivodeship (1570–1571)**

ownership affiliation	no. of cotters paying rent [grosz]										total
	1	1.5	2	3	4	5	6	10	12	unspec.	
royal	1	2	80	5	138	2	12	–	2	7	249
noble	–	–	8	3	42	2	65	1	–	18	139
Church	–	–	–	–	28	2	10	–	1	99	140
town-royal	–	–	–	–	38	–	5	–	–	53	96
total	1	2	88	8	246	6	92	1	3	177	624

<sup>58</sup> PAN library in Gdańsk, MS 657, p. 256 (r. 1592).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. A. Mączak, *Folwark pańszczyźniany*, p. 367, the decree from 1565.

**Table 25. Classification of cotters in Malbork Voivodeship (data from 1570–1571)**

ownership affiliation	no. of cotters paying rent [grosz]				total
	2	4	8	unspec.	
royal	159	6	10	14	189
noble	45	4	4	15	68
Church	–	–	–	–	–
town-royal	–	–	–	–	–
total	204	10	14	29	257

**Table 26. Classification of cotters in Pomeranian Voivodeship (1570–1571)**

ownership affiliation	no. of cotters paying rent [grosz]						total
	2 gr	4 gr	6 gr	8 gr	12 gr	unspec.	
royal	7	10	–	1	55	–	73
noble	–	–	1	–	27	–	28
Church	2	9	–	–	28	–	39
town-royal	–	–	–	–	5	–	5
total	9	19	1	1	115	–	145

The total number of cotters in Royal Prussia was 1,026 (c.a. 1,100 including the estimated number of cotters in the three largest towns). The majority of them belong to the poorer class of cotters, which is particularly true for Malbork Voivodeship. In the two other voivodeships, the cotters with cattle (paying four grosz or more) dominate. Comparing the numbers of cotters with the smallholders, the numbers are seven times lower, which points to their role being less vital in the husbandry of Royal Prussia.

Assuming that the number of cotters should be, on average, multiplied by 3 to account for the number of people in their families, we arrive at the following numbers for the particular voivodeships:

**Table 27. Cotter population in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	cotter population	village population	share of cotters in village population %
Chełmno	1,872	64,450	2.9
Malbork	771	23,812	3.2
Pomeranian	435	77,247	0.6
Total	3,078	165,509	1.9

Taking into account the possible underrepresentation of the cotter population in relation to the smallholder population due to a smaller multiplier, we still have to assert the dominance of the smallholders over the cotters.<sup>60</sup> The share of the cotters in the parishes is relatively low.

Looking at the table, we see that in Chełmno Voivodeship, in 1/3 of all of the parishes, there are no cotters whatsoever. In the remaining ones, the numbers are small or average, i.e., 0.1%–3% and 3–6% (53.7% of all). Only in 10 parishes (8.3% of all parishes), the share of cotters exceeds 6% (the maximum is 9.8%). In Malbork Voivodeship, the situation is similar, though the number of parishes with a slightly higher share of cotters – more than 3 and 6% – is bigger at 42.6% (the maximum share reaches up to 9.7%). The data for Pomeranian Voivodeship paint a completely different picture: in ¾ parishes, the sources do not confirm any existence of cotters, while in the remaining ones the

<sup>60</sup> A different stance by A. Mączak (ibidem, p. 366) finds no confirmation in the source material.

share is 0.1%–3% (with maximum 6.2%). For the entire area of Royal Prussia, the parishes with no cotters constitute 53.9% and those with their lower share 24.4%.

**Table 28. Share of cotter population in the parishes in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	parishes				unknown	total
	no. cotters	0,1–3%	3–6%	over 6%		
Chełmno	40	36	29	10	6	121
%	33.1	29.7	24.0	8.3	4.9	100
Malbork	11	15	14	6	1	47
%	23.4	31.9	29.8	12.8	2.1	100
Pomeranian	141	36	8	1	2	188
%	75.0	19.1	4.3	0.5	1.1	100
total	192	87	51	17	9	356
%	53.9	24.4	14.4	4.8	2.5	100

Consulting the map, we find that the cotters in Chełmno Voivodeship lived in the southwest of the Chełmno district (parishes with 3% and 6% of cotters), and in Michałowo district (less densely). In Malbork Voivodeship, the highest density of cotters can be observed in the stretch between Sztum and Dzierzgoń, lower and average density – in Żuławy, while in Tolkmicko there are no cotter population.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, the cotters lived only in small numbers, mostly in the riverside areas in Puck and Kościerzyna regions, rarely in Tuchola district.

The problem of servants, smallholders and cotters, discussed above, does not exhaust the issue of the workforce in the farmsteads in Royal Prussia. Among those, we can also count fully free wage labourers, namely seasonal workers hired during the harvest. The group was indispensable, particularly in the peasant farmstead in Malbork Żuławy.<sup>61</sup> Being mobile – they were called “luźni ludzie”<sup>62</sup> (*loose/mobile persons*), they were coming to Prussia in the spring and leaving in the autumn. Most had been coming from the Crown, especially from Mazovia since the end of the fifteenth century. Some of them were also delinquents from the lesser Prussian towns (as it was established for the Chełmno Voivodeship).<sup>63</sup> All in all, those mobile persons in majority came from outside of Royal Prussia and supplemented the peasant workforce in the times of harvest and threshing, when necessary. This process is particularly worth emphasising and noting in order to fully understand the demography of Malbork Voivodeship, which, contrary to our expectations, did not show a greater density of local hired hands, i.e., smallholders and cotters. One explanation is that the seasonal workers were mostly hired in the peasant farmsteads in Żuławy, which is firmly supported by the studies pointing to Malbork Voivodeship being a primary destination of the influx of free hired hands from Mazovia.<sup>64</sup>

Unfortunately, the numbers of the hired hands population elude us, as the sources are scanty on this free wage labourers’ group, only rarely mentioned in the tax registers by the officials, especially in the wintertime.<sup>65</sup> That is why, despite emphasising the role the hired hands played in the village workforce in Royal Prussia, also having in mind our estimations, we have to resort to the numbers acquired from the tax registers from the years 1570–1582.

The numbers are undoubtedly underrepresented, especially, as it was said above, in the case of Malbork Voivodeship, and may only indicate that a greater share of hired hands was employed in the royal and Church estates.

<sup>61</sup> For more information on the matter cf. *ibidem*, pp. 363, 367.

<sup>62</sup> H. Plehn, *Zur Geschichte der Agrarverfassung*, p. 91; J.A. Gierowski, *Luźni ludzie na Mazowszu w świetle uchwał sejmikowych*, PH, vol. 40, 1950, pp. 165 f.; S. Śreniowski, *Zbiegostwo chłopów w dawnej Polsce*, Warsaw 1948, pp. 78 f.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. H. Plehn, *Geschichte des Kreises Strassburg in Westpreussen*, Lipsk 1900, p. 176.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. J. A. Gierowski, *Luźni ludzie na Mazowszu*, pp. 174–175.

<sup>65</sup> In our sources also called „luźni, dienstlose, hultaje, vagi”<sup>1</sup>, as well as „vagi mercenarii passim reperti” (in Malbork Żuławy); ASK I 120, p. 58.

**Table 29. Free hired hands in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	royal property	noble property	Church property	town property	total
Chełmno	57	28	40	3	128
Malbork	37	5	–	–	42
Pomeranian	39	5	24	2	70
total	133	38	64	5	240

## Demography and social structure of village population (thematic map 7)

Map number seven aims to depict the demography of the village population in the districts of Royal Prussia. Although it is based on the tables and data presented above, it required some adjustments: the peasant population (comprising the peasant families of five people) was presented separately from the remaining servants and staff (*czeladź*) group working in both peasant and demesne farmsteads in all types of property. That way we arrived at the estimated numbers properly representing this important, and populous social group in its entirety. In the other columns, the two other categories of wage labourers are given, i.e., smallholders and cotters. The craftsmen and workers connected with the forest economy (beekeepers and fishermen) were given a separate column; noble families were also shown separately.<sup>66</sup> The last column covers the minor population groups with various occupations (e.g., peddlers) or with unspecified occupation (accounting for the estimated numbers for some districts, where the sources were incomplete). That way we arrive at a relatively comprehensive cross-section of the occupational groups among the village population. Unfortunately, we had to exclude from the tally the Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk districts due to lack of data.

The table with the village population social structure in the voivodeships and districts as well as the entire Royal Prussia can be found below.

The data in table 30 clearly speak of two key phenomena: 1) large share of peasants' population,<sup>67</sup> numerous irrespective of the voivodeship, comprising between 38% and 40.1% of their population, and 39.2% for the entire Prussia, which is nearly 2/5 of the entire population, 2) the importance of the wage labourers (servants, smallholders, cotters), who constitute 43.4% of all of the population of Royal Prussia, again, c.a. 2/5. Altogether, the categories of the wage labourers exceed even the number of peasants with land, the phenomenon unparalleled in the other regions of the Crown. Peasants and landless peasants together comprise 82.6% of all the village population. Among the remaining categories, a prominent group constituting 8.2%, are the craftsmen. The percentage of the craftsmen connected with the forest economy is marginal, although it bears mentioning that it was rather treated as an additional source of income, moonlighting of a sort, rendering it difficult to measure statistically. The percentage of nobility (5.2%) points to the small share of this privileged feudal class in comparison to the entirety of the village population, as well as compared to the situation in other Crown lands. It

<sup>66</sup> The nobility was not divided into the demesne and farm gentry, as the issue will be addressed in greater detail below in the chapter on the *Holdings and social structure of the nobility class*.

<sup>67</sup> We also provide the tables of the peasant population in each voivodeship, along with the numbers of the peasant servants (the territories of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk excluded).

voivodeship	no. of peasants	peasants with their families	servants	total
Chełmno	4,968	24,840	11,545	36,385
Malbork	1,811	9,055	5,077	14,132
Pomeranian	6,199	30,995	14,984	45,979
total	12,978	64,890	31,606	96,496

**Table 30. Demography of the village population of Royal Prussia**

voivodeship – district	peasant population		servants		smallholders		cotters		craftsmen		craftsmen connected with forestry		noble		various occupations		total
		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
Chełmno Voi. (the town of Chełmno excluded)																	
Chełmno distr.	11,595	36.0	6,058	18.8	8,544	26.5	1,158	3.6	2,578	8.0	200	0.6	1,410	4.4	680	2.1	32,223
Michałowó distr.	7,020	43.3	3,480	21.5	3,196	19.7	180	1.1	855	5.3	120	0.7	996	6.1	369	2.3	16,216
Chełmno bishopric territory	4,910	40.1	3,223	26.3	1,960	15.9	300	2.5	924	7.6	140	1.1	588	4.8	206	1.7	12,251
the town of Touń	1,315	35.0	872	23.2	852	22.7	234	6.2	330	8.8	15	0.4	–	–	142	3.7	3,760
total	24,840	38.5	13,633	21.2	14,552	22.6	1,872	2.9	14,687	7.3	475	0.7	2,994	4.6	1,397	2.2	64,450
Malbork Voi. (the town of Elbląg excluded)	9,055	38.0	5,583	23.4	5,344	22.5	771	3.2	1,954	8.2	245	1.1	240	1.0	620	2.6	23,812
Pomeranian Voi. (the town of Gdańsk excluded)																	
Człuchów distr.	5,825	43.7	3,465	26.1	840	6.3	6	0.1	926	7.0	475	3.6	1,458	10.9	300	2.3	13,295
Gdańsk distr.	2,420	38.7	1,389	22.3	900	14.4	15	0.2	713	11.4	210	3.4	336	5.4	267	4.2	6,250
Mirachowo distr.	1,420	35.4	1,027	25.6	280	7.0	–	–	289	7.0	95	2.4	816	20.4	88	2.2	4,015
Nowe distr.	1,585	35.8	925	20.9	1,044	23.6	54	1.2	472	10.7	110	2.5	144	3.3	90	2.0	4,424
Puck distr.	3,515	46.9	1,957	26.1	720	9.6	45	0.6	528	7.1	50	0.6	504	6.7	179	2.4	7,498
Świecie distr.	4,350	39.5	2,329	21.2	2,384	21.6	93	0.8	1,151	10.5	175	1.6	420	3.8	113	1.0	11,015
Tczew distr.	8,650	39.1	5,637	25.5	3,484	15.7	210	0.9	2,192	9.9	365	1.6	996	4.5	609	2.8	22,143
Tuchola distr.	3,230	37.5	2,158	25.1	996	11.6	12	0.1	665	7.7	625	7.3	26	8.4	95	2.3	8,607
total	30,995	40.1	18,887	24.5	10,648	13.8	435	0.6	6,936	9.0	2,105	2.7	5,400	7.0	1,841	2.3	77,247
Royal Prussia	64,890	39.2	38,103	23.0	30,544	18.5	3,078	1.9	13,577	3.2	2,825	1.7	8,634	5.2	3,858	2.3	165,509

is a result of the size of peasant fields, their share in the entirety of the land and the relatively small numbers of petty gentry in the area.

Analysing map number seven in the district scale, we can conclude that in the area of Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships likewise, the most prominent social classes are peasants, servants, and smallholders. Craftsmen also appear to be well represented, especially in Chełmno district.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship in turn, in the case of some districts (Mirachowo, Tuchola) we can observe a lower share of peasants along with a higher share of servants and gentry. Those regions are inhabited by farm gentry families. In most of the districts in the voivodeship, there are fewer smallholders and cotters, with the exception of the Vistula riverside areas (Świecie, Nowe, Tczew, and Gdańsk district). The share of craftsmen is the highest in Gdańsk, Nowe, Świecie and Tczew districts, while in Człuchów and Tuchola district the share of the population working in forest-connected jobs, like beekeeping, is relatively higher.

### **Holdings and social structure of the nobility (thematic map 8)**

Map number eight illustrates the heterogeneity of Prussian nobility. It was based on the data acquired from the noble families' files containing figures on the size of their arable land. It, in turn, laid at the foundation of the division of the nobility class into demesne nobility with peasants (paying 20 grosz per lan in 1570–1571 and 30 grosz in 1581–1582) and without peasants, i.e., farm gentry paying 12 grosz (or 15 grosz in 1581–1582) per lan. The calculated numbers are as follows:

**Table 31. Nobility with peasants in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	owners paying 20 grosz per lan								total
	0.5–3	3–6	6–10	10–15	15–20	20–30	30–60	over 60	
Chełmno	43	30	24	14	8	14	5	7	145
Malbork	–	2	5	1	4	5	1	3	21
Pomeranian	89	61	35	38	17	19	20	10	289
Total	132	93	64	53	29	38	26	20	455

**Table 32. Nobility without peasants in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	owners paying 12 grosz per lan						total
	0.5–3	3–6	6–10	10–15	15–20	20–30	
Chełmno	102	67	28	15	2		214
Malbork	–	2	5	2	2	2	13
Pomeranian	305	154	70	16	3	2	550
Total	407	223	103	33	7	4	777

The acreage belonging to the noble families who did not own peasants, seemingly belonging to the “farm” gentry is stunning. As it was described above, a need arose to differentiate among the noble families without peasants the group of actual “farm gentry”, and then counting the remaining ones among the demesne gentry, who did not own any peasants as well. Consequently, the category of farm gentry only included the families owning 0.5–3 lans of land.

Having done that, in the following tables the gentry is divided into:

- 1) Demesne gentry owning peasants;
- 2) Demesne gentry without peasants;
- 3) Farm gentry with 0.5–3 lans of arable land.

The first group, i.e., the demesne gentry, is further divided into “middle-class” gentry with up to 10 peasant lans (including the demesne land, altogether about 15 lans) and those owning more than 10 lans of peasant arable land. That way we managed to distinguish great landholders among the nobility, who, with some reservations in mind, can be called “Prussian Latyfundium owners”. The criterion of at least 10 lans of land cultivated by the peasants, relatively adequately – as far as the acquired sources may attest – reflects the ownership structure of the middle and upper class of Prussian nobility.

We should also clarify that the elaboration of the table above encountered significant problems with lack of sources, pertaining to the noble ownership structure in each of the Voivodeships respectively. For Malbork Voivodeship, the data covered only 70% of noble settlements, for Chełmno – 80%, and Pomeranian, even though covered the most, there were sources only for 90%. On average, the sources lacked between 15% and 20% of data. That was the reason why we deem the numbers presented in the classifications in this chapter (tables 31, 32 and further), concerning the people in noble families and acreage they owned, under representative. It was decided that the figures will refer to the actual numbers acquired from the sources, not the total, estimated values. It also explains why the figures concerning the village population and social structure are lower than those previously discussed.

**Table 33. Social structure of the nobility in Chełmno Voivodeship<sup>68</sup>**

district	I		II		III		V		total
	owning 10 or more peasant lans		owning less than 10 peasant lans		owning more than 3 lans of land, without peasants		farm gentry with 0.5–3 lans of land, without peasants		
	population	no. of lans	population	no. of lans	population	no. of lans	population	no. of lans	
Chełmno	35	1,034	65	315	70	510	38	87	208
Michałowó	13	372	32	126	42	257	64	146	151
total	48	1,406	97	441	112	767	102	233	359 <sup>69</sup>
average acreage per person [lan/person]		29.2		4.5		6.8		2.3	–

**Table 34. Social structure of the nobility in Malbork Voivodeship**

administrative unit	I		II		III		IV		total
	population	no. of lans							
average acreage per person [lan/person]	14	593	7	52	13	163	–	–	34 <sup>70</sup>
average acreage per person [lan/person], excluding Elbląg		42.3		7.4		12.5	–	–	–

**Table 35. Social structure of the nobility in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district	I		II		III		IV		total
	population	no. of lans							
Czuchów	23	753	74	300	37	209	100	172	234

<sup>68</sup> In the table for Chełmno Voivodeship 95 noble vassals from the territory of Chełmno district were not included (cf. above) as in fact, they were not the actual owners of the land. Otherwise, they would have been included in group III, namely the farm gentry without peasants (with more than 3 lans of arable land).

<sup>69</sup> In the calculations, the estimated 42 (12%) noblemen were added.

<sup>70</sup> In the calculations, the estimated 6 (18%) noblemen were added.

district	I		II		III		IV		total
	population	no. of lans							
Gdańsk	4	155	5	21	29	210	11	25	49
Mirachowo	2	46	5	12	26	131	83	187	116
Nowe	7	212	9	55	6	32	–	–	22
Puck	9	183	10	38	25	153	37	74	81
Świecie	23	690	30	124	13	107	3	7	69
Tezew	33	724	35	162	57	390	29	73	154
Tuchola	3	91	17	51	52	336	42	92	114
total	104	2,854	185	763	245	1,568	305	630	839 <sup>71</sup>
average acreage per person [lan/person]		27.4		4.1		6.4		2.1	–

**Table 36. Social structure of the nobility in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	I		II		III		IV		total
	population	no. of lans							
Chełmno	48	1,406	97	441	112	767	102	233	359
Malbork	14	593	7	52	13	163	–	–	34
Pomeranian	104	2,854	185	763	245	1,568	305	630	839
total	166	4,853	289	1,256	370	2,498	407	863	1,232
average acreage per person [lan/person]		29.2		4.3		6.8		2.1	

**Table 37. Social structure of the “upper” class of nobility in Royal Prussia (owning over 10 peasant lans)**

voivodeship	owning [peasant lans]							total
	10–15 lans	15–20 lans	20–30 lans	30–40 lans	40–50 lans	50–60 lans	over 60 lans	
Chełmno	15	8	13	3	1	1	7	48
Malbork	1	4	5	–	–	1	3	14
Pomeranian	38	17	19	12	4	4	10	104
total	54	29	37	15	5	6	20	166
%	32.5	17.5	22.3	9.1	3.0	3.6	12.0	100

Among the entirety of the nobility of the Royal Prussia, the middle class of gentry seems particularly prominent (category II and III), i.e., those owning up to 10 lans of arable land (the average: 4.3, including the estimated demesne land – 6.5 lans on average) or up to demesne lans with hired labour (on average 6.8 l.). The gentry with 10 peasant lans or more is represented by a substantial group of 166 landowners (29.2 lans on average per one owner; including the estimated demesne lans – c.a. 42 lans). The farm gentry is substantial in numbers (407 owners, with on average 2.1 lans) and comprises about one-third of all the noble owners, despite holding only a minor portion of the entire arable land. It is a direct result of a great proportion of peasant lans being in the hands of demesne nobility and

<sup>71</sup> In the calculations, the estimated 61 (7%) noblemen were added.

the farm nobility owning a high number of demesne arable lands. We may suppose that the population and holdings of the latter are the highest compared to the other Crown lands, which leaves its mark on the entire social structure of Prussian nobility.

The groups discussed above vary in terms of their location and distribution. The group number I, i.e., those with more than 10 lans, is present in each of the voivodeships, however, it is most numerous in Malbork, where, in turn, farm gentry was non-existent. In the remaining two voivodeships the wealthiest group is less populous (relatively to the overall noble population), because the middle class of gentry dominated there, with a reservation, that the proportion of the gentry with peasants in their domains was higher in Chełmno Voivodeship. However, in Pomeranian Voivodeship, the demesne gentry without peasants is clearly predominant. Similarly, in this voivodeship, there is a significant population of petty farm gentry, much greater than in Chełmno Voivodeship.

The situation described above becomes even more vivid and palpable when we discuss it at the level of districts, which lay at the foundation for the elaboration of the thematic map. The bar graphs given on the map depict the number of lans belonging to the four categories of nobility as well as their arable land given in peasant, demesne and smallholders' lans, differentiated with hachures and colours.

In Chełmno Voivodeship, the proportion of the middle gentry, both with and without peasants are stunning, with the latter being of particular importance. The share of wealthier gentry without peasants is also very high here. Despite a relatively low population, it accumulated the majority of peasant arable land. The farm gentry was also fairly numerous, though their holdings were meagre in comparison. In the eastern part of the voivodeship (Michałowó district), the situation is slightly different and the demesne and farm gentry without peasants were predominant. The gentry with peasants is represented there by the less wealthy, middle-class nobility. The wealthiest nobility class is also notable there.

Among the wealthier nobility with peasants in the entire area of Chełmno Voivodeship, the group with 10–30 lans dominates. The seven owners in the western part of the voivodeship come to the fore. Firstly, we should mention: Jerzy Rokusz (with 121.5 peasant lans), and Archacy Konopacki (76.5 peasant lans), then Mateusz Orłowski (67) Tomasz Sokołowski (63), Jan Elżanowski (62), as well as Feliks Męldzyński (52.5). Their estates were mostly located west and north of Chełmża (particularly Rokusz's, Konopacki's and Orłowski's) and Radzyń. In Michałowó district, the estates worth noting are those of Rafał Działyński, the starost of Brodnica (71.5 peasant lans) and Fabian Bystram, the judge of the land court of Michałowó (63 peasant lans). The largest estate of those landholders comprised five entire villages (with 20 lans on average and 43.5 the largest) as it was the case of Rokusz, Sokołowski, and Bystram, while the average estate was 2–3 village and 2–4 shares (usually co-owned with other members of their families).<sup>72</sup>

It is worth stating that some of the landholders had some estates outside Royal Prussia. It pertains to the Działyński family, who owned several estates in Dobrzyń land and Płock Voivodeship.<sup>73</sup> As far as Chełmno Voivodeship is concerned, it is also worth emphasising that, in general, the prevalent type of ownership is partial ownership – usually two owners in one village – and ownership of one village alone. As far as farm gentry is concerned, they most frequently lived in the eastern part of the Michałowó district. There are maximum 10 farm gentry families in one village, though settlements with less dominate.

In Malbork Voivodeship, the group of greater noble families who owned peasants comes to the fore, while the middle-class gentry with peasants is underrepresented and those without peasants, slightly more populous. The number of families who owned land cultivated by peasants is greatest here of all the three voivodeships; those with 10–30 peasant lans is the most populous group, but we can distinguish four major landholders with 50–150 peasant lans.

Firstly, the Cem family, playing a vital role on the political stage not only in the voivodeship but the entire Royal Prussia,<sup>74</sup> who owned about 153.5 peasant lans. Secondly, Wacław Schack von

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<sup>72</sup> Taking into account the entirety of the land held by the particular families, apart from Rokusz and Konopacki, the numbers are significantly higher: Orłowski family – 97 peasant lans, Sokołowski – 78., Elżanowski – 95, and Męldzyński – 60.5.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. WP, p. 71.

<sup>74</sup> We give the total holdings of the families due to the imprecise account of the tax registers when it comes to particular noble owners in Malbork Voivodeship. Some of the lands were only vaguely established to belong to the Cem family, based on F.W.F. Schmitta, *Geschichte des Stuhmer Kreises*, Toruń 1868, pp. 234 f.

Wittenau, the chancellor of Royal Prussia, owning 96 lans of land cultivated by peasants (with vast estates in the entire Royal Prussia) and Jerzy Sokołowski with a similar number of peasant lans.<sup>75</sup> Finally, Jerzy and Ludwik Bażyński (the descendants of the governor of Prussia – Jan Bażyński). They owned two villages near Tolkmicko with 57 peasant lans. The greatest estate belonging to the Cem family includes at least eight villages (plus four separate demesne settlements), while the remaining landholders owned 3 to six peasant villages (plus 1–3 separate manor demesne settlements). Taking into consideration that the Malbork nobility was not particularly wealthy, we can observe that the majority of the wealth was concentrated in the hand of a small number of landholders (27 out of 74 settlements, i.e., 1/3 belongs to only four families).

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, however, the social strata of nobility vary depending on the district. The most striking phenomenon observed is the substantial share of farm gentry (here known as Kashubian gentry) which is particularly visible in the western districts: Człuchów, Mirachowo, and Puck, and partially in Tuchola and Tczew. The density of Kashubian gentry is the highest, though the population in one village amounts to 18 in Człuchów district. Those districts, similarly to Gdańsk district, are also characterised by a high percentage of demesne gentry, who did not own peasants (Mirachowo, Puck, and Tuchola districts in particular), with a small share of the gentry with peasants, both the middle-class one and the greater noble families (mostly Mirachowo and Tuchola districts). In the Vistula riverside districts: Świecie, Nowe, and Tczew, as well as in Człuchów districts, there is a majority of, or at least a significant population of, gentry with peasants, with a notable share of middle-class gentry (owning up to 10 peasant lans). The greater noble families mostly reside in Człuchów, Nowe, Świecie, and Tczew districts, much less frequently in Gdańsk and Puck districts. In comparison to the other two voivodeships, in Pomeranian Voivodeship there is the highest share of farm gentry with particular importance of middle-class gentry without peasants.

Among the gentry with peasants, the majority of landholders own 10–30 lans, however, 38 out of 74 families owned between 10 and 15 lans. The group of the 14 major landholders most frequently reside in the southern districts, i.e., Człuchów and Świecie. The four greatest landholders in Człuchów district are: Barbara Wierzbicka (with 99 peasant lans), Adam Żaliński, the judge of the land court of Tuchola, who also owns the estates in the western part of Tuchola district (77 peasant lans), Jerzy Lewald (70), and Michał Konarski, the judge of the land court of Człuchów (69). In Świecie, the greatest landholders are Michał Żelisławski (93 peasant lans), Wacław Lubodziński, the judge of the land court of Świecie (71), Michał Wulkowski (62), and Jan Niemojewski (60).<sup>76</sup> In the abutting Nowe district, we can mention Jan Oleski, holding 100 peasant lans. In the vast Tczew district, there are only two landholders with more than 50 peasant lans: Feliks Wojanowski-Dąbrowski (76)<sup>77</sup> and Mikołaj Swaroczyński (56), while in the small Gdańsk district, there are also two major landholders: Joanna Werden (67 peasant lans) and Wilhelm Jackowski (54).<sup>78</sup> In Mirachowo and Puck districts, the landholders rarely own more than 30 peasant lans with the sole exception of Andrzej Czarliński (51), who also owns land in Gdańsk district. The wealthiest representative of the nobility in Puck district – Rinhold Krokowski – did not own more than 30 peasant lans. Usually, the „latifundium owners” held three to four (maximum five) villages with about 40 peasant lans and two to 3 shares (maximum 6) in other villages, reaching up to 44 lans.

## Distribution of craftsmen population (thematic map 9)

The two remaining maps address the issue of population and distribution of the craftsmen in the villages and major industrial settlements and facilities.

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<sup>75</sup> He came to Malbork Voivodeship as late as 1578; E. Wernicke, *Tiefenau*, „Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder”, vol. 65 (Beilage), 1927, p. 15.

<sup>76</sup> The estates belonging to the whole families were significantly larger. In the case of the Żaliński and Konarski family it was at 125 peasant lans, Lewald – 87. It is worth stressing that the renowned Kostek family owned 80 peasant lans altogether, though each separate landholder did not exceed 50 lans of peasant land each (Anna Kostkova – 47.5, Jan Kostka – 32.5).

<sup>77</sup> The estates of the entire Wojanowski-Dąbrowski family were nearly twice as large and amounts to 131.5 peasant lans.

<sup>78</sup> For the entire Jackowski family, the number of peasant lans is 131.

The numbers and type of occupation of the craftsmen population were elaborated on the basis of the entirety of the acquired sources. They lack, however, the distinction of particular types of craftsmen (with the exception of innkeepers, millers and foundry workers (*Rudnik*)). The primary sources, i.e., the tax registers, give only the overall number of the craftsmen in the village, with the sole exception of the tax registers in Chełmno Voivodeship, where the occupation is mostly mentioned. Therefore, the acquired sources allowed to: 1) establish the overall number of craftsmen in the villages within particular parishes (apart from the territory of the towns of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk), 2) establish the number of craftsmen facilities (industrial facilities), both rural and municipal. We also have to stress that the issue of number and type of occupation of municipal craftsmen could not be addressed due to the substantial lack of sources on the towns in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeship and lack of source material on the largest Prussian towns. It was only elaborated in the case of the towns in Pomerania, which is presented in the tables given in the following chapter.

We should clarify here that among the categories of village craftsmen, there are only people with a particular craft as their main job. However, from H. Samsonowicz's research, we gather that at that time in the Crown lands craft was often an additional venture for peasants and smallholders.<sup>79</sup> The Prussian source documents also confirm it, particularly in the case of smallholders.<sup>80</sup> Assuming that the craft was not the primary occupation for the said peasants, they were not counted among craftsmen proper. Consequently, the numbers acquired from the sources certainly do not show the actual maximum number of people involved in, or dabbling in, crafts; they only present the category of peasants whom it was the main source of income.

We should also shed some additional light on the status of innkeepers in Prussia. Following the train of thought described above, they were subsumed under craftsmen, as they not only sold but often brewed the beer, that is were involved in production (sometimes also in the distillation of spirits). However, as far as Prussian innkeepers are concerned, they did not always do the brewing part. In the Teutonic Order times, they obtained additional permission to make the beer, even though usually it was supplied by the local brewmasters from the small towns nearby – the major local beer makers.<sup>81</sup> The situation had changed in the sixteenth century, mostly owing to the practice among the starosts or Church administration who partially broke the small-town monopoly by brewing beer themselves.<sup>82</sup> So did the innkeepers, particularly in the areas distant from the towns,<sup>83</sup> or even the peasants (especially the sołtyses).<sup>84</sup>

For the reasons given above, the innkeepers were all counted among the craftsmen, despite having in mind their predicament. Either way, the actual brewing innkeepers were impossible to distinguish among those selling beer.

It bears mentioning that the presented numbers do not distinguish between the demesne and village (*gmiński*)<sup>85</sup> craftsmen, as the sources did not provide any ground to do so. We can only observe that the share of the demesne (castle) ones, mostly in the royal and Church land, was minor and the great majority of craftsmen operated in the villages and communes (*gminy* or *gromady*).

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<sup>79</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie w Polsce XIV–XV w.*, Warsaw 1954, pp. 8, 103.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. ASK I 120, p. 7 – Jasna (Lichtfelde), Malbork Voivodeship: „ab 13 hortulanis haereditariis qui proprios habent hortos, quorum six sunt artifices”. The source further quotes 2 craftsmen who paid the same fee as the smallholders; P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 28: Tuszewo (Tryszewo) „2 smallholders without occupation – 12 grosz, and two grosz for their craft”; also cf. the stance on the matter by W. Jakóbczyk, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej*, p. 176.

<sup>81</sup> H. Steffen, *Das ländliche Krugwesen im Deutschordensstaate*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins”, vol. 56, 1916, p. 226.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. F. Mager, *Geschichte der Landeskultur Westpreussens und des Netzebezirks bis zum Ausgang der polnischen Zeit*, Berlin 1936, pp. 147–148. Two breweries (Komorsk, Subkowy) of Włocławek bishopric (Inw. 1582, pp. 282, 321) supply the beer to the inns nearby in the bishops' lands. Cf. also H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, p. 155 – an example of the monastery brewery in Kartuzy. There is no shortage of evidence that the town beer was delivered eg. to the Włocławek bishopric's inn in Wysin, Tczew district, from Skarszewy (Inw. 1582, p. 296) or to Chwaszczyno, Gdańsk district, from Gdańsk (ibidem, p. 298).

<sup>83</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 18 „także i arbire w niektórych wsiach u piwowarów zatrzymano” (Chełmno Voivodeship); pp. 295–296: the innkeepers brewing the beer in Radomno and Wapiersk in Bratian and Brodnica starosty, p. 14 – in Radowiska, Golub starosty; similarly, in the villages in Osieck starostwo (Pomeranian Voivodeship) “czopowe de ptisana” (*liquor excise tax*).

<sup>84</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 13, 15 – brewing beer in Kurkocin, Łobdowo, and Pluskowęsy, in Chełmno district; cf. I. Baranowski, *Przemysł polski w XVI w.*, Warsaw 1919, p. 143 – similar examples in Mazovia.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, pp. 106 f.

Having discussed the reservations concerning the lack of source data and the specificity of the social situation in Royal Prussia, we present the data at the foundation of the elaboration of map number 9.

Firstly, the total numbers of the craftsmen population in the villages for Royal Prussia and their share in the voivodeships (the greatest towns excluded) are as follows:

**Table 38. The craftsmen population in the villages in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	village population	village craftsmen population	share of the craftsmen
Chełmno	64,450	4,687	7.3%
Malbork	23,812	1,954	8.2%
Pomeranian	77,247	6,936	9.0%
total	165,509	13,577	8.2%

The highest percentage can be observed in Pomeranian Voivodeship, then Malbork, although the towns of Elbląg and Gdańsk population is not included.

To better present the density of the craftsmen in the parishes, we assumed the following categories:

- 1) parishes where craftsmen comprise 0%
- 2) parishes where craftsmen comprise 0.1–3%
- 3) parishes where craftsmen comprise 3–6%
- 4) parishes where craftsmen comprise 6–10%
- 5) parishes where craftsmen comprise over 10%

The first and second category consists of the parishes with the lowest craftsmen population density, 3 – with average, four and five with the highest.

**Table 39. The craftsmen population in Royal Prussia (in parishes)**

voivodeship	share of craftsmen						total (parishes or their counterparts)
	0%	0,1–3%	3–6%	6–10%	over 10%	unknown	
Chełmno	–	13	37	45	21	5	121
%	–	10.7	30.6	37.2	17.4	4.1	100
Malbork	–	5	8	22	11	1	47
%	–	0.6	17.0	6.8	23.4	2.2	100
Pomeranian	13	7	33	67	65	3	188
%	6.9	3.7	17.6	35.6	34.6	1.6	100
total	13	25	78	134	97	9	356
%	3.7	7.0	21.9	37.6	27.3	2.5	100

In the entire Royal Prussia and in all of the voivodeships, the parishes with an average or high share of craftsmen (3–6% and 6–10%) are dominant. The parishes with 0% appear only in Pomeranian Voivodeship, which also has a relatively high number of parishes with the highest two shares.

In Chełmno Voivodeship, the greatest cluster of craftsmen can be found in the western part of Chełmno district and the territory of Chełmno bishopric in Lubawa land. There are also significant clusters near Gołub and the Drwęca, as well as near the north border of the voivodeship by the Ossa River. The reason for that is a great number of mills by the tributaries of the Drwęca and the Ossa. The maximum accumulation of craftsmen reaches as much as 28.4% of the entire village population (Ciechocin parish). The smallest share can be found near the towns of Kowalewo, Toruń, Łasin, Brodnica, Kurzętnik, and Lidzbark Welski. It confirms our premise that the presence of the town nearby reduces the number of village craftsmen. The high share in the parishes near Lubawa and Grudziądz seemingly contradict that theory, but we should not forget that such a situation is a result of the presence of numerous mills near the royal castles and bishops' castles.

In Malbork Voivodeship, the highest craftsmen population density can be found in the Żuławy area (with the sole exception of Nowy Staw) and Sztum region. Indubitably, that is because of a great share

of innkeepers among the local craftsmen – as many as three in some villages. The highest share can be observed in Malbork parish (21.4%), where a few castle mills and 13 inns were located in Podzamcze.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, the areas with the most numerous craftsmen population are located in the south, in Człuchów and Tuchola districts, and in the Vistula riverside part of Świecie, Nowe, Tczew, and even Gdańsk districts. There is a substantial share in Mirachowo district and the western part of Puck district. The maximum percentage reaches as much as 41% (Pelplin parish) or 40.2% (Chylonia parish). That is also the result of, as we will discuss later, a very high number of millers and innkeepers working there. The presence of more numerous foundry workers also deserves our attention. And finally, we can find many innkeepers and other craftsmen in the parishes near the castle (Gniew in particular) and the monastery (Pelplin, Żukowo).

The craftsmen population per the area of a district is additionally presented in the diagram next to map number nine and corroborates the findings of the analysis at the parish level, proving that the districts in Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeship were the home of the greatest clusters of craftsmen. In Pomeranian Voivodeship, we can find the highest density can be found in Tczew, Świecie, and Tuchola districts.

Those very general numbers can only partially be explained by supplying them with some more detail. For the sake of clarity, we will only refer to the working population. The craftsmen population can be divided as follows:

**Table 40. Detailed division of the craftsmen population in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	I		II	III		IV	V						VI			
	innkeepers	brewers	millers	charcoal burners	pitch burners	smiths	coach-builders	wheelwrights	coopers	carpenters (roofs); joiner	sawyers	carpenters (furniture)	roofers	shoemakers	leatherworkers	furriers
Chełmno	352	11	152	–	–	81	2	17	8	12	1	1	1	16	1	7
Malbork	157	3	31	–	2	34	2	–	2	8	–	–	–	3	–	–
Pomeranian	576	16	213	21	–	33	2	4	–	3	–	–	–	2	–	–
total	1,085	30 <sup>86</sup>	396	21	2	148	6	21	10	23	1	1	1	21	1	7

**Table 40. continued**

voivodeship	VII			VIII				IX		X		XI	XII	total
	pottery	stove-fitters	brickmakers	foundry workers	glass-blowers	lime burners	miners	tailors	linen drapers	butchers	bakers	levee makers	unspecified	
Chełmno	4	2	5	1	–	–	–	37	7	2	–	9	168	897
Malbork	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	34	7	–	1	–	97	383
Pomeranian	–	–	2	26	1	1	8	9	1	–	5	–	384	1,307
Total	4	2	8	27	2	1	8	80	15	2	6	9	649	2,587

Jobs connected with

- |                 |                                |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| I. Brewing      | VII. Claywork                  |
| II. Millery     | VIII. Mining industry, foundry |
| III. Forestry   | IX. Textiles and apparel       |
| IV. Steelwork   | X. Making alimentary products  |
| V. Woodwork     | XI. Others                     |
| VI. Leatherwork | XII. Unspecified               |

<sup>86</sup> The number includes the brewers and the malters (*stodownik*), as they are given together. The name malter is sometimes used to refer to the brewer; cf. *ibidem*, p. 153.

The results above, despite their incompleteness, point to some general trends among the craftsmen. The primary role is played by the innkeepers, or more generally, brewers, with millers closely following in their footsteps. It means those are the two major crafts. Then, we can list the jobs connected with steelwork (smiths) and apparel products (mostly tailors, but also weavers), woodwork (carpenters, wheelwrights), and leatherwork (shoemakers). The remaining categories seem to be relatively rare, especially those connected with food production, working with clay and forestry (charcoal and pitch burners).

The great diversity of the craftsmen in Royal Prussia speaks of the development of the region. It is also attested by the tax registers, where the particular craftsmen are listed among those paying various fees starting from two to 4, 6, 8 or 12 grosz.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, the existence of the apprentices (journeymen, *czeladnik, socii opificum*)<sup>88</sup> shows how developed village craft was, as it attempted to adapt the structure of the town craft, and possibly reflects its proficiency and high quality.<sup>89</sup>

The existence of guilds in villages is attested by the sources listing them in, e.g., Drzycim village in Pomeranian Voivodeship (Świecie district) and Czarze village in Chełmno Voivodeship (Chełmno district) but only as late as the eighteenth century, which, however, was a completely different economic period.<sup>90</sup>

We should also note some clusters of craftsmen in some particular settlements distant from the larger towns, especially in Pomeranian Voivodeship, e.g., Skórcz, which belongs to the Osieck starost in Nowe district, where we can find 12 craftsmen with two apprentices.<sup>91</sup> We can stipulate that it puts this settlement in the position of a local centre. Additionally, when it comes to the number of craftsmen, we can also list some villages and Church land, particularly those of the Gniezno bishopric in Świecie district. The numbers in Gruczno village are: 22 craftsmen with three apprentices, while in Kozielec – 19 (three apprentices),<sup>92</sup> in the lands belonging to Oliwa monastery, i.e., in Strzyża – 17 craftsmen with 15 apprentices, and in Przymorze 10 and 8.<sup>93</sup> It is a result of the location of a few forges in the two mentioned locations, which will be further discussed later on. All in all, such a high density of craftsmen population can be observed in Pomeranian Voivodeship in the villages by the Vistula River, although not all the said villages are distant from the towns (as it was in the case of Gruczno). In the two remaining voivodeships, the maximum numbers of craftsmen in the particular settlements are considerably lower and do not exceed 10; there are no mentions of village apprentices there, which would point to the conclusion that the craft there was less developed than in the mentioned Pomeranian Voivodeship, where it substituted the lacking local towns' functions.

On the side note, this lacking settlement network in Pomeranian Voivodeship also contributed to the emergence of the class of travelling vendors and peddlers with their own stalls called "hakbudy" (word supposedly of German/Dutch origin). They sold alimentary goods (*Qui cibarias vendit*) or miscellaneous goods (*tectum variarum mercium*). Some of them, 18 in total, appeared in larger royal and Church villages, sometimes even in those which had fairly developed craft, like Skórcz and Gruczno, but mostly in the riverside area in Tczew (10) and Gdańsk district (4).<sup>94</sup>

Drawing on the acquired source material, we can present some additional data painting a more detailed picture of the two major crafts: innkeeping and millery.

As implied above, the status of innkeepers in Royal Prussia was somewhat peculiar. In most cases, apart from only selling the beer and other alimentary goods, they also did the brewing. Sometimes they

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<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, p. 102, Samsonowicz erroneously connects the phenomenon only to the Pomeranian Voivodeship.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 178.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, p. 100, who analyses the issue of the apprentices themselves in some settlements in Pomeranian Voivodeship (Laskowice, Przysiersk); P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 180, 189. In tax registers, the smiths were listed separately, which troubled H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, p. 101. It is completely understandable, as the smiths often owned a plot of land (garden) and, consequently, paid higher taxes (e.g., eight grosz) in comparison to the other craftsmen, who paid, for example, two grosz, cf. Subkowy – four craftsmen paying two grosz, while the smith – 8; P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 111.

<sup>90</sup> A. Mańkowski, *Cechy rzemieślnicze na wsi Czarzu w XVIII w.*, „Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”, vol. 10, 1935, pp. 297 f.

<sup>91</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 178.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem, XXIII, pp. 193, 195.

<sup>93</sup> Ibidem, XXIII, pp. 255–256.

<sup>94</sup> In Tczew district: Dalwin, Lignowy, Rakowiec, Rudno, Walichnowy – royal property; Miłobądz, Radostwo, Skowarcz, Subkowy – Church property; in Gdańsk district: Hopperbruch – Church property, Kolibki – noble property; Tuchola district: only Wieszczyce, noble property.

owned some land (up to two lans), though it occurred much less frequently.<sup>95</sup> Some of the innkeepers also engaged in other crafts on the side, e.g., smithery.<sup>96</sup> Their legal status in Royal Prussia is particularly puzzling, namely the question of the inns' possession: were they inherited, under hereditary tenure (i.e., if the innkeeper held particular privileges and paid rent), or leased with a yearly renewal (the so-called "*roczne*").<sup>97</sup> The last option was, obviously, the most profitable for the feudal lords. To capture the phenomenon in numbers would mean shedding some light on the relationship between the landowners and the innkeepers, and the degree of the latter's freedom. It is, then, necessary to present the data according to the type of ownership affiliation, as shown below. The inns located in Chełmno, Elbląg and Gdańsk were given separately, due to lack of data on their legal status.

**Table 41. Legal status of the inns in Royal Prussia**

ownership affiliation [voivodeships]	inns						total	
	yearly renewed rent		inherited		of unspecified character			
royal:								
Chełmno/	68		60		–		128	
Malbork/	34		1		116		151	
Pomeranian	38	140	216	277	26	142	280	559
noble:								
Chełmno/	108		9		3		120	
Malbork/	4		–		2		6	
Pomeranian.	120	232	50	59	2	7	172	298
Church:								
Chełmno/	29		21		24		74	
Malbork/	–		–		–		–	
Pomeranian	21	50	67	88	27	51	115	189
town-royal:								
Chełmno/	4		4		21		29	
Malbork/	–		–		–		–	
Pomeranian	7	11	1	5	1	22	9	38
unspecified:								
Chełmno	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	1
total	433		430		222		1,085	
no. of inns established for the towns of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk								105
<b>total</b>								<b>1,190</b>

Despite some lacks, particularly in the case of Malbork Voivodeship, the table may offer some clear conclusions: in Chełmno Voivodeship, maybe Malbork Voivodeship even, there are a majority of the inns with yearly renewed lease, while in Pomeranian – the inherited ones. However, the latter dominate in Pomeranian Voivodeship only in the royal and Church land, while in the noble property the “yearly” inns are predominant. A relatively high number of inherited inns can be observed in the royal and Church property in Chełmno Voivodeship, and, to a slight degree, in noble lands. We presume that the numbers give rise to some conclusions on the noble policy towards the innkeepers in Prussia: they aimed at maximising rent by leasing the inns for one year only, contrary to the royal and Church administration's less advanced and strict stance on that matter.

Last but not least, the issue requiring our attention is the distillation of spirits by the innkeepers in the entire Royal Prussia. The sources are scanty and unclear on the issue because of the actual weak condition of the industry in the rural areas or even complete lack thereof, contrary to the situation in

<sup>95</sup> Cf. The calculations of the innkeepers with and without land in the royal estates in the sixteenth century; W. Jakóbczyk, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej*, p. 47.

<sup>96</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 8 (Dąbrówka Król., Chełmno Voi.), p. 82 (Czerwony Dwór, Malbork Voi.). In one case, the innkeeper was also a ferryman; ASK XLVI 28, p. 438 (Gorzędziej, Pomeranian Voi.).

<sup>97</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów w Polsce w czasach nowożytnych*, vol. 1, Cracow 1938, p. 202.

the towns.<sup>98</sup> In the light of the gathered materials, it seems reasonable to claim that alcohol distilling is not an important part of the innkeepers' tasks; indeed, we do have accounts mentioning that some of them did distil alcohol, though only sporadically.<sup>99</sup> In the tax registers, there are mentions of „6 grosz for distilling hooch” [type of spirits – translator's note, “*gorzałka*”] or “for burning hooch – 12 grosz”, which did not specify whether it pertained to the innkeepers. We could not arbitrarily ascribe the practice to them, as we know from the sources that distilling was also taken up by some female-innkeepers or female spirits vendors (“*niewiasty szynkarki wódki*”) as well as, supposedly, the smallholders, cotter women, and other craftsmen.<sup>100</sup>

For the reasons discussed above, it would be unwise to distinguish the inns selling beer and those selling spirits, as we have no grounds to claim that the distilling did actually occur in the inn, as long as the source does not state that explicitly. Even risking overgeneralization, we can say that in Chełmno Voivodeship, for example, only 45 out of 352 inns, which is only 18%, can be subsumed under “spirit-selling inns”. It was the case in the villages which in the tax register were listed under the fee of six grosz for alcohol distillation, without specifying particular innkeepers. That is why we should rather focus on the frequency of the occurrence of the tax on alcohol distillation, a number of the separate spirit vendors, than on the number of villages where the distillation stills were located (“*kotły gorzalczane*”). For particular voivodeships, the numbers are as follows (the numbers of all inns for the entire voivodeship without Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk are given in the brackets).

**Table 42. Alcohol distillation in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	no. of villages where selling spirits occurred	no. of innkeepers mentioned to be involved in distillation (“ <i>szynkarki</i> ”)	no. of villages where distillation was mentioned	no. of distillation stills
Chełmno	45 (352)	8	14	15
Malbork	– (157)	–	5	6
Pomeranian	30 (576)	29 <sup>101</sup>	16	19
<b>total</b>	<b>75 (1,085)</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>40</b>

The numbers seem to clearly illustrate the small scale of the distillation undertaking in the Prussian villages. It is relatively the highest in Chełmno Voivodeship, then in Pomeranian, and finally the lowest in Malbork Voivodeship. Distilling was not within the scope of interest and activities of the court<sup>102</sup> or the nobility. It is corroborated by the number of the innkeepers and distillation stills in the noble property (e.g., in Pomeranian Voivodeship – four and 2). In each of the voivodeships, the alcohol distillation is most widespread in the royal and Church property, which testifies to its additional and “moonlighting” character for the village population.

The second important craft we would like to discuss – millery – occupied a very important place in Royal Prussia, which was already noted by J. Rutkowski.<sup>103</sup> The vast majority of the Prussian mills were located by the powerful Pomeranian rivers. Analogically to the other Crown lands, the mills played multiple roles.<sup>104</sup> Apart from the stones grinding the flour, they were also fitted with ones grinding the malt,<sup>105</sup> and with crank stocks (in fulling mills) for the textiles and leather.<sup>106</sup> Most frequently, they are also paired with the sawmills, often operated by the millers themselves. The number of wheels in

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem, p. 147; H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, p. 159.

<sup>99</sup> E.g. Mełno and Okonin, Chełmno district; P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 27, 36.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. ibidem, p. 8 – the shoemaker sells alcohol (Rogoźno), p. 42 – cotter woman – alcohol vendor (*szynkarka*; Kamionki), pp. 53, 60 and 64 – selling spirits (no innkeepers) (Chelmonie, Sumowo, Tylice).

<sup>101</sup> In some cases, in one village there are two spirits vendors. They are mentioned in 26 villages.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. J. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów*, vol. 1, p. 204 – concerning the royal estates in the sixteenth century.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem, p. 274.

<sup>104</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, pp. 47–49.

<sup>105</sup> E.g. Dębica, Człuchów district, Przechowo, Świecie district; ASK XLVI 28, pp. 187 and 580.

<sup>106</sup> E.g., Grzmiąca, Brodnica district; H. Plehn, *Ortsgeschichte des Kreises Strasburg in Westpreussen*, Królewiec 1900, p. 38; Gniew, Tczew district, and Przechowo, Świecie district; ASK XLVI 28, pp. 466 and 580.

one mill was usually at 1–2, though it reached up to five or even 7.<sup>107</sup> Without getting into detail, we would like to briefly analyse the legal status of the millers in the sixteenth century Prussia. Similarly, in the innkeepers' case, we would also like to capture the numbers representing the relations between the mills that were inherited (much more profitable for the peasants) and those the lease of which had to be renewed yearly (or periodically),<sup>108</sup> rendering them more profitable for the feudal owner.

**Table 43. The legal status of the mills in Royal Prussia**

ownership affiliation [voivodship]	water/windmills						total	
	yearly renewed rent		inherited		unspecified			
royal:								
Chełmno	22		23		2		47	
Malbork	6		9		7		22	
Pomeranian	14	42	63	95	15	24	92	161
noble:								
Chełmno	20		23		8		51	
Malbork	4		4		1		9	
Pomeranian	28	52	38	65	5	14	71	131
Church:								
Chełmno	4		23		14		41	
Malbork	–		–		–		–	
Pomeranian	8	12	21	44	5	19	34	75
town-royal								
Chełmno	2		3		6		11	
Malbork	–		–		–		–	
Pomeranian	–	2	6	9	–	6	6	17
<b>total</b>	<b>108</b>		<b>213</b>		<b>63</b>		<b>384<sup>109</sup></b>	

The table above allows for a conclusion that in Royal Prussia there were a majority of inherited mills. It is most vivid in Pomeranian Voivodeship, while in the two others the two types of lease are in balance, maybe slightly in favour of inherited mills. Even in the case of noble property, the group of inherited mills is significant, which would support the claim that the policy towards the millers was much more lenient than towards the innkeepers. The necessity to undertake necessary investments in the mills forced the feudal lords to offer more favourable lease terms.

The craft connected with the forest economy is a completely separate matter and requires our special attention. In the process of classification of the craftsmen, two pitch burners (in Malbork Voivodeship) and 21 charcoal burners (Pomeranian Voivodeship) were distinguished. The latter were mentioned only in Chylonia, Kielno, Kack Wielki and Przyjaźń parishes, which are located on the border of Gdańsk and Puck districts in Darzłubie Forest. Given the vast areas of forest in the southern and central Pomerania, Tuchola Forest, in particular, such lack of data on the pitch and charcoal burners is perplexing. One explanation is provided by the sources on Tuchola starostwo which shows that the local peasants treat the charcoal burning as an additional source of income, paying an additional fee for that; in Borzechowo starostwo likewise.<sup>110</sup> Indubitably, making ash and pitch was only an additional source of income for the inhabitants of the forested areas, and consequently, it was not properly depicted in

<sup>107</sup> The mills with that maximum of 4–7 wheels are located in the royal property, e.g., in Chełmno district: Nadolny Mill, Grudziądz starostwo – five wheels, Słup, Rogoźno starostwo – five wheels; in Malbork Voivodeship – Dzierżoń Zamek (*Castle*) – five wheels, Malbork Zamek – two mills with four wheels, Młyn Piekarski – four wheels; Przechowo, Świecie district and starostwo – seven wheels, Gniew Zamek, Tczew district – six wheels; Starogard Folwark – six wheels, Tczew Dwór – six wheels. In the Church property the greatest number of wheels are in mill owned by the monastery in Pelplin – four.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów*, vol. 1, pp. 165–166.

<sup>109</sup> The numbers do not include the territory of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk as well as the facilities within the towns in the Royal Prussia. The total number of the mill in the entire Prussia is given hereafter.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. J. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów*, vol. 1, p. 212. In Lubichowo, Borzechowo starostwo, Tczew district seven peasants are also pitch burners, in Borzechowo – 7, Zblewo – 5; cf. ASK XLVI 29, pp. 248–250.

the tax registers. Such phenomenon was rather widespread in the Crown lands.<sup>111</sup> The emergence of professional charcoal burners in Gdańsk and Puck district, however, can be explained by the increased demand created by the local centre of trade and crafts, namely by the town of Gdańsk.

We would also like to mention the category of craftsmen connected with breeding, which includes beekeepers and fishermen. Though distinctive, it was not properly depicted due to its sparseness. Below, we give the data for each voivodeship, counted in families (excluding the territory of Chełmno, Elbląg, and Gdańsk).

**Table 44. Beekeepers and fishermen in Royal Prussia**

ownership affiliation	Chełmno Voivodeship		Malbork Voivodeship		Pomeranian Voivodeship		total	
	beekeepers	fishermen	beekeepers	fishermen	beekeepers	fishermen	beekeepers	fishermen
royal	17	22	2	43	275 <sup>112</sup>	90	294	155 <sup>113</sup>
noble	6	17	–	4	–	25	6	46
Church	6	23	–	–	1	49	7	72
town-royal	–	4	–	–	–	2	–	6
<b>total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>279</b>

The numbers indicate that the two crafts are most popular in Pomeranian Voivodeship, particularly in the royal and Church lands. The fishermen are also numerous in Malbork Voivodeship. In Pomerania, they are present mostly in Gdańsk and Puck districts (43, 28) and they mostly fish in the sea. Those fishing in the rivers live in Świecie (29), Tuchola (21), and Tczew district (21).<sup>114</sup> The beekeepers, in turn, live predominantly in the area of Tuchola Forest, so in Tuchola and Człuchów district, as well as in Tczew and Mirachowo districts.<sup>115</sup> The beekeepers are organised into groups with an elder presiding, called a starost (e.g. in Tuchola and Świecie starostwo).<sup>116</sup>

We should also bear in mind that the acquired numbers do not reflect the entirety of the village population dabbling in beekeeping and fishing, and only refer to those who did it for the living. In some seasons, the crafts were mostly taken up by the larger village population.

## Location of the key industrial facilities (thematic map 10)

Map number 10 is strictly connected with the previous one and aims to illustrate the location of the key craftsmen shops (i.e., industrial facilities) in Royal Prussia, both in the villages and towns. In the map drawing, they are presented over the state of the forests at the end of the eighteenth century

<sup>111</sup> Cf. H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, p. 171.

<sup>112</sup> The number was calculated on the basis of the data on the beekeepers and, partially, by recalculation of the fees paid in honey by the beekeepers in Człuchów, Mirachów, Świecie, and Tczew districts. E.g. in Człuchów starosty the number given is 93.5 *pokowa* of honey (1 *pokowa* – c.a. 16 litres) from the beekeepers from the forest, with a note that each one of them gives 1 *pokowa* whereby 3 *pokowas* equal one barrel. In the calculations, we assumed it represents c.a. 90 beekeepers, we applied similar rules in the estimations for the Białobór starosty, arriving at the number of five beekeepers, Gniew (12), Mirachów (16), and Świecie (5) starostys; ASK XLVI 28, pp. 147, 261, 333, 473, 611.

<sup>113</sup> The numbers acquired for the royal property were similar to those given by W. Jakóbczyk, *Uwarstwienie ludności wiejskiej*, p. 50, who also counted among the beekeepers and fishermen the peasants doing the beekeeping and fishing on the side.

<sup>114</sup> The number of the fishermen reaches up to 22 in Brzeźno village, 20 in Jelitkowo (Gdańsk district), which are Church property; P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 255–256.

<sup>115</sup> The royal property, in Tuchola district – 104 beekeepers, Człuchów district – 45, Tczew district – 51, Mirachowo district – 19, Świecie district – 6. In the Church land, there is only one beekeeper in Tczew district; in noble – none.

<sup>116</sup> ASK XLVI 28, p. 611 “bartny starosta” (*beekeepers’ starost*; in Drzycim in Świecie district), p. 34 (in Kosobudy, Tuchola district – the starost and 20 beekeepers), p. 50 (in Czersk – starost and 24 beekeepers), p. 56 in Leśno, starost and 15 beekeepers); p. 70 (Karsin – with 13 and 10 beekeepers). The responsibilities of the starost are addressed by A. Żabko-Potopowicz, *Dzieje bartnictwa w Polsce*, RDSG, vol. 15, 1955, p. 33.

and the hydrography, in order to better show the sources of hydropower and other resources, which were a factor in the location of some facilities.

For practical reasons, the idea to also include the inns was abandoned due to their sheer number – about 1,200, which would obscure the situation and not provide any interesting conclusions (their density is similar in all of the voivodeships and districts). Instead, all other facilities in the towns are presented in detail, with the sole exception of the town breweries, due to lack of data. Also, the previously excluded territory of the largest Prussian towns was analysed and the facilities located there are shown on the map, rendering the overall map drawing fairly representative of the phenomenon.

The objects presented on the map can be divided into three main categories: mills (with similar facilities, like fulling mills), foundries (with other related facilities, like brickyards or lime kilns), and facilities connected with brewing beer (i.e., village breweries).

The table below presents the details on the industrial facilities in each Prussian voivodeship, divided according to their village or town location.

**Table 45. Key craftsmen shops (industrial facilities) in Royal Prussia**

craftsmen shops (industrial facilities)	Chełmno Voivodeship			Malbork Voivodeship			Pomeranian Voivodeship			total		
	village	town	total	village	town	total	village	town	total	village	town	total
mills:												
windmills	21	1	22	10	2	12	3	2	5	34	5	39
watermills	130	6	136	25	6	31	211	8	219	366	20	386
sawmills	12	2	14	3	–	3	32	4	36	47	6	53
fulling mills	6	3	9	4	2	6	8	7	15	18	12	30
paper mills	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	2	1	2	3
gunpowder mill	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	1	2	2	1	3
horse mill	1	2	3	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	3	4
foundries:												
mills grinding ore	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	3	3	–	3
ironworks (iron smithy)	1	–	1	–	–	–	25	1	26	26	1	27
copper smithy	1	–	1	1	3	4	1	1	2	3	4	7
brickyards	3	3	6	2	1	3	2	2	4	7	6	13
limekilns	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	1	2	1	2	3
glassworks	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	1	2	–	2
alun mine	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	1
breweries	11	–	11	3	–	3	15	–	15	29	–	29

The numbers clearly point to the predominance of mills among other industrial facilities, with the vast majority of watermills (386).<sup>117</sup> They are most frequent in Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships. In the former, they are mostly located by the larger rivers and their tributaries, particularly by the Drwęca, the Ossa, the Lutryna, and the Wel. In the latter, however, the mills are most frequent in the western and riverside areas, where they also utilised the hydropower of the larger rivers (Brda, Czarna Woda, Wierzyca, Radunia, Reda) as well as the smaller, forest streams. In Malbork Voivodeship the water mills are mostly located in the southeast, while in Żuławy, there are mostly windmills, which

<sup>117</sup> The number given by H. Samsonowicz, *Rzemiosło miejskie*, p. 146, 5000 mills in Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century must be some misunderstanding. J. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów*, vol. 1, p. 286, whom Samsonowicz quotes, mentions 5,222 złoty income from peasant mills in Prussia. In the map drawing, some mills failed to be located by the running waters. It is clear that some were located by streams that have disappeared since, although their location was only roughly given.

were also built in the southwest of Chełmno Voivodeship. The sawmills were mostly built in Pomeranian Voivodeship, especially in Człuchów, Świecie, and Tczew districts, which makes sense, concerning how densely forested the said areas are. So, we can rarely observe them in, e.g., Malbork Voivodeship.

Out of the 30 fulling mills, the majority was located in Pomeranian Voivodeship (15) and Chełmno Voivodeship (9). We may suppose, drawing on the incomplete sources, that the mills where leather was cleansed were more frequent than those devoted to textiles – in proportion 16 to 10. The distinction is not necessarily well grounded, however, as one and the same mill may provide its services to both the shoemakers and drapers.<sup>118</sup> That is why there was no clear distinction between the two types of fulling mills in the map drawing. The type of the fulling mill can also be inferred from the data on the existence of the drapers in particular towns.<sup>119</sup> Thus, in Chełmno Voivodeship, there must have been fulling mills serving the drapers in the following towns: Toruń, Chełmno, Brodnica, Nowe Miasto, and Lubawa; in Malbork Voivodeship: Elbląg and Malbork; in Pomeranian Voivodeship: Gdańsk, Puck, Gniew, Starogard, Skarszew, Świecie, Tuchola, Chojnice, and Czarne. The leather fulling mills were most frequent in Malbork Voivodeship, near the town of Malbork (one serving shoemakers and one making more delicate leather [for craftsmen called “białoskórniczy”])<sup>120</sup> and in Chełmno Voivodeship (two leather fulling mills in Toruń).

Curiously, a substantial number of Prussian fulling mills are located outside of the town territory. It can be explained by the need to find adequate hydropower, not necessarily present within the town borders. It probably requires some further elaboration. The Prussian fulling mills, located outside of the towns, are mostly adjacent to the water mills, which were the royal and Church property. It gave grounds to charge an additional fee paid to the peasant leasing the mill or to the owner, e.g., the starost, who thus obtained some control over the production. We should bear in mind that such practice dates back to the times of the Teutonic Knights, who incentivised from forcing their subjects to use the services of their facilities as the Order’s substantial income came from such a milling fee. So, the seemingly illogical location of a fulling mill in Brodnica or Nowe Miasto, in Chełmno Voivodeship, and in Puck, in Pomeranian Voivodeship, can be the remnant of the former fiscal policy of the Teutonic Order.<sup>121</sup> It was most probably supported by the king’s starosts, who had vested interest in keeping the income coming. We will later see that most of the fulling mills did not in fact belong to the towns, despite their primary function of serving the town craftsmen. The one main exception is the leather fulling mill in Pelplin, serving the craftsmen in the monastery there.

As far as other types of mills are concerned, there are three paper mills, one in Chełmno Voivodeship, near Toruń, most certainly providing its services to the town craftsmen; and two in Pomeranian Voivodeship, belonging to the town of Gdańsk.

The four horse mills found in the sources are, in fact, the malt-grinding mills; they were located mostly in the towns of Chełmno Voivodeship (Chełmno and Chełmża) and Malbork Voivodeship. The fourth horse mill was located in Lipienek, and, in light of no source of running water, served the local castle brewery.

There were three gunpowder mills: two in Pomeranian Voivodeship (Śmiechowo, Puck district, and Gdańsk), and one by the Malbork Castle (Landmel mill), serving the castle staff.<sup>122</sup>

The second category – the foundries – is mostly represented by the ironworks (*kuźnica*). We should probably emphasise that the majority of Prussian ironworks, also called *hamry*<sup>123</sup> (word of German origin), strongly differed from those in the other parts of the Crown. They did not have the furnace for melting iron, but they used the resources supplied and transported from Sweden through Gdańsk.<sup>124</sup> Such smithies were usually located in Gdańsk district, near Oliwa (Oliwa, Przymorze, Strzyża), particularly by fast-running streams in Strzyża and Jelitkowo. Most of them (7) belonged to the Oliwa monastery, although they were leased and used by the representatives of the Gdańsk craft-

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<sup>118</sup> A. Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1955, p. 88; cf. Gniew-Zamek – fulling mill for the drapers and shoemakers; ASK XLVI 33, p. 358.

<sup>119</sup> The information was acquired from the monograph of particular towns or tax registers and inspections of the royal property (particularly for the Pomeranian Voivodeship).

<sup>120</sup> ASK XLVI 29, pp. 82 f.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. L. Weber, *Preussen vor 500 Jahren*, Gdańsk 1878, p. 224.

<sup>122</sup> ASK XLVI 29, p. 83v.

<sup>123</sup> Ibidem, 28, p. 393: Zagórze, Puck starosty, „the ore by the river, “hamer” in Prussian”.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1954, p. 64.

smen.<sup>125</sup> The number of wheels in such ironworks was on average at two to three, but would reach as many as six (Przymorze), while the number of workers they employed (*socii malleortn*) reaches up to four.<sup>126</sup> The second major ironworks (4), this time mostly town, was in the north of Gdańsk district, near Mały Kacek and Kolibek, where they were located by the fast-running Kamienny Potok. Apart from those, they were sporadically located by the Radunia and the Kłodawa rivers in Tczew district and by the Wierzyca river, near Starogard.

The third cluster of ironworks can be found in the southeast of Pomeranian Voivodeship, in Świecie district (5) and in Tuchola (1). Drawing on the scanty sources, the ironworks there are similar to those in the Crown, which means that they did not only make the end products but also melted the ore transported from the area of Nowe starostwo.<sup>127</sup> Such claim is supported by their location in the forest providing wood for burning in the furnace. Moreover, there was also a mill nearby in Kozłów by the Czarna Woda river, in Świecie district, where the ore was ground (*mola in qua ferra exteruntur*).<sup>128</sup> Similar mills were located in the central Pomerania by the castle in Skarszewy by the Wietcisa river (Tczew district). However, there is no mention of any ore ironworks nearby,<sup>129</sup> which is fairly surprising.

Within the discussed category, we would also include the ironworks in Chełmno Voivodeship, located by the forest in Lipinki in Radzyń starostwo. In Malbork Voivodeship, there were no ironworks identified.

The second type of foundries: copper smithies (7) are mostly located near the largest towns and provided their services to the local craftsmen. The majority of them (4) served the town of Elbląg (3 directly by the town and one in Gronowo village). The Toruń copper smithy was in Lubicz, by the Drwęca river; in Gdańsk, there was only one copper smithy, although it also used for the same purposes the ironworks in Lezienek by the Radunia river. Indubitably, the copper smithies only forged the copper products and did not melt the ore.

In the last category of industrial facilities, a significant number of brickyards (13) deserve our attention. They are most common in Chełmno Voivodeship, by the residences of the starosts' (Rogoźno) and bishops (Lubawa, and the Połowęż manor), and mostly near the larger towns (Chełmno, Grudziadz, Toruń). In Malbork Voivodeship, there are as many as three brickyards, one serving the Malbork castle, and two the town of Elbląg. Out of the four in Pomeranian Voivodeship, two serve the town of Gdańsk, one – the town of Tczew, and one is in Jasiniec, where it operated for the purposes of the local starost. Next to the brickyards, there were also lime kilns (3): one in Chełmno Voivodeship (Toruń) and two in Pomeranian Voivodeship, serving the town of Gdańsk.

There are only two glassworks: one in Malbork Voivodeship (Majewo, Tolkmicko starostwo), the other in Pomeranian Voivodeship in Skarszewy starostwo (Boże Pole village). Both of them were located near the forest, and the one in Boże Pole employed a glassblower (*vitrarius*) and five apprentices.<sup>130</sup>

A sole exception in the area of Royal Prussia (in terms of foundry and mining facilities) was the mine where alun, vitriol, and maybe even saltpetre was mined. It was established in the '50s of the sixteenth century by the archbishop of Gniezno in Koziulec village by the Vistula River (Świecie district). It was operated by the Toruń and Gdańsk burghers<sup>131</sup> and it employed eight miners (*magistri metalli aluminis*)<sup>132</sup> in 1570.

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<sup>125</sup> Cf. H. Voellner, *Die Mühlen am Glettkaubach in Oliva*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins”, vol. 75, 1939, p. 199; B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa*, p. 174, who erroneously equates the Oliwa smithies' leaseholders with their owners.

<sup>126</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 256.

<sup>127</sup> ASK XLVI 28, p. 593 – Ruda Sławie and Suchowska: „there is no ore in [Świecie – M.B.] starosty, we go to the inhabitants of Kosów in Nowe starosty”. It might also be the case that the name Kosów referred to that of Świecie district.

<sup>128</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 185; cf. B. Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa*, p. 60, who erroneously claims that such mills were not present in the area of Poland.

<sup>129</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 140: „2 molae in quibus ferra et alia exteruntur” (1 mill was misspelled in the text).

<sup>130</sup> Ibidem, p. 141.

<sup>131</sup> AAG, Archiwum Kapitulne, vol. B. 143, pp. 196–197. The issue of the mines in Koziulec was addressed in greater detail by M. Biskup, *Z badań nad kopalnictwem alunu i witioliu w Prusach Królewskich w XVI w.*, [in:] *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 367–380.

<sup>132</sup> P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 193. Apart from that we also find some single facilities by the larger towns in: Chełmno Voi. – one smithy (Jedwabno, Toruń territory), knife grinderies (*szlifiernia nożownicza*) (Toruń); Pomeranian Voi. – one groats mill (*kaszownik*), oil mill, two grinderies, armourers' mill (*Harnischmühle*).

As mentioned above, in the case of the third general category – the breweries – we resorted to depicting only the town breweries. Brewing as a craft was fairly developed in Prussia, which will be elaborated on later. Thus, 15 out of those 29 town breweries were located in Pomeranian Voivodeship. They mostly belonged to the starosts (those in Świecie, Jasiniec, Człuchów, Tuchola, Borzechowo, Gniew, Tczew, Klonówka, and Puck), to the monasteries (Kartuzy), the Włocławek bishops (Komorsk W., Subkowy), or to the town of Gdańsk (Grabiny-Zameczek, Sztutowo, Warcz). The second in terms of the number of breweries was Chełmno Voivodeship. Similarly, they belonged to the starosts (castle breweries: Bratian, Brodnica, Grudziadz, Linieniek, Rogoźno), Chełmno bishops (Lubawa, Płowęż, Wąbrzeźno, Unisław, Starogród) and nobility (one in Linowiec, Chełmno district). In Malbork Voivodeship, there are three castle breweries (Sztum, Dzierzgoń, Malbork), but the needs of the castle were also satisfied by the 13 inns nearby.

We should take into consideration the fact that, apart from the castle breweries (royal or Church ones), the craft was undertaken by the innkeepers in the settlements in both types of the property. The sources support the claim that brewing beer in Royal Prussia, despite being the domain of the towns, had encountered considerable and growing competition in the form of the royal starosts (there is a brewery next to nearly each castle, and some of them even sold the beer to the local inns) and the Church administration (in Chełmno and Włocławek bishopric in particular).<sup>133</sup> Such process had not occurred in the noble lands as of then or was not depicted by the sources.

The placement and location of the industrial facilities is directly connected with their ownership affiliation. The issue was briefly mentioned in the analysis above, but here we would like to present a table showing the overall division of the facilities according to their owner. It is important to bear in mind that it specifies the actual owner, not its leaser or temporary holder, which is particularly valid in the case of the ironworks and smithies.

Having scrutinised Table 46, we can draw the following conclusions: a majority of the mills are located in the royal and noble property; the majority of windmills belongs to the nobility (particularly in Chełmno Voivodeship); 60% of fulling mills are located in royal and Church land, while they are nearly always used by the town craftsmen, which supports the claim given above as to their location. As far as the foundries are concerned, most of them are also in royal and Church lands, and only a minority in the noble property; however, their lessors and users are also the local burghers. The copper smithies, in turn, are almost completely town property.

In case of the breweries, the dominance of the royal and Church property with almost non-existent share of noble ones is stunning.

In our consideration of the craft, we solely focused on the entirety of the village craft, supporting the findings with only very rough, general tables and locations of the town industrial facilities. As it was mentioned above, such practice stems from the lack of sources, rendering the analysis fragmentary. Thus, we would like to supplement the description of the village craft with a detailed account of the phenomenon – the population and diversification – of the craft in the 14 smaller towns in the Pomeranian Voivodeship, for which the sources proved rather detailed (with the exception of some general numbers in case of Białobór and Gniew).

Table 77 shows a significant number of craftsmen in the smaller towns in Pomerania. In the 14 of them, the total number is 842 – the maximum number for one town being 152 (Chojnice), while the minimum – two (Białobór) and eight (Człuchów). The average number of craftsmen per one town is 60. The main clusters of the craft were the towns in the Vistula riverside stretch and two towns in the west of the voivodeship (Chojnice and Tuchola).

Calculating the percentage of craftsmen in the entirety of the town population (assuming five people per one family) we arrive at the value of 30% on average, with nearly as much as 50% in Chojnice and Puck – 46.2%, Skarszewy – 49.5%, Starogard – 45% and as little as 1.5% in Białobór and 7.8% in Człuchów. What is striking is the great diversity among the town craftsmen, even within one type of work, which testifies of their high specialisation.<sup>134</sup>

As far as categories are concerned, we should note two groups: those connected with textiles – making broadcloth and linen and those connected with leather. In the first group we can, primarily, distinguish

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<sup>133</sup> F. Mager, *Geschichte der Landeskultur*, p. 147 f.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. the two categories of potters in Chojnice, smiths in Człuchów, bakers in Tczew, wheelwrights in Nowe, coopers in Chojnice.

**Table 46. Ownership affiliation of the industrial facilities in Royal Prussia**

ownership affiliation [in voivodeships]	windmills	watermills	sawmills	fulling mills	paper mills	horse mills	gunpowder mills	ore mills	ironworks	copper smithies	brickyards	limekilns	glassworks	alun mine	village breweries
Chełmno															
royal	4	43	7	4	–	1	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	5
noble	15	36	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Church	2	39	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	5
town-Church	1	1	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
town-royal	–	17	3	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–
total	22	136	14	9	1	3	–	–	1	1	6	1	–	–	11
Malbork															
royal	9	13	3	4	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	3
noble	1	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Church	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
town-royal	2	10	–	2	–	1	–	–	–	4	2	–	–	–	–
total	12	31	3	6	–	1	1	–	–	4	3	–	1	–	3
Pomeranian															
royal	–	92	14	5	–	–	–	2	7	1	1	–	1	1	9
noble	1	71	12	–	–	–	1	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Church	2	34	5	2	–	–	–	–	10	–	1	1	–	–	3
town-royal	2	22	5	8	2	–	1	1	6	1	2	1	–	–	3
total	5	219	36	15	2	–	2	3	26	2	4	2	1	1	15
Royal Prussia															
royal	13	148	24	13	–	1	1	2	8	1	3	–	2	–	17
noble	17	115	13	–	–	–	1	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	1
Church	4	73	8	2	1	–	–	–	10	–	3	1	–	1	8
town-Church	1	1	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
town-royal	4	49	8	13	2	1	1	1	6	6	6	2	–	–	3
total	39	386	53	30	3	4	3	3	27	7	13	3	2	1	29

the broadcloth drapers (*sukiennicy*) from Chojnice (55), which was the local textile production centre for the entire Pomeranian, as well as linen drapers (*plóciennicy*), particularly in Chojnice and Tczew.

In the second main category – craftsmen working with leather – the most important position is taken by the shoemakers (117) present in almost every Pomeranian town.

The further larger groups are as follows: those connected with metalwork, where smiths dominate (52), those connected with woodwork, where wheelwrights and coopers are most numerous. Apart from brewing and alcohol distilling craft, we should also distinguish a numerous group of tailors (87). As far as food production is concerned, the bakers and butchers are dominant, and in clay work – potters.

Trying to look for a more general tendency among the distribution of crafts, we can distinguish two groups: the first one aiming at satisfying the need of the town itself, where we can list such crafts as: bakers, butchers and carpenters; the second one producing for the purposes of both the town and the village: drapers, shoemakers, tailors, coopers, wheelwrights, and potters. The second group certainly supplied the nearby village population filling the gap in the village craft and strengthening the trade.

It is also true in the case of brewing and alcohol distillation. The acquired data, though fragmentary for some towns, show examples of a few, or even a dozen brewers in some towns (especially in Skarszewy – 15 and Tuchola – 8) who brew the beer mostly sold outside the town. This craft was fairly popular among the townsfolk, which had a clear depiction in the tax registers.<sup>135</sup> The professional brewers, however, mostly worked in the major town breweries.

<sup>135</sup> Tax registers list a fee “de ptisana” for each Pomeranian town. For Gniez, they list three breweries, and two malteries; P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 99. Człuchów town utilises the malt mill in the nearby Dębica; ASK XLVI 28, p. 187. The role of brewing in the smaller towns in Prussia is discussed by A. Mączak, *Mieszkańcy Malborka w roku 1570*, ZH, vol. 25, no. 3–4 (in print), the information gathered by whom could only partially be used here.

**Table 47. Detailed division of the craftsmen population in towns of the Pomeranian Voivodeship**

District - town	I						II								
	blacksmiths	locksmiths	tinsmiths	tinkers	blade smiths	gunsmiths	carpenters (furniture)	coopers	pottery specializing in the bowls manufacturing	wheelwrights	coach-builders	roofers joiners	sawyers	shoemakers specializing in the manufacture of boots	woodcarvers
Człuchów district:															
Białobór															
Chojnice	13		2				4	3	2						
Czarne	2						1								
Człuchów	1	1					1			1					
Debrzno		1													1
Nowe district:															
Nowe	4	1					1	2		2	1	2			1
Puck district:															
Puck	7						3	3	2	5		2	2		
Świecie district:															
Świecie	5	2						3							
Tezew district:															
Gniew															
Kościerzyna	2							3							
Skarszewy	9	1						4		10		2			1
Starogard	10		1	2	1	1	2	3		5	1	3			
Tezew	6	2	3				5	4		5	1	2		1	1
Tuchola district:															
Tuchola	3	1													
Total	62	9	6	2	1	1	17	25	4	28	3	11	2	1	4

District - town	III				IV					V		VI			
	broadcloth drapers	cutters	textile shearers	linen drapers	shoemakers	furriers	tanners (alutarii)	leatherworkers	saddler	purse makers	tailors	hat makers	bakers	circular wedding bread bakers	butchers
Człuchów district:															
Białobór															
Chojnice	55			16	19	3	1	2			12	4	5		4
Czarne	7				3						2				

District - town	III				IV						V		VI		
	broadcloth drapers	cutters	textile shearers	linen drapers	shoemakers	furriers	tanners (alutarii)	leatherworkers	saddler	purse makers	tailors	hat makers	bakers	circular wedding bread bakers	butchers
Człuchów				1	2								1		
Debrzno	2				2						1		1		
Nowe district:															
Nowe				4	10	2					11		5		6
Puck district:															
Puck	3	3		6	9	5					10		4		4
Świecie district:															
Świecie	5				16	4					13		11		12
Tezew district:															
Gniew															
Kościierzyna					6						3				
Skarszewy	4			2	11	2	1				11		6		4
Starogard	9		1	6	17		2	1	1	2	10	2	9		6
Tezew				11	8	5	1		2		4	1	7	2	5
Tuchola district:															
Tuchola	5			2	14	3			2	4	10		6		
Total	90	3	1	48	117	24	5	3	5	6	87	7	55	2	41

District - town	VII			VIII					IX	X		XI		
	potters (figuli)	potters (qui urnas faciunt)	bricklayers	glassmakers	rope makers	barbers	goldsmiths	pharmacists	unspecified	beer makers (pro precio cervisiam coquant)	malt makers (qui pisanam parunt)	craftsmen in total	no. of distillation stills	no. of innkeepers making spirits (qui vinum adustum vendunt)
Człuchów district:														
Białobór									2			2		
Chojnice	2	2		1	2							152	4	1
Czarne												15		
Człuchów												8	6	
Debrzno	2											10	3	
Nowe district:														
Nowe	4		1	1	2							60	9	7

District - town	VII			VIII					IX	X		XI		
	potters (figuli)	potters (qui urnas faciunt)	bricklayers	glassmakers	rope makers	barbers	goldsmiths	pharmacists	unspecified	beer makers (pro precio cervisiam coquunt)	malt makers (qui ptisanam parunt)	craftsmen in total	no. of distillation stills	no. of innkeepers making spirits (qui vinum adustum vendunt)
Puck district:														
Puck	1	1	2	1	1	2				4		80	1	2
Świecie district:														
Świecie	9											80	3	5
Tezew district:														
Gniew									55			55	7	
Kościerzyna												14	6	
Skarszewy	2		3							11	4	88	21	4
Starogard	4	2	2	1	1	1	1			3	3	113	14	3
Tezew	6	2	1	2	3	1	1	2		5		99	7	6
Tuchola district:														
Tuchola	5	2					1				8	66	9	5
Total	35	9	9	6	9	4	3	2	57	23	15	842	90	33

- I. Jobs connected with metalwork
- II. Jobs connected with woodwork
- III. Jobs connected with production of cloth and linen
- IV. Jobs connected with leatherwork
- V. Jobs connected with textiles and apparel
- VI. Jobs connected with making alimentary products
- VII. Jobs connected with claywork
- VIII. Various crafts (glaziers, rope makers, barbers, goldsmiths, pharmacies)
- IX. Unspecified craftsmen
- X. Jobs connected with production of beer
- XI. Data on distillation and its alcohol sale

A similar line of thinking can be applied to the alcohol distillation, which is even better reflected in the sources. The acquired number of 90 distillation stills for the 12 towns (7.5 per one town) and 33 innkeepers making spirits in eight towns (about four per one town) seems to illustrate the size of the undertaking in the Pomeranian towns, especially, compared to the 19 distillation stills in the village area in the entire voivodeship.

The numbers and ruminations above, though fragmentary, allow for, as it seems, a better understanding of the role of town craft in supplementing the lacks in the village craft in Royal Prussia.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>136</sup> For example, it can be added that we have data on existence for the area of the Chełmno Voivodeship crafts in four smaller towns: Chełmża – shoemakers, tailors, weavers (the number not given), roofer, furrier, stove fitter, cap maker and 26 distillation stills and six innkeepers making spirits; Lidzbark Welski – nine craftsmen, 21 distillation stills; Wąbrzeźno – seven craftsmen and 22 distillation stills; Radzyń – 12 distillation stills, seven innkeepers making spirits, 18 companions-journeymen (the number of craftsmen is not given, except for two, not possessing houses); P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 66–68. These figures

The craft in the three largest towns is of a completely different sort and function, which still requires further studies and elaboration.

The remaining elements included in the map were administrative centres for both the Polish Crown and the Catholic Church, as well as seats of town courts and land courts. As such, seats of all *starostwos* (royal demesne lands belonging to the Crown), and Church property clusters have been marked on the map. All district seats have also been marked, as well as town court seats in Chełmno Voivodeship (Kowalewo), Malbork Voivodeship (Dzierzgoń), and Pomeranian Voivodeship (Skaryszewy); similarly, land court seats, and sites of local *sejmiki* have been marked. *Sejmik* assemblies took place in Kowalewo in Chełmno Voivodeship, Sztum in Malbork Voivodeship, and Starogard in Pomeranian Voivodeship.<sup>137</sup> The location of the so-called general *sejmik* (*sejmik generalny*) – *sejmik* for the whole Prussian province – rotated from Grudziadz (Chełmno Voivodeship) to Malbork (Malbork Voivodeship), which has been separately noted on the map.

The cathedral in Chełmża, the only bishopric cathedral in Prussia (excluding Warmia), has also been marked on the map, as well as all twenty-eight castles existing in the sixteenth century: twenty-three belonging to the Crown, four to the Chełmno bishopric, and one belonging to the town of Toruń (Bierzglowski Zamek).

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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seem to indicate a weaker development of craftsmanship in the towns of the western part of the Chełmno Voivodeship with the widespread development of alcohol distillation.

<sup>137</sup> Data after M. Bär, *Die Behördenverfassung in Westpreussen seit der Ordenszeit*, Gdańsk 1912, p. 40 f. Land court proceedings in Chełmno Voivodeship were held in Radzyń, Toruń and Brodnica, Nowe Miasto on the Drwęca; in Malbork Voivodeship, they were held in Sztum; in Pomeranian Voivodeship – in Starogard, Świecie, Człuchów, Tuchola, Mirachowo, and Puck, meaning in all districts save the two smallest ones, Gdańsk district and Nowe district.

**ANNEX: STATISTICAL DATA  
ROYAL PRUSSIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

**CHELMNO VOIVODESHIP**

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>		rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demese arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population	
			1	2					3	4										5
1	Biskupice	the Chełmno bishop's territory	23.40	353	15.0	82	-	82	13.8	25.6	58.9	19.5	80	22.7	18	5.1	30	8.5		
2	Błędowo	Chełmno	11.75	258	21.9	55	-	55	9.2	28.0	78.3	7.3	60	23.2	24	9.3	30	11.6		
3	Bobrowo	Michałow	43.83	879	20.0	209	6	215	36.2	24.3	82.4	38.8	200	22.8	3	0.4	51	5.8		
4	Boleszyn	the Chełmno bishop's territory	35.20	623	17.7	167	-	167	28.1	22.2	79.8	25.7	80	12.8	-	-	30	4.8		
5	Boluniek	Chełmno	31.05	485	15.6	82.75	5	87.75	14.7	33.0	47.3	52.4	108	22.2	3	0.6	41	8.5		
6	Brodnica	Michałow	51.80	637	12.3	148	3	151	25.4	25.1	49.0	35.8	204	32.1	-	-	21	3.3		
7	Brudzawy	Michałow	25.90	322	12.4	84	-	84	14.1	22.8	54.4	15.5	16	4.9	15	4.7	10	3.1		
8	Bursztynowo	Chełmno	20.33	446	21.9	78.5	2.5	81	13.6	32.8	66.9	20.9	156	34.9	12	2.7	42	9.4		
9	Byszwałd	the Chełmno bishop's territory	13.97	193	13.8	72	-	72	12.1	16.0	86.6	8.3	-	-	9	4.6	15	7.8		
10	Chełmno	the Chełmno bishop's territory	99.08	[1,020]	[10.3]	[209]	-	[209]	[35.1]	[29.1]	[35.4]	[7.2]	[16] <sup>1</sup>	?	[12]	?	[17]	?		
11	Chełmonie	Chełmno	48.85	358	7.3	54.5	-	54.5	9.2	38.9	18.8	35.8	92	25.7	-	-	79	22.1		
12	Chełmża	the Chełmno bishop's territory	68.12	688	10.0	177	2	179	30.1	22.9	44.2	34.1	208	30.2	21	3.1	57	8.0		
13	Chroście	Michałow	16.38	255	15.5	70.25	-	70.25	11.8	21.6	72.0	5.7	24	9.4	-	-	10	4.0		
14	Ciechocin	Dobrzyń land <sup>2</sup>	4.32	51	11.8	11	-	11	1.8	28.3	41.7	-	-	-	-	-	15	29.4		
15	Cielęta	Michałow	23.38	411	17.6	119	-	119	20.0	20.5	88.5	26.9	72	17.5	6	1.5	5	1.2		
16	Czarnowo	Toruń's territory	92.09	659	7.2	137	-	137	23.0	28.6	25.0	14.6	184	27.9	48	7.3	49	7.5		
17	Czarze	Chełmno	33.52	[357]	?	[66]	-	[66]	[11.1]	[32.2]	?	?	[32] <sup>3</sup>	?	?	?	[5]	?		
18	Czyste Wilk.	Chełmno	34.57	627	18.1	160.5	-	160.5	27.0	23.2	78.1	33.0	156	24.9	30	4.8	46	7.3		
19	Dębowąłaka	Michałow	15.15	194	12.8	49.5	2.25	51.75	8.7	22.3	57.4	38.6	52	26.8	-	-	5	2.6		
20	Dźwierzno	Chełmno	24.36	392	16.1	122.5	-	122.5	20.6	19.0	84.6	42.4	104	26.5	-	-	22	5.6		
21	Golub	Chełmno	85.60	911	10.6	200	9	209	35.1	25.9	41.0	33.5	216	23.7	24	2.6	34	3.7		
22	Gorzelnica	Michałow	20.80	495	23.8	102	-	102	17.1	28.9	82.2	24.5	80	16.2	-	-	26	5.3		
23	Gortatowo	Michałow	19.09	433	22.7	86	12	98	16.5	26.2	86.4	3.1	72	16.6	-	-	26	6.0		
24	Gostkowo	Chełmno	24.88	494	19.9	107	-	107	18.0	27.4	72.3	23.30	88	17.8	30	6.1	36	7.3		

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	3	4	5	total		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
25	Grabowo	the Chełmno bishop's territory	25.44	551	21.7	132	-	132	22.2	24.8	87.3	22.7	76	13.8	30	5.5	36	6.6
26	Grażawy	Dobrzyń land <sup>4</sup>	12.62	56	4.4	14	-	14	2.4	23.3	19.0	-	8	14.3	-	-	5	9.0
27	Grębocin	Toruń's territory	14.60	209	14.3	75	-	75	12.6	16.6	86.3	16.0	32	15.3	-	-	5	2.4
28	Grodziczno	Michałow	46.85	849	18.1	123	30	153	25.7	33.0	54.9	32.0	160	18.8	6	0.7	71	8.4
29	Gronowo	Chełmno	44.00	645	14.6	145	-	145	24.4	26.4	55.5	9.6	136	21.1	63	9.8	37	5.7
30	Grudziądz	Chełmno	83.58	929	11.1	184	-	184	30.9	30.1	37.0	29.9	300	32.3	51	5.5	63	6.8
31	Gruta	Chełmno	60.55	1,489	24.6	318.5	-	318.5	53.5	27.8	88.4	9.1	284	19.1	60	4.0	125	8.4
32	Grzybno	the Chełmno bishop's territory	18.34	390	21.3	96	-	96	16.1	24.1	87.8	4.2	92	23.6	24	6.2	15	4.0
33	Grzywna Bisk.	Chełmno	48.54	1,094	22.5	252	10	262	44.0	24.9	90.6	28.8	288	26.3	60	5.5	86	7.8
34	Gubiny	Chełmno	15.72	34	2.1	16	-	16	2.7	12.6	17.2	100.0	12	35.3	-	-	5	14.7
35	Gwizdżiny	the Chełmno bishop's territory	16.30	297	18.2	85	-	85	14.3	20.8	87.7	5.9	56	18.9	-	-	25	8.4
36	Jabłonowo	Chełmno	54.82	744	13.5	139.5	12	151.5	25.5	29.2	46.5	52.2	192	25.8	27	3.6	88	11.8
37	Jastrzębie	Michałow	12.35	187	15.1	45	-	45	7.6	24.6	61.5	13.3	32	17.1	-	-	33	17.7
38	Kaszczorek	Chełmno	12.15	214	17.6	11	-	11	1.8	118.8	14.8	27.2	52	24.3	-	-	11	5.1
39	Kazanice	the Chełmno bishop's territory	19.10	334	17.5	102	-	102	17.1	19.5	89.5	5.9	8	2.4	12	3.6	21	6.3
40	Kielbasin	Toruń's territory	50.24	909	18.1	223.0	-	223	37.5	24.2	74.6	19.7	244	26.8	15	1.7	72	7.9
41	Kiełpiny	Michałow	20.24	384	19.0	60.5	35	95.5	16.0	24.0	79.0	5.2	68	17.7	-	-	22	5.7
42	Kijewo Król.	the Chełmno bishop's territory	46.08	604	13.1	170	-	170	28.6	21.1	62.0	37.4	136	22.5	24	3.9	83	13.7
43	Kowalewo	Chełmno	36.90	713	19.3	178	-	178	29.9	23.8	81.0	16.9	248	34.8	9	1.2	21	2.9
44	Kurkocin	Chełmno	11.14	183	16.4	46	-	46	7.7	23.8	69.1	8.7	4	2.2	12	6.6	10	5.5
45	Kurzętnik	the Chełmno bishop's territory	26.56	419	15.8	118	-	118	19.8	21.2	75.3	16.9	88	21.1	-	-	22	5.2
46	Lembarg	Michałow	68.60	1,199	17.5	261	-	261	43.8	27.4	63.8	18.8	208	17.4	57	4.8	86	7.0
47	Lidzbark Welski	Michałow	115.82	1,188	10.3	305	11.75	316.75	53.2	22.3	45.9	14.4	160	13.5	6	0.5	59	5.0
48	Linowo Król.	Chełmno	31.79	820	25.8	159	-	159	26.7	30.7	84.0	10.1	144	17.6	57	6.9	89	10.9
49	Lipinki	Michałow	19.01	301	15.8	88	-	88	14.8	20.3	77.8	39.8	68	22.6	-	-	5	1.7
50	Lipnica	Chełmno	10.80	219	20.3	49	-	49	8.2	26.5	75.9	14.3	24	10.9	-	-	10	5.0

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demesne lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
51	Lisewo	Chełmno	56.85	1,676	29.5	300	–	300	50.4	33.2	88.7	11.3	528	31.5	150	8.9	74	4.4
52	Lubawa	the Chełmno bishop's territory	32.13	410	12.8	94	–	94	15.8	25.9	49.2	19.1	60	14.6	9	2.2	50	12.2
53	Lubiec	Toruń's territory	8.81	196	22.3	36	–	36	6.0	32.7	68.1	5.6	32	16.3	–	–	41	20.9
54	Łasin	Chełmno	86.08	1,666	19.4	413	8	421	70.7	23.5	82.1	23.4	368	22.1	51	3.1	76	4.6
55	Łąkorz	Michałow	59.82	294	4.9	52	–	52	8.7	33.8	14.5	30.8	84	28.6	9	3.6	21	7.2
56	Łążyn	Toruń's territory	54.87	882	16.0	168.5	5	173.5	29.1	30.3	53.0	29.9	208	23.6	48	5.4	87	9.9
57	Łobdowo	Chełmno	57.46	315	5.5	90	–	90	15.1	20.9	26.3	26.7	48	15.2	9	2.8	38	12.1
58	Łopatki	Chełmno	22.69	112	4.9	24	–	24	4.0	27.8	17.7	16.7	24	25.0	–	–	16	14.3
59	Michałow	Michałow	10.50	[230]	?	[48]	–	[48]	[8.1]	?	?	?	[28]	?	?	?	?	?
60	Mikołajki	Michałow	8.10	130	16.0	34	–	34	5.7	22.8	70.4	20.6	32	24.6	–	–	5	3.9
61	Mokre	Chełmno	77.54	1,071	13.8	198.5	–	198.5	33.3	32.2	42.9	24.2	332	30.9	36	3.3	115	10.7
62	Mroczno	the Chełmno bishop's territory	65.47	905	13.8	279.25	5.5	284.75	47.8	18.9	73.0	27.1	152	16.8	24	2.7	42	4.6
63	Mszano	the Chełmno bishop's territory	13.95	255	18.3	67.5	–	67.5	11.3	22.6	81.1	17.7	68	26.6	3	1.2	15	6.0
64	Nawra	Chełmno	10.00	217	21.7	48	–	48	8.1	26.8	81.0	37.5	72	33.2	6	2.8	15	7.0
65	Niedźwiedź	Michałow	19.71	235	11.9	47.5	8.5	56	9.4	25.0	47.7	47.3	84	35.7	–	–	15	6.4
66	Niem. Brzozie	the Chełmno bishop's territory	33.22	614	18.5	162	–	162	27.2	22.6	81.9	3.7	104	16.9	–	–	16	2.6
67	Nieżywiec	Michałow	49.00	706	14.4	166.5	10.75	177.25	29.8	23.7	60.8	10.4	144	20.4	–	–	20	2.8
68	Nowa wieś Król.	Chełmno	33.58	623	18.6	176	–	176	29.7	21.0	88.4	21.0	88	14.1	30	4.8	50	8.0
69	Nowe Miasto	Michałow	28.80	354	12.3	76.5	–	76.5	12.9	27.4	44.8	16.9	84	23.7	–	–	27	7.6
70	Okonin	Chełmno	47.45	818	17.2	165	–	165	27.7	29.5	58.4	12.1	256	31.3	15	1.8	84	10.3
71	Orzechowo	Chełmno	34.40	382	11.1	72	–	72	12.1	31.6	35.2	23.6	64	16.7	–	–	10	2.6
72	Osteczek	Michałow	12.60	138	10.9	36	–	36	6.0	23.0	47.6	55.6	44	31.9	–	–	11	8.0
73	Ostromecko	Chełmno	35.11	282	8.0	68	–	68	11.4	24.7	32.4	44.1	32	11.3	12	4.3	17	6.0
74	Ostrowite	Michałow	23.95	[219]	[9.1]	[52]	–	[52]	[8.7]	[25.2]	?	?	[48]	?	?	?	?	?
75	Papowo Bisk.	the Chełmno bishop's territory	57.17	1,016	17.7	264	12	276	46.4	21.9	81.1	33.7	252	24.8	12	1.2	60	6
76	Papowo Tor.	Toruń's territory	22.27	342	15.4	110	–	110	18.5	18.5	83.0	32.7	92	26.9	–	–	15	4.4
77	Pluskowęsy	Chełmno	29.24	362	12.4	87	6	93	15.6	23.1	53.1	36.6	68	18.8	3	0.9	10	2.8
78	Płowęż	the Chełmno bishop's territory	38.57	556	14.4	105	–	105	17.7	31.4	45.9	46.7	128	23.0	12	2.2	86	15.5

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demese arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
79	Płużnica	Chełmno	41.76	845	20.2	200	6	206	34.6	24.4	82.9	47.6	268	31.7	15	1.8	70	8.3
80	Pokrzydowo	Michałow	63.54	588	9.3	152.25	-	152.25	25.6	22.8	40.3	36.9	88	14.9	3	0.5	42	7.1
81	Polskie Brzozie	Michałow	41.44	337	8.1	104	-	104	17.4	19.4	42.0	7.7	60	17.8	-	-	26	7.7
82	Prątnica	the Chełmno bishop's territory	40.78	685	16.8	193	-	193	32.4	21.1	79.4	11.4	56	8.2	30	4.4	42	6.1
83	Przeeczno	Chełmno	8.86	151	17.0	42.5	-	42.5	7.1	21.3	80.1	65.9	68	45.0	3	1.9	5	3.3
84	Radomno	Michałow	42.63	411	9.6	118.5	-	118.5	19.9	20.7	46.7	21.1	60	14.6	3	0.7	11	2.7
85	Radoszki	the Chełmno bishop's territory	46.36	441	9.5	134.5	-	134.5	22.6	19.5	48.7	34.6	44	9.9	6	1.4	44	10.0
86	Radowiska Wlk.	Chełmno	18.68	337	18.0	89	-	89	15.0	22.5	80.3	16.8	56	16.6	-	-	10	3.0
87	Radzyń	Chełmno	122.51	1,941	15.8	414.5	3	417.5	70.1	27.7	57.2	37.5	584	30.5	42	2.2	145	7.5
88	Rogowo	Toruń's territory	6.60	150	22.7	34	-	34	5.7	26.3	86.3	-	32	21.3	-	-	5	3.3
89	Rogoźno	Chełmno	35.77	528	14.8	104	-	104	17.4	30.3	48.6	34.6	188	35.6	15	2.8	52	9.9
90	Rożental	the Chełmno bishop's territory	23.83	359	15.1	124	-	124	20.8	17.3	87.3	22.6	16	4.5	24	6.6	37	10.4
91	Rumian	the Chełmno bishop's territory	69.01	1,048	15.2	302	-	302	50.7	20.7	73.5	36.1	152	14.5	39	3.7	74	7.0
92	Rychnowo	Chełmno	10.08	107	10.6	30	-	30	5.0	21.4	49.6	33.4	24	22.4	-	-	5	4.6
93	Ryńsk	Chełmno	29.64	435	14.6	116.5	-	116.5	19.7	22.1	66.5	37.8	184	42.3	9	2.1	61	14.0
94	Rywałd Król.	Chełmno	30.79	453	14.6	94.5	5.25	99.75	16.8	27.0	54.6	42.6	196	43.3	9	1.9	25	5.5
95	Samplawa	Michałow	40.50	877	21.7	161	-	161	27.1	32.4	66.9	27.9	108	12.3	-	-	42	4.8
96	Sarnowo	Chełmno	74.39	858	11.5	216.5	-	216.5	36.4	23.6	48.9	57.3	264	30.8	18	2.1	84	9.8
97	Skarlin	Michałow	130.28	540	4.1	133	-	133	22.3	24.2	17.2	9.0	80	14.8	6	1.1	21	4.0
98	Starogród	the Chełmno bishop's territory	50.53	1,059	21.0	188	-	188	31.6	33.5	62.5	10.6	232	21.9	6	0.6	81	7.6
99	Szczuka	Michałow	18.50	237	12.8	62	-	62	10.4	22.8	56.2	17.7	28	11.8	3	1.3	10	4.2
100	Szembruk	Chełmno	29.25	375	12.8	85	-	85	14.3	26.2	48.9	7.0	28	7.5	18	4.8	42	11.2
101	Szwarcenowo	Michałow	39.83	333	8.3	82	-	82	13.8	24.1	34.6	29.3	116	34.8	-	-	10	3.0
102	Szynwałd	Chełmno	50.40	907	17.9	244.5	2.5	247	41.5	21.9	82.3	25.7	196	21.6	3	0.3	11	1.2
103	Szynych	the Chełmno bishop's territory	7.30	[127]	[17.4]	[28]	-	[28]	[4.7]	[27.0]	[64.4]	[14.3]	[32]	[25.2]	?	?	?	?
104	Świerczynki	Chełmno	30.33	528	17.4	149	-	149	25.0	21.1	82.4	34.2	116	21.9	15	2.8	51	9.7
105	Toruń	Toruń's territory	134.00	371	2.7	71	-	71	12.0	31.3	8.9	14.1	84	22.6	?	?	22	5.9
106	Trzebcz Król.	the Chełmno bishop's territory	16.56	346	20.8	82	1	83	13.9	24.9	83.9	36.8	84	22.6	12	3.5	25	7.9

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
107	Tylce	the Chełmno bishop's territory	33.50	471	14.0	110	–	110	18.5	25.5	55.2	32.7	68	14.4	24	5.1	41	8.7
108	Unisław	the Chełmno bishop's territory	54.62	849	15.5	207.5	–	207.5	34.9	24.3	63.9	31.6	196	23.1	27	3.2	87	10.1
109	Wabez	Chełmno	56.00	991	17.7	247.25	–	247.25	41.6	23.8	74.3	57.1	332	33.5	24	2.4	82	8.3
110	Wąbrzeźno	the Chełmno bishop's territory	105.21	1,083	10.3	239.5	2	241.5	40.6	26.7	38.6	22.3	204	18.8	9	0.8	76	7.0
111	Wielkałąka	Chełmno	32.70	612	18.7	158	–	158	26.5	23.1	81.0	37.3	108	17.7	42	6.9	79	13.0
112	Wiewiórki	Chełmno	18.77	370	19.6	88	–	88	14.8	25.0	78.8	4.6	80	21.7	12	3.3	26	7.0
113	Wiewsk	Michałow	34.48	211	6.1	53	9.5	62.5	10.5	20.1	30.4	19.2	36	17.1	–	–	11	5.2
114	Wonna	Michałow	13.15	82	6.1	26.5	–	26.5	4.4	18.6	33.4	15.1	12	14.6	–	–	5	6.1
115	Wroeki	Michałow	42.34	833	19.7	198.5	1.5	200	33.6	24.8	79.3	10.0	180	21.6	24	2.9	57	6.8
116	Wronie	Chełmno	12.02	130	10.8	20	–	20	3.4	38.2	28.3	10.0	28	21.5	–	–	31	24.0
117	Zajączkowo	Chełmno	20.22	241	11.9	62	–	62	10.5	23.0	51.9	46.8	44	18.3	–	–	10	4.1
118	Zieleń	Chełmno	9.21	161	17.5	45	–	45	7.6	21.1	82.5	8.9	8	4.9	6	3.7	5	3.1
119	Złotowo	the Chełmno bishop's territory	18.06	258	14.3	90	–	90	15.1	17.1	83.6	15.6	36	13.9	12	4.6	21	8.1
120	Zwiniarz	the Chełmno bishop's territory	50.15	968	19.3	255	–	255	42.8	22.6	85.3	42.7	148	15.3	36	3.7	97	10.0
121	Żmijewo	Michałow	80.52	699	8.6	225	–	225	37.8	18.5	46.9	11.8	56	8.1	–	–	25	3.6
	Settlements without specific parish affiliation	–	–	409	–	78.75	6	84.75	14.2	–	–	–	628 <sup>5</sup>	–	180 <sup>6</sup>	–	158 <sup>7</sup>	–
	Town parishes' goods	–	–	–	–	81.5	–	81.5	13.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Total	–	4,654	65,250	14.0	15,426	233	15,659	2,630.7	24.8	56.5	26.1	14,552	22.3 <sup>8</sup>	1 872	2.9	4,687	7.2

<sup>1</sup> The data pertaining to the population of smallholders and cotters are available only for Brzozowo and Grubno villages. The numbers in brackets indicate that they were estimated or incomplete, and usually were not included in the map. The two exceptions are some data on the population of the territory of the towns of Gdańsk and Elbląg.

<sup>2</sup> Only the area of the parish located in Royal Prussia, in Chełmno district (Elgiszewo) was included.

<sup>3</sup> The data pertaining to the population of smallholders and craftspeople are available only for Czarze village.

<sup>4</sup> Only the area of the parish located in Royal Prussia, in Michałow district (Łaszewo) was included.

<sup>5</sup> The number includes 536 smallholders added to the population of the noble property.

<sup>6</sup> The number includes 159 cotters added to the population of the noble property and the territory of the town of Toruń.

<sup>7</sup> The number includes 70 craftspeople added to the population of the territory of the town of Toruń.

<sup>8</sup> Excluding the estimated population of the town of Chełmno of 800 the share should be 22.6%.

**MALBORK VOIVODESHIP**

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demese arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
122	Bagart (Baumgarth)	–	21.24	253	11.9	66	–	66	11.1	22.8	52.2	6.0	48	18.9	–	–	5	2.0
123	Borety (Barendt)	–	19.83	335	16.9	97	–	97	16.3	20.6	82.2	4.1	48	14.3	–	–	55	16.4
124	Bystrze (Biesterfelde)	–	9.27	147	15.9	42	–	42	7.1	20.7	76.6	23.8	40	27.2	–	–	10	6.8
125	Dąbrówka Malb. (Deutsch Damerau)	–	25.69	487	18.9	136.5	–	136.5	22.9	21.3	89.1	24.9	88	18.1	3	0.6	15	3.0
126	Dzierżgoń (Kiszpork. Christburg)	–	60.80	1,007	16.5	223	–	223	37.5	26.6	61.7	22.9	328	32.6	66	6.5	22	2.2
127	Fiszewo (Fischau)	–	36.41	763	20.9	190	–	190	31.9	23.9	87.6	3.2	188	24.6	42	5.5	90	11.8
128	Gnoje wo (Gnojau)	–	17.61	299	16.9	89	–	89	15.0	19.9	85.2	6.7	76	25.4	9	3.0	35	11.9
129	Gościszewo (Braunswalde)	–	12.72	241	18.9	55	–	55	9.2	26.2	72.3	7.3	52	21.6	9	3.7	15	6.2
130	Jasna (Lichtfelde)	–	15.55	396	25.5	72	–	72	12.1	32.7	77.8	19.4	156	39.4	–	–	16	4.0
131	Katwa (Kalwe)	–	42.96	683	15.9	200.5	–	200.5	33.7	20.3	78.4	34.7	156	22.8	12	1.8	25	3.7
132	Koniewald (Konradswalde)	–	23.75	260	10.9	54	–	54	9.1	28.6	38.3	7.4	56	21.5	12	4.6	22	8.5
133	Kończewice (Kunzendorf)	–	20.02	319	15.7	108	–	108	18.1	17.6	89.6	3.7	80	25.1	6	1.9	35	11.0
134	Kościeleczyki (Warnau)	–	9.53	169	17.7	44	–	44	7.4	22.8	77.6	9.1	4	2.4	3	1.8	15	9.0
135	Koślinka (Kiesling)	–	7.92	146	18.4	42	–	42	7.1	20.6	89.6	9.5	16	10.9	–	–	10	7.0
136	Krasna Łąka (Schönwiese)	–	41.82	746	17.8	171	–	171	28.7	26.0	68.6	29.8	156	20.9	42	5.7	68	9.1

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demese arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
137	Kraśniewo (Schönau)	–	8.43	142	16.8	40	–	40	6.7	21.2	79.5	–	28	19.7	–	–	10	7.0
138	Królewo (Königsdorf)	–	35.22	684	19.4	202	–	202	33.9	20.2	96.3	1.9	156	22.8	36	5.3	90	13.2
139	Krzyżanowo (Notzendorf)	–	24.71	479	19.4	133	–	133	22.3	21.5	90.2	1.1	96	20.1	15	3.1	45	9.4
140	Lasowice (Gr. Lesewitz)	–	28.49	501	17.6	158	–	158	26.5	18.9	93.0	13.3	68	13.6	6	1.2	50	10.0
141	Lichnowy (Gr. Lichtenau)	–	65.83	1,092	16.5	329	–	329	55.3	19.7	84.0	7.3	200	18.3	3	0.3	111	10.2
142	Lisewo (Liessau)	–	12.32	285	23.1	44	–	44	7.4	38.5	60.1	4.5	92	32.3	3	1.1	30	10.6
143	Malbork (Marienburg)	–	34.23	1,019	29.8	160	–	160	26.8	38.0	78.3	40.6	172	16.8	39	3.8	218	21.4
144	Mątowy Wlk. (Gr. Montau)	–	26.72	361	13.5	87	–	87	14.6	24.7	54.6	45.9	156	43.2	6	1.6	26	7.2
145	Miłoradz (Mielenz)	–	11.32	222	19.6	58	–	58	9.7	22.9	85.7	6.9	52	23.4	–	–	10	4.5
146	Niedźwiedzica (Bärwalde)	–	26.76	308	11.5	91	–	91	15.3	20.1	57.2	19.2	48	15.6	30	9.7	57	18.5
147	Nowa Cerkiew (Neukirch)	–	20.77	427	20.6	110	–	110	18.5	23.1	89.1	3.6	48	11.2	12	2.8	25	5.9
148	Nowa Wieś (Neudorf)	–	37.36	252	6.7	51	–	51	8.6	29.3	23.0	7.8	40	15.9	24	9.5	23	9.1
149	Nowy Staw (Nytych. Neuteich)	–	56.92	930	16.3	272	–	272	45.7	20.3	80.3	10.7	184	19.8	3	0.3	55	5.9
150	Nowy Targ (Neumark)	–	38.90	632	16.2	185	–	185	31.1	20.3	79.9	22.2	156	24.7	6	0.9	55	8.7
151	Pietrzwałd (Peterswalde)	–	11.13	187	16.8	63	–	63	10.6	17.6	95.2	11.1	28	14.9	12	6.4	5	2.7
152	Pogorzala Wieś (Wernersdorf)	–	12.67	263	20.7	63	–	63	10.6	24.8	83.7	6.3	72	27.4	6	2.3	25	9.5

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demese arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
153	Postolin (Pestlin)	–	70.22	1,442	20.5	384.5	–	384.5	64.6	22.3	92.0	27.3	360	24.9	39	2.7	86	5.9
154	Różany (Rosen gart)	–	7.98	125	15.7	34	–	34	5.7	21.9	71.4	8.8	32	25.6	–	–	10	8.0
155	Str. Kościelnica (Altmünster berg)	–	11.55	251	21.8	60	–	60	10.1	24.9	87.4	3.3	52	20.7	3	1.2	25	10.0
156	Str. Targ (Altmark)	–	33.22	513	15.4	147.5	–	147.5	24.8	20.7	74.7	17.6	120	23.4	18	3.5	48	9.4
157	Straszewo (Dietrichsdorf)	–	28.85	456	15.8	130	–	130	21.8	20.9	75.6	7.7	68	14.9	15	3.3	15	3.3
158	Szawald (Schadwalde)	–	24.70	265	10.7	76	–	76	12.8	20.7	51.8	2.6	20	7.5	–	–	35	13.3
159	Szropy (Schroop)	–	11.92	226	18.9	60	–	60	10.1	22.4	84.7	6.7	36	15.9	9	3.9	21	9.3
160	Sztum (Stuhm)	–	100.90	725	7.2	171	–	171	28.7	25.3	28.4	40.4	252	34.8	54	7.4	60	8.3
161	Świerki (Tansee)	–	25.71	565	21.9	142.5	–	142.5	23.9	23.6	93.0	2.8	84	14.9	24	4.3	60	10.6
162	Tychnowy (Tiefenau)	–	50.92	577	11.3	130	–	130	21.8	26.5	42.8	26.2	148	25.6	45	7.8	41	7.1
163	Zwierzno (Thiergart)	–	113.05	275	2.4	75.5	–	75.5	12.7	21.7	11.2	50.3	96	34.9	–	–	20	7.3
164	Żuławka (Posilge)	–	48.63	738	15.2	193	–	193	32.4	22.8	66.3	40.9	228	30.9	24	3.2	42	5.7
165	Zuławki (Fürstenwerder)	–	11.29	195	17.2	64	–	64	10.8	18.1	95.7	6.2	32	16.4	9	4.6	15	7.7
166	Tolknicko area <sup>1</sup> (Tolkemit)	–	118.00	1,247	10.6	478.5	–	478.5	80.4	15.5	68.1	10.5	148	11.9	–	–	32	2.5
167	Nowy Dwór lease <sup>2</sup> (Tiegenhof)	–	110.16	2,004	18.2	509	–	509	85.5	23.4	77.6	6.7	260	12.9	99	4.9	165	8.2

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		share of demesne arable land	share of cultivated land	relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
168	The territory of the town of Elbląg	ter. Elbl	512.00	[7,500]	[14.7]	1,445	–	1,445	242.8	[30.9]	47.4	17.0	?	?	?	?	?	
	Settlements with no parish affiliation	–	–	173	–	62	–	62	10.4	–	–	–	320 <sup>3</sup>	–	27	–	6	
	Town parishes' goods	–	–	–	–	9.5	–	9.5	1.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Total		–	2,096.00	31,312	14.9	7,808	–	7,808	1,311.7	23.9	62.6	16.8	5,344	17.1 <sup>4</sup>	771	2.5 <sup>5</sup>	1,954	6.2 <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Including the following settlements: Chojnowo, Nowinka, Tolkmicko-Dwór, Kikoty, Pogrodzie, Wodynia, Huta, Zajączkowo, Rychnowy, Krzyżewo, Karszewo, Pagórki, Ostrogota, Kadyń and Mąjewo. They belong to the parishes in Warmia diocese (Milejewo, Pogrodzie, Tolkmicko), which was not covered by the sources from the sixteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Including the parishes: Jezernik – 10.94 km<sup>2</sup>, Lubieszewo – 25.22 km<sup>2</sup>, Marynowy – 14.5 km<sup>2</sup>, Ostaszewo – 10.27 km<sup>2</sup>, Tuja and Tujec – 37.13 km<sup>2</sup>, listed together in the tax registers.

<sup>3</sup> 224 of which are estimated smallholder population in the noble property.

<sup>4</sup> Excluding the estimated population of the town of Elbląg of 7,500, the share should be 22.5%.

<sup>5</sup> Excluding the estimated population of the town of Elbląg of 7,500, the share should be 3.2%.

<sup>6</sup> Excluding the estimated population of the town of Elbląg of 7,500, the share should be 8.2%.

POMERANIAN VOIVODESHIP

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demesne lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
169	Angowice	Człuchów	16.44	99	6.0	42	-	42	7.1	13.9	43.2	63.1	8	8.1	-	-	-	-
170	Barkowo (Barkenfelde)	Człuchów	23.92	238	9.9	67	-	67	11.3	21.1	47.2	7.5	12	5.1	-	-	21	8.8
171	Barłożno	Nowe	55.62	421	7.6	143	-	143	24.0	17.5	43.1	25.2	104	24.7	6	1.4	74	17.6
172	Białobór (Białobork. Baldenburg)	Człuchów	148.53	293	1.9	106	-	106	17.8	16.5	12.0	36.8	16	5.5	-	-	10	3.4
173	Bińcze (Bärenwalde)	Człuchów	13.57	155	11.4	43	-	43	7.2	21.5	53.0	44.2	12	7.7	-	-	6	3.8
174	Biskupnica (Bischofswalde)	Człuchów	26.01	127	4.9	46	-	46	7.7	16.5	29.6	13.0	8	6.3	-	-	15	11.8
175	Bobowo	Tczew	30.85	511	16.6	141	-	141	23.7	21.6	76.8	11.4	116	22.7	-	-	96	18.8
176	Bogatka (Reichenberg)	Gdańsk's territory	5.80	37	6.5	25.5	-	25.5	4.3	8.6	74.1	43.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
177	Borzyszkowy	Człuchów	220.30	1,187	5.4	125.25	89	214.25	36.0	33.0	16.3	22.2	24	2.0	-	-	55	4.6
178	Brusy	Tuchola	417.50	1,407	3.4	343.5	39.25	382.75	64.3	21.9	15.4	30.5	92	6.5	-	-	79	5.6
179	Brzeźno Człuch. (Deutsch Briesen)	Człuchów	13.80	184	13.3	54	-	54	9.1	20.2	65.9	7.4	4	2.1	-	-	10	5.4
180	Brzeźno Szl.	Człuchów	61.53	243	4.0	38.25	12.5	50.75	8.5	28.6	13.8	26.6	8	3.3	-	-	-	-
181	Bukowina (Buckowin)	Lębork area <sup>2</sup>	12.78	54	4.2	-	12	12	2.0	27.0	15.7	-	4	7.6	-	-	-	-
182	Bukowo Człuch. (Bucholtz)	Człuchów	16.10	295	18.3	75	-	75	12.6	23.4	78.3	8.0	24	8.1	-	-	30	10.2
183	Bysław	Tuchola	116.82	410	3.5	125	-	125	21.0	19.5	18.0	40.8	72	17.6	-	-	46	11.2
184	Bzowo	Świecie	24.12	361	14.9	86	-	86	14.4	25.1	59.7	4.7	60	16.6	-	-	20	5.5
185	Cekcyn	Tuchola	129.69	329	2.5	100	2	102	17.2	19.1	13.3	51.0	72	21.9	-	-	36	10.9
186	Cerkwica Wlk.	Tuchola	21.33	412	19.3	103	2.5	105.5	17.7	23.3	83.0	34.1	44	10.7	-	-	42	10.2
187	Chmielno	Mirachowo	155.25	579	3.7	135.75	15	150.75	25.3	22.8	16.3	24.9	48	8.3	-	-	29	5.0
188	Chojnice	Człuchów	45.29	100	2.2	51	-	51	8.6	11.6	19.0	100.0	16	16.0	-	-	-	-
189	Chojniczki	Człuchów	108.31	390	3.6	103	1	104	17.5	22.3	16.2	29.8	92	23.6	-	-	33	8.5
190	Chrzastowo (Christfelde)	Człuchów	17.90	176	9.8	51	-	51	8.6	20.5	48.0	11.8	12	6.8	-	-	28	15.9

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demesne lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village of smallholders	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
191	Chwaszczyno	Gdańsk	25.74	192	7.5	74	–	74	12.4	15.5	48.2	20.3	8	4.2	–	–	5	2.6
192	Chylonia	Puck	29.26	336	11.5	50.5	–	50.5	8.5	39.5	29.0	4.0	64	19.0	21	6.2	135	40.2
193	Cierznie (Peters walde)	Człuchów	25.53	265	10.4	57	–	57	9.6	27.6	37.6	7.0	4	1.5	–	–	23	8.7
194	Czapelko	Gdańsk	41.94	270	6.4	105	–	105	17.6	15.3	42.0	48.6	20	7.4	–	–	26	9.6
195	Czarne (Hamersztyn. Hammerstein)	Człuchów	107.95	84	0.8	48	–	48	8.1	10.4	7.5	58.3	8	9.5	–	–	12	14.3
196	Czarnylas	Tczew	87.16	478	5.5	174	–	174	29.2	16.4	33.5	11.5	84	17.6	3	0.6	20	4.2
197	Czersk	Tuchola	307.20	614	2.0	164	10.5	174.5	29.3	21.0	9.5	51.9	48	7.8	–	–	52	8.4
198	Człuchów (Schlochau)	Człuchów	26.45	95	3.6	19	–	19	3.2	29.7	12.1	84.2	–	–	–	–	15	15.8
199	Dal win	Tczew	11.71	187	15.9	60	–	60	10.1	18.5	86.2	6.7	48	25.6	–	–	30	16.0
200	Dąbrówka	Tczew	11.61	188	16.2	58	–	58	9.7	19.4	83.5	6.9	16	8.5	–	–	20	10.6
201	Dąbrówka	Tuchola	16.14	158	9.8	30	–	30	5.0	31.6	30.9	16.7	20	12.7	–	–	10	6.3
202	Debrzno (Fryd ląd. Friedland)	Człuchów	14.13	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
203	Dęblin	Tczew	8.57	148	17.3	44	–	44	7.4	20.0	86.3	9.1	16	10.8	–	–	20	13.6
204	Dębica (Dammitz)	Człuchów	12.16	196	16.1	54	–	54	9.1	21.5	74.8	7.4	–	–	–	–	26	13.3
205	Domisław (Domschlaff)	Człuchów	17.38	186	10.7	55	–	55	9.2	20.2	52.9	25.5	24	12.9	–	–	20	10.7
206	Drzonowo (Schöнау)	Człuchów	31.85	147	4.6	44	–	44	7.4	19.9	23.2	27.3	12	8.2	–	–	–	–
207	Drzycim	Świecie	181.72	1,195	6.6	293	–	293	49.2	24.3	27.1	26.9	248	20.8	24	2	123	6.6
208	Dźwierzno (Darsen)	Człuchów	9.63	[56]	[5.8]	[33]	–	[33]	[5.5]	[10.1]	[57.1]	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
209	Dzierżążno	Tczew	31.70	209	6.6	96	–	96	16.1	13.0	50.8	32.3	36	17.2	–	–	10	4.8
210	Garc	Tczew	39.06	684	17.5	198	–	198	33.3	20.5	85.3	16.2	168	24.3	3	0.4	56	8.2
211	Garczyn	Tczew	85.86	467	5.4	167.5	9	176.5	29.7	15.7	34.6	42.1	44	9.4	–	–	32	6.8
212	Gdańsk	Gdańsk	21.24	550	25.8	100.5	–	100.5	16.9	32.5	79.6	30.8	124	22.5	–	–	82	14.9
213	Giemlice (Gemlitz)	Tczew	9.13	202	22.1	43	–	43	7.2	28.1	78.9	13.7	36	17.8	–	–	5	2.5
214	Głędowo (Lichtenhagen)	Człuchów	10.81	158	14.6	48	–	48	8.1	19.5	74.9	8.3	–	–	–	–	15	9.5

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demese arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
215	Gniew	Tczew	76.94	212	2.8	32	—	32	5.4	39.3	7.0	100.0	120	56.6	—	—	58	27.3
216	Gockowo (Gotzkau)	Człuchów	28.67	147	5.1	66	—	66	11.1	13.2	38.7	60.7	—	—	—	—	10	6.8
217	Godziszewo	Tczew	65.97	956	14.5	353	—	353	59.3	16.1	89.9	49.2	112	11.7	—	—	60	6.3
218	Goręczyno	Tczew	101.10	620	6.1	203	—	203	34.2	18.1	33.8	46.9	60	9.7	—	—	37	5.9
219	Gorzędziej	Tczew	11.69	167	14.3	60	—	60	10.1	16.5	86.4	6.7	16	9.8	6	3.6	16	9.6
220	Gostyczyn	Tuchola	32.22	309	9.6	89.5	—	89.5	15.0	20.6	46.6	7.7	48	15.5	—	—	22	7.1
221	Góra	Puck	150.93	542	3.6	97.5	14	111.5	18.7	29.0	12.4	17.1	40	7.5	—	—	55	10.2
222	Grabowo	Nowe	25.12	307	12.2	102	—	102	17.1	18.0	68.1	3.9	56	18.2	3	0.9	50	16.2
223	Gruczno	Świecie	77.67	1,211	15.6	225.25	2	227.25	38.2	31.7	49.2	36.8	320	26.4	15	1.2	236	19.5
224	Gwieździn (Fürstenau)	Człuchów	47.72	226	4.7	69	—	69	11.6	19.5	24.3	17.4	8	3.6	—	—	21	9.3
225	Jabłowo	Tczew	22.05	322	14.6	93	3	96	16.1	20.0	73.0	18.8	40	12.4	—	—	25	7.7
226	Jania Kościelna	Nowe	38.08	304	8.0	103	—	103	17.3	17.6	45.4	29.1	52	17.1	9	2.9	10	3.3
227	Jeleńcz	Tuchola	50.68	370	7.3	110.5	5	115.5	19.4	19.1	38.3	49.8	84	22.7	3	0.8	22	5.9
228	Jeżewo	Świecie	130.41	985	7.6	282	—	282	47.4	20.8	36.3	45.1	176	17.9	3	0.3	93	9.4
229	Jęczniki Wlk. (Gr. Jenznick)	Człuchów	15.57	240	15.4	80	—	80	13.4	17.9	86.0	27.5	8	3.4	—	—	16	6.7
230	Kack Wlk.	Gdańsk	26.38	268	10.2	66.5	—	66.5	11.2	23.9	42.5	21.1	44	16.3	—	—	85	31.7
231	Kamień	Krajna <sup>3</sup>	8.18	107	13.1	30.5	—	30.5	5.1	20.9	62.3	42.6	28	26.2	—	—	10	9.3
232	Kartuzy	Mirachowo	28.52	45	1.6	15	—	15	2.5	18.0	8.8	100.0	12	26.7	—	—	10	22.3
233	Kielno	Gdańsk	193.59	429	2.2	149	30	179	30.1	14.3	15.5	49.2	24	5.6	—	—	36	8.4
234	Kielpin (Woltersdorf)	Człuchów	95.25	324	3.4	121.5	—	121.5	20.4	15.9	21.4	35.8	4	1.2	—	—	32	9.9
235	Kleszczewo	Tczew	46.53	192	4.1	79	—	79	13.3	14.4	28.6	32.9	12	6.2	—	—	25	13.0
236	Klonówka	Tczew	23.67	320	13.5	114	—	114	19.3	16.6	81.5	14.1	48	15.0	—	—	32	10.0
237	Kłodawa	Tczew	58.32	1,014	17.4	308.5	2	310.5	52.2	19.4	89.5	33.7	164	16.2	15	1.5	76	7.5
238	Koczała (Flötenstein)	Człuchów	253.45	664	2.6	66	18	84	14.1	47.1	5.6	44.0	—	—	—	—	26	3.9
239	Kokoszkowy	Tczew	57.60	472	8.2	196	—	196	32.9	14.3	57.1	34.2	44	9.3	—	—	32	6.7
240	Komorsk Wlk.	Nowe	49.05	467	9.5	143.5	—	143.5	24.1	19.4	49.1	18.8	40	8.6	9	1.9	51	10.9
241	Konarzyny	Człuchów	185.08	559	3.0	159	10	169	28.4	19.7	15.3	46.4	32	5.9	—	—	36	6.4
242	Kościierzyna	Tczew	374.33	621	1.7	293	—	293	49.2	12.6	13.1	56.3	48	7.7	3	0.5	34	5.4
243	Krepsk (Kramsk)	Człuchów	46.43	282	6.1	112	—	112	18.8	15.0	40.5	46.4	20	7.1	—	—	31	10.9

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demesne lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
244	Krokowo	Puck	57.06	552	9.7	104	6	110	18.4	30.0	32.2	36.8	60	10.9	–	–	34	6.2
245	Krzemieniewo (Krummensee)	Człuchów	27.53	170	6.7	57.5	–	57.5	9.7	17.5	35.2	33.0	8	4.7	–	–	11	6.5
246	Lalkowy	Nowe	43.65	712	16.3	159.5	–	159.5	26.9	26.5	61.6	26.9	188	26.4	6	0.9	66	9.3
247	Lędyczek (Landeck)	Człuchów	30.49	100	3.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	76	76.0	–	–	16	16.0
248	Lichnowy	Tuchola	27.09	321	11.8	109.5	–	109.5	18.4	17.4	67.9	4.6	–	–	–	–	15	4.7
249	Lignowy	Tczew	42.33	758	17.9	196	–	196	32.9	23.0	77.7	2.0	184	24.3	42	5.6	83	10.9
250	Lipusz	Tczew	186.51	387	2.1	108.5	–	108.5	18.2	21.3	9.8	18.4	24	6.2	15	3.8	49	12.7
251	Lubichowo	Tczew	215.95	325	1.5	123.75	1.5	125.25	21.0	15.4	9.7	64.9	80	24.6	–	–	10	3.0
252	Lubień Wlk.	Świecie	30.60	572	18.6	150.5	–	150.5	25.3	22.6	82.7	10.6	100	17.5	21	3.7	[10] <sup>4</sup>	?
253	Lubiewo	Tuchola	83.59	365	4.4	79	–	79	13.3	27.4	15.9	21.5	40	10.9	–	–	42	11.5
254	Lubiszewo	Tczew	56.25	657	11.7	268.5	–	268.5	45.1	14.6	80.2	47.1	56	8.5	–	–	68	10.3
255	Lubiewo	Gdańsk's territory <sup>5</sup>	11.07	165	14.9	58	–	58	9.7	17.0	87.6	56.9	28	16.9	–	–	20	12.1
256	Luzino	Puck	131.23	787	6.0	236.5	46.5	283	47.5	16.6	36.2	55.6	40	5.1	3	0.4	56	7.1
257	Łebcz	Puck	18.80	207	10.5	92	–	92	15.5	13.3	82.4	20.7	8	3.8	–	–	5	2.4
258	Łebunia (Labuhn)	Łębork area <sup>6</sup>	14.41	82	5.7	6	17	23	3.9	21.0	27.1	21.7	8	9.8	–	–	6	7.3
259	Łoża (Loosen)	Człuchów	29.08	203	7.0	60	–	60	10.1	20.1	34.7	35.0	24	11.8	–	–	–	–
260	Matarnia	Gdańsk	56.25	695	12.4	223.75	–	223.75	37.6	18.5	66.8	18.2	48	6.9	–	–	15	2.2
261	Mechowo	Puck	28.00	341	12.2	96	–	96	16.2	21.0	57.8	4.2	20	5.8	–	–	11	3.2
262	Mędromierz Wlk.	Tuchola	66.60	548	8.2	214	–	214	36.0	15.2	54.1	40.3	84	15.3	6	1.1	35	6.4
263	Michale	Świecie	9.64	147	15.3	44	–	44	7.4	19.9	76.8	9.1	–	–	–	–	5	3.4
264	Mierzeszyn	Tczew	58.23	290	5.0	79	–	79	13.3	21.8	22.8	10.1	4	1.4	–	–	10	3.4
265	Milobądz	Tczew	64.65	1,126	17.4	319	–	319	53.6	21.0	82.9	13.5	204	18.1	6	0.5	127	11.2
266	Moszczenica	Człuchów	16.47	231	14.0	72	–	72	12.1	19.1	73.4	40.9	4	1.7	–	–	27	11.7
267	Mosiny (Mossin)	Człuchów	22.50	304	13.5	81.5	4.5	86	14.4	21.1	64.0	12.2	16	5.3	–	–	15	4.9
268	Mysłigoszcz (Marienfelde)	Człuchów	18.63	141	7.6	46	–	46	7.7	18.1	41.3	26.1	4	2.8	–	–	–	–
269	Nadziejewo (Hansfelde)	Człuchów	19.90	137	6.9	70	–	70	11.8	11.6	59.3	50.0	–	–	–	–	15	10.9

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
270	Niedamowo	Tezew	77.54	271	3.5	130.5	-	130.5	21.9	12.2	28.3	59.4	4	1.5	-	-	5	1.8
271	Niewieścín	Świecie	42.66	967	22.7	185	-	185	31.1	31.1	72.9	34.3	168	17.4	6	0.6	158	16.3
272	Niwy	Człuchów	26.26	325	12.4	118	-	118	19.9	16.3	75.8	55.0	44	13.5	-	-	22	6.7
273	Nowa Cerkiew	Tezew	78.66	1,024	13.0	338	-	338	56.8	18.0	72.2	10.4	220	21.5	39	3.8	131	12.8
274	Nowa Cerkiew	Człuchów	72.66	567	7.8	192	14	192	34.6	16.4	47.6	47.6	48	8.5	-	-	36	6.4
275	Nowa Wieś	Tezew	12.24	133	10.9	40	-	40	6.7	19.8	54.7	10.0	32	24.1	-	-	5	3.7
276	Nowe	Nowe	66.78	678	10.2	213	-	213	35.8	18.9	53.6	49.8	176	25.9	-	-	22	3.2
277	Obkaz	Człuchów	11.32	79	7.0	18.5	-	18.5	3.1	25.5	27.4	21.6	16	20.3	-	-	5	6.3
278	Obozin	Tezew	7.85	107	13.6	39	-	39	6.6	16.2	84.1	41.0	-	-	-	-	12	11.2
279	Ogorzeliny	Człuchów	25.12	355	14.1	128.5	-	128.5	21.7	16.4	86.3	35.4	-	-	-	-	16	4.5
280	Okisywie	Puck	97.35	798	8.2	236	-	236	39.6	20.1	40.7	15.3	156	19.5	12	1.5	37	4.6
281	Oliwa	Gdańsk	79.20	1 219	15.4	183	-	183	30.7	39.7	38.8	18.6	236	19.4	15	1.2	223	18.3
282	Opalenie	Nowe	19.27	302	15.7	84.5	-	84.5	14.2	21.3	73.7	29.6	52	17.2	-	-	36	11.9
283	Osie	Świecie	146.97	234	1.6	54	-	54	9.1	25.7	6.2	25.9	52	22.2	-	-	22	9.4
284	Osieki Lęb. (Ossecken)	Lębork area <sup>7</sup>	13.44	237	17.9	63	-	63	10.6	22.4	78.9	-	4	1.7	-	-	17	7.1
285	Ostrowite	Tuchola	30.02	429	14.3	154	-	154	25.9	16.6	86.3	2.6	28	6.5	-	-	30	7.0
286	Parchowo	Mirachowo	198.72	962	4.8	214	17.25	231.25	38.9	24.7	19.6	28.9	48	4.9	-	-	65	6.7
287	Pawłowo	Człuchów	17.38	222	12.8	70	-	70	11.8	18.8	67.9	41.4	28	12.6	-	-	5	2.3
288	Pączewo	Tezew	21.72	424	19.5	110	-	110	18.5	22.9	85.2	3.6	80	18.8	15	3.5	30	7.0
289	Pelplin	Tezew	22.22	249	11.2	44.5	-	44.5	7.4	33.6	33.3	98.9	108	43.4	-	-	102	41.0
290	Piaseczno	Tezew	14.78	151	10.3	50	-	50	8.4	18.0	56.8	8.0	8	5.3	-	-	15	9.9
291	Pieniążkowo	Nowe	49.59	430	8.7	155.5	-	155.5	26.1	16.5	52.6	50.2	88	20.9	3	0.7	50	11.7
292	Pinczyn	Tezew	73.98	306	4.1	104.75	-	104.75	17.6	17.4	23.8	36.9	20	6.5	3	0.9	20	6.5
293	Płochocin	Nowe	121.32	237	1.9	51	-	51	8.6	27.8	7.1	49.0	60	25.3	-	-	18	7.6
294	Pogódki	Tezew	65.34	451	6.9	161	-	161	27.0	16.7	41.3	22.9	52	11.5	-	-	51	11.3
295	Polaszki Str.	Tezew	25.56	187	7.3	68	-	68	11.4	16.4	44.6	29.4	20	10.7	-	-	21	11.2
296	Pręgowo (Prangenau)	Tezew	76.77	806	10.5	349	7.00	349	59.8	13.5	77.9	48.8	72	8.9	-	-	42	5.2
297	Przechlewo (Prechlau)	Człuchów	127.13	330	2.6	114	-	114	19.2	17.2	15.1	23.7	12	3.6	-	-	29	8.8
298	Prusinowo Człuch. (Prützenwalde)	Człuchów	26.28	116	4.4	34	-	34	5.7	20.2	21.7	11.8	8	6.9	-	-	15	12.9

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demesne lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
299	Przodkowo	Gdańsk	39.15	299	7.6	82.5	–	82.5	13.9	21.5	35.5	4.8	44	14.7	–	–	21	7.0
300	Przyjaźń	Gdańsk	15.24	293	19.2	79	–	79	13.4	21.9	87.9	16.4	24	8.2	–	–	35	11.9
301	Przysiersk	Świecie	98.46	1,258	12.8	269.5	2	271.5	45.6	27.6	46.3	20.7	304	24.2	3	0.2	110	8.7
302	Puck	Puck	79.47	1,174	14.8	359	–	359	60.3	19.4	75.9	16.0	120	10.2	6	0.5	45	3.8
303	Raciaż	Tuchola	74.32	839	11.3	257.5	–	257.5	43.3	19.4	58.3	27.4	120	14.3	3	0.4	67	8.0
304	Raj ko wy	Tczew	24.07	331	13.8	122	–	122	20.5	16.1	85.1	3.3	48	14.5	9	2.7	40	12.1
305	Reda	Puck	116.92	497	4.3	177	–	177	29.7	16.7	25.4	32.8	28	5.6	3	0.6	29	5.8
306	Rozlazino (Roslasin)	Lębork area <sup>8</sup>	11.44	36	3.2	10	5	15	2.5	14.4	21.9	66.7	–	–	–	–	–	–
307	Rozwory (Rosenfelde)	Człuchów	33.50	180	5.4	48.5	–	48.5	8.1	22.2	24.2	8.3	12	6.7	–	–	21	11.7
308	Różyńny (Rosenberg)	Tczew	8.12	116	14.3	40	–	40	6.7	17.3	82.5	10.0	28	24.1	6	5.2	10	8.7
309	Rumia	Puck	10.53	223	21.2	54	–	54	9.1	24.5	86.4	7.4	32	14.3	–	–	16	7.1
310	Rychnowy (Richnau)	Człuchów	14.13	124	8.8	40	–	40	6.7	18.5	47.4	10.0	–	–	–	–	10	8.1
311	Rzecenica (Stegers)	Człuchów	28.92	190	6.6	56	–	56	9.4	20.2	32.5	7.1	4	2.1	–	–	23	12.1
312	Sapolno Człuch. (Sampohl)	Człuchów	20.00	282	14.1	93	–	93	15.6	18.1	78.0	24.7	12	4.3	–	–	16	5.7
313	Serock	Świecie	78.30	848	10.8	204.5	–	204.5	34.4	24.7	43.9	27.4	156	18.4	–	–	98	11.5
314	Sierakowice	Mirachowo	194.94	385	1.9	89.75	27	116.75	19.6	19.6	10.1	29.8	36	9.3	–	–	35	9.1
315	Sierpowo (Breitenfelde)	Człuchów	15.56	256	16.5	77.5	–	77.5	13.0	19.7	83.5	30.9	12	4.7	6	2.3	11	4.3
316	Silno	Tuchola	24.84	428	17.2	103	8	111	18.6	23.0	74.9	20.7	32	7.5	–	–	36	8.4
317	Skarszewy	Tczew	103.90	555	5.3	228.5	–	228.5	38.4	14.5	37.0	24.1	32	5.8	–	–	57	10.3
318	Skórz	Nowe	246.51	556	2.3	109.5	–	109.5	18.4	30.2	7.5	25.1	196	35.3	18	3.2	88	15.9
319	Slawęcín	Tuchola	21.57	240	11.2	87	–	87	14.6	16.4	67.7	31.0	16	6.7	–	–	15	6.3
320	Stupia (Steinborn)	Człuchów	15.58	207	13.3	70.5	–	70.5	11.8	17.5	75.7	5.7	8	3.9	–	–	15	7.2
321	Sokole (Falkenwalde)	Człuchów	17.12	188	11.0	80	–	80	13.4	14.0	78.3	33.8	32	17.0	–	–	25	13.3
322	Stara Kiszewa	Tczew	177.92	472	2.7	110	–	110	18.5	25.5	10.4	42.3	24	5.1	–	–	31	6.5
323	Starogard	Tczew	57.92	364	6.3	142	8	150	25.2	14.4	43.5	62.7	44	12.1	3	0.8	56	15.4

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demesne lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
324	Starzno (Starsen)	Człuchów	30.96	37	1.2	10	–	10	1.7	21.8	5.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
325	Starzno Wlk.	Puck	66.76	540	8.1	151	4.75	155.75	26.2	20.6	39.2	34.7	36	6.7	–	–	22	4.1
326	Stężyca	Tczew	146.68	663	4.5	156.25	62.5	218.75	36.9	18.0	25.2	52.9	16	2.4	9	1.4	43	6.5
327	Strzeżona (Stretzin)	Człuchów	20.68	239	11.6	88	–	88	14.8	16.1	71.6	31.8	28	11.7	–	–	21	8.8
328	Strzepez	Miraichowo	252.27	880	3.5	170	40.25	210.25	35.3	24.9	14.0	25.7	68	7.7	–	–	65	7.4
329	Strzelno	Puck	65.76	452	6.9	109	3.5	112.5	18.9	23.8	28.7	18.7	36	7.9	–	–	17	3.8
330	Subkowy	Tczew	87.68	1,036	11.8	345.5	–	345.5	58.0	17.8	66.1	32.5	268	25.9	18	1.7	116	11.2
331	Swarzewo	Puck	31.65	368	11.6	114	–	114	19.2	19.2	60.1	1.8	36	9.9	–	–	15	4.1
332	Swornigacie	Tuchola	51.93	103	2.0	[1.5]	–	[1.5]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
333	Szczodrowo	Tczew	32.49	244	7.5	87	10	97	16.4	14.9	50.5	59.7	20	9.0	–	–	16	6.5
334	Szczytno (Ziethen)	Człuchów	77.45	543	7.0	152	22.5	174.5	29.3	18.5	37.8	34.4	64	11.8	–	–	21	3.9
335	Szenfeld	Człuchów	8.10	69	8.5	25.5	–	25.5	4.2	16.4	51.9	50.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
336	Szpegawsk	Tczew	16.55	157	9.5	61	–	61	10.2	15.4	61.6	55.7	20	12.7	–	–	15	9.5
337	Śliwice	Świecie	361.46	355	0.9	84	–	84	14.1	25.2	3.9	11.9	44	12.4	–	–	37	10.4
338	Świecie	Świecie	97.30	1,144	11.8	230	–	230	38.6	29.6	39.7	8.7	240	21.0	9	0.8	102	8.9
339	Świątkowo	Świecie	89.28	916	10.3	164.5	3	167.5	28.1	32.6	31.5	31.6	188	20.5	3	0.3	72	7.8
340	Święte	Świecie	82.24	738	8.9	105	–	105	17.6	42.0	21.4	23.8	268	36.3	9	1.2	62	8.4
341	Św. Wojciech (St. Albrecht)	Tczew	57.75	734	12.8	297.75	–	297.75	50.0	14.7	86.6	58.7	128	17.6	–	–	127	17.3
342	Tczew	Tczew	39.40	686	17.4	184	–	184	30.9	22.2	78.4	32.1	140	20.4	3	0.4	72	10.5
343	Trąbki Wlk.	Tczew	24.30	346	14.2	102.5	2.5	105	17.6	19.7	72.4	20.9	68	19.7	–	–	37	10.7
344	Tuchola	Tuchola	77.75	595	7.7	165	–	165	27.7	21.5	35.6	24.9	104	17.5	–	–	61	10.3
345	Tymawa	Tczew	27.45	421	15.4	141	–	141	23.7	17.8	86.3	2.8	36	8.6	9	2.1	35	8.3
346	Uniechów (Heinrichswalde)	Człuchów	24.54	346	14.1	112	–	112	18.8	18.3	76.6	12.5	12	3.5	–	–	26	7.5
347	Walichnowy	Tczew	13.24	323	24.4	56	–	56	9.4	34.4	71.0	5.4	100	30.9	–	–	40	12.4
348	Wiele	Tuchola	320.58	814	2.4	208	25	233	39.1	20.8	12.2	37.1	52	6.4	–	–	49	6.0
349	Wierzychowo Człuch. (Firchau)	Człuchów	13.50	212	15.7	68	–	68	11.4	18.7	84.4	14.7	–	–	–	–	24	11.3
350	Wocławny (Wotzlaff)	Gdańsk's territory <sup>9</sup>	16.26	265	16.3	85	–	85	14.3	18.5	87.9	17.6	28	10.6	–	–	21	7.9

no.	parish	district	area in km <sup>2</sup>	rural population	population density per 1 km <sup>2</sup>	no. of peasant and demese lans	no of smallholders' lans	total		relative population density (per 1 km <sup>2</sup> of arable land)	share of cultivated land	share of demesne arable land	smallholders with their families	share of smallholders in village population	cotters with their families	share of cotters in village population	craftspeople with their families	share of craftspeople in village population
								lans	km <sup>2</sup>									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
351	Wysin	Tczew	85.68	410	4.8	156.5	–	156.5	26.3	15.5	30.8	23.0	32	7.8	3	0.7	34	8.3
352	Zalesie	Krajna <sup>10</sup>	5.85	87	14.9	18	–	18	3.0	29.0	51.3	22.2	12	13.8	–	–	16	18.4
353	Zblewo	Tczew	90.27	407	4.5	134	–	134	22.5	18.1	24.9	47.7	80	19.6	–	–	47	11.6
354	Żarnowiec	Puck	95.82	686	7.2	127.5	8.5	136	22.8	30.1	23.8	33.8	80	11.7	–	–	49	7.1
355	Żukowo	Gdańsk	142.71	1,416	9.9	470	7	477	80.1	17.7	56.1	53.6	164	11.5	–	–	159	11.2
356	Gdańsk's territory	Gdańsk's territory	643.00	[15,000]	[23.4]	1,605	–	1,605	269.6	[55.6]	41.9	5.5	?	?	?	?	?	?
	settlements with no parish affiliation		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	232 <sup>11</sup>	–	–	–	–	–
	town parishes' goods		–	–	–	63	–	63	10.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	total		12,907	92,247	7.2	23,634	630	24,264	4,076.4	22.6	31.6	29.2	10,648	11.5 <sup>12</sup>	435	0.4 <sup>13</sup>	6,936	7.5 <sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only the area of the parish not laying in the territory of the town of Gdańsk, but in Tezew district was included.

<sup>2</sup> Only the area of the parish located in Royal Prussia, in Mirachowo district (Niepoczolowice), was included.

<sup>3</sup> Only the areas of the parishes located in Royal Prussia, in Człuchów district (Orzetek) and Tuchola district (Ovilav) were included.

<sup>4</sup> For the craftspeople population, there were only data for Zajązdkowo Wilk.

<sup>5</sup> Only the areas of the parish not laying in the territory of the town of Gdańsk, but in Gdańsk district (Bąkowo, Golańkowo, and Kolbudy Górne), were included.

<sup>6</sup> Only the areas of the parish located in Royal Prussia, in Mirachowo district (Okalice and Zakrzewo) were included.

<sup>7</sup> Only the areas of the parish located in Royal Prussia, in Puck district (Brzyn, Nadole, and Prusewo) were included.

<sup>8</sup> Only the area of the parish located in Royal Prussia, in Mirachowo district (Kętrzyno) was included.

<sup>9</sup> Only including the following settlements: Grabiny Duchowne, Mokry Dwór i Wiślina, counted among the Gdańsk district ones.

<sup>10</sup> Only the area of the parish located in Royal Prussia, in Tuchola district (Pamiętowo) was included.

<sup>11</sup> 192 of which are estimated smallholder population in the noble property.

<sup>12</sup> Excluding the estimated population of the territory of the town of Gdańsk of 15,000, the share should be 13.8%.

<sup>13</sup> Excluding the estimated population of the territory of the town of Gdańsk of 15,000, the share should be 0.6%.

<sup>14</sup> Excluding the estimated population of the territory of the town of Gdańsk of 15,000, the share should be 9%.

### III.3.3 OWNERSHIP AFFILIATION OF SETTLEMENTS

#### III.3.3.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

Ownership affiliation of settlements in Cracow Voivodeship at the end of the sixteenth century was determined on the basis of tax registers, inspections, inventories, documents, and other sources from this century. Earlier and later sources were also helpful. All sources were described in the chapter *Written sources*.<sup>1</sup> We also consulted the literature on the subject. Settlements were marked with the same colours used in the entire AHP series: royal – red, belonging to Church institutions – purple, to the nobility – yellow, other – brown.

Royal estates in Cracow Voivodeship belonged to gord starosta's districts, leaseholders ('tenuty'), or were administered by a magnus procurator. The so-called 'wielkorządy' were royal estates, the income of which was used to pay for the needs of the royal castle and other buildings situated on the Wawel hill, as well as buildings supplying the castle, but located outside Wawel. In the second half of the sixteenth century, there were four gord starosta's districts in the voivodeship: Cracow (unusually, endowed with no lands, only the income from the regalia), Biecz, Nowy Sącz, and Oświęcim. Also, several villages belonging to the starosta's district of Nowe Miasto Korczyn, situated in Sandomierz Voivodeship, were located in Cracow Voivodeship. Leases were listed in Annex I. In the course of the sixteenth century their number changed, as royal estates were being merged (e.g. between 1521–1550 Jasło lease was merged with the starosta's district of Biecz<sup>2</sup>), or divided (in 1549 de iure, and in 1585 de facto, Żarnowiec lease was separated from the starosta's district of Nowe Miasto Korczyn;<sup>3</sup> in 1585 and 1588 Mszana Górna and Mszana Dolna were separated from Nowy Targ lease;<sup>4</sup> in 1588 Zator lease was isolated from Oświęcim starosta's district<sup>5</sup>).

It must be noted that in the second half of the sixteenth century, official sources had already ceased to use the terms 'starosta's district' ('starostwo'), *capitaneatus*, *praefectura* to denote gord starosta's district, and *bona regalia*, or lease ('tenuta') for the starosta's district not related to gord. Numerous leases in Cracow Voivodeship were then called *capitaneatus* ('starostwo'),<sup>6</sup> *praefectura*,<sup>7</sup> or even *praefectura seu tenuta*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Cracow.

<sup>2</sup> SHGK, part II, no. 2, p. 264; A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów a ruch egzekucyjny*, part 1: *Geneza egzekucji dóbr*, Wrocław 1974, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia*, pp. 200–201.

<sup>4</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Elita senatorsko-dygnitarska Korony za czasów Zygmunta III i Władysława IV*, Warsaw 1996, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia*, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Czchów in 1561 (MK 95, f. 523v), Czorsztyn in 1599 (MK 143, f. 53v), Krzeczów in 1565 (LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 66), Krzepice in 1553, 1557, 1561, 1566 and 1569 (MK 82, f. 482; 89, f. 268; 95, f. 539; 100, f. 271v; MK L.XVIII, 18, f. 548), Lanckorona in 1590 (MK 134, f. 270v), Lelów in 1552, 1563, 1565, 1569, 1570, 1571 and 1580 (MK 80, f. 266; 96, f. 138; LK 1564, vol. 2, p. 41; MK L.XVIII, 18, f. 497; MK 108, f. 394; 110, f. 176v; *Księgi podskarbińskie z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, pub. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1881 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 9), p. 259), Niepołomice in 1550, 1556, 1565, 1566, 1569, 1580 and 1585 (MK 78, f. 37; 90, f. 49; LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 74; MK 101, f. 28; MK L.XVIII, 18, f. 336; *Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 259; MK 131, ff. 336–337), Ojców in 1590 (MK 133, f. 453), Olsztyn in 1551, 1552, 1569, 1580 and 1583 (MK 79, f. 338; 82, f. 101; MK L.XVIII, 18, f. 508; 123, f. 215v; *Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 265; MK 129, f. 326), Rabsztyn in 1592 (MK 137, f. 431v).

<sup>7</sup> Czorsztyn in 1578 (MK 118, f. 297v), Dobczyce in 1585 (MK 117, f. 259), Krzepice in 1566 (MK 100, f. 99), Lanckorona in 1582 (MK 127, f. 185v), Lelów in 1578 (MK 118, f. 124), Niepołomice in 1560 (Biblioteka PAN w Kórniku, 268, f. 41).

<sup>8</sup> Lanckorona in 1574 and 1588 (MK 112, f. 34; 134, f. 270v).

The affiliation of villages to a particular starosta's district and leases was described in the published inspection of Cracow Voivodeship conducted in 1564.<sup>9</sup> Royal estates, recognized as legally charged (the so called 'old sums') by the Sejm (Diet) in 1562/1563, were not subject to inspection, and as such do not appear in this document. Their complete list and composition (names of villages in these estates) were determined many years ago by the author of this commentary.<sup>10</sup> Foundations of new royal villages were numerous between 1565 and 1600, especially in piedmont territories (starosta's districts of Nowy Targ, Czorsztyn, and Biecz).

During the Sejms (Diets) of 1566 and 1567, specially appointed committees decided, based on the inspection, which exchanges of royal villages for villages of the nobility were valid, and which not. The committees also decided on these cases, which were not solved during the control of legal rights to use royal estates, conducted during the 1563/1564 Sejm (Diet) (the so-called revision of letters). The inspectors were to investigate the matter in the field, in other instances the decision was postponed until proper documents were presented by the interested party.<sup>11</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century there were minor changes in the composition of royal estates. The exchange of a royal village Bieńkowice in Szczyrzyc district, and the royal part of Wrzempia in the same district for a part of a village Rudno, which belonged to the nobility and lay in Proszowice district, was confirmed in 1593.<sup>12</sup> In 1595 Dziewięciele, a village in Proszowice district, was given to Marcin Mazowiecki.<sup>13</sup>

On the eve of the seventeenth century, the number of royal estates in the voivodeship fell, as in 1603 the lease of Mszana Górna in Szczyrzyc district (nine villages) was exchanged for Lednica, a village in the same district, with a salt shaft belonging to Sebastian Lubomirski. The transaction was confirmed by the Sejm (Diet) in 1607.<sup>14</sup>

Two villages in Biecz district: Mrukowa and Sowokłęski, were not treated as royal, even though tax sources from the sixteenth and the seventeenth century describe them with a letter R, or an abbreviation reg., and were therefore considered royal villages by Edward Trzyna.<sup>15</sup> In the fifteenth century, and in the beginning of the sixteenth, these villages were called royal, but in 1563–1567 the matter of their affiliation was not investigated, and no decision was made, so royal rights faded.<sup>16</sup>

Also, Lińcze Dolne and Lińcze Górne, two villages in Silesian district, were not recognized as royal property. The inspections from 1564 and 1569 mention that the nobility of Lińcza was obliged to provide for the castle in Lanckorona. However, this is not a proof of royal ownership of these villages, which the 1597 inspection describes as belonging to haeredes villae Lincze.<sup>17</sup> This is an example of subordinate nobility, known e.g. in some royal estates in Red Ruthenia, or in Tykocin starosta's district.

Estates constituting the endowments of the offices of the castellan and the voivode of Cracow form a particular category of royal estates in Cracow Voivodeship.<sup>18</sup>

In total, at the end of the sixteenth century royal estates comprised 40 towns, 422 villages, and 30 parts of villages (their location in districts was shown in Table 4 and 5).

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<sup>9</sup> LK 1564. The information gathered from the inspection did not allowed us to determine, which villages belonged to Oświęcim starosty, and which to Zator lease. This was determined on the basis of detailed inventories from 1549, which described these estates separately, even though they had not been separated (ASK LVI, 0 1/II, ff. 78–145, Z 1, ff. 156–183).

<sup>10</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform egzekucji dóbr 1563–1665*, Warsaw 1984, pp. 55–70.

<sup>11</sup> ASK XLVI 41, ff. 16–23 (committee protocols from 1566 and 1567 concerning Cracow Voivodeship); AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B, 8, ff. 1–66 (protocols from the so-called revision of letters).

<sup>12</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform*, p. 154.

<sup>13</sup> Idem, *Alienacje dóbr królewskich w latach 1578–1668*, PH, vol. 69, 1979, no. 4, p. 652.

<sup>14</sup> Idem, *Realizacja reform*, p. 154.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. in 1593 (BJ, 5043, f. 281) and 1595 (BCzart, 329, f. 239v); Tax reg. 1680, p. 305; E. Trzyna, *Królewscy województwa krakowskiego w XVII wieku*, RDSG, vol. 24, 1962 (map after p. 40).

<sup>16</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform*, p. 74.

<sup>17</sup> LK 1564, vol. 1, pp. 213, 223; ASK LXVIII 18, f. 415v; AKM, 17, f. 205v.

<sup>18</sup> They were described by W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniem urzędników ziemskich w Koronie do schyłku XVI wieku*, Warsaw 1962, pp. 119–122, 125–126. The author incorrectly included Łętkowice, a village in Proszowice district, in the benefices of the voivode of Cracow. The sources leave no doubts that this was Zętkowice in Lelów district. This mistake was noticed by J. Laberschek, *Dobra ziemskie urzędu wojewody krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrózumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. W. Bukowski, K. Ożóg, F. Sikora, S. Szczur, Cracow 1995, p. 103.

Church property in Cracow Voivodeship (property of the clergy) consisted of the endowments of various institutions of the Roman Catholic Church (annex II). We assumed that even if villages belonging to Church institutions had a lay mayor, they were considered a property of the Church.

The number of Church institutions which owned land in Cracow Voivodeship is visibly higher than in any other voivodeship, probably because Cracow was the capital of the State from the eleventh century until the end of the sixteenth. The number we determined is much higher than the one presented in the table prepared in the past by Adolf Pawiński.<sup>19</sup>

The results of the source query allowed us to determine, precisely which estates belonged to the Church. Settlements inherited by various members of the clergy (e.g. Piotr Myszkowski, the bishop of Cracow, or Szymon Ługowski, the provost of Miechów)<sup>20</sup> were not treated as Church property. Settlements owned by possessors performing two Church functions (e.g. the Bishop of Kamieniec and Abbot of Mogiła, or the Dean of Cracow cathedral chapter and the Provost of St. Michael collegiate church)<sup>21</sup> were not treated as endowments of Church institutions, it would be unjustified to treat them so.

In the course of the sixteenth century, the number of Church institutions, which owned land in Cracow Voivodeship, changed – some estates were taken, some were given. In 1529 the castellan of Żarnowiec, Achacy Jordan, founded a collegiate church in the town Bobowa, in Biecz district. The collegiate was endowed with Chodorowa, a village in Wilczyńska parish.<sup>22</sup> In 1559 Cracow cathedral chapter decided that from then on the suffragan bishop of Cracow could be nominated only from the prelates or canons of the chapter (before the suffragan bishops came from the orders of the Franciscans or the Dominicans), and assigned a permanent endowment: villages Wygnanowice, Żydów, and a part of the village Wawrzyńczyce in Proszowice district, and Biezanów in Szczyrzyc district. In 1583 Goszcza in Proszowice district was added.<sup>23</sup>

Between 1576 and 1580 Świniarsko Małe vel Mała Wieś, a village in Nowy Sącz district, Nowy Sącz parish, was given (sold?) by the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Stary Sącz to the Franciscans of Cracow.<sup>24</sup> In 1585 Anna Kormanicka donated Stępcowice, a village in Książ district to the

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<sup>19</sup> The Table entitled ‘*Obraz tabelaryczny posiadłości duchownych w Małopolsce w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*’ (‘The estates of clergymen in Lesser Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century’), an appendix to *P. Małopolska*, vol. 3, p. 71. The part concerning the Voivodeship of Cracow lacks the endowments of: Gniezno archbishopric, Przemyśl bishopric, collegiate churches in Bobowa, Wiślica and Cracow (church of All Saints), the Norbertine Abbey in Nowy Sącz, the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Cracow, the monasteries: Dominican in Cracow, Canon Regulars in Kłobuck, Krzepice and Trzciana, of the Holy Sepulchre in Cracow, Augustans in Cracow, Paulines in Cracow.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, the tax register from 1595 described villages Wielowieś and Wolica in Książ district as property, ‘epi. Crac’ (BCzart, 329, f. 333), whereas we know from our query that they were a hereditary property of Piotr Myszkowski, the bishop of Cracow. This suggests they were a part of the endowments of the bishopric. The tax register from 1581 the villages Kowary, Korzkiew, Grebienice, Brzozówka, Maszyce, Januszowice, Biały Kościół in Proszowice district and Kobierzyn in Szczyrzyc district were described as property of ‘*praepositi miechoviensi*’, and we know they were inherited by Szymon Ługowski, the provost of Miechów, which would suggest that they were part of the provost’s benefices (*P. Małopolska*, vol. 3, pp. 13, 27, 28, 30, 40).

<sup>21</sup> The villages Półwsie, Ryczów and Woźniki in Silesian district were described in the tax register from 1581 as a property of ‘*episcopi Camenecensi*’, whereas we know they belonged to the abbey in Mogiła (*P. Małopolska*, vol. 3, pp. 104–105), as a result, the bishop of Kamieniec was included in the table as an owner of estates in Cracow Voivodeship. The contemporary abbot of Mogiła, Marcin Białobrzęski, became the bishop of Kamieniec in 1557 (*M. Brzozowski, Białobrzęski Marcin*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 2, Lublin 1989, p. 366), hence this entry in the register. The register from 1581, and subsequent registers until 1595 place Mysławczyce and Tempoczoł in Proszowice district among the estates of ‘*decani Cracoviensi*’ (*P. Małopolska*, vol. 3, pp. 11, 18; BCzart. 329, ff. 13v, 27). This would suggest they were part of the benefices of the dean of the cathedral chapter. In reality they were part of the benefices of the provost of the collegiate church of St. Michael at the castle in Cracow, and the current provost, Erazm Dembiński was at the same time the dean of the cathedral chapter (*A. Tomczak, Walenty Dembiński, kanclerz egzekucji ok. 1504–1584*, Toruń 1963, pp. 158–160; *Kumor, Dzieje*, vol. 2, p. 270).

<sup>22</sup> *Kumor, Dzieje*, vol. 2, pp. 338–339.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 93.

<sup>24</sup> In the register from 1576 this village was listed as property of the convent in Stary Sącz (i.e. the Sisters of St. Clare) for the last time (ASK I 114, f. 175v), and in the 1580 for the first time as property of ‘*conventui S. Francisci*’ (ASK I 119, f. 284v). In 1611 the *Sejm* (Diet) decided in the constitution ‘*Sep z Małej Wsi zniesiona*’ that the corn levy was annulled from ‘*Mała Wieś, the property of the Franciscan Friars from Cracow convent, which they paid to the castle or the starosta of Sącz*’ (*VL*, vol. 3, p. 18). This tells us, which Franciscan convent it was about. We tried to determine, how and when exactly the village changed its affiliation, but our research in the literature concerning the Sisters of St. Clare from Stary Sącz, or the Franciscans from Cracow, did not bring any results.

college of the Jesuits in Cracow.<sup>25</sup> In 1588 Jadwiga Iwanowska offered her part of Błogocice (a village in Proszowice district) to the monastery of the Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki, the owner of the other part of the village.<sup>26</sup> In 1579, Marcin Dobroszowski, the burgrave of Cracow, was allowed to give Zielenice, a village in Proszowice district, to this college, which he did in 1598, under the condition that the donation would become effective after his death.<sup>27</sup> Because we know he died in 1613,<sup>28</sup> the village was marked as belonging to the nobility.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the number of Church institutions with endowments located in Cracow Voivodeship was reduced by three. In 1551 the Abbot of Wąchock exchanged with the king the only villages of the abbey situated in the Voivodeship of Cracow: Dołuszyce and Olchawa (Szczyrzyc district) – for lodgings from the villages, three blocks of salt and 30 grzywnas a year from the mines in Bochnia. In 1552 the king endowed Piotr Kmita with these villages.<sup>29</sup> Also in 1551, Jan Janowski, the Abbot of Szczyrzyc, exchanged Ściborzycze, a village belonging to the abbey, situated in Proszowice district, with Zuzanna, the wife of Bernard Jodłownicki, for a part of the village Porąbka in Szczyrzyc district, and the both parties agreed the exchange would become effective in 1554, and it was so.<sup>30</sup> In 1556 the convent of the Franciscans in Nowy Sącz exchanged with the authorities of Nowy Sącz a part of Mała Żeleźnikowa village, for a yearly rent of 8 zloty.<sup>31</sup> The right of presentation and the patronage of the prelates, canons and prebends of the collegiate church of St. Florian in Cracow (except for the provostry) since 1401 belonged to Cracow Academy.<sup>32</sup> In 1559 Sigismund Augustus granted the right of the patronage over the provostry to the Academy, in 1578 this right was confirmed by Stephen Bathory, and in 1590 the Sejm incorporated the provostry into the Academy.<sup>33</sup> Since then the estates of the Academy could be identified with the estates of the chapter of St. Florian.

In 1588, Feliks Czerski and Jan Tęczyński, the patrons of the collegiate church of St. Giles in Cracow, bequeathed the villages Górka and Sadowie (Proszowice district), belonging to the collegiate chapter, to the monastery of the Dominicans in Cracow, and passed them their right of patronage. This decision was confirmed by the pope in 1591, and assigned these villages as an endowment of the faculty of philosophy and theology of the religious college,<sup>34</sup> and the collegiate chapter ceased to exist.<sup>35</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the composition of Church estates in Cracow Voivodeship changed due to various transactions, either between institutions of the Church, or between an institution and a private person. In 1599 Cracow Academy bought a village Trątnowice in Proszowice district from the college of the cathedral vicars on Wawel.<sup>36</sup> In 1556 the college seized the income from the collegiate provostry in Skarbmierz (Skalbmierz), and thus became a co-owner of the town.<sup>37</sup> In 1568, the abbess of the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Zwierzyniec in Cracow sold the village Grodzisko in Silesian district to the family Myszkowski.<sup>38</sup> In 1593, Mikołaj Koryciński gave Wrocimowice,

<sup>25</sup> S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 4, part 1, Lwów 1905, p. 462.

<sup>26</sup> *Inwentarz Archiwum benedyktynek w Staniątkach*, comp. W. Kolak, J. Mirecki, S. Radoń, Cracow 2003, no. 116, p. 43.

<sup>27</sup> AGAD, dok. perg. 3054; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 4, part 1, p. 462.

<sup>28</sup> Urzędnicy IV/2, no. 937.

<sup>29</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform*, p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> J.M. Marszańska, W. Graczyk, *Opaci i przeorzy klasztoru OO. Cystersów w Szczyrzycu od XIII do XVIII wieku*, Cracow 2006, pp. 76–77.

<sup>31</sup> MK 99, f. 487.

<sup>32</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 2, p. 380.

<sup>33</sup> *Catalogus diplomatum pergamenearum Universitatis Jagielloniae*, ed. K. Kaczmarczyk, Cracow 1953, no. 287.288; MK 135, ff. 739v–741; *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. Lepszy, Cracow 1964, p. 265; VL, vol. 2, p. 317.

<sup>34</sup> MK 134, ff. 201v–204, 410–412v; R. Świętochowski, *Proces Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z dominikanami krakowskimi o prebendę i kościół św. Idziego w Krakowie (1591–1595)*, „Studia Historyczne”, vol. 11, 1968, no. 2, pp. 214–215; J. Kurtyka, *Latyfundium Tęczyńskie. Dobra i właściciele (XIV–XVII wiek)*, Cracow 1999, pp. 207, 228.

<sup>35</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 2, p. 485, knows nothing about the takeover of the law of patronage and the prebends of the church of St. Giles by the Dominicans, and believes that the circumstances and date of the disappearance of the collegiate of St. Giles are unknown.

<sup>36</sup> H. Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dobie humanizmu*, Cracow 1935, p. 531.

<sup>37</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 3, p. 181.

<sup>38</sup> K. Kramarska-Anyszek, *Dzieje klasztoru PP. Norbertanek w Krakowie na Zwierzynicy do roku 1840*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 47, 1977, p. 42.

and a part of Raclawice (both villages in Proszowice district) to the monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>39</sup>

Another issue was the change of ownership affiliation through the exchange of estates. In 1562 the exchange of hereditary villages of Spytek Jordan, the castellan of Cracow, was confirmed: Brzozowa and Polikta in Nowy Sącz district for the villages of Tyniec monastery – Opatkowice in Szczyrzyc district, Zdania and Ujazd in Nowy Sącz district, as well as the exchange of the villages Wilkowisko, Raciborzany, Markuszowa and a part of Porąbka in Szczyrzyc district for the villages of the Szczyrzyc abbey – Mogilany, Głogoczów, and Włosań, situated in this district.<sup>40</sup> In 1563 the exchange of a part of Topola, a village in Proszowice district, owned by Mikołaj Rey, for a part of Zdziemierzyce in the same district, property of the chapter of St. Michael at the castle in Cracow, was confirmed.<sup>41</sup> In 1566 the monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów gave its four villages in Kalisz Voivodeship, and Konin district, in exchange for Głuchów, a village belonging to Jan and Piotr Zborowski, located in Proszowice district.<sup>42</sup>

The inspections of Cracow Voivodeship from 1564 and 1569 list a village Damice (Proszowice district) among the villages belonging to the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Cracow, for which the monastery paid. We know that in the fifteenth century the monastery owned a part of this village, but in the sixteenth century sources, and later, the village appears only as a property of the nobility.<sup>43</sup> As such, we assumed that the village Damice fell in the hands of the nobility – in unknown circumstances – at the beginning of the sixteenth century at the latest.

When it comes to the endowments of parsons, we took into account only those cases when the endowment exceeded the standard endowment ('poświętne', 'manus ecclesiasticus'), especially, when the parson owned an entire village, or when his endowment lay outside the parochial village.

The holdings of Church institutions at the end of the sixteenth century, depicted in Annex II, changed already in the first half of the seventeenth century, as three institutions of the Church (Cracow Academy, the College of the Jesuits, and the Dominicans in Cracow) increased their properties significantly, not to mention new foundations, which were endowed with land, e.g. the Camaldolese in Bielany near Cracow (1604), the Bernardines in Zebrzydowice (1602), and in Alwernia (1616), the Carmelites in Wiśnicz (1622) and in Czerna (1628–1633).

At the end of the sixteenth century the Church owned 11 towns, 519 villages, 76 parts of villages in Cracow Voivodeship, three towns, and 32 villages in the Duchy of Siewierz altogether. In the Duchy, which belonged to the bishops of Cracow, there was no royal property, only Church (almost entirely belonging to the bishops of Cracow), the nobility owned land there as well.

Town property consisted of settlements belonging almost exclusively to royal towns (Annex III). Their composition underwent minor changes in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1549, Jan Ocieski, the castellan of Biecz, sold Mierzączka, a piece of land he used situated just outside the town, to the town of Wieliczka, for a yearly rent of 16 grzywna, but this transaction was annulled during the so-called revision of letters (1563/1564).<sup>44</sup> The burghers of Wieliczka settled in this land (called then suburbium), and in 1578 the king extended the town rights to this land.<sup>45</sup> In 1588 it was leased by Sebastian Lubomirski, who in the same year ceded the perpetuity for parts of Lednica village and parts of Mierzączka suburbs to his son Stanisław.<sup>46</sup> That is why we treat the suburbs Mierzączka as a settlement of mixed ownership (royal-town). In 1568 the authorities of Biecz sold the town village Męcina to Kasper Wielopolski.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>39</sup> S. Nakielski, *Miechovia sive promptuarium antiquitatum Monasterii Miechoviensi*, Cracow 1634, pp. 773–774.

<sup>40</sup> MK 96, ff. 221v–223v.

<sup>41</sup> MK 97, f. 50; LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 117.

<sup>42</sup> S. Nakielski, *Miechovia*, p. 677.

<sup>43</sup> LK 1564, vol. 2, p. 71; MK L.XVIII 18, f. 156v; SHGK, part I, no. 3, p. 499.

<sup>44</sup> MK 74, ff. 689–692; AGAD, tzw. Metryka Litewska, IV B, 8, ff. 8v–9, 32 v. Even though, the city raised claims during the inspection in 1564 and 1569 (LK 1564, vol. 1, pp. 63–64; MK 134, ff. 162v–163; MK L.XVIII 18, f. 331v).

<sup>45</sup> MK L.XVIII 18, f. 335v; MK 117, ff. 156v–157.

<sup>46</sup> ASK I 126, f. 435; MK 134, ff. 162v–163. In 1603, during the exchange of the hereditary village Lednica that is Lednica Polna for Mszana Górna lease, the family Lubomirski became the owners and heirs of Mierzączka (Tax reg. 1629, f. 93; Tax reg. 1680, p. 94; MK L.XVIII 24, ff. 431v–432) and in 1628 they granted the Magdeburg law to the town (K. Kubik, *Mierzączka – nieznane miasteczko w obrębie Wieliczki*, „Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Żup Solnych w Polsce”, vol. 8, 1979, pp. 52–55).

<sup>47</sup> *Materiały do historii miasta Biecza (1361–1632)*, pub. F. Bujak, Cracow 1914, no. 301.

There are no separate tax registers for villages in Cracow Voivodeship inhabited by farm gentry ('szlachta zagrodowa'; 'nobilium emethones non habentium'). Although a list of 50<sup>48</sup> such villages was prepared by Adolf Pawiński, we decided – given our doubts concerning the accuracy of his findings – not to include this category of ownership on the map, or in the tables.

Property of the nobility dominated in the sixteenth century Cracow Voivodeship over other, aforementioned categories, just like in all other voivodeships. What was characteristic for Cracow Voivodeship, however, was the rare occurrence of partial gentry ('szlachta częstkowa'), and numerous estates in the category of great land ownership.

In this volume of AHP, as in the one devoted to Sandomierz Voivodeship, we decided to indicate larger estates of the nobility. As our work aims at presenting the situation from the end of the sixteenth century, this was based on the 1595 tax register. It is a known fact that tax registers did not include all settlements (newly-located villages and some small hamlets were omitted), and the payment was not based on all sources of income (manorial fields, especially demesnes, were omitted).<sup>49</sup> Moreover, due to tax reliefs and various concealments, the number of lands recorded in registers usually differed from the reality by over 10%,<sup>50</sup> and sometimes the taxpayers were not hereditary owners of villages, but leaseholders. Because of these drawbacks, the picture derived solely on the basis of tax registers is not entirely real. That is why we tried to verify some incorrect, or uncertain, pieces of information.

In order to avoid inaccuracies, we compared data from several registers, e.g. the 1595 register lists 'Mat. Misiowski' as the person, who paid for the village Jedlcza in Książ district, but the 1588 mentions 'Alb. Padniowski, ten. Misiowski',<sup>51</sup> thus we could identify Padniowski as the real owner of this village. Thorough knowledge on the matters of royal and Church property allowed us to eliminate those cases, where tax registers listed names of noble leaseholders of the estates, not the actual institution, which owned the estate. Studies on great families, or individuals, whose authors reached court books,<sup>52</sup> helped us verify the information found in the registers. We – following the rules appointed in our Atlas – did not use court books. Some findings of the authors were rejected, e.g. Podstolice, a village in Szczyrzyc district listed by Długosz among hereditary villages of Sebastian Lubomirski, belonged to a Church institution (collegiate), and was only leased by Lubomirski.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, Maszków in Proszowice district, attributed by Włodzimierz Dworzaczek to Stanisław Tarnowski, the voivode of Sandomierz, was only leased by him from the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Cracow;<sup>54</sup> or in the cases of the villages Rokitno, Grabiec, and Boniowice in Lelów district, which Halina Kowalska considered a property of Stanisław Szafraniec, when in fact they belonged to this monastery, and Szafraniec was only their leaseholder.<sup>55</sup> We also rejected Tomasz Kempa's thesis that voivode of Kiev Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, as per agreement concluded in 1594, gave a group of villages situated in Cracow Voivodeship to his son-in-law Krzysztof Radziwiłł 'Piorun',<sup>56</sup> as the fiscal sources from the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, as well as data from the inspection conducted in 1595–1599, suggest these villages remained in Ostrogski's hands. Henryk Lulewicz drew attention to the fact that Radziwiłł's wife prevented her husband from seizing her dowry.<sup>57</sup> So, the registers show

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<sup>48</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 202.

<sup>49</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia.

<sup>50</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.1.7; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7.

<sup>51</sup> BCzart, 329, f. 370; ASK I 126, f. 231.

<sup>52</sup> J. Długosz, *Latyfundium Lubomirskich w XVII wieku*, Opole 1997, pp. 57–62 (estates of Sebastian Lubomirski) with many supplements and corrections by M. Lubiczyński and J. Pielas, KH, vol. 57, 2000, no. 3, p. 129; W. Dworzaczek, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego*, Warsaw 1995, p. 420 (estates of Stanisław Tarnowski, the voivode of Sandomierz); T. Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/25–1608), wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej*, Toruń 1997, pp. 171–191, 241; H. Kowalska, *Stanisław Szafraniec z Pieskowej Skaly*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja”, vol. 3, 1958, pp. 100–101; J. Kurtyka, *Latyfundium Tęczyńskie*, p. 147.

<sup>53</sup> J. Długosz, *Latyfundium Lubomirskich*, p. 58.

<sup>54</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski*, p. 420.

<sup>55</sup> H. Kowalska, *Stanisław Szafraniec*, pp. 100–101.

<sup>56</sup> T. Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, p. 177; J. Seredyka, *Magnackie spory o włość kopyską w XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, „Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu”, vol. 13, 1975, p. 64. This is about a group of villages in Podole and Tropic parishes in Nowy Sącz district, and about Pleszew village and a group of villages in Zembocin parish, Proszowice district.

<sup>57</sup> H. Lulewicz, *Radziwiłł Krzysztof zwany Piorunem (1547–1603)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 30, pp. 274–275.

the range of Radziwiłł's formal rights (and claims), which did not evolve into actual use. Finally, against Janusz Kurtyka, we did not accept Mikołaj Firlej, voivode of Cracow, as the owner of Balice, Burów, and Szczeglice in Proszowice district, in 1595,<sup>58</sup> because according to that year's register, these estates were already owned by Jan Firlej, the Treasurer of the Crown.<sup>59</sup>

We also made use of the document from 1 April 1591, in which Piotr Myszkowski, the bishop of Cracow, divided the great private estates he gathered in the Voivodeships of Cracow, Sandomierz, and Rawa Mazowiecka between his nephews: Piotr, the starosta of Chęciny, Zygmunt, and Aleksander (Jan, the eldest nephew, died in March 1591), and the document lists all settlements in these lands.<sup>60</sup>

We believe, in spite of all objections, which could be provoked by the image of great land property presented on the basis of tax registers, that their cognitive values justify the preparation of the list (Annex IV), and the Table (Table 2).

Neither tax registers, nor any other source of mass and statistic nature, provided any data concerning the sole, unquestionable criterion, which could be used as a basis for the division of estates into categories of large and petty property. As such, the table had to be prepared with the available criteria (the number of towns and villages, or the number of serf lans in the estates). The number of lans, not villages, defined the order in the table (villages could differ), and the lower limit qualifying for our table (and our annex) was 30 lans (not 50 used by Antoni Mączak in his study<sup>61</sup>), because we wanted to increase the cognitive value of our table. We also included the families with less than 30 lans, but owned cities (towns), which increased their income significantly. Offices occupied in 1595 were listed next to names. We could not define the borders of the estates precisely, especially in areas of sparse settlement. As a result, the margin of error would be too big, so we decided not to include the area of the estates belonging to individual owners in the table.

The table was entitled 'Great landed property owners'. This allowed us to omit the term 'magnate', controversial due to the imprecise criteria of this category (including wealth criterion).

One could be surprised having analysed the order of owners according to the number of lans, and to the number of villages owned. It should, however, be remembered that:

1. Among the villages belonging to Stanisław Szafraniec, the wojski of Cracow, there was a village Sułozowa (Proszowice district), which occupied the area of 89.5 lans. This explains why Szafraniec appears so high in the table;

2. Some villages belonging to Joachim Ocieski, the starosta of Olsztyn, had over a dozen, and more than twenty lans. Hence his high position in the table;

3. The majority of villages belonging to Wojciech Padniewski, the castellan of Oświęcim, had five or more lans, and that is why he owned so many of them;

4. Krzysztof Komorowski, the castellan of Nowy Sącz, did own 35 villages, but – with few exceptions – these were small piedmont hamlets, sometimes newly-founded. He owned a large and compact, yet poorly inhabited or developed territory, which could potentially provide large income, after it was settled and developed. This explains, why in the near future Sigismund III and his wife Constance would want to obtain these lands and make them their private (hereditary) property;<sup>62</sup>

5. Villages in the estates of Andrzej Stadnicki and Oktawian Gucci, in Biecz district, were mainly located on Vlach law, with small demesnes – 'dworzyszcz'a' (75 in Stadnicki's estates and 60 in Gucci's altogether). In Red Ruthenia the term 'dworzyszcz'e' was used alternately with 'lan wymierny', i.e. a 16-rod lan, and in villages located on Vlach law, it most often meant the big lan, 32 rods.<sup>63</sup> Had we assumed it was similar in Cracow Voivodeship, Gucci and Stadnicki would appear on much higher positions in the table.

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<sup>58</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Latyfundium Tęczyńskie*, pp. 125, 146.

<sup>59</sup> BCzart, 329, f. 67v.

<sup>60</sup> MK 136, ff. 143v–147v.

<sup>61</sup> A. Mączak, *Struktura majątkowa szlachty pomorskiej w XVI–XVII w. Próba analizy statystycznej*, PH, vol. 53, 1962, p. 664.

<sup>62</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Spór o kupno dóbr żywieckich przez królową Konstancję w latach 1624–1631*, KH, vol. 44, 1997, pp. 3–14.

<sup>63</sup> V.F. Inkin, *Dworiszcz'e i lan w korolewskich imenijach Galiciny w XV–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Materiały po historii selskowo chadzajstwa i krestianstwa*, vol. 8, Moskwa 1974, p. 27–30.

**Table 1. Estates owned by Church institutions in the end of the sixteenth century**

Owner	Towns	Villages	Parts of villages
<b>A. Institutions of diocese clergy</b>			
Gniezno archbishopric		3	
Cracow bishopric	2	96	15
Przemyśl bishopric	1		
Cracow suffragan diocese		3	1
Cracow cathedral chapter		37	8
Chapter of the collegiate of St. Michael		5	2
Chapter of the collegiate of St. George		1	
Chapter of the collegiate of All Saints		1	1
Chapter of the collegiate of Sandomierz			1
Chapter of the collegiate of Skalbmierz	0.5		
Chapter of the collegiate in Tarnów		1	
Chapter of the collegiate of Wiślica		1	
Chapter of the collegiate in Bobowa		1	
Cracow Academy		4	6
Vicars of Cracow cathedral	0.5	1	7
Provost of St. Mary's church		1	
Provost of St. Martin's church in Cracow		1	
Provost of the hospital in Biecz			3
Parson endowments		4	9
<b>B. Institutions of monastic clergy</b>			
Tyniec abbey	2	52	8
Mogiła abbey		19	
Jędrzejów abbey	1	21	4
Szczyrzyc abbey		17	1
Koprzywnica abbey		9	1
Chebdów abbey	1	4	2
Nowy Sącz abbey		8	
Święty Krzyż abbey		2	
Sieciechów abbey		1	
Staniątki monastery		21	2
Stary Sącz monastery	1	55	3
Zwierzyniec monastery		20	5
Monastery of St. Andrew in Cracow		1	
Imbramowice monastery		5	2
Miechów monastery	1	33	3
Monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Cracow		1	

Owner	Towns	Villages	Parts of villages
Monastery of the Holy Ghost in Cracow		5	4
Mstów monastery	1	7	1
Trzciana monastery		5	2
Kłobuck monastery		1	
Krzepice monastery		1	
Monastery of the Corpus Christi in Cracow		5	2
Augustinian monastery in Cracow		1	
Częstochowa monastery		7	
The Skalka monastery in Cracow			1
Franciscan monastery in Cracow		1	
Dominican monastery in Cracow		3	2
The College of the Jesuits in Cracow		1	
<b>C. The Duchy of Siewierz</b>			
Cracow bishopric	3	27	5
Provost of the church in Bytom		1	
Parson in Siewierz		1	
Zwierzyniec monastery in Cracow		1	

**Table 2. Great landed property owners in 1595**

No.	Person	Number of lans	Towns	Villages	Parts of villages
1.	Anna Jordanowa, the wife of the castellan of Cracow	312.25	1.5	43	2
2.	Sebastian Lubomirski, the castellan of Małogoszcz	206.25		61	10
3.	Stanisław Szafraniec, the wojski of Cracow	146.5		9	1
4.	Aleksander Myszkowski	146	1	19	
5.	Gabriel, Andrzej, Jan Tęczyński	134.25	1	27	7
6.	Konstanty W. Ostrogski, the voivode of Kiev	132.25		24	4
7.	Piotr Myszkowski, the starosta of Chęciny	117	1	23	1
8.	Wojciech Padniewski, the castellan of Oświęcim	117.75	2	19	3
9.	Joachim Ocieski, the starosta of Olsztyn	94.25		17	6
10.	Krzysztof Komorowski, the castellan of Nowy Sącz	82.25	1	35	
11.	Mikołaj Firlej, the voivode of Cracow	70.5	3	15	2
12.	Andrzej Zebrzydowski, the castellan of Śrem	63.5	0.5	12	
13.	Stanisław Tarnowski, the voivode of Sandomierz	45.5		7	
14.	Stanisław Ługowski	44		9	2
15.	Jan Myszkowski	44		8	1
16.	Andrzej Stadnicki	42*	1	21	
17.	Jan Mniszech, the starosta of Krasnystaw	38		7	
18.	Maciej Szczepanowski	32.35	1	3	2

No.	Person	Number of lans	Towns	Villages	Parts of villages
19.	Mikołaj Ligęza, the castellan of Wiślica	26	1	10	1
20.	The Czerny family	28	1	3	
21.	Hieronim Wodziszłowski, the Master of the Hunt of Sandomierz	27.5	1	5	
22.	The Śmigielski family	23	1	4	1
23.	Przeclaw Pieniżek	18	1	4	
24.	The Rzeszowski family	13	1	3	1
25.	Oktawian Gucci	11.5 <sup>xx</sup>	1	6	
26.	Achacy Jordan	7.5	1	1	
TOTAL			21	420	43

<sup>x</sup> – plus 75 Vlach demesnes

<sup>xx</sup> – plus 60 Vlach demesnes

**Table 3. Settlements according to ownership\***

District	In total	Royal		Church		Nobility	
		number	%	number	%	number	%
Proszowice	607	57	9.4	197	32.5	353	58.1
Książ	215	15	7.0	50	23.2	150	69.8
Lelów	299	74	24.8	68	22.7	157	52.5
Szczyrzyc	527	118	22.4	93	17.6	316	60
Nowy Sącz	455	89	19.6	119	26.1	247	54.3
Biecz	281	87	31.0	34	12.1	160	56.9
Silesian	193	37	19.2	13	6.7	143	74.1
Cracow Voivodeship	2,577	477	18.5	574	22.2	1,526	59.3
The Duchy of Siewierz	78	–	–	35	44.9	43	55.1

\* Parts of villages were treated as halves, and added. Due to low number of town villages, they were not included in a separate category, but added to royal settlements.

**Table 4. Villages according to ownership**

District	In total	Royal		Church		Nobility	
		number	%	number	%	number	%
Proszowice	593	50	8.4	192	32.4	351	59.2
Książ	209	13	6.2	48	23.0	148	70.8
Lelów	284	68	24.0	62	21.8	154	54.2
Szczyrzyc	516	110	21.3	92	17.8	314	60.9
Nowy Sącz	444	82	18.5	117	26.3	245	55.2
Biecz	270	81	30.0	33	12.2	156	57.8
Silesian	188	33	17.6	13	6.9	142	75.5
Cracow Voivodeship	2,504	437	17.5	557	22.2	1,510	60.3
The Duchy of Siewierz	75	–	–	32	42.7	43	57.3

**Table 5. Towns according to ownership**

District	In total	Royal		Church		Nobility	
		number	%	number	%	number	%
Proszowice	14	7	50	4	28.6	3	21.4
Książ	6	2	33.3	2	33.3	2	33.3
Lelów	15	6	40.0	1	6.7	8	53.3
Szczyrzyc	11	8	72.7	1	9.1	2	18.2
Nowy Sącz	11	7	63.6	2	18.2	2	18.2
Biecz	11	6	54.5	1	9.1	4	36.4
Silesian	5	4	80.0	–	–	1	20.0
Cracow Voivodeship	73	40	54.8	11	15.1	22	30.1
The Duchy of Siewierz	3	–	–	3	100	–	–

**ANNEX I**  
**ROYAL ESTATES IN THE END**  
**OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

Present name, if it differs from the sixteenth century name, was given in brackets, as well as the holder in 1595. The latter is related to the contents of annex IV.

**Cracow starosta's district (Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the voivode of Lublin)**

Biecz starosta's district (Mikołaj Ligęza, the castellan of Wiślica)

Biecz district

Bartnia, Bednarka, Biecz town, Boguniowice, Bystra, Ciężkowice town, Czarne, Hartłowa, Jodłówka, Kiprzna, Kotan, Krzywa, Małastów, Mszanka, Nieznajowa, Nosalowa, Ostrusza, Pątna, Przedmieście Wójtowskie (Belna), Przegonina (Bodaki – part), Ropica (Ropica Ruska), Sękowa, Siary, Sokół, Strzeszyn, Świętkowa, Wapienna, Wójtowa, Wołowiec, Załawie demesne.

**Nowy Sącz starosta's district (Sebastian Lubomirski, the castellan of Małogoszcz)**

Nowy Sącz district

Biczyce, Cieniawa, part of Falkowa village, Gostwica, part of Jamnica village, part of Kamionka village (Kamionka Mała), Kokoszka, Krasne, Królowa Wołoska (Królowa Górna), part of Kunowa village, Łomnica, Mszalnica, Mystków with Wola Mystkowska, Pisarzowa, Piwniczna town, Ptaszkowa with Pławna, Sądecz Nowy town, Stadła, Trzetrzewina, Wola Królowa Polska.

**Oświęcim starosta's district (Piotr Myszkowski, the castellan of Lublin)**

Silesian district

Babice, Bielany, part of Brzeszcze village, Brzezinka, Budy – inn, Bujaków, part of Dwory village, Kęty town, Kobiernice, part of Koziniec village, Łęki, Manowice, Międzybrodzie, Oświęcim town, Ponikiew, Porąbka.

**Nowe Miasto Korczyn starosta's district (Mikołaj Firlej, the voivode of Cracow)**

Proszowice district

Ławy, Piotrowice, part of Przymeków village.

**Będzin lease (Andrzej Samuel Dembiński, son of the starosta of Chęciny)**

Proszowice district

Będzin town, part of Ciężkowice village, part of Długoszyn village, Szczakowa.

**Rabsztyn lease (Mikołaj Wolski, the Sword-bearer the Crown)**

Proszowice district

Bogucin, Gołczowice, Kosmałów, Łęka, Osiek, Pomorzany, Rabsztyn castle, Raławice, Sieniczna, Zedrman, Zimnodół.

**Ociec lease (Aleksander Myszkowski, son of the starosta of Oświęcim)**

Proszowice district

Bębel (Bębło), Biadaczów, Gotkowice, Irzmanowice, Ociec castle, Smarzowice, Szklary, Wielga Wieś, Wierzchowice, Zelków.

**Niepołomice lease (Jan Branicki, the Master of the Hunt of Cracow)**

Proszowice district

part of Brzesko Stare village, Grobla, Rudno Niższe (Rudno Dolne).

Szczyrzyc district

Baczków, Boturzyńska Wola (Wola Batorska), Bratucice, Cikowice, Damianice, Drwienia, Dziewin, Gawłówek, Kłaj, Mikluszowice, Niepołomice, Stanisławice, Wola Drwieńska.

**Lanckorona lease (Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the voivode of Lublin)**

Szczyrzyc district

Baczyn, Bienkówka, Biertułowice, Budzów, Herbułtowice, Izdebnik, Jachówka, Jasienica, Juszczyń, Kojuszówka, Lanckorona town, Maków, Miłoszów (Sidzina), Osielec, Palcza, Rudnik, Skawica, Skawinka, Sulikowice (Sulkówice), Trzebunia, Zabelna (Biała), Zachełmna, Żarnówka.

**Krzeczów lease (Jacek Młodziejowski, the Court Treasurer)**

Szczyrzyc district

Borek, Bucz, Buczków, Dąbrówka, Jodłówka, Krzeczów, Łęki, Ostrów, Przeborowie with Przeborowska Wola, Rzezawa.

**Dobczyce lease (Sebastian Lubomirski, the castellan of Małogoszcz)**

Szczyrzyc district

Brzozówka, Burlotka, Dobczyce town, Irzmanowa, Kobylniki, Kurnatka, Podzamcze Dobczyckie, Poznachowice Górne, Rudniki, Skrzyńska, Targoszyń, Węgierskie, Węglówka, Winary with Kamyk, Wiśniowa.

**Mszana Dolna lease (Mikołaj Pieniążek)**

Szczyrzyc district

Glisne, Mszana Niżnia with Mieścisko, Olszówka, Raba (Raba Niżna), Słonka.

**Mszana Górna lease (Sebastian Lubomirski, the castellan of Małogoszcz)**

Szczyrzyc district

Kunina with Kuninka, Łętowe, Łostówka, Mszana Wyższa, Niedźwiedź, Podobin, Porąbka (Poręba Wielka), Witów.

**Tymbark lease (Zofia Lubomirska, the wife of the burgrave of Cracow)**

Szczyrzyc district

Jasna, Łopiennik (Podłopień), Tymbark town, Zamieście, Zawadka.

Nowy Sącz district

part of Słopnica village.

**Uście lease (Stanisław Morski)**

Szczyrzyc district

Niedary, Uście town (Uście Solne).

**Olsztyn lease (Joachim Ocieski, son of the Chancellor of the Crown)**

Lelów district

Biskupice, Borowy demesne, Bukowno, Ciecierzyn demesne, Czatachowa, Częstochowa town, Dzbów, Krasawa, Kusięta, Kuźnica Chybakowska (Osiny), Kuźnica Dzbowska, Kuźnica Łaziec, Mirów, Olsztyn town, Olsztyn castle, Poczesna ironworks, Przemysłowice, Przerów (Przyrów) town, Rększowice, Siedlec, Suliszowice, Sygiętka, Turów, Wiercice, Wierzchowiska, Własna ironworks, part of Wyczerpy village (Wyczerpy Dolne), Zarębice, Zdrębice (Zrębice).

**Lelów lease (Andrzej Szafraniec, son of the voivode of Sandomierz)**

Lelów district

Bliżyce, Dzibice, Lelów town, Sokolniki.

**Krzepice lease (Mikołaj Wolski, the Sword-bearer of the Crown)**

Lelów district

Dankowice, Grodzisko, Huta, Iwanowice (Iwanowice Wielkie), Kawka ironworks, Kłobucko town, Kocznia, Kostrzyn ironworks, Krzepice town, Łobodna, Ławy (Łojki) ironworks, Miedzwno (Miedzno), Opatów, Ostrowy, Panek ironworks, part of Pierszne village (Pierzchno), Piła ironworks, Rębielice (Rębielice Królewskie), Truskolasy, Trzcianka (Praszczyki) ironworks, Walenczów, Wręczyce, Zagórze, Zakrzów, Złochowice.

**Żarnów lease (Aleksander Koniecpolski, son of the castellan of Sieradz)**

Proszowice district

Czubrowice.

Lelów district

Łany Małe, Łany Wielkie, Otoła.

Książ district

Chlina, Jeżówka, Kapiele, Koryciany, Przybysławice, Wierzbica, Wola Libertowska, Żędowice (Rzędowice), Żarnowiec town.

**Wolbrom lease (Stanisław Szafraniec, the wojski of Cracow)**

Książ district

Dłużec, Lgota, Łobzów, Wolbrom town.

**Zator lease (Paweł Leśniowski, son of the castellan of Podlasie)**

Silesian district

Barwałd Średni, Laskowa, Piotrowice, Rzeczek, Trzebieńczyce, Wadowice town, Wiglowice, Zagórniczek, Zator town.

**Lipnik lease (Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the voivode of Lublin)**

Silesian district

Biała (Bielsko-Biała – part), Lipnik, Międzybrodzie (Międzybrodzie Bialskie), Straconka.

**Berwałd lease (Krzysztof Komorowski, the castellan of Nowy Sącz and Jan Komorowski, the son of the castellan of Nowy Sącz)**

Silesian district

Barwałd Niższy, Chocznią, Gołuchowice, Jaroszowice, Leśnica, part of Stanisławie village (Stanisław Dolny), Stronie, Śleszowice, Zakrzów.

**Jasło lease (Jan Mniszech)**

Biecz district

Brzeszczki, Gorajowice, Hankówka, Jasło town, Koczarowa (Kaczorowy).

**Dębowiec lease (Jerzy Mniszech, voivode of Sandomierz)**

Biecz district

Brzeście, Dąbrowa demesne, Dębowiec town, Gorzyce, Łazy, Łężany, Mascowa (Majscowa), Markuszka, Wola Dębowiecka, Załęże, Zarzecze.

**Rozembark lease (Jan Amor Tarło, son of the voivode of Lublin)**

Biecz district

part of Bieniarowa village, Moszczenica Niemiecka, Moszczenica Polska, Raclawice, Rozembark, Rzepiennik Marciszów, Rzepiennik Suchy, Rzepiennik Strzeżów.

**Osiek lease (Dominik Alamani, the mine administrator of Olkusz, and Mikołaj Herburt, the voivode of Ruthenia)**

Biecz district

Brzozowa, Desznica, Jaworze, Mitarza Wielka, Osiek town with Bukowina, Skalnik, Świerzchowa.

**Trzcienica lease (Joachim Ocieski, son of the Chancellor of the Crown)**

Biecz district

Gądky demesne, Jaroniówka, Przysieki, Przysieczki, Pusta Wola, Siedliska, Trzcienica.

**Libusza lease (Jan Amor Tarło, son of the voivode of Lublin)**

Biecz district

part of Kryg village, part of Libusza village, Siepietnica, Sitnica.

### **Nowy Targ lease (Jan Pieniążek, the Cup-bearer of Cracow)**

Nowy Sącz district

Bańska, Biały Dunajec, Bystre (Stare Bystre), Chochółów, Ciche, Czerwone (Podczerwone), Długopole, Dunajec (Czarny Dunajec), Dział, Klukoszowa, Leśnica, Maruszyna, Miętustwo, Morawczyzna, Nowy Targ town, Odrowąż, Pieniążkowice, Szaflary, Śreniawa (Pyzówka), Waksmund, Wróblówka.

### **Czorsztyn lease (Jan Sienieński, the voivode of Podole)**

Nowy Sącz district

Czorsztyn castle, Dębno Spiskie, Gromków, Grywałd, Kluczkowice, Kłodne, Krościenko town, Krośnica, Maniowy, Mizerna, Ochotnica, Ostrowsko, Sramowice Niżne, Sramowice Wyżne, Szczawnica Nizna, Szczawnica Wyżna, Tylmanowa.

### **Barcice lease (Andrzej Boboła, the Royal Secretary)**

Nowy Sącz district

Barcice, Młodów, Olszany, Przysiecznica, Rytter, Sucha Struga, Wola (Wola Krogulecka), Wolica.

### **Lipnica lease (Joachim Lubomirski, the castellan of Malogoszcz)**

Szczyrzyc district

Rabrot.

Nowy Sącz district

Dolna Wieś (Lipnica Dolna), Górna Wieś (Lipnica Górna), Lipnica miasto (Lipnica Murowana).

### **Wojnicz district (Spytek Wawrzyniec Jordan, the Pantler of Cracow)**

Nowy Sącz district

Łopunia, Ratnowy demesne, Wojnicz town, Zamoście.

### **Grybów lease (Przeclaw Pieniążek, son of the wojski of Cracow)**

Biecz district

Grębów (Grybów) town.

Nowy Sącz district

Biała × 2 (Biała Niżna, Biała Wyżna), Bielczarowa (Binczarowa), Boguszowa, Gródek, Kunclowa (Kaclowa), Siodłkowa.

### **Czchów lease (Anna Jordanowa, wife of the Castellan of Cracow)**

Nowy Sącz district

Czchów town, Stróże, Stróska Wola.

### **Small leases**

Proszowice district

Borunice (Krzysztof Krupka, the Cup-bearer of the Crown), Łętkowice (queen Anna), Pieczenięgi (Jan Rogoziński), Sierosławice with Maciejowice, Śmiłowice (Jacek Młodziejowski, the Court Treasurer), Marszowice demesne, Trojanowice, part of Zielonki village (Stanisław Tarnowski, the castellan of Sandomierz).

Książ district

Kleszczowa (Andrzej Baranowski), Wierzbie (Jan Królikowski, scribe in the Royal Chancellery).

Lelów district

Biała Mała (Biała Dolna – Baltazar Zygmunt Trepka), Jeziorowice (Andrzej Potocki), Małyszycy (Jan Płaza, starosta of Lubaczów), Rudniki (Jan Przerębski and Przerębska, wife of the Pantler of Sieradz), Sierbowice, Szyce, Szypowice, Zwonowice (Jan Szypowski and Piotr Kazimierski).

Szczyrzyc district

Cichawka (Stanisław Wilamowski), Kasinka (Mikołaj Pieniążek), Królewka, Leszczyna (Andrzej Boboła, The Royal Secretary), Pierzchowiec (Jan Łukowski), Siedlec (Magdalena Sobkova, wife of the Castellan of Sandomierz).

Biecz district

Glinnik Niemiecki (Andrzej Warszycki), Glinnik Polski (Jan Mniszech), Głęboka and Grodna (Grudna Kępska – Anna Chomętowska), Jodłowa Niemiecka (Jodłowa Dolna), Jodłowa Polska (Jodłowa

Górna), Żurowa (Stanisław Strzyżowski), Lipnica Górna and Swoszowa (Stefan Kazimierski), Lipinki with Rozdziele (Cieklińscy), Ossownica (Osobnica – Jan Mniszech), Siemichów (Bartłomiej Siemichowski), Staszów (Jadwiga Staszowska), Turza (Mikołaj Ligęza, the Castellan of Wiślica).

Nowy Sącz district

part of Borowa village, part of Dzierzeniny village (Anna Jordanowa wife of the castellan of Cracow), Iwkowa (Stanisław Potocki), Jadowniki, Marskinice (Maszkienice), Sutków (Anna Wesselini).

Silesian district

part of Zebrzydowice village (Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the voivode of Lublin).

#### **Olkusz rent (Dominik Alamani)**

Proszowice district

Olkusz town.

#### **Cracow salt mines (Jacek Młodziejowski, the Court Treasurer and Mikołaj Koryciński, the Royal Secretary).**

Szczyrzyc district

Bochnia town, Lednica Górna, part of Mierzączka suburbs, Wieliczka town.

#### **Cracow Royal estates (Franciszek Rylski)**

Proszowice district

part of Czarna Wieś village, Januszowice, Jawiszowice (Koszyce suburbs), Kadzice, Kleparz town, Koszycki town, Cracow town, Kuchary, Lipna Wola, Łobzów, Miłocice, Nowa Wieś, Proszowice town, Part of Przegonia village (Przegonia Narodowa), Rakowice, Słomniki town, Słomniczki, Stradomia suburbs.

Szczyrzyc district

Brzezinka, Chaiduga inn, part of Dębniaki village, Grzechinia, Kazimierz town, part of Kopytówka village, Płaszów, Skotniki.

Silesian district

Part of Czarniechów village.

#### **Endowments of the Castellan of Cracow (Janusz Ostrogski)**

Szczyrzyc district

Borzęta, Bysina with Bysinka, Dolna Wieś, Górna Wieś, Krzczonów, Krzczów, Lubień, Łagiewniki, Myślimice town (Myślenice), Pcin, Pierzchów, Polanka, Stróża, Tęczyn.

#### **Endowments of the Voivode of Cracow (Mikołaj Firlej)**

Proszowice district

Krzywopłaty.

Lelów district

Dobraków, Dobrogoszczyce, Kroczyce, part of Podlesice village, part of Siemieszyce village, Zętkowice (Rzędkowice).

## **ANNEX II ESTATES OF CHURCH INSTITUTIONS IN THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

Present name was given in brackets, if it differed much from the sixteenth century name.

#### **Gniezno archbishopric**

Proszowice district

Prusy.

Książ district

Biskupice with Lgota.

## Cracow bishopric

### Proszowice district

Babica, Biskupie, Biskupice, part of Błędów village, Bolechowice, Brańczyce, Bukowno, Buczyna, Chełm, part of Ciężkowice village, part of Długoszyn village, Głębocka, Gołaczów, Gołonóg, Góry Luszowskie, Jaksice, Jangrot, Jankowice, Jaworzno, Jeleń, Kaczowice, Krzykawa, part of Krzyszkowice village, Kwaczała, Lipowiec castle, Luborzycza, Luborzycza Wola, Luszowice, Łosień, part of Marszowice village, Michałówka, Mostek, Okradzionów, part of Pamięcice village, Porąbka, Posądzka, part of Prądnik village (Prądnik Biały), Przysniów (Przecznów), Roskochów, Siedlec, Sikorka, Sławków town, Strzemieszyce Małe, Strzemieszyce Wielkie, Sucha, Sulechów, Tuczna Baba, part of Wawrzyńczyce village, part of Wielgus village, Winary, Wola Bolechowska, Wola Zabierzowska, Zabierzów, Zagórze, Ząbkowice, part of Zarzecze village, Zaszczytów, Żarki.

### Lelów district

part of Biała village.

### Szczyrzyc district

Biskupice, part of Błonie village (Ludwinów), Darszyce, part of Gołkowice village, part of Trąbki village, Uszew, Zawada (Zawada Uszewska).

### Nowy Sącz district

Berest, Bieliczna, Bielowice, Biesiadki, Brunary Niżne, Brunary Wyżne, Czarna, Czertyzne, Czyrna (Czerna), Doły, Florynka, Izby, Jaszkowa (Jaszków), Jastrzębnik, Jaworsko, Jędrzejówka (Andrzejówka), Kamianna, Krynica, Kurowska Wola, Kurów, Leluchowa, Łuniowy, Łysa Góra, Miestko (Tylicz), Milik, Mochnaczka Nizna, Mochnaczka Wyżna, Muszyna town, Muszynka, Piorunka, Polana, Porąbka (Porąbka Uszewska), Powroźnikowa, Rudka (Ruda Kameralna), Słotwiny, Stawisza, Szczawnik, Śnietnica, Świnarsko Większe, Wawrzki, Wierchomla, Wojkowa, Złocko, Zubrze (Zubrzyk), Żegiestów, Żerków.

### Biecz district

Kołkowa, Rzepiennik.

### The Duchy of Siewierz

Boguchwałowice, Brudzowice, Brzynkowice (Brzękowice Górne), Cynków, Czeladź town, part of Dąbie village, Geżyn, Gniazdów, Gołuchowice, part of Góra village, Jastrzębie, part of Kamienica ironworks (Kamienica Polska), Koziegłowy town, Koziegłówki, Kruszyn, Kuźnica Stara, Kuźnica Sulikowska, Lgota, Łagisza, Markowice, part of Mierzęcice village, Nowa Wieś, Piwonia ironworks (Siewierz-Piwoń), Przeczyce, Rzewniszów, Siedlec (Siedlec Duży), Siewierz town, Smardzów mill, part of Strzyżowice village, Sulików, Targoszyce, Toporowice, Winowno, Wojkowice Komorne, Wojsławice, Zendek.

## Przemysł bishopric

### Biecz district

Jaśliska town.

## Cracow Suffragan diocese

### Proszowice district

Goszcza, part of Wawrzyńczyce, Wygnanowice, Żydów.

### Szczyrzyc district

Biezanów.

## Cracow cathedral chapter

### Proszowice district

dean: Brzezinka, Kobylany; scholastic: Mistrzowice; prestymonial estates: Baranów, Batowice, Biskupice, Bosutów, part of Brzezie village, part of Czechy village, Dojazdów, Dziekanowice, Dzieszławice, part of Garlica village, Głębinów, Górka (Górka Narodowa), Grębałów, Łososkowice, Maciejowice, Prawda, Raciborowice, Rudawa, Smoniwice, Tanie, Wąsów, Węgrce, Wiąckowice, Witkowice, Wyciąże, Zacharzowska Wola (Wola Zacharjaszowska), Part of Zielonki village.

### Książ district

Prestymonial estates: Rzemienice (Rzemiedzice).

### Lelów district

provost: Drochlin, Dzierzków.

Szczyrzyc district

curator: part of Strzałkowice village, part of Świątniki village, part of Szczytniki village, Świątniki that is Górka (Świątniki Górne); prestymonial estates: Bodzów, Borek (Borek Fałęcki), Dobranowice, Kaim, Pychowice, Wola Dobranowska, part of Zakrzów (Zakrzówek).

#### **Chapter of St. Michael collegiate in Cracow**

Proszowice district

provost: Mysławczyce, Tempoczoł, part of Topola; curator: Brańczyce; clerics: part of Przegorzały.

Książ district

provost: Tur with Zagórze.

#### **Chapter of St. George collegiate Cracow**

Proszowice district

Bronowice (Bronowice Wielkie).

#### **Chapter of the collegiate of All Saints in Cracow**

Proszowice district

Podskalany, part of Przegorzały village.

#### **Chapter of the collegiate in Sandomierz**

Proszowice district

part of Prądnik Wielki village.

#### **Chapter of the collegiate in Skarbimierz**

Proszowice district

provost: part of Skarbimierz town (Skalbmierz).

#### **Chapter of the collegiate in Tarnów**

Nowy Sącz district

curator: Kamionka (Kamionka Wielka).

#### **Chapter of the collegiates in Wiślica**

Nowy Sącz district

Szymanowice.

#### **Chapter of the collegiates in Bobowa**

Biecz district

Chodorowa.

#### **Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec**

Proszowice district

part of Baczyn village, Czułów Mniejszy, Czułów Więszy, Dolany, Karwin, Kaszów, Książnice Mniejsze, Książnice Więsze, Liski, Modrzany, Nowa Wieś, Opatkowice, part of Prądnik Wielki village, part of Przeginia village, Rybna, Śmierdząca (Kryspinów), Węgrzynowice, Wilków.

Szczyrzyc district

Bodzanów, Bukowie, Jezierzany, Kolanów, Kostrzec, Łapczyca, Mniszkowice (Nieszkowice Wielkie), Okolice, Opatkowice, Piekary, Pogwizdów, Raczna, Radzieszowska Wola, Radzieszów, Samborek, part of Sidzina village, Skawina town, Ściejowice, Tyniec, part of Zawada village, Zorzów (Rzozów).

Nowy Sącz district

Part of Brzozowa, part of Polikta (Polichty).

Biecz district

Bączal (Opacie), Bryły, Brzyska, Czeluśnica, Dąbrowa (Dąbrówka), Dąbrówka (Dąbrówka Tuchowska), Golanka, part of Gromnik village, Kłodawa, Kwiatonowice, Lipnica (Lipnica Dolna), Lubaszowa, Siedliska, Ujazd, Unieszcz, Wróblowa, Zagórzany with Moszczanami, Zborowice.

Silesian district  
part of Czernichów, Łączany, Powozowice (Pozowice).

#### **Cistercian Abbey in Mogiła**

Proszowice district  
Czerzyny, Glewec, Kacice, Kantorowice, Łąg, Mogiła, Moniaczkowice (Muniakowice), Prędocin, Przewozy, Rybitwy, Wiktorowice, Wroźnica, Zysławice.

Książ district

Opatkowice Małe.

Szczyrzyc district

Stryszowa (Strzyżowa).

Silesian district

Półwsie, Ryczów, Woźniki, Zegodowice.

#### **Cistercian Abbey in Jędrzejów**

Proszowice district

Przestańsko, Zagórzycze.

Książ district

Andrzejów town (Jędrzejów), Biesiorenda, part of Borów village, Brynica Mniejsza, Brynica Więsza, Chorzewa, Cierno, Czaczów, Lasków, Łączyn, Łysaków, Nawarzyce, Niegosławice, part of Potok village, Prząclaw, part of Przyłek village, Raków, part of Skroniów village, Słaboszowice, Sudoł, Tarszawa, Wolica Kamińska, Wygnilec, Zdanowice.

#### **Cistercian Abbey in Szczyrzyc**

Szczyrzyc district

Abramowice, Dobrogniew (Dobroniów), Godusza, Gruszowiec, Janowice, Krzyszkowice, Markuszowa, Pobęczyn, Pogorzany, part of Porąbka village, Raciborzany, Smykan, Szczyrzycka Góra (Góra św. Jana), Wilkowisko × 2.

Nowy Sącz district

Krauszów, Ludzimierz, Rogoźnik.

#### **Cistercian Abbey in Koprzywnica**

Biecz district

Bobrek (Bóbrka), Kopytówka, part of Łajsce village, part of Łubno village (Łubno Opacie), Machniówka, Niżnia Łąka, Obrwinowska Wola (Wola Albinowska), Stanowiska, Wietrzno, Zboiska, Zrzęcin.

#### **Norbertine Abbey in Chebdów**

Proszowice district

Brzesko Nowe town, Chebdów, part of Gruszów town, Gunów, part of Mniszów town, Nikanowice (Nękanowice), Zawada.

#### **Norbertine Abbey in Nowy Sącz**

Nowy Sącz district

Boguszowa, Dąbrowa (Dąbrowa Polska), Januszowa, Kwieciszowa, Librantowa, Łęg (Łęg Januszowski), Naściszowa.

#### **Benedictine Abbey in Święty Krzyż**

Proszowice district

Pietrzejowice, Przewody.

#### **Benedictine Abbey in Sieciechów**

Proszowice district

Złotniki.

### **Benedictine Abbey in Staniątki**

Proszowice district

Błogocice, Klimuntów, part of Makocice village, Niegardów, Ostrów, Przymęczany, Przymęczanki, Tropiszów.

Szczyrzyc district

Balachówka, Brzeźnica, Chroszcza (Chrość), Gorzków, Łazy, Łeszkowice, Ochmanów, Podłęże, Staniątki, Sucharaba, part of Węgrce village, Zagórze, Zakrzowiec, Zakrzów Wielki, Złomiróg.

### **Monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Stary Sącz**

Nowy Sącz district

Bieganice, Bieniowa (Byniowa), Boczów, Chełmiec, Chochorowice, part of Chrosna village (Krosna), Cyganowice, Czerniec, Długa Łąka, part of Drzykowa village, Gołkowice, Jaworzna, Juraszowa, Kadcza, Kamienica, part of Kamionka village (Kamionka Mała), Kiczna, Kobyłczyna, Łazy, Łącko, Maszkowice, Mokra Dąbrowa (Mokra Wieś), Mostki, Moszczenica Niżna, Moszczenica Wyżna, Myslec, Olszanka Mała, Opalana, Podegrodzie, Podrzecze, Popowice, Sądecz Stary town, Sechna, Siedlec, Skrudzina, Sławikowa (Słowikowa), Stanęcin, Stańkowa, Strugi, Strzeszyce, Szczereż, Szymańczowa, Świrkła, Ujanowice, Wietrznica, Wola Kosnowa, Wola Piskuliona, Wola Stańkowska, Wolica, Wygnanowice (Wyglanowice), Zabrzezie, Zagorzyn z Zawadą, Zarzecze, Zasłonie, Zbludza, Zrostów (Rdziostów), Żbikowice, Żmiąca.

### **Monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Zwierzyniec in Cracow**

Proszowice district

Bibice, Braciejówka, Chrzastowice, part Czarna Wieś village, Czatkowice, Kamieńczyce, part of Kłoniów village, Kolbark, part of Kościejów village, part of Lubocza village, part of Modlniczka village, Olszenica, Pobiednik Mały, Pobiednik Wielki, Półwsie, Sarbie, Szpitary, Troks, Zabierzów, Zwierzyniec.

Szczyrzyc district

Kulerzów.

Silesian district

Facimiechy, Krzęcin, Mucharz, Wołowice.

The Duchy of Siewierz

Grodziec.

### **St. Andrew Monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Cracow**

Proszowice district

Baranów, Maszków, Skała town, Sobiesęki, Zadroże.

Lelów district

Boniowice, Grabiec, Kaszczor, Rokitno.

### **Monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Imbramowice**

Proszowice district

Glanów, part of Imbramowice village, Maliszyce, part of Porąbka village, Tarnowa, Trzeciesz, Zagórowa.

### **Monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów**

Proszowice district

Głuchów, Krzesławice, Michałowice, Orłów, Parkoszowice, part of Raclawice village, part of Sławice village, Wrocimowice.

Książ district

part of Brzuchania village, Bukowska Wola, Chodów, Chwalniów (Falniów), Jaksice, Jedleza Wielka, Kalina (Kalina Mała), Kamieńczyce, Komorów, Miechów town, Podleśna Wola, Podmiescka Wola, Przeclawice, Pstroszyce, Sędowice, Siedliska, Smroków, Strzeżów, Szczepanowice, Uniejów, Wrociryż.

Lelów district

Ołudza (Ołudza Stara), Wolica (Wólka Ołudzka).

Szczyrzyc district

Chełm, Moszczenica, Mszcęcín, Targowisko.

Nowy Sącz district

Nieszkowa (Niskowa).

### **Monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Cracow**

Szczyrzyc district  
Jugowice.

### **Monastery of the Holy Ghost of the Order of the Canons Regular in Cracow**

Proszowice district  
part of the jurydyka village Błonie, Krowodrza, part of Pędzichów jurydyka, part of Prądnik village (Prądnik Biały), Wronin, Wroniniec.  
Szczyrzyc district  
part of Kurdwanów village, Rząka, Wola (Wola Duchacka).

### **Monastery of the Order of the Canons Regular in Mstów**

Lelów district  
Bryszów, Jaskrów, Kunin (Konin), Morsko, Mstów town, Skarzyce, Sroczków (Srocko), Zawada, part of Żerkowice village.

### **Monastery of the Order of the Canons Regular in Trzciana**

Szczyrzyc district  
Bedlna (Beldno), Glinnik, Libichowa, part of Stradomia village, Trzciana, part of Uście village, Żyznówka.

### **Monastery of the Order of the Canons Regular in Kłobuck**

Lelów district  
Mokra.

### **Monastery of the Order of the Canons Regular in Krzepice**

Lelów district  
Kuków – demesne.

### **Monastery of the Order of the Canons Lateran in Cracow**

Szczyrzyc district  
part of Bielczyce village, part of Błonie village (Ludwinów), Krzyszkowice, Kunice, Liplas, Rzeszotary, Swoszowice.  
Silesian district  
Kamień.

### **Augustinian Monastery in Cracow**

Szczyrzyc district  
Wróblowice.

### **Pauline Monastery in Częstochowa**

Lelów district  
Częstochówka, Grabówka, Kaleja, Kawodrza, Konopiska, Lgota, Szarlejka.

### **Pauline Monastery in Cracow**

Szczyrzyc district  
part of Dębniki village.

### **Dominican Monastery in Cracow (St. Giles chapter)**

Proszowice district  
Górka (Górka Stogniowska), part of Karniowice village, part of Prądnik Wielki village, Sadowie.

### **Franciscan Monastery in Cracow**

Nowy Sącz district  
Świnarsko Małe (Mała Wieś).

### **College of the Jesuits in Cracow**

Książ district  
Stępcice.

### **Cracow Academy (St. Florian collegiate chapter)**

Proszowice district  
Bięczyce, part of Błonie village, part of Boszczyn village, part of Igołomia village, Książnice, Trątnowice.  
Książ district  
Czaple Małe, Krępa.  
Szczyrzyc district  
Podstolice, part of Sidzina village, part of Węgrce village, part of Zabłocie village.  
Biecz district  
Łubienko.  
Silesian district  
Skawce.

### **Vicars of the Cracow cathedral**

Proszowice district  
part of Lubocza, part of Marszowice, part of Pędzichów jurydyka, part of Rzańska village, part of Skarbimierz town (Skalbmierz).  
Szczyrzyc district  
Byszyce, part of Dębnyki village, part of Kurdwanów village, part of Zabłocie village.

### **Provost of St. Mary's Church in Cracow**

Proszowice district  
Bronowice (Bronowice Małe).

### **Provost of St. Martin's Church in Cracow**

Proszowice district  
Szyce.

### **Provost of the hospital in Biecz**

Biecz district  
part of Bieniarowa village, part of Kryg village, part of Libusza village.

### **Provost of St. Margaret's Church in Bytom**

The Duchy of Siewierz  
Milejowice.

### **Parson endowments**

Proszowice district  
part of Brzesko Stare village – parson of Brześć, part of Imbramowice village – parson of Sieciechów, part of Janikowice – parson of Nasiechów, part of Kijany village, part of Przymeków (Przemyków) – parson of Przymeków, part of Koniusza village – parson of Koniusza.  
Książ district  
part of Kamienica village, part of Ulinka village – parson of Sieciechów.  
Lelów district  
part of Kluczyce village – parson of Przyłęków.  
Szczyrzyc district  
Liczanka (Łyczanka) – parson of Wieliczka, Pokrzywnica – parson of St. Jacob's Church in Cracow.  
Silesian district  
Sparowice, Włosienica – parson of Oświęcim.  
The Duchy of Siewierz  
Warężyn – parson of Siewierz.

### ANNEX III

## TOWN PROPERTY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Present name was given in brackets, if it differed much from the sixteenth century name.

Proszowice district

City of Cracow: Dąbie, Garbary, Grzegórzki, Kawiory.

City of Olkusz: part of Parcze village, villages: Starczynów, Ujków, Witaradów, Zdurada (Żurada).

Lelów district

City of Lelów: Stare Miasto (Staromieście), Ślężany, Zbyczyce.

Szczyrzyc district

City of Bochnia: Chodzinice, Krzyżanowice, Podedworze, Ryczywół.

Town of Kazimierz: Zabłocie.

City of Wieliczka: part of Mierzączka suburbs.

Nowy Sącz district

City of Nowy Sącz: Gocz, Gołąbkowice, Gorzków, Hamplowa, Paszyn, Piątkowa, Roszkowice, Żeleźnikowa Mała, Żeleźnikowa Wielka, parts of villages: Falkowa, Jamnica, Kamionka, Kunowa.

Biecz district

City of Biecz: Przedmieście.

Town of Dukla: part of Przedmieście Niższe village (Nadole).

### ANNEX IV

## LARGE LANDED PROPERTY IN 1595

Present name, if much different from the sixteenth century name, was given in brackets. Office occupied in 1595 given by a person's name.

#### 1. Anna nee Sieniawski Jordanowa, wife of the castellan of Cracow † 1597/1598

Szczyrzyc district

Chabówka, Głogoczów, part of Jordanów town, Łęki, Łętownia (Łętownia Dolna), Malejowa, Mogilany, Naprawa, Osieczany, Ponieca (Ponice), Poręba, Raba (Raba Wyżna), Rabka, Rokiciny, Sieniawa, Słona (Słonne), Skomelna (Skomielna Czarna), Skomelna (Skomielna Biała), Tokarnia, part of Trzemeszna village, Wieczerza, Włosań, Zawada.

Nowy Sącz district

Biskupice, Charzowice, Dogalin, Domasławice, part of Druszków village, Faliszowice, Filipowice, Gwoździec, part of Jazowsko village, Jurków with Ludzimierz, Łąg, Melsztyn castle, Niedźwiedza, Olszowa, Palecznica, Pobrzeże, Rudka, Tworkowa, Ujazd, Zawada, Zakliczyn town, Zdania, Złota.

Biecz district

Olszyny, Ołpiny Wyższe with Ołpiny Niższe.

#### 2. Sebastian Lubomirski, the Castellan of Malogoszcz † 1613

Proszowice district

Bielany, Bobin, Budziejowice, Chełm, part of Cudzynowice village, Kazimierza Wielka, Kościelniki, Leksice, Piotrkowice (Piotrkowice Wielkie), Podchełmie (Zakamycze) demesne, part of Przegorzały village, Stanisławice, Wola (Wola Justowska), Wolica, Wolwanowice, Wrzodowa Góra (Górka Kościelnicka).

Szczyrzyc district

Bogucice, part of Borowna village, Brzegi, Brzozowa, Chyszówka, Czarnochowice, Dąbrowica, Dobra, Dofuszyce, Dzielec, Gierczyce, Grabie with Wola Grabska and Niwy Grabskie, Grabiny, Grajów, Gruszowiec, Janiszówka (Janikówka), Jurków, part of Kawec village, Kobyle, Kobelec, Kokotów, Kurów, Lednica Dolna, Leksendrowa, Lubomierz, Łakta Nowa (Łakta Dolna), Łęczany (Łazany), Łomna, Mietniów, Nieszkowice Więsze, Niezdów, Olchawa, Połomia, Pułzeczki, Siercza, Sławkowice, part of Stare Rybie village, Sułów, Szyk, Śledziejowice, part of Trąbki village, part of Trzemeszna village, part of Węgrce village, Wilczyska, Wiśnicz Wielki (Stary Wiśnicz), Wiśnicz Mały, Wola Leksandrowska, Wola Lubomirska (Łazany), Wolica, part of Zabłocie village, Zborów.

Nowy Sącz district

part of Kęty village, Zatok.

### **3. Stanisław Szafraniec, the wojski of Cracow † 1598**

Proszowice district

Pieskowa Skała castle, Przeginia, part of Sąsów village, Sułoszowa, Wielmoża, Wola (Wola Kalinowska).

Lelów district

Czaryż, Krzepice, Psary, Sasinowa Wola (Wola Czaryska).

### **4. Aleksander Myszkowski † 1617**

Proszowice district

Brodła, Oklesna.

Lelów district

Jaworznik, Kotowice, Leśniów, Mirów, Moczydła, Myszków ironworks (Myszków Stary), Postawczowice (Postaszowice), Przybynów, Trzebniów, Ultowiec (Łutowiec), Wysokie, Zaborze, Żarki town.

Silesian district

Podolsze, Polanka, Przeciszów, Spytkowice, Wieprz.

### **5. Gabriel † 1617, Andrzej † 1613 and Jan † 1637 Tęczyński, sons of the Voivode of Cracow**

Proszowice district

part of Baczyn village, Brzoskwinia, Cholerzyn, part of Chrosna village, Czerмна (Czerna), Czyżówka, Filipowice, Frywałd, Góra Nawojowa, Grodziec, part of Janikowice village, Kępa (Budzyń), Krzeszowice, Miękinia, Młynka, part of Morawica village, Myślechowice, part of Nielepice village, Nowa Góra town, Obrazowice (Obrażejowice), Ostroźnica, part of Prądnik village (Prądnik Biały – part), Rudno, Sierzna (Trzebinia-Siersza), Tęczyn castle, Tęczynek, Wodna, Wola (Wola Filipowska), Zalas.

Książ district

Giebułtów, Maciejów, Małuszów, Tuchołów.

Silesian district

Bachowice, part of Dwory village, Grodzisko.

### **6. Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, the Voivode of Kiev † 1608**

Proszowice district

part of Czechy village, Grębocin, Kowala, Krzyszowice (Skrzeszowice), part of Marszowice village, Pleszów, Polanowice, Szczepanowice, Zębocin, Żerkowice.

Szczyrzyc district

part of Piasek Mały village, Prokocin, Przewierczany (Przebieczany).

Nowy Sącz district

Bartkówka, Brzeziny, Glinnik, Gurowa, Jedlna, Łaziska, Podole, Posadowa, Przedanica Niżna, Radziejowice, part of Roztoka village, Wiesiołka, Zagórze, Załęże Niżne, Załogoszce.

### **7. Piotr Myszkowski, the Starosta of Chęciny † 1601**

Książ district

Boczkowice, Brzeście, Częstoszowice, Głogowiany, Karczowice, Kąpie, Kropidło, Książ Mały, Książ Wielki town, part of Krzeszówka village, Kunaszówka, Marcinowice, Marcinkowice, Mierzawa,

Moczydła, Niesków, Olszówka, Pogwizdów, Pokrzywnica, Przyłek, Przysieka, Słaboszów, Trzonów, Wielowieś (Wielka Wieś), Wolica.

#### **8. Wojciech Padniewski, the Castellan of Oświęcim † 1610**

Książ district

Jedlca.

Lelów district

Bielanowice (Zawiercie-Blanowice), Biskupice, Cięgowice, Czarna Poręba (Poręba), part of Dobra village, Kidów, Kocikowa, Krzemienda ironworks, Łońnice, Mrzygłód town, Niwki, Pileza (Pilica) town, Poręba ironworks, Przechody, Rząsawa, part of Siadca village, Sławniów, Słupia, Smoleń, part of Strzegowa village, Wierzbka, Zawiercie (Zawiercie), Złosieniec (Złożeniec).

#### **9. Joachim Ocieski, the Starosta of Olsztyn † 1613**

Szczyrzyc district

Besów, part of Bielczyce village, Bieńkowice, Cerkiew, Czaślawice, Czerzów (Czyżów), Kłęczany, part of Marszowice village, part of Podgrodzie village, part of Szczytniki village, part of Świątniki village, Wrząpia.

Nowy Sącz district

Grabno, Więckowice.

Biecz district

Bączal Niżny (Bączal Dolny), Kunowa, Lichtarz, Lisówek, Skoliszyn (Skołyszyn), part of Sławęcın village, Szerzyny, Świącany, Ziołków (Żółków).

#### **10. Krzysztof Komorowski, the Castellan of Nowy Sącz † 1608**

Silesian district

Biernia, Cięcina, Cisiec, Gilowice, Jelesna, Jeżowice (Kurów – part), Kocanie (Kocoń), Kocórów, Krzeszów, Kurów, Las, Lipowa, Łękawica, Łodwigowice (Łodygowice), Mały Wieprz (Wieprz), Międzybrodzie (Międzybrodzie Żywieckie), Mikłuszowice (Mikuszowice Krakowskie), Milówka, Oczków, Pewła (Pewel Ślemieńska), Pietrzykowice, Przyborów, Radziechów, Rybarzowice, Rychwałd I, Rychwałd II (Rychwałdek), Sporysz, Stary Żywiec, Ślemię (Ślemień), Świnna, Trzebinia, Wielki Wieprz, Wilkowice, Zabłocie, Zarzecze, Żywiec town.

#### **11. Mikołaj Firlej, the Voivode of Cracow † 1599**

Proszowice district

Klucze, Olenin, part of Parcze, Podolany, Rodaki, part of Stojanowice.

Książ district

Bydlin, Domaniowicze, Załęże.

Lelów district

Dąbrowica (Kuznica Masłońska) ironworks, Kielkowice, Kromołów town, Mądolice (Górka Włodowska), Niegowanice, Ogrodzieniec town, Ogrodzieniec castle, Parkoszowice, Pomrożyce, Rokitno (Rokitno Szlacheckie), Rudniki, Ryczów Leśny, Włodowice town.

#### **12. Andrzej Zebrzydowski, the Castellan of Śrem † 1597**

Szczyrzyc district

Bystra, Chrobaczna (Jordanów-Chrobacze), Jawczyce, part of Jordanów town, Rdzawa, Skawa, Spytkowa, Surówka, Toporzysko, Wysoka, Zaryte.

#### **13. Stanisław Tarnowski, the Voivode of Sandomierz † 1618**

Proszowice district

Gruszów, Imbramowice, Karniów, Miechowice, Nasiechowice, Radzimice, Żerkowice.

#### **14. Stanisław Ługowski † 1612**

Proszowice district

part of Biały Kościół village, Brzozówka (Brzozówka Korzkiewska), Grębenice, Januszowice, Korzkiew, Kowary, Maszyce, Rzędowice, Szczytniki.

Książ district  
Deszno, part of Warzlin village.

#### **15. Jan Myszkowski † 1604**

Silesian district  
Bestwina, part of Biertułowice village, Dankowice, Janowice, Jawiszowice, Kaniów, Komorowice (Komorowice Krakowskie), Pasieki, Żebracza.

#### **16. Andrzej Stadnicki † 1614**

Biecz district  
Dołche, Grabie, Hałbów, Kąty with Wola, Krempna, Łysa Góra, Miscowa (Myscowa), Olchowiec, Ozinna (Ożenna), Polana (Polany), Radocina, Ropianka, Rostanie (Rostajne), Siedliska, Świętkowa (Świątkowa Mała), Tichania, Toki, Wysowatka, Żmigród town (Żmigród Nowy), Żmigród Stary, Żydowsko.

#### **17. Jan Mniszech, the Starosta of Krasnystaw † 1612**

Biecz district  
Cieklin, Dobrzynia, Duląbka, Mrukowa, Nowa Wola Cieklińska (Wola Cieklińska), Pielgrzymka, Sowokłęski (Samokłęski).

#### **18. Maciej Szczepanowski**

Lelów district  
Raszków, Szczekocińskie Przedmieście, part of Siedliska village, part of Sprowa village, Szczekociny town, Tęgoborz.

#### **19. Mikołaj Ligęza, the Castellan of Wiślica † 1603**

Proszowice district  
Balin, Chrzanów town, Libiąż Mały, Libiąż Wielki, part of Łapszów village, Niegoszowice, Włostowice.  
Silesian district  
Bobrek castle, Bobrowniki, Chelmek, Gorzów, Gromiec.

#### **20. the Czerny family**

Szczyrzyc district  
Brzeżek (Brzesko), Brzozowiec, Jasień, Pomianowa.

#### **21. Hieronim Wodzisławski (Lanckoroński), the Master of the Hunt of Sandomierz † 1605/1610**

Książ district  
Klimęcice, Laskowa, Łany, Świętniki, Wodzisław town, Zielonki.

#### **22. the Śmigielski family**

Proszowice district  
Chmielów, Działoszyce town, part of Dziekanowice village, Jazdowice, Niewiatrowice, Szczodrkowice (Szcotkowice).

#### **23. Przeclaw Pieniążek † after 1596**

Biecz district  
Glinnik (Glinnik Mariampolski), Gorlice town, Ropica (Ropica Polska), Rychwałd, Stróżówka.

#### **24. the Rzeszowski family**

Lelów district  
Brzostek demesne, Chycza Mała, Chycza Wielga, Kossów town, part of Radków village.

## 25. Oktawian Gucci

Biecz district

Barwinek, Dukla town, Lipowica, part of Przedmieście Niższe village (Nadole), Trzciana, Tylowa, Zydranowa.

## 26. Achacy Jordan † 1608

Biecz district

Bobowa town, Stróżna.

### ANNEX V

## COMMENTARY TO THE MAP: LAYOUT OF LANDED PROPERTY IN CRACOW VOIVODESHIP IN THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The map of landed property (at a scale of 1:500,000) shows the territorial division of land into five ownership categories: royal, Church institutions, towns, great nobility, gentry, and petty gentry. Mixed ownership occurs when a settlement point is located on the borderline between two categories.

Town names were shown on the map, in case of villages – names of starosta's districts' and leases seats (in royal lands), and seats of major estates belonging to Church institutions. The remaining settlements were marked with dots, but without names. Names of smaller royal estates were included. The numbers denote Church institutions and great land owners. The estates of those rich Church institutions, which possessed only few, isolated settlements in Cracow Voivodeship (the archbishopric of Gniezno, the bishopric of Przemyśl, the Benedictine abbeys in Sieciechów and Święty Krzyż).

The map shows the ownership in the end of the sixteenth century and in case of the property of the nobility: exactly in 1595.

In the areas, where the settlement was scattered, it was difficult to define the borders of ownership precisely. The cartographic image is thus general, and so small enclaves of one type of ownership in estates of the other type, could be omitted, especially in densely populated areas. The measurements of the range of landed property in particular categories were made with a planimeter, on the map at a scale of 1:500,000. As such, the numbers presented in the table should be considered approximate.

**Table 6. Landed property at the end of the sixteenth century**

District	Ownership										Total km <sup>2</sup>
	Royal		Church		Town		Great nobility		Minor nobility		
	Km <sup>2</sup>	%	Km <sup>2</sup>	%	Km <sup>2</sup>	%	Km <sup>2</sup>	%	Km <sup>2</sup>	%	
Proszowice	418	12.7	1,057	32.1	33	1.0	599	18.2	1,186	36.0	3,293
Książ	94	6.5	198	13.6	–	–	389	26.8	770	53.1	1,451
Lelów	1,197	37.5	223	7.0	12	0.4	577	18.1	1,182	37.0	3,191
Szczyrzyc	1,542	45.4	434	12.8	20	0.6	733	21.6	665	19.6	3,394
Nowy Sącz	1,235	31.5	1,283	32.7	51	1.3	239	6.1	1,114	28.4	3,922
Biecz	583	26.9	162	7.5	6	0.3	441	20.4	971	44.9	2,163
Silesian	342	13.0	110	4.2	–	–	1,451	55.2	726	27.6	2,629
Cracow Voivodeship	5,411	27.0	3,467	17.3	122	0.6	4,429	22.1	6,614	33.0	20,043
The Duchy of Siewierz	–	–	381	56.1	–	–	–	–	298	43.9	679

Royal property covered a relatively large area, larger than in the neighbouring Voivodeship of Sandomierz (19.6%). The dominance of royal property is even more visible in comparison with the Voivodeships of Łęczyca (13.0%), and Sieradz (11.1%). Royal estates in Cracow Voivodeship included, among others, poorly inhabited piedmont areas in Szczyrzyc, Nowy Sącz and Biecz district, and large woodland territories in Lelów district. The number of royal settlements was 477 (18.5% of all settlements), whereas in Sandomierz Voivodeship it was 331 (11%).

In Cracow Voivodeship, Church property dominated over royal property in terms of the number of settlements (573, that is 22.2%), but covered a smaller area. A similar situation could be found in Sandomierz Voivodeship, where the estates of Cracow bishopric were larger than in the Voivodeship of Cracow. Due to numerous Church and royal estates, the property of the nobility occupied a lower percentage of the area in Cracow Voivodeship (55.1%) than in the Voivodeships of Sandomierz (62.1%), Łęczyca (64.9%), or Sieradz (71.0%). The greatest compact area owned by the nobility was that of Żywiec estates in Silesian district, the property of Krzysztof Komorowski, the Castellan of Nowy Sącz (in the hands of the family since the fifteenth century).

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.3a.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Władysław Palucki*

Ownership relations presented on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship, shown in colours assigned to each type of property (red – royal, purple – Church, yellow – nobility, brown – town), in fact are not different that in other parts of Poland. The differences are related mostly to the size of royal estates, smaller in the north western voivodeships of the Crown, e.g. in Greater Poland and in Cuyavia, and larger in Red Ruthenia, in Ruthenian and Belz Voivodeship, or in Royal Prussia.

In our voivodeship the majority of estates belonged to the nobility, the property of the Church (spiritual and secular) occupied the second place, royal estates were the fewest. Although, in comparison with the calculations for individual categories of property, done by A. Pawiński,<sup>1</sup> and for royal property – by J. Rutkowski<sup>2</sup> and W. Ochmański,<sup>3</sup> our research shows significant differences. They stem from the basis for detailed calculations, namely the general number of settlements in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the end of the sixteenth century – 3,059 – which we managed to assess, exceeding Pawiński's result (2,686) by nearly 14%.

The list of royal estates was provided by A. Pawiński on the basis of selected tax registers from 1569–1581. The number he obtained was understated, because these registers encompassed only around 70% of royal villages in Sandomierz Voivodeship. J. Rutkowski, on the other hand, limited himself to the estates included in the first inspection, disregarding royal property kept in the 'old sums', ultimately revindicated only in the seventeenth century. Finally, the precious inspection of Sandomierz Voivodeship from 1564–1565 covered also the lease of Żarnów (one town and 14 villages), which never belonged to Sandomierz Voivodeship, but to Cracow; it was inspected because its owner was Andrzej Gnoiński, the starosta of Nowe Miasto Korczyn.<sup>4</sup> The inspectors omitted then many single villages and smaller leases, which – though formally acknowledged as royal during the revision – were claimed for the Treasury only after a prolonged trial,<sup>5</sup> like the villages Zbigniew (today: Zbydniów) or Śmierdzina in Sandomierz district.<sup>6</sup> The extension of the source basis allowed us to mark all royal estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship

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<sup>1</sup> P. Małopolska, introduction, table after p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów w Polsce w czasach nowożytnych*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1938, tab. 1, table 1, pp. 270–271.

<sup>3</sup> LS 1564/1565, pp. XXIV–XXVI. The publisher omitted Stopnica starosty.

<sup>4</sup> Andrzej Gnoiński, since 1548 the starosta of Nowe Miasto Korczyn, since 1549 also of Żarnów (LS 1564/1565, p. 4, footnote 1; p. 21, footnote 2). The starosty of Nowe Miasto Korczyn for a long time was held together with the starosty of Wiślica and Żarnów lease; in 1530 it was given to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (MK 43, f. 568).

<sup>5</sup> The publisher of the inspection from 1564/1565 did not take these royal estates into consideration in his calculations.

<sup>6</sup> Śmierdzina, a royal village in Sandomierz district, in 'old sums' since the king Władysław III of Warne (the Revision of letters: AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B 8, f. 70). In 1521 Prokop Ossoliński obtained the king's permission to buy this village (MRPS IV, no. 3728), only in 1596 it became property of Zbigniew Ossoliński, Prokop's grandson, when it was exchanged for a royal village Laszki by Lwów with Stanisław Mroczek, the owner of Śmierdzina (*Pamiętnik Zbigniewa Ossolińskiego woj. sandomierskiego*, pub. W. Kętrzyński, Lwów 1879, pp. 12 f.). The village was never inspected. The first inspection from 1564/1565 does not even mention it. Next inspections, in 1569, 1602 and 1616, mentioned that it was a village 'in old sums', obliged to annually provide one cow and a cart of timber to Osiek (AGAD, Oddz. XVIII, no. 29, f. 51, no. 19, f. 241, ASK XLVI 99 B, f. 505). In the inspection conducted in 1602 (AGAD, Oddz. XVIII no. 19, f. 241) it was highlighted: 'Sir Ossoliński, subcamerarius of Sandomierz, the owner of this village, on what ground we do not know, because he did not disclose this to us'. In 1621 Zbigniew Ossoliński gave this village to his son Jerzy (*Jerzego Ossolińskiego pamiętniki*, comp. W. Czaplński, Warsaw 1976, p. 97), who during the royal elections in 1633 obtained permission to make Śmierdzina

on the map, both: these covered by the first inspection from 1564–1565, and those which were considered as belonging to the Treasure as a result of the revision of letters i.e. laws to possess royal lands.

In general, royal estates in the end of the sixteenth century in Sandomierz Voivodeship consisted of: 21 towns, 266 entire villages, 17 parts of villages and 22 independent industrial settlements (including six ironworks, 13 mills, two mines and one glassworks) and five demesnes not connected to villages and constituting autonomous units, with individual names. In relation to 3,059 of all settlements in the voivodeship, royal estates comprised 11%.

**Table 1. Royal property according to different sources**

According to	Towns			Village settlements			In total		
	all	r.	%	all	r.	%	all	r.	%
A. Pawiński <sup>a</sup>	100	12	12	2,586	201	7.7	2,686	213	8
J. Rutkowski <sup>b</sup>	100	17	17	2,586	198	7.6	2,686	215	8
1564/5 inspection <sup>c</sup>	100	16	16	2,586	200	7.7	2,686	216	8
Our calculations	108	21	19.6	2,951	310 <sup>d</sup>	10.6	3,059	331 <sup>d</sup>	11

a) Małopolska XVI, introduction, table after p. 70.

b) J. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów w Polsce w czasach nowożytnych*, vol 1, Warsaw 1938, tabl. 1, pp. 270-271.

c) LS 1564/5, pp. XXVI f.

d) Together with parts of villages and industrial settlements constituting independent settlement units, with their own name.

The revision of letters also covered some number of the so-called *frymarks*;<sup>7</sup> these were exchanges of royal property for estates of the nobility of roughly equal income. In Sandomierz Voivodeship the majority of those exchanges, and there was six of them, were annulled, with two of them deserve special attention,. During the revision of bestowals it was observed, that these were ‘unequal exchanges’; to the detriment of the Treasury; and what was worse – the king was deceived, because the royal estates were exchanged allegedly for the estates of a noble, which in fact also belonged to the king. So Stanisław Lupa Podlodoski had an exchange with the king,<sup>8</sup> which was – according to the burghers of Radom ‘on wrong grounds made and to the detriment of His Highness and the Republic’.<sup>9</sup> Having illegally bought the vogt’s office of Radom and three villages: Dzierzków, Gołębiów and Wola Gołębiowska, which belonged to the city of Radom since 1349 by the bestowal of Casimir the Great, and provided income – according to the inspectors’s calculations from 1564 – of 112 *grzywna* (1 *grzywna* was around 200 g) per year, Podlodoski exchanged them in 1559 with Sigismundus Augustus for the royal villages Mleczków, Mazowszany in Radom district, Blizocin, Blizocka Wola in Stężyca land, near which Podlodoski located a new village Podlodów just before his death, and for a square in Radom, a garden next to the hospital in Radom and 1,000 florens. The income from these villages was assessed in 1564 at 414 *grzywna*.<sup>10</sup> This vividly unequal exchange was annulled in 1566. However, after 15 years the sons of S. Podolski requested another inspection of this exchange during the *Sejm* in Warsaw in 1579, adding one part of Piotrowice village to it.<sup>11</sup> A selected, or rather: properly chosen, committee, despite the protests of Radom burghers, decided that the Treasury did not lose in this exchange, but made a profit,<sup>12</sup> and the Podolowski brothers were given the aforementioned villages for their own in

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his hereditary property, in return for his estates ‘corresponding to this village’ (VL, vol. 3, f. 816). Because at that time he obtained Ryga lease, he bought half of Okrzeja town from the family Samborzecki, and ceded it to the Republic, incorporating this part of Okrzeja into Ryga lease (LS 1660/1664, vol. 2, p. 165), and so he became a lawful owner of Śmierdzina. Later publishers of the diary of Jerzy Ossoliński (J. Kolasa and J. Maciszewski, Wrocław 1952; W. Czaplinski, op. cit.), disregarding the explanations provided by the publisher of *Pamiętnik Zbigniewa Ossolińskiego* (p. 12), failed to identify this village, and J. Kolasa and J. Maciszewski claimed even, with a disarming calm: ‘Śmierdzina, a today-unknown village’ (p. 73).

<sup>7</sup> LS 1564/1565, p. XXV.

<sup>8</sup> *Księgi Referendarji Koronnej z drugiej połowy XVIII w.*, vol. 1: 1768–1780, pub. A. Keckowa, W. Pałucki, pp. 192–197; LS 1564/1565, pp. 167–185.

<sup>9</sup> LS 1564/1565, p. 175.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, pp. 176–185, conclusions on pp. 179, 185.

<sup>11</sup> MK 116, f. 16; *Księgi Referendarji Koronnej*, vol. 1, pp. 192–195.

<sup>12</sup> This income was calculated in the following, astonishing way: the villages Dzierzków, Gołąb, Wola Gołębiowska and a part of Piotrowice – 286 florins of income (grosze omitted), unlawfully obtained Radom Voivodeship – 1,288, in total – 1,575

the circumstances similar to those when the royal estates Oryszew – Miedniewice in Sochaczew land were obtained by the Wolski family.<sup>13</sup>

Another exchange of this kind concerned the village Siedlec in Cracow Voivodeship,<sup>14</sup> exchanged with the king in 1554. According to the document, the village was a hereditary property of Wawrzyniec Spytek Jordan, the castellan of Sącz at the time (the future voivode, and then castellan of Cracow), it was exchanged for the royal lease Bratkowice – Mrowla in Plizno district. The exchange was meant as ‘bona pro bonis, terram pro terra et fundum pro fundo’.<sup>15</sup> During the revision of rights it again turned out, that this exchange was hugely unequal<sup>16</sup> – and deceitful too. Siedlec proved to be a royal estate,<sup>17</sup> and as such the exchange was annulled, which must have happened as it discredited Spytek Jordan in the eyes of the patriotic circle of the supporters of the execution of property; during the exchange in 1554 Jordan was supposed to be a guardian of the king’s property and of the Republic, as the Great Treasurer of the Crown.

The state of royal property presented on the map shows, that it was situated near major starosta’s gords, covering well-developed lands in the more fertile areas in the basin of the Vistula and the Pilica, and partly the forests: Jedlnia Forest (Radom Forest), Przedbórz Forest, Szydłów Forest, Solec Forest, and the greatest in the voivodeship – Sandomierz Forest. Royal forests of this size in the sixteenth century could only be found in one more place – Mazovia.

There were no royal estates in central parts of Sandomierz Voivodeship – in Kielce-Świętokrzyskie region. Since the early Middle Ages these areas, more difficult to develop, were being handed to knighthood and the Church, especially the richly-bestowed Cracow bishopric and two monasteries: Święty Krzyż and Wąchock.

Obviously, the state of royal property presented on the map, differed greatly from the former state from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The distribution and liens of royal property practiced by the members of Jagiellonian dynasty – despite the limitations introduced by the 1504 bill of King Alexander – proved significantly detrimental to royal property. The so-called *awulsy*, contributed to further reduction of royal estates, especially in woodland areas. These were instances when pieces of royal estates, smaller or larger, and sometimes even entire villages,<sup>18</sup> were intercepted by the nobility residing in the vicinity, who appropriated these lands into their heirloom.<sup>19</sup> *Awulsy* of royal estates were so common, that the first general inspection of royal estates in 1564–1565 was unable to prevent them. The inspection provides quite a detailed description of not only state and income of the estates, but also of their borders. Already in the next inspection in 1569 a dozen or so of new instances of such appropriations were noted, mostly in the royal estates situated in Sandomierz Forest.<sup>20</sup>

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florins. Royal estates returned to Podlodowski: Mleczków, Mazowszany, Blizocin, Blizocka Wola and Podlodów – 1006 florins (MK 116, ff. 17–24).

<sup>13</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Pro bonis et villa ipsius [Spytek Jordan] Siedlecz haereditaria in districtu Cracoviensi’, MK 86, f. 89.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> According to the inspectors’ calculations in 1564 the income from Siedlec village – 56 grzywna; from Bratkowice and Mrowla (disregarding Przewrotna newly-located village there, freed from taxation for 20 years) – 339 grzywna; LK 1564, part 1, pp. 87–89; LS 1564/1565, pp. 79–82.

<sup>17</sup> ‘And because Siedles turned out to be a royal property, given by the lord of Cracow for Bratkowice and Mrowla, then it cannot stay’, AGAD, The so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B, 8, f. 52.

<sup>18</sup> See footnote 23.

<sup>19</sup> The case of seizing royal grounds in Mędrzechów Forest in Korczyn starosta’s district in the end of the sixteenth century by Andrzej Firlej, the castellan of Radom, could provide an example here. Firlej founded his own village Skrzyńska on these grounds. This resulted in a military conflict between Firlej’s Stanisław Ligęza’s, the starosta of Opoczno, troops and the forces of Zygmunt Myszowski, the starosta of Korczyn and the Great Marshal of the Crown, who defended royal estates (see W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII w.*, Warsaw 1974, p. 18, footnote 187; Stanisław Cikowski is incorrectly mentioned there as the unlawful founder of Skrzyńska). The annexation of these areas was shortly expanded by A. Firlej and his son Jan. In 1618 ‘the subjects of His Majesty [from Mędrzechów] informed that Skrzyńska, Wojcina and Laskówka were founded by Jan Firlej on the King’s grounds in Mędrzechów, where His Majesty’s ancestors hunted’ (ASK XLVI 99 B, p. 846).

<sup>20</sup> AGAD, Oddz. XVIII, no. 29, ff. 27–27v, Wola Ramiszowska: ‘the peasants from this village said that sir Gnoiński took His Majesty’s forest, and sir Pileczki does not allow the subjects of His Majesty in the forest, and to sow and takes one mile wide and three miles long of the forest of His Majesty [...] also the inhabitants of Wola Ramiszowska complained mostly about sir Pileczki, saying that he does great damage to the game in this forest’. Similarly in villages Pław and Wola Pławska (f. 40), Jaślany (f. 44): ‘Sir Mielecki and sir Czechowski [castellan Mikołaj Ligęza] locate a new village on old thickets in

Often, a given estate was appropriated when it remained for a prolonged period in the use of successive possessors fulfilling the same land office, or when it was passed from father to son, or other relatives, with royal permission. For Sandomierz Voivodeship we can provide two examples.

Brzezinki village in Radom district, given in 1379 'ad bene placitum' to the pantler of Sandomierz Dzierśław Karwacjan, and then to successive pantlers of Sandomierz. With time it was treated as related with this office. Only during the revision of letters in 1563 was this village returned to the Treasury and inspected. Jan Leżeński, the pantler of Sandomierz, by way of exception remained in the possession of the village for life.<sup>21</sup>

The other example of prevented appropriation of royal property was related to Stopnica starosta's district in Wiślica district. This starosta's district was granted as a lien by Władysław III of Varna and Casimir IV Jagiellon,<sup>22</sup> during the revision of letters the lien was freed from inspection and for years remained in possession of the family Zborowski, and then Tarnowski. After the death of Stanisław Tarnowski, the castellan of Sandomierz, in 1618 the district was given to Zbigniew Ossoliński, who passed it to his son Krzysztof. However, the family Tarnowski, especially Gabriel, the son of Stanisław, kept some of the more prosperous demesnes and villages (Brzozówka, Wolica, Fałęcin and Suska Wola). It was their desire to turn these estates into a hereditary property. Their attempt was prevented by the family Ossoliński, who 'recuperated' the estates back to the starosta's district in the course of a court trial.<sup>23</sup>

An opposite process, increasing royal property, e.g. purchasing or repurchasing, was very modest in Sandomierz Voivodeship. It was limited to the buyout of several villages of the nobility, in order to enlarge some keys of property, like the starosta's district of Nowe Miasto in Wiślica district,<sup>24</sup> which were frequently visited by the kings for their good hunting areas, and which traditionally formed bride wealth of the kings' wives.

Two estates, completely different in terms of their size, deserve more attention of all royal estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship. They were called 'stool benefits', because they belonged to the benefits of the two senators of this voivodeship. The larger key of property, encompassing vast forests (second only to the rich benefits of the castellan of Cracow), consisted of the villages: Iwierzyce, Wierciany, Bystrzyca, Witkowice, Gnojnicza, Kozodrza and Czarna (situated in Pilzno district, 'Over the field'), and belonged to the castellan of Sandomierz;<sup>25</sup> fragmentary benefice, of only 2.5 lan in the village Czechów (the rest of the village belonged to petty gentry) was in the hands of the castellans of Czechów.<sup>26</sup> Stool benefits were not subject to inspection since 1765, and did not pay for the quarter army (*wojsko kwarciane*) As they were in fact royal property, also called the property of the Republic,<sup>27</sup> so having described their nature here, we marked them on the map with the colour reserved for royal property.

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Jaślany'. The same in royal village Tuszów (p. 45) 'they founded a new village on the grounds of His Majesty. Item sir Baranowski seized what His Majesty's grounds surrounded'.

<sup>21</sup> W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniem urzędników ziemskich w Koronie do schyłku XVI w.*, Warsaw 1962, pp. 175–177.

<sup>22</sup> ASK LIV 14a: 'old sums shown during the revision of the Warsaw Sejm', f. 13.

<sup>23</sup> *Pamiętnik Zbigniewa Ossolińskiego*, p. 102: 'I obtained the starosta's district of Stobnica, and issued petitions and started legal action for them, because the family Tarnowski had seized several demesnes, and took them pro bonis haereditariis'; p. 104: 'I won Fałęcin demesne in Stobnica district from the family Tarnowski'. The inspection of Sandomierz Voivodeship in 1627 (AGAD, Oddz. XVIII, 33, ff. 80–98): 'Fałęcin village with a demesne, mill and pond, recuperated to the starosta's district by the present Leaseholder from the family Tarnowski', ditto: Brzozówka, Wolica and Sucha Wola, 'which was by the Leaseholder sua sumptu lawfully recovered'.

<sup>24</sup> In 1420 Władysław Jagiełło bought the villages Stróżyska and Ucisków in Wiślica district from Marcin Ścibór for 1400 grzywna (ZDM I, no. 34); in 1479 Casimir Jagiellon bought Parkocin from Paweł of Parkocin and Świniary, and in 1482 Sepichów from Mikołaj Sepichowski, both in the district of Wiślica; E Rykaczewski, *Immentarium omnium privilegiorum in archivo Regni... confectum 1682*, Paryż 1862, p. 244; *Materiały archiwalne wyjęte głównie z Metryki Litewskiej od 1348 do 1607 r.*, pub. A. Prochaska, Lwów 1890, p. 206. More precious was the key of Kozienice (Kozienice – later town, Gałązki and Wargocin), purchased earlier (in 1390, formally in 1429; KDP II, p. 846), exchanged with the Norbertine Sisters from Płock for a royal village Bronisław in Cuyavia. Ultimately, this was confirmed by Casimir Jagiellon in 1447; J. Wiśniewski, *Monografia dekanatu kozienickiego*, Radom 1913, p. 69; ZDM III, no. 768.

<sup>25</sup> W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniem*, pp. 143–145. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century the estates of the castellan of Sandomierz already consisted of nine villages: Iwierzyce, Wierciany, Gnojnicza, Witkowice, Kozodrza, Czarna, Wieprz alias Turzynka and Oblim; MS BJ, no. 7609/IV, f. 1619.

<sup>26</sup> W. Pałucki, *Kasztelania czechowska*, Warsaw 1964, pp. 99–15.

<sup>27</sup> LS 1660/1664, vol. 2, p. 181: the borders of starosta's district of Ropczyca 'with Gnojnicza, Witkowice and Kozodrza, the estates of the Republic, belonging to Sandomierz castellany'.

The data on the settlements belonging to the king in Sandomierz Voivodeship presented in Table 1 do not, however, reflect their full material value or the area they occupied in relation to other categories of property. As we have stated in the commentary to the map of Mazovia, royal villages were usually bigger and more populated than villages of the nobility, and the peasants were given more land than in the estates of the nobility, or even of the Church. The same was true for royal property in Sandomierz Voivodeship – on average, the serf farms here 0.5 lan.

The property of the Church (bishopric, chapter, collegiate, monastery and parsonry) in Sandomierz Voivodeship (see Table 2) in relation to the number of settlements of other categories of landed property, was second to the property of the nobility.

The estates of four, and before 1514 even five,<sup>28</sup> oldest Polish bishoprics were situated within boundaries of the voivodeship. However, the part of the benefits of these four bishoprics (except for Cuyavia bishopric) located in Sandomierz Voivodeship, lay within the borders of their own dioceses, which entered the area of Sandomierz Voivodeship: Gniezno archbishopric in Kurzelów archdeaconry, Poznań bishopric in Warsaw archdeaconry (Łaskarzew key in Stężycza district). Cracow bishopric was the greatest owner, it possessed six cities (Bodzęcin, Daleszyce, Iłża, Jastrząb, Kielce and Kunów), 123 villages, nine parts of villages and 26 industrial settlements (ironworks, glassworks, mines and mills) and one demesne, not spatially related to the village (Kargów).<sup>29</sup> The estates of this bishopric lay in Sandomierz district (Bodzęcin key and Złotka key), Pilzno district (Radłów key), Chęciny district (Kielce key), Radom district (Iłża key) and from 1574 in Opoczno district (Odrowąż key) and in Wiślica district (over a dozen villages). The estates of Gniezno archbishopric, situated in Sandomierz Voivodeship in Kurzelów archdeaconry encompassed: Kurzelów key (Kurzelów town, seven villages and an autonomous demesne Modrzewie in Chęciny district) and the town of Łęgonice (Opoczno district).<sup>30</sup> Much larger were the estates of Cuyavia bishopric located in Sandomierz Voivodeship. They consisted of two independent keys: the larger, Piotrków or Łagów key (Łagów town and 16 villages, part of another village, two ironworks, one glassworks in Sandomierz district), and a smaller one, comprised of six villages, Smardzewice key in Opoczno district (two other villages in this key lay in Łęczyca Voivodeship).<sup>31</sup> The smallest part of this group of Church estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship was the small fragment of the lands of Poznań bishopric encompassing the town of Łaskarzew, two villages (Wola Łaskarzowska, Pilczyn) and a part of the village Wierzbiny, and a mill Krupa.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The bishop of Lubusz owned the key of Opatów estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship, which was bought by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki for 10,000 *grosze* in 1514; J. Kieszkowski, *Kanclerz Krzysztof Szydłowiecki*, Poznań 1912, p. 509.

<sup>29</sup> The former village Kargów, localized in approximation, was taken into account here (Pilzno district, Radłów parish). In the sixteenth century it was slowly being turned into a demesne. Also – the village Klatki, absorbed in the end of this century by Daleszyce town (Chęciny district). Brzechów, Szydłówek, Zagórze in Chęciny district belonged to Kielce collegiate, and not to the bishopric. This was a mistake made in the register from 1573 (P. Małopolska, pp. 276 f.); Sędek, Wola Ząbkowa, Żerniki and Nieskurzów in Sandomierz district described in the 1578 register as the property of the bishop of Cracow (ibidem, p. 189) belonged in fact to the bishop of Cuyavia. Omięcin, Koryciska and Kamień in Radom district were exchanged in 1574 for Odrowążek and Sarbin by the bishop. The ‘key of Chroberz’, mentioned by Pawiński (ibidem, introduction, p. 78) as belonging to Cracow bishopric, is a misinterpretation of the tax register for Wiślica district from 1579 he published (ibidem, p. 218): ‘Chroberz, rndi episc. Cracovien’ and similarly by other villages in this property. In reality this key was a private property of Piotr Myszkowski, who was the bishop of Cracow. These estates, bought before 1579 from Stanisław Tarnowski, the castellan of Radom, were inherited by the bishop’s nephews after his death in 1591; see footnote 55.

<sup>30</sup> In 1623 archbishop J. Wężyk ceded Łęgonice to Gniezno chapter; J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundiów arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego od XVI do XVIII w.*, Poznań 1955, p. 108. The villages in the key of Kurzelów: Lipna Nowa, Wojciechów, Oblasy and Rudniki, listed in the register (P. Małopolska, p. 273) belonged actually to the abbot of Jędrzejów, and Jeżowice – to the provost of Kurzelów (ibidem, p. 273). In the Middle Ages, there was a village Modrzewie near Kurzelów, in the first half of the sixteenth century it was turned into a demesne, connected to the archbishop’s manor in Kurzelów; cf. *Wizytacje dóbr arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego i kapituły gnieźnieńskiej z XVI w.*, pub. B. Ulanowski, Cracow 1920, pp. 336–369, 707–714.

<sup>31</sup> In Pawiński’s table (P. Małopolska, after p. 70 of the introduction) 5.5 villages in Pilzno district were affiliated to the bishopric of Cuyavia, what is an obvious mistake. The newly-located village Porzeczyn in the key of Piotrków was shown on the map. Apart from two ironworks marked on the map, in this key there also were two not localized ironworks, which were also not put on the lists, just like the glassworks Śliwka near Ząbkowa Wola and Śliwczyk near Lechów village, which were not considered separate settlements.

<sup>32</sup> The privilege for founding a town named after his father on the grounds of the village Korciszewo was obtained in 1418 from Władysław Jagiełło by the bishop of Poznań Andrzej Łaskarzewic of Gosławice; M. Kubiak, *Z dziejów Łaskarzewa 1418–1864*, „Rocznik Mazowiecki”, vol. 4, 1972, p. 370.

The cathedral chapter in Cracow had only one village – Dzierżązna in Wiślica district – in Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>33</sup> According to Długosz's hierarchy of Lesser Poland chapters, the second place after Cracow was occupied by Sandomierz chapter, whose estates were situated mostly in Sandomierz district (Andruszkowice, Bożydar, Dwiekozy, Kunice, Marszów, Mistrzowice, Motycze, Obojna, Piekary, Świątniki, Turbia, Zajęczkowice, Zarzykowice and parts of the villages Prusinowice, Ruszcza and Ubnin) and in Wiślica district (parts of the villages Chotel Zielony and Wawrowice), Radom district (Świerże Wielkie) and Opoczno district, situated the farthest from Sandomierz (Żarnów town and the villages Siedlec and Zdziszowice). In general, the chapter in Sandomierz had one town, 16 villages and five parts of villages (part of Ubnin belonged to the vicars of this collegiate).<sup>34</sup> The mansionaries by the collegiate in Sandomierz had two villages in Sandomierz district (Gojców and Okalina). Only one whole village belonged to Wiślica collegiate – Ogłędówek, and a demesne on the suburbs of Wiślica called Kuchary, and parts of three villages: Siedlec, Chotel Czerwony and Pęczelice, all located in Wiślica district. In the times of Długosz the collegiate in Wiślica owned also Mistrzowice,<sup>35</sup> a village that became nobility property in unknown circumstances. Some difficulties arose when we tried to determine which estates belonged to the wealthy Kielce collegiate. After some research on this matter, it became apparent that the income of the provost and prebendaries of this collegiate came mostly from tithes. Only five villages comprised their estates: Brzechów, Szydłówek and Zagórze in Chęciny district,<sup>36</sup> Żydówek in Wiślica district and Grabków in Sandomierz district. The land benefits of the remaining collegiats were modest. The collegiate in Skalbmierz, situated by the River Nida, already in Cracow Voivodeship owned two villages: Kujawki and Zamoście, and a part of the village Kwaszyn (Wiślica district). The Opatów collegiate – Marcinkowice village and a part of the village Biała. Finally, the collegiate of St. George in Cracow castle owned Janczyce village in Baczkowice parish in Sandomierz district,<sup>37</sup> and Kurzelów collegiate – Jeżowice and Ciemiętniki.

In Lesser Poland there were over a dozen older and newer monastery foundations, the mother abbeys of some of them (among other: Święty Krzyż, Sieciechów, Wąchock, Sulejów and Pokrzywnica) were situated in Sandomierz Voivodeship. Other old monasteries, located in Cracow Voivodeship (e.g. Tyniec, Jędrzejów, Miechów), also owned some of their estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship.

In terms of the number of settlements, the first place was occupied by the Cistercian monastery in Wąchock, situated almost in the middle of the left-bank part of the voivodeship, between the keys of property of Cracow bishopric – Ilża and Kielce. Towards the end of the sixteenth century Wąchock abbey owned: three towns (Wąchock, Waśniów,<sup>38</sup> Wierzbica), 34 villages and a part of one village and six industrial settlements (ironworks, mills). Together: 43 settlements and one part of a village. The second in terms of wealth, also situated in the central part of the left-side area of the voivodeship, was the Benedictine abbey Święty Krzyż. The abbey owned one town (Słup Nowa), 27 villages, parts of five other villages, ironworks and a demesne, and the monastery on the Łysa Góra mountain, together: 31 settlements and five parts of settlements situated in Radom and Sandomierz districts. The Cistercians

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<sup>33</sup> In Pawiński's table (P. Małopolska, after p. 70 of the introduction), there is a mistake: six villages in Wiślica district belonging to Cracow chapter. We list the estates of cathedral chapters and collegiats together, and do not divide them into prebends; we treat the estates of abbots and monastery convents in similar manner.

<sup>34</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 182 and table, according to 1578 tax register 'Kunice, rev. Archidiaconi Vilnensi[s]', in reality this village lay in Wojciechowice parish and belonged to the estates of Sandomierz collegiate (Kunice prebend); Długosz LB, I, p. 356; LR, p. 387. In the fifteenth century the vicars of Sandomierz collegiate owned a 3-lan village Dziwków in Goźlice parish (Długosz LB I, pp. 367 f.), in the second half of the sixteenth century it belonged to the family Ossoliński (P. Małopolska, p. 173), and in the end of this century Zbigniew Ossoliński finally obtained this village as his property: 'finished lawsuit with Sandomierz priests, who pretendebant their heirloom in Dziwków'; *Pamiętnik Zbigniewa Ossolińskiego*, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Długosz LB, I, p. 404.

<sup>36</sup> The vice-dean of Kielce had three lans in the first half of the sixteenth century in Mojeza (Chęciny district), and the bishop of Cracow – 1 lan (P. Małopolska, p. 584); according to the register from 1573, this villages belonged to the bishop (ibidem, p. 277); in the eighteenth century it was owned by the vicars of Kielce chapter. For the end of the sixteenth century we assumed that it belonged to the bishop of Cracow, although he could have owned it only partially, as a lease.

<sup>37</sup> This village, according to the register from 1578 (P. Małopolska, p. 189) the property of 'rev. Wolski canonici Cracovien.', Pawiński (ibidem, table after p. 70 of the introduction) incorrectly marked this village as a property of Cracow chapter.

<sup>38</sup> Waśniów and Jeżów, bought in 1422 from the Regular Canons from Trzemeszno (according to Długosz LB, III, p. 412, incorrectly – from Czerwińsk) in exchange for the key of property of Wąchock monastery in the land of Łęczycza; see M. Niwiński, *Opactwo cystersów w Wąchocku*, Cracow 1930, p. 65.

**Table 2. Church property in the end of the sixteenth century**

Owner	Number of settlements					Comments
	Towns		Monasteries and castles	Other settlements <sup>8</sup>		
	whole	parts		whole	parts	
Gniezno archbishopric	2			8		Kurzelów key in Chęciny district; Łęgonice town by the Pilica
Cracow bishopric	6			150	9	towns: Bodzęcin, Daleszyce, Hża, Jastrząb, Kielce, Kunów
Kujawy bishopric	1			25	1	Łagów key in Sandomierz district, and Smardzewice in Opoczno district
Poznań bishopric	1			3		Łaskarzew town
Cracow chapter				1		Dzierżązna village in Wiślica district
Sandomierz collegiate	1			16	5	Żarnów town and 2 villages in Opoczno district in Gniezno archdiocese
Mansionaries by the collegiate in Sandomierz				2		
Wiślica collegiate				1	4	2 <sup>nd</sup> part of Siedlec village belonged to Wiślica town
Kielce collegiate				5		
Skalbmierz collegiate				2	1	
Opatów collegiate				1	1	
Tarnów collegiate				2	1	
Kurzelów collegiate				2		
St. George collegiate in Cracow castle				1		Jancyce in Sandomierz district, bestowed by Maciej, the bishop of Kujawy in 1351
Wąchock abbey	3			40	1	towns: Wąchock, Wierzbica, Waśniów in Sandomierz and Radom district
Święty Krzyż abbey	1		1	29	5	towns; Słup Nowa; villages: Braciejowice and Zakrzów in Sandomierz Voivodeship over the Vistula
Koprzywnica abbey	1		1	25	3	Koprzywnica (Pokrzywnica) town
Sieciechów abbey	1		1	24		
Tyniec abbey	4		1	15	5	towns: Brzostek, Kołaczyce, Tuchów in Pilzno district, Opatowiec in Wiślica district; castle Golcz with demesne in Pilzno district
Sulejów abbey		1	1	9	3	Sulejów monastery on the right bank of the Pilica in Opoczno district; part of Skrzywno town in Radom district
Jędrzejów abbey				11		
Miechów monastery	1			6	1	Skarzyszów in Radom district
Monastery of the Order of St. Clare in Cracow	1			8		Zawichost; Dziurów suburbs by Zawichost – a separate settlement
Norbertine sisters monastery in Busko	1			9		

Owner	Number of settlements					Comments
	Towns		Monasteries and castles	Other settlements <sup>8</sup>		
	whole	parts		whole	parts	
Sandomierz Dominicans				2		
Beszów Paulines				4		
Pińczów Paulines				1		Podłęże in Wiślica district
Order of the Holy Ghost in Sandomierz				2	1	
Bernardine monastery of St. Catherine			1			monastery in Sandomierz district
Cracow Jesuits				1		
Hospital in Opczno				1		
Parochial churches	1			18	12	part of the town of Skrzynno – property of Skrzynno provost
In total	24	2	6	424	57	

a) These are industrial villages and settlements, if they had their own name.

in Koprzywnica owned a town and an abbey (Pokrzywnica-Koprzywnica),<sup>39</sup> 25 villages and parts of three other villages in Sandomierz and Pilzno district.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the old, once wealthy Benedictine abbey in Sieciechów by the Vistula owned one town (Sieciechów), a nearby monastery village, 22 villages and two industrial settlements (ironworks, mill). The monastery of the Cistercian abbey in Sulejów was situated on the right bank of the Pilica in Sandomierz Voivodeship, but the majority of the estates of the abbey were located in Łęczyca Voivodeship (Bałdrzychów key) and in Cuyavia. In Sandomierz Voivodeship the Cistercians from Sulejów apart from the monastery village owned, in Opczno and Radom districts, ½ of the town of Skrzynno,<sup>40</sup> eight villages, parts of three other villages and one mill. The Benedictines from Tyniec owned four towns (Opatowiec in Wiślica district, Brzostek, Kołaczyce and Tuchów in Pilzno district), 11 villages, and four parts of villages, one demesne and one castle with a demesne in Pilzno district (Golesz) and three villages and one part of a village in Wiślica district. Jędrzejów abbey owned 11 settlements in Sandomierz Voivodeship, including two ironworks – in Chęciny and Wiślica district. The monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów owned Skaryszew town and the villages Dzierżkówka, Sławno and Twarogowa Wola in Radom district, and Gotartowice, Stawiany and a part of Chomętów in Wiślica district. In Sandomierz district the monastery owned Jadowniki. Together it was one town, six villages and a part of one village. A large part of the benefices of the monastery of St. Andrew belonging to the Sisters of St. Clare from Cracow was actually situated in the borderland of Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeship, in the key of Zawichost – far from Cracow.<sup>41</sup> In our voivodeship this monastery owned the town of Zawichost along with its suburbs, seven villages and parts of three villages in the districts of Sandomierz, Chęciny and Wiślica. The Norbertine Sisters monastery in Busk owned one town (Busk) and nine villages in Wiślica and Radom districts. Of lesser monastic houses in Sandomierz Voivodeship the Pauline brothers from Beszowa had three villages (Beszowa, Beszówka and Bedłowa) in Wiślica district, and Bystramowice in Sandomierz district; the

<sup>39</sup> Alternative form of the name in the sixteenth–seventeenth century, see W. Pałucki, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.4.2.

<sup>40</sup> Second half of Skrzynno belonged to the rector of Skrzynno.

<sup>41</sup> Initially the nuns of this rule resided in Zawichost, but due to Tatar invasions they were moved after 1257 to a safer place to Skała (Grodziska) near Cracow (KDMłp., vol. 1, no. 63), and later, around 1318, to Cracow, where they were placed by the church of St. Andrew, from where the canons moved to the church of St. Giles near Wawel; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Z dziejów kolegiaty św. Andrzeja w Krakowie*, „Studia Historyczne”, vol. 10, 1967, pp. 23–27.

Paulines from Pińczów – Podłęże village near Pińczów; the Order of the Holy Ghost from Sandomierz – two villages (Głazów and Wieprzki) and part of Obrazów in Sandomierz district; the Dominicans from Sandomierz – Suchorzów and Gołębice near the capital of the voivodeship; and the Bernardines from the monastery in Święta Katarzyna owned only the monastery. It is interesting, that until the end of the sixteenth century the Jesuits obtained only one small village in Sandomierz Voivodeship – the house of the novitiate in Cracow was given Przeclawka in Wislica district from Anna from Lipnik Komarnicka, the widow of Aukt Ligęza, the castellan of Czechów.<sup>42</sup>

The list of estates belonging to various Church institutions should be supplemented with the information on villages, or larger parts of villages, which belonged to some of parochial churches. In Sandomierz Voivodeship a part of the town of Skrzynno, 18 villages and parts of 12 villages could be found among such parsonic benefices; the town hospital of the Holy Ghost in Opoczno owned one village.

Typical benefices of parochial churches (praedium, several serf or *hortulani* farms, an inn) were not included on the map. We have also omitted, due to the degree of generalization of the map, individual serf of *hortulani* farms, or inns belonging to Church institutions, but situated in villages of the nobility. In settlements, whose parts were owned by the king, the Church, and the nobility (or towns) at the same time, only two types of property were presented, disregarding the smallest property. The property of the King, the Church and the nobility in towns was not marked, as it was not subject to town law.

In total, in Sandomierz Voivodeship secular and regular clergy at the end of the sixteenth century owned 25 towns, 424 villages, industrial settlements and autonomous demesnes, 57 parts of villages, one castle with a demesne and five monasteries, comprising isolated settlement clusters, which constituted 16% of all 3,059 settlements in the voivodeship.

Landed estates of the nobility, marked with dots on the main map, and with planes, dominated other kinds of property, which was in fact common in the whole of Poland in this era.

In relation to the number of other types of property (royal, Church) the property of the nobility constituted around 73%, i.e. nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of all settlements. A concise characteristic on landed estates in sixteenth century Poland in terms of statistics and geography was provided 90 years ago by A. Pawiński, and volumes III and IV of the published tax registers of Lesser Poland included also a detailed list of estate owners from the nobility (for Sandomierz Voivodeship, introduction, pp. 157–201), with the number of villages and other settlements situated in particular districts of the voivodeship. It convinces us, also for other reasons (to be described later in the text) to prepare an additional map, presenting the territorial layout and size of the estates of all ownership categories. That is why, in order to supplement Pawiński's information, or to clarify his mistakes, we limit ourselves to explaining several important matters, which arose during the cartographical work concerning the estates belonging to nobility.

Beginning with the largest estates, we can confirm the widely accepted opinion that such estates were not so few in Lesser Poland, especially in Sandomierz Voivodeship. But in order to determine which, and precisely whose, estates should be counted among magnate estates, the tax registers – as noted by a great expert on the genealogy of the Polish aristocracy W. Dworzaczek – cannot be considered a sufficient source basis: 'Tax registers do not, as a rule, list deserted villages and only mention deserted lans in inhabited villages. What is worse, very often they fail to provide names of the owners [...]. Additionally in several cases the occupants were listed instead of the owners, and it was done almost always with widows holding the estates of their husbands as a bride price, or life estate. All this makes the image arising from tax registers far from reality. We must also remember that it is possible to recreate only cross-sectionally, for these years, for which we possess records listing many names, and such registers are unfortunately rare [...]. For the main body of information [rightly concludes Dworzaczek] we should look somewhere else, namely in gord documents [...] family files, cases on bride price, but between those there were years of transactions increasing or decreasing family fortunes'.<sup>43</sup> Let us also recall here, what was said about the classification of landed estates in the commentary to the map of Mazovia, stating briefly that no two villages were alike.<sup>44</sup> This means that the real value

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<sup>42</sup> In 1585; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 4, part 1, Cracow 1905, p. 462; ASK I 7, p. 70. Half of Uście village, near the mouth of the Dunajec, was given to the Jesuits by Gabriel Tęczyński in 1621. Since then the village was called Uście Jezuickie.

<sup>43</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Wielkopolska reprezentacja sejmowa w latach 1572–1655*, RH, vol. 23, 1957, p. 283.

<sup>44</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7. This had also been noted by W. Dworzaczek, *Wielkopolska reprezentacja*, p. 281.

of estates, and so the wealth of their owners, depended not on the number of owned villages, but on their location (soils), size (number of lans), population (number of serfs) or other economic elements (demesnes, mills, fulling mills, ironworks, inns and forests).

When it comes to the most important of the aforementioned elements forming the base for the assessment of landed estates – the number of lans subject to taxation (on a nationwide scale the lan tax, as it was said and written, ‘was small and unfair’), we must note here another flaw concerning Sandomierz Voivodeship: the lack of tax registers from 1563. The constitution from that year for the first time charged lan tax not on the basis of old bills, as it was done for many years, but on the basis of established holdings, confirmed by ‘a vow for just taxation’.<sup>45</sup> It could be assumed that the fact that this valuable register from Sandomierz Voivodeship was missing might not have been accidental, if I add that (1) the lan tax collected on the reformed basis in the neighbouring Cracow Voivodeship covered around 60% more lans than in previous years; (2) during the gathering of the nobility from Lesser Poland, which took place in Sandomierz in this year, by the calling of the two highest dignitaries of this voivodeship – the voivode and the castellan of Sandomierz – the nobles rioted in protest against this tax reform.<sup>46</sup>

What was said about the lack of a broader source basis for the presentation of the complete image of the property of the nobility in Sandomierz Voivodeship leads us to the following conclusions: even despite the huge effort to enlarge our source basis (queries in various archival collections) the result obtained will be accidental, and also insufficient. The will not replace the materials found in court books, and those in Sandomierz Voivodeship – apart from Pilzno district – were destroyed. In this respect the neighbouring Voivodeships: Cracow and Lublin, are in a better situation.

Given that, we could confine ourselves (as we had done up to this point in this series of AHP) with the main map, where the property was marked only in dots. However, having considered the scientific and research needs, or the benefits from the spatial presentation of ownership relations, this volume of AHP contains also a map of plane presentation of landed estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship, prepared on the basis of tax registers from 1569–1581.

This map (its contents and creation were described in another chapter of this commentary) contains the territorial ranges of particular ownership categories are roughly identical to real state, which existed in this short period of 12 years. The internal ownership structure of the estates belonging to the nobility was subject to constant changes. We could talk about the increase, not decrease in the general mass of lands belonging to the nobility, usually at the cost of royal property,<sup>47</sup> even though the latter were described in details in subsequent sixteenth and seventeenth century inspections as a result of the 1563 execution of property. The growth of Church estates in the second half of the sixteenth century was rather modest, accomplished rather because of purchase and donations. The period of greater bestowals to the Church from dukes, kings or knights already belonged to the past. The Reformation movement, extremely active in Lesser Poland, especially in Sandomierz Voivodeship, as well as bills prohibiting alienation of estates for churchmen, reduced these bestowals to a minimum.

There were also opposite cases, when Church property became the property of noble families. For instance, in 1525 the key of the estates of Kochów (six villages) in Stężyca land belonging to regular canons in Czerwiński in Mazovia was sold to Feliks Zielonka.<sup>48</sup> Earlier, in 1514, Opatów estates (of the bishops of Lubusz land) became the property of the family Szydłowiecki in similar circumstances.<sup>49</sup>

The origins and growth of large, magnate property, as presented on the example of Mazovian relations, were closely related to lucrative state functions of their owners. Pawiński saw this in Lesser Poland, and said about large, magnate property that ‘it usually accompanied highest dignities’.<sup>50</sup> These dignities, when granted wealthy starosta’s districts – which was almost the rule, especially when these

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<sup>45</sup> W. Pałucki, *Reformy skarbowe sejmu egzekucyjnego 1562/63 r.*, [in:] *Studia historyczne. Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 70 rocznicy urodzin prof. dra Stanisława Arnolda*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 301–313, quotation from p. 309 after MS BCzart, no. 1604: ‘Piotrków Sejm 1562/63 and what happened a year and a half ago’. Cf. W. Pałucki, *Uniwersały poborowe z 1563 r.*, KHKM, vol. 14, 1966, pp. 519–533.

<sup>46</sup> W. Pałucki, *Reformy skarbowe*, p. 307: ‘res spectabat ad tumultum’.

<sup>47</sup> See idem, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3.2.

<sup>48</sup> MRPS IV, no. 14186.

<sup>49</sup> See footnote 28.

<sup>50</sup> P. Małopolska, introduction, p. 90.

royal estates neighboured on the dignitary's hereditary lands – literally and metaphorically enlarged the area of magnate estates, or their lucrateness.

In Sandomierz Voivodeship there are many examples confirming this state of affairs. Apart from the estates situated outside the voivodeship, the family Tarnowski possessed hereditary property surrounded or royal estates, and parts of three royal villages.<sup>51</sup> They also kept the wealthy Sandomierz starosta's district long in their hands.<sup>52</sup> The voivode of Cracow, Piotr Zborowski, apart from many hereditary villages and parts of villages, held 'in old sums' the starosta's district of Stopnica, freed from inspection and quarter tax.<sup>53</sup> His brother Andrzej, the Court Marshal of the Crown, held a wealthy starosta's district of Radom until 1588, when 'ob rebelionem' it was taken from him,<sup>54</sup> and the third of the brothers, Mikołaj – the starosta's district of Szydłów. The voivode of Podole, Grand Hetman of the Crown Mikołaj Mielecki, who died in 1588, held the starosta's districts of Sandomierz and Korczyn, and the voivode of Cracow Mikołaj Zebrzydowski – of Stężyca. Finally, to mention only the more important ones, the voivode of Sandomierz Zbigniew Ossoliński, who started to amass the family fortune on a larger scale, fortified this fortune at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with starosta's districts of Stopnica and Korczyn in Sandomierz Voivodeship.

The estates of dying out magnate families of Sandomierz Voivodeship – the families Kurozwęcki, Szydłowiecki and later Tęczyński, did not fall apart, but – as bride prices of widows and daughters – went to their wealthy husbands, sometimes coming from lands far away from Sandomierz: Szydłowiec-Ćmielów estates went of the Radziwiłł family from Lithuania; Tarnów estates to Konstanty Ostrogski from Wołyń, which allowed his son Jerzy to become the castellan of Cracow; finally to Andrzej Leszczyński from Greater Poland – the key of Baranów by the Vistula in Sandomierz Voivodeship, where he built a wonderful magnate residence.

The fortune of the family Myszkowski occupied a separate position within the group of great, magnate property. The position was fortified by Piotr Myszkowski, the bishop of Cracow, when he bought the Chroberz estates,<sup>55</sup> then Pińczów estates, finally: Szaniec estates (all in Wiślica district). The tax registers do not provide clear clues as to the owners of these lands; they even mislead the readers, as mentioned above, by stating: 'Chroberz, rudi episcopi Cracoviensis'.<sup>56</sup> However, it is enough to add here that the heirs (nephews) of Piotr Myszkowski at the end of the sixteenth century created the first fee tail in Lesser Poland, about which it was commonly said: 'who has Chroberz, Książ and Szaniec could dance with the queen'.

The estates belonging to the nobility of average wealth (one to several villages) were the most common in Sandomierz Voivodeship. Also, the percentage of the nobility possessing parts of villages, several lans or even parts of lans was also high there. These petty parcels belonged to what was called 'partial gentry' (*szlachta cząstkowa*), until recently incorrectly ranked among demesne gentry (*szlachta folwarczna*).<sup>57</sup> Finally, insignificant on a scale of the entire voivodeship (1.3%), and higher in two districts (Wiślica and Sandomierz) where it was most common, was the property of serfless farm gentry (*szlachta zagrodowa*). In total, the tax registers list around 40 such villages in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century.<sup>58</sup> There were probably more such villages earlier, but they were

<sup>51</sup> Jaślany, Sobów and Grębów in Sandomierz district.

<sup>52</sup> After Hetman Jan Tarnowski, forced in 1550 to resign from the starosta's district kept against the bill of 1478, the district was given to his son, Jan Krzysztof Tarnowski, the castellan of Wojnicz, who dies in 1567.

<sup>53</sup> A. Pawiński was wrong to believe that the key of Stopnica belonged to hereditary estates of Piotr Zborowski (ibidem, introduction p. 95). He was led to such a belief on the basis of a tax register of Wiślica district from 1579, which listed the villages near Stopnica as a property of 'mgci palatini Cracoviensis' (P. Małopolska, pp. 223 f.).

<sup>54</sup> W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1974, p. 180.

<sup>55</sup> For Chroberz with Kozubów, Michałów, Bralczyn, Wojsławice, Wola Chrobberska, Zawarza, Zagórzycze, Sadek, Zagajów, Skrzypniów, Zakrzew, Młodzawy, Ociosęki and Mozgawa P. Myszkowski paid Stanisław Tarnowski, the castellan of Cracow 182,000 florens in 1580; A. Skalkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1947, p. 186. The document of purchase was recorded formally in town record of Sieradz in 1580 (*Codex Myszkovianae ordinationis diplomaticus*, comp. G. Labuda, Chroberz, 1940, TS in the Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS, Cracow, no. 5637, p. 183, no. 70); P. Myszkowski obtained these lands at least a year before, as in tax registers from 1579 (P. Małopolska, p. 218) the lan tax from Chroberz estates was paid already by the bishop of Cracow (P. Myszkowski).

<sup>56</sup> See footnote 29.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazowie, in this edition III.3.3.7.

<sup>58</sup> The list of 39 villages of this kind in Sandomierz Voivodeship was presented by Pawiński (P. Małopolska, introduction, p. 202); see A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Character and size of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.2.2.

bought by wealthier nobility. For instance, in Łagiewniki, Chmielnik parish, Wiślica district there were seven poor members of farm gentry in 1538,<sup>59</sup> but already in 1577 the entire village belonged to Jan Oleśnicki.<sup>60</sup> Another village – Mietel, in the same district, had 16 parcels belonging in 1538 to farm gentry, among whom we meet such characteristic names, or nicknames, for this group, as: Pikorak, Gałka, Dziwisz, Kiwiorek, Donat, Krystek, et. al.<sup>61</sup>

However, the village Czechów is the most interesting one in this, poorest, group of nobility estates. This village, situated in Kije parish in Wiślica district, was still in the sixteenth century inhabited by 14 such nobles. In this respect it is exceptional not only in the entire voivodeship, but in the whole of contemporary Poland in this period. Czechów was a castellany gord.<sup>62</sup> One part of this village (2.5 lan) was part of the benefits of Czechów castellans until the end of the old Republic. The rest was owned by poor members of farm gentry, probably coming from the early-medieval burghers (castrenses), who later found themselves among petty knighthood. As a completely poor serfless gentry they survived in their gord-castellany village for quite a long time, since the poll tax register from the second half of the seventeenth century lists 10 parcels belonging to different taxpayers in this village.<sup>63</sup>

The last, and the smallest, group of landed property in Sandomierz Voivodeship were the villages formally royal (their inhabitants had the right of appeal in controversial cases to referendary court), but in fact under the complete legal and economic authority of royal towns. In Sandomierz Voivodeship there were 18 villages and parts of two villages of this kind. Eleven villages belonged to Sandomierz, including eight called suburbs (which we call further suburbs) and three vogt villages (bought by the town at the beginning of the sixteenth century). These were suburbs-villages: Chwałki, Gierlachów, Gołębice, Kobierniki, Nabrzezie, Rzeczyca Sucha, Strohcice and Suchorzów; vogt villages: Ocinek, Radoszki and Wysiadłów.<sup>64</sup> Three villages: Dzierzków, Gołębiów and Wola Gołębiowska were returned to Radom during the revision of bestowals in 1563, one (Gorysławice) and parts of two (Siedlec and Kobylniki) belonged to Wiślica, two villages (Gorzałów and Wola Opoczyńska) – to Opoczno, and one (Polikno) – to Chęciny. Only one village, namely: Rżyska, was a property of a private town – Żochów in Pilzno district.

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>59</sup> ASK I 9, f. 18.

<sup>60</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 222.

<sup>61</sup> ASK I 9, f. 18.

<sup>62</sup> The town itself was situated 2 km west of Czechów village, in the fork of the River Nida; W. Pałucki, *Kasztelania czechowska*.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 116–120.

<sup>64</sup> See also K. Pacuski, *Sandomierz*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, pp. 825-831, in this edition III.6.26.2.

### III.3.3b.2 MAP OF LANDED PROPERTY

*Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*

The Map of landed property in Sandomierz Voivodeship (1:500,000) shows the division of land between three basic categories of owners: the king, Church institutions, and the nobility (see map 7). Due to the scale of the map, we did not isolate the lands and villages<sup>1</sup> belonging to towns (property of burghers), treating them – because of dominion sovereignty – as a part of the great landed property. The generalization of the cartographic picture forced us to omit some small enclaves of one type of property situated in complexes of estates belonging to another of the three categories; this mainly means villages, which belonged to different types of owners; in such cases only the dominant type was taken into account. As these situations were quite exceptional, so the error resulting from this simplification does not exceed the error resulting from the accuracy of measurement.

Against the background of the entire settlement, shown in blank dots, the towns were distinguished by their name, and in royal estates – the centres of starosta's districts, and more important leases. In other types of property we marked, where the scale of the map allowed – the centres of important property complexes.

A. Pawiński studied the arrangement of great property in Lesser Poland on the basis of the sixteenth century tax registers; the distinguished publisher described the course of the borders of largest keys of property, and gave their approximate area.<sup>2</sup> The published map of landed property, prepared on the basis of the materials provided by the extended source query, conducted for the research on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship, specifies the results of Pawiński's research with respect to Church and royal property. On the other hand, the reconstruction of greater – magnate and gentry – property, showing more fluency of holdings, was limited to data chronologically close to tax registers published by A. Pawiński (from 1569–1581), assuming the conventional chronologic range of 1570s for our cartographic presentation.

A map at a scale of 1:500,000 can only hold information concerning the largest keys of property. As such, it seems that we were able to present them in Sandomierz Voivodeship on the basis of the aforementioned registers without major errors. This version of the map allowed us to broaden the range of data about the state of property in the voivodeship in comparison to what was presented on the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, we believe it was possible to avoid the danger related to the still-discussed method of research on the structure of landed property in Poland in the sixteenth century, also because of the very specific chronologic cross-section.

The borders of the estates were prepared at a scale of 1:100,000, their size was measured with planimeter also at this scale. The map was prepared on the mechanically reduced basis at a scale of 1:400,000 and then transferred to the publishing scale of 1:500,000.

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<sup>1</sup> About villages belonging to towns in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century see W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3.2.

<sup>2</sup> P. Małopolska, introduction, pp. 62–99.

<sup>3</sup> The map of landed property in Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century (W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7) shows only general division into royal, Church and nobility property. Given the fact that proof-reading was not included in the key to the map, it presents the percentage of royal and Church property. It should be: royal – 20%, Church – 14%, nobility – 66%.

‘Great landed property’ is a conventional term. We took into consideration estates belonging to one owner, encompassing at least 10 villages (or, respectively higher number of parts of villages) of 50 serf lans, based on the results of research of various authors reconstructing the state of property in Poland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

Royal and Church property in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century was thoroughly characterized by W. Pałucki in the previous chapter. The map shows all royal estates. However, aiming at presenting only greater complexes of property in our voivodeship, we did not isolate these estates belonging to Church institutions, which were smaller than our assumed limit, even if those institutions had owned great estates outside Sandomierz Voivodeships. We did not present the estates of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre from Miechów as a separate complex, even though they constituted a fragment of great property of these canon brothers, which was, however, situated mainly in Cracow Voivodeship. The estates of Gniezno archbishopric situated on the margin of our criteria, this archbishopric owned seven villages in our voivodeship (Denków, Gościęcín, Kaparzów, Konieczno, Międzylesie, Motyczno, Silpie Ruda), two towns (Łęgonice, Kurzelów), and a demesne Modrzewie. The property of collegiates was not isolated from small Church estates, due to virtual fragmentation of these estates into particular prebends. Abbey and convent goods were treated jointly. Given these assumptions, great complexes of Church property in Sandomierz Voivodeship belonged to the bishops of Cracow and Cuyavia, the monasteries in Wąchock, Święty Krzyż, Sieciechów, Koprzywnica, Tyniec, Sulejów, Jędrzejów, Busko (Norbertine Sisters) and Cracow (Sisters of St. Clare). A list of these estates was provided in the annex.

The method of research on keys of greater magnate and gentry estates is worth discussing. Tax registers published by A. Pawiński were the starting point for the research; next, after determining particular estates fitting the range of our interest, the state of holdings of their owners was checked in the surviving registers from the second half of the sixteenth century. We believe that the comparison of the informaton from several subsequent registers allowed us to almost completely eliminate the leaseholders, and determine the real owners of the estates.<sup>5</sup> As in the case of complexes of Church property, we did not try to present the holdings in Sandomierz Voivodeship of magnates on the scale of the entire country, so we omitted small estates in the voivodeship, which belonged to owners of great property in other parts of the Republic. We also disregarded leases and liens.<sup>6</sup>

In Pilzno district, where great property was the most common, the research was based on the 1581 register and the list of land owners, published by A. Pawiński.<sup>7</sup> Larger estates were studied in terms of the number of villages and lans. The following estates were not marked on the map: of

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<sup>4</sup> The caesura of 10 villages was accepted by the publishers of Rej. pob. 1629, p. XXXVII. They included 16 private owners in this group of property. M. Wisińska, *Koncentracja feudalnej własności ziemskiej w powiecie kaliskim na przełomie XVI i XVII w.*, „Rocznik Kaliski”, vol. 5, 1972, p. 59 followed suit and stated that ‘magnates’ owned 4.1% of all villages here. Similar caesura was used by W. Szczygielski, *Zmiany w stanie posiadania i w strukturze własnościowej szlachty powiatu wieluńskiego od połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, „Rocznik Łódzki”, 1958, p. 266 (for the district of Wieluń there was only one estate with more than 10 villages, a one with more than five), and L. Polaszewski, *Własność feudalna w województwie kaliskim w XVI w.*, Poznań 1976, p. 55. A bit lower limit was assumed for Lublin Voivodeship in the beginning of the seventeenth century, namely eight villages (J. Kolasa, K. Schuster, *Rejestr poboru województwa lubelskiego 1620–1626*, Wrocław 1957, p. XX). To isolate larger estates of the nobility in Pomerania in the sixteenth–seventeenth century the caesura accepted was above 50 lans (A. Mączak, *Struktura majątkowa szlachty pomorskiej w XVI–XVII w. Próba analizy statystycznej*, PH, vol. 53, 1962, p. 664), what showed 14 owners of estates larger than 50 lans. In Łęczyca Voivodeship, on the other hand, characterized by a large number of petty property, larger property was not isolated. It was only state that average size of a multi-village in the entire voivodeship was three villages (T. Sobczak, *Zmiany w stanie posiadania dóbr ziemskich w województwie łęczyckim od XVI do XVIII w.*, RDSG, vol. 17, 1955, pp. 171 f.).

<sup>5</sup> For instance, in the district of Radom we did not include Stanisław Błotnicki, because the estates attributed to him in the register proved to be mostly a lease (P. Małopolska, pp. 309–311, 313–314), and in Stężyca district – Anzelm Gostomski, the voivode of Rawa, who in fact was a leaseholder of Ciołek’s estates (ibidem, p. 334).

<sup>6</sup> Therefore we did not mark royal property with a separate sign for estates mortgaged ‘in old sums’, which estates, according to the constitutions from 1566 and 1588 were to be returned to the Treasury after four lifelong leases, and before then the entire income was granted to the leaseholders. In Sandomierz Voivodeship this concerned six towns and 54 villages. Also, we did not isolate royal estates mortgaged on the basis of the 1565 constitution, from which a half of the quarter was begun to be paid to the Treasury in 1601. See K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform egzekucji dóbr (1563–1665). Sprawa zastawów królewskich malopolskich*, Warsaw 1984, pp. 42 f., 60 f., 67 f., 90 f.

<sup>7</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 241–269, introduction, pp. 157–201.

the family Bączalski;<sup>8</sup> of Piotr Bużyński;<sup>9</sup> of Andrzej Gołuchowski;<sup>10</sup> of Sebastian, Teodor and Stanisław Ligęza and Zofia Ligęzina;<sup>11</sup> of Stanisław Machowski;<sup>12</sup> of Jacek Młodziejowski;<sup>13</sup> of Stanisław Strzeżowski.<sup>14</sup>

The following estates in this district were counted among great property of the nobility: of the Duke Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, the voivode of Kijów, Stanisław Tarnowski (son of Wojciech), Hieronim Mielecki the starosta of Brześć Kujawski, Walenty Dembiński (in the register he was described as and owner of appropriate villages, and only his office was mentioned – the castellan of Cracow, his surname was omitted), Jan Tarło, the voivode of Lublin, and Mikołaj Przedbór Koniecpolski, the castellan of Rozprza.

In Sandomierz district, the division into areas was based on the 1578<sup>15</sup> register and the list of owners published by Pawiński.<sup>16</sup> The following estates were studied and not qualified for presentation: of Stanisław Gniewosz,<sup>17</sup> of Józef Ożarowski,<sup>18</sup> of Małgorzata Tarło,<sup>19</sup> of Stanisław Wolski,<sup>20</sup> of Zborowska,<sup>21</sup> of Jan Turski,<sup>22</sup> of the family Ossoliński.<sup>23</sup> The map does present the estates belonging to the following people: Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, Hieronim Mielecki, Andrzej Leszczyński, Jan Słupecki, Mikołaj Radziwiłł, Stanisław Tarnowski the castellan of Radom (son of Stanisław), and Piotr Zborowski.

In Stężyca district, on the basis of the 1576 tax register,<sup>24</sup> the estates of three people were isolated, namely: Stanisław Ciołek, Mikołaj Kłoczowski and Samborzecka. On the other hand, the holdings of

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<sup>8</sup> Bączalski – five villages, 21  $\frac{5}{8}$  of lan (Kozłów, Jedlice, Godowa, Gbiska and Tropa).

<sup>9</sup> Piotr Bużyński – five villages, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  of lan (Konary, Oporyszew, Wszeradza, Chrzastów, Żelazówka).

<sup>10</sup> Andrzej Gołuchowski, the wojski of Sandomierz – nine villages and a part of the tenth; in total 43 $\frac{1}{2}$  of lan (Skorocice, part of Żydów, Chwałowice, Wola Żydowska, Gołuchów, Wola Gołuchowska, Marzęcin, Borków in Wiślica district, sołtys office in Królew, Witowice in Pilzno district, Wola Zadybska in Stężyca district.)

<sup>11</sup> Sebastian Ligęza, vice-pantler of Sandomierz – five villages and seven parts: Motycz (leased part), Wola Lipieńska (part), Lipiny (part), Łęki (part), Zwiernik (part), Sepnica (part), Zępnioówek, Łysaków, Gliny and Wola, Miłonin (part), Wrzoski (part), in total over a dozen lans; Teodor Ligęza – in total 26  $\frac{3}{4}$  lan in Wiślica district, Stanisław Ligęza – in total 20 lans in Wiślica district, Zofia Ligęzina – 26 $\frac{1}{2}$  lan in Wiślica district (Jurków, Paszyna, Brzeźnica, Wola Brzeźnicka, Dolcza Wielka, Kozłów).

<sup>12</sup> Stanisław Machowski – Dobieszyn, Polanka Wielka, Polanka Mała, Konieczkowa, in total: 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  lan.

<sup>13</sup> In the district of Pilzno Jacek Młodziejowski only leased villages of the monastery in Koprzywnica: Połomia, Golcowa (P. Małopolska, pp. 245 f.) and Oporówka, Stodolina Wola, Wysoka (ibidem, p. 246, data on lease omitted in print), in Sandomierz district he leased Świnzyca (ibidem, p. 166), Młodziejowski owned only Żórawice in Sandomierz district, where there were only four serf lans and a demesne (ibidem, p. 171).

<sup>14</sup> In Pilzno district Stanisław Strzeżowski owned Czudec town with suburbs, and nearby villages: Barycz, Zaborowie, and Nowa Wieś Pstrągowa (P. Małopolska, p. 257); he also leased Dobrzechów, a village of Koprzywnica monastery (ibidem, p. 245).

<sup>15</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 165–208.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, introduction, pp. 157–201.

<sup>17</sup> Stanisław Gniewosz owned parts of the following villages: Skrzypaczowice, Żórawice, Świniary, Chobrzany, Małżyniec and Nawodzice, in total only 14  $\frac{3}{4}$  of serf lan.

<sup>18</sup> Józef Ożarowski owned 22 serf lans in Sulejów, Leszczków, Żołcice, Dzierżązna and Wyszumuntów.

<sup>19</sup> Małgorzata Tarło had 18 serf lans in Słupia, Szczekarzowice, Okół, Kosowice and Mirkowice, even if we assumed that at the time she also owned the town Tarłów, the area of her estates would not reach the caesura of 50 lans.

<sup>20</sup> Stanisław Wolski owned over a dozen lans in Sulisławice, Mietnia, Dmoszyce (Sandomierz district), Potworów, Pawłowice, Wola (Radom district) and Wola Zadybska, and Wola Korycka (Stężyca district); it is difficult to define their number, because it is possible that there were other co-owners.

<sup>21</sup> Zborowska owned parts of many villages (Malikowice, Wola, Grzybów, Gryzikamień, Łopacino Wielkie, Dziewiątle, Wygietłów, Wierzbka, Ujazdek Mały, Żaliwdów, Krępa), in total – 22  $\frac{3}{4}$  lan.

<sup>22</sup> Jan Turski had only 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  lan in seven villages (Niekraszów, Tursko Wielkie, Ossala, Trzcianka, Kępka, Opatów Las, Nakole Las), but serf lans were only in four villages, and in the three remaining villages only hortulani paid the tax.

<sup>23</sup> One of the arguments not to take this estate into account was the fact that it was impossible to determine individual owners, another – small number of lans, only 19  $\frac{1}{4}$  in 11 villages in this estate (Goźlice, Pęchów, Żuków, Dwiekozy, Ossolin, Dziwków, Nowawieś, Koprzywanica, Klimuntów, Zakrzów, Łownica).

<sup>24</sup> ASK O I, 9, ff. 199–225. The attempt to arrange all landowners, who possessed more than three lans, according to their property was based on this register. The following were listed in 1576 as the owners of 3–5 lans: Jan Trojanowski, Hieronim Żeleński, and Andrzej Zerzyński. To the group of owners of 5–10 lans belonged: Jan Firliej the voivode of Cracow, Krzysztof Sobieski, Hieronim Trojanowski, Wilski described as ‘sacerdos’, Krzysztof Wilski, chorążyna Wilska, Stanisław and Sebastian Wolski, Zofia Zalewska and Mikołaj Zalewski, and Sebastian Ciołek. The group 10–20 lans: Mikołaj Przerębski the starosta of Opoczno, Stanisław Zarzycki and Stanisław Zerzyński. The group 20–50 lans: Frączowa Górzyńska, Anzelm Gostomski, Piotr Kłoczowski, Maciejowski, Jakub Podlodoski, Hieronim Rusiecki the chorąży of the land of Sandomierz, Stanisław Sobieski, Jan Sobieski, Marcin Trojanowski and Stanisław Zbąski.

Anzelm Gostomski were not shown on the map, because the majority of estates from which he paid tax were leases.<sup>25</sup>

The tax register from 1579 was the basis for our presentation of great property in Wiślica district.<sup>26</sup> The size of estates was checked against it, and the following owners did not qualify for presentation: Prokop Balicki,<sup>27</sup> Jan Chycki,<sup>28</sup> Andrzej Gołuchowski,<sup>29</sup> Stanisław Karwicki,<sup>30</sup> Teodor Ligęza and Stanisław Ligęza,<sup>31</sup> and Andrzej Zborowski.<sup>32</sup>

The map shows the estates belonging to Wojciech Padniewski, Stanisław Szafranec, Fryderyk Boner, Jan Tarło, Jan Oleśnicki and several dignitaries, who paid taxes for their estates but did not reveal their names, and yet specified their office, namely: Piotr Zborowski the voivode of Cracow, Walenty Dembiński the castellan of Cracow, Jan Sienieński the castellan of Żarnów, Mikołaj Ligęza the castellan of Wiślica, and Stanisław Tarnowski the castellan of Radom.

For Radom district, the reconstruction was based on the tax register from 1569.<sup>33</sup> The size of the estates was controlled, but not put on the map, in case of the following: Stanisław Błotnicki (he does appear on A. Pawiński's list as an owner of 10 villages and four parts of villages, yet closer analysis revealed that he only leased at least six of these settlements),<sup>34</sup> Janusz Karczewski (he paid the tax for 25 villages not as their owner, but as an official: the vice-starosta of Iłza, from the key of the bishops of Cracow),<sup>35</sup> Stanisław Ossuchowski (who, similarly, paid for 12 villages as an abbot of Sieciechów, not as an owner),<sup>36</sup> and Jan Modrzewski (the burgrave of Radom, who owned only 7.5 lan of the 11 villages and seven parts of villages ascribed to him by A. Pawiński).<sup>37</sup> The borders of the estates belonging to the following owners were marked on the map: Andrzej Drzewicki, Andrzej Firlej and Jan Oleśnicki.

In Chęciny district, the unpublished register from 1577 formed the basis for research on great property of the nobility; it was verified against the information provided by the registers from 1527–1530 and 1573.<sup>38</sup> Larger estates of the following families were studied, but not included on the map: Gosławski, Masłomięcki, Michowski, Morawicki, Odrowąż, Secygniowski, Szafranec, and Wolski. Only the holdings of Stanisław Szafranec and Jan Oleśnicki proved to be larger fortunes.

Landed property in Opoczno district was prepared on the basis of the 1577 register.<sup>39</sup> The estates of Stanisław Karwicki, Jan Kochanowski (the owner of many small parcels in the districts of Sandomierz, Radom, and Opoczno, which – however – did not exceed 17 serf lans in total), or Jan Strasz. The estates of Andrzej Drzewicki and Wojciech Padniewski were shown.

In general, it must be stated that there was a partial reshuffle among the owners of larger states in Sandomierz Voivodeship towards the end of the sixteenth century. For instance, in the 1580s and 1590s new great property owners appeared in Wiślica district: Mikołaj Firlej the voivode of

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<sup>25</sup> A. Gostomski owned Dąbrówka, Pawłowice, Samwodzia, Wola Długa, and Wola Paprotna.

<sup>26</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 209–240; the list of owners: *ibidem*, introduction, pp. 157–201.

<sup>27</sup> Prokop Balicki, the owner of Słodków, Zrzecze Małe, Szyszczycze, Polanki, Zawady and Balice had only 11 serf lans altogether.

<sup>28</sup> Jan Chycki, the owner of eight villages: Sokolina, Kamiona, Stropieszyn, Mikołajów, Sędziejowice, Dąbrowa, and Rzędów, all in all, he paid for 33½ serf lan.

<sup>29</sup> See footnote 10.

<sup>30</sup> Stanisław Karwicki owned five villages and five parts of villages in the district of Wiślica (Żabiec, Karsy Wielkie, Szczeglin, Książnice, Komorów, Rataje) and of Opoczno (Bielejowice, Siedlec, Karwice, Blizin), in total: 23½ lan.

<sup>31</sup> Teodor Ligęza had seven villages and a part of one village (Jurków, Bolesław, Brzeźnica, Świebodzin, Grądy, Bory, Kana and Kozie), in which there was 26 ¾ serf lan. Stanisław Ligęza paid from six villages and one part (Uście, Strzałków, Lubiczko, Braciejów, Stobiernia, Zawada and Wola) situated in the districts of Wiślica and Pilzno, in total: 20 serf lans.

<sup>32</sup> Andrzej Zborowski had nine villages, and 37 serf lans.

<sup>33</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 297–330; *ibidem*, introduction, pp. 157–201; ASK O I, 8, ff. 513 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Stanisław Błotnicki paid for Czyżówka 'in the name of the Pasek family' (P. Małopolska, p. 311), for Kobylnik 'in the name of Zborzeński', for Gałki 'in the name of Jakubowa Drzewicka', for Przysiałowice 'in the name of S. and J. Przysiałowski' (*ibidem*, p. 313), for Chlewiska 'in the name of Jakub Chlewicki', for Skłoby 'in the name of Chlewicki' (*ibidem*, p. 314), and others similar (*ibidem*, pp. 309–310).

<sup>35</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 322 and introduction p. 171.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 298, 300, 318, 319, 321, 322 and introduction p. 184.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 299, 306, 309 f., 312 f., 323 f. and introduction p. 184.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 557–589, y. 1527–1530; pp. 270–280, y. 1573; ASK O I, 9, ff. 326–352, y. 1577.

<sup>39</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 281–296; *ibidem*, introduction, pp. 157–201.

Cracow,<sup>40</sup> who also owned several villages and a newly-located town Radomyśl in Pilzno district,<sup>41</sup> Zofia of Wzdów, the widow of Krzysztof Lanckoroński the castellan of Radom;<sup>42</sup> in Pilzno district: Agnieszka Tarłowa, widow of Jan, the voivode of Lublin,<sup>43</sup> Andrzej Koniecpolski,<sup>44</sup> or Jan Kiszka, the castellan of Vilnius.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, we noted that larger estates, despite the indubitable fluency of the holdings of their owners, usually remain – because of family relations and hereditary issues – in the hands of a specific, quite close circle, comprised mainly of noblemen holding higher land offices, leaseholders of starosta's offices, and often senators.

Below we present detailed information about magnate property complexes in Sandomierz Voivodeship, and comment on the holdings of particular persons in the 1570s, on the basis of fiscal sources.

The wealth of Jakub Fryderyk Boner (son of Seweryn, the castellan of Sącz, and Jadwiga from the family Kościelecki) comprised of hereditary estates, which emerged in 1550–1557, and were situated in Wiślica district.<sup>46</sup> After his childless death in 1585 these became part of his brother's – Seweryn – estates.<sup>47</sup> In the 1570s the holdings consisted of the demesnes: Chrzanów and Lubacz, villages: Dalestowice, Kryniczna Wola, Kwasów, Laskowa Wola, Oblekoń, Otmęt, Wojcina, Wola Jurkowska, Wójcza, Wójczka, and parts of villages: Biechów and Piestrzec.<sup>48</sup> Together it was: two demesnes, 10 villages and parts of two villages. The estates measured 34.5 of fiefs.

The brother of Jakub Fryderyk – Seweryn Boner, the starosta of Rabsztyn (since 1564), and future castellan of Biecz and starosta of Żarnowiec (since 1585), and finally the castellan of Cracow (since 1590),<sup>49</sup> in the described period possessed the following villages in Pilzno district: Jazowa, Krośnia, Niewodna, Pstrągówka, Wiśniowa, Wiśniówka;<sup>50</sup> in the 1580s we can include also Żyźnów Wyższy, Bonarówka, Węglówka and a part of Jedlicze to his estates;<sup>51</sup> after 1585, as already mentioned, the took his late brother's estates in Wiślica district.

The estates of Stanisław Ciołek from Żelechów in Stężyca land comprised of 17 villages and two parts of villages – 125 serf lans altogether. Part of these were leased, mostly to local noblemen. One of his leaseholders was Anzelm Gostomski, the voivode of Rawa, who owned vast riches in Mazovia. The following villages belonged to Ciołek's estates: Ciechomin, Grabów, Goniwilk, Guzówka, Kamionka, Kęblów, Łomnica, Ostrożenie, Powały, Przyłek, Sobolów, Turzec, Wilczyńska, Wiśniówka, Wola Ostrożeńska, Wola Żelechowska, Zasiadały, and parts of Górzno and Wola Łączna.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> In the district of Wiślica in 1591: Kobiela, Wyszogród, Kęsow, Chrostowice, Rogów, Bejsce, Piotrkowice, Grodowice, Królewice, Czyżewice, Morawiany Wielkie, Morawiany Małe, Charbinowice, Zbylutowice, Młogolice and Pierszyce (these were estates along with leases); ASK O I, 7, ff. 633–634v, 636v, 638v, 692.

<sup>41</sup> Ruda, Klęczany, Brzezcie, Bobrowa, Lubzina, Brzozówka, Słostowa; *ibidem*, ff. 830, 839 (y. 1589). Rogów, the visitation of Opatowiec decanate (y. 1595), f. 114, and Radomyśl, Boniecki, vol. 5, p. 297; SGKP, vol. 9, pp. 432 f.

<sup>42</sup> In Wiślica district in 1591: Wilkowa, Strzelec, Sufczyce, Kępie, Wola, Pieczyniegi, Sieczków, Grzymała, Żerniki, Jastrzębiec, Korytnica, Jasień, Jabłonica, Ponik, Żabiec, Karsy Wielkie, Szczeglin, Książnice – part, Komorów – part, Rataje – part; ASK O I, 7, ff. 671, 671v, 677, 678, 680v, 682, 684v–686v, 697v.

<sup>43</sup> Gumńska, Krzyż, Chorążec, Laskówka, Rudno, Rostawice, Ilkowice, Łąka, Siedlec, Łysagóra, Powężów, Śmigłowa Wola, Brnik, Pilzno district, y. 1589; *ibidem*, ff. 829, 858–866v.

<sup>44</sup> Pilzno district, y. 1589: Dobrków and Mokrzec, Parkosz, Łabuzie, Jaworze, Przedzborz, Połomia, Gołaczyna, Złotoria, Przeclaw-suburbs, Męciszów, Krownice, Łęki, Wylów, ASK O I, 7, ff. 817v, 830, 831.

<sup>45</sup> Pilzno district, y. 1589: Zaszów, Doleza Wielka, Żdżar, Mokre, Wiewiórka, Borowa, Róża, Czarna, Jaźwiny, Dębie, Dąbrówka, Przeryty Bór, Jastrząbka, Korzeniów, Wolica, Nagoszyn; *ibidem*, ff. 827v–829, 831.

<sup>46</sup> Genealogy, table 124; PSB, vol. 2, p. 297; J. Ptaśnik, *Bonerowie*, RK, vol. 7, 1905, pp. 62–72.

<sup>47</sup> Tax from this estates was paid by Seweryn Boner, the castellan of Cracow, in 1589; ASK O I, 7, ff. 713–810.

<sup>48</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 230, 231, 234–235 (Kryniczna Wola accidentally omitted by the publisher); Lubacz in 1576 appeared as a village turned into a demesne (ASK O I, 9, f. 140v), in 1577 also did not pay tax (*ibidem*, f. 280v), as a village recorded again in 1589 (ASK O I, 7, f. 796).

<sup>49</sup> PSB, vol. 2, p. 301; Genealogia, table 124.

<sup>50</sup> Tax register from 1576, ASK O I, 9, ff. 157, 157v, 164, 179–179v.

<sup>51</sup> Tax register from 1581, P. Małopolska, p. 256; estates in later years: ASK O I, 8, f. 811v, y. 1581; ASK O I, 7, f. 835, y. 1589.

<sup>52</sup> According to the register from 1576, the tax from this village complex was paid by 'dominus Ciołek'. This 'dominus Ciołek' paid, according to the aforementioned register, the tax from two royal villages in Stężyca district, namely: Krępa and Pogorzelec (ASK O I, 9, f. 201). In 1551 these villages were leased to Andrzej Ciołek of Żelechów and his son Stanisław (MRPS V, no. 5384; MK 80, ff. 68v–69). Krępa and Pogorzelec were leased to S. Gostomski the voivode of Rawa in 1591 (K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform*, annex, p. 217), so we identify the owner of the villages listed in the text with Stanisław Ciołek Żelechowski. After his father's death, Walenty Dembiński, the future castellan of Cracow and the Great Chancellor of

Walenty Dembiński, the castellan of Cracow,<sup>53</sup> had only 6.5 village in Sandomierz Voivodeship in 1570s, but in total it was 113 fiefs. These were: Czarnków, Czarnków Mały, and a part of Żukowice<sup>54</sup> in Wiślica district, and in Pilzno district: Błędowa, Niechnobrz, Zgłobień and Zgłobień Nowy.<sup>55</sup>

The estates of Andrzej Drzewicki<sup>56</sup> in Opoczno district consisted of villages: Dąbrówka, Drzewica, Jedlna and Żelazowice.<sup>57</sup> In Radom district he owned: Bieliny, Drogowa, Klonowa, Przysiałowice, and Wola Więcierzowa,<sup>58</sup> together: 59 serf lans.

Andrzej Firlej, the castellan of Lublin,<sup>59</sup> owned 12 settlements in Radom district. In total they made 40.5 fiefs. These were: Janowiec (Serokomla) town, and the villages: Babin, Gniazdówek, Janowice, Łągów, Łaguszów, Mszadła, Oblasy, Przyłek, Rudki, Zamoście and Kijanka.<sup>60</sup>

Mikołaj Przedbor Koniecpolski, the castellan of Rozprza,<sup>61</sup> owned 43.25 serf lan in total in the suburbs of Przecław and in 12 villages (Dobrków, Gołęczyzna, Jaworze Przedbor, Krownice, Łabuzie, Męciszów, Mokrzec, Parkosz, Podole, Połomia, Pustków and Złotora).<sup>62</sup> Perhaps he also owned Dolcza Mała and Ruda, which were described as belonging 'ad Przecław' in the registers from 1576–1577,<sup>63</sup> and in 1581 the castellan of Biecz paid for them.<sup>64</sup>

The estates of Mikołaj Kłoczowski, the scribe of Stężycza,<sup>65</sup> situated in Stężycza land comprised seven villages, in which there was 62.5 of serf lan: Grabowce, Kobylnica, Lipiny, Strych, Tyrzyn, Ulęże, Zawitała and probably also the town Drażgów.<sup>66</sup>

Jan Oleśnicki from Pińczów<sup>67</sup> owned the town of Chmielnik, part of the town Pińczów,<sup>68</sup> in Wiślica district: Szczepiec, Brzeście, Zrzecze Wielkie, Łagiewniki and Jesień,<sup>69</sup> and probably also Oleśnica town; in Radom district: Wola Bąkowa, Łaziska, Krępa, Jawor and Wierzchowiska,<sup>70</sup> and in Chęciny district: Nieznanowice, Węgleszyn, Rębiechowa, Wola Wiśniowa and Zambrzeg;<sup>71</sup> together 75 serf lans in 15 villages.

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the Crown, became the protector of Andrzej's underage children (between 1553 and 1563). Stanisław Ciołek Żelechowski's sister Anna later married the chancellor's son Stanisław Dembiński, the starosta of Chęciny (A. Tomczak, *Walenty Dembiński, kanclerz egzekucji, ok. 1504–1584*, Toruń 1963, p. 147). This would explain the title 'dominus' given to Ciołek by the author of the register. Ciołek's estates were determined on the basis of ASK O I, 9, ff. 204v, 205, 215v. In the beginning of the seventeenth century parts of these estates, Wilczyska among others, became property of Jan Gostomski of Leżenice, son of Hieronim, the voivode of Inowrocław, and then of Kalisz, married to Zofia Firlej; PSB, vol. 8, pp. 366 f.; Boniecki, vol. 6, p. 347).

<sup>53</sup> About him A. Tomczak, *Walenty Dembiński*.

<sup>54</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 213; ASK O I, 9, y. 1576, ff. 103–103v; y. 1577 ibidem, f. 243v; these estates were described by the office of the owner, the castellan of Cracow.

<sup>55</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 253, y. 1581. The author of the monograph on Walenty Dembiński does not list these estates (A. Tomczak, *Walenty Dembiński*, p. 163). After Walenty Dembiński's death the tax from his estates in Pilzno district was paid in 1589 by 'Anna de Sieniawa Cast. Crac.', who was the wife of Wawrzyniec Spytek Jordan, the castellan of Cracow (Geneaologia, table 129), these estates were: Błędowa, Zgłobień, Nockowa (part), and Wiśniowa (ASK O I, 7, f. 845v).

<sup>56</sup> Andrzej Drzewicki, Ciołek coat of arms, son of Adam the castellan of Małogoszcz, then of Radom, the nephew of the archbishop of Gniezno Maciej, since 1569 the leaseholder of the vogt's of Opoczno; Boniecki, vol. 5, pp. 55 f.

<sup>57</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 282, 283, 288.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem pp. 312, 313, 316.

<sup>59</sup> Son of the voivode of Ruthenia Piotr Firlej, who in 1537 founded Janowiec town (Serokomla) in his estates, the castellan of Lublin since 1576; PSB, vol. 6, p. 474 f., 7, p. 16; Boniecki, vol. 5, p. 289; J. K. Kochanowski, *Firleje*, [in:] idem, *Szkice i drobiazgi historyczne*, Warsaw 1904, p. 97.

<sup>60</sup> The register from 1569 lists these villages, except for Kijanka, without owner's name (P. Małopolska, pp. 305, 319, 329), and Andrzej Firlej is listed in the register from 1576 (AKS I 8, ff. 480, 513); Kijanka appears as his property in the document of the division of the estates of the family Firlej from 1557 (MK 89, ff. 262v–263v).

<sup>61</sup> Geneaologia, table 138.

<sup>62</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 243, 248, 252 (y. 1581); ASK O I, 9, ff. 152, 163, 172.

<sup>63</sup> ASK O I, 9, ff. 161, 163, 296, 297v.

<sup>64</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 247, 248.

<sup>65</sup> Brother of the castellan of Zawichost Piotr (PSB, vol. 13, pp. 52 f.), the land scribe of Stężycza (y. 1570), married to the daughter of Anzelm Gostomski (y. 1580), Boniecki, vol. 6, p. 345; vol. 10, p. 161.

<sup>66</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 332; tax register from 1576, ASK O I, 9, ff. 200v, 202, 212, 213, 225. The visitation of Stężycza deanery in 1598 states that the church in Drażgów was defiled by Mikołaj Kłoczowski, AV Cap. 14, f. 309.

<sup>67</sup> Geneaologia, table 107.

<sup>68</sup> ASK O I, 9, y. 1577, ff. 346 f.: 'Joannes Olesniczki de Pinczow'.

<sup>69</sup> ASK O I, y. 1577, ff. 114, 114v, 118, 118v, 256v, 260; P. Małopolska, y. 1579, pp. 220, 222.

<sup>70</sup> P. Małopolska, y. 1569, p. 305; ASK I, 8, y. 1576, ff. 477v, 479v.

<sup>71</sup> ASK O I, 9, ff. 346–347.

The estates of Mikołaj Ligęza, the castellan of Zawichost in the 1570s, and then of Wiślica,<sup>72</sup> situated within the boundaries of Wiślica and Pilzno district, consisted at that time of 14 villages and 107.5 serf lans. In Wiślica district he owned the following villages: Borek, Czyżów, Gorzyce, Janikowice, Mikołajów (or Jadamierz), Otwinów and Wielopole,<sup>73</sup> at the end of the sixteenth century his holdings grew significantly, both due to the purchase of neighbouring villages (Dymlin, Mnichowice, Przybysławice and a part of Siedliszowice), as well as due to the location of new villages – Dąbrówka and Bucze.<sup>74</sup> Also in Pilzno district, apart from the villages Brnik, Dąbrowa Wielka, Nieczajna, Wola Dąbrowska, Radgoszcza, Wola Szarwark and Żdżary, did M. Ligęza own toward the end of the 1570s a newly-located village Wola Ligęzów.<sup>75</sup>

The holdings of Hieronim Mielecki, the starosta of Brześć Kujawski, and then of Sandomierz,<sup>76</sup> encompassed in Sandomierz Voivodeship estates inherited from his father Sebastian, the castellan of Wiślica, the brother of Jan the voivode of Podole.<sup>77</sup> Major part of these estates, situated in Sandomierz district, consisted of a part of the town of Mielec,<sup>78</sup> and the villages: Łubnica, Markowa Wola (Pogwizdów), Wojśław, Złotniki,<sup>79</sup> and certainly also Trzęsówka,<sup>80</sup> and Cmolos and Zarudzie;<sup>81</sup> in the 1580s Hieronim Mielecki located in this key the villages Trzeźnik, and probably Kosów as well,<sup>82</sup> and the village Trzcianka (Trzciana), which fell to Walerian Mielecki in the division of 1548, was listed in 1578 among the properties of Hieronim Mielecki, but in the next year, and 10 years later, the tax was paid by the heirs of Jan Mielecki, and finally in 1591 it belonged to the family Turski.<sup>83</sup>

In Pilzno district, Hieronim Mielecki owned two villages: Ostrów and Skrzyszów,<sup>84</sup> and Okunin – for which he paid tax in 1579 and 1581,<sup>85</sup> was leased by him, as it belonged to the Cistercian monastery in Koprzywnica.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Since 1561 the castellan of Czechów (W. Pałucki, *Kasztelania czechowska*, Warsaw 1964, p. 31, footnote 86), in 1566 obtained the castellany of Zawichost, in 1576 chosen the castellan of Radom by the nobility, but was not confirmed, in 1577 became the castellan of Wiślica, died in 1603; PSB, vol. 17, p. 318. His estates in tax registers appear without owner's name, he is identified by his office – first the castellan of Zawichost, then of Wiślica.

<sup>73</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 233 f.

<sup>74</sup> Dymlin in 1581 still belonged to the family Pacanowski (ASK O I, 9, f. 679), Przybysławice – to Mniszewska (ibidem, f. 682), Siedliszewice – to the family Otwinowski (ibidem, k. 680), Dąbrówka and Bucze, described as 'noviter loc.' appear in 1591 (ASK O I, 7, f. 693).

<sup>75</sup> P. Małopolska, y. 1576, ASK O I, 9, ff. 186v ff.; y. 1579, Wola Ligęzów 'noviter loc.' ASK O I, 51, f. 964.

<sup>76</sup> Geneaologia, table 128; PSB, vol. 20, f. 754 f.; K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 6, p. 395.

<sup>77</sup> The document of the division of the estates from 1548, MRPS V, no. 85; see also earlier documents of these estates: MRPS IV, no. 5386, y. 1528, no. 5700, y. 1529, no. 5403, y. 1530, no. 16665, y. 1532. We do not include smaller parts of the estates, belonging to his uncles and cousins: Mikołaj Mielecki son of Jan, and Jan Mielecki, probably son of Walerian, because the majority of their property, according to the document of division from 1548, was situated in Cracow Voivodeship, and in Kołomyja district.

<sup>78</sup> ASK O I, 10, f. 898, y. 1579: 'oppidum m. dominorum Hieronimi Mielecki et successorum m. domini Nicolai Mielecki palatini Podoliae, una cum successoribus gen. d. Joannis Mielecki'.

<sup>79</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 202.

<sup>80</sup> This village, listed among hereditary villages of the family Mielecki in 1548 (see footnote 204), and in the document of the separation of royale estates from the estates of Stanisław Mielecki from 1528 (Archive of the Princes Sanguszkos, no. 178, p. 210), in the 1589 register, was described – probably incorrectly – as 'regalis' (ASK O I, 51, f. 875); Hieronim Mielecki paid tax from this village in 1578, 1579, 1591; P. Małopolska, p. 202; ASK O I, 10, f. 843; ASK O I, 51, f. 769.

<sup>81</sup> Cmolos and Rudnik forest (Zarudzie) were given to Sebastian Mielecki, Hieronim's father, as a result of the division of the heirloom in 1548 (MRPS V, no. 85); according to registers from 1578, 1589 and 1591, these villages belonged to Hieronim Mielecki (P. Małopolska, p. 202; ASK O I, 51, ff. 874, 875; ibidem, ff. 768, 769); and in 1579 the tax was paid by Andrzej Leszczyński (ASK O I, 10, f. 843v).

<sup>82</sup> Kosów and Trzeźnik do not appear in registers from 1570s. In 1589 (ASK O I, 51, f. 875) they were listed as property of Hieronim Mielecki, and the latter was described as 'noviter locata'; as property of Mielecki they were listed next in 1591 (ibidem, f. 769).

<sup>83</sup> MRPS V, no. 85; P. Małopolska, p. 202; ASK O I, 10, f. 842v; ibidem, f. 712.

<sup>84</sup> In 1581, P. Małopolska, p. 251; in 1579, ASK I, 51, f. 956.

<sup>85</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 251; ASK O I, 51, f. 954v.

<sup>86</sup> Długosz LB, III, 388; ASK O I, 8, ff. 789 ff.; P. Małopolska, p. 251 (text compared with the original, this information was omitted by the publisher); in 1576 'Pani Krakowska' paid for this village (ASK O I, 9, f. 172), that is the mother of Hieronim Mielecki, Zofia from the family Kościelecki, the wife of the castellan of Cracow, Sebastian; Geneaologia, table 128.

For the 1570s it is difficult to determine, which estates in Sandomierz Voivodeship belonged to Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski,<sup>87</sup> mainly because of the argument about Tarnów estates, reaching that period. The argument began in 1567, after Jan Krzysztof Tarnowski, the castellan of Wojnicz, died and his fortune was inherited by his sister Zofia, who died in 1570. She bequeathed her holdings to her husband – Duke Ostrogski. However, Zofia's close relatives: Stanisław Spytek Tarnowski the castellan of Sandomierz, who died in 1568, and his son Stanisław Tarnowski, since 1569 the castellan of Czechów, also claimed their rights to the estates. The latter took Tarnów and its vicinity by force in April 1570, right before Zofia's death. Yet, already on 18 July the Sejm court ordered him to return the appropriated lands and cover the damages inflicted during his foray.<sup>88</sup>

When analyzing the holdings of Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, we were basing on the estates listed in Pilzno district in 1581. We found that of 47 villages listed in this year as belonging to Ostrogski,<sup>89</sup> the tax for 17 villages was paid in 1576 by the voivode of Sandomierz, these were: Borowa, Czarna, Dąbrówka, Dąbie, Jażwiny, Jastrząbka, Korzeniów, Mokre, Nagosin, Przeroty Bór, Róża, Wiewórka, Wolica, Wola Żędzińska, Żdżar, Żdżarzec and Zaszów;<sup>90</sup> Ostrogski and Jan Tarła, the voivode of Lublin,<sup>91</sup> together owned five villages: Łysa Góra (Lisia Góra), Luszowice, Krzyż, Powężów and Śmigłowa Wola. The provost of Tarnów Marcin Liczko paid for three villages: Mikołajowice, Ostrów, Sirachowice (Szwoszowice).<sup>92</sup> We suppose he was Ostrogski's leaseholder, because as such he appeared in 1577, when he paid for Gosławice.<sup>93</sup> In the 1570s Ostrogski was the sole possessor of the following estates in Pilzno district: the suburbs of Klikowa, Grabówka, Gumniska, Łękawka, Łękawica, Nowodworze, Podgrodzie, Pogwizdów, Poręba, Skrzyszów, Szywałd, Trzemeszna, Tarnowiec, Wola Pogórska, Wierzchosławice, Wola Lisiogórska, Wolica, Zalasowa, Zabłocie, Żędzin, Zawada, Zgłobice and the city of Tarnów.<sup>94</sup> The 1589 register also mentions Wola Tarnowska (in the 1581 register without owner's name) and Żukowice.<sup>95</sup>

In Sandomierz district, of 19 villages described in 1578 as Ostrogski's property,<sup>96</sup> the village Glinka became in 1591 the property of Piotr Czajka,<sup>97</sup> and in 1576 Krzczonowice were owned together by Ostrogski and Piotr Czajka.<sup>98</sup> In Sandomierz district Ostrogski owned: Biskupice, Bukowiany, Czerwona Góra, Grodziec, Jasków, Jurkowiec, Jałowasy, Podgrodzie, Przepaść, Ruskowice, Stoki, Tudorów, Wojnowice and Wola Jaskowska. The towns: Ćmielów and Opatów belonged at the end of the sixteenth century to Janusz Ostrogski, Konstanty's son, and to Mikołaj Buczacki.<sup>99</sup>

It was relatively easy to distinguish the estates belonging to the two noblemen called Stanisław Tarnowski who lived at the time. One of them, son of Stanisław Spytek, since 1569 the castellan of Czechów, since 1576 the castellan of Radom, and since 1582 the castellan of Sandomierz, who died in 1618, in the 1570s owned the estates situated in the districts of Sandomierz and Wiślica; the other, son of Wojciech (cousin of the aforementioned Stanisław Spytek), died in 1586/1587 and was married to Zofia from the family Mielecki.<sup>100</sup> His estates, together with Rzemień castle, were situated in Pilzno district. The registers usually give the castellan title of the first Stanisław mentioned, or call him only by his dignity. However, it was not entirely possible to separate the property of the other Stanisław

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<sup>87</sup> Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, son of Konstanty, the Great Hetman of Lithuania, the voivode of Kijów, died in 1608; *Genealogia*, table 165; PSB, vol. 24, pp. 489–495.

<sup>88</sup> J. Pirożyński, *Dzieje jednego zajazdu. Wojna o dobra tarnowskie między ks. Konstantym Ostrogskim a Stanisławem Tarnowskim w 1570 r.*, *OiRwP*, vol. 7, 1962, pp. 102–106; see also W. Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego, wiek XIV–XV*, Warsaw 1971, pp. 295 f.

<sup>89</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 247, 248, 258, 261, 262–264.

<sup>90</sup> ASK O I, 9, ff. 161–162, 163v, 182v–183. At the time Jan Kostka was the voivode of Sandomierz, he died in 1581, he was the second husband of Zofia from the family Odrowąż, formerly the wife of Jan Krzysztof Tarnowski, the castellan of Wojnicz; Zofia died in 1580, and several years after the death of her first husband she kept some of his estates; W. Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, pp. 295 f.

<sup>91</sup> ASK O I, 9, ff. 183, 188–188v.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 190–190v, 193.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 322.

<sup>94</sup> See footnote 89.

<sup>95</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 258; ASK O I, 7, f. 866.

<sup>96</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 179, 182, 184, 186–189, 196.

<sup>97</sup> ASK O I, 51, f. 734v.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 814.

<sup>99</sup> AV Cap. 1, ff. 482 f.

<sup>100</sup> *Genealogia*, table 95.

from the estates of other members of this line, sometimes called Rzemieński, mainly from the estates of his brother Marcin.<sup>101</sup> The constituted a part of the estates belonging to his grandfather, also Stanisław Tarnowski, the castellan of Sącz.<sup>102</sup> Having compared this list against the information on income from 1576–1579, and then with a list of villages, for which Stanisław Tarnowski son of Wojciech paid tax in 1581, and those for which his widow paid in 1589,<sup>103</sup> it should be concluded that in the 1570s they owned the following villages: Biały Bór, Kiełków, Kolbuszowa, Kościelów, Myślików, Niwiska, Odsieka, Rzemień, Świerczów, Trześnia, Tuszynia, Wola Ociecka, Wyrzynia, castle Rzemień, castle ironworks (in 1582: ‘dicta Lubelczik’, in 1589 – ‘Vach’) and Żochów town (Rzochów). According to Stanisław Tarnowski’s will from 1585, after his wife’s death these estates went to her brother, Hieronim Mielecki.<sup>104</sup>

Stanisław Tarnowski, son of Stanisław Spytek, paid taxes – in 1576 as the castellan of Czechów and in 1578 as the castellan of Radom – from the following villages situated in Sandomierz district: Tursko Małe, Luszyca, Rudnik, Okrągła, Ostrów, Zawada (Ruda?) in Połaniec parish, Dzików in Michocin parish, Zdaków, Krzemienica, part of Kliszów, Wola Kliszowska and Borków in Gałuszowice parish, Wielawieś, Zakrzów, Siedlce in Wielawieś parish, Trześnia in Trześnia parish, and part of Jaślany in Jaślany parish.<sup>105</sup> The majority of the village Jaślany belonged to the king.<sup>106</sup> The tax from the village Dziewiątle (in Połaniec or Gałuszowice parish), which in 1576 was listed as a property of the castellan of Czechów, i.e. Tarnowski, was paid two years later by the castellan of Sandomierz, Stanisław Szafraniec at the time. Undoubtedly, due to the marriage of his daughter with Jan Tarło, the voivode of Lublin, this village belonged to the heirs of the voivode in the 1580s.<sup>107</sup> Already in 1579 Tarło paid tax also from parts of Kliszów, Wola Kliszowska and Borki.<sup>108</sup> It could be said that at the same time the voivode obtained other estates, previously belonging to S. Tarnowski, namely: Kęblów, Luszyca, Okrągła, Ostrów, Rudniki, Tursko, Zawada, Zdaków with Krzemienica, and parts of Jaślany, for which the taxes were paid in 1589 and 1591 by the successors of Jan Tarło.<sup>109</sup> The castellan Stanisław Tarnowski kept the following villages in Sandomierz district: Dzików, Siedlec, Trześnia, Wielawieś and Zakrzów,<sup>110</sup> to which he added in the 1580s Wsześwięte and Andrzejów (in 1578 listed as property of the voivode of Cracow Piotr Zborowski) and parcels in Kaimów, Machów and Michocin.<sup>111</sup>

In the 1570s the castellan Tarnowski owned the following villages in Wiślica district: Młodzawy, Ocioseki, Zagajówek and Zakrzów, which he sold in 1580 to the bishop of Cracow Piotr Myszkowski; later they went to the bishop’s nephew, Zygmunt Myszkowski, the starosta of Piotrków.<sup>112</sup>

The estates situated in Sandomierz district, described in 1576–1578 as holdings of Mikołaj Radziwiłł Sierotka, the Duke of Ołyka,<sup>113</sup> encompassed the following villages or parts of villages: Bogusławice, Częstocice, Garbacz, Goździelin (part), Manina (part), Niemienice, Szczucice (part), Śniatkowa Wola, Stryczowice, Wodziradz (part), Worowice (part),<sup>114</sup> and the towns: Szydłowiec, Ćmielów and Opatów.<sup>115</sup> These estates went

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<sup>101</sup> ASK O I, 9, ff. 174v, 175 (y. 1576), ff. 281 ff. (y. 1577).

<sup>102</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 502–504, y. 1527–1530.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem, pp. 254, 255; ASK O I, 7, ff. 847, 847v, 848v, 851; the visitation of Pilzno deanery from 1595, f. 55.

<sup>104</sup> MK 131, ff. 127v–137v; PSB, vol. 20, p. 755.

<sup>105</sup> Year 1576, ASK O I, 51, ff. 787, 787v, 830, 830v, 833v; y. 1578, P. Małopolska, pp. 169, 170, 197, 200, 201, 203.

<sup>106</sup> LS 1564/1565, pp. 108 f.

<sup>107</sup> Year 1576, ASK O I, 51, f. 787; y. 1578, P. Małopolska, p. 170; y. 1591, ASK O I, 51, f. 714v.

<sup>108</sup> ASK O I, 10, f. 838.

<sup>109</sup> Year 1589, ASK O I, 51, f. 870v; y. 1591, ibidem, ff. 713, 714.

<sup>110</sup> Year 1579, ASK O I, 10, ff. 832, 833, 845; y. 1589, ASK O I, 51, ff. 863, 865 (Dzików ‘villa igne combusta’, without owner’s name), 877, 877v; y. 1591, ibidem, f. 771v.

<sup>111</sup> Michocin, Kaimów, Machów: y. 1589, ASK O I, 51, f. 864v; Wsześwięte, Andrzejów, y. 1578: P. Małopolska, pp. 183, 185; y. 1589, ASK O I, 51, f. 860.

<sup>112</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 218, 222. The document of purchase recorded in gord court books of Sieradz in 1580: *Codex Myszkovianus ordinationis diplomatics*, comp. G. Labuda, Chroberz 1940, TS in the Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS, Cracow, no. 5637, p. 183, no. 70; cf. A. Skalkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1947, p. 189; in 1589 Zygmunt Myszkowski paid for these estates, ASK O I, 7, ff. 726v, 741, 741v, 743.

<sup>113</sup> Genealogia, table 163.

<sup>114</sup> Year 1576, ASK O I, 51, ff. 806v, 807v, 808, 811v, 812v; y. 1577, ASK O I, 7, ff. 563, 563v, 565, 570v, 571, 571v; y. 1578, P. Małopolska, pp. 184 f., 187; M. Radziwiłł also held Gojców, the property of the mansionaries by the chapter of Sandomierz; ibidem, p. 179.

<sup>115</sup> Ćmielów and Opatów next became property of Mikołaj Buczacki, the subcamerarius of Kamieniec and duke Janusz Ostrogski, AV Cap. 1, f. 482; Szydłowiec remain the property of Mikołaj Sierotka, AV Cap. 14, f. 282.

partly to Mikołaj Buczacki, the subcamerarius of Kamieniec,<sup>116</sup> probably as a result of the settlement of the dowry of Mikołaj Sierotka's sister, who married Buczacki<sup>117</sup> in 1570, and partly to Duke Janusz Ostrogski.<sup>118</sup>

Wojciech Padniewski, the starosta of Dybów, inherited – among other estates – Szaniec in Wiślica district<sup>119</sup> after his uncle Filip Padniewski the Bishop of Cracow died in 1572. This estate consisted of the following villages: Kozina, Mikułowice, Młyny, Skarbisławice, Skorzów, Sławkowice, Szaniec, Uników, Zbrodziejce<sup>120</sup> and Galów. The tax from the latter was paid in 1579 by Marcin Padniewski's wife, Ewa from the family Czarnkowski.<sup>121</sup> Odrowąż Wielki in Opoczno district was only Padniewski's leaseholding,<sup>122</sup> similarly: in Chęciny district he leased Piękoszewo village.<sup>123</sup> Altogether, his property comprised of 10 settlements and 43 serf lans.

The holdings of Samborzecka<sup>124</sup> in Stężyca district consisted of one town and seven villages and occupied the area of 62.5 serf lan. She owned: Okrzeja town,<sup>125</sup> and the villages Branka, Gozd, Grabowa, Jagodne, Sokola (Sokolnia), Wola Okrzejska and Zwadnik.<sup>126</sup>

Jan Sienieński, the castellan of Żarnów,<sup>127</sup> owned two towns and 11 villages in Wiślica district in 1570s; these were the towns Raków (earlier: Pągowiec village) and Dębno, and the villages Bardo, Grabowa, Grzybów, Łyczba, Lipiny, Przeczów Stary, Krzywołęcz, Siedlec, Soboszków and Zalesiany, and also Wrębów,<sup>128</sup> where Sienieński's heirs<sup>129</sup> founded a town in the second half of the sixteenth century or at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1581 he owned also the village Podlesie.<sup>130</sup>

The estates of Jan Słupecki<sup>131</sup> in Sandomierz district could be reconstructed on the basis of the tax registers from 1577–1578. The estates consisted of the villages: Nieciecza, Mściów, Konary, Mała Wieś, Rzeczyca, Słupca, Szczytniki, Wola Konarska, Wola Nowa and parts of the villages Czernin and Kamień (parts of these villages belonged to the monastery of the Cistercians from Wąchock), in total: nine villages and two parts of villages.<sup>132</sup>

Vast estates of Stanisław Szafraniec, the castellan of Biecz, and later of Sandomierz, finally: the voivode of Sandomierz,<sup>133</sup> were situated in three districts of our voivodeship in the 1570s. In Chęciny

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<sup>116</sup> Year 1589, ASK O I, 51, f. 857 (Szczucice); y. 1591, ibidem, f. 734v (Niemienice, Śniatkowa Wola, Stryczowice, Worowice, Manina), f. 737 (Garbacz); in 1592 'Mikołaj Buczacki de Tworow, succ. kam., Janussius Ostroziensis alternatim' paid tithe as the owners of a part of Manina, AV Cap. 1, f. 480.

<sup>117</sup> Genealogia, tables 160, 163.

<sup>118</sup> See footnotes 115, 116.

<sup>119</sup> A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów a ruch egzekucyjny*, part 1: *Geneza egzekucji dóbr*, Wrocław 1974, p. 220; PSB, vol. 25, pp. 7 f.

<sup>120</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 222 f.

<sup>121</sup> Year 1579, ibidem, p. 223; y. 1591, ASK O I, 7, f. 660; Genealogia, table 106.

<sup>122</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 286.

<sup>123</sup> ASK O I, 9, f. 349v.

<sup>124</sup> This certainly was the widow of Mikołaj Samborzecki, the wojski of Lublin, who died in 1566. She was the mother of Paweł Samborzecki; SGKP, vol. 7, p. 436; W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniem urzędników ziemskich w Koronie do schyłku XVI w.*, Warsaw 1962, pp. 183 f.

<sup>125</sup> Okrzeja, a town which belonged to Mikołaj Samborzecki in the middle of the sixteenth century, next became property of his son Paweł, the visitation of Stężyca deanery from 1598, AV Cap. 14, f. 306: 'Paulus Samborecki'. So Samborzecka paid tax from Okrzeja estates on behalf of her son.

<sup>126</sup> Year 1569; P. Małopolska, p. 333; y. 1576, ASK O I, 9, ff. 208v, 209, 223v.

<sup>127</sup> The castellan of Żarnów, y. 1568, died in 1583; I. Kaniewska, *Małopolska reprezentacja sejmowa za czasów Zygmunta Augusta, 1548–1572*, Warsaw 1974, table 13, no. 53.

<sup>128</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 224–226, 229; these villages were described as property of the castellan of Żarnów, without specifying the owner's name.

<sup>129</sup> *Miasta polskie*, vol. I, pp. 535 f.

<sup>130</sup> Year 1581, ASK O I, 9, f. 658v.

<sup>131</sup> Jan Słupecki, son of the castellan of Połaniec Zbigniew and his wife Barbara from the family Firlej, father of Samuel and Jan; S. Kot, *Słupeccy w ruchu reformacyjnym*, „Reformacja w Polsce”, 1926, p. 181; Genealogia, table 126; Stanisław Słupecki, the castellan of Lublin, was his uncle.

<sup>132</sup> Year 1577, ASK O I, 7, ff. 521, 521v, 522, 543, 544, 547v; y. 1578, P. Małopolska, pp. 165, 174–176. Jan Słupecki died in 1578/1579, because already in 1579 Słupca estates were in the hands of his heirs, similarly in 1589 (ASK O I, 51, ff. 840, 840v) and in 1591 (ibidem., ff. 704, 704v, 705, 725v, 726).

<sup>133</sup> Son of Piotr and Agnieszka from the family Sienieński, since 1569 the castellan of Biecz, since 1576 the castellan of Sandomierz, in 1581–1587 the voivode of Sandomierz, 1589 the wojski of Cracow, married to Anna Dembińska, father of Agnieszka the wife of Jan Tarło, who was the voivode of Lublin; Genealogia, table 108; H. Kowalska, *Stanisław Szafraniec z Pieskowej Skwały*, OiRwP, vol. 3, 1958, pp. 99–131; W. Pałucki, *Studia nad uposażeniem*, p. 181.

district he owned Bałków, Bichniów, Gruszów, Krasocin, Lasocin, Mieczyn, Krzepin, Nawsie (Secemin suburbs), Olesno, Sulików (Sulków), Zwleczka and Secemin town;<sup>134</sup> in Wiślica district – Chrostowice, Gruszów, Kęsów, Kobiela, Oleszno, Rogów, Smogorzew, Smarszów, Wyszogród<sup>135</sup> (this key of property went to Mikołaj Firlej, the voivode of Cracow, in the 1580s<sup>136</sup>); in Sandomierz district Szafraniec temporarily owned Dziewiątle, which formerly belonged to castellan Stanisław Tarnowski, and later to Jan Tarło.<sup>137</sup>

Jan Tarło the voivode of Lublin<sup>138</sup> owned in the 1570s the following estates: in Pilzno district – Ilkowice, Jaworze, Gumniska, Laskówka, Rosławice, Rudno, parts of Kobierzyn and Latoszyn; together with Duke Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski he paid tax from the following villages: Krzyż, Luszowice, Łysagóra, Powezów and Śmigłowa Wola.<sup>139</sup> In Wiślica district Tarło held Krępace and a part of the village Ciuślice,<sup>140</sup> in Stężyca district – Dęblin and Wola Mierzęcza.<sup>141</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century the estates in Pilzno district were kept by the voivode's widow – Agnieszka Tarłowa, who also paid from three other villages: Łąka, Chorążec and Brnik,<sup>142</sup> and the villages in Wiślica district belonged to Jan Ocieski, the starosta of Olsztyn.<sup>143</sup>

Piotr Zborowski, the voivode of Sandomierz, and then of Cracow,<sup>144</sup> owned estates in three districts of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the 1570s: in Wiślica district he owned Boszowice, Czyżów, Kępie, Klępice Górne, Pieczenięgi, Prusy, Smogorzew, Skrobaczów, Strzelce, Sufczyce, Wola Sucha, Wola and Zdziesławice, and parts in the villages: Sroczków and Topola;<sup>145</sup> in Sandomierz district – Andrzejów, Grocholice, Ostrów, Wola Grodzka, Wsześwięte and Żórawniki.<sup>146</sup> His wife probably owned (because 'generosa Zborowska' appeared there as a taxpayer) estates in Sandomierz district, which in 1578 consisted of the following villages: Dziewiątle (Gryzikamień or Ujazd parish), Gryzikamień, Grzybów, Łopatno Wielkie, Mydlów, Żaliwdów and parts of Ujazd and Krępa.<sup>147</sup> In Stężyca district Zborowski owned parts of Zakalów, Bodzynowice and Białobrzegi, which still in 1569 belonged to the family Zerzyński.<sup>148</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century his estates came under the ownership of Stanisław Tarnowski, Elżbieta of Wzdów (widow of Jędrzej Niedrzwicki, the castellan of Połaniec<sup>149</sup>), and Zofia of Wzdów (wife and later widow of Krzysztof Lanckoroński, the castellan of Radom<sup>150</sup>).

Andrzej Leszczyński, the future voivode of Brześć Kujawski (since 1591), became the owner of Baranów estates already in the 1570s, even if the formal partition of property was conducted in 1600.<sup>151</sup> These holdings were bought in 1568 by Andrzej's father, Rafał Leszczyński, the castellan of Śrem, and one of the wealthiest magnates in Greater Poland, from Stanisław Górka.<sup>152</sup> According to the document of purchase, the estates consisted of 10 settlements, of which the 1578 register mentions seven as belonging to Andrzej Leszczyński, namely: Baranów, Dymitrów, Gołego Wola, Przewóz, Skopanie, Suchorzów, Wojków, in total 61.25 inhabited serf lans, two deserted lans and two lans of the sołtys.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 274, 276, y. 1573, describes these villages as property of the castellan of Biecz, without specifying the name of the owner.

<sup>135</sup> Ibidem, p. 214, y. 1579.

<sup>136</sup> ASK O I, 7, ff. 633–634v.

<sup>137</sup> See footnote 107.

<sup>138</sup> Since 1563 the castellan of Małogoszcz, since 1565 of Radom, since 1574 the voivode of Lublin (married for the first time to Dorota Gostomska of Leżenice, who died in 1565, married for the second time with Agnieszka Szafraniec, who died in 1601), died in 1587; Genealogia, table 131.

<sup>139</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 242 f., 247, 250, 258 f., 261.

<sup>140</sup> Ibidem, p. 222.

<sup>141</sup> Ibidem, p. 331.

<sup>142</sup> Year 1589, ASK O I, 7, ff. 829, 858v, 861v, 865v, 866v.

<sup>143</sup> Year 1591, ibidem, f. 652.

<sup>144</sup> The voivode of Sandomierz since 1568, of Cracow since 1574, died in 1581; Genealogia, table 133.

<sup>145</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 223–224, 231.

<sup>146</sup> Ibidem, pp. 180, 183–185, 188.

<sup>147</sup> Ibidem, pp. 175, 176, 178; r. 1577, ASK O I, 7, ff. 545v, 546, 551–552 list other villages belonging to her: Wygietzów, Wirzba (Wierzbka), Kujawki, Wola Bochotnicka and Boduszów.

<sup>148</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 333.

<sup>149</sup> Year 1579, Żórawniki, ASK O I, 10, f. 866v.

<sup>150</sup> ASK O I, 7, f. 671v, y. 1591.

<sup>151</sup> PSB, vol. 17, pp. 101–103.

<sup>152</sup> Ibidem, p. 134; MRPS V, no. 10328.

<sup>153</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 198, 200.

The remaining three villages were Koło, from which the tax in 1578 was paid by Eustachy Dzik,<sup>154</sup> and Otoka and Wola (Wolica Dymitrowska), already in 1565 described as deserted.<sup>155</sup> The fields of these villages probably belonged to Baranów demesnes, as suggested by the fact that they were not included in the 1578 lan tax collection.<sup>156</sup>

Finally, we should mention the estates bought by Stanisław Wolski, the castellan of Rawa and the starosta of Krzepice, from Olbracht Łaski in 1565. These were 11 villages in Wiślica district (Budziska, Czarzyzna, Góra, Grabowa, Liczba, Łubnice, Orzelec Mały and Orzelec Wielki, Przeczów Stary, Stara Wieś, Zrębin) and two villages in Sandomierz district (Otałęż, Wola Otałęska). However, the estates were then held by Jan and Andrzej Tęczyński ‘modo obligatorio’.<sup>157</sup> In 1576–1581 the tax registers stated that the majority of these villages in Wiślica district (Czarzyzna, Góra, Łubnice, Orzelec Mały and Orzelec Wielki, Zrębin) was owned by Mikołaj Wolski, the starosta of Krzepice and son of Stanisław Wolski, and three villages (Grabowa, Liczba, Stary Przeczów) by the castellan of Żarnów – Jan Sieniński.<sup>158</sup> Otałęż and Wola Otałęska were, on the other hand, listed in 1578 without owner’s name.<sup>159</sup> In 1589 these villages in Wiślica district (except for one) belonged to the castellan of Wojnicz, so – Jan Tęczyński, we do not know, whether this was a lease on the grounds of the ‘old sums’, or a property; only Zrębin belonged to Stanisław Ciołek.<sup>160</sup> In this case we included Grabowa, Liczba, and Stary Przeczów in the 1570s in the estates belonging to Jan Sieniński, and the remaining Wolski’s villages were not counted among larger complexes of property.

**Table 1. Landed property in the 1570s**

District	Landed property area in %				
	royal	Church	larger complexes of Church estates	nobility and magnates	larger complexes of nobility and magnate estates
Sandomierz	30.2	21.0	20.8	48.8	7.9
Pilzno	13.1	12.0	6.9	74.9	30.0
Wiślica	15.3	13.5	9.1	71.2	15.1
Radom	16.7	21.0	19.3	62.3	5.0
Stężyca	25.1	9.3	0.5	65.6	20.7
Chęciny	19.1	30.2	23.8	50.7	8.1
Opoczno	11.8	13.4	9.6	74.8	1.2
Sandomierz Voivodeship	19.6	18.3	14.9	62.1	11.6

The measurements of landed property area in all categories on working maps at a scale of 1:100,000 helped us to determine the proportions between them. Mindful that village borders, especially in less-inhabited areas might not always be correctly marked, we ascribe greater value to relative data, than to the results of the measurements.

In Sandomierz Voivodeship in the 1570s royal property covered 19.6% of the area of the entire voivodeship, the property of Church institutions – 18.3% (including larger estate complexes – 14.9%),

<sup>154</sup> Ibidem, p. 200.

<sup>155</sup> LS 1564/1565, p. 324: ‘Wola, Othoka villae desertae in toto’.

<sup>156</sup> In 1588/1589 A. Leszczyński bought a tenement house by the market square in Sandomierz from a nobleman Piotr Grocki; H. Rutkowski, *Sandomierz w okresie Odrodzenia*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, p. 293 and footnote 28 on p. 327.

<sup>157</sup> MRPS V, no. 9541.

<sup>158</sup> Year 1576, ASK O I, 9, ff. 124, 134, as property of ‘imp. Starosta of Krzepice’ or ‘imp. of Żarnów’ without specifying the owner’s name; identification according to A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia*, p. 296, and footnote 127. Year 1577, ASK O I, 9, f. 227 f.; Czarzyzna, Góra, Łubnice, Orzelec Mały and Orzelec Wielki, and Zrębin were marked as an estate of ‘dni Czirkowski tenutarii’; Grabowa and Stary Przeczów – as property of the castellan of Żarnów. Number listed without owner’s name. Year 1579, P. Małopolska, pp. 226, 231; villages belonging to Wolski were described as property of ‘magei Nicolai Wolski, castellani bieccensis’, although Mikołaj Firlej (!) was then the castellan of Biecz; see *Genealogia*, table 126; villages belonging to Jan Sieniński were described as property of ‘mgci castell. Żarnoviensis’. Similarly in 1581, ASK O I, 9, ff. 659 f., and Przeczów Stary was then leased from the castellan of Żarnów by Łukasz Pożowski, and ‘at that time Stan. Kutlieński, an official in Łubnice’ paid in the name of Wolski.

<sup>159</sup> Year 1589, ASK O I, 7, ff. 732 f.

<sup>160</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 201.

and the property of magnates and noblemen – 62.1% (including larger property complexes – 11.6%). In all, larger complexes of property covered 46.1% of the area of the voivodeship. However, because – as it was said in the beginning of this part of the commentary – smaller estates, belonging to institutions and people who possessed larger estates in other parts of the Republic, were not included, so the great property of the king, the Church and the nobility reached at least 50% in the 1570s, and probably covered more than a half of the voivodeship, including the great Church and magnate property – slightly over 30%.

## ANNEX

### LARGER ESTATE COMPLEXES OF CHURCH INSTITUTIONS IN SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The following list was made on the basis of tax registers, Church visitations and lists found in *Materiały do dziejów górnictwa i hutnictwa z archiwów metropolitalnego i kapitulnego w Krakowie z lat 1497–1640* by S. Kuraś, [in:] *Studia z dziejów górnictwa i hutnictwa*, vol. 3, J. Pazdur [ed.], Warsaw–Wrocław, pp. 263–357.

#### Cracow bishopric

##### Sandomierz district

Bodzęcin town, Bronikowice, Brzezcie, Bukowie, Dąbrowa, Dębno, Godów, Gorczyca mill, Jamnik, Jeziorko, Kałków, Krajków, Krzynki, Kunów town, Lechów, Leśna, Łączna, Łojowice, Malice, Milczany, Niekurza, Nietulisko Wielkie, Parszów, Psary, Radkowice, Ruda Andryszowa ironworks, Ruda Baranów ironworks, Ruda Berezów ironworks, Ruda Kunowska ironworks, Ruda Majek ironworks, Ruda Michałkowa ironworks, Ruda Stara Krzynecka ironworks, Ruda Suchyniowska ironworks, Siekierno, Sieradowice, Szczygiełkowa Wola, Szewna, Szyrzawy, Śniadka, Świętomarza, Świślina, Tarżek, Udziów, Wiry, Wzdół, Złota. Parts of: Doły, Życ.

##### Pilzno district

Bachowice, Bielcza, Biskupice, Bodzęcin, Kargów demesne, Kwików, Lętowice, Niedzieliska, Radłów, Rajsco, Rolowa Wola, Ruda Ciechon, Rzeżachowa, Szczurowa, Wokowice, Wola Radłowska, Zaborowie. Parts of: Biadoliny, Rudka.

##### Wiślica district

Baranów, Biskupice in Opatowiec parish, Biskupice in Zborówek parish, Cisów, Dobrowoda, Drogowle, Grodzonowice, Kępa, Korzyń, Ksany, Olganów, Ruda Mędrów ironworks, Sokolniki, Widelki glassworks, Zborówek. Parts of: Chotel Czerwony, Kraśniów, Kwaszyn, Piestrec, Żukowice.

##### Opoczno district

Huta glassworks, Odrowąż Mały, Wola Sarbin,<sup>161</sup> Zbroja ironworks.

##### Radom district

Bieszków, Błaziny, Chwałowice, Gąsawy, Iłża town, Jasieniec, Jastrząb town, Kowalików, Lepienice, Lipie Nowe, Lubienia, Małomierzyce, Małyszyn, Mirów, Niedźwiedzi Kierz, Niegosław, Prędocin, Rogów, Ruda Bród ironworks, Ruda Kowalikowska ironworks, Ruda Lepieńska ironworks, Ruda Śmiłowska ironworks, Rzechów, Śmiłów, Tychów, Wola Lepieńska, Wola Parstowa, Wszeradzice Bliższe, Wszeradzice Dalsze, Zbijów.

##### Chęciny district

Bęczków, Białogon mill, Bielcza, Bieliny, Bobrze, Brzeziny, Cedzyna mill, Czarnów Mniejszy, Czarnów Więszy, Ćmińsko, Daleszyce town, Dąbrowa, Domaszowice, Dyminy, Górne, Kielce town, Klatki, Kołomania, Kostomłoty, Kowala, Krajno, Leszczyny, Masłów, Mąchocice, Miedziane Góry mine, Mojcza, Nida, Niestachów, Niewachłów, Posłowice, Radlin, Ruda Adam ironworks, Ruda Belno ironworks,

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<sup>161</sup> Odrowąż Mały and Wola Sarbin exchanged in 1574 by the bishop of Cracow for Umiecin, Koryciska and Kamień Biskupi in Radom district; *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*, vol. 1, pub. W. Kętrzyński, Lwów 1881, pp. 142 f., no. 106–108.

Ruda Michałowska ironworks, Ruda Niedźwiedź ironworks, Skorzeszyce, Słopiec mill, Suków, Szałas ironworks, Szczukowskie Góry mine, Tumlin, Wola Jachowa, Wola Kopcowa, Zagnańsko.

### **Cuyavia bishopric**

Sandomierz district

Bączkowice, Baranów, Gęsiice, Huta (Małacentów), Lechów Mały, Łągów town, Nieskurzów, Olszownica, Piórków, Piotrów, Porzeczyn, Ruda Krzysztoperek ironworks, Ruda ironworks, Sadków, Sędek, Wola Łągowska, Wola Ząbkowa, Wszachów, Zbylutka, Żerniki. Part of Piskrzyn.

Opoczno district

Brzostów, Sługocice, Smarzewice, Ściebłowice, Twarda, Zarzęcin.

### **Benedictine monastery in Tyniec**

Pilzno district

Birówka, Brzostek town, Chrzastówka, Dęborzyn, Garbek demesne, Golez castle and demesne, Kamienica, Kawęczyn, Kołaczyce town, Krajowice, Przeczyca, Tuchów town, Warzyce, Wola Brzostowska, Wolica, Zagórze. Parts of: Januszkowice, Mieszna, Klecice, Niepla.

Wiślica district

Opatkowice, Opatowiec town, Piotrkowice, Urzuty. Part of Uście.

### **Benedictine monastery in Święty Krzyż**

Sandomierz district

Baszowice, Bielów, Boleszyn, Czażów, Dziurów, Irzmanowice demesne, Janowice, Jeżów, Koprzywianka, Kraszków, Michałów, Milanowa Wola, Mirocice, Modlibożyce, Paprocice, Pawłów, Prawęcín, Ruda Kuczów ironworks, Rzepin, Rzepinek, Skały, Słup Nowa town, Słup Stara, Wenecja, Wola Zerwikaptur, Zawada, Św. Krzyż monastery. Parts of: Dąbrowa, Doły, Milejowice, Szczegiel, Worowice.

Radom district

Boiska, Braciejowice, Goszcza, Zakrzów.

### **Benedictine monastery in Sieciechów**

Radom district

Brzeźnica, Garno, Garbatka, Janików, Kobylany, Międzylesie, Mozolice, Nasiłów, Opatkowice, Psary, Rajec, Rębiertów, Ruda Janikowska ironworks, Sadków, Sieciechów town, Sieciechów monastery, Słowiki, Szawłowice, Śmietanka mill, Świecica, Zalesie.

Stężyca district

Ciszycza, Kępica, Nagórník, Piwonia, Przewóz.

### **Cistercian monastery in Jędrzejów**

Wiślica district

Chańcza, Skowronno.

Chęciny district

Kanica, Lipna, Mniszek, Oblasy, Ruda Pękowiec ironworks, Ruda Grodzisko ironworks, Rudniki, Wojciechów, Złotniki.

### **Cistercian monastery in Sulejów**

Opoczno district

Dąbrowa, Jaksonek, Prócheńsko, Stoki, Strzelce, Sulejów monastery, Taraska mill, Wojcin. Parts of: Błogie, Końskie Małe, Świeciechów.

Radom district

Osiny Mnisze, Zagórze. Part of: Skrzyń town (Skrzynno).

### **Cistercian monastery in Wąchock**

Radom district

Bzin, Chronów Mniszy, Gadka, Grzybowa Góra, Jabłonica Mnisza, Jagodno, Krupa mill, Laskowa Wola, Lipowe Pole, Łączany, Mierc, Modrzewice, Mniszek, Osiny, Pomorzany, Polany, Rogowa, Rzeczków, Wierzbica town, Skarżysko, Suliska, Świerczek, Trębowiec, Wawrzyszów, Zalesice.

Sandomierz district

Kamień, Krzyżowa Wola, Lisów, Łukawa, Ostrów, Pękosławice, Ruda Bzin ironworks, Ruda Marcinkowska ironworks, Ruda Siekliny ironworks, Ruda Starzechowska ironworks, Ruda Wierzbnik ironworks, Świątniki, Wąchocko town, Waśniów town, Wielawieś. Part of Prusinowice.

Chęciny district

Marzysz, Radomice, Wola Łabęcka.

#### **Cistercan monastery in Koprzywnica**

Sandomierz district

Bęszyce, Ciszycza, Dobrucice, Krobielice, Krzcin, Nagnajów, Niekisiałka Wielka, Pielaszów, Pokrzywnica monastery, Pokrzywnica town, Sośniczany, Strączków, Szewce, Świnżyca, Zarzecze, Zdanów. Parts of: Gnieszowice, Gołębiów, Karwów.

Pilzno district

Dobrzeczeń, Golcowa, Grodzisko, Kozłów, Lubla, Okunin, Oparówka, Połomia, Stodolina Wola, Wysoka, Zawadka.

#### **Cracow monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare**

Sandomierz district

Chodków, Daronin, Dziurów suburbs, Piotrowice, Szawłowice, Węgierce, Zawichost town. Parts of settlements: Czernin, Dębiany, Królewice.

Chęciny district

Włoszczowice.

Wiślica district

Umianowice.

#### **Monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Busko**

Wiślica district

Busko town, Branina, Kostera, Kowale, Sarbków, Służów.

Sandomierz district

Kliczanów, Kotarszyn, Nosów, Piotrów.

*(1993)*

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.3.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

The map presents the ownership of settlements according to the three basic categories (royal property, Church property, property of the nobility) and also distinguishes villages owned by towns. Mixed, shared ownership was marked with a two-coloured symbol, in which each of the colours occupies an equal part of the symbol. We decided not to designate Church property belonging to individual parochial churches and situated in a village where a given parochial church stood.

**Table 1. Ownership**

Ownership	Number of settlements			Percentage	
	towns	villages	total	without towns	with towns
royal	8	103	111	11.7	12.1
Church	2	33	85	3.8	3.8
of the nobility	26	133	759	83.3	83.1
royal-nobility	–	4	4	0.5	0.4
Church-nobility	–	1	1	0.1	0.1
town	–	5	5	0.6	0.5

Land ownership in settlements was easy to determine, as the tax registers in fact provide the name of the person who paid the tax, and clearly emphasize the name of a village's owner, if the tax was paid by his representative. As for villages inhabited by petty gentry, the registers usually list every nobleman by name and surname, although sometimes the entry is shorter and provides only the name and surname of the taxpayer, and either the number of the remaining owners, or their general degree of kinship with the taxpayer. Inspections were particularly useful when solving the matter of royal property.

Royal property was scattered over the entire voivodeship. The largest area of high density of this type of ownership, the starosta's district of Parczów, lay in the parishes of Ostrów and Parczów. Another similar area was the starosta's district of Łuków, with settlements in the east (Kąkolownica) and west of the district. Smaller areas were situated to the south and west of Lublin: the key of property of Krzczonów, Zemborzyce, Wrotków and Świdnik located just outside of Lublin, Gołąb and its vicinity, the starosta's district of Kazimierz, the vicinity of Wąwolnica, some small patches of land in Powiśle and the starosta's district of Urzędów. The Kock estates, a fief held by the family Firlej, was not included in the number of royal settlements.

In the sixteenth century, the clergy owned little property in Lublin Voivodeship. Apart from some minor parson estates, not always recorded in tax registers, Lublin monasteries owned small property outside of the town, one of them (the Birgittine Order) had a larger estate to the south of the city (Czerniów, Krzynice). The remnants of the old splendour of the Benedictines survived in Puhaczów parish, still almost entirely owned by this order. The Cistercians maintained their thirteenth century property almost intact, it was located by the upstream Bystrzyca in Kraśnik parish. One village by the River San, and several in the vicinity of Świeciechów, belonged to the collegiate church in Sandomierz, and several villages across from Zawichost were owned by the local Order of the Sisters of St. Clare.

Few settlements were owned by towns. The royal city of Lublin owned three villages: Bronowice, Konopnica and Ponikwoda. Kraśnik, a town belonging to the nobility, had some small settlements on the outskirts. Other towns, particularly owned by the nobles, belonged entirely to their owners, and had no ownership rights to the so-called city grounds.

Only after a separate file of owners was made did it become evident how much land was owned by the nobility. It came to light that some nobles owned large patches of arable land – in individual villages their area was usually small, but after summing up of such scattered, and often remote, pieces of property some individuals and families could without any doubt be included in the group of great land owners. The lower limit of great land ownership was 10 serf lans per one owner, just as in similar studies on the issue.

Large property was concentrated in the hands of several dozen families. In Lublin district large estates belonged to: Barzy, Branicki, Czerny, Firlej, Gorajski, Górka, Maciejowski, Myszkowski, Orzechowski, Ossoliński, Ostrowski, Ożarowski, Pilecki, Pszonka, Rey, Słupecki, Sobieski, Suchodolski, Szamotulski, Tęczyński, Zbąski, Zebrzydowski, Żyrzyński. In Urzędów district these were: Siemieński, Sienicki, Słupecki, Stojański. In Łuków land: Gojski, Jarczowski, Kanimir, Kazanowski, Mysłowski, Siedlecki.

One of the characteristic features of Lublin Voivodeship is the intensification of petty farm gentry settlement. An interesting document from 1418,<sup>1</sup> issued by the bishop of Cracow after the foundation of a parish in Zbuczyn, lists those villages which remained in Łuków parish and provides the number of nobles and peasants inhabiting it (Trzebieszów, Ulan and a village Biała, where Kozirynek, Radzyń and Budzyń were to be founded later, still belonged to Łuków parish). Villages inhabited in the second half of the sixteenth century solely by farm gentry were inhabited only by the gentry in 1418, but in a very modest number of one to five families. For example, we list here these farm gentry villages (excluding villages with peasants and several unlocalized settlements) providing in brackets the number of families in 1418 and in the second half of the sixteenth century: Czerśl (3 – 6), Dminin (2 – 8), Domanin (5 – 27), Gołębki Jeziory (1 – 1), Jastrzębie (5 – 30), Jeziora (2 – 2), Ławki (2 – 5), Mościska (2 – 3), Radomyśl (2 – 11), Rozwadów (5 – 11), Sobole (1 – 9), Stok (1 – 9), Szczygły (4 – 15), Świdry (4 – 8), Wierzejki (4 – 14), and Zarzecze (4 – 8).

In Łuków land farm gentry lived close to each other in the parishes: Łuków, Trzebieszów, Ulan and Zbuczyn, whereas in the south, in the district of Lublin, their settlements were scattered, situated both among royal estates (area of Parczów, Ostrów and Kazimierz), and landed nobility. The largest and most numerous settlements of farm gentry could be found in the strip of land stretching from Kazimierz to Wysokie. We must also add that town or royal servants in the villages: Jurki, Karcze, Słotwiny, Rogalów and Niezabitów were counted among noblemen, and in Krzczonów, Tatary, and Żuków – among peasants.

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>1</sup> ZDM I, no. 328; cf. S. Litak, *Sieć parafialna archidiecezji radomskiej w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL”, vol. 9, 1958, pp. 37–41.

### III.3.3.4 GREATER POLAND\*

*Krzysztof Chłapowski*

The ownership affiliation of the settlements of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships at the end of the sixteenth century was established based on recruitment registers, inspections, inventories, documents, and other sources from this century, as well as – additionally – earlier and later sources. They were all characterized in the chapter *Written sources*.<sup>1</sup> We also consulted the literature on the subject. The settlements have been marked with the same colours as in the remainder of the AHP series: royal – red, those belonging to Church institutions – purple, those belonging to the nobility – yellow, town – brown.

The royal estates in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships belonged to the gord starosta's and land-starosta's districts, leaseholders (*tenuty*). In the mid-sixteenth century, three gord starosta's districts existed in these voivodeships: the general starosta's district of Greater Poland (the jurisdiction of those holding this office covered almost the entire area of the two voivodeships), along with starosta's districts of Wschowa and Nakło.<sup>2</sup>

In 1554, the then owner of the Wałcz rent, Łukasz Górka, together with his brothers, Andrzej and Stanisław, obtained the privilege to establish a town court in Wałcz, whereby the starosta obtained the same powers as the general starosta in Poznań. Janusz Kościelecki, the general starosta of Greater Poland, protested against this. Nonetheless, the land court in Wałcz was established and operated.<sup>3</sup>

The Wałcz district was considered a gord starosta's district. This is evidenced by the following: 1) in all royal dispositions regarding changes in the use of this district (perpetuity, consensus about cession, cessions) there is a condition that the district is granted (transferred) *cum iurisdictione*, i.e. with the prerogative of the gord starosta, and moreover in these dispositions there are no mentions of the starosta's wife, in accordance with the principle that a woman cannot be a gord starosta,<sup>4</sup> 2) during the Sejm (Diet) of 1585, deputies accused the voivode of Poznań, Stanisław Górka, of violating the prohibition of managing two gord starosta's districts at the same time, because he simultaneously held the office of the starosta of Wałcz and Busko (in the Belz Voivodeship). In light of this accusation, Górka ceded the Wałcz district to Stefan Grudziński.<sup>5</sup>

It should be noted that in the second half of the sixteenth century, official sources no longer followed the principle of using the terms starosta's district, *capitaneatus*, *praefectura*, in relation to a gord starosta's district, while referring to land-starosta's district as estates, *bona regalia* or lease

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\* The article was written within project no. 2015/19/B/HS3/01756 funded by National Science Centre, Poland.

<sup>1</sup> See in this volume M. Słoń, *Written sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition II.1.4.

<sup>2</sup> *Urzednicy wielkopolscy XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. J. Bieniaszewski, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Wrocław–Warsaw 1987, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bielecka, *Sąd grodzki w Wałczu*, RH, vol. 26, 1960, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie 1565–1795. Materiały źródłowe*, Warsaw–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2017, annex II, pp. 346–347.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, *Elita senatorsko-dygnitarska Korony za czasów Zygmunta III i Władysława IV*, Warsaw 1996, p. 74.

(‘tenuta’). At the time, numerous leases were called *capitaneatus*,<sup>6</sup> *praefectura*,<sup>7</sup> and even *praefectura seu tenuta*<sup>8</sup> or *capitaneatus, praefectura seu tenuta*.<sup>9</sup>

The published inspection of Greater Poland Voivodeships from 1564–1565<sup>10</sup> specifies to which individual starosta’s districts and leases the settlements belonged. This inspection did not include the royal estates, which the Sejm (Diet) of 1562/1563 recognized as legally charged (the so-called ‘old sums’) and were, therefore, not subject to inspection. Their full list was established on the basis of protocols on the control of legal titles for the use of royal estates, carried out during the Sejm (Diet) of 1563/1564 (the so-called revision of letters),<sup>11</sup> and their full composition (lists of settlements forming them) was created on the basis of various sources (tax registers, entries to Records, later inspections). We also used protocols of detailed decisions taken by the Sejms (Diets) in 1567 and 1569 in matters relating to some royal properties in Greater Poland.<sup>12</sup>

In the period of 1565–1600, there were numerous foundations of new villages in the Drahim, Wałcz and Ujście-Piła starosta’s districts, as well as individual foundations in others.

The list of starosta’s districts and leases in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships underwent one minor change in the second half of the sixteenth century. On 1 January 1580, the village of Krąpsko (Kramsko), which had been part of the Konin starosta’s district, was assigned to Piotr Żychliński by the Konin starosta Jan Służewski,<sup>13</sup> and this exclusion proved to be permanent. The list of royal settlements was also altered only once. On 2 November 1588, the royal village of Domanice in Wschowa land, which was in use by Andrzej Opaliński, was exchanged for his hereditary villages Lubaszcz and Rozwarzyno in the Nakło district. The king confirmed this trade on 31 July 1590.<sup>14</sup> Domanice was adjacent to Opaliński’s hereditary property in the Wschowa land, which explains his interest in such an exchange. Domanice did not appear in later inspections of royal estates, but Lubaszcz appeared in them as a village of the Nakło district, and Rozwarzyno figured as a forest.<sup>15</sup>

On 28 January 1559, Marcin Zborowski, the Poznań castellan, received the king’s consent to buy the village of Szczytniki in the Kalisz district from the Gniezno chapter,<sup>16</sup> and on 5 April 1565, the confirmation of its perpetuity and that of the neighboring village of Korzekwin was issued.<sup>17</sup> On 12 January 1591, the king confirmed the exchange of Szczytnik, the lease of Jan Zborowski, castellan of Gniezno, for his hereditary town Borek in Wieluń land, Ostrzeszów district,<sup>18</sup> and in 1592 Zborowski sold Szczytniki to Paweł Potworowski.<sup>19</sup> Since we demarcate the ownership of royal estates at the end of the sixteenth century on the map, we treated both these villages as belonging to the nobility.

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<sup>6</sup> Pyzdry in 1551–1552 (MRPS V, no. 1365, 5148), Kościan in 1552 (MRPS V, no. 1392), Drahim in 1556 (MRPS V, no. 7423), Konin in 1557 (MRPS V, no. 8169), Międzyrzecz in 1557, 1561, 1563, 1564 (MRPS V, no. 7967–68, 8997, 9000, 9143, 9402), Pyzdry in 1558 (MRPS V, no. 8401), Odolanów in 1565 (MRPS V, no. 3205), Kościan, Międzyrzecz, Konin, Pyzdry and Rogoźno in 1565 (LWWK 1564, I, pp. 156, 162, 216, 232, 245), Rogoźno in 1566 (MRPS V, no. 9703–9704), Kościan, Międzyrzecz, Drahim, Konin, Pyzdry and Rogoźno in 1569 (ASK XLVI, 103 d, ff. 30, 35, 45v, 56, 70, 82), Konin, Kościan in 1576 (*Księgi podskarbińskie z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, ed. A. Pawiński, Warsaw 1881 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. 9), p. 10), Kościan in 1577 (idem, p. 101), Kościan in 1578 (MK 117, ff. 271v–272), Konin and Kościan in 1578 (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, p. 148), Pyzdry in 1579 (MK 119, ff. 231v–233; 123, ff. 66v–68v), Międzyrzecz in 1580 (MK 125, ff. 204v–205), Drahim, Międzyrzecz, Gniezno, Pyzdry, Konin in 1580 (*Księgi podskarbińskie*, pp. 260, 266), Rogoźno in 1583 (MK 129, ff. 261–262), Konin in 1593 (MK 138, ff. 278–279), Drahim and Odolanów in 1593 (MK 138, ff. 46v–47, 326–326v), Gniezno in 1600 (MK 145, ff. 241–241v).

<sup>7</sup> Konin in 1580 (MK 123, ff. 415–416), Kościan in 1585 (MK 131, ff. 290v–291), Międzyrzecz in 1600 (MK 145, ff. 245–247).

<sup>8</sup> Ujście and Gniezno in 1588 (MK 135, ff. 47–48, 61v–63), Kościan in 1600 (MK 145, ff. 94–95).

<sup>9</sup> Babimost in 1557 (MRPS V, no. 8088), Gniezno in 1592 (MK 137, ff. 481–481v), Koło in 1592 (MK 137, ff. 482–483).

<sup>10</sup> LWWK 1564.

<sup>11</sup> AGAD, the so-called Metryka Litewska IV B, 8, ff. 257–292 (protocols about royal estates in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships).

<sup>12</sup> ASK XLVI 41, ff. 48–61 (1567); MK 128, ff. 34–40 v (1569).

<sup>13</sup> MK 123, ff. 78–68v.

<sup>14</sup> SMK IV, no. 994. On 15 August 1588, the king agreed to let Opaliński buy this village from the heirs of the starosta of Wschowa, granting him perpetuity on it; *ibidem*, no. 211.

<sup>15</sup> LWWK 1616, p. 361; LWWK 1628, vol. 1, p. 197; LWWK 1659, vol. 1, p. 189.

<sup>16</sup> MRPS V, no. 2422.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 3139.

<sup>18</sup> SMK I, no. 37.

<sup>19</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 1566 (no. 3).

During the inspection of legal titles for the use of royal estates carried out by a special commission during the Sejm (Diet) of 1563–1564, the issue of the equivalence of the exchange made by the king with Łukasz Górka, the Poznań castellan, in an act from 4 March 1515, came up. In exchange for presenting the king with the Pobiedziska hereditary estates in the Kalisz Voivodeship and waiving the sum of 8,000 złote from the Kościan starosta's district bequeathed by the monarch, the castellan received a donation of royal estates of Wieleń-Wronki.<sup>20</sup> The commission referred the case “for review”, i.e. it ordered the auditors to examine both sides of the exchange.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, during the inspection of 1564–1565, the properties of Wieleń-Wronki and Pobiedziska were inspected.<sup>22</sup> In 1567, on the basis of inspection protocols, another commission ruled that the king, considering Górka's renouncement of the sum bequeathed to Kościan, “on the advice of the lords of the Councils and the permission of the deputies of the sejmik (dietine)” recognized this replacement as equivalent,<sup>23</sup> thus maintaining the state of affairs existing since 1515. Therefore, Urszula Piotrkowska was incorrect in classifying the estate of Wieleń-Wronki as royal.<sup>24</sup>

In total, at the end of the sixteenth century, the royal estates in the Poznań Voivodeship counted 17 towns, 81 villages, four parts of a village, three forges, five mills, three demesne farms, one suburb, one castle (Drahim) – all with their own names and with reliably discernible locations, and in the Kalisz Voivodeship 16 towns, 114 villages, eight parts of a village, three mills, one forge and one suburb – with equally clear locations.

Church ownership in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships (in the lists we call it Church property, i.e., we use the abbreviation ‘c’) are estates that were the income of various institutions of the Roman Catholic Church (see Annex II). We adopted the principle that even if the sołectwo in villages belonging to Church institutions were used by lay people, we treated such villages as Church property.

During the sixteenth century, the number of Church institutions whose incomes were in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships slightly changed.

On 28 May 1526, in connection with the discontinuation of the practice of appointing a suffragan bishop from the ranks of monks and the introduction of the rule of appointing him from the diocesan clergy, the Archbishop of Gniezno issued a privilege regarding, among others, his salary, assigning him a presbytery in Żnin.<sup>25</sup> The furnishings of this presbytery consisted of the village of Skarbienica and the Rydlewo demesne farm (in the Kcynia district of the Kalisz Voivodeship) and the village of Chomiąża in the Gniezno district.

On 21 November 1566, the monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher in Miechów in the Kraków Voivodeship gave Jan and Piotr Zborowski the villages of Grodzisko, Rokutowo, Jankowo and Sierzchowo in the Kalisz district in exchange for their hereditary village Głuchów in Proszów district.<sup>26</sup>

On 1 July 1572, Poznań bishop Adam Konarski founded a Jesuit college in Poznań, endowing them with villages belonging to the bishop at that time: Zemsko in the Poznań district, Kiełczewo in the Kościan district (both in the Poznań Voivodeship), Bochlewo and Tokarki in the Kalisz Voivodeship, Pyzdry district, approved by the king on 1 February 1574.<sup>27</sup> On 1 July 1579, the same bishop granted the villages of Januszewo and Słupia in the Poznań district, confirmed by the king on 3 March 1581.<sup>28</sup> The transfer of Słupia was blocked by the Poznań chapter and only on 16 November 1588, the bestowal was renewed, this time effectively.<sup>29</sup> In 1584, the Wągrowiec abbot gave the Jesuits the

<sup>20</sup> MRPS IV, no. 10527; On 4 February 1526, the Wieleń estates were finally established as hereditary; *ibidem*, no. 15467.

<sup>21</sup> AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV B, 8.

<sup>22</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 1, pp. 27–30, 51–54, 189–207, 269–277.

<sup>23</sup> ASK XLVI 41, ff. 61–61v.

<sup>24</sup> Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., p. 87.

<sup>25</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedralni metropolii gnieźnieńskiej od roku 1000 aż do dni naszych*, vol. 1, Gniezno 1883, pp. 108–109; *Regesty wybranych zapisek z działalności arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich z lat 1466–1806*, ABMK, vol. 3, 1961, p. 184.

<sup>26</sup> S. Nakielski, *Miechovia sive promptuarium Monasterii Miechovensii*, Cracow 1634, p. 677.

<sup>27</sup> *Kronika Jezuitów poznańskich (młodsza)*, vol. 1: 1570–1653, ed. L. Grzebień, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2004, p. 151; MK 123, f. 734.

<sup>28</sup> *Kronika Jezuitów*, p. 50; MK 123, ff. 741–743. The Jesuits lost Słupia in 1614; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, part 4, Cracow 1905, p. 110.

<sup>29</sup> *Kronika Jezuitów*, p. 88; M. Banaszak, *Początki kolegium jezuickiego i seminarium diecezjalnego w Poznaniu*, [in:] *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium*, vol. 10, Rzym 1964, p. 513; Now2, p. 704.

village of Legnieszewo in the Kcynia district, which was approved by the king on 24 February 1585, along with the confirmation of the archbishop of Gniezno's grant of the village of Piekary in the Poznań district (15 September 1584).<sup>30</sup> On 25 July 1592, the Jesuits purchased the village of Jeziorki in the Poznań district from Jan Jeziorkowski and Stanisław Skrzetuski<sup>31</sup> and finally in 1593, the Poznań college bought the village of Luciny in the Pyzdry district with adjoining land.<sup>32</sup>

On 25 April 1584, the Archbishop of Gniezno, Stanisław Karnkowski founded a Jesuit college in Kalisz, endowing it with the villages of Sławno and Kokanin in the Gniezno district, Żychowo and Liskowo in the Kalisz district, taken from the archbishop's property, which the king confirmed on 24 February 1585, and 14 January 1591.<sup>33</sup> On 27 April 1587, Primate Karnkowski donated the villages of Sierzchów and Zawodzie in the Kalisz district,<sup>34</sup> and in 1590 a part of the village of Kościelec to the college.<sup>35</sup> In 1591, the Kalisz college exchanged land with the Poznań college, trading Sławno for Bochlewo and Tokarki.<sup>36</sup> In 1596, the Archbishop of Gniezno gave the college in Kalisz the villages of Sławin and Zamość in the Kalisz district, which he bought in 1594 from Marcin Żeroński, the Kalisz land scribe, Piotr Sulisławski and Katarzyna Korycińska, and which the college sold to Mikołaj Orzelski in 1597.<sup>37</sup> Since on the map we record ownership of estates by Church institutions at the end of the sixteenth century, we treated both these villages as belonging to the nobility. Stanisław Załęski reported that on 5 April 1589, the Primate donated a part of the village of Dobrzec in the Kalisz district to the Kalisz college,<sup>38</sup> but earlier and later reports indicate that it belonged to the Canons of the collegiate of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kalisz; therefore we did not take into account the information provided by Załęski. In 1599, the Primate Karnkowski purchased the village of Marchwacz in the Kalisz district from the Gniezno chapter, which he gave to the Jesuit convent in Kalisz to provide a source of income for the boarding house for youth existing at the same college.<sup>39</sup> On 5 October 1599, the king approved this.<sup>40</sup>

In 1585, the Poznań chapter sold the village of Umultowo in the Poznań district to the Dominican Order from Poznań.<sup>41</sup>

We did not change the ownership affiliation in the case of the villages of Wójcino and Ostrówek in the Kalisz district, which on 26 February 1577, Archbishop Jakub Uchański allowed the Gniezno chapter to sell.<sup>42</sup> Both were mentioned as property of the nobility only in the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup>

In the sixteenth century, three suburbs of the archbishop's town of Żnin had their own names: Ostrów, Piskorzewo and Radostowo.<sup>44</sup> According to the rules adopted in AHP, they are not on the map or in the index and they are not taken into account in statistical calculations.

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<sup>30</sup> *Kronika Jezuitów*, p. 75; MK 133, ff. 149–149v, 150–152; *Kronika Jezuitów*, p. 75; M. Banaszak, *Początki kolegium*, p. 516; Rybus, p. 202. In 1591, the Jesuits sold Legnieszewo to Stanisław Karśnicki (*Kronika Jezuitów*, pp. 3, 99), which is why on the map they figure as belonging to the nobility.

<sup>31</sup> *Kronika Jezuitów*, p. 105. The king approved the transaction in 1593 (*ibidem*, p. 110); Teki Dworzaczka, 13681 (no. 1400), 13683.

<sup>32</sup> S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, p. 110.

<sup>33</sup> J. Paszenda, *Fundacja Prymasa Karnkowskiego dla Jezuitów w Kaliszu*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 29, 1984, no. 3/4, pp. 301–306; MK 133, ff. 150–152; *Księga wpisów podkanclerzego Jana Tarnowskiego MK 136 z Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie 1591*, ed. K. Chłapowski, Warsaw 2009 (Sumariusz Metryki Koronnej, Seria Nowa, vol. 5), no. 46.

<sup>34</sup> S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, p. 379; S. Załęski (*ibidem*, p. 378) recorded that in 1586 Primate Karnkowski donated the village Pawłówko in the Konin district to the college. The college received this village only in 1610 and from a private person; Teki Dworzaczka, 330 (no. 1).

<sup>35</sup> S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, p. 382, footnote no. 2.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 392; *Kronika Jezuitów*, p. 83 (here the date is 1586). This finally occurred in 1591 (*ibidem*, pp. 99–100).

<sup>37</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 1945 (no. 7).

<sup>38</sup> S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, p. 392. In 1591, it belonged to the Jesuits; ASK I 11, f. 1508.

<sup>39</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 2057 (no. 7); J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy: prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821*, vol. 1, Poznań 1888, p. 257; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, p. 390; J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundiów arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1955, p. 119.

<sup>40</sup> MK 144, ff. 36–37v.

<sup>41</sup> *Statuta capituli et ecclesiae cathedralis Posnanensis ex annis 1298–1763*, ed. W. Pawełczak, Poznań 1995, p. 115; K. Lutyński, *Kapituła katedralna w Poznaniu w XVI wieku. Organizacja i majątek*, Poznań 2000, p. 186; P. Dembiński, *Umultowo*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, issue 3, pp. 449–450.

<sup>42</sup> Rybus, p. 198.

<sup>43</sup> ABMK, 3811, pp. 281, 418; Parczewski, pp. 58, 66.

<sup>44</sup> LBG I, pp. 147–148.

As for the shift in ownership affiliation by way of exchange of estates, on 28 April 1577, the abbot of Przemęt traded his village of Sączkowo and half of Lake Starkówko in the Kościan district for the empty village of Zaborówko, adjacent to the town of Przemęt. The king approved this exchange on 22 November 1577.<sup>45</sup>

On 31 July 1556, Poznań's bishop Andrzej Czarnkowski approved the sale of the village of Świątniki in the Poznań district, which was the income of the Poznań curator, to Jan Krześciński, the *chorąży* of Bydgoszcz and the vice-starostas of Poznań. Later this was confirmed by the king on 15 October 1556.<sup>46</sup>

On 24 February 1564, the villages of Łąkie and Szczawinko in the Gniezno district were the income of the provost of the collegiate chapter of St. George in Gniezno. They were incorporated into the estates of the cathedral chapter, which became the institutional provost.<sup>47</sup> The villages of Malenino and Jerzykowo in the Gniezno district, the income of the Canons of the collegiate of St. George, remained as such.<sup>48</sup>

In 1573, the Gniezno chapter bought the village of Wełnica in the Gniezno district from a certain Karczewski.<sup>49</sup> In the same year, it was also supposed to exchange the village of Braciszewo for the village of Skrzynka (both in the Gniezno district, but in the tax registers created after 1573, both appear as belonging to the chapter and remain as such later<sup>50</sup>).

In 1588, the Poznań chapter sold the village of Drożdżyce in the Kościan district to Jan Zadorski.<sup>51</sup>

In 1591, Archbishop Stanisław Karnkowski handed over the town of Kwieciszewo and the village of Gorzyszewo in the Gniezno district to the Gniezno chapter.<sup>52</sup>

On 22 August 1598, the Archbishop of Gniezno, Stanisław Karnkowski founded a seminary in Gniezno. The suburb of Gniezno, Cierpięgi, is not mentioned among the incomes of the seminary.<sup>53</sup> However, it figures as the income of the seminary in the second foundation act of 1602, in which the archbishop expanded the income sources.<sup>54</sup>

As for the endowment of the parsons, we only took into account cases when it exceeded the standard endowment ("poświętne", mansus ecclesiasticus), especially, when the parson owned an entire village, as well as the fact that part of Poznań's suburb of St. Adalbert belonged to the endowment of the parson of the church of St. Wojciech, and part of the suburb of St. Martin belonged to endowment the parson of St. Martin.<sup>55</sup>

In total, 13 towns, 229 villages, seven parts of a village, 13.5 towns in the Poznań Voivodeship and 325 villages, 15 parts of a village in the Kalisz Voivodeship belonged to Church institutions at the end of the sixteenth century. Altogether, it totaled to 26.5 towns, 554 villages, 22 parts of the village in Greater Poland.

The town property in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships (see Annex III) consisted almost exclusively of settlements belonging to royal towns. The only exceptions are the villages of private towns Lwówek and Międzychód in the Poznań district, Gostyń and Poniec in the Kościan district and Brudzewa in the Konin district. In 1571, the town of Środa sold the village of Urniszewo to Sebastian Niwski.<sup>56</sup>

In the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships in the sixteenth century, property of the nobility dominated over other categories of landed property, as in other voivodeships, which was confirmed by the research of Leon Polaszewski and Urszula Piotrkowska.

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<sup>45</sup> MK 115, ff. 421v–423. The abbot bought Sączkowo and half a lake in 1574 from Jan Wilkowski; SHGPoz, part IV, issue 2, p. 321, issue 4, pp. 644–645. A demesne farm was built in Zaborów.

<sup>46</sup> MRPS V, no. 7612.

<sup>47</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi*, vol. 1, pp. 116–118 and footnote no. 1; S. Karwowski, *Kolegiata św. Jerzego i kościół św. Stanisława*, Poznań 1896, p. 15; F. Kryszak, *Kapituła kolegiacka św. Jerzego na zamku gnieźnieńskim*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 24, 1966, p. 131.

<sup>48</sup> Czaykowski, pp. 23, 31.

<sup>49</sup> J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundium*, p. 100.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem; Rej. pob. 1618–1620, p. 217; Czaykowski, pp. 24, 33.

<sup>51</sup> *Statuta capituli*, p. 123–127; K. Lutyński, *Kapituła katedralna w Poznaniu*, p. 177.

<sup>52</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy: prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821*, vol. 3, Poznań 1889, p. 445; J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundium*, p. 51.

<sup>53</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi*, vol. 3, pp. 511–512. This suburb is not marked on the main map.

<sup>54</sup> M. Aleksandrowicz, *Początki Seminarium Duchownego w Gnieźnie (1602–1718)*, [in:] *Księga jubileuszowa Prymasowskiego Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Gnieźnie 1602–2002*, ed. P. Podeszwa, W. Polak, Gniezno 2002, pp. 18–19.

<sup>55</sup> G. Rutkowska, *Święty Wojciech*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, issue 1, pp. 203–204; I. Skierska, *Święty Marcin*, SHGPoz, part V, issue 1, p. 171.

<sup>56</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 10996.

The tax registers of the Kalisz Voivodeship from the second half of the sixteenth century contain separate registers of villages inhabited by farm gentry (“regestrum villarum nobiles cmetones in eis non habentium sed eorum agros per se colentium”, “regestrum villarum de praediis solventium”, “nobiles pauperes qui solvunt a suis praediis”, “pauperum nobilium census et colonos non habentium”, “regestrum propriae aratrice de agros nobilium”, “descriptio mansorum praedialium”, “mansi nobilium culturae suae cum hortulanis”, the nobility with their plows – “szlachta od pługów swoich”, the register of the property of nobles who do not have serfs – “regestr z dobr szlacheckich kmieci nie mających”, the register of the property of nobles who work with their own plows – “regestr z dobr szlacheckich co pługami swoimi robią” ).

In the registers of the Konin district, separate registers occurred only in 1576 and 1581,<sup>57</sup> in the Nakiel district – 1576 and 1577,<sup>58</sup> in the Kalisz district – 1552, 1564 and 1576,<sup>59</sup> while in the registers of the Pyzdry, Gniezno and Kcynia districts they constantly repeat. The number of villages differs greatly (from five to seven villages in Kcynia, eight in Nakło to more than 50 in Kalisz and Gniezno) and varies depending on the register. There are no such separate registers in the Poznań Voivodeship.

Polaszewski devoted a separate subchapter to the farm gentry, however since in it he combined two concepts – farm and partial gentry – his statistical calculations should be questioned.<sup>60</sup> In the Kalisz Voivodeship in the sixteenth century, partial gentry was present in every district, most numerous in Kalisz.

Partial gentry also existed in the Poznań Voivodeship, but less numerous than in Kalisz. In a dozen or so cases, one can assume the presence of the farm gentry based on the tax amount reduced by half.<sup>61</sup> As Urszula Piotrkowska has already noted, the Poznań Voivodeship predominantly housed undivided villages belonging to single-village or wealthy nobility, with the northern part of the region demonstrating a much smaller degree of fragmentation than the southern one.<sup>62</sup>

As in the volumes of the AHP devoted to the Cracow and Sandomierz Voivodeships, we decided to indicate to the larger estates belonging to the nobility.<sup>63</sup> Since the Greater Poland tax registers from 1591 cover only some districts, we used the registers from 1580–1583 as the basis.

The tax registers of the Gniezno, Kcynia, Nakło, and Kościan districts from these years provide a very limited number of owners belonging to the nobility (predominantly in cases when the village was divided between two or more partial owners) or do not supply such information at all. Furthermore, it was not important to the tax collector whether he recorded the real owner of the village or only the taxpayer to whom it was leased or the broker. Terms such as *factor*, clerk or the phrase “X in the name of Y” only exist in the registers of the Pyzdry district. For these reasons, in order to supplement and verify information regarding larger landowners, we reached for *Teki Dworzaczka* (registers of entries in the gord books and monographs of the Latałski, Leszczyński, Opaliński, Ostrorogi families developed by the eminent expert of the genealogy of noble families, Włodzimierz Dworzaczek), the monograph of the Potulicki family penned by Sławomir Leitgeber,<sup>64</sup> entries in the Crown Register, etc.

Piotrkowska’s works,<sup>65</sup> which we reviewed, also proved useful, but we decided to forgo Polaszewski’s table entitled *Medium and large estates of the nobility in the Kalisz province in the 16<sup>th</sup> century*,<sup>66</sup> as it contains information from the entire sixteenth century. For the same reason, the author’s tables on estates of the nobility in individual districts of the voivodeship were of little use to us as well.<sup>67</sup>

Neither tax registers nor any other sources of mass or statistical nature provide any data concerning the sole, unquestionable criterion on the basis of which it is possible to objectively classify estates

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<sup>57</sup> ASK I 12, f. 614; ASK I 13, ff. 674v–680.

<sup>58</sup> ASK I 12, f. 669; ASK I 13, f. 129v.

<sup>59</sup> ASK I 6, ff. 595–597v; ASK I 13, ff. 186–187; ASK I 12, ff. 603v–604v.

<sup>60</sup> Polaszewski, *Własność*, pp. 51–54.

<sup>61</sup> Piotrkowska pointed this out in *Kość. Wsch.*, p. 212.

<sup>62</sup> Piotrkowska *Pozn. Wał.*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>63</sup> E. Opaliński created a table of the land estates of Greater Poland’s ruling elites during the reign of Sigismund III, though he separated the estates owned at the beginning of one’s public life, those at the end of one’s life and those outside of Greater Poland; idem, *Elita władzy w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim za Zygmunta III*, Poznań 1981, pp. 34–37. Due to the dynamic nature and broad scope of this data, which included part of the seventeenth century, we decided not to include it as a point of reference.

<sup>64</sup> S. Leitgeber, *Potuliccy*, London 1990.

<sup>65</sup> Piotrkowska *Pozn. Wał.*, pp. 91–112; Piotrkowska *Kość. Wsch.*, pp. 289–320.

<sup>66</sup> Polaszewski, *Własność*, pp. 74–75.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 111–205.

into categories of large and petty property – the information about the actual income earned by the owners of the estates. To create a table of large landed properties in Greater Poland, we had to use other available criteria: the number of towns and villages that were part of the estates and the number of peasants in these estates. Furthermore, we know that the tax registers did not include the entire settlements (newly founded settlements and some small settlements were omitted), and when determining the fee, not all sources of income were taken into account (court lands, in particular demesne farms, were omitted). We also know that, due to exemption from fees and concealment, the number of *lans* in the registers deviated from the real one by more than 10%. We are aware that the picture painted on the basis of tax registers slightly differs from the reality of the time, but we believe that despite all these reservations, the cognitive value of this picture of a large property presented on the basis of tax registers justifies the preparation of a personal (see Annex IV) and tabular list (see Tables 3–5), provided that the criterion determining the order in the table is the number of *lans*, not villages (one village would not have been equal to another village).

We adopted 30 *lans* instead of 50 as the lowest qualifying limit for placement in the tables and the annex, in order to increase the cognitive value of the tables. Only in the summary table did we adopt the limit of 50 *lans*. The annex and tables do not include many owners of a small town and surrounding villages. Despite owning a town or part of it, owning less than 30 *lans* would produce only a small income, which would not provide them with a significant position even within their district. Among those with 30 *lans* or more, there were also those whose last names did not matter much. A special case is Gerd Popielewski, co-owner of the village of Popielewo in the Wałcz district, in the Czaplinek parish, whose part had 34.5 *lans*.<sup>68</sup>

The hierarchies of the largest landowners in the two voivodeships forming Greater Poland proper differ. But the true hierarchy in Greater Poland was determined by additional factors: the possession of estates in both voivodeships, the number and importance of royal estates used in Greater Poland and elsewhere, the fact of additionally possessing landed estates outside the discussed district and their size. It should also be remembered that the composition of the wealthy elite of Greater Poland was constantly shifting as a result of the extinction or weakening of the position of some families alongside the increase in wealth of others. Włodzimierz Dworzaczek noticed this phenomenon in the scale of the entire district.<sup>69</sup> Around the years 1579/1581, the Szamotulski family died out and so did the Górka family in 1592. After the death of Jakub Rokossowski, treasurer of the Crown, castellan of Śrem (13 July 1580),<sup>70</sup> his fortune was gradually dispersed, as was the property of Jan Krotoski, castellan of Inowrocław (died before 11 February 1583),<sup>71</sup> Kasper Zebrzydowski, voivode of Kalisz (died after 6 August 1582, and before 26 August 1584),<sup>72</sup> Krzysztof Iwiński (died before 17 December 1592),<sup>73</sup> Jan Konarski, castellan of Kalisz (died after 14 June, and before 20 August 1599),<sup>74</sup> and later Jerzy Latański (died in 1602),<sup>75</sup> Jan Spławski, voivode of Inowrocław (died in 1602, before 15 April),<sup>76</sup> Jan Roszkowski, castellan of Przemęt (died after 16 August 1603, and before 22 June 1604).<sup>77</sup> However, the estates of the Czarnkowski, Leszczyński, Grudziński, and Przyjemski (the starting point was the position of the starosta of Konin in this family from 1580 onwards) and Opaliński families grew.

Out of 46 people found in the tables, only eight had estates in both voivodeships: Piotr and Kasper Potulicki, Andrzej and Stanisław Górka, Jakub Rokossowski, Andrzej Opaliński, Rafał Leszczyński, Krzysztof Iwiński.

<sup>68</sup> Piotrkowska Pozn. Wał., pp. 56, 104.

<sup>69</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Skład społeczny wielkopolskiej reprezentacji sejmowej w latach 1572–1655*, [in:] *Studia nad dziejami społeczeństwa polskiego i kultury dawnej Polski w wiekach XV–XVIII*, Warsaw 2010, pp. 231–259.

<sup>70</sup> H. Kowalska, *Rokossowski Jakub, podskarbi koronny (zm. 1580)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 31, p. 537; *Urzędnicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, under supervision of K. Chłapowski et al., ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1992 (*Urzędnicy Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku*, vol. 10), no. 750.

<sup>71</sup> UdR. Spisy VI/2, no. 608.

<sup>72</sup> UdR. Spisy I/2, no. 448.

<sup>73</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie w Wielkopolsce, na Kujawach i Mazowszu 1565–1696 (materiały źródłowe)*, Warsaw 2007, p. 38.

<sup>74</sup> UdR. Spisy I/2, no. 181.

<sup>75</sup> I. Kaniewska, *Latański Jerzy*, [in:] PSB, vol. 16, p. 564.

<sup>76</sup> UdR. Spisy VI/2, no. 892, [in:] PSB, vol. 41, p. 149 (W. Chorążyczewski).

<sup>77</sup> UdR. Spisy I/2, no. 1067.

As for the use of royal estates, especially in Greater Poland,<sup>78</sup> in the early 1580s, Andrzej Opaliński was the general starosta of Greater Poland, Andrzej Górka was the starosta of Kościan, Gniezno, Wałcz and Jaworów in the Ruthenian Voivodeship and the starosta of Busko in the Belz Voivodeship, Stanisław Górka – the starosta of Koło, Mosina (up to 1588), Ujście-Piła (up to 1588), and from 1583 (after the death of brother Andrzej) also the starosta of Gniezno, Jakub Rokossowski was the gord starosta of Ostrzeszów in the Wieluń land and a tenant of customs of the Crown and (jointly with Piotr Zborowski) administrator of the crown mint, Andrzej Opaliński – starosta of Śrem and Kopanica, and the starosta Rohatyń in the Ruthenian Voivodeship, Piotr Czarnkowski – starosta of Babimost and Kcynia, Stefan Grudziński – starosta of Mieścisko and – from 1585 – of Wałcz, Jan Opaliński – starosta of Pobiedziska, Krzysztof Iwiński – starosta of Powidz. In 1588, Stanisław Górka lost the Mosina and Ujście-Piła starosta's districts due to his consistent support for the election of Maximilian Habsburg. The first was received by Hieronim Gostomski, the owner of estates in the Rawa and Masovia Voivodeships (formerly the starosta of Środa by marriage with the widow of the previous starosta), who simultaneously (after the death of Stefan Grudziński) received the starosta's district of Wałcz, entering the wealthy elite of Greater Poland, even though his fortune in Greater Poland was based almost exclusively on the royal lands.<sup>79</sup> A similar situation has occurred in the cases of Jan Zborowski, the castellan of Gniezno, the starosta of Odolanów<sup>80</sup> and Jan Zamoyski, the chancellor and hetman, the starosta of Międzyrzecz, who had fortunes in Lesser Poland.

The second starosta office after Stanisław Górka (Ujście-Piła) was received by Piotr Potulicki, from 1585 the gord starosta of Wyszogród in the Mazovia Voivodeship.<sup>81</sup>

As for hereditary estates outside Greater Poland, the Górka brothers were unparalleled. At the end of his life, Andrzej Górka, castellan of Międzyrzecz (died on 5 January 1583),<sup>82</sup> was the owner of huge estates in Szczepieszyn in the Chełm land of the Ruthenian Voivodeship, Złoczów estates in the Lwów land of the same voivodeship, two manors in Kraków and a manor in Lwów. His brother Stanisław, the voivode of Poznań, after 1580 owned the Turobin estate in the Chełm land, the Goraj estate, Dłotlice, Bochoznica, Kamionka in the district and Lublin Voivodeship, a manor in Kraków. In 1583, he inherited the fortune of his childless brother. He died on 23 October 1592, as the last member of the family.<sup>83</sup> His enormous fortune was shared by his nephews, the Czarnkowski brothers.<sup>84</sup> It must be noted that, through a complicated settlement process, the Szczepieszyn estate was sold on 19 June 1593, to Jan Zamoyski.<sup>85</sup>

Piotr Potulicki, the voivode of Płock, owned the town of Służewo and eight villages in the Dobrzyń land, cluster of estates in Sierpc and Biezuń (three towns and numerous villages) in the Płock Voivodeship, three villages in the Rawa Voivodeship, Sarnowo in the Dobrzyń land.<sup>86</sup> Rafał Leszczyński, from 1580 the castellan of Śrem, owners of minor royal lands in the Kalisz district and in the Radziejów district of the Brześć Kujawski Voivodeship, from 1570 was the heir of the Baranów estates (nine villages) in the Sandomierz district,<sup>87</sup> and Krzysztof Iwiński, leaseholder of the minor royal lands in the Pyzdry district.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> The following paragraph is based on: K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 19–46; UdR. Spisy I/2, no. 1185; UdR. Spisy II/2, no. 1508; K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie 1565–1795. Materiały źródłowe*, Warsaw 2017, p. 4, footnote no. 26.

<sup>79</sup> In 1589, he is mentioned as the owner of 3.5 villages in the Pyzdry district; Teki Dworzaczka, 13138 (no. 1400).

<sup>80</sup> From 1566 onwards, Zborowski owed four villages in the Kalisz district (see above, p. 231, footnote no. 17). He was also the owner of the town of Pleszew.

<sup>81</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie w Wielkopolsce*, p. 94.

<sup>82</sup> UdR. Spisy I/2, no. 616.

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem, no. 1004.

<sup>84</sup> The act of the division of Górkis' property between the Czarnowski brothers from 1593; Teki Dworzaczka, 4031 (no. 959).

<sup>85</sup> SMK VII, no. 296–301; concerning the circumstances of this transaction and its legal controversies, see M. Stankowa, *Dawny powiat szczepieszki XIV–XVIII w.*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 28–31.

<sup>86</sup> S. Leitgeber, *Potuliccy*, p. 62.

<sup>87</sup> Teki Dworzaczka 4589 (no. 3), *Monografia Leszczyńskich*. The small royal villages in the Kalisz district were the lease of the Blizan family (five villages).

<sup>88</sup> Grabowo, Romiejewice i Wielino (Ugielno).

**Table 1. Estates owned by Church institutions at the end of the sixteenth century. Institutions of diocese clergy**

Institution	Pzn	Pzn	Pzn	Kls	Kls	Kls	Greater Poland	Greater Poland	Greater Poland
	Towns	Villages	Parts of villages	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages
Gniezno Archbishopric				3	62		3	62	
Poznań Bishopric	6	55		2	33	1	8	88	1
Gniezno suffragan diocese					3			3	
Poznań suffragan diocese		1						1	
Gniezno cathedral chapter		3		1,5	53	2	1,5	56	2
Poznań cathedral chapter	2	42	4		7	1	2	49	5
Chapter of the collegiate of St. George in Gniezno					4			4	
Chapter of the collegiate of NMP in Kalisz					3	1		3	1
Penitentiaries of Gniezno					1			1	
Endowment of the parsons					14			25	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6,5</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14,5</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>9</b>

**Table 2. Estates owned by Church institutions at the end of the sixteenth century. Institutions of regular clergy**

Institutions	Pzn	Pzn	Pzn	Kls	Kls	Ksl	Greater Poland	Greater Poland	Greater Poland
	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages
Benedictine monastery in Lubiń	2	27			1		2	28	
Cistercian monastery in Bledzew	1	11					1	11	
Cistercian monastery in Paradyż		9						9	
Cistercian monastery in Obra		10	1					10	1
Cistercian monastery in Przemęt	1	16					1	16	
Monastery of canons regular in Trzemeszno				3	35		3	35	
Benedictine monastery in Mogiła				1	13		1	13	
Cistercian monastery in Łąd				2	21		2	21	
Cistercian monastery in Wągrowiec				1	25		1	25	
Cistercian monastery in Koronowo					9			9	
Monastery of Cistercian Nuns in Owińska		14						14	
Monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Głogów		3						3	
Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Gniezno					8	1		8	1

Institutions	Pzn	Pzn	Pzn	Kls	Kls	Ksl	Greater Poland	Greater Poland	Greater Poland
	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages	Towns	Villages	Parts of Villages
Monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Gniezno	1				9	1	1	9	1
Monastery of Knights Hospitallers in Poznań		12			1			13	
Monastery of canons regular in Kalisz					1	5		1	5
Benedictine provostry in Kościelna Wieś					4			4	
Carmelite monastery in Poznań		3						3	
Jesuit collegium in Poznań		4	1					4	1
Jesuit collegium in Kalisz		3	1		9	1		12	2
Monastery of St. Catherine's Sisters in Poznań		4						4	
Total	5	116	3	7	145	107	12	252	11

**Table 3. Larger landowners in the Poznań Voivodeship around 1580s**

Person	Number of owned lans	Number of owned towns	Number of owned villages	Number of owned parts of villages
Marcin Rokossowski, treasurer	173	1.5	17	9
Marcin Ostroróg-Lwowski	167.25	2	21	3
Andrzej Opaliński, grand marshal of the Crown	159.5		9	5
Piotr Czarnkowski, castellan of Poznań	144.75	1.5	22	3
Zofia Ostroróg	135.5	1	12	1
Barbara Czarnkowska	107.25	1.5	12	8
Stanisław Rydzyński	107.25	1.5	9	4
Andrzej Górka, castellan of Międzyrzecz	104.75	2	16	1
Katarzyna Szamotulska	99	1,5	8	5
Piotr Opaliński	86.5		6	3
Kasper Potulicki	64.75	1	7	1
Abraham Zbąski	64.5	1	9	5
Łukasz Rydzyński	59.75	0.5	6	7
Mikołaj Tomicki	59.5		4	
Piotr Potulicki, voivode of Płock	59		13	3
Jan Leszczyński	58.75	1	5	1
Jadwiga Czarnkowska	58.5	0.5	9	6
Janusz Przeclawski	58.5		8	1
Jan Zbyszewski	53		4	

Person	Number of owned lans	Number of owned towns	Number of owned villages	Number of owned parts of villages
Jakub Niegolewski	52,75		3	3
Łukasz Gultowski	52	0.5	7	4
Jan Opaliński, castellan of Rogoźno	48.25	1	4	
Stanisław Górka, voivode of Poznań	47.5	1	16	
Mikołaj Borek-Gostyński	43.5	0.5	4	5
Jan Małachowski	43.5	1	4	3
Mikołaj Rostworowski	38.5		6	3
Jan Broniewski	38.5	0.5	4	1
Janusz Grudziński, castellan of Krzywiń	35.5		5	
Rudiger Wedelski	35.5	0.5	1	5
Stanisław Tuczyński	35	0.5	1	5
Gerd Popielewski	34.5			1
Stanisław Prusimski	32		4	2
Henryk Blankenburg	30		3	3

**Table 4. Larger landowners in the Kalisz Voivodeship around 1580s**

Person	Number of owned lans	Number of owned towns	Number of owned villages	Number of owned parts of villages
Piotr Potulicki, voivode of Płock	307	3	20	
Rafał Leszczyński, castellan of Środa	140		18	2
Stanisław Górka, voivode of Poznań	136	2	17	1
Andrzej Górka, castellan of Międzyrzecz	130	2	14	
Jan Rozdrażewski, subcamerarius of Poznań	108	2	13	
Kasper Zebrzydowski, voivode of Kalisz	104	2	9	
Stefan Grudziński, castellan of Nakło	104		6	
Jan Krotoski	86		7	1
Kasper Potulicki	81		10	
Jerzy Latański	70	2.5	20	
Jan Splawski, castellan of Inowrocław	70		5	
Jan Roszkowski, castellan of Przemęt	66	1	14	1
Krzysztof Iwiński	64		15	
Andrzej Kościelecki	54		4	
Jan Konarski, castellan of Kalisz	46		6	4
Andrzej Opaliński, grand marshal of the Crown	44		7	
Jakub Rokossowski	51		1	5
Krzysztof Kościelecki	39	1	3	
Katarzyna Przyjemka	33		7	

**Table 5. Larger landowners in Greater Poland around 1580s**

Person	Number of owned lans	Number of owned towns	Number of owned villages	Number of owned parts of villages
Piotr Potulicki, voivode of Płock	356	3	33	3
Andrzej Górka, castellan of Międzyrzecz	235	4	33	1
Jakub Rokossowski, Treasurer of the Crown	213.5	2.5	22	9
Andrzej Opaliński, grand marshal of the Crown	203	5	16	5
Stanisław Górka, voivode of Poznań	187	3	33	
Marcin Ostroróg	167.5	2	21	3
Kasper Potulicki	145.25	1	17	2
Piotr Czarnkowski	144.75	1.5	22	3
Zofia Ostroróg	135.5	1	12	1
Jan Rozdrażewski, subcamerarius of Poznań	108.37	5	2	13
Barbara Czarnkowska	107.25	1.5	12	8
Stanisław Rydzyński	107.25	1.5	9	4
Kasper Zebrzydowski, voivode of Kalisz	104.2	5	2	9
Stefan Grudziński, castellan of Nakło	103.5			6
Katarzyna Szamotulska	99	1.5	8	5
Piotr Opaliński	86.5		6	3
Jan Krotoski	85.5		7	1
Jerzy Latański	70.25		2.5	20
Jan Sławski, voivode of Inowrocław	70.25			5
Krzysztof Iwiński	69.5			17
Jan Roszkowski, castellan of Przemęt	66	1	14	1
Abraham Zbąski	64.5	1	9	1
Łukasz Rydzyński	59.75	0.5	6	7
Mikołaj Tomicki	59			4
Jan Leszczyński	58.75	1	5	1
Jadwiga Czarnkowska	58.5	0.5	9	6
Janusz Przeclawski	58.5		8	1
Andrzej Kościelecki	54			4
Jan Zbyszewski	53			4
Jakub Niegolewski	52.75		3	3
Łukasz Gułtowski	52	0.5	7	4

## ANNEX I

### ROYAL ESTATES AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The modern names are provided in brackets if they clearly differ from the sixteenth century ones or in a way that hinders identification.

1. General starosta's district of Greater Poland (starosta's district of Poznań, starosta's district of Kalisz) (Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski, voivode of Łęczyca)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Poznań – town, Ławica;
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Kalisz – town, Nędzrzewo, part of Ogrody, part of Stare Miasto, part of Winiary.
2. Starosta's district of Wałcz (Jan Gostomski)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wałcz district: Wałcz – town, Gostomia, Brzeźnica, Budy, part of Chwiram, Duderlak (Dudy-lany), Jaroszewo, Klawiter (Głowaczewo), Leżenica, Nadorycz (Nadarzyce), Nowy Dwór, Róża, Rozwałd (Różewo), Skrzatusz, Sypnow, Szwecja, Wiesiołka, Witkowo (Witankowo), Zbytno.
3. Starosta's district of Wschowa (Wacław Kiełczewski, castellan of Biechowo)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wschowa district: Wschowa – town.
4. Starosta's district of Nakło
  - Kalisz Voivodeship (Piotr Opaliński, incisor Regni)
    - Nakiel district: Nakiel – town, Cietrzewnica (Trzeciewnica), Karnowo, Lubaszcz, Olszewka, Sadkowski – mill, Satki.
    - Kcynia district: Polikno.
5. Starosta's district of Drahim (Jan Sędziwój Czarnkowski)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wałcz district: Czaplonek – town, Drahim – castle, Baugienbul, Cykier (Sikory), Floresia (Jeziorna), Heinrichsdorf (Siemczyno), Klausewo (Kluczewo), Lubowo, Nabliny, Nowa Wieś (Prosinko), Nowe Worowo, mill in Piła (Żerdno), Prosino, Rakowo, forge in Ruda (Kuźnica Drawska), Szarpenort (Ostroróg), Swartężel (Czarne Wielkie), Swartężel Mały (Czarne Małe).
6. Starosta's district in Ujście (Piotr Potulicki, Kalisz voivode)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Piła – town, Ujście – town, Chrostowo, Czechy, Dolaszewo, Garbaty Most, Głochotka – mill (Czaplino), Hamer Pilski – forge (Kuźnica Pilska), Huta Pokrzywnicka – forge (Pokrzywno), Jastrowie, Kłapsztyn – mill (Cyk), mill in Krąpka, Krępa, Łubianka (Stara Łubianka), Motylewo, Nowa Wieś, Ołędrowo (Ługi Ujskie), Płynica, Podanino, Pokrzywnica, Ptusza – mill, Rataje, Smolany – forge, Stobno, Biała Góra (Szydłowo), Tarnowo, Zawada;
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Nakiel district: Brodna, Dobrzyca, Jaracz – mill, Kaczory, Plecemin, Skórka, Śmiełowo, Tarnowski – mill (Tarnowski Młyn), Tarnówka, Zeligiewo.
7. Starosta's district in Międzyrzecz (Jan Zamoyski, Chancellor and Grand Hetman of the Crown)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Międzyrzecz – town, Skwierzyna – town, Stary Borowy Młyn – mill, Kęsica, Kopermil – mill, Lutol Suchy, part of Murzynowo, Nietoperek, Żółwin
    - Kościan district: Rogoziniec.
8. Starosta's district of Rogoźno (Michał Sokołowski)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Rogoźno – town, Budzyń – town, Brzekiniec, Cieśle, Garbatka, Gościejewo, Owczegłowy, Owieczki, Podstolice, Ruda – forge, Tarnowiec, Tłukawy, Zawada.

9. Starosta's district of Oborniki (Andrzej Obornicki)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Oborniki – town, Bogdanowo, Chowanowo, Chowanówko, Słomowo, Stara Wieś, Uścikowo.
10. Starosta's district of Mosina (Maciej Szoldrski)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Mosina – town, Pożegowo
    - Kościan district: Krosna, part of Sowiniec, Żabienko.
11. Starosta's district Babimost (until 1598 – Wojciech Rakowski, from 1598 – Stanisław Cikowski, subcamerarius of Kraków)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Babimost – town, Brojce – town, Grojce Nowe (Grójec Mały), Grojce Stare (Grójec Wielki), Podmokłe Małe, Podmokłe Wielkie.
12. Starosta's district Kopanica (Stanisław Złotkowski)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Kopanica – town, Mała Wieś, Wielka Wieś, Wąchabno.
13. Starosta's district Kościan (Jan Orzelski)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Kościan – town, Bonikowo, Grodztwo – demense farm (Gurostwo), part of Kurza Góra.
14. Starosta's district Śrem (Andrzej Opaliński, provost of Płock)
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Śrem – town, Drzonek, Grzymisław – demesne farm, Nochowo, Stare Miasto – suburb.
15. Starosta's district of Kcynia (Piotr Czarnkowski)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kcynia district: Kcynia – town, Grabowo – suburb, Wójtostwo.
16. Starosta's district of Konin (Stanisław Przyjemski)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Konin district: Konin – town, Barczigłowo, Borzętów, Chorzeń, Czarnków, Głowiewo, Lisiec Wielki, Międzyzlesie, Modła Królewska, Morzysław, Patrychowo, Rumino, Stare Miasto, Wilkowo.
17. Starosta's district of Koło (Andrzej Opaliński, grand marshal of the Crown)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Konin district: Koło – town, Koło – castle, Brdowo – town, Białkowo, Bylice Małe, Bylice, Czołowo, Dąbrowica, Dębna, Dzierzawy, Gąsiorowo, Gostowo, Kieźrza, Kościelec, Lipie Góry, Mniszek, Osiek Wielki, Osowie, Ostrów, Podlesie, Rosocha, Ruchenna, Tarnowiec, Trzeźniewo, Wakowy, part of Zawady, Zduny.
18. Starosta's district of Gniezno (Piotr Opaliński, incisor Regni)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Gniezno – town.
19. Starosta's district of Kłecko (Sędziwój Czarnkowski)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Kłecko – town, Gole, Kamieniec.
20. Starosta's district of Mieścisko (Zygmunt Grudziński)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Mieścisko – town, Ruda – mill (Ruda Koźlanka), Wiela.
21. Starosta's district of Powidz (Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski, grand marshal of the Crown)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Powidz – town, Przebrodzino, Wielatkowo (Wylatkowo).
22. Starosta's district of Pobiedziska (Piotr Opaliński)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Pobiedziska – town, Gierzyno (Jerzyn), Koczonowo, Nadrożny – mill, Pobiedziska – demesne farm, Polska Wieś, part of Rybitwy, Węglewo.

23. Starosta's district of Odalanów (Jan Zborowski, castellan of Gniezno)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Odalanów (Odolanów) – town, Sulimierzyce – town, part of Chwalczewo (Chwaliszewo), Daniszyno, part of Jankowo, Kuźnica Odalanowska – forge, Łąkocin, Młyn Odalanowski – mill, Nabyszyce, Radszyce, Uciechów, Wierzbno.
24. Starosta's district of Stawiszyn (Jan Spåłowski, voivode of Inowroclaw)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Stawiszyn – town, Długa Wieś, Kiączyno (Stary Kiączyn), Tykadłowo, Wyrowo.
25. Starosta's district of Blizanowo (Rafał Leszczyński, castellan of Śrem from 2 February 1580)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Blizanowo, Grodzisko, Zborowo.
26. Starosta's district of Pyzdry (Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski, general starosta of Greater Poland)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Pyzdry district: Pyzdry – town, Dłusko, Lisowo, Nowa Wieś, Rataje, Sokolniki, Szamborowo, Wójtostwo.
27. Starosta's district of Środa (Hieronim Gostomski)
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Pyzdry district: Środa – town, Murzynowo Kościelne, Sabaszczewo.
28. Small leases
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Gonięcino, Łagiewniki, Rataje, Zegrz
    - Koscian district: Modrze.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: part of Borkowo, Czekowo, Kurza, Morza, part of Modłowa, Russowo, Tłokinia
    - Gniezno district: Chrościnko (Ćwichowo), part of Dębłowo, Laskowo, Łagiewniki, Międzychód, Ośno, Podarzewo
    - Konin district: Gadowo, Kolno, Krąpsko (Kramsk)
    - Pyzdry district: Borzykowo, Grabowo, Jadamierz, Kleszczewo, Krzywagóra, vogt's village of Kwisowo, Pietrzykowo, Płowce, Romiejewice, Trzebiesławki, Tuleja, Wielino (Ugielno), Wrąbczynek.

## ANNEX II

### ESTATES OWNED BY CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The modern names are provided in brackets if they clearly differ from the sixteenth century ones or in a way that hinders identification.

1. Archdiocese of Gniezno
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Opatówek – town, Biskupice Szalone, Biskupice Smolczane, Borowo, Cienia, Godzieszewy Wielkie, Godzieszewy Małe, Ilmie, Górski – demesne farm, Michałowo, Noskowo, Porwity, Solec (Szulec), Trkusewo, Trojanowo, Trzęsowo, Warszewo, Zduny.
    - Gniezno district: Biskupi Młyn – mill settlement, Bożęcino, Czatom, Kędzierzyno, Lubecz, Ławiczyn – mill, Mięcierzyno, Odrowąż, Ostrowite Arcybiskupie, Raszewo, Siedlimowo, Słaboszewo, Szczytniki, Świątniki Wielkie, Wierzbiczany, Wola, Źeleźnica
    - Nakiel district: Kamień – town, Cerkwica Mała (Cerkwica), Lutowo, Lutówko, Płocicz, Zabartowo
    - Kcynia district: Źnin – town, Białowieżyno, Biskupino, Dochunowo, Godawy, Gogółkowo, Góra, Gorzyce, Janczewo, Januszkowo, Jaroszewo, Murczyno, Ostrów – suburb of Źnin, Piskorzewo – suburb of Źnin, Pniewy, Podgórzyno, Radostowo – suburb of Źnin, Sarbinowo, Sulinowo, Wenecja, Wilczkowo, Źędowo
    - Konin district: Dobrowo.

## 2. Poznań Bishopric

- Poznań Voivodeship
  - Poznań district: Buk – town, Pczew – town, Śródka – town, Babki, Biskupice, Dowieżyno (Dobieżyn), Durmowo, Duszniki, Głazewo, Główna, Głuszyna, Komorniki, Koszanowo, Kuligowo, Lechnino (Lechlin), Łowyń, Młynkowo, part of Ostrów Tumski, Plewiska, Podrzewie, Sarcz, Sękowo, Silna, Stok, Stołuń, Świechocin, Św. Wojciech, Tarnowo, Trzebieszewo, Wielka Wieś, Wilczyna, Zielomyśl, Żabikowo
  - Kościan district: Dolsko – town, Krobia – town, Wielichowo – town, Bukownica, Chumiętki, Dębsko, Domachowo, Goworek – mill, Góra, Grabionowo (Grabianowo), Gradowice, Grodnica, Jadamowo, Kościelna Wieś, Księginki, Kunowo, Łubnica, Mokrski – mill, Ostrowieczno Małe, Ostrów, Posadowo, Potarzyca, Rębowo, Sikorzyno, Stara Krobia, Sułkowice, Trzcienica, Zaborze, Żychlewo.
- Kalisz Voivodeship
  - Konin district: Ślesin – town
  - Pyzdry district: Słupca – town, Biskupice, Brzezie, Chotunia (Kotunia), Chrostowo, Ciężym, Ciężym Drugi (Kobylice), Drżązno, Dziedzice, part of Gałęzewo, Gołkowo, Kąty, Kosowo, Kryrowo, Krzykosy, Maczewo, Mądre, Młodujewo, Nadziejewo, Ołaczewo, Orkowo, Pętkowo, Pięczkowo, Policzko, Rogosko, Skarboszewo, Solec, Stępocino, Szamarzewo, Uścięcin, Wierzbovice, Winna Góra, Witowo, Wola (Wólka), Zajezerze.

## 3. Gniezno suffragan diocese

- Kalisz Voivodeship
  - Kcynia district: Rydlewo, Skarbienica
  - Gniezno district: Chomiąża.

## 4. Poznań suffragan diocese

- Poznań Voivodeship
  - Kościan district: Konojad.

## 5. Gniezno cathedral chapter

- Poznań Voivodeship
  - Poznań district: Czerleninko, Czerlenino
  - Kościan district: Słupia
  - Gniezno district: Łąkie, Pierzyska.
- Kalisz Voivodeship
  - Gniezno district: Kwieciszewo – town, Baranowo, Belki – mill, Berlinko, Biskupice, Braciszewo, Budziszław, Dębłowo, Drebnio (Drewno), Duszno, Dziekanowice, Gałęzewo, Gorzeszewo, Gościszyno, part of Jędrzejewo (part of Gniezno), Jeziercza, Jezierzany, Komorowo, Kąpiel, Korytkowo, Marzenino, Mnichowo, Nagomy – mill, Niestronno, Opatówko, Ostrowite Kapitulne, Parlino Małe, Parlino, Pawłowo, Polanowo, Pyszczynek, Pyszczyno, Siemianowo, Skrzynka, Szczawinko, Świątniki Małe, Waliszewo, Warchoń – mill, Wełnica, Złotkowo, Żydówko
  - Kalisz district: Ostrówko, Pietrzykowo (archdeacon), Skalmierzyce (provost), part of Stropieszyno, Wojcinko
  - Kcynia district: Słabomierz, Szczepankowo, Szczepanowo, Wojucino
  - Pyzdry district: Brzost (Brzostek), part of Gałęzewo, Gozdowo (provost), Lubrza, Mała Górka, Połóżewo, Przykuty, Śmieciska (archdeacon of Śrem), Włostowo.

## 6. Poznań cathedral chapter

- Poznań Voivodeship
  - Poznań district: Chwaliszewo – town, Ostrów – town, Chartowo, Czerwonak – mill (provost), Garaszewo (provost), Głuchowo, Gołuski, Gotartowo, Góra, part of Górczyno, Janikowo (provost), Jankowo, Junikowo, Kicina (provost), Kobylniki, Kokoszczyno, Kozięgłowy, Lisówki, Lusowo (dean), Michowo, Ninkowo (Minikowo), Nołtowo (part of Poznań), part of Ostrów Tumski, Pabianowo (Fabianowo), Pęczkowo (provost), Piętrowo, Puszczykowo, Rogalinko, Sarbinowo, Skrzynki, Starczynowo, Szewce (provost), Śródka, part of St. Martin, Świątniki (curator), Tanieborze, Trojanowo, Trzcielino Małe, Zawady, Żegowo
  - Kościan district: Bienkowo, Górka, part of Kielczewo, Pełczyno, Szymanowo (archdeacon), Tworzykowo.

- Kalisz Voivodeship
  - Gniezno district: Glinka Księża (Glinka Duchowna), Stęszewo
  - Pyzdry district: Giecz, Kaczanowo (curator), Mączniki (provost), Niesłabino, Poświętne (dean), Samniszewo (archdeacon).
- 7. Chapter of the Collegiate of St. George in Gniezno
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Jerzykowo, Malenino.
- 8. Chapter of the Collegiate of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kalisz
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Popowo, part of Stare Miasto, Żydowo.
- 9. Penitentiaries of Gniezno
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Kawiory.
- 10. Benedictine abbot in Lubiąż
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Krzywiń – town, Bieżeń, Cichowo, Dalewo, Gerlachowo, Gniewowo, Gostyń Stary, Górka Mnisza (Górka Duchowna), Jerka, Kosowo, Lubiąż, Łagowo, Łuszkowo, Mościszki, Nowy Dwór, Osowo, Siemowo, Stankowo, Stężyca, Szczodrochowo, Świąciec, Targowisko, Wieszkowo, Wławie, Woniesiecz, Wyrzeka, Zbechy, Żelazno
    - Wschowa land: Świąciechów – town.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Pyzdry district: Garby.
- 11. Cistercian abbot in Bledzew
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Bledzew – town, Chełmsko, Falkwald (Sokoła Dąbrowa), Kalsko, Nowa Wieś, Osiecko, Popowo, Rokitno, Stary Dworek, Twierdzielewo, Zębsko.
- 12. Cistercian abbot in Paradyż
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Chociszewo, Jordan, Kaława, Paradyż, Stary Dwór, Wysoka, Wyszanowo
    - Kościan district: Koźminek, Lutol Wodny.
- 13. Cistercian abbot in Obra
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Chorzemino, Jazieniec, Kiaków, Kiełpiny, Krąpsko Małe, Krąpsko Wielkie, Nieborza, Obra, Ruchocki Młyn – mill, Siedlec, Żodyń.
- 14. Cistercian abbot in Przemęt
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Przemęt – town, Błotnica, Ciosaniec, Górsko, Łupica, Mochy, Osłonino, Polodowo, Przysieka Niemiecka, Radomierz, Starkowo, Stary Klasztor (Kaszczor), Szreniawa, Świętopietrze, Wieleń, Zaborowo fram.
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wschowa land: Buchwald
- 15. Abbot of canons regular in Trzemeszno
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Trzemeszno – town, Gąsawa – town, Wielatowo – town, Bieślino, Bystrzycki Młyn – mill, Głowy, Jakubowo (Lulkowo), Jarcugowo, Kamieniec, Kamionek, Kątny Młyn – mill, Kierzkowo, Kokorzyce, Konratowo, Kozłowo, Lubień, Lubochnia, Łosośniki, Łysinino, Miława, Mniaty, Niewolno, Nowy Dwór, Oćwieka, Ostrowite Małe, Płaczkowo, Popielewo, Szelejewo, Szydłowo, Targownica, Tokarzewo (Strzyżewo), Trzemzał, Trzuskolom, Welma, Wtorek, Zieleń
    - Kcynia district: Ryszewko.
- 16. Benedictine abbot in Mogilno
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Mogilno – town, Bystrzyca, Chełbsko, Gaj, Izdby, Nowa Wieś, Olsza, Padniewo Księże (Padniewko), Strzelce, Świerczewiec – demesne farm, Wiecanowo, Wójcino, Wszędzień, Żabno.

17. Cistercian abbot in Łąd
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Mąkownica, Skorzęcino, Sokołowo
    - Konin district: Łądek – town, Zagórów – town, Dolany, Drzewce, Jaroszyn, Kopajno, Koszuty, Kowalewo, Łąd – abbey, Lipa Góra, Oleśnica, Ratyń, Skokom, Sługocin, Świątniki, Święcia, Wierzbnio, Wola (Wola Koszucka), Wrąbczyno
    - Pyzdry district: Kownaty, Ostrów, Radłowo.
18. Cistercian abbot in Wągrowiec
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Łaziska, Łęgowo, Ochodza, Siemno
    - Kcynia district: Wągrowiec – town, Bartodzieje, Bobrowniki, Bracholino, Bukowie, Darawskie – suburb, Durowo, Kaliszany, Kamienica, Kaninko (Koninek), Klasztorzek, Kobielec, Krosno, Mokronosy, Nowe, Ostrowski – mill, Panigródz, Rgielsko, Sarpka, Straszewski – mill, Tarnowo, Turza.
19. Cistercian abbot in Koronowo
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Nako district: Dzedno, Hamer – forge (Sokola Kuźnica), Lucim, Łąck Mały, Łąck Wielki, Mąkowsk, Popielewo – pitch-making settlement, Wierzchucino, Wileze, Wiskitno.
20. Monastery of Cistercian nuns in Owińska
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Barcino, Biezdrowsko, Bolechowo, Bolechówko, Chłudowo, Dębogóra, Kurzęcino, Miękowo, Mściszewo, Owieńska, Przeciwierek, Radujewo, Troskotowo, Wierzeniczka.
21. Monastery of Cistercian nuns in Ołobok
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Biała, Ołobok, Wielawieś.
22. Monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Głogów
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wschowa land: Kandlewo, Kunersdorf (Konradowo), Szymolewo (Zamysłów).
23. Monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Gniezno
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: part of the town of Grzybowo, Jezierzany, Mączniki, Ujazd, Zdziechowa
    - Kcynia district: Grochowiska Księżę
    - Nakiel district: Piaseczno.
24. Commandery of Knights Hospitallers in Poznań
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Baranowo, Chrostowo, Krzesinki, Krzyżewniki, Maniewo, Psarskie, Rawowice (Rabowice), Radzim, Suchy Las, Ślepuchowo, Święty Jan, Żukowo.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Pyzdry district: Pogorzelica.
25. Commandery of Knights Hospitallers in Łagów
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Borszyn, Langfuld (Wielowieś), Templewo, Żarzyn.
26. Monastery of canons regular in Kalisz
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: part of Dobrzec, Gazewo, part of Kamion, Kuchary Połężne, part of Ogrody, part of Tyniec, part of Winiary.
27. Benedictine provostry in Kościelna Wieś
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Głogowa, Kościół (Kościelna Wieś), Krzywosądowa, part of Pawłówko, Piotrowo.
28. Monastery of Carmelites of the Ancient Observance in Poznań
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Czapury, Starołęka Mała, Topolnik – mill.

29. Monastery of Dominicans in Poznań
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Nołtowo (Onułtowo).
30. Monastery of Jesuits in Poznań
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Januszewice, Jeziorki, Słupia, Zębsko (Zemsko)
    - Kościan district: part of Kielczewo, Piekary.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Sławno.
31. Monastery of Jesuits in Kalisz
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Kokanin, part of Kościelec, Liskowo, Markwacz, Sierzchowo, Zawodzie, Żychowo
    - Pызdry district: Bochlewo, Luciny, Tokarki.
32. Monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Gniezno
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Kostrzyn town
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Grotkowo, part of Grzybowo, Krzyszczewo, Mieniszewo, Obora, Piekary, part of Piściec (Huby pod Lasem), Strzyżewo, Winiary, Woźniki, Żerniki.
33. Monastery of St. Catherine in Poznań
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Białokosz, Czerwony Młyn – mill, Piątkowo
    - Kościan district: Donatowo.
34. Endowment of the parsons
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Laskowo, Żołędzino – parson of Rogoziniec, Łężce Małe in parish Chrzypsko – parson of Biezdrowsko, Marlewo – provost of the collegiate church of St. Magdalene, Pawłowo – parson of Buk, part of St. Martin – parson of the church of St. Martin, part of St. Wojciech – parson of the church of St. Wojciech; Wybiartowo – parson of Kostrzyn, Zgierzynka – parson of Brody
    - Kościan district: Pianowo, Widziszewo – parson of Kościan, Police – parson of Poniec, Woszczkowo – mill of Niepart
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Wagowo – parson of Pobiedziska
    - Kalisz district: Zawady – pleban of Tłokinia
    - Kcynia district: Gąbino in the parish Chomętowo – parson of Słupsk, Krzepiszyno – parson of Kcynia, Miecharzewo in the parish Tarnowo – parson of Łekno, Ujazd – demesne farm – parson of Kcynia, Wieszki in the parish of Samokłęski – parson of Szubin
    - Konin district: Marulewo in the parish of Brudzew – parson of Białkowo, Modła Plebańska in the parish of Stare Miasto – parson of Konin, Straszkowo in the parish of Kościelec – parson of Koło, Święciec – parson of Krąpsko, Wróblina – parson of Tuliszków
    - Pызdry powiat: Topola – parson of Środa.

**ANNEX III**  
**TOWN PROPERTY IN THE SECOND HALF**  
**OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

- Poznań Voivodeship
  - Poznań district
    - Town of Lwówek: Wojszczyno – suburb
    - Town of Międzychód: Dziecielino

- Town of Oborniki: Dąbrówka
- Town of Poznań: Bonin, Gaj, part of Górczyno, Helta – mill, Jeżyce, Kundorff, Luboń, Muszyńska Góra, part of Sołacz, Szyling, Śluza – mill, part of St. Martin suburb, part of St. Wojciech suburb, Ungrow – mill settlement, Wierzbak – mill settlement, Wierzbica, Wilda farm, Winiary, Wymykowo
- Town of Rogoźno: Międzylesie
- Town of Śrem: Pyszaca
- Kościan district
  - Town of Gostyń: Brzezie
  - Town of Kościan: Czarków, part of Kurza Góra, Naclaw, Sierakowo
  - Town of Poniec: Śmiłowo
- Wałcz district
  - Town of Wałcz – Braksztyn
- Wschowa land
  - Town of Wschowa: Przyczyna Mała, Przyczyna Wielka (Przyczyna Dolna, Przyczyna Górna).
- Kalisz Voivodeship
  - Kalisz district
    - Town of Kalisz: Chełmce, Czaski, part of Dobrcza Mała, part of Dobrzec, Młyn Staromiejski – mill, Ostrów, Rajsków, Saczyno, part of Stare Miasto, Szale, Takomyśl, part of Tyniec, Wola (Wolica)
  - Konin district
    - Town of Koło: Blizna (Nadolna Wieś), Nagórna Wieś
    - Town of Konin: Kurowo
    - Town of Brudzew: Brudzewska Wieś
  - Pyzdry district
    - Town of Pyzdry: Cieśle
    - Town of Śrem: Zbrudzewo
    - Town of Środa: Ruszkowo, Zielniki.

#### ANNEX IV

### MAJOR NOBLE LANDOWNERS FROM THE 1580s

#### 1. Piotr Potulicki, voivode of Płock

- Poznań Voivodeship
  - Poznań district: Goślina Kościelna (Goślina Murowana) – town, Boduszewo, Ceradz Stary, Goślinka, Jankowice, Kobylnica, Lusowko, part of Łęczyca, Przebędowo, Rakownia, Szymankowo, Uchorowo, Wierzenica, part of Wiry Małe, part of Wiry Wielkie.
- Kalisz Voivodeship
  - Gniezno district: Otoczna, Sędziwojewo, Stanisławowo
  - Keynia district: Chodzież – town, Szaradowo, Zalesie
  - Nakiel district: Miasteczko – town, Złotowo – town, Batorowo, Błękwit, Brzostowo, Głomsk, Górzna, Lipka, Łąkie, Potulice, Rudna, part of Skicz, Szyszkowo (Czyżkowo), Stawnica, Święta, part of Wiśniewka (Stara Wiśniewka), Zakrzewo
  - Pyzdry district: Zalesie Wielkie.

#### 2. Andrzej Górka, castellan of Międzyrzecz

- Poznań Voivodeship
  - Poznań district: Jasienie (Jasin), Kruszczywo (Gruszczyn), Swarzędz, Zalasowo
  - Kościan district: Górka – town (Górka Miejska), Osieczna – town, Niemarzyno, Roszkowo – demesne farm, Rozstępniewo, Sarbinowo, part of Sierakowo, Sierpowo, Sobiałkowo, Świerczyna, Trzebinia, Woliszewo (Olszewo).

- Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Pyzdry district: Koźmin – town, Borzęcice, Galewo, Gościejewo, Kaniewo, Kromolice, Lipowiec – demesne farm, Mokronos, Obra, Orla – demesne farm, Skałowo, Staniewo, Wrotkowo.
3. Jakub Rokossowski, treasurer of the Crown
- Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Sieraków – town, part of the town of Szamotuły, part of Brodziszewo, Bukowiec, Chorzępowo, part of Gaj (Gaj Mały), part of Gałowo, Gąsawy – demesne farm, Góra, Grabowy Młyn – mill (Grabowiec), Grobia, Jaroszewo, part of Jastrowie, Kaczlino, part of Kępa, Kłosowice, Mędzиковski Młyn – mill (Mędzisko), part of Nowa Wieś, Rzyżyno, Tuchola, Zatom Nowy, Zatom Stary
    - Kościan district: part of Bełczylas (Bączylas), Bukowiec Mały (Bukowiec), part of Karsiec (Karzec), Rokosowo, Żytowiecko
    - Wschowa land: part of Długie Nowe.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kcynia district: Margonin – town, Lipiny, Margońska Wieś.
4. Andrzej Opaliński, grand marshal of the Crown
- Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kcynia district: Brenno, Bukowiec Wielki, Dłużyna, Dominice, Grotniki, Łęki Małe, part of Spytkówki, Wijewo, Włoszakowice
    - Wschowa land: Hetmanice, part of Lgiń, part of Łysina (Łysiny), Nowa Wieś, part of Tylewice, part of Wygnańczyce.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Łuszczonowo (Łuszczanów), Słaboszewo
    - Pyzdry district: Borzujewo (Borzewo), Cielcza, Częszczewo, Radlino, Wilkowyja.
5. Marcin Ostroróg-Lwowski, castellan of Kamień
- Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Lwówek – town, Trzciel – town, Bobrówka – mill, Bolelice (Bolewice), Chmielinka (Chmielinko), Głuponie, Grodna (Grudna), Grońsko, Hamrzysko, Jabłonka, Komorowo, part of Konino (Konin), Mościejewo, Orle Małe (Orliczko), part of Pakosław, Róża, Rybojady, mill in Sąpolny Młyn, Sątop (Sątopy), Siercz, Tomyśl (Stary Tomyśl), Węgielny Młyn – mill (Węgielnia), Wielim (Wielonek), Wytomyśl, part of Zębowo.
6. Stanisław Górka, voivode of Poznań
- Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Stanisławowo – town, Wieleń – town, Drawsko, Kissy (part of Wieleń), Miała (Miały), Robakowo, Tulce, Wrzeszczyna, Żelichowo
    - Kościan district: Borowo, Borówko.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Pyzdry district: Kurnik (Kórnik) – town, Brzezcie, Czmiń (Czmoń), Dziećmiarowo – demesne farm, part of Januszewo, part of Kijewo, Kromolice – demesne farm, Pierzchno, Prusinowo, Radzewo, Runowo – demesne farm, Skrzyńki, Zieminio (Zimin)
    - Gniezno district: Czerniewo – town, Czerniewo, Nidom, Rakowo, Strzeżewo.
7. Rafał Leszczyński, castellan Śrem
- Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: part of the town of Śmigiel, Bocz (Bucz), part of Drzeczkowo, Grobia, part of Kuranowo (Koronowo), part of Nietaszkowo (Nietążkowo), part of Radomicko, part of Wyciążkowo (Wyciążkowo)
    - Wschowa land: part of Boguszyno, part of Długie Nowe, part of Długie Stare.
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: Dojutrowo (Dojutrów), Gołuchowo, Jankowo, part of Jedlec, Kajewo, Kliszewo, Pamięcino (Pamięcin), part of Pruszkowo (Pruszków), Przygodzice, Topola Mała, Topola Wielka, Wysocko Małe, Zagórzyno, Ząbczewo (Zębców), Żegocino.
8. Kasper Potulicki, son of the voivode of Brześć Kujawski
- Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Pniewy – town, Koninko (Koninek), Koźle, Krzestkowice (Krzeszkwowice), Lubocześnica, Lubosina, Psarskie, part of Zajączkowo, Zamorze.

- Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Keynia district: Grabowo, part of Konary, Kowalewo, Ostrówek (Ostrówki), Próchnowo, Słanki (Konstantynowo-Słomki), Stróżewo, Strzelce, Studzieniec, Szulaszewo.
9. Piotr Czarnkowski, castellan of Poznań
    - Poznań Voivodeship
      - Poznań district: part of the town of Człopa, Ryczywół – town, Boruszyno, Brzoza, Ciężym, Czuczarz (Szczuczarz), Drzonek, Drzonowo, Dupiewiec, Dupiewo, Krężoły, Krośnino (Krosin), Krośninko (Krosinek), Nieproszewo (Niepruszewo), Pieczyska (Przelewice), Połajewo, Prosna, part of Przybychowo, Sierakówko, Szonowo (Dzwonowo), Tamowiec, Trzebinia (Trzebin), Wyszyny
      - Kościan district: Kietlice, part of Wronczyno.
  10. Zofia Ostroróg, wife of the castellan of Międzyrzecz
    - Poznań Voivodeship
      - Poznań district: Międzychód – town, Charzewo, Chudopsice (Chudobczyce), part of Kozłowo, Lubosz, Łagwy, Michocino (Muchocin), Radgoszcz, Sędzinko, Strych (Strychy), Szewce, Świniary, Wielawieś, Wojnowice.
  11. Jan Rozdrażewski, subcamerarius of Poznań
    - Kalisz Voivodeship
      - Pyzdry district: Krotoszyn – town, Biejatki (Biadki), Bożacino, Dąbrowa, Durzyno, Dzielice, Gorzub, Grębowo, Kobierno, Krotoszyn Stary, Rozdrażewo – town, Sośnie, Tomice, Trzemeszno, Wrożewy.
  12. Barbara Czarnkowska, wife of the castellan of Rogoziniec
    - Poznań Voivodeship
      - Poznań district: Wronki – town, Białężyno, Biedzrowo, part of Brzeźno, part of Ciszkowo, part of Dębe, part of Goraj, part of Golcz (Gulcz), part of Góra, Hamer Czarnkowski – forge, Kissy (part of Czarnków), Klempicz, Kruszewo, Pianówka, Radosiewie (Radosiewo), Samoląsz (Samołęż), part of Sarb (Sarb), part of Walkowice, Zakrzewo (Wartosław).
  13. Stanisław Rydziński
    - Poznań Voivodeship
      - Kościan district: Poniec – town, part of the town of Rydzyna, Gołębino (Stary Gołębin), part of Gorzyce, part of Gorzyczki, Jasienie (Jasień), Jaszkowo, part of Kłoda, Lubonia, part of Moraczewo, part of Oporowo, Oporówko, Pomykowo, Słonino (Słomin), Witkówki.
  14. Kasper Zebrzydowski, voivode of Kalisz
    - Kalisz Voivodeship
      - Nakiel district: Sempelborg (Sępólno Krajeńskie) – town, Więcborg – town, Pemperzyno (Pęperzyn), Sikorze (Sikorz), Sitno, Śmiełowo (Śmiłowo), Wiśniewka, Witunia, Zakrzewko, Zboże.
  15. Stefan Grudziński, castellan of Nakło
    - Kalisz Voivodeship
      - Nakiel district: Gromadno, Gruszka (Kruszki), Podróźna, Radownica, Szczerbinko (Szczerbin), Żelazne (Żelazno).
  16. Katarzyna Szamotulska
    - Poznań Voivodeship
      - Poznań district: Kazimierz – town, part of the town of Szamotuły, part of Brodziszewo, Cerkwica, part of Gaj (Gaj Mały), Gałowo, Gorszewice, part of Jastrowie, Komorowo, Nowa Wieś (part of Kaźmierz), Piersko, part of Szczuczyno, Śmiłowo.
  17. Piotr Opaliński
    - Poznań Voivodeship
      - Kościan district: Dokowo Mokre, Dokowo Suche, Jabłona Nowa (Wioska), part of Lubiechowo, part of Łęki Wielkie, Łomnica, part of Parzęczewo, Ptaszkowo Małe, Ptaszkowo Wielkie, Uścięcice.
  18. Jan Krotoski, son of the voivode of Inowrocław
    - Kalisz Voivodeship
      - Gniezno district: Bielawy, Jankowo, Krotoszyno, Mikołajkowo (Ludwiniec), Piekcino, Przedmiejska Wieś (part of Pakość), Sadłogoszcz, Wilkowo (part of Bielawy).

19. Jerzy Latański, son of the voivode of Poznań
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gnizeno district: Skoki – town, Brzozogaj, Dębica Mała, Dębica (Dębica Wielka), Dziecniarki, Łagiewniki, Myślęcino, Nowa Wieś (part of Strychowo), Oleksino, Opieczycze (part of Biskupice), Owieczki, Pęcice, Stawiany, Strychowo, Sulino, Zwanowo (Dzwonowo).
    - Kalisz district: Cieszykowo, Kościany, Krowica Wielka (Krowica Pusta), Sobiesęki
    - Kcynia district: part of Łekno town.
20. Krzysztof Iwiński
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Gniezno district: Chwałkowo, Czechowo, Drachowo Kopciów, Jarząbkowo, Kawieczyno, Mieroszka, Niechanowo, Nowa Wieś (Nowa Wieś Niechanowska), Potrymowo, Żelaskowo
    - Konin district: part of Leśnica, part of Powiercie.
21. Jan Roszkowski, castellan of Przemęt
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Kalisz district: part of Klichowo (Ludwinów)
    - Pyzdry district: Żerków – town, Bieździadowo, Dębno, Gąsiorowo, Jaszkowo, Konarzewo, Krzan, Lgowo, Lisówko (Lisew), Murzynowo Borowe (Murzynówko), Ostrówko, Pawłowice, Pulwica, Stanowo, Szczedrzejewo, Szczyrkowo, Śmiełowo, Żółkowo.
22. Abraham Zbąski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Zbąszyń – town, Boruja, Chrośnica, Hamer – forge (Kuźnica Zbąska), part of Jabłona Stara, Nadnie (Nądnia), Nowa Wieś, Przeprostynia (Przyprostynia), Pyrzyny (Perzyny), Rajewo (part of Zbąszyń), Strzeżewo (Strzyżew).
23. Jan Leszczyński
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: part of Drzeczkowo, Grunowo, Piotrowice, Wolikowo (Wolkowo)
    - Wschowa land: Leszno – town, Lasocice, Strzeżewice (Strzyżewice).
24. Andrzej Kościelecki, abbot of Bledzew
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Nakiel district: Głupczyno, Krostkowo, Niezuchowko (Niezychówko).
25. Jadwiga Czarnkowska, wife of the castellan of Santok
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: part of the town of Człopa, Biała, Bukwolt, part of Dębe, Gogolce (Jaglice), Gołacza (Golin), part of Góra, Kissy (part of Czarnków), Niekursko, part of Sarb (Sarbia), Stradom, part of Śmieszkowo, Trzcianka, part of Walkowice, Wołowe Lasy, Załomia (Zalom).
26. Łukasz Rydzyński
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: part of the town of Rydzyna, Będlewo, part of Gorzyce, part of Gorzyczki, part of Jarogniewice, Kawczyno, part of Kłoda, part of Srocko Małe, part of Srocko Wielkie, Tarnowa (Tarnowa Łąka), part of Wronczyno, part of Zaparczyno (Zaparcin)
    - Wschowa land: part of Kowalewo.
27. Mikołaj Tomicki
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Koźmino, Obrzycko, Śliwno, Wąsowo.
28. Janusz Przeclawski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: part of Chojnica, Drogocino, Knyszyno, Krzyszkowo, Napachanie, Przeclawie, Przeclawko, Żydowo.
29. Jan Opaliński, castellan of Rogoźno
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Opalenica – town, Jastrzębniki, Michorzewo Mokre, Michorzewo Suche (Michorzewko), Porażyno, Silino (Sielinko).
30. Jan Zbyszewski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Goślina Długa, Łoskuń, Potrzezanowo, Włókna (part of Potrzezanowo).

31. Jakub Niegolewski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: part of Kozłowo, Niegolewo, part of Otusz, part of Więckowice, Wilkowo, Wysoczka.
32. Łukasz Gułtowski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: part of the town of Stęszew, Dębno (Wielkie and Małe), part of Krapiewo (Kraplewo), Trzcielino Wielkie
    - Kościan district: Darnowo, part of Gryżyna, Kurowo, Lubosz (Lubosz Stary), part of Nielegowo, Piotrowo, Racat (Rakot), part of Spytkówki.
33. Jan Konarski, castellan of Kalisz
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Pyzdry district: Baszkowo, Bestwin, Chocica, Dzierzanowo, Ruda Bestwińska – forge, part of Rogożewo, part of Siedlec, Sarygród, part of Zaczółtowo Małe.
34. Mikołaj Borek-Gostyński, castellan of Santok
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: part of the town of Gostyń, Chrzastowo, part of Czachorowo, part of Czajkowo, Drobnino, Garzyno, part of Grodzisko, Krzemieniewo, part of Podrzecze.
35. Jan Małachowski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Kościan district: Czempiń – town, Gościejewice, part of Iłowiec Mały, part of Iłowiec Wielki (Ogieniewo), Piechinino, part of Rokosowo, Sowiny, Tarnowo.
36. Krzysztof Kościelecki, son of the voivode of Sieradz
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Nakło district: Krajenka – town, Hamer Żelazny – forge (Żeleźnica), Śmiardowo, Zalesie.
37. Maciej Rostworowski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Będlino (Bąblin), part of Chlewiska, Lulino, Lulinko, Myszkowo
    - Kościan district: part of Mórkowo
    - Wschowa land: part of Długie Nowe, part of Długie Stare, part of Wilkowo (Wilkowice).
38. Jan Broniewski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: part of the town of Stobnica, Jaryszewo, Piotrkowo (Piotrówko), part of Podlesie, Popowo, Popówko.
39. Janusz Grudziński, castellan of Krzywiń
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Boruchowo, Dąbrówka, Grodna (Grudna), Ludomie (Ludomy), Wełna.
40. Rudiger Wedelski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wałcz district: part of the town of Tuczno, part of Chwarstnica, part of Knakendorf (Rzeczyca), part of Marta (Martew), Mielęcín, part of Stibowo (Zdbowo), part of Stralemberg (Strzaliny).
41. Stanisław Tuczyński
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wałcz district: part of the town of Tuczno, part of Brunkowo (Bronikowo), part of Knakendorf (Rzeczyca), part of Marta, part of Schultzenhof (Jeziorki), part of Stibowo, Złotowo.
42. Gerd Popielewski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wałcz district: part of Popielewo.
43. Katarzyna Przyjemska, wife of the castellan of Łąd
  - Kalisz Voivodeship
    - Konin district: Cienino Małe (Cienin Zaborny), Cienino Wielkie (Cienin Kościelny), Inopole, Kamień, Nowa Wieś, Wilczna, Wola Podłęzna.

44. Stanisław Prusimski
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Poznań district: Bielsko, Bienino (Binino), part of Debrzno (Ławica), part of Milustowo (Miłostowo), Prusim, Tuczep (Tuczepy).
45. Henryk Blankenburg
  - Poznań Voivodeship
    - Wałcz district: part of Giżyno, part of Hansfeld (Kłosowo), Hermansdorf (Rutwica), part of Łowicz (Łowicz Wałęcki), Orla, Sadowo.

## ANNEX V

### COMMENTARY ON THE MAP: LAYOUT OF LANDED PROPERTY IN GREATER POLAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The map of landed property (at a scale of 1:500,000) shows the territorial division of land into five ownership categories: royal, Church institutions, towns, great nobility, and minor nobility. Mixed ownership occurs when a settlement point is located on the borderline between two categories.

The names of towns that are centers of estates have been indicated on the map. Other estates are marked with points. The numbers indicate starosta's districts, Church institutions and larger private owners.

The map shows the state of ownership of royal and Church institutions at the end of the sixteenth century, and in the case of nobility – due to the limitations of the sources – at the beginning of the 1580s.

In areas with a sparse settlement network, determining the ownership boundaries was difficult. As a result, the cartographic image is general, which caused the omission of very small enclaves of one type of property in estates of another type. The measurements of the range of landed property in individual categories were made using the Geographic Information System (GIS). The relatively large percentage of lands belonging to the Crown and Church institutions in two Lesser Poland Voivodeships were impacted by the capital, Cracow, and the affiliation to royal estates in large foothill and forested areas, which were poorly populated. In the Poznań Voivodeship, the extensive starosta's districts of Drahim, Wałcz and Ujście-Piła were located in sparsely populated, forested areas.

In the Greater Poland Voivodeships (as well as in the Cracow Voivodeship), unlike other voivodeships included in this series, there was clearly noticeable urban ownership. This was due to the existence of relatively large land ownership affiliations of Poznań and Kalisz.

In sixteenth century Greater Poland, large complexes of estates belonging to landed nobility occurred much more frequently in the Poznań Voivodeship than in the Kalisz Voivodeship (in the latter, the estates of Andrzej Górka and Jan Rozdrażewski in the Pызdry district and Piotr Potulicki in the Nakło district were particularly noticeable).

A novelty in this volume of AHP was the use of geoinformatic methods to determine ownership boundaries. Each place that is marked on the property map in the scale of 1:500,000 also boasts information on the type of ownership and owner in the database. The first step in developing the map was to generate Thiessen polygons (Voronoi polygons) around each settlement (each point). These are model surfaces whose boundaries are exactly halfway between the points and constitute their spatial “interaction zones”.<sup>89</sup> The next step was to aggregate (combine) those areas that had the same owner in the GIS program. The last step was their cartographic editing and adaptation to the previously designated borders of districts and voivodeships (see M. Gochna, *Administrative division. Borders of state territorial units*, in this edition III.2.1.4). It should be remembered that the method used is a certain model of reality, and therefore the surface measurements of areas with a certain property are approximate.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> J. Urbański, *GIS w badaniach przyrodniczych*, [no place] 2012, p. 55, [http://cgis.oig.ug.edu.pl/CentrumGIS/dane/GIS\\_w\\_badaniach\\_przyrodniczych\\_12\\_2.pdf](http://cgis.oig.ug.edu.pl/CentrumGIS/dane/GIS_w_badaniach_przyrodniczych_12_2.pdf) (access 13.12.2017).

<sup>90</sup> This paragraph was written by Tomasz Panecki, who together with Katarzyna Słomska, was responsible for the cartographic shape of the map.

Table 6. Structure of land ownership at the end of the sixteenth century

territory	ownership																			
	total		royal		Church		great nobility		minor nobility		town									
	km <sup>2</sup>	number of settlements																		
Gniezno district	3,058	516	152	5%	880	29%	145	28%	250	8%	41	8%	1,776	58%	306	59%	0	0%	0	0%
Kalisz district	3,264	463	312	10%	298	9%	45	10%	131	4%	24	5%	2,451	75%	354	76%	72	2%	11	2%
Kcynia district	2,384	285	57	2%	403	17%	54	19%	184	8%	18	6%	1,740	73%	209	73%	0	0%	0	0%
Konin district	2,312	336	270	12%	195	8%	26	8%	66	3%	8	2%	1,765	76%	254	76%	16	1%	4	1%
Nakło district	3,229	223	332	10%	253	8%	18	8%	662	21%	40	18%	1,982	61%	146	65%	0	0%	0	0%
Pyzdry district	2,880	433	167	6%	360	13%	58	13%	574	20%	76	18%	1,746	61%	269	62%	33	1%	5	1%
<b>Kalisz Voivodeship</b>	<b>17,127</b>	<b>2,256</b>	<b>1,290</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>2,389</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>346</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>1,867</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>11,460</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>1,538</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1%</b>
Kościan district	5,175	628	232	4%	865	17%	99	16%	1,070	21%	113	18%	2,969	57%	386	61%	39	1%	7	1%
Poznań district	8,979	770	990	11%	1,355	15%	145	19%	2,882	32%	204	26%	3,675	41%	331	43%	77	1%	20	3%
Walez district	1,945	87	920	47%	0	0%	0	0%	235	12%	15	17%	770	40%	35	40%	20	1%	1	1%
Wschowa land	554	44	7	1%	55	10%	5	11%	235	42%	14	32%	242	44%	22	50%	15	3%	2	5%
<b>Poznań Voivodeship</b>	<b>16,653</b>	<b>1,529</b>	<b>2,149</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>2,275</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>4,422</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>346</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>7,656</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>774</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>2%</b>
Greater Poland	33,780	3,785	3,439	10%	4,664	14%	594	16%	6,289	19%	553	15%	19,116	57%	2,312	61%	272	1%	50	1%

(2017)

Translated by Karolina Frank

### III.3.3.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Krzysztof Chłapowski, Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*

Tax registers and other sixteenth century sources (inspections, inventories, documents) constituted the basis for determining the affiliation of settlements at the end of the sixteenth century. Earlier and later sources played an auxiliary role. The source base was described in the chapter *Written sources*<sup>1</sup>. We have also used other studies. As in the entire AHP series, royal settlements were marked in red, settlements belonging to various Church institutions – in purple, settlements belonging to members of the nobility – in brown.

Royal estates consisted of towns and villages that belonged to gord starosta's districts ('elderships') and to the so-called non-gord starosta's districts, i.e. *tenutas* (rents). In the second half of the sixteenth century the gord starosta's district for Łęczyca Voivodeship was situated in Łęczyca. There were four gord starosta's districts in Sieradz Voivodeship: in Sieradz, in Piotrków, in Wieluń and in Ostrzeszów. In the first half of the sixteenth century there was only one gord in Sieradz land – in Sieradz. The 1557 Sejm (Diet) decided that another gord was to be built in Piotrków, but there was to be only one common starosta.<sup>2</sup> In 1569 the right of use of the estates belonging to the Piotrków division of Sieradz starosta's district was granted to Piotr Dunin Szpot.<sup>3</sup> This separation proved permanent and thus the process of the emergence of a new starosta's district was fulfilled. It must be emphasized, that there were some villages belonging to the estates of gord starosta's district of Przedecz (in Brześć Voivodeship) in Łęczyca district. The most important non-gord starosta's districts (rents) were: Inowłódz (Łęczyca Voivodeship), Brzeźnica, Radomsko ('starostwo radomskie' in the sources), Szadek (in Sieradz land), Bolesławiec and Grabów (in Wieluń land), of which two were separated from their mother gord starosta's district in the second half of the sixteenth century: Radomsko from Wieluń in 1579 and Szadek from Sieradz in 1588.<sup>4</sup>

The affiliation of royal villages to particular starosta's districts and rents was presented in the published inspection of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships from 1564/65.<sup>5</sup> The list of Crown lands omitted in this inspection due to their encumber obligations, that the 1562/63 Sejm (Diet) considered legally fulfilled (the so-called 'old sums'), is also known. The full list of these estates was given by Andrzej Tomczak in the introduction to the above-mentioned inspection, based on the protocols of the so-called 'revision of letters', namely: the control of legal rights of use of Crown lands, executed during the 1563/64 Sejm (Diet).<sup>6</sup> For our part we took into account the protocols from particular decisions made during the 1566 Sejm (Diet).<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, two villages were marked as royal, that were actually not mentioned in the 1564/65 inspections or in source materials related to the execution of property movement, and yet there are

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<sup>1</sup> See K. Chłapowski, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Sieradz.

<sup>2</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów a ruch egzekucyjny*, part 1: *Geneza egzekucji dóbr*, Wrocław 1974, p. 223; Urzędnicy II/2, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia*, p. 225; K. Chłapowski, *Elita senatorsko-dygnitarska Korony za czasów Zygmunta III i Władysława IV*, Warsaw 1996, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 1–205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, part 1, pp. XXXIX–L.

<sup>7</sup> ASK XLVI 41, ff. 62–77.

some hints in the sources suggesting that these villages belonged to the Crown. Wiechucice Wielkie, a village in Sieradz district, was frequently mentioned in the sixteenth century as a property of the wójt ('village-mayor' or 'town-mayor') of Sieradz and as such it was listed in the 1659 inspection.<sup>8</sup> In the village Ruda in Wieluń district there were, apart from the property of the nobility, four serfs belonging to the Wieluń castle according to the 1552 register, and the 1628 lustration mentions the: 'wójtostwo' (the village magistrate) in Ruda, village of the nobility, that earlier belonged to Wieluń starosta's district'; in this situation, even though Ryszard Rosin failed to find any earlier information that would confirm this state of affairs, we treated Ruda as a partly Crown village.<sup>9</sup>

In comparison to the state of Crown property recreated by A. Tomczak, the picture presented on the map is slightly different, because we marked settlements located in Crown property in the second half of the sixteenth century (after 1564) and treated mills, ironworks and demesnes that had their own name and that we were able to localize with certainty as separate hamlets. The list of Crown property with the division into starosta's districts and rents is included in Annex I.

Two villages mentioned in the inspections were marked as nobility villages. It was suggested to the inspectors that Kotków village (Łęczyca district) belonged to the Crown. During the 1566 Sejm (Diet) the case was considered but no decision was made.<sup>10</sup> Later this village always appears in sources as a village belonging to the nobility. Because we know that it became a property of the nobility already in 1428 by way of conversion,<sup>11</sup> there are no doubts that the record in the inspection must have been influenced by earlier affiliation of Kotków. Also, during the inspection, the inspectors were informed that the village Pacierz (Radomsko district) belonged to the Crown.<sup>12</sup> In 1566 the decision in this matter was postponed on the grounds that 'more ample evidence is needed'.<sup>13</sup> We found no evidence proving that this village had ever been a part of Crown property, so we marked Pacierz as a village of the nobility.

Church property, also called property of the clergymen in the AHP (due to abbreviations used in lists and indexes), consisted of property benefices of various church institutions (see Annex II). Detailed numerical data is presented in Table 1. It also points, that – as opposed to Sandomierz Voivodeship or Mazovia – in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships almost half of these institutions was seated outside the described territory. We present the state of the property for the end of the sixteenth century, and therefore we have included changes that occurred in the second half of this century, together with Gniezno seminary benefices in 1590: villages Mazowo and Romartowo (former property of Łęczyca custody) and in 1598: village Wola Kościelna (former property of Uniejów chapter).<sup>14</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century a new institution appeared among Church institutions owning estates in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships, and the one that deserves distinction for its rank and size of property. It was the Gniezno chapter. In 1555 archbishop Mikołaj Dzierzgowski handed the archbishopric property in Wieluń to the chapter. It consisted of: a part of Bobrowniki village, villages Brzoza, Drobnice, Grębień, Kadłub, Kamionka, Lisowice, Raduszyce, a part of village Sieniec, Wydrzyn, Załęcze Małe, Załęcze Wielkie in Wieluń district, Owieczki and Jarocice villages in Sieradz district and villages Rząśnia and Makowska in Radomsko district. In 1570 the chapter bought a part of Unków village in Sieradz district and exchanged it with the nobility, giving them Brzoza, Jarocice and Rząśnia for a part of Łaszew village in Wieluń district and for Cisów.<sup>15</sup> The latter was identified by Jerzy Topolski with Cisów in Sieradz district, that is, however, later described always as a property of the archbishop, so we have rejected this identification. In the eighteenth century a demesne Cisowa, belonging to Gniezno chapter and adjacent to the village Załęcze Małe is mentioned.<sup>16</sup> We decided that this is the demesne meant in 1570. In the eighties the chapter bought the remaining part of the

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<sup>8</sup> MRPS IV, no. 22905; MRPS V, no. 1300, 1301, 1398, 1399, 1412, 1413; LWWK 1659, part 2, p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, p. 289; LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 202; Rosin, Słownik, p. 145.

<sup>10</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 156; ASK XLVI 41, f. 70.

<sup>11</sup> MRPS IV, no. 11411 (certificate from 1518).

<sup>12</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 115.

<sup>13</sup> ASK XLVI 41, f. 63 v.

<sup>14</sup> J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundiów arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego od XVI do XVIII w.*, Poznań 1955, p. 112.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 106.

<sup>16</sup> J. Warężak, *Kartoteka osadnictwa ziemi sieradzkiej i ziemi wieluńskiej w XVIII w.*, zbiory IH PAN w Warszawie; Czaykowski.

village Sieniec from the nobility, as well as parts of Mierzyce and Przewóz villages in Wieluń district, and a part of the town Toporów in this district.<sup>17</sup>

In the first half of the sixteenth century among monasteries that owned property there was a Norbertine Sisters monastery in Imbramowice, to which the villages of Brzeźno, Dębowa Łęka and Nowa Wieś in Sieradz district belonged. In 1559 they were exchanged for the village Głanów and a part of Porąbka village in Proszowice district in Cracow Voivodeship, a hereditary property of Rafał Wargawski, the provost of the chapter of St. Florian in Cracow.<sup>18</sup>

Wisnka village in Radomsko district was included in the benefices of this chapter. In 1578 Stephen Báthory donated it, along with the entire prebend, to Cracow Academy, as we know – a Church institution as well.<sup>19</sup>

Unlike S. M. Zajączkowski, we have not marked Kotlinki Małe village in Szadek district as a Church property, because in 1520 Szadek mansionaries sold it to Mikołaj Starczewski.<sup>20</sup>

In several cases the question of ownership was debatable. Such was the case of the village Zakrzew in Radomsko district, about which we know from seventeenth century sources that it was obtained by Radomsko parish by virtue of the Koniecpolscy donation.<sup>21</sup> The Koniecpolscy administered the Radomsko rent in 1558–1645 (before 1579 as Wieluń starostas),<sup>22</sup> so perhaps this donation occurred before 1600. However, because we do not know the date of this alienation, we marked the village as a property of the nobility. The doubts concerned also the affiliation of Brudaki village in Brzeziny district. In the inventory of the property of Włocławek bishopric from 1534, and in the tax register from 1563, the village is described as ‘bishopric’s’.<sup>23</sup> In the inventories of the bishopric property from 1567, 1582 and 1598 the village does not appear, and in the remaining tax registers and later sources it is a village of the nobility. As such, we assumed that at the end of the sixteenth century Brudaki belonged to the nobility.

There were no doubts concerning the village Prusicko in Radomsko district, that was described by A. Pawiński as a property of Jędrzejów Abbey in the tax register from a 1553 publication.<sup>24</sup> However, apart from this entry, in revenue and Church sources (from *Liber Beneficiorum* by Długosz to eighteenth century sources) this village appears as a property of the nobility. As such, we assumed that the entry in the register is a mistake.

When it comes to parson benefices, it is known that the parochial church owned the so-called ‘poświętne’, usually of 1 lan (‘manus ecclesiasticus’), only sometimes bigger, and usually freed from taxation, so it did not appear in the registers.<sup>25</sup> We took into consideration only cases, in which an entire village belonged to parson benefices, or when the parson’s part exceeded standard benefice and constituted a significant part of a given settlement.

In town property we included villages belonging to towns, and in the described territory these were only royal towns. Town property consisted of: Wójciki demesne (belonged to Łęczyca), Zapusta Wielka and Zapusta Mała (to Sieradz), Bogwizdowy, Świerznica and Stobiecko (to Radomsko), part of Stare Miasto village (to Brzeźnica), Kurów, Turów, a part of Niedzielsko village (to Wieluń) and Budzice (to Bolesławiec). Together nine hamlets and two parts of hamlets (in Łęczyca Voivodeship one hamlet, in Sieradz land five hamlets and one part, in Wieluń land three hamlets and one part).

<sup>17</sup> J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundium*, p. 106.

<sup>18</sup> AGAD, dok. perg. 2766; MRPS V, no. 8675.

<sup>19</sup> *Catalogus diplomatum pergameneorum Universitatis Jagiellonicae*, ed. K. Kaczmarczyk, Cracow 1953, no. 2887, 288, 584; *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. Lepszy, Cracow 1964, p. 265.

<sup>20</sup> A.J. Parczewski, *Monografia Szadku*, Warsaw 1870, p. 73; Zajączkowski, *Sieć osadnicza*, p. 46, footnote 28.

<sup>21</sup> Warężak kartoteka.

<sup>22</sup> A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia*, p. 223; ASK XLVI 106, f. 237.

<sup>23</sup> Inw. 1534, pp. 88 f.; ASK I 16, f. 72; in 1529 the act of exchange of the nobility villages Skotniki, Wola Skotnicka, Raczków and Suliborowice, situated in Opoczno district in Sandomierz Voivodeship, for bishop’s village Brudaki and a half of Nowe Stawy village, that belonged to Niesułków presbytery (MRPS IV, no. 15261). This exchange was not fulfilled, what is proven by the fact that the listed villages from Opoczno district remained villages of the nobility. Perhaps the exchange occurred later, and in different scope.

<sup>24</sup> P. Wielkopolska, p. 281.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Et hic mansus dicitur ecclesiasticus... in Regno nostro Polonico vocatur Poświętne. Hic itaque mansus... est liber et immunis ab omni onere et servitio’, J.N. Gaworski, *Disertatio canonicocivilis de mensoribus sive agrimensuris*, Cracow 1775, pp. 67 f.

The list of villages and all Crown and Church settlements on studied territory (Table 6 and Table 1 in chapter III.4.4) shows irregularity in the location of villages from these two ownership categories.<sup>26</sup> The highest degree of Crown settlements occurred in Wieluń land. Certainly, their percentage in Łęczyca Voivodeship would be higher, were it not for the complete lack of Crown settlements in the small Orłów district, an exceptional situation in the entire Commonwealth. In the cases of villages and settlements of the Church in all three territorial units constituting the area of our interest their percentage is similar. Great estate complexes belonging to Włocławek bishopric and Cracow chapter are the reason why the percentage of villages and settlements of the Church in Piotrków and Brzeziny districts is significantly higher than in other districts. In Wieluń district a similar situation was caused by the growth of the property of Gniezno chapter.

It must be noted that – in comparison to Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeship – the percentage of Crown settlements (7.9) is higher than in Mazovia (6.5) and lower than in Sandomierz Voivodeship (11.0).<sup>27</sup> The percentage of Church settlements (13.8) is also higher than in Mazovia (9.0) and lower than in Sandomierz Voivodeship (16.0).<sup>28</sup> Only in Wieluń land the percentage of both these ownership categories is higher.

The differences in calculations concerning the percentage of Crown and Church villages in Wieluń land between us and Ryszard Rosin must be emphasized.<sup>29</sup> The slight increase in the percentage rate was due to our inclusion of the newly located village Czajków and detailed findings concerning Church property.

The percentage of Crown towns in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships (30.6) was lower than in Mazovia (43.0) and higher than in Sandomierz Voivodeship (19.6).<sup>30</sup> Only in Wieluń land the situation was different and the percentage (43.8) was close to that of Crown towns in Mazovia and almost equal to their percentage in Rawa Voivodeship (43.0).<sup>31</sup> The percentage of Church towns in the described territory (16.0) was similar to the percentage of such towns in Mazovia (15.0) and lower than in Sandomierz Voivodeship (23.1).<sup>32</sup>

In the lists of localized mills, ironworks and demesnes with individual names (Table 5) the fact that there are definitely more Crown and Church settlements of this sort than those of the nobility catches our attention. The reason lies in the different source basis – inspections and inventories of Crown property and inventories of Church property provided much information that could not have been included in tax registers, our only source for settlement of the nobility.

As in Mazovia and in Sandomierz Voivodeship nobility estates were the most common ownership category. The specific character of Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships included numerous instances of partial and one-village ownership and a lack of great ownership complexes of a dozen or so villages, present in Sandomierz Voivodeship<sup>33</sup> and many other voivodeships of the Commonwealth.

The estate structure of the property of the nobility could not be presented, as the information concerning village ownership in tax registers of Sieradz Voivodeship, especially from 1570s, is incomplete or wholly absent. It must be noted that farm (serfless) and partial gentry was present in Łęczyca Voivodeship and in the northern part of Sieradz district, such gentry was also recorded in the registers from Szadek and Piotrków districts, and also – to a lower degree – in Radomsko district and Wieluń land.

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<sup>26</sup> We do not compare our findings with Zajązkowski's findings on the property affiliation of settlement points in the beginning of the sixteenth century; Zajązkowski, *Sieć osadnicza*, p. 49–56.

<sup>27</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3a.2.

<sup>28</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3a.2.

<sup>29</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, p. 272 claims, that of 204 villages in Wieluń land 12.8% belonged to the king, and 13.7% to Church institutions.

<sup>30</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3a.2.

<sup>31</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7.

<sup>32</sup> The degree was calculated with the use of information about the number of Church towns in Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeship; I. Gieysztorowa, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.2.7; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3a.2.

<sup>33</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Map of landed property*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3b.2.

**Table 1. Church property in the end of sixteenth century**

Owner	Number of settlements*											
	Łęczyca voivodeship			Sieradz land			Wieluń land			Together		
	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages
gniezno archbishopric	2	40	2	3	47	1		2		5	89	3
Włocławek bishopric	1	23	4	1	36	3				2	59	7
Gniezno chapter					2	1	0,5	12	4	0,5	14	5
Cracow chapter		12		2	36	2				2	48	2
Łęczyca chapter		18	2								18	2
Uniejów chapter					3	1					3	1
Sieradz chapter					2						2	
Wieluń chapter								1	1		1	1
Sulejów abbey		4		1	9					1	13	2
Trzemeszno abbey	1	7								1	7	
Witów abbey					9						9	1
Tyniec abbey					2						2	
Jędrzejów abbey					4						4	
Ołobok monastery								8			8	
St. Andrew monastery in Cracow								4			4	
Mstów monastery					5						5	
Sieradz monastery					2						2	
Pauline brothers monastery in Wieluń								1			1	
Wieruszów monastery									4			4
Augustine brothers monastery in Wieluń									1			1
Krzepice monastery								1			1	
Gniezno seminary		2			1						3	
Kalinowa mansionaries					1						1	
Zgierz altarists			1									1
Cracow Academy					1						1	
Provost benefices		7	1		8	5			1		15	7
<b>Together</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>0,5</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11,5</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>37</b>

\* In this table mill and demesne hamlets were counted together with the villages.

**Table 2. Settlements according to ownership\***

District, land, voivodeship	Together	Crown	%	Church	%	Nobility	%
district: Łęczyca	592	28.5	4.8	65.5	11.1	498	84.1
Brzeziny	179	28.5	15.9	39.5	22.1	111	62.0
Orłów	177	–	–	17	9.6	160	90.4
Łęczyca Voivodeship	948	57	6.0	122	12.9	769	81.1

District, land, voivodeship	Together	Crown	%	Church	%	Nobility	%
district: Sieradz	367	48	13.1	23.5	6.4	295.5	80.5
Szadek	386.5	10.5	2.7	56	14.5	320	82.8
Piotrków	301	11	3.7	86.5	28.7	203.5	67.6
Radomsko	239	28.5	11.9	17	7.1	193.5	81.0
Sieradz land	1,293.5	98	7.6	183	14.1	1,012.5	78.3
district: Wieluń	160.5	24	15.0	30.5	19.0	106	66.0
Ostrzeszów	66	17	25.8	4.5	6.8	44.5	67.4
Wieluń land	226.5	41	18.1	35	15.5	150.5	66.4
Sieradz Voivodeship	1,520	139	9.2	218	14.3	1,163	76.5
Together	2,468	196	7.9	340	13.8	1,932	78.3

\* For statistical purposes parts of villages were treated as halves and added up. Due to an insignificant number of town villages we did not include a separate category for them, but combined them with Crown settlements.

**Table 3. Villages according to ownership**

District, land, voivodeship	Together	Crown	%	Church	%	Nobility	%
district: Łęczyca	575	22.5	3.9	62.5	10.9	490	85.2
Brzeziny	161	24.5	15.2	32.5	20.2	104	64.6
Orłów	172	–	–	17	9.9	155	90.1
Łęczyca Voivodeship	908	47	5.2	112	12.3	749	82.5
district: Sieradz	337	30	8.9	21.5	6.4	285.5	84.7
Szadek	374.5	9.5	2.5	51	13.6	314	83.9
Piotrków	282	8	2.8	75.5	26.8	198.5	70.4
Radomsko	220	17.5	8.0	16	7.3	186.5	84.7
Sieradz land	1,213.5	65	5.4	164	13.5	984.5	81.1
district: Wieluń	146.5	20	13.6	29	19.8	97.5	66.6
Ostrzeszów	51	9	17.6	3.5	6.9	38.5	75.5
Wieluń land	197.5	29	14.7	32.5	16.4	136	68.9
Sieradz Voivodeship	1,411	94	6.7	196.5	13.9	1,120.5	79.4
Together	2,319	141	6.1	308.5	13.3	1,869.5	80.6

\* See comments to Table 2.

**Table 4. Towns according to ownership**

Land, voivodeship	Together	Crown towns	%	Church towns	%	Nobility towns	%
Łęczyca Voivodeship	27	6	22.2	4	14.8	17	63.0
Sieradz land	29	9	31.0	7	24.2	13	44.8
Wieluń land	16	7	43.8	0.5	3.1	8.5	53.1
Sieradz Voivodeship	45	16	35.5	7.5	16.7	21.5	47.8
Together	72	22	30.5	11.5	16.0	38.5	53.5

**Table 5. Mill and demesne hamlets according to ownership**

Land, voivodeship	Together	Crown	%	Church	%	Nobility	%
Łęczyca Voivodeship	13	4	30.8	6	46.1	3	23.1
Sieradz land	51	24	47.1	12	23.5	15	29.4
Wieluń land	13	5	38.5	2	15.4	6	46.1
Sieradz Voivodeship	64	29	45.3	14	21.9	21	32.8
Together	77	33	42.9	20	26.0	24	31.1

**ANNEX I**  
**CROWN PROPERTY AT THE END**  
**OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

The present name, if different from the sixteenth century name, was given in brackets.

**Łęczyca starosta's district**

Łęczyca district

Part of Błonie village, part of Czerchów village, Dąbrówka, Dzierzbietów (Dzierzbietów Duży), Kargolec (Krogulec), Kowalowice, part of Krzeszewo Piskorze village (Krzeszew Szlachecki), Łęczyca city, part of Modlno village, Orla, Ostrów, Parzyce, Sobótka, Topola (Topola Królewska), part of Tymienica village, part of Wiczkowice village (Wilczkowice), part of Zegrzany village (Zegrzanki), Zgierz city

**Przedecz starosta's district**

Łęczyca district

Baby, Dąbrowice city, Długie Kąty (Długie), part of Jasieniec village, Kłodawa city, Kopy, Ostrówki

**Sieradz starosta's district**

Sieradz district

Baszków demesne, Brodnia, Brzeg, Ciągnisz mill, Czartek (Czartoria) mill, Dźwigorzów (Dzigorzew), Jakubice, Jeziora, Karśnia (Karsznie) mill, Kłocko, Kolasa mill, Koszatka (Świątki) mill, Lipka mill, Manice (Monice), Męka, Mnichów, Ruda, Sieradz city, Sucha, Wąglczów, Wiechucice Wielkie, Woźniki

Szadek district

Czechy, Polków

**Piotrków starosta's district**

Bugaj mill, Lubień, Meszcze, Mojków (Majków-Folwark), Piotrków city, Tuszyn city, Stary Tuszyn (Tuszynek Starościński), Wielga Wieś (Piotrków Trybunalski-Wielka Wieś)

**Wieluń starosta's district**

Radomsko district

Kielczygłów

Wieluń district

Part of Bobrowniki village, Czastary, Drab mill, Kamion (Kamień) city, Kniatowy, Krzywa Rzeka (Krzyworzeka), Łąka (Łąki Duże), part of Mokrsko village, Osiek, part of Pątnów village, Pichlice, Sokolniki, Wieluń city, Wierzbie, Wróblów

**Ostrzeszów starosta's district**

Ostrzeszów district

Borek city, Korpys mill, Mechnice, Ostrzeszów city, Siedlików

**Inowódz rent**

Brzeziny district

Bobrowiec, Brynica (Brenica), Gielzów, Glina, Glinnik, Góra, Inowódz city, Jasień, Konewka mill, Krępa mill, Królowa Wola, Lubocheń Mały (Lubochenek), Lubocheń Wielki (Lubochnia), Luboszewy, Luciąża (Liciażna), Łąg, Małomierz, Rzeczyca, Sadykierz, Spała mill, Zakościele, Zamoście (Inowódz – part), Zawady, Żędlowice

**Warta rent**

Sieradz district

Glinno, Kawieczynko, Warta city

### **Szczerców rent**

Sieradz district  
Chrzastawa, Stary Szczerców, Szczerców city

### **Szadek rent**

Szadek district  
Kobyła (Kobyła Miejska), Kromolin (Stary Kromolin), Szadek city, Wielga Wieś

### **Radomsko rent**

Radomsko district  
Dąbrowa (Dąbrówka) mill, Dobryczyce, Olszyński (Żaba) mill, Orzechów, Osty (Borowe) mill, Piekary, Radomskie (Radomsko) city, Radziechowice (Radziechowice Pierwsze), Ruda mill, Soczewka (Secówka) mill, Stępka mill, Strzałkowiec, Uszczanowice (Łuszczanowice), part of Wiewiórów village (Wiewiórów Rządowy)  
Szadek district  
Niechcice

### **Brzeźnica rent**

Radomsko district  
Bądków, Borowy (Borowiec) mill, Brzeźnica city, Dupice (Dubidze), Dworzyszowice (Dworszowice Kościelne), Dylów, Gajęcice, Kruplin (Kruplin Radomszczański), Pajęczno city, Siedlec, part of Stare Miasto village (Stara Brzeźnica), Wójtowski mill  
Wieluń district  
Wąsosze

### **Krzepice rent**

Wieluń district  
Stare Krzepice, Zajączki

### **Bolesławiec rent**

Wieluń district  
Bolesławiec city, part of Chotynino village, Wójcin, Żdżar  
Ostrzeszów district  
Domaborów, Jankowy, Wyszczanów

### **Grabów rent**

Ostrzeszów district  
Czajków, Czyżowski mill, Grabów city, Komorów, Kotłów, Kraszowice, Kuźnica Kraszowicka (Kuźnica Grabowska), Mikstat city, Smolny (Smolniki) mill

### **Lesser rents**

Łęczyca district  
Bolków (Balków), Dąbie city, Krzeszewko Średnie (Krzeszew Rządowy), Lubino (Lubień), Lućmierz, part of Niwki village, Ostrowy Wielkie, Wołodrza  
Brzeziny district  
Part of Swędowo village, Szczawin, Szeligi, Wiączeń Leśny (Wiączeń Dolny), Wiączeń Polny (Łódź – Nowosolna)  
Sieradz district  
Bogumiłów, Brąszewice, Czekań mill, Dupie (Dubie), Godynice, Grodziec Wielki (Grójec Wielki), Grzybek mill, Jaryszek (Sójki) mill, Kiełbaska mill, Klonowa, Kuźnica Brąszowska (Kuźnica Zagrzebska), Kuźnica Kłobar (Kuźnica Błońska), Lisek (Liski) mill, Luboła, Łagiewniki, Sokołów, Tyczyn, Witów, Żeglina inn  
Szadek district  
Grzybów, Prusinowice, Szadkowiec, part of Trzebiczna village, Wilamów

Piotrków district  
Łęki Królewskie, Uszczyn  
Radomsko district  
Dębowiec, Konary, Zawada  
Wieluń district  
Part of Biała (Biała Rządowa) village, Bieniec, part of Ruda village, Skomlin, Toplin

## ANNEX II

### CHURCH PROPERTY AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The present name, if different from the sixteenth century name, is given in brackets.

#### Gniezno archbishopric

Łęczyca district  
Boguszyna Woda (Boguszyniec), Chełmo, Choiny, Dobrogosty, Grzegorzewo city, Kielczewo, Kobele, Koczawia (Kocewia), Kościół (Tum Poduchowny), Krzepocino Wielkie, Ladorudz Mały, Ladorudz Wielki, Łęka, Mąkolice, Mąkolska Wola, Mrozowice (Mrożewice), Parądzice, Piątek city, Pieczewo, Podgórzyce, Przybyłowo, Rdułtów (Rdutów), Rzuchowo, Skobielice, part of Słupczka village, Smarzewka (Smardzew) Sobótka, part of Solca Wielka village, Swarowa  
Orłów district  
Bąkowo, Boguria, Jackowice, Łaźniki, Maurzyce, Ostrówek, Kokoszki, Kowale Arcybiskupie (Kowale Księżę), Malanów, Oraczów, Proboszczowice, Przykuna, Rzestarzów, Rzężawy, Smólsko, Szadów Arcybiskupi (Szadów Księży), Szłop mill (Człopki), Turek city, Turkowice, Wojków  
Szadek district  
Borzyszowice (Borszewice), Cichmiana, Kobylniki, Kopyść, part of Kościelnica village, Księży Młyn, Lubiszowice, Luciejów, Niemysłów, Orzeszków, Ostrowsko with Kawieczyn, Sędziejowice, Spicymierz, Ubysław demesne, Uniejów city, Welszczyce (Wieścice), Wielenino, Wola Rozworzyna (Księża Wólka), Zagliny  
Piotrków district  
Gołkowice (Stare Gałkowice), Grocholice city, Kluki, Parzno, Rozdzin, Sobki, Strzyżowice, Świerczów, Wierzchy mill, Zbyszek mill  
Radomsko district  
Rzujewice (Rzejowice)  
Ostrzeszów district  
Biskupice (Biskupice Zabaryczne), Bukownica

#### Włocławek (Cuyavia) bishopric

Brzeziny district  
Będzelin, part of Bogusławice village, part of Chorzęcin village, Chrapek mill, Chrosty (Chrusty Stare), Dąbrówka, Gałków Mały, Gałków Wielki, Godoszewice, Komorniki, Kulan mill, Lamus mill, Lipka, Łaznowo, Łódzia city, Mierzączka, Niesułków, part of Nowe Stawy Małe village, Nowe Stawy Wielkie, Pluskwa mill, Poćwiardówka, Popielawy, Rokiciny, Rozrażew (Łódź-Zarzew), Stara Łódzia, Widzewnica (Łódź-Widzew), part of Żakowice village, Żywocin  
Piotrków district  
Bieżwody (Bieżywody), Biskupia Wola, Borzyszów, Chynów, Czarnocin, Depczyk mill, Dziewuliny mill, Franek mill, Gajkowice, Gazomia (Stara Gazomia), Gazomka, Głupice Małe (Wola Głupicka), Gościmowice, Grabica, Gręboszów, Jutroszów, Kocielek mill (Kociołki), Kuznocin, part of Lutosławice village, Mąka mill, Mąkoszyn, Młynary, Nagórzycze, Podolin, Podstoły, Polikno (Polichno), Proszynie, Psary, (Stare Psary), Radociny, Russociny, part of Srockie village, Swoliszewice Mniejsze, Swoliszewice Większe, Szczukwin, Świątniki, Tychów, Wadłów, Wiaderne, part of Wodzin Wielki village (Wodzin Majoracki), Wolborz city, Żarnowica

### **Gniezno cathedral chapter**

Sieradz district

Part of Unków village (Uników Kapitulny), Owieczki

Radomsko district

Makowiska

Wieluń district

Part of Bobrowniki village, Cisów demesne, Drobnice, Grębień, Kadłub, Kamionka, Lisowice, part of Łaszów village, part of Mierzyce village, part of Przewóz village, Raduczyce, Sieniec, Starzenice, part of Toporów town, Wydrzyn, Załęcze Małe, Załęcze Wielkie

### **Cracow cathedral chapter**

Brzeziny district

Brus, Chachuła mill, Dalków, Huta (Bronisin), Karpino that is Zarzecze, Kotlina, Krasów (Kraszew), Kurowice, Laskowski mill (Łódź-Charzew), Retkinia, Rokicie, Wiskitno

Piotrków district

Brojce, Czyżemin, Dłotów, Giemzów that is Stróża, Grodzisko, Kalno Małe, Kalno Wielkie, Kochanie (Wola Kutowa), Leszczyny, Łaziska, Orzek, Palczewie (Palczew), Prawda, Rzgów city, Warzyn (Wardzyń), Wola Rakowska

Szadek district

Bychlów, Chocianowice, Chudrowice (Kudrowice), Dobruń, Gadka, Górka Mała that is Siękielew (Szynkielew), part of Górka Wielka (Górka Pabianicka) village, Jutrkowice, part of Kanino (Konin) village, Karniszewice, Ldzań, Łaskowice, Malówka (Majówka), Pabianice city, Piątkowisko, Potrykozy, Ruda ironworks (Ruda Pabianicka), Rypułtowice, Sulątkowice (Ślądkowice), Świątniki, Wola Latałska (Mogilno), Wola Sulątkowska (Mierzączka Duża), Wola Zamojska (Wola Żytowska), Wola Zaradzieńska, Żytowice

### **Łęczyca collegiate chapter**

Łęczyca district

Provost: Bruzica (Brużyczka-Księżstwo), deacon: Męklewo (Mętlew), curator: Ciosny, Pełczyska, Sługi, part of Solca Wielka village, archdeacon: Mchowice, prestimonial property: Chrzastowo with Karłowo, part of Czerchów village, Grabiszewo, Jankowo (Jadków), Jambrożewo (Ambrożewo), Mirosławice, Morakowo, Nakielnica, Ojrzyszewice (Orszewice), Skromnica, Solca Mała, Zdziechowo (Zdziechów Stary)

### **Uniejów collegiate chapter**

Szadek district

Karchów Kanoniczy (Charchów Księży), Kościelnica, part of Kuczki village, Szarów Kanoniczy (Szarów Księży)

### **Sieradz collegiate chapter**

Sieradz district

Dzierżazna, Ocino

### **Wieluń collegiate chapter**

Wieluń district

Part of Gaszyn village, Popowice

### **Cistercian abbey in Sulejów**

Łęczyca district

Góra Bełdrzychowska, Rąkczyno, Wola Kałowska (Wólka), Zagorzyce

Piotrków district

Barkowice, Czekanów, Koło, Krzyżanów, part of Konradz village (Kurnędz), Łazy (Łazy Duże), Łęczno, Milejów, Przyglów, Sulejów city, part of Sutymost village

Szadek district  
Bełdrzychów

**Cistercian abbey in Jędrzejów**

Radomsko district  
Grodzisko, Okałowice, Sutków (Cudków), Wszemborzyce (Soborzyce)

**Canons Regular of the Lateran abbey in Trzemeszno**

Łęczycza district  
Babice (Babice Duże), Bryski, Chrośno, Góra (Góra Świętej Małgorzaty), Kazimierz city, Kosino, Prawęcice, Sobień

**Norbertine (Premonstratensians) abbey in Witów**

Piotrków district  
Kałek, Kłodzice, Oprzężów, Piekary, Przewóz, Rączno, Stobnica, part of Sutymost village, Witów, Zalesice

**Benedictine abbey in Tyniec (owned Uniejów provostry  
with St. Nicolas chapel, to which two listed villages belonged)**

Szadek district  
Chróscin, Lipnica Mała

**Cistercian sisters monastery in Ołobok**

Wieluń district  
Chróscino, Dzierzychowcie (Dzietrzkowice), Łubnice, Mileszyn (Mieleszyn), Ochędzin, Radostów  
Ostrzeszów district  
Kaliszkowice (Kaliszkowice Ołobockie), Mysłaki mill (Namysłaki)

**Clarisses of St. Andrew monastery in Cracow**

Wieluń district  
Cykarczów, Kąkawa, Mykanów, Rybna

**Canons Regular monastery in Mstów**

Radomsko district  
Klasztor Mstowski, Krasicice, Kuchary, Łuszczyn, Skrzydłów Mały

**Dominicans monastery in Sieradz**

Szadek district  
Piaski with Gorzeń

**Paulines monastery in Wieluń**

Wieluń district  
Dzierzniki (Dzietrzniki)

**Paulines monastery in Wieruszów**

Wieluń district  
part of Ciecuiłów village, part of Stradziec (Strojec) village, part of Żytniów village  
Ostrzeszów district  
part of Świba village

**Augustianes monastery in Wieluń**

Wieluń district  
Part of Kopydłów village

## **Canons Regulars monastery in Krzepice**

Wieluń district  
Popów

### **Gniezno seminary**

Łęczyca district  
Mazowo, Romartowo  
Szadek district  
Wola Kościelna (Wola Przedmiejska)

### **Cracow Academy**

Radomsko district  
Wisnka (Wistka)

### **Mansionaries from Kalinowa**

Sieradz district  
Kawieczyn

### **Zgierz Altarists**

Łęczyca district  
Part of Bruzica Mała (Brużyczka) village

### **Parson benefices**

Łęczyca district  
Krzepocino Małe – Zgierz parson, Oteląż – Grzegorzew parson, Wichrowo – Łęczyca parson, Żakowiec – Dąbrowice parson  
Brzeziny district  
Łaknarz – Będków parson, part of Nowe Stawy Małe village – Niesułków parson  
Orłów district  
Śleszyno Sołek (non-existent) – Śleszyno Sołek parson, Wola Plebańska (Wola Popowa) – Żychlin parson  
Piotrków district  
Będzinek (Bądyń) – Tuszyn parson, Bujny Małe (Bujny Księżę) – Buczków parson, Raków (Raków Duży) – Piotrków parson, part of Rzeczków (Rzeczków Poduchowny) village – Wolbórz parson  
Radomsko district  
Dobra mill (Karkoszki) – Dobryszycze parson, part of Kruplin (Kruplin Poduchowny) village – Brzeźnica parson, Młodzowy – Radomsko parson, part of Stare Miasto (Stara Brzeźnica) village – Brzeźnica parson, Strzałków, part of Szczepocice (Szczepocice Rządowe – prebend of non-parochial church in Strzałków), part of Wielgi Młyn – Wielgi Młyn parson  
Szadek district  
Grodzisko – Grodzisko parson, Plebańska Wieś (non-existent) – Szadek parson  
Wieluń district  
Part of Konopnicka Wola that is Szakielów (Szynkielów) village – Konopnica parson

\* Tyniec abbey owned Uniejów provostry with St. Nicolas chapel, to which two listed villages belonged.

## ANNEX III COMMENTARY TO THE MAPS: ESTATE LOCATION

*Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*

The matter of land property in Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships is shown on a choropleth map on a 1:500,000 scale, containing three property groups: Crown, Church and nobility. Town ownership (town villages) was not distinguished. Mixed ownership is indicated when a settlement point is situated on the borderline between two ownership categories.

The choropleth map gives names of towns, and names of those villages, in which seats of starostwos, rents (in Crown property) and larger complexes of Church property centres were located. The remaining settlements were marked with unnamed points.

The presented state is adequate to the state from the end of the sixteenth century; changes of ownership of Church institutions and Crown property during the second half of the sixteenth century were indicated in the main part of this commentary.

Clergymen estates that could be considered great land property within the boundaries of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships were distinguished in the areas of Church property. According to the rule assumed in the previous volume of the AHP (Sandomierz Voivodeship), the caesura distinguishing great land property means 10 villages or 50 serf lans. As such, the properties of seven Church institutions were distinguished: Gniezno archbishopric, Włocławek (Cuyavia) bishopric, Gniezno cathedral chapter, Cracow cathedral chapter, Łęczyca collegiate chapter, Cistercians abbey in Sulejów and Norbertine (Premonstratensians) abbey in Witów.

Due to reasons listed in the main part of the commentary, we could not distinguish great property of the nobility, but we marked those villages, in which farm gentry lived.

Measurements of the size of land property in particular ownership categories were made with a planimeter on draft maps on a scale of 1:100,000. The results of these measurements are more precise in areas, where the borders could be marked more precisely, i.e. in areas of compact property of one owner with relative dense settlement (as for instance around Zduna, a territory of Gniezno archbishopric, around Wolbórz of Cuyavia bishopric, around Pabianice of Cracow cathedral chapter). Distinguishing the range of nobility estates or small Church benefices in areas of thinner settlement network raises many doubts, especially when there were large forest complexes in the area, and no Crown property in the vicinity, to which wooded areas could be assigned.

The following sizes of land property were obtained:

In Łęczyca Voivodeship, covering the area of 4,326 km<sup>2</sup>, Crown property was 561 km<sup>2</sup> (13.0%), Church property – 956 km<sup>2</sup> (22.1%), nobility owned 2,809 km<sup>2</sup> (64.9%) of the land.

In Sieradz Voivodeship, covering the area of 12,525 km<sup>2</sup> Crown property was 1,393 km<sup>2</sup> (11.1%), Church property – 2,247 km<sup>2</sup> (17.9%), and nobility estates – 8,885 km<sup>2</sup> (71.0%).

Together in both voivodeships (16,851 km<sup>2</sup>) Crown property covered 1,954 km<sup>2</sup> (11.6%) of land, Church property – 3,203 km<sup>2</sup> (19.0%) and the property of the nobility – 11,694 km<sup>2</sup> (69.4%).

*(1998)*

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.3.3.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Michał Słomski*

For the purpose of determining the ownership affiliation of settlements situated within the boundaries of Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century, we analysed the information obtained from tax registers, inspections of royal property, inventories of estates, canonical visitations, and Crown Metrica documents and entries. To varying degrees, we also used sources dating back to the late Middle Ages, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; these have been discussed in the chapter *Written Sources*.<sup>1</sup> We also consulted subject literature, which oftentimes proved extremely helpful in clarifying the information arising from extant records of the analysed period. As in previous volumes of the AHP series, we used red to highlight settlements belonging to the monarch, purple for Church property, yellow to mark nobility property, and orange for town property.<sup>2</sup> We identified ownership based on the legal title to a given property, not the purpose that a given settlement fulfilled. Sources most frequently recorded latter case as numerous instances of royal domains being leased to nobility (such mentions are particularly perceptible in sources on royal estates in Brześć Voivodeship) and clergy (granted frequently as endowments to parsons), or even of hereditary settlements.<sup>3</sup>

#### Royal property

The royal estates in Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships and Dobrzyń land formed part of property sets of two types: royal estates under a *starosta*'s administration, in which the *starosta* had the right to judge not only subjects from royal estates, but in some cases also noblemen and their subjects from the district, and had the right to accept perpetual entries from district dwellers) called *gord starosties* (*starostwo grodowe*, literally in English: *gord starosta's royal estate*) and royal estates under a *starosta*'s administration, in which the *starosta* had the right to judge and to administrate only subjects from settlements belonging to monarch, called *non-gord starosty* (*starostwo niegrodowe* or *tenuta*, literally in English: *non-gord starosta's royal estate*). Crown land was also leased in small parcels of one or several villages.<sup>4</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, there were eight *gord*

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Borek, *Written sources*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition II.1.6.

<sup>2</sup> For a more accurate discussion of the issues related to the identification and graphic representation of ownership, see: W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7.

<sup>3</sup> WP, p. 34 and footnote 77 on p. 34; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7; idem, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1974, pp. 14–15.

<sup>4</sup> Subject literature on royal property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land is relatively abundant: Z. Górski, A. Mietz, *Stosunki własnościowe w dobrach królewskich ziemi dobrzyńskiej w drugiej połowie XVI i początkach XVII wieku*, ZK-D, vol. 7: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1990, pp. 213–227; Z. Górski, *Z dziejów starostwa rypińskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Rypin. Szkice z dziejów miasta*, ed. M. Krajewski, Rypin 1994, pp. 105–115; idem, *Dobra królewskie w starostwie konińskim oraz województwach brzeskim i inowrocławskim w świetle lustracji z 1569 roku*, „Studia z Dziejów Pogranicza Kujawsko-Wielkopolskiego”, vol. 4, 2013, pp. 41–65; W. Chorążyczewski, *Gniewkowo i starostwo gniewkowskie w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Pamięć – tradycja – trwanie. Szkice z dziejów Gniewkowa i okolic*, ed. T. Łaskiewicz, Gniewkowo 2014, pp. 57–73. A work of J. Dumanowski's hands, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu. Dzieje fortuny magnackiej*, Toruń 1999, pp. 31–40, provides

starosties in the analysed area. In Cuyavia, these units were centred around the capital towns of districts (*powiat*): Brześć Kujawski, Kowal, Kruszwica, Przedecz and Radziejów in Brześć Voivodeship, and Inowrocław and Bydgoszcz in Inowrocław Voivodeship. The seat of Dobrzyń land's only gord starosty was Bobrowniki, which was not the central town of its administrative district (Bobrowniki was located within the boundaries of Lipno district).<sup>5</sup>

Royal property was grouped around settlements situated within the administrative borders of the two Cuyavian voivodeships and Dobrzyń land. However, settlements belonging to the gord starosty in Przedecz also cut into the northern part of Łęczyca Voivodeship.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the sixteenth-century inspection records of Przedecz Gord Starosty were included in the descriptions of the royal estates situated within the administrative boundaries of Łęczyca Voivodeship.<sup>7</sup> This was probably caused by the fact that this unit was leased together with Łęczyca Gord Starosty in the first half of the sixteenth century (1501–1539).<sup>8</sup> Przedecz Gord Starosty was listed among other royal estates of Łęczyca Voivodeship even in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> Although chunks of land were not carved out of existing gord starosties to create new royal estates in the second half of the sixteenth century, single villages were placed in lease and treated as separate leaseholds.<sup>10</sup> The 1510 inventory of Inowrocław Gord Starosty carries Tuczno (Inowrocław district) as part of that gord starosty;<sup>11</sup> inspections from 1564–1565 state Tuczno was leased separately, but continued to mention its affiliation with Inowrocław Gord Starosty.<sup>12</sup> In later periods, Tuczno was a separate leasehold.<sup>13</sup>

Sources from the second half of the sixteenth century were not strict about reserving the terms *starostwo*, *capitaneatus* and *praefectura* for gord starosties. Nor did their authors use *dobra* (estates), *bona regalia* and *tenuta* exclusively for non-gord starosties.<sup>14</sup> Royal property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land also fell victim to the confusion. In 1567, and then in 1616–1620 and 1628–1632 inspections, small estates with seats in Gniewków (Inowrocław district) were referred to as *dzierżawa* (lease).<sup>15</sup> The same term was used to describe Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszawa, Lipno district) in the 1628–1632 inspection and the 1633 document on transferring Nieszawa Non-gord Starosty to Paweł Działyński.<sup>16</sup> For this reason, we employ the terms used in sources to describe these two small clusters of royal property.

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an interesting description of royal property in Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships in the period spanning the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, mainly as concerns the nobility's use of Crown land, as well as the income generated from royal estates to bolster their financial standing.

<sup>5</sup> Guldon, Kujawy, pp. 40–41, 46; Urzędnicy VI/2, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. XLV; K. Chłapowski, A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.3.5; J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 160–186; LWWK 1569, ff. 209r–226r (more recent numbering); J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Urzędnicy VI/2, pp. 152–153. The publishers of 1564–1565 inspections presume that this could be connected with the fact that Kłodawa, a town of Przedecz Gord Starosty falling within Łęczyca Voivodeship, was the residence of Starosta Jan Sierakowski, who served as starosta of Przedecz at the time of the inspections; LWWK 1564, part 1, p. XLVII.

<sup>9</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 216–240; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 38–54. The 1659–1665 inspection was the first to list Przedecz Gord Starosty among royal property in Brześć Voivodeship. The starosty had already been divided into Przedecz Gord Starosty, whose estates were located within Brześć Voivodeship, and Kłodawa lease, which encompassed the royal property in the northern part of Łęczyca Voivodeship, as well as two villages in Brześć Voivodeship, and – interestingly – the villages of Dąb and Dobiegniewo situated on the Vistula in Kowal district of Brześć Voivodeship: LWWK 1659, part 2, pp. 266–268 (Przedecz Gord Starosty), 268–274 (Kłodawa lease).

<sup>10</sup> This phenomenon intensified in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, pp. 32–40. I have taken the liberty of disregarding the final isolation of separate starosties in Kowal and Radziejów from Brześć Gord Starosty, which presumably took place at the turn of the sixteenth century; see e.g. Urzędnicy VI/1, pp. 221–222, 228–229.

<sup>11</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Inwentarz starostwa inowrocławskiego z 1510 roku*, ZK, vol. 3, 1971, pp. 201–202; LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 254–256; J. Wiesiołowski, *Rejestr dochodów i rozchodów starostwa inowrocławskiego z 1510/1511 r.*, ZK, vol. 8, 1986, pp. 292–294; MK 80, ff. 309r–309v; MRPS V/1, no. 1336.

<sup>12</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 120; LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 254.

<sup>13</sup> LWWK 1569, ff. 348r–349r; LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 285–287.

<sup>14</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie 1565–1795 (materiały źródłowe)*, Warsaw–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2017, pp. 31–32.

<sup>15</sup> Z. Guldon, K. Wajda, *Zarys dziejów Gniewkowa*, Bydgoszcz 1970, p. 87; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 290; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 134; W. Chorążyczewski, *Gniewkowo*, p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 118; MK 180, p. 239: 'super tenutam Nieszoviensem' (reg.: *Metryka Koronna Władysława IV Wazy. Sumariusz księgi MK 180 z Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, z lat 1633–1635, kanclerstwa Jakuba Zadzik*, comp. W. Krawczuk, Cracow 2015, no. 352).

We adopted the same approach for the estates near Rypin (Rypin district) (referred to as *tenuta* in 1618<sup>17</sup>) and Lipno (Lipno district) (referred to as *tenuta* in 1607<sup>18</sup>).<sup>19</sup> In line with the terminology of the sources, albeit most dating to the seventeenth century, we use the term *starostwo* to denote only the non-gord starosties in Dybowo (Inowrocław district<sup>20</sup>) and Dobrzyń (Dobrzyń district<sup>21</sup>).

The 1564–1565 and 1569 inspections of Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land royal property are only partially useful for determining the affiliation of royal villages to individual gord starosta's and non-gord starosties. At that time, all royal property of Dobrzyń land, as well as the starosties of Kowal, Kruszwica, and Radziejów in Brześć Voivodeship, and the starosties of Bydgoszcz and Dybowo in Inowrocław Voivodeship, were lawfully encumbered with so-called 'old sums'. Thus, they have not been described in sixteenth-century inspections. Gniewków lease was not taken into account in the 1564–1565 inspection, which had already been done in 1569. We determined the full list of royal property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land based on other sources, mainly inspection of royal estates from the seventeenth century, predominantly 1616–1620 for Cuyavia and 1628–1632 for Dobrzyń land. The so-called 'revision of letters', an inspection of legal titles to royal property use performed during the 1563/1564 diet, was of paramount importance.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, we used sources from the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century.

It proved somewhat problematic to assign several royal settlements in Kruszwica and Radziejów districts to a specific starosty. Early sixteenth-century sources gives rise to the presumption that Skulsk (Skulsko) Town and Skulska Wieś (Skulsko Małe; Kruszwica district), as well as the villages of Złotowo (Radziejów district) and Sadowie (lost), belonged to Kruszwica Gord Starosty.<sup>23</sup> One possible interpretation of the 1514 reference where Skulsk (Skulsko), Sadowie and Złotowo are classed as a separate non-gord starosty (*tenuta*)<sup>24</sup> is that the connection of these settlements with Kruszwica Castle was not that close. The 1531 document, under which the king bequeathed to Brześć Castellan and Radziejów Starosta Jan Leszczyński sums on the settlements of Radziejów Gord Starosty and on – separately listed – Skulsk and the villages of Sadowie and Złotowo, points to a similar conclusion.<sup>25</sup> When analysing the organisational and administrative affiliation of the aforementioned settlements forming part of royal property in Cuyavia, Złotowo raises fewest doubts. The 1557 tax register defines Złotowo as part of Radziejów Gord Starosty,<sup>26</sup> and the 1628–1632 inspection states that it had been 'removed from Radziejów Gord Starosty.'<sup>27</sup> Sadowie, in turn, had gradually vanished. Skulsk and Skulska Wieś (Skulsk Mały) pose graver interpretation difficulties. The 1579 document on the assignment of Radziejów Gord Starosty to Jan Leszczyński, son of the previous Starosta Rafał Leszczyński, lists Skulsk (Skulsko) together with Złotowo and Sadowie after villages described as belonging to Radziejów Castle.<sup>28</sup> In 1578, a church

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<sup>17</sup> MK 159, f. 125v: 'Tenuta Ripinensi generoso Ioanni Krosnowski confertur.'

<sup>18</sup> MK 151, f. 250v. In the 1583 royal consent to Jakub Jankowski's buy-out of Lipno, the town was referred to as 'bona nostra Lipno'; MK 129, f. 262v.

<sup>19</sup> Thusly, we proceed differently than K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie*, pp. 198, 336, 338, and 340. The term *dzierżawa* (lease) was used to denote these two complexes of royal property in: LWWK 1628, part 1, p. XIX.

<sup>20</sup> MK 93, f. 355r: 'capitaneatum nostrum Diboviensem' (1562) = reg.: MRPS V/1, no. 2618; MK 145, f. 264v: 'et capitaneatum nostrum Diboviensem' (1603); LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 294, 309.

<sup>21</sup> Z. Górski, *Inwentarz starostwa dobrzyńskiego z 1616 roku*, ZK-D, vol. 7: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1990, pp. 229–238.

<sup>22</sup> AGAD, so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV B 8, pp. 590–636. A. Tomczak also made reference to this item of information in the foreword to the 1564 inspection of Greater Poland and Cuyavia; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. L–LVIII.

<sup>23</sup> MK 19, f. 149v: 'in bonis nostris oppido Skulsko et villis Slothow et Sadowie [– –] que bona praefata ad castrum Cruswiciense pertinebant' = reg.: MRPS III, no. 1367 (1504).

<sup>24</sup> MK 23, p. 412 = reg.: MRPS IV/1, no. 435 (1514).

<sup>25</sup> MK 47, f. 422r = reg.: MRPS IV/2, no. 15983. Złotowo was described as a settlement situated 'in districtu Cruswiciensi'. See also: 1544 document issued by Rafał Leszczyński on the dower bequeathed to his wife Barbara, where Skulsk (Skulsko) Town and the two villages are described in a similar fashion: MK 66, f. 273v = reg.: MRPS IV/3, no. 21430.

<sup>26</sup> ASK I 29, f. 256v. Same as in 1589: MK 135, f. 711v: 'villarum [– –] Złoczowo ad capitaneatum praedictum Radzieioviensem pertinentium' = reg.: SMK IV, no. 817.

<sup>27</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 97.

<sup>28</sup> MK 119, f. 363r: 'quod super castro oppidoque nostro Radzieiow ac villis earumque haereditaribus [sic!] Stary Radzieiow, Bithom, Prochnowo, Bodzanowo, Czolowo, Bieganowo, Skochniki, Ostrow, Płowcze minori ad praefatum castrum et oppidum Radzieiowenses pertinentibus, nec non oppido Skulsko et villis Złothow ac Sadowie in districtu Cruswiciensi sitis ac earum similiter haereditatibus.'

visitor also placed this town in Radziejów Gord Starosty.<sup>29</sup> The 1589 deed on granting Radziejów Gord Starosty to Świętosław Orzelski lists the town as part of that gord starosty.<sup>30</sup> However, a 1599 visitation placed Skulsk (Skulsko) in Kruszwica Gord Starosty.<sup>31</sup> Skulsk (Skulsko) is nonetheless listed among the territories affiliated with Radziejów Gord Starosty also in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>32</sup> Thus, despite certain source references pointing to a possible connection between Skulsk and Kruszwica Gord Starosty in the sixteenth century, we decided that it had formed part of Radziejów Gord Starosty already in the second half of the sixteenth century. The village of Skulska Wieś (Skulsko Małe) was defined as a settlement belonging to Kruszwica Castle in 1504,<sup>33</sup> though by 1526 it was mentioned as a settlement of Radziejów Gord Starosty.<sup>34</sup> Half a century later, the king granted Kruszwica Gord Starosty to Adam Baliński under a privilege issued in 1583 and confirmed in 1588. Still, the document placed emphasis on the fact that Skulska Wieś (Skulsko Małe) was excluded from the bestowal.<sup>35</sup> The settlement was granted to Adam Baliński and his wife for lifelong use only in 1597.<sup>36</sup> A 1590 reference defining this village as part of Kruszwica Gord Starosty might also point to a connection between Skulska Wieś (Skulsko Małe) and that Gord Starosty.<sup>37</sup> The settlement was also described as a separate unit during the inspection of royal property conducted in the late 1610s and early 1620s.<sup>38</sup> It therefore seems that, at the close of the sixteenth century, Skulsko Wieś (Skulsko Małe) was most often a separate lease,<sup>39</sup> though at times it was classified as part of the above-listed starosta's Gord Starosty.<sup>40</sup>

We also labelled Wołodrza (Kowal district) and Wierzniczka (Wierzbica Mała, Dobrzyń district) as royal villages. Sources describe these settlements as the property of Kowal Vogt's Office (Wołodrza) and Dobrzyń Vogt's Office (Wierzniczka).<sup>41</sup>

The second half of the sixteenth century did not witness any larger settlement foundation campaigns in the royal estates of the Cuyavian voivodeships and Dobrzyń land. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the starostas who governed areas belonging to Bydgoszcz and Dybów Gord Starosty recodified the charters of existing villages to Dutch law.<sup>42</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, Dutch settlers were brought to Łęgowo (Łąg) (1596)<sup>43</sup> in Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty and to Wielka Nieszawka and Mała Nieszawka (Nieszewa and Nieszawka Mała) (1600) in Dybów Gord Starosty.<sup>44</sup> Such villages appeared also in Bobrowniki Gord Starosty in Dobrzyń land, and Zenon Guldon mentions the 1562 contract on the foundation of Silna Village.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>29</sup> MHDW 17, pp. 40, 109.

<sup>30</sup> MK 135, f. 521r = reg.: SMK IV, no. 560.

<sup>31</sup> MHDW 23, p. 63: 'oppidum regium ad capitaneatum Crusviciensem.'

<sup>32</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 349; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 92–93; LWWK 1659, part 2, pp. 261–262.

<sup>33</sup> MRPS III, no. 1691.

<sup>34</sup> MK 42, f. 163r = reg.: MRPS IV/1, no. 5126.

<sup>35</sup> MK 133, f. 260r = reg.: SMK II, no. 64.

<sup>36</sup> MK 141, f. 72r–72v = reg.: LWWK 1616, part 2, p. 60, no. 751 (the register states that Skulska Wieś (Skulsko Małe) belonged to Kruszwica Gord Starosty, but this is not confirmed by the entry to the Crown Metrica).

<sup>37</sup> MK 135, f. 855r = reg.: SMK IV, no. 1043.

<sup>38</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 353–355.

<sup>39</sup> Z. Górski, *Inwentarz skulski z 1620 roku*, „Studia z Dziejów Pogranicza Kujawsko-Wielkopolskiego”, vol. 3, 2012, p. 91; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 102. Guldon, Kujawy, p. 67, included Skulska Wieś (Skulsko Małe) to Radziejów Gord Starosty.

<sup>40</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 353.

<sup>41</sup> We followed in the footsteps of the authors of the commentary on ownership affiliation in AHP Sieradz, where Wiechucice Wielkie village (Sieradz district), described as the property of Sieradz vogt's office, was assigned to Sieradz starosty; K. Chłapowski, A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.3.5.

<sup>42</sup> K. Ciesielska, *Osadnictwo „olederskie” w Prusach Królewskich i na Kujawach w świetle kontraktów osadniczych*, SMDWP, vol. 4, 1958, no. 2, pp. 224–225; K. Mikulski, *Zarys dziejów osadnictwa ołederskiego w Polsce (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem terenu obecnego województwa bydgoskiego)*, MDKSBR, vol. 1, 1996, pp. 105–108.

<sup>43</sup> SMK IX, no. 116; different position: K. Bartowski, *Udział starostwa i wójtostwa bydgoskiego w kolonizacji hollenderskiej*, MDKSBR, vol. 1, 1996, p. 109.

<sup>44</sup> MK 145, ff. 264r–270r; K. Mikulski, *Komturstwo nieszawskie i starostwo dybrowskie w XIII–XVII wieku – zasięg, osadnictwo*, [in:] *Zamek dybowski: archeologia, historia, przyszłość. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej 10 września 1999 roku w Toruniu z okazji Dni Dziedzictwa Europejskiego*, Toruń 1999, p. 14. In 1603, Dutch colonists were settled in Rudak and Gosorzyn; *ibidem*, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo ziemi dobrzyńskiej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, series D: *Gospodarka*, 1981, p. 237. Before the 1616–1620 inspection, another Dutch settlement called Bóg Pomóż was founded in the estates belonging to Bobrowniki starosty (LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 309; Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 241). It remains unclear, however, whether this locality had been incorporated as early as in the second half of the sixteenth century.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, a single yet relatively profound change took place in the royal holdings of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. Płowce village (Radziejów district) ceased to form part of Radziejów Gord Starosty. In 1579, Radziejów Starosta Rafał Leszczyński bestowed this settlement, described as hereditary, onto his son Jan.<sup>46</sup> Already a year before, Płowce had not been listed among Radziejów Gord Starosty.<sup>47</sup> As Władysław Pałucki noted, this fact is interesting for another reason – Rafał Leszczyński belonged to the leaders of the Executionist Movement.<sup>48</sup> Given that the files connected with the Royal Chancellery confirm this ownership transfer, Rafał Leszczyński must have indeed taken over this village. Seventeenth-century inspections of Radziejów Gord Starosty do not define Płowce as a settlement of this set of royal property.

In the years 1565–1566, the vacant Pniewy village (Brześć district) was exchanged for Żakowice village (Brześć district), a former Church property, which incited controversies resurfacing in sources throughout the analysed period. We discuss these disputes in greater detail in the section on Church property (see below).

The 1560s inspections of royal property audited Dobre village (Radziejów district).<sup>49</sup> King Sigismund the Old had swapped Dobre for Mikołaj Kościelecki's Gnojno village in Dobrzyń land (Lipno district) in 1524).<sup>50</sup> Be that as it may, the so-called 'revision of letters' mentions that Dobre had already been inspected,<sup>51</sup> probably to make certain that the exchanged settlements were of equivalent value. The case was resolved in 1569, by letting Zofia Kościelecka retain ownership of the village and ordering that Dobre be inspected just like Gnojno and Celiny.<sup>52</sup> And yet Dobre is not present in seventeenth-century inspections.

In 1558, Brześć Starosta Mikołaj Trzebuchowski exchanged three empty lans in Kłobia village (Brześć district) for the vogt's mill in Kłobia, whereby Mikołaj Ciepliński and other vogt's office owners were the other party to the transaction.<sup>53</sup> We construe this event as an exchange of land within one village, which in whole constitutes royal property.

While determining the ownership of this settlement, we came across an item of information which called for clarification. In 1555, Sigismund Augustus allowed the noble Piotr Gądkowski to purchase the royal village of Jachcice ('villam regalem Zachcice dictam'; Bydgoszcz district) from its then owners, whose names were not mentioned.<sup>54</sup> Back in 1489, the village was assigned to Bydgoszcz Castle,<sup>55</sup> though information dating to the same year indicates that Scibor Nieciszewski put Jachcice (Zachcice) Demesne in pledge to the benefit of Bydgoszcz Carmelites.<sup>56</sup> In 1494, Mikołaj and Bartłomiej of Nieciszewo endowed half of this village to Bydgoszcz Carmelites.<sup>57</sup> In the 1514 accounts of Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty, Jachcice is not listed as a village belonging to this district.<sup>58</sup> Tax registers dating to the second half of the sixteenth century state it constituted Church property in its entirety.

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<sup>46</sup> MK 121, pp. 163–164: 'villam suam haereditariam Płowcze Maiorem in districtu Radzieioviense sitam'; W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej*, p. 16. L. Bokota, P. Bokota, G.J. Budnik, *Płowce – dwór*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce. Kujawy wschodnie*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. S. Kunikowski, Włocławek 2001, p. 143, present this event from a slightly different angle: by providing information confirming Stephen Batory's 1580 sale of Płowce Wielkie Village to Jan Leszczyński, son of Rafał. In the sales document, the ruler confirms the transfer of Radziejów starosty from Rafał Leszczyński to his son Jan; MK 121, pp. 285–286.

<sup>47</sup> MK 119, f. 363r.

<sup>48</sup> W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej*, p. 15.

<sup>49</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 233–235; LWWK 1569, f. 243r (new numbering).

<sup>50</sup> MK 38, pp. 33–35; reg.: MRPS IV/2, no. 4484.

<sup>51</sup> AGAD, so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV B 8, pp. 600–601 (new numbering); LWWK 1564, part 1, p. LII.

<sup>52</sup> MK 128, ff. 50r–52r. Wieleń-Wronki in Greater Poland shared the same fate. Inspectors audited the estate, which Sigismund Augustus bestowed on Łukasz Górka in 1515, in return for Pobiedziska and an encumbrance of 8,000 florins on Kościan starosty. The 1564–1565 inspection lists both Pobiedziska and Wieleń royal estates; K. Chłapowski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.3.4.

<sup>53</sup> MK 91, ff. 332r–334r; reg.: MRPS V/2, no. 8390; LWWK 1564, part 1, p. LII.

<sup>54</sup> MK 85, f. 501r; MRPS V/2, no. 7140.

<sup>55</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 173.

<sup>56</sup> M. Hlebionek, *Sumariusz średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych (do końca XVI w.) dokumentów z akt Deputacji Kamery Wojennej i Domen w Bydgoszczy*, ZK, vol. 21, 2008, p. 70, no. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 70, no. 9.

<sup>58</sup> ASK I 30, ff. 39r–41v.

The 1557 tax register on Przedecz district carries the villages of Bogusławice and Góraj (Goraj) under Przedecz Gord Starosty.<sup>59</sup> This is most likely a scribe's mistake,<sup>60</sup> as we did not succeed in finding these settlements in the inventories of Przedecz Gord Starosty, among others in the 1556 register drafted after Starosta's Wojciech Koryciński's demise. These villages do not appear in later inspections of this starosty, and later data indicate they constituted nobility property,<sup>61</sup> and so we labelled them. We reached a similar decision on Siemnówek (Siemianowo Małe), which was described in the 1557 tax register of Brześć district, and in that source only, as a royal village.<sup>62</sup>

The so-called 'revision of letters' of the 1560s mentions Mierzynek (Mierzyno, Lipno district), which was escheated to the king after the death of Jakub Mierzwinski,<sup>63</sup> a member of the family who owned Mierzynek in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>64</sup> In 1563 Mierzynek (Mierzyno) was granted to Brześć Voivode Jan Służewski, who ceded this village to Jerzy Tolibowski, who appeared in the 1564 Dobrzyń land register as payer of Mierzynek's dues.<sup>65</sup> With this bestowal, the king observed the 1562 law which mandated that escheated property be granted to nobility so as to prevent noble holdings from being depleted.<sup>66</sup>

Certain interpretation difficulties arose due to the fact that large parts of villages belonging to royal property in Brześć Voivodeship were granted to nobility, and when reflected by the tax registers consulted suggest varied ownership affiliation of settlements which in fact were in their entirety royal holdings. Brześć registers often took note of the individuals who paid the tax on the given settlement part they were using at the time. The 1564/1565 and 1569 inspections give brief descriptions of those village parts bestowed on nobility, which facilitated decisions on ownership affiliation. The example of Falborz (Chwaliboż; Brześć district), part of Brześć Gord Starosty, is worth a closer look. The starostas of Brześć granted and leased certain parts of this village and the *soltys* office to nobility.<sup>67</sup> What proved troublesome was defining the ownership of a specific part of the village, to be precise, the demesne and the part leased by Stanisław Bielicki in the 1560s. During the inspection, this nobleman presented entries to the Brześć court books and notices of termination of Brześć Voivodeship privileges to substantiate his hereditary right to use a part of the village.<sup>68</sup> Information on Bielicki's part of Falborz is missing from the 'revision of letters', and tax registers do not mention Bielicki as owner of a village part until 1583. In 1589, there is mention of a part held by Brześć burghers, which is reprised in seventeenth-century sources.<sup>69</sup> As a result, we marked Falborz (Chwaliboż) as mixed-royal and town-property on the main map.

At the close of the sixteenth century, royal property consisted of seven towns, one town part, 58 villages, eight village parts, six mills, 11 demesnes, one ironworks, one suburb in Brześć Voivodeship; six towns, 28 villages, two village parts, 14 mills, two demesnes, one ironworks, one castle in Inowrocław Voivodeship; five towns, 21 villages, two village parts, four mills, one demesne in Dobrzyń land. In total, royal property in the analysed area encompassed: 18 towns, one town part, 107 villages, 12 village parts, 24 mills, 14 demesnes, two ironworks, and one castle.

Royal property accounted for 12.3% of all localised settlements in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, with a higher share of royal estates in Cuyavia (13.8%: 15.4% in Inowrocław Voivodeship, 13% in Brześć Voivodeship) than in Dobrzyń land (a mere 8.2%). The bulk of royal settlements (38) was

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<sup>59</sup> ASK I 29, f. 272r.

<sup>60</sup> ASK LVI 204, ff. 171r–186v.

<sup>61</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu przedeckiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, series B: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1979, p. 174, no. 6, pp. 176–177, no. 39.

<sup>62</sup> ASK I 29, f. 239r.

<sup>63</sup> AGAD, so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV B 8, p. 630.

<sup>64</sup> A. Biliński, *Szlachta ziemi dobrzyńskiej za ostatnich Jagiellonów. Studium historyczno-heraldyczne*, publ. Z. Wdowi-szewski, Warsaw 1931, pp. 111–112.

<sup>65</sup> AGAD, so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV B 8, p. 630; ASK I 30, f. 351r.

<sup>66</sup> W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>67</sup> AGAD, so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV B 8, p. 609; LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 213; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 268; MRPS IV/1, no. 8193 (1548); SMK IV, no. 371 (1588), 1003, 1062 (1590); SMK VII, no. 158 (1593); P. Bokota, P. Nowa-kowski, *Falborz – pałac*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce. Kujawy wschodnie*, vol. 1, part 1, ed. S. Kunikowski, Włocławek 2000, p. 92.

<sup>68</sup> AGAD, Potocki Family Public Archive, sign. 304, p. 334; LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 213–214; P. Bokota, P. Nowa-kowski, *Falborz – pałac*, p. 92.

<sup>69</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 316; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 76; Podymne 1634, f. 81v; Bokota, Nowakowski 2000, pp. 92–93.

situated in Inowrocław district, mainly due to the settlement structure of Dybów Gord Starosty, which was the largest, densely settled complex of royal property in Inowrocław Voivodeship, with a high number of separate mill settlements on Zielona River. All in all, Inowrocław district did not top the ranking for the analysed area in terms of the ratio of royal property to overall settlement. Inowrocław district's result of 16.6% was lower than the royal-to-overall property rate in Kowal district, where royal estates corresponded to 20.1% of all settlements, and Kruszwica district, where this proportion equalled 18.5%. Owing to its modest surface area, the situation in the latter district is quite distinctive. A mere eleven royal settlements were located within the boundaries of Kruszwica district, which gives it the antepenultimate position. Kruszwica district was followed by Dobrzyń district with seven royal localities (6.4% of all settlements) and Rypin district with six and a half settlements (4.9% of total settlements) occupies the final position on this list. Nonetheless, royal estates held a relatively large share in Kruszwica district settlements. Brześć district illustrates a contrary case. Although it had a whopping 22.5 royal settlements, a number trumped only by Inowrocław district, their share in all settlements amounted to a mere 8.4% as this district abounded with settlements owned by representatives of other social estates. The meagre share of royal property in Dobrzyń land is slightly redressed by Bobrowniki Gord Starosty, which was relatively populous with active settlements, and individual royal villages.

## Church property

Catholic Church property or should be understood as the assets located in Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships granted to various institutions of the Roman Catholic Church as endowments. As in previous volumes of the AHP series, this Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land volume pays heed to the principle that if a *sołtys* office in a village held by a Catholic Church institution was usufructed by a lay person, such a village should be treated as Catholic Church property.

The major part of Catholic Church property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land consisted of endowments granted to ecclesiastical institutions with seats in the analysed area. Among the most sizable Catholic Church property, whereby 'sizeable' is defined as having more than 10 villages, we must enumerate the estates of Włocławek Bishopric, Włocławek Cathedral Chapter, Koronowo Cistercians, Kruszwica Collegiate Chapter, and the Strzelno-based Norbertine (Premonstratensian) Monastery. Of institutions with seats elsewhere in the Polish lands of the Crown, Płock Bishopric held ten or more villages in this territory. The Gniezno Archbishop held individual settlements, as did Płock Cathedral Chapter and the Norbertine Monastery in Płock. The endowments of Płock-based Catholic Church institutions, which apart from the aforementioned also included the Benedictines, lay predominantly in Dobrzyń land, albeit villages of Płock Norbertines were situated in Cuyavia.

In 1569, Włocławek Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski granted two villages, supply estates of the Bishop until then, to a newly established theological seminary in Włocławek. The deed of canonical erection mentions that the villages of Witowo (Radziejów district) and Zbłęg (Zbłąg, Brześć district) were passed on to the seminary.<sup>70</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century, several changes occurred in the estates of Catholic Church institutions in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. The most significant development was a change in ownership of the set of multiple-village property with its centre in Dobrcz, which was composed of, alongside Dobrcz, Czarnówko, Osielsko and Trzemiętowo Villages (all in Bydgoszcz district) in Inowrocław Voivodeship. Wincenty Przerębski, Włocławek Bishop from 1503 to 1513, handed the Dobrcz set of property over to the Włocławek suffrage bishop.<sup>71</sup> Włocławek suffragan bishops derived profits

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<sup>70</sup> *Documenta historica seminarii Wladislaviensis*, pub. S. Chodyński, Varsaviae 1897, p. 15; idem, *Seminarium włocławskie. Szkic historyczny na podstawie akt i dokumentów miejscowych*, Włocławek 1904, p. 177; S. Librowski, *Czterechsetlecie erekcji seminarium włocławskiego (1569–1969)*, ABMK, vol. 18, 1969, p. 129. The 1582, 1598 and 1607 inventories of bishop property describe these settlements as villages of the set of Włocławek property held by Włocławek bishops; Inw. 1582, p. 14; Inw. 1598, p. 13; Inw. XVII, p. 95.

<sup>71</sup> R. Biskup, *Powstanie, ustrój i organizacja diecezji*, [in:] *Dzieje diecezji włocławskiej*, vol. 1: *Średniowiecze*, ed. A. Radziwiński, Włocławek 2008, p. 18. S. Chodyński (*Biskupi sufragani włocławscy. Z akt kapituły włocławskiej*, pub. S. Chodyński, Włocławek 1906, p. 16) indicated that the handover took place in 1536, but this is probably a reference to

from Dobrcz property for more than half a century, until Włocławek Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski granted other estates to Włocławek Chapter as part of an exchange in 1576.<sup>72</sup> In return, the suffragan bishop received Lubomin (Lubomino) (Brześć district), the former property of Włocławek Chapter. The property transfer was confirmed in 1589 by Cardinal and Papal Legate Ippolito Aldobrandini.<sup>73</sup> In the first half of the sixteenth century, Lubomin (Lubomino) was mentioned among the estates of Włocławek bishops, but in 1557 Włocławek Cathedral Chapter was specified as the taxpayer.<sup>74</sup> Despite the fact that 1577 canonical visitations define Lubomin (Lubomino) as a *villa episcopalis*, 1582 records describe it as a village held by the dean of Włocławek. Maciej Wielicki was the dean at that time, and he also served as Włocławek suffragan bishop since 1579. In 1584 r. this settlement regained the status of bishop-held village (*villa reverendissimi*).<sup>75</sup> Later visitations from 1594 and 1598 state that the suffragan bishop owned the village;<sup>76</sup> the situation might have stabilised once the legate approved the exchange.

Some minor changes in the ownership of Catholic Church institutions occurred also in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. In 1557, Sigismund Augustus confirmed Włocławek Cathedral Chapter's sale of Kobylniki village (Kobelniki, Inowrocław district, Tuczno Parish) to Wojciech Tupadłski, Inowrocław land court scribe.<sup>77</sup> The village had most probably been abandoned; the 1563 tax register described it as 'noviter [- -] locata et constructa'.<sup>78</sup> In 1563, at the Diet (Sejm) in Piotrków Trybunalski, the king, at the request of Jerzy Raciąski, confirmed the document of Inowrocław Voivode Janusz Latałski on the 1544 exchange of villages between Włocławek Chapter and Jan Raciąski. In return for the villages of Jordanowo (*Jardanowko*) and Krężoły (*Krzolkowicze*), both in Bydgoszcz district, Jan Raciąski granted Murzynkowo village (Inowrocław district) to the Chapter.<sup>79</sup> In 1565, Włocławek Bishop Mikołaj Wolski gave Młyniec Drugi (Młyniec; Lipno district) village, together with Osmolno Lake, to Dobrzyń Chamberlain (*subcamerarius*) Stanisław Sierakowski, in return for Kaczewo Village (Radziejów district).<sup>80</sup>

Two Cuyavian hospitals in Brześć and Inowrocław, which had been administered by the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star since the twelfth century, were also affected by changes.<sup>81</sup> In 1565, King Sigismund Augustus incorporated the Brześć hospital provostry of the Holy Spirit into Włocławek (Włocław) Cathedral Chapter,<sup>82</sup> which Stephen Bátorý then incorporated into the Włocławek (Włocław)

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including the revenue from Dobrcz Parish in the endowment of the suffragan bishop. Already the 1527 *Liber Retaxationum* and the 1534 inventory of bishop property mention that the set of Dobrcz property belonged to the suffragan bishop; MHDW 11, p. 25; Inw. 1534, p. 46.

<sup>72</sup> MHDW 16, pp. 54–56; M. Morawski, *Ks. Stanisław Karnkowski*, „Życie Włocławka i Okolicy”, vol. 3, 1928, no. 4, p. 10. Apart from these villages of Bydgoszcz district, the Chapter also gained Świekatowo (Siekotowo) village, and the vacant villages of Świekatówko (Siekotówko), Lipienica (Lipnica) and Zalesie (all in Świecie district, Pomeranian Voivodeship; K. Mikulski, *Osadnictwo wiejskie województwa pomorskiego od połowy XVI do końca XVII wieku*, Toruń 1994, pp. 175–176). Z. Guldon listed Zalesie among the settlements of Bydgoszcz district (Guldon, *Kujawy*, p. 85).

<sup>73</sup> The Włocławek Suffragan Bishop also received the canonry of Kruszwica Collegiate, and the canonry of Włocławek Cathedral Church later on; MHDW 10, p. 6; *Biskupi sufragani włocławscy*, pp. 16–17, 98–101; K.R. Prokop, *Biskupi pomocniczy w diecezjach polskich w dobie przedtrydenckiej (2. poł. XIII – 1. poł. XVI w.)*, Cracow 2002, p. 130.

<sup>74</sup> MHDW 12, p. 75; Inw. 1534, p. 9 (mentions about bishop property); ASK I 29, f. 239v (affiliation with Włocławek Chapter).

<sup>75</sup> MHDW 1, p. 11 (1577); MHDW 19, p. 47 (1582); MHDW 22, p. 43 (1584). On Maciej Wielicki: *Biskupi sufragani włocławscy*, p. 42.

<sup>76</sup> MHDW 20, p. 99 (1598): 'villa reverendissimi seu ipsius suffraganei Wladislaviensis'. MHDW 23, p. 36 (1594): 'villa suffraganei'. Lubomin was also mentioned as the property of Włocławek Suffragan Bishop in 1780; R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu brzesko-kujawskiego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, ZK-D, series E: *Kształtowanie środowiska*, 1985, p. 159, no. 131.

<sup>77</sup> MK 89, ff. 141r–141v; MRPS V/2, no. 7756.

<sup>78</sup> ASK I 92, f. 2r.

<sup>79</sup> MK 67, ff. 182r–182v; MRPS IV/3, no. 21865; MK 97, ff. 30r–32r; MRPS V/1, no. 2759.

<sup>80</sup> S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział II. Dokumenty w kopiarzyskach*, vol. 5: *Kopiarzyszc Ogólny wykonany w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, Włocławek 2000, p. 127, no. 441; Sigismund Augustus confirmed the exchange in the same year (ibidem, p. 128, no. 445). This exchange is mentioned, though not dated, in a 1598 inventory; Inw. 1598, p. 22; Guldon, *Dobrzyń*, p. 39, f.n. 25.

<sup>81</sup> M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 122–123.

<sup>82</sup> MK 99, ff. 180v–181v; reg.: MRPS V/1, no. 3099; S. Kuliński, *Monografia Brześcia Kujawskiego. Pamiątka 700-lecia istnienia kościoła parafialnego*, Włocławek 1935, p. 43.

Cathedral Chapter in 1576.<sup>83</sup> Kąty Małe village (Kąty, Brześć district) and part of Sokołowo village (Brześć district)<sup>84</sup> formed part of the provostry's endowment.<sup>85</sup> In 1592, Włocławek Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski incorporated the hospital provostry of the Holy Spirit in Inowrocław into the College of Vicars of Włocławek Cathedral. The endowment of Inowrocław provostry encompassed Szpital village (Inowrocław district) and Dalkowo Demesne (Inowrocław district).<sup>86</sup> As Włocławek colleges of cathedral canons and vicars were the actual holders of legal interest in these settlements, we class these entities as the owners of the above-listed property.

In his work on the college of Włocławek vicars, Stanisław Chodyński stated that in 1551 Stanisław Chodowski sold Szpital Dolny (Szpital Nadolny; Dobrzyń district) to the vicar corporation.<sup>87</sup> In fact, in 1550 Chodowski granted the annual rent on his parts in the villages of Szpital Górny (Szpital Górny; Dobrzyń district) and Szpital Dolny (Szpital Nadolny) to the vicars.<sup>88</sup>

Czerniewiczki (Czernielice Małe; Kowal district) is another settlement whose ownership affiliation with the College of Vicars of the Włocławek Cathedral remains unclear. The altarist of Włocławek Cathedral had almost always been mentioned as Czerniewiczki owner or taxpayer.<sup>89</sup> In 1557, this role was ascribed to Włocławek Vicar Łazarz Olszówka,<sup>90</sup> who simultaneously served as the altarist to the altar of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Włocławek Cathedral.<sup>91</sup> The description of Grabkowo (Grabków) Village borders in the inventory of Włocławek Bishopric property also mentions that the Cathedral village of Czerniewiczki (Czernielice Małe) belonged to the Cathedral altarist, but in 1607 it stated that it was the property of the College of Vicars.<sup>92</sup> Right before the sixteenth century reached its midpoint, a dispute erupted in the Cathedral College of Vicars. In 1542, Włocławek Bishop Łukasz Górka ordered Włocławek Suffragan Bishop Jan Dziaduski to resolve the conflict. One of the vicars, Stanisław Olszewski, altarist to the altar of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Włocławek Cathedral, claimed that Czerniewiczki (Czernielice Małe) village formed part of his benefices, while the remaining vicars argued it was the 'common property of the whole college'. Jan Dziaduski upheld the viewpoint of the vicars, but eventually the dispute ended with a compromise; part of the village was recognised as the altarist's benefices, and part was held by Cathedral College of Vicars.<sup>93</sup> However, at the end of the sixteenth century Włocławek Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski passed the BVM Immaculate Conception altarage, along with part of Czerniewiczki (Czernieliczki Małe), to the vicar penitentiary; in 1594 this office was held by Jan of Śrem.<sup>94</sup> Owing to the procedure for appointing the altarist to this altar, this incorporation was not beneficial to College members. In 1605, Włocławek Bishop Piotr Tylicki returned the altarage to the College of Vicars. Nevertheless, since the main map strives to reflect the situation in 1600 as faithfully as possible, the incorporation took place between Church entities of the same type. A Catholic Church

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<sup>83</sup> S. Kuliński, *Monografia Brześcia Kujawskiego*, p. 52; mention about incorporation into Chapter in 1598 visitation: MHDW 20, p. 4.

<sup>84</sup> The deed on the incorporation of the hospital provostry into Brześć parsonage lists only Kąty; MK 99, f. 181r.

<sup>85</sup> Two lans were mentioned in 1564 (LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 215–216), and four hospital lans were listed in 1598 (MHDW 20, p. 18).

<sup>86</sup> *Wikariusze katedry włocławskiej (collegium vicariorum). Z akt kapituły włocławskiej*, pub. S. Chodyński, Włocławek 1912, pp. 137–138, 289–294 (document issued by Sigismund III Vasa confirming the incorporation).

<sup>87</sup> *Wikariusze katedry włocławskiej*, p. 130.

<sup>88</sup> MK 78, ff. 417r–417v; reg.: MRPS V/1, no. 1063.

<sup>89</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 391r (1567), 429r (1577); ASK I 30, ff. 578r (1581), 644r (1582), 702r (1583), 753r (1589); ASK I 50, f. 779v (1570).

<sup>90</sup> ASK I 29, f. 265r.

<sup>91</sup> *Wikariusze katedry włocławskiej*, p. 118.

<sup>92</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 38; Inw. XVII, p. 93.

<sup>93</sup> MHDW 18, p. 42; *Wikariusze katedry włocławskiej*, pp. 160–161; S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny II/5*, p. 122, no. 422–424. It seems that the misunderstanding arose from the fact that in 1392, upon granting Czerniewiczki (Czernielice Małe) to Włocławek Vice-treasurer Mikołaj of Kowal, who was to use this bestowal to fund a new altar, Włocławek Bishop and Duke of Legnica Henryk specified that Mikołaj must be succeeded by an altarist selected from among vicars; MHDW 18, pp. 41–42; *Wikariusze katedry włocławskiej*, pp. 158–159. The document on the incorporation of the BVM Immaculate Conception altar dates to 1397 and gave the altar to the College of Vicars which chartered Czerniewiczki (Czernielice Małe) with Magdeburg law (S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny II/5*, p. 130, no. 270a), which could have substantiated the claim of the College of Vicars, yet Chodyński gives the impression that he is sceptical about its reliability (*Wikariusze katedry włocławskiej*, pp. 159–160).

<sup>94</sup> *Wikariusze katedry włocławskiej*, p. 163.

institution still owned half of Czerniewiczki (Czerniewiczki Małe) – the settlement still belonged to the altarist of the BVM Immaculate Conception altar.

In 1581, the villages of Ujma Duża (Ujma Wielka) and Ujma Mała (Brześć district) belonging to Gniezno Archbishop were bestowed to Gniezno Cathedral Chapter as so-called episcopal (*gracjalne*) villages.<sup>95</sup> Although the villages were in actual fact administered by Gniezno canons, reflected in *i.a.* the sources from the second half of the eighteenth century which mention that the Gniezno Chapter was the owner of the two villages,<sup>96</sup> both Ujma villages belonged to the Archbishop's property.<sup>97</sup>

Concerning parson endowments, we only looked at those cases where an endowment exceeded the standard parson's land endowment called *poświętne* or *mansus ecclesiasticus*, especially when the parson owned an entire village or when the endowment was located outside of the parochial village.

In the section on royal property, we mentioned Żakowice village and the vacant settlement of Psary. In 1489, Żakowice (Brześć district) was mentioned as a settlement belonging to the Chapter of Włocławek (Włocław) Cathedral.<sup>98</sup> In 1531, Włocławek Bishop Maciej Drzewicki issued a document confirming that he and Włocławek Canon and Kowal Parson Stefan Łochowski exchanged 'the tithe of the bishop's mensa in Kromszewice and Pyszkowo in Chodecz Parish for Żakowice village, a benefice of his parish'.<sup>99</sup> Perhaps the exchange took place earlier, as Żakowice was described as the property of the Kowal parson already in 1527.<sup>100</sup> However, another change in ownership occurred in the years 1565–1566. In return for Żakowice village, which became royal property, the Kowal parson received the vacant settlement of Pniewy (Brześć district),<sup>101</sup> which had previously formed part of royal property.<sup>102</sup> Still, the ownership affiliation of this village is disputable. The 1584 canonical visitation lists Żakowice as a benefice of Kowal Parish.<sup>103</sup> In 1590, the case of this exchange was examined at the request of the Kowal parson,<sup>104</sup> even though the village belonged to the king, who in 1593 confirmed the granting of the settlement to Łukasz Mielżyński for life-long use.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, Catholic Church sources describe Żakowice as a village forming part of the Kowal parochial church endowment.<sup>106</sup> Also the 1598 inventory of Włocławek Bishopric property, in the description of the episcopal village of Wola Skarbkowa (Wola Skarbek; Brześć district), defines Żakowice as a settlement belonging to Kowal church, and outright calls Łukasz Mielżyński an usurper of the village.<sup>107</sup> In the first half of the seventeenth century, subsequent inspections of royal property enumerate Żakowice,<sup>108</sup> and Karol Perthées marked this settlement as royal property on his map of Brześć Voivodeship. We therefore decided on assigning the status of royal property to Żakowice, while we classed the vacant settlement of Pniewy as the property of Kowal parson.

<sup>95</sup> J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundiów arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1955, p. 65.

<sup>96</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu brzesko-kujawskiego*, p. 169, no. 249–250. For more on the seventeenth-century bestowal of the two Ujma villages by the Archbishop to the Chapter, see J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitalnej gnieźnieńskiej od roku 1000 aż do dni naszych*, vol. 1, Gniezno 1883, p. 159.

<sup>97</sup> The on-line AAG catalogue provides information on two documents dating to 1613 and 1748 where the Popes approve the granting of Ujma Duża (Ujma Wielka) and Ujma Mała Villages to members of the Cathedral Chapter (these documents bear the signatures Dypl. Gn 864 and Dypl. Gn 1374). Also J. Topolski defined these villages as property of the Archbishop from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century; idem, *Rozwój latyfundiów arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, p. 64.

<sup>98</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 105.

<sup>99</sup> S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny II/5*, p. 117, no. 411.

<sup>100</sup> MHDW 11, p. 35.

<sup>101</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 224–225. The publishers of the 1564–1565 inspection stated that Pniewy was gifted to Brześć Parish Church (LWWK 1564, part 1, p. LII).

<sup>102</sup> Even in 1554, this vacant settlement was granted to Inowrocław Chamberlain Mikołaj Trzebuchowski for life-long use; MRPS V/2, no. 6575. The relevant document places the settlement in Brześć royal estate. The publishers of the 1564–1565 inspection pointed to numerous separate bestowals of this village, and thus treated it as a separate lease; LWWK 1564, part 1, p. LII.

<sup>103</sup> MHDW 19, p. 104.

<sup>104</sup> MK 135, f. 867r; reg.: SMK IV, no. 1062. Some transactions were also mentioned in 1594 visitations of Kowal church (MHDW 23, p. 48) and 1598 (MHDW 20, p. 24).

<sup>105</sup> MK 138, f. 117v; reg.: SMK VII, no. 158.

<sup>106</sup> MHDW 17, p. 39 (1578); MHDW 19, p. 104 (1584); MHDW 20, p. 24 (1598); MHDW 23, p. 48 (1594; which dated the Żakowice-Pniewy exchange to 1366).

<sup>107</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 10: 'ad parochialem ecclesiam Kovaliensem spectans, de qua controversia cum domino Melzinski pro nunc tenentario et usurpatore.'

<sup>108</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 271; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 119.

Parson property also proved problematic in terms of determining who held a legal interest in a given part of land after the assignment of a settlement, in whole or in part, to a lay person. In 1567, the major and the councillors of Brześć, as collators of the benefice held by the preacher of Brześć Kujawski parochial church, granted emphyteusis on Maszonki Demesne (Radziejów district), which constituted the preacher's endowment, to Jakub Rusinowski.<sup>109</sup> This nobleman had appeared in tax registers as the payer of tax on Maszonki,<sup>110</sup> and, in the 1584 pastoral visitation, as Maszonki owner.<sup>111</sup> The 1598 visitation mentions that this demesne was added to the preacher's benefice,<sup>112</sup> which is why we classified Maszonki as Church property which formed part of the Brześć preacher's benefice. We proceeded similarly in the case of the BVM Assumption altar at Brześć Kujawski parochial church in Kuczyna village (Brześć district), which belonged to the Brześć parson and altarists – tax registers indicate that Mikołaj Luboński, granted life-long use, was the payer of tax for a part of that altar-age.<sup>113</sup> The tax on Paruchowa (Parchowa; Brześć district), which formed part of the endowment of the parochial church in Koneck (Brześć district), was paid by Łukasz and Marcin Grabski, to whom Paruchowo was leased.<sup>114</sup>

As in 1576 King Stephen Bátorý incorporated Brześć parsonage into Włocławek Cathedral Chapter, we marked the estates which constituted the benefice of Brześć parson (Siedlimin (Siedlimino) and part of Kuczyna, Rzadka Wola (Wola Rzadka) and Stare Miasto (Stary Brześć)) as property of the Chapter in Włocławek (Włocław).<sup>115</sup> We also labelled the settlements held by parochial churches and incorporated into the Canons Regular Monastery in Lubraniec (Bytoń (Bytom), Lubraniec and Zgłowiączka (Zgłowiątko)) as monastery property.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church had the following holdings: in Brześć Voivodeship: three towns, 82 villages, nine village parts, 14 mills, nine demesnes; in Inowrocław Voivodeship: two towns, 56 villages, one village part, seven mills, nine demesnes, one demesne part, one pitch production settlement; in Dobrzyń land: one town, 24 villages, one village part, five mills, one ironworks. The complete list of Church property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land runs as follows: six towns, 162 villages, 11 village parts, 26 mills, 18 demesnes, one demesne part, one ironworks, one pitch production settlement.

The bulk of Catholic Church property was located in Brześć district: 56.5 villages, which accounted for 21.1% of all settlements identified in this district. Nonetheless, in the second half of the sixteenth century Bydgoszcz district had the largest Church-to-overall settlement ratio of 24.8%, with a count of 28.5 Church villages. Kruszwica district followed close on its heels with 14.5 Church villages corresponding to 24.4% of all settlements. Inowrocław district also displayed a high percentage share of settlements which constituted the endowments of Catholic Church institutions (46.5 settlements making up 20.4% of total settlements), which boosted Inowrocław to leading position with 21.8% of settlements held by Catholic clergy in its overall make-up. Inowrocław Voivodeship was the location of numerous villages forming part of Włocławek Bishopric's endowment and the estates of the Cistercian Abbey in Koronowo in the northern part of Bydgoszcz district, hence such a high share of Church settlements. Church settlements were fewest in Dobrzyń district: a mere 3.5 settlements, which accounted for 3.2% of settlements in total. The figures for Church property were low in Przedecz district (six settlements, 4.9% of all settlements), Kowal district (eight and half settlements, 10.7% of all settlements), and Rypin district (10 settlements, 7.5% of all settlements). Across the analysed area, Catholic Church property accounted for 15.5% of all settlements, whereby their general distribution in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land differed notably. There was quite a considerable disparity between these administrative units: the ratio of Church to total settlements amounted to 18.3% in Cuyavia, and to 8.1% in Dobrzyń land. This latter

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<sup>109</sup> Guldon, *Kujawy*, p. 275.

<sup>110</sup> ASK I 29, f. 498v (1579); ASK I 30, ff. 594v (1581), 718v (1583), 764v (1589).

<sup>111</sup> MHDW 22, p. 153.

<sup>112</sup> MHDW 20, p. 10.

<sup>113</sup> ASK I 29, f. 645v (1580); ASK I 30, f. 561v (1581). Mikołaj Luboński still held part of the village in 1598; MHDW 20, pp. 7, 10; see also S. Kuliński, *Monografia Brześcia Kujawskiego*, p. 72. In 1780, Brześć Provost was defined as owner of the village; R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Materiały do osadnictwa powiatu brzesko-kujawskiego*, p. 158, np. 123.

<sup>114</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 236v (1557), 458v (1579); MHDW 22, p. 90 (1584).

<sup>115</sup> The incorporation is mentioned in the 1577 visitation; MHDW 1, p. 11. In 1607, Siedlimin was described as a village of Włocławek Chapter; Inw. XVII, p. 90.

percentage has been inflated by the 16 settlements of Włocławek Bishopric, which made up 11% of all Lipno district settlements, though Płock Bishopric also had 10 settlements in Rypin district, which corresponded to 8% to that district's total settlements. Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships alike had a higher count of settlements which constituted the endowments of Catholic Church institutions than royal property, while in Dobrzyń land the figures were practically balanced.

## Town property

We defined town property as settlements which belonged to towns and were fully controlled by towns in legal and economic terms. In Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, settlements were held by royal and Church towns. We did not identify any cases where a nobility-owned town had a settlement in its possession. With 16 settlements, Inowrocław was the largest landholder in the analysed area. We did, however, determine that five of those localities were vacant.<sup>116</sup> Apart from that,<sup>117</sup> separate settlements were held by the burghers of Brześć Kujawski (Brzeście), Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszawa; Lipno district) and Raciążek (Raciąż, Inowrocław district).<sup>118</sup> We also marked Nowy Dwór Demesne (Bydgoszcz district) as a settlement partially owned by a town, as Koronowo burghers owned 31 lans there at the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> These were: Kotwiniec, Marulewy (Marulewo), Michowice (purchased by the town in 1540 from Wągrowiec Cistercians; MK 61, pp. 54–55; reg.: MRPS IV/3, no. 20103), Mikorzyn (Mikorzyno) and Szydłowy.

<sup>117</sup> Sources also provide information on burghers of some towns using other settlement units, in whole or in part. Fordon (Fordan) is a case in point. Z. Guldon identified Sierniczek (Sierniczko; Bydgoszcz district) as property of Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty; Guldon, Kujawy, p. 83. Indeed, the 1489 land tax register and the 1530 Bydgoszcz district register define Sierniczek (Sierniczko) as part of that royal estate; Lustracja 1489, p. 173; ASK I 50, f. 535r. Based on a mention in the 1563 tax register, which describes Sierniczek (Sierniczko) as the property of Fordon burghers (ASK I 92, f. 12v: 'oppidanorum Fordanensium'), and entries to the 1597 visitation to Fordon church about tithe paid by Fordon burghers to Frodon parson on *i.a.* the town-held field called Sierniczek (VAP, vol. 2, p. 312), we classed this vacant hereditary property as town property. Still in 1717, Fordon burghers held some Sierniczek land; *Zarys dziejów osad miejskich oraz miejscowości przyłączonych do Bydgoszczy do 1939 roku*, [in:] *Historia Bydgoszczy*, vol. 2, part 1: 1920–1939, ed. M. Biskup, Bydgoszcz 1999, p. 858; *Sierniczek*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Bydgoszczy ('Encyclopaedia of Bydgoszcz')*, vol. 2, Bydgoszcz 2017, p. 148. The property of Fordon (Fordan) also encompassed Łoskoń (Bydgoszcz district), a vacant settlement mentioned in 1580, granted in 1424 by Ladislaus Jagiello to the burghers of Fordon when the settlements received its town charter; *Fordon*, historical comp. E. Okoń, R. Czaja, cartographic comp. R. Golba, Z. Koziół, A. Pilarska, Toruń 2016 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, vol. 2: Kujawy, no. 3), p. 10 and footnote 24 on p. 20. We entered both cases as Fordon Town property to the AHP database. Contrary to Z. Guldon (Guldon, Dobrzyń, p. 30), we did not place Wyszyn Village, a holding of Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń) Town, on the map. Information on this settlement ceased to appear in 1521; MRPS III, no. 2813; MRPS IV/1, no. 3968. 1564–1565 records provide information on the use of the deserted settlement of Bławaty by Strzelno burghers. Bławaty belonged to the Norbertines Monastery in Strzelno (LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 233), which sold the empty settlement to the burghers in 1605; R. Kabaciński, *Historia miasta Strzelna (przełom XIV/XV wieku – 1773 r.)*, Bydgoszcz 2001, p. 75.

<sup>118</sup> In 1573, Włocławek Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski incorporated areas called Podole (Małe Podole) and Wola to Raciążek (Raciąż); S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dokumenty w kopia-riuszach*, vol. 8: *Kopiarusze gospodarcze z XVI–XVII wieku*, Włocławek 2001, p. 33, no. 82. Both settlements are mentioned in sources before the second half of the sixteenth century: Wola was described as the property of Raciążek (Raciąż) in 1489 (Lustracja 1489, p. 165), while Podole was defined as an abandoned demesne which constituted part of the set of Raciążek property in the 1534 inventory of episcopal property (Inw. 1534, p. 23). In 1582 and 1604 Raciążek inventories, Podole and Wola had already recorded fields used by Raciążek burghers; Inw. 1582, p. 183; Inw. XVII, p. 2. The 1604 inventory mentions that the villages of Chlewiska (Brześć district) and Mleczkowo (Inowrocław district) were the property of Raciążek (Raciąż); Inw. XVII, pp. 12–13. As we did not succeed in establishing the date when these two villages were granted to the town to own (?) or to use (?), we were not in a position to confirm that it fell within the sixteenth century; we classified both settlements as the property of Włocławek Bishopric.

<sup>119</sup> In 1370, Koronowo Abbot Jan gave 27 lans situated between Koronowo and Nowy Dwór (Bydgoszcz district) to Koronowo burghers, and in 1563 Koronowo Abbot Adam Mirkowski granted them another 24 lans in Nowy Dwór demesne. The next abbot, Wawrzyniec Żaliński, took 20 of those lans in 1597, whilst he combined the four remaining lans with the 27 lans granted under the 1370 privilege. In exchange, the abbot bestowed land in an abandoned village called Samociążek (Bydgoszcz district) and part of the vacant settlement of Mokre (Bydgoszcz district); R. Kabaciński, *Uposażenie ziemskie mieszczan koronowskich w XVI wieku*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 96, 2001, pp. 170–173, 185–192; *Koronowo*, historical comp. E. Okoń, R. Czaja, cartographic comp. R. Golba, Z. Koziół, A. Pilarska, Toruń 2016 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, vol. 2: Kujawy, no. 2), p. 12.

## Nobility property

Nobility property was the predominant ownership category of settlements in the voivodeships of Cuyavia and in Dobrzyń land. This ownership make-up does not differ from that of other Polish voivodeships. We identified a total of 1,002 nobility-held settlements, which corresponds to 71% of all settlements in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. It is, however, possible to note quite a large discrepancy in the percentage share of nobility property between Cuyavian voivodeships and Dobrzyń land. Most nobility property was situated in Dobrzyń land, and accounted for 83.6%. The districts of Dobrzyń land were the ones with the highest nobility-to-overall-settlement rate: 90.4% in Dobrzyń district and 87.6% in Rypin district. This share was lower in Brześć Voivodeship (69.9%), and smallest in Inowrocław Voivodeship (59.1%). The percentage of nobility settlements in the districts of Brześć Voivodeship generally did not diverge from the voivodeship average, yet it ought to be underlined that in Przedecz district noble-held settlements constituted 79.3% of all settlements. Inowrocław (57.8%) and Kruszwica (57.1%) districts had the smallest fraction of nobility property.

What was characteristic about the analysed areas were the large populations of partial and serfless gentry. These territories were also devoid of large complexes of property encompassing more than ten villages, the likes of which were present in Sandomierz, Cracow, Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships.

## Lubraniec Fee Tail

When discussing nobility estates in Cuyavia, it is worth mentioning that the southern part of the analysed area saw the establishment of one of Poland's first fee tails.<sup>120</sup> The fee tail was established by Sigismund the Old in 1518 at the request of the Lubrański brothers, Poznań Bishop Jan Lubrański and Poznań Voivode Mikołaj Lubrański. The fee tail was composed of 19 settlements listed in the founding document. Seventeen of these fell within the boundaries of Brześć, Przedecz and Radziejów districts, and two were located in Łęczyca Voivodeship.<sup>121</sup> The fee tail did not survive long, because it was plagued by inheritance problems,<sup>122</sup> and was dissolved in either 1558<sup>123</sup> or 1563.<sup>124</sup> Since the last male heir, Wawrzyniec Lubrański, had not come of age, between 1552 and 1558 the fee tail was administered by Erazm Kretkowski, appointed as property guardian by King Sigismund Augustus in 1552, at the request of Cracow Castellan Jan Tarnowski and Poznań Voivode Janusz Latański, custodians of the underage Wawrzyniec. Following Kretkowski's death in 1558, Wawrzyniec Lubrański took over Lubraniec and part of Lubraniec-related estates, and in 1563 Lubraniec holdings became the property of Jakub Chlewicki, husband to Zofia, Wawrzyniec's sister, which was confirmed in 1570.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> The first fee tails established in the sixteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian State were quite ephemeral; J. Rafacz, *Ordynacja lubraniecka według przywileju z r. 1518*, PH, vol. 30, 1932–1933, no. 2, p. 401. The first fee tails to prove lasting were those of the Radziwiłł family in Lithuania (1586) and the Zamoyski family (1589); A. Meleń, *Ordynacje w dawnej Polsce*, Lwów 1929, p. 9; T. Zielińska, *Ordynacje w Polsce*, PH, vol. 68, 1977, no. 1, pp. 19–21.

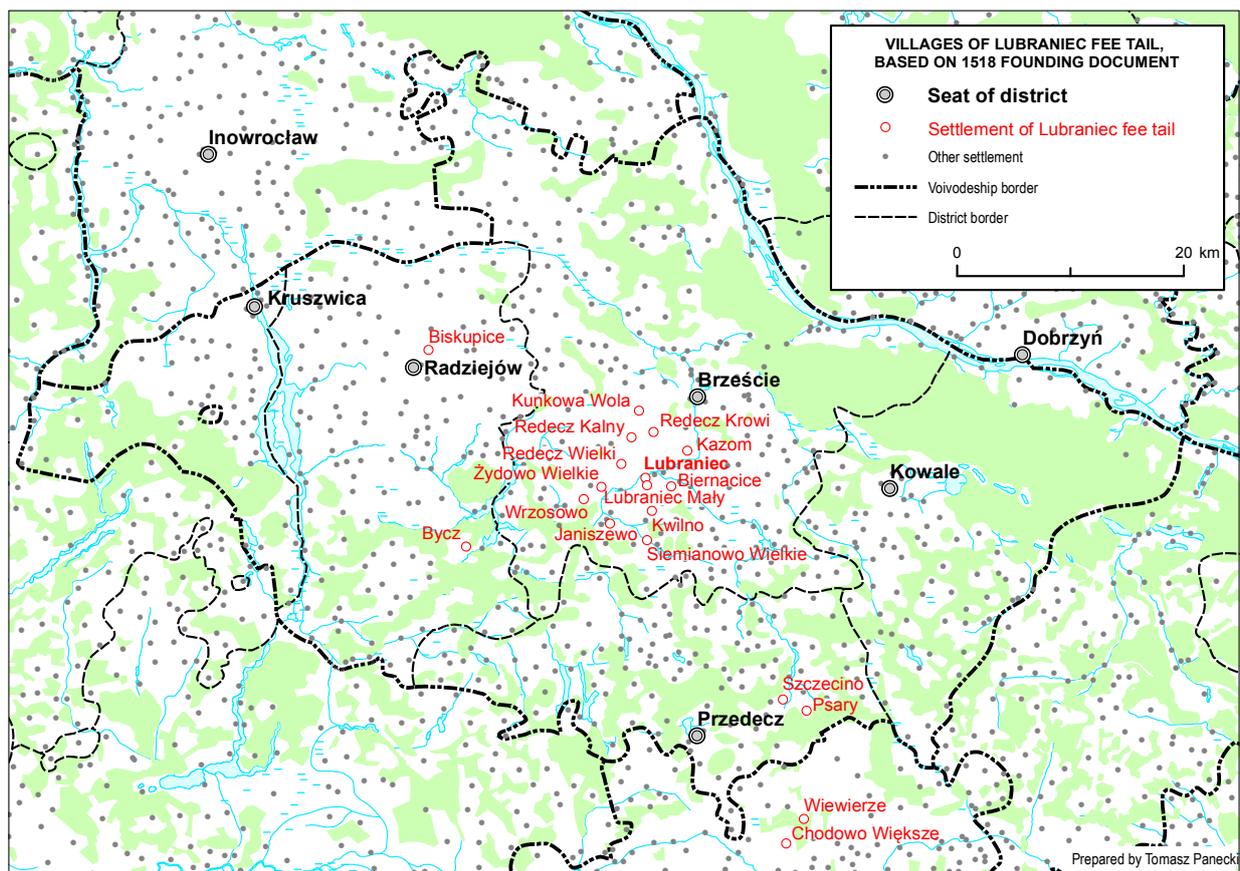
<sup>121</sup> MRPS IV/1, no. 2786; J. Rafacz, *Ordynacja lubraniecka*, pp. 398–413; P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, *Lubraniec – zespół pałacowy*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce. Kujawy wschodnie*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 233 and footnote 34 on p. 233; W. Kubiak, *Dzieje Lubrańca*, Toruń 2006, pp. 71–73.

<sup>122</sup> P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, *Lubraniec – zespół pałacowy*, p. 231. The principles of succession have been discussed in: J. Rafacz, *Ordynacja lubraniecka*, p. 404.

<sup>123</sup> S. Muznerowski, *Lubraniec (monografia)*, Włocławek 1910, p. 27; L. Kajzer, *Szesnastowieczne „fortalicjum” wojewody Lubrańskiego*, SMDWP, vol. 18, 1991, pp. 64–65.

<sup>124</sup> A. Meleń, *Ordynacje*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>125</sup> S. Muznerowski, *Lubraniec*, pp. 25, 28. In the 1580s, Lubraniec and its estates was put in pledge for three years by Jakub Chlewicki, son of Jakub Chlewicki and Zofia Lubrańska, to Łukasz Kretkowski; P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, *Lubraniec – zespół pałacowy*, p. 234 (authors date this event to 1585); W. Kubiak, *Dzieje Lubrańca*, p. 59 (dates to 1583); while T. Stawiński, *Materiały do dziejów własności ziemskiej Kretkowskich w latach około 1500–1613*, ZK-D, vol. 17: *Gospodarka (XX – początek XXI wieku)*, 2002, p. 267, wrote that the pledge covered the period from 1585 to 1596, and in 1596 Chlewicki sold Lubraniec and 12 villages to Łomża starosta Mikołaj Modliszewski; J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, pp. 78–79; P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, *Lubraniec – zespół pałacowy*, p. 234; W. Kubiak, *Dzieje Lubrańca*, p. 59. L. Kajzer, *Szesnastowieczne „fortalicjum”*, pp. 64–65 also presented the history of Lubraniec Fee Tail, albeit with slight differences.



**Map 1. Villages of Lubraniec Fee Tail, based on 1518 founding document**

Own elaboration based on: MRPS IV/1, no. 2786.

The villages which formed part of the original Lubraniec Fee Tail in 1557 were not held only by Erazm Kretkowski, but also by other bearers of the Godziemba coat of arms.<sup>126</sup> It is worth underlining that Kąkowa Wola (Kunkowa Wola, Brześć district), a royal village granted in 1519 by Sigismund the Old to Jan and Mikołaj Lubrański with the right to redeem the property for 1,600 *złoty* (lat. *floren*), was among the settlements of the fee tail.<sup>127</sup>

**Table 1. Owners/payers of tax on Cuyavian settlements of Lubraniec Fee Tail in 1518 (except for Łęczyca Voivodeship settlements, for which there are no data available)**

Name of settlement	Owner/payer as at 1557
Biernatki (Biernacie)	Erazm Łochocki
Biskupice	Erazm Kretkowski
Bycz	Erazm Kretkowski
Chodów (Chodowo Większe; Łęczyca district)	Marcin standard bearer, Anna Rusocka (1552)
Janiszewo	Bernard Redecki
Kazanie (Kazom)	Erazm Kretkowski
Kąkowa Wola (Kunkowa Wola)	royal property (Erazm Kretkowski)

<sup>126</sup> S. Muznerowski, *Lubraniec*, pp. 18–20; P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, *Lubraniec – zespół pałacowy*, pp. 231–233.

<sup>127</sup> MRPS IV/1, no. 3167; see: LWWK 1564, part 1, p. LI, footnote 269. M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym, archeologicznym, ekonomicznym i statystycznym*, Włocławek 1882, p. 148) presented a list of surnames of those who used fee tail estates in 1518.

Name of settlement	Owner/payer as at 1557
Krowice (Redecz Krowi)	Bernard Redecki
Kwilno	Erazm Kretkowski
Lubraniec	Erazm Kretkowski
Lubrańczyk (Lubraniec Mały)	Erazm Kretkowski
Psary	Piotr Psarski
Redecz Kalny	Bernard Redecki
Redecz Wielki (part)	Erazm Kretkowski
Siemnowo (Siemianowo Wielkie)	Wawrzyniec Lubieniecki
Szczecin (Szczecino)	Marcin Psarski, Piotr Psarski
Wiewierz (Wiewierze; Łęczycza district)	Anna Rusocka (1552)
Wrzosowo	Bernard Redecki, Jakub Kobieliński
Żydowo (Żydowo Wielkie)	Sułkowski, Wawrzyniec Lubrański

Source: ASK I 14, f. 384r; ASK I 29, ff. 238v–239r, 240r–241r, 253r–253v, 257v, 273v.

## Serfless gentry

In Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, serfless gentry paid tax on whole villages and parts of villages. We found separate lists of villages inhabited by farm gentry in Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships registers. Save for tax registers from 1553, 1557, 1576 (the surviving part on Brześć district) and 1579, such registers appeared in six of the tax registers for Brześć Voivodeship used.<sup>128</sup> Among Inowrocław Voivodeship registers, only the 1552 register provided a separate list of serfless gentry in Inowrocław and Bydgoszcz districts.<sup>129</sup> In other Inowrocław Voivodeship registers, serfless gentry was not listed separately, and information on taxes paid by this group was carried together with the payments made for all settlements in Inowrocław Voivodeship. Dobrzyń land tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century do not list serfless gentry.<sup>130</sup> This is quite interesting, as the percentage of farm gentry was very high in the analysed area, and yet information on lans held by farm gentry was recorded together with details on tax collected for serf lans.

As serfless gentry formed a vital part of the general structure of nobility in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, below we present information on villages belonging to serfless gentry farms. We compiled this information based on 1564 (Dobrzyń land) and 1581 (Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships) registers. We are aware that in the analysed period larger nobility estates absorbed smaller nobility property, while partial and farm gentry holdings became fragmented, and representatives of partial and petty gentry climbed to the category of serfless gentry.<sup>131</sup> Below, we depicted the spatial layout of villages where in 1564 and 1581 tax payments were declared for lans farmed directly by serfless gentry. This provides an accurate reflection of ownership structure in the said years, and it is more or less similar to the data presented in tax registers for the remaining years.

<sup>128</sup> 1567: ASK I 29, ff. 389r–390r, 394r–394v, 398v–401v, 408v–410r; 1577: *ibidem*, ff. 427v–428v, 431v–432r, 435v–438r, 443v–444r, 446v; 1581: ASK I 30, ff. 574r–577r, 582r–583v, 589r–593r, 602v–604r, 608r–609r; 1582: *ibidem*, ff. 641r–642v, 647r–648r, 653r–656r, 663r–664r, 667r–667v; 1583: *ibidem*, ff. 699v–701r, 706v–707v, 713v–717r, 725v–727r, 730v; 1589: *ibidem*, ff. 751v–752v, 755v–756r, 759v–762v, 768v–769v, 772v.

<sup>129</sup> ASK I 50, ff. 550r–550v, 561v–562v.

<sup>130</sup> Such lists were drafted in the first half of the sixteenth century, e.g. in 1535: ASK I 30, ff. 120r–121v, 125v–127v, 130v–133r.

<sup>131</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia w tej edycji III.3.3.7. K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, pp. 186–188 analyses such examples in the northern part of Łęczycza Voivodeship neighbouring on Brześć Voivodeship in the south.

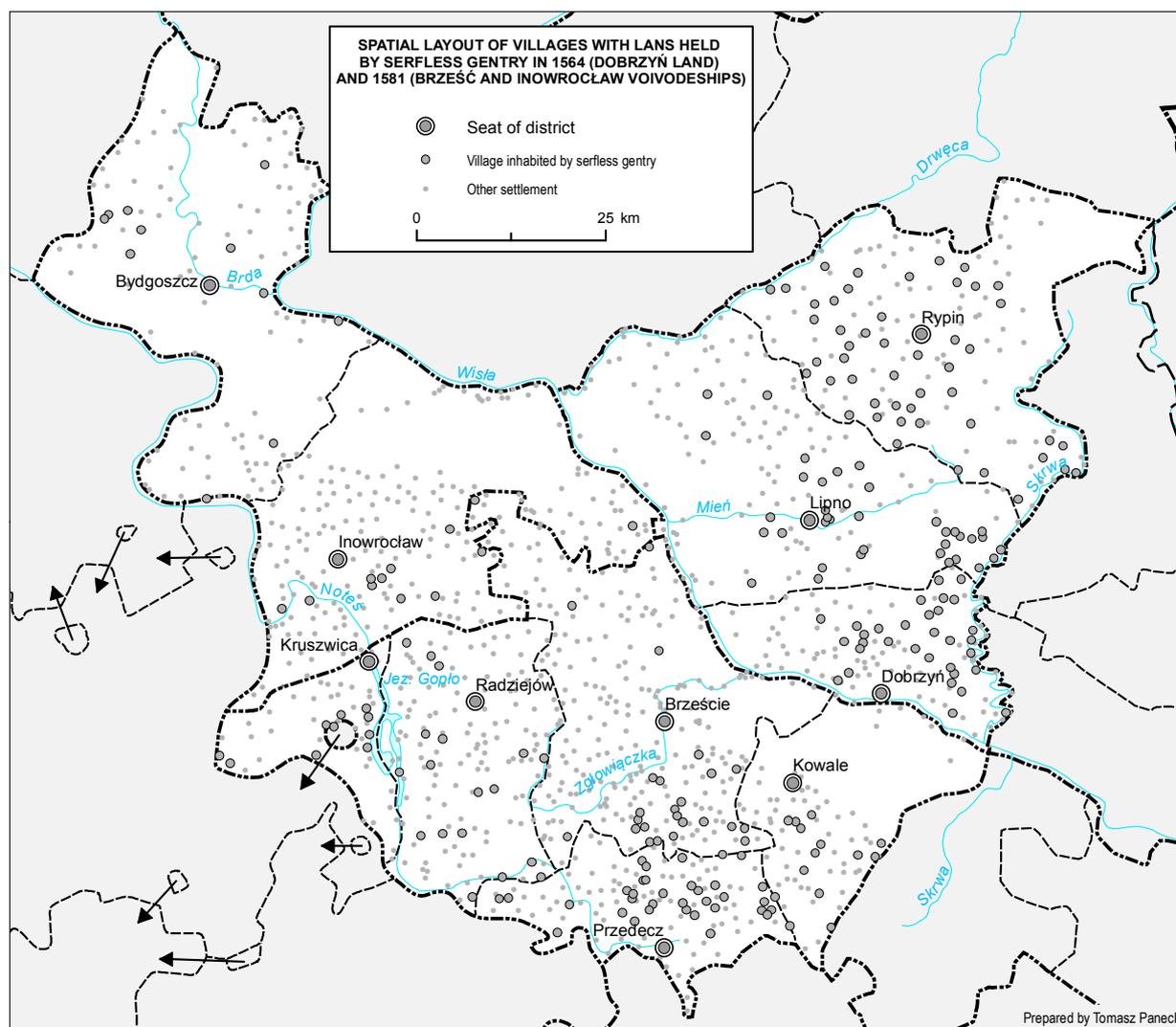
**Table 2. Number of villages held by serfless gentry**

District	Number of villages	Percentage share in overall settlements in district	Percentage share in overall nobility settlements in district
Brześć Voivodeship (1581)			
Brześć	29	11	16
Kowal	14	18	25
Kruszwica	10	17	29
Przedecz	42	34	43
Radziejów	16	11	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>23</b>
Inowrocław Voivodeship (1581)			
Bydgoszcz	12	10	17
Inowrocław	13	6	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>
Cuyavia			
<b>Total</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>
Dobrzyń land (1564)			
Dobrzyń (district)	35	32	36
Lipno	38	26	35
Rypin	50	38	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>38</b>
Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land			
<b>Total</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>26</b>

In Cuyavia, the highest concentration of serfless gentry farms was identified in the southern part of Brześć Voivodeship: in Przedecz district (highest population) and Kowal district, and in the southern part of Brześć district. It seems that the presence of serfless gentry villages in this very part of Poland may be seen as the continuation of a similar phenomenon observed in Łęczyca Voivodeship (clearly present in Orłowo district neighbouring on Rawa Voivodeship, but also discernible in the northern part of Łęczyca district neighbouring on Przedecz district).<sup>132</sup> In 1581, a serfless gentry farm could be found in every third settlement in Przedecz district (34%). Taking into consideration settlements owned only by nobility, this percentage rises to 43%. In Brześć Voivodeship, such villages were less frequent in Kruszwica and Radziejów districts, mainly near Gopło. As Kruszwica district had a low settlement count in general, villages with serfless gentry farms held the second largest share in Brześć Voivodeship, followed by Przedecz, on a par with Kowal district. These 10 registered villages accounted for 17% of all settlements in the district, and corresponded to 29% of settlements held in whole or in part by nobility.<sup>133</sup> Serfless taxpayers were recorded in 29 villages of Brześć district. Nonetheless, this made up only 11% of all settlements in the district and 16% of noble-held settlements in that administrative unit. One could sporadically come across serfless gentry in Inowrocław Voivodeship, with the largest

<sup>132</sup> *Map of Landed Property in Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships*, comp. A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, [in:] AHP Sieradz, part 1: *Maps, plans*, no. 4; K. Chłapowski, A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.3.5. The property of farm gentry in Łęczyca Voivodeship has been discussed in detail in: K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarstwa Królestwa Polskiego*, pp. 212–227.

<sup>133</sup> Other opinion in: Guldon, Kujawy, p. 44, who wrote that farm gentry played the least significant role *i.a.* in Kruszwica district. Although in nominal values the village count was only 10, the share of farm gentry in the settlements of Kruszwica district was higher.



**Map 2. Spatial layout of villages with lans held by serfless gentry in 1564 (Dobrzyń land) and 1581 (Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships)**

Own elaboration based on: ASK I 30, ff. 290r–352r, 574r–577r, 582r–583v, 589r–593r, 602v–604r, 608r–609r (1581); ASK I 50, ff. 659r–694v (1564).

concentration east of Inowrocław and in the western part of Bydgoszcz district which neighboured on Nakło district of Kalisz Voivodeship. This ‘high concentration’, however, boiled down to clusters of five to six villages. In the analysed area, the percentage share of villages with serfless gentry farms in all settlements was lowest in Inowrocław district (6%). Bydgoszcz district exhibited an identical ratio of villages with serfless gentry farms to all settlements as Brześć district, that is the district with the lowest share of such settlements in Brześć Voivodeship. Nevertheless, were only nobility settlements taken into account, this share would amount to 17% for this district, and 10% for Inowrocław district – which is the lowest value among all districts of Cuyavia.

The figures for villages with serfless gentry farms were definitely higher for Dobrzyń land. The only area where such property was not identified was the westernmost tip of Dobrzyń land, occupied by relatively large villages belonging to Bobrowniki Gord Starosty and the set of Ciechocinek property held by Włocławek bishops. The highest density of villages with serfless gentry was in the east of Dobrzyń land, at the border with Płock Voivodeship, especially in Dobrzyń and Lipno districts. These territories should be analysed in conjunction with the eastern part of Płock Voivodeship, mainly Płock and Sierpc districts,<sup>134</sup>

<sup>134</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego*, pp. 228–241.

as a large cluster of villages with serfless gentry. Serfless gentry settlements were also present in the central belt of Dobrzyń land, which stretched from Kretki Duże (Kretki Wielkie) and Kretki Małe and Radziki Duże (Radziki) and Radziki Małe (Rypin district) through less densely populated areas around Lipno and Skępe (Skąpe) (Lipno district), to practically Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń; Dobrzyń district). However, their density was lower when compared to the eastern part of Dobrzyń land. Both values – the number of villages with serfless gentry farms and their percentage share in total settlements within districts and in nobility settlements – were higher in Dobrzyń land than in the voivodeships of Cuyavia, with the exclusion of Przedecz district. In terms of the ratio of serfless gentry villages to all settlements in a given district, Lipno district had the lowest share (26%). In Dobrzyń district, a serfless gentry farm existed in every third village (32%). Rypin district exhibited the highest share of 38%. When juxtaposed with all nobility settlements, these values increase from 35% in Lipno district, through 36% in Dobrzyń and Lipno district, to 43% in Rypin district. This last area had the highest rate of villages with serfless gentry to all nobility villages across the entire analysed area.<sup>135</sup>

Taking the above values into consideration, the figures for voivodeships run as follows: in Brześć Voivodeship, serfless gentry villages constituted 16% of all settlements and 23% of all noble-held settlements; in Inowrocław Voivodeship – 7% of all settlements and 12% of all nobility settlements; and in Dobrzyń land, serfless gentry farms were present in every third village (32%), and their share in all noble-held villages (38%) was even slightly higher. Thus, as at 1581 we identified a total of 136 villages with serfless gentry farms in the two voivodeships of Cuyavia, which accounted for 13% of all settlements in Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships, and 20% of all noble-held settlements in this area. Overall, villages with serfless gentry farms constituted 18% of all settlements and 26% of all nobility settlements in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.

## Partial gentry

Partial gentry, *i.e.* representatives of the nobility who owned only part of a village, were also numerous in the analysed area. It follows from 1564–1565 Dobrzyń land tax registers that, of the 324 noble-held settlements, 98 had only one owner or only one taxpayer. Statistically, this means that nearly every third (30.2%) of nobility settlements was the property of a single owner, while the remaining 69.8% was held by either partial or farm gentry.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, partial gentry was present in both districts of Inowrocław Voivodeship, and in Brześć Voivodeship.

## Larger landowners

In the Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land volume, we decided on discussing larger estates held by the nobility. Starting with the AHP volume on Sandomierz Voivodeship, we have presented larger noble-held property in the areas analysed. In the said volume, we define ‘larger landowners’ as individuals who owned at least 10 villages and/or at least 50 serf lans.<sup>136</sup> A different understanding of this term was adopted for Cracow, Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships, namely that of an individual who owned at least 30 lans and paid tax on at least 30 lans.<sup>137</sup> The same threshold applies to this volume.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Guldon, Dobrzyń, pp. 28–29, presents data on the ratio of serfless gentry lans to total nobility (expressed in per cent): 15.2% in Lipno district, 19.2% in Dobrzyń district and 25.7% in Rypin district, and in total this ratio amounted to 21% for Dobrzyń land.

<sup>136</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Map of Landed Property*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3b.2.

<sup>137</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.3.3.1; idem, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.3.4. K. Boroda *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego*, pp. 150–151 developed the following classification of nobility who held more than 30 lans: 30–40 lans – wealthy nobility, 40–60 lans – very wealthy nobility or lower magnate stratus, 60 or more lans – magnates.

<sup>138</sup> Guldon, Dobrzyń, p. 28, enumerated nobility holdings of more than 15 lans situated in Dobrzyń land.

The wealth of a given landowner can only be gauged by the number of lans held, not the number of owned settlements.<sup>139</sup>

Still, we encountered a severe difficulty when attempting to achieve this goal by identifying nobility property within a possibly convergent time span for all three parts of the analysed lands. The complication arose from the fact that more precise information on owners in particular voivodeships and in Dobrzyń land come from different periods.<sup>140</sup> In the case of Inowrocław Voivodeship, we adopted registers from the early 1580s (1581–1583) as the basis for our analysis. We selected these sources since they provide the most accurate records on owners (taxpayers) of settlements.

Regrettably, the source information provided by Brześć Voivodeship registers for the same period is not satisfactory. In practice, 1580s Brześć registers recorded owners or payers solely when a village was divided into parts.<sup>141</sup> The bulk of such information on Brześć Voivodeship can be found in 1557 and 1567 registers. We decided to map nobility property on the basis of the 1557 – not the 1567 – Brześć Voivodeship tax register for the reason set out below. In 1557, owners (or payers) were listed next to 268 nobility settlements, out of 474.5 nobility settlements in total. This corresponds to 56% of all nobility settlements and settlements owned in part by a representative of a different social estate which we identified to have existed in this voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century. The 1567 register provides such data only for 177 (37%) settlements.<sup>142</sup> Opting for the larger dataset, we chose to recreate nobility ownership in Brześć Voivodeship as at 1557, even though this tax register is not free from certain shortcomings. A major deficiency is that this register generally recorded lower amounts of taxed lans than the registers drafted between the 1560s and the 1580s. What is more, in instances where a village was divided into parts held by two different noblemen, the register usually states the total number of lans in a given village. Therefore, aware of its weaknesses, we adopted the assumption that the lan number entered into the register should be divided by the number of part owners mentioned in the source.<sup>143</sup> While 1560s materials on Dobrzyń land and 1580s records on Inowrocław Voivodeship enabled producing a relatively legible analysis of the above issue, the 1557 Brześć Voivodeship registers did not facilitate this task in the least. Quite often, the tax collectors entered different owners or payers for 1557 and 1567. What is more, we frequently discovered that a village stated to have a single owner or taxpayer in 1557 had been divided between more holders in the course of the decade. We also came across cases where a village was not mentioned in 1557, but appeared in 1567. The reverse also happened, albeit was more seldom.

The absence of any extant 1580s tax registers severely hampered analysis of nobility ownership in Dobrzyń land. In an attempt to overcome this hurdle, we availed ourselves of the information provided by two tax registers drafted in 1564 and 1565. These sources contain complete details on ownership, as they recorded the surnames of owners and payers (mainly of tax on royal property) from the vast majority of settlements.<sup>144</sup>

Owing to these difficulties, we attempted to consult subject literature as well, and sought out publications on the property of selected families who had ties with Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. These,

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<sup>139</sup> Obviously, the selection of criteria for evaluating a property's real value is broader than that: W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3a.2; K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego*, pp. 136–139.

<sup>140</sup> See also J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, p. 23.

<sup>141</sup> This was standard practice in the first half of the sixteenth century, and was also employed in the 1567 Płock Voivodeship tax register; K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego*, pp. 71, 144. The authors of previous AHP volumes, e.g. on Sandomierz and Sieradz, also identified instances where information on settlement owners (taxpayers) was not provided. Authors of the latter volume abandoned any attempts to analyse larger nobility property in this voivodeship; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.3.3a.2; K. Chłapowski, A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.3.3.5; see also K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego*, p. 142.

<sup>142</sup> Different opinion in: J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, p. 23. This author mentioned that the 1557–1566 [sic!] Brześć Voivodeship tax registers published by A. Pawiński 'did not allow for determining the surnames of owners of 87 property units (villages and parts of villages), which corresponds to ca. 11% of all analysed holdings' (ibidem, p. 24). In our volume, it proved impossible to identify the owners of 128 noble-held settlements in Brześć Voivodeship, mainly mill and demesne settlements.

<sup>143</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego*, p. 149 adopted a similar assumption when analysing ownership of serfless gentry parts on the basis of information obtained from the 1567 Płock Voivodeship tax register.

<sup>144</sup> In general, the sources failed to provide information on owners of mill settlements.

however, generally relied on the tax registers edited by Adolf Pawiński, the materials compiled by Maksymilian Borucki,<sup>145</sup> and the information presented by Zenon Guldon in his two books on settlement in the analysed regions in the second half of the sixteenth century, and seldom delved into materials from noble court books. Nonetheless, we had to approach such publications with caution.<sup>146</sup> Since owner surnames were not listed alongside payments made for each town, we were forced to resort to subject literature to determine the owners of noble-held towns for each voivodeship in the analysed periods.

Based on the number of lans listed as taxed in the 1557 Brześć Voivodeship register, the property of two individuals should be classed as large nobility property: Erazm Kretkowski (one town, six villages and one village part with 49 lans, one mill settlement) and Łukasz Lubieński (one town, five villages and two village parts with 35 lans).<sup>147</sup> However, the lans held by Erazm Kretkowski calculated on the basis of the 1557 tax register also belonged to Lubraniec Fee Tail settlements, which had been placed under Erazm Kretkowski's supervision and administration until Wawrzyniec Lubraniec came of age.<sup>148</sup> Thus, even though tax registers portray Erazm Kretkowski as a larger landowner, we are not of the same mind, as he was not the direct owner of all lans listed.<sup>149</sup> At the time, Erazm Kretkowski owned the following settlements in Dobrzyń land: Płonne, Płonko (Płonne Małe), Kretki Duże (Kretki Wielkie), Rusinowo, Rętwiny and Dzierzno (Dzieżno) (all in Rypin district). He also held Pызdry Gord Starosty.<sup>150</sup> These possessions would probably have sufficed to class Erazm Kretkowski as a large landowner in that period, but we do not have 1557 data on Dobrzyń land, and large landowners should not be identified by extrapolating information from registers drafted a few years later. It is worth mentioning that this 1557 source ascribes 26 serf lans to Kruszwica Castellan Stanisław Siewierski, owner or payer of tax for seven whole villages and one village part. Despite this high settlement count, for Cuyavia at least, the low number of held lans prevented him from being added to our list of large landowners.

Our list of the great landowners of Brześć Voivodeship differs notably from that presented by Zenon Guldon. Guldon indicated six noblemen (Łukasz Lubieński, Jan Lubstowski, Mikołaj Sokołowski, Stanisław Siewierski, Erazm Kretkowski, and Andrzej Serocki – all were to hold more than 40 lans), and one family (Lubieniecki), which he classed as nobility.<sup>151</sup> It is highly likely that Zenon Guldon based this list on the Brześć Voivodeship tax registers published by Adolf Pawiński. The 1557 tax register lists Mikołaj Sokołowski as the owner of five villages<sup>152</sup> with a total surface of 21.5 taxable lans. The owner or taxpayer surname is missing in the 1567 register for these very villages, and the number of taxable lans was much higher (we mentioned this shortcoming above). The contamination of facts caused by Pawiński's editing of the source thus led to basing the identification of certain

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<sup>145</sup> M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, list of landowners in Cuyavia therein, pp. 140–176, yet this list is also based mainly on tax registers.

<sup>146</sup> For example, T. Sławiński mentioned that 1557–1567 Brześć Voivodeship tax registers did not record payers of the tax on most villages held by Andrzej and Grzegorz Kretkowski at the time; idem, *Materiały do dziejów własności ziemskiej Kretkowskich*, p. 262. However, an analysis of Brześć Voivodeship tax registers for the above years revealed that such information could be identified for some of these villages, e.g. the villages of Andrzej Kretkowski enumerated by the author: Andrzej was listed as the owner of Brzyszewo, Osiecz Wielki and Pyszkowo (Piskowo) (Przedecz district). The specified number of 25 settled lans in these three settlements does not correspond to the data provided by tax registers, which recorded that in 1557 tax was paid only for 9.5 lans in these settlements.

<sup>147</sup> In the biogram of Łukasz Lubieński, A. Boniecki writes that Lubieński was also heir to Kąty and Żorawice (Żorawice) (both in Kowal district), and Łękny (Łakno, Przedecz district). In 1577, the son of Lubieński, Marcin, was recorded as heir to Żorawice (Żorawice); A. Boniecki, A. Reiski, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 15, Warsaw 1912, p. 49.

<sup>148</sup> The events leading to the appointment of an administrator for Lubraniec estates have been described in: T. Sławiński, *Kretkowsy i ich dzieje od połowy XIV wieku*, Warsaw–Skrzeszew 2011, pp. 115–116.

<sup>149</sup> P. Bokota i P. Nowakowski, *Lubraniec – zespół pałacowy*, p. 233 expressed a different opinion by stating that '[t]his form of administering part of the fee tail [by Erazm Kretkowski – M.S.] resembled the right of ownership; Kretkowski was granted the right to collect income from the administered property'.

<sup>150</sup> T. Sławiński, *Kretkowsy i ich dzieje*, p. 125.

<sup>151</sup> Guldon, *Kujawy*, p. 44.

<sup>152</sup> These were Bartłomiejowice, Chocień, Krzykosz (Brześć district), Rzeżewo Małe (Rzeżewo; Kowal district) and Stypino (Przedecz district). J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, p. 28 stated that Mikołaj Sokołowski's property amounted to seven villages in whole. This could have been caused by the fact that Z. Guldon provided only the initials, not the full names of the noblemen he listed as owners of noble-held settlements. If our hypothesis proves correct, that will mean Dumanowski was right about the number of villages (seven), but did not reveal the whole truth about their ownership: in the case of five villages, M. Sokołowski indeed stood for Mikołaj Sokołowski, but two of those villages were the property of Marcin Sokołowski.

property complexes as large on erroneous premises. Tax registers, the main source type employed for AHP purposes, do not suffice to determine whether the villages listed in 1557 as Mikołaj Sokołowski's property were in fact in his possession also in 1567. Similarly, Guldon based his calculations on 1557 ownership data and calculated the number of lans held by Łukasz Lubieński in 1567 to be twice and a half higher than our result (86.5 lans, while our result for 1557 is 35 lans).

The estates of the two larger landowners in Inowrocław Voivodeship were relatively modest in size. Małgorzata Służewska enjoyed the estates she inherited after her husband, Brześć Voivode Jan Służewski, died at the start of 1580.<sup>153</sup> Regrettably, the tax registers kept for Brześć Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land do not suffice to infer precise information on holdings situated in other parts of the analysed territory. We know that in 1557 Jan Służewski was the owner of Wólne Dolne (Wolne) village (Brześć district),<sup>154</sup> and at the time of his death, in 1580, held the part of Skepe (Skąpe) Town pledged to him in 1571 by Zofia Kościelecka, wife of Cracow Castellan Sebastian Mielecki.<sup>155</sup> In 1584, Piotr Potulicki took over the estates left by Służewski.<sup>156</sup> We arrived at the number of 47 serf lans by using the data on villages held by Służewski's wife; we did not include the 23 town lans for which Służew burghers had paid tax in 1581.<sup>157</sup> Another large landowner was Mikołaj Trzebieński, who held 40 lans, yet no significant position in the Polish State.

The major part of estates which we classed as large nobility property was situated in Dobrzyń land. What was characteristic of this region was that anything more than five villages and one village part sufficed to acquire the status of largest landowner. Such was the settlement tally of Chełmno Chamberlain Michał Działyński, who paid the tax on these villages consisting of 61 lans in total.<sup>158</sup> Only Brześć Voivode Grzegorz Kretkowski outdistanced Działyński with 71 lans in two whole villages and two village parts. Michał's brother Paweł Działyński, who served as Słońsk Castellan in 1564, is connected with some peculiar ownership cases – he owned one village, Działyń (Lipno district), where he paid tax on 37 lans.<sup>159</sup> An even more interesting case was that of Szczęsny Sokołowski *vel* Żelski, who in 1564 owned two large parts of the villages: Dulsko and Sokołowo (Rypin district).<sup>160</sup>

## Property in other parts of the Crown

The noble families who owned villages in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land also held property in other parts of Poland: Greater Poland, and the voivodeships of Łęczyca, Rawa, and Płock.<sup>161</sup> These families stemmed from Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land nobility, but also from immigrant nobility with family seats in other regions of the Crown.<sup>162</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot give an accurate account of the property

<sup>153</sup> H. Kowalska, *Służewski (Służowski) Jan h. Sulima (zm. 1580)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 39, pp. 164–165.

<sup>154</sup> ASK I 29, f. 236r. S. Leitgeber, *Potulicy*, Londyn 1990, pp. 65–66 wrote that in 1593 Piotr Potulicki gifted *i.a.* half of Wólne Dolne (Wolne) village, as well as Kijewo and Kopanie, to his son Stanisław. This could indicate that Jan Służewski held this village until his very death.

<sup>155</sup> *Materiały do dziejów rolnictwa w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku, poprzedzone wiadomością o życiu i pismach Jana Ostroroga, wojewody poznańskiego*, comp. W. Chomętowski, Warsaw 1876, pp. 98–99.

<sup>156</sup> S. Leitgeber, *Potulicy*, pp. 42, 62.

<sup>157</sup> ASK I 50, f. 688r. Z. Guldon erroneously identified Małgorzata Służewska as Małgorzata Brańska (Guldon, Kujawy, p. 47), and thus slightly overestimated the lan count. Having included Branno (Inowrocław district) in the Służew estates, he arrived at the result of 54 lans. This mistake reverberated across other publications (e.g. S. Paczkowski, *Służewo na Kujawach wschodnich. Zarys dziejów*, Włocławek 1999, p. 45). Małgorzata Służewska was the daughter of Chełmno Voivode Stanisław Kostka (H. Kowalska, *Służewski (Służowski) Jan*, p. 160), thus she did not hail from Branno in Inowrocław district.

<sup>158</sup> Guldon, Dobrzyń, p. 28, stated that Michał Działyński's estate comprised 85 lans. The 24 lans in Obrowo and Zębówiec (Zębówiec) villages were held not by Michał, but by Mikołaj Działyński, hence the erroneous calculation (A. Pawiński takes this information into account: P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, p. 322).

<sup>159</sup> ASK I 30, ff. 340r (1564), 428r (1565 – 36 lans here).

<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 315v, 316r. Barbara Sudraska was mentioned as the owner of the other part of Dulsko, but in the following year Dulsko was ascribed to Szczęsny Sokołowski *vel* Żelski (*ibidem*, f. 368r.). It is probable that Barbara was the wife of Szczęsny; see A. Biliński, *Szlachta ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 162 mentioned that Szczęsny Żelski, who later used the surname Sokołowski, was married to Barbara Dolska of Dolsk.

<sup>161</sup> J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>162</sup> *Idem*, *Zmiany składu szlacheckiej elity władzy z terenu Kujaw w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Elity mieszczańskie i szlacheckie Prus Królewskich i Kujaw w XIV–XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Staszewski, Toruń 1995, p. 96. T. Sławiński, *Uwagi o magnaterii*

held by specific individuals across Polish voivodeships, since the data available does not cover the same periods for all three parts of the analysed territory.

Across Kalisz Voivodeship (in Kazimierz Biskupi, Kleczew, Ruchocin and Gosławice) and Mazovia (Kutno), in various periods and under different titles (ownership, pledge, *Wiederkauf*), property was held by the Kretkowski family,<sup>163</sup> while the Latałski and Krotoski families<sup>164</sup> owned estates mainly in the western tips of Inowrocław Voivodeship. At the end of his life (ca. 1578), Inowrocław Voivode Jan Krotoski held property not only near Pakość in Inowrocław district and near Barcin in Bydgoszcz district, but also in Kalisz Voivodeship (in Gniezno, Kcynia, Nakło districts, *i.a.* Barcin Town and part of Łobżenica) and Poznań Voivodeship (Kiełbowo Town in Kościan district).<sup>165</sup> Some of these estates, situated in Gniezno and Kcynia districts alongside Inowrocław Voivodeship, were bequeathed to his son Jan, Inowrocław Castellan. The case of Jan is quite interesting, as he never paid tax on more than 30 lans for the villages recorded as his exclusive property in Inowrocław Voivodeship registers. And yet the estates he amassed in Greater Poland covered 85.5 lans in that period (early 1580s).<sup>166</sup> Therefore, although we placed Jan Krotowski's property on the map of large property in Greater Poland, this nobleman is not present on the maps of great landed property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.<sup>167</sup> According to the traces identified in sources on Jan Sierakowski's career (1544–1589), his property was located in Brześć, Kruszwica and Radziejów districts of Brześć Voivodeship, as well as in Konin district of Kalisz Voivodeship, Łęczycza district of Łęczycza Voivodeship and in Bełz Voivodeship.<sup>168</sup> Upon his death, some of his estates were inherited by Stanisław Sierakowski, who also held property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, as well as in Kalisz and Łęczycza Voivodeships. The inheritance was split between Stanisław and his brothers in 1597.<sup>169</sup> The Witosławski family owned smaller holdings on the border shared by Bydgoszcz and Nakło districts of Kalisz Voivodeship, but in the analysed period (1580s) the family split into owners of lans in Greater Poland and those who were heirs to land in Cuyavia.<sup>170</sup> After the death of Jan Służewski, in 1584 his property was incorporated into the vast estates of Piotr Potulicki in Greater Poland and the voivodeships of Płock and Rawa.<sup>171</sup>

## Peaks and valleys

Neither line of the Kościelecki family succeeded in regaining the position it enjoyed at the close of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, despite the fact that its representatives still held certain higher land offices and Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty. The second half of the sixteenth century, however, witnessed fragmentation of property among successive family members and the decline of the Kościelecki family after 1600.<sup>172</sup> The property left by Inowrocław Voivode Jan Krotoski

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*kujawskiej 1447–1569*, PH, vol. 76, 1985, no. 2, p. 198 drew attention to the fact that wealthy noblemen from other Polish regions obtained senatorial offices in Cuyavia, which was to ease them into their careers as politicians and state officials, while Cuyavian noblemen aspiring to attain higher State positions sought office elsewhere.

<sup>163</sup> T. Sławiński, *Materiały do dziejów własności ziemskiej Kretkowskich*, pp. 272–280.

<sup>164</sup> J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, p. 22.

<sup>165</sup> E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie w Wielkopolsce, na Kujawach i na Mazowszu za Zygmunta III: podstawy karier*, Warsaw 2007, p. 162.

<sup>166</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.3.4 (where small differences in the number of lans held by Jan Krotoski arise).

<sup>167</sup> This decision could lead to a follow-up on the discussion whether it is justified to limit property analyses to selected units of State administration; see e.g. J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, p. 22.

<sup>168</sup> We based this information on the following publications: K. Chłapowski, *Sierakowski Jan h. Ogończyk (ok. 1498–1589)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 37, pp. 264–265; E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie*, p. 171. The tax register data found in sources portray Jan Sierakowski as the owner of just two entire villages: Racięcina (Radziejów district) and Sokolnik (Kruszwica district) and part of Polanowice (Kruszwica district), with 7,5 taxable lans in total.

<sup>169</sup> A. Kamiński, *Sierakowski Stanisław z Bogusławic h. Ogończyk (1534–1596)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 37, p. 301; E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie*, pp. 171–172.

<sup>170</sup> E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie*, pp. 182–183.

<sup>171</sup> S. Leitgeber, *Potuliccy*, p. 62.

<sup>172</sup> J. Dumanowski, *Zmiany składu szlacheckiej elity władzy*, pp. 108–109; E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie*, pp. 146–149.

was passed on to his sons, but the last of that line, Kalisz Castellan Andrzej Krotoski, failed to enlarge family estates.<sup>173</sup>

Some noble families with property in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land increased their wealth in the analysed period, though this was rather attained by individuals who at the time took on roles other than that of owner. After 1557, it was mainly Brześć Voivode Grzegorz Kretkowski who expanded the property held by his family. This role was then assumed by his sons, who had their ups and downs, but eventually let the situation of their family deteriorate in the first half of the seventeenth century – when compared to the previous century – and collapse around the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>174</sup> The property of Dąbski family, who held only a few fragmented villages in the early mid-sixteenth century, was systematically enlarged by Andrzej Dąbski since the 1570s.<sup>175</sup> The Sierakowski family followed the same course of action (see above).<sup>176</sup> It was sometimes the case, however, that a high number of lans did not elevate a family to a higher position. Attempts at upward mobility were thwarted by *i.a.* successive generations splitting into numerous branches, as happened in the Działyński family.<sup>177</sup>

## Use of royal property

Royal property grants were pivotal to the hierarchy of nobility property. Use of royal property was an important source of large income, and being granted the right to hold a gord starosty had a major effect on one's financial and social standing.<sup>178</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty was still held by three members of the Kościelecki family, who were also the leaseholders of Gniewków Non-gord Starosty.<sup>179</sup> Jan Służewski served as Konin and Międzyrzecz Starosta and was entered into registers as the owner of several villages in Inowrocław Gord Starosty.<sup>180</sup> Inowrocław Castellan Jan Krotoski performed very briefly the function of Rogoźno Starosta, whose role was certified right before his death in early 1583.<sup>181</sup> Apart from owning property of his own, Chelmino Chamberlain Michał Działyński derived benefits from the villages of Bobrowniki Gord Starosty: the tax paid on those settlements in 1565 covered 36 serf lans.<sup>182</sup> Alongside generating income from Działyń, Paweł Działyński also earned income from Nieszawa Non-gord Gord Starosty.<sup>183</sup> Until the end of the eighteenth century, the royal part of Noć Town was held by the Sokołowski family, who also administered the part of Noć Town held by nobility.<sup>184</sup> Losing the right to use royal property can be construed as a symptom of family decline – the Kretkowski family ceased to hold Rogoźno Gord Starosty in the second half of the sixteenth century, and successive family members failed at making a spectacular career in amassing property<sup>185</sup> despite their important position in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.

<sup>173</sup> E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie*, pp. 162–163.

<sup>174</sup> A. Mietz, J. Pakulski, M. Pawlak, *Wpisani w dzieje Chodcza*, Chodecz–Włocławek 1989, pp. 123–124 (biogram of Grzegorz Kretkowski by J. Pakulski); J. Dumanowski, *Zmiany składu szlacheckiej elity władzy*, pp. 109–110; T. Sławiński, *Materiały do dziejów własności ziemskiej Kretkowskich*, p. 262; E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie*, pp. 149–151.

<sup>175</sup> J. Dumanowski, *Hrabiowie na Lubrańcu*, pp. 46–64.

<sup>176</sup> E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie*, p. 172.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153.

<sup>178</sup> See J. Dumanowski, *Zmiany składu szlacheckiej elity władzy*, pp. 99–101, 115.

<sup>179</sup> LWVK 1564, part 1, p. LV; Urzędnicy VI/2, pp. 77–78 (in general, the Kościelecki family held Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty from 1457 to 1600.); J. Dumanowski, *Zmiany składu szlacheckiej elity władzy*, 1995, p. 108; Chorążyczewski, *Gniewkowo*, pp. 62–63. Between 1530–1587, the Kościelecki family were also Nakło starostas; Urzędnicy I/2, no. 674–677; Sławiński, *Uwagi o magnaterii*, p. 200.

<sup>180</sup> H. Kowalska, *Służewski (Służowski) Jan*, p. 164.

<sup>181</sup> R. Żelewski, *Krotoski (Krotowski) Jan h. Leszczyc (ok. 1552–1583)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 15, p. 346; K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie*, p. 116.

<sup>182</sup> ASK I 30, ff. 427r–427v, 451v.

<sup>183</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie*, p. 338.

<sup>184</sup> LWVK 1564, part 1, p. LIV; LWVK 1789, part 3, pp. 198–200. Of the noblemen active in the second half of the sixteenth century, it is worth mentioning Rogoźno starosta Krzysztof Sokołowski (d. 1580/1581), who garnered merit as steward general of royal property in Greater Poland and Cuyavia (since 1559), then as inspector in Ruthenia, and who was awarded the office of Kruszewica Wojski (Tribune) in 1567; G. Rutkowska, *Sokolowski (Warzymowski) Krzysztof z Warzymowa h. Pomian (zm. 1580/1)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 40, pp. 154–155.

<sup>185</sup> T. Sławiński, *Uwagi o magnaterii*, pp. 200–201.

For Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, holding extensive royal property and leases did not always ensure that the whole family enjoyed a high position. Although Mikołaj Trzebuchowski served as Brześć Starosta and Cracow Burgrave at the start of the second half of the sixteenth century, he failed at elevating the status of the Trzebuchowski family.<sup>186</sup> Sometimes starosta's leases of royal property were granted to members of lesser families who had stronger ties with Cuyavia (Grabski, Tolibowski and Borucki families), but this did not translate into those families' higher political ranking.<sup>187</sup>

Let us observe, however, that some gord starosties in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land fell into the hands of members of families hailing from beyond the analysed region, who held few settlements in this area.<sup>188</sup> Some gord starosties remained in the hands of noble families for extended periods; e.g. the Oporowski family held Kruszwica Gord Starosty under the rule of Ladislaus Jagiello and Casimir IV Jagiellon,<sup>189</sup> and Gębice<sup>190</sup> throughout the sixteenth century, while Radziejów Gord Starosty was placed in pledge to the benefit of the Leszczyński family at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>191</sup>

**Table 3. Estates held by Catholic Church institutions in late sixteenth century**

Institution	Number of settlements											
	Brześć Voivodeship			Inowrocław Voivodeship			Dobrzyń land			Total		
	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages
<b>A. Diocese institutions</b>												
Gniezno Archbishop	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1
Włocławek Bishop	1	28	2	1	25	0	0	17	0	2	70	2
Płock Bishop	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	0	1	9	0
Włocławek Suffragan Bishop	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Gniezno Cathedral Chapter	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Włocławek Cathedral Chapter	0	28	4	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	39	4
Płock Cathedral Chapter	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Kruszwica Collegiate	0	13	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	14	4
Theological Seminary in Włocławek	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
College of Vicars of Włocławek Chapter	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	2
parsonage benefices	0	6	1		5	0	0	1	0	0	12	1
preacher of Brześć Kujawski parochial church	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
altarist to BVM Altar at Włocławek Cathedral	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<b>B. Monastery institutions</b>												
Płock Benedictines	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Mogilno Benedictines	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Koronowo Cistercians	0	0	0	1	17	1	0	0	0	1	17	1

<sup>186</sup> J. Dumanowski, *Zmiany składu szlacheckiej elity władzy*, p. 113.

<sup>187</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>188</sup> J. Dumanowski (ibidem, pp. 103–104) also states that the individuals appointed as castellans and voivodes had stronger ties with Cuyavia. These phenomena remained typical throughout the Early Modern Period.

<sup>189</sup> LWVK 1564, part 1, p. LIII.

<sup>190</sup> Ibidem; LWVK 1616, part 1, p. 251 and footnote 7 ibidem.

<sup>191</sup> LWVK 1564, part 1, p. LIII; W. Pałucki, *Drogi i bezdroża skarbowości polskiej*, pp. 15–16.

Institution	Number of settlements											
	Brześć Voivodeship			Inowrocław Voivodeship			Dobrzyń land			Total		
	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages	towns	villages	parts of villages
Bydgoszcz Carmelites	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Canons Regular of Lubraniec	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Canons Regular of Trzemeszno	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Strzelno Norbertines	0	7	1	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	13	0
Płock Norbertines	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Brdów Paulines	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Brześć Dominicans	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

Ironworks, mill, demesne and pitch production settlements were counted as villages. We did not include vacant settlements. In the end, we classified Łąkie village, which was situated on the border between Inowrocław and Kruszwica districts, and held by the Strzelno Norbertines, as one whole village belonging to the Cloister in Strzelno.

**Table 4. Larger landowners in Brześć Voivodeship in 1557**

Owner	Number of lans held	Number of towns held	Number of villages held	Number of village parts held
Łukasz Lubieński	35	1	5	2

**Table 5. Larger landowners in Inowrocław Voivodeship in 1581**

Owner	Number of lans held	Number of towns held	Number of villages held	Number of village parts held
Małgorzata Służewska	47	1	4	1
Mikołaj Trzebieński	40	0	3	1

**Table 6. Larger landowners in Dobrzyń land in 1564**

Owner	Number of lans held	Number of towns held	Number of villages held	Number of village parts held
Grzegorz Kretkowski	71	0	2	2
Michał Działyński	61	0	5	1
Elżbieta Brudzewska of Sierpc	42	0	4	1
Marcin Głowiński	38	0	2	0
Paweł Działyński	37	0	1	0
Sędziwój Żelski	37	0	2	1
Walenty Czerski	35	0	2	2
Szczęśny Sokołowski <i>vel</i> Żelski	33.5	0	0	2
Stanisław Plecki	30	0	2	1

**Table 7. Settlements by ownership<sup>192</sup>**

District, land, voivodeship	Total	Royal	%	Church	%	Nobility	%	Town	%
Brześć district	268	22.5	8.4	56.5	21.1	185.5	69.2	3.5	1.3
Kowal district	79.5	16	20.1	8.5	10.7	55	69.2	0	0
Kruszwica district	59.5	11	18.5	14.5	24.4	34	57.1	0	0
Przedecz district	122	19	15.6	6	4.9	97	79.5	0	0
Radziejów district	150	20	13.3	27	18.0	103	68.7	0	0
Brześć Voivodeship	679	88.5	13.0	112.5	16.6	474.5	69.9	3.5	0.5
Bydgoszcz district	115	15	13.0	28.5	24.8	71	61.7	0.5	0.4
Inowrocław district	228.5	38	16.6	46.5	20.4	132	57.8	12	5.3
Inowrocław Voivodeship	343.5	53	15.4	75	21.8	203	59.1	12.5	3.6
Cuyavia	1,022.5	141.5	13.8	187.5	18.3	677.5	66.3	16	1.6
Dobrzyń district	109	7	6.4	3.5	3.2	98.5	90.4	0	0
Lipno district	146	18.5	12.7	18	12.3	109.5	75.0	0	0
Rypin district	133	6.5	4.9	10	7.5	116.5	87.6	0	0
Dobrzyń land	388	32	8.2	31.5	8.1	324.5	83.6	0	0
Total	1,410.5	173.5	12.3	219	15.5	1,002	71.0	16	1.1

For statistical purposes, we treated village parts as halves and added them up. This table provides information on all existing settlements (towns, villages, farm and utility settlements, castles). We did not include vacant settlements.

## ANNEX I ROYAL ESTATES IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

If the contemporary name differs significantly from the sixteenth-century designation, we give the present-day name in brackets.

### Brześć Gord Starosty Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Brzeście town, part of Chwaliboż (Falborz) Village, Chwalibożek (Falborek) Demesne, Gołębino Demesne, Kłobia, Kłobski Mill, Kroszyno (Kruszyn), Lekarzewice, Mnichowice (Miechowice Duże), Piaseczny Mill (Piaski), part of Sokołowo Village, part of Stare Miasto (Stary Brześć) Village, Wilcze Gardło Mill, part of Wola Rządka Village

<sup>192</sup> The sizeable discrepancy between our findings and those of Z. Guldon concerning the number of Church settlements in Bydgoszcz district arises from the fact that Z. Guldon included the vacant settlements belonging to Koronowo Cystersians in his calculations (Guldon, Kujawy, p. 45).

**Kowal** Gord Starosty  
Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Łagiewniki

Kowal district

Diabełek Mill, Duninowo (Nowy Duninów), Grodzkie Demesne, Kowale Town, Nowa Wieś, Pełczyce, Piączny Mill, Rachutowo (Rakutowo), Słapa (Człapa) Mill, Środny (Środon), Wisłka Wielka (Wistka Królewska), Wołodrza (Zawada-Piaski) (Dobrzyń Vogt's Office)

**Kruszwica** Gord Starosty  
Brześć Voivodeship

Kruszwica district

Chrosna, Dzierżązna, Gębice Town, Gościejewo Demesne, Grodztwo, Kruszwica Town, part of Łagiewniki Village, Łąkomierowice (Lachmirowice), Sierakowy, part of Włostowo Village

Radziejów district

Kokoszyce

**Przedecz** Gord Starosty  
Brześć Voivodeship

Kowal district

Dąb (Dąb Wielki), Dobiegniew, Ruda ironworks

Przedecz district

Dziwie, Jarkuszewo Demesne, Głogowa, Kamieniec (Kamionka), Kłokocino (Kłokoczyn), Kobyła Jata, Kubłowo, Łążek, Nowa Wieś Demesne, Przedecz Town, Rogoźno, Rybna, Święta Katarzyna Demesne, Zalesie, Zbójno, Żarowo (Małe Żarowo)

**Radziejów** Gord Starosty  
Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Czarnocice

Kruszwica district

Skulsko Town

Radziejów district

Bieganowo, Bodzanowo (Bodzanowo Drugie), Bytom, Czołpino, part of Noteś (Noć) Town, Obora, part of Ostrówko Village, Płowce Małe (Płowki), Pruchnowo Demesne, Radziejów Town, Skotniki, Stary Radziejów, Stróżewo, Złotowo

**Inowrocław** Gord Starosty  
Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Broniewo, Inowrocław Town, Jaksice, part of Mątwy Village, Miszczewice (Niszczewice), Orłowo, Sławęcinko Demesne

**Bydgoszcz** Gord Starosty  
Inowrocław Voivodeship

Bydgoszcz district

Bartdzieje, Bielice, Brzoza, Bydgoszcz Town, Fordan (Fordon) Town, Koska Mill, Łąg (Łęgnowo), Łochowo, Miedzna (Miedzyń) Mill, Nowa Wieś, Otorowo, Ruda Otorowska ironworks, Rudny Mill, Solec Town, Suszkówka (Czyżkówko)

**Bobrowniki** Gord Starosty  
Dobrzyń land

Lipno district

Bobrowniki Town, Gnojno, Gumowo, Krobia, Mniszek (Miszek) Mill, Nowa Wieś, Rybitwy (Stare Rybitwy), Silno, Złotoria

**Dybów** Gord Starosty  
Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Chrzast Mill, Dryęcza Mill, Dulew Mill, Dybów Castle, Filip Mill, Jasin Mill, Jasnów Mill, Kąkol Mill, Kosorzyn, Kozibór, Nieszewka Mała, Nieszewa, Podgórski Mill, Podgórze Town, Rudak, Staw, Wilunt Mill, Zieleniec Mill

**Gniewków** Non-gord Starosty  
Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Gniewków Town, Jark (Jarki) Mill, Niemojewko

**Murzyno** Non-gord Starosty  
Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Murzyno, Nowa Wieś (Żyroślawice)

**Dobrzyń** Non-gord Starosty  
Dobrzyń land

Dobrzyń district

Dobrzyń (Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula) Town, Linie Wielkie (Lenie Wielkie), Skaszewo, Wierzbica Mała (Wierzniczka; Dobrzyń Vogt's Office)

**Lipno** Non-gord Starosty  
Dobrzyń land

Lipno district

Lipno Town

**Nieszawa** Non-gord Starosty  
Lipno district

Nowa Nieszewa (Nieszawa) Town

**Rypin** Non-gord Starosty  
Dobrzyń land

Rypin district

Głowieńsko, Gniazdek Mill, Rypin Town, Mały Zakroc Mill, Rudne Mill, Starorypin

**Small** Non-gord Starosties  
Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

part of Gawrony Village, Kalinowiec Demesne, Kruchowo, Kunkowa Wola (Kąkowa Wola), Nakonowo (Stare Nakonowo), Starczewa Demesne, Śmiłowice, Żakowice

Kowal district

Wola Nakonowska

Kruszwica district

Skulsko Małe

Przedecz district

Sarnowo, Skaszyno, Świętosławice

Radziejów district

Boguszyce, Czołowo, Pchienino Małe (Pscininek), Piołunowo, Złotniki

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Buczkowo, Chrzastawa, Dolsko, Osiek Demesne, Słońsko, Sowikowo (Sójkowo), part of Stanomino Village, Tuczno, Wielawieś

Dobrzyń land

Dobrzyń district

Jankowo, Strachon, Strachonek Demesne, Zbyszewo

Lipno district

Ciołuchowo, Czernikowo Małe, Grabowa, Jankowo, part of Kikoł Village, Łąkie, Radomice, Trzebiegoszcz

Rypin district

Piaski

**Unknown**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Lędwiczyny

Radziejów district

Zacieczny Suburb

**ANNEX II**

**ESTATES HELD BY CATHOLIC CHURCH INSTITUTIONS  
IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

**Gniezno Archbishopric**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Smogorzewo, Ujma Mała, Ujma Wielka

Radziejów district

Sąpolno Town, part of Sąpolinko Village

**Włocławek Bishopric**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Borek, Chlewiska, Ciemięga Demesne, Korabniki, Lisek Mill, Łąg, Modzurowo, Poraza Mill, Prusak Mill, Ruda Mill, Słodowy Mill, Straszewo, Świech Mill, Wieniec, Włocław Town, Wola Skarbek, Wolica (Nowa Wolica)

Kowal district

Dziardonice Demesne, Grabkowo, Kłotno

Przedecz district

Bardy Mill, Kałużyno, Lubotyń, part of Zakrzewo Village

Radziejów district

Byczyna, Chełmce, Kaczewo, Kicko, Orle, Sosnka (Szostka), part of Wola Wapowska Village, Żelazko Mill

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Baskowo, Brodnia, Brzeźno, Brzoze, Dąbrówka, Dźwierzno, Kot Mill, Kuczek Mill, Łagiewniki, Łącko, Mleczkowo, Niestuszewo, Olender Mill, Opoki Małe, Ośniszczewo (Ośniszczewko), Otluczyno, Parkanie (Parchanie), Przybysław, Psarzewo, Raciąż Town, Sławsko (Sławsk Wielki), Szawłowice, Tupadły, Turzno, Wojdał Mill, Wonorze

Dobrzyń land

Dobrzyń district

Koski Mill

Lipno district

Bierzgieł Mill, Ciechocin, Czajka Mill, Dobrzejowice, Łążynek, Maciejkowo, Małszyce, Mileszewy, Nadolnik (Dulnik) Mill, Nowa Wieś, Nowogród, Pomorzany, Rudaw, Sęk Mill, Sitno, Węgiersko

## **Płock Bishopric**

Dobrzyń land

Lipno district

Biskupino, Czernikowo

Rypin district

Gołkowo, Górzno Town, Górzno Demesne, Grażawy, Janowo, Miesiączkowo, Ruda ironworks, Ruż, Szczutowo, Trąbino, Zaborowo

## **Włocławek Suffragan Diocese**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Lubomino

## **Gniezno Cathedral Chapter**

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Odrzychowo

## **Włocławek Cathedral Chapter**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Ardziakonowo, Bądkowo, Chomlino (Humlin), Gąbinek, Kawka Mill, Kąty, Koszanowo, Kucierz, part of Kuczyna Village, Kurzeszyno (Korzeszynek), Lubanie, Łopatki Demesne, Łuba Mill, Mikanowo, Osłomowice (Osłonki), Ośła Mill, Popowiczki Demesne, Siedlimino, Siodłkowo (Siutkowo), Słupy, Smolsko, part of Sokołowo Village, part of Stare Miasto (Stary Brześć) Village, Szadki, Świątniki, part of Wola Rządka Village, Zawada Mill, Zbrachlino

Kowal district

Kępka Duchowna (Księża Kępka)

Radziejów district

Karsko, Kobylnica Wielka, Wierzbinko

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Bydgoszcz district

Czarnówko, Dobrez, Niemcze, Osielsko, Smukała Mill, Trzemiętowo

Inowrocław district

Biskupice, Dziewa, Murzynko, Perkowo, Sikorowo

## **Płock Cathedral Chapter**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district

Opoki

Kowal district

Białotarczek

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Kuczkowo, Sędzino

## **Collegiate Chapter in Kruszwica**

Brześć Voivodeship

Kruszwica district

Cykowo, Kretkowo, part of Łagiewniki Village, Probostwo Demesne, Sławęcino, part of Starczewo Village, Świątniki

Radziejów district

Bacharcie, Chełmce Małe (Chełmiczki), Jerzyce, Paproś, part of Piaski Village, Piecki Małe, Piecki Wielkie, Skotniki Zabłotne, Ułomie, part of Wola Wapowska Village

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district  
Krusza Duchowna

**Cistercian Abbey in Koronowo**

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Bydgoszcz district

Buszkowy, Byszewo Demesne, Chelszczący Mill, Cietrzewiec (Trzeciewiec), Dębowa Góra pitch production settlement, Gościeradz, Koronowo Town, part of Nowy Dwór Demesne, Sadlno, Stary Dwór Demesne, Stronno, Szczutrkowy (Szczutki), Tryszczyn, Trzęsacz Demesne, Więzowno, Włóki, Wodzino (Wudzyn), Wodzinek (Wudzynek) Demesne, Wtelno

**Canons Regular Abbey in Trzemeszno**

Brześć Voivodeship

Kruszwica district  
Stodoły

**Benedictine Abbey in Mogilno**

Brześć Voivodeship

Radziejów district  
Opatowice

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district  
Ciechrz

**Benedictine Abbey in Płock**

Dobrzyń land

Dobrzyń district  
Mokówko

**Norbertaine Monastery in Strzelno**

Brześć Voivodeship

Kruszwica district

Bielsko, Cięciwsko, Książ, Łąkie (village part belonging to Kruszwica district), Młyny, Ostrów, Siedluchna, Strzelno Town

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district

Bronisław, Łąkie (village part belonging to Inowrocław district), Łojewo, Rzodkwino, Sławsko Małe (Sławsko Dolne), Wilczak Mill

**Norbertaine (Premonstratensian) Monastery in Płock**

Brześć Voivodeship

Kowal district  
Kurowo, Skoki  
Radziejów district  
Bronisław

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district  
Ostrowąs

**Carmelites Monastery in Bydgoszcz**

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Bydgoszcz district  
Zachcice (Jachcice)

**Canons Regular (Augustinian) Monastery in Lubraniec**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district  
Borek Demesne, Zgłowiątko  
Radziejów district  
Popowice (Nowy Dwór)

**Dominican Monastery in Brześć Kujawski**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district  
Staromiejski Mill, Wolski (Nowy Młyn) Mill

**Pauline Monastery in Brdów**

Brześć Voivodeship

Przedecz district  
Psary

**College of Vicars of Włocławek Chapter**

Brześć Voivodeship

Kowal district  
part of Czernelice Małe (Czerniewiczki) Village

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Inowrocław district  
Dalkowo Demesne, Szpital

Dobrzyń land

Lipno district  
part of Szpital Nadolny Village

**Theological Seminary in Włocławek**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district  
Zbłąg  
Radziejów district  
Witowo

**Parsonage benefices**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district  
Kaniewko Demesne – Kłobsk parson  
Parchowo – Koneck parson  
Sykuła – Kruszyno parson  
Kowal district  
part of Kołomia Village – Lubień parson  
Przedecz district  
Chotel – Izbica parson  
part of Zakrzewo Village – Lubotyń parson  
Radziejów district  
Palczewo – Piotrków parson

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Bydgoszcz district  
Jerzurzyno (Jarużyn) – Fordon parson  
Inowrocław district  
Popowice – Inowrocław parson  
Popowice Demesne – Kościelec parson  
Truszczany Demesne – Gniewków parson  
Wilkowo Demesne – Kościelec parson

Dobrzyń land

Dobrzyń district  
Bądkowo (Bądkowo Kościelne) – Bądkowo parson

**Altarist to BVM Altar at Włocławek Cathedral**

Brześć Voivodeship

Kowal district  
part of Czernielice Małe (Czerniewiczki) Village

**Altarists to BVM Assumption at Brześć Kujawski parochial church**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district  
part of Kuczyna Village

**Preacher of Brześć Kujawski parochial church**

Brześć Voivodeship

Radziejów district  
Maszonki Demesne

**ANNEX III**

**TOWN PROPERTY IN THE SECOND HALF  
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

Brześć Voivodeship

Brześć district  
Brześć Kujawski (Brześć) Town: parts of Chwaliboż (Falborz), Guźlino, Pilchutkowo (Pikutkowo)  
Villages  
Nowa Nieszewa (Nieszawa) Town: Przepust

Inowrocław Voivodeship

Bydgoszcz district  
Koronowo Town: part of Nowy Dwór Demesne

Inowrocław district  
Inowrocław Town: Bądkowo, Bądkówko Suburb, Jacewo, Nowy Ogród Suburb, Rąbino, Rogowo  
Suburb, Staromieście Suburb, Stodoły Suburb, Szymborze, Turzany, Wierzbie  
Raciążek (Raciąż) Town: Wola Demesne

**ANNEX IV**  
**LARGER LANDOWNERS**

Brześć Voivodeship (1557)

**Łukasz Lubieński**

Kowal district:

Kaliska Demesne, part of Kamiona Village, Lubień Town, part of Narty Village, Pierowa Wola, Wola Olszowa

Przedecz district:

Łania, Osiecz Mały

Inowrocław Voivodeship (1581)

**Małgorzata Służewska**

Inowrocław district:

Broniszewo, Kijewo, Kobyle Błota Służewskie, Służewo Town, part of Węgierce Village, Wola Borzewicka

**Mikołaj Trzebieński**

Bydgoszcz district:

Będzitowo, Nieciszewo, part of Myślęcino Village

Inowrocław district:

Cieślino

Dobrzyń land (1564)

**Grzegorz Kretkowski**

Rypin district:

Kretki Wielkie, Płonne, part of Płonka Małe Village, part of Rętwiny Village

**Michał Działyński**

Lipno district:

Kijaszkowiec, Kijaszkowo, Klonowo, Licieszewy, Stalmierz, part of Wielkie Village

**Elżbieta Brudzevska of Sierpc**

Rypin district:

Długie, Sinino (Sumin), Strzygi, part of Tadajewo Village, Wrzosowo

**Marcin Głowiński**

Dobrzyń district:

Głowina, Więclawice

**Paweł Działyński**

Lipno district:

Działyń

**Sędziwój Żelski**

Lipno district:

Wola, part of Złotopole Village

Rypin district:

Radziki Małe

**Walenty Czernski**

Dobrzyń district:

Chełmica

Lipno district:

Czarne

Rypin district:  
part of Piorkowo Village, part of Rętwiny Village

**Szczęśny Sokółowski *vel* Żelski**

Rypin district:  
part of Dulsk Village, part of Sokołowo Village

**Stanisław Plecki**

Rypin district:  
Czerzewo, part of Kotowy Village, Radziki

**ANNEX V**  
**COMMENTARY TO MAP: LOCATION OF LANDED PROPERTY**  
**IN CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND IN THE SECOND HALF**  
**OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

The 1:500,000 map of landed property depicts the spatial division into land held by owners falling within five categories: the king, institutions of the Catholic Church, towns, large noble landowners, and middle and petty nobility. Settlement points situated on the border of different ownership categories indicated mixed ownership.

We have placed the names of towns serving as property seats on the map. Other settlements we marked by means of points. Numbers denote sets of royal property, Church institutions, towns, and larger noble landowners.

The map reflects the property of the king, Catholic Church institutions and towns as at the end of the sixteenth century. As for nobility property, the source base permitted presenting ownership as at 1557 in Brześć Voivodeship, 1564 in Dobrzyń land, and 1581 in Inowrocław Voivodeship (see: commentary section on nobility property).

Defining property boundaries in less densely settled areas proved difficult. We used a geographic information system (GIS) to measure the surface of land held by different categories of owners. The high percentage shares of royal property in overall area surface, especially in Inowrocław Voivodeship, resulted from the fact that large and practically uninhabited woodlands formed part of the king's property in the second half of the sixteenth century. In Inowrocław Voivodeship, Bydgoszcz Gord Starosty, Dybów Gord Starosty and Gniewków Non-gord Starosty encompassed vast areas on the banks of Vistula River and near Bydgoszcz which were occupied by primeval forests. The forests of Kowal district were also divided between settlements belonging to Kowal and Przedecz Gord Starosty. Similarly, the bulk of Bobrowniki Gord Starosty situated in Dobrzyń land was occupied by the primeval woodlands of the right bank of Vistula River.

Some Catholic Church institutions found themselves in a similar situation. This applied first and foremost to the estates of Włocławek Bishopric situated in the Włocławek set of property to the west and south of Włocławek within Brześć district and in the Raciążek set of property on the Vistula in Inowrocław district; the estates of Włocławek Chapter situated in the north-eastern part of Brześć district, and the estates of Koronowo Cistercians situated in the northern part of Bydgoszcz district, and – to a lesser degree – the estates of Strzelno Norbertines (Premonstratensians), whose villages in the western part of Kruszwica district were located in relatively extensive forest complexes.

We drew distinct boundaries between the property based near Inowrocław, held by Inowrocław burghers.

We outlined units of property by generating Thiessen (Voronoi) polygons around each settlement (point) and combining (aggregating) the areas belonging to the same owner. We then matched these areas with the already defined borders of districts and voivodeships. It ought to be borne in mind that this method helps create a certain model of reality, and yields approximate measurements of surface area.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

### III.3.3.7 MAZOVIA

*Władysław Pałucki*

The ownership affiliation of settlements, displayed on the map of Mazovia with diversified colours, emphasized the most characteristic feature of the settlement in the historical territory of Mazovia: the high concentration of rural settlements in general, and in particular of those, which belonged to the nobility. Outside of Mazovia a similar situation occurred only partially in the neighbouring areas. The density of settlement in Mazovia, twice as high as in Lesser Poland and Greater Poland<sup>1</sup> – especially visible in Płock and Mazovian Voivodeships – made it difficult to mark all those settlement clusters on the map with a fixed scale and was closely related to the social, demographic and ownership structure in Mazovia.

Many factors contributed to this situation, and the political autonomy of the local dukes from the Piast dynasty, which lasted almost throughout the entire Middle Ages period, and then – until the reign of Stephen Báthory – legal and governmental autonomy of the largest of the three territorial units, the Duchy and later the Voivodeship of Mazovia, had their part in the spatial arrangement and social diversity of landed property.

The ownership affiliation of settlements on the map of Mazovia, as on the map of Płock Voivodeship and Cracow Voivodeship, was presented in a traditional way, with dots. Naturally, the obtained depiction of ownership relations is simplified, as it does not show the shapes, size and territorial range of landed property of each ownership category. Unfortunately, apart from some technical difficulties, there were several obstacles – described at length in another commentary<sup>2</sup> – which prevented us from a layer indication of landed property: the longer chronological period (the second half of the sixteenth century), a time of serious shifts and changes in all ownership groups, significant fragmentation of the nobility's landed property, and finally – the lack of sources, particularly for the latter ownership category, which would allow us to determine the borders of the estates, keys of property, individual villages or parts of mixed villages (where parts belonged to the king, the Church and the nobility).

In Mazovia, the division of landed property into three main categories (as towns owned only three villages) – royal, Church and the nobility – was similar to other provinces of the Crown. The king owned the lowest number of settlements (6.5%), the Church had a little more (9%), and the vast majority of the settlements belonged to the nobility (84.5%). However, in Mazovia, the landed estates of the nobles, according to the traditional division into two groups: demesne and farm gentry (described below), show quite a different, opposite proportion in the structure of this ownership category, in contrast to other provinces of the Crown. This means that in Mazovia the poor gentry, which includes farm gentry and also the so-called partial gentry, was more numerous than the other group, called here 'demesne gentry'.

Mixed property (royal – Church or nobility, or Church – nobility) was marked in the way accepted for the entire AHP series on the map of Lublin Voivodeship. Namely, two halves of a circle (the symbol for a settlement) were filled with two respective colours. This did not, obviously, represent the actual size of particular parts belonging to a given category in this settlement. Yet the scale of the map and applied technique forbade any other solution. As such, in a case where a settlement belonged to different

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<sup>1</sup> P. Mazowsze, introduction, pp. 20–21.

<sup>2</sup> W. Pałucki, *Na atlasowym gościńcu*, KHKM, vol. 15, 1967, no. 2, pp. 387–388.

owners or institutions from the same ownership category, e.g. in Church estates – to different bishoprics, chapters, monasteries and presbyteries, in the estates of the nobility – large, average and petty property, the estates were marked with a single, basic colour of a category. Towns were marked with a uniform colour for each ownership category, although in many of them, particularly those located in royal estates, there were houses, squares, and gardens, which belonged to the Church or the nobility.<sup>3</sup> Still, we decided that even if it had been possible to overcome technical difficulties, the depiction of ownership relations would be incorrect given the constant changes or shifts, and would do more harm than good. Each settlement from the royal, Church or town category marked on the map was listed in the List of Settlements, so that it would be easier to find, especially given the blurred shape or colour (polygraph faults), particularly possible in case of mixed ownership. As such, all the remaining settlements, whose ownership category was not specified, belonged to the nobility.

Regarding **royal estates** in Mazovia, it must be stated that at the time, when these estates – formerly belonging to the dukes – were seized by the royal administration (in 1462, 1476, 1495, 1526) their condition was rather poor, as they had shrunk already during the ducal period as a result of their alienation (donations, pledges, sales) to the nobility and the Church. The reasons – incessant search for the money of the impoverished dukes, who had many sons in the fifteenth century and had to provide for themselves and their courts. In terms of the alienation of estates, after 1440 the dukes of Mazovia were not so limited as the kings of Poland.<sup>4</sup>

However, the subsequent members of the Jagiellon dynasty, despite the aforesaid limitations, often matched the Mazovian dukes in this respect. As a result, after the successive incorporations some estates – bestowed or pledged – were no longer in the hands of the Crown. Although some of these estates – bestowed or pledged in perpetuity, in Rawa and Płock voivodeships after the 1504 statute of King Alexander,<sup>5</sup> and in Mazovian Voivodeship after 1529<sup>6</sup> – returned to the Crown either effectively or formally (as the execution process following the enforcement proceedings in 1563–1570 continued until the 1650s), several of the more precious landed estates were irretrievably lost to the State.<sup>7</sup>

Royal estates were presented on the map of Mazovia not according to the state traditionally accepted in the literature on the basis of A. Pawiński's *Źródła Dziejowe*, or the inspections from 1564/65. The picture obtained would be incomplete, it would exclude these leases and individual villages, which were omitted in the first inspection only because of the old sums (which were to return to the treasury after four life-annuities), or because of the new ones, incurred by the treasury in 1565.<sup>8</sup> According to the 1567 constitution the latter were also excluded from the inspection and the quarter tax.<sup>9</sup> Naturally, such estates did not cease to belong to the king, and were marked on the map with the colour assigned to this type of ownership, even though many of them returned to the Crown only in the first half of the seventeenth century. In such cases we followed the rule justly accepted by the publishers of the

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<sup>3</sup> Apart from large towns, like Warsaw or Płock, Warka could set an example here – according to the 1564 inspection, for the 369 houses belonging to the king, 133 belonged to the nobility or the Church. The original document of the inspection is missing. The information about Warka see M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1885, p. 436; see also SGKP, vol. 12, p. 955.

<sup>4</sup> J. Senkowski, *Skarbowość Mazowska od końca XIV wieku do 1526 r.*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 45–47.

<sup>5</sup> VL, vol. 2, f. 612.

<sup>6</sup> Date (1526) found in LM 1565, part I, p. XXVII, footnote 133 – is incorrect. The 1563 constitution (VL, t. 2, f. 619) clearly states that in case of Mazovia, the date after which all bestowed or mortgaged estates had to be inspected was the date of the Mazovian statute. During the Warsaw *Sejm* in 1564, Sigismund Augustus ordered this date be used in the 'revision of letters' concerning the royal estates in Mazovia 'after the date confirming the statute of the entire Duchy of Mazovia 1529, from which year and date of the privilege of the Duchy of Mazovia His Majesty the King orders execution be commenced, according to the previous constitution of Piotrków' (AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B, 7, f. 188).

<sup>7</sup> These estates, appropriated by the family Wolski since the times of king John Albert, included the royal estates Oryszew – Miedniewice along with vast woodland area separated from Miedniewska and Wiskicka Forest in Sochaczew starosty. This transaction was not only 'dubious' according to the inspectors (LR XVII, p. 34; LR XVI, pp. 79–82) but also probably most harmful to the Treasury and by all means unacceptable. It was exceptional also because **royal estates** (Bronowo lease in Wizna land) **were exchanged for royal estates** (Oryszew – Miedniewice), 'which never belonged to the nobility' – like it was stated with much indignation by the inspectors in 1616, who added that the estates were usurped by the nobles (LR XVII, p. 221). The transaction was confirmed in 1567 (AGAD, Oddz. XVIII, no. 9, f. 105).

<sup>8</sup> VL, vol. 2, f. 699, vol. *Nabycie pieniędzy*.

<sup>9</sup> Possessors of leased estates, burdened with the 'new sums' were obliged to pay a half of the quarter tax (*dimidia*) in 1601. VL, vol. 2, f. 1496, vol. *Lustracje*.

volume of Płock, which states that the ownership affiliation is determined by the legal basis, namely the title deed, and not the temporary lease.<sup>10</sup>

The estates adjudged by royal verdicts to the treasury in the 1563–1570 proceedings were also treated as royal property on the map of Mazovia.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the estates finally adjudged to the nobility as a hereditary tenure, like Orzyszów – Miedniewice in Sochaczew land of Rawa Voivodeship, were omitted, even though they were described in the inspections.<sup>12</sup> Finally, over a dozen royal settlements, newly-founded in the second half of the sixteenth century, were also included in this group, just like those demesnes, mills and ores, which had their own names and were located outside towns and villages – provided we were able to localize them.

The lists showing the territorial layout of royal estates in each voivodeship of Mazovia were prepared by the publishers of the first inspection of these estates.<sup>13</sup> We are therefore excused from repeating their localization, especially as each volume of the inspection was supplemented with a legible reference map at a scale of 1:500,000. This being the case, we provide here only the differences in the numbers of settlements in royal estates according to Pawiński, the publishers of the first inspection and our research. Obviously, these significant differences, both in absolute numbers of settlements belonging to the king, and in percentage of all Mazovian settlements, were obtained from an expanded source basis.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> WP, p. 44.

<sup>11</sup> Much complicated, and quite unusual, was the case of the vindication of Nieporęt estates in Wieliszewo parish, Warsaw district. Since 1484 the estates remained in the hands of the family Prażmowski (LM 1565, part I, p. XXIX), as a result of a certain transaction with Bolesław V, the Duke of Mazovia (1539 the transaction was called a purchase – MRPS IV/1, no. 6442). However, during the so-called ‘revision of letters’ in 1564 ‘the inspectors applied for the estates to be returned to the king, and the case was commenced per commissionem in Zakroczym, but no one supported it’. The king therefore ordered the matter be investigated ‘and then he will do what should be done’ (AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B, 7, f. 88). Apparently however, the Prażmowski family managed to postpone the case and it remained unsolved till the death of Sigismund August. It was not resumed during the reign of Henry of Valois, nor in Stephen Báthory’s times. Only Sigismund III turned his attention to Nieporęt and its values as a summer residence, after he moved the capital of the State to Warsaw, perhaps because of the redevelopment of the castle and the need to find a substitute residence. The court case of Nieporęt was not conducted without the objections of the family Prażmowski and the ‘entire Mazovian Voivodeship’ they incited (*Diariusze sejmowe 1597 r., w dodatkach akta sejmikowe i inne odnoszące się do tego Sejmu*, pub. E. Barwiński, Cracow 1907 [Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum, vol. 20], p. 361, par. 8). For many years the family continued to file complaints (since 1597 to 1616 subsequent petitions to the *sejmik* of Czersk concerning returning Nieporęt to Prażmowski family, or providing them with an equivalent for the estates. The Collection of Documents IH PAN in Cracow, Lauda czerskie, Teki Pawińskiego VI, pp. 28, 32, 35, 41, 52, 56). The king, however, did not retract from the vindication, and the redeveloped Nieporęt became the favourite residence of the Vasa dynasty until 1658, in which year John Casimir gave Nieporęt to the Jesuits of Warsaw. S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 4, part 2, Cracow 1904, p. 855, footnote 1. Still, it is unclear how the estate was administered after the death of Sigismund III, what is perhaps related to the resolutions of the 1632 constitution (VL, vol. 3, f. 109, vol. *Opatrzanie Najjaśniejszego potomstwa naszego*) and to what degree the complaints of the family Prażmowski were satisfied. We can only add here that in 1642 princess Ann Catherine gave up a part of her heritage in Nieporęt, which she obtained *post Serenisimos olim Parentes suos* to her brother John Casimir (MK, 186, f. 136f). About the family Prażmowski, we know that still in 1647 the petitions to the *sejmik* (dietine) of Czersk contained the pretensions of the family Prażmowski to Nieporęt, asking the delegates to apply to the king for merciful solution. Teki Pawińskiego, p. 181.

<sup>12</sup> In Mazovian Voivodeship: the village Srebrowo in Wizna land inspected in 1565 was given in perpetuity to Marcin Mezeński, the subiudex of the land of Zambrów by virtue of the 1570 decree (MK 106, ff. 166–169). One half of the village Janczewo, also located in Wizna land, belonged to the family Janczewski; the decree of 1564 gave the entire village to Janczewski, the subiudex of Wizna (AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV N, no. 7, f. 182). By virtue of the 1570 decree of Sigismund August the village Zblich in Ciechanów land remained in possession of Stanisław Bogacki, the castellan of Ciechanów (LM XVII, p. 76). In Rawa Voivodeship, except for the estates (see footnote 7) Oryszew – Miedniewice, the village Drzewicz, mentioned in LR XVI (map) was given to the nobility already in the fifteenth century (MK 40, f. 527). During the revision of letters in 1564 it was found that the village Głuchów situated near Rawa was exchanged with for the meadows of Sebastian Pukiński, which lay near the castle in Rawa (AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B, 7, f. 178). The transaction was unequal, as the meadows were worth 100 złoty, and the village – 600 złoty (AGAD, Dep. XVIII, 9, f. 105). The appointed inspector, Kacper Piotrowski, the canon priest from Warsaw, died. In 1569 the king appointed Łukasz Brzozowski as the new inspector (MK 106, f. 133). Probably this revision was not finalized during Sigismund August’s life, because finally the matter was settled by the 1626 decree of the *Sejm* in favour of the family Pukiński (LR XVII, p. 137).

<sup>13</sup> LR XVI, pp. XI–XIII; LP, p. XXVI; LM 1565, part I, pp. XIX–XXXI.

<sup>14</sup> Apart from the published inspections of royal estates in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, we utilized the following sources, quoted above: *Rewizje przywilejów na dobra królewskie*, AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B, ks. 7, 8; *Dekrety królewskie zapadłe na sejmach 1567–1570*, AGAD, Oddz. XVII, ks. 7, 9; MK 106, 109.

**Table 1. Royal towns in Mazovia**

Voivodeship	Pawiński <sup>a</sup>			Inspections <sup>b</sup>			Mazovia <sup>c</sup>		
	towns		%	towns		%	towns		%
	all	royal		all	royal		all	royal	
Płock	16	4	25	16	4	25	16	4	25
Rawa	15	6	40	15	8	53	23	10	43
Mazovian	64	36	56	63	35	56	68	36	53
In total	95	46	48	94	47	50	107	50	46

**Table 2. Royal villages in Mazovia**

Voivodeship	Pawiński <sup>a</sup>			Inspections <sup>b</sup>			Mazovia <sup>c</sup>		
	villages		%	villages		%	villages		%
	all	royal		all	royal <sup>d</sup>		all	royal <sup>e</sup>	
Płock	1,115	12	1.05 <sup>f</sup>	1,075	16	1.5	1,115	17	1.5
Rawa	918	42	4.5	918	70	7.6	942	81	8.6
Mazovian	3,957	208	5	4,110	253	6.1	4,515	288	6.4
In total	5,990	262	4.6	6,103	339	5.5	6,572	386	5.9

P. Mazowsze; b) LM 1565, part I; c) *Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* (our study); d) Together with not inspected estates (LM 1565, part I, p. XXX, tab. 5); e) Together with parts of villages; f) In Pawiński (P. Mazowsze, wstęp, p. 51) 1.04 – a miscout.

**Table 3. Royal property in Mazovia at the close of the sixteenth century**

Voivodeship	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Towns			Villages			Together		
		all	royal	%	all	royal	%	all	royal <sup>a</sup>	%
Płock	4,304	16	4	25	1,115	17	1.5	1,131	21	1.8
Rawa	6,173	23	10	43	942	81	8.6	965	91	9.4
Mazovian	23,016	68	36	53	4,515	288	6.4	4,583	324	7.1
In total	33,493	107	50	46	6,572	386	5.9	6,679	436	6.5

a) Together with parts of villages.

Tables 2 and 3 show that at the close of the sixteenth century the royal estates in Mazovia were in better condition than the publishers of the first inspection from 1564/65 thought, and in much better state than in 1578, as it would appear from Pawiński's calculations: he listed 46 towns and 262 villages (4.6%) belonging to the king.

So, in Płock Voivodeship, where the estates of the monarch were the less numerous, the king owned four towns, 14 villages and three parts of villages.<sup>15</sup> In Rawa Voivodeship: 10 towns, 73 villages and eight parts of villages.<sup>16</sup> In Mazovian Voivodeship: 36 towns, 282 villages and six parts of villages.<sup>17</sup> Altogether, in the three voivodeships of Mazovia at the close of the sixteenth century the Crown owned 50 towns,<sup>18</sup> 369 villages and 17 parts in villages, which belonged to more than one owner: the king and the nobility, or the king and the Church.<sup>19</sup> These villages, with some rare exceptions, had originally

<sup>15</sup> Dzierżążnia, Powsino in Płock district – villages belonging to the king and the nobles, Chelpowo – to the king and the Church.

<sup>16</sup> Czerwona Niwa, Czerwonka, Kaski Młyńska Wieś in Sochaczew district, Korzeń, Rozlazłowo in Gąbin district, and Węgrzynowice in Rawa district – villages belonging to the king and the nobility, Komorów and Regnów in Biała district – to the king and the Church.

<sup>17</sup> Leszno and Więżowo in Przasnysz district, Perzanowo in Różan district, Siemień and Stara Łomża in Łomża district – villages of the king and the nobility, Łomżyca in Łomża district – of the king and the Church.

<sup>18</sup> In the list P. Mazowsze, pp. 27–39, which contains 45 royal towns, Budziszewice and Wiskitki in Rawa Voivodeship were omitted, and Mszczonów – a royal estate, was listed as private property.

<sup>19</sup> Around 25 mill settlements were excluded from the tables and the map. They were situated, perhaps, far from other settlements and we were unable to localize them.

been a property of the state: first of the dukes, and then of the king. The parts, which belonged either to the nobility, or the clergy, were usually small, measuring several lans.

Contrary to recent belief,<sup>20</sup> the highest share of royal estates in the total number of estates (9.4) in a given voivodeship occurred not in Mazovian Voivodeship, but in Rawa Voivodeship. Such state of affairs is probably, at least in part, a result of the fact that Rawa Voivodeship had been incorporated into the Crown several decades earlier, whereas in other Mazovian duchies the process of the alienation of royal estates did not encounter, unlike in the Crown, major legal obstacles.

In the largest duchy and the last to be incorporated, the later Mazovian Voivodeship, the estates of the king were quite numerous, constituting 7.1% of all settlements. This relatively high percentage of towns and villages belonging to the king in Mazovian Voivodeship should be considered owing to the following circumstances: 1) the annulment of the endowments of Duchess Anna from between 1526–1529,<sup>21</sup> 2) the far-sighted actions of bishop Piotr Gamrat of Kaminiec, who was the general governor and commissioner of the royal estates in Mazovia between 1532 and 1538,<sup>22</sup> 3) the energetic economic activity of queen Bona and her chosen governors and economists in Mazovian estates, who on behalf of king Sigismund Augustus supervised royal property after the queen left Poland in 1556,<sup>23</sup> and finally 3) Anna Jagiellon, who equalled her mother in economic resourcefulness after being granted her dower rights to Mazovian and Podlasian estates.<sup>24</sup>

The reference measures accepted here – the number of settlements of the king and their percentages in relation to the remaining ownership categories – have only relative value. They fail to reflect the real worth of the king's property (the size of the estate, the number of cultivated lands, the labour and means of production). However, it should be emphasized that the subject of this study is not landed property in general, but its affiliation and spatial arrangement shown on the map in a traditional way. Without further, laborious research, the results of which would still remain questionable, this is the only solution permitted by present source basis.

The actual number of settlements in Mazovia, which lay in the estates of the Crown in the second half of the sixteenth century, straightens out the incorrect opinion, well-grounded in science by Pawiński, as though the share of these settlements in the total number of Mazovian settlements, i.e. 4.6% and 5% with towns, was the lowest in Mazovia among all voivodeships of the Crown.<sup>25</sup> Although this relation, which was 6.5% in Mazovia, was lower than the average – 9% for Lesser Poland, underrated by Pawiński,<sup>26</sup> it still matched Greater Poland in its expanded borders in terms of the number of settlements per 1 km<sup>2</sup>, and surpassed<sup>27</sup> Greater Poland when compared to its narrower meaning (the Voivodeships of Poznań and Kalisz), roughly equivalent in size to Mazovia.<sup>28</sup> Also, the economic value of Mazovian royal estates – contrary to Pawiński<sup>29</sup> – matched other provinces of the Crown, or even

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<sup>20</sup> Noticed by the publishers of LM 1565, part I, p. XVI.

<sup>21</sup> During the revision of letters in 1564 the family Druzbicz showed a decree from the Mazovian Metrica issued by duchess Ann of Mazovia concerning the tribute of 10 Chełmno lans in the village Chojny 'and His Majesty the King later stated that duchess Anna could not have given that', AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica IV, B, 7, f. 190. J. Senkowski rightly claims, *Skarbowość Mazowska*, p. 11, that the short reign of duchess Anna was only a period of robbery of estates and income of the dukes.

<sup>22</sup> Piotr Gamrat with his vice-delegate rev. Wojsławski ruthlessly vindicated the so-called 'additions' from the Mazovian nobles from the estates neighbouring royal property. These were arable grounds or forests, sometimes covering over a dozen Chełmno lans above the bestowed area, appropriated by the nobles. See W. Smoleński, *Szkice z dziejów szlachty mazowieckiej*, Cracow 1908, p. 70. Gamrat's measurements of royal estates were cited during the revision of the privileges to utilize royal estates in 1564, AGAD, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, IV B 7, f. 186; 8, f. 365; AGAD, Dep. XVIII, 9, f. 86.

<sup>23</sup> About the dower estates of Queen Bona in Mazovia see A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Odbudowa domeny królewskiej w Polsce 1504–1548*, Warsaw 1967, pp. 144–152.

<sup>24</sup> The list of dower estates of Ann Jagiellon from 1581, see *Teki Pawińskiego*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1900, pp. 4–10.

<sup>25</sup> P. Mazowsze, p. 52.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem; P. Małoposka, p. 65.

<sup>27</sup> Greater Poland (Voivodeships of Poznań and Kalisz) – 32,393 km<sup>2</sup>, Mazovia – 33,493 km<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> J. Senkowski, *Skarbowość Mazowska*, p. 20, footnote 23, provides an average 3.7% for Mazovia. This calculation, based on the number of royal villages accepted by J. Rutkowski (*Badania nad podziałem dochodów w Polsce w czasach nowożytnych*, Cracow 1938) is too low. It does not take into consideration the royal estates which were not inspected in 1565. According to K.J. Hładylowicz (*Zmiany w rozwoju osadnictwa w Wielkopolsce od XIV do XIX wieku*, Lwów 1932, p. 83) between 1580 and 1600 there were 3,573 settlements in Greater Poland, of which 210, that is 5.8% belonged to the king – according to our calculations based on LWWK 1564.

<sup>29</sup> P. Mazowsze, p. 49.

surpassed them significantly in this respect. Already J. Rutkowski, who accepted only 269 royal villages in Mazovia, calculated the income from these estates to some 100,000 złoty in the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>30</sup> which is double the income of the six voivodeships in Greater Poland (50.00), and 20% more than the income from the wealthy royal estates in Royal Prussia.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, in terms of cultivated area and land development, Mazovian settlements almost doubled the remaining ownership categories – Church and nobility, which were equivalent in size. This situation was also visible in the number of cultivated lans, almost twice as high in royal settlements in comparison to those of the Church, and in the case of the property of the nobility – almost three times as high.<sup>32</sup> It should also be added that the value of Mazovian royal estates did not depend solely on the number of villages. They were also superior to Church estates and particularly to the estates of the nobility, with an equivalent number of settlements, in terms of spatial and economical qualities (huge forests in Rawa Voivodeship and Mazovian Voivodeship). Apart from the valuable natural resources (wood), the conditions in many royal estates of eastern and southern Mazovia (Rawa Voivodeship) permitted the foundation of new villages, as in Ostrołęka starosta's district in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>33</sup>

**Church property** in Mazovia consisted of landed property bestowed in perpetuity on bishoprics, chapters, monasteries and presbyteries. In general, these estates were situated in areas subject to the jurisdiction of their dioceses. The town of Biała, located in Rawa Voivodeship and belonging to the bishops of Chełm by virtue of the bestowal of King Alexander,<sup>34</sup> was an exception, just like Włoszczanowo, a village in Gostynin district, which belonged to the chapter in Włocławek.<sup>35</sup> Other exceptions from this rule concerned medieval monastery endowments, where some villages (as monastery foundations were independent from the basic Church organization) were extraterritorial already at the time of the endowment, or later, for purely economic reasons (significant distance from a monastery), were temporarily or permanently exchanged for other estates. For these reasons, four villages in the second half of the sixteenth century, property of the family Wolski in Raszyniec parish, Warsaw district (Falenty key of property) fell in the hands of the bishops of Włocławek.<sup>36</sup> Another instance, when a noble family exchanged their estates with the Church, occurred at the close of the sixteenth century near the capital city of Warsaw, namely: part of Praga, which was still a village at the time, became property of the bishopric in Kamieniec, in Kresy ('Eastern Borderlands of Poland'),<sup>37</sup> and this state of affairs survived until 1791.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> J. Rutkowski, *Badania nad podziałem dochodów*, p. 271 (table).

<sup>31</sup> J. Rutkowski (ibidem) mentions an estimated sum of 81,092 złoty, while the official summary of the income from royal estates in Royal Prussia in 1565 – 84,406 złoty; *Lustracja województw malborskiego i chełmińskiego 1570 r.*, pub. S. Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1962, p. 159.

<sup>32</sup> WP, p. 66; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie na Mazowszu w XVI i na początku XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1962, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> Noticed by A. Pawiński (P. Mazowsze, p. 49, footnote 1), who stated that the starosta's district of Ostrołęka, in the sixteenth century still in its infancy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century expanded in Myszyniecka Forest to 67 royal villages.

<sup>34</sup> MRPS IV, no. 4017, 1521; in 1561 'Biała episcopatus Chełm' (ASK I 27, f. 281). The bishops of Chełm probably encountered serious difficulties in administering and obtaining benefices from this town, given the distance that separated the town from the capital in Chełm and the bishop's residence in Skierbieszewo near Chełm. This could be confirmed by court cases, for instance in 1557, issued by bishop Jakub Uchański and the chapter against a landholder Jan Chrzęszczewski about damages and wounding the burghers (T. Wierzbowski, *Jakub Uchański arcybiskup gnieźnieński 1502–1581*, Warsaw 1895 (Uchańsciana, vol. 5), p. 147). Given these conditions, the message included in the questionnaire „Opisanie historyczne i topograficzno-statystyczne miasta Białej w województwie Mazowieckim roku pańskiego 1820” (AGAD, Oddz. KRSW, ks. 457, no. 65) becomes clear, it said that in 1600 the town Biała was given to Aleksander Jarzyna in exchange for his hereditary village Chełm near Cracow.

<sup>35</sup> L. Żytkowicz, *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim w dobrach kościelnych XVI w.*, Warsaw 1962, p. 237, footnote 263.

<sup>36</sup> *Inwentarz dóbr stołowych biskupstwa włocławskiego z 1582*, pub. L. Żytkowicz, Toruń 1953, pp. VIII–IX, footnote 12. According to this author (*Inwentarz dóbr stołowych biskupstwa włocławskiego z XVII w.*, Toruń 1957, p. VII) in the seventeenth century Falenty no longer belonged to the bishop. Anyway, in 1617 these properties were mentioned as Church properties (MK 162, f. 287).

<sup>37</sup> In 1583 the Great Chancellor of the Crown, Jan Zamoyski, bought one part of Praga from Jan Praski (MK 127, f. 235). In the same year Zamoyski exchanged this part with Marcin Białobrzecki the bishop of Kamieniec for Kaczmarzów estates in Podole (MK, 129, f. 401). *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego*, vol. 1, pub. W. Sobieski, Warsaw 1904, no. 64; F.M. Sobieszczanski, *Rys historyczno-statystyczny... m. Warszawy*, Warsaw 1848, p. 41–42. See also below.

<sup>38</sup> T. Wyderkowa, *Z dziejów Pragi do 1658 roku*, „Rocznik Warszawski”, vol. 5, 1964, p. 23.

In Mazovia, the network of the estates belonging to the main Church institutions formed already in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries, mostly from lands donated to the Church by the dukes. The network survived almost intact until the wane of the Nobles' Commonwealth.<sup>39</sup> The characteristic feature of this network was the distance that separated most of the estates from their diocese centres (cathedral churches, chapters). Sometimes the estates were scattered or formed enclaves (traces of later changes). Only the wealthy latifundium of Łowicz and Skierniewice, and 132 villages<sup>40</sup> belonging to the archbishops of Gniezno, constituted a dense, closed territorial complex (around 1,100 km<sup>2</sup>), situated mostly in the western part of Rawa Voivodeship, but entering Łęczyca Voivodeship, it almost reached Łowicz. Outside archdiocese borders, the archbishop of Gniezno owned also the key of Konary – five villages in Czersk archdeaconry, near the Pilica's estuary into the Vistula.<sup>41</sup>

The situation of the estates belonging to the bishopric of Płock, the richest bishopric in all Mazovia, was quite different. Apart from the key of Górzno in Dobrzyń archdeaconry,<sup>42</sup> which belonged to the bishop's pantry, of all Mazovian estates in the hands of the bishops of Płock, who owned 5½ towns and 158 villages, only the town of Raciąż and 18 villages were located in Płock Voivodeship, and four in Rawa Voivodeship.<sup>43</sup> The remaining 4½ towns (Pułtusk, Wyszaków, Brok, Andrzejów and ½ of Czerwińsko) and 138 villages stretched in a broad belt in the valley of the Rivers Narew and Bug to the border between Mazovia and Podlasie, forming three main keys of property with centres in Pułtusk (in the fifteenth century, the majority of settlements in this key were bestowed on the collegiate church in Pułtusk<sup>44</sup>), Wyszaków, and Brok by the Bug (the key of property of Złotoryja).

The estates of the bishops of Poznań (town of Stoczek and 33 villages) were scattered over Warsaw archdeaconry (before 1406: Czersk archdeaconry) in several keys of property, of which important ones were: Kozłowo Biskupie in Sochaczew district, Żbików in Błonie district, Sobienie Biskupie and Stoczek in Garwolin district, Wrociszewo in Warka district and Łaskarzewo (eight villages outside Mazovia, situated in Steżyca land in Sandomierz Voivodeship). Most of the estates belonging to the chapter of Płock (32 of 48 settlements) lay in its closest vicinity in Płock Voivodeship. The rest – in Mazovian Voivodeship (10) and in Rawa Voivodeship (seven).<sup>45</sup>

The collegiate church of St. John in Warsaw found itself in a more favourable situation, as its estates (the town of Tarczyn and 28 villages) were all situated in Mazovian Voivodeship, in the districts of: Warsaw, Kamieniec, Tarczyn and Warka.

The estates of the few monasteries in Mazovia were larger, although irregularly located. The estates of the wealthiest abbey in Mazovia, namely the monastery of the Canons Regular in Czerwińsko (1/2 of town and 48 villages) formed two groups: the dense closer complex, and the further one, slightly scattered in the river basin of the downstream Bug and Narew. The second in terms of wealth – the

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<sup>39</sup> The location of Church estates in Mazovia was based on the following sources and studies: Łaski LB vol. II; Ulanowski, *Visitationes*; idem, *Acta capitulorum Cracoviensis et Plocensis selecta (1458–1523)*, AKH, vol. 6, 1891; idem, *Acta capituli Plocensis ab an. 1544 ad 1576*, AKH, vol. 10, 1905; idem, *Materiały do dziejów kolegiaty pułtuskiej*, AKH, vol. 10; Knapiński, *Notaty; Taryfy 1789–1790*; Tables of property on detailed maps of Rawa, Płock and Mazovian Voivodeships by K. de Perthées from 1783–1792; Czaykowski; Inventory of the properties of Płock bishopric from 1650 (MS in the Archive of Płock Chapter, we used a copy borrowed by prof. dr. L. Żytkowicz); J. Łukaszewicz, *Krótki opis kościołów parafialnych w dawnej diecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 3, Poznań 1862; M. Rybus, *Kolegiata w Pułtusku i jej kapituła*, Łódź 1933; W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundiów biskupstwa poznańskiego w XVI–XVII wieku*, Poznań 1960; Nowowiejski; J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundiów arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1955; J. Karwasińska, *Szpital św. Ducha w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1938.

<sup>40</sup> This includes Janowice and Mysłaków in Bednary parish, which belonged to the collegiate of Łowicz.

<sup>41</sup> The key of Konary (Konary, Las, Ostrów, Podgórzycze, Przelot) was transferred in the seventeenth century to the chapter of Gniezno. J. Topolski, *Rozwój latyfundiów*, pp. 108–109.

<sup>42</sup> The key Górzno in Rypin district – 10 villages and the villages Biskupice and Czernikowo in Lipno district; Z Guldon, *Mapa ziemi dobrzyńskiej w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1967, pp. 38–39, 46–47.

<sup>43</sup> Piaski, Głusko parish in Sochaczew district; Popłacino and Pomocna in Radziwie parish, Gostynin district; Suchodół in Zakrzewo parish, Gąbin district.

<sup>44</sup> Further research would be required to determine, which villages were isolated from the estates of Płock bishoprics as bestowals of Pułtusk chapter in the sixteenth century, as there are serious discrepancies between the information provided by M. Rybus (*Kolegiata w Pułtusku*) and the source entries published by B. Ulanowski (*Acta capitulorum Cracoviensis ac Plocensis; Acta capitulorum Plocensis ab an. 1514 ad 1576*, AKH, vol. 10, 1915).

<sup>45</sup> In Rawa Voivodeship the chapter of Płock owned the following villages: Dąbrówka in Białotarsk parish, Góry and Górki in Ciechomice parish, Pieryszewo in Trąbki parish, Radziwie in Radziwie parish – all in Gostynin district, and Mistrzowice in Mistrzowice parish, Gąbin district.

Benedictine abbey in Płock (two towns: Przybyszewo and Wyszemierzyce in Mazovian Voivodeship and 23 villages)<sup>46</sup> or the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Płock (Bodzanów town and 22 villages) had each only three villages near their respective monasteries, the rest of their estates were scattered in the neighbouring Voivodeships: Mazovian and Rawa.

The collegiate church of St. Nicolas in Płock owned eight entire villages and one part of a village in Płock Voivodeship, and one village in Mazovian Voivodeship. The Dominican Sisters from Płock owned a part of a village in this voivodeship.<sup>47</sup> The hospital of the Holy Spirit by the church of St. Martin in Warsaw – founded in the past by the dukes – (later the Sisters of St. Martin in Warsaw) was also well-endowed, owning 14 villages in Garwolin district.<sup>48</sup> Another hospital, also an old ducal foundation, dedicated to the Holy Spirit in Rawa had a village Byszewice near Rawa.<sup>49</sup>

Also, two abbeys situated outside Mazovia owned some of their estates in our voivodeship. These were the Benedictines from Lubin (their seat in Greater Poland) had a provostry in Jeżów (a town and five villages) in Rawa Voivodeship, and the Cistercians from Sulejów (their seat in Lesser Poland) – the town of Mogilnica and four villages (the key of Mogilnica) in the same voivodeship. Finally, when it comes to monastic orders, the Jesuits, brought to Mazovia by A. Noskowski, the bishop of Płock, and settled in Pułtusk, gained only two villages from the bishop's pantry before the end of the sixteenth century, namely: Bosewo<sup>50</sup> in Długosiodło parish in the district of Kamieniec, and Żabikowo<sup>51</sup> in Somowo parish, Nur district.

The key of property of Sieluń (18 villages)<sup>52</sup> should be counted among the feudal and ecclesiastical peculiarities, found elsewhere in Poland only in Cracow Voivodeship (the Duchy of Siewierz, property of the bishops of Cracow). The key belonged to the rectors (provosts) of the cathedral chapter of Płock in Pułtusk archdeaconry. The villages were inhabited by petty gentry, who remained under the jurisdiction of the provosts until 1791 (The Four-Year Sejm).<sup>53</sup>

We should also mention the estates bestowed on individual parochial churches, in towns and villages (provostries). In Mazovia, unlike e.g. in Royal Prussia, these bestowals were rather modest (½ to two lans). Parochial churches endowed with one part of a village, or an entire village, constitute no more than 10% of all 477 Mazovian parishes (37 villages and nine parts of villages). Also, in over a dozen cases in the sixteenth century we encounter mixed property: royal-Church (three villages)<sup>54</sup> or nobility-Church (six villages).<sup>55</sup>

Villages, where one part belonged to the Church, were isolated on the basis of precise source information – subsequent inspections, inventories, visitations – until the end of the eighteenth century, and tables showing Church estates included in Perthées's maps, which offered straightforward information, whether a part of a village was the property of the Church. Naturally, following the assumptions made already in LV, the parson's lans (so-called 'poświętne') were omitted. Such lans could be found

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<sup>46</sup> The Benedictine abbey in Płock owned also a village Makówka in the district and land of Dobrzyń. Z Guldon, *Mapa ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 30.

<sup>47</sup> In Chełpowo, Trzepowo parish, Płock district.

<sup>48</sup> J. Karwasińska, *Szpital św. Ducha w Warszawie. Dzieje fundacji Anny Bolesławy księżnej mazowieckiej początkowe (1444–1544)*, Warsaw 1938, pp. 36–38.

<sup>49</sup> LR XVII, p. 124; P. Mazowsze, p. 161.

<sup>50</sup> ASK I 38, f. 677 and 803; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 4, Cracow 1905, pp. 38–44.

<sup>51</sup> L. Żytkowicz, *Studia nad wydajnością gospodarstw wiejskich na Mazowszu w XVII w.*, Warsaw 1966, p. 33, on the basis of the inventory of Płock bishopric from 1595; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 4, p. 39, mentions a village unknown to us – Przekory, situated in Zakroczyń land. We found no such village in Zakroczyń land. Probably this was Wólka Przekory (Quartermaster's Map), called Wólka Pojezuicka in Tariff 1789. In Table 1827 – wrongly called Wólka Piekory (former estates of the Jesuits). Together with a neighbouring village Lutobrok in Pniewo parish, Kamieniec district, it was given to the Jesuits in the beginning of the seventeenth century by bishop of Płock Mikołaj Szyszkowski.

<sup>52</sup> Sieluń, Dyszybaba, Dylewo, Gąsowo, Sławkowo, Sypniewo, Szczeglino and Zamoście – in Różan district; Kruszewo, Koprzywnica, Żabino, Goworowo, Goworówek, Jaworów, Rembiszewo, Borawe, Kamionka and Lipniki – in Ostrołęka district.

<sup>53</sup> W. Smoleński, *Mazowiecka szlachta w poddaństwie proboszczów płockich*, [in:] *Pisma historyczne*, vol. 1, Cracow 1901.

<sup>54</sup> Komorów in Cielądz parish, Biała district, Łomżyca in the parish and district of Łomża, Regnów in Regnów parish, Biała district.

<sup>55</sup> Gołymino Kościelne in Gołymin parish in the district of Ciechanów, Kurzeszyn in the parish and district of Rawa, Łęg Wielki in the parish and district of Bielsk, Ślepkowo in Woźniki parish in Płock district, Zaborowie Małe in Lewiczyn parish, Grójec district, Zawidz Kościelny in Zawidz parish, Sierpc district.

**Table 4. Church property in Mazovia at the close of the sixteenth century**

Owners	Voivodeships									In total		
	Plock			Rawa			Mazovian					
	towns	villages		towns	villages		towns	villages		towns	villages	
		whole	parts		whole	parts		whole	parts		whole	parts
Plock bishopric <sup>a</sup>	1	17	1	–	4	–	4½	137	–	5½	158	1
Plock chapter	–	31	1	–	7	–	–	10	–	–	48	1
Gniezno archbishopric	–	–	–	2	127	–	–	5	–	2	132	–
Poznań bishopric	–	–	–	–	5	–	1	28	–	1	33	–
Poznań chapter	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Collegiate church of St. John in Warsaw	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	28	–	1	28	–
Włocławek bishopric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	4	–
Włocławek chapter	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Chełm bishopric	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Kamieniec bishopric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
Plock abbey	–	3	–	–	2	–	1	18	–	2	23	–
Czerwińsko abbey	–	–	–	–	1	–	½	47	1	½	48	1
Lubin abbey	–	–	–	1	5	–	–	–	–	1	5	–
Sulejów abbey	–	–	–	1	4	–	–	–	–	1	4	–
Norbertine sisters monastery	–	3	–	–	9	–	1	10	–	1	22	–
Dominican sisters monastery	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Warsaw	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	–	–	14	–
Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rawa	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Collegiate church of St. Nicolas in Plock	–	8	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	9	1
Provosts of Plock chapter (Sieluń key of property)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	–	–	18	–
Jesuit monastery in Pułtusk	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	–
Parochial churches	–	10	2	–	6	4	–	20	3	–	37	9
In total	1	72	6	5	167	4	10	342	5	16	588	15
Pawiński	2½	79	–	5	137	–	7½	269	–	15	485	–

a) Together with the estates separated as an endowment of the Pułtusk chapter.

in almost every village, and they constituted an insignificant percentage of cultivated land in a given settlement.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, such villages were not included in the mixed ownership category.

In total, the Church owned in Mazovia not 15 towns and 485 villages recorded by Pawiński,<sup>57</sup> but 16 towns, 588 villages and 15 parts of villages, i.e. 9% of all Mazovian settlements. The 25% higher share of royal estates (Pawiński – 307, actual – 434 settlements) changes also the percentage relation of Church estates to Crown estates. Namely, the estates owned in Mazovia by the Church did not double the number of royal estates (8.7% to 6.5%) as Pawiński believed,<sup>58</sup> but exceeded their number by ⅓ (9% to 6.5%).

**Landed property of the nobility** formed the largest ownership group in Mazovia, just as in the whole country. However, it should be noted that in the structure of the entire rural population in Mazovia the share of the nobility was four or five times larger than in other provinces of the Crown. Without towns, the amount of Mazovian nobility exceeded 27% of all population of this province,<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> For example, in a parochial village of Rybno in Gostynin district there were 17 ‘partes’, which belonged to the same number of owners (partial gentry). Also, there was an eighteenth part – ‘pars plebani’ (P. Mazowsze, p. 202). In total, the nobility owned over 14 lans. The size of the parson’s part was not given. Assuming it was one or two lans, this does not change the typically nobility-type kind of affiliation of Rybno village.

<sup>57</sup> P. Mazowsze (introduction, p. 37–39) omitted Biała town in Rawa Voivodeship, property of the bishop of Chełm.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, p. 56.

<sup>59</sup> According to W. Kula’s calculations (*Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski*, RDSG, vol. 14, 1951, p. 71), around 1578 – 27.2%, including demesne nobility – 5.5%, landless and farm gentry – 21.7%.

whereas the respective percentages were: 7.6% in Greater Poland, 6.4% in Lesser Poland (within the boundaries from before the Union of Lublin).<sup>60</sup>

Two closely related phenomena can be observed in Mazovia. They are the result of the situation, which occurred in this area already during the ducal period and was later consolidated in terms of socioeconomics by the fact that the Jagiellon dynasty favoured the moderately rich and poor nobility, who usually had many children. Therefore, on the one hand in Mazovia there was no great latifundial type of property of the type that was common in Greater Poland, and particularly in Lesser Poland, and on the other – this ownership category was much fragmented here, to an extent which did not exist anywhere outside Mazovia (or its neighbouring lands: Dobrzyń, Łuków and Podlasie). Also, the concentration of petty, serfless, impoverished gentry, called farm gentry (21% of the entire rural population) was the highest here, especially in the north-eastern borderlands.<sup>61</sup>

A. Pawiński calculated<sup>62</sup> that in Mazovia serfless gentry owned 34% of cultivated lans in this district, while in Greater Poland, for instance, only 5%. This enormous property fragmentation is visible in a very characteristic way in the nomenclature and dislocation of the settlements of petty gentry in Mazovia. Namely, new settlements of the members of the same family were being created around the main, mother settlement. These new villages were given a new, two-word name, consisting of the main name – the name of the mother village, and an additional name, usually taken from the nickname of the new owner of the village. Such villages were abundant in many districts of Mazovia, causing us many difficulties (described above) with marking these ‘bunches’ on our map. The collectors also faced many obstacles while making their tax registers, just like diocese inspectors. In 1599 one of them, not without surprise, had marked the village Gadamce (Przasnysz district, Krzynowłoga Wielka parish) with the following note: ‘eleven villages of Gadamce, each house a separate village’.<sup>63</sup>

The historiography of the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries often noticed this demographic and ownership phenomenon. Since A. Pawiński’s times, his Mazowsze has been the only source basis for many a study, despite the chronologically limited and unchecked tax registers published inside.

As such, it should be noted that the general character of landed property, the property of the nobility included, described by Pawiński in his extensive introduction to the sixteenth volume of *Źródła Dziejowe* persisted in the literature on the subject. However, the numbers and conclusions based on his calculations require revision, as now they cannot be accepted unquestioningly.

We should begin with clarifying that the old indicator of a nobleman’s wealth – the number of villages he owned – has this fault, that no two villages were equal. Even disregarding the fact that in Mazovia the villages of the nobility were smaller than those of the Church or the Crown, there were not many nobles who owned entire villages. Dominant were the villages belonging to several, or even over a dozen owners, and farm gentry was the most common among them. The wealthier demesne gentry had parts of various size (½ to several lans) in several villages. As such, the newer studies assume a different basic criteria for their calculations: the number of lans owned by one owner.

This method, successfully implemented in AHP 1958 and MRP, could not have been applied for our map of Mazovia given the different (as we constantly keep reminding), longer and later chronological period (the wane of the sixteenth century), from which the basic sources, that is the tax registers, did not survive. The lack of this type of source was not the only difficulty we encountered. Even when the registers from the last decade of the sixteenth century did survive,<sup>64</sup> the number of cultivated lans belonging to one owner found in the registers should be treated with much caution, if only because since 1588 the subsequent tax collection universals ordered the collection be based on the bills from 1578.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>61</sup> See above footnote 59.

<sup>62</sup> P. Mazowsze, introduction, pp. 22–29, 12,031 lans of farm gentry, 23,361 serf lans.

<sup>63</sup> Viz. Dekanatu przasnyskiego, f. 6, f. 234 (ADP). To this day nine villages comprise a mini settlement cluster called Gadamce, these are: Gadamiec Barany, G. Chrzczony, G. Jebienki, G. Jędrzyki, G. Miłocięta, G. Pieronie, G. Trojany, G. Weraki, G. Zawisze; see below the List of Settlements and *Spis miejscowości PRL*, Warsaw 1967, p. 273.

<sup>64</sup> The surviving registers from 1583 concern only Płock Voivodeship, Nur land and Warsaw land, from 1588 – Czersk land, from 1589 – Gostynin land, Czersk land, from 1590 – the poll tax register from Warsaw land, from 1599 – Warsaw land, Zakroczym land, Łomża land. The next surviving registers start from 1652 (only Warsaw land); I Gieysztorowa, *Mazowieckie akta skarbowe XV–XVII w.*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1958, p. 216 – table.

<sup>65</sup> ‘[...] according to the tax bills from 1578, but without the oath’ (VL, vol. 2, f. 246), see also I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła i szacunki w badaniach osadnictwa i demografii Polski XVI i XVII w.*, KHKM, vol. 10, 1962, no. 3–4, pp. 581–582.

It is a fact long and well known that the general number of taxed cultivated lans remaining in the hands of the nobility was much higher than the number recorded in the registers, as since 1578,<sup>66</sup> and in fact since the wane of Sigismund Augustus's reign, the nobility – legally (demesne fields freed from taxation) and illegally (not declaring for taxation newly located towns and villages, or abandoned lans leased to serfs from other villages, or villages newly located after a fire) – paid lan tax not even on the basis of old bills, as it was practiced for years. Good tax years (1563–1565, the result of the 1563 reform<sup>67</sup>) were followed by permanent decrease in the number of taxed lans.<sup>68</sup> This means that each year the nobles declared for taxation lower numbers of lans than they really owned. This reluctance to pay taxes inclined the nobility to many tricks, all aiming at paying the least possible sum.<sup>69</sup> Hence the varying remedies, utilized for years – these attestations of the veracity of documents and public declarations of the number of owned lans – which were meant to lower, if not prevent, the damages these 'tricks' did to the treasury.

Even if the control of the number of villages in Płock Voivodeship conducted by the publishers of AHP 1958 and based on the registers from other years, or other sources, failed to show major changes (only 8% in the number of settlements),<sup>70</sup> the case is completely different with the number of cultivated lans.<sup>71</sup>

At the close of the sixteenth century, the differences between the actual state and the state depicted in tax registers chosen on the basis of old bills must have been significant, as in these years the requests for a new measure and evaluation of taxed grounds were becoming more and more frequent. This is a long known fact, and the scholars claim that since the 'reliable'<sup>72</sup> – according to Pawiński – collection from 1578, with each year we can observe a decreasing number of taxed lans.<sup>73</sup>

This decrease – which began after the last tax reform of 1563, ordering the tax be collected not according to old bills, but on the basis of the contemporary number of taxed lans,<sup>74</sup> thoroughly checked and testified under oath – reached 10% on the average in 1590.<sup>75</sup> Until the end of the sixteenth century it probably reached 20%.

An attempt was made to determine the level of wealth of Mazovian nobility by dividing this ownership category into groups not according to the number of villages owned – as there were very few such owners in the sixteenth century Mazovia – but basing on the number of lans recorded in tax registers, a criterion which seemed the most appropriate to us. Still, such an attempt is only of relative value, depending not only on the source basis.

Further reservations concern the division of the nobility into two groups, following Pawiński, or in fact the contemporary fiscal terminology. This division distinguishes two tax groups: the wealthy, demesne nobility (according to the tax records: mansi nobilium possessionati,<sup>76</sup> mansorum possessorum) and the impoverished, farm gentry (ville nobilium colonos or cmetones non habentium, propriae culturae, mansi pauperum nobilium<sup>77</sup>). The former had serfs, who worked in their lord's demesne, the latter

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<sup>66</sup> The decrease in the number of taxed lans between 1578 and 1590, see P. Wielkopolska, pp. 72–79. The collection universal from 1578 still ordered land tax be paid according to 'quantitatem agrorum', VL, vol. 2, p. 191.

<sup>67</sup> W. Pałucki, *Reformy skarbowe sejmu egzekucyjnego 1563 r.*, [in:] *Studia historyczne. Księga Jubileuszowa z okazji 70 rocznicy urodzin prof. dr Stanisława Arnolda*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 101–113.

<sup>68</sup> A. Wyczański (*Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim w Polsce w latach 1500–1580*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 48–49) based on the table prepared for 88 villages from various voivodeships of the Crown and the number of serf lans in these villages, according to tax registers from 1536–1590, He determined that already in 1576–1580 the number of taxed lans had fallen about 12% (in comparison to the period between 1563 and 1565).

<sup>69</sup> K. Górka, *Przyczynek do krytyki rejestrów poborowych z XVI wieku*, SŻ, vol. 1, 1957, pp. 188–189, published a very interesting document entitled 'Egzorbitancje poborowe' in which the author, perhaps one of the collectors, provided 10 most common abuses of the nobility while preparing tax registers in Kalisz Voivodeship. The publisher rightly claims that the described phenomenon (p. 186) occurred in the whole country. The document was also independently used by A. Wyczański, *Studia nad folwarkiem szlacheckim*, p. 47, who claims that it probably came from 1580.

<sup>70</sup> WP, p. 14.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem, p. 27 it was stated that the comparison of tax registers and inventories proved that the registers always recorded a smaller arable area.

<sup>72</sup> P. Wielkopolska, p. 32.

<sup>73</sup> This was already noticed by A. Pawiński during the publication of the surviving summary of tax registers for Greater Poland from 1590. P. Wielkopolska, p. 77.

<sup>74</sup> *Uniwersał poborowy z 1563 roku*, pub. W. Pałucki, KHKM, vol. 14, 1966, no. 3, p. 525.

<sup>75</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Wieś mazowiecka w XVI wieku*, PH, vol. 49, 1958, no. 2, pp. 240–248.

<sup>76</sup> P. Mazowsze, pp. 18, 385, 415.

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem, pp. 150, 180, 311.

had no serfs, and worked in the fields themselves. This is quite a convenient division, perhaps that is why it was accepted in the literature. Still, it remains a simplification utilized by the sixteenth century fiscal administration for their own purposes. The first group consisted also of a significant number of noblemen residing in parts of villages (hence the name – partial gentry), sometimes these parts were no larger than those owned by farm gentry. Naturally, there was not always a demesne – in its social and economic sense – in such small parts of villages, which were sometimes smaller than 1 lan, especially as these grounds were usually cultivated by hired hortulani, landless peasants, or the members of the owner's family. To put it briefly, it would be an oversimplification to regard everyone listed in tax registers under mansi nobilium possessionati as demesne noblemen, also because even contemporary collectors did not necessarily understand predium as a demesne: in the registers the lists of taxed paid by farm gentry were entitled mansorum predialium, or even mansorum nobilium de praediis per grossos quindecim de quolibet manso soluentium once.<sup>78</sup> It could be guessed that in this case the predia from the tax registers mean noblemen manors, not demesnes, as noted by Pawiński, who saw there certain analogies to manors mentioned by Długosz, called predia militaria in Liber Beneficiorum.<sup>79</sup>

However, Pawiński must have had serious doubts whether partial gentry owned any demesnes, which would require serfs and farm gentry had no serfs. Describing the predia in villages inhabited by various types of noblemen (demesne and partial gentry) he noted: 'These are not farmsteads of partial gentry, as it is a well-known fact that partial gentry had no serfs (nobiles pauperes cmetonibus carentes)'.<sup>80</sup> As such, there should be one more, third, group in this ownership category: partial gentry. Then the first group would only consist of demesne gentry, in agreement with the name describing this group, not mixed with many representatives of partial gentry who did not own a single demesne. In any case, these impoverished noblemen should rather belong to the group of farm gentry (from whom they often differed only in taxation), and not to the group of demesne nobility.

Let us also add here that in Mazovia minor nobility estates were constantly being absorbed by larger estates, and the fragmentation of the property of partial and farm gentry continued. Also, the members of the two groups often changed their group naturally, especially in mixed villages (in Mazovia we encounter also villages inhabited together by partial and farm gentry), for instance by marrying into another family.

As such, it would be impossible – though certainly useful – to distinguish villages of farm gentry on our map of Mazovia in the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>81</sup> even if such suggestions were proposed at the beginning of our work.<sup>82</sup>

A broader explanation of the difficulties, which would accompany any attempt at presenting even two traditionally distinguished groups: demesne and farm gentry on the map of Mazovia, exceeds the limits of this commentary. We also refrained from describing the location of the estates of the nobility or the detailed characteristic, particularly of the wealthiest groups. Instead, we refer our readers to the studies, which offer a synthetic or analytic description of these issues in terms of all of Mazovia or of its individual parts.<sup>83</sup> We must, however, introduce some important additions to the said studies, concerning the small group of Mazovian 'feudal lords'.

Now, it was frequently noted in the literature on the subject that in Mazovia there were no great land owners, who would possess many villages. And those noblemen, who owned over a dozen whole villages, or over 100 cultivated fiefs in various villages, were extremely rare. Still, Sigismund III favoured the Mazovians for their financial support during his election in 1587.<sup>84</sup> So in the second half

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<sup>78</sup> Ibidem, p. 11.

<sup>79</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 27.

<sup>80</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>81</sup> T. Ładogórski, *Uwagi o nowej koncepcji Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, KH, vol. 24, 1967, no. 1, p. 90.

<sup>82</sup> W. Pałucki, *Atlas Historyczny ziem polskich drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, KH, vol. 74, 1967, no. 1, p. 102.

<sup>83</sup> P. Mazowsze, pp. 61–70; W. Smoleński, *Szkice z dziejów szlachty mazowieckiej*; idem, *Mazowiecka szlachta*; WP, pp. 58–79; A. Żaboklicka, *Zmiany w strukturze drobnej własności szlacheckiej na przykładzie ziemi liwskiej*, PH, vol. 49, 1958, no. 2, pp. 250–260; I. Gieysztorowa, *Od Jagiellonów do Sobieskiego*, [in:] *Cztery wieki Mazowsza*, ed. S. Herbst, Warsaw 1968, pp. 26–29.

<sup>84</sup> On 5 September 1587, during the general assembly near Tarczyn, the Mazovian nobility spontaneously enacted 1 złoty per one Chełmno land, and the liquor excise tax to support Sigismund Vasa; J. Gierowski, *Sejmik generalny Księstwa Mazowieckiego*, Wrocław 1948, p. 105.

of the sixteenth century, when the centre of political life (subsequent Sejms) moved to Warsaw, and at the close of the century the capital of the State was also moved there, the importance of the Mazovian nobility grew – as did naturally, their wealth.

The number of the Mazovians who owned large landed property grew as well. Stanisław Miński could be an example here: in 1588 he already owned one town (Mińsk) and 16 villages.<sup>85</sup> The entire property of Miński, the later voivode of Łęczyca and the Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, consisted of 241 cultivated lans, and this without the unknown number of demesne lans. The political and financial power of many other families was born at the time (the families Kryski from Drobin, or Krasieński from Krasne), and the growing wealth of many a Mazovian family was influenced by various criteria, which could not always be defined.

We wish to say here that the wealth of a given noble family was not always determined by the number of villages, or parts of villages, they owned. The situation was similar also in other provinces of the Crown (in Greater Poland and Lesser Poland) – however, in Mazovia it was the most visible. In Mazovia, noblemen constituted over 25% of the entire rural population of this province, and dominant was the impoverished gentry, so a simple calculation of probability shows us that family relations and ties rarely influenced the growth of a family's wealth. Hence, many noblemen considered holding a given lifelong, profitable post, especially royal leases and starosta's offices, the best way to increase their property and become a magnate. Much effort was applied so that a crown land obtained lay near ones hereditary estates.

The old Mazovian family Radziejowski from Radziejowice in Sochaczew land in Rawa Voivodeship provides a typical example. The family Radziejowski, rather infamous during the last years of Mazovian autonomy,<sup>86</sup> owned only four villages since 1497,<sup>87</sup> and this did not change throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>88</sup> However, they managed to obtain the town of Mszczonów during the reign of John Albert, and held it for 150 years, as well as the key of property of Kampinos (six villages) held as a fief,<sup>89</sup> and then the starosta's district of Sochaczew, the wealthiest of all starosta's districts in Rawa Voivodeship. The district neighboured on Radziejowice and remained in the hands of the family until 1637, with a several-decade break. So the family made a substantial income from three towns, 22 villages and three vast royal forests. Despite the large income, they did not increase the number of their hereditary estates (though buyouts), but at the close of the sixteenth century managed to build a large – in Mazovian terms – magnate residence in Radziejowice (a palace – castle), which to this day survives mostly intact.

As already stated, **town ownership** was barely visible in Mazovia, limited only to three villages, namely: Solec belonging to Warsaw,<sup>90</sup> Łabna – the property of Kolno,<sup>91</sup> and Kozina – owned by Goszczyn.<sup>92</sup> The two last villages were actually suburbs, and this is what they were called in the sources. However, we do not know if and when they had been endowed on the town, as Solec was endowed on Warsaw. Finally, we decided to regard them as villages belonging to towns, because the inspectors clearly emphasised that these villages were 'under town jurisdiction', utilize the same laws and freedoms,<sup>93</sup> and in the case of Kozina – it was subject to a separate mayor.<sup>94</sup>

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>85</sup> P. Mazowsze, pp. 233, 255; ASK I 51, f. 1; MK 134, f. 183.

<sup>86</sup> Accusing Katarzyna from the family Radziejowski of participation in the murder of rev. Stanisław Mazowiecki; J. Bartoszewicz, *Radziejowice*, Warsaw 1879, pp. 83–84.

<sup>87</sup> ASK I 48, f. 52: Radziejowice, Zboiska, Kamionka, Kierz.

<sup>88</sup> In 1579 there were 17 lans in these villages; P. Mazowsze, p. 147.

<sup>89</sup> AGAD, Dep. XVIII, 9, the revision of letters 8 March 1564.

<sup>90</sup> Granted to Warsaw in 1482; *Przywileje królewskie Starej Warszawy*, pub. T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw 1914, p. 5, no. 4.

<sup>91</sup> LM 1565, part II, p. 115.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem, part I, p. 51.

<sup>93</sup> '[...] Łabna suburbs, just outside the town Colnem [...] long uses the same law and jurisdiction and freedoms', ibidem, part II, p. 115.

<sup>94</sup> 'Suburb or village Kozina [...] because it is under the town's jurisdiction, like the town they have their onera, they have their own mayor, who rules them', ibidem, part I, p. 51.

### III.3.3.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Krzysztof Boroda*

In a similar way to the other earlier volumes of the AHP, equally in the Podlasie volume undertakings have been made, and at the stage of working on the source materials to allow for their presentation on the main map, to carefully distinguish between the four traditionally divided property ownership types: royal, nobility, Church and town. The same colour scheme as employed in earlier works in the series has been employed to mark them on the main map itself. In the case of royal property ownership it was the legal status of the settlement that decided as to its qualification and inclusion, and so its inclusion in a register or list of royal properties, and not the personage of the actual user or also those leasing. The establishment of nobility property relations was derived at through the information obtained from tax registers that came about post 1569, as well as the military cadastres showing military duties and military rolls organised when Podlasie belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; as equally on the basis of subject literature. It turned out to be difficult to determine the number of settlements that should be considered either wholly or partly Church in property. Problematic were the series of small Church estates located in settlements that usually constituted parish seats. Their size being often no more than 2 serf voloks together with several homesteads, or a homestead group of several persons strong, while parish priests were indicated as the owners of the said. Though without serious doubt these parish homesteads safeguarded the daily food needs of the parish clergy, such settlements have not been treated as cases of mixed nobility-Church or equally royal-Church property relations but have been presented as either nobility or royal property and as such have been marked in the List. **Table 1** presents all cases of this type noted in the taxation registers.

Even more confusion is aroused than is the case with Church property by an attempt at determining the participation of town property within the structure of land property for the Podlasie Voivodeship. This is the result of the fact that it follows in differentiating this property ownership to utilise a source content employing notions such as ‘town village’ ‘suburbs’ and also the concept of a ‘town hamlet,’ as well as basing oneself on the indicators found in the sources that point to a given settlement’s legal status and those individuals possessing cultivated land within it.

From amongst the overall number of 1,675 settlements that appear in the sources for Podlasie for the period up until the end of the sixteenth century, the most numerous are nobility held properties, these numbering 1,342 settlements (80.1%, including 10 towns), with royal properties representing 242 settlements (14.4%, including 13 towns), while Church holdings are 25 settlements (1.5%). In relation to 33 settlements (2%) there appears in the sources the designation ‘town village,’ ‘suburb’ or ‘town hamlet’. Only a few settlements were classified as being of mixed ownership: two settlements were included in royal-Church mixed property holdings (0.12%), three were deemed to be nobility-Church holdings (0.18%), while 28 settlements came under the division of mixed royal-nobility property (1.7%).

With regard to the participation of nobility held properties within the overall structure of land holding itself, and here taking its share in relation to the overall number of settlements, the Podlasie Voivodeship did not noticeably differ from that of neighbouring Mazovia, where the settlements designated to be nobility holdings was 84.5% of the locations listed.<sup>1</sup> However, there was a difference both with regard to Mazovia as equally to other regions of the Kingdom of Poland, in relation to the share of royal property holdings – here being relatively large, as equally those held by the Church – noticeably

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<sup>1</sup> W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7.

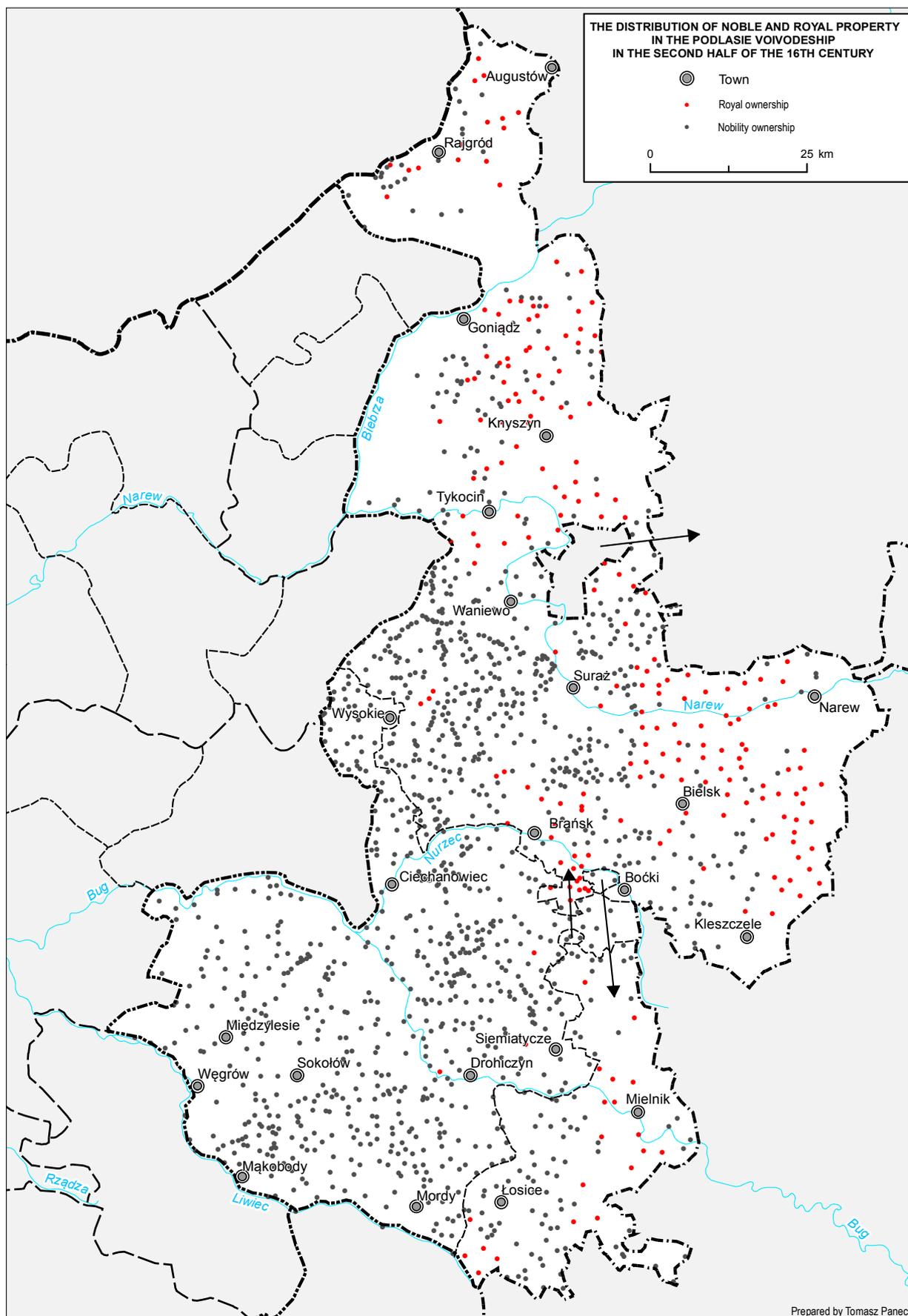
**Table 1. The possessions of Catholic parishes in the Podlasie Voivodeship as entered into tax registers for the years 1578-1580, not accounted in the process of property type designation**

Parish	Number of voloks	Number of homesteads
Białystok	2 serf voloks	
Ciechanów	1 serf volok	2
Dołobów	1 serf volok	1
Dziatków and Granne	2 land voloks	
Goniądz	3.5 serf voloks	
Jabłoń	1 serf volok	3
Jasionów	2 serf voloks	1
Knychówek	–	2
Kobylin	2 serf voloks	6
Kosów	0.5 serf volok	4
Perlejewo	1 serf volok	1
Płońsk	0.63 land volok	5
Rozbicko		4
Ruda	0.25 serf volok	8
Skibniew	–	2
Skrzeszew	2.5 serf voloks	
Suchożebry	–	6
Topczewo	–	4
Tykocin	3.5 serf voloks	1
Wińsko	0.5 serf volok	2

**Table 2. The property holding structure of Podlasie Voivodeship settlements in the second half of the sixteenth century**

type of ownership	Land			in total
	Bielsk	Drohiczyn	Mielnik	
nobility	606	638	98	1,342
royal	216	4	22	242
Church	11	7	7	25
royal-Church	2	–	–	2
nobility-Church	1	1	1	3
royal-nobility	26	1	1	28
'town villages'	33	–	–	33
<b>In total</b>	<b>895</b>	<b>651</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>1,675</b>

scant in comparison to other regions. When viewed from the perspective of districts (*powiats*) visible is a hugely marked disproportion across the particular regions of the voivodeship. The Bielsk and Mielnik lands are characterised by a very large share of royal property holdings (respectively 24.2% and 17% of settlements), while the Drohiczyn land are completely dominated by nobility property (98%) (see **Table 2**). However, if one were to examine the expanse of the Podlasie Voivodeship not in a division into particular lands, but as a whole, one can clearly see a marked division into two zones. One is formed by the eastern and northern part of the voivodeship and this is dominated by royal property holdings, while to the west and south nobility holdings dominate (see **Map 1**).



**Map 1. The distribution of noble and royal property in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the 16th century**

## Royal property holdings

Sixteen organisational units entered into the composition of monarchical properties in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century. Eleven of these were starosty districts, often referred to by the term *włość* – ‘estate/ manor’: Augustów, Bielsk, Brańsk, Drohiczyn, Goniądz, Knyszyn, Łosice, Mielnik, Rajgród, Suraż and Tykocin; four as forestry: Bielsk, Knyszyn, Goniądz and Tykocin; as well as three leased: Kleszczele, Krzywe and Narew. These incorporated, as has been already mentioned, 14.4% of all the settlements in the voivodeship. On the level of acreage this share was even greater for it was to cover in the second half of the sixteenth century 7,998.50 voloks of land cultivated by serfs and town residents, which constituted 42% of the voivodeship’s cultivated land (in the Bielsk land a sizeable 61%) traceable in the taxation registers, inspections and inventories (see **Table 3**). The reason for such a high share of royal property in the overall structure of land property ownership for the voivodeship was the conscious and long-term policy of Sigismund I the Elder, and first and foremost that of his wife Bona Sforza: a policy continued subsequently by their son, Sigismund August. The aim of the monarchs was to create an extensive complex of properties on the border of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania being the private property of the ruling family. This was an element in a broad series of undertakings aimed at restoring the ducal economic domain in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was initiated with the bestowing on Bona of the dukedoms of Pińsk and Kobryń as well as the lands at Sielec in 1521. These undertakings were supported in 1528 by an act of the Lithuanian *sejm* (diet) validating the life privileges bestowed on the grand ducal lands, through the simultaneous ratification of the extraordinary tax, the so-called ‘silver’ tax with the aim of buying out those pledged for the needs of defending royal properties and lands.<sup>2</sup> The beginnings of constructing a complex of Podlasie lands was the bestowing on Bona in perpetual usufruct in 1524 of a swathe of forest stretching from the River Niemen to the River Narew, while subsequently in 1528 the lands of Dołubowo in Podlasie.<sup>3</sup> In 1533 from the hand of hetman Jerzy Radziwiłł the Grodno estates were purchased, while Bona bought from Olbracht Gasztołd the Bielsk land together with the towns of Bielsk, Suraż, Brańsk and Kleszczele. Commenced was the process of the monarch’s regaining the huge tracts of land that at the beginning of the sixteenth century as a result of loans, pledges and endowments had passed into the hands of Lithuanian magnates. Of the greatest significance for the reconstruction of the monarchical estates in Podlasie was the obtaining of the Goniądz and Rajgród properties, which had been in the hands of the Radziwiłł family since 1494. Initially, for the years 1494–1505, they had been administered by Mikołaj Radziwiłł in his capacity as Grand Ducal governor. In 1505 it had been bequeathed to Prince Michał Gliński as a hereditary property, and following his escape to Moscow in 1509 Mikołaj Radziwiłł was to again take possession though here as a hereditary property. Mikołaj undertook the successive expansion of his estate through incorporating into it the estates and manors of minor nobility obtained by various means, through a policy of intensive internal colonisation as well as the illegal settlement of the adjoining Grand Ducal forests.<sup>4</sup> It follows to consider the moment of the death of the Wilno voivode Mikołaj Radziwiłł in 1522 as the beginning the Radziwiłł family’s problems, culminating in the total loss of the Goniądz and Rajgród estates along with the feud with Olbracht Gasztołd that had preceded this. As a result of this border feud between

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<sup>2</sup> М. Довнар-Запольский, *Государственное хозяйство великого княжества Литовского при Ягеллонах*, vol. 1, Киев 1901, pp. 729–736.

<sup>3</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie sejneńskim od XV do końca XIX wieku*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów ziemi sejneńskiej*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1963, p. 67. The process of the taking over of particular estates across the territory of Podlasie has been thoroughly described in detail by J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony w planach króla Zygmunta Augusta. Z historii dziejów realizacji myśli monarszej między Niemnem a Narwią*, Białystok 2000. There one can find earlier literature dealing with the process of transforming the monarchic estate complexes in northern Podlasie.

<sup>4</sup> For the scope of this illegal colonisation act of the grand ducal forests that was in progress in 1536 and estimated at 1000 voloks; see A. Kołodziejczyk, *Z dziejów kolonizacji puszczy na Podlasiu w XV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XIV do XVI wieku. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Antoniemu Czacharowskiemu w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 49–50. In relation to the act of internal colonisation for the Goniądz-Rajgród estates within the context of the colonisation of the forests of the Mazovian-Lithuanian border see eadem, *Kompleksy leśne na pograniczu mazowiecko-krzyżacko-litewskim od XV do połowy XVI w.: lasy włości rajgrodzkiej i goniądzkiej*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, 2006, no. 2, pp. 195–208.

the Radziwiłł Waniewo holdings and the Tykocin estates of the Gasztołd family, the Radziwiłł minions burnt down the Gasztołd castle at Tykocin. The accusations made by the Gasztołd family against the Radziwiłł family in the presence of Sigismund I the Elder were accompanied by accusations by the Goniądz nobility of power abuses by the Radziwiłł family, including settlement expansion onto grand ducal lands. The Radziwiłł family, fearing the negative consequences of this conflict for their line, concluded agreement with the Gasztołds allowing them access to these disputed territories. In attempting to counter the plans of Sigismund I the Elder and Bona on the matter of verification of the borders of the Goniądz-Rajgród estate and to mitigate the situation, following its division amongst the heirs of the voivode (provincial governor) Mikołaj, one of his sons – Mikołaj Radziwiłł, bishop of Samogitia – bestowed on the minor Sigismund August in 1528 his part of the inheritance (the Knyszyn estate) as a private property. This bestowal did not, however, curb the activities of the royal couple, though it did constitute the first step in the construction of a private royal domain in Podlasie. In 1536, as a result of a court case, enacted was the demarcation between the Goniądz-Rajgród estates of the Radziwiłł family and the Grand Ducal forests.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence the Radziwiłł family was forced to give Bona a swathe of land 70 km in length and of a width from 12 to 21 kilometres on which several villages were situated.<sup>6</sup> The subsequent stage was the taking in 1542, on the basis of escheat following the death of the heirless Stanisław Gasztołd, of the estate at Tykocin, which had been the property of the family since 1433 on the endowment of Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz. Goniądz and Rajgród were to finally fall to Sigismund August in the years 1569–1571 as his private holdings on the strength of bestowal on the part of the wife of the Vitebsk voivode Anna Kiszczyna née Radziwiłł, supported by the transfer of the estate at Sielce to the Radziwiłł family. This specific situation with regard to monarchical estates in Podlasie, ones functioning as the private property of the Jagiellonians, was to last until 1581, when Anna Jagiellonka renounced her rights to those properties belonging to her on the strength of inheritance from her mother and brother. In place of this Stefan Batory bestowed on Anna the starosty and tenancies of Bielsk, Tykocin, Rajgród and Augustów in the Podlasie Voivodeship as well as those at Łomża, Warsaw and Wizna in Mazovia. We have an almost equally large share of monarchical estates in the Bielsk land as we have across the territory of the Mielnik land. However, here they were not the private property of the monarchs, merely grand ducal estates going back to the mid fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup> These were concentrated in the central part of the Mielnik land on both sides of the River Bug and organised into two administrative complexes – the Mielnik starosty and the Łosice starosty (up until 1565 as leasehold), and covering in total two towns (Mielnik and Łosice) as well as 23 villages. In the Drohiczyn land, however, settlements that were royal property did not constitute any cohesive whole being scattered across its eastern part.

The construction of this complex of private monarchical estates in Podlasie was accompanied by the action of rationalising their organisation and increasing their profitability. This involved their administrative reorganisation and a fresh measuring of lands connected with enclosure and the obligatory implementation of the three field system (the Voloč Reform), and also an exact inventory of incomes. This undertaking was conducted across the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship chiefly in the years 1558–1562, traces of which are to be noted in the registers preserved from the Voloč Reform and their comparison with any eventual estates formerly inventoried.<sup>8</sup> Its origins go back to 1537 and the personage of Piotr Chwalczewski, a Bona courtier, whom she appointed the starost of Knyszyn.<sup>9</sup> The principles for its conduction were codified twice – once on the initiative of Bona in 1549 on the needs of her estate, and for a second time on Sigismund August's initiative in 1557.<sup>10</sup> The effect of bringing to life both of these acts was, besides the increase several times over in the incomes from

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<sup>5</sup> W. Pocięcha, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia*, vol. 3, Poznań 1958 pp. 43–46, 75–78. The effect of this demarcation was the compilation of the map preserved to this day, see: S. Alexandrowicz, *Mapy majątkowe północnego Podlasia z XVI wieku*, KHKM, vol. 14, 1966, no. 2, pp. 287–290.

<sup>6</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1967, pp. 99–100.

<sup>7</sup> D. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 80–83.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. K. Boroda, *Written sources*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition II.1.8.

<sup>9</sup> W. Pocięcha, *Królowa Bona*, vol. 3, p. 193.

<sup>10</sup> L. Kolankowski, *Pomiara włóczna*, „Ateneum Wileńskie”, vol. 4, 1927, no. 13, p. 238, in footnote 2 the whole text of the act of 1549.

these estates, also dramatic changes in the landscape and a change from the chequered pattern of cultivated fields, meadows and forests surrounding villages to a system of open fields divided into three leas with centrally located villages. A similar operation in rationalisation was conducted in relation to forestry. These were initiated in a similar way to the Volok Reform on the undertaking of Queen Bona, who was active in this area following her taking control of the Grodno Forest. On her order the Grodno steward Łukasz Hryńkiewicz Wołłowicz undertook the registration of entries into the forest (of the rights to make use of the forest resources), after which in 1538 all free entries to the Grodno Forest were abolished and its planned exploitation and settlement was started.<sup>11</sup> Direct governance over forest terrains was conducted by the foresters, woodsmen and beaver keepers subject to the starosts. We know for the first half of the sixteenth century of the following Podlasie foresters: Andrzej Łóżka (1509–1516, appearing equally as a Bielsk forester), Patiej Tyszkiewicz (1529–1542) and Iwan Lacki (1556–1563), the Bielsk forester Iwan Michajłowicz (1527), the Bielsk woodsmen Iwan Miśkiewicz (1523–1533) and Kostiuszka Federowicz (1537–1538), the Mielnik woodsmen Wasyl Kowalewicz (until 1532), Michno Szyszczyc (from 1532) and Stanisław Szkopowski (from 1559), as well as the Podlasie beaver keeper Paweł Skirmin (1513–1514).<sup>12</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century Knyszyn, Goniądz and Tykocin foresters also appeared.<sup>13</sup>

## Nobility property ownership

The nobility property ownership for the Podlasie Voivodeship is characterised by three types. Firstly, the high participation of serfless gentry. For the overall figure of 1,675 settlements (incorporating here also towns and mill hamlets), 763 were inhabited exclusively by serfless gentry, while in a subsequent 80 their estates were mixed in with the estates of nobelty possessing serfs, and sporadically with royal property. Hence this type of settlement was present in 843 places in the voivodeship. A precise evaluation of the social-ownership situation of the serfless gentry amongst the overall number of nobelty holdings in the voivodeship is, however, impossible to achieve. The widespread practice of collectively paying taxes, often conducted together by all the owners of estates in a given place, makes it impossible for one to carry out a reconstruction of the number of nobelty homesteads amongst the minor nobility, and here not only the serfless but also those in possession of peasants. However, it is possible to analyse the spatial location across the voivodeship of places inhabited by serfless gentry, as well as the proportion of fees of their own nobelty cultivation (noble lan) in relation to fields (lan) cultivated by peasants (serf lans). The settlements of serfless gentry compactly fill the areas of the sixteenth century land of Drohiczyn, the south-west part of the Bielsk land more or less up to the town of Bielsk itself as well as a part of the Mielnik land (see map *ibidem*). This area fundamentally corresponds to the scope of the historical Drohiczyn land in the fifteenth century, pointing to a close connection between nobelty settlement of this form and the activities of Lithuanian rulers in the fifteenth century.<sup>14</sup> In relation to the proportion of fields cultivated by the nobelty themselves when compared to peasant-cultivated fields then the Drohiczyn land are extremely similar to the neighbouring territories of Mazovia. In the case of the Drohiczyn land and here within its sixteenth-century borders, the fields of serfless peasants constituted 58.1% of all taxed voloks (both serf and serfless combined), while in the neighbouring territories of Mazovia the share of serfless lans in the overall number of cultivated land taxed was from 53 to 68.5%.<sup>15</sup> The presence within Podlasie of noble holdings of this type (and in general of noble holdings *per se*) should be tied into the broad act of settlement initiated at the end of the fourteenth century by the Mazovian Duke Janusz the Elder. He settled the minor nobility

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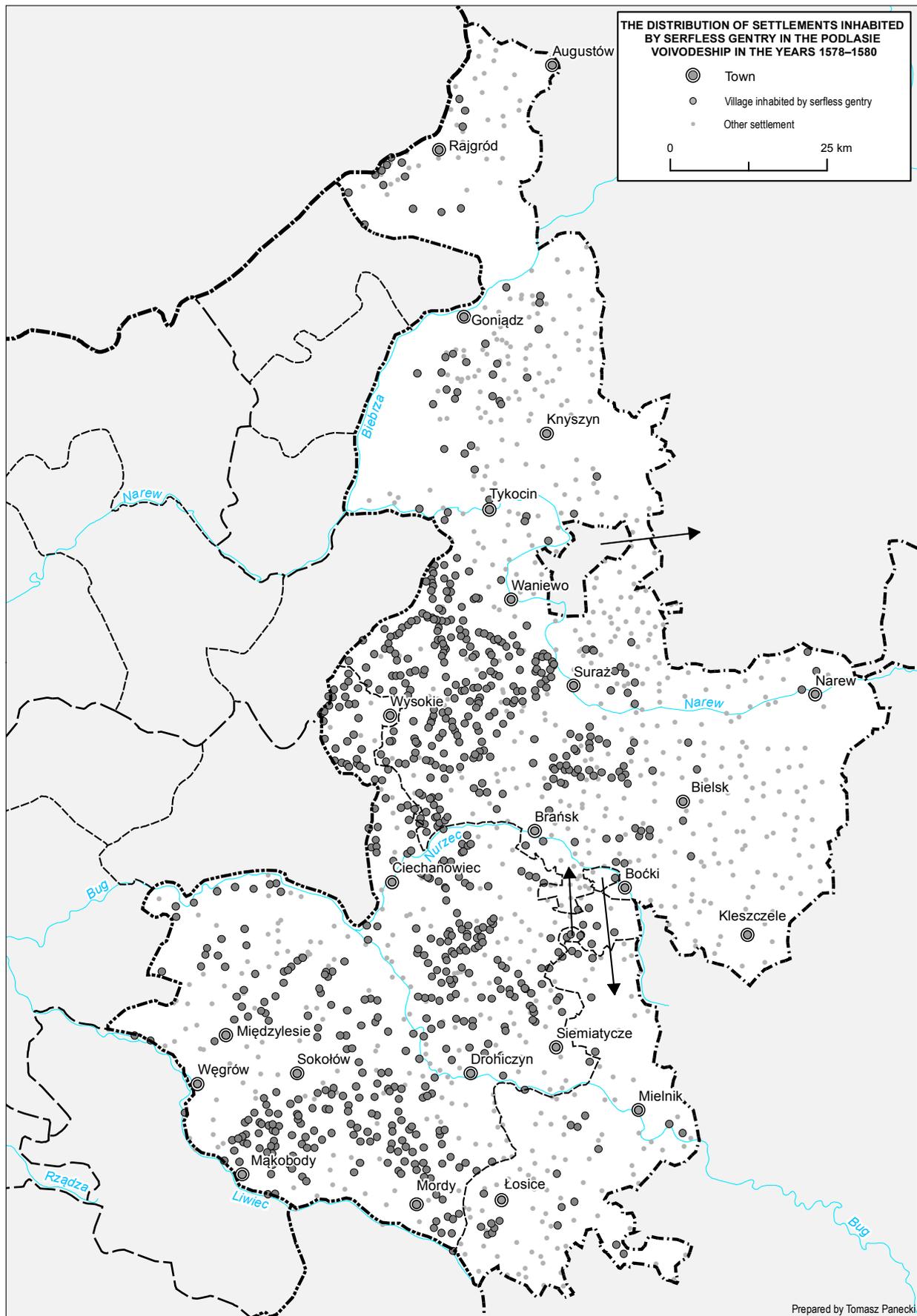
<sup>11</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie sejneńskim*, p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> *Urządnicy podlascy*, p. 254; AGAD, *Metryka Litewska* 39, f. 132; *idem*, 41, f. 355.

<sup>13</sup> J. Śliwiński, *Grodzieńszczyzna i Podlasie w XV-XVI wieku w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim: (wielkksiążęce puszcze i włości, eksploatacja, pożary)*, Olsztyn 2010, p. 151.

<sup>14</sup> See on the subject of the extent of the boundaries of the Drohiczyn land: T. Jaszczółt, *Szlachta ziemi drohickiej w XV i początkach XVI wieku. Zagadnienia społeczne, gospodarcze i genealogiczne*, Białystok 2009, pp. 32–37 (PhD thesis, Library of the University of Białystok's Faculty of History and Political Sciences, sign. D-48).

<sup>15</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, p. 794.



**Map 2. The distribution of settlements inhabited by serfless gentry in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the years 1578–1580**

on the depopulated territories of the north-east border region of his Mazovian domain, as well as on the area of the Drohiczyń land under his authority for the years 1390–1405.<sup>16</sup> These were to a large degree relatively small endowments (10–20 voloks of land), the main aim of which being to enlarge military potential.<sup>17</sup> The boyars settled by the grand Lithuanian dukes in the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century also played their part in this process, appearing in the taxation returns for the sixteenth century as paying taxation in a manner fitting for serfless gentry, as in the example of the inhabitants of the village Czokołdy in the northern part of the voivodeship, and also at Hryniewiczze Wielkie, Hwoźna and Ancuty lying to the east of Bielsk. Following the return of the Drohiczyń land to within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, all the endowments performed by Duke Janusz were more than likely repeated by Witold, who conducted a policy of settling the minor knight class arriving from the Polish Kingdom no less intensely than had Duke Janusz the Elder.<sup>18</sup> This type of endowment aimed at enhancing military resources was not merely the practice of monarchs but also was conducted by magnates, like, for instance, the Radziwiłł and Gasztold families during the course of the reclaim and development of their estates in Podlasie.<sup>19</sup>

The second characteristic feature was the strong position enjoyed by large holdings. Two criteria have been adopted for the needs of the present commentary, on the basis of which individual estates were qualified as being large scale holdings. One was the number of taxed voloks cultivated by rural and urban populations, in number at least 40. As with every distinction of this type, the criterion is relative in character. Depending on market realities and the model of economic activity adopted such the acreage under cultivation in relation to the dependent population may result in an most diverse level of income for the estate's owner. However, taking into account potential of labour power giving the possibility to create about 10 average farmsteads (*folwarks*), as well as the level of geographical concentration of manor properties, which forced not individual administration but the engagement of hired help, the size seems to justify recognition of these as the boundaries of large noble holdings.<sup>20</sup> The second criterion enabling one to view a given manor to be a large property holding – taking into consideration the possession of a taxed acreage of less than 40 voloks – was affiliation to the magnate elite of the Jagiellonian monarchy, resulting from offices held or court functions performed.

Employing the above criteria and basing oneself on the data contained in the taxation registers for the years 1576–1588, the total acreage taxed by representatives of large noble holdings on the scale of the voivodeship as a whole may be evaluated at 2,919.25 voloks, which transfers into 15.4% of the overall cultivated acreage accessible in the sources (see **Table 3**). This percentage may seem to be too high, but if we were to examine this group of noble property owners within the circle of noble holdings alone then it would increase to 27.3%. While, in the case of limiting matters to those voloks that were lands under serf cultivation, we obtain a share of already 72.7%. If we compare this data with that from other parts of the Kingdom of Poland, the Podlasie Voivodeship turns out to be a region with an exceptionally high share of large noble holdings within the circle of holdings belonging to the nobility. For even in the exceptionally well explored case of large scale nobelty holdings in the Cracow Voivodeship, estates comprising more than 40 lan under the cultivation of a dependent populace they represented only 28% of the acreage taxed by the nobility.<sup>21</sup> This unusually high level of large property

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<sup>16</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-rusko-litewskim od końca XIV do połowy XVII w.*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, pp. 115–135; idem, *Osadnictwo wschodniej Białostoczczyzny. Geneza, rozwój oraz zróżnicowanie i przemiany etniczne*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 11, 1977, pp. 7–80; M. Butkiewicz, *Dobra szlacheckie w powiecie tykocińskim*, Lublin 1998, pp. 61–62; T. Jaszczółt, *Szlachta ziemi drohickej*, pp. 21–31; D. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 53–58. In the above mentioned works the bibliographies also contain older publications of which mention may be made of: Z. Gloger, *Dawna ziemia bielska i jej cząstkowa szlachta*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, vol. 3, 1873, pp. 243–256; idem, *Kilka wiadomości o szlachcie zagonowej mazowieckiej i podlaskiej*, „Niwa”, vol. 14, 1878, pp. 489–503.

<sup>17</sup> On the subject of the colonisation policy pursued by the Mazovian authorities see: S. Russocki, *Nadania ziemi „ad servitia communia” a obowiązek służby wojskowej na Mazowszu w XV wieku*, [in:] *Miscellanea iuridica złożone w darze Karolowi Koranyiemu w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, Warsaw 1961, pp. 112–119.

<sup>18</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Szlachta ziemi drohickej*, pp. 111–146.

<sup>19</sup> M. Butkiewicz, *Dobra szlacheckie*, p. 62; I. T. Baranowski, *Sprawa szlachty poddańczej w starostwie Tykocińskim. Z powodu artykułu ks. Zygmunta Dunin-Kozickiego*, PH, vol. 13, 1911, no. 2, pp. 248–254.

<sup>20</sup> For more on the question of the justification for adopting property of this magnitude as the boundary for considering property ownership large scale see: K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza*, pp. 150–156.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, pp. 156–159.

holdings across Podlasie in the sixteenth century has been noted for a long time by researchers, though not necessarily quantified.<sup>22</sup> Basing oneself on the criteria indicated and the information contained in the registers for the years 1576-1580 one may include 19 estates within the category of large-scale holdings on the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship. (see Table 4). Amongst these two – that of the Podlasie voivode Mikołaj Kiszka and the Duke of Słuck Jerzy Olelkowicz – had imposing dimensions being, respectively, 568.75 and 488.25 voloks under serf cultivation. Subsequent individuals, though here significantly smaller in acreage, but yet still holding very large estates within the scale of the Polish Kingdom (ones exceeding 100 voloks), were the Samogitia starost Jan Kiszka (331 voloks), the Nowogródek voivode Paweł Sapieha (268.5 voloks), the grand Lithuanian marshal Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (173 voloks), Jerzy Kurzeniecki (157 voloks), the Mazovian voivode Stanisław Kryski (131 voloks), and also Kacper Dembieński (110.5 voloks).

**Table 3. The structure of land ownership on properties with serf and own cultivation of serfless gentry (in voloks i.e., 1 volok = 16.8 hectares) in the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century<sup>23</sup>**

Property ownership	Land			In total
	Bielsk	Drohiczyn	Mielnik	
royal (including 'town voloks')	6,816.50	204.00	978.00	7,998.50
Church	61.75	91.25	61.00	214.00
large noble properties	1,018.00	1,610.75	290.50	2,919.25
medium sized noble properties	173.25	155.00	216.50	544.75
small noble properties	226.25	201.75	123.00	551.00
serfless gentry	2,900.10	3,389.80	403.30	6,693.20
In total	11,195.85	5,652.55	2,072.30	18,920.70

**Table 4. Large noble properties in the Podlasie Voivodeship around the years 1578–1580**

Individual	acreage	lands in which the estate was located.
Mikołaj Kiszka, Podlasie voivode	568.75	Drohiczyn, Mielnik
Jerzy Olelkowicz, Duke of Słuck	488.25	Bielsk, Drohiczyn
Jan Kiszka, Samogitia starost	331.00	Drohiczyn, Mielnik
Paweł Sapieha, Nowogrodek voivode	268.50	Bielsk
Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Grand marshal of Lithuania	173.00	Drohiczyn
Jerzy Kurzeniecki, son of the Pińsk starost	157.00	Bielsk
Stanisław Kryski, Mazovia voivode	131.00	Drohiczyn
Kacper Dembieński	110.50	Mielnik
Paweł Ciecierski	92.50	Drohiczyn

<sup>22</sup> From amongst the most often used remaining publications, A. Jabłonowski has established a list of Lithuanian and Polish magnate families holding estates in the Podlasie Voivodeship, *Podlasie II*, pp. 237–252. For example, on these findings J. Ochmański has based his analyses, *Struktura feudalnej własności ziemskiej na Podlasiu w XVI w.*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, 1, 1964, pp. 157–163. One may note amongst the more recent publications, where there is analysis worthy of the name and here into large scale estate holding, the following: T. Jaszczółt, *Szlachta ziemi drohickiej*; D. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*. From amongst the representatives of large estate holdings in Podlasie, we only have materials for the estates of the Radziwiłł family and this presented in the works: I. T. Baranowski, *Z dziejów feudalizmu na Podlasiu: Rajgrodzko-Goniądzkie „państwo” Radziwiłłów w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, PH, vol. 4, 1907, no. 1, pp. 62–74, no. 2, pp. 158–169; M. Malczewska, *Latyfundium Radziwiłłów w XV do połowy XVI wieku*, Warsaw–Poznań 1985.

<sup>23</sup> For Church and nobelty property data from the tax registers for the years 1578–1580. For royal holdings from the inventories, registers of the Volok Reform and inspections conducted in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Individual	acreage	lands in which the estate was located.
Jan Kosiński, the Drohiczyn land scribe	85.00	Drohiczyn
Zofia née Wrzelowski Słupecka, wife of the Lublin castellan	78.00	Drohiczyn
Jadwiga Niemierzyna	75.00	Mielnik
Piotr Wiesiołowski	74.00	Bielsk
Hanna Lewicka, wife of the Bielsk land judge	66.00	Bielsk
Mikołaj Włoszek, Podlasie cup-bearer	62.50	Bielsk
Benigna Raczkówna Dziatkowska	58.75	Bielsk
Adam Harynek	49.00	Drohiczyn
Michał Sapieha	32.00	Bielsk
Józef Wołowicz, son of the Smoleńsk voivode	20.25	Bielsk

The period of the end of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century should be viewed as the beginning of the process of forming these large noble holdings in Podlasie; with the same applying to small nobelty holdings. For besides the endowment for minor knighthood, the Mazovian Duke Janusz the Elder, as equally those who were subsequently to rule Podlasie, Witold, Świdrygiełło, Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz and Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, practiced also the bestowing of ducal estates on their courtiers and political allies. We do not possess any direct endowment documents from the time when rule over the Drohiczyn land lay with Janusza the Elder, for upon taking the territories Witold deemed all documents issues by Duke Janusz to be illegal and these were subsequently replaced by new ones issued by Witold. An example of such practice is the endowment of the villages Korczew and Szczeglacin in 1416 by Witold to Pretor of Brześć.<sup>24</sup> In turn, an example of endowments from the times of Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz are the endowments for Mikołaj Nasuty of Międzyrzec performed in 1434 of villages in the Drohiczyn land: Krzemień, Pełch, Osnówka, Czartajewice and Niemojki, as well as for Pretor of Korczew also in the Drohiczyn land: Rudki, Czarnej with surrounding villages (not mentioned in name), Czołomyj, Głuchowa, Mord and Pruszyzna.<sup>25</sup> Equally, under the reign of Sigismund Kęstutaitis, the Gasztołd family received estates in Tykocin.<sup>26</sup> In turn under the rule of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk we have in our possession a series of endowment confirmations: for Michał Kmita Sudymontowicz: the Siemiatycze estates, the possessions at Mokobody and Wyszaków for Michał Goliginowicz for life (in 1486 it was endowed to Iwazka Litawor Chreptowicz, royal vice-treasurer), the Grochów properties for Piotr Strumiłło (the progenitor of the Kiszka family), or equally the endowment for Jan Niemirowicz Bacik, of Ceranów and probably Śledzianów.<sup>27</sup> Part of the endowed estates came from properties confiscated from previous owners, though a part had been hitherto royal manors and estates. Fifteenth-century endowments most certainly created a group of wealthy nobility across the territory of Podlasie, however the proliferation of estates to the sizes registered at the end of the sixteenth century was first and foremost the effect of endowments made during the reign of Aleksander Jagiellończyk and Sigismund I the Elder. The Niemira family may serve as an example; Mikołaj Niemira Hrymalicz in 1503 received from Aleksander Jagiellończyk, Gnojno in the Mielnik district, while in 1512 from Sigismund I the Elder. A part of these endowments concerned individuals who as a result of the wars waged against the Grand Duchy of Muscovy were to lose their estates on the eastern borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. An example here may be served by the Sapieha family. In 1508 as a reward for service and as recompensation for the estate losses incurred in the Smoleńsk region Iwan Semenowicz Sapieha received the Lisowski estate in the Drohiczyn land and Boćki in the Bielsk land, which were to become the basis for the family's fortunes

<sup>24</sup> S. Szybkowski, *Dokument księcia mazowieckiego Janusza I dla Pretora z Brześcia z 9 VI 1401 roku*, [in:] *Komturzy, rajcy, żupani*. ed. B. Śliwiński, Malbork 2005 (Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza, vol. 11), pp. 499–500; A Kasperowicz, *Nadania Wielkiego Księcia Witolda dla rycerstwa na Podlasiu*, [in:] *Między Polską a Rusią*, ed. M. Starnawska, Siedlce 2004, p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Szlachta ziemi drohickiej*, pp. 148–151.

<sup>26</sup> Podlasie II, pp. 244–245.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, pp. 169–185.

in Podlasie.<sup>28</sup> Sometimes the property career of a family was connected with the indirect bestowing of royal gifts, as was the case with the Kurzeniecki family. For their estate covering 157 voloks at the end of the sixteenth century, was connected with the existence at the beginning of the sixteenth century of the enormous Goniądz Rajgród properties of the Radziwiłł family. These properties, given to Mikołaj Radziwiłł in 1509 following their confiscation from Michał Gliński, were administered by the Radziwiłł family through estate stewards. One of these stewards for Mikołaj Radziwiłł was Iwachno Michajłowicz Kurzeniecki, to whom the said Mikołaj Radziwiłł gave the village of Przytulanka in 1510 and in 1519 the Kalinów vogtship, while for the years 1520-1522 the Knyszyn vogtship. The subsequent route for the Kurzeniecki family to join the ranks of great Podlasie landowners was to lead through their service at the court of Queen Bona, where Iwan became her secretary and administrator of the starostys of Pińsk, Kleck, Horodenka and Rohaczów, and later through court service for Sigismund August. The effect of this was the bestowment by the monarch in 1546 of one of the forestry blocks in the Knyszyn royal forest, where the main seat of the family was founded at Jasionówka.<sup>29</sup> In turn, the estate of Mikołaj Włoszek, who paid in 1579 tax on 62.50 of settled voloks, constitutes a case of someone who accumulated sizeable properties thanks to his career at court. For Mikołaj's father, Stanisław, was initially a courtier and lecturer for Sigismund August, subsequently the royal forester, court vice-treasurer and the Knyszyn stasrost. He received for life in 1547, and from 1549 heritably, the properties at Juchnowiec, for the years 1558–1559 holdings at Mionki, Ciekuny and Lubejki, and in 1560 a mill on the River Turośń.<sup>30</sup>

Large scale land holdings exhibited notable 'mobility', often passing from one family to another as a result of marriages concluded, an example was being the properties of such families as the Wiesiołowski, Kryski, Dembiński or the Słupecki family. The Wiesiołowski family entered into Podlasie property holding through a marriage concluded in 1547 by Piotr Wiesiołowski of the royal superintendent with Katarzyna Wołłowiczówna, the Kryski family emerged because of the marriage of Stanisław Kryski, the Mazovian voivode, to Katarzyna Kosińska, the daughter of the Podlasie castellan Adam and Mikołaj Wodyński's widow.<sup>31</sup> In turn, Kacper Dembiński, holding property in the Mielnik land that according to the register of 1580 included Witulin, Osówkę and Nosowo, was a courtier of Sigismund August and the son of Walenty Dembiński, the crown vice-treasurer (1561–1564) and the grand royal chancellor (1564–1576). He was to come into possession of these properties as a result of his marriage to Maryna Kopciówna.<sup>32</sup> Also the land acquired by the Lublin castellan's wife Słupecka ended up in the hands of this family and here from the Litawor-Chreptowicz family as a result of marriage.<sup>33</sup>

The broadly understood notion of an average property – and which for the purpose of this analysis has incorporated properties ranging from 10 to 40 voloks under the cultivation of a dependent populace, and thus in practice estates of not merely the middle nobelty but equally of the well off too – are most scantily represented. On the scale of the entire voivodeship the acreage taxed for this group constituted 13.5% serf voloks in nobelty possession. While at the same time for the Cracow Voivodeship this figure was over 39%, in Łęczyca in 1580 31.5%, while in the Płock Voivodeship in 1578 the figure was 26%, which most clearly shows the scale of estate polarisation within Podlasie nobelty possessions at this time.<sup>34</sup> For on the one hand, we have a small group of large-scale landowners who held around three quarters of the serf acreage that was in the possession of the nobelty, and on the other hand the overwhelming number of the minor nobelty were not in possession of serfs, and were subdivided in a way that made them more impoverished than was the case in other regions with regard to the average

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<sup>28</sup> Z. Romaniuk, *Boćki na Podlasiu. Monografia historyczna*, Boćki 2013, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> J. Maroszek, A. Studniarek, *Dzieje obszaru gminy Jasionówka*, Białystok 2009, pp. 5–20.

<sup>30</sup> J. Maroszek, *Pięć wieków Ziemi Juchnowieckiej*, Juchnowiec Kościelny 2013, pp. 239–242.

<sup>31</sup> T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, ed. J. Antoniewicz, J. Joka, Białystok 1968, pp. 117–119. Equally in this case the basis of his career, which was crowned by the marriage to Katarzyna Wołłowiczówna, was court service for Sigismund I the Elder and Sigismund August.

<sup>32</sup> A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu w XV i XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1951, p. 54; D. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 38–49. In the Mielnik register for the year 1580 there only figure a part of the settlements that constituted his property. A large part of the holdings were located in a part of the Brześć land, which only in the seventeenth century were added to the Mielnik land.

<sup>33</sup> Podlasie II, pp. 137–138.

<sup>34</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza*, pp. 159, 174, 190.

property size held. The distribution of estates of the average size was equally far from even here. The numbers able to maintain estates in absolute figures is almost identical for each of the three lands: in Bielsk – nine, in Drohiczyn – eight and in Mielnik – nine (see **Table 5**). However, their participation in the acreage of serf voloks differs drastically. For we may state in the case of the Drohiczyn land that the average nobelty property did not play any significant role in the local social nobelty structure, having at its disposal a mere 7.9% of the serf-tilled acreage. In the Bielsk land the share of an average property in the taxed acreage is close to the average for the voivodeship as a whole, being 12.1%. While for the Mielnik land the level of the average property share is closer to the average as noted for the Voivodeships of Cracow and Łęczycza – 34.4%. The representatives of average property holdings, owning estates within the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship at the end of the sixteenth century and in part coming from the ranks of the local Podlasie nobelty, appear to have been strongly associated with the circle of Sigismund August's royal couriers. This concerns the families of the Hińcz, Hanna Grajewska (her father had been a courtier), Jarosz, Olbracht and the Oktawian Irzykowicz family (their father Jan Irzykowicz had been a courtier), Iwan Karp (in 1548 he had been Bona's page), or also that of Maciej Strubicz (Sigismund August's cartographer).<sup>35</sup> Besides the courtiers and their descendants we can also come across in this group the beneficiaries for services rendered in royal service as well as by way of recompensation for properties lost during the course of wars waged with the Grand Duchy of Muscovy at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here as an example may serve the Hornowo estate given to the Suchodolski family in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, or also a part of the estate of Arnold Hlebowicz, whose father Mikołaj Hlebowicz was the son of Stanisław Hlebowicz, who died in 1513 and was the Płock voivode.<sup>36</sup>

**Table 5. Average nobelty property holdings in the Podlasie Voivodeship around 1578–1580**

Individual	Number of serf voloks	Land on which the estate was located
Sebastian Suchodolski, Podlasie referendary	37.50	Drohiczyn
Katarzyna Niemierzanka Hrehorowa Baczina	36.50	Mielnik
Jan Hesman (Jesman)	36.00	Bielsk
Jarosz (Hieronim) Niemira	34.50	Mielnik
Krzysztof Orzeszko	34.25	Mielnik
Michał Kaleczycki	30.50	Bielsk
Maciej Strubicz	28.25	Bielsk
Hinczowie	26.00	Drohiczyn
Arnold Hlebowicz, the Drohiczyn ensign holder	21.00	Drohiczyn
Mikołaj Niemira	21.00	Mielnik
Andrzej Bobrownicki, the Kowno commander	18.50	Drohiczyn
Marcin Wąż, sub-judge ( <i>podśędek</i> )	17.00	Drohiczyn
Katarzyna of Lubania Raczków	16.00	Mielnik
Mikołaj Pęski	15.75	Bielsk
Hanna Grajewska, a wife of Ciechanów land pantler ( <i>stolnik</i> )	14.50	Bielsk
Oktawian Irzykowicz	14.25	Mielnik
Stanisław Krupicki	14.00	Drohiczyn
Bartosz Suchodolski	13.50	Mielnik
Iwan Karp	13.25	Bielsk

<sup>35</sup> D. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 29, 91, 93, 107.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 111.

Individual	Number of serf voloks	Land on which the estate was located
Jarosz Irzykowicz	12.75	Mielnik
Jan Łoknicki, the Bielsk commander	12.50	Bielsk
Olbracht Irzykowicz	12.50	Mielnik
Adam Piotrowski	12.00	Bielsk
Anna Sieklucka	11.00	Drohiczyn
Paweł Reszka	10.50	Bielsk
Apolinary Gałązka	10.00	Drohiczyn

Finally, and here procured for the needs of this commentary, is the group of nobelty landowners with serfs, these being landowners with estates up to 10 serf voloks. This covers the minor (petty) nobelty (up to 5 voloks) and the bridging group from minor to middle (5–10 voloks), and so holding one, possibly two, average-sized folwark. Their participation in the taxed acreage as a whole in relation to serf voloks being 14.1%. In the overwhelming majority of cases we are dealing with extremely small scale landowners, although amongst this grouping there are to be found a few cases of wealthy individuals, with their inclusion amongst smallholders – on the basis of the acreage proclaimed for taxation – turning out to be groundless. An example of the said, for the Bielsk land, is Łukasz Górnicki. As the Tykocin and Wasilków starost, the Wasilków wojt, and the predendary of the Wielick and Kęcki parishes and of the Kruszwick canonry in 1580, he was a man more than just wealthy.<sup>37</sup> While in the tax registers for the Podlasie Voivodeship he appears as the owner of property qualifying him to the minor nobelty in terms of holdings – 2.5 serf voloks and 3 nobelty voloks leased at Tokowisko-Łopienie.<sup>38</sup> This case is obviously no indication of the widespread nature of such a state of affairs. He was rather an exception for there were few individuals nationwide of such a high material status, ones whose fortunes were based solely on the leasing of royal lands and the incomes derived from prebendaries. However, his case does illustrate one more phenomenon of an economic nature, having its implications in the sphere of property structure: the practice of leasing land from the serfless gentry on the part of the serf-owning nobelty, as equally the practice of running serfless folwarks. Instances of leasing land from the serfless gentry have been noted in relation to at least a few individuals and here the matter concerns as equally the middle nobelty as those managing large estates. Besides Łukasz Górnicki, equally Marcin Wąż (the Drohiczyn *podśędek* – deputy judge) declared for taxation purposes besides 17 voloks scattered across several locations, also had 5.5 nobelty voloks for his personal use, as well as announcing himself to be the joint holder (with a numerically unstated number of individuals) of another 16.6 nobelty voloks in several other places.<sup>39</sup> The Olelkowicz family, besides 488.25 voloks of land farmed by serfs and town burghers, also farmed 4.5 nobelty voloks in the Drohiczyn land and 7.5 nobelty voloks in the Bielsk land.<sup>40</sup> The Podlasie voivode Mikołaj Kiszka in the Drohiczyn land besides 568.75 voloks farmed by serfs and burghers being his subjects, had another 10 nobelty voloks under his possession.<sup>41</sup> While Jadwiga Niemierzyna besides 75 voloks farmed by serfs also paid tax on 1.5 nobelty voloks.<sup>42</sup> However, the largest group numerically was still representatives of the minor nobelty. There are noted in registers in the Bielsk land at least ten such cases, in the Drohiczyn land four, while in Mielnik two (**Table 6**). These are certainly not the only cases, for the earlier mentioned practice of the joint taxing of land owners makes it impossible to reconstruct fully the holdings of the serfless gentry and the minor nobelty in possession of serfs. Despite the absence of the relevant annotations in the registers, with all due certainty the matter here concerned leasing (or loan securing with leasing). In the case of outright ownership, then this type of land automatically would become

<sup>37</sup> P. Czyżewski, *Starostowie wasilkowscy w XVI-XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Małe miasta: elity*, ed. M. Zemlo, Supraśl 2005, p. 297.

<sup>38</sup> ASK I 47, f. 574.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 515v, 517, 520v, 558.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 87v, 559.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 512, 529.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 548v.

a folwark land holding and as such would not be subject to taxation. Generally, however, despite fairly spectacular cases of land use on the basis of nobelty rights by large property estates, the degree to which the lands of the serfless gentry was used by those with serfs was not widespread. Information contained in the registers for the years 1576–1580 confirm this practice for an acreage of 61.4 voloks, and so for a mere 2% of all the voloks cultivated on the basis of nobelty rights across the territory of the voivodeship.

**Table 6. The leasing of land on the basis of nobelty rights by the minor nobelty in possession of serfs**

Individual	Number of serf voloks	Number of nobelty voloks	Land	Source
Jan Skwarek son of Stanisław, the Bielsk chamberlain	1.25	2.53	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 580v
Adam Piotrowski	3.00	2.00	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 616v
Wojciech Sabinowski	0.50	1.00	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 616v
Zygmunt Sokołowski	1.00	0.25	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 600v
Łukasz Jasiewski	1.00	1.75	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 594v
Marcin Szymanowski	0.50	2.00	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 617v
Piotr Wojno Zagroba	1.00	1.33	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 581
Stanisław Jabłoński Rogaty	0.50	0.33	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 585
Stanisław Mieczkowski	1.00	1.50	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 617
Mateusz Hermanowski	1.50	2.50	Bielsk	ASK I 47, f. 631
Andrzej Wierzbicki	4.50	1.00	Drohiczyn	ASK I 47, f. 514
Lenart Kosiński	4.00	2.00	Drohiczyn	ASK I 47, f. 506-506v
Jarosz Jałbrzykowski	1.00	0.50	Drohiczyn	ASK I 47, f. 542v
Mikołaj Wierzbicki	0.50	2.20	Drohiczyn	ASK I 47, f. 528
Krzysztof Sarnacki	3.00	5.00	Mielnik	ASK I 47, f. 561v
Wawrzyniec Sarnacki	2.50	3.00	Mielnik	ASK I 47, f. 561v

## Church property holdings

The property holdings in the hands of Church institutions was to represent a marginal value within the Podlasie Voivodeship. On the basis of data derived from the taxation registers for the years 1576–1588 as well as the inspections for royal properties for the years 1570, 1576 and 1602, and here in conjunction with the preserved registers for volok measurement, it is possible to evaluate the acreage of land cultivated by those subject to the clergy at 214 voloks. These are almost exclusively properties belonging at the end of the sixteenth century to the Roman Catholic Church. More or less two thirds of the taxed acreage that constituted Church holdings was the estate of the Łuck bishopric. This was comprised of a compact demesne of properties in the Mielnik land encompassing: Bonin, Litewniki Stare, Walim and Raczki (in total 57 voloks according to the register of 1580), as well as demesne in the Drohiczyn land comprising Rudniki, Skrzyszew and Wasilewo (32 voloks in total). The remaining Church properties were in character the endowments of local Church institutions. With the exception of the small village of Klizówka (3 serf voloks) being the endowment of the Drohiczyn Franciscan monks, these were exclusively parish endowments. At the end of the sixteenth century, after the Łuck bishopric, those Church institutions of notable property – if one is to adopt as the criterion the taxing of serf voloks – were the Węgrów parish (which at the end of the sixteenth century was a Calvinist

community) possessing 20 voloks (10 in Węgrów and 10 at Szaruty)<sup>43</sup> as well as the Narew presbytery also with 20 voloks of land cultivated by serfs.<sup>44</sup> From amongst the more modest possessions it follows to mention: the Suraż parish – 16.75 voloks,<sup>45</sup> the Siematycze parish – 11 voloks,<sup>46</sup> the Drohiczyn parish – 10.5 voloks,<sup>47</sup> the Brańsk presbytery – 9 voloks,<sup>48</sup> the Rajgród presbytery – 7.5 voloks,<sup>49</sup> the Mordy presbytery – 6 voloks<sup>50</sup> and the Knyszyn presbytery – 5 voloks.<sup>51</sup> The remaining properties that appear in the relevant taxation registers were in possession of reduced acreages and here serf farmed, or showed up merely as the properties of minor nobelty, here as a rule in places that were parish seats. These cases show either the extremely small areas covered by these parish folwarks or that they functioned as a result of hired labour.

## Town property

Work on hitherto AHP volumes has employed the principle – one never actually clearly stated in the commentaries – that as town properties considered were those settlements where in the taxation registers the indicated urban centre had been deemed the owner. In the case of doubts in this matter, the information contained in the charter (founding) document for the given centre or the subject literature was of deciding importance.<sup>52</sup> That said municipal centres were never classified as town property, but always as a royal, Church or nobelty possession, something that resulted from the internal logic of the law of the day based on the norms of feudal law translating itself into the multilayered structure that were property laws. In effect Poznań or Cracow were royal towns, with the incomes derived from them placed within the inventories of royal possessions. However, the villages endowed to them in charter acts were not enumerated in registers or inventories; for the property rights to these were transferred by their owners to the towns themselves. Part of the settlements being a part of the towns – often ones strictly connected with them spatially and economically as well as fulfilling the role of being their direct specialised hinterland – were referred to in the taxation registers as ‘suburbs’.<sup>53</sup> In many cases the residents of places deemed ‘suburbs’ were subject to municipal laws when other settlements remained straightforward villages on to which municipal rights could not be extended. Admittedly their inhabitants were subject to the justice meted out by the local vogt (*wójt*) or town mayor, but this was the result of the fact that they were subject to a municipal centre as their feudal overlord. This dependence in relation to the town manifested itself in the payment to municipal authorities of rents and duties, with the exception of the tithes owed to Church institutions and the public taxes to be paid the monarch.

In the case of the Podlasie Voivodeship one is not able to differentiate town property thus defined. Taxation registers, the inventories of monarchical lands and the registers of the VoloK Rreform though admittedly distinguishing the notions ‘town villages’ and ‘suburbs’, do not in these designations related to property holding relations or equally the economic functions of these settlements in relation to urban centres. On the legal level none of these villages are classified as ‘town in the Podlasie registers, for they were not a town’s property in the way that the properties bestowed on Poznań in the year 1253 were the villages of Rataje, Wierzbice, Piotrowo or Pątków, as equally the property of Cracow was

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<sup>43</sup> ASK I 27, f. 917; ASK I 47, f. 521. In the register as paying taxation Aleksander Witrelin figures for the year 1580, which points to the much earlier held position of his as minister for the Węgrów Protestant congregation than the date of around 1587 suggested in the subject literature, see: M.A. Korzo, *Jeszcze raz w sprawie nieznanego tłumacza Jana Kalwina w Polsce*, OiRwP, vol. 56, 2012, p. 194.

<sup>44</sup> ASK I 47, f. 261v. The payment comes from the settlement of Czowczyzna, identified with the settlement of Lachy.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 237.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 558.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 504.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 164.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 618.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 509v.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 439.

<sup>52</sup> K. Chłapowski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.3.4; W. Pałucki, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.3.3.7.

<sup>53</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 102–103.

Rybitwy and Krowodrza given in a charter privilege in 1257. For villages referred to as ‘town villages’ as equally ‘suburbs’ in the case of Podlasie towns were not their property but an integral component part of the towns themselves. Despite the fact that spatially they constituted independent settlements and were understood as separate settlements in taxation registers, their legal status should be viewed rather in comparison to that of town districts. First and foremost their land as such was not a part of separated legal entities but rather a part of the stock of town voloks within the framework of lands bestowed on towns as a result of charters, while the rents from these were not taken by the towns but were paid to the authorities that were the owners of the municipal centre.<sup>54</sup> This can be clearly seen in the bequests contained in the inventories, VoloK Reform registers and inspections of monarchical lands. In the case of Suraz, in the starost inventory drawn up in 1558 as part of the preparations for the VoloK Reforms, we find under the heading ‘The register of the first names and names of persons settled in the voloks, urban morgens’ a name list of those in possession of town voloks with a separate geographical location for the lands themselves. After the list of plot owners whose lands directly surrounded Suraz there appear the headings: ‘near Chudziasyn *s kqtha* which are called Kowale,’ ‘at Piasek with the Koscians,’ ‘beyond the Lisa River,’ ‘Dryzdzele personally abiding,’ ‘Danilowo personally abiding.’<sup>55</sup> In turn, in the VoloK Reform register of 1562, talk is of town voloks ‘at Danilowo’ and ‘from the Kowals,’ ‘at the Maslowcze’ and ‘on the Chruski,’ which additionally are interchangeably defined with the notion of ‘town *folwarks*’.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Brańsk, the inventory of 1558 informs one of a total acreage of 150 town voloks, of which 20 were located ‘in Glinnik’ referred to as a ‘town hamlet’.<sup>57</sup> For Kleszczele, and used interchangeably in the VoloK Reform register for 1560, and here in relation to the settlements of Nurzec, Kośna, Pohreby, Trubianka, Dobra Woda, are the terms ‘town voloks,’ ‘town *folwarks*,’ ‘town hamlets’.<sup>58</sup> In a somewhat later, for this being from the year 1568, document drawn up for Kleszczele by Sigismunt August, given as the area covered by municipal law is the following: the Kleszczele urban limits as well as the villages of Nurzec, Kośna, Dobra Woda, Trubiany and Babicze,<sup>59</sup> while the register of 1576 informs one that there belongs ‘to this little town several villages of municipal lands’.<sup>60</sup> In the case of the town of Narew, the following wording is to be found in the VoloK Reform register of 1560 after listing the measured voloks of the village of Makówka: ‘These voloks of the town of Narew in Makówka lie as one combining on an average field...’.<sup>61</sup> While the register of 1576 notes under the heading ‘Incomes from the voloks of the town of Narew’: 115 voloks ‘at Kulaszów’, 33 voloks ‘at Makówka’, 2 voloks ‘at Olszanicza’ and 13 voloks ‘at Waniewa’.<sup>62</sup> For the town of Augustów initially given is the collective municipal acreage (130 voloks), and later, under the heading ‘hamlets or limits of the town of Augustów’ the acreage of its ‘town villages’ is detailed: Bernatek (16 voloks), Turówki (14 voloks), Zaścianek (12 voloks) and Żarnowa (50 voloks). Wherein in the contents appears clear information that the owners of these ‘town villages’ are residents of Augustów itself.<sup>63</sup> In the bills of 1575 these villages are defined as ‘villis Ciuilibus’ and ‘villis ad ciuitatem pertinentes’, but the rents raised from them were for the king.<sup>64</sup> The clearest legal status for Podlasie burghers resident in ‘town villages’ was expounded in the case of the ‘town villages’ of Goniądz, defining them interchangeably with the term ‘suburb’, while their inhabitants were named ‘indirect suburbanites’ or ‘indirect burghers’. In 1573 royal commissioners – adjudicating

<sup>54</sup> None of the Podlasie foundation charters contain the transfer of villages to anyone whatsoever from the towns, see: W. Jarmolik, *Rozwój niemieckie prawa miejskiego na Podlasiu do Unii Lubelskiej 1569 roku*, PH, vol. 73, 1982, nos. 1–2, pp. 23–46.

<sup>55</sup> Vilniaus Universiteto Biblioteka, f. A-4904, ff. 23–24v.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, ff. 90–94v.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, ff. 59–60.

<sup>58</sup> ‘The voloks of the town of Kleszczele of which there are 150 in the town, besides the folwarks’, ‘The town voloks of Nurzec, Kosno, Pohreha and Dobra Woda’, ‘The urban folwarks at Dobra Woda’, ‘The urban hamlet/ village at Kosna’, ‘The Nurzec urban village/hamlet’, ‘The urban folwarks at Trubianka’, *Rejestr pomiaru włóczęj Kleszczel z roku 1560*, ed. J. Zieleniewski, SP, vol. 3 1991, pp. 225, 229, 233, 235, 237.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, pp. 244–245.

<sup>60</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 83.

<sup>61</sup> AWAK 14, p. 71.

<sup>62</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 68–70.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, pp. 111–112.

<sup>64</sup> ASK LVI 235, ff. 7v–8.

a dispute between the Knyszyn and Goniądz starost Stefan Bielawski and the inhabitants of the ‘town villages’ of Goniądz – freed their inhabitants from the unjust labour dues imposed by the starost that were typical for the inhabitants of ordinary villages, confirming with the said that they were Goniądz residents and consequently subject to urban jurisdiction.<sup>65</sup> In relation to Bielsk, the register for 1576 initially cites a general figure of 371 town voloks for this centre, then under the heading ‘the listing of the voloks of this town and the incomes from these’ enumerates the following: Augustowo – 164 voloks, Młodzianowo – 43 voloks, Koszyno – 29 voloks, Stanisławowo – 74 voloks, Piotrowo – 45 voloks and Spiczki – 16 voloks.<sup>66</sup> Equally the register of 1602 places information as to royal incomes from those villages under the heading ‘A listing of voloks of this town [Bielsk] and incomes drawn from these’.<sup>67</sup> Additionally particularly in the case of Bielsk and its ‘town villages’ we have at our disposal two sources which in an exceptionally clear manner show the legal relation that linked Bielsk with its ‘town villages’. Namely, in a document of Aleksander Jagiellończyk’s of 1495 the inhabitants of ‘town villages’ were defined as ‘settlers of a town residing within the town limits’, while in the Bielsk eighteenth-century legal acts, given disputes over land in Augustów and Stryki (referencing there to the Voloł Reform documentation of the sixteenth century), there appears information that the ground in these villages initially was owned by the residents themselves, who gradually sold it to new arrivals (incomers) from beyond the town itself.<sup>68</sup>

In the case of all the ‘town villages’ within the territory of the Podlasie Voivodeship the inventories, inspections and Voloł Reform records preserved leave no doubt whatsoever as to whom their inhabitants paid rents and dues for lands leased. These were always the income of the ruler and not of the towns themselves. The amount of rents collected reflected the rates established for town voloks within the regulations connected with the Voloł Reform implemented in the sixteenth century across the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, while the incomes generated in this respect constituted in the inspections the basis for the calculation of levies.<sup>69</sup>

Everything unequivocally shows that within the Podlasie Voivodeship at the end of the sixteenth century municipal property ownership did not exist as such. The formulation of ‘town villages’ functioning in the sources from this period was the result of the difficulties that those drawing up the taxation inventories, inspections and registers encountered, in wanting to define the status of settlements located on the peripheries of town voloks. For in relation to the buildings, the spatial localiation and the specifics of the inhabitants’ occupations they looked like villages. However, from the legal point of view their inhabitants were residents subject to urban law, while the lands they cultivated had the status of being municipal holdings. The untypical nature of this situation has resulted, in the course of work on the current AHP, in the problem of how to symbolise on the maps ‘town villages’. From the formal-legal point of view it ought to be considered the property of the crown and be marked in the same colours as a town. The adoption, however, of such a solution would constitute a failure to graphically signalise the different legal status of these settlements in relation to other villages. Particularly that amongst apart of their inhabitants there lives on to this day the memory of their ‘urban’ status. Ultimately the team working on this volume of the AHP adopted a solution involving the application of the colour employed in earlier volumes of the AHP for actual municipal property holdings, combined with the explanation contained herein as to the specificity of the situation for these settlements, which despite having a form proper for a village in principle should be treated as integral parts (districts or suburbs) of their relevant municipal centres. This solution, though far from ideal, does at least allow one to differentiate matters graphically on the map and to signalise their specific nature in relation to ordinary villages.

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<sup>65</sup> J. Kloza, J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Goniądza w 450 rocznicę praw miejskich*, Białystok-Goniądz 1997, pp. 36–37. The full text of the commissioners’ decision of 1573, as well as the inventory of 1571 in which in fulfilling his office the starost imposed on the inhabitants of these settlements labour rates typical for the rural populace.

<sup>66</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 29–31.

<sup>67</sup> LWP 1602, pp. 64–66.

<sup>68</sup> Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, „Studia Podlaskie”, vol. 1, 1989, p. 57.

<sup>69</sup> The legal regulations concerning the Voloł Reform in towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania stipulated that a burgher was he who held an urban plot or an urban folwark (that is arable land) within the territory of a town. See: В. Пичета, *Аграрная реформа Сигизмунда-Августа в литовско-русском государстве*, Москва 1958, p. 438.

## ANNEX I

### Royal property holdings at the end of the sixteenth century

In brackets have been given the present-day names if these differ significantly from their sixteenth-century predecessors or would possibly result in identification problems.

#### Augustów starosty

Augustów – town and suburbs: Biernatki, Turówka, Zaścianek (Uścianki), Żarnowo (Żarnowo Drugie).

Villages: Bargłowo (Bargłów Kościelny), Bargłówka, Barszcze, Brzozowa, Dręstwo, Jeziorki, Krosiowo (Kroszówka), Lipówka, Neta (Netta Pierwsza), Orzechówka, Pruska, Rudki (Rutki Stare), Tajno (in part), Woźna Wieś (in part).

#### Bielsk starosty

Bielsk – town with suburbs: Augustowo, Koszczyno (Szastały), Młodzianowo (Stryki), Piotrowo (Parcewo), Spiczki, Stanisławowo (Widowo).

Villages: Antonowicze (Ryboły), Bielki, Chraboły, Deniski, Grabowiec, Haczki (Haćki), Hołody, Hołowiesk, Hredele (Gredele), Hukowicze, Husakowo (Husaki), Huzyki (Użyki), Ilnatki (in part; Ignatki), Janowo, Kaczały, Knorozy, Kotły, Koźliki, Krzywiatycze (Krzywa), Porzecze (Podręczany), Łyse, Nałogi, Orechowicze (Orzechowicze), Pasynki, Pawłowicze (Pawły), Piliki, Pluczice (Plutycze), Płoski (Ploski), Piliki (Pilipki), Proniewiczze, Rajsco (Rajsk), Rakowicze, Rybołowy (Kaniuki), Saki (in part), Sobociec (Hendzel), Soce, Stecewicze (Stacewicze), Stołowacz, Stupniki, Święciciele (Cieluszki), Trościanica (Trześcianka), Trzeszczotki, Wojszki, Zubowo, Zygmuntowo (in part; Klejniki).

#### Brańsk starosty

Brańsk – town.

Villages: Bonowo (Bujnowo), Chojewo, Czuczerepki, Hodyszewo, Holonki, Joski, Kierznówek, Klichy, Krupki, Malesze, Oleksino, Patoki, Sielec, Świrzydy, Wolica, Załozie, Zanie.

#### Drohiczyn starosty

Drohiczyn – town.

Villages: Czarna Królewska, Korczówka, Rogawka, Skiwy (in part), Wólka (Wólka Zamkowa).

#### Goniądz starosty

Goniądz – town and suburbs: Białosuknie, Downary, Jaśki, Łupichowcy, Owieczki, Puszkarze, Pyzy, Zyburty, Żodzie.

Villages: Bagno, Ciesze (Giesze), Dudki, Dymidy (unlocated), Dzieszki, Ginie, Hornostaje, Kalinówka Wielka, Klewianka, Koleśniki, Kołodzieże (in part), Konopki (Konopczyn), Kropiwnica, Krzeczce, Oliszki, Piwowary, Potoczyna, Przytulanka, Rusaki, Smogorówka (Smogorówka Goniądzka), Szacziły, Szpakowo.

#### Knyszyn starosty

Knyszyn – town.

Villages: Bobrówka, Boguszewo (in part), Brzozowa, Chraboły, Czarna (Milewskie), Czechowczyzna, Długołęka, Dobrzyniewo, Dolistowo (in part), Gincze (Guzy), Gniła, Góra (in part), Grodzisko, Gurbicze, Jaćwież, Jaskra, Jaświły (in part), Kozopatry (Koziańce), Krasowo (Lewonie), Krynice, Krypno (in part), Kulikówka (in part), Letniki, Mociesze, Obrubniki (in part), Pogorzałki, Przytułki, Rekle, Romejki, Ruda, Rybaki, Trzcianne (in part), Zabiele, Zalesie, Zastocze, Zubole.

#### Łosice starosty

Łosice – town.

Villages: Kornica, Łepki (Stare Łepki), Olszanka, Prochenki, Rudka, Szpaki, Szydłówka.

**Mielnik starosty**

Mielnik – town.

Villages: Borsuki, Hołowczyce, Horoszki, Klepaczewo (Klepaczew), Mierzvice (Stare Mierzvice), Młynarze, Moszczona (Moszczona Królewska), Osłowo, Radziłówka (Radziwiłłówka), Sielpielicze (Serpelice), Zalesie, Żerczyce (in part; Żerczyce), Żurobice.

**Rajgród starosty**

Rajgród – town.

Villages: Chmiele, Czarny Las (Czarna Wieś), Jodziki (in part), Kosyły, Kosówka (in part), Miecze, Tworki (in part), Woźna Wieś (in part), Żrobki (in part).

**Suraż starosty**

Suraż – town and suburbs: Daniłowo, Hruskie.

Villages: Bielewicze (Biele), Bogdanki, Doroszki, Dupki (Dubki), Hryniewiczze, Klepacze, Oliszki, Oziabły (Baranki), Pomihacze, Repniki (Rzepniki), Rogowo (in part), Rostoły, Rymki (Rynki), Szymany, Tryczówka, Wyprotka, Zapole, Zawojki (Zawyki).

**Tykocin starosty**

Tykocin – town.

Villages: Brok, Broniszewo (in part), Jeżewo, Kalinowo, Kobylino-Gnatki (in part; Kobylin-Łatki), Leśniki, Lipniki, Łopuchowo, Makowo (in part), Mazury, Pajewo (in part), Radule (in part), Sanniki (in part), Sawino, Siekierki (in part), Sierki, Stelmachowo, Wólka (unknown location), Złotoria.

**Bielsk forestry**

Villages: Berezowo (Stare Berezowo), Czyżewicze (Czyże), Dawidowo (Dawidowicze), Dubicze (Dubicze Osoczne) Jahodnik (Jagodnik), Kamień, Kojły, Kornino (Stary Kornin), Koryciszca (Koryciski), Kuraszewo, Koszewicze, Krzywiatycze (Krywiatycze), Lada, Łoknica (Osówka), Mochnate, Morze, Stok (Istok), Szostakowo, Witułowo (Witowo), Zbucz.

**Knyszyn forestry**

Villages: Borsukówka, Chraboły, Leńce, Pogorzałki, Safiejewo (Zofiówka), Zabiele.

**Tykocin and Goniądz forestry**

Villages: Brzeziny (in part), Chobotki (in part), Trzciane (in part; Trzcianne).

**Kleszczele lease**

Kleszczele – town with suburbs: Babicze (Kuzawa), Dobra Woda (Dobrowoda), Kośna (Dasze), Nurzec (Czeremcha–Wieś), Trubianka.

Villages: Czochy (Czechy Orłańskie), Dubicze (Dubicze Cerkiewne), Jelonka, Obychodnik (Grabowiec), Ruda (Rutka), Sucha Wola.

**Krzywa lease**

Villages: Krukowszczyzna, Krzywa, Olszanka.

**Narew lease**

Narew – town with suburbs: Makówka, Waniewo.

**ANNEX II****Large scale Church land holdings at the end of the sixteenth century****Łuck bishopric**

Villages: Bonin, Litewniki Stare, Raczki, Rudniki, Skrzyszew, Walim, Wasilewo.

**Drohiczyn Franciscans**

Village: Klizówka (Kłyżówka).

**Augustów presbytery**

Village: Borsuki (Borsuki Kościelne).

**Bielsk presbytery**

Villages: Pulsze, Samułki.

**Bransk presbytery**

Villages: Bronka, Załużie (Załuskie Kościelne).

**Drohiczyn presbytery**

Village: Ruda.

**Goniądz presbytery**

Village: Krzeczkowo.

**Hadynów presbytery**

Villages: Dawidy, Hadynów.

**Kalinówka presbytery**

Village: Kalinówka (Kalinówka Kościelna).

**Krypno presbytery**

Village: Krypno (Krypno Wielkie, in part).

**Mielnik presbytery**

Villages: Ostrowiec (in part), Wajkowo (Wajków).

**Mordy presbytery**

Village: Klimonty.

**Narew presbytery**

Villages: Czowczyzna (Lachy), Zygmuntowo (Klejniki, in part).

**Rajgród presbytery**

Village: Popowo.

**Siemiatycze presbytery**

Village: Czeczele (Cecele).

**Suraż presbytery**

Villages: Uhowo and Poświętne (Poświętne, in part).

**Tykocin presbytery**

Village: Popowlany.

**Węgrów presbytery**

Village: Szaruty.

**Krypno presbytery**

Village: Krypno (Krypno Wielkie, in part).

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

### III.3.3.9a ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Marian Biskup*

#### **Arable land and land property**

The second part of the MRP consists of 10 thematic maps, which – together with a few smaller charts and sketches – highlight the most important economic and social problems of sixteenth century Prussia. The most important elements of the main map, i.e., the borders of parishes, districts and voivodeships, as well as the hydrography, served as the base maps for the preparation of the thematic maps in the 1:500,000 scale. Most of the statistical calculations were performed on a parish scale and maps for districts were additionally prepared only with regard to demographic issues.

The elaborated thematic maps can be divided into two larger groups:

- I. Maps 1–2, highlighting the problems of arable land, soil and land ownership.
- II. Maps 3–10, illustrating the problems of demographics and rural craftwork as comprehensively as possible.

The cartographic presentation of significant and wide problems of the arable land and demography of Prussia required a thorough statistical study, especially in the absence of studies on these issues. Therefore, in the commentary, a lot of space had to be devoted to the presentation of the calculation methods and their results in the form of tables, presenting the entirety of the problem. For these reasons, it was decided to present a map on land ownership first due to the close connection of this problem with the issue of arable land.

#### **Ownership affiliation of settlements (thematic map 1)**

Map one presents the distribution of land ownership of Royal Prussia for six categories of property: royal, nobility, Church, royal-town, Church-town and undefined. In the case of noble property, farm gentry was not included in the cartographic presentation, because it does not play a very important role among the entire nobility group, as well as due to the specific social status of the farm gentry in Prussia, which will be presented below. The issue of the diversity of the entire nobility group is presented graphically in map eight “Ownership and social structure of the nobility”.

The graphic design of map one also includes the centres of starostwos (*starosta's districts*) and royal leases and Church-owned clusters of property, as well as the seats of rural monasteries, to help the reader draw their own conclusions.

It should be clarified that the problem of the distribution of land ownership was regarded in the commentary together with the problem of the size of the ownership affiliation categories to address the problem quantitatively. For this purpose, it became necessary that we first address the method of calculating the area of the arable land of Royal Prussia. This problem as well as the conclusions regarding the distribution of land ownership will be discussed for individual voivodeships first, and then for the whole of Prussia.

The calculation of the size of the arable land of Royal Prussia was mainly based on the information from tax registers or the royal lands' inspections or Church inventories. These data, as we have

already indicated above, were not always complete, especially for the noble property, and sometimes required using an additional estimation method, indicating a range from 3% to a maximum of 15% of the arable land. Without going into detail, we would like to emphasize what we found most difficult was the matter of the number and size of manor demesnes, especially nobility-owned ones, which were seldom included in the source materials. The most complete data for about 40% of demesnes were obtained for Pomeranian Voivodeship; they have already been largely presented elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Using the aforementioned data, the average size of the royal demesne in individual districts was calculated. It ranged from five to 36 lans. On the scale of the entire voivodeship, it was around 16 lans on average.<sup>2</sup>

**Table 1. The size of royal demesnes in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district	demesnes total	demesnes covered by the sources	number of lans	assumed average lans per one demesne	approx. no. of lans	total lans of demesne lans
Człuchów	11	6	96	16	16	176
Gdańsk	4	3	35	11	11	46
Mirachowo	5	1	29	29	8	61
Nowe	4	2	43	21.5	21.5	86
Puck	5	4	75.5	19	19	95
Świecie	6	3	33	11	11	66
Tczew	26	7	115	16	16	419
Tuchola	7	2	35	17	16	115
total	68	28	461.5	16	16 <sup>3</sup>	1,064

However, for a Church demesne, the average size is slightly lower and amounts to approximately 111.

**Table 2. The size of Church demesnes in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district	demesnes total	demesnes covered by the sources	number of lans	assumed average lans per one demesne	approx. no. of lans	total lans of demesne lans
Człuchów	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gdańsk	12	2	12	6	11	122
Mirachowo	4	2	31	15	15	61
Nowe	2	1	6	6	11	17
Puck	6	2	17	8	11	61
Świecie	4	3	40	13	13	53
Tczew	25	6	69	11	11	278
Tuchola	4	2	26	13	13	52
total	57	18	201	11	11	644

For town property (townspeople and royal towns) it is similar, as it amounts to approx. 10 lans, although the data ranged considerably – from seven to 23 lans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, vol. 1: *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej*, Toruń 1955, pp. 52–55.

<sup>2</sup> For the farms in the Mirachowo district, only eight lans were assumed due to source information stating that they were small farmsteads.

<sup>3</sup> This number is thus lower by 3 lans than what was assumed in the initial calculation – M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, vol. 1, p. 51–52 – as a result of the inclusion of further source data.

<sup>4</sup> The problem does not pertain to the territory of Gdańsk.

**Table 3. Size of town demesnes in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district	demesnes total	demesnes covered by the sources	number of lans	on average lans per one demesne	approx. no. of lans	total lans of demesnes
Człuchów	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gdańsk	7	4	30	7	7	51
Mirachowo	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nowe	1	1	8	8	8	8
Puck	–	–	–	–	–	–
Świecie	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tczew	4	4	48	12	12	48
Tuchola	1	1	23	23	23	23
total	13	10	109	11	10	130

For Malbork Voivodeship, information was available for approx. 50% of royal demesnes.<sup>5</sup> Their sizes range from six to 36 lans. The average is 18 lans.

**Table 4. Royal demesne size in Malbork Voivodeship**

demesne name	administrative unit	year	demesne size in lans	average lans per demesne
Kałdowo	W. Żuławy	1652	22	–
Kamionka		1652	17	–
Laski		1652	25	–
Mątowy Mały		1652	36	–
Niedźwiedzica		1570	13.5	–
Nowy Dwór		1629	7	–
Dolna	M. Żuławy	1565	12	–
Piaski		1652	35	–
Markusy		1566	8	–
Straszewo	Straszewo starostwo	1565	6	–
total			181.5	18

The matter of the Church demesne in this province was practically non-existent. On the other hand, for the town property, represented mainly by the estates of the town of Elbląg, the available data on the size of the demesnes were almost complete. The size of the demesne ranged from 3 to 34 lans, and on average amounts to seven lans.

The source information concerning the size of demesnes in Chełmno Voivodeship was the scantiest. No numerical data was actually obtained for the royal property and the estimated number of 10 lans was necessarily used per such demesne. This number was adopted on the basis of information available for Church property, for which some data were obtained, covering approx. ¼ of demesnes. Their size ranges from five to 18 lans, and on average is 10 lans. Because the data for several town-owned demesnes are fragmentary, this figure was also used to calculate their total area.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Admittedly, some information comes from the beginning or even the middle of the seventeenth century, however, in view of the known, poor development of the demesne economy in Żuławy and the stability of the local peasant economy, this does not seem to bear any major significance for the situation in the sixteenth century.

<sup>6</sup> It applies mostly to demesnes of Chełmno bishopric.

The calculation of the arable land belonging to nobility for the entirety of Royal Prussia proved to be of the greatest difficulty. This problem was already raised when discussing the distribution of land ownership in Pomeranian Voivodeship, for which – compared to other voivodeships – information about the existence and even the size of a nobility-owned demesne is relatively most abundant.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 5. The size of nobility-owned demesnes in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district	number of known demesnes	demesnes covered by the sources	number of lans	average lans per demesne	assumed approx. lan	total lans of demesne lans
Człuchów	50	38	316.5	8	8	413
Gdańsk	9	7	90.5	13	13	117
Mirachowo	9	7	33	5	5	43
Nowe	15	2	22	11	10	152
Puck	19	14	55.25	4	4	75
Świecie	19	1	14	14	10	194
Tczew	63	42	511.25	12	12	763
Tuchola	9	6	110.5	18	18	165
total	193	117	1153	10	10	1,922

In many cases, tax registers for this voivodeship provide not only data on peasant fields in nobility-owned villages, but also indicate the existence of a demesne, and even specify its size, which ranges from two to 36 lans, with the average for the entire voivodeship at 10 lans.<sup>8</sup>

The number 10 lans were thus taken as an estimated size for nobility-owned demesnes with an unspecified number of lans. However, it should be taken into account that even Pomeranian Voivodeship tax registers do not always indicate the existence of the nobility-owned demesne. 60% of the registers only list the peasant lans, which were subject to taxation, as shown in the table below.

**Table 6. Number of nobility-owned villages and listed demesnes in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district	number of farming villages	demesnes listed with farming villages	demesnes with no farming villages
Człuchów	57	32	25
Gdańsk	12	4	8
Mirachowo	7	5	2
Nowe	20	3	17
Puck	22	9	13
Świecie	60	8	52
Tczew	70	42	28
Tuchola	25	6	19
total	273	109	164 <sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, vol. 1, pp. 50 f.

<sup>8</sup> The data in this table differ slightly from the previous findings (*ibidem*, p. 52) due to taking into account some additional source data.

<sup>9</sup> Only in the Człuchów, Mirachowo, and Tczew districts, manor demesnes were declared in over 50% of nobility-owned villages. In the Nowe, Puck, Świecie, and Tuchola districts, no manor demesnes were declared, which gives us on average, 75% of peasant villages; 60% of villages in total.

It is also known that for the above-mentioned reasons, a certain percentage of lans per demesne is usually added to the peasant lans in the estimates of the remaining Crown lands. A. Pawiński added up to even approximately 100% peasant lans to nobility-owned demesne lans. For Mazovia, this estimate has recently been lowered to 50% of peasant lans. Consequently, the acreage of a nobility-owned demesne would constitute 33% of the area of the nobility-owned land (i.e., the sum of peasants lans and the demesne arable land).<sup>10</sup>

With regard to Pomeranian Voivodeship, this method could not be fully adopted because in many cases a particular number and a specific area of nobility-owned demesnes were given. For these reasons, the known number of the total lans of noble demesnes were supplemented with about 25–50% additional lans, depending on the extent to which the source data covered the existence and area of the properties of each district, as shown in the table below.<sup>11</sup>

The number of lans of the Pomeranian nobility-owned demesnes obtained this way corresponds to a total of approximately 40.5% of the total area of the noble property (i.e., peasant and demesne lans).

The above method could not be adopted in its entirety to calculate the area of nobility-owned arable land in the two other voivodeships, i.e., Chełmno and Malbork since the tax registers for these areas do not provide such detailed information about the existence or the size of demesnes for individual nobility-owned villages.

**Table 7. List of additional nobility-owned demesne lans in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

district	size of peasant farms in lans	size of known demesne acreage in lans	approximation of demesne acreage in lans	total acreage of demesnes in lans	ratio of demesne acreage to total cultivated land
Czuchów	1,066	413	50% = 206	619	37%
Gdańsk	223	117	50% = 58	175	44%
Mirachowo	58	43	25% = 11	54	48%
Nowe	422	152	50% = 76	228	35%
Puck	187	75	50% = 38	113	38%
Świecie	794	194	75% = 146	340	30%
Tczew	983	763	25% = 191	954	49%
Tuchola	207	165	25% = 41	206	50%
total	3,940	1,922	40% = 767	2,689	40.5%

For 30 nobility-owned demesnes in Chełmno Voivodeship included in the tax registers without specifying their size, the assumed acreage was eight lans, and for 12 nobility-owned demesnes in Malbork Voivodeship – nine lans (i.e., numbers proportionally lower than the figures for the royal and Church demesnes). However, the data covers only a small part of nobility-owned villages, especially in Chełmno Voivodeship, therefore an approximation method was used and 50% of the peasant land was assumed as nobility-owned land unlisted in the source material. For Malbork Voivodeship, which has a slightly different noble ownership structure than Chełmno Voivodeship, characterized in particular by the presence of a group of more prominent landowners and a smaller number of the middle nobility,<sup>12</sup> only an estimated 25% of the acreage of peasant lans was added to the nobility demesne acreage. Given the very small area of nobility-owned arable land, this difference does not play a major role here.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. A. Pawiński's notes: P. Wielkopolska, vol. 1, p. 70 as well as the authors' of WP, pp. 56 f.

<sup>11</sup> Estimates for the area of Tczew and Tuchola districts, where the number of farms listed by the sources is quite high, could provoke doubts. However, in over 40–70% of the nobility-owned villages in these districts, the existence of demesnes was not declared. These are areas that are keenly interested in the export of grain and are predominantly inhabited by the middle nobility (see below). The latter consideration also determined the addition of a number – however small – of 11 lans in Mirachowo district.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w. (Mapa i materiały)*, Toruń 1957, pp. 27–28. Cf. discussion on map 8.

The presentation above does not highlight further difficulties encountered in calculating the area of nobility-owned arable land. The structure analysis of noble-born landowners revealed that there was a large group among them, paying for their arable lans the rate usually paid for “farm lans” (*lany zagrodowe*) (12 grosz per lan in the Chełmno and Pomeranian voivodeships in 1570, and 15 grosz in Malbork Voivodeship in 1581 compared to the fee of 20 grosz per peasant lan in the first two voivodeships, and 30 grosz in Malbork Voivodeship). Such a fee was reserved for the lans not farmed by peasants, and remaining in the exclusive use of the nobleman owner. Thus, seemingly, a group paying 12 (or 15) grosz per lan would constitute a group of petty farm gentry. These findings, however, were undermined by a more detailed study of the structure of the group of noble landholders, which we present the comparisons given there that the size of the arable land owned by the farm gentry representative (*szlachic zagrodowy*) in Royal Prussia ranges from 0.5 to 30 lans, and on average – 3–10 lans. It is obviously not possible to categorize the entire abovementioned group as “farm gentry”. We are inclined to accept this term – as fully justified – for the most numerously represented category of owners of 0.5–3 lans, who, indeed, seem to constitute a typical “petty nobility” or “petty gentry” of Royal Prussia, dwelling especially in the area of Kashubia, and using the hired workforce to a lesser extent. On the other hand, the remaining categories of owners (3–30 lans), we should subsume under the group of the demesne nobility, who did not have peasants but cultivated the land with considerable help from the hired workforce. Let us add, moreover, that the sources themselves sometimes directly describe these “zagrodowe” [smallholders’- translator’s note] lans as “demesne lans”, while providing data on the permanently hired workforce, mainly smallholders, employed by the Prussian “farm gentry”.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, their estates will constitute the area of the demesne, which uses hired workforce and must be included in the nobility-owned area, considerably reducing the acreage of actual farm gentry-owned arable land. In the area of Royal Prussia, the phenomenon of the nobility-owned demesne operating solely on hired labour, especially smallholders, according to the research of H. Plehn, already had a place in the times of the Teutonic Order.<sup>14</sup> Also, in the other Crown lands in the sixteenth century, nobility-owned demesnes with no resident peasants, operating based solely on hired labour could be encountered.<sup>15</sup> For the territory of Prussia, this was a widespread phenomenon, due to the specific town of their economic development, and more importantly, it could be approximately captured in numbers. Without going into detailed analysis, to which we will return when discussing the demographics of Prussia, we wish to emphasize once again that it has caused appropriate adjustments in the calculation of the nobility-owned demesne acreage, which, as a result, was significantly enlarged.

Concluding the discussion of the method of calculating the acreage of arable land, we note that the basic unit in the calculations is the 30-morgen Chełmno lan, which was commonly used in Prussia and served as the basic means of land measurement. Found in the northern regions of Pomeranian Voivodeship (Gdańsk, Mirachowo and Puck districts), an old Polish measure of a żreb (i.e. a *radło*) of 1.5–2 lans is found only sporadically and is often already identified with a lan.<sup>16</sup>

In the calculations it was also attempted to distinguish arable lans from non-settled lans, as much as possible, to illustrate the state of vacant lands in Prussia. This assumption could nevertheless only

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<sup>13</sup> E.g. Gogoliniec, Chełmno Voivodeship – 7,5 lans, 12 grosz each – four smallholders; Sędzice W. – eight lans 12 grosz each – 3 smallholders, 10 lans 12 grosz each – four smallholders (P. Prusy Królewskie, pp. 32, 43); cf. Klecewo, Malbork Voivodeship – 10 lans of “*propriae culturae*” – five smallholders (ASK I 120, p. 22); cf. also Gołoty, Chełmno Voivodeship – manor demesne – two florins six grosz (i.e., 5.5 lans 12 grosz each) – P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 30).

<sup>14</sup> H. Plehn, *Zur Geschichte der Agrarverfassung in Ost- und Westpreussen*, „Forschungen zur brandenburgisch-preussischen Geschichte”, vol. 17, 1904, pp. 82 f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. A. Wyczański, *O folwarku szlacheckim w Polsce XVI stulecia*, KH, vol. 62, 1954, no. 4, p. 184.

<sup>16</sup> For example, cf. M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, vol. 1, pp. 49–50, footnotes 3–6. In the calculations, the *radło* unit of land was reduced to the size of the Chełmno lan. Without questioning the validity of S. Śreniowski’s, *Uwagi o lanach w ustroju folwarczno-pańszczyńnianym wsi polskiej*, KHKM, vol. 3, 1955, no. 2, pp. 301 f., notes on lans in the manorial economy system of the Polish countryside that in the sixteenth century the lan was rather a unit (a local unit of measurement) of land owned by peasants, but did not represent a specific geometric measure, it should be noted that this statement cannot be fully applied to Royal Prussia, which adopted its system of measurement from the Teutonic Prussia period. The method of precise measurements of the land, especially in Teutonic domains, by special surveyors using the Chełmno lan as the unit of measurement, was widely adopted there; see H. Mendthal, *Geometria Culmensis*, Lipsk 1886, pp. 4 f. In tax registers, taxes levied on morgen owned by millers or innkeepers can sometimes be found. However, their number never exceeds 30; cf. P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 118 – Pomyje, Tczew district – “5 iugera cauponis”, p. 185 – Kozłowo, Świecie district – “2 mansi possessi ad 20 gr 5 iugera ad 2 solidos”.

be implemented for the area of Pomeranian Voivodeship, as the information for the remaining voivodeships is too fragmentary.

As already mentioned above, in the second half of the sixteenth century, in the territory of Royal Prussia, there were six basic types of land ownership: royal property, noble property, Church property, town-royal and town-Church property. The remaining, sixth type is, however small, a group of estates with an unspecified – for the period in question – owner in the Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships. In Chełmno Voivodeship within Church property, a group of settlements, in use of the so-called vassals of the Chełmno bishops (i.e., the users of the bishop's landed estates who were of noble status) were also distinguished, more on this topic will be discussed below. Town property was divided into the category of royal towns and owned by burghers who inhabited them, and the category of towns belonging to the Church – namely to the Chełmno bishopric (private towns). It should be noted that the Prussian townspeople, especially the bourgeoisie of big towns, had the full right to buy and sell land on an equal footing with the nobility. From 1598, only the estates of the burghers (the so-called *bona civilia*) were not subject to the amended provisions of the Chełmno law, limiting the right of inheritance in the female line, applicable from that time on to noble estates (*bona terrestria*).<sup>17</sup>

The distribution of land ownership in individual provinces has already been analysed in more detail in the previous monographs. For these reasons, we will limit ourselves only to general comments and syntheses.

## Chełmno Voivodeship

The division of land ownership in this voivodeship in terms of owned rural settlements was as follows:

**Table 8. Land ownership in Chełmno Voivodeship according to the number of rural settlements**

district – administrative unit	total rural settlements	royal property		noble		Church		town-Church		town-royal		unspecified ownership	
		settl.	%	settl.	%	settl.	%	settl.	%	settl.	%	settl.	%
Chełmno	323	116	36.0	166	51.4	24	7.4	–	–	13	4	4	1.2
Michałowó	145	53	36.6	74	51.1	14	9.7	–	–	2	1.3	2	1.3
territory of the Chełmno bishop	121	–	–	–	–	112	92.6	9	7.4	–	–	–	–
territory of the town of Toruń	33	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	33	100	–	–
total	622	169	27.2	240	38.6	150	24.1	9	1.4	48	7.7	6	1

In terms of their economic nature, these estates were divided as follows:

**Table 9. Economic category of rural settlements in Chełmno Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	farming villages	demesnes			demesne nobility-owned settlements and owned by farm gentry	milling settlements	settlements of unspecified economic category	total
		together with farming villages	standalone settlements	total				
royal	109	4	35	39	–	25	–	169
noble	152	?	?	?	48 <sup>18</sup>	3	37	240
Church	110	9	24	33	–	15	1	150

<sup>17</sup> W. Brüneck, *Zur Geschichte des Grundeigentums in Ost- und Westpreussen*, vol. 1, Berlin 1891, p. 92 f.

<sup>18</sup> The number of independent noble demesnes has not been identified, as they are also located in the villages of the farm gentry and in the villages of the larger farm gentry (more than three lans). Only 14 settlements constitute only noble demesnes (excluding the farm gentry over three lans and the peasants' lans).

ownership affiliation	farming villages	demesnes			demesne nobility-owned settlements and owned by farm gentry	milling settlements	settlements of unspecified economic category	total
		together with farming villages	standalone settlements	total				
town-Church	6	–	2	2	–	–	1	9
town-royal	34	5	9	14	–	5	–	48
unspecified	1	–	–	–	–	–	5	6
total	412	18	70	88	48	48	44	622

The table below, which illustrates the size of the arable land for individual categories of land ownership supplements the lists above.

**Table 10. Arable land in Chełmno Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	peasants' [lans]		demesne [lans]		demesne using hired labour [lans]		total demesne [lans]		lans of farm gentry		lans of unspecified ownership		total arable lans		percentage of individual landholders
		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
crown	4,582	92.2	390	7.8	–	–	390	7.8	–	–	–	–	4,972	31.8	
nobility	2,125	45.8	1,318	28.4	967	20.8	2,285	49.2	233	5.0	–	–	4,643	29.6	
Church	3,322	72.8	924	20.3	315	6.9	1,239	27.2	–	–	–	–	4,561	29.1	
town-Church	130	86.7	20	13.3	–	–	20	13.3	–	–	–	–	150	0.9	
town-royal	1,089	87.5	155	12.5	–	–	155	12.5	–	–	–	–	1 244	8.0	
unspecified	14	15.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	75	84.3	89	0.6	
total	11,262	71.9	2,807	17.9	1,282	8.2	4,089	26.1	233	1.5	75	0.5	15,659	100.0	

Thus, while rural estates predominated among noble property, the royal property comes first in terms of the area of arable land. However, noble and Church properties match it to a large extent. Royal town-owned property occupies a further place, although its share is relatively large (approximately 8%).

The royal property consists of nine clusters of property, constituting starostwos (in this case district's lands with no gords) and individual leases. There were 116 royal settlements in Chełmno district, concentrated in seven starostwos: Golub, Grudziądz, Kowalewo, Lipieniec, Pokrzywno, Radzyń and Rogozin.<sup>19</sup> In the Michałowo district, 53 royal settlements are concentrated in two starostwos: Bratian and Brodnica (from which a cluster of property was temporarily separated near Lidzbark Welski and constituted Lidzbark starostwo) and in three villages belonging to the Radzyń starostwo (later Łąkorz starostwo). Thus, royal estates are found both in Chełmno district, where they are concentrated mainly in the central, northern and south-eastern regions and in Michałowo district, mainly in the southern and north-western parts.

The table shows a significant number of 109 royal settlements with an area of 4,582 lans (on average approximately 43 lans per one settlement). Thirty-nine demesnes are concentrated mainly in the western part of the voivodeship, i.e., in Chełmno district (Grudziądz, Lipieniec, Radzyń and Golub starostwos). Although there are on average 3.6 peasants' settlements per one demesne, the demesne's acreage (390 lans) in relation to the total arable area of the crown (4,972 lans) is only 7.8%. A fairly significant number of independent milling settlements (25 out of a total of 169 settlements) is striking.

<sup>19</sup> In more detail M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego*, pp. 16 f.

The noble property is represented by 240 settlements, located mainly in the southwest reaches of Chełmno district (166) and in the western part of Michałowo district (74) near the Lutryna river and the eastern part in the belt adjacent to the Wel river.

Referring to the observations presented above regarding the farm gentry landowners, with more than three peasant-less lans, whom we recategorized as demesne gentry, the acreage of the actual farm gentry's land is relatively low (233 lans), as most 12 grosz lans (i.e., 967 lans) is moved to the category of demesne lans. Compared to the peasant lan acreage, amounting to 2,125 lans, the total acreage of the demesne is 2,285 lans (nobility with peasants estimated to own approximately 1,318 lans and peasant-less nobility – 967 lans). The average size of a farming village here is approximately 16 lans. The ratio of the arable land in the demesne per se to the total arable land belonging to the demesne nobility in Chełmno Voivodeship is thus 49.2%. Compared to the ratios prevailing at royal (as well as Church) property, these numbers are very high, although we must make a reservation that of the above 49.2% as much as 20.8% lans lay in the demesne belonging to the demesne gentry, who did not own any peasants.

Church property is represented in three ways: as the property of Chełmno bishopric, other Church institutions, and parish churches. The estates of Chełmno bishopric constitute – as already mentioned – separate administrative districts. They include a total of 112 rural settlements and four towns. The town of Chełmno with its nine rural settlements should also be included in these figures. The entirety of this great cluster of property was divided between the bishop and the chapter. The main complex of the bishopric estates was located in the eastern part, forming two large clusters of property: Lubawa (bishop's) and Kurzętnik (chapter's). A smaller concentration of episcopal estates was located in the western part around Chełmża (chapter property), Papowo Biskupie and Starogród (bishop's property: Papowo cluster and Starogród cluster) and Wąbrzeźno (bishop's Wąbrzeźno cluster) and Płowęż (bishop's Płowęż cluster). The bishops also owned the town of Chełmno with its vast territory with nine settlements and the towns of Lubawa, Chełmża and Wąbrzeźno; only the lesser town of Kurzętnik was subject to the chapter.

It should be noted that some villages in the bishop's or chapter's estates, especially in the Kurzętnik and Lubawa clusters of property, were handed over by the bishops or the chapter to use for a longer period to representatives of the nobility, usually petty gentry. These petty nobles were considered the bishop's vassals, and their estates – vassal estates. The institution of episcopal vassals dates back to the Teutonic period, and its origins undoubtedly lay in the need to provide the bishop with an armed force needed in case of a muster by the Order. The obligations of the vassals consisted of paying an annual fee in grain, the so-called *plużne*, five bushels of rye and wheat from each property (settlement), a pound of wax and five denarii as a recognition rent (*czynsz rekognicyjny*, a small complimentary feudal fee to the local lord, according to the provisions of the Chełmno law). In addition, on request, an individual vassal had to provide a horse and a soldier. For any changes, e.g., transactions in owned goods, the consent of the bishop or the chapter was required.<sup>20</sup> Bishop's vassals, whose assigned lands were usually 3–4 lans, appear in the number of approximately 95 families in 25 villages of Chełmno bishopric, having their own peasants to a small extent, and mainly farming in the demesne using the wage labourers. The position of the bishop's vassals – as it seems – largely corresponds to the position of the remaining nobility of the voivodeship, owning over three lans without peasants.

The entire arable area belonging to the demesne of the Chełmno bishops amounts to (excluding the territory of the town of Chełmno) 3,250 lans, of which 425 lans remain in the use of the episcopal vassals. The number of peasant villages (not owned by the vassals) is 81, and their total acreage is 2,586 lans (approximately 321 per village). The number of demesne farms (excluding vassal ones) amounts to 24 with a total area of approximately 239 lans (101 per demesne on average). Thus, for one bishop's demesne there are approx. 3.4 farming villages. The ratio of the demesne area to the total arable area in the bishop's estates is approximately 8%, similar to crown property. However, out of 425 lans used by vassals, about 55 lans are cultivated by peasants, and 370 lans are cultivated by the vassals themselves. Thus, the total area of peasant lans in the property of Chełmno bishopric is 2,641 lans, the demesne – 609 lans, compared to a total of 3,250 lans. The ratio of the demesne acreage to the total arable area amounts to approximately 18.7%.

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego z r. 1614 z uwzględnieniem późniejszych do r. 1759 inwentarzy*, pub. A. Mańkowski, Toruń 1927 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 22), p. 61; W. Brünneck, *Zur Geschichte des Grundeigentums*, vol. 1, p. 102.

The property of other Church institutions consists of 38 rural villages, including 24 in Chełmno district and 14 in Michałowo district. In Chełmno district, the largest share is the Benedictine monastery in Toruń (10 settlements) and Chełmno (nine settlements), concentrated in the south-western part of the district around both towns. Włocławek bishopric has three villages in Chełmno district, which are part of the Ciechocinek estate cluster (in the Dobrzyń region). The parish churches in Toruń (St. John's church) and Grudziądz have one settlement each. In Michałowo district, the main role belongs to the property of the Płock bishops, adjacent to the Kurzętnik estate cluster of the Chełmno bishops on the left bank of the Drwęca River, and constituting part of the Górzno cluster of estates (in the Dobrzyń region). Also, the parish church in Brodnica and the local Hospital of the Holy Spirit (*Szpital św. Ducha*) own one village each. In terms of the size of the arable land, the distribution of the remaining Church property is as follows:

Benedictine monastery in Chełmno	201 lans
Płock Bishopric	197 lans
Benedictine monastery in Toruń	121 lans
Włocławek Bishopric	72 lans
St. John church in Toruń	54 lans
Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Brodnica	32 lans
Parish church in Grudziądz	25 lans
Parish church in Brodnica	10 lans

Of this number, there are 681 peasant lans (26 villages with the average size of a village at 22 lans). The acreage of the three demesne farms is 31 lans. There are approximately nine villages per a manor demesne.

The last category among Church property is the land belonging to the 119 parishes. In essence, in the entire area of Royal Prussia, it amounts to four lans per one parish on average. In the area of Chełmno Voivodeship, this average is slightly higher due to the reclaiming of property of dozen-or-so parishes liquidated in the fifteenth century by the remaining parishes and amounts to approximately five lans. The total property of the parishes in the voivodeship is therefore 599 lans, of which 517.5 lan belongs to rural parishes and 81.5 lan – to town ones. It should be noted that due to both significant areas of parish lans, which actually constitute small demesnes, and the fact that the parish priests cultivated them themselves (which seem to have been a common practice), the entirety of these lans were classified as demesne lans. Of course, this does not exclude the fact that they could have sometimes been leased by the parsons to local peasants.<sup>21</sup> In any event, however, it seemed necessary to include this category in the group of non-peasant lans.

The entire arable acreage owned by Church institutions in Chełmno Voivodeship was 4,561 lans, of which 3,322 lans were the peasant ones, while demesne (or more precisely: non-peasant lans) account for 1,239 lans. The ratio of demesne lans (non-peasant) to the total arable land is therefore approximately 27.2%. In addition, one should take into account the numbers concerning the town property belonging to Chełmno bishopric, i.e., mainly the town of Chełmno; see below.

Town property is presented as the property of royal towns and their burgers as well as clergy centres, i.e., towns belonging to Chełmno bishopric. Among the nine royal towns, six of which are in Chełmno district (Golub, Grudziądz, Kowalewo, Łasin, Radzyń, Toruń), and three in Michałowo district (Brodnica, Lidzbark Welski, Nowe Miasto), the town of Toruń played the most important role. Its extensive territory with 33 settlements,<sup>22</sup> included 23 peasant villages with an acreage of 794 lans (approximately 34 lans per one village) and the 10 demesnes, with an acreage of approximately 100 lans. Hence, the total arable land of the Toruń territory is approximately 894 lans, while the ratio of demesne acreage to the total area reaches 11%. Undoubtedly, one should also take into account a certain part of the extensive Toruń patrimony, which, however, to a large extent consisted of forests, meadows and pastures.

<sup>21</sup> This problem for the area of Chełmno and Pomesania bishoprics, due to the lack of sixteenth century visitations, is not very clear, in Pomeranian Voivodeship (Pomeranian Archdiaconate) likewise.

<sup>22</sup> The administrative division of the settlements: Bierzgowy cluster (16), Mlewo cluster, also known as eastern (14); 3 settlements were not included in any property cluster – cf. M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego*, pp. 22, 47.

Of the remaining royal towns, Grudziądz, Łasin and Radzyń have one to three settlements each. In Michałowo district, Brodnica and Nowe Miasto have one village each.

The estates of townspeople, mainly Toruń patricians, in the number of seven villages, were located in Chełmno district, next to the territory of the town of Toruń.

Five towns of Chełmno bishopric (Chełmno, Chełmża, Kurzętnik, Lubawa, and Wąbrzeźno) constitute the Church-owned town property. The first on the list plays a slightly different role due to the considerable extent of its territory. In its area, there were a total of nine settlements, including seven peasant villages and two demesnes (Gogolin and Sztynwag). The latter were handed over to the Chełmno Academy for use. The entire arable area in the Chełmno territory was approximately 150 lans, of which about 20 lans were demesne acreage. It should be noted that each of the voivodeship's towns has a patrimonial area, partially appropriated for arable land. However, the size of the arable land is known only in sporadic cases and sometimes reaches up to 77 lans.<sup>23</sup> Due to the lack of necessary data for most urban centres, the problem of patrimonial areas could not be fully included in the statistical calculations.

Summarising, it should be stated that the entire arable area of the voivodeship (excluding patrimonies) is approximately 15,659 lans. Peasants' lans constitute 11,262, (71.9%), demesnes – 4,089 lans (26.1 %), farm gentry (0.5–3 lans) – 233 lans (1.5%), unspecified – 75 lans (0.5%). Despite the relatively high percentage of demesne lans when it comes to noble and Church property, the advantage of the peasant acreage in the entire arable area is apparent.

Rounding the figure of the voivodeship's arable acreage to 16,000<sup>24</sup> lans (due to the hypothetical patrimonial lans of towns) and converting them to km<sup>2</sup> (assuming 16.8 ha per one km<sup>2</sup>) we arrive at the number of 2688 km<sup>2</sup>. Since the entire area of the voivodeship was 4,654 km<sup>2</sup>, there are approximately 1,966 km<sup>2</sup> of forests, meadows and fallow lands, i.e., 42.2%, while arable land constitutes 57.8%, so 3/5 of the entire territory of the voivodeship.

To compare the sizes of individual categories of land ownership, the size of individual territorial complexes (including forests and vacant land) was also calculated using the planimetric calculations on the basis of the land ownership map. Compared to the figures of the arable land, these calculations are as follows:

**Table 11. Comparison of the arable land of Chełmno Voivodeship to the entire area belonging to particular categories of land ownership**

ownership affiliation	arable land acreage			total	area
	lans	km <sup>2</sup>	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%
royal	4,972	835.3	31.9	1,733	37.3
noble	4,643	780.0	29.6	1,240	26.7
Church	4,561	766.2	29.1	1,068	22.9
Church-owned town	150	25.2	0.9	150	3.2
crown-owned town	1,244	209.0	7.9	447	9.6
unspecified	89	15.0	0.6	16	0.3
total	15,659	2,630.7	100.0	4,654	100.0

This comparison shows that the share of royal property more than doubled due to the significant stretches of its forested areas. Similarly, the share of towns' estates increased due to the vast territory of Toruń (forests) and Chełmno as well as the patrimonial areas of individual towns. While emphasizing the hypothetical nature of the above calculations, especially regarding the entire area belonging to individual ownership categories, it should be noted that they seem to illuminate even more clearly the structure of the voivodeship's ownership relations.

<sup>23</sup> It is known that, according to the data from tax registers and bishop's inventories, Radzyń has 38.5 lans of arable land, Lidzbark Welski – 34 lans, Chełmża – 75 lans, Kurzętnik – 23 lans, Lubawa – 77 lans, Wąbrzeźno – 62 lans. It should be noted that in the sixteenth century the town of Chełmża also used the village of Sugajenko, located in the Kurzętnica estate cluster of Chełmno bishopric.

<sup>24</sup> For patrimonial lans there were six towns known (approx. 309.5 lans), an average of approx. 50 lans per one town.

## Malbork Voivodeship

The division of land ownership in Malbork Voivodeship in terms of the number of rural settlements is presented in the table below.

**Table 12. Land ownership of Malbork Voivodeship according to the number of rural settlements**

administrative unit	total rural settlements	royal property		noble property		Church property		town property -crown	
		settl.	%	settl.	%	settl.	%	settl.	%
voivodeship without the town of Elbląg	221	143	64.6	74	33.4	2	1	2	1
territory of the town of Elbląg	63	–	–	–	–	–	–	63	100
total	284	143	50.2	74	26.0	2	1	65	22.8

In terms of their economic character, the rural settlements of Malbork Voivodeship were as follows:

**Table 13. Economic categories of rural settlements in Malbork Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	peasant villages	demesne settlements			settlements owned by demesne nobility	milling settlements	pasture, fishing and ferry villages	settlements of unspecified economic category	total
		by peasant villages	standalone	total					
royal	112	2	17	19	–	5	6	3	143
nobility	38	?	?	?	19 <sup>25</sup>	–	1	16	74
Church	2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	2
town-royal	34	–	19	19	–	1	9	2	65
total	186	3	36	39	19	6	16	21	284

The area of the voivodeship's arable land was as follows:

**Table 14. Arable land of Malbork Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	peasant [lans]		demesne [lans]		demesne using hired labour [lans]		total demesne [lans]		farm gentry [lans]		lans with unspecified ownership		total arable lans	ratio of individual ownership types
		%		%		%		%		%		%		
royal	4,408	93.6	302.5	6.4	–	–	302.5	6.4	–	–	–	–	4,710.5	60.3
noble	743	57.7	320.0	24.9	224	17.4	544.0	42.3	–	–	–	–	1,287.0	16.5
Church	99.5	27.9	256.5	72.1	–	–	256.5	72.1	–	–	–	–	356.0	4.6
town-royal	1,216.5	83.6	216.0	14.9	–	–	216.0	14.9	–	–	22	1.5	1,454.5	18.6
total	6,467	82.8	1,095	14.0	224	2.9	1,319	16.9	–	–	22	0.3	7,808.0	100

<sup>25</sup> The number of standalone demesnes of the nobility has not been specified due to being present also in the settlements of the peasant-less gentry with more than 3 lans. Only eight gentry settlements constitute just demesnes (without the peasants' lans and farm gentry with over 3 lans).

Regarding the number of settlements, royal and noble property come first, however, the table of arable land shows the advantage of town over nobility property, confirming the unquestionable primacy of the crown property.

Among the royal properties (143 rural settlements), the estates of the Malbork economy established in 1511 constitute its core, covering Wielkie and Małe Żuławy stretching between the Leniwka River, the Elbląg Vistula River and Lake Drużno with the Malbork castle as the seat of the Malbork economy administration. In the area of Wielkie Żuławy there are 46 settlements, and in Małe Żuławy there are 30. In the northern area of Wielkie Żuławy, three housing settlements form a separate so-called Berwałd lease (today's Niedźwiedzica), and 12 – the so-called Nowy Dwór lease – established in the mid-sixteenth century with royal pledges for the Loytz banker family from Gdańsk.<sup>26</sup> The remaining royal estates are concentrated in four starostwos: Sztum, Dzierzgoń (usually granted to Malbork voivodes), Straszewo and Tolkmicko, separated from the rest by a complex of Elbląg estates. Three villages located to the east and south of Sztum constituting single leases. Royal property overwhelmingly predominates in the western and central parts of the voivodeship.

The figures concerning the arable land in the royal property show the unquestionable lead of the peasant's acreage, which covers 4,408 lans out of the total 4,710.5. The number of peasants' villages is 112 (on average, approximately 38 lans per village). The number of demesnes is negligible and amounts to only 19, with an area of approximately five lans (average size of demesnes is 16 lans). There is only one demesne per 16 villages: the ratio of the demesne acreage to the total arable land area amounts to approximately 6.4%.

The obtained figures, therefore, show the overwhelming lead of the peasant farms, especially in Żuławy, strongly developed in terms of commodity production and constituting the closest supply base for the neighbouring big towns, i.e., mainly Gdańsk and Malbork. Royal demesnes are usually found in the area of the Malbork economy in Wielkie and Małe Żuławy, in other starostwos we usually find one, except for the Sztum starostwo (3). It should be emphasized that these farms are characterized by a highly developed system of employing hired labour (see below) with very poorly developed peasant manorial servitude.<sup>27</sup>

The noble property comprises 74 settlements in total, concentrated mainly in the south-eastern part of the voivodeship, in the Dzierzgoń and Sztum region, wedged between the royal estates; only the Kadyny estates in the Tolkmicko region form a larger enclave. Without analysing the structure of the Malbork nobility at the moment, we can only state that there are no farm gentry owners among them with less than 3 lans (*propriae culturae*). Consequently, in this voivodeship, the farm gentry is not actually encountered, and the entire field of *propriae culturae* should be considered as demesne lans.

The entire arable area of the noble property is 1,287 lans. The peasant lans belonging to the nobility amounts to 743 lans (38 peasant villages in total, so one village on average = approximately 19 lans). The number of known nobility demesnes is 19, which equates to about 134 lans (the average is nine lans per demesne). We add 224 lans *propriae culturae* to this number, i.e., a leased demesne and an estimated 1/4 of the peasant land (for the demesne not listed in the registers of farm gentry), amounting to 186 lans. Thus, the total acreage of the noble demesne is 544 lans. The ratio of the demesne lans to the total arable area approximately 42.3%, so it is only slightly lower than in Chełmno Voivodeship.

Church property is represented very modestly in Malbork Voivodeship. It is situated in the eastern part, on the border of the Tolkmicko region, in the form of two villages belonging to the Brigid Sisters' monastery in Gdańsk (99.5 peasant lans and eight demesne lans). The property of 62 parish churches, an average of four lans, amounts to a total of 248.5 lans (of which 9.5 lans belongs to town parishes). Thus, the percentage of non-peasant lans is as high as 72.1%.

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<sup>26</sup> P. Czapiewski, *Senatorowie świeccy, podskarbiowie i starostowie Prus Królewskich 1454–1772*, Toruń 1919–1921 (RTNT, vol. 26–28), pp. 48, 146; for more details M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego*, p. 25 f.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. J. Rutkowski, *Pańszczyzna i praca najemna w organizacji folwarków królewskich w Prusach za Zygmunta Augusta*, RH, vol. 4, 1928, p. 42.

Town ownership is represented to a very large extent, first of all, by the vast territory of the town of Elbląg (63 rural settlements). This territory was divided into four administrative districts: the so-called external bailiffs (*Aussenkämmeramt*), the office of the land judge (*Landrichteramt*), the fishing office (*Fischamt*) and the hospital office (*Hospitalsamt*),<sup>28</sup> to which the goods of the town hospital of the Holy Spirit were subject, scattered in the enclave near Tolkmicko and in two further enclaves in Royal Prussia. Some of the town property east of Elbląg was leased to patrician families. Altogether, out of 63 settlements in this territory, 32 are large peasant villages with an area of 1,177 lans (approximately 36 lans per village). The acreage of 19 demesnes is 216 lans (approximately seven lans per demesne), however, it should be noted that these demesnes are almost entirely in the hands of the lessees – patricians of Elbląg. The entire arable acreage of the territory of Elbląg (after adding 22 lans for two settlements of undefined economic nature) is 1,415 lans.

Of the remaining five royal towns (Dzierżoń, Malbork, Nowy Staw, Sztum and Tolkmicko), the last two have one village each (acreage 39.5 lans). Each town has patrimonial areas, but their size, especially farmland, could not be determined.<sup>29</sup> The entire arable area of town property (excluding patrimony) amounted to 1,454.5 lans, of which 1,216.5 lans constituted peasant lans, and 216 lans were demesne area. The ratio of the latter to the total cultivated area is 14.9%.

The cultivated area of the entire Malbork Voivodeship is (without patrimonies) approximately 7,808 lans. The number of peasant lans is 6,467 lans (82.8%), demesne (including also 248.5 lans belonging to parishes) – 1,319 lans (16.9%), undefined – 22 lans (0.3%). Thus, the percentage of demesne lans (i.e., non-peasant lans per se) is much lower than in Chełmno Voivodeship.

Rounding the size of arable land in the voivodeship to approx. 8,000 lans (due to the hypothetical cultivated area of patrimony) we get approximately 1,344 km<sup>2</sup>, 64.1% of the total area of the voivodeship, leaving approximately 752 km<sup>2</sup> of fallow land (35.9%). Thus, farmland area covers over 3/5 of the entire area of the voivodeship, which is even slightly more than the area of Chełmno Voivodeship.

Analysing the arable land, including fallows, in terms of the ownership groups (based on the map of land ownership distribution), we arrive at a table below:

**Table 15. Comparison of the size of Malbork Voivodeship arable land to the total acreage belonging to individual categories of land ownership**

ownership affiliation	arable land			total area in km <sup>2</sup>	
	lans	km <sup>2</sup>	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%
royal	4,710.5	791.4	60.3	1,188	56.7
noble	1,287	216.2	16.5	293	14.0
Church	356	59.8	4.6	71	3.4
town-royal	1,454.5	244.3	18.6	544	25.9
total	7,808	1,311.7	100.0	2,096	100.0

This comparison shows, first of all, a certain decrease in the share of royal, noble and Church property in favour of town property, which increased by almost a half, constituting 1/4 of the total area of the voivodeship. This occurrence is understandable, taking into account the fact that the entire territory of Elbląg is occupied by farmland in only approximately 46%. At the same time, these figures confirm even more vividly the land ownership structure in the voivodeship.

<sup>28</sup> In more detail M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego*, p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> The gathered information dating back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concerns mainly the size of the patrimony (not necessarily cultivated lans) of the towns of Dzierżoń (in 1466 – 72 lans), Nowy Staw (in 1570 – 37.5 cultivated lans), Sztum (in 1565 – 57 cultivated lans) and Tolkmicko (in 1664 – 61.5 lans). It is known that the town of Malbork also had a patrimony (in 1276 – 49 lans).

## Pomeranian Voivodeship

The division of land ownership in the voivodeship in terms of owned settlements is presented in the table below.

**Table 16. Land ownership in Pomeranian Voivodeship according to the number of rural settlements**

district – administrative unit	total rural settlements	royal property		noble property		church property		town-royal property		unspecified ownership	
		no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
Czuchów	120	45	37.5	72	60	2	1.7	1	0.8	–	–
Gdańsk	100	14	14.0	31	31	43	43.0	11	11.0	1	1
Mirachowo	81	29	35.8	39	48.2	12	14.8	–	–	1	1.2
Nowe	49	12	24.5	32	65.3	4	8.2	1	2.0	–	–
Puck	114	37	32.5	46	40.3	31	27.2	–	–	–	–
Świecie	127	44	34.6	73	57.5	8	6.3	1	0.8	1	0.8
Tczew	285	92	32.3	117	41.0	67	23.5	7	2.5	2	0.7
Tuchola	111	50	45.1	53	47.7	6	5.4	1	0.9	1	0.9
territory of the town of Gdańsk	76	–	–	–	–	–	–	76	100.0	–	–
total	1,063	323	30,4	463	43,5	173	16,3	98	9,2	6	0,6

In terms of the economic nature, the rural settlements of Pomerania were divided as follows:

**Table 17. Economic categories of rural settlements in Pomeranian Voivodeship**

ownership affiliation	peasant villages	belonging to peasant villages	standalone demesne settlements	total	villages belonging to demesne and farm gentry	milling villages	fishing and inn villages	villages of unspecified econ. character	total rural settlements
royal	241	33	35	68	–	15	11	21	323
noble	273	?	?	?	161 <sup>30</sup>	1	–	28	463
Church	121	17	40	57	–	1	3	8	173
town-royal	54	5	10	15	–	1	18	15	98
unspecified	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	6
total	689	55	85	140	161	18	32	78	1 063

Table 21 shows that in terms of the number of rural settlements, the nobility-owned property outweighs others, followed by royal, Church and town property. This order does not change even if one takes the farmland acreage under consideration.

<sup>30</sup> The number of standalone nobility-owned demesnes has not been specified since they are located also in the villages belonging to farm gentry and peasant-less gentry with over 3 lans of land. Only 19 nobility-owned settlements are decidedly demesnes (without farm gentry with more than 3 lans).

**Table 18. Arable area of Pomeranian Voivodeship<sup>31</sup>**

ownership affiliation	peasant lans		demesne lans		demesne using hired labour [lans]		total demesne lans		farm gentry lans		unspecified ownership in lans		total cultivated land in lans		share of individual types of ownership
		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
royal	7,816	88.0	1,064	12.0	–	–	1,064	12.0	–	–	–	–	8,880	36.6	
noble	3,939	43.6	2,689	29.8	1,786	19.7	4,475	49.5	630	6.9	–	–	9,044	37.3	
Church	2,956	68.0	1,392	32.0	–	–	1,392	32.0	–	–	–	–	4,348	17.9	
town-royal	1,755	91.5	162	8.5	–	–	162	8.5	–	–	–	–	1,917	7.9	
unspecified	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	75	100	75	0.3	
total	16,466	67.9	5,307	21.9	1,786	7.4	7,093	29.2	630	2.6	75	0.3	24,264	100.0	

Therefore, the nobility-owned property would still remain in the first place, and royal property is only slightly lower. However, these numbers do not fully correspond to the actual relations of types of ownership in Pomerania, if we take into account the barren (fallow) lans, the existence of which could be largely observed this time, mainly on the basis of the tax registers and lustrations. The following list further supports that claim:

**Table 19. Comparison of arable and non-arable lans in Pomeranian Voivodeship in the years 1564–1571**

ownership affiliation	arable lans	barren/fallow lans	total lans	property share
royal	8,880	1,370	10,250	38.0
noble	9,044	710	9,754	36.1
Church	4,348	605	4,953	18.3
town-royal	1,917	49 <sup>32</sup>	1,966	7.3
unspecified	75	–	75	0.3
total	24,264	2,734	26,998	100.0

The tally shows that the fallows cover an area equal to at least 10% of the arable land in the entire voivodeship. It bears mentioning that, the available source materials only provide solid grounds to capture the minimum of the unused land. The size of the fallow fields in Pomerania, therefore, does not correspond to the average number of 30%, adopted for all Polish lands at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> However, it should be noted that apart from the incompleteness of the source material, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the fallow areas were in constant use from the first half of the sixteenth century, which is clearly reflected in the Pomeranian source material from the years 1564–1570.<sup>34</sup> These fallows are mainly a result of the Polish-Teutonic wars in the fifteenth century or

<sup>31</sup> Numbers in the table slightly differ from those initially drafted as in the works of M. Biskup, A Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, vol. 1, p. 56, which was a result of the following factors 1) using a broader spectrum of source material, 2) assuming an additional estimation for noble demesnes; 3) a shift in the numbers concerning parish property to general Church property, 4) adding the numbers concerning the territory of the town of Gdańsk and 5) taking into account only the lans being settled and cultivated, without fallows and barren land, as specified below.

<sup>32</sup> This data does not include the territory of the town of Gdańsk, for which there is no source material available.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. S. Mielczarski, J.R. Szaflik, *Zagadnienie lanów pustykh w Polsce w XV i XVI w.*, SMDWP, vol. 1, 1956, no. 2, pp. 67 f.

<sup>34</sup> It is especially visible in the property of Tuchola starostwo in the years 1565–1570 as well as Gniezno archbishopric (inspection of Kamiński estate cluster from the year 1565).

the war with Albrecht Hohenzollern in the early sixteenth century. They are the most numerous among royal and Church property, and slightly less so among noble and town property. Most of the fallows in royal property are found in the Człuchów, Świecie, Tczew and Tuchola districts, while in nobility-owned property in the Człuchów, Gdańsk, Puck and Tczew districts, and for Church property in the Gdańsk, Puck and Tczew districts. Mostly, the fallows are found in the southern and eastern (around the Vistula River) parts of Pomerania, and, to some extent, also in the northern area (Puck district).

It should be emphasized that in Pomerania, unlike in other parts of the Crown, the fallows were rarely occupied by peasants for additional farming. Numerous data show that those voids, the existence of which are often marked by tax registers, and on which no tax was collected (*lanei vacui*), lie fallow for years, overgrown with bushes, etc.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the very size of these fallows indicates that they cannot be fully developed by the existing peasant population. The fallows in individual villages would cover about 1/3 of the lans, but sometimes they would amount to 80–90% of the area of the entire village.<sup>36</sup> In the rare cases where there was evidence that these fields were used by peasants, they were classified as arable fields.<sup>37</sup> Without denying the possibility of sporadic use of some further fallows by the peasants (despite the sources being silent on the issue), it should be stated that, in general, Pomeranian fallows were indeed uncultivated. At the same time, this fact explains the partially intensive process of the so-called second German colonization in Pomerania, which was just beginning in the discussed period, and which will largely encompass the above-mentioned unused areas. Similarly, in Crown-owned estates, attempts would be made to create demesnes from the fallow lans.<sup>38</sup> Undoubtedly, fallows of this type existed in the remaining areas of Prussia, to which the wave of Olander colonization was also going to occur in the near future, but the source material did not capture this phenomenon as clearly as for the Pomeranian region.<sup>39</sup>

The above comparison also shows that in terms of the area of land owned, the royal property occupies, after all, the first place, moving noble property to the second place. This advantage of the royal property will be – as we will see – even greater if we take into account the fact that it includes vast forested areas (especially Bory Tucholskie). For these reasons, while still using the figures relating only to fully cultivated fields, we will treat the royal property as predominant.

The royal property covers a total of 323 rural settlements and 16 urban estates. Rural estates are concentrated in 19 starostwos and in many smaller leases in the form of the bishop's lands. There are from one to nine starostwos in each of the districts, except for Gdańsk, where only individual leases are found. In the Mirachowo, Puck and Tuchola districts, each has only one cluster of estates with the name coined from the name of the district. There are two starostwos (Nowe and Osieck) in Nowe district, similar in Świecie district (Świecie and Jasiniec starostwos), and in Człuchów district – three (Białobór, Człuchów and Czarne starostwos). The largest number of starostwos, as many as nine, can be found in the Tczew district (Borzechów, Gniew, Kiszewa, Kościerzyna, Skarszewo, Sobowidz, Starogard,

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. e.g. ASK XLVI 28, p. 20 – year 1564 – Bysław, Tuchola district and starosty – for every 100 lans – 55 fallow or overgrown lans, in 1570 – 62 „vacui” lans; P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 200; cf. also *ibidem*, p. 152 – year 1570 – Skrzydłowo, Tczew district – the property of Wrocław Bishopric – 40 lans, out of which 32 empty lans („vacui”). In 1582 an inventory of the Bishopric's property notes the number of 40 lans, out of which „many have overgrown”; Inw. 1582, p. 297. Data from royal property illustrations from 1564 and tax registers from 1570 oftentimes confirm the same area as fallow or differ very slightly.

<sup>36</sup> Especially vivid cases are the fallows in the villages of: Prusinowo, Człuchów district and starosty (out of 84 lans even 49 fallow lans); P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 223; Kiełpin, Człuchów district, nobility-owned (out of 60 lans – 31 fallow lans); Pietrzykowo, Człuchów district, noble property (out of 80 lans even 70 were fallow) and Zalesie, Człuchów district, noble property (out of 59 lans 55 were fallow); *ibidem*, pp. 225, 228, 239. Kozielec, Nowe Miasto district, noble property (out of 40 lans – 36 fallow); *ibidem*, p. 174; Tuchom, Gdańsk district, Church property (28 fallow lans out of a total 40); *ibidem*, p. 251.

<sup>37</sup> There are, however, sporadic cases, encountered mainly in the territory of Mirachowo starostwo, where fallows were not of significant sizes. The most prominent exception is 25 fallow lans, used by peasants in the village of Ciechocin in Tuchola district and Tuchola starostwo; ASK LVI 1, p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Borzechowo, Tczew district, Borzechowo starostwo, where a part of the 45 fallow lans was turned into demesne property, while the leftover part remains a fallow; P. Prusy Królewskie, p. 126; Semlin, Tczew district, Kiszewa starostwo – in 1570 out of 50 lans –27 fallow; *ibidem*, p. 134. In 1624 a royal inspection states that after 1615 a 14-lan demesne was established in place of the fallow lans; ASK, Section 33, p. 551. Cf. also A. Mączak, *Folwark pańszczyźniany a wieś w Prusach Królewskich w XVI–XVII w.*, PH, vol. 47, 1956, no. 2, p. 356.

<sup>39</sup> In the territory of Chełmno voivodeship, the fallows are known in a few cases to be in some villages in the Grudziądz and Rogozin starostwos.

Tczew starostwos, and the so-called inter-Łęsk lease area).<sup>40</sup> Royal property is of greatest significance in the Człuchów, Puck, Świecie, Tczew and Tuchola districts, i.e., in the southern, eastern and central part of Pomerania, where, in addition to a significant arable land, it also includes vast forests.

The entire cultivated area of the royal property amounts to 8,880 lans, of which 7,816 are peasant lans, concentrated in 241 villages (on average about 321 per one village). Sixty-eight royal demesne farms occupy by acreage of up to 1,064 lans (an average of 16 lans per one demesne). Thus, there is one demesne for approximately 3.5 peasant villages. The ratio of the demesne area to the total arable area is approximately 12%. Royal demesnes are most densely located in the Człuchów district (11 for 34 peasant villages) and Tczew district (26 for 73 peasant villages). It should be emphasized that the figures concerning the number of demesnes and their acreage show only the initial stage of demesne development in royal estates; development increased significantly in the following decades.

Noble property is represented by 463 rural settlements. They are grouped in each of the districts, although the most densely in the districts near the Vistula River and the western part of the voivodeship (Człuchów district),<sup>41</sup> dominating the area over the royal and Church estates (except for the small Gdańsk district). Leaving the discussion on the structure of the voivodeship nobility for the next part of the commentary, we would only like to note that among the Pomeranian nobility there are a considerable number of farm gentry, owning from 0.5 to 3 lans of land, especially petty Kashubian gentry. However, in this group we also find a significant percentage of larger landowners (more than 3 lans taxed 12-grosz per lan), the fields of whom, consequently, must be included in the category of demesne lans.

The number of lans belonging to the farm gentry (having 0.5–3 lans) is 630. The area of nobility-owned peasant lans (after a slight addition, on average of 5%) reaches 3 939 lans (in 273 villages, an average of 14 lans per village). The demesne acreage consists of 2,689 lans in peasant villages and 1,786 lans of farm gentry farmsteads (owners of more than 3 lans), i.e., demesne using paid workforce, so 4,475 lans in total. This accounts for 49.5% of the total nobility-owned lans, so similarly as in Chełmno Voivodeship.

Church property is represented in two forms: as the property of individual Church institutions (monasteries, bishoprics and Gdańsk hospitals) and parish churches. In total, it covers 173 rural settlements, with their densest concentration in the north-eastern part of Pomerania (Gdańsk, Mirachowo, Puck and Tczew districts), and to a very low degree in the south-western part (Człuchów, Tuchola, Świecie and Nowe districts). They belong to the following Church institutions:

Monastery in Pelplin	35 settlements
Monastery in Oliwa	33
Włocławek Bishopric	29
Monastery in Kartuzy	19
Monastery in Żuków	17
Monastery in Żarnowiec	9
Gniezno archbishopric	9
St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Gdańsk	6
Monastery of Bridgettines in Gdańsk	5
Monastery in Łąd (Greater Poland)	4
Monastery of Benedictine Nuns in Chełmno	3
Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Gdańsk	2
Parish church in Tuchola	1
Parish church in Kościerzyna	1
Total	173 <sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> For more detail, see: M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego*, vol. 1, pp. 31 f.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 35 f

<sup>42</sup> In comparison to the data given previously (*ibidem*, p. 41) two further settlements were identified: Pierszczewko in Mirachowo district, belonging to the parish church in Kościerzyna (previously mistakenly presented as nobility-owned) and Zakoniczyn, Gdańsk district – property of the St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Gdańsk.

The property of the great Cistercian monasteries in Pelplin (35 settlements) and Oliwa (33) occupies the most prominent position, along with the Carthusians in Kartuzy (19), the Norbertine nuns in Żukowo (17) and the Benedictine nuns in Żarnowiec (9), concentrated in Gdańsk and Mirachowo, Puck and Tczew districts.<sup>43</sup> The property of Włocławek bishopric (29), concentrated in two large sets: Komorsk (Nowe and Świecie districts) and Subkowy (Tczew, Gdańsk and Puck districts) and the Gniezno archbishopric (9) in the Człuchów, Tuchola and Świecie districts, plays an equal role. Out of other Church institutions, we should point out the property of the Bridgettines' monastery in Gdańsk and two local hospitals (Gdańsk and Tczew districts) and the Benedictine nunnery in Chełmno (Świecie district).

In terms of arable land, the ownership of the above institutions is presented in the following table:

Monastery in Oliwa	805 lans
Włocławek Bishopric	736 lans
Monastery in Pelplin	684 lans
Monastery in Kartuzy	368 lans
Monastery in Żuków	294 lans
Gniezno Archbishopric	210 lans
Monastery in Łąd	134 lans
Monastery in Żarnowiec	106 lans
St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Gdańsk	79 lans
Monastery of Bridgettines in Gdańsk	61 lans
Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Gdańsk	50 lans
Monastery of Benedictine Nuns in Chełmno	35 lans
Parish church in Tuchola	20 lans
Parish church in Kościerzyna	15 lans
Total	3,597 lans

This table, therefore, shifts to the fore the properties of the monastery in Oliwa (805 lans) before the property of the Włocławek Bishopric (736 lans) and the Pelplin monastery (684 lans). It should be noted that the total property of the Włocławek Bishopric in the entire Royal Prussia, including its estates located in Chełmno Voivodeship, amounts to 32 settlements with 808 lans (and thus equal to the monastery in Oliwa); similarly, the Benedictine nunnery in Chełmno had a total of 12 settlements, covering 236 lans. Also, the property of the Bridgettines' convent in Gdańsk, if we include its estates in Malbork Voivodeship, amounts to a total of seven estates with an area of 160.5 lans.

Out of 3,600 cultivated lans, owned by the larger Church institutions in Pomerania, the peasants' acreage is 2,956 lans, located in 121 villages (approximately 24 lans per one village). The area of 57 demesnes is approximately 644 lans (about 11 lans per one demesne), which is around 18% of the total arable land area. There is one demesne for every 2.1 peasant villages. Both the number of Church demesnes and their acreage is quite high in comparison with royal demesnes. The second group among the Church-owned estates is the property of 197 parish churches, which is slightly less than four lans each. In total, the Church property amounts to 748 lans, 685 of which belongs to rural parishes, and 63 lans to town parishes. The total number of parish-owned lans, due to the fact that they usually were independent farms of the parish priests, is also listed among the demesne lans, which consequently increase to the figure of 1,392 lans (against 2,956 peasants' lans), making up approximately 32% of the total Church-owned farmland.

Town ownership is generally divided into two categories: the property of the town of Gdańsk (including the town of Hel) and the property of the remaining 14 royal towns and burghers. In the territory of the town of Gdańsk, which was a separate administrative unit, there were 76 rural settlements<sup>44</sup> most densely concentrated in Żuławy Steblewskie and the Gdańsk Upland. The entirety of

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 40 f.

<sup>44</sup> An increase in the number of rural settlements belonging to the territory of the town of Gdańsk, previously established as 75 settlements (*ibidem*, pp. 30, 44), by one settlement has been due to the partitioning of today's Olszynka (Walddorf) into Olszynka Mała and Olszynka Wielka, according to the factual state as of sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.

their acreage was approximately 1,549 lans (not taking into account the unknown area of the Gdańsk patrimony's arable land). Far ahead of the others among arable land is that cultivated by the peasants, covering 1,512 lans, concentrated in 43 peasant villages (Żuławy, Gdańsk Upland), with an average area of 34 lans. Demesnes are encountered in negligible numbers (3) and cover only 32 lans. On the other hand, a significant number of settlements (at least 20) are small fishing and inn settlements, located especially on the Vistula Spit (from Wisłoujście to Narmeln on the border of the Duchy of Prussia) or on the Hel Peninsula (Jastarnia Gdańska).

Of the remaining 14 royal towns, Tczew, Starogard, Świecie, Nowe and Czarne have one village each. 17 settlements, located mainly in Gdańsk and Tczew districts, belong mainly to wealthy patrician families from Gdańsk and the Loytz banker family, who also settled there. The size of the peasants' farmland area of the remaining town property is 238 lans (11 peasant villages), the demesne – 130 lans, a total of 368, while the percentage of the demesne area is approximately 35%. This proves that there is a significant percentage of demesne lans among this part of town property. Taking into account the entire arable area of town property (and thus together with the Gdańsk territory), this ratio drops significantly. The total number of peasant lans belonging to the town property is 1,755 lans, to lying in the demesnes – 162 lans, in total – 1,917 lans, while the ratio of the demesne area to the latter figure is only about 8.5%.

The above figures do not include arable land located in patrimonial areas of individual urban centres. It is only known that for the 12 smaller Pomeranian towns the total number of patrimonial lans is 675.

The arable acreage of the entire Pomeranian voivodeship is (without patrimonies) approximately 24,264 lans. There is 16,466 (67.9%) peasant lans, for demesnes (including 748 lans of the parish property) – 7,093 lans (29.2%), farm gentry – 630 lans (2.6%), undefined – 75 lans (0.3%). Thus, the percentage of demesne arable land is the highest in comparison with other voivodeships, as is the percentage of farm gentry's lans, but it is consequently the lowest for peasant lans.

By rounding the size of the region's arable land to around 25,000 lans (due to the arable lans of patrimonies), we arrive at 4,200 km<sup>2</sup>. Comparing this figure with the size of the entire voivodeship, amounting to 12,907 km<sup>2</sup> it should be stated that the arable area covers only 1/3 of the total area (exactly 32.5%), while forests and fallows cover as much as 8,707 km<sup>2</sup>, i.e., 2/3 (67.5%). These numbers clearly show the significant size of the forested areas in Pomerania and the poor agricultural development in its area compared to the other Prussian voivodeships.

Calculating the extent of individual clusters of property and taking into account forested areas and fallow lands, the following figures were obtained, which we compare with the figures for just the arable land in individual categories of land ownership in Pomerania:

**Table 20. Comparison of the size of Pomeranian Voivodeship farmlands to the total acreage belonging to individual categories of land ownership**

ownership affiliation	arable land			total area	
	lans	km <sup>2</sup>	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%
royal	8,880	1,491.8	36.6	7,075	54.8
noble	9,044	1,519.4	37.3	3,409	26.4
Church	4,348	730.5	17.9	1,454	11.3
town-royal	1 917	322.1	7.9	947	7.3
unspecified	75	12.6	0.3	22	0.2
total	24,264	4,076.4	100.0	12,907	100.0

The table clearly speaks of the considerable share of royal property, which dominates over all other types. The shares of other types of ownership are significantly lower, with the exception of town property, which is held up by the patrimonial areas and the territory of Gdańsk. This table shows the leading position of royal lands in Pomerania.

For the entire area of Royal Prussia, we obtain the following breakdown of land ownership by their types.

**Table 21. Land ownership of Royal Prussia according to the number of settlements**

voivodeship	town settlements	rural settlements	royal		noble		Church		town-Church	town-royal	unspecified ownership
			urban	rural	urban	rural	town	rural	urban	rural	rural
Chełmno	14	622	9	169	–	240	5	150	9	48	6
Malbork	6	284	6	143	–	74	–	2	–	65	–
Pomeranian	16	1,063	16	323	–	463	–	173	–	98	6
total	36	1,969	31	635	–	777	5	325	9	211	12
%	–	100	–	32.2	–	39.5	–	16.5	0.5	10.7	0.6

In the entire Royal Prussia, there is a predominance of estates belonging to the nobility over those of royal and Church property. The latter also includes five towns out of a total of 36 urban centres (i.e., 13.9%). What is striking is the significant percentage of settlements belonging to towns.

The above sequence changes when we consider the size of the total arable land of Royal Prussia.

**Table 22. Arable land in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	crown property [lans]					property of nobility [lans]						
	peasant	%	demesne	%	total	peasant	%	demesne	%	farm gentry	%	total
Chełmno	4,582	92.2	390	7.8	4,972	2,125	45.8	2,285	49.2	233	5.0	4,643
Malbork	4,408	93.6	302.5	6.4	4,710.5	743	57.7	544	42.3	–	–	1,287
Pomeranian	7,816	88.0	1,064	12.0	8,880	3,939	43.6	4,475	49.5	630	6.9	9,044
total	16,806	90.5	1,756.5	9.5	18,562.5	6,807	45.5	7,304	48.8	863	5.7	14,974
%					38.9							31.4

**Table 22 cont.**

voivodeship	Church property [lans]					town-Church property [lans]				
	peasant	%	demesne	%	total	peasant	%	demesne	%	total
Chełmno	3,322	72.8	1,239	27.2	4,561	130	86.7	20	13.3	150
Malbork	99.5	27.9	256.5	72.1	356	–	–	–	–	–
Pomeranian	2,956	68.0	1,392	32.0	4,348	–	–	–	–	–
total	6,377.5	68.8	2,887.5	31.2	9,265	130	86.7	20	13.3	150
%					19.4					0.3

**table 22 cont.**

voivodeship	town-royal property [lans]							unspecified property [lans]							total
	peasant	%	demesne	%	unspec.	%	total	peasant	%	demesne	%	unspec.	%	total	
Chełmno	1,089	87.5	155	12.5	–	–	1,244	14	15.7	–	–	75	84.3	89	15,659

voivodeship	town-royal property [lans]							unspecified property [lans]							total
	peasant	%	demesne	%	unspec.	%	total	peasant	%	demesne	%	unspec.	%	total	
Malbork	1,216.5	83.6	216	14.9	22	1.5	1,454.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7,808
Pomeranian	1,755	91.5	162	8.5	–	–	1,917	–	–	–	–	75	100	75	24,264
total	4,060.5	88.0	533	11.5	22	0.5	4,615.5	14	8.5	–	–	150	91.5	164	47,731
%							9.7							0.3	100

Thus, in fact, in the entire area of Royal Prussia, there is a clear predominance of royal property (38.9%) over noble (31.4%) and Church (19.4%) property. The status of the town-owned property is relatively high, being around 10% (without taking into account patrimonial areas).

The percentage of demesne lans is the highest for the nobility (48.8%) and Church (31.2%) property, and the lowest for royal (9.5%) and town property (11.5%).

The above conclusions are supplemented by the summary table of the peasant property acreage, demesne property acreage and the farm gentry's property acreage.

**Table 23. Peasant, demesne and farm gentry's property acreage in Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	peasant lans	%	demesne lans	%	farm gentry lans	%	unspecified lans	%	total arable lans
Chełmno	11,262	71.9	4,089	26.1	233	1.5	75	0.5	15,659
Malbork	6,467	82.8	1,319	16.9	–	–	22	0.3	7,808
Pomeranian	16,466	67.9	7,093	29.2	630	2.6	75	0.3	24,264
total	34,195	71.6	12,501	26.2	863	1.8	172	0.4	47,731

In the whole of the arable area of Royal Prussia, the peasant lans are definitely predominant. With 34,195 lans, they constitute 71.6%, which is over 7/10 of the total area. The area of manor demesnes, with a total area of 12,501 lans, covers only 26.2%, i.e., approximately 1/4 of the entire area. The actual fields of the farm gentry accounted for only 863 lans, i.e., 1.8%.

By rounding the above figures for individual provinces to the general figure of 49,000 lans (and taking into account the patrimonial arable areas in this way) we get approximately 8,232 km<sup>2</sup>. A comparison with the general area of Royal Prussia (i.e., 19,657 km<sup>2</sup>) shows that the arable area of the Prussian lands constitutes only 41.9%, while forests and fallows cover 11,425 km<sup>2</sup>, i.e., 58.1% of the total area. This result was undoubtedly affected by the numbers of Pomeranian Voivodeship, the most extensive and least cultivated and developed one.

When calculating the size of individual ownership categories, taking into account forested and fallow areas, we obtain the numbers for the entire Royal Prussia, which we compare with the figures for the arable land.

**Table 24. Comparison of the Royal Prussia arable land to the total acreage belonging to individual categories of land ownership**

property of	size of farmland			total area	
	lans	km <sup>2</sup>	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%
crown	18,562.5	3,118.5	38.9	9 996	50.9
nobility	14,974	2,515.6	31.4	4,942	25.1
Church	9,265	1,556.5	19.4	2,593	13.2

property of	size of farmland			total area	
	lans	km <sup>2</sup>	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%
town-Church	150	25.2	0.3	150	0.8
town-royal	4,615.5	775.4	9.7	1,938	9.8
unspecified	164	27.6	0.3	38	0.2
total	47,731	8,018.8	100.0	19,657	100.0

The above list shows that the royal property covers exactly half of the area of Royal Prussia, making it unquestionably the most prominent. Property of the nobility only covers  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the area. The ownership of town property has hardly changed as a result of taking into account the entire vast territory of large towns and patrimonial areas of smaller urban centres.

It should be added that the research carried out to determine the percentage of the manor demesne lans within individual parishes allowed for the formulation of several conclusions concerning the territorial development of the manorial economy (*gospodarka folwarczna*). It was found that Chełmno Voivodeship shows a clear predominance of areas with an average percentage of demesne lans (10–40% of lans within individual parishes). The manorial economy developed the least in the central part of the Michałowo district, and in the southern part in the property of the Płock bishops. The most significant development of the manor demesne (over 40%) is observed in the western part of the Chełmno district, especially between Chełmża and Grudziądz, i.e., in areas owned by the demesne nobility, largely peasant-less.

The area of Żuławy stands out in Malbork Voivodeship as the area of the weakest development of the manorial economy. A more considerable exception are the parishes of Malbork, Matowy and Zwierzno (by Drużno Lake), where most of the Malbork economy (*ekonomia malborska*) demesnes are concentrated. Of the remaining regions, the demesnes in the vicinity of Sztum and Dzierzgoń, which are a concentration of middle and greater demesne nobility, show medium and larger development.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, the areas with the weakest manorial economic development are significantly in the minority. These are mainly the territory of the town of Gdańsk and the southern part of the Człuchów district. Basically, the parishes with an average percentage of demesne lans are predominant. The exceptions are areas with a higher density of manor demesnes, which lay in the northern part of the Człuchów district, in the central and southern parts of the Tuchola district, as well as several parishes in the western and central parts of the Tczew and Gdańsk districts. This phenomenon is understandable, taking into account the fact that the majority of the above-mentioned areas are inhabited by the middle-class demesne nobility with or without peasants. Also, the existence of manor demesnes in royal estates in these areas (established on fields that had been empty until recently) increases the percentage of manor demesne lans in several, especially in the Borzechów starostwo.

## Soil diversity and agricultural use of land (thematic map 2)

This map illustrates the degree of land use in agriculture (i.e., by rural population) of Royal Prussia. It was developed based on data on the size of the arable land converted into km<sup>2</sup> and the total area of each parish. The obtained results were presented on a base map containing the soils to make it easier to draw conclusions, although for proper interpretation it is also necessary to use the main map showing the extent of forests and wetlands as well as geomorphology.

The base map with soils was elaborated on the basis of a map by J. Tomaszewski enlarged from a scale of 1:1,000,000 to 1:500,000. For a proper understanding of the content of map number 2, we present below a short sketch of the distribution of soils in the area of Royal Prussia.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The works of S. Lencewicz, *Geografia fizyczna Polski*, Warsaw 1955; M. Kielczewska-Zaleska, *O powstaniu i przeobrażaniu kształtów wsi Pomorza Gdańskiego*, Warsaw 1956 (Prace Instytutu Geografii PAN, no. 5); *Wstęp*, [in:] *Słownik geograficzny państwa polskiego*, ed. S. Arnold, Warsaw 1932.

In Prussia, some soils can be classified depending on their fertility as follows: 1) poor soils, i.e., dune sands, sandy soils and sandy loams 2) medium soils, i.e., podzolic soils and sandy clay loams, and loamy clays, 3) good soils, i.e. clay, loamy clays, chernozemic soils, and alluvial soils.

Almost all over the discussed area there are deposits of glacial origin. The exceptions are the Vistula valley and its delta.

Large areas, especially in Pomeranian Voivodeship, are covered with poor sandy soils, either in the form of sands or in the form of loamy sands. The latter, lying on a clay soil base, are quite fertile (medium) soils.

We see sands along almost the entire Baltic coast, where they appear in the form of dunes, mostly preserved by their forest cover. In the coastal lowlands belt, more fertile soils are associated with the presence of ground moraines. Thus, almost all coastal vegetation clusters will have good clay soils with high agricultural intensification. South of Gdańsk, on the ground moraine, there is a strip of fertile, clumpy soils, breaking off below Nowe by the sands of Pomeranian outwash plains. Particularly fertile areas are located south of Tczew and extend to Gniew, near which there are patches of oily loamy clay and even chernozem. Further south, in the Świecie district, there are patches of medium clay soils, as well as podzolics and loamy sands on a clay base. Finally, the third area of fertile clay soils occurs in the ground moraine near Tuchola, Chojnice, Człuchów and Debrzno.

The main embankment of the Pomeranian Lakeland will be quite diversified in terms of soil. Here, next to huge heaps of gravel, sand and boulders, there are, for example, in the vicinity of Goręczyno, inlays of red clumpy clays, further to the north, even loamy clays. Also, the vicinity of Raduńskie Lake abounds in small patches of clay soils, e.g., near Stężyca. In general, however, the majority of soils are light, sandy, and of poor or moderate fertility. South of the lake embankment there is the domain of barren outwash plains, the domain of sand and gravel. Here and there insular deposits of soils with different composition appear, associated with smaller chains of terminal moraines or patches of a ground moraine. These patches form large clearings among the great outwash plain forests and are of particularly agricultural nature. The largest of these clearings are in the vicinity of Brusy, Wiele, and Czersk.

To the east of the Vistula, soils on the glacial substrate occur in the Elbląg Upland. These will usually be medium podzolic soils and sandy clay loams. The areas of Malbork, Sztum and Dzierzgoń are more fertile, where fertile clays appear, and only in the vicinity of the Vistula valley sandy soils are found along with associated forest area.

Chełmno Voivodeship is a fertile area, especially its western part. Good clay soils, known for their fertility, prevail here. In its eastern part, i.e., in the area of Brodnica and Lubawa, podzolics and sandy clay loams predominate. There are no major outwash areas in this voivodeship, their small patches are only found south of Wąbrzeźno, slightly above the Drwęca River, east of Biskupiec and in the vicinity of Lidzbark Welski.

The sandy soils in the Vistula valley are of a different nature. Apart from the river alluvial, infertile sands in the form of dunes appear here. They can be seen near Toruń, Unisław and Grudziądz. Among them, there are wetlands and peatlands.

The soils of the downstream Vistula and Żuławy valleys are of a completely different origin, not related to their glacial substrate. These are loamy clay sediments of the Vistula, characterized by great fertility, known as fluvisols. For a long time, the settlement of the Vistula delta could only develop with great difficulty, because most of it was composed of wetlands and endangered by constant flooding. However, as the wetlands were drained (on a large scale by the Teutonic Knights in fourteenth century), the number of settlements began to increase rapidly and their network became denser.

Of the three voivodeships of Royal Prussia, Malbork Voivodeship had the highest percentage of fertile soils thanks to the Vistula delta, which was largely within its borders and in the vicinity of Malbork and Sztum.

In Chełmno Voivodeship, the western part was among the most fertile, with a large majority of clayey soils. The central and eastern parts had medium soils, mainly composed of podzolics and loamy sands.

The least fertile soils were found in Pomeranian Voivodeship. Its entire central part was filled with sand and gravel as well as weak soils of the former lake coastline. The more fertile soils were distributed peripherally, stretching from the coast to the south along the Vistula River and along the southern border of the voivodeship. The areas of Tczew and Gniew and a part of Żuławy are counted among the most fertile.

With the above data in mind, we will now take a look at the table showing the percentage of agricultural land use in individual voivodeships on a parish scale:

**Table 25. Share of agricultural land use in the parishes of Royal Prussia**

voivodeship	ratio					total number of parishes or equivalent administrative unit
	0–30%	30–50%	50–70%	above 70%	unknown	
Chełmno	11	29	26	52	3	121 <sup>46</sup>
%	9.1	24.0	21.5	43.0	2.4	100
Malbork	3	3	9	32	–	47 <sup>47</sup>
%	6.4	6.4	19.1	68.1	–	100
Pomeranian	58	45	30	54	1	188 <sup>48</sup>
%	30.9	23.9	16.0	28.7	0.5	100
total	72	77	65	138	4	356
%	20.2	21.6	18.3	38.7	1.2	100

The figures show that for the whole of Royal Prussia there is a predominance of parishes with an average ratio, in which the degree of agricultural land use is 30–70%, although a significant proportion (38.7%) are parishes exceeding the upper limit.<sup>49</sup> Parishes with the lowest ratio (less than 30%) constitute only 20.2% of the total area of Prussia.

However, these results are very different in each voivodeship. The table shows that Malbork Voivodeship has the highest percentage of parishes with maximum agricultural land use (68.1%), followed by Chełmno Voivodeship (43%). Pomeranian Voivodeship comes last, with parishes with the lowest percentage (30.9%) playing an important role.

The map shows that the centre of the most extensively cultivated land is in Żuławy Wielkie in the area of Malbork Voivodeship, and the strip of land stretching from Malbork to the southern border of this voivodeship. Therefore, these are forestless areas with the best alluvial or clay soils in Żuławy Wiślane. The least used agricultural areas of the voivodeship include – despite the best soils – wetlands by Drużno Lake and the territory of the town of Elbląg, which, as mentioned, will become the subject of intensive colonization only from the end of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, a serious reduction in the ratio in the Sztum region is influenced by the weakness of sandy soils, largely forested (Puszcza Sztumska, *Sztum Forest*).

In Chełmno Voivodeship, the centres of the maximum use of land for agriculture are parishes in Chełmno district, stretching from the north of Toruń to the northern border of the voivodeship in the vicinity of Łasin. This rather compact strip is characterised by the best clay soils and podzolics in the whole voivodeship, in addition to being very slightly forested. The only exceptions are the areas around Chełmża, Wąbrzeźno and Golub with weak sandy and loamy sandy soils, largely forested, especially in the vicinity of Golub and Wąbrzeźno. In the eastern part, parishes south of Brodnica and the Lubawa region, except the Lidzbark Welski area, show the highest ratio of arable land. These are,

<sup>46</sup> This number encompasses 119 parishes of the voivodeship and two parishes in Dobrzyń land, which had property in the territory of the voivodeship (Ciechocin and Grążawy).

<sup>47</sup> This number encompasses 44 parishes of the voivodeship (without the territory of Elbląg), the vicinity of Tolkmicko, Nowy Dwór lease and the territory of the town of Elbląg; three latter administrative units are taken as an equivalent to a large parish.

<sup>48</sup> This number encompasses 181 parishes and includes six parishes from outside the voivodeship's territory as well as from the territory of Gdańsk, being treated as an equal administrative unit (large parish). The above number of parish units or their equivalents were assumed for all following tables.

<sup>49</sup> In some cases, the ratio is 90% and slightly higher. Obviously, we should be aware that this high outcome is sometimes subject to methods of interpolation, used because of the necessity of outlining parish borders. Apart from some exaggerations these figures present the basic tendency of the phenomenon well. The high ratio for neighbouring parishes is also striking, which would suggest a high degree of development of the area and a lack of meadows, pastures and forests of greater sizes.

without exception, forestless areas of medium podzolic soils.<sup>50</sup> The least developed areas in the entire voivodeship are parishes in the Toruń, Golub and Nowe Miasto vicinity. These are entirely forested areas with weak sandy soils (or non-colonized stretches of Vistula River's alluvial wetlands). Less developed areas also include parishes in the vicinity of Grudziądz and Lidzbark Welski (weaker sand soils and richer forest cover).

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, the parishes with the highest percentage of agricultural land development are concentrated mainly in the Vistula belt, stretching from Nowe, through the vicinity of Starogard and Tczew to the Gdańsk region, with the most developed part between Gdańsk and Tczew. These parishes occupy the most fertile lands in the entire voivodeship (clay soils and even fragments of chernozem near Gniew), most of which are poorly forested. On the other hand, the territory of the town of Gdańsk, despite the high quality of soil, shows – similarly to the territory of the town of Elbląg – a lower percentage of agricultural land development (except for enclaves belonging to Church institutions or nobility). This state of affairs is undoubtedly influenced by the development of the wetland areas of Szkarpada river (in the vicinity of the Wisła Elbląska) and the long dune belt of the Vistula Spit, as well as the presence of meadows. Undoubtedly, in the case of being in possession of detailed source data for each of the individual parts of the territory, it would be possible to distinguish areas with a high percentage of agricultural utilization. Such were undoubtedly Żuławy Steblewskie or the Gdańsk Upland.

In the northern part of the voivodeship, parishes in the Puck region also show the highest ratio, especially in Kępa Pucka and Kępa Swarzewska, which are rich in good clay soils. The third cluster of the greatest agricultural land development are parishes located south of Człuchów, Chojnice and Tuchola (the southern part of the Człuchów and Tuchola districts), abundant in medium podzolic soils, and the Chojnice region, with good loamy clays. The parishes in the Świecie region also show an average percentage of land development. In contrast, most lands in the western and central parts of the voivodeship and some coastal parishes are less cultivated. This phenomenon is fully understandable, taking into account that these areas include mainly forested areas, occupying the worst sandy soils in the entire Royal Prussia, especially in the following districts: Tuchola, Człuchów, Świecie, Tczew and Mirachowo, or wetlands (as in the Puck district).

The above results allow for the conclusion that, basically, the areas with good or medium soils are the most utilised. However, an account should always be taken of the existence of other physiographic elements, such as forests or wetlands, which are factors that reduce the degree of agricultural land use.

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>50</sup> The parish of Lubawa is seemingly an exception that shows a lower ratio. This is caused by the town not having its own farmland, which, in accordance with previous assumptions, could not be included in the calculations.

## III.4 GEOGRAPHIC NOMENCLATURE

### III.4.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Jerzy Duma*

The names of villages and hamlets in the territory of Cracow Voivodeship presented in this volume of the *Historical Atlas* were recorded in the sixteenth century. The nomenclature is non-uniform from both: the historical and etymological point of view, as the names formed in the sixteenth century accompany those of earlier origin.<sup>1</sup> Here we can also find names dating back to pre-Slavic period (from before the sixth century of our era), e.g. the names of mountain chains: *Tatry*, *Karpaty*, perhaps *Beskidy* and *Bieszczady*, etc. However, pre-Slavic site names mostly belong to repeated and adapted river names, e.g. s. n. *Dunajec*: r. n. *Dunaj*; s. n. *Pilica*: r. n. *\*Pilca*, later *Pilica*; s. n. *Rabka*, *Sucharaba*: r. n. *Raba* (from the root *\*or-* ‘dig’, see *orać*, *radło*, ‘plow’, ‘plough’); *Skawa*: r. n. *Skawa* (if not from Slavic *\*sьk-/suk-* ‘to turn’); *Wiercica*: r. n. *Warta* (Slavic, or pre-Slavic origin); (*Wielki* and *Mały*) *Wieprz*: r. n. *Wieprz*; *Wisła*: r. n. *Wisła*, etc. The origin of river names was described in details in various studies on hydronymy and toponymy.<sup>2</sup>

Slavic early Medieval names appear with the arrival of the Slavs to the territory of the later Lesser Poland, perhaps at the end of the fifth and in the sixth and seventh centuries. Together with the pre-Slavic nomenclature, they often remain an etymological mystery to researchers, like the name *Bawól* (*Bamuol* 1198), *Wawel*: *\*vqvol-*, *\*vqvьlb* ‘a place by the water, surrounded by water’, *Skrzynka* (*Krzyinka*): *\*krin-* > *\*kryn-* ‘a lowered place’, see *krynica* ‘zdrój’. The etymology of these names is still disputed, yet they form the oldest layer of site and topographical names.

The old layer of Slavic site names consists mostly of archaic possessive forms, derived from Slavic names by means of the suffix *\*-jb*, and of patronymic names, especially those derived from compound Slavic personal names, e.g. possessive s. n. *Pękosław*, *-wia* (from p. n. *\*Pikoslav* + *-jb*); patronymic s. n. *Sulisławice* (from p. n. *Sulisław* + *-ici*, later *-icę*). Possessive names with *\*-jb* are much less frequent in our area than patronymic, e.g. s. n. *Będzin* (*Biden* 1299, *Banden* 1301): p. n. *\*Będzan*: *Będzimir*; s. n. *Biecz* (*Beyech* 1123–1125): p. n. *Biejek*: *Bezdzia*; s. n. *Będusz*: p. n. *Będuch*; s. n. (Stary, Nowy) *Sącz* (*Sandech* 1163): p. n. *\*Sądec*, *\*Sądek*; s. n. *Podlubomierz*: p. n. *Lubomir*; s. n. *Siepraw*, *\*-wia*: p. n. *Siepraw*; s. m. *Skarbimierz* (*Scarbimir* 1242 – today *Skalbmierz*): p. n. *Skarbimir*; s. n. *Wilgo-szcza*: p. n. *\*Wielegost*; s. n. *Wo-dziszław*, *\*-wia* (*Włodzisław* 1370): p. n. *Włodzisław* (*Władysław*); s. n. *Wojnicz*: p. n. *Wojnic* or *\*Wojnik*, etc. A site name *Siewior* (*Seuor* 1125 – today *Siewierz*) is related to this type of site names, though originally it was derived from the word *\*sěverь*, meaning ‘north, northern wind’, or ‘snowstorm’, with later palatalization of the last syllable as in possessive names and the loss of ablaut *\*e* into *o*.

Possessive names with suffixes *\*-ov-/\*-ev-* and *\*-in-* are more frequent, though also more chronologically diversified. The names with the first suffix are especially numerous, e.g. p. n. *Krak* (: *krakać*),

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: s. n. – site name, p. n. – personal name, r. n. – river name, Germ. – German, pie. – Pre-Indo-European, suf. – suffix. Reconstructions were marked with an asterisk.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, in the part devoted to Lesser Poland, see particularly K. Rymut, *Gewässernamen im Flußgebiet der oberen Weichsel von der Quelle bis zur Soła und Przemsza*, „Hydronymia Europaea”, vol. 9, 1993; idem, *Rechte Zuflüsse zur Weichsel zwischen Soła und Dunajec*, „Hydronymia Europaea”, vol. 12, 1996; K. Rymut, M. Majtán, *Gewässernamen im Flußgebiet des Dunajec*, „Hydronymia Europaea”, vol. 13, 1998; K. Rymut, *Gewässernamen im rechten Zuflußgebiet der Weichsel zwischen Dunajec und Wisłok*, „Hydronymia Europaea”, vol. 15, 2000; idem, *Gewässernamen im linken Zuflußgebiet der Weichsel zwischen Przemsza und Pilica*, „Hydronymia Europaea”, vol. 16, 2001.

or – from a word now unknown in Polish *\*krak*, meaning ‘an arm of a river’, see *krok* (‘stride’) and *pokraczny* (‘grotesque’); s. n. *Baranów* p. n. *Baran*, or from *baran* (‘ram’); *Bierków* (*Byrkow* 1343 – today *Biórków*): p. n. *\*Birek* (with a change *\*ir > er > or*); *Czaczów* (originally a patronymic name *Chacheuici* 1174–1176, today in a Mazurian form *Caców*): p. n. *Czacz*: *cacko* ‘toy’; *Gdów* (*Kdow* 1272): p. n. *Gda* (: *gdakać* < *\*kǫdakati* ‘to speak a lot’); *Miechów*: p. n. *Miech*, etc. Newer names are created from foreign roots, e.g. *Giebułtów*: Germ. P. n. *Gebelt*.

Possessive names with *\*-in-* are a little less frequent than those with *\*-ov- / \*-ev-*, but much more frequent than those with *-jb*. Here we could mention, for instance, s. n. *Baczyn*: p. n. *Bacza*: *baczyć* ‘to look’; s. n. *Biadolin*: p. n. *Biadoła*: *biadolić*; s. n. *Będziszyna*: p. n. *\*Będziesza*; s. n. *Muszyna* if it comes from p. n. *Mucha*; s. n. *Rzeplin*: p. n. *\*Rzepla*: *rzepa*, etc.

Patronymic names also reach far into the past. Originally they denoted names for the people, who inhabited a particular village. Later they were transferred, and used as the name of this village. Older forms were created from compound Slavic personal names with a suffix *\*-ici-* (< *\*-itjo*) in the Nominative Case of Plural, and later in Accusative *\*-icě*, often with a suffix *-ov- / -ev-*, e.g. *Boguchwałowice*: p. n. *Boguchwał* + *-ov-icě*; s. n. *Dobieszowice*, *Dobiesławice*: p. n. *Dobiesz*, *Dobiesław*; s. n. *Lusławice* (*de Ludslauicz* 1388): p. n. *\*Ludslaw*; s. n. *Proszowice*: p. n. *Prosz* (: *prosić* ‘to ask’); s. n. *Wojślawice*: p. n. *Wojślaw*, etc. Patronymic names are also derived from shortened Slavic names, e.g. s. n. *Włostowice*: p. n. *Włost*: *Włoscisław*, or nicknames, e.g. s. n. *Wadowice*: p. n. *Wada* (*wadzić*, *zwada*, ‘to disturb’, ‘an argument’); type of subjects, e.g. from a bishop (‘biskup’), or ‘podstoli’ (deputy of a pantler), see s. n. *Biskupice*, *Podstolice*, from a name of inhabitants of a given region, e.g. *Zagorzyce* (‘on the other side of the mountains’). Some patronymic names were also derived from foreign roots, e.g. *Wilamowice*: Germ. p. n. *Wilhelm*.

Stanisław Rospond analysed the occurrence of patronymic names in the territory of present day Poland, and was able to distinguish three areas of their highest accumulation: Lesser Poland, Silesia, and Greater Poland with Cuyavia.<sup>3</sup> These could be the three oldest centres of Slavic settlement in our country. For instance, in Western Pomerania patronymic names appear in a specific layout: the older and more numerous occur in Szczecin Pomerania, especially around Wolin, and near Pырzyce, Stargard Szczeciński, on the site of old arable grounds along the sea, from Trzebiatów until Darłowo, whereas the newer and less frequent names appear to the east and south of these centres.<sup>4</sup> Given the disappearance of Pomeranian language features, which occurred in this direction, this could mean that the old Slavic settlement, inhabiting this part of Pomerania, moved this way, from the west to the east.

Family names resemble patronymic names. They occur in the Plural form of a name. e.g. s. n. *Bodaki*: p. n. *\*Bodak* (: *bodeć* ‘to hit with something sharp’); s. n. *Dębniiki*: p. n. *\*Dębnik* (if it is not a topographic name in Plural, or a subservient form of *dębnik* ‘an oak forest’, ‘oak bark used for tanning’, and perhaps earlier ‘a person who tans leather with oak bark’, see below about service-related names); s. n. *Kijany*: p. n. *Kijan*; s. n. *Kózki*: p. n. *Kózka*; s. n. *Liski*, *Liszki*: p. n. *Lisek* (: *lis* ‘fox’, in the past also *liszka*); s. n. *Wawrzki*: p. n. *Wawrzek*. In the sixteenth century, the majority of family names was created in Mazovia. In Lesser Poland they were less frequent.

The so-called ethnic names, derived from various nations and tribes, appeared along patronymic and family names in Lesser Poland, e.g. s. n. *Pieczynięgi*: ethnic group *Pieczynięgie*; s. n. *Podolany*: *Podole*; s. n. *Pomorzany*: *Pomorze*; s. n. *Skawce*: r. n. *Skawa*; s. n. *Węgrce*: *Węgier*, *Węgry*, etc. Sometimes they mixed with the structure of patronymic names, e.g. s. n. *Cyganowice*: *Cygan*, or family names, e.g. *Ślęzany*, see *Ślęzak*. Ethnic names with suffixes *-ice*, and *-any* are particularly numerous in the area of old settlement in Lesser Poland.<sup>5</sup>

The so-called service-related names, numerous in the past in Lesser Poland, were not created after the thirteenth century. They referred to occupation and duties of subjects to their superior, located in some town,<sup>6</sup> e.g. s. n. *Jadowniki*: *\*jadownik* ‘wizard, poisoner, a person who prepares poison ‘*jad*’

<sup>3</sup> S. Rospond, *Stratygrafia słowiańskich nazw miejscowych. Próbný atlas toponomastyczny*, vol. 1: *Formacje na \*-itjo*, Wrocław 1974.

<sup>4</sup> E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, J. Duma, *Językowa przeszłość Pomorza Zachodniego na podstawie nazw miejscowych*, Warsaw 1996, map 26.

<sup>5</sup> D. Podlaska, *Nazw etniczne z sufiksami -any i -ice na terenie Polski*, „Onomastica”, vol. 17, 1972, pp. 65–82.

<sup>6</sup> In Lesser Poland the names focused mostly around Cracow, Wiślica and Sandomierz, cf. K. Rymut, *Służebne i zawodowe nazwy miejscowe w Małopolsce*, „Onomastica”, vol. 20, 1975, pp. 143–168.

for arrows'; s. n. *Konary* and *Kobylniki* (*Cobelnic* 1253): *koniarz*, *kobylnik* 'a person who breeds horses'; s. n. *Korabniki*: \**korabnik* 'a person who makes boats'; n. m. *Kuchary*: *kucharz* ('cook'); s. n. *Łagiewniki*: *łagiewnik* 'a person who makes 'łagwie' – pots, barrels, or who brews beer, and prepares mead'; s. n. *Piekary*: *piekarz* ('baker'); s. n. *Psary*: *psiarz* 'a person who watches over the dogs, especially hunting dogs'; n. m. *Sokolniki*: *sokolnik* 'a person who breeds and trains hunting birds'; s. n. *Szczytniki*: \**szczytnik* 'a person who makes shields, or a shield bearer'; s. n. *Złotniki*: *złotnik*, etc. Later, site names related to occupation were created alike, see s. n. *Kowale* and *Kowary*: *kowal* 'smith'.

The next large group of site names consists of topographic names. Among them, we can find names derived from field objects, e.g. s. n. *Błonie*, *Brzezinka*, *Brzeźnica* (: *brzeźnica* 'birch forest'), *Brzeście* (: *brzost*, \**brzeście* 'kind of elm'). *Dąbrowa*, *Góra*, *Górka*, *Grabiny*, *Las*, *Laski*, *Łęg*, *Łęgi*, *Mogila* (: *mogila* 'hill'), *Niwki*, *Rzeka*, *Skala*, *Skalka*, *Staw*, etc. Some site names were transferred from other objects, e.g. s. n. *Biała* from r. n. *Biała*, s. n. *Bieliczna*: r. n. *Bieliczna* (: *bielica* 'swamp', suff. *-na*), s. n. *Śreniawa* from r. n. *Szreniawa*, etc. At times, site names were derivatives of river names, e.g. s. n. *Bielsko* from r. n. *Biała*. The etymology of s. n. *Morawica* near Cracow raises some doubts, see identical name of a village situated by the River Nida. Stanisław Rospond assumed there was a word \**morawa* 'a waterlogged area, covered with grass', incorrectly linking it with *murawa* 'grass' (different origin – from \**muravъ*, 'dark green').<sup>7</sup> It seems we are dealing here with the case of a movement of a word derived from a name of the river and land *Morawa*,<sup>8</sup> *Morawy* > *morawa* 'river, boggy area', to which a suffix *-ica* was added. Similar process, when a specific name of a river becomes a common name, could be found in *Dunaj*, *Wisła*, *Pisa*, names, which were turned into common words *dunaj*, *wisła*, *pisa*, *pisia*, meaning 'stream, river'.<sup>9</sup>

Topographic names could also take a form of an adjective, see s. n. *Czermna*, *Czermno* derived from a lost word \**czermny* 'red'; s. n. *Czarna* 'black'; s. n. *Długie* 'long'; *Mszana*: \**mszany* 'covered in moss'; s. n. *Wysoka* 'tall', etc. Names in form of a participle are rare, e.g. *Śmierdząca* ('smelling', probably from a name of a rivulet, or spring).

When a site name is formed from adjectives and nouns, various derivative form are created, e.g. s. n. *Brzeżek*, *Brzesko*: *brzeg* 'bank'; s. n. *Grabowa* (: *grab* 'hornbeam' or p. n. *Grab* – then it is a possessive name); s. n. *Gromnik*: *grom* 'thunder'; s. n. *Piaseczno*: *piasek* 'sand'; s. n. *Szczawnica*: *szczaw* 'mineral water spring, also a name of a plant'; s. n. *Świdnik*: if from *świda* 'water plant'; s. n. *Trzcienica*: *trzcina*; s. n. *Trzetrzewina*: *cietrzew* 'black grouse'; s. n. *Wietrznica*, *Wietrzno*: *wiatr* 'wind', etc.

The so-called culture names, related with names of object made by men, and with social relations, are of similar origin. These are the names like *Chamrzyska* (today *Homrzyska*): Germ. *Hammer* 'hammer, smithy'; s. n. *Huta* 'glassworks'; s. n. *Lgota*, *Wola*, *Wólka* and *Wolica* from *ulg* 'relief' and *wolność* 'freedom' from obligations; s. n. *Miastko*: \**miastko* 'place of settlement'; s. n. *Podgrodzie*; s. n. *Poręba*; s. n. *Tyniec*: *tyn* 'wall'; s. n. *Ujazd* see *zajazd*, etc.

Compound names belong to a separate group. Also here, several subtypes could be found, e.g. prefix names like *Zakrzów* (: *za krzami* 'behind the bushes'), *Podgórze*, *Podłęże*, *Zaborek* and *Zaborze*, etc. When a village was divided into several hamlets, they had to be distinguished, see *Mochnaczką Niżną* and *Mochnaczką Wyżną*, *Lipnica* (*Lipnica Murowana*), *Lipnica Dolna* and *Lipnica Górna*, *Nowy Sącz* and *Stary Sącz*, etc. Villages surrounding a bigger town often lost their independence, also in nomenclature, e.g. *Dąbrowa Górnicza- Będów – Łosień – Strzemieszycze Małe*; *Kraków-Krowodrza – Mogiła*, *Mydlniki*, etc.

Compound names of various origin could also be distinguished, e.g. *Krowodrza* (*Crowodra* 1257): *krowa* and *drzeć* 'to fleece'; *Koziegłowy* (de *Cosseglow* 1326): p. n. \**Kozia Głowa*; *Dwiekozy* (*Dwie Kozy*); s. n. *Zimnowódka* (*Zimna Wódka*): *zimna woda* 'cold water'; s. n. *Zimnodół*, etc.

German names are the main testimony for foreign influences in the nomenclature of Lesser Poland. They could be found in toponyms, e.g. in the names of peaks *Giewont*, *Gerlach*, of mountain forests,

<sup>7</sup> S. Rospond, *Słownik etymologiczny miast i gmin PRL*, Wrocław 1984, p. 233; W. Boryś, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Cracow 2005.

<sup>8</sup> The name of this river is of Old-German origin, Pre-Slavic, from \**mar-ahva* 'boggy water', see Germ. *Meer* and *Moor* 'deep water, still water, sea, swamp' and Germ. *Au(e)* 'land on the water', cf. F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, comp. E. Seebold, 23<sup>rd</sup> edition, Berlin–New York 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Compare with the names of two streets in Warsaw *Szeroki* and *Wąski Dunaj*, where the water used to flow.

e.g. *Regle*, and in site names, e.g. *Frywald*: niem. *Frei* ‘free’, and *Wald* ‘forest’; *Kleparz* (*Clapers* 1389): if from Germ. p. n. *Klapper* with a German ending *-s*; s. n. *Lanckorona*: Germ. *Land* ‘country’ and *Krone* ‘crown’ – here it could mean ‘property of the Crown, that is of the king’, etc.

Sometimes, the nomenclature of Lesser Poland bears traces of various phonetic changes, which occurred in local Polish dialects, e.g. the change from *\*xv-* into *f-* is well represented, like in s. n. *Faliszowice*, *Faliszówka*: p. n. *Chwalisz*: *Chwalimir*; s. n. *Faściszówka* (*Chwaściszówka*): p. n. *Chwast*; s. n. *Falkowa*: p. n. *Chwałek*, etc. Mazuration is less visible, e.g. changes *cz*, *ź*, *sz* into *c*, *z*, *s*, like in *Zania* and at the same time *Żania*; *Zendowice* and *Żędowice*; *Złosieniec* and *Złożeniec*; *Żelików* and *Zelków*, etc. Some of these fluctuations result from the fact that in the sixteenth century the spelling of site names had not yet been stabilized. In order to determine the origin of a name precisely, one must often reach available older records, which were here given in brackets.<sup>10</sup> The names, which lost their connection to their roots (personal names, or common words), have many variants of spelling in particular.

Traces of later settlement of the Lemkos (eastern-Slavic) in mountain areas, were difficult to find in the sixteenth century nomenclature of Lesser Poland. The same is true for the penetration of Vlach shepherders, the traces of which can still be found in the vocabulary used by the highlanders.

This chapter is a brief summary of the sixteenth century nomenclature of Lesser Poland. Many names were left without a detailed commentary, only basic nomenclature types were described. The rest must wait for the completion of *Nazwy miejscowe Polski* (see footnote 10), a dictionary that is being published in Cracow.

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In determining the sixteenth century names of settlements and physiographic objects in Cracow Voivodeship we followed the same rules, which were applied in previously published volumes of the *Atlas*. Stanisław Trawkowski’s commentary on Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships could be an example here.<sup>11</sup>

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>10</sup> I mostly used S. Rospond, *Słownik etymologiczny* and the newer dictionary: *Nazwy miejscowe Polski. Historia, pochodzenie, zmiany*, vol. 1 f., ed. K. Rymut, Cracow 1996 f.

<sup>11</sup> S. Trawkowski, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.4.5.

### III.4.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Władysław Pałucki*

Accurate wording of site names – names of settlements and places – in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century was determined using the same method applied to the maps of Lublin Voivodeship and Mazovia in the sixteenth century. The most important aspect comes down to the rule that **names of settlements** put on the map should be given in their sixteenth century wording and contemporary literary language, but modern spelling. In this way we are close to the opinion of a toponymist, who demanded the forms of site names and physiographic structures be congruent with language reality,<sup>1</sup> especially that we are keeping the old spelling when it is consistent with the nature of the Polish language and survived to this day. Variants of names (when one version dominates, or when various dialectic types appear rarely), if they had left their trace in sources, were shown in the list, which lists basic variants of sixteenth century spelling. As a result, the rules applied for the map of Mazovia and described in the commentary to this map, were not changed.<sup>2</sup> The same applies to lists of settlements and natural landscape elements.

In the case of high vowel reduction, occurring in the entire ethnic territory of Poland, so also in Sandomierz Voivodeship, namely: change er–ir or i–y (e.g. Sieradowice – Szyradowice, Wierzbica – Wirzbica, Zbigniew – Zbygniew, Nida – Nyda) we decided – as in the case of the map of Mazovia – to accept the present-day form, already becoming more common at the end of the sixteenth century.

However, our approach to the aforementioned assumptions was not strict. It is a well-known fact that both: in nature and in the living language there appear many exceptions from general rules, and in toponymy the number of such exceptions depends on, among others, the range of a dialect. That is why the name of the village Świrna (Sandomierz district, Szewna parish) was treated differently. It appears in the sources in alternate versions: Świerna, Świrna. The local version Świrna won and survived to this day, and it was put on the map, and the form Świerna – as a variant in the list.

This assumption influenced our **methodology**, and in many cases, when for a given settlement the sixteenth century sources provide several variants of its name and spelling, the priority was given to the form: (1) which appears in different, non-correlative types of sources, (2) prevalent in records from the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

In more difficult cases, e.g. alternative spellings, we took into consideration (when it was possible) the origin or meaning of the name, as well as the name of the family, which came from these settlements. For instance, for the numerous settlements deriving their name from oak (‘dąb’) we typically used the form Dąb, Dąbrowa, Dębiany. However, once – for the village Dembiany (Wiślica district) – we departed from this rule, because this village was the seat of the family of Rawicz-Dembiński; in the second half of the sixteenth century it was owned by the distinguished Great Chancellor of the Crown Walenty Dembiński, whose name was always spelled this way in numerous private and official documents, including the Act of the Polish-Lithuanian Union from 1569, which he formulated.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M. Karaś, *Językoznawstwo a kartografia*, „Onomastica”, vol. 7, 1961, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> W. Pałucki, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.4.7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> *Akta unii Polski z Litwą, 1381–1791*, pub. S. Kutrzeba, W. Semkowicz, Cracow 1932, p. 340; A. Tomczak, *Walenty Dembiński, kanclerz egzekucji (ok. 1504–1584)*, Toruń 1963, p. 144, the photography of the document issued by the chancellery

In this form the name of the family survived to this day. For similar reasons, we kept the name Ossolin – spelled like today, with double s – for the seat of the powerful family Ossoliński in Sandomierz land, against the suggestions of linguists. Records found in tax registers often provide poor, wrong or distorted spelling. This forced us to conduct additional source research, and for this reason the reconstruction of the exact wording of site names was one of our more laborious tasks.

It must be remembered that tax collectors, assigned one for each voivodeship or land, or the assistants they hired, did not bother much with contemporary rules of orthography, in fact not completely settled back then. Neither did they feel any need to write down carefully the name of a village for which tax was paid in the records. The payment was done by the owner of a village, but often it was peasants who were sent on behalf of their lords and the lords' neighbours. The collector, if he had not prepared a form before (sometimes with old, incorrect, or not careful spelling), wrote the name of a village the way he heard it. It did not matter to him, whether it was given in a local dialect, and in faulty pronunciation (caused, e.g. by lack of teeth): Zbygniew or Zbigniew,<sup>5</sup> Poizdów or Pogwizdów, Ubenice or Hubenice, Szolec or Solec. Anyway, in numerous surviving fiscal (tax) sources there was no complaint about incorrect spelling of a village name or a lost receipt of paid tax.

Apart from the dissimilations found in: Gortatowice – Gotartowice, Wronów – Wnorów, Pobroszyn – Pogorszyn, the name Krzykosy (Sandomierz district, Pokrzywnica parish), which became Trzykosy through the change of first sound from K to T,<sup>6</sup> should perhaps be treated as one of such mistakes or slips of the tongue. It is difficult to determine today what influenced the change not only in form, but also in the meaning of the name: whether it was a result of a competition with a name of a nearby village Dwikozy, formerly spelled: *Dwyecosy* (Dwiekozy, Dwiekosy)<sup>7</sup> – and let us add that there was also a village called Śniekozy situated in the area in Goźlice parish, in 1565 listed as *Znyekozy*<sup>8</sup> (another village also called Śniekozy lay over the Vistula in Lublin Voivodeship, Zaleszany or Wrzawy parish)<sup>9</sup> – or just an incorrect pronunciation, later grounded in spelling.

Finally, talking about source basis for the nomenclature, we should mention another issue, important for the correctness of spelling. This time it refers to the nature of the sources, which – due to their purpose – could provide more or less careful records of site names. Already during the work on the map of Mazovia, we noticed that for nomenclature the most important sources were those in which – because of the formal or procedural duty – site names were given in their proper wording,

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with Dembiński's own signature, p. 96, photography of the text on the cover of Crown Metrica 104: 'ad relationem Magnifici alentini Dembiński de Dembiany, Poloniae Cancelarii etc.'

<sup>5</sup> For settlements called Zbigniew (Zbygniew) and its derivatives: Zbigniewice (Zbygniewice), Zbydniów, I was able to gather a significant number of records, including the name of a noble family from Sandomierz Voivodeship: Zbigniewski. These records settled the issue and the form shown on the map was Zbigniew, and in the index the variant Zbygniew, etc. Even if, as P. Galas believes (*Ze studiów nad nazwami miejscowymi południowej Małopolski*, „Onomastica”, vol. 7, 1961, p. 104) Zbydniów is 'as slightly changed form of and Old-Polish name Zbigniew, which later, due to Latin influences, became Zbygniew', we stick to our solutions (for villages in Sandomierz district): Zbigniew and Zbigniewice. It is also important, that the first of Polish dukes, son of Władysław Herman, Zbigniew was recorded in this form in the oldest manuscript of the Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus (MS Zamoyskich from the sixteenth century, pub. J. Krzyżanowski, Warsaw 1948). Also, we did not change the name of the bishop of Cracow, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, who appears frequently in the sources, nor the name of the diarist from the sixteenth and seventeenth century – Zbigniew Ossoliński, who signed himself always in this form.

<sup>6</sup> Krzykosy: 15<sup>th</sup> c. – Długosz LB, II, p. 320; y. 1508 – P. Małopolska, p. 457; y. 1529 – LR, p. 11; y. 1578 – P. Małopolska, p. 166; y. 1674 – ASK 167, f. 320. Trzykosy (zy): LS 1564/1565, p. 321; y. 1786 – F. Czaykowski, map of Sandomierz Voivodeship; y. 1788/1791 – Perthées, *Mappa szczególna woj. sandomierskiego*, J. Kolberg, *Mapa Król. Polskiego*, 1830; map by Kwatermistrzostwo WP. The villages called Krzykosy appear also in other regions of Poland. A change or incorrect deciphering K – T was quite possible. For instance, gord documents of Pyzdry from 1393 mention Trzicosy, and it concerned the village Krzykosy situated near Sulec and Sulęcín, L. Callier, *Powiat pyzdry w XVI stuleciu*, Poznań 1888–1891, p. 286.

<sup>7</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> c. – Długosz LB, II, p. 312: *Dwiekozy*; Długosz, *Historia*, V, p. 284: *Dweykosy*; LR 1529, p. 388: *Dwyecosy*; LS 1564/1565, p. 321: *Dwyekozy*; y. 1662, ASK I 67, f. 112: *Dwie Kozy*.

<sup>8</sup> LS 1564/1565, p. 326.

<sup>9</sup> Śniekozy in Zaleszany parish: Długosz LB, II, p. 462; LR 1529, p. 356, 'tota villa post Istulam'; in Wrzawy parish: y. 1531, P. Małopolska, p. 356; y. 1565, LL 1565, p. 45; Parishes Zaleszany and Wrzawy bordered on each other near the mouth of the San into the Vistula. The lower San frequently changed its channel, flooded and destroyed nearby villages. That is why Śniekozy 'post Istulam' could sometimes belong to Zaleszany parish, and sometimes (for the longest period) to Wrzawy parish. In the second half of the sixteenth century they ultimately disappeared. For an attempt at explaining the name Śniekozy ('to eat goats') see P. Smoczyński, *Nazwa miejscowa Śniekozy*, „Prace Filologiczne”, vol. 25, 1975, pp. 347–357.

and correct Polish spelling. These types of sources consist mainly of court books,<sup>10</sup> then royal universals and some legal acts and regulations, inventories, etc. Crown Metrica should also be mentioned here. The spelling of site names was treated more rigorously in legal proceedings (suit, joinders during property arguments, purchases, sales, liens and distribution of property), especially in criminal cases. We could provide here two cases from the neighbouring Cracow Voivodeship as a proof. In the first case, Mikołaj of Kurozwęki (in Sandomierz Voivodeship), the castellan of Sieradz, was sued in 1457 by Jan of Czulice, for abducting a peasant from Czulice and bringing him to Łuczanowice in Proszowice district. He stated that this ‘concittacio defectuosa est in eo, quia ea concittatione non stant Czulicze sed Culicze’.<sup>11</sup> In the other case Stanisław of Zagajów, sued in 1498 in an argument about the village Ostrężnice, also refused, through his representative, to participate, ‘quia in citatione stat Osthrasznycza et in concittatione stat Osthranznycza nomen ville, pro qua causa ad presens vertitur’.<sup>12</sup>

We had to broaden our source basis in an interesting case concerning the correct sixteenth century name of a village, later: town, which belonged to the Cistercians. Army inspections for Sandomierz Voivodeship took place there, it was Pokrzywnica (Koprzywnica). Until the 1450s it was usually called Koprzywnica in the sources. Thorough source query has shown that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the spelling ‘Pokrzywnica’ is almost exclusive, in Sejm constitutions,<sup>13</sup> *sejmik* (dietine) lauda,<sup>14</sup> carriage and station universals,<sup>15</sup> inspections and inventories of royal property,<sup>16</sup> correspondence,<sup>17</sup> historiography,<sup>18</sup> or even Polish and foreign cartography from this time.<sup>19</sup> So, in this period there was a change (a phenomenon that occurs in the Polish language) in the sequence of sounds in the first syllable: Kop-Pok. As a result, the village’s name changed to Pokrzywnica; when it comes to koprzywa-pokrzywa (‘nettle’) in other regions of Poland also pronounced alternatively, did not matter much.

In the case of Pokrzywnica in Sandomierz Voivodeship, the original form Koprzywnica – still used today – was brought back in the eighteenth century, although Pokrzywnica appears even in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the Latin alphabet was not yet fully adapted to denote Polish sounds. Additionally, the aforementioned disregard for correct record of site names in tax registers led to some ambiguities in recreating the soft consonants: ś, ć, dź, which were then spelled with diphthongs sz, cz, dz (e.g. *Olyesznycza* – Oleśnica). This, like the latinization of site names in sources written

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<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, all registers (town, land and of the subcamerarius) of Sandomierz Voivodeship, except for Pilzno district, were destroyed; see A. Wolff, *Akta partykularne przedrozbiorowe Archiwum Głównego 1381–1835*, [in:] *Straty archiwów i bibliotek warszawskich w zakresie źródeł historycznych*, Warsaw 1957, pp. 195, 200 f., 203–205, 208.

<sup>11</sup> Jan Czuliński announced then: ‘quia contra formam iuris sibi scribit iudicenter reponsuras et non iudicialiter satis facturas’, SPPP, vol. 2, pub. A.Z. Helcel, Cracow 1870, no. 4318.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 4483.

<sup>13</sup> VL, vol. 2, f. 641, y. 1564 – ‘Okazowanie województwa sandomierskiego ma się odbywać w Pokrzywnicy’; *ibidem*, vol. 2, f. 1060, y. 1587; ASK I 9 – y. 1573.

<sup>14</sup> Biblioteka PAN Cracow, MS 833, Teki Pawińskiego 21, *sejmik* (dietine) lauda of Sandomierz Voivodeship: y. 1587, p. 45; y. 1632, p. 84v; y. 1651, p. 176; y. 1660, p. 298v.

<sup>15</sup> ASK I 9, f. 446, y. 1507; *Corpus iuris polonici*, vol. 3, pub. O. Balzer, Cracoviae 1906, p. 85, y. 1508; ASK I 62, f. 312, y. 1579/1580/1581.

<sup>16</sup> LS 1564/1565, pp. 86–100, 135; ASK XLVI 99a, f. 872, y. 1616; ASK I 61, f. 300, 315, y. 1578.

<sup>17</sup> ‘I made X. Hieronim, brother from Nieszowa to Pokrzywnica as Coadjutor’, *Pamiętnik Zbigniewa Ossolińskiego woj. sandomierskiego*, pub. W. Kętrzyński, Lwów 1879, p. 15, concerning 1589; handwritten signature ‘Zbigniew Oleśnicki abbot of Pokrzywnica’ from 1635, Michałowski *Księga Pamiętnicza*, Cracow 1858, p. 688.

<sup>18</sup> *Kronika Polska Marcina Bielskiego*, vol. 2, pub. K.J. Turowski, Sanok 1886, p. 1262; M. Kromer, *Polska*, transl. S. Kozikowski, comp. R. Marchwiński, Olsztyn 1977, p. 57 – ‘Koprzywnica czyli Pokrzywnica’; B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, Cracow 1584, p. 159; S. Starowolski, *Polonia* (from 1632), in all later editions (1652, 1656, 1662) wrote ‘Pocrivnicam dittisimam Abatiam’. The last edition of Starowolski’s *Polonia*, prepared by A. Piskadło (idem, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, Cracow 1976), translated into Polish, despite the publishers reassurances in the introduction that ‘the translation tried to stay as faithful to the original as possible’, and the editorial rules, corrected Starowolski: ‘przepiękne koprzywnickie opactwo cystersów’. Mikołaj Rej of Nagłowice in Lesser Poland (Cracow Voivodeship) or of Szumsk (Sandomierz Voivodeship) called the weed ‘pokrzywa’, not ‘koprzywa’: ‘Baczny człowiek ma uważać co łopian, a co pokrzywa’ (Zwierzyniec).

<sup>19</sup> Maps of Poland by W. Grodecki from 1562; by A. Pograbka from 1570; by J. Speede, *A New Mape of Poland* 1627.

<sup>20</sup> In 1811 Pokrzywnica was visited and described U. Niemcewicz, *Podróże historyczne po ziemiach polskich*, Paryż 1858, pp. 80 f.

in Latin, convinced us to consider the seventeenth century sources, especially to reach again for the surviving poll tax registers from 1662–1676, which we had also used for other purposes. In these registers phonetic distinction appears as a rule – ą, ę, l, ł, o, ó, s, ś, sz, c, ć, cz, z, ź, ż; site names were spelled according to the contemporary language reality, so: Łętowice, not *Lantowice* like in 1581, and Łukanowice, not *Lukanowice*, and so on.

The records from the seventeenth century were given precedence, even when the present-day form would support the sixteenth century wording. The contemporary name of parochial village Lisia Góra (Pilzno district) could be an example. In the sixteenth century it was spelled *Lissegory* (1508), *Lysagora* (1525), *Lisza Gora* (1576, 1577), *Lyssa Gora* (1581), etc., but then *Łyssagora* (1589), *Łysagora* (1629, 1662, 1673); as such, we recreated the sixteenth century name in the form: Łysagóra.

Settlement names which appear in partially latinized version in our basic sixteenth century sources (tax registers, Church visitations), had to be verified on the basis of well-attested Polish source records. This usually applied not to an entire name, but only a part of it; a prefix, or more often: a suffix. In the latter case the name created from a common word was frequently given in plural (pluralization) instead of singular. The name of an old parochial village Gołąb in Stężyca land could provide an example here. We managed to find over 40 versions of the name of this village from between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. In Latin texts (Crown Metrica, Church visitations) or Latin-Polish (register books from the sixteenth century) they usually appear in two forms: *Golembye*, *Golombye*,<sup>21</sup> that is: Gołębie (Gołąb – ‘pigeon’, Gołębie – ‘pigeons’). Texts written entirely in Polish (inventories, inspections of royal property,<sup>22</sup> constitutions, *sejmik* (dietine) lauda,<sup>23</sup> seventeenth century poll tax registers, referendary court books<sup>24</sup>) provide this name in singular – Gołąb.

The majority of settlements in Sandomierz Voivodeship, but for small local dialect variations, maintained their names from the moment of their creation to this day. Only the names of a few settlements underwent a complete change.

Quite early, prior to the second half of the seventeenth century, due to the change of one consonant the name of Głowów town, founded in 1570 by Krzysztof Głowa in Pilzno district, changed into Głogów, today: Głogów Małopolski. It happened probably because the new name was easier to pronounce than the old one, in which two similar labial consonants appear too close to each other in the suffix.<sup>25</sup>

The name of one of the three old towns with characteristic names: Odrzywół, Ryczywół and Łysobyki (which in fact are a proof of brisk economic relations on trade routes running through these towns), was changed in 1970 to Jeziorzany. Finally, the name of the village Życ (Sandomierz district, Samborzec parish), formerly a mixed property: royal and Church, was changed in the Interwar Period to Polanów Samborzecki in order to avoid unpleasant jokes and biting remarks. Probably for similar reasons the name Wieprzki, also in Sandomierz district, was changed to Wierzby after 1952.

In our work on the nomenclature in Sandomierz Voivodeship we used old, or even – as for Radom district – very old, dictionaries,<sup>26</sup> as well as modern detailed indexes. So far, there have not been many toponymy works created on a broader source basis concerning Sandomierz Voivodeship.

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<sup>21</sup> P. Małopolska, p. 360, y. 1531: parochia Golambia (Golabye); ASK I 33, f. 394, y. 1552: Golambye; ibidem, f. 414, y. 1563: Golambye.

<sup>22</sup> LS 1564/1565, pp. 244–246; LS 1660/1664, vol. 2, p. 165; LS 1789, I, p. 269 n, 275–278 (*goląbskie*, not: *gołębiowskie* starosta’s district, ‘w Gołębiu’, not: ‘w Gołębiach’).

<sup>23</sup> VL, vol. 5, ff. 88 f., f. 226; Biblioteka PAN Cracow, MS 8338, Teki Pawińskiego 21, p. 429, y. 1672: ‘obóz konfederacji założyć między Gołębiem a Borową’.

<sup>24</sup> *Księgi referendarskie*, vol. 1: 1582–1602, pub. T. Baranowski, Warsaw 1910, p. 63: ‘przyszli do nas poddani nasi ze wsi Gołębia i Woli Gołąbskiej’. Similarly in decrees for other villages: from Rajsko, Jaktorów, etc.

<sup>25</sup> A. Orzechowska, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego pow. pilzneńskiego oraz prawobrzeżnej części dawnych pow. sandomierskiego i wiślickiego*, „Prace Onomastyczne”, vol. 22, 1975, p. 22, does, in fact, quote the record from 1581 she took from Pawiński (P. Małopolska, p. 265) ‘Głowów (! pro Głogów)’, but she accepted it and added (unnecessarily) the etymology from the noun *głóg*. For groundless reasons the post-war linguistic works on Sandomierz toponymy assume the Vistula for the borderline of their studies, which actually did not always overlap with administrative division, and neither was it a border for toponymy of dialects.

<sup>26</sup> F. Siarczyński, *Opis powiatu radomskiego*, pub. T. Lipiński, Warsaw 1847, prepared in territorial order in the end of the eighteenth century, when Rev. Siarczyński was a parson in Kozienice.

Only in the last two decades were there three such works published, encompassing particular parts of this Voivodeship.<sup>27</sup>

The files containing the materials for the historical-geographical dictionary of Medieval Poland and the pre-War (prepared on the basis of the sources which do not exist today) files for the dictionary of Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the eighteenth century proved much more useful.<sup>28</sup>

Some settlements, for various reasons (e.g. floods of the Vistula, war damages), disappeared, were moved, or – as already mentioned – changed their name partially or completely. In order to identify such settlements and their names we used, among others, the list of towns and villages in Cracow diocese from 1787 published by J. Kleczyński,<sup>29</sup> as well as a similar, although handwritten register from 1783–1784 by F. Czaykowski.<sup>30</sup> Older cartographic works were also used for this purpose. These were works by K. Perthès, F. Czaykowski, the Topographical Map, works by M. v. Heldensfeld, and for the part of the voivodeship situated on the other bank of the Vistula – Mieig's and Liesganig's. Naturally, we did not omit the voluminous, monumental *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* published in 1880–1902, although the information obtained from this source was treated with necessary caution.

The modern spelling of site names presented in the List was based on the complete *Spis miejscowości PRL* published in 1967 (carefully, due to numerous misprints).<sup>31</sup> For the districts, which were prepared by Komisja Ustalania Nazw Miejscowych i Obiektów Fizjograficznych (The Committee of Determining Site Names and Physiographic Structures) we used published volumes of *Urzędowe nazwy*.<sup>32</sup>

**Names of physiographic structures** marked on the map of Sandomierz Voivodeship (mountains, waters, forests) were determined according to the rules assumed for the map of Mazovia in the sixteenth century. Besides, in this respect it could not be otherwise. The same word formation factors, which influence common names, also influenced the creation – as well as wording and spelling – of physiographic names, especially in the case of **bodies of water**. Any deviations from the correct form of these names, or instances where a name was moved due to the change of a stream channel, occur only exceptionally in Sandomierz Voivodeship. We paid much attention to these exceptions, because careful analysis of source records allowed us to determine not only the correct name of a river, but also, in several cases, solve our doubts concerning borders of administrative-political divisions, the localization of settlements and ownership relations.

Names of major rivers in Sandomierz Voivodeship did not raise any doubts, and the spelling was based on relatively numerous records found in written and cartographic sources, most importantly in Długosz's *Chorografia*. For the remaining rivers and larger streams we used various sources, and the precedence was given to those, which originated from the chronological period of this series of AHP. The information gathered was compared with the results described in *Hydronimia Wisły*.<sup>33</sup>

While using the valuable and quite detailed cartographic sources from the second half of the eighteenth century in order to determine the names of average size rivers, we were able to discern some ambiguities, or obvious mistakes in the works of Rizzi-Zannoni, K. Perthès and F. Czaykowski. For instance, in the map *Polonia* by K. Perthès the right tributary of the River Czarna, which flows into the Vistula near Połaniec, is called Zachodnia, on Zannoni's map – Schodnia, and on Perthès's

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<sup>27</sup> M. Kamińska, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa sandomierskiego*, „Prace Onomastyczne”, vol. 6, part 1, 1964, part 2, 1965; rev. Z. Rymut, „Onomastica”, vol. 13, 1968, pp. 296–302; A. Orzechowska, *Nazwy miejscowe*, rev. A. Bieńkowski, „Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego”, Filologia Polska, Prace Językoznawcze, vol. 3, Gdańsk 1975, pp. 97–103; cf. J. Nalepa, *O nazwach miejscowych województwa sandomierskiego*, „Slavica”, vol. 2, 1973.

<sup>28</sup> Kept in Department of the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages IH PAN in Cracow.

<sup>29</sup> J. Kleczyński, *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej z 1787 r.*, AKH, vol. 7, 1894, pp. 219–478.

<sup>30</sup> F. Czaykowski, *Regestr dyecezyów* (probably from 1783–1784), MS in Archiwum Kapitulne in Łowicz, microfilm BN no. 7679.

<sup>31</sup> See W. Pałucki, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.4.7. We no longer had access to the issued by the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection and by the Central Statistical Office *Wýkaz urzędowych nazw miejscowości w Polsce*, vol. 1–3, Warsaw 1980–1982.

<sup>32</sup> For the territory of the former Sandomierz Voivodeship 38 issues of *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych* in years 1964–1972.

<sup>33</sup> *Hydronimia Wisły*, part 1, ed. P. Zwoliński, Wrocław 1965, rev.: B. Dunaj, „Onomastica”, vol. 13, 1968, pp. 294–296, points to the deficiencies of the sources for this work, based mostly on SGKP and military tactical maps at a scale 1:100,000.

‘szczegulna’ map from 1788–1791 – Wschodnia. The Vistula’s right tributary, called Wisłoka, was confused on *Polonia* with Wisłok – the left tributary of the River San. Lower Nida is called Wiślica on Perthèes’s *Polonia*. Such inaccuracies are rare, but not uncommon. For instance, the detailed ‘Mappa części województwa Sandomierskiego... aż do rzeki Ławy’ by F. Podolski from 1790, shows the river name Ława instead of Nidzica (both on the map, and in the key), probably taken from the village Ława, situated near the mouth of the Nidzica into the Vistula, where a toll was paid.<sup>34</sup> In 1564 the toll house inspectors<sup>35</sup> stated that the lower Nida ‘tore apart’ into two arms near its mouth flowing into the Vistula near Nowe Miasto Korczyn. Perthèes calls this fragment of the Nida ‘Wiślica’ on his 1770 map, and it is not an ordinary mistake – in fact, it could be deemed understandable, similarly to the old, second arm of the Oder, from the mouth of the Warta near Kostrzyń, until Cedynia – called Odrzyca on old maps. This way the name of the ancient gord Wiślica, the subject of many year’s research of historians, ethnographers and linguists, would find a natural explanation.

As in the remaining territories of Poland and other Slavic countries, rivers took their names from names of settlements through which – or near which – they flowed. Or, the other way round – more frequently in fact – the name of a river, especially larger one, was older than the name of a settlement founded in the vicinity. This situation – when settlements take their names from rivers – is dominant in Sandomierz Voivodeship, e.g. Bobrza by the River Bobrza, Bystrzyca by the Bystrzyca, or Czarna by the Czarna. Let us add here, that the name Czarna, and similar: e.g. Czarna Nida, was given to nine different rivers in our voivodeship. Let us finally add that some rivers had two or three names, different for their different reaches; lower, middle or upper, e.g. Czarna, Kocielna, Kocielkowa – today: Zagożdżonka. The names of three rivers appear with dissimilation: Koprzywnica-Pokrzywnica.

Only rarely did river names change; they were fixed since the moment of their creation in local pronunciation, and then in source records. It happened more often later, due to rapid industrial and settlement development of the country. Probably in such conditions the name of the Bobrza’s left tributary – Łopienica was changed to Sufraginiec. Its right tributary – Łęg, which flows into the Vistula near Gorzyce, bears the name Fantazja on Perthèes’s 1791 map – taken from the village Fantazja founded in the area in the eighteenth century. The name (actually in harmony with its meaning: ‘fantasy’) was not grounded in hydronymy.

The last change of a river name in the former Sandomierz Voivodeship worth mentioning concerns Łososina, a left tributary of the Nida. In order to honour the great prose writer born in the area, the author of *Wierna Rzeka*, the river was called Wierna Rzeka.

The map of Sandomierz Voivodeship shows only those lakes, whose names were attested to in the sources, such as Łuże (1510). There were no lakes in the upland areas of Sandomierz Voivodeship. They were a bit more frequent in the Powiśle, especially in the southern part of the voivodeship, over the Vistula. Over the ages they gradually deteriorated,<sup>36</sup> and – not only in terms of their names – not much of them remains. We were unable to mark on the map only one larger lake – ‘Czartoria’, mentioned by Długosz<sup>37</sup> as a ‘perpetual lake’, situated near Nowe Miasto Korczyn, because it either disappeared early,<sup>38</sup> or – as is more likely – was not a lake, but another, circular arm of the Nida.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz; W. Pałucki, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.2.1.2.

<sup>35</sup> *Lustracje ceł 1564/1565*, p. 204.

<sup>36</sup> In the inspection of the starosta’s district of Wiślica in 1660 it was stated that ‘some ponds and lakes overgrew’ – LS 1660/1664, vol. 2, p. 101.

<sup>37</sup> Długosz, *Annales*, I, p. 91 stated that this lake, made by Casimir the Great, was created by joining the stream channels of the Vistula and the Nida. It should be assumed, that the lake was artificially feed with water from the Vistula and the arm of the Nida. This closed area appears on *Karta dawnej Polski* by W. Chrzanowski from 1859.

<sup>38</sup> According to the inspection Korczyn starosta’s district from 1663–1664 the described state of affairs had existed much earlier: ‘meadows on the arm of the River Nida – Czartorya called’ – LS 1660/1664, vol. 2, p. 206.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Molendium prope Nowa Civitas Corczin in fluvio Czartoria’, MK 199, ff. 77–77v, y. 1579; in 1776, during the demarcation of the first Austrian Partition it was stated: ‘downstream of N. Miasto, where the River Nida flows in three arms, the first one just by the thicket near the town, cut from the town by the River Nida, and upstream the arm of the Vistula, which never dries up, from the stories of the inhabitants, this loop is around a mile long, and only then flows into the Vistula’; AGAD, Arch. Kor. Warsz., 31/C/1, p. 74.

When it comes to the mountains – only names of the highest peaks were marked on the map: Łysica, Łysa Góra, which were attested to in the sources. Names of woodland areas in the area of Sandomierz Voivodeship were limited to forests attested to in the sources.

In conclusion it must be emphasized that names of physiographic structures were (in terms of numbers) an important factor in creating settlement names. It is interesting, that similar to Mazovia, and also other territories, in Sandomierz Voivodeship quite a few names were formed by means of affixes: ‘pod’ or ‘za’: Podborze, Podgaje, Podlesie, Podole, Podwierzbie, Zabłocie, Zagaje, Zagość (gozd), Zagórze, Zakrzów, Zalesie, Zarzeczce, Zanidzie,<sup>40</sup> Zajezierze, Zawisłocze, Zawisłe or Zawichost.

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>40</sup> Zanidzie – pastureland in Nowy Korczyn starosta’s district, mentioned in LS 1660/1664, vol. 2, p. 202, is a topographical name, like Poniżcie – a name still used today, denoting a larger area by the River Nida.

### **III.4.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP**

[In this volume there was no chapter dedicated to geographic nomenclature.]

*(1966)*

### III.4.4 GREATER POLAND

*Paweł Swoboda*

The geographical names of the former Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships during the time period we are interested in has been the subject of many onomastic studies, including Daniela Podlawska's *Nazwy miejscowe z terenu XVI-wiecznego województwa poznańskiego*<sup>1</sup> and Jerzy Majchrowski's unpublished PhD thesis *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa kaliskiego*.<sup>2</sup> Among the works on physiographic nomenclature, we must mention the study of the names of rivers in the Warta basin conducted by Janusz Rieger and Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska<sup>3</sup> along with a two-volume dictionary of hydronyms of the middle and lower Warta basin (with the exception of the Noteć River basin) by Jerzy Duma.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there have been numerous works written on particular aspects of the toponymy of Greater Poland, including some that cover the period we have been researching. Among monographs about regional nomenclature, we must also mention the books by Małgorzata Rutkiewicz<sup>5</sup> – concerning toponymy of the central-western part of the Greater Poland Voivodeship – and by Józef Chojnacki,<sup>6</sup> who addressed the subject of microtoponymy of the north-western part of the Konin Voivodeship (within its borders at that time) and of the Greater Poland-Kuyavian border. Notable studies dedicated to the topic of word formation include: works by Adam Demartin<sup>7</sup> about *-ov-* : *-'ev-* and *-in/-ino* variance, Piotr Bąk's text<sup>8</sup> about the word formation of place names in Greater Poland, Franciszek Nieckula's research<sup>9</sup> about oconyms with *-ov-* and *-in-* suffixes, Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko's work<sup>10</sup> about toponyms with *-ica* suffixes in Greater Poland until the sixteenth century, Karol Zierhoffer's research<sup>11</sup> about *o* : *ó* variance in names ending in *-owiec*, *-owce* or the article by Ewelina Zajac<sup>12</sup> on word formation of one-component place names in the Turek district. In his oeuvre, Hubert Górniewicz focused on the issue

<sup>1</sup> D. Podlawska, *Nazwy miejscowe z terenu XVI-wiecznego województwa poznańskiego*, parts 1–2, Słupsk 1990.

<sup>2</sup> J. Majchrowski, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa kaliskiego*, Cracow (unpublished), MS in the archives of the Institute of Polish Language at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow.

<sup>3</sup> J. Rieger, E. Wolnicz-Pawłowska, *Nazwy rzeczne w dorzeczu Warty*, Wrocław 1975.

<sup>4</sup> J. Duma, *Nazwy wodne w dorzeczu Warty od Prosnicy po ujście do Odry (z wyłączeniem Noteci)*, part 1: *Nazwy rzek*, part 2: *Nazwy jezior*, Warsaw 2010.

<sup>5</sup> M. Rutkiewicz, *Toponimia środkowozachodniej części województwa wielkopolskiego*, Poznań 2002.

<sup>6</sup> J. Chojnacki, *Nazwy terenowe w północno-zachodniej części województwa konińskiego*, Poznań 1995; idem, *Nazwy terenowe na pograniczu wielkopolsko-kujawskim*, Poznań 2002.

<sup>7</sup> A. Demartin, *Oboczność sufiksalna -ov : -'ev w nazwach miejscowych Wielkopolski*, „Slavia Occidentalis”, vol. 25, 1965, pp. 15–28; idem, *Oboczność sufiksalna -in// -ino w nazwach Wielkopolski*, „Slavia Occidentalis”, vol. 26, 1967, pp. 25–35.

<sup>8</sup> P. Bąk, *Budowa słowotwórcza nazw miejscowych w Wielkopolsce i na Kujawach*, „Poradnik Językowy”, 1970, no. 1, pp. 9–16.

<sup>9</sup> F. Nieckula, *Nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -ov-, -in- na obszarze Wielkopolski i Małopolski*, Wrocław 1971.

<sup>10</sup> E. Rzetelska-Feleszko, *Wielkopolskie nazwy geograficzne z suf. -ica do końca XVI wieku*, 1. *Nazwy miejscowości*, „Slavia Occidentalis”, vol. 34, 1977, pp. 83–98; eadem, *Wielkopolskie nazwy geograficzne z sufiksem -ica do końca XVI wieku*, 2. *Nazwy terenowe i wodne*, „Slavia Occidentalis”, vol. 35, 1978, pp. 51–67.

<sup>11</sup> K. Zierhoffer, *Oboczność fonetyczna o//ó w toponimach z zakończeniem -owiec, -owce na polskim obszarze językowym ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wielkopolski*, [in:] *V Ogólnopolska Konferencja Onomastyczna*, ed. K. Zierhoffer, Poznań 1988, pp. 281–287.

<sup>12</sup> E. Zajac, *Budowa słowotwórcza ojkonimów i anojkonimów jednoskładnikowych (na podstawie materiału z terenu powiatu tureckiego)*, „Rozprawy Komisji Językowej ŁTN”, vol. 16, 2015, pp. 267–279.

of family names in Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Mazovia.<sup>13</sup> The toponymy of Greater Poland has also been addressed in several books dedicated to the study of the entire territory of Poland, such as the works of Henryk Borek<sup>14</sup> and Stanisław Rospond<sup>15</sup> or the dictionary *Nazwy miejscowe Polski. Historia, pochodzenie, zmiany* edited by Kazimierz Rymut (continued by Barbara Czopek-Kopciuch and Urszula Bijak) at the Institute of Polish Language in the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow (from 1996; the fourteenth volume until the letters *Sn-* was published in 2017).<sup>16</sup> Besides these more recent publications, older texts, such as Stanisław Kozirowski's research on the toponymy from the area of the Gniezno and Poznań archdioceses and from western, central and eastern Greater Poland, should equally be mentioned.<sup>17</sup> Even though Kozirowski's works should be viewed through a critical lens, particularly in regard to the source materials they were based on and the etymological explanations they proposed, they still remain a useful source of information about geographical names of Greater Poland.

Before we discuss the toponymy of Greater Poland in the field of semantics and word formation, we will briefly examine the issue of regional variation in the number of names. Table 1 shows information on the number of names of settlement units of each type (information on the number of alternative names or variations of the name noted in the sources has been added in parentheses).

**Table 1. The number of settlements and names in the Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships in the sixteenth century (the number of additional names of particular settlements has been added in parentheses)**

voivodeship / district	total	village	town	mill settlement	demesne	empty	forge settlements	other
<b>Kalisz Voivodeship</b>	<b>2,136 (476)</b>	<b>1,940 (443)</b>	<b>93 (15)</b>	<b>36 (5)</b>	<b>33 (11)</b>	<b>19 (1)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8 (1)</b>
Gniezno district	491 (77)	455 (73)	22 (2)	5	2 (1)	6 (1)		1
Kalisz district	414 (164)	383 (152)	16 (6)		13 (6)	1		1
Kcynia district	288 (75)	248 (66)	13 (1)	15 (5)	6 (3)	1	4	1
Konin district	314 (67)	294 (65)	14 (1)		1 (1)	4		1
Nakło district	216 (15)	185 (14)	10 (1)	12	3		3	3
Pyzdry district	413 (78)	375 (73)	18 (4)	4	8	7		1 (1)
<b>Poznań Voivodeship</b>	<b>1,462 (258)</b>	<b>1,283 (230)</b>	<b>66 (11)</b>	<b>43 (9)</b>	<b>17 (5)</b>	<b>26 (1)</b>	<b>9 (1)</b>	<b>18 (2)</b>
Kościan district	636 (82)	564 (74)	25 (3)	8 (2)	10 (2)	19 (1)	1	9
Poznań district	722 (130)	625 (114)	34 (5)	35 (7)	7 (3)	7	8 (1)	6 (1)
Wąlczyca district	60 (34)	53 (32)	4 (1)					3 (1)
Wschowa land	44 (12)	41 (10)	3 (2)					
<b>total</b>	<b>3,598 (734)</b>	<b>3,223 (443)</b>	<b>159 (26)</b>	<b>79 (14)</b>	<b>50 (16)</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>26 (3)</b>

The AHP includes 5,308 names that referred to 3,783 settlements from both historical voivodeships. As the table demonstrates, the various districts differed from each other in terms of the density of the settlement network, thus also in the number of toponyms, which should be taken into account

<sup>13</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Wielkopolski, Małopolski i Mazowsza*, Gdańsk 1968.

<sup>14</sup> H. Borek, *Zachodniosłowiańskie nazwy toponimiczne z formantem -bn-*, Wrocław 1968.

<sup>15</sup> S. Rospond, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -bsk-*, Wrocław 1969; idem, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -jb*, Wrocław 1983; idem, *Słownik etymologiczny miast i gmin PRL*, Wrocław 1984.

<sup>16</sup> The entries from the territory of Greater Poland have been written by Z. Zierhoffer and more recently also by P. Dudek and P. Swoboda.

<sup>17</sup> S. Kozirowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Poznań 1914; idem, *Badania nazw topograficznych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1916; idem, *Badania nazw topograficznych na obszarze dawnej zachodniej i środkowej Wielkopolski*, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1921–1922; idem, *Badania nazw topograficznych na obszarze dawnej wschodniej Wielkopolski*, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1926–1928.

when examining the regional nomenclature, because in sparsely populated areas there was a lower probability of certain name types occurring. The numbers for the Poznań Voivodeship (2,091 names referring to 1,528 settlement points) should be compared with the data compiled by Podlawska in the study mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. The author noted 2,112 names tied to 2,072 settlements.<sup>18</sup> As we can see, these figures differ significantly. These discrepancies may be the result of several factors. When it comes to the number of settlements, Podlawska takes into account the names of settlements that might not have survived until the sixteenth century (e.g., Adamowice, Grodowo), names of missing settlements and names of settlement sections that are not the subject of this study. Since the publication of her work in 1990, more missing names would have been identified, which would have prompted the reduction of the number of settlements. Nonetheless, in the case of the relation between the number of names and the number of settlements, the AHP demonstrates that the percentage of settlements with two (or more) names<sup>19</sup> is much higher (27%) than in the study done by Podlawska (2%). This is the case because in the AHP different/additional names are not only the ones that differ diametrically in terms of form and origin (e.g. *Jastrowie* : *Witunk*, *Mialla* : *Chelst*), but also the ones that are a diverging graphic, phonetic or word formation variant of the name (e.g. *Kobylnica* : *Kobelnica*, *Krapsko Male* : *Krampsko Male*, *Stęszewo* : *Stęszew*) and which other onomastic research does not treat as additional names. All this has caused the numbers of settlements and names in the AHP to differ greatly from the number proposed by Podlawska.

As in the case of other Polish lands, also the toponymy found in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships is not homogeneous from the point of view of its history and origin. Many of the toponyms occurring in the sixteenth century were a continuation of the names from earlier times, including the pre-Slavic period. There are many names found in the areas we have studied, which generate interest and controversy among the scholars researching linguistics on Polish territories. Many toponyms, particularly hydronyms (proper names of bodies of water), were believed to be relics from the pre-Slavic era, though these theories – as was later established – were not always correct. In his work from 2001, which focused on the oldest layer of names on Polish lands, Zbigniew Babik conducted a thorough review of the existing positions concerning alleged pre-Slavic names.<sup>20</sup> Out of hundreds of names suspected of such origin, he distinguished approximately 190 toponyms, which, in his opinion, can be included in the layer of pre-Slavic names. This number is also made up of a dozen or so names from the area of the former Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships that have been included in this atlas, viz. **Gąsawa** (river – *Ganzaua* 1136 – copy, village – *Gassavam* 1145, copy from the thirteenth century, *Ganzava* 1251), **Gwda** (river – *Chuda* 1260, *Kudda* 1312, *Gwda* 1349), **Kalisz** (*Καλισία* second century, *Kalis* 1107, copy),<sup>21</sup> **Kiekrz** (village – *Kerz* 1387, *Kerz*, *Kekrz*, *Kecrze*, *Kekers*, *Kekrsz* 1391, *Kyerz*, *Kyekyerz* 1432, *Kyekrzsky*, adjective 1471, *Kiekrz*, *Kierskiego* 1580; believed to be pre-Slavic, though due to the chronology of the records was connected to Old Polish. *kierz* ‘bush, shrub’), **Mosina** (river – *Mosinam* 1292, town – *Mosznia* 1247, copy from the fourteenth century, *Mosina* 1292, *Mossina* 1298), **Noteć/Noteś** (river – *Nothes* 1234, *Notes* 1243, *Netza*, *Neza* 1251; most commonly connected to Indo-European. *\*not-* ‘wet’), **Obra** (river – *Obra* 1231; most likely with Indo-European. *\*ab-* ‘river’, possibly connected to Latvian *abra* ‘basins’, Gothic: *abrs* ‘silny’), **Oćwieka/Oczwieka** (river – *Oczwezca* 1373, *Oczwyek* 1511 – 23 and village – *Othvecam* 1145, copy from the thirteenth century, *Oczweca* 1357, copy from the fifteenth century, *Oczweka* 1368), **Ołobok** (river – *Oloboc* 1136; Old Germanic name, compare with Germanic *\*bak-* ‘potok’, Germ. *Bach* – the same), **Oskobłok** (river, obecnie *Flinta* – *Osobłok* 1408, copy from 1553, *Woskobłok* 1514–1523, *Woskobłok* 1515, *Osobłok* 1516; connected to the Silesian *Osobłoga*), **Panienka** (originally *Pan(i)ęka*, river – de *Panøky* 1390, *Panøka* 1398, *Panięka* 1422), **Prosna** (river – *Przosna* twelfth century, *Prosna*, *Przosna* 1209), **Swędrnia** (river – *Zuandri* 1136, *Swandram* ca. 1271, copy from 1357, *Svandrnnya* 1298, copy; perhaps in connection to Indo-European *\*k'wendhr-* ‘reed (grass-like wetland plant)’), **Śrem** town – *Zrem* 1136, *Srem* 1212 and village, presently

<sup>18</sup> D. Podlawska, *Nazwy miejscowe*, part 2, p. 361.

<sup>19</sup> In onomastics, the phenomenon of the parallel occurrence of several names in relation to one settlement is called polyonymy.

<sup>20</sup> These names are sometimes called “Old European”, see Z. Babik, *Najstarsza warstwa nazewnictwa na ziemiach polskich (w granicach wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyzny)*, Cracow 2001.

<sup>21</sup> The identification of Kalisz with *Καλισία*, which appears on Ptolemy’s world map from the second century, is debatable, however no firm evidence against it has been put forward.

a hamlet – *Srem* 1395), **Trląg** (lake – *Tirlang* 1249, *Tralang* 1374, *Tralng* 1379, *Trlang* 1384, *Thrlang* 1386, *Trlank* 1394, *Trlang* 1580; believed to be Old Germanic), **Trzek** (village – *Trsek* 1349), **Warta** (river – *Vurta* 972, *Vartam* 1145, *Warte* 1239, *Warta* 1232; often it is reconstructed as *\*V̥rta* < Proto-Slavic *\*v̥rtěti*, Polish *wiercić* (*się*) ‘to drill; to wriggle’, which is confirmed by the many toponyms created from the name of the river, just as *Powiercie* included in AHP, as well as *Zawiercie*, *Wiercica*, *Wiercina*, *Przywiercie*, however, due to the isolation of this name on Polish and Slavic grounds, one should be careful with these assumptions), **Wonieść** (village – *Wanesch* 1181, copy from 1258, *Vanesc*, *Wanesech*, *Woneszcz*, *Wonesecz* 1258, *Vanesc* 1277, *Wonesecz* 1388, lake – *Woneszcz* 1296). In this oldest layer, Babik also included names that were not mentioned in the AHP due to their lack of documentation in the AHP sources – this includes the lost village of *Warła/Warla* (*Varla* 1181, copy 1258, *Warla* 1561) and names that appear later in written sources: *Nielba*, river, tributary of Wełna (*Nieglba* (1498)XIX, in *Nielba* 1782), *Sława* (1793), river, tributary of Mała Wełna near Skoki and *Szywra*<sup>22</sup> (river, tributary of Warta near Miłosław).

As we can see, most of the listed names refers to bodies of water (particularly rivers), with only a few referring to settlements, although in their case their names were probably based on earlier names of bodies of water or terrain (as is believed in the case of *Kalisz*, *Kiekrz*, *Trzek*, *Wonieść*).

The aforementioned archaic names constitute, of course, only a small number of the toponymy of Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships in the sixteenth century. Its basic core are names created in what already was Slavic territory (these may have been derived from the oldest names, such as *Obrzyca*, *Obrzycko* or the aforementioned *Powiercie*). They will be discussed in the manner previously implemented in other AHP volumes.<sup>23</sup> Place names can be divided into two large groups, i.e. associated with people and their activities (anthroponymic names or those derived from descriptions of people and cultural names) and topographic names.

The oldest Slavic names were created with the use of the no longer productive suffix *\*-j̥b/-ja/-je*. These were predominantly **possessive forms** created from anthroponymic roots. This included toponyms derived from Old Polish compound personal names (p. n.) such as *Bogusław* (*Boguslaw* 1396) : p. n. *Bogusław*,<sup>24</sup> *Miłosław* (de *Myloslave* 1314) : p. n. *Miłosław*, *Lutogniew* (*Luthognew* 1329) : p. n. *Lutogniew*, *Kazimierz*, presently *Kazimierz Biskupi* (*Kazimir*, *Kazimierz* 1237, copy from the fifteenth century) : p. n. *Kazimi(e)r*, *Włocibórz* (*Wlosczybore* 1432, *Wlosczyborz* 1498) : p. n. *Włocibor*, *Milogoszcz* (*Mylgast* 1331) : p. n. *Milogost*, *Radgoszcz* (*Radgoszcze* 1378) : p. n. *\*Radogost*, as well as abbreviated forms of the personal names (created from Old Polish compound p. n.), e.g.: *Chodecz*, presently *Chocz* (*Chodecz* 1294, copy from 1537) : p. n. *Chodek*, *Czacz* (*Cadce* (?) 1273, *Czacje* 1352) : p. n. *\*Czadek*, *Gostom*, dziś *Gostuń* (: *Gostom*, *Gosthom* 1470) : p. n. *\*Gostom* (< *Gost-*), *Lubasz* (*Lubasz* 1392) : p. n. *Lubach*, *Milcz* (*Milcz* 1403) : p. n. *Milek* or *\*Milec*, *Naclaw* (*Natslave* 1298, copy from fifteenth century) : p. n. *Nac(s)ław*, *Naczęslaw*, *Ociąż*, originally *Ociąsz* (de *Oczansz* 1402) : p. n. *Ociąch(a)* (< *Ocięslaw*), *Otusz* (*Othuze* 1284) : p. n. *\*Otuch* (< *Otjęslaw*, *Ocięslaw*, Germ. p. n. *Ot*, *Ota* or word *otucha*), *Przeclaw* (de *Przeczlaw* 1449) : p. n. *Przec(s)ław*, *Radzicz* (*Radzicze* 1383) : *Radzik* (: *Radosław*). Furthermore, in Old Polish anthroponymy, there are single-element personal names, from which place names are derived: *Czarnom* (*Czarnom* 1430) : p. n. *\*Czarnom* (< *Czarny*), *Poznań* (civitatibus... *Poznani* (X)XII, *Posnan* 1252) : p. n. *Poznan* (< *poznać*), *Pruszcz* (*Pruschze* 1368, *Pruszcz* 1390) : p. n. *Prus(e)k* (< ethnic name *Prus*), *Tlukom* (*Tlucoma* 1399, *Tlukom* 1427) : p. n. *\*Tlukom* (< *Tluk*), *Wyskocz* (de *Wiszocz* 1350) : p. n. (heraldic) *Wyskota* (< Old Polish *wysk* ‘wołanie, krzyk, wycie’, Proto-Slavic *\*viskati*, *\*viščati* ‘to shout, to call, to yell’).

These types of names appear about 100 times in the studied region, though it must be noted that some of the toponyms were initially names of a different type, which only later came to resemble the *\*-j̥b/-ja/-je* names. For example, the settlement *Przeclawie* (currently *Przeclaw* near *Szamotuły*) initially carried the patronymic name *Przeclawice* (*Przeczlawicze* 1384) : p. n. *Przec(s)ław*. It is

<sup>22</sup> The connection of this name with the oldest layer of names has recently been questioned based on an analysis of sources by the author of this chapter, who considered it an adaptation of Germ. name *Schieferbach*; P. Swoboda, *Hydronim Szywra – efekt polsko-niemieckich kontaktów językowych*, „Onomastica”, vol. 60, 2016, pp. 273–285.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. Duma, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.4.1.

<sup>24</sup> Some names created with the help of the suffix *\*-j̥b* (ending with *w* or *m*) are identical to the personal name from which they are derived (*Bogusław* : *Bogusław*, *Lutogniew* : *Lutogniew*). The old soft ending can be seen in modern oblique cases, so for example: z *Bogusławia* (from *Bogusław*) instead of *Bogusława*, z *Radomia* (from *Radom*) instead of *Radoma*, etc.

also worth signaling, that in the sixteenth century, names derived from personal names ending in *-om* (*Czarnom*, *Czatom*, *Gostom*, *Skokom*, *Tłukom*) only appeared in the former Kalisz Voivodeship (other forms ending in *-om* also were found there – *Trzuskołom* and *Łukom* were probably obtained from the adjective *\*łukomy*), while in the Poznań Voivodeship, names such as *Bytom* (*Bitom* 1105?) and *Lubom(ie)* (*Lubome* 1318, *Lubom* 1386) at the time had a different form – *Bytyń* i *Luboń*.

As in the case of the remaining Polish lands, the most common were possessive forms of names created with the continuator forms of suffixes *\*-ov-/\*-ev-* and *\*-in-*, viz. *-ów*, *-owa*, *-owo* / *-ew*, *-ewa*, *-ewo* oraz *-in*, *-ina*, *-ino*, less often also *-sk-*. These names constitute almost 40% of the studied territories in the sixteenth century.<sup>25</sup> The most common ones are the *\*-ov-/\*-ev-* ones, e.g. *Malechowo*, presently *Małachowo* (*Malechowo* 1310) : p. n. *Malech* (: *mały*, *Małomir*), *Godziszewo*, previously also *Godzieszewo* (*Godzeszevo* 1398) : p. n. *Godzi(e)sz* (: *Godzislaw*, *Godzimir*), *Sieraków*, originally *Sirakowo* (*Syracowo* 1388, *Szyrakow* 1405) : p. n. *Sirak* (: *Siroslaw*) (they make up about 2/3 of all those created with the use of possessive suffixes). This is due to the fact that continuator forms of suffixes *\*-in-* were added to the bases with a feminine declension paradigm and these are less common among personal names influencing place names (which usually refer to males), e.g. *Jarocin* (*Iaroczino* 1324) : p. n. *Jarota* (: *Jaromir*, *Jarogniew*), *Borucin* (*Borucino* 1411, *Boruczyn* 1579) : p. n. *Boruta*, *Koźmin* (*Cosmino* 1232, *Cosmin* 1291) : p. n. *Kosma*, *Koźma*. Moreover, among the names ending in *\*-ov-/\*-ev-* in both voivodeships during the sixteenth century, the majority of names ended in *-owo/-ewo*, while there were only a few dozen masculine names ending in *-ów/-ew*, though even these were often created through the use of the suffix *-owo/-ewo*, e.g. *Brudzew* (1579) < *Brudzowo* (*Brusovo* 1252), *Grzymiszew* (*Grzymissew* 1579) < *Grzymiszewo* (1411). The same is true for names with the suffixes *-in* and *-ino*, compare with the aforementioned *Jarocin* < *Jarocino*, *Borucin* < *Borucino*, *Koźmin* < *Koźmino* czy *Barcin* < *Barcino* (*Barthcino* 1215–1233).

Interestingly, the opposite change took place later, namely in the southeastern part of the studied area (especially in the Kalisz Voivodeship), the neuter names ending in *-owo/-ewo* and *-ino* changed their paradigm to masculine and gained endings with *-ów/-ew* and *-in* (often also *-iń*). Let us take a closer look at the spatial distribution of these types of names. In the modern Polish place names, a fairly clear boundary can be set in terms of geographical distribution of possessive (and pseudo-possessive) names ending in *-owo/-ino* (*-yno*) and *-ów/-in* (*-yn*). The first type is dominant in the northern part, including Greater Poland, with the exception of its southeastern part, where names ending in *-ów/-in* dominated. This applies to the present-day Jarocin, Pleszew, Krotoszyn, Ostrów, Kalisz, Turek and Kępno districts as well as the southern part of the Koło district. However, this division was invisible in the sixteenth century. As already mentioned, both in the former Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships the vast majority of names ended in *-owo/-ino*, while only several dozen names ending in *-ów/-in* were noted. In the sixteenth century, the aforementioned division in the spatial distribution of possessive names also occurred, but its border ran slightly differently. In the case of the region we are interested in, it coincided with the border of the Kalisz and Sieradz Voivodeships.<sup>26</sup> The later shift of this border was probably related to the change in the administrative affiliation of the former Kalisz Voivodeship and the structural assimilation of the names in order to match the trends in its new eastern territory. About 175 names, mainly from the former Kalisz, Konin and Pызdry districts, which in the sixteenth century ended in *-owo/-ewo*, currently end in *-ów/-ew*, for example *Brdowo* > *Brdów*, *Kowalewo* > *Kowalew*, *Wszółowo* > *Wszółów*, *Czyżewo* > *Czyżew*, *Złotowo* > *Złotów* etc. The change of the suffix *-ino* to *-in* had an even wider reach and affected over 200 names in the Kalisz Voivodeship and in the Poznań and Konin districts in the Poznań Voivodeship, e.g., *Wilczyno* > *Wilczyn*, *Karmino* > *Karmin*, *Pszczółczyno* > *Pszczółczyn*, *Głupczyno* > *Głubczyn*, *Pełczyno* > *Palczyn*, *Dupino* > *Dubin*, *Bobolczyno* > *Bobulczyn* etc.

Another group of old names, derived from personal names, are patronymic names, which can be identified by the suffix *-ice* (sometimes expanded with the suffix *\*-ov-/\*-ev-*); originally, in many cases these names were created from personal names with the suffix *-icy* (< *\*-ici* < *\*-itjo*), referring to family members (descendants) of the person to whom the given personal name referred (hence the

<sup>25</sup> In some cases, it is difficult to establish whether the name in question is a possessive form, derived from an anthroponymic basis or an adjectival topographic name derived from a common noun that referred to some feature of the settlement.

<sup>26</sup> As for other parts of Poland, while the names ending in *-ów/-in* were not predominant in the sixteenth century, they certainly occurred in Cuyavia and Gdańsk Pomerania (nowadays, the *-owo* / *-ino* type dominates there).

term *patronymic*). Examples of such toponyms in Greater Poland in the sixteenth century are primarily derived from Old Polish personal names, such as *Sulmierzyce* (*Sulmiricze*, *Sulymyrzycze* 1427) : p. n. *Sulimir*, *Iwanowice* (*Iwanowicz* 1392) : p. n. *Iwan*, *Domaradzice* (*Domaradzicz* 1393) : p. n. *Domarad*, *Więckowice* (*Wanczowice* 1387) : *Więcek*, *Wiącek* (: *Więcesław*, *Więcimir*), but also Christian, like *Pawłowice* near Poznań (*Pawłowicze* 1366) : p. n. *Paweł*, *Piotrowice* near Słupca (*Petrovize* 1340) : p. n. *Piotr*, *Pietr*, and those of German origin, such as *Hetmanice*, dawniej *Hertmanice* (*Hertmanicze* 1407) : p. n. *Hertmann* or *Kurnatowice*, also *Kunratowice*, *Kondratowice* (*Kurnatowicze* 1391, *Cunrathouice* 1418, *Kondratowicze* 1469) : p. n. *Kurnat*, *Kondrat*. These types of names were created not only from anthroponymic bases, which were personal names, but also from the names of functions and titles. In these cases, we are dealing with names of settlements, which were originally inhabited by people subject to, for example, a *bishop* or a *podstoli* (deputy of a pantler), as in the case of the name *Biskupice* (nine such names are noted in the AHP), *Podstolice*, *Postolice* (*Podstolice* 1430).

The geographical distribution of patronymic names is uneven. There are none in the Wałcz district (however, this district has the sparsest settlement network in general) and in the western part of the Poznań and Kościan districts (beyond the line marked by Zbąszyń, Trzciel and Międzychód), while occasionally appearing in the Nakło district. They are also very rare in the eastern part of the Gniezno Voivodeship, which is in stark contrast to their prevalence with the large number of these types of names in the neighbouring Cuyavian districts to the east: the Kruszwica, Inowrocław and Radziejów districts. The densest clusters of patronymic names can be found in the following districts: Wschowa, Pyzdry and western parts of Gniezno, Kościan (southern and northern areas) and in the central part of Poznań.

Another category of toponyms based on personal names found in the Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships are **family names**, usually in the plural form of the anthroponym from which they are derived, for example *Czachory* (*Cachori* 1403) : p. n. *Czachor*, *Sobiejuchy* (*Sobeiuchi* 1414–1419) : p. n. *Sobiejucha*, *Szamotoły* (*de Samotul* 1305, *de Schamotuli* (1308)XV) : p. n. *Szamotoła* lub *\*Samotula*, *Wronki* (*de civitate Fronich* (1251)XV, *Vronki* 1298) : p. n. *Wronka*, *Wronek*. There are about 100 names of this type in the material we have studied,<sup>27</sup> although providing a precise estimate of their number and establishing their geographical distribution would require in-depth research of the source material of each name, as they may coincide with the plural topographic names derived from the base of a common noun identical to anthroponyms, e.g., *Sroki* (*Sroky* 1398): p. n. *Sroka* or word *sroka*. Furthermore, as in the case of earlier groups, some of the names, which were formally identical to family names, had a different form in the sixteenth century, e.g., *Broniki* < *Bronikowo* (1560) < *Bronkowo* (1296) or *Zielniki* < *Zielnice* (*Zelnicze* 1304). When determining whether a particular name belongs to the group of family names (created since the thirteenth century), the chronology of the records should be taken into account, because their productivity, as well as that of patronymic names, significantly decreased from the fifteenth century onwards.<sup>28</sup>

Formally similar to family names are the so-called **ethnic names**, which indicate the origin of the people who originally lived in a given place. Besides toponyms derived from well-known ethnic groups such as the *Czechs*, e.g. two villages in the Gniezno district (*Czechy* 1418) and in the Poznań district, presently *Czechyń* (*Czech*, *Czechy* 1600), *Węgry* (*Wangri* 1411) or *Sarby*, presently *Sarbia* (*Sarb* in the sixteenth century), two villages in the Poznań district: near Czarnków (*Szarbi* 1393) and Buk (*Sarbi* 1394) : ethn. n. *Sarb* ‘Sorb’, there are also several characteristic word-formation structures, involving the *-any* suffix based on the names of specific settlements or regions, from which the inhabitants originated, e.g. *Kaliszany* (*Calissani* 1253) : s. n. *Kalisz*, *Pomorzany*, currently *Pomorzany* (1256)XV) : n. of region *Pomorze*, but simply also a special configuration, which was occupied by the inhabitants or from which they originated, e.g. *Dolany* (*Dolan* (1145) 1795, *Dolane* 1289, *Dolani*, *Dolany* (1325)) : word *dół*, *Jezierzany*, currently *Jeziorzany* (*Iezerzani* 1357) : word. *jezioro* (these names initially described the people living by lakes – *jeziora*), *Stawiany* (*Sthavany* (1298)1546) : word *staw*. Podlawska<sup>29</sup> also included in this group names with a different structure such as *Jezierzyce* (*Gieszierzicze* (1356)XV), a name that was created with the suffix *-ice*.

<sup>27</sup> In the case of the Poznań Voivodeship, D. Podlawska counted 46 such names (eadem, *Nazwy miejscowe*, part 2, p. 392). Therefore, over double the number found in the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodeships seems reasonable.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem pp. 361–362.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, p. 397.

The **service-related and occupational names** did not differ formally, although onomastic and historical studies do utilize these different terms to differentiate between the names referring to the settlements (inhabited by people bound by their occupation and duties to their superior), which served princely courts, and the names of settlements derived from other occupational titles. We can, therefore, only speak about service-related names in reference to settlements created (and named) until the thirteenth century.<sup>30</sup> According to Urszula Wójcik, 219 out of 572 service-related names recorded in the current territory of Poland can be found in Greater Poland and Kuyavia, making this region their largest concentration.<sup>31</sup> In the AHP, we have noted 94 settlements with service-related names. They can predominantly be found around three towns: Gniezno, Kalisz and Poznań. None have been located in the Nakło, Wałcz and Wschowa districts. The most common are the following names:<sup>32</sup> *Lągiewniki* (eight times) : *lægiewnicy* ‘people who make flasks, flagons, or who brew beer, and prepare mead’, *Żerniki* (7) < \**Żerdniki*, \**Żyrdniki* : *żerdnicy*, *żyrdnicy* ‘people who build tents for the prince and his court during their travels’, *Złotniki* : *złotnicy* ‘craftsmen, who make items of gold and other metals’. Four of each of the following names have been recorded: *Kobylniki* : *kobylnicy* ‘horse herdsman’, *Kuchary* : *kucharze* ‘those who cooked meals and ran the kitchens’, *Mączniki* : *mącznicy* ‘people in charge of grinding the grain into flour with querns’, *Sokolniki* : *sokolnicy* ‘the population in charge of guarding falcon nests and hunting young falcons, and participating in hunting with falcons’, *Strzelce* : *strzelcy* ‘archers, crossbowmen’, *Świątyniki* : *świątynicy* ‘persons obliged to perform church services’, *Szczytniki* : *szczytnicy* (derived from *szczyt* ‘shield, buckler’). Other service-related names include: *Cieśle*, *Sierniki* (: *sirznicy* < \**sirznik* ‘person hunting deer’), *Winiary* : *winiarze* ‘winemakers’, *Zduny* (: *zduni* ‘potters’) (three cases of each), *Bartodzieje* ‘beekeepers’, *Jastrzębniki* (: *jastrzębnicy* ‘persons preparing hawks for hunting’), *Komorniki* (: *komornicy* ‘officials’), *Konary* (: *kon(i)arze* ‘people in charge of horse breeding’), *Piekary* (: *piekarze* ‘bakers’), *Podstolice*, currently *Podstolice* and *Postolice* (: \**podstolicy* ‘assistants of the *podstoli*’), *Rybitwy* (: *rybitwi* ‘fishermen’), *Szewce* (: *szewcy* ‘shoemakers’), *Świniary* (: *świniarze* ‘pig breeders’), *Woźniki* (: *woźnicy* ‘people who build carts’) (two cases of each), *Bednary* (: *bednarze* ‘coopers’), *Bobrowniki* (: *bobrownicy* ‘persons dealing with beavers’), *Grotniki* (: *grotnicy* ‘arrowhead makers’), *Jadowniki* (: *jadownicy* ‘poisoners’), *Kurnik* (previously *Kurniki*), currently *Kórnik* (: *kurnicy* ‘people who raise chicken’), *Łosośniki* (: *łosośnicy* ‘salmon fishermen’), *Oborniki* (: *obornicy* ‘caretakers of cattle barns’), *Płowce* (cum *Plawcis* (1103) 1198, *Płowcze* 1363; from the word *plawca* ‘sailor; the one who lets things run down the river’), *Rudniki* (: *rudnicy* ‘ore miners and smelters, steel workers’), *Sanniki* (: \**sannicy* ‘sleigh-makers’), *Skotniki* (*skotnicy* ‘cattle herders’), *Wodniki* (: *wodnicy* ‘those who perform duties related to water’). Moreover, we have noted four settlements in the AHP, which carried occupational names *Rataje* (: *rataj* ‘feudally dependent peasant who, in return for a loan for development, was obliged to work on the land of the feudal lord’) and one named *Powodowice* (also *Podoboice* and *Podwójcie!*), currently *Podobowice* (: *powodowicy*, derived from the word *powód*, *podwoda* ‘the obligation to provide means of transport to the ruler and his officials’). While these names were formally and semantically close to the service-related names, they were not, however, related to service organization.

Despite formal similarities, the names *Duszniki* (used in relation to settlements donated to the Church along with their inhabitants to ensure the peace of the donor’s *soul* = Polish *dusza*) and *Dziedzice* (: *dziedzic* ‘a person who has the right to inherit, the heir’) were not occupational, family or patronymic names. They belong to the category of **cultural names** related with names of man-made items and with social relations. This is quite a broad category, in which we can follow the word-formation criterion to a lesser degree than in the case of anthroponymic names, as there are both primary names (i.e., transferred directly from common lexis), and secondary names (created through word-formation, e.g. affixes). Within it, we can distinguish several motivational groups, including names related to settlements, e.g. *Lgota* (1394) : (*lgota* ‘a settlement temporarily exempt from paying rents and levies’), *Siedlec* (four settlements) : \**siedlec* (< *siodło* ‘village, settlement’), *Siedlnia*, dziś *Silnia* (*Szyedlnya* 1475) : *siodło*, *Przedmiejska Wieś*, previously also *Pakoska Wieś*, *Przedmieście* (*Pakoszkawyesch*

<sup>30</sup> U. Wójcik, *Polskie toponimy związane z organizacją gospodarczą państwa wczesnopiastowskiego. Nazwy miejscowe motywowane antroponimami zbiorowymi*, Cracow 2013, pp. 47–49.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, pp. 167–169.

<sup>32</sup> Due to the large number of occurrences, I will not cite the source material (with a few exceptions).

1475, *Przedmyeszczycze* 1534, *Przedmiejska wieś* 1564), *Nowe Miasto*, *Stare Miasto* (: *wieś* ‘village’, *przedmieście* ‘suburb’, *miasto* ‘city’) (five settlements); names related to forest management, e.g. np. *Łazy* (w *Laszach* 1467, *Łazy* 1511–23), *Łaziska* (*Łazisko* (1553) : *laz* ‘arable land in place of cleared forest’), *Trzebiec*, currently *Czepiec* (*Thrzebiecz* 1565), *Trzebinia*, three villages, currently *Trzebania* (*Trzebinia* 1388), *Trzebin* (ville *Trzebini* 1381), *Trzebiny* (*Trzebino* 1360, *Trzebina* 1462) : *trzebić* ‘to clear (a forest)’; connected to agriculture: *Niwka* (*Niwy* (1302)XVII) : *niwa* ‘farmland, ploughland’, *Sady* (*Sadi* (1288)XVII), *Sadowie* (*Sadowo* 1401, *Sadowye* 1498), *Sadowo* (*Zado* (1251)XVI, *Szadow* 1337) : *sad* ‘orchard’; referring to buildings and man-made objects, e.g. *Hamer* (several settlements, also with additional terms), *Hamrzysko*, *Hamerski Młyn* : *hamer* < Germ. *Hammer* ‘ironworks’, *Borowy Młyn* (*Borowy Molendinum* 1508), *Młynowo* (*Mlynkowo* 1403) : *młyn*, *młynek* ‘mill’, *Pila* – town (*Pyla* 1451), saw (*Od Mlyna* al. *Pily* 1595) : *pila* ‘sawmill’; referring to sacred buildings and spiritual culture: *Paradyż*, currently *Gościkowo* (videlicet *Paradiso* sancte Marie 1230, *Paradisus* 1236) : Lat. *paradisus* ‘paradise’ (the name referred to the monastery and estate in *Gościkowo*), *Cerekwica*, three villages (near *Žnin* – circa *Cirekvicham Martini* (1265) XVIII, near *Koźmin* – *Czirekquicza* 1397, Czech *Mrowina* – *Czirekwicza* 1388) : *cerekiew* ‘temple, church’, *Święty Jan* (a *sancto Johanne* circa *Poznaniem* 1387); or names derived from social institutions, e.g. *Targowisko* (*Targowiszce* 1355), *Targownica* (*Cebar cum foro* (1145), in *Zbar forum cum villa*, *Targownicza* 1388) : *targ* ‘market, fair’, *Środa* (*Srzoda* (1253)XV), *Sobota* (*Sobotha* 1367) : *środa* ‘wednesday’, *sobota* ‘saturday’ (names of the market days), *Ujazd*, three villages, e.g. *Ujazd* near *Skoki* (*Ugasd* (1243)XVII, *Wiasd* 1294) : *ujazd* ‘an area enclosed by a delimited and delineated boundary by a tour of someone’s property in order to demarcate its boundaries’. It must be noted that in the case of smaller and more recent structures, such as forges or forge settlements, their names almost always contain a clear reference to their character (*Hamer*, *Młoty*, *Ruda*), which, for example, is not a rule in the case of mill settlements (their names were often derived from the name of the owner, a nearby town or topographical characteristics). It is impossible to discuss the geographical distribution of cultural names in such a brief text as this one, however, it is worth mentioning that we can clearly tell the boundaries of the occurrence of certain names derived from specific bases. For example, names linked to the word *hamer* (predominantly referring to forge settlements) were mostly found in the *Kcynia* and *Nakło* districts, as well as in northern (and western) parts of the *Poznań* district in the sixteenth century (this was also the case in the context of the entire territory of the Crown).

**Topographic names** constituted an extensive semantic group among the site names we have studied. Toponyms of this type reflect the topographical characteristics accompanying the creation of or the functioning of the settlement. Such names may be equal to the common names, from which they were derived (onymization, i.e., the transition of a word from a common noun to a proprial form), however more often we find secondary names created with the help of various word-formation formants (particularly productive ones include suffixes *-ica*, *\*-ov-/-ev-*, *-k-* and *-sk-*) and names created from prepositional terms. Often these names are of a metaphorical nature. Among topographic names, we can also distinguish several semantic groups, including names related to plants: *Borek*, *Borki* (several settlements), e.g. the town *Borek Wielkopolski* (*Boreg* 1394, *Borek* 1429) : *bór*, *borek* ‘coniferous forest’, *Buk* (*Buk* 1257) ‘beech’, *Dąbrowa*, *Dąbrówka*, *Dąbrowica* (several settlements), e.g. present-day *Dąbrówka Kościelna* (*Dambrowa* (1348) 1555) : *dąbrowa* ‘deciduous forest with a predominance of oaks’, or the numerous names tied to the appellative *brzoza* ‘birch’: *Brzoza*, *Brzezcie*, *Brzezna*, *Brzeźno*, *Brzeźnica* (several settlements); names associated with topography: *Garby*, two villages – near *Środa Wielkopolska* (*Garby* (1304)XVIII) and *Swarzędz* (*Garbi* 1387) : *garb* ‘hummock’, *Góra*, *Góry*, *Górka*, *Górki*, several settlements, e.g. *Góry* near *Kleczew* (*Gora* 1399, *Gori* 1401, *Gorky* 1420, *Gory* 1461), *Krzywa Góra* (*Krzywagora* (1360)XVI, *Crziwa Gora* 1392) : *góra* ‘mountain, hill’, *Kępa*, four villages, e.g. village near *Ślesin* (*Campa* 1390) : *kępa* ‘a hill in a meadow; river or lake island’ or *Koryta* (*Koritha* (1337)XV) : *koryto* ‘river bed, ravine, ditch’; names related to the nature of the substrate: *Lysina* (*Lyssiny* 1438, *Lyschina* 1439) : *lysina* ‘a place with sparse vegetation’, *Blotnica* (*Blothnicza* 1395) : *bloto* ‘mud’, *Bagienica* (*Bagnitz* 1432, *Bagenicza* 1446) : *bagno* ‘swamp’, *Glinno*, currently part of *Biedrusk* (*Glino* 1387) and a village near *Skoki* (*Glinno* 1470) : *glina* ‘clay’, *Suchodół* (*Suchodol* (1378)XV) : *suchodół* ‘ravine, valley without water’, *Suchary* : dialectal *suchar* ‘dear tree’, *Łęg* (*Lang* 1252), *Łęgowo* (*Langowo* (1319) 1782), *Łężyno*, currently *Łęzyn*, part of *Konin* (*Lansyno* 1252), *Łężce Wielkie i Małe*, currently *Łężce* and *Łężeczki* (de *Lanczecz* 1394, *Lözce* 1398) : *łęg*, *łęczec* ‘flood-meadow,

riparian woodland', *Kaława* (*Kalawa* 1436) : *kał* 'mud, sludge' etc. Additionally, attention must be given to names formed from prepositional terms, which indicate the location in relation to a terrain configuration, including *Międzyrzecz* (*Meserici* 1005) : *między rzekami* 'between rivers', *Międzyborze*, currently *Międzybórz* (from *Medziborza* 1394, *Miedzyborze* 1449) : *między borami* 'among forests', *Podgór* (*Podgor* 1445) : *pod górą* 'under the hill', *Podrzecze* (*Podrecze* (1330)XVII) : *pod rzeką* 'under the river', *Zakrzewo*, several village, e.g. present-day *Zakrzewko* (*Zakrzewo* 1422) : old Polish *za krzem* 'behind shrubs, bushes', *Zastruże* (*Zastrosze* 1472, *Zastruze* 1492) : *za strugą* 'behind a stream' etc.

The abovementioned names such as *Międzyrzecz*, *Podgór*, *Zalesie* resemble the final semantic type in toponymy that we will discuss – **relational names**. These names are derived from other toponyms, pointing to various types of relationships that took place between settlement of such name and other geographic features. As in the case of names derived from common nouns, we can distinguish several ways of forming them. They can simply be repeated names of another (neighbouring) features, e.g. place name *Gąsawa* : river name *Gąsawa* (see above), *Linie* (*Line* 1397) : n. of lake *Linie* (*Lynya* 1260, *Lynye* 1546; most likely derived from the fish species name *lin*), place name *Przysieka Polska*, formerly *Przysieka* (*Przeschekam* (1356)XVII) : place name *Przysieka*, later *Przysieka Niemiecka* (*Prisseca* 1278; from Old Polish 'a defensive strip created by cutting and knocking down trees on a certain section; the obligation consisting in taking part in the creation of a clearing'). More often though, among relational names, there are names created with the use of appropriate word-formation means. Differential names can contain elements differentiating them from the name-forming root in the form of an affix, e.g. *Bielsko* (*Belsco* 1280) : river name *Biała*, tributary of Warta near Międzychód (super *Balam* 1288), *Drawsko* (1298) : river name *Drawa* (*Draua* 1237; most likely in connection to Proto-Slavic \**dъravъ*, *dъrava* 'one who tears, pulls'), *Głomsk* (*Glumszk* 1491) : river name *Głomia*, *Głumia* (*Glomia*, *Glumia* (1436)XVI; unclear name)<sup>33</sup> or an additional element (usually an adjective) of antonymic character, e.g. indicating the size of the town, the time of its establishment, geographic conditions, their location in relation to each other or ownership relations: *Godzieszewy Małe* and *Wielkie*, currently *Godziesze Małe* and *Wielkie* (ville dicte *Godessewo* (1295)XV, *Godzieschewy Maior*, *Godzieszwy Minor* 1507 – neighbouring villages of the same name *Godzieszewo*, eventually gained the differential element *Małe* 'small' and *Wielkie* 'great'), *Grojce* (*Grodźce*) *Nowe* 'new' and *Stare* 'old', currently *Grójec Mały* and *Wielki* (*Groc* 1338, duplex *Grodzce* 1438, *Nova Groycza* 1489, *Antiqua Grodzecz* 1510, *Groicze Stare*, *Groicze Nowe* 1571); *Dakowy Mokre* (mill *Dokoffkij* 1399, *Mocre Dokowo* 1415) : *Dakowy Suche* (*Docowo* 1388, *Suche Docowo* 1409) (*mokry* 'wet', *suchy* 'dry'), *Biała Górna*, currently *Biała* (*Bela* 1298, *Byala Wyszoka* 1508, *Bialla Gorna* 1563) : *Nadolna*, currently *Miały* (*Biala Nadolna* 1464) : *Biała Pośrednia*, currently *Mężyk* (*Byala Media* 1508, w *Posredniei Bialej* 1564–1565) (the basis of the name came from the name of the River *Biała*, compare with *Bele* 1402-08; differential elements are from *górnny* 'upper', *nadolny* 'lower', *pośredni* 'middle'); *Ślugocino Mniskie*, currently *Ślugocin* (*Ślugocino* 1278, *Szlugoczynno mnyskye* 1511–1523) : *Ślugocino Pańskie*, currently *Ślugocinek* (*Ślugoczynno* (1302), *Ślugoczynno panskyye* 1511–1523) (adjectives *mniski* and *pański* refer to – respectively – monastic and lord's ownership). However, we do not always deal with a pair of antonymic elements, compare with, e.g. *Murzynowo Kościelne* (in *Murinov ecclesiae* 1231, *Murzinowo* 1339, *Maior murzynowo* 1491, *Murzinowo koscielne* 1578), *Murzynowo Leśne* (*Murzinowo* 1389, *Lesznye Murzinowo* 1471), *Murzynowo Borowe*, currently *Murzynówko* (*Murzinowo* 1391, from *Murzynowo Borowe* 1431–1436). Relational names also include toponyms with localizing elements in relation to another building – they can be, for example, composite names (as in the case of names with differential elements), e.g. *Drawski Młyn* (*młyn Drawski* 1564–1565) : place name *Drawsko* (see above), *Margońska Wieś* (*Margonino* 1364, *Margonska Vesz* 1423) : n. of town *Margonino*, currently *Margonin* (*Margonino* 1454, *Margonyn* 1510) (after its location, the village received a composite name). A common occurrence was the change (resulting from univerbation) of the original compound name into a suffix name, e.g. *Ujazd Mały*, later *Ujazdek* (*Minus Vyasd* 1436, *Ugasdek*, *Uyasdek* 1496) : n. of village *Ujazd*, temporarily *Ujazd Wielki* (*Uiadz* 1280, in *Maiori Wyast* 1418, *Vyasth* 1510; after the creation of the n. *Ujazdek* from *Ujazd Mały*, the differentiating element *Wielki* became redundant and was omitted). However, there are also numerous names formed from prepositional phrases, where

<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that in the region we have studied, site names ending in *-sk* (besides *Głomskiem* and *Suchorębsk*, *Mąkowsk*, currently *Mąkowsko*, and *Wersk*) appear only in the northern part of the Nakło district during the sixteenth century.

the location in relation to another geographic feature is expressed directly, e.g. *Powiercie* (*Pouirdz*, *Pouercze* 1388) : *po Warcie* ‘along the Warta River’, *Podgórzyno*, currently *Podgórzyn* (*Podgorino* (1136), *Podgorzino* 1339) : *pod* ‘under’ + place name *Góra*, part of Żnin city (*Gora* 1301),<sup>34</sup> *Podbiele*, currently *Podbiel* (*Polyebyele* 1445, *Podbiele*, *Podlyebyelye*) : *podle Białej*, *pod Białą* ‘neat to/under the Biała River’ (currently Czarna Struga, tributary of Bawół near Zagórowa – *Bala* 1283).

When discussing the toponymy of Greater Poland, we also have to mention the German influences on the local names. Besides Germanism (older or more recent ones), found in Polish toponymy, as evidenced by the aforementioned examples of names derived from the word *Hamer* or names created from German anthroponyms, which were adapted to Polish, e.g. *Gotartowo* : personal name *Gotart* (< Germ. *Gothard*), *Guncerzewy* : p. n. *Guncerz* (< Germ. *Günther*), *Goczalkowo*: p. n. *Goczalek* (< Germ. *Gottschalk*) as well as names which initially seem Polish, e.g. *Hetmanice*, originally *Hertmanice* (*Hertmanicze* 1407; from the p. n. *Hertmann*), there are also names that appear in the territory we have studied, which were originally German. They can be found mainly in the Wałcz and Wschowa districts, while individual cases have been attested in the western part of the Poznań district and in the Nakło district. A few of them have succumb to gradual Polonization in the sixteenth century, such as *Błękwit* (*Vlugfelth* 1432–1440, *Bløqweth* 1453, *Blankfelt* 1511–1512, *Bląkwiet* 1580, *Blekuid* 1593, *Błękwid* 1604; from Germ. *blank* ‘naked, clean’ and *Feld* ‘field’); *Bukwolt*, currently *Bukowo* (*Buchholz* 1534, *Bukhloth* 1560, *Bukwolt* 1580; from Germ. *Buch* ‘beech’ and *Holz*, Low Germ. *holt* ‘forest, wood’), *Frydland*, *Fredlądek*, currently *Mirosławiec* (*Nuwe Vredeland* 1314, *Frydlanthek* 1462, *Fredlądek* 1582; probably a n. copied from n. of town *Friedland* in Mecklenburg); *Braksztyn*, currently *Dobino* (ad campum *Bretenstensem* (1251) 1364, *Braxtin* 1570, *Braxtyny* 1622–1624; from Germ. *breit* ‘wide’ and *Stein*, Middle Low Germ. *stên* ‘stone’) or *Drahim*, previously *Draheim*, *Drageheim* (*Draheym* 1368, *Drageheym* 1402–1408; from river name *Drage* = Polish *Drawa* + *Heim* ‘land’).<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, most names in the sixteenth century retained their German form, e.g. *Knakendorf*, currently *Rzeczyca* (*Knokendorp* 1314; derived from the name of the founder *Knake* + appellative *Dorf*, Low Germ. *dorp* ‘village’); *Kunersdorf*, *Kunsdorf*, currently *Konradowo* (*Conradisdorf* 1307, *Cunersdorff* 1470; from p. n. *Konrad*); *Heinrichsdorf*, also *Hendestorp*, currently *Siemczyno* (*Heinersdorff* (1251), *Hennerstorp* 1513, *Heinrichsdorf* 1553, in *Henrichstorffu* that is *Andrichowej wsi* 1564–1565; from p. n. *Heine*, *Heinrich*); *Stralemberg*, currently *Strzalin* (*Straliemberch* 1306; from Germ. *strahlen* ‘to radiate, shine’ and *Berg*, Middle Low Germ. *berch* ‘mountain’). There are also examples in the AHP of Germanized names of Slavic origin, e.g. *Sempolbork*, previously *Sępolno*, currently *Sępólno Krajeńskie* (*Sampelno* 1350, *Sampolno*, *Sempelborg* 1360, *Sempolbork* 1578; from Old Slavic *\*sopolbje* ‘a place located on the border of two fields’).

\* \* \*

This chapter has outlined the toponymy of the Kalisz and Poznań Voivodships in the sixteenth century in an observational and non-exhaustive manner. It has delineated the most crucial issues related to toponymy, especially place names, mainly focusing on semantic properties, and – to a lesser extent – on the formal ones. Particular issues related to word-formation, phonetic phenomena or inflection have only been signaled here, they can also be observed in the sources cited, but many of them have already been extensively discussed in the onomastic studies referenced in the opening of this text, available to all interested parties.

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

<sup>34</sup> Due to the chronology of the records, it is equally possible that the n. *Podgórzyno* was directly connected to the word *góra*.

<sup>35</sup> In the case of n. *Drahim*, however, we must be careful. Admittedly, *Drahim* functioned later in the Polish language (German variant *Draheim*), but the ending *-him* was the result of the Low German implementation of the diphthong *ei* as [i], and as such was adopted into Polish. The methods of adapting German place names into the Polish language is discussed in detail by B. Czopek-Kopciuch, *Adaptacje niemieckich nazw miejscowych w języku polskim*, Cracow 1995.

### III.4.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Stanisław Trawkowski*

The names put on the map of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships in the second half of the sixteenth century render the then form and sound of those names. They were given, however, in the notation according to present-day orthographical rules (if they do not change the old sound of the name) and the rules for publishing modern-age sources. This was the principle assumed from the very beginning of the publishing of this series of the Historical Atlas of Poland, resulting from the endeavour to obtain chronological accuracy between the reconstructed state of the settlement network and the correlated nomenclature.<sup>1</sup>

Numerous examples of possible ways of transcribing place names in obtained sixteenth century sources show that also in the cases of Łęczyca and Sieradz Voivodeships ‘in the course of the entire sixteenth century a visible language process of changing old names to new ones was happening. As such, a strict general rule could not be applied here to automatically keep older forms or introduce new ones’.<sup>2</sup> As during the work on previously published maps, an assumption was made to: ‘in numerous cases, when for a given place sixteenth century sources provide a name in different sound and transcript, the priority would be given to the form: (1) spread in various types of sources, independent from each other, (2) dominating in records from the second half of the sixteenth century’.<sup>3</sup> However, in the list of records from this period the dominating versions are those we took from tax registers. Frequently, in case of lack of parochial visitations documents, they were the only second half of the sixteenth century basis for determining a name of a village belonging to the nobility. At the same time, as was convincingly proven by Irena Gieysztorowa, ‘tax collectors or scribes could not have paid that much attention to the form of transcription of place names and their administrative categorization, that is now paid by researchers of the source they created’. Indeed ‘distortions of place names that had been copied from earlier registers in the form based perhaps only on their phonetic record, or from recognition, in which those names were given in any form, often different, and the way they had been written by the taxpayers, could have presented no difficulties to collection scribes, usually coming from land court chancery, so well-oriented in the area due to their office and local origin’.<sup>4</sup> Modern researchers find themselves in different situation.

We used earlier and later records (especially from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the time when the place names stabilized) as a form of control of determined names. From earlier records Łaski’s *Liber beneficiorum* was particularly important, due to its chancery origins being different from tax registers and royal property inspections. However, when Łaski’s record fails to find proof in the obtained source material from the second half of the sixteenth century, we assumed a tax register record as an entry name, but marked the name provided by Łaski in the list. We did so even when an earlier version corresponded with the present-day name, e.g. in Łaski – Liekaszyno, in the registers – Niekaszyno, nowadays – Lekaszyn; the form ‘Niekaszyno’ was marked on the map.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Wolff, *Nazewnictwo*, [in:] WP; W. Pałucki, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.4.7; idem, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.4.2.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wolff, *Nazewnictwo*, [in:] WP.

<sup>3</sup> W. Pałucki, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.4.2.

<sup>4</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia.

When in a compound name one of the elements appeared in the sixteenth century sources only in Latin, we gave it in Polish. For instance, the epithets *maior*, *minor*, *inferior* were translated as Wielki, Mały, Dolny. However, if in later Modern Age records (from seventeenth–eighteenth century) the Latin term was translated in a different way, this was the version we adopted, so e.g. Górki Mniejsze, Górki Większe. In exceptional cases, when the Latin, or latinized, element of a name became established, we gave it in this later-established form. Łubna Jaroslai, according to the registers, was put on the map as Łubna Jaroslaj, because this is the present name of the village. Similarly, Wierzbowa Derslai is Wierzbowa Derszej, the way it was called in the middle of our century.

In sixteenth century form compound names such as Kozuby prope Dobrogosty, Kozuby prope Topole were left unchanged. This descriptive pattern of a place name was subject to quite rapid schematization,<sup>5</sup> so leaving it in its original form seemed intentional, as it presented one of the elements of change in nomenclature.

Names consisting of a noun and an adjective were spelled separately, e.g. Wielga Wieś. Spelling joining two such elements was used when the adjective did not show gender agreement with the noun. In such cases we treated the written form only as a variant, included in the list (e.g. Kamionomostek, variant – Kamiony Mostek, present-day name – Kamostek).

Patronymic, family possessive forms of the same name quite commonly appeared interchangeably, in relation to the decline of semantic conformity of these forms with social character of a given settlement. The map gives the form dominant in the second half of the sixteenth century, or the one that stabilized in the end of this century, other forms were included in the list. Suffix alternations: -ewo, -ew, -ów, -owo was dealt with in a similar manner. Suffix -ice was sometimes spelled as -icze, usually we kept the former variant. In exceptional cases the -icze form was left, if it remained in use in the later part of the Modern Age, e.g. Jedlicze, which is still used today.

Consonants – especially coronal and palatal – that do not appear in Latin were written in a quite arbitrary way, even by the same scribe, in the sixteenth century. And so *s* was spelled as *s*, *ss*, *z*, *sz*, whereas *sz* was spelled as *s*, *ss*, *sz*, *sch*, just like *ś*. Examples: Szwieta Katarzina = Święta Katarzyna, records Sobothka and Szobothka relate to one village – Sobótka, and Wozniki/Wosniki both mean Woźniki. In reconstruction of the sound we took into consideration records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially when they differed from present-day spelling. And so, we kept Krzesłów (as it was still spelled in the nineteenth century), even though today this name is spelled Krześlów, similarly – Ossendowice (nineteenth century spelling), and Osędowice today. ‘Rz’ in sixteenth century records may often mean two consonants: *r* and *z* or *r* and *dz*, as suggested by variants of the same name, or by its etymology. So, Smarzów is Smardzów, as indicated by etymology, while Barzemino is also spelled as Bardzenino. Thus, we can assume that in this case *rz* means *rdź*; in other cases it might mean also *rdź*, as seen in variant forms: Skarzyno – Skarschino (today: Skarżyn). In spelling alternations of the consonant *ż*, written *z* or *rz*, we reconstructed the spelling according to the established form of the name of the family coming from this village. With *th* meaning both *t* and *d*, we were led either by the meaning of the name, e.g. Buthki was read as Budki, or by later records, e.g. Thuschin, Thussin, Thuszin was accepted as Tuszyn, the way it is now.

In determining the physiographical names we assumed the same method we used for place names. As during the work on Mazovia maps, Lublin and Sandomierz Voivodeships, we took into consideration not only names appearing in sixteenth century sources, but also late-medieval and from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries century, assuming they were up-to-date in the sixteenth century. If we were unable to determine a late-medieval or early-Modern Age name of a middle-sized river, we consulted later sources; nineteenth century names were marked with a special symbol.

In the lists, after main entry – the name placed on the map – we listed in brackets the most common alternative names, appearing in the sixteenth century, and then the present-day name (in italics), if it was different from the sixteenth century name on the map.

(1998)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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<sup>5</sup> K. Dejna, *Terenowe nazwy śląskie*, „Onomastica”, vol. 2, 1956, pp. 1, 103–126, especially pp. 116 f.

### III.4.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Paweł Swoboda*

For unknown reasons, the geographical nomenclature of the area discussed in this AHP volume has failed to kindle intense interest in onomasts. Although it is hard to believe, the last monograph or even a scientifically-sound dictionary which would document and describe the development, structure and origin of individual geographical names of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land was published by Stanisław Kozierowski in the first decades of the twentieth century. The volumes of his *Research on Topographic Names* compile, document and provide some explanations for the toponymy of Cuyavia<sup>1</sup> and Dobrzyń land.<sup>2</sup> Thus, it is safe to state that the geographical nomenclature of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land still fails to attract any greater interest in scholars. Kozierowski's work continues to be the only rather complete source of information. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that it is slightly outdated, and must be approached with prudence and a more critical approach – in terms of source attestation and etymological explanations alike. Aleksandra Galasińska's doctoral dissertation entitled *The Site Names of Cuyavia* (supervised by Kazimierz Rymut) was successfully presented in 1993, but never appeared in print and can only be accessed at the Institute of Polish Language of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IJP PAN).<sup>3</sup> It also follows from the information available to me that a master's thesis bearing the same title was written in the 1960s by Czesław Kempniński (supervised by Tadeusz Milewski) and defended at the Higher Teacher Training College in Cracow (current name: Pedagogical University of Cracow). For legal reasons, it is not possible to access the thesis.

This painful gap in Polish onomastics is filled by the sparse papers and articles which venture into sixteenth-century nomenclature. To date, the only publication to attempt synthesising the toponymy of the analysed territory is Zygmunt Zagórski's 1965 article on the site names of the former Brześć Voivodeship.<sup>4</sup> Several papers were also written on detailed toponymy-related issues. Of those, I ought to start by mentioning Hubert Górnowicz's work on family names, understood as place names derived from the surname of the family holding a given settlement, in the area of *i.a.* Cuyavia (within Greater Poland) and Dobrzyń land.<sup>5</sup> Łucja Maria Szewczyk<sup>6</sup> authored several articles on the word-formation

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<sup>1</sup> S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych dzisiejszej Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Poznań 1914; idem, *Badania nazw topograficznych na obszarze dawnej zachodniej i środkowej Wielkopolski*, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1921–1922.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Badania nazw topograficznych na obszarze dawnej wschodniej Wielkopolski*, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1926–1928.

<sup>3</sup> The material gathered by the author serves as a starting point for studying 'Cuyavian' entries to the multi-volume dictionary titled *Nazwy miejscowe Polski: historia – pochodzenie – zmiany* (vol. 1–16, ed. K. Rymut et al., Cracow 1996–2019; further volumes in progress), which is being compiled by IJP PAN.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Zagórski, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa brzesko-kujawskiego*, „Onomastica”, vol. 10, 1965, pp. 159–175.

<sup>5</sup> H. Górnowicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Wielkopolski, Małopolski i Mazowsza*, Gdańsk 1968; idem, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, „Poradnik Językowy”, 1966, no. 3, pp. 115–127.

<sup>6</sup> Ł.M. Szewczyk, *Strukturalno-gramatyczna analiza wybranych toponimów z terenu Kujaw*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Filologia Polska”, vol. 80, 1977, pp. 111–127; eadem, *Dobrzyńskie nazwy części wsi z członem utożsamiającym Rumunek //Rumunki*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Filologia Polska”, vol. 118, 1981, 63–97; eadem, *Dobrzyńskie nazwy złożone typu Bógpomóż, Bożeratuj*, [in:] *Warsztat współczesnego onomasty. Materiały z II Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Onomastycznej*, ed. D. Kopertowska, Kielce 1983, pp. 186–195; eadem, *Wyrażenia przyimkowe jako struktura nazewnictwa dobrzyńskich części wsi*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Filologia Polska”, vol. 150, 1984, pp. 93–103; eadem, *Struktura słowotwórcza dobrzyńskich nazw części wsi, przysiółków i pojedynczych osad*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Filologia Polska”, vol. 174, 1987, pp. 89–113.

of names in Dobrzyń land, while Piotr Bąk<sup>7</sup> approached Cuyavian nomenclature from this perspective. The recently published article by Adam Wróbel is noteworthy, even if it is popular science. Among other things, the author presents a semantic classification, and collates documentation and etymological explanations for dozens of names in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land.<sup>8</sup> Dobrzyń land nomenclature became the basis for Kinga Zawodzińska-Bukowiec's theoretical considerations on toponymic classification and typology.<sup>9</sup> Microtoponymy (field names) in the Greater Poland-Cuyavia borderlands was the subject of Józef Chojnacki's work.<sup>10</sup> Naturally, the toponymy of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land was not overlooked in monographs on individual name forming models. Much like Górniewicz's book on family names, however, Cuyavian and Dobrzyń land toponyms were treated *en bloc* with those of Greater Poland. In other cases, as in Franciszek Nieckula's paper on place names with *-ov-* and *-in-* suffixes, the discussion covers toponyms of the whole region encompassing the so-called central provinces and Wieluń, Sieradz, and Łęczyca lands.<sup>11</sup> Such collective analyses cripple any attempts to isolate toponymy trends typical of Cuyavia and/or Dobrzyń land, divergent of developments in other parts of Poland.

However, it is not the objective of this text to provide a comprehensive, synthetic study on the structure and semantics of sixteenth-century toponymy in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, as that would extend far beyond the formula of a commentary. I would like to focus only on selected characteristics of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land nomenclature, which display a peculiar spatial distribution—possibly brought about by both linguistic and non-linguistic factors.

Similarly as in other regions of contemporary Poland, the place names of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land vary in terms of origin and formation time. To a large extent, the toponyms used in the second half of the sixteenth century perpetuate the nomenclature of earlier centuries;<sup>12</sup> the high number of archaic forms certainly merits attention. About a dozen pre-Slavic toponyms survived until the sixteenth century, whereby 'pre-Slavic' refers to the definition formulated by Zbigniew Babik in his work on isolating the oldest naming layer in Polish lands (within the boundaries of Early Medieval Slavdom). By 'pre-Slavic', Babik means toponyms which cannot be explained by any language used in a given area in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, leading to the interpretation that they were earlier word formations.<sup>13</sup> I list the following selected names in alphabetical order, and specify the character of a given referent and source records: **Drwęca** (:IE \**drew-* 'dash, run, make haste'), river: *drwancam* 1203, *Drewanza*, *Dreuanza*, *Drewanza* 1222, *Drvancha* 1230; **Gopło** (unclear, probably of Germanic origin), lake: *Gopło* (1318) 1578; *Gopło* 1470–1480; **Gwda** (\**Kvьda* :IE \**k'weyd-* 'shine, white'), river: *Chuda* (1260) fourteenth century, *Kuddam* fluvium (1311), *Gwda* 1349; **Koluda** (unclear), village: *Coluda* 1250, *Coluda* 1357; **Krzewęt(a)** (unclear), lake: on the bank of *Krzewoncze* 1381–1408, *Krzewyatha* 1455–1480, *Krzewyantha*, *Krzewiatka*, *Krzewiantka* XV, *Crzewenantha* 1527, on the bank of *Krzewętha*, *Krzewęta* 1564–1565 (*Krzewent* – secondary name of village, does not appear in sources until the seventeenth century); **Mień** (:IE \**meyn-* 'pass by, walk by', \**moyno-*, \**moyni-* 'that what is walked past' > *mud*), river: *Mene* 1233, *Mew* 1350, *Mien* 1371; **Noteć** (\**Notьsbь*, gen. \**Notьsi*, probably related

<sup>7</sup> P. Bąk, *Budowa słowotwórcza nazw miejscowych w Wielkopolsce i na Kujawach*, „Poradnik Językowy”, 1970, no. 1, pp. 9–16.

<sup>8</sup> A. Wróbel, *Wybrane nazwy wsi z terenu Kujaw wschodnich i ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, ZK-D, vol. 31: *Wsie kujawskie i dobrzyńskie*, 2016, pp. 33–80.

<sup>9</sup> K. Zawodzińska-Bukowiec, *Nazwy części wsi, przysiółków, osad i rumunków – nazwy terenowe czy miejscowe? (na podstawie toponimów ziemi dobrzyńskiej)*, [in:] *Mikrotoponimia i makrotoponimia. Problematyka wstępna*, ed. A. Gałkowski, R. Gliwa, Łódź 2014, pp. 279–288.

<sup>10</sup> J. Chojnacki, *Nazwy terenowe na pograniczu wielkopolsko-kujawskim*, Poznań 2002.

<sup>11</sup> '[– ]' was limited to Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, and the so-called central provinces (Wieluń, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Dobrzyń lands and Cuyavia), treated as a separate region. Sometimes these areas are classed as part of Greater Poland. For the purpose of onomastic studies, however, it seems advisable to consider this territory as a separate unit. This approach is justified by the fact that this area is the point where trends emerging in different historic regions clash with each other (Lesser Poland, Mazovia, Greater Poland)', F. Nieckula, *Nazwy miejscowe z sufiksami -ov-, -in- na obszarze Wielkopolski i Małopolski*, Wrocław 1971, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Pursuant to Galasińska's calculations for Cuyavia, sources mention approx. 54% of all identified names until the end of the fifteenth century, whereby it ought to be borne in mind that this includes the names of settlements founded after the sixteenth century, until the very twentieth century. Therefore, it ought to be assumed that the percentage of names recorded until the close of the fifteenth century should be even higher than the percentage which survived until the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>13</sup> Z. Babik, *Najstarsza warstwa nazewnictwa na ziemiach polskich (w granicach wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyzny)*, Cracow 2001, pp. 11, 92.

to IE *\*not-* ‘wet’), river: *Nothes* 1234, *Notes* 1243, *Neza* 1251, *Netza* (1251) 1364; *Pilawa* (unclear, maybe related to IE *\*pel-* ‘field’), river: *Pila* 1224; *Pilo* 1251, *Pilawe* 1286; *Ptur* (unclear), village: *Ptur* 1369, *Ptur* 1489, *Pthvr* ca. 1475; lake: *Thvr*, *Pthvr* ca. 1475; *Sablóg* (unclear), since nineteenth century *Sadlug*, village: *Sablog* 1399–1407, *Seblog* 1418, *Sablog* 1489; *Str(z)kwa* (*\*Strǫky*, gen. *\*Strǫkǫve* < Gmc *\*strukō* ‘brook, river’), present-day *Skrwa*, river: *Strzqua* (1202), *Strqua* (1248), *Strkwa* 1379, *Strqua* 1383, *Sztrzkwa* 1461; *Wisła* (unclear, probably related to IE *\*weys-* ‘flow’, *\*(s)wit-* ‘bright’, *\*(s)weyd-* ‘dampness; to meander’), river: *Vistlam*, *Vistula*, *Visculus* sive *Vistla* first century; *Zbłag* (*Śćbładz* < *\*Stǫbłędz’b* < Gmc *Stiblinga-*), present-day *Zbłęg* (originally probably *Śćbładz*), village: *Soblacz* 1232, *Stiblandz* 1258–59, *Deschblaz* 1288, *Sceblanz* 1288, *Scheblencz* 1320, *Sczeblancz* 1335, *Sczblandz* 1424, *Sczblandz* 1424, *Zblancz* 1489, *Sbliąg* 1566; *Zgłowiączka* (*Zgowiądź*, gen. *Zgowiąędzi*, n. unclear), village: *Segovend* 1155, *Zgouendie* (gen.) 1250, *Zgovendiae* (gen.) 1252, *Zgovetka* 1282, *Sgouyanthka* 1346, *Zgowanthka* 1423; river: *Zgoendia* 1250, *Zgovendia* 1252, *Sgoventka*, *Sgouentka* 1255, *Sgouendia* 1262, *Zgovetca* 1282, *Sgowentkam* 1297.

Most of the onyms listed above are river names (potamonyms), which is typical of this chronological layer in Polish toponymy. Only *Kołuda*, *Sablóg* and *Zgłowiączka* are names of settlements, yet even those could have been derived from an earlier hydronym (not recorded for the first two). Obvious examples of borrowings are *Mień*, the name of a mill settlement formed on the banks of an eponymous river, which does not appear until the sixteenth century, and *Notes/Noć Town* (*Notesz* 1418, *Nothesz*, *Nocz* 1598)<sup>14</sup> situated on the banks of Noteć River.

In the sixteenth century, a lot of archaic names used in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land were already being derived from the native, Slavic language. Alongside Greater Poland, Cuyavia has the largest cluster of settlements bearing service-related names.<sup>15</sup> This name type was connected with the institution of servitude, which ceased at the turn of the fourteenth century, and was no longer the source for this category of toponyms.<sup>16</sup>

In the material analysed for the purpose of this AHP volume, 26 such names have been identified: *Bartdzieje* < *bartdzieje* ‘apiarists, keepers of wild bee hives’; *Bobrowniki* < *bobrownicy* ‘keepers of beavers’; *Kob(i)elniki*, *Kobylniki* < *kobielnicy* (: *\*kobielnik* ‘weaver of *kobiel* baskets made from phloem or bark’, cf. OP *kobiel* ‘kobiałka, basket with cover’, also ‘bag-like fishing net’); *Konary* (2x) < *konarze* ‘breeders of royal horses’; *Korabniki* < *korabnicy* (: *\*korabnik* ‘maker of boats’, cf. OP *korab* ‘ship, boat’); *Kowale* < *kowale* ‘blacksmiths’; *Łagiewniki* (3x) < *łagiewnicy* ‘makers of containers for liquids or brewers of beer or mead for the royal court’ (cf. OP *łagiew* ‘wooden, leather, etc. container for liquid’); *Psary* (2x) < *psarze* ‘keepers of hunting dogs’; *Rybitwy* < *rybitwi* (: OP *rybitw* ‘he who catches fish, fisherman’); *Skotniki* (2x – *Królewskie* and *Zabłotne*) < *skotnicy* ‘cattle herders’ (cf. OP *skot* ‘horned cattle, animals’); *Sokolniki* < *sokolnicy* ‘falconers’; *Strzelce* < *strzelcy* ‘hunters’; *Szewce* < *szewcy* ‘shoemakers’; *Świątniki* (3x) < *świątnicy* ‘those who are committed to ecclesiastic service’; *Złotniki* < *złotnicy* ‘those who make items from gold and other metals’; *Żerniki* (2x) < *żyrdnicy*, *żerdnicy* ‘those whose duty it is to set up tents for the duke and his court as they travel the country’. Several names found in the material resemble service-related names in terms of formal criteria, e.g. *Zduny* (main n. *Zdunowo*) or *Zaduszники*, but these fall into different categories of toponyms.<sup>17</sup>

Kruszwica marks the centre of the most pronounced concentration of service-related names. In the twelfth century, it was the main gord and most important settlement in the region. Settlements with service-related names surrounding former castellan’s gords – Wyszogród (present-day Fordon, a quarter of Bydgoszcz), Włocławek, Inowrocław, and Dobrzyń.

<sup>14</sup> The same applies to *Krzewent* settlement, which is not discussed in this volume, as it was established near a lake bearing the same name only in the seventeenth century.

<sup>15</sup> U. Wójcik, *Polskie toponimy związane z organizacją gospodarczą państwa wczesnopiastowskiego. Nazwy miejscowe motywowane antroponimami zbiorowymi*, Cracow 2013, pp. 47–49.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, pp. 47–49.

<sup>17</sup> *Zduny* is the sixteenth-century alternation of the possessive name *Zdunowo* (cf. *Zdunowo* 1473, *Szdunowo* 1527, *Zduni* 1577) derived from the personal name *Zdun*, created by assimilation with family, or even service-related names. Over time, this form supplanted the original one and prevails until today. Although *Zaduszники* and the more frequent *Duszники* may seem semantically linked with such service-related names as *Kościelniki* or *Świątniki*, they were derived from the words *dusznicy*, *zadusznicy*, which denoted the people who lived on land gifted to the Church in return for the grantor’s peace of soul (*dusza*), and thus formed part of the donation; see: W. Taszycki, *Pierwiastek chrześcijański w polskich nazwach miejscowych*, [in:] idem, *Rozprawy i studia polonistyczne. I. Onomastyka*, Wrocław–Cracow, p. 275.

As no centres of ducal powers were situated in the northern parts of Dobrzyń land, names of this type were absent in this area.<sup>18</sup> Another old name-forming model consists in creating possessive forms by means of the \*-jb/-ja/-je suffix. In most cases, this suffix was added to anthroponymic stems to express possession, ownership.

Almost 50 such names were identified to have been used in the analysed area in the sixteenth century: *Borzygniew, Borzymie, Bronisław, Bycz, Bydgoszcz* (former *Bydgoszcza*), *Bytom (Bytoń), Choceń, Chodecz, Chotel*,<sup>19</sup> *Ciepień, Ciechrz, Dobięgniew, Dobrcz, Dobrzyń, Gądecz, Gorzeń, Gościeradz, Grodzień, Inowłocław* (nowadays *Inowrocław*), *Kazom // Kazum // Kazoń, Kotomierz(a), Krzywosądz, Kuc(z)erz, Lubień, Lutobórz, Łoskoń* (former *Łoskuń*), *Łowicz, Modlibóź, Niemcze, Ostrowąż* (main n.: *Ostrowąs*), *Przedecz, Przybysław, Przyłub, Raciąż, Redecz Wielki, Sikorze, Stalmierz, Szymborze, Ściborze Wielkie, Świętosław, Świętosławie, Trzebiegoszcz, Ugoszcz, Unimierze, Wieluń, Witowąż, Włocław* (nowadays *Włocławek*), *Zakrocz*.

While names of the discussed type appear in all three main administrative units of the examined area in the sixteenth century, their concentration is varied. They are absent from Kruszwica district, and appear only in the northern part of Bydgoszcz district. Dobrzyń land boasts some only in the strip between Lipno and Rypin (*Dobrzyń* is the only name identified in Dobrzyń district itself).

Two significant urban settlements of Cuyavia merit a more detailed commentary: *Włocławek* and *Inowrocław*. Despite modern differences, these names share common origins. Moreover, they reflect a certain chronological relation. Initially, both settlements were named *Włodzisław* (> *Wloc(s)ław*) (from OP p.n. *Włodzisław, Wloc(s)ław* with suff. \*-jb) with the Latinised form *Wladislavia* most frequently used in documents. From the very outset, however, medieval sources add *iuvenis* ‘young’, less often *novus* ‘new’ to differentiate between Inowrocław, which was founded later (and which may stand proof to the use of an existing town name), and the older Włocławek described as *senex, senis* and *antiquus* – ‘old’ (*Antiqua Wladislavia* was quite frequently used even in the sixteenth century). The Latin composite *Juniwladislavia* started replacing *Iuvenis Wladislavia* already in the thirteenth century, and was the term customarily used in sixteenth-century sources. Onomasts generally construe this as the Old Polish adjective \**juny* ‘young’ (cf. *juniec* ‘young ox’, *junosza* ‘groom’) < PS \**junъ* (i.e. \**Juny Włodzisław* ‘Young/New Włodzisław’).<sup>20</sup> Still, it cannot be ruled out that the *Juni-/Iuni-* component is not a derivative (contracted) form of the Latin *iuvenis* > *iunis*.<sup>21</sup> Irrespective of *Juniwladislavia*’s actual origins, vowel raising occurred over time (*Ju-* > *Ji-* > *I-*) to create *Inowłocław* (the -o- infix may indicate that this name is derived from the aforementioned \**juny* adjective, similarly to such names as *Starokrzepice* < *Stare Krzepice, Staropole* < *Stare Pole*). Already at the turn of the seventeenth century, *Inowrocław* was gradually shedding the *l-l* > *r-l* dissimilation (or assimilation with names such as *Wrocław*) from its name. *Włodzisław*, later *Włocław* – the names with longer track records – started becoming diminutivised to *Włocławek* in the seventeenth century, a change possibly brought about by either the necessity to distinguish the settlement from (*Ino*)*włocław*, or the gradual degradation of the town.

The archaic \*-jb/-ja/-je affix was used not only to create possessive names, but also to form toponyms and topographic appellatives which reflected the natural features of a given settlement, e.g. *Brześć* (initially also *Brzeście*, cf. *Bresce* 1250, *Bzesche* 1288, *Brezt, Brezte* 1289), *Brzeście*, present-day *Brześć* (: PS \**berstъje* ‘Wych elm, Wych elm forest’), *Brzezje* (< PS *brzezje* ‘birch forest, grove’, PS *berzъje* ‘id.’), *Lipie* (< OP *lipie* ‘las lipowy’), *Nadróż // Nadroże* (: *na* ‘on’ + *droga* ‘road’, earlier also *Nadrożne*), *Osiecz* (: OP *osiek* ‘meadow on fertile land, situated lower; forest cutting, abbatis’) or *Wanorze // Wąnorze // Wonorze*.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See: K. Modzelewski, *Organizacja gospodarcza państwa piastowskiego: X–XIII wiek*, Poznań 2000 (map).

<sup>19</sup> This toponym, however, could have been a borrowing of a lake name.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. S. Rospond, *Słownik etymologiczny miast i gmin PRL*, Wrocław 1984, p. 114; *Nazwy miejscowe Polski*, vol. 3, p. 531.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*, vol. 5, Wrocław 1983, p. 1121.

<sup>22</sup> According to M. Rudnicki, the original form of this name is \**van-or-ъje*, where the \**van-* stem denotes something wet, damp, water; idem, *Prasłowiańszczyzna – Lechia – Polska. I. Wylonienie się Słowian spośród ludów indoeuropejskich i ich pierwotne siedziby*, Poznań 1959, p. 107. It seems that in this case, however, *Wąnorze* is more likely to be the original name, derived from the prefix \**q-nor-* (: \**nora* ‘burrow, hole (in ground), depression’) with suf. \*-ъje and prothetic v- (cf. e.g. *wądół* < *qdolъъ* ‘depression in ground, burrow, pit, basin, valley’, *Wąsosze* < \**qsošъje* : PS *socha* ‘something forked, branching stick’; W. Boryś, *Prefiksacja imienna w językach słowiańskich*, Wrocław 1975, pp. 160–163).

Alongside the original names created by means of the discussed affix, the sixteenth-century material also contains names which seemingly resemble such a structure, but have in fact emerged earlier as a result of different name-forming models. The following are examples of such toponyms: *Dobrogoszcz*, an alternation of the n. *Dobrościce*, earlier also *Dobrogostowicy* (*Dobrogostouici* 1238, *Dobrogoszczyce* 1415, *Dobrogoscicze*, *Dobrogoszcz* 1582), *Książ*, earlier *Knięginice* and probably *\*Księginice* (*Knaginice* 1215 > *Xyansch* 1418).

As the *\*-jb/-ja/-je* name-forming model ceased to be productive already at the turn of the fourteenth century,<sup>23</sup> the sixteenth-century nomenclature of Cuyavia, Dobrzyń land and other regions of Poland alike, expressed the possessive much more frequently by suffixes which continued the pre-Slavic affixes of *\*-ov-* and *\*-in-* (the latter was affixed mainly to feminine nouns), namely *-ów* // *-ew*, *-owo* // *-ewo*, *-in* // *-yn*, *-ino* // *-yno*, whose productivity (as the first identified forms) did not wane off until the sixteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Naturally, just like the archaic names starting with *\*-jb*, etc., these suffixes could be used to create topographic and cultural names, but the majority of identified names are possessive names. Oeconyms of the discussed type account for the vast majority of the analysed area, as they refer to almost 600 settlements, which corresponds to approximately 38% of all settlement units covered by this volume of AHP (and the same percentage of all identified names).

Most names end with *-owo* // *-ewo* (411 settlements, main names for 369 settlements), while *-ino* // *-yno* rank second (147 settlements, including 134 main names). The cause for this disproportion is the fact that the suffixes continuing *\*-in-* are added mainly to feminine stems or stems with a feminine inflection paradigm, and such personal names which motivated the formation of site names are fewer in number. Male names, which have a masculine inflection paradigm and refer to males, are dominant here.

Although widespread across the analysed area in the sixteenth century, names with the *-ów* // *-ew* and *-in* // *-yn*, suffixes are much less numerous; they amount to 73 (18 main names) and 67 (28 main names), respectively. In later centuries, the *-owo* variant to a large extent replaced *-ów* in the analysed area (currently, there are only 28 *-ów* names, as compared to more than 800 *-owo* names), which is related to the emergence of a clear *-ów/-owo* isomorph cutting Poland in half: *-owo* occurring in the north, and *-ów* in the south.<sup>25</sup> The *-ino* and *-in* suffixes met a different fate. Only three *-ino* oeconyms can be found in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land of the sixteenth century, in contrast to 254 *-in* names of the masculine gender.

Although not as clear-cut as the divide described above, variants of the suffixes continuing *\*-bn-*, that is *-no*, *-na* and the more recent *-ne* (most often incorporated into topographic names) have also drawn a characteristic line across Poland. As Henryk Borek wrote in his monograph on this name-forming model, Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, along with other north-western regions, belong to the main zone of high productivity of the *-no* affix (Pomerania, Greater Poland) – the further south, the weaker this feature becomes. The *-na* type is very rare in Chełmno land, Dobrzyń land and Kashubia, and is in a substantial minority in Cuyavia.<sup>26</sup> All in all, the situation in the sixteenth century corresponded to the above description – within the discussed model, *-no* names are dominant across the analysed area (about 70 settlements), e.g. *Chojno*, *Czermno*, *Dźwierzno*, *Glinno*, *Górzno*, *Widłno*, etc., while names with the *-na* affix amount only to about 10, mainly near the southern border with Greater Poland, cf. e.g. *Chrosna*, *Dzierżazna*, *Rożenna*, *Siedluchna*, *Telązna*. This state continues to date. In the second half of the sixteenth century, a slightly younger and generally rarer<sup>27</sup> *-ne* name type occurred only in a few instances, exclusively in Dobrzyń land, in Rypin district on the border with Mazovia (*Plonne*, *Rudne*, *Blizne*). It was not until the following centuries that these *-ne* names spread to the borderland with Greater Poland, but still belonged to a marginal minority of toponyms.

The geographical distribution of names formed by means of the *\*-bšk-* affix, used mainly to create possessive and topographic names, in most cases replaced by generic variants *-sk* and *-sko* (also expressed as *-ck-*, *-dzk-*), is also interesting. Despite some divergence in affix form in the second half

<sup>23</sup> S. Rospond, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -jb*, Wrocław 1983, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> F. Nieckula, *Nazwy miejscowe z sufiksami -ov-, -in- na obszarze Wielkopolski i Małopolski*, pp. 347–351.

<sup>25</sup> Of the few *-ów* names, most are situated in the territory of the former Brześć Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land, while only one such name was identified in the former Inowrocław Voivodeship – *Aleksandrów Kujawski* – yet this settlement was founded much later, in 1834.

<sup>26</sup> H. Borek, *Zachodniosłowiańskie nazwy toponimiczne z formantem -bn-*, Wrocław 1968, pp. 403–407.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 407–408.

of the sixteenth century, cf. e.g. *Gośck*, *Gójsk* : *Goścko*, *Siewiersko* : *Siewiersk*, *Siewiorsk*, the spatial distribution of individual generic variants is very distinct. Inowrocław Voivodeship has practically only *-sk* names, save for the villages of *Sławsko Wielkie* and *Sławsko Małe* situated on the border with *Brześć* Voivodeship and referred to temporarily also as *Sławsk*. Remaining areas also saw some discrepancies in affixes in the sixteenth century, yet generally the dominant names of *Brześć* Voivodeship were *-sko* (*Koneck*, present-day *Konecko*, was the only name ending with *-sk* and devoid of a *-sko* variant). The majority of names in *Dobrzyń* land ended with *-sk* (*Głowieńsko*, present-day *Głowińsk*, was the only main name exception; in the sixteenth century this name too did not have a masculine variant). The reason behind this state of affairs can be traced back to the impact of Mazovian influences on the toponymy of *Dobrzyń* land. Mazovia's most prevalent suffix at the time (and at present) was *-sk* (e.g. *Czersk*, *Grodzisk*, *Płock*, *Płońsk*, *Pułtusk*), while *Brześć* and Inowrocław Voivodeships shared certain traits with Greater Poland, where *-sko* names were more frequent (e.g. *Głębocko*, *Grodzisko*, *Radecko*, *Policko*). As Stanisław Rospond points out, Mazovian linguistic features fell on fertile ground in *Dobrzyń* land, as this region belonged to a Mazovian Duke until the thirteenth century.<sup>28</sup> It follows from Rospond's analyses that *-sko* was more frequent in *Dobrzyń* land up to the fifteenth century, until a breakthrough occurred in the sixteenth century. In the course of time, this distribution underwent certain changes. Today, *-sk* names are dominant not only in former *Dobrzyń* land (having completely replaced *-sko* names), but also in *Brześć* Voivodeship. This does not apply solely to *Kruszwica* district, where one can hardly find any names other than those ending with *-sko*, as is the case in the neighbouring Inowrocław Voivodeship.

The sixteenth-century distribution of diminutive names, conveying smallness or endearment, formed by means of the *-(ów)ko* // *-(in)ko* suffix and its generic variant *-(ów)ek* // *-(in)ek*. Like in the above-discussed cases, generic fluctuations occurred in the names of some settlements, e.g. *Gąbinek* : *Gąbinko*, *Oporówko* : *Oporówek*, *Kłoniewek* : *Kłoniewko* // *Kłonówko* (main n. *Kłonowo Małe*), *Łążynek* : *Łążyńko*, yet *-ko* names are clearly dominant in Inowrocław Voivodeship and the western districts of *Brześć* Voivodeship, while the two variants competed against each other in its eastern districts and in *Dobrzyń* land. In the following centuries, *-ek* names spread westwards, across *Brześć* Voivodeship, supplanting almost all neutra (probably influenced by the toponymy of eastern Greater Poland), while the two variants co-existed in remaining areas, although *-ek* is more common.

When discussing diminutive names with the *-ek* affix, it is worth mentioning certain innumerable names which reflect a feature typical of northern Polish dialect, *i.e.* the non-alternating *e*, meaning that the *-ek* affix used across Poland became *-k*; similarly, *-ec* (understood both as the possessive and the diminutive, depending on context) became *-c*. We identified 11 such names in the material gathered for the purpose of drafting this volume: *Chodorążk* (also *Chodorąsk*, present-day *Chodorążek*), *Giżynk* (: *Giżynek*), *Mieszczk*, *Półwiesk*,<sup>29</sup> *Samociążk* (: *Samociążek*), *Siernieczk* (: *Siernieczko*, present-day *Siernieczek*) and *Babc* (present-day *Babiec*), *Bocheńc* (: *Bocheniec*), *Lubowc* (present-day *Lubówiec*), *Makowc* (present-day *Makówiec*), *Wagańc* (: *Waganiec*, main n. *Wagańce*). These forms occurred exclusively in the northern part of the analysed area.

The formal difference concerned not only the grammatical gender of the names. Another phenomenon frequently encountered in the source material is variation in grammatical number (especially in names ending with *-owo*) – initially singular names such as *Nieszczewo*, *Sierzchowo*, and *Witowo* became plural names at the turn of the sixteenth century: *Nieszczewy*, *Sierzchowy*, and *Witowy*, which is followed by further fluctuation in grammatical number throughout the sixteenth century (this applies to *Dobrzyń* land in the smallest degree). In some cases, this change could have resulted from e.g. a settlement splitting up into two or more parts. Nevertheless, it seems that plural names became widespread irrespective of non-linguistic factors.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> S. Rospond, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -sk-*, Wrocław 1969, p. 331.

<sup>29</sup> S. Rospond (ibidem, p. 215) argues that although this name contains the *-sk* suffix, it is more likely to be a derivative of the word *połwsie* meaning 'buildings located outside of the village proper, but belonging to that village; a hamlet' (*Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 27, ed. M.R. Mayenowa, comp. K. Wilezewska, L. Woronczakowa, Warsaw 1999, p. 80) with the north Polish *-k*, which is indicated by the *Półwiosek* variant recorded in 1789, see: *Nazwy miejscowe Polski*, vol. 9, p. 227.

<sup>30</sup> For more on toponym pluralisation, see: A. Bańkowski, *Zmiany morfemiczne w toponimii polskiej*, Wrocław 1982, pp. 49–52.

Fluctuations in grammatical gender and number are only the most apparent changes to name forms in the sixteenth-century toponymy of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. The aforementioned Zygmunt Zagórski discussed the changes in word formation, morphology and phonetics in detail on the example of the toponymy of Brześć Voivodeship.

Various cultural and linguistic influence, coming mainly from Greater Poland and Mazovia (especially in the case of Dobrzyń land; ties with Chełmno land are also strong here), shaped the specific distribution of the name-forming and/or semantic types.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, one can generally agree with Rospond that this distribution is the outcome of general dialect variation between north-eastern and south-western dialect types.<sup>32</sup>

Dobrzyń land clearly differs from the remaining area in terms of non-possessive names derived from anthroponyms, *i.e.* patronymic names. This variability is the outcome of strong neighbourly Mazovian influence on Dobrzyń land names. Nonetheless, in this case I believe that this differentiation is based not only on linguistic factors, but also on societal ones. Patronymic names are the second largest group of names identified in the materials for this AHP volume. They account for 10% of overall settlement number, the majority of which are main names. It is possible to identify them by the *-ice* suffix (sometimes preceded by the *-ow-/-ew-* component) added to the name of the person whose descendants inhabited a given settlement. With a count of more than 90, *-ice* names are most numerous in Brześć Voivodeship. The total for Inowrocław Voivodeship is lower by half, whereby there is a staggering disproportion between individual districts – most are situated in Inowrocław district, while only seven can be found in Bydgoszcz district. Except for four settlements surrounding Bydgoszcz, the three remaining patronymic toponyms lay at the very border with Inowrocław district. In the east, past Vistula River, patronyms are literally a marginal fraction of all names. Dobrzyń land has only seven patronymic names, all of which – except for *Warpalice* near Rypin – are located on the borderland with Cuyavia (*Dobrzejowice, Malszyce//Maliszyce, Myślborzyce, Radomice, Suszyce, Więclawice*).

Patronymic names hold a small share in Dobrzyń land oconyms, because this region had been witnessing the conversion of patronymic and possessive names into family ones since the fourteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Of course, this process occurred also in other regions, as well as in Cuyavia and Greater Poland, which according to Hubert Górniewicz underwent even more intense conversion.<sup>34</sup> Still, the greatest increase in family names in Mazovia (and Podlasie) took place at the turn of the sixteenth century, which impacted oconyms in Dobrzyń land, where this element of nomenclature has absorbed Mazovian influence since the sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup> In the case of family names, however, this influence does not boil down to adopting linguistic or name-forming habits. Family names referred mainly to minor nobility, which was not a numerous estate in Cuyavia and Greater Poland – contrary to Dobrzyń land. What is more, a large part of Dobrzyń land nobility was of Mazovian lineage.<sup>36</sup>

These relations become even more distinct once one takes note of such compound names as *Paprotki-Bielasy, Paprotki-Bryski, Paprotki-Głogoły* and *Kłobukowo-Karasia, Kłobukowo-Lyszczce, Kłobukowo-Molendy*, which in the sixteenth century were present only in Dobrzyń land. These name forms are typical of Mazovia (and Podlasie, its toponymic extension); they refer to parcels of villages held by minor nobility.<sup>37</sup> The area which initially bore a general, usually single-element name, would split up into separate units, which then acquired additional names in the form of a second component

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<sup>31</sup> Z. Zagórski, *Nazwy miejscowe dawnego województwa brzesko-kujawskiego*, pp. 173–174; H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 115.

<sup>32</sup> S. Rospond, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -bisk-*, p. 331. Of course, this does not apply to service-related names whose distribution relies heavily on the location of ducal gords, not on linguistic influence. Nor does this concern the substantial share of archaic possessive names with the *\*-j-* affix, scores of which appeared in Cuyavia with early settlement.

<sup>33</sup> This term, introduced to Polish onomastics by W. Taszycki, is arbitrary. These names, which emerged relatively late, have nothing in common with family structure, which had long become outdated.

<sup>34</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Wielkopolski, Małopolski i Mazowsza*, p. 52.

<sup>35</sup> Idem, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 126.

<sup>36</sup> R. Kukier, *Pogranicze etnograficzne dobrzyńsko-mazowiecko-płockie*, „Notatki Płockie” vol. 26, 1981, pp. 13–17.

<sup>37</sup> This naming model has been discussed in detail by U. Bijak, who describes their origins after W. Pałucki: “[t]he emergence of names with such structure is connected with the specific social structure of Mazovia. Nobility landed property was the largest category of ownership on Mazovia. This state of affairs, forged as early as in ducal times, was reinforced by the Jagiellons’ favouring of middle-income and impoverished Mazovian nobility, who had a high »breeding rate«, which triggered two coupled developments in this area. First, high fragmentation of property in this ownership category, not observed anywhere

(while the first component became the name of the area surrounding the nobility settlement). The new element was usually a family name, as illustrated by the examples above.

The issues discussed above concern a small section of the toponymy of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, and by no means exhaust this broad subject. As I've already remarked in the introduction, the aim of this text is not to provide a comprehensive description of the sixteenth-century toponymy of the analysed area. First and foremost, it was my intention to present certain characteristic features of the said toponymy, and the spatial distribution of selected name types, in the context of different circumstances which determined its evolution at the time, and which have prevailed to this day.

Lastly, I ought to share a few remarks on how the nomenclature material was analysed for this AHP volume. In general, the main name, *i.e.* the name placed on the map which constitutes the title of the relevant List entry, was determined based on the frequency criterion. This means that the main name is the name form most often mentioned in sources dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. If several variants were used equally frequently to refer to the same settlement, we selected the name form which appeared in sources before the second half of the sixteenth century or the name form which stabilised after that period.

As in previous AHP volumes, all sixteenth-century names listed in the List have been adjusted to modern spelling, e.g. <Othorowo>: *Otorowo*, <Soliecz>: *Solec*, <Szniesi> *Śniechy*. Latin differentiating components, such as *magnus*, *maior* 'great, larger', *parvus*, *minor* 'small, smaller' were, in keeping with previous AHP volumes, consistently replaced with Polish equivalents *wielki* 'great', *mały* 'small', e.g. <Koluda Maior>: *Koluda Wielka*, <Zrzedla Minor>: *Źródła Małe*. Compound names referring to villages situated near nobility property are spelled with a hyphen, in line with modern spelling rules, e.g. *Paprotki-Bielasy*, *Kłobuki-Molendy*. Please bear in mind that this is not the spelling used in historical sources.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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beyond Mazovia (and the neighbouring Podlasie [...]), led to the creation of a characteristic naming system', eadem, *Nazwy zestawione typu Boguty-Augustyny na Mazowszu i Podlasiu*, „Onomastica”, vol. 35, 1990, p. 33.

### III.4.7 MAZOVIA

*Władysław Pałucki*

The map of Mazovia was meant to provide **names of settlements** in their wording from the second half of the sixteenth century. The majority of our time and care was devoted to the identification and localization of settlements, or determining the proper sound and spelling of their names. The nomenclature itself, given the specific toponymy of Mazovia,<sup>1</sup> is a problem which required a long time spent on deliberations and consultation with many specialists – historians, geographers and linguists.

Although certain toponymic phenomena can be found in the entire territory of Poland, but nowhere else are they so common, sometimes dominant, or even exceptional in their curious forms as in Mazovia. The topographic and possessive names in sixteenth century Mazovia appear with the suffixes *-ino*, *-ewo*, *-owo* (*Gumino*, *Milewo*, *Karwowo*), then patronymic ending with *-ice*, and typically Mazovian equivalents ending with *-ęta* (*Janowięta*),<sup>2</sup> as well as family<sup>3</sup> or heraldic<sup>4</sup> names – uncommon anywhere else in such numbers, perhaps except for Podlasie and Łuków regions. Mazovia, particularly the more remote territories, had a concentration of compound names: two-word, with various order of the elements, written together or separately (*Białystok*, *Zareby-Romany*, *Dąbrowa-Modzele*), three-word (*Krzyżewo Stare Jurki*), and even four-word (*Kossaki Ciepłystok Nabelne*).<sup>5</sup>

Finally, limiting ourselves only to the most important matters, in Mazovia still in the sixteenth century the onomastic forms were fluid and changeable, or perhaps parallel, changing for instance from patronymic to possessive (*Budziszewice – Budziszewo*) or family (*Idzikowice – Idziki*)<sup>6</sup>, related partially to the change in the ownership type (e.g. from partial into petty gentry).

Changes of onomastic forms were sometimes only apparent, created from incorrect or careless spelling in various sources. Removing these mistakes or simple spelling errors<sup>7</sup> – which often were difficult to discover – consumed much of our time, especially in the case of compound names (where there was the problem of the order of words), and the results of such, often strenuous, research are more certain, when we had access to a higher number of entries, from various, independent sources.

The aforesaid deliberations and consultations persuaded us to keep the assumptions accepted already in Płock, and then in Lublin volume. Therefore, the names of settlements were recorded on

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from the attempt at classification of settlement names made by Taszycki (*Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe – ustalenie podziału*, Cracow 1946 (Prace Komisji Językowej PAU, vol. 29)) the entire Mazovian toponymy was contained in: Wolff 1955–1956; Zierhoffer; extensive reviews of the work in P. Smoczyński („Onomastica”, vol. 5, 1959, pp. 463–493) i J. Wiśniewski (ibidem, pp. 494–520).

<sup>2</sup> W. Taszycki, *Patronimiczne nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, Cracow 1951; rev. W. Pałucki, KH, vol. 59, 1952, pp. 134–140; A. Wolff, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, pp. 63–104.

<sup>3</sup> Zierhoffer, pp. 89–99; P. Smoczyński, rev. pp. 481–482; H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy Wielkopolski, Małopolski i Mazowsza*, Gdańsk 1968.

<sup>4</sup> A. Wolff, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, pp. 69–83. W. Taszycki opted against separating this heraldic group of site names, W. Taszycki, *Dwa studia z polskiej toponomastyki*, „Slavia Occidentalis”, vol. 20, 1960, no. 2, pp. 173–176.

<sup>5</sup> According to J. Wiśniewski 1959 (rev., p. 512), the formation of these names is connected to the specific social structure of Mazovia.

<sup>6</sup> A. Wolff, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, pp. 105–116; Zierhoffer, pp. 21–84.

<sup>7</sup> Some errors – claims A. Wolff (idem, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, p. 121) – are not necessarily results of the scribe’s carelessness, but of incorrect etymology.

the map in their sixteenth century pronunciation, but modern spelling. There were some exceptions from this rule in the following cases:

Latin forms in compound names: *Major*, *Magna* were written in Polish – *Wielki(a)*, and *Parva* – *Mały(a)*, except for those names, in which the second, identifying, element written in Latin in polonized form (*Sadkowo Maior*) survived to this day.

But when the names of a given settlement appeared in a diminutive form, this was the form recorded (e.g. *Dylewko* instead of *Dylewo Parva*), but the name of the neighbouring settlement remained *Dylewo*, and the entries mentioning *Dylewo Magna* were disregarded.

Interesting Latin forms in compound names in Mazovian toponymy: *a Wissa* (from *Wissa*), *a Brok*, *a Magna Brok*, *vertice Kołomyja* were kept, except for those cases where there was a Polish equivalent of a name (*Wierzch Prądnika*).<sup>8</sup>

Names, surnames or rank of the owners which appeared in compound names were not shown on the map, or – when identification required them to be included – were given in the form of possessive adjectives, compatible with Polish geographical nomenclature (e.g. *Zalesie Machnackie*, *Smoniewice Zawiszowe*, and not *Zalesie Machnackich*, *Smoniewice Zawiszy*). Also in the List of Settlements, where these names appear more often as variants of main entries (names shown on the map), we usually accepted the said adjectival form. Latin possessives in compound names (*Smoniewice Episcopi*, *Grodkowo Judicis*) were given in their Polish version (*Smoniewice Biskupie*, *Grodkowo Sędzicowe*), or in a polonized form, if it was confirmed by the sources, e.g. in the eighteenth century (*Nagórki Judyce*, *Smarzewo Judyce*).

Identical names of two sixteenth century settlements situated in one parish were, when possible, supplemented with an additional epithet based on the sources from the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries. In case there was no such epithet, the names were marked with Roman numerals, e.g. *Boguty I*, *Boguty II*.

When different versions of a name appeared in the sixteenth century, the priority to be shown on the map was given to: a) names consisting of more elements, b) names appearing in various types of sources, c) names used in the middle of the sixteenth century. Points b and c applied also when we tried to determine the order of elements in compound names.

Given the aim of the map, the names were transcribed from the sources, even though the reconstruction of their old wording posed a relatively high risk of error. We cannot provide here, or by other findings, any detailed documentation in the form of a full list of name records, as our study is not intended as a basis for special toponymic research.

The old orthography allowed for various pronunciations of a given names. As such, we based on the name's origin, therefore accepting *Luby* (from *Lubicz* coat of arms) unlike modern *Luby*, *Bożejewo* (from the name *Bożej*), although now it is *Borzejewo*. We also aimed at reconstructing the proper version of names, without any regional deviations, such as mazuration or *szadzenie* (hypercorrection). For instance, we accepted *Czekanowo Ślasy*, not *Cekanowo Szlasy*. Apart from the name's origin, its newer forms and surnames derived from a settlement name and attested to by the sources helped us to determine the appropriate wording. For example, we accepted *Lychowo*, not *Lichowo*, as today it is called *Lychów*, *Ulatowo* not *Ulotowo*, as since the fifteenth century the family from this village called themselves *Ulatowscy*.

Names consisting of an adjective and a noun were usually written together, in agreement with the observed tendency to form compound words, much stronger in the northern areas of Poland.<sup>9</sup> In this case, we were driven by the distribution of accented syllables in pronunciation. Namely, if in a compound site name there was only one accent, on the penultimate syllable,<sup>10</sup> such names were written together (e.g. *Białystok*). This mostly refers to topographic names, in which the first element is an opposite adjective: *Mały* – *Duży*, *Dolny* – *Górny*, *Ciepły* – *Zimny*, *Suchy* – *Mokry* (e.g. *Białystok*, *Cieplystok*).

The names whose nominal forms had long lost their original meaning – as proven by the accent balling of the penultimate syllable (*SaDYkierz*, *WilCZYtarg* – were also treated as compounds, similar in

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<sup>8</sup> The formation of such names was influenced by the Latin terminology of tax registers (A. Wolff, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, p. 72, footnote 19) and official records – copying documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth century in mortgage books, up to our times (J. Wiśniewski, rev., p. 514).

<sup>9</sup> W. Mańczak, *O zasięgu typów polskich nazw miejscowych w XVI w.*, „*Język Polski*”, vol. 35, 1955, pp. 29–35.

<sup>10</sup> J. Gołaski, *Opracowanie nazw na mapach wielkoskalowych*, *Toponomastyka kartograficzna*, Warsaw 1967, p. 114.

their form and origin to those listed above. Typical examples of such compound names in our toponymy are the Podlasiian *Białystok* and *Krasnystaw* in Red Ruthenia. The names written separately were listed when the second, indicative element denoted a product of material culture – *Wieś* ('a village'), *Młyn* ('a mill'), or of social culture – *Wola* ('a newly-founded village'; e.g. *Nowa Wieś*, *Dzika Wola*, *Stary Młyn*). Additionally, when there were two strong accents in a compound name,<sup>11</sup> e.g. *Czerwona Niwa*, *Sokola Łąka*.

We deviated from these assumptions when the majority of records from various sources proved that, regardless of the meaning of the second element, some compound names were long written together (e.g. *Supiestany*), and others – separately. Naturally, compounds like *Białobrzegi*, *Długoląka*, *Nowogród* – were written together.

In Polish lands, so also in Mazovia (unlike in Ruthenian territories) we always used the suffix *-ice*, not *-icze* in patronymic names.

Several names, recorded in the sixteenth century sources as: *Chrczony*, rarely *Chrczony*, *Chrczonka* (*Chrczonka*), and *Trcianka* (often *Trzcianka*), *Trciniec* (*Trzciniac*) posed serious difficulties. Accepting the possibility of an alternative pronunciation and even more the fact that the orthography had not yet been settled at the time, we agreed on the form *Chrczony*, *Chrczonka*, *Trzciana*, *Trzcianka*, used consistently since the eighteenth century, and the variants *Chrczony*, *Chrczonka* and *Trciana*, *Trcianka* were listed in the list after the main entry.

Phonetic alternation made it difficult for us to determine the sixteenth century form of some names (*Morawy* – *Murawy*), particularly for an interesting group of names with a prosthesis *h* before *o* and *u* (*Holdaki* – *Oldaki*, *Humięcino* – *Umięcino*, *Hołtowo* – *Ołtowo*) or *j* before *a* (*Jabramy* – *Abramy*, *Jadamy* – *Adamy*, *Jadamowice* – *Adamowice*). In such cases the more literary form was used as the main entry, appearing in written and cartographic sources since the wane of the eighteenth century and the variants were given in the list the way it was done in *Słownik Staropolski Nazw Osobowych*.<sup>12</sup>

The names: *Śrzedni* – *Średni*, *Śrzebna* – *Śrebrna*, *Szronka* – *Szronka* were treated in a similar manner.

The names with lowered articulation typical to Polish: *-ir*, *-er* (*Siraków* – *Sieraków*, *Wirzbica* – *Wierzbica*) were recorded on the map and in the main entry of the list as: *Sieraków*, *Wierzbica*.

Unlike in Płock volume, in all instances where *ó* was introduced in some Polish words, which became established in the literary language, e.g. *króle* – *króle*, *gora* – *góra*, *o* was changed into *ó*, and in some cases *u* into *ó*, when this version was dominant in the later sources (e.g. *Królewo* – *Krolewo*, *Góra* – *Gora*, *Stróżewo* – *Struzewo*). Similarly, *l* was changed into *ł*, *z* into *ż*, *s* into *ś* (*Laziska* – *Łaziska*, *Zukowo* – *Żukowo*, *Swierczyno* – *Świerczyno*), also because the sixteenth century sources, including tax registers, often provide names in Latinized version (e.g. *Malachowo Utraque*).

The List of Settlements included in this commentary lists the names shown on the map (the main entry), the more important variants of the name given in brackets and the modern name, if it differs from the historic one. In our selection of provided variants we disregarded: a) elements of compound names which appeared on their own, or differed from the main name only in their order, b) the differences in the endings: *ów* – *owo*, *ew* – *ewo*, *in* – *ino* (*yno*), c) mazuration: *c* – *cz*, *s* – *sz*, *z* – *ż*, and hypercorrection (*szadzenie*): *cz* – *c*, *sz* – *s*, *ż* – *z*, d) transitory variants between two other versions (e.g. we list *Malesze* and *Maliszewo* and omit *Maleszewo*; *Żerowa* and *Żyrowa* but without *Żerowo*), e) forms not used, the results of a scribe's mistake.

In certain justified cases, particularly when the differences were significant, variants of names from the first half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century were also included (e.g. the name *Grochy* appears in the chronological period of the map, whereas in the first half of the sixteenth century we find *Śmierdzigrochy*).

When the name of a settlement was changed when the settlement was granted town rights, the List depicts this fact in the following way: *Stanisławów* (until 1523 *Cisek* village).

It should also be mentioned here that even though all names of settlements were treated with equal diligence, including the names of the smallest villages, consisting of one or two manors, such

<sup>11</sup> J. Gołaski (ibidem, p. 114) rightly adds that use of the accent criterion is limited, as it concerns two-word compound names, made of an adjective and a noun, or two nouns.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. W. Taszycki, vol. 1–2, Wrocław 1965–1967.

as mill hamlets, over a dozen Mazovian settlements were given extra attention due to their size, character, importance and numerous derivations of the sound or wording of their name. This group of names was assessed by a group of historians, geographers and linguists during a specially called meeting. In several cases the differences of opinions were clearly visible. The dispute concerning the name *Warszawa* (Warsaw) was particularly prolonged, which should not be surprising as it was the capital city. The scholars argued as to which variant should be used as the main entry: *Warszawa*, *Warszowa* (in Latin texts, always *Varsovia*), or perhaps *Warszewa*. These are all forms found in the sixteenth century sources.<sup>13</sup> This reignited the old dispute on the subject, initiated years ago and carried on mostly by linguists, yet without the use of official sources: State sources (MK, Akta Skarbowe, Księgi Referendarii Koronnej, constitutions, journals, *Sejm* chronicles, etc.)<sup>14</sup> and town records from Warsaw.<sup>15</sup> In the end, *Warszawa* remained, supported among others by linguists: Prof. W. Doroszewski, Prof. W. Taszycki, and Doc. K. Zierhoffer.

While working on the map of Mazovia and the List of Settlements, our difficulties did not end with the sound and spelling of the sixteenth century settlement names. Their identification with settlements existing today was equally important, as many old villages were lost over the centuries, or changed their name – partially or completely, and sometimes also their location in the field. Here the difficulties grew, because as in the sixteenth century – the chronological period of our map – there were many discrepancies in written and cartographic sources (official registers of settlements and maps at a scale of 1:100,000), essential in order to determine modern names of settlements. Random field research also brought different data concerning the number or names of present-day settlements, such as: a) other names apart from the names listed in the registers and on the maps, b) instead of compound names – single names, or the other way round, c) instead of one settlement – two, marked with a common name, d) more often – one settlement appearing under two names.

Aware of such a state of affairs, we made *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, which was then the most complete publication obtainable, our source basis for the sound and spelling of modern names of settlement. It was prepared on the basis of the 1921 record,<sup>16</sup> and we knew that it was probably out-of-date at the time our work commenced. That is why we greeted the publication of *Spis Miejscowości Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej* in 1967 with great relief, as it provided us with a complete list of settlements as of 1 April 1966. The *Spis* was accepted as the basis for our work (mostly for the List of Settlements). However, we must say that the publication failed to satisfy all our expectations.<sup>17</sup> Although it remains the fullest up-to-date list of all settlements in the People's Republic – which constitutes its value – it contains many printing errors, unacceptable in this type of handbook, as well as other unwanted mistakes and inconsistencies<sup>18</sup> in comparison to the pre- and post-war maps at a scale of 1:100,000.<sup>19</sup> Finding these errors was not always possible, as the modern maps, prepared in fact on the basis of photographs and records made in the field, also contain some

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<sup>13</sup> Supporters of using the form *Warszowa* for the sixteenth century, enchanted by the Latin of the sources (*Varsovia*), quoted the Henrician Articles, which were written in Latin, issued on 12 May 1573 'in comitiis generalibus electionis sub Varsovia as villam Kamień'. However, it turns out that in the Polish version of this document, brought to Paris along with the Latin version by the Polish delegates, it was clearly states: 'na sejmie pospolitym electionis pod Warszawą przy wsi Kamieniu', *Diariusz poselstwa polskiego do Francji po Henryka Walezego 1573 r.*, comp. A. Przyboś, R. Żelewski, Wrocław 1963, pp. 142, 181.

<sup>14</sup> Entries from these sources gathered by the Department of the Historical Atlas of Poland were provided to all participants of the meeting.

<sup>15</sup> Entries from the town books of Warsaw were collected by W. Szaniawska MA.

<sup>16</sup> For the historical territory of Mazovia vol. I, the capital city of Warsaw, Warsaw Voivodeship (1925), and some of the districts from vol. 2 (Łódź Voivodeship – 1925), 3 (Kielce Voivodeship – 1925), 4 (Lublin Voivodeship – 1924), 5 (Białystok Voivodeship – 1924). J. Wiśniewski (rev., p. 502) justly emphasized the values of the *Skorowidz*. SGKP, however valuable, played here only an auxiliary part.

<sup>17</sup> Even though it resembles an official study, it is in fact anonymous (see below footnote 18), made by laics. As such, the work does not reflect the real state, just like it was expected by M. Karaś (idem, *Językoznawstwo i kartografia*, „Onomas-tica”, vol. 7, 1961, p. 27).

<sup>18</sup> Z. Brocki wrote a crushing review of this publication in „Rocznik Gdański”, vol. 28, 1969, pp. 343–347; see also W. Dzikowski in „Przegląd Geodezyjny”, vol. 39, 1967, p. 490 (list of mistakes and error for Kielce Voivodeship).

<sup>19</sup> *Pajki*, a village situated in Krzynowłoga Wielka parish in Przasnysz district, could be an example here. After the First World War the name of the village was changed into *Piastowo*, and this is how it was recorded in the *Skorowidz* from 1921 and on topographic maps of WIG. *Spis miejscowości PRL* lists two villages in the group Krzynowłoga Mała: *Pajki* and *Piastowo*.

toponymic inaccuracies. Therefore, we accepted the *Spis* as our basic source for the sound and spelling of modern names, but departed from it in the following cases: where there were differences between the *Spis* and other modern sources (the 1:100,000 maps above all, and the *Skorowidz 1921*),<sup>20</sup> in such cases we accepted the version from the map. If each source provided a different, or distorted, version of a given name, then we followed the same pattern while determining the sound and spelling of a sixteenth century name which appeared in different variants in the sources. This means that using various, independent sources (maps at a scale of 1:100,000, district maps at the same scale, registers and official names of settlements and physiographic objects,<sup>21</sup> field data), we chose the name which appeared in the sources repeatedly.

In the commentary and in the List the adjective forms of two district capitals appear in their historical version: Gostynin – gostyński (and not ‘gostyniński’ as it is used today, because this was the dominant form in the sources); Kamieniec by the Bug – kamienicki, not kamieńczykowski (today: Kamieńczyk), in this case the written and cartographic sources from the eighteenth century know only Kamieniec. Also, two other names of districts appear only in their sixteenth century form, different from the modern form, in the List: grodziecki (grójecki) and sieprcki (sierpecki).

Names of **physiographic objects** were determined on the basis of the same assumptions as settlement names. In this case, however, our task was a bit more difficult, because unlike settlement names, apart from large rivers the names of small rivers, lakes and swamps rarely appear in the sources, circumstantially or even purely accidentally. The map of Mazovia shows not only lakes and rivers whose names were confirmed by the sources, but also many other, smaller ones, which fit the scale of our map, but their names remain unknown.

Minor bodies of **water** were chosen on the basis of utilization. Even small rivulets or streams were depicted, provided that they were mentioned in economic sources (inspections, revisions, inventories) in order to determine the location of a settlement or its economic values (mills).

Naturally, we tried to avoid these names, which were anachronistic already in the sixteenth century. In case we lacked direct sixteenth century records, we assumed that the fifteenth century names, particularly those denoting bodies of water, were still used in the sixteenth century, and the names which appeared in the seventeenth century were probably already known in the previous century. In the latter event, we accepted even written and cartographic records from the eighteenth century, analysed them thoroughly and compared them against earlier materials.

Even despite these methodical and methodological efforts there remained a small group of rivers, for which we were unable to determine names earlier than the eighteenth century. These rivers were given names found in later sources from the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries, modern topographic maps, the *Hydronimia*,<sup>22</sup> and the *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*. The rivers from this group were written in Italics in the List. However, we believe that even when a name marked on our map came from nineteenth century sources it does not mean that the name itself was so young. It is a well-known fact that names of physiographic objects, and bodies of water in particular, are among the oldest.

Several times, the analysis of source records on physiographic elements saved us from mistakes in labelling certain lakes or rivers with the wrong names. At the same time it revealed some interesting and characteristic features of Mazovian hydronymy.

What we found was a tendency, still visible in the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries, to call fragments of one river by a name taken from settlements through or near which the river flowed (e.g. *Nida – Działdówka – Wkra*). On the other hand – the name of the upper course of the river was transferred to the entire river, up to its estuary (rarely, the other way round).

Both these effects, particularly the latter, would appear proper for the Polish hydronymy, if not for the fact that in Mazovia they sometimes occur both at the same time for one river. Finding these changes and determining whether a given name denoted a specified fragment of a river, or its entire

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On request of the ZBHG the matter was solved by the Prezydium of GRN in Krzynowłoga Mała, which claimed that there is only one village *Piastowo* there, which was called *Pajki* before the First World War.

<sup>20</sup> For a substantial part of Mazovia we use the study prepared by a former notary of Warsaw: A. Jarzęcki *Spis miejscowości woj. warszawskiego na dzień 1. II. 1963* (MS in collection of ZBHG).

<sup>21</sup> Only 17 issues were published so far for Mazovia in the series *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*. See I. Gieysztorowa, *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, footnote 30.

<sup>22</sup> *Hydronimia Wisły*, part 1, ed. P. Zwoliński, Wrocław 1965.

course depended on the number and nature of source entries, taken from different, completely unrelated sources.

A typical example of such changes in a river's name can be found in one of Bzura's right tributaries. Since the eighteenth century the whole river was called *Pisia*. This river flows in two arms in its upper course up to the village Gągolina (hence the name of its lower course). The left arm – called *Pisia* today, was called *Radziejówka*<sup>23</sup> between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, rarely: *Gągolina*. The name was taken from the village Radziejowice,<sup>24</sup> situated in the river's upper course. The right arm – called *Tuczna* today – had five or six different names between the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries. Apart from the name *Tuczna*,<sup>25</sup> borrowed from a miller's name,<sup>26</sup> this arm was also called *Gągolina*,<sup>27</sup> *Kamionka*, *Petrykosa* (*Petrykowska*), or *Piotrówka*,<sup>28</sup> and most often – *Kuklówka*.<sup>29</sup> All these were adopted from the names of settlements near which the river flowed in its upper course.

Let us also add here that a rare hydro- and topographic situation made it difficult for us to ascribe proper names to both rivers, joining in their lower course near Gągolina. The springs of both rivers lie nearby (4 or 5 km from each other), the rivers flow in the same, north-western direction, their channels were of similar length, and finally, after joining and becoming one near Gągolina they separated again shortly afterwards into two streams encircling an island, on which the village Strumiany was located. The arms ultimately joined behind this village, and the river flowed towards Bzura. This situation near Gągolina (Kaski) was not overlooked by the inspectors from Sochaczew starosta's district, who in 1510 in the description of the three villages recorded under a common name *Kaski* (*Kaski Wyczółki*, *Kaski Gągolina*, *Kaski Młyńska Wieś*), called the streams *Wiskicki* or *Jaktorowski*,<sup>30</sup> depending on the more important settlement or the direction from which these two streams, joining near Gągolina, flowed.

The limited supply of sources sometimes prevents us from determining which of several, and sometimes simultaneously used, names of a given river denoted only a fragment, and which meant the whole river. However, as shown by the above example, in Mazovia it was a natural and common phenomena that names of rivers and streams formed in their upper course and were next transferred to the entire course of a river, despite the local trend to call fragments of rivers by their own names.

In case of *Radziejówka* (called *Pisia* since the nineteenth century), such a situation was confirmed, in a quite illuminating manner, by two independent authors from the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The first – a Mazovian estate administrator Wojciech Boguski in an inventory of Sochaczew starosta's district, written in 1561 after the death of starosta Stanisław Borek, noted under *Wiskitki*: 'molendium cum piscine... fluvio isto cui transit a Radzieiowicze'.<sup>31</sup> The other scribe – the parson of Wiskitki, rev. Adam Markiewicz noted in 1792 in the description of Wiskitki: 'two ponds by the River Radziejówka, because from Radziejowice the water goes to the mill Ruda, Szyszka, and then to the parsonage in Wiskitki... to Oryszew... Drzewicz and Kaski'.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>23</sup> LR XVI, pp. 42, 44, 173; LR XVII, pp. 19, 84, 179; LR 1789, p. 93.

<sup>24</sup> In 1438 for the fragment Wiskitki–Drzewicz, in the document of Rev. Siemowit quoted in the border document from 1527 (MK 43, f. 229). In 1510 for the entire river (ASK LIV 9, f. 35).

<sup>25</sup> Year 1533 'Jaktorów villa super fluvium Thuczna', ASK LVI S. 4 (I), f. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Year 1452 'Dux donat providio Stanislaio Thuczny molendina: minere et aliud farine Nova minera super fluvium Cuclowka inter Jactorow et Cuclowka bonorum' (MK 337, f. 62). J. Wiśniewski pointed recently to the common practice of naming mills after the surname (nickname) of the miller or after names of rivers and streams (idem, *Nazwy młynów w Polsce*, KHKM, vol. 18, 1970, no. 3, pp. 449–455), who stated, on the basis of evidence he collected, that 'sometimes the name of the mill ousted the old name of a rivulet, which could nowadays bear the mill's name'. The name *Tuczna* confirms Wiśniewski's example, as it ultimately ousted *Kuklówka* and its forerunners. See below footnote 28.

<sup>27</sup> Year 1504, the entry about the spring of the river 'molendium in fluvio Gogolina in bonis Gnoyna penes Sbyroza', MK 18, f. 214; 'Molendium Ogigiel seu Thuczny in fluvio Gogolina sub villa Jactorow', year 1606, MK 133, f. 17.

<sup>28</sup> In 1510, by the inspection of the starosta's district of Sochaczew it was stated under the village *Jaktorów* that: 'Jaktorów... ubi est minera in fluvio Kamionka seu Petrikoska dicta', ASK LVI 9, f. 32. In 1528: 'molendium Colaczek iuxta Jactorowo super fluvium Petrykowska', MRPS IV/2, 15412. Several villages were located in the close vicinity of the spring of both tributaries of *Gągolina*: *Radziejowice*, *Kamionka*, mentioned above (see footnote 27) *Gnojna* and *Zbierzka*, *Petrykozy* and *Piotrowice*. *Piotrowice* gave its name to the river: *Piotrkówka* (*Petrykowska*).

<sup>29</sup> See above footnote 26 and LR XVI; LR XVII; LR 1789 (indexes).

<sup>30</sup> 'Item in eadem bonis duo fluvii seu torrents Wyskicka et Jaktoroska', ASK LVI 9, f. 32.

<sup>31</sup> ASK LVI S. 4 (I), f. 69.

<sup>32</sup> K. Perthées, *Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafii Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 9, p. 98 (microfilm in the library of IH PAN).

There were some minor difficulties caused by another, larger right tributary of the Bzura – the one called *Mrowa*,<sup>33</sup> in the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries, rarely *Rnowa*,<sup>34</sup> and *Utrata*<sup>35</sup> since the wane of the eighteenth century. The river flowed from the same geographic region as *Radziejówka* and *Kuklówka* (in the forests near Skuły, east of Mszczonów). In this case, the usual obstacles (name changes) were accompanied by additional problems resulting from an incorrect identification of the nineteenth century and modern studies. *Mrowa* has a tributary in its middle course on the left side (on the nineteenth century maps) called *Kur* in the upper course near Grodzisk, *Kłodnica* in the middle course near Kłodno, and *Rokitnica* in the lower course near the village Rokitno. This tributary of the *Mrowa*, a half shorter than the remaining – upper and middle course of the river, was quite unexpectedly called *Mrowa* in official registers and on the maps.<sup>36</sup>

Another characteristic feature of Mazovian toponymy and hydronymy concerns names derived from river names, consisting of one or two elements. The first group contains both names of settlements derived from the names of rivers, streams or lakes (*Rawa – Rawa*, *Biała – Biała*, *Skroda – Skroda*, etc.), and the other way round: names of rivers taken from settlement names (*Działdówka*, *Radziejówka*, *Kuklówka*, etc.). Given the bilateral relationships of these names, it is difficult to tell, which came earlier – the name of the river or the name of the village. However, in Mazovia – in contrast to other Polish lands – the share of such names is much greater than it would appear from A. Wilkoń's calculations.<sup>37</sup>

There was a purely Mazovian type of language formation, consisting of quite a few names appearing in several combinations in the north-eastern part of Mazovia, characterized by the following features: 1) names of rivers and streams taken from names of physiographic objects, often kept in the first case (*Dąb*, *Jabłoń*). 2) A concentration of site names unparalleled anywhere else consisting of two or even three words, of which the last element is a name of a river, stream or slope (*Wiśniewo-Dąb*, *Konopki-Jabłoń*, *Cedry-Złotystok*). 3) Forming names for settlements located *in summitate* (*vertice*), at the 'summit' of a river (*Carvovo summitate Cubra – Karwowo Wierzch Kubra*, now: *Karwowo Kubrzane*; *Wiśniewo Vertice Colonia*, now: *Wiśniówek Wertycze*).<sup>38</sup>

Z. Gloger first noticed these phenomena, common in Łomża and Wizna lands,<sup>39</sup> and A. Wolff listed around 30 settlements in the district of Zambrów alone, which is a typical example of the formation of these kinds of names.<sup>40</sup>

The formation of these types of site names, dating back to the colonization period, has recently been explained by J. Wiśniewski, who rightly stated that 'the name of a river was often used as the first element in describing the location of a settlement. It frequently became a village's name, either temporarily, or permanently'.<sup>41</sup> J. Wiśniewski's methodological remarks helped us solve the problems with several such names of rivers and villages.<sup>42</sup> Let us finally add here that this typically Mazovian

<sup>33</sup> 'Theloneum pontalium in fluvio Mrowa', MK 106, f. 155, year 1570.

<sup>34</sup> In the fifteenth century *Rnowa*, in the sixteenth century – *Mrowa*, in the eighteenth/nineteenth century (on the maps by Perthées, Giilly-Cron and the Quartermaster's map) alternatively *Mrowa-Rnowa-Utrata*. A change like *Mrowa – Rnowa* is not isolated. *Bzura*, attested by numerous source records, was called *Mzura* by an 1508 entry; ASK LVI S. 4 (I), f. 4.

<sup>35</sup> The name of this River, *Utrata*, appears relatively late. It came in use in the second half of the eighteenth century, first alternatively: *Mrowa-Utrata*, then only *Utrata*. The name probably originates from a meaningful name of an inn – *Utrata*, situated by a highway near Błonie, between the villages Radzikowo and Kopytów, where the bridge toll was collected. See above footnote 33.

<sup>36</sup> On the 1:100,000 maps from 1914, 1934, 1951 the left tributary of the *Mrowa* (*Utrata*) was called *Mrowa*. In the *Hydronimia*, p. 572, *Mrowa* or *Mrowna*, or *Rnowa*, or *Rokitnica*, or *Kur*. In the *Urzędowe nazwy miejscowości i obiektów fizjograficznych*, no. 216 (the district of Grodzisk Mazowiecki) – *Mrowna*.

<sup>37</sup> A. Wilkoń, *Polskie nazwy miejscowe od nazw rzek*, „Onomastica”, vol. 8, 1963, no. 1–2, pp. 87–124.

<sup>38</sup> For a broader commentary on this type of names see A. Wolff, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, part 1, p. 89, footnote 12; J. Wiśniewski, „Onomastica”, vol. 9, 1959, pp. 504–505. Three curious names formed in this way, namely: *Werchrata*, *Wierzchrachanie* and *Wierzchrzeczyca* (the Rivers Rata and Rachanka) in the previous land, later Voivodeship, of Bełsk, are probably Mazovian toponymic formations from the period when this land was ruled by the Mazovian dukes between 1387 and 1462.

<sup>39</sup> Z. Gloger, *Dawna ziemia Łomżyńska*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, 1876, vol. 2, pp. 579–595.

<sup>40</sup> A. Wolff, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, part 2, pp. 91–92.

<sup>41</sup> J. Wiśniewski, „Onomastica”, vol. 9, 1959, pp. 504–505.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, two rivulets with an identical name *Gręzka*, separated from each other by some 20 km and flowing into the Wissa. One flows from Brzeźna and flows into the Wissa in Wąsosz, the other – from the village Supa and near Łoje-Awissa, *ibidem*, p. 503, footnote 44.

group of water names consists also of river names in which the latter element is a name of a stream, commonly called 'stok' ('a slope') in Mazovia (*Białystok, Ciepłystok, etc.*), and which were wholly incorporated into names of villages situated by these 'slopes'.<sup>43</sup>

It is a well-known fact that physiographic elements influence the formation of site names. It is also known that topographic names constitute an important group of Polish geographic names. Among them, names derived from prepositional phrases with the use of the suffix *za* form a separate group: *Zagórze, Zakrzewo, Zalesie, Zabłocie, Zarzecze, Zastruże* – they appear quite evenly in all Polish lands. However, another interesting sub-group of territorial and site names could be isolated here, these would be the names derived from river names, which distinguish Mazovia from other lands of the Crown: *Zawkrze*,<sup>44</sup> *Zapilcze*,<sup>45</sup> *Zawiśle*,<sup>46</sup> and settlement names: *Zaliwie, Zamienie, Zaorze, Zarusie, Zasonie, Zaskrodzie*.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, when it comes to the **forests**, we can say that there were no major difficulties in this field, as only large woodland complexes were depicted on the map of Mazovia. These complexes belonged to the Crown and were called 'puszcze' (Latin: *desertum*, a large uninhabited forested area) in the sixteenth century sources. The source basis (mostly inspections of royal property) was enough for us to establish the range of these forests and their names, accepted in their historical wording, only with modernized spelling. Other Mazovian woods and coniferous forests belonging to the wealthier nobility and larger Church estates (e.g. the forests in Łowicz-Skierniewice estates, the property of the archbishops of Gniezno) were not marked on the map, as they were subject to constant deforestation (clearings) and the source information on their names is only random, and does not encompass the entire territory of Mazovia.

(1973)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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<sup>43</sup> W. Pałucki, *Nazwy typu Białystok, Górny stok, Ponikłystok*, „Onomastica”, vol. 7, 1961, pp. 45–81.

<sup>44</sup> Situated on the other side of the River Wkra, the lands of the northern part of Płock Mazovia. In 1363 'in terra Zawkrzynensi' (*Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, vol. 2, pub. L. Rzyszczewski, A. Muczkowski, Warsaw 1852, no. 741); 1367 'terra nostra Zauukrensi' (ibidem, no. 751); 1384 'Terra Sakrze' (*Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 4, pub. J. Voigt, Königsberg 1848, no. 26), A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo Zawkrza w okresie książęcym*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Ziemi Zawkrzeńskiej*, Warsaw 1971, pp. 43–47. Zawkrze land (*Zaphere*) was also mentioned by Święcicki.

<sup>45</sup> Part of Mazovia, the area situated on the other bank of the Pilica, more precisely – between the downstream Pilica and downstream Radomka, was given in perpetuity in 1359 by Casimir III the Great to Siemowit III, the duke of Mazovia, KDMaz., no. 81.

<sup>46</sup> Zawiśle – on the other side of the Vistula, 'trans fluvium Histule' (MK 35, f. 273) – the right-bank part of Czersk land. In 1539 Zawiśle became part of the newly-created district of Garwolin. See A. Wolff, *Nazwy miejscowe na Mazowszu*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>47</sup> Taken from the following Mazovian Rivers: Liwiec, Mienia, Orz, Ruziec, Sona, Skroda.

### III.4.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Paweł Swoboda*

Amongst those experts in the field of onomastics involved in researching the nomenclature indigenous to the region of Podlasie, the area that has garnered the most attention is the study of anthroponymy (proper names), a subject that has resulted in a dozen or so monographs and studies of a lexicographic nature, as well as numerous articles. In contrast the toponymic output is more modest in volume. In a 2018 article dealing with the state of onomastic research into the Podlasie region, Leonarda Dacewicz<sup>1</sup> mentions but two monographs on the topic of geographical nomenclature, both written by Michał Kondratiuk – *Nazwy miejscowe południowo-wschodniej Białostoczczyzny*<sup>2</sup> from 1974 as well as *Elementy bałtyckie w toponimii i mikrotoponimii regionu białostockiego*,<sup>3</sup> published eleven years later. It is important to also mention Irena Halicka's two-part *Nazwy miejscowe środkowej i zachodniej Białostoczczyzny*,<sup>4</sup> and published in the years 1976–1978, and which for unknown reasons was omitted by Dacewicz in her review. However this was incorporated in an older review article by Kondratiuk on the state of onomastic research within the Białystok region.<sup>5</sup>

The aforementioned studies of place names written by Michał Kondratiuk (1974) and Irena Halicka cover just a part of the area occupied by the Podlasie Voivodeship in the sixteenth century as discussed in this volume. This is due to the fact that the cited authors were not really discussing the historical nomenclature of Podlasie as such; instead they were focusing on the area of the Białystok Voivodeship within its borders prior to the 1975 administrative reform. The boundaries of the south-western, central and western Białystok lands encompassed the entirety of the sixteenth century Bielsk district but included only fragments of the districts of Mielnik and Drohiczyn, the border of which was naturally created on the southern and western fronts by the course of the Bug River. At the same time it is important to note that the nomenclature collected and discussed in the aforementioned works does not solely pertain to the area covered by the Podlasie Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century, but also to that occupied by the Brześć Litewski Voivodeship (areas occupied in part by the present-day district of Białystok and Hajnówka) as well as the Voivodeship of Mazovia (currently the Zambrów, Łomża, Kolno and Grajewo districts).

When reviewing the list of toponymy-centered works devoted to Podlasie which taking into account the historical angle (including the period that is of most interest to us) one has to include works dedicated to the research of word formation processes occurring in the place names of the area in question, such as Hubert Górniewicz's<sup>6</sup> works on family names, Urszula Bijak's<sup>7</sup> research into

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<sup>1</sup> L. Dacewicz, *Podlasie w badaniach onomastycznych w przekroju historycznym – stan obecny, zadania i potrzeby*, „Studia Wschodniosłowiańskie”, vol. 18, 2018, pp. 89–107.

<sup>2</sup> Kondratiuk.

<sup>3</sup> M. Kondratiuk, *Elementy bałtyckie w toponimii i mikrotoponimii regionu białostockiego*, Wrocław 1985.

<sup>4</sup> I. Halicka, *Nazwy miejscowe środkowej i zachodniej Białostoczczyzny: dzierżawcze, patronimiczne i rodzinne*, Warsaw 1976; eadem, *Nazwy miejscowe środkowej i zachodniej Białostoczczyzny: topograficzne i kulturowe*, Warsaw 1978.

<sup>5</sup> M. Kondratiuk, *Badania onomastyczne w regionie białostockim (stan i perspektywy)*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 14, 1981, pp. 305–323.

<sup>6</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Podlasia*, „Onomastica”, vol. 12, 1967, pp. 5–69.

<sup>7</sup> U. Bijak, *Nazwy zestawione typu Boguty-Augusty na Mazowszu i Podlasiu*, „Onomastica”, vol. 25, 1990, pp. 31–54.

composite names such as *Boguty-Augustyny* and Leszek Bednarczuk's paper on the subject of settlements that end in the suffixes *-ęta / -enięta*.<sup>8</sup> The nomenclature of the Podlasie region has also been the focal point of several papers revolving around the subject of word formation in a wider geographical context, looking at it from a national or even pan-Slavic point of view. Amongst these works was Aleksander Wilkoń's article on place names such as *Tyszowce, Witoszyńce*<sup>9</sup> as well as two monographic studies – one by Halina Safarewiczowa, written on the subject of place names such as *Mroczkowizna, Klimontowszczyzna*<sup>10</sup> and one by Henryk Borek, centred around Western Slavic toponyms bearing the *-bn-* affix.<sup>11</sup> However, searching for Podlasie-related material in canonical studies of the remaining word-formation types, such as the works of Stanisław Rospond (names with the suffixes *\*-jb-* i *\*-bsk-*), Kazimierz Rymut (patronymic places names bearing the suffixes *-(ov)itjo-*) and Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko (names with the suffix *-ica*) is, with only a few exceptions, completely futile.

Apart from monographic works there exist many articles devoted to the details of various toponymic issues. It is important to first enumerate the multiple works written by the aforementioned Michał Kondratiuk, many of which were assembled in the book entitled *Nazwy geograficzne i osobowe Białostoczczyzny*,<sup>12</sup> a volume that additionally contains a full bibliography of works for the period 1962–2016, created by this eminent Polish researcher of Podlasie place names. Additional note needs to be given to the extensive article by Piotr Złotkowski, dedicated to the names of mills and milling settlements in the old Brańsk starosty.<sup>13</sup> The names of the villages and towns of Podlasie are also described in the multi-volume dictionary entitled *Nazwy miejscowe Polski*,<sup>14</sup> compiled at the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Polish Language.

The academic works presented above, though both territorially and thematically covering the onomastics of Podlasie in its entirety, present a general image of the subject. A curious reader will find them a source of both etymological explanations and source documentation for many of the names presented in this volume of the AHP series. This present commentary has not set itself the goal of describing the sixteenth-century nomenclature of Podlasie in its entirety. Rather I intend to focus on those most characteristic features that distinguish it from other historical Polish lands, as well as to highlight its internal diversity, one induced by both language-related and extra-linguistic factors.

The fringe nature of Podlasie, which for many centuries was the meeting ground for tribes of both Slavic and Baltic provenance and from the fourteenth century onwards became a place where predominantly Polish, Ruthenian and Lithuanian settlers mingled (these groups differing from one another not just in an ethnic sense, but also in the societal),<sup>15</sup> is clearly reflected in its diverse toponymy. The sixteenth-century toponymy of this area is characterized by the presence of various linguistic influences, both in the case of the pronunciation and linguistic provenance of the place names, but equally in the processes of word formation and the way these names have been recorded in the relevant documents. This is borne out by the visible distribution of names bearing particular linguistic characteristics, as well as the commonly occurring phenomenon whereby many simultaneous name variants are used in reference to one specific settlement. This name variation phenomenon (if not even its polynomiality) of settlements in Podlasie was not caused solely by its peripheral placement and multicultural character, but also as a result of that mass settlement was a relatively late phenomenon, only really taking its initiation in the period between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup> The names of many of the settlements featured in the present AHP volume, especially those founded in the sixteenth century,

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<sup>8</sup> L. Bednarczuk, *Toponimy na -ęta / -enięta na Mazowszu, Podlasiu i Wileńszczyźnie*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica", vol. 31, 2007, pp. 33–43.

<sup>9</sup> A. Wilkoń, *Nazwy miejscowe typu Tyszowce, Witoszyńce w języku polskim*, "Onomastica", vol. 12, 1967, pp. 70–83.

<sup>10</sup> H. Safarewiczowa, *Nazwy miejscowe typu Mroczkowizna, Klimontowszczyzna*, Wrocław 1956.

<sup>11</sup> H. Borek, *Zachodniosłowiańskie nazwy toponimiczne z formantem -bn-*. Wrocław 1968.

<sup>12</sup> M. Kondratiuk, *Nazwy geograficzne i osobowe Białostoczczyzny*, Białystok 2016.

<sup>13</sup> P. Złotkowski, *Nazwy młynów i osad młyńskich dawnego starostwa brańskiego*, „Studia Wschodniosłowiańskie”, vol. 16, 2016, pp. 345–364.

<sup>14</sup> NMPol.

<sup>15</sup> See J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-rusko-litewskim od końca XIV do połowy XVII w.*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica", vol. 1, 1964, pp. 115–135.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

were at the time far from fully crystallised and fixed. The late arrival here of established permanent settlement structures most naturally influenced, resulting in the younger place-name formations dominating in Podlasie toponymy.

Due to the absence of settlement network continuity, and here mainly caused by the ravaging of Podlasie by wars that occurred in previous centuries, few toponymic relicts have survived from ancient times. In his paper dedicated to exposing the oldest layer of Polish geographical nomenclature (within the bounds of early medieval Slavdom), the 'pre-Slavic' layer, as the author Zbigniew Babik notes, contains just a couple of names (and these referring solely to rivers in the area), amongst which are: *Biebla*,<sup>17</sup> *Brok*, *Bug*, *Dybla* (marginally, as it joins the Biebrza River to the north of Goniądz), *Elk*, *Golda*, *Krzna*, *Liw* (known today as *Liwiec*), *Liza*, *Mień* (present-day *Mianka*), *Narew*, *Strabla* (present-day *Strabelka*). According to this researcher these aforementioned designations were unmotivated by the languages existing in this area during the medieval and early modern period,<sup>18</sup> which means that they must have been created prior to these time periods. Ascertaining their ethnolinguistic provenance has, however, proved to be quite a challenge. Only in the case of the *Krzna* River has there been any resolution; according to some researchers the name refers to the Baltic word *\*kirsna*, meaning 'black'.<sup>19</sup> All the aforementioned names, as mentioned earlier, are exclusively potamonyms (the names of rivers), something characteristic for this early linguistic layer. Some of them – *Brok*, *Liza*, *Narew*, *Strabla* – additionally refer to settlements bearing the same name, but as oeconyms these constitute descriptors of a secondary nature, being derived from the original hydronyms and at a later point in time.

Additionally, few names belonging to the structural or semantic types usually found in other historic Polish regions can be uncovered in Podlasie, as their use universally declined before the local settlement initiatives had time to properly establish themselves. This is especially true for one of the oldest Slav-originating toponymical formations present in Poland: owner-designated villages bearing the *\*-jb // -ja // -je* suffixes (a naming method whose prolificacy was to wane sometime between the thirteenth and fourteenth century),<sup>20</sup> something practically non-existent in the region of Podlasie. By referring to just a select few toponyms we can safely say that they represent the aforementioned type: *Goniądz* (*districtus Gonondzendzis* in 1358, *Gonyadz* in the fifteenth century) < personal name *Gonięda*, as well as *Lubowic*, currently *Lubowicz Wielki* (*Lubowyc* in 1240, *Lubowicz* in 1416) < personal names *\*Lubowit* (in both cases the *\*-jb* suffix is present), *Dobrogoszcz // Dobrogoszcze* (currently known as *Dobrogoszcz*) < personal name *Dobrogost* and *Suraż* < personal name *\*Sgrad*.<sup>21</sup> In the case of the names of two villages- *Wyszemierz(e) // Wyszomierz* (present-day *Wyszomierz*) as well as *Wyszemierz(e)* (currently *Wyszomierz*) we are dealing with a designation that was transferred from the village of *Wyszemi(e)rze* (present-day *Wyszomierz Wielki*) located in the Mazovia Voivodeship.<sup>22</sup>

Another structural type that is present to a marginal extent in Podlasie are the toponyms created using the affixes *\*-bsk-* (continued as *-sk*, *-sko*, *ska*) as well as *\*-bn-*, an affix that also belongs to an archaic category of word formation structure.<sup>23</sup> In Podlasie in the sixteenth century, names containing the *-sk(o)* suffix refer to a handful of settlements: *Bielsk // Bielsko* (*Byelsko* in 1391; named after the *Biała* River), *Brańsk // Brańsko* (*Bransko* in 1430; named so due to the proximity of the *Bronka* River, from the proto-Slavic *\*brьna*, meaning 'wetland, bog'), *Holowiesk* ('[z] folwarku *Holowieska*' in 1576, *Holowiesko* in 1602; from the Ukrainian word *holovycia*, *holova*, meaning 'spring, river source'<sup>24</sup>),

<sup>17</sup> Given the scant and late (first half of the twentieth century) source documentation for the name *Biebla*, it follows to exert extreme care in including it within this layer.

<sup>18</sup> Z. Babik, *Najstarsza warstwa nazewnictwa na ziemiach polskich (w granicach wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyzny)*, Cracow 2001, pp. 11, 92.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, pp. 149–150.

<sup>20</sup> S. Rospond, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -jb*, Wrocław 1983, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> This name has a Ruthenian phonetic form – in place of the expected Polish *\*Sgradz* we have here a form with an Eastern Slavonic *u* (< proto-Slavic *\*ǫ*) as well as *z* (< proto-Slavic *dj*), see idem, *Słownik etymologiczny miast i gmin PRL*, Wrocław 1984, pp. 376–377.

<sup>22</sup> L. Niepiekło, *Parafia Skibniew Podawce i jej mieszkańcy* vol. 1: *Dzieje od XV do XIX wieku*, Skibniew Podawce 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Z. Babik, *W poszukiwaniu tzw. centrum toponimii (wczesno)słowiańskiej – przypadek ziem polskich*, part 2, „LingVaria”, vol. 12, 2017, no. 2, p. 169.

<sup>24</sup> Kondratiuk, p. 69.

*Rajsk* || *Rajsko* (*Raysko* in 1576; a derivative of *raja*, meaning ‘mud’, from the Latvian *raja*, meaning ‘stagnant, putrid, rusty water’<sup>25</sup>), *Święck* || *Święcko* (*Swantsk* in 1203; a derivative of the adjective *święty* (‘holy’), a name most likely motivated by religious reasons). Although the *-sk-* affix could be added to an anthroponymic base, in the case of the Podlasie region most of the place names are constructed as derivatives of the appellatives and, with the exception of *Święcko*, connected to the topographic properties of the terrain. Names ending in *-no* / *-ne* are equally scarce – *Gnojno* (*Gnoyno* in 1503), *Granne* (*Granne* in 1453; derived from the appellative *grań*, meaning ‘border’, as the settlement is located by the Bug River), *Krypno* (*Kripno* in 1569; a derivative of *krypa*, meaning ‘manger’), *Lipno* (*Lipno* in 1567), *Wykno* (*Wykno Kuljeszi* in 1528; presently known as *Stare Wykno*; a derivative of the personal name *Wyka* and the term *wyka* motivating it).

A similar situation occurs in relation to service-related names, which were tied to the idea of institutionalized service providers, a concept which became increasingly less common at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, which caused the loss of productivity amongst such toponyms. According to Karol Modzelewski just a handful of such names existed by the sixteenth century for the area concerning us. These were the following: *Rudniki*, *Świniary* and *Tokary* located in the vicinity of Drohiczyn as well as *Sanniki* located near Tykocin (though this settlement was actually subject to the town at Wizna).<sup>26</sup> These names derived from the designations attributed to the employment of those that inhabited them: *rudnicy* (*rudnik* ‘a person who extracts ores and extracts iron, a miner or smith’), *świniarze* (*świniarz* ‘swineherd’), *tokarze* (*tokarz* ‘a person that manufactures rounded objects from wood’) as well as *sannicy* (*\*sannik* ‘sledge-maker’).<sup>27</sup> Modzelewski in his commentary to the map depicting the network of service settlements points out that due to the limited number of consulted sources, this list may be incomplete. Furthermore, the aforementioned researcher has placed the north-eastern border of the Piast kingdom on the Narew River as well as the stretch between the settlements of Wizna and Drohiczyn, while Aleksander Gieysztor on the contrary claims that this territory could have stretched as far as present-day Brześć Litewski.<sup>28</sup> Given this information, one may cautiously extend the list so as to include four more names recorded in the sixteenth century: *Bartniki*, *Stadniki* (Drohiczyn district), *Woźniki* (Mielnik district) and *Złotniki* (Bielsk district), which can all be traced back to the names of those providing particular goods and services: *bartnicy* (*bartnik* ‘beekeeper’), *stadnicy* (*stadnik* ‘horseherd’), *woźnicy* (*woźnik* ‘he who makes carriages and carts, he who transports, carries’) and *złotnicy* (*złotnik* ‘he [goldsmith] who crafts objects from gold and other metals’).<sup>29</sup> The remaining few toponyms from the Podlasie region, though similar to the service-related names in both form and semantics, should be classified as names relating to trades and artisan communities (under the condition that they are not derived from anthroponyms, that is to say): *Koleśniki* (*koleśnik* ‘a craftsman who produces carriages, a wheelwright’), the thrice-occurring *Leśniki* (*leśnik* ‘he who protects the forest, forester’<sup>30</sup>), *Odźwierniki* (derivative of *odźwierny*, *ianitor*; doorman<sup>31</sup>), *Ogrodniki* (*ogrodnik* ‘gardener’<sup>32</sup>), *Piowary*<sup>33</sup> (*piowar* ‘brewer’<sup>34</sup>), *Brzozowo-Solniki*

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 171.

<sup>26</sup> K. Modzelewski, *Organizacja gospodarcza państwa piastowskiego X–XIII wiek*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, corrected, Poznań 2000, map.

<sup>27</sup> U. Wójcik, *Polskie toponimy związane z organizacją gospodarczą państwa wczesnopiastowskiego. Nazwy miejscowe motywowane antroponimami zbiorowymi*, Cracow 2013, pp. 52, 66, 70.

<sup>28</sup> A. Gieysztor, *Trzy stulecia najdawniejszego Mazowsza (połowa X–połowa XIII w.)*, [in:] *Dzieje Mazowsza do 1526 rok*, ed. A. Gieysztor, H. Samsonowicz, Warsaw 1994, pp. 96–97.

<sup>29</sup> U. Wójcik, *Polskie toponimy*, pp. 71–72.

<sup>30</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 4, no. 1, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław 1963, p. 24.

<sup>31</sup> *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 20, ed. M.R. Mayenowa, comp. L. Woronczakowa, K. Wilczewska, J. Bieńkowska, Wrocław 1991, pp. 572–573.

<sup>32</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 5, no. 7, ed. K. Nitsch, Wrocław 1968, p. 536.

<sup>33</sup> The matter of whether brewers belonged to the ranks of servants is questionable. U. Wójcik (eadem, *Polskie toponimy*, pp. 64, 73, 139) interprets the hypothetical name of the ministerials *piowarzy* on the basis of a single Podlasie toponym *Piowary*. According to M. Danielewski the names *Piowary* are connected with urban craft/trade and not with service; cf. idem, *O osadach służebnych. Uwagi historyka i archeologa na marginesie książki Iwony Nobis*, „Historia Slavorum Occidentis”, 2016, no. 1(10), pp. 276–277.

<sup>34</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 6, no. 2, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław 1970, p. 146.

(*solnik* ‘salt merchant; he who deals in salt’<sup>35</sup>),<sup>36</sup> *Żeleźniki / Zieleźniki* (derivative of *żelaźnik* ‘he who forges iron’,<sup>37</sup> Old Polish *żelazo, zielazo*<sup>38</sup>).

The nomenclature of the Podlasie region is characterized by a high percentage of toponyms created on the basis of personal names (anthroponyms). Amongst these the most numerous group in the sixteenth century (constituting over 30% of total place names in the region) were family or house names, the intricacies of which have been covered in detail by the aforementioned Hubert Górniewicz. These are names that ‘in their most primal stage of development were used to describe the inhabitants of a particular settlement according to the personal name that was used by members of this family as a means of identifying themselves and being identified by others around them’.<sup>39</sup> These names take on the plural form of the anthroponym they are derived from, e.g. *Boguszki, Chodory, Kulesze*, which were created on the basis of the already existing names of *Boguszko, Chodor* and *Kulesza*. Górniewicz, though mentioning ‘house (*kith/kin*) names’ (a phrase first coined by Witold Taszycki), a term universally accepted by the world of Polish onomastics remarks that it would be more appropriate to instead employ the term ‘family names’, as the aforementioned toponyms were created at a time (as late as the fifteenth century in Podlasie) when if the house/kith/kin dynamic was not already an outdated classification system, as Górniewicz considers, then it was for certain in decline.<sup>40</sup> Other regions of Poland have records of these types of names appearing as early as the twelfth century (Lesser Poland), but the biggest increase in new examples could be noted between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> In both the Lesser Poland and Greater Poland voivodeships such toponyms were, both in the past as in present times, fairly rare, though they were however the dominant type of nomenclature in the Mazovia region. Their popularity in the Podlasie lands is bound to the input of the petty Mazovian nobility in the process of colonising these areas in the fifteenth century, making them by proxy a linguistic and cultural extension of eastern Mazovia. Many toponyms, especially in the Bielsk district, were created on surnames endemic to the Mazovia Voivodeship, while others were created on the basis of other names taken eastward by Mazovian settlers. An example of such a transfer is the existence of the settlement unit of *Grochy* (earlier *Śmierdzigrochy*), located near Łapy, which was founded by colonists originating from *Grochy* (*Śmierdzigrochy*) located in the proximity of Nasielsk,<sup>42</sup> possibly also *Sobieszczki* (present-day *Sobieski*), established more than likely by settlers originating from a village bearing the same name, located in the environs of Płońsk (today also *Sobieski*).<sup>43</sup> There are also plenty of names created on the basis of anthroponyms of Ruthenian (e.g., *Chodory, Hawryłki, Ihnatki*) or Baltic origins (e.g. *Ciekuny* < personal name \**Tekūnas*, from the Lithuanian *tekūnas*, meaning ‘messenger, errand-boy’; *Jaświły* < Lithuanian personal name *Jāsvilas*; *Romejki* < Lithuanian personal name *Romeika*),<sup>44</sup> which can be found most frequently in the Mielnik land as well as in the eastern lands of the Bielsk region, in many cases mimicking the word formation process implemented by the Mazovian settlers. Although family names are abundantly present in both Belorussian and Ukrainian toponymics, analogous word formations processes (personal name in its plural form, without the suffix) are an alien concept in both Lithuanian and Prussian toponymy.<sup>45</sup>

However, without a doubt Mazovian colonisation was the sole contributor in the process of forming the two- or (less often) three-part structural module characteristic for place names in this region. These

<sup>35</sup> S.B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 5, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, corrected, Lwów 1859, p. 332.

<sup>36</sup> It is possible that there did exist a service populace of *solniki* (: *solnik* ‘salt extractor/boiler’, and recorded in the names of two villages with the name *Solniki* in Silesia, see U. Wójcik, *Polskie toponimy*, p. 67), however this type of industry did not exist in Podlasie. Another settlement *Solniki* (near Brańsk) took its name in turn from the surname of the millers’ family the *Solników* (NMPol, vol. 15, p. 65).

<sup>37</sup> *Elektroniczny słownik języka polskiego XVII i XVIII wieku*, [https://sxvii.pl/index.php?strona=haslo&id\\_hasla=36501&forma=ŻELAŻNIK#36501](https://sxvii.pl/index.php?strona=haslo&id_hasla=36501&forma=ŻELAŻNIK#36501).

<sup>38</sup> *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 11, no. 8, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Cracow 2002, p. 581.

<sup>39</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Podlasia*, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> K. Tymieniecki, *Gentyzm (ustrój rodowy) czy feudalizm?*, PH, vol. 52, 1961, no. 3, pp. 554–558.

<sup>41</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Wielkopolski, Małopolski i Mazowsza*, Gdańsk 1968, pp. 51–53, 98–99, 170–171.

<sup>42</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa*, p. 123; NMPol, vol. 3, pp. 375–376.

<sup>43</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Podlasia*, p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> M. Kondratiuk, *Elementy bałtyckie*, pp. 25, 36, 168.

<sup>45</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodowe nazwy miejscowe Podlasia*, p. 66; these are, of course, names derived from these languages.

composite names, e.g. *Koce-Piskuly*, *Rożki-Chrzczony*, *Olszewo-Walachy*<sup>46</sup> often featured a ‘family name’ of some sorts or another anthroponymic derivative (either a patronymic or one implying ownership) as one of its modular components. As quoted from Władysław Pałucki, Urszula Bijak states in her article dedicated to nomenclature of the aforementioned type:

‘The creation of such names is firmly tied to the particular social structures present in Mazovia. The most prevalent type of property present in the area were various lands belonging to nobility. This state of affairs, which came to be in the principedom era and was encouraged in the sixteenth century by the Jagiellonian dynasty in a process of favouring low and medium income nobility from the Mazovia region, a social group characterized by its high ‘reproduction rate’, resulted in the appearance of two interlinked phenomena in the area. Namely, the existence in the Mazovia region and adjacent Podlasie (which, due to the process of colonisation constituted a sort of extension of Mazovia in terms of name-formation morphology) lands of an otherwise unheard of fragmentation of nobility-owned estates, resulting in the creation of a very specific naming system.’<sup>47</sup>

The author demonstrates in her work illustrative models of such name formations. In territory covered primarily by a general usually one-component name *A* separate parts formed, which later accumulated additional name modules, e.g.  $B_1, B_2, B_3, B_4$  etc. ( $A \rightarrow A - B_1, A - B_2, \dots$ ), which could also function as independent entities, especially when the said unit became an independent village. The name *A* could be an anthroponymic derivative descriptor of a nobility owned unit (e.g. *Dmochy-Mingosy*, *Dmochy-Rętki*, *Dmochy-Rozumy*), as equally originate from the name of a river, forest or other geographical object (such as *Porośla-Głuchy*, *P.-Wojślawy*, *P.-Mędle*; *Moczydły-Pszczółki*, *M.-Stankowięta*, *M.-Pidaje*; *Długa Dąbrowa-Dworaki*, *D. D.-Kaski*, *D. D.-Kamień* etc.). The other, far less common method employs a reverse order ( $D \rightarrow C_1 - D, C_2 - D$ ) in which the second module of the phrase is shared (e.g. the neighbouring settlements of *Brzozowo-Chrzczony* and *Roszki-Chrzczony*). In our findings it is easy to note the irregularities in the construction of these double-barrelled place names or the existence of one of the components as an independent name itself.

Such names were present in the sixteenth century in around 33% of all settlements (560 out of an estimated 1,670 units). Their special distribution in the topography of sixteenth-century Podlasie clearly shows, that they existed exclusively in areas of Polish colonisation, particularly the Mazovian.<sup>48</sup> The greatest concentration of such a nomenclature exists in the south-west part of the Bielsk district as well as in areas of the district of Drohiczyń, especially on the right bank of the Bug River. In the northern part of the Bielsk district (from the Tykocin starosty onwards) they appear sporadically, while to the east of Bielsk there are no examples whatsoever. Though in the Mielnik district three composite settlement names of this type have been noted (*Biernaty-Rudniki*, *Biernaty-Świrzbły*, *Baciki-Trzcieniec*), these all relate to settlements lying right on the district boundary with Drohiczyń or Bielsk (see Map 1).

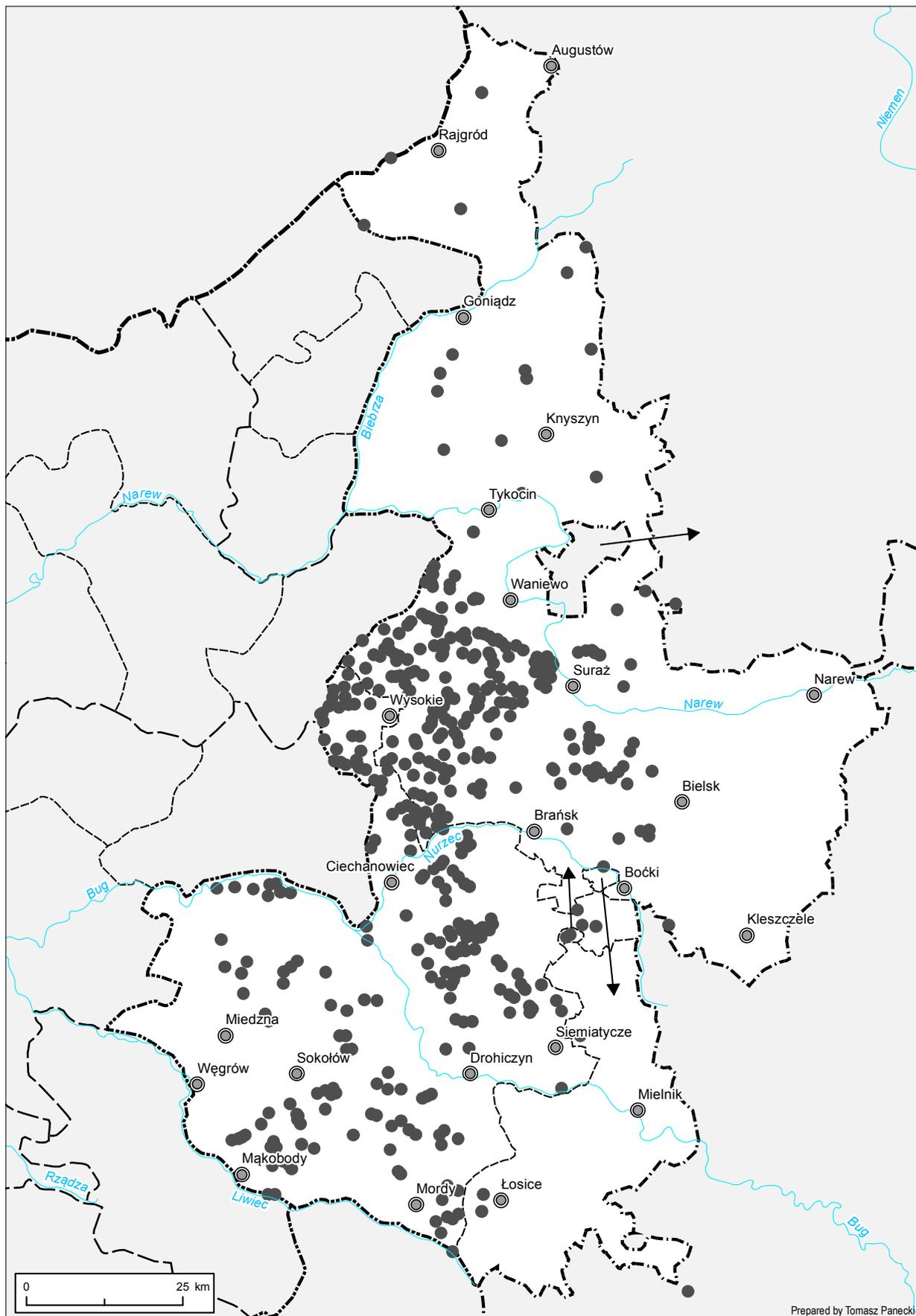
As mentioned earlier, personal names indicating possession that are formed using the archaic suffixes *\*-jb // -ja // -je* are a rare occurrence in the Podlasie Voivodeship. In general, the possessive function of the descriptive noun in Podlasie ownership-implying names in the sixteenth century finds its realisation chiefly through the addition of affixes such as *-ewo// -owo, -ów* oraz *-ino// -yno, -in// -yn*. These forms are not specific to this region alone – in the category of possessive nomenclature constructions of this type also predominate in other regions of Poland. It is important however, to pay attention to the well-known phenomenon of the geographic distribution of these types of names in Polish toponymics. The isomorph limiting the appearance of variations of these suffixes divides Poland into two zones – the northern part, where the *-owo* suffix dominates, and the southern one, characterised by its use of forms ending in *-ów*. In the region of Podlasie this division runs along the course of the Bug River and is very apparent – to the north only a handful of settlements bearing the *-ów* suffix are present and vice versa. In the second half of the sixteenth century this division was also visible, though not as pronounced. Names ending in *-ów* did admittedly exist almost exclusively to the south of the Bug River (with the

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<sup>46</sup> We have employed for the sake of clarity and here in the List, the commentary as well as on the maps lettering of names of this type with a hyphen, and here being in keeping with previous volumes of AHP. In source manuscripts, however, in printed editions they appear almost always separated.

<sup>47</sup> U. Bijak, *Nazwy miejscowe typu Boguty-Augustyny*, p. 33.

<sup>48</sup> Its eastern border demarcated the Samułka – Boćki – Drohiczyń line, which corresponded to the boundary of the districts of Drohiczyń and Mielnik; see J. Wiśniewski, *Rozwój osadnictwa*, p. 124.



**Map 1. Distribution of composite names of the *Biernaty-Rudniki*, *Kocę-Piskuly* type in Podlasie Voivodeship in the 16th century**

exception of *Augustów*,<sup>49</sup> located in the far North, as well as *Ostów* and *Śledzianów*, which were both located on the right bank of the river), but did so in the company of numerous names ending in *-owo*, which only later switched their suffix to *-ów*. It is important to note that it is the dominant (principal) names of particular settlements that are being discussed. Taking into consideration the variants that are less frequently mentioned in sources, we can observe an oscillation of sorts in the names of settlements located further north, for example in the area of the Bielsk district located by the Narew River: *Kurowo* || *Kurów*, *Pietkowo* || *Pietków*, *Pietkowo* || *Pietków* or on the Drohiczyn-Bielsk boundary *Dołobowo* || *Dołobów*, *Widźgowo* || *Wydźgów*. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of the *-ino*, *-in*<sup>50</sup> suffixes, however this is not nearly (and here equally today) as pronounced.

When discussing possessively indicative places names in the Podlasie region, it is impossible to overlook the matter of names that were created using the suffixes *-(ow)izna*, *-(ow)szczyzna*, *-(ow)czyzna*. This topic has been extensively covered by Halina Safarewiczowa in her aforementioned published research. Though this affix is used in the creation of topographic, cultural and relational names, in the field of toponymy its main function is the expression of possession by its addition to a surname, first name or the name of a trade or institution. These are not always, as Safarewiczowa writes, 'normal' possessive descriptors, for they were often created on the bases of the aforementioned words when a particular individual or institution's proprietorship over the object in question had ceased, and their occurrence was tied to the transferring of ownership in cases of inheritance, acquisition, donation or division/entitlement.<sup>51</sup> Source materials from the sixteenth century provide numerous examples confirming the fact that many of these designations were of an exclusively lease-orientated nature, as they often existed as parallel variants of possessive descriptors ending in *\*-ov-/-in-* or family names. For example, the settlement of *Kierzki* was also less frequently referred to as *Kierzkowo* or *Kierzkowizna* compare equally: *Kobyłino-Pieniążki* || *Pieniążkowizna*, *Łapy-Wągle* || *Łapy-Wąglówka* || *Wąglewiczyna* || *Wąglowizna*, *Sikory-Janowieta* || *Sikory-Janowizna* or *Stożnow(sz)czyzna* || *Stożnowo* || *Tużnowiczyna* etc. It is important to note that available source materials suggest all the three forms mentioned above (that is *-owizna*, *-owiczyna* and *-owszczyzna*) were equivalent to each other and could be used interchangeably in names that referred to a single subject matter, e.g. *Czechowizna* || *Czechowszczyzna* || *Czechowiczyna* or *Krukowizna* || *Krukowiczyna* etc.

Names of the category discussed above are present in the main for the part of Poland which during the Partitions fell under Russian rule with the majority of them concentrated in the lands of Mazovia and Podlasie. In the sixteenth century there existed in the Podlasie Voivodeship over 30 settlements with names like *Czechowizna*, *Krukowiczyna*, *Woroszyłowszczyzna*. Worthy of note is the fact that such names existed almost exclusively in the territories of the Bielsk district (see Map 2). In both the Drohiczyn<sup>52</sup> and Mielnik districts such examples were to appear sometime later and in limited number; while to this day across the area that once lay within the borders of the old Drohiczyn district, on the right side of the Bug River such names do not feature whatsoever.

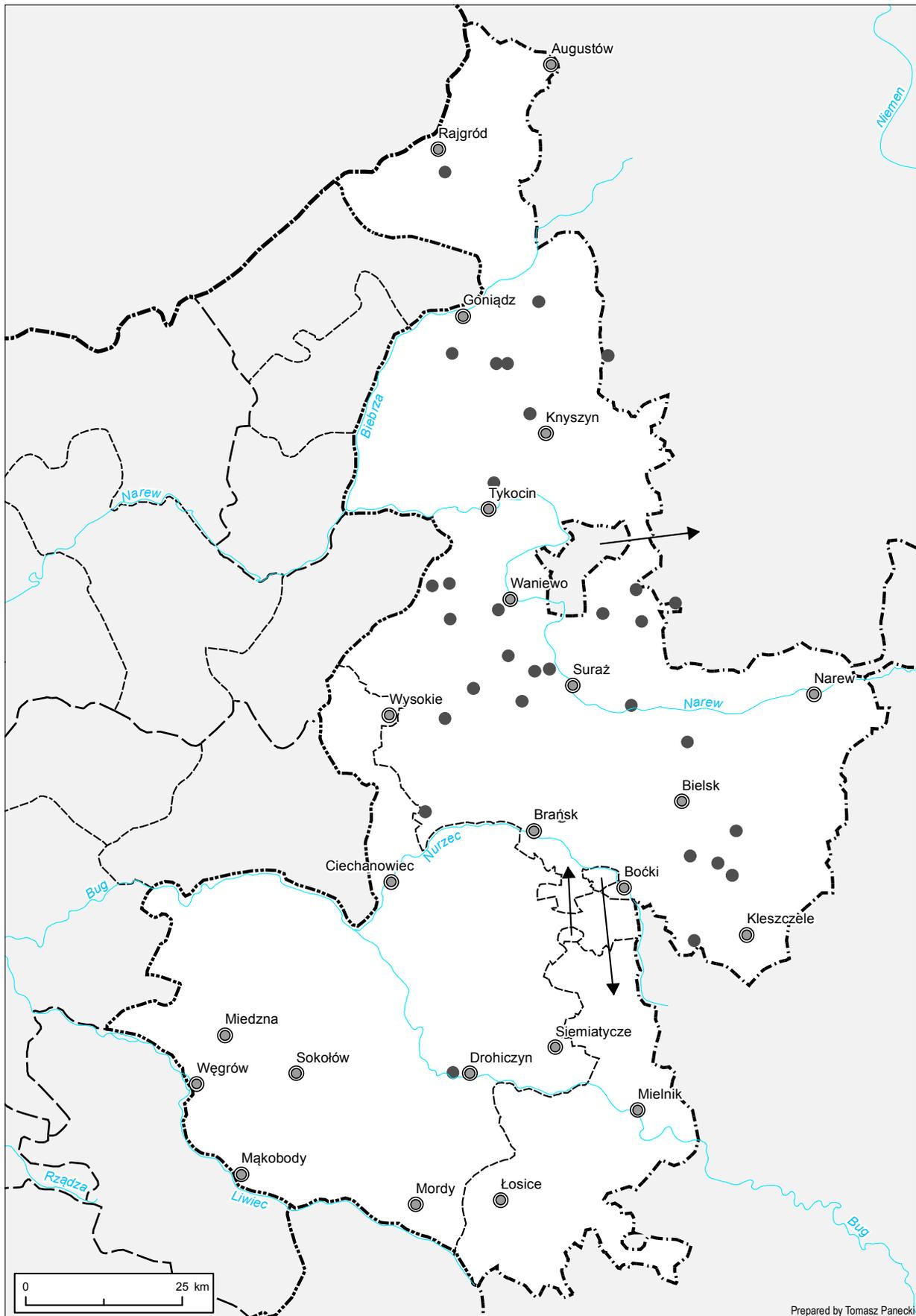
The distribution of other toponyms derived from personal names, that is to say patronymic toponyms, is equally interesting. They are generally associated with names created using the suffixes *-(ow)ice* || *-(ew)ice* which are added to the name of the individual whose descendants inhabited the same settlement. However, in Podlasie, aside from this structural type, the patronymic function was also expressed by the addition of the *-ęta* and *-(ow)ce* suffixes. More so, in the toponymics of the Podlasie region the affix *-ice* (e.g., *Dziadkowice*, *Smarklice*, *Żurobice*) has a variant, spelt *-icze* (e.g., *Falatycze*, *Molawicze*, *Siematycze*), which was the direct result of the eastern Slavic equivalent *-iči* (which exists in sources in the form of *-iczy*, for example *Żeguniczy*, *Burkatowiczy*, *Jakubowiczy*) mingling with the

<sup>49</sup> Such a form dominates in the second half of the sixteenth century, more rarely is also noted the form *Augustowo*.

<sup>50</sup> The continuing suffixes *\*-in-* were given first and foremost to personal names of a feminine inflection paradigm, more rarely occurring amongst the personal names of men, which in the main had motivated possessive names, as a rule relating to a founding person or the owner of a settlement.

<sup>51</sup> H. Safarewiczowa, *Nazwy miejscowe typu Mroczkowizna, Klimontowszczyzna*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>52</sup> An exception in the Drohiczyn district are *Budkowszczyzna*, and lying on the border with the Bielsk district *Oczkowizna* (also *Piętki-Oczkowizna*, *Żebry-Oczkowizna*), as well as the unidentified *Klimuntowszczyzna*. In turn the second element of the name of the village *Długa Dąbrowa-Buczewizna*, equally situated on this border (although it has not been possible to locate it exactly), rather is derived from the word *buk* and is topographic in character.



**Map 2. Distribution of names bearing the suffixes *-(ow)izna*, *-(ow)czyzna*, *-(ow)szczyzna***

Polish affix *-ice*.<sup>53</sup> Due to the lack of orthographic stabilisation prevalent in the sixteenth century and the resulting interchangeable usage of certain characters it is often quite hard to differentiate whether one is dealing with names ending in *-ice* or *-icze*, as the character group of <cz> could equally signify the consonant /c/ as /č/. While in the case of other Polish regions names ending in <-icze> are assumed to have the suffix *-ice*, in the region of Podlasie the matter is not quite so straightforward. The source materials used in the creation of this AHP contain names ending both in <-ice> and in <-icze>, so as a rule the only names presented as ending in *-ice* were those that were recorded in relevant sources in such a manner. Another issue is the case of whether names ending in *-ic(z)e* are always of a patronymic variety, or whether they are simply family derivative names, created on the basis of surnames ending in *-ic(z)*.<sup>54</sup>

Maps 3–6 depict the distribution of those patronymic names in the sixteenth century that bear the suffixes *-ice*, *-icze*, *-ęta* or *-(ow)ce*. It soon becomes apparent that names ending in *-ice* can be found only in the south of Podlasie, especially in the Drohiczyń district and, more seldom, in the Mielnik district. In these territories such names coexist with those formations bearing the suffix *-icze*, competing in a certain sense for dominance, which is backed up by the duality of certain place names, such *Chrołowice* || *Chrołowicze*, *Dziadkowice* || *Dziadkowicze*, *Starczewice* || *Starczewicze*. The areas under the jurisdiction of the Bielsk district, or its eastern part to be more precise, contain settlements whose names end exclusively in *-icze*, which is connected to the high percentage of people of Ruthenian descent living in these areas.

Only the Bielsk district additionally features a couple of names bearing the suffix *-(ow)ce*, for example *Bogdańce* || *Bohdańce*, *Piotrowce*, *Stankowce* or *Wojeńce*. Their presence is also explained by Slavic influences from beyond the eastern border. Such linguistic forms are almost exclusively encountered on the Polish-Ukrainian border in the stretch from Tomaszów Lubelski to Lesko as well as in the region of Podlasie, a matter cartographically illustrated by the earlier referenced Aleksander Wilkoń paper dedicated to this model of name formation.<sup>55</sup>

The Bielsk district stands out as the one containing the highest concentration of names formed using the *-ęta* affix, though this phenomenon is endemic to its mid-western part only, mostly occurring between the Nurzec and Narew Rivers. Additionally, several such formations can also be found in the Drohiczyń district.

To the north of the Narew River only one such name has been noted- *Niereśla-Waskowięta*, and to the south of the River Nurzec two more have been marked – *Brzeziny-Janowięta* and *Siedlec-Miklaszowięta*. The Drohiczyń district features only three such toponyms: *(Kobylany-)Kościęta*, *Skorupy-Kościęta* as well as *Kłopoty-Stanisławowięta*. Such formations are completely absent in the Mielnik district. This makes it easier to spot the fact that their spatial distribution is nearly identical to that of the aforementioned composite names connected to the Mazovian settlement. The patronyms ending in *-ęta* can also be traced back to their roots in northern Mazovia, where to this day, alongside the region of Podlasie, they appear with the highest frequency. It is important to additionally note that this structural type appears exclusively in the north-east part of Poland.

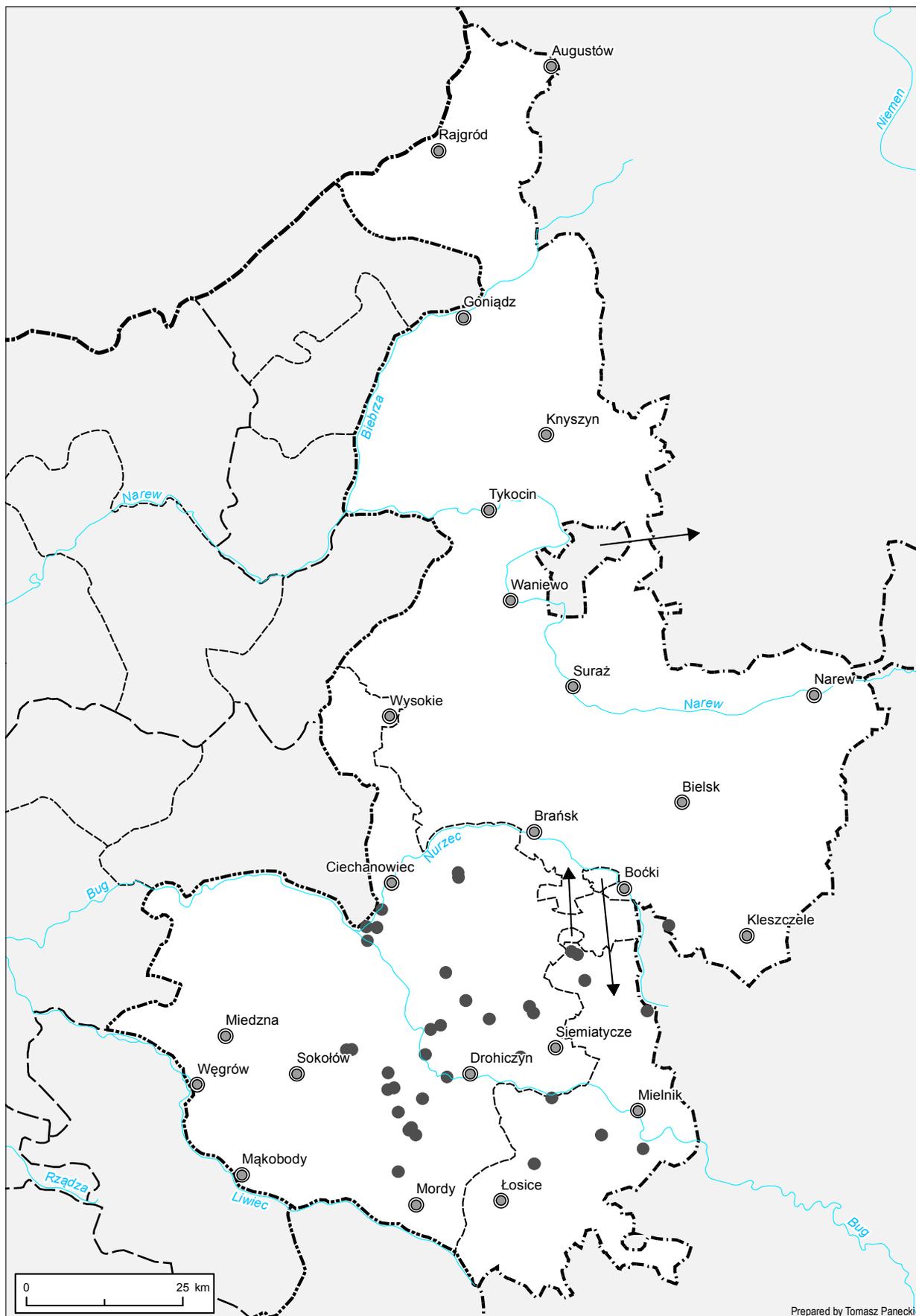
Worthy of mention is the fact that, despite all the reviewed patronymic groups having central points of accumulation, source materials indicate that these names had multiple variants that were in use throughout their existence (a phenomenon which was remarked upon earlier in this text when discussing the *-icze*//*-ice* suffixes). Such is the case of the villages of *Piszczaty-Piotrowięta* and *Sikory-Piotrowięta*, the second component of which functioned in the sixteenth century simultaneously in the forms of *Piotrowce* and *Piotrowicze*. This aforementioned widespread tendency for variation is not limited to a specific section of semantics – many times during the time period in question (a mere half a century) an oscillation between not just the choice of patronymic suffix could be noted, but also a dynamic passing of names from category to category (e.g. possessive || familial || patronymic) was

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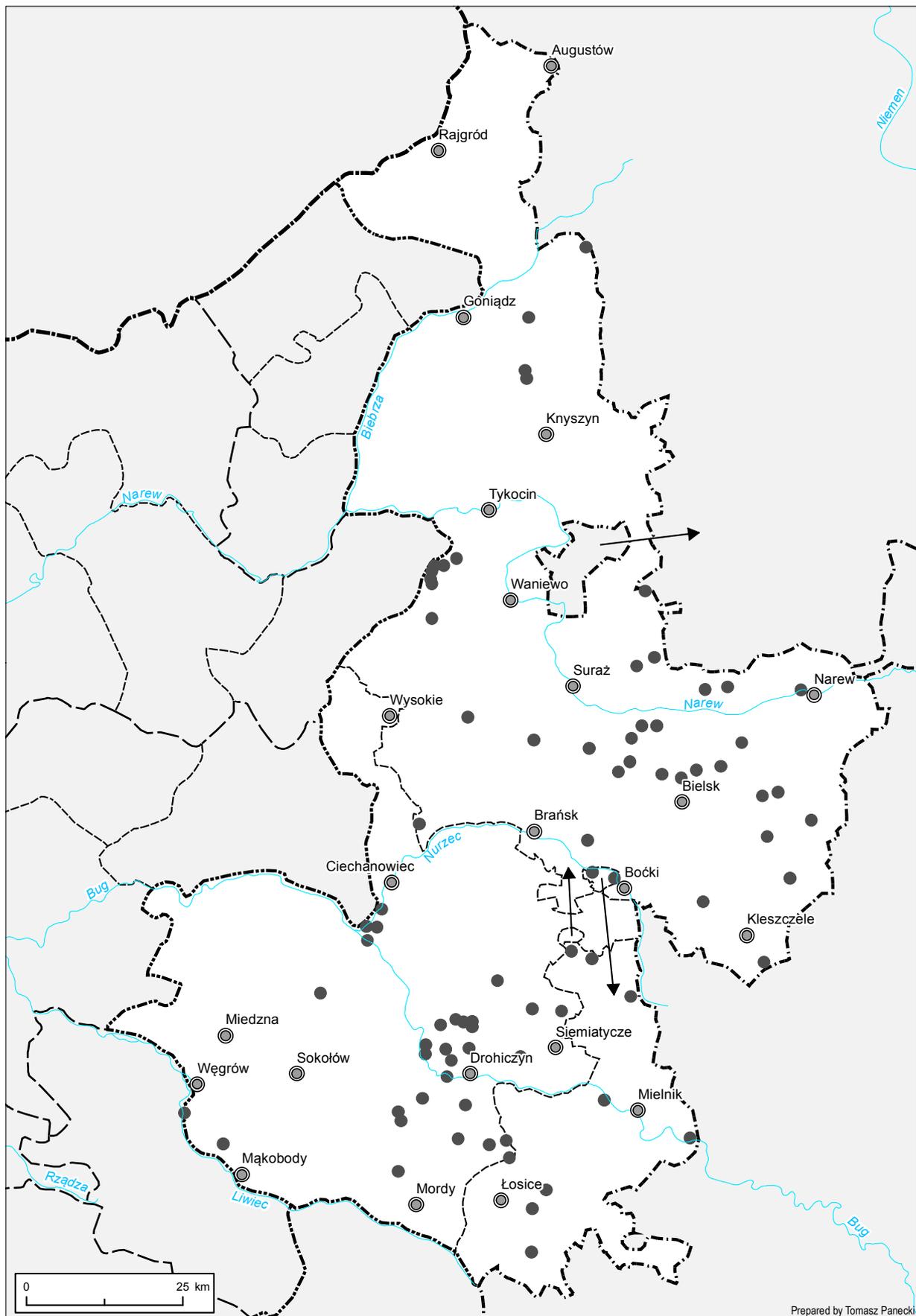
<sup>53</sup> Kondratiuk, p. 272.

<sup>54</sup> M. Kondratiuk included within kith names (family) only the names of those settlements in which formerly or at present there occurred surnames with *-ic* || *-icz*. As an example the village *Jacewicze* in the light of source materials is known to have been inhabited by millers of the surname *Jacewicz* (*Jaczewicz* 1576), hence justified is recognising this toponym as a family (surname) name and not that of a patronymic; *ibidem*, p. 236.

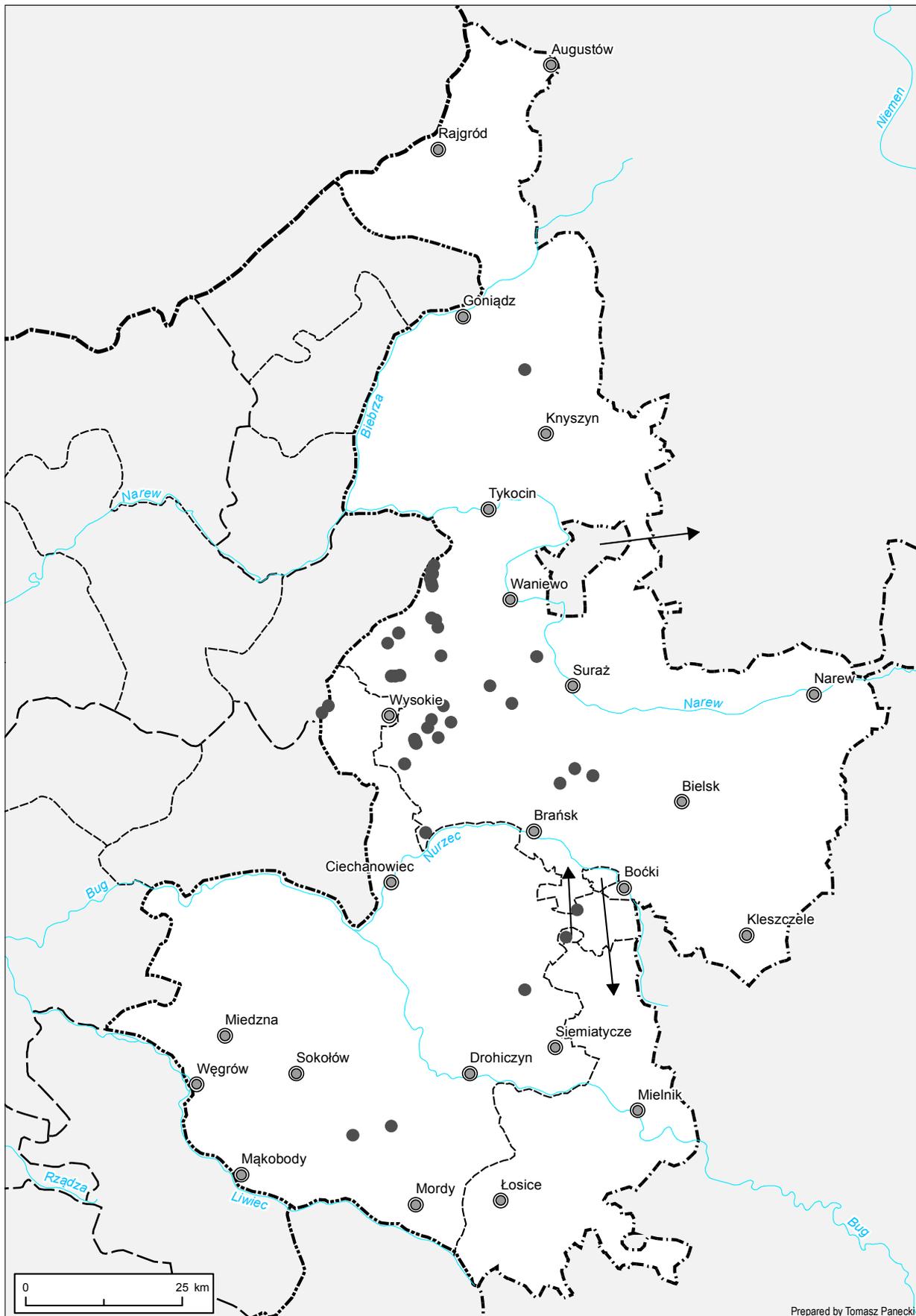
<sup>55</sup> A. Wilkoń, *Nazwy miejscowe typu Tyszowce, Witoszyńce w języku polskim*, pp. 80–81.



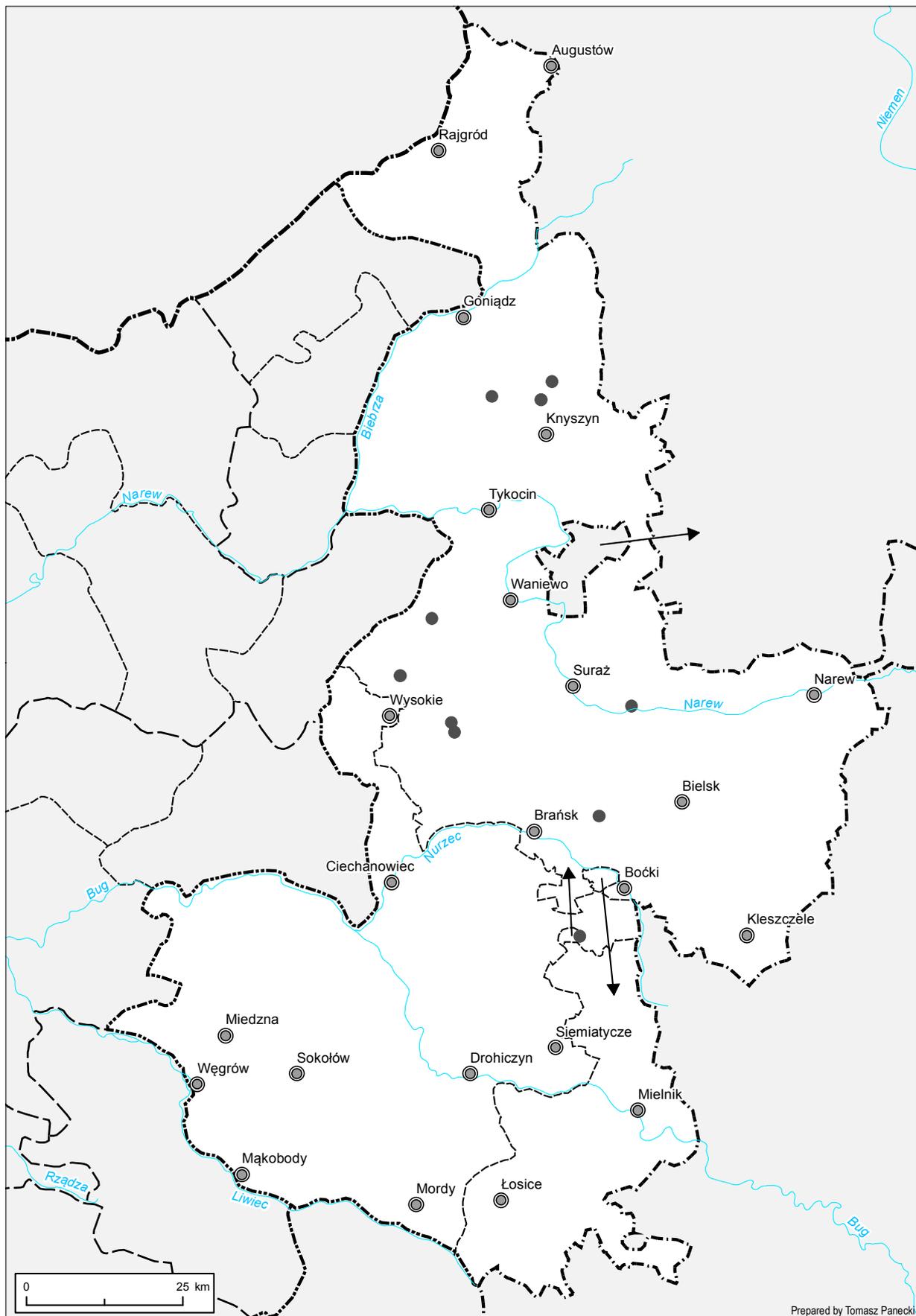
Map 3. Distribution of patronymic names bearing the *-(ow)ice* suffix



Map 4. Distribution of patronymic names bearing the *-(ow)icze* suffix



Map 5. Distribution of patronymic names bearing the *-ęta* suffix



Map 6. Distribution of patronymic names bearing the *-(ow)ce* suffix

present. This phenomenon is illustrated by the following examples: *Sikory-Pawłowięta* || *Pawłowicze* || *Pawłów* or *Chojane-Stankowięta* || *Chojane-Stanki* || *Chojane-Stankowce*.

The points connected to the word formation structure of place names discussed so far, which illustrate the process of ethnolinguistic exchange in the region of Podlasie, are naturally not their sole visible result. The Polish-Ruthenian linguistic relations reflected in Podlasie's nomenclature were presented in depth by Michał Kondratiuk,<sup>56</sup> however this text will focus on a couple of choice key issues.

Ruthenian influences in the nomenclature of Podlasie, apart from the aforementioned *-icze* (or *-iczy*) affix, are visible in the phonetics of select toponyms. The most prevalent are place names containing the fricative consonant *h* (a laryngeal spirant), which is a continuation of the proto-Slavic sound of *\*g* (which in Polish equates to *g*), present in names such as: *Bohy*, *Czahy*, *Horodniany*, *Hołowiesk*, *Hruszewo*, *Pohreby*, *Siehenie* or *Uhowo*. These formations occurred mainly in the eastern parts of the Bielsk, Drohiczyn and Mielnik districts and appear to a limited extent to the west of the Tykocin–Drohiczyn–Międzyrzec Podlaski line (see Map 7). Source materials provide many more examples of the adaptation of such names to fit Polish phonetics, whether by substituting the sound *h* with *g*, as can be observed in examples such as *Hornowo* || *Górnowo*, *Horodniany* || *Grodzieńskie*, *Hruszewo* || *Gruszewo*, *Hryniewicze* || *Gryniewicze*, or by using the sound *ch*: *Smoluhy* || *Smoluchy* (present-day *Smolugi*; a derivative of the settlement name *Smoluha*), *Czahy* || *Czachy* (a derivative of the settlement name *Czaha*).

Another Eastern Slavic characteristic that is bountifully reflected in sixteenth-century toponymic sources dedicated to the region of Podlasie is the existence of pleophonic<sup>57</sup> forms. Names like *Hołowienki*, *Hołowiesk* (: appellative *hołowa* = Polish *głowa*), *Horodczyño* (: *horod* = Polish *gród*), *Korowice* (: personal name *Korowa*, Polish *Krowa*; present-day *Kurowice*), *Mołoczki*, *Woronie* (: personal name *Worona*, Polish *Wrona*), similarly to the toponyms discussed earlier, were present both in the sixteenth and in modern times, mainly in the eastern part of the territory in question, especially within the Bielsk district (see Map 6). However, contrary to names containing the laryngeal spirant *h*, with the exception of two cases (*Horodniany* || *Grodzieńskie*, *Horodzisko* || *Grodzisko*) the source materials reveal no examples of polonization occurring in names containing pleophonies.

An evident Ruthenian influence is the presence of Belarusian and Ukrainian common nouns and anthroponyms that constitute the basis of many place names, such as the aforementioned *Chodory*, *Woronie* or *Korowice*, but also *Bojary* || *Bojarewo* (: *bojar*), *Istok* || *Stok* (derived from the Old Ukrainian *istok*, meaning 'spring', Polish *stok*) or *Kołodzieże* (from the Belarusian *kałodzież*, meaning 'well').

Another lexical testimony of Polish-Ruthenian proximity are composite names containing a part deriving from either the adjective *lacki*, meaning 'Polish' or *ruski* 'Ruthenian'. Apart from the conjunctive pairs of neighbouring villages, such as *Boratyniec Lacki* – *Boratyniec Ruski*, *Jabłonna Lacka* – *Jabłonna Ruska*, *Skwierczyn Lacki* – *Skwierczyn Ruski*, *Twarogi Lackie* – *Twarogi Ruskie* or those located at a slightly further distance from each other like *Kamianka Lacka* (present-day *Kamianki Lackie*) : *Kamianka Ruska* (present-day *Kamianka*), in the sixteenth century there are records of the following settlements: *Milkowicze Ruskie* (present-day *Milkowice-Mački*) and *Sawicze Ruskie* (present-day *Sawice-Wieś*). All of the mentioned settlements were located in the Western part of the Drohiczyn district,<sup>58</sup> that is to say within the border territories of the Mazovian and Ruthenian settlement.

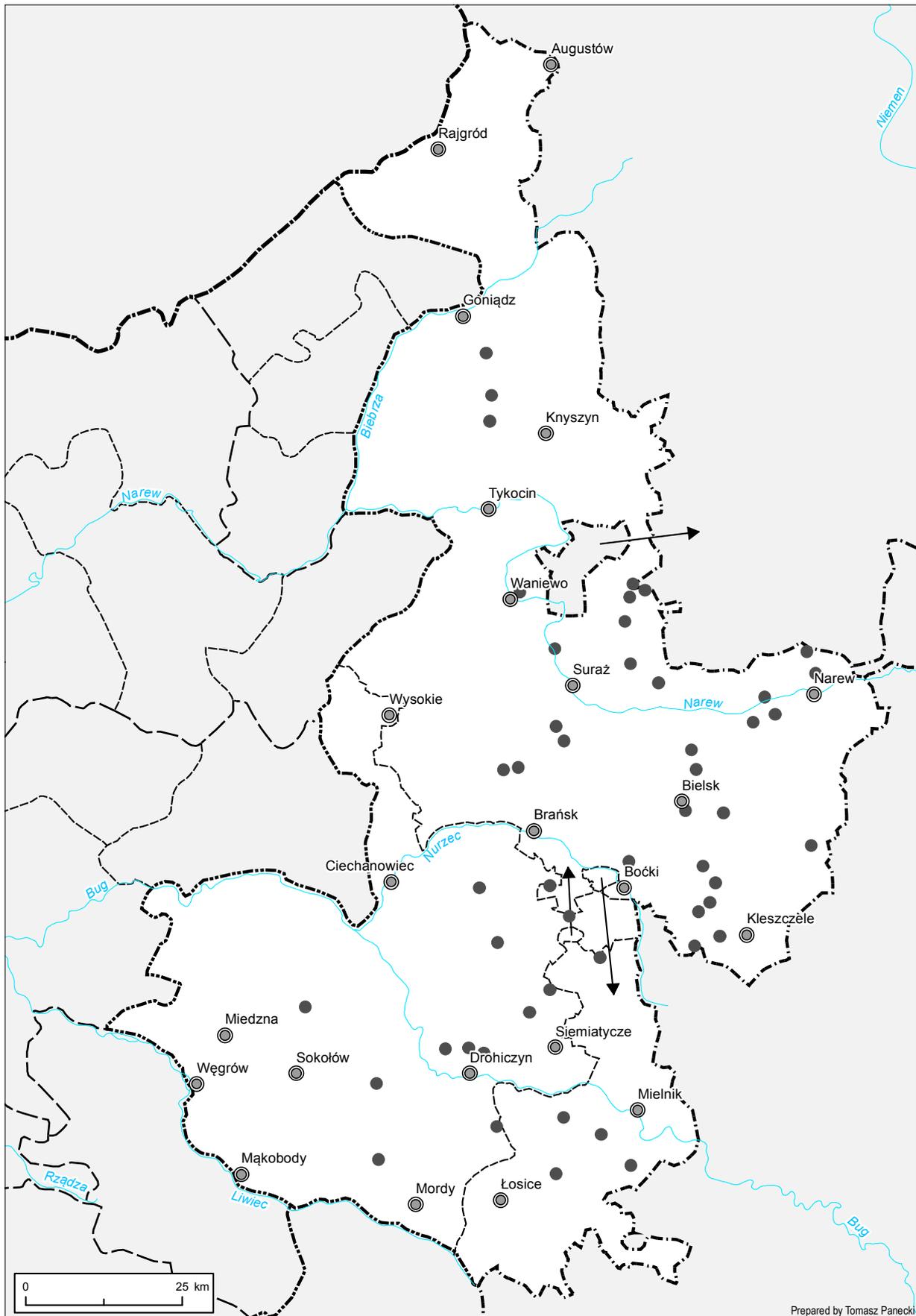
The nomenclature containing Baltic influences has been, as was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, covered in an extensive monograph by Michał Kondratiuk. The highest density of Baltic (mainly Lithuanian) influenced names can be found, according to the author, in the area between the Rivers Narew and Supraśl, the majority of Lithuanian-sounding settlements were founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>59</sup> This researcher has uncovered a total of 176 place names (both current and ones no longer in existence) containing Baltic influences in the territories belonging to the

<sup>56</sup> Kondratiuk, pp. 269–277.

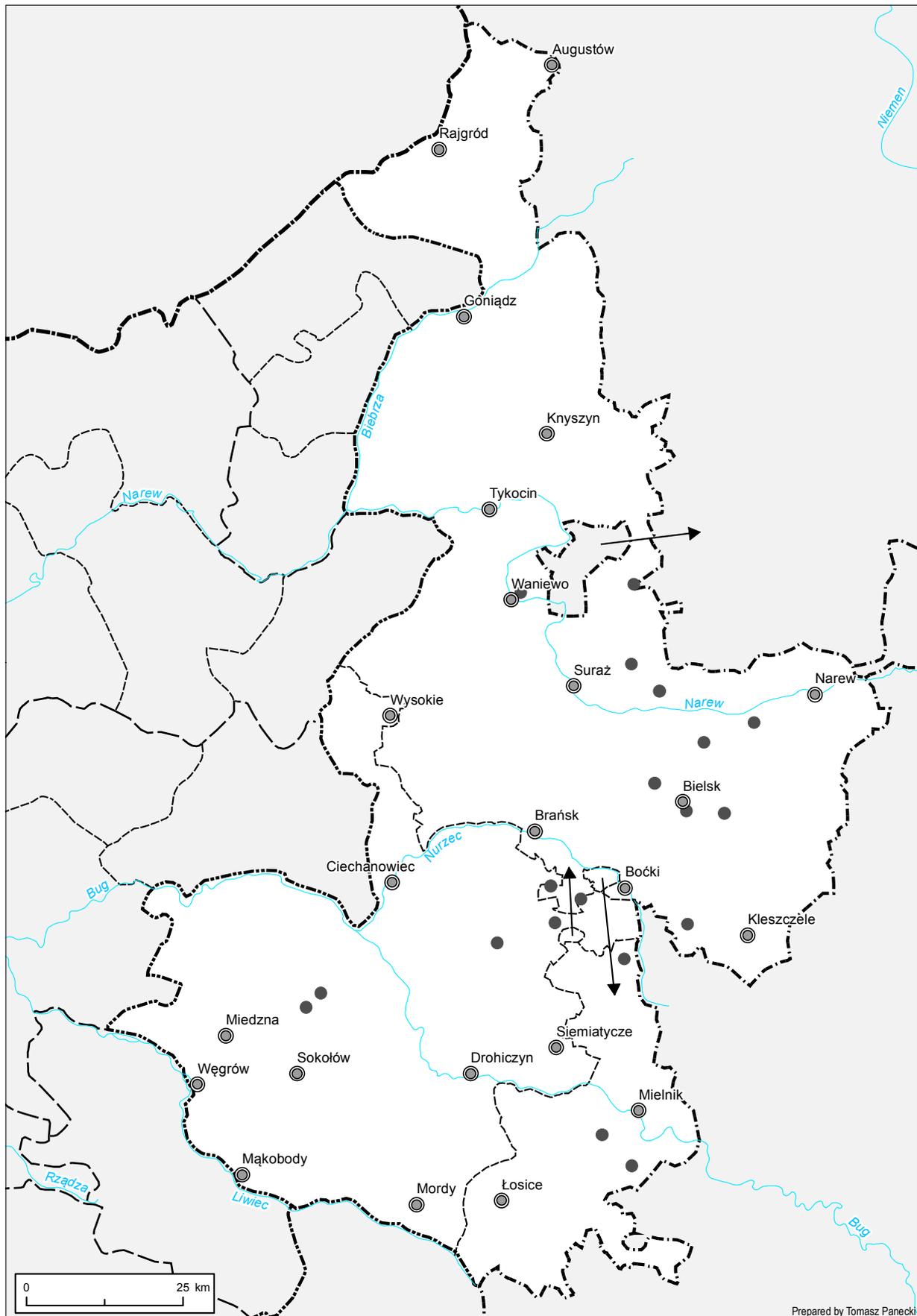
<sup>57</sup> The phenomenon of full vowels articulation typical for Eastern Slavonic languages involves the realisation of the proto-Slavonic group of *\*TorT*, *\*TolT*, *\*TerT*, *\*TelT* (where *T* represents a consonant) as *ToroT*, *ToloT*, *TereT*, *ToloT*, while in Polish it finds its realisation as *TroT*, *TloT*, *TreT*, *TleT*, cf. for example proto-Slavonic *\*gordъ* > Polish *gród*, Russian. *город*, *\*bolto* > Polish *bloto*, Russian *болото*, *\*dervo* > Polish *drzewo*, Russian *дерево*, *\*melko* > Polish *mleko*, Russian *молоко*.

<sup>58</sup> With the exception of *Boratyniec Lacki*, lying in the Mielnik district, yet here right on the border with the Drohiczyn district, beyond which lies *Boratyniec Ruski*.

<sup>59</sup> Kondratiuk, p. 277.



Map 7. Distribution of place names containing the sound *h* (< \**g*)



**Map 8. Distribution of place names containing pleophonies**

old Białystok Voivodeship (within its 1975 boundaries), a couple of which were located in the perimeter of the Podlasie Voivodeship, which is the focal point of our research. Their identification unfortunately is made more difficult by the fact that these names in a Slavic setting were Polonized or adapted to Belarusian fairly quickly, which is why this volume of the AHP does not feature any purely Lithuanian nomenclature with the provenance of all the existing names only possible to be uncovered following thorough philological analysis. The cores of many of the names in question contain Lithuanian appellatives and personal names,<sup>60</sup> as is the case with the following names: *Klewianka* (taken from the river bearing the same name, derived from the Lithuanian *klėvas*, meaning ‘maple’, *klevinis* ‘maple-like’),<sup>61</sup> or the earlier mentioned family toponyms of *Ciekuny*, *Jaświły* and *Romejki*. The last of the mentioned names, alongside toponyms such as *Romejki*, *Rumiejki*, *Lubiejki* (which can be encountered exclusively on the eastern and northern borders of Podlasie), belongs to a group of Lithuanian-derived names containing the element *-ejki*, which could have acted as a substitute for the Lithuanian endings *-eikai*, *-eikos* or been a result of the pluralisation of Lithuanian anthroponyms bearing the suffixes *-eikis*, *-eika*.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, certain names ending in *-ele* (: from the Lithuanian *-eliai*), cf. *Hredele* (present-day *Gredele*), *-ule* (: from the Lithuanian *-uliai*), cf. *Dzidziule* (present-day *Dydule*), *Oks(z)tule*, or *-uny* (*Ciekuny*) reveal their Lithuanian roots,<sup>63</sup> however all attempts at interpreting other, similarly-sounding names as Lithuanian in provenance should be done with a great deal of caution. Similar sounding suffixes could equally have Slavic origins, so the determination of a name or a name fragment’s linguistic origin should be conducted with caution and on a case-to-case basis.

The matters discussed in the above refer to a small sample of the nomenclature present in Podlasie and in no way constitute a full a comprehensive examination of this extensive topic. As was mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this text is not to attaining a complex description of sixteenth-century toponymy in the region of Podlasie, but rather to showcase its most characteristic traits (while taking into consideration the spatial distribution of selected name types) in the context of the extra-linguistic factors that directed their course and shape – a process still visible in many place names today. It is imperative to make a few more remarks in reference to the method of transforming source materials for the use of this volume of AHP. The principal name which has been marked on the map and constitutes the principal headword in the List, was chosen on the basis of its frequency of use, that is to say the form that appeared most frequently in sources from the second half of the sixteenth century. Exceptions to this rule occurred occasionally when the settlement in question was one belonging to a noble’s environs. This was the course of action taken in the case of the village *Długa Dąbrowa-Cherubiny* – though this settlement does not appear under this name configuration (appearing six times as *Cherubiny*, once as *Długodąbrowa-Cherubiny*) in any records, for the purpose of clarity the main name of this village was adjusted to match the names of other villages situated within the environs of Długa Dąbrowa (also known as Długodąbrowa). In a case where several alternant names appear for a single settlement with the self-same frequency, then the principal name is deemed that form which has appeared in the sources before the second half of the sixteenth century or that which has stabilised after this period.

Alternative names of settlements (variants) have been placed by the List headwords in brackets, adjacent to the principal name, simultaneously acting as the titles of referential headwords. Present-day forms, if different to the principal ones used in the sixteenth century, have been presented in italics.

It is important to mention the manner in which names were marked on the maps and in the List. Due to the fact that the literate quality of sixteenth-century documents was inconsistent (characterised by the interchangeable use of many characters and their variants) it has not always been entirely possible to ascertain the proper name of the settlement in question. In cases of ambiguity, two or more functional forms have been recorded. For example, the headword *Ciszewo* features the variant *Czyżewo*, as alongside the forms <*Cziszewo*> and <*Ciszewo*>, which verify both the historically principal and the

<sup>60</sup> It follows here to have in mind that many names of places in which there is clearly visible a Baltic element were created from Lithuanian words or the personal names adopted earlier into Polish or Belarusian and which *de facto* founded place names already as words independently functioning within these languages.

<sup>61</sup> M. Kondratiuk, *Elementy bałtyckie*, pp. 27, 42. It follows to note though that the names *Romejki*, *Romiejki* could have as equally well been created from the Polonized personal names *Romejko*, *Romiejko*; NMPol, vol. 11, p. 73.

<sup>62</sup> M. Kondratiuk, *Elementy bałtyckie*, p. 205.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 203–204.

present-day place name, there exist a handful of recorded instances of the use of the form <Czyzewo> (the character <sz> used in the previous form was also often used to illustrate the /ż/ sound). Similarly, in the case of the village of *Biszewo* the variant *Byszewo* has been included— alongside forms containing the onset (anlaut) *Bi-* (such as <*Biszjewo*>, <*Biszewo*>) there existed forms containing the grapheme *y* (e.g. <*z Byszewa*>, <*Byssewo*> in 1588), which could have equally represented the phoneme /i/ or /y/.

In the case of the aforementioned patronymics ending in *-icze* (a typical form for this region of Poland) and *-ice*, the notation containing *c* was used only in those cases where written sources confirmed its usage in such a form. For example, the village of *Chrołowice* was recorded simultaneously as <*Chrołowicze*>, <*Chroliowicze*>, as well as <*Chrołowice*>, <*Chrołowice*>, which implies that it could have operated under the form *Chrołowice* (in which case <*-icze*> should be interpreted and read as /-ice/) and the possible variant form of *Chrołowicze*. On the other hand, the village of *Dubicze Cerkiewne* in the sixteenth century, as later (as equally today) has been consistently recorded as <*Dubicze*> (see also the locative form <w *Dubiczach*> from 1532), which excludes any possibility of interpreting <*-icze*> as /-ice/. An additional pointer favouring the form with *-icze* was the joint coincidental appearance within the source material of forms with *-iczy* (cf. <*Padkowiczi*> 1567, <*Pathkowicze*> 1577, <*Padkowicze*> 1588).

Similarly to the conjugated names featured in previous volumes of the AHP series that relate to villages included within the scope of noble estates, the individual components have been written down in accordance with contemporary orthography (e.g. *Dmochy-Rogale*, *Dmochy-Rozumy*). However, it is important to note that historical sources do not adhere to this manner of presentation (e.g. *Dmochy Rogale* 1569, *Dmochi Rogalie* 1580 etc.).

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

### III.4.9b ROYAL PRUSSIA

*Paweł Swoboda*

The study of the names of the lands of Royal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century, which is the focus of the present volume of the AHP, has largely been completed in the past. The series 'Pomorskie Monografie Toponomastyczne' (PMT), featured monographic studies of the former areas (usually referring to the borders from the 1970s) of the districts of Kościerzyna, Puck, Malbork, Sztum and Kwidzyn (Powiśle Gdańskie), Gdańsk and Tczew, Starogard, Świecie, Bytów, Wejherowo, and Tuchola.<sup>1</sup> This series featured also works devoted to individual derivational forms distinguishable in the study of the names of Gdańsk Pomerania: names with the suffix *-ov-* were investigated by U. Kęsikowa,<sup>2</sup> while I. Łuczyńska dealt with forms using the suffix *-in*.<sup>3</sup> The remaining derivational forms (names with *-ec*, *-ica*, *\*-jb*, *-bn-*, *\*-bšk-*, names such as *Podlas*, *Międzyłęże*) were presented in separate articles in an extensive cycle by H. Górniewicz.<sup>4</sup> This scholar left also numerous works which discussed the linguistic origins or Polish-German-Prussian interferences in the place names of Pomerania and Powiśle Gdańskie.<sup>5</sup> Patronymic names were the object of study of B. Siciński.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Breza, *Toponimia powiatu kościerskiego*, Gdańsk 1974, PMT no. 1; J. Treder, *Toponimia byłego powiatu puckiego*, Gdańsk 1977, PMT no. 3; H. Górniewicz, *Toponimia Powiśla Gdańskiego*, Gdańsk 1980, PMT no. 4; H. Bugalska, *Toponimia byłych powiatów gdańskiego i tczewskiego*, Wrocław 1985, PMT no. 6; H. Górniewicz, *Toponimia powiatu starogardzkiego*, Wrocław 1985, PMT no. 7; E. Jakus-Borkowa, *Toponimia powiatu świeckiego*, Wrocław 1987, PMT no. 8; G. Surma, *Toponimia powiatu bytowskiego*, Wrocław 1990, PMT no. 9; J. Treder, *Toponimia powiatu wejherowskiego*, Gdańsk 1997, PMT no. 14. Gdańsk 1997; M. Milewska, *Toponimia powiatu tucholskiego*, Gdańsk 2000, PMT no. 15.

<sup>2</sup> U. Kęsikowa, *Nazwy geograficzne Pomorza Gdańskiego z sufiksem -ov-*, Gdańsk 1976, PMT no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> J. Łuszczzyńska, *Nazwy geograficzne Pomorza Gdańskiego z sufiksem -in*, Wrocław 1983, PMT no. 5.

<sup>4</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Ze studiów nad toponomastyką Pomorza Gdańskiego*. 3. *Nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -ica i jego pochodnymi*, „Prace Filologiczne”, vol. 24, 1973, pp. 53–95; idem, *Ze studiów nad toponomastyką Pomorza Gdańskiego*. 2. *Nazwy terenowe i wodne z sufiksem -ec i jego pochodnymi*, „Slavia Occidentalis”, vol. 31, 1974, pp. 13–33; idem, *Ze studiów nad toponomastyką Pomorza Gdańskiego*. 1. *Nazwy miejscowe z sufiksem -ec i jego pochodnymi*, „Gdańskie Studia Językoznawcze”, [vol 1], 1975, pp. 5–61; idem, *Ze studiów nad toponomastyką Pomorza Gdańskiego*. 4. *Nazwy terenowe i wodne z sufiksem -ica i jego pochodnymi*, part 1, „Onomastica”, vol. 20, 1975, pp. 35–78; idem, *Ze studiów nad toponomastyką Pomorza Gdańskiego*. 4. *Nazwy terenowe i wodne z sufiksem -ica*, part 2, „Onomastica”, vol. 21, 1976, pp. 75–106; idem, *Nazwy geograficzne z formantem -jb na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, „Sprawozdania Gdańskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego”, vol. 2, 1976 pp. 138–139; H. Górniewicz, H. Olewniczak, *Nazwy geograficzne Pomorza Gdańskiego z formantem -bn-*, „Gdańskie Studia Językoznawcze”, vol. 2, 1978, pp. 37–83; H. Górniewicz, *Ze studiów nad toponomastyką Pomorza Gdańskiego*. 5. *Wyniki badań nad pomorskimi nazwami geograficznymi z sufiksem -ec i -ica*, „Onomastica”, vol. 24, 1979, pp. 45–74; idem, *Nazwy geograficzne Pomorza Gdańskiego z formantem -bšk-*, „Gdańskie Studia Językoznawcze”, vol. 3, 1983, pp. 75–99; idem, *Nazwy geograficzne Pomorza Gdańskiego typu Międzyłęże, Zajezierze*, „Onomastica”, vol. 31, 1986, pp. 23–39; idem, *Nazwy geograficzne Pomorza Gdańskiego typu Podlas, Przybrody*, „Onomastica”, vol. 32, 1988, pp. 55–63.

<sup>5</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Die deutsche Substitution des Phonems c in einigen Ortsnamentypen des Gebietes von Pomorze Gdańskie und mit ihr verbundene ungenaue Resubstitutionen*, „Onomastica Slavogermanica”, vol. 7, 1973, pp. 137–160; idem, *Niemieckie substytucje polskich i pruskich nazw miejscowych przy pomocy członów złożeniowych typu -dorf, -see na Powiślu Gdańskim*, „Onomastica Slavogermanica”, vol. 8, 1973, pp. 89–100; idem, *Rodzaje zniemczenia polskich nazw miejscowych na Powiślu Gdańskim*, „Onomastica Slavogermanica”, vol. 10, 1976, pp. 83–95; idem, *Sposoby polszczenia obcych nazw miejscowych na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, „Sprawozdania Gdańskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego”, vol. 2, 1976, pp. 59–61; idem, *Nazwy geograficzne pruskie i polskie od pruskich podstaw słowotwórczych na zachód od dolnej Wisły*, „Gdańskie Studia Językoznawcze”, vol. 2, 1978, pp. 19–35; idem, *Staropruskie nazwy wodne na Powiślu Gdańskim*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 13, 1980, pp. 25–35.

<sup>6</sup> B. Siciński, *Patronimiczne nazwy miejscowe na Pomorzu*, „Onomastica Slavogermanica”, vol. 7, 1973, pp. 43–83.

More recently, A. Chłudziński has published monographic studies into the toponomastics of the present-day districts of Gdańsk (with the capital town Pruszcz Gdański) and Nowy Dwór,<sup>7</sup> which fill in the gaps in the aforesaid PMT series.

As shown by the list above, the names of the area of the sixteenth century voivodeships of Pomerania and Malbork – with rare exceptions, such as the districts of Chojnice, Człuchów, Kartuzy,<sup>8</sup> or the vicinity of Elbląg – have been investigated comprehensively. The situation is less favourable with it comes to the Chełmno Voivodeship. The geographic names from this area were subjected to analysis in a selection of works devoted to some issues in the Polish toponymy in general, or names of Prussian origin;<sup>9</sup> names of individual settlements were also studied in entries of the dictionary *Nazwy miejscowe Polski*,<sup>10</sup> but we are lacking a more recent monographic study or even articles which would focus exclusively on the names in this area. The only elaboration in this respect is still, it appears, the nineteenth century work by W. Kętrzyński on the Polish population in the former Teutonic Prussia, which covers the Polish populations of the lands of Chełmno and Lubawa, addressing the topic of place names in quite a detailed manner.<sup>11</sup> The scholars' lack of interest in the study of the names of this area can be related, among other things, to the problems posed by its analysis, because like the whole area of Royal Prussia, it is linguistically non-homogeneous (reflecting its former non-homogeneous ethnic structure), making it necessary for the scholar to have an equal background in Slavonic, Germanic and Baltic studies.

One characteristic feature of the names in Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century is their bilingualism – there were Polish and German names functioning simultaneously, often in relation to the very same object. And there is even more because the toponomastic complexity of this region is further reinforced by the chronologically diverse build-up of Slavonic, (Old-) Prussian and German names, which – apart from their internal dialectal differentiations – also interfered with each other, giving rise to numerous substitutive names. In this commentary, I shall focus mainly on this aspect of the toponymy of the sixteenth century Royal Prussia.

Although during the Roman period as well as the early Middle Ages, all of the lands which we are interested in in the present study were inhabited by Slavonic tribes – as scholars of history and onomastics unanimously claim – the expansion of the Baltic Prussians into the Pomesania region started already in the fifth century to stop only at the verge of the eleventh century, or a bit later, supposedly at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth century, at the Vistula line, thus covering the entire Powiśle Gdańskie.<sup>12</sup> One obvious consequence of the presence of Prussians was the appearance of Prussian names next to Slavonic toponyms. It was also not uncommon for the Slavonic names (and people) to get Pruthenised; this also happened the other way round – Prussian names were adapted in the Polish and German language systems. Until the sixteenth century, the Prussian names were only preserved in German or Polish substitutive forms.

The broader appearance of German names, including Germanised Slavonic and Prussian forms, in the area under discussion is strictly related to the beginning of the activity of the Teutonic Knights, who after location in 1226 in the land of Chełmno, immediately started their conquest of Pomesania and in the early fourteenth century had seized control of the entire Gdańsk Pomerania.<sup>13</sup> According to

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<sup>7</sup> A. Chłudziński, *Nazwy miejscowe powiatu gdańskiego (pruszczańskiego)*, Pruszcz Gdański 2017; idem, *Nazwy miejscowe powiatu nowodworskiego (województwo pomorskie)*, Pruszcz Gdański 2020.

<sup>8</sup> The work entitled “Toponimia byłego powiatu kartuskiego” written in 1981 by K. Makowska under the supervision of H. Górniewicz did not get published, just like the work by M. Michalczyk-Xaxha on the toponymy of the Lębork district, which, however, remains outside the scope of interest of this AHP. When it comes to the Człuchów district, so far there has only been an article published on the local names of the Człuchów commune, see A. Chłudziński, *Nazwy miejscowe gminy Człuchów*, part 1: B–K, [in:] *Ziemia człuchowska – Kaszuby – Pomorze. O dziejach, kulturze i ludziach. Materiały z sesji 8–9 IX 2006 r.*, ed. C. Obracht-Prondzyński. Człuchów–Gdańsk 2007, pp. 261–288.

<sup>9</sup> G. Gerullis, *Die altpreußischen Ortsnamen*, Berlin–Leipzig 1922.

<sup>10</sup> *Nazwy miejscowe Polski. Historia – pochodzenie – zmiany*, vol. 1–15, ed. K. Rymut, B. Czopek-Kopciuch, U. Bijak, Cracow 1996–2018.

<sup>11</sup> W. Kętrzyński, *O ludności polskiej w Prusiech niegdyś krzyżackich*, Lwów 1882, pp. 54–177.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. Powierski, *Pomezania*, [in:] *Prussica. Artykuły wybrane z lat 1965–1995*, vol. 1, Malbork 2004, pp. 119–121 (reprint of the article in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 4, 1970, p. 220); H. Górniewicz, *Próba rekonstrukcji pradziejów osadnictwa na Powiślu Gdańskim w świetle nazewnictwa*, „Onomastica”, vol. 23, 1978, pp. 47–61.

<sup>13</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Wstęp toponomastyczny*, [in:] *Nazwy miast Pomorza Gdańskiego*, ed. H. Górniewicz, Z. Brocki, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk 1978.

H. Górniewicz, inside the conquered territories, the Teutonic Order state gave land mainly to German knights, who were followed by German peasants. The ones who settled in the southern part of the future Royal Prussia came in majority from regions in which the Middle High German language was spoken; the ones who ultimately settled in the northern part, on the other hand, spoke instead the Middle Low German language, which is the source of one of the particular difficulties when investigating German substitutions of the Polish and Prussian names.<sup>14</sup> Be that as it may, the Teutonic Knights gave land not only to Germans but also to the conquered Poles and Prussians, which led to the extension of Prussian names or names with Prussian elements outside the area of the previous Prussian settlements. The appearance of names of Prussian origin to the west of the Vistula line can also be related to the fact that in the second half of the thirteenth century, small numbers of Prussian knights left Pomesania, seeking refuge from the Teutonic Knights with the Polish dukes in the area of Gdańsk Pomerania.<sup>15</sup>

Map 1 shows the names inside the territory of the sixteenth century Royal Prussia which are believed to be genetically Prussian, in accordance with the H. Górniewicz's<sup>16</sup> division into: 1) (Old-) Prussian names (i.e. names with a Prussian stem and morphology), 2) names derived from Prussian stems (mainly personal names), but using the morphology of Polish or German, and 3) names directly or indirectly related to the ethnonym *Prus* [*Prussia*, *Prussian*], which can (but need not) give us some hints as to the range of the Prussian settlements.

Clearly, the vast majority of the original Prussian names occur in the area of the Malbork Voivodeship, in the land of Lubawa and in the area between Grudziądz and Łasin, i.e., in the areas inhabited by the Prussian population already before the Teutonic conquest. These include, for example, names of settlements in the Malbork Voivodeship: *Kikojty*, originally Prussian *\*Kikoitai* (*Kykoiten* 1398–99) < Prussian personal name *Kikaitis*; *Labuń*, originally *\*Labūns* (*Labune*, *Labun* approx. 1399) equal to the personal name derived from the Prussian *labs* 'good' with the affix *-ūn-*; *Sztum*, Prussian *\*Stumis* // *\*Stume*, from the Prussian personal name *\*Stumis* (cf. Prutenus *Stumo* filius Grasute 1314); *Telkvice*, Prussian *\*Tūlekoitai*, formerly also *\*Azinūtai* (*Azinithen* ... heredes ipsius *Tul(e)koite* et Bute 1302, *Tulkoyte* 1354), family name derived from the personal name *\*Tūlekoit(i)s* (: Prussian. *tūlan* 'much, many'); as well as names taken over to refer to settlements, such as the Prussian river name *\*Ilawings*, Germanised as *Elwing*, *Elbing*, now *Elbląg* (*Ilfing* 890, *Elbing* 1234), in connection with the Baltic *\*il-* 'black' > place name *Elbląg* (*Elbinc* 1238, in *Elbingo* 1239, de *Elvingo* 1293, *Olbyąq* 1410, *Elbiąq* 1570), or *\*Zirgūns*, now *Dzierzgoń* (*Sirgune* 1234, *Sirgun* 1294), perhaps in connection with the Prussian common noun *zirgis* 'stallion' > place name *Dzierzgoń* (*Dzirzgo* 1410, *Dzyrgon* 1454, *Dzierzgon* 1466, earlier mentioned only under the German name *Christburg*).<sup>17</sup>

To the west of the Vistula line, three names can be considered 'purely' Prussian, and only with caution: *Labunki*, German *Labunken* (one of the interchangeable names of the village Trzcіńsko), Prussian *\*Labūnkai* (*Labunkin*, *Labunekin* 1334, *Labuniken* 1408, *Sczienisko* 1534; *Szczinski* alias *Labunki* 1570) from the personal name *Labūnk(i)s* (see above); *Pomyje*, originally *\*Pameins* (*Pomyn* 1278, *Pomie* 1281) from the personal name *\*Pameins* (the Prussian prefix *pa-* regularly Polonised and Germanised as *po-*); *Wiąg*, Prussian *\*Wings* (*Ibin* 1338, *Ibing* 1414–1438, *Iwing* 1430, *Iwyng*, *Ewigen* 1434, *Iwiąg* 1534, *Viąg* 1565) from the common noun *\*wings* (cf. the Lithuanian word *vingis* 'bend', *vingrūs* 'bending, winding') – in the germanised form *b* used interchangeably with *w* (similarly to *Elwing* : *Elbing*) and *i-* inserted in the word-initial position; *Żuława*, Prussian *\*Sulōwō* (*Solow* 1401, *Solaw* 1414–38, in *maiori Żuława* 1583) from the same stem as in the Lithuanian word *salà*, in the Latvian *sala* 'island' (the name has the same origin as the name of the region *Żuławy Wiślane*).<sup>18</sup> The

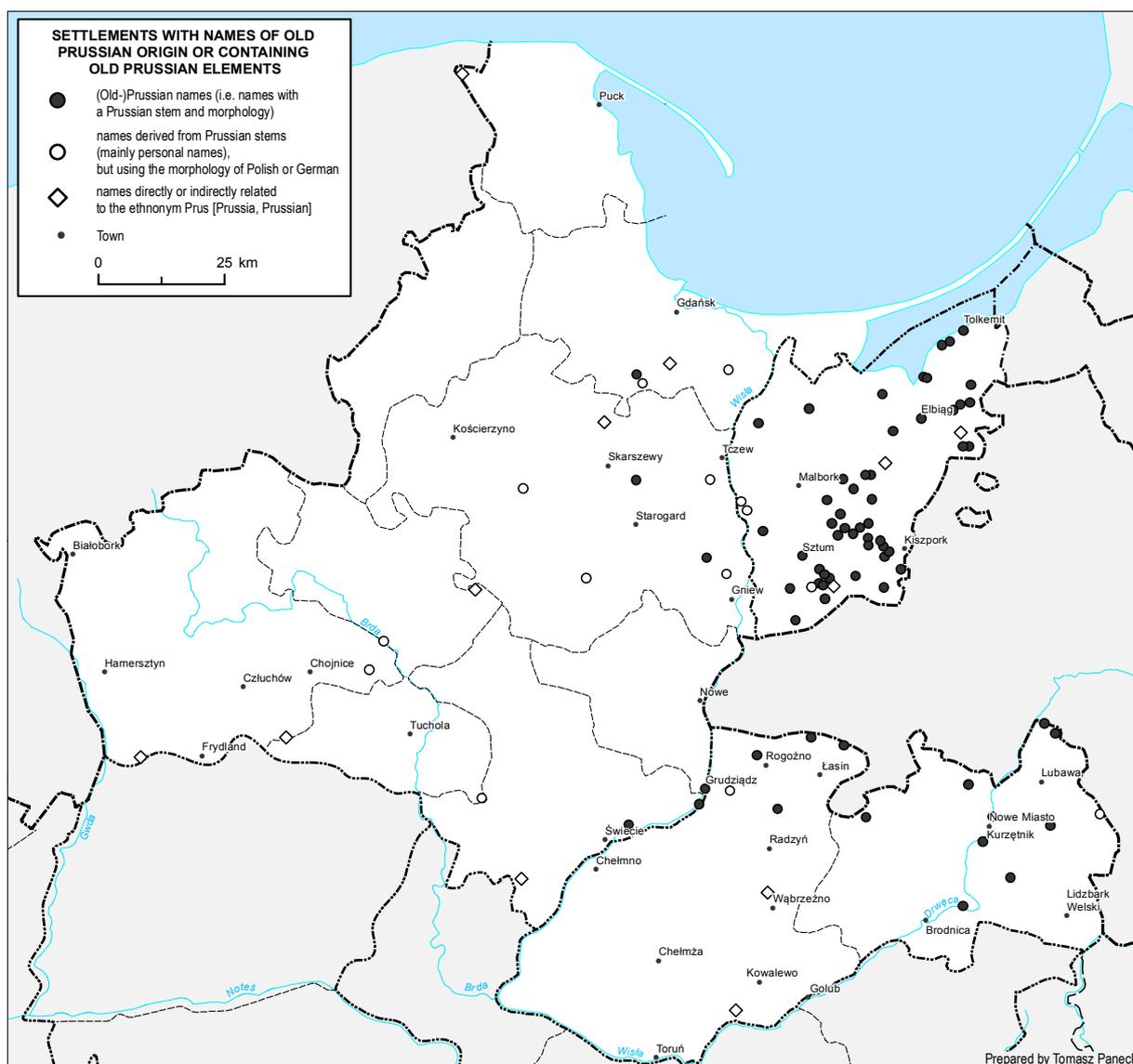
<sup>14</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Toponimia Powiśla Gdańskiego*, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Nazwy geograficzne pruskie i polskie*, p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>17</sup> *Nazwy miast Pomorza Gdańskiego*, pp. 199–205; H. Górniewicz, *Toponimia Powiśla Gdańskiego*, pp. 73, 86, 166, 275.

<sup>18</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Nazwy geograficzne pruskie i polskie*, pp. 21–26; contrary to Górniewicz's suggestion, I do not include the name *Rytel* in this name group, even though he reconstructed the Prussian form *\*Retils*. Here, however, the word refers to the inn called *Retil*, for which a privilege was obtained in 1430 by Merten *Retil* (cf. "wir dem woltechtigen und fromen Merten *Retil*, darzu allen seinen rechten erben und ehelichen nachkommelingen, geben und vorliehen den kretzim *Retil* geheissen", P. Panske, *Urkunden der Komturei Tuchel. Handfesten und Zinsbuch*, Danzig 1911, p. 154, no. 135), so in this case we are dealing, true enough, with the transfer of a personal name of Prussian origin to the inn, but it has nothing to do with Prussian invention of names. One can also doubt the derivation of the original form *\*Labūnkai* from the German substitutive form



**Map 1. Settlements with names of Old Prussian origin or containing Old Prussian elements**

remaining names in the area of the sixteenth century Pomeranian Voivodeship have been derived from Prussian forms using the rules of the Polish morphology (alternatively, German), e.g. *Jadotowo* (now Jagatowo), originally *Jodotowice* (*Jodothowicz* 1414–38, *Iodethowo* 1534, *Jadotaw* 1570), from the Prussian personal name \**Jōdōtis* (cf. *Jodothe* 1276) with the Polish suffix *-owo*; *Trutnowo*, later *Trutnowy* (*Trutenaw* 1334, *Trutenow* 1399, *Trutnaw* 1534, *Trutnowy* 1583), from the Prussian personal name \**Trutnā* or \**Truten(i)s*, with the suffix *-owo*,<sup>19</sup> most likely also *Sprudowo*, now *Szprudowo* (*Sprudoho* 1245, *Sprudowe* 1258, *Sprudow* 1279, *Sprauda* 1534, *Sprudow* 1534, *Sprudowo* 1565).<sup>20</sup>

*Labunken*, because the German *-en* was used for substitution of family names and other plural names – both Prussian and Polish. Górniewicz maintains that the Polish name of this place from the very beginning was exclusively *Trzczińsko* (*Nazwy geograficzne pruskie i polskie*, p. 22), but in another place, he himself quotes the phrase “*Szczinski alias Labunki*” from 1570 (*Toponimia powiatu starogardzkiego*, p. 43), which shows that the Polish name *Labunki* was also in use (although it cannot be excluded that this is a subsequent polonisation of a Germanised Prussian name, so I leave it in the first group).

<sup>19</sup> According to Halina Bugalska (*Nazwy miejscowe byłych powiatów gdańskiego i trzeńskiego*, p. 104), the German *-au*, *-ow* renders the Prussian affix *-āw-*. To support this view, the author refers to the opinion by F. Lorentz, who writes in general that in this case we are dealing with a Prussian name, but says nothing of its derivation (F. Lorentz, *Preußische Ortsnamen und Appellative in Namen im Raum links der unteren Weichsel*, „*Zeitschrift für Slawistik*”, vol. 11, 1966, p. 246).

<sup>20</sup> H. Bugalska, *Toponimia byłych powiatów*, pp. 47, 95, 104; H. Górniewicz, *Nazwy geograficzne pruskie i polskie*, pp. 26–30. It is still debated whether the oeconym stem *Biotowo*, now *Bietowo* (*Byothin*, *Byechyn* 1402–1415, *Biuthowo* 1534,

When it comes to the German names inside the territory of the sixteenth century Royal Prussia, two areas of its dense occurrence can be distinguished, as shown clearly on map 2, marking the settlements which in the period under discussion had a German name (or a name produced by adapting a Polish or a Prussian name). One of them covers the Chełmno Voivodeship, the Malbork Voivodeship and the adjacent eastern part of the Pomeranian Voivodeship, or more specifically the eastern parts of the districts of Gdańsk and Tczew. The second one is contained in the south-western part of the district of Człuchów, as delimited by the line of the Brda on the one side and the borders of Greater Poland and Western Pomerania on the other.

As already mentioned, the origins of the German names in the area under discussion are related to the settlement activities carried out by the Teutonic Order, and the occurrence of the German place names in the sixteenth century in the Chełmno and Malbork Voivodeships as well as in the eastern part of the Pomeranian Voivodeship continues the naming situation from the previous centuries there. The functioning of the German names in the district of Człuchów, on the other hand, should be linked not only to the Teutonic reign, it appears, but also to the influence of the German colonisation from the western direction, affecting, among others, Greater Poland and the Duchy of Pomerania. In the neighbouring Greater Poland, as indicated in the volume of the AHP devoted to that region, German names were clustered largely in Wałcz and Nakło districts, adjacent to Pomerania.<sup>21</sup> The long and intense German colonisation and culture-shaping processes in Western Pomerania, which continued uninterruptedly since the thirteenth century,<sup>22</sup> obviously had an impact on the names at the western reaches of Gdańsk Pomerania.

The number of German names in the sixteenth century in the area between the Brda and the Wierzyca is, on the other hand, very modest. The scarcity of German names which had been used there earlier were Polishised in the period from the fourteenth century to our point of interest, or even totally replaced with Polish ones. To illustrate this case, let us consider the oldest names of villages in the vicinity of Tuchola traced by M. Milewska-Stawiany: *Liebenau* (*Lybenow* 1343), *Schönenberg* (*Schonenberg* 1349) or *Butelersdorf* (1346), which by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been completely replaced with the Polish variants: *Gostycyn(o)*, *Łyskowo* and *Welpin* (*Wołpin*); now, in the Polishised village name *Kaldowo*, mentioned for the first time only in the sixteenth century, we can retrace the unrecorded original name *Kalthof*.<sup>23</sup> The lack of German (or Germanised) names in this area is related not only to the sparse settlement network (these were largely unavailable forest or swamp areas) but generally, the impact of the German language was much weaker inside this belt (which can be seen on the example of the district of Świecie, which at that time was much more densely populated). It should also be remembered that in this area, the Teutonic Knights typically located villages under the German law at the sites of previous Polish villages, and only seldom *in cruda radice*.<sup>24</sup>

In general, some 33% of the settlements in Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century had German or Germanised names. At the same time, it should be noted that map 2 shows also the settlements which in the sixteenth century used an alternative Polish name or whose German name was a substitutive name for a Polish or Prussian one. If we impose a stricter limit by considering only those settlements which in the sixteenth century sources had just a purely German name (see map 3), we will see that the number of such settlements was rather low (slightly above 140) and they were grouped mainly in

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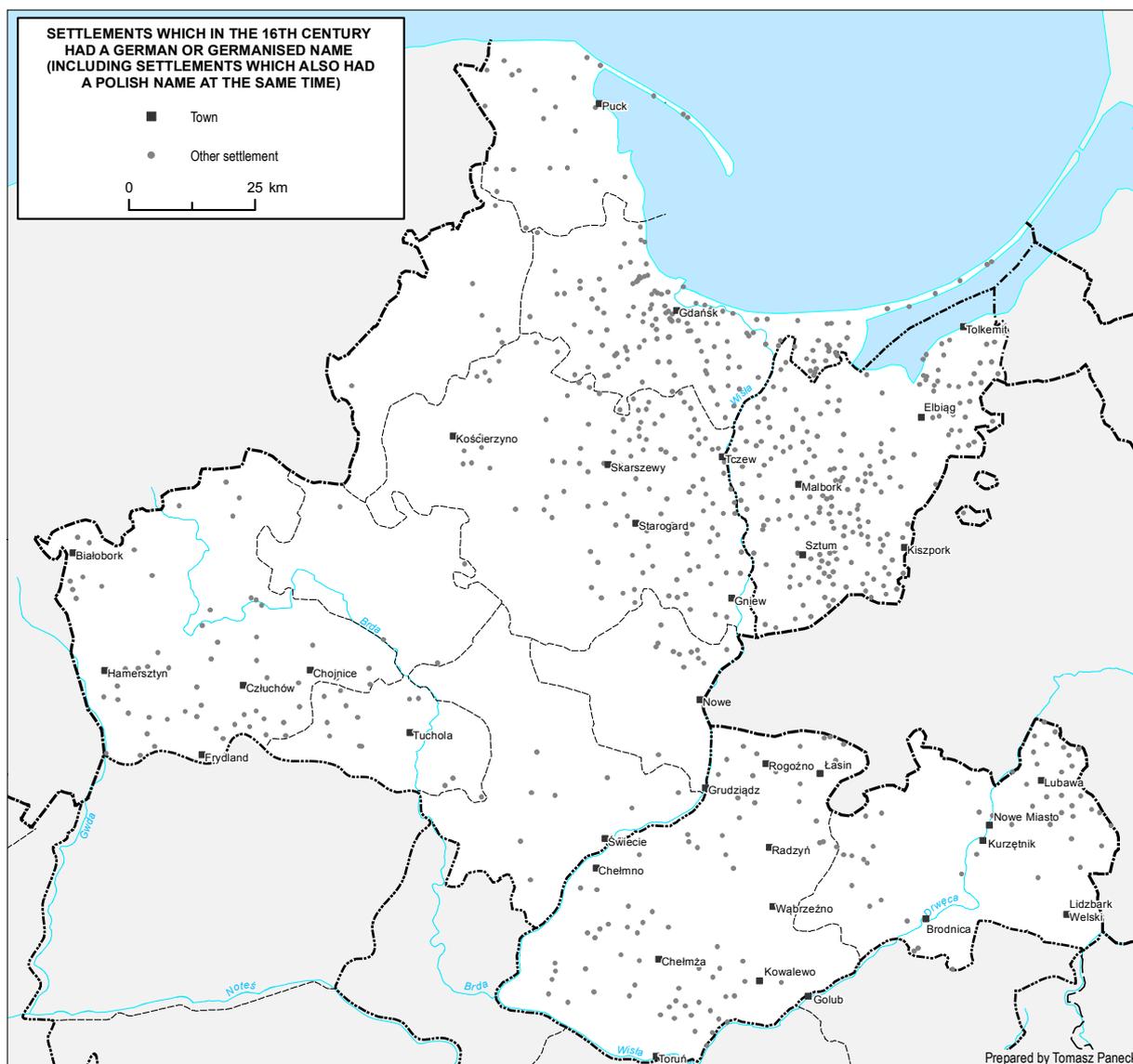
*Biotowo* 1570), in the sixteenth century Tczew district is really of Prussian origin. Górniewicz takes the original form *Bijocin(o)* with the suffix *-in-*, further assuming that the stem is the Prussian personal name *\*Bijōtis* (referring to the formulations of the Prussian anthroponym *Byot*, *Byote*, *Beyotte* cited as German, cf. R. Trautmann, *Die altpreußischen Personennamen*, Göttingen 1974 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), p. 18, and the Lithuanian place name *Bijotai*). This view is not held by W. Makula-Kosek, who is more willing to derive the name from the German anthroponym *Bet*, later Polishised as *Biet*, *Biot* (*Nazwy miejscowe Polski*, vol. 1, pp. 195–196).

<sup>21</sup> P. Swoboda, *Geographic nomenclature*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.4.4.

<sup>22</sup> J.M. Piskorski, *The Medieval Colonization of Central Europe as a Problem of World History and Historiography*, „German History”, vol. 22, 2004, no. 3, p. 338.

<sup>23</sup> An analogous substitution is visible in the case of the village *Kaldowo* near Malbork, cf. *Kaldenhove* 1378, *Kaldenhof* 1412–1420, *Kaldenhouff* 1449, *Caldau* 1510–1529, *Caldow*, folwarku *Caldowa* (literally ‘of the *Caldow* demesne’, the form *Caldowa* resulting from the necessary declension – genitive case), *Caldowo*, w *Kaldowie* (literally, ‘in *Kaldowo*’, the form *Kaldowie* resulting from the necessary declension – locative case) 1565, do *Kaldowa* (literally ‘to *Kaldowo*’, the form *Kaldowa* resulting from the necessary declension – genitive case) 1590 (*Nazwy miejscowe Polski*, vol. 4, p. 274).

<sup>24</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Toponimia powiatu starogardzkiego*, p. 202.

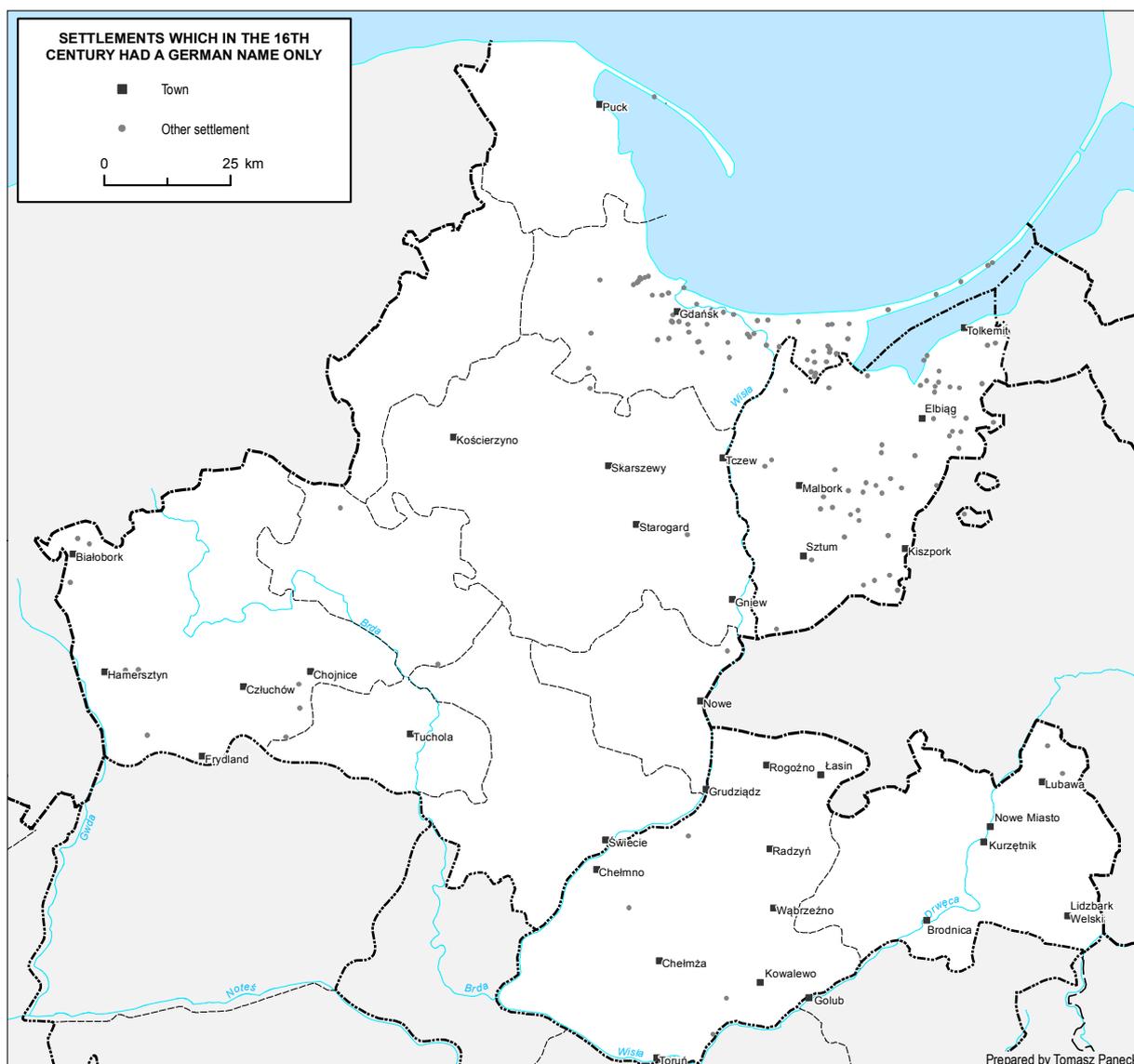


**Map 2. Settlements which in the 16th century had a German or Germanised name (including settlements which also had a Polish name at the same time)**

the eastern part of the Malbork Voivodeship and in the narrow seaside belt stretching from the Vistula Spit to Gdańsk. These constitute 6.5% of all the settlements covered in this volume of AHP.

The most characteristic type of word formation among the German toponyms are compound names, and this applies equally to toponyms of various semantic categories – topographical, cultural or possessive (usually, personal) ones. A typical possessive name is composed according to the pattern *anthroponym + identificatory element*, which often (but not always, see below) identifies the nature of the object named, e.g. *Dietrichsdorf*, *Ernsttal*, *Hansfeld*, *Lobeckshof*, *Petershagen*, *Schusterkrug*, *Thomaswalde*, in each of which the first element comes most likely from the name of the settler,<sup>25</sup> while each of the second elements is derived from such words as: *Dorf* ‘village’, *T(h)al* ‘valley’, *Feld* ‘field’, *Hof* ‘mansion’, *Hagen* ‘fenced area’, but also ‘thicket’, *Krug* ‘inn’, *Wald* ‘forest’. These elements

<sup>25</sup> At this place, it should be mentioned that inside this and other areas formerly occupied by the Teutonic Knights, the names which in the anthroponymic part contain the element *Marie* usually carry cultural importance and make a reference to the patron of the order, the full name of which is The Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem. Inside the territory of Royal Prussia in the sixteenth century, such names included *Marienburg* (now Malbork), *Marienuw* (now Marynowy), *Mariensfeld* (now Mszano) or *Mariensee* (now Przywidz). The neighbouring town of Kwidzyn was also renamed *Marienerwerder* by the Teutonic Knights. This group of toponyms includes also such ones as *Jungfer* (Junkrowy) and *Jungferberg* (Marzęcino), deriving from the German *Jungfer*, *Jungfrau* – maiden, virgin (referring to Virgin Mary).



**Map 3. Settlements which in the 16th century had a German name only**

(-dorf, -feld(e), etc.), however, do not necessarily carry a real semantic value in this case. According to A. Bach, in the area of the eastern colonisation, they often served a purely structural function, so in reality, they can be ascribed one common meaning of ‘settlement’.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, topographic names typically consist of two elements, an adjectival and a nominal one, for example, *Grünhain* (literally ‘green grove’), *Kahlberg* (‘bald hill’), *Rehwalde* (‘roe deer wood’), *Schönwalde* (‘beautiful forest’), *Steinborn* (‘stone spring’), *Reichenfeld* (‘rich, fertile field’); less common were single-element names, such as *Bruch* (‘swamp, mud’), *Linde* (‘lime tree’). Many such names can reflect the natural conditions at that time,<sup>27</sup> but in some cases, the relationship between their meaning and the real features of the settlement or its location should also be treated as a hypothetical one – especially with names containing positive judgements (e.g. referring to the landscape, soil fertility), such as the aforementioned *Schönwalde* or *Reichenfeld*, which in the period of colonisation could function as an advertisement of sorts, encouraging newcomers from the far German lands to settle there.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> A. Bach, *Deutsche Namenkunde*, vol. 2: *Die deutschen Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1953, p. 255.

<sup>27</sup> For example, the village name *Buchwalde* (*Buchwalde* 1378; now Bukowo, to the north-east of Sztum) was coined after the name of a forest, cf. *silvam Buchwald*, meaning literally ‘beech forest’ (*Nazwy miejscowe Polski*, vol. 1, p. 455).

<sup>28</sup> On such practices in the Czech Silesia region, see J. David, *Paměť města – názvy míst. Havířov*, Ostrava 2012, p. 27.

Definitely, some of the German toponyms in Pomerania can also be names transferred from the places of origin of close-knit groups of settlers.

Apart from the genetically German names, the collected source material also contains a vast number of Germanised forms of Slavonic or Prussian names which became popular and were commonly used. The substitutive forms can be divided into several groups according to the type of changes which affected the original name, i.e., phonetic changes, phonetic-derivational changes and calques.<sup>29</sup> Phonetic substitutions consist in the adjustment to the phonetics of the target language without engaging word derivation mechanisms and without visible consequences to the toponymic-derivational system, e.g., Polish *Kołoząb* > *Kalsam*, *Kolsam*; *Pluskowąsy* > *Plauskewantz*; *Sobowidz* > *Sobowitz*; *Wocław* > *Wotzlaff*; Prussian *\*Daubels* > *Daubel*; *\*Pasulōwō* > *Posilge*.<sup>30</sup> Phonetic-derivational substitutions consist of adding a subsequent derivational affix to a phonetic substitute. Both Prussian and Polish family names and other plural (sometimes also singular) names were commonly acquired by adding the plural morpheme *-en*, e.g. Polish *Dębice* > *Dembitzen*; *Krag* > *Krangen*; Prussian *\*Kikoitai* > *Kykoiten*; *\*Mareins* > *Morainen*. Another example of this type of adaptation is the regular change of Polish suffixes: with the basic *c* (*-ica*, *-ice*, *-ec*) > *-itz* (e.g. *Krępiec*, *Krępc* > *Krampitz*; *Prątnica* > *Prantnitz*; *Laskowice* > *Laskowitz*); *-no* > *-en*, *-in* (e.g., *Chełmno* > *Culmen*, *Dzieżno* > *Dzeschen*); *-ewo* // *-owo* > *-au* (e.g. *Kiszewo* > *Kieschau*, *Sarnowo* > *Sarnau*), *-sk-* (also realised as *-dzk-*, *-ck-*) > *-zig* (*Puck* > *Pautzig*, *Gdańsk* > *Danzig*). In general, any suffix could be replaced with an element such as *-dorf*, *-feld*, *-au* or *-hof* (e.g., *Czyżykowo* > *Cziszkendorf*), although by this, we mean rather the extension of any phonetic substitute with such a compositional element (e.g., Prussian *\*Grenai* > *Grenen* > *Grün(en)feld*). So-called calques consist in establishing a semantic link with the original name, usually through translation (e.g. *Biskupia Góra* : *Bischofberg*, *Czyrwony Dwór* : *Rothof*, *Pucka Wieś* : *Pautzkerdorf*, *Wielka Wieś* : *Grossendorf*).

In the sixteenth century in the whole area of Royal Prussia, the most widely represented names are of Slavonic – Polish – origin, but their geographic distribution is not even. Naturally, the fewest Polish names are recorded in the areas in which we noted the greatest groupings of German names related to more intensive German colonisation. Moreover, many sixteenth century Polish names – even though formally indistinguishable from genetically Polish names – are in fact adaptations of foreign names. A precise description of the mechanisms of substitution, primarily in respect of the acquisition of names from German, can be found in the works cited in the introduction and in the comprehensive monographic study of this issue by B. Czopek-Kopciuch.<sup>31</sup>

When it comes to Polish names, the dominant position is clearly occupied by forms derived using suffixes: *-owo* // *-ewo* (also *-owa*, *-ewa* and in the plural *-owy*, *-ewy*; approximately 500 settlements with such names in total<sup>32</sup>) and *-in(o)* (approx. approximately 230 settlements), which usually marked the possessive function, giving possessive names with an indication of a person, e.g. *Borzęcín* (*Borrentin* 1224; from personal name *Borzęta* + *-in*), *Maćkowo*, from the sixteenth century also *Maćkowy* (*Maczkowo* 1286; from personal name *Maciek* + *-owo*, subsequent pluralisation to *-owy*), *Smażyno* (*Zmasino* 1346; personal name *Smaga* + *-ino*), *Żelistrzewo*, originally *Żelistryjewo* (*Zelystryewo* 1277; from personal name *Żelistryj* + *-ewo*, haplology affecting *-yj-*).

Nearly 33% of all the settlements covered by the present volume of AHP had a name containing one of the aforesaid affixes. It should be remembered, however, that in addition to the numerous originally Polish names, they were also used very often to Polonise German names. This applies to the affix *-owo*, which regularly substituted the original German names, in particular ending with *-au* or *-hof*, but also others, e.g., with *-dorf*. In addition to the aforementioned example of the name *Kaldowo* (< German *Kalthof*), we can consider, e.g., *Elznowo* (now *Olszanowo*) < German *Elsenau* (Middle Low German *else* ‘alder’ + *Au(e)* ‘meadow’), *Ferstnowo*, *Furstenowo* (now *Gwieździn*) < niem. *Fürstenau*

<sup>29</sup> H. Górniewicz, *Rodzaje niemieczenia*, pp. 83–95; idem, *Toponimia Powiśla Gdańskiego*, pp. 301–302.

<sup>30</sup> In the case of Prussian names, phonetic substitutions additionally involve the discarding of the male singular ending *-(i)s* (e.g. *\*Daubels* > *Daubel*) and the replacement of the female endings with a homogeneous *-e*.

<sup>31</sup> B. Czopek-Kopciuch, *Adaptacje niemieckich nazw miejscowych w języku polskim*, Cracow 1995.

<sup>32</sup> It is worth noting that in Pomerania and generally in the northern part of Poland, both in the past and at present, there are almost no names derived using the suffixes *-ów* // *-ew*, which are another grammatical gender variant of names ending with *-owo* // *-ewo*. The forms ending with *-ow* in the source material of this volume of AHP should, in general, be treated as German substitution forms.

(*Vurstenow* 1376, *Furstenaw* 1437, *Chwirstnowy* 1474, *Fersthnowo* 1511/12, *Furstenowo* 1570; from German *Furst*, Middle Low German *vurste*, *vorste* ‘prince’ + *Au*); *Wielbrądowo*, *Wielbłądowo* (now *Wielbrandowo*) < German (*H*)*elbrandsdorf*, from the previous form *Hildebrand(es)dorf* (*Hildenrandesdorff* 1414–38, *Elbranczdorff* 1476, *Wyelblodowo* 1507, *Wielbrądowo* 1534; from German personal name *Hildebrand*), or *Rychnowo* < German *Reichenau* (*Richeno* (1404)1650, *Reichenau* 1414, *Richenau* 1415; Middle High German *rīche*, *rich*, German *reich* ‘rich, fertile’ + *Au*). In the Malbork Voivodeship, apart from the originally Polish names *Jerzewo*, *Orłowo* (*Orlow* 1292) and *Palczewo* (*Palsschow* (1344)1405, *Palczaw* alias *Palczewo* 1565), all names ending with *-owo* in the sixteenth century are substitutions of German names.

The great share of the names ending in *-owo* // *-ewo* and *-in(o)* is further supported by the fact that in terms of productivity, in the studied names the affix *\*-bn-* (continued by the variants *-no*, *-na*, *-ne* for the grammatical genders) is noticeable in some 120 sixteenth century settlements, which makes up only above 5.5% of all the settlement units. This suffix, which is one of the oldest Slavonic affixes, created mainly topographic names; in fact, in many cases, we are dealing with names coined based on names of physiographic objects (mainly lakes and rivers). According to H. Górniewicz and H. Olewniczak, „the Pomeranian typology, productivity and relationship with hydronyms support, in the first place, the affiliation of Pomerania with the fore-fatherland of the Slavs”.<sup>33</sup> In this context, the lack of names ending in *\*-bn-* in the Malbork Voivodeship (with the exception of the village *Trzcian(n)a*) in the sixteenth century is quite telling, especially given that their distribution in the other two voivodeships is even. In some cases, the element *-no* could have appeared later as a result of the adaptation of a foreign name, as in the names *Szonborno*, *Szomborno* (now *Szymborno*) < German *Schönborn* (reinterpretation of the *n* in the morpheme *-born* as a suffix) or *Meldno* // *Melno* < German *Malden*, *Alden* (substitution of *-en* as *-no*); typically, however, the suffix *\*-bn* appears in names which are originally Polish and only later does it get Germanised as *-en* (*Chelmno* > *Culmen*, *Rybno* > *Reyben*, etc.).

The spatial distribution of toponyms with other, less productive Slavonic affixes than *\*-bn-* is similar. From among several dozen names with the continuant suffix *-sk(o)* (e.g., *Bielsk*, *Gdańsk*, *Skąpsk*, *Smogorsk*, *Wąpiersk*, *Kack(o) Komorsko*) and *-ica* (e.g., *Brodnica*, *Brzeźnica*, *Opalenica*, *Pokrzywnica*, *Stężycza*), none has been recorded in the Malbork Voivodeship, while from among the names with the suffix *-ec*, there is only one toponym – *Kościelec*. It would seem that the situation is slightly different when it comes to the names with the affix *-ice* (which most often yields patronymic names), nine of which have been recorded in the Malbork Voivodeship (so we must exclude the name *Dębice*, derived from the personal name *Dębica*); however, five of them are considered substitutions of Prussian names (or their Germanised forms): *Warglewice*, *Barglewice* (now *Barlewice*) < *Warles* 1391, *Wargles* 1394, *Wargelis* 1416, *Wargels*, *Wargils* 1419 (from the Prussian personal name *Wargel*, *\*Wargelis*); *Pierzchowice* < *Parswit*, *Parsowite* fourteenth century, *Parswiten* 1399, *Pers(ch)weiten*, *Parschweiten* sixteenth century; *Telkwice/Tolkwice* < Prussian *\*Tūlekoitai*: *Tulekoyte* 1354, *Tulekoytendorff* 1384, *Tulekoytendorff* 1400, *Talkoyten dorff* 1437 (see above); *Trankwice* < Prussian *\*Trankoitai*: *Trankoitien* 1303, *Trankoten* (1321) fifteenth century, *Trankotin* (1336) fifteenth century, *Trankotin* 1354, *Trankwitz* 1402 (from the Prussian personal name *Trankot*, *Trankoite*, *Trankote* TöppenPP 107), most likely also *Uźnice/Uśnice*, German *Wosnitz*, *Wüsnitz*: *Wuschycz* 1391, *Wossicz* 1399, *Wusitcz* 1422, *Wusenitcz* 1498, *Wusznitz* 1508 (Prussian suffix *-īt-*, cf. also Lithuanian *ušis* ‘thistle’). As for the remaining cases – *Polkowice*, *Watkowice*, *Weklice*, *Leźwice* (previously *Lasowice*) – we are dealing with originally Polish names, however, the chronology of the forms and their substitutive forms can sometimes hinder unanimous conclusions. Obviously, in the remaining two voivodeships, the names ending in *-ice* are often pseudo-patronymic forms too, for example: *Hangowice* and *Jankowice* < German *Henningsdorf*; *Babalice* < German *Paulisdorf*, Low German *Puwilsdorf*, *Pauelsdorf*; *Jarantowice* < *Arnold(i)sdorf*; *Pilewice* < *Philisdorf*, *Pfylesdorf*, *Pfeilsdorf*; *Kończewice* < *Kunzendorf*; *Kulice* < *Kulendorf*; *Mikołajki* < *Niclasdorf*; *Wytramowice* (now *Wytrębowice*) < *Witt(e)ramsdorf*, etc. But there are also old patronymic names, such as *Główczewice*, *Bedzimierowice*, *Szydlice*, *Piechowice*, *Warszewice*, etc. In some cases, it cannot be settled for sure which of the names – Polish, German, or Prussian – was the original one.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> H. Górniewicz, H. Olewniczak, *Nazwy geograficzne Pomorza Gdańskiego z formantem -bn-*, p. 83.

<sup>34</sup> This issue and previously discussed ones have been presented in detail by B. Siciński (*Patronimiczne nazwy miejscowe*, pp. 47–51).

As we could see, the adaptation of foreign names to Polish was as common as to German. The examples presented above covered mainly phonetic-derivational substitutes; in fact, purely phonetic substitutions or as common (if not more). They are characteristic especially of names with elements such as *-wald(e)* > *-wałd*, *wold* // *wold* (e.g. *Ichwald* < *Eichwald*, *Szynwald* < *Schönwalde*, *Pruswold* < *Preuschwald*, *Walkiemwold* < *Falkenwald*), *-berg*, *-burg* > *-bark*, *-bork* (e.g. *Malbork* < *Marienburg*, *Rychembork* < *Reichenberg*, *Szylbark* < *Schiltberg*, *Szonberg*, *Szymbark* < *Schöneberg*), *-see* > *-za*, *-ża*, *-ze* (e.g. *Kromża* < *Krommese*, *Bajerze* < *Bayersee*, *Tamza*, *Tanza* < *Tansee*,<sup>35</sup> *-stein* > *-sztyń* (e.g. *Hamersztyn* < *Hammerstein*, *Blumsztyn* < *Blumstein*, *Lubsztyn* < *Lobstein*), *-wiese* > *-weza* (*Szonweza*, *Szynweza* < *Schönwiese*).

The issues discussed above obviously pertain to just a tiny fragment of the complex problem of the sixteenth century toponymy of Royal Prussia. As indicated above, the aim of this text was to present some characteristic features connected with the linguistic diversity in the history of names. Readers interested in the problems of the toponymy of Gdańsk Pomerania and the land of Chełmno are invited to consult the works listed in the introduction, in which the issues touched upon in this commentary are presented in detail in addition to other problems connected with names in the area under discussion.

Lastly a few remarks have to be made concerning the manner in which the source material for the study of names was treated in this volume of AHP.

All the historical names included in the AHP are transliterated and adjusted to the present-day orthographic rules. The main name which is marked on the map and functions as the entry name in the index has in general been established based on the criterion of the frequency – it is the most frequently used one in the sources for the second half of the sixteenth century, regardless of whether it is in Polish or in German. In the case when several interchangeable names for one settlement were used with a similar frequency, the main one was assumed to be the form which appeared in the sources before the second half of the sixteenth century or the one which got stabilised after that period.

Interchangeable names of settlements (variant names, *odmianki*) have also been placed in the main entries of the list in brackets after the main name; they are also given as reference entries. Contemporary names, if different from the sixteenth century forms, are given in italics in the list.

(2021)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>35</sup> The name *Tanza* is a good example of a resubstitution of a former Slavonic name filtered through German. Its original form, according to H. Górniewicz (*Rodzaje ziemczenia*, pp. 84–85), was \**Sącz*, cf. *Czans*, *Czansz* 1318, *s-* used interchangeably with *ts-*, the nasal *q* rendered as *a*); in the sixteenth century, there was a change *Ts-* > *T-*, perhaps as a result of adideation to *Tanne* ('spruce') with the end-word *-s* getting reinterpreted as *-see* ('See' meaning 'lake'). In the same century, we witness the Polish substitutive forms *Tamza*, *Tanza*. The present-day name *Świerki* refers semantically to the form *Tannsee*, which was used again starting from the eighteenth century. as the German official name.

## III.5 ROADS

### III.5.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Małgorzata Wilska*

The main map of Cracow Voivodeship presents major roads in the area in the sixteenth century. The reconstruction of the road network was based on similar principles as in previous volumes of the Atlas.<sup>1</sup> The source material allowed us to show on an additional map of roads (map 5) those sixteenth century customs houses (in broad understanding, i.e. including places where toll was collected) and those inns, which formed separate single farmstead settlements, situated outside villages and towns (and having their own name). They were not included in previous volumes of the Atlas.

Of all studies on the road network of Cracow Voivodeship, the findings of Bożena Wyrozumska, Andrzej Jureczko, Stefan Weyman (even though his work ends at the fourteenth century) and studies of Jacek Laberschek were particularly valuable.<sup>2</sup>

The information found in sixteenth century written sources was compared with maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Public roads (highways) appear in Latin sources as *via or strata magna, publica, regia, via communis et antiqua, via mercatoria or mercatorum*. These terms applied both to far-reaching trade routes, and more important local routes. The density of road networks is closely related to the development of settlements, towns, and local trade. In Cracow Voivodeship, the road network is particularly dense around Cracow, which was the capital of Poland at the time, and a large town.

There were two types of roads: waterways and land routes, called ‘drogi ziemskie’ in the sixteenth century. In the Middle Ages, the rulers had an exclusive right to mark out new public highways, on which safety was granted. In exchange for safety of passage, traders were not allowed to bypass marked roads. The road obligation was related to the location of customs houses, where payment was collected. When a trader bypassed customs houses, the State lost money. The rulers had also the right to organize transportation on major rivers. In the Middle Ages this was one of the privileges of a duke.<sup>3</sup> In the sixteenth century, towns and land owners were obliged to repair public roads running through their estates. According to the reports of royal inspectors, whose duty it was to control the state of roads in the country, this obligation was often neglected.

The two most important sources for our purpose were the 1564/1565 customs inspection: ‘Myta i cła na wodzie, jako promy, mosty, a na ziemi, jako groble, gaci, burki i naprawowanie dróg miastom i pewnem osobom, abo communitatibus vel collegiis nadane’, and the inspection of roads in Cracow Voivodeship conducted in 1570 and published by B. Wyrozumska.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, the 1570 inspection did not survive intact, and – according to B. Wyrozumska – it lacks information about some 20–25% of roads in Cracow Voivodeship. We do not know, whether this was a result of some oversight of the inspectors,

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<sup>1</sup> See chapters [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7; AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2; AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.5.5.

<sup>2</sup> S. Weymann, *Ćła i drogi handlowe w Polsce Piastowskiej*, Poznań 1938; B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI w.*, Wrocław–Cracow 1977; A. Jureczko, *Średniowieczne mosty i przewozy na górnej Wiśle*, [in:] *Studia i materiały z dziejów osadnictwa i gospodarki górnej Wisły w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, ed. F. Kiryk, Warsaw 1990; J. Laberschek, *Rozwój osadnictwa w powiecie lełowskim w średniowieczu*, Cracow 1989, MS; idem, *Krakowski zespół osadniczy w wiekach XIII–XVI. Rozwój terytorialny*, RK, vol. 71, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> P. Dąbkowski, *Przewóz wodny. Studium z historii prawa polskiego*, „Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny”, vol. 57, 1914, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565; LDK.

who did not describe the roads at all, or whether there are pages missing from the surviving copy. The missing information pertains mostly to the southern part of the voivodeship. In general, the inspectors controlled public roads, and the selection of described roads did not always consist of the most important highways. Even though, all connections recorded in the inspection were included in our road network. In 1569, the Lublin Sejm appointed three officials for each voivodeship: the subcamerarius, the chorąży, and the wojski. They were ordered to inspect all customs and tariffs levied after the death of Ladislaus II Jagiello, as well as the state and size of highways, which had to be 10 ells wide, that is around six metres, at the most.<sup>5</sup> The inspectors assigned for Cracow Voivodeship were: subcamerarius Stanisław Cikowski of Wojślawice, Radwan coat of arms, chorąży Marcjan Chełmski, Ostoja coat of arms, and wojski Stanisław Przypkowski, Radwan coat of arms. Already on 18 March 1570 the land bedel proclaimed the commencement of the inspection of the market square in Cracow.<sup>6</sup>

The inspection of customs and tariffs covered three Voivodeships: Cracow, Sandomierz, and Lublin, and was conducted along with the first inspection of royal estates in 1564/1565. However, according to Karol Buczek and Henryk Rutkowski, it was far from complete.<sup>7</sup>

The gaps can sometimes be filled in with information provided by other written sources. Royal itineraries help us determine the course of the routes. For instance, in the beginning of Casimir the Great's reign the road from Cracow to Greater Poland and Silesia was in use, it ran through Mstów, Wierzchowisko, Kłobuck and Krzepice, namely, north from the future town of Częstochowa. Ladislaus Jagiello advised travellers in 1400 to drive through Częstochowa on their way to Greater Poland.

This change was probably a result of Casimir the Great's successful location of a town by the Warta. J. Laberschek thinks that the construction of a crossing over the Warta was connected with a project of locating a royal town in that place, situated on the left bank of the river. The construction was costly, because the area was swampy and waterlogged and the river created many marshes. The road from Olsztyn through Częstochowa made the journey from Cracow to Greater Poland shorter, as it went around the monastery in Mstów.<sup>8</sup>

As in previous volumes of AHP, the method used in determining the course of roads was retrogression. The course of major roads, which appear in the sixteenth century sources, was reconstructed on the basis of detailed maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was based mainly on the aforementioned inspections and Liber beneficiorum by Jan Długosz, and documents. Various historical studies, which describe old trade routes, were also used, for instance, the latest research on towns, especially those, whose plans can be found in this volume.

Karol Perthées's map, created in 1787 and published in Paris in 1793 at a scale of 1:225,000, was particularly valuable, just as was the map drawn in Austria in 1772–1774 by Józef Liesganig. The former covers the northern part of the old Voivodeship of Cracow, and the latter – the southern part, taken in the First Partition. Liesganig's map, which shows Galicia, was based on field measurements at a scale of 1:72,000 and after some changes it was published in 1790 at a scale of 1:288,000. According to H. Rutkowski, the next publication of the map, from 1824, introduced some changes in the presented course of the roads.<sup>9</sup>

Fryderyk von Mieg's map of the same area, created in Austria and drawn at a scale of 1:28,800 is much more detailed. Antoni Mayer von Heldensfeld prepared his map of Western Galicia at the same scale, and based it on good mathematical and topographical foundations.<sup>10</sup> The Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland (Quartermaster's Map) at a scale of 1:126,000 was used only for the roads in the northern part of the voivodeship, because it did not cover the rest of the territory of the voivodeship.

The course of some routes presented on our map is hypothetical to a large degree, even though the cartographic material from the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth was verified against the data from the sixteenth century sources.

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<sup>5</sup> VL, vol. 2, pp. 97–98.

<sup>6</sup> LDK, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> K. Buczek, *Wstęp historyczny*, [in:] LDK, p. XI f.; H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2.

<sup>8</sup> J. Laberschek, *Częstochowski zespół osadniczy w średniowieczu*, „Almanach Częstochowy”, 2002, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz; also see above.

<sup>10</sup> Both maps in Kriegsarchiv in Vienna, and photocopies in IH PAN in Warsaw.

The places, where the roads touched Sandomierz and Sieradz Voivodeships were copied from the published volumes of the AHP.<sup>11</sup> The following road maps were very helpful: of Sandomierz Voivodeship prepared by Henryk Rutkowski, of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships by Małgorzata Wilska, and the map of roads of Cracow Voivodeship by Bożena Wyrozumska, included in her monograph, and in the published 1570 inspection.<sup>12</sup> The latter map shows the connections between settlements in the area, but does not cover the detailed course of the road network. The 1570 inspection lacks the entire Silesian district. Also, the descriptions of the following roads did not survive: Cracow–Sącz through Czchów, Tarnów–Działoszyce–Lelów, Bochnia–Koszyce–Jędrzejów, Miechów–Jędrzejów. What is more, the description of Cracow–Krzepice route is divided: the road from Cracow to Ogrodzieniec was recorded in one place, and the road from Ogrodzieniec to Krzepice in another.

Written sources inform us, more or less precisely, through which settlements ran a given road. Still, the reconstruction of a detailed course was possible only after the information from the sources was compared with cartographic material. For instance, the 1570 inspection states that the road from Olsztyn to Częstochowa ran through a forest, but only the maps allowed us to determine its exact course. This was an important road from Cracow to Silesia, going through Olkusz, Ogrodzieniec, Kromołów, Olsztyn, Częstochowa, and Kłobuck. In Krzepice it split off to Wieluń, and Greater Poland, and Silesia. A document from 1529 described this route as ‘royal road’. At the end of the sixteenth century, the connection from Lelów and Częstochowa to Silesia became more and more important (1598 it was called ‘public road’). The travellers going to Silesia could use the road to Żarnowiec, and then through Pilica, Kroczyce, and to Lelów. The 1564/1565 inspection tells us about a highway running from Lelów to Mstów, and farther on through Rząsawe, Wierzchowisko, and to Kłobuck, where it met ‘a royal road’.

The inspection conducted in 1564/1564 claims that the road from Wieliczka to Bochnia ran in three variants: one towards Boner’s hill to the inn in Kołaczkowo, second from the new shaft towards Liekarcza, and the third – from Zabawa. They were all maintained by the salt mine. Roads running in different directions met in Wieliczka: to the north, apart from the Cracow road, the so-called ‘prasółka’, salt road<sup>13</sup> with a crossing over the Vistula from the village Przewóz to Mogiła; to the east through Łapczyca to Bochnia; to the south towards the valley of the River Rabka through Dziekanowice and Dobczyce; to the west on the brows of Podgórze, through Kosocice and Korabniki, where customs houses were situated, to Skawina, and then through Zator and Oświęcim, to Silesia.<sup>14</sup>

Perthées’s map shows us the course of many side routes, e.g. in the vicinity of Cracow: Cracow, Łagiewniki, Wróblowice, Świątniki, Zawada, Myślenice. Regarding Silesian district, which was not described in the surviving 1570 inspection, the map informs us about an important road from Kęty, through Piskarzowice, to Biała. Mieg’s map, on the other hand, shows another connection from Biała, through Kozy, Andrychów, Wadowice, Brzeźnica, Skawina, and to Cracow. Also, the many customs houses in Wadowice, Wioska, Brzeźnica, Zelczyn, Borek, Skawina prove there was a road there. Both these routes were shown on the map.

Cracow was the capital of the State, and as a result major connections with neighbouring countries and states ran through the voivodeship: with Ruthenia (which belonged to the Crown, and with its further lands), with Hungary, with Bohemia, and with Germany.

The connection with Bohemia probably changed through the ages. It remains unclear, how the road ran in the sixteenth century. Royal itineraries suggest various routes were used: through Żywiec, Nowy Sącz, Wrocław.<sup>15</sup> Stanisław Porębski’s map from 1563<sup>16</sup> places four bridges near Oświęcim, leading to Silesia, Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, and Bohemia.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. AHP Sandomierz and AHP Sieradz.

<sup>12</sup> H. Rutkowski, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, map no. 6; M. Wilska, [in:] AHP Sieradz, map no. 5; B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej w XVI w.*, map.

<sup>13</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> S. Weymann, *Clia i drogi*, p. 113.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, LDK, p. 3, footnote 2.

<sup>16</sup> S. Porębski’s map, see above about cartographic sources. In 1558 Sigismund August confirmed the right to collect toll on a bridge over the Soła in Oświęcim, on the bridge the village Zabrzeg, on a bridge in Bobrów, and by Zator gate granted to the burghers of the town; MRPS V/1, no. 2317.

The highway connecting Cracow with Oświęcim ran through Kobierzyn, Skawina, Borek, Zelczyn, Brzeźnica, Spytkowice, Zator, Włosienica, and from Oświęcim the highway went abroad.<sup>17</sup> In many places the inspectors noted the poor condition of the highway, or that it was too narrow. This route also had an alternative variant. It left Cracow and ran through Wola, Chełm, Liski, Kaszów, and then crossed the Vistula and reached Spytkowice, where it met the previous route. An important tract along the River Soła, south of Kęty and Żywiec, ran from Oświęcim. In the sixteenth century there was a direct connection from Żywiec, through Andrychów, Wadowice, Wioska, Brzeźnica, and further on a common road to Skawina and Cracow. In Zator, one could leave the Cracow–Oświęcim road and go directly to Kęty and Żywiec.

The oldest road to Silesia ran from Cracow through Olkusz, Sławków, Będzin, and further on through Bytom, Opole, and to Wrocław. Between Cracow and Olkusz the customs houses were particularly numerous in the sixteenth century. They were located in Wielga Wieś, Biały Kościół, Czajowice, Olkusz, and Sieniczno village.

Another route connecting Cracow with Silesia ran through Brzozówka, Skała, and to Ogrodzieniec, and then from Kromolów, Włodowice, and Żarki. In Żarki the road split – one arm turned west and went through Koziegłowy, Lubliniec, to Opole, and the other led north through Olsztyn, Częstochowa, Kłobuck, Krzepice, to Wrocław.<sup>18</sup>

Another road, called *strata magna* in the sources, ran from Cracow through Miechów, Żarnowiec, Małoszyce, Rokitno, Kaszczor, Witów, Lelów, Krzepice, to Greater Poland and Prussia, or from Krzepice to Silesia. According to Długosz, Ladislaus Jagiello and Casimir IV Jagiellon travelled this road. The earlier variant of this route bypassed Częstochowa and led through Mstów, Rędziany, Wierzchowiska (where a toll was collected), Kłobuck. In the sixteenth century, due to the growing cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa (also called Black Lady of Częstochowa), the importance of the road from Lelów through Olsztyn and Częstochowa grew, and the 1570 inspection lists both roads.<sup>19</sup> The route through Olsztyn, Częstochowa is attested to in 1598 and 1599. At one time it is called a public road to Silesia from Lelów, to Częstochowa, at another – a highway from Lelów to Częstochowa.<sup>20</sup>

Important trade routes ran through the Duchy of Siewierz, from the south to the north, and from the west to the east. This was the result of the favourable geographical location of this land. Already in the fifteenth century, Ladislaus Jagiello travelled from Cracow through Rabsztyn, Sławków, and Chruszczobród to Siewierz, and then through Koziegłowy, Częstochowa, to Greater Poland. From Siewierz the routes to Silesia ran through Warężyn, Będzin, and further on to Oświęcim, or the connection Siewierz–Czeladź through Przeczyce, Toporowice. There was also a Lelów–Włodowice–Mrzygłód road to Siewierz, as well as a connection from Siewierz to Ogrodzieniec and Żarnowiec.<sup>21</sup> In the northern part of the duchy, the road in the sixteenth century led from Lelów through Żarki, Koziegłowy, Woźniki, and further on to Lubliniec.

The connection Cracow–Miechów ran through a customs house in Kończyce, and reached Słomniki. We cannot be certain, how the road led later on to Miechów, where there also was an attested customs house. After Mstyczów the road to Greater Poland and Prussia split. One route continued to the north through Chlewice to Kossów, and the other ran through Słupia, Chebdzie, Mękarzów, Ojsławice to Secemin.

There was also another important route (not included by B. Wyrozumska) shown on our map. It ran from Częstochowa through Lelów, Szczekociny, and further east to Jędrzejów. In Szczekociny the track crossed with the highway running from the southwest to Ogrodzieniec. There was a connection

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<sup>17</sup> About exits streets in Cracow see below J. Laberschek's commentary on Cracow, in this edition III.6.15a.1.

<sup>18</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, p. 223–225, 227, 261–262. See also LDK, p. 62–63.

<sup>19</sup> LDK, p. 64–65 footnote 131. Cf. *Częstochowa. Dzieje miasta i klasztoru jasnogórskiego*, vol. 1, ed. F. Kiryk, Częstochowa 2002, p. 174; A. Zyskowska, *Praktyki religijne i zasięg geograficzno-społeczny kultu Matki Boskiej Jasnogórskiej w XVI w.*, „Studia Claromontana”, vol. 3, 1982, p. 82; A. Witkowska, *Kult jasnogórski w formach pątniczych do połowy XVII w.*, „Studia Claromontana”, vol. 5, 1984, p. 148.

<sup>20</sup> A fragment of this road was mentioned already in 1378 r., between Potok and Olsztyn, see J. Laberschek, *Rozwój osadnictwa*, p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy. Studia i materiały z dziejów Siewierza i księstwa siewierskiego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Katowice 1994.

from Cracow to settlements situated in Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeship, it ran through Bieńczyce, and Proszowice, from where one could go to Wiślica or Skalbmierz.

Travellers going from Cracow to Ruthenia could choose several routes. One road ran along the left bank of the Vistula, through Wiślica, Połaniec and Sandomierz. From Cracow it led towards Mogiła, Igołomia, Cło, Wawrzeńczyce, and was called *via magna, via publica* in the sources.<sup>22</sup> In 1566 Koszyce was granted the right to collect a bridge toll by king Sigismund August, ten grzywna from the toll was to be paid to the Treasury, and the rest was to cover the expenses of repairing roads and bridges in the town. There were many customs houses around these towns. Along the highway, which continued on the left bank of the Vistula, they could be found in Filipowice, Rachwałowice, and Ławy. Towards the northeast, the road ran through Pasimiechy, Belzów, and Boszczyń through Skalbmierz, and to the south to Ujście Solne, and farther on to Bochnia.

There was also a road from Cracow through Staniątki and Chełm to Bochnia, and then to Lipnica Murowana. Here the roads split, one led to Hungary through Iwkowa, and Nowy Sącz, and the other through Melsztyn, Zakliczyn, Ciężkowice, Gromnik, Biecz, Dębowiec, Żmigród, and Dukla led to Ruthenia.<sup>23</sup> The road through Ciężkowice is called *strata publica* in the inspection. It had many variants, as one could drive from Bochnia through Dębno, Wojnicz, Tarnów, Jasło (or from Pilzno through Krosno). The accumulation of toll points between Biecz and Zakliczyn suggest this was probably the most popular route to Ruthenia.

The main highways from Cracow to Hungary led from later Podgórze, and then went south in three variants: a) through Nowy Sącz, Stary Sącz, Rytro, Piwniczna, to Lubowla; b) through Biecz, Gorlice, Ujście, to Bardiów; c) through Wieliczka, Dobczyce, Nowy Targ, and Czorsztyn.<sup>24</sup> One could go to Orawa from Cracow, precisely south of Myślenice, and then through Jabłonka.

Every connection had different variants. From Nowy Sącz the route ran through Rytro, Piwniczna, the valley of the River Poprad, and to Muszyna, where three roads from Hungary met: from Kieżmark, from Przeszów, and from Bardiów, through the valley of the River Topl'a.<sup>25</sup> There was another connection from Lubowla, to Nowy Targ through Kamionka, Wielki Lipnik, Czorsztyn, and further on along the Dunajec. This road led then through Muślenice, to Cracow, connecting Spisz with Podhale. There was a direct route from Nowy Sącz to Bardiów, through Tylicz Pass. There was also a variant running parallel to the aforementioned road, leading through Czchów, and Grybów to Hungary.<sup>26</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the importance of Biecz is growing. It successfully competed with Sącz, and had several routes leading to Hungary.<sup>27</sup> One of them was the above-mentioned road through Gorlice, Klimkówka, to Ujście and Bardiów. In 1557, Stanisław Gładysz, the owner of Ujście, obtained the right to collect a toll in exchange for the duty to repair the road described as *via strataque publica*.<sup>28</sup> From Biecz one could also enter the older tract in Dębowiec, the tract ran from Sandomierz to Hungary. It led from north through Pilzno and Jasło, and then through Żmigród, Stary Żmigród, Dukla, and Dukla Pass.<sup>29</sup> There was also another connection, described by the inspectors in 1570. They travelled from Cracow through Bochnia, Zakliczyn to Biecz, and further on through Harkłowa, Dębowiec, the valley of the Wisłok to Żmigród. Next, they went from Zborów Pass and reached Bardiów.

The reconstruction of roads in Cracow Voivodeship met with some difficulties in precise location of crossings over the Vistula, as the river channel underwent some changes, and the eighteenth

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<sup>22</sup> See LDK, p. 25, footnote 36; cf. S. Kutrzeba, *Handel Krakowa*, „Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny”, vol. 44, 1903; S. Lewicki, *Drogi handlowe w Polsce*, Warsaw 1926 (Sprawozdania Akademii Umiejętności z 1906).

<sup>23</sup> F. Kiryk, *Najdawniejsze dzieje Lipnicy Murowanej (XIII–XVI w.)*, [in:] *Lipnica Murowana. Gród króla Władysława Łokietka*, ed. J. Smołuch, Cracow 2007, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> LDK, p. 217. About Hungary also see Z. Gyalokay, *Szlaki handlowe na pograniczu Królestwa Polskiego i Węgierskiego w wiekach XIV i XVI*, „Almanach Nowotarski”, vol. 10, 2006, pp. 114–122; see also K. Dziwik, *Stan dróg publicznych w powiecie sądeckim w XVI w.*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 13, 1972, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Kraków a Węgry w wiekach średnich*, RK, vol. 13, 1911, p. 205 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 206; LDK, p. 80.

<sup>27</sup> See also J. Barut, *Dawna ziemia biecka i jej stolica*, [in:] *Biecz. Studia historyczne*, ed. R. Kaleta, Wrocław 1963, pp. 126–132.

<sup>28</sup> AP Kraków, Oddz. I, Castr. Biec. 13, p. 738.

<sup>29</sup> S. Weymann, *Cła i drogi*, p. 111; LDK, p. 44, footnote 76.

century maps fail to mark crossings properly. A. Jureczko's work<sup>30</sup> on medieval bridges and crossings proved really helpful here. It allowed us to localize the places where tract routes led properly. Several crossings near Ujście were particularly problematic, as they changed both due to geographic conditions, as well as the importance of individual roads. That is why the course of some of them is hypothetical. There was no permanent bridge east of Cracow, in the crossing over the Vistula in Mogiła, Niepołomice, Ujście, and Koszyce. In Koszyce there was a wooden bridge, we know that from the 1564/1565 customs inspections, but the bridge was destroyed by flood, and in 1570 the inspectors had to be carried over the Vistula.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in the same year they found 'a good ferry, quite long and broad'<sup>32</sup> in Ujście.

There were several permanent bridges west of Cracow. The one in Spytkowice was built in 1532 by the owner, Wawrzyniec Myszkowski, to whom the king granted the right to collect bridge toll. This bridge was marked on Porębski's map. There were also bridges: in Zator over the River Skawa, three near Oświęcim – two over the Vistula (in Harmężę, and near Bobrowniki, called Bobrkowski bridge), and one over the Soła. The overflows of the Dunajec caused many problems, and forced the owners to rebuild crossings. The inspectors recorded that the bridge in Melsztyn, made of huge wooden poles, was being rebuilt.<sup>33</sup> Over Dunajec, there were also bridges in Wojnicz, Zakliczyn, and Nowy Sącz.<sup>34</sup>

Written sources, the sixteenth century inspections in particular, mention bridges in many other settlements located on important roads:<sup>35</sup> in Będzin (over the Przemsza), Biecz (over the Ropa), Bochnia (over the Babicza), Brzesko (over the Uswiwa), Chełmek (over the Przemsza), Częstochowa (over the Warta), Ciężkowice (over the Biała), Gromnik (over the Biała, and over the Rzepionka), Jasło (over the Wisłoka, Ropa, and Jasiołka), Kazimierz (Skawina bridge), Krzepice (over the Warta), Mogiła (over the Dłubnia), Mstów (over the Warta), Proszowice (over the Szreniawa), Sławków (over the Biała), Włosienica (over the Włosiennica). We know bridge toll was collected in small villages Borek and Zelczyn, located on the main road from Skawina to Oświęcim. The inspection informs us about small bridges there, over now non-existent rivulets, which were still shown on Mieg's map.

The state of bridges, crossings and roads was particularly good, and the inspectors frequently ordered the inhabitants to broaden, or build dykes, or to repair flood damages, as a result of negligence. B. Wyrozumska describes this subject in detail.<sup>36</sup>

On our map, we tried to show all customs houses operating in the sixteenth century mentioned in written sources.<sup>37</sup> S. Weyman's belief concerning the connection between customs houses and main road network seems justified.<sup>38</sup> The accumulation of customs houses along some communication routes suggests the traffic was busy there. And so, for instance, the four customs houses in Wielka Wieś, Biały Kościół, Czajowice, and Sieniczno, on a relatively short fragment from Cracow to Olkusz, are a proof of the high rank of this route to Silesia.

The location of inns along the roads, which had their own names and were situated outside towns and villages, often deep in the forest or wilderness proves that a given trade, or communication route was important in the sixteenth century. Travellers stopped in such places not only to spend the night there, or to eat, but also to buy goods, mend something, and exchange money. Sometimes, where no more suitable place could be found in the vicinity, customs houses were set in inns, and toll was collected there.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> A. Jureczko, *Średniowieczne mosty i przewozy*, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, p. 259–260; LDK, p. 28.

<sup>32</sup> LDK, p. 29–30.

<sup>33</sup> Customs inspection 1564/65, p. 212 mentions a solid, oak bridge, and LDK, p. 50 says this bridge was destroyed.

<sup>34</sup> The bridge over the Dunajec situated near Nowy Sącz is mentioned in MRPS IV/1, no. 6931; another one, over the Kamienica – see LDK, p. 36.

<sup>35</sup> See *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, p. 211, 212, 218, 219, 232, 243–246 f. And LDK, and the list of documents no. 3, 5, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26, 33, 37, 49.

<sup>36</sup> B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, chapter *Stan dróg*, pp. 36–43.

<sup>37</sup> The list of customs houses, based on *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565* and LDK can be found in the Annex.

<sup>38</sup> S. Weymann, *Cła i drogi*, p. 90. This belief of S. Weyman was partially questioned by H. Samsonowicz, who believed that the customs houses were often placed on side roads; see H. Samsonowicz, *Sieć drożna Polski w średniowieczu*, PH, 1973, no. 4, p. 705.

<sup>39</sup> B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, p. 34.

The juxtaposition of written sources, like the road inspection from 1570, studies (e.g. B. Wyrozumski, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI wieku*; *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego*), and cartographic sources (Perthées, Quartermaster's Map) allows us to determine the location of such places with a high degree of probability, and to locate them on the map of roads. The comparison of the fifteenth and sixteenth century inns with later source records shows us that small hamlets formed around many inns, and shortly, sometimes within less than twenty years, they became villages.

Main routes, of nationwide importance, led through Cracow Voivodeship. They connected Cracow with the most important centres, and ran farther on, to Vilnius, Budapest, Vienna, and Prague. The accumulation of roads around the capital is clearly visible on the main map and the map of roads.

Current research allows us to list the most important connections running through Cracow Voivodeship and Siewierz duchy.

1. Cracow–Poznań:
  - a) Olkusz or Skała–Ogrodzieniec–Żarki–Częstochowa–Krzepice–Wieluń;
  - b) Skała–Wolbrom–Pilica or Żarnowiec–Lelów–Konięcpol–Pławno–Radomsko;
  - c) Słomniki–Miechów–Żarnowiec–Lelów and then like 1b.
2. Cracow–Toruń:
  - a) like 1b;
  - b) Słomniki–Miechów–Mstyczów–Secemin–Kurzelów.
3. Cracow–Warsaw:
  - a) Słomniki–Miechów–Książ Wielki–Jędrzejów–Małogoszcz;
  - b) Proszowice–Wiślica–Busko.
4. Cracow–Lublin:
  - a) like 3b;
  - b) Brzesko Nowe–Koszyce–Opatowiec–Nowe Miasto Korczyn.
5. Cracow–Lwów:
  - a) Bochnia–Wojnicz–Tarnów–Pilzno–Dębica;
  - b) Bochnia–Lipnica Murowana–Zakliczyn–Gromnik–Ciężkowice–Biecz–Dębowiec–Krosno–Sanok;
  - c) to Gromnik like 5b and then Olszyny–Jasło–Krosno–Sanok.
6. Cracow–Wrocław:
  - a) Olkusz–Sławków–Siewierz–Koziegłowy–Lubliniec;
  - b) Olkusz–Sławków–Będzin–Bytom.
7. Cracow–Ołomuniec: Skawina–Zator–Oświęcim–Pszczyna–Ostrawa.
8. Cracow–Ostrzyhom:
  - a) Skawina–Wadowice–Żywiec–Żylinia;
  - b) Myślenice–Twardoszyn.
9. Cracow–Koszyce:
  - a) Wieliczka–Dobczyce–Nowy Targ–Podoliniec–Lewocza;
  - b) Bochnia–Lipnica Murowana–Nowy Sącz–Piwniczna–Lubowla;
  - c) to Biecz like 5b and then Gorlice–Ujście–Bardiów.
10. Lwów–Wrocław:
  - a) Wiślica–Działoszyce–Miechów–Wolbrom–Olkusz–Sławków–Będzin–Bytom;
  - b) Wiślica–Pińczów–Jędrzejów–Szczekociny–Lelów–Częstochowa–Krzepice–Kluczbork;
  - c) Chęciny–Małogoszcz–Secemin–Lelów, and then like road 10b or Żarki–Koziegłowy–Lubliniec.
11. Lwów–Koszyce:
  - a) Sanok–Krosno–Dębowiec–Gorlice–Ujście–Bardiów;
  - b) Sanok–Krosno–Dębowiec–Grybów–Nowy Sącz, and then like 9b.
12. Warsaw–Koszyce:
  - a) Brzostek–Jasło–Dębowiec–Żmigród–Krempna or Dukla–Bardiów;
  - b) Frysztak–Krosno–Dukla–Bardiów.

## ANNEX CUSTOMS HOUSES AND INNS

### Customs houses

Bełzów, Będzin, Biecz, Bięczyce, Bobrek, Bobrowniki, Bochnia, Borek, Boszczyń, Brzeźnica, Brzozówka, Charmęzy, Chełm, Chrzanów, Cieszkowice, Cło, Cło (par. Biały Kościół), Cło (par. Chełm), Czajowice, Czasławice, Czchów, Czelaź, Częstochowa, Czorsztyn, Dębno, Dębowiec, Długoszyń, Dobczyce, Dukla, Działoszyce, Filipowice, Gorlice, Gromnik, Iwkowa, Jasło, Kaszczor, Kaszów, Kazimierz, Kęty, Kłobucko, Kobierzyn, Korabniki, Koskowice, Kosocice, Koszyczi, Koziegłowy, Kroczyce, Krzepice, Kuchary, Kuńczyce, Lelów, Liski, Ławy, Łobzów, Melsztyn, Miechów, Mogiła, Mstów, Mstyczów, Myślimice, Niegostawice, Nowy Targ, Ociec (Ojców), Ogrodzieniec, Olkusz, Oświęcim, Pasimiechy, Piwniczna, Proszowice, Rachwałowice, Raciborsko, Rajsko, Rozemberg, Rytter, Sądecz Nowy, Sądecz Stary, Sieniczna, Siewierz, Sitnica, Skała, Skarbimierz, Skawina, Sławków, Słomniki, Spytkowice, Sucha, Taszyce, Uście, Wadowice, Walenczów, Warężyn, Wawrzyńczyce, Wąsosze, Wielga Wieś, Wieliczka, Wierzchowiska, Wietrzno, Wioska, Włosienica, Wojnicz, Wola, Wolbram, Zakliczyn, Zator, Zelczyn, Zendek, Żarnowiec, Żmigród, Żywiec.

### Inns, which formed separate settlements

Barycz, Bodzanów parish, Szczyrzyc district  
Borowa, Chechło parish, Proszowice district  
Borowa, Mstyczów parish, Silesian district  
Brzozówka, Wojakowa parish, Nowy Sącz district  
Budy, Oświęcim parish, Silesian district  
Celna (Na Czele, Czło), Zwierzyniec parish, Proszowice district  
Chajduga, Pobiodr parish, Proszowice district  
Chełm, Rudawa parish, Proszowice district  
Chochoł, par. Luborzyca, Proszowice district  
Cianówka, par. Smarowice, Proszowice district  
Cło, par. Chełm, Szczyrzyc district  
Cło, par. Biały Kościół, Proszowice district  
Czecheł (Chochoł), Giebułtów parish, Proszowice district  
Gajowa, Sędziszów parish, Książ district  
Gliniana, Więclawice parish, Proszowice district  
Grzybowa, Bieżanów parish, Szczyrzyc district  
Jasińska, Rzezawa parish, Szczyrzyc district  
Jelitowa, Raciborowice parish, Proszowice district  
Kamienna, Cracow parish – St. Nicolas, Proszowice district  
Kleszczyńska, Skarbimierz parish, Proszowice district  
Lipka, Bolechowice parish, Proszowice district  
Podborna, Krzeszowice parish, Proszowice district  
Podchełmie, Rudawa parish, Proszowice district  
Prądnicka, Cracow parish – St. Nicolas, Proszowice district  
Pultowska, Brzeźnica parish, Szczyrzyc district  
Rudawa, Rudawa parish, Proszowice district  
Samostrzelna, Kazimierz parish – St. Jacob, Proszowice district  
Szulierz (Szuler?), Jangrot parish, Proszowice district  
Tira, Giebułtów parish, Proszowice district

Uswica, Uszew parish, Szczyrzyc district  
Zybr (Zubr?), Gołaczów parish, Proszowice district

All inns listed appear on the map of roads, but were not shown on the main map, or listed in the List.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.5a.1 SPISZ STAROSTA'S DISTRICT

*Jarosław Suproniuk*

On 8 November 1412 in Zagreb Sigismund of Luxemburg, as King of Hungary, 'gives 16 towns in the land of Spisz, with affiliated territories, as a pledge for the borrowed sum of 37,000 threescores of Prague groschen, determining the conditions of the pledge, and its possible buyout'.<sup>1</sup> The document lists: 'our castle Lubowla with town, and the town Podoliniec with a stronghold and villages, which belonged to it, yet with cities and towns listed below, located in our land of Spisz, Ostrzyhom diocese, namely: Gniazda, Biała, Lubica, Wierzbów, Twarożna, Poprad, Straże, Wielka, Włochy, Podegrodzie, Nowa Wieś, Ruskinowce, Matjaszowce, and Sobota, with all their affinities, rents, benefices, incomes, benefits, secular jurisdiction, estates [...]'.<sup>2</sup>

Already before the document of the pledge was issued in 1412 Gniazda, Lubowla, and Podoliniec (with castles in Lubowla and Podoliniec) formed a separate royal dominion, which did not belong to the union of 24 towns of the Saxon community.<sup>3</sup> These three cities, together with their lands, were territorially connected with Poland. The remaining part of the pledged territory was described by the sources as 13 towns of the Saxon province in Spisz.<sup>4</sup> Mostly, these were agricultural towns, which held weekly markets. Six enclaves could be distinguished from this area:<sup>5</sup>

- Biała Spiska, a town with lands stretching towards the Tatras, situated on the left bank of the River Poprad,
- East and southeast of Kieżmark: four villages Lubica, Ruskinowice, Twarożna and Wierzbów. 'The territory of Lubica was, in fact, connected with the district of Lubowiec on the watershed running along the peaks of Lewockie Mountains, between the stream Lubica, and the stream Jakubiański, belonging to Lubowla. However, the junction is narrow, inaccessible, and the connection is blocked. As such, Lubica can be considered a separate enclave';<sup>6</sup>
- Southwest of Kieżmark, upstream of the Poprad, there was another enclave, with the town of Poprad, and Sobota Spiska with surrounding villages: Matiaszowce (Maciejowice), Straże, and Wielka (Fylka);
- Nowa Wieś Spiska lay south of Lewocza, together with the territory stretching from the River Hornad to the River Hnilec;
- East of Nowa Wieś Spiska, by the River Hornad, there was yet another enclave around Włochy Spiskie, with area on both banks of the Hornad;

<sup>1</sup> *Akt zastawu XVI miast spiskich Polsce z r. 1412*, from orig. pub. and transl. A. Semkowicz, „Wierchy”, vol. 8, 1930, pp. 152–157 (pl. transl. pp. 155–157); cf. LK 1564, part 1, pp. 196–198.

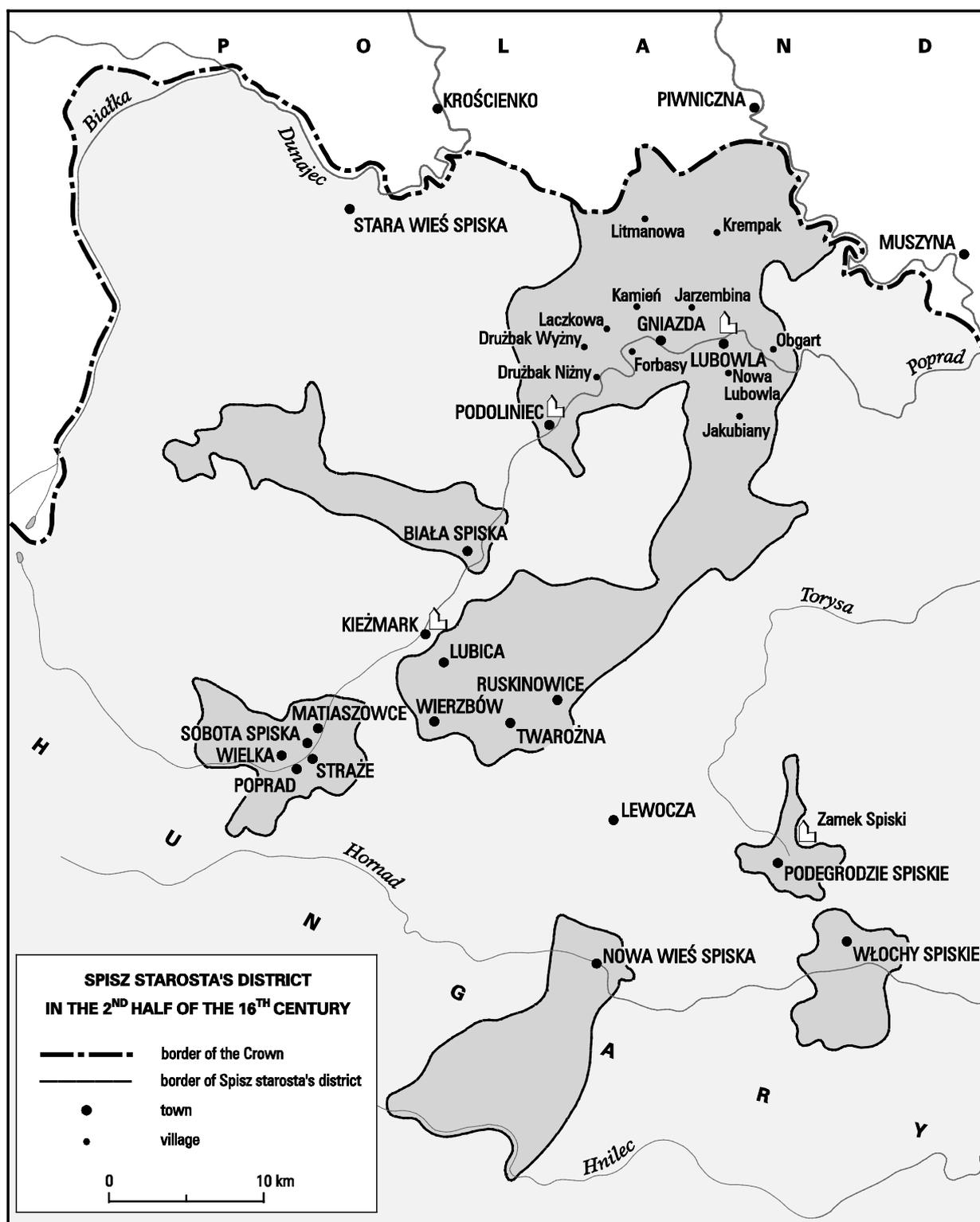
<sup>2</sup> *Akt zastawu*, p. 155; see J. Kurtyka, *Starostwo spiskie (1412–1769/70)*, [in:] *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav badania o dejinach Spiša*, Levoča–Wrocław 2003, p. 504 f., literature included.

<sup>3</sup> M. Trajdos, *Przywileje Podolińca, Starej Lubowli i Gniazd w XIV i XV wieku*, „Zeszyty Sądecko-Spiskie”, vol. 3 [in print]; J. Kurtyka, *Starostwo spiskie*, p. 505; H. Ruciński, *Prowincja saska na Spiszu do 1412 r. (Na tle przemian społecznych i ustrojowych w komitacie spiskim i na obszarach przyległych)*, Białystok 1983.

<sup>4</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Starostwo spiskie*, p. 505; cf. *Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku*, vol. 1–3, Bratislava 1977–1978.

<sup>5</sup> Z. Goetel, *Z geografii historycznej południowej rubieży państwa polskiego od strony Spiszu i Szarysza*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 12, 1971, pp. 378 f.; cf. J. Szaflarski, *Kilka uwag w sprawie źródeł kartograficznych do mapy historycznej Spisza*, „Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski”, vol. 3, pp. 323–329; *Atlas Československých Dějin*, Praha 1965, XIV: *Navrácení spišských měst roku 1772*.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in: Z. Goetel, *Z geografii historycznej*, p. 378.



Map 1. Spisz starosta's district in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century

- Northwest of Włochy Spiskie, near the stream of the River Torysa lay Podegrodzie Spiskie, but without Spisz castle, which was excluded from the pledge, and remained on the Hungarian side.

This territory remained in Poland (under Polish administration) until 1769, as unpaid debt.<sup>7</sup> Spisz starosta's district was a non-gord starosta's district (*sine iurisdictione*) – Polish administration was meant to be temporary. The castles in Lubowla and Podoliniec became seats of Polish starostas, and Nowa Wieś Spiska became the main centre of the 13 towns of Spisz.

Lubowla dominium (districtus Lublouiensis) consisted of the following towns: Lubowla with castle, Gniazda (*alias Knyszyn*), and Podoliniec with castle. The towns owned castle demesnes in Lubowla and Podoliniec, as well as eight villages: five under Magdeburg law (Družbark Niżny with a mill, Družbark Wyżny with an inn and a mill, Forbasy, Nowa Lubowla, Obgart [Hobgart] and three Vlach villages (Jakubiany, Jarzembina, and Kamień).<sup>8</sup> To this we must add the inn Krempak with mills in Gniazda and Lubowla, and the village Litmanowa, recorded since 1570.<sup>9</sup> The division into Lubowla dominium (Gniazda, Lubowla, Podoliniec) and the 'community of 13 towns pledged to Poland as Spisz starosta's district' survived until the second half of the eighteenth century;<sup>10</sup> the remaining 11 towns of Spisz (from the province of 24 towns of Spisz) remained under the authority of the Crown of Hungary.

The Polish nobility did not possess any hereditary estates in Spisz starosta's district, and the kings of Poland legitimized and guaranteed town privileges. Since the sixteenth century the vice-starostas of Lubowla and Podoliniec, with help of the burgraves, supervised the administration in the starosta's place. The starosta, on behalf of the king, had authority over the 13 towns of Spisz. The 1271 privilege granted the 13 towns the right to elect their common graf and judge ('rychtarz') in each of the towns; against the decisions and verdicts of the judge one could appeal to the graf of 13 towns, and against his decisions, to the starosta himself, or to the king.<sup>11</sup>

The matter of the starosta's district of Spisz, which legally and territorially did not cease to belong to the Kingdom of Hungary, changed hands between Poland and Hungary. Constant border conflict resulted in frequent gatherings of the border committees, which became more active in the sixteenth century. One of the largest border committees was 'Ruberiana' from 1580.<sup>12</sup>

Spisz starosta's district, given its favourable and strategic location, significant income, and military importance of the castles in Lubowla and Podoliniec, was 'clearly outstanding in terms of prestige, and symbolism'.<sup>13</sup>

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 378; J. Kurtyka, *Starostwo spiskie*, p. 487; A. Divéky, *Dzieje przyłączenia miast spiskich do Węgier w r. 1770-tym*, PH, vol. 23, 1921, no. 1, pp. 17 f.; J. Kurtyka, *Polscy starostowie na Spiszu w XV i I połowie XVI wieku*, „Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici”, Historia, 26, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, no. 240, 1992, p. 199.

<sup>8</sup> LK 1659–1664, part 2, p. 727–729 lists only Jarzembina and Kamień as Vlach villages.

<sup>9</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Starostwo spiskie*, p. 512. Litmanowa was mentioned in document from 10 February 1570, LK 1659–1664, part 3, p. 810, no. 426. In document from 2 August 1591 Litmanowa was mentioned as a newly-located settlement, MK 136, ff. 264–265.

<sup>10</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Starostwo spiskie*, p. 514.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 519.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 508.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p. 520.

### III.5.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

*Henryk Rutkowski*

Our map, just like the map of Mazovia, presents **the more important roads**, which existed in the second half of the sixteenth century. Our purpose was not to mark all public roads, i.e. highways, but only to include some of them of our choosing. This assumption is related to the insufficient number of sources: only small fragments of the road network can be drawn on the basis of the sixteenth century materials. That is why, given the fact that the course of the roads until the beginning of the nineteenth century shows much stability, our main method was retrogression. Our choice was made from highways appearing on the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was made with regard to information on public roads found in the sixteenth century sources, the results of studies of contemporary trade routes and itineraries. Location of towns was also taken into consideration; in the period of our study it was almost identical to the situation at the end of the eighteenth century. It should, however, be noted that the network of the more important highways is one of the more hypothetical elements of our map, both in terms of the choice of particular roads, or the assessment of their importance, as well as in terms of their course (although the course of many fragments, e.g. near towns, is certain). We are unable to describe the course of all roads in the commentary, nor can we provide the degree of its probability; along with general information about the sources and methods of conduct, we can present only selected detailed examples.<sup>1</sup>

The source which was especially important to us was the inspection entitled: 'Myta i cła na wodzie, jako promy, mosty, a na ziemi, jako groble, gaci, burki i naprawowanie dróg miastom i pewnem osobom, albo communitatibus vel collegiis nadane'.<sup>2</sup> This inspection was conducted simultaneously with the first inspection of royal property in 1564/1565, and the surviving inspectors' protocol covers three voivodeships of Lesser Poland: Cracow, Sandomierz and Lublin. The inspectors checked legal bases for the collection of tolls and tariffs, that is they conducted a revision of privileges, and controlled the state of ferries, bridges, weirs, cobbles, and other means of transportation on which the king's bestowal of toll income was granted. It should be noted that toll was frequently collected without necessary privilege, or investments in roads. Only public roads lay within the range of the inspectors' interests.<sup>3</sup> The result of the inspectors' proceedings was far from complete, the number of tolls covered in the inspection certainly did not reach even a half of all tolls collected in Sandomierz Voivodeship, just as in Cracow Voivodeship.<sup>4</sup> From our point of view, the source described is a register of quite accidentally chosen highways, defined by their relation to only one settlement, or their role in pointing the further course of the road. Despite these flaws, the inspection of tolls and tariffs provided the basic resource of information about road networks in the area of our interest in the sixteenth century. All highways

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<sup>1</sup> See for more information of this subject, H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7.

<sup>2</sup> *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment of the description of roads near Skawina, a town belonging to Tyniec abbey in Cracow Voivodeship: 'Item pokazywano też od ks. opata wedla przywileja naprawowanie drogi ab oppido versus villam Radzieszow, od pirszy brany eundo versus Lanczkoronam, sed quia non est via publica, telko ludzie wiescy tamtędy jeżdżą, tedy nie jest oględowana'; *ibidem*, p. 205; cf. LDK, pp. 6–7, 79.

<sup>4</sup> K. Buczek, *Wstęp historyczny*, [in:] LDK, pp. XI f.; B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI w.*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 12 f.

indicated by this source were included in our map. The information about ferries and bridges in royal estates was supplemented by the inspection of royal property.<sup>5</sup>

As was already mentioned in the chapter on cartographic sources, the **map of Andrzej Porabka from 1570** shows several roads running through Sandomierz Voivodeship. These were (in the range of our interest):

1. Cracow–Miechów–Secemin–Kurzelów–Przedbórz–Żarnów–Opoczno–Inowódz–Rawa;<sup>6</sup>
2. Cracow–Proszowice–Wiślica–Szydłów–Opatów–Zawichost–Urzędów–Lublin;
3. Cracow–Korczyn–Połaniec–Osiek–Koprzywnica (name on map: Pokrzywnica)–Sandomierz–Zawichost, etc.;
4. Cracow–Bochnia–Tarnów–Pilzno–Dębica–Sędziszów–Rzeszów–Jarosław.<sup>7</sup>

**A detailed picture of the roads** – but two centuries later – comes from the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century: Polish maps by K. Perthès and Austrian maps by Heldensfeld, Liesganig and Mieg. Major roads marked on these maps (highways, routes, mail routes) served as a base for retrogression combined with selection. Detailed courses of roads was determined according to those maps on the foundation of the maps at a scale of 1:100,000 from the first half of the twentieth century. Given the significant differences in the maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the fact that no source could be granted precedence in the range of our interest, we assumed various solutions. In reconstruction of the sixteenth century road network we, in fact, disregarded variants of highways, that is when there were two or three connections shown on the maps, we chose just one of them. For instance: of two roads Drzewica–Końskie we chose the one leading through Gielniów (this road is presented on Perthès's map), and decided to omit the road surrounding the town (shown on Perthès's and Heldensfeld's map). The highway Iłża–Wąchock went through Mirzec (as in Heldensfeld), and the road through Małyszyn was omitted (in Perthès). The connection between Opatów and Tarłów went through Ćmielów (Perthès, Heldensfeld), and the one through Gliniany (Perthès) – which became a town in 1595 – was omitted. However, sometimes we abandoned our rule, and marked variants of roads. For instance, the highway Kozienice–Oleksów went both through Sieciechów, and around this town; both roads are presented by Perthès and Heldensfeld, but the former was described as 'Low Route' by Perthès.

The aforementioned solutions are, naturally, only probable for the sixteenth century, unlike those, which could be based on sources from the period. For instance, the highway running from Cracow to Mazovia through Końskie was doubled in the area by the road running through Modliszowice, mentioned on this route in tariffs inspection.<sup>8</sup> This inspection describes a highway near Sandomierz, which used to run through Ocinek, but was moved to the nearby Góry Dolne.<sup>9</sup> In the eighteenth century Perthès put the road through Góry, and Heldensfeld through Ocinek. Our map shows both variants.

Treating our eighteenth century sources as a whole, we can say that the 1564/1565 tariffs inspection shows a high degree of accuracy, that is it mentions only few highways, which either have a different course than the one marked on one of the maps, or does not appear on the maps at all. Beginning

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<sup>5</sup> LS 1564/5.

<sup>6</sup> Part of the same road appears already on Erhards Etzlaub's map from 1501: Cracow–Miechów–Kurzelów–Przedbórz–Piotrków. The copy of this map of Middle-European roads in an unfinished publication from 1939: *Monumenta Poloniae Cartographica*, tabl. 1; cf. K. Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, Wrocław 1966, pp. 25 f.

<sup>7</sup> Pograbka's map was used by Michael von Eitzing, the author of the *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani*, pub. 1578–1580 in Amsterdam or Cologne. He marked two of the three roads listed – the second and the third – on his map of Poland in the area of the Sandomierz Voivodeship. U. Puckalanka, *Szesnastowieczna mapa polsko-litewskich szlaków podróżnych*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UAM w Poznaniu”, no. 54: Biblioteka, no. 4, 1964, pp. 183–200.

<sup>8</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, pp. 290 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 257. This was a highway from the crossing in Sandomierz, running from Ruthenia to Greater Poland and Mazovia, 'on which oxen walk, as well as carters and peddlers. On this highway a River Lukawa runs through this village [Ocinek], from Opatów, through the mountains.' The valley of the Łukawa 'cannot be crossed without a bridge or a dyke in the autumn and in the spring. Now there is no bridge of dyke there, because the highway was led over the river in the village Góry'. In Góry there were two bridges, and the third was to be built, but 'Mr. Stanisław Lypnyczky want to bring this highway ex villa Gori ad villam Ocinek, to its old place, and built the bridge and the dyke where they had been before, and for which place the privilege had been granted'. Mikołaj Lipnicki was awarded in 1528 by privilege for this place (,in villa Ocyn sive Kuchary super fluvio Lukawa'); MRPS, IV, no. 15406. River Łukawa was separating the village Ocinek, owned by Lipnicki family, from the village Ocinek, which belonged to the vogtship of Sandomierz.

with the first group, we list all modifications in the course of the roads taken from later maps made on the basis of the sixteenth century data (not only from tariffs inspections). The road Tarnów–Pilzno went via Gumniska, Skrzyszów, Łęki Górne, and not through Pogórska Wola, as Liesganig and Mieg did, because the tariffs inspection lists Łęki along this route.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the road Sędziszów–Trzciana went through Będziemyśl, not Kłęczany.<sup>11</sup> The Rudnik–Krzyszów road was changed near Kopki, where the toll was paid before 1564/1565, which was next moved to Rudnik;<sup>12</sup> our map, unlike Liesganig's, shows both Rudnik, and Kopki by the highway. These modifications were introduced on the basis of the inspection of tariffs, two next – on the basis of other sources. The course of the highway going from Sandomierz to the crossing, and further on to Strachocin on the right bank of the Vistula was also modified; the owners of this village situated in Lublin Voivodeship had been granted a privilege for this crossing.<sup>13</sup> Strachocin is a lost village, its approximate localization influenced the reconstruction of the course of the road.<sup>14</sup> The highway Oleszno–Przedbórz avoids Żeleźnica on Perthès's map (it is not shown on Heldensfeld's map), but we put the road through the village.<sup>15</sup> Żeleźnica appears in Sigismundus the Old's itinerary, and besides, it is known that in 1511 there was a bridge over the River Czarna here, from which the toll was taken by the local parson and the owner of Oleszno.<sup>16</sup>

Supplements were introduced to the basic map of Sandomierz Voivodeship in relation to the road network presented in cartographic sources. Firstly, we will list all **roads attested to for the sixteenth century**. The highway from Inowódz to Odrzywół, absent from Perthès's and Heldensfeld's maps (only the later Topographical Map shows a route here), was added because the tariffs inspection describes Odrzywół as situated on the road from Lublin to Poznań.<sup>17</sup> The road Inowódz–Drzewica–Skrzynno is attested to in the king's itinerary.<sup>18</sup> Also, the highway Strzałków–Konary–Rzuchów–Kadź, parallel to the road Radom–Odrzywół via Przytyk was included, although in it was not so frequently used in 1564/1565 as before.<sup>19</sup> A short connection between Wola Zadybska and Zadybie was introduced as a fragment of the road from Kozienice to Łuków, which was frequently used by kings.<sup>20</sup> Cartographic sources from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries do not mark the highway connecting Gołąb with the Sieciechów–Janowiec road through the Vistula, although the crossing near Gołąb, open in the sixteenth century, proves that the road existed.<sup>21</sup> Also, there are no doubts that there was heavy

<sup>10</sup> *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, pp. 270–273.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem* p. 342.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem* pp. 365–369. Customs house in Kopki operated already in the fourteenth century; F. Bruns, H. Weczerka, *Hansische Handelsstrassen. Textband*, Weimar 1967, p. 696.

<sup>13</sup> *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, pp. 287 f.

<sup>14</sup> The location of Strachocin in AHP Lublin, the map, is incorrect. In 1369 Strachocin was a field in Pniów village, in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century it appears as a village by the Vistula in Wrzawy parish, and in 1612 as a field in Wrzawy; S. Kuraś, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny woj. lubelskiego w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 1983, p. 223. This, and the name of the River Strachocka allow us to localize Strachocin in approximation in the area of the present-day mouth of the San, where there are villages: Dąbrówka (part of Pniów) and Pasternik (part of Wrzawy). On his map Perthès marked a crossing through the Vistula from the left bank of the Dąbrówka.

<sup>15</sup> Żeleźnica by the Czarna, a royal village in Przedbórz starosta's lease, initially it was called Żelazne Nogi, like the forest surrounding it. In 1511 there was a village Żelazne Nogi, which consisted only of a wooden parochial church and iron-works under construction, and the original village of this name, 3 km away, was called Stara Wieś then. Later this Church settlement developed into a small village, which got the name Żeleźnica. According to the tradition recorded in the nineteenth century, probably reliable, the church in Żeleźnica was built at the spot of Casimir the Great's accident in 1370. Łaski LB, I, pp. 612–614; SGKP, vol. 14, pp. 767 f.; J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat konecki*, Radom 1913, pp. 321–324; H. Rutkowski, *Pomnik wypadku Kazimierza Wielkiego*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”, Lublin (in print).

<sup>16</sup> Łaski LB, I, pp. 612–614; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów*, „Studia Historyczne”, vol. 16, 1973, no. 2, p. 263.

<sup>17</sup> *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, p. 293. Also, the course of the Lublin–Poznań road via Przytyk, Odrzywół, Inowódz is attested in the documents from the second half of the fifteenth century; S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg w Wielkopolsce od X do XVIII w.*, „Przegląd Zachodni”, vol. 9, 1953, no. 2, pp. 222–224; K. Myśliński, *Lublin a handel Wrocławia z Rusią w XIV i XV w.*, „Rocznik Lubelski”, vol. 3, 1960, pp. 15–20; F. Bruns, H. Weczerka, *Hansische Handelsstrassen*, p. 648. The road from Poznań to Lublin via Inowódz, Przytyk, so undoubtedly also through Odrzywół, is mentioned by M. Grycz on the basis of Poznań archival documents, M. Grycz, *Handel Poznania 1550–1655*, Poznań 1964, p. 82.

<sup>18</sup> Mentioned were: Szydłowiec, Krajów, Drzewica, Inowódz; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria*, p. 267.

<sup>19</sup> It is proven by the description of Konary, where bridge toll was paid: ‘... since 20 years they take nothing, and they pass Przytyk, and these bridges they built only for the mills’; *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, p. 293.

<sup>20</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria*, pp. 259–269.

<sup>21</sup> *LS 1564/1565*, p. 244.

traffic on the crossing through the Vistula near Sandomierz, specifically between Kamień Mściowski and Gorzyce;<sup>22</sup> only Liesganig's map shows a major road here in the eighteenth century, but this road runs mostly beyond the range of this Austrian map, which influences the value of this record. That is why we mention the connection between Sandomierz and the road Trześnia–Gorzyce. Part of the road from Sandomierz to Koprzywnica was supplemented with a parallel highway Złota–Zajezerze–Skotniki–Zarzecze, mentioned in Zajezerze by the tariffs inspection.<sup>23</sup> The fragment between Hubenice and Otfinów, part of Tarnów highway, which ran from Nowe Miasto Korczyn, well-attested to in the sixteenth century sources,<sup>24</sup> was not shown on later maps.

The fact that not all public roads known from the sixteenth century sources appear on the eighteenth/nineteenth century maps allows us to suspect, that some highways were not mentioned in any of the two categories of sources. As such, in several places the road network was supplemented with **short hypothetical routes**. On the road Klwów–Przytyk, which was led according to Perthès from Grabowa, and according to Heldensfeld from Wrzeszczów, the two aforementioned villages were connected (the Topographical Map shows a tract here). There is a fragment along the road Szydłowiec–Gowarczów which is not attested to in the sources; this road constituted a part of a great route for driving oxen.<sup>25</sup> Maciejowice is connected with the left bank of the Vistula on our map, i.e. with the road near Mironice, which led through Jedlnia to Radom. In the sixteenth century there certainly was a crossing here, having long tradition in the neighbouring Świerże Górne,<sup>26</sup> and then appearing on Heldensfeld's map as a crossing on an ordinary country road, not a tract. A place on the highway Ciepielów–Siemno, where the eighteenth century maps mark Rozdroże, was connected with Lipsko (on the Topographical Map – tract). We added short fragments of roads: near Falisławice along the Małogoszcz–Mniów highway, and near Sarnia Zwola on the Słupia Nowa–Waśniów highway (a tract on the Topographical Map). The last position of this list is the connection of the road Osiek–Połaniec with the crossing through the Vistula, that is the road through Tursko Wielkie and Niekurza to the river; the crossing and the highway on the right bank of the Vistula appear in our cartographic sources.

The inspection of tariffs from 1564/1565 mentions numerous **bridges** over small and medium rivers, over the Wieprz in Stężycza and Bobrowniki, and between Drażgów and Baranów, in Łysobyki among others.<sup>27</sup> However, these records are far from complete, the records of crossings over major rivers look much better. It should be emphasized here that both: bridges and crossings could be found not only on highways, but also on country, local roads. A meaningful example was noted in the inspection of Sandomierz Voivodeship: in the village Przekop on the right bank of the Vistula there was a crossing 'not on the highway, only on a simple road from neighbouring villages to Osyek'.<sup>28</sup> We list all **crossings** which appeared in both inspections from 1564/5. Over the Vistula these were the crossings in: Przemękowska Wola,<sup>29</sup> Hubenice,<sup>30</sup> Przekop (aforementioned), Kamień near Sandomierz,<sup>31</sup> Strachocin,<sup>32</sup> Zawichost,<sup>33</sup> Linów and Łęg,<sup>34</sup> Kolczyn,<sup>35</sup> Janowiec,<sup>36</sup> Kazimierz,<sup>37</sup> Gromki near

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<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, pp. 282 f.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, pp. 255 f., 265; LS 1564/1565, p. 31.

<sup>25</sup> J. Leitgeber, *Z dziejów handlu i kupiectwa poznańskiego za dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Poznań 1929, pp. 146–153; J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu polskiego w XVI–XVIII w. Handel wolami*, Gdańsk 1977, pp. 98.

<sup>26</sup> T. Wąsowiczówna, *Wczesnośredniowieczne przeprawy przez środkową Wisłę*, KHKM, vol. 5, 1957, pp. 451 f. Probably Sigismundus the Old took this crossing on his way to Lithuania in 1540; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria*, p. 267.

<sup>27</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, pp. 325, 332–337.

<sup>28</sup> LS 1564/1565, p. 107.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> This was a crossing on Tarnów highway leaving Nowe Miasto Korczyn; ibidem, p. 31.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, pp. 124, 141.

<sup>32</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, p. 288.

<sup>33</sup> LS 1564/1565, p. 155.

<sup>34</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, p. 288. The roads from these neighbouring crossings joined on the right bank of the Vistula, in Rachów (future Annopol).

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem; later Józefów town was founded here.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, pp. 303–308.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, p. 301.

Wólka Gołębska and Gołąb,<sup>38</sup> Stężyca,<sup>39</sup> Kozienice.<sup>40</sup> Several other crossings over the Vistula were also marked on the map, which certainly, or only probably existed in the sixteenth century, namely: two crossings near Opatowiec, near Pacanów, near Osiek (aforementioned in Niekurza), the crossing between Sandomierz and Nabrzezcie, in Solec, in Zajezierze, and near Maciejowice. The following crossings were attested to over the San: Nisko, Pławo, Jastkowice, Rzeczyca Długa (Rzeczyca Większa in the sixteenth century) and Kamień Łukawski.<sup>41</sup>

The rules for the reconstruction of the road network in Sandomierz Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century were similar to those applied to the roads on the maps of Lublin Voivodeship and Mazovia. The fact that we were able to use the tariffs inspection for Sandomierz Voivodeship (only fragments of a corresponding inspection survived in Mazovia) made a significant difference. Inconsistencies which emerged in the picture of the road network on the borderlands between Sandomierz Voivodeship and the two aforementioned territories come down to the following supplementations: on the side of Lublin Voivodeship we added a highway on the right bank of the San, leading through Radomyśl among others, then in the roads Kazimierz–Gołąb, Bobrowniki–Końskowola, the connection between Łysobyki with Michów, Kock and Serokomla, connection between Serokomla and Okrzeja and Wojciechów, Żelechów with Tuchowicz;<sup>42</sup> in the Mazovian borderlands we added the roads Korytnica–Garwolin and Łaskarzew–Wilga.

We know that in the sixteenth century the traffic on the roads was seasonal to a large degree, dependent upon the current season of the year and weather conditions. Crossing clay terrain, or loess soils, covering large areas of our territory, must have been very difficult during rainy periods. Połaniec provides an example of seasonal use of a bridge, the bridge was used only during floods, because otherwise it was always possible to ford the river.<sup>43</sup> Apart from periodical differences, other changes in the use of the highways depended on the current season. Mostly these were the results of destruction and lack or repairs of transporting devices, what made crossing difficult, or even impossible, and forced travellers to choose other roads. Small changes, like shifting the traffic to the road leading through a neighbouring village was probably more common than establishing further routes. The aforementioned shift of the road from Ocinek, running through the River Łukawa, was related to the damages of the bridge and embankment ('gaci'). Sometimes even the owner refrained from collecting tolls in order to avoid the costs of maintaining the road, just as in the case of the highway running from Stężyca and Sieciechów to Zwoleń through the forest belonging to Sieciechów abbey in Ławy (the name meaning footbridge). This road, lined with pine timber and fortified with brush, required repairs during the inspection in 1564/5. The monastery had been granted privilege in 1549 to collect 'bridge' toll, but they announced to the collectors 'that for the large costs of building the bridge, the monastery does not want this toll anymore, and wants to return to the Szym the letter given by His Majesty'.<sup>44</sup> Such a position was exceptional. However, collecting tolls without conducting necessary reparations was common. The inspection of customs provides many examples of an unsatisfactory state of highways, positive descriptions, like the one concerning the weir in Wiślica, were rare: 'Cracow weir, widely known, long and high, which starts in Konyeczmosty, and reaches the gate itself, wide and tall, lined with timber, studded with stakes, and cobbled with rocks. On this weir there are six bridges over muds and river before the city'.<sup>45</sup>

Well preserved roads attracted traffic, but they could also discourage many travellers, when the tolls were high. In the sixteenth century, the medieval road obligation was already practically

<sup>38</sup> LS 1564/1565, pp. 244 f.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, pp. 249, 255 f.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, p. 218.

<sup>41</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, p. 288.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Kiryk F. Kiryk, *Z badań nad urbanizacją Lubelszczyzny w dobie jagiellońskiej*, „Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie”, no. 43: Prace Historyczne, 6, 1972, pp. 100–103.

<sup>43</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, p. 284.

<sup>44</sup> LS 1564/1565, p. 257; Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, pp. 337 f. See *Zwoleń. Dzieje miasta i ziemi*, ed. K. Myśliński, Lublin 1976, p. 79.

<sup>45</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, p. 270. This text is quoted by Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Szkice i materiały z dziejów Wiślicy*, [in:] *Studia związane z badaniami wiślickimi*, Warsaw 1970, pp. 22 f. The state of the roads is described by Wyrozumka on the basis of the inspections from 1564–1570, B. Wyrozumka, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, pp. 36–43; cf. J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu*, pp. 173–176.

non-existent. On the one hand, the localization of custom houses was being adjusted to the traffic,<sup>46</sup> but on the other, the traders and carters avoided, when it was possible, driving through these settlements where tolls and tariffs were too high.<sup>47</sup> The range and intensity of the traffic were decisive, when it came to the importance of particular highways. Naturally, it varied, depending on the highway. For instance, political activity of noblemen could be one reason for travelling. In this aspect, places where the nobility gathered (like Opatów or Koprzywnica), became centres which attracted traffic. It must be added that the Mail, created in the second half of the sixteenth century, connected Cracow with Warsaw and Vilnius through the area of Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>48</sup>

Looking from a broader perspective on our area, it must be stated that in some territories natural environment was a source of obstacles for the roads, but to a limited degree. Świętokrzyskie Mountains, the highest rise in the historical territory of Poland except for the Carpathians and Sudetes, was not a barrier. The mountains, neighbouring on the regions of old, dense settlement, were early cut by roads, usually along river valleys, like: Łagów–Słupia Nowa (eastern foothills of Łysogóry), Kielce–Bodzentyn (west of Łysogóry) and Kielce–Zagnańsk, Kielce–Mniów. More intense traffic, and especially the transport of goods, probably took place on the roads which went around the highest parts of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, bending south and east (Chęciny–Daleszyce–Łagów–Opatów–Kunów).<sup>49</sup> In the southern area of Sandomierz Voivodeship the roads ran along rivers, towards mountain passes Zborowska and Dukielska. One of the main roads cutting through our territory was the road running along the Carpathian edge, through Tarnów, Pilzno, Dębica, Ropczyce; this time the lay of the land influenced the course of the road the same way rivers did in other places. Roads not only surrounded, but also cut through the largest forest complex in the Voivodeship: Sandomierz Forest, provided our reconstruction of highways is correct. The network of land routes presented on our map connected with waterways in places where river ports were situated – mostly with the Vistula and the San, on which crops and forest goods were transported.

The road network presented on our map highlights **the most important roads**, main roads which connected large economic, political and cultural centres of the country. Even Sandomierz could not be counted among such centres, they are located outside our territory. The choice of main roads was easy in case of some highways, and very difficult in case of others. On the basis of present state of research, the following roads were considered the most important in Sandomierz Voivodeship.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> For instance, the Radom tariff in 1564/1565 was paid in Stężycza, Zwoleń, Kozienice and Gzowice, and until the second half of the seventeenth century these places still changed; LS 1564/1565, p. 164; LS 1660/1664, I, pp. 92 f., 124, 163 f., cf. B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, pp. 19–35; J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu*, pp. 27–57.

<sup>47</sup> Radom customs house was avoided through Kunów, Iłża, and Solec, and similar complaints about avoiding customs houses were recorded in Chęciny, Ropczyce and in other places; LS 1564/1565, pp. 164, 287; *Lustacja ceł 1564/1565*, pp. 275 f. We quote several complaints of oxen traders from Poznań, in order to present the stand of the other side: ‘They take toll in Kopki, 4 denarii for 1 ox, and they force us to drive the oxen on a bad, road, narrowed by fields, and do not allow to travel through the forest, like in the past, if we do not pay 4 grosze for every 100 oxen. [...] Toll for Opatów is paid in Sandomierz, what has never happened before, because the common road does not get any closer to the borders of this jurisdiction. [...] Bałtów, village. Although we do not reach it, they demand 2 denarii of bridge toll for 1 ox’. The translation from the Latin original was provided by J. Leitgeber, *Z dziejów handlu i kupiectwa poznańskiego*, p. 152. Dated around 1519, according to J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu*, p. 54.

<sup>48</sup> The burghers of Jędrzejów complained that the burghers of Chęciny shun from their duty to carry the post, and so they have to deliver it to Radoszyce. In 1581 the king ordered the inhabitants of Chęciny to fulfill their duty; P. Dąbkowski, *Zbiór dokumentów do historii urzędzeń pocztowych w Polsce*, Lwów 1928, p. 17; cf. *400 lat Poczty Polskiej*, Warsaw 1958, pp. 20 f., 26; K. Buczek, *Publiczne usługi transportowe i komunikacyjne w Polsce średniowiecznej*, KHKM, vol. 15, 1967, pp. 283–289; L. Zimowski, *Geneza i rozwój komunikacji pocztowej na ziemiach polskich*, Warsaw 1972, p. 79.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. A. Gieysztor, *Krajobraz międzyrzecza Pilicy i Wisły we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, pp. 16–20; T. Wąsowicz, *Sandomierska sieć drożna w wiekach średnich*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 122 f.

<sup>50</sup> The more important works: S. Herbst, W. Trzebiński, *Drogi w Polsce około 1500 r.*, Warsaw 1947, Studium Planu Krajowego, Główny Urząd Planowania Przestrzennego (copy); S. Herbst, *Drogi na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej około 1650 r.*, Warsaw 1947, Studium Planu Krajowego, Główny Urząd Planowania Przestrzennego (copy); A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia z dziejów handlu Polski z Wielkim Księstwem Litewskim i Rosją w XVI w.*, Warsaw 1956, pp. 30–40 and map; T. Chudoba, *Z zagadnień handlu wiślanego Warszawy w XVI w.*, PH, vol. 50, 1959, pp. 297–321; M. Wolański, *Związki handlowe Śląska z Rzeczypospolitą w XVII w. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wrocławia*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 50–54, 134 f., 164, 194 f.; J. Małecki, *Studia nad rynkiem regionalnym Krakowa w XVI w.*, Warsaw 1963, pp. 203–208 and map 13; M. Grycz, *Handel Poznania*, pp. 79–87 and tabl. 6; A. Wyrobisz, *Handel w Solcu nad Wisłą do końca XVIII w. Przyczynki do historii rynku wewnętrznego w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, PH, vol. 57, 1966, pp. 26–48; F. Bruns, H. Weczerka, *Hansische Handelsstrassen, Atlas*, Köln–Graz

1. Cracow–Poznań or Toruń:
  - a) Miechów, Secemin, Kurzelów, Przedbórz, Piotrków;<sup>51</sup>
  - b) same to Przedbórz, then Żarnów, Opoczno, Inowłódz, Rawa.
2. Cracow–Warsaw:
  - a) Miechów, Jędrzejów, Małogoszcz, Radoszyce, Końskie, Opoczno, Odrzywół, Nowe Miasto, Mogielnica;
  - b) Proszowice, Wiślica, Busko, Szydłów, Łągów, Opatów, Kunów, Iłża, Skaryszew, Radom, Jedleńsko, Warka.
3. Cracow–Grodno or Brześć:
  - a) like road 2b to Radom, then Jedlnia, Kozienice, Korytnica, Żelechów, Tuchowicz, Łuków;<sup>52</sup>
  - b) same to Radom, then Zwoleń, Sieciechów, Stężycza, Żelechów, etc.
4. Cracow–Lublin:
  - a) like road 2b to Opatów, then Zawichost, Urzędów;
  - b) Koszyce, Opatowiec, Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Pacanów, Połaniec, Osiek, Koprzywnica, Sandomierz, Zawichost, Urzędów.
5. Cracow–Lwów: Bochnia, Wojnicz, Tarnów, Pilzno, Dębica, Ropczyce, Sędziszów, Rzeszów, Jarosław.
6. Lublin–Wrocław:
  - a) Wąwolnica, Kazimierz, Janowiec, Zwoleń, Radom, Skrzywno, Gielniów, Opoczno, Żarnów, Przedbórz, Radomsko;
  - b) same to Opoczno, then Sulejów, Piotrków.
7. Lublin–Poznań or Toruń:
  - a) like 6b;
  - b) same to Radom, then Przytyk, Odrzywół, Inowłódz, Budziszewice or Rawa;
  - c) same to Odrzywół, then Nowe Miasto, Rawa;
  - d) same to Radom, then Jedlińsk, Białostrzegi, Mogielnica, Rawa.
8. Lublin–Warsaw:
  - a) Kazimierz, Sieciechów, Kozienice, Ryczywół, Magnuszew, Czersk;
  - b) Końskowola, Gołab, Stężycza, Maciejowice, Wilga;
  - c) Baranów, Drażgów, Okrzeja, Żelechów, Garwolin, Osieck.
9. Lublin–Koszyce:
  - a) Urzędów, Zawichost, Sandomierz, Koprzywnica, Osiek, Mielec, Rzochów, Dębica, Pilzno, Brzostek, Jasło, Żmigród, Krempna or Dukla;<sup>53</sup>

1962; *Textband*, pp. 595–704; J. Małecki, *Związki handlowe miast polskich z Gdańskiem w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, Wrocław 1968, pp. 29–40, 111–180, map after p. 176; H. Samsonowicz, *Handel Lublina na przełomie XV i XVI w.*, PH, vol. 59, 1968, pp. 612–626; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria*, pp. 249–275; H. Samsonowicz, *Przemiany osi drożnych w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, PH, vol. 64, 1973, pp. 697–716; J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu*, pp. 90–101, 114–142; B. Wyrozumka, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, pp. 51–57, 65–68, 79 f.

<sup>51</sup> This was an old Hungarian-Prussian road. Its course through Secemin and Kurzelów, and not through Jędrzejów and Małogoszcz is attested by: Etzlaub's map from 1501 (see footnote 6), a 1510 document concerning bridge privilege (MRPS IV, no. 9446), the inspection of the roads in Cracow Voivodeship from 1570 (LDK, p. 68). Also, this road appears in royal itineraries more often than the connection via Małogoszcz (A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria*, pp. 259–271). I have already accepted the course of the road through Secemin before, see H. Rutkowski, *Wstęp do historii dróg w województwie kieleckim*, [in:] *Konferencja naukowo-techniczna „Kieleckie Dni Drogowe”*, Kielce 1963, pp. V–VI. Other authors repeat the hypothesis of S. Weyman (idem, *Cła i drogi handlowe w Polsce Piastowskiej*, Poznań 1938, p. 104 and map), and claim that this road led through Małogoszcz. Cf. F. Bruns, H. Weczerka, *Hansische Handelsstrassen*, pp. 650–652; B. Wyrozumka, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, p. 67 (the author's opinion is not entirely clear). The fact that our map shows also the road running through Małogoszcz, Oleszno and Przedbórz does not change the issue of the course of the great trade route.

<sup>52</sup> This was the road to Lithuania taken by the last Jagiellons. It ran through Wola Paprotna (today: Paprotnia), among others, where there was a bridge, or rather: a dyke, leading through the swamps between this village and Wola Życka. In the bridge privilege of Sigismundus Augustus granted to Anselm Gostomski, concerning Wola Paprotna (1553) there appear the words: 'quem pontem nos ipsi vidimus per eumque in Magnum nostrum Ducatum Lithuaniae proficisci solemus', *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, pp. 288 f., see MRPS V, no. 6145. Wola Paprotna does not appear amidst the places where the last of the Jagiellon dynasty stayed, A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria*.

<sup>53</sup> A highway 'to Podgórze, to Hungary' is attested near Rzemień, *Lustracja ceł 1564/1565*, p. 267. See also F. Bruns, H. Weczerka, *Hansische Handelsstrassen*, pp. 652–654; K. Pieradzka, *Krosno centrum handlu winem węgierskim w XVI wieku*, [in:] *Krosno, Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, vol. 1, ed. J. Garbacik, Cracow 1972, pp. 171–181; O.R. Halaga, *Košice –*

- b) same to Brzostek, then Frysztak, Krosno, Dukla.
10. Lwów–Wrocław:
- a) Jarosław, Rzeszów, Sędziszów, Ropczyce, Dębica, Pilzno, Tarnów, Żabno, Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Wiślica, Działoszyce, Miechów;
  - b) Jarosław, Leżajsk, Rudnik, Pławo, Sandomierz, Koprzywnica, Osiek, Połaniec, Pacanów, Stopnica, Wiślica etc.;
  - c) same to Pacanów, then Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Wiślica, Pińczów, Jędrzejów, Lelów;
  - d) same to Osiek, then Staszów, Raków, Pierzchnica, Chęciny, Małogoszcz, Secemin, Lelów.<sup>54</sup>
11. Lwów–Poznań or Toruń:
- a) like 10b to Sandomierz, then Opatów, Kunów, Iłża, Szydłowiec, Gowarczów, Opoczno, Sulejów, Piotrków;
  - b) same to Opoczno, then Inowłódz, Budziszewice or Rawa;
  - c) same to Iłża, then Skaryszew, Radom, Przytyk, Odrzywół, Inowłódz, Budziszewice or Rawa;
  - d) same to Radom, then Przytyk, Odrzywół, Nowe Miasto, Rawa;
  - e) same to Radom, then Jedleńsk, Białobrzegi, Mogielnica, Rawa.
12. Lwów–Warsaw: like 11e to Jedleńsk, then Warka, Czersk.
13. Warsaw–Koszyce:
- a) Czersk, Warka, Jedleńsk, Radom, Skryszew, Iłża, Kunów, Opatów, Koprzywnica, then like road 9a;
  - b) same to Brzostek, then like 9b.

Some of the listed main roads were marked by Pograbek on his map (see above). These most important highways interchanged both: in biggest cities in Sandomierz Voivodeship (Sandomierz, Radom, Opoczno, Opatów), and in small towns (Odrzywół, Żelechów, Małogoszcz). The division into major and minor roads was not shown on the main map, but on the additional map repeating the picture of the road network at a scale of 1:500,000 (map 6).

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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*Balt, Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom (1275–1526)*, Košice 1975, pp. 156, 161 f., 265–268; B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, pp. 79 f.

<sup>54</sup> Roads 10c and 10d were used for driving oxen to Silesia, their course is uncertain, cf. J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu*, pp. 92 f. (map), 95–97.

### III.5.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

The sources from the sixteenth century do not allow for a complete reconstruction of the road network, but we know roads must have connected all settlements. Also in this case, as with the reconstruction of the forest cover, we had to resort to later sources, to the oldest cartographic presentations of this element. This time we based on the eighteenth century map by Perthées. The undoubtedly conservative approach to the course of roads, especially prior to the introduction of hard-surfaced roads, allows us to assume that the road network from the end of the eighteenth century was usually similar with the one from the sixteenth century.

The map does not show all communication routes, which could be hypothetically reconstructed. It is only a selection of the most important roads, and as such it was based on the network of highways and post routes in the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> However, we did not follow Perthées's map strictly, but took account of records mentioning the importance of particular routes in the sixteenth century, as well as the situation of settlement in this period. This way we aimed at presenting the state valid in the period presented on our map.<sup>2</sup>

Lublin was the most important transport node of the voivodeship. Its size, economic and in fact political (place of gatherings) significance reached far and maintained heavy traffic on routes which led to the city. Two of the crossing directions were particularly important: the road from Cracow to Vilnius going through Sandomierz, Zawichost, Urzędów, Bełżyce, Lublin, Ostrów, Parczów, Brześć, and the road from Poznań to Lwów through Radom, Kazimierz, Wąwolnica, Lublin, Piasek, Krasnystaw. Additionally, several other important routes led from Lublin, which created a complex communication node in the city.

Łuków should be listed in the second place, as several important communication routes met in this town. Then we must also mention other towns, like Siedlce, Radzyń and Kock in Łuków land, Parczów and Ostrów situated on the road to Lithuania, Kurów and Kazimierz, and then two pairs of towns competing with each other for the position of an important transport node: Urzędów and Kraśnik, and Piasek and Biskupice. This is not a full list of all towns, small towns and villages of importance in the communication network.

It must also be added that the Rivers Wieprz, San and Vistula in particular were important waterways. Kazimierz played the main role in connecting land and water routes in Lublin Voivodeship. The town's busy port on the River Vistula was the place where grain from large, fertile fields of the voivodeship and even Ruthenia (Chełm land, etc.) was loaded on ships and sent to Gdańsk. Kazimierz owed its growth in the sixteenth century to the grain trade.

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>1</sup> See also Z. Góralski, *Taryfa mostowego i grobelnego województwa lubelskiego z 1767 r.*, KHKM, vol. 4, 1956, pp. 541–574.

<sup>2</sup> S. Herbst, W. Trzebiński, *Drogi w Polsce około 1500 r.*, Warsaw 1947, Studium Planu Krajowego, Główny Urząd Planowania Przestrzennego (copy); S. Herbst, *Drogi na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej około 1650 r.* (map), Warsaw 1947, Studium Planu Krajowego, Główny Urząd Planowania Przestrzennego (copy); L. Białkowski, *Lublin na starych szlakach handlowych*, „Pamiętnik Lubelski”, vol. 3, 1938, pp. 288–293; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia z dziejów handlu Polski z W. Ks. Litewskim i Rosją w XVI w.*, Warsaw 1956, pp. 32–40 and map; K. Myśliński, *Lublin a handel Wrocławia z Rusią w XIV i XV w.*, „Rocznik Lubelski”, vol. 3, 1960, pp. 5–36.

### III.5.4 GREATER POLAND

*Tomasz Związek*

The maps contained in this section shown a selection of the major roads (highroads), whose location and layout in the second half of the sixteenth century has been reconstructed based on our analysis of written and cartographic sources. This transport network is shown in the main map (scale 1:250,000) as well as in the separate thematic map (1:500,000). In the latter, the roads are classed (in line with the AHP series principle) into main and secondary highroads.<sup>1</sup> The issues touched upon in this chapter are related mainly to the methodological issues concerning the reconstruction of the road network and the methods of presentation of roads in the map, rather than to enumeration of individual connections and their detailed (by-section) description.<sup>2</sup> The present study widely draws upon Geographic Information Systems (GIS).<sup>3</sup>

The major cartographic sources of use in the research into settlement in the Voivodeships of Kalisz and Poznań are discussed in one of the preceding chapters.<sup>4</sup> Let us however remind that the resource of Greater Poland maps ranks among the richest among the regions covered by the AHP series so far. The earliest historical cartographic record that has been intensely used in our work was the mid-seventeenth-century map by Georg Freudenhammer, providing data on river-crossing facilities/passages (Fig. 1). Along with the information on bridges in Krakow Voivodeship, they became an essential element that enabled us to complement the road network under reconstruction.<sup>5</sup> In the course of our work, the 1802 map by David Gilly was also used, as were two manuscript maps by Karol de Perthées (Voivodeships of Poznań and Kalisz). The *Quartermaster's Office Map* (also known as *A Topographic Map of the Kingdom of Poland*) has not been referred to, owing to its unsatisfactory coverage of the territory under study. For the northern areas – that is, the land of Wałcz and the district of Nakło – the available useful historical records and sources were rather modest; the Friedrich Leopold von Schrötter map and the fragmentarily preserved UMTB sheets have primarily been used.

Fundamental for the setting out of the roads was, in the first place, to gather the data allowing to plot within the area of our interest the nodal points, being the places at which several main roads converged.<sup>6</sup> Hence, our search mainly focused on records with a possibly extensive territorial range. These have included Church visitation records related to royal demesnes and dating to 1564–5,<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7; M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.5.5; eadem, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.5.1. The main highroads are listed at the end of this commentary section.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed discussion of the existing Polish-language literature dealing with road research has recently been provided by A. Janeczek, *Staropolski układ komunikacyjny na mapie józefińskiej Galicji z lat 1779–1783. Szansa czy iluzja rekonstrukcji*, [in:] *Galiczyjskie drogi i bezdroża. Studium infrastruktury, organizacji i kultury podróżowania*, ed. J. Kamińska-Kwak, Rzeszów 2013, pp. 9–12.

<sup>3</sup> See more on this topic: K. Chłapowski, M. Słoń, *Introduction to volume 4: Greater Poland (2017)*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition I.2.4.

<sup>4</sup> T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition II.2.4.

<sup>5</sup> Por. H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2; M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.5.

<sup>6</sup> A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo belskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.*, Warsaw 1991, p. 64; see Ł. Sobczak, *Punkty węzłowe w sieci drogowej na obszarze Prus w XIV i XV wieku*, [in:] *Ekonomia i historia. Zarys wybranych problemów gospodarczo-społecznych*, ed. I. Janicka, T. Gutowski, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 260–269.

<sup>7</sup> LWVK 1564, passim.

1569,<sup>8</sup> and 1616–20;<sup>9</sup> customs duty and toll privileges and bestowals, as per the *Metrica Regni Poloniae*;<sup>10</sup> revisions of roads, customs duties, and toll collection points in Voivodeship of Kalisz, dating to 1571;<sup>11</sup> and, a breakdown of fairs held at the Silesian-Greater Polish borderland in the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Of use have also proved the relevant normative acts, including the ‘Law for the frontier store-houses and fayres’,<sup>13</sup> and, ‘On store-houses and old roads’<sup>14</sup> from 1565. Among the documents of primary importance for this chapter, early sixteenth-century files enumerating the roads and places traversed by merchants moving from Silesia and Brandenburg (1513)<sup>15</sup> and a breakdown of inland customs-houses and guardhouses/watchtowers (*custodiarum*) on the borderland of Greater Poland and Silesia (1524) should primarily be mentioned.<sup>16</sup> Fiscal records has also been used; they included, in the first place, tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century for Voivodeships of Poznań and Kalisz, as the source of information on inns or taverns (or rather, ‘propination (liquor production and selling) points’). The two-volume dissertation on the economy of the sixteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth penned by Roman Rybarski (published before the Second World War) has been an invaluable source of data from the lost accounts of Greater Polish inland customs-houses.<sup>17</sup> This body of information has been complemented by the accounts issued for Międzyrzecz (1581; four fascicles (‘sewn documents’)), Wschowa (1581; four fascicles), Kęblowo (*Kieblów*) (1585; one fascicle), Obornik (1585; one fascicle), and Wronki (1585; one fascicle), all preserved at the State Archives in Poznań<sup>18</sup> mentions or notes picked out in the file of the Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN), have been (fragmentarily) used as well.

Following the series’ guidelines, no dedicated query was carried out into Greater Polish court registers; excerpts from these registers were mainly obtained from the thitherto-published fascicles of the *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu*. The chamberlain registers (*księgi podkomorskie*) have not been used; this pretty abundant source of knowledge on roads in the preindustrial period (as attested by experience)<sup>19</sup> has not proved sufficiently useful for the present purpose, based on an initial exploratory query.<sup>20</sup> Site inspections carried out by chamberlains at the contact points of the period’s estates or demesnes tended to focus on a complete description of the dispute in question and, most frequently, on bringing about an amicable settlement based on the

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<sup>8</sup> LWWK 1569, passim.

<sup>9</sup> LWWK 1616, passim.

<sup>10</sup> The MK data have been reviewed with use of the published ‘summary registries’ MRPS, by way of autopsy of the volumes with no such aids provided, as well as though the annex of the fairs published in A. Bartoszewicz, *Czas w małych miastach. Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, Warsaw–Pułtusk 2003 pp. 325–355. The MK volumes from the reign of Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory) have regrettably not been reviewed.

<sup>11</sup> Akt rew., passim (rev. A. Gąsiorowski, *Rewizja wydania Aktu rewizji kaliskich komór celnych z 1571 roku. Na marginesie publikacji pt. Rewizja komór celnych i stacji mytniczych województwa kaliskiego z 1571 r. Edycja „Aktu rewizorów ziemskich”*, pub. Tomasz Związek, *St. Źródł.*, 54, 2016, pp. 129–149, *SŻ*, vol. 55, 2017, pp. 229–235).

<sup>12</sup> AGAD, dok. pap., no. 3780, ‘Spisanie jarmarków wielkopolskich, to jest przed granicami śląskimi, także i w Śląsku, w miastach cesarskich i książęcych, na których trzeba bywając pilności wielkiej’. A critical edition of this document has recently been issued; see *Spisanie jarmarków*, pp. 158–159..

<sup>13</sup> VC, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 167–169.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 178–184.

<sup>15</sup> *Corpus iuris Polonici*, vol. I/3, pub. O. Balzer, Cracow 1906, no. 130; Weymann, *Drogi*, p. 220.

<sup>16</sup> MK 36, f. 857; MRPS IV/2, no. 13852; CMP, no. 151.

<sup>17</sup> Rybarski, *Handel*; Rybarski, *Tabele*, passim.

<sup>18</sup> Rach. kom. cel., sign. C1–C11. Under sign. C12 comprises an *Inquisicia przemithow przy panu Thilyczkim i Roszcziszowskim* from 1583. The fascicles of customs-house accounts were published in March 2017 in Szymon Kazusek’s edition (*Księgi celne Korony z drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, pub. S. Kazusek, Kielce 2017). As the latter study was issued as this text was being completed, and since it contains a wealth of errors (T. Związek, *Uwagi w związku z edycją „Ksiąg celnych Korony z drugiej połowy XVI wieku”*, pub. Szymon Kazusek, Kielce 2017, RDSG, vol. 78, 2017, pp. 395–420), the collection of fascicles related to the operation of inland customs-houses, kept at the State Archives in Poznań, are hereinafter quoted based on the original source (at the said storage location).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 64, footnote 5, with a wealth of useful information found in the Bełz Voivodeship’s chamberlain registers.

<sup>20</sup> Reviewed have been Kalisz Voivodeship’s chamberlain registers, sign. P. Kalisz 1, 2, and 3. Poznań Voivodeship’s chamberlain register, sign. P. Poznań 1, has also been checked up, mainly through SHGPoz.



**Figure. 1.** Detail of the map by Georg Freudenhammer, representing the river-crossing passages in the western part of the former Voivodeship of Poznań

existing border mounds.<sup>21</sup> Information on roads or passages appeared in those registers sporadically and normally with respect to the local space, which is out of the scope of reconstruction maps published in this series. Hence the legitimate concern that a complete query through the series of the said registers would have yielded results incommensurate to the effort expended.

This chapter does not embark on an extensive toponomastic analysis of settlements and water-courses, whose names are interpretable as derived from the appellatives such as *kamień* (stone), *bród* (ford), or *most* (bridge),<sup>22</sup> along with names of older origin, to mention *clo* (customs duty).<sup>23</sup> There is namely a need to examine this issue in a separate article that would discuss individual appellative/onomastic groups based on concrete examples.<sup>24</sup> The accumulating difficulty in this respect is well illustrated by the case of Brody, a parochial village situated in Kościan district. Its name seems to have been based on the aforesaid appellative *bród* (ford) but might equally well be a linguistic relic originally derived from the personal name ‘Broda’ (which basically means ‘beard’, in plural), or, perhaps, the family name of ‘Brody’ (*de armis Brodi*).<sup>25</sup> The authors of the dictionary of Poland’s place-names

<sup>21</sup> On the type of settlement landscape rendered by records of this sort, see, inter alia, R. Jop, *Uwagi o piętnastowiecznej terminologii granicznej w lubelskich i sandomierskich księgach sądowych*, „Res Historica”, vol. 32, 2011, pp. 14–15.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, „Kamień”, „Kamienne Brody”. *Przyczynek do organizacji szlaków drogowych w średniowieczu (na przykładzie Mazowsza)*, „Archaeologia Historica Polona”, vol. 15, 2005, no. 2, pp. 364–384.

<sup>23</sup> *Księga ziemna kaliska 1400–1409*, pub. T. Jurek, Poznań 1991 (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydawnictwa Źródłowe Komisji Historycznej, vol. 22), no. 1930: „Domina Hedvigis consors domini Janusii Furma[n] {Castellani Medzirzecensis} evasit dominum Olbracht fratrem suum clenodialem de Zalascowo pro hereditate Czlo, pro qua contra ipsum erogat”; cf. *Cło*, [in:] NMP, vol. 2, p. 157; see also B. Wołowik, *Nazwy przewozowych opłat celnych w polskiej toponimii*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Linguistica”, vol. 27, 1993, pp. 349–354.

<sup>24</sup> Owing to the scarcity of relevant records, water transport, which must have been essential in the preindustrial period, has not been taken note of; see, for example, Z. Kurnatowska, S. Kurnatowski, *Znaczenie komunikacji wodnej dla społeczeństw pradziejowych i wczesnośredniowiecznych w Polsce*, [in:] *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie*, vol. 1, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, Wrocław 1996, pp. 117–123; T. Baranowski, *Komunikacyjna rola Prosnny we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *O rzecze i wodzie w życiu codziennym człowieka średniowiecza*, ed. S. Moździoch, K. Chrzan, Wrocław 2015 (Spotkania Bytomskie, vol. 8), pp. 77–92.

<sup>25</sup> *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych*, vol. 1, no. 2, ed. W. Taszycki, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1966, pp. 246–247; cf. *Wielkopolskie rotty sądowe XIV–XV wieku*, vol. 3: *Roty kościańskie*, comp. H. Kowalewicz, W. Kuraszkiewicz, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1967, no. 196, 1128.

(*Nazwy miejscowe Polski*) vaguely remark that ‘the village is located by the river’.<sup>26</sup> The interpretive difficulty is further intensified by another settlement situated beside Brody, which in the latter half of the sixteenth century was called Bródki (the varieties include: *Brody Nova*, 1553; *Brodi Nowe*, 1563; *Brodi Male*, 1567; and, *Brodki*, 1577), which evidently doubled the name of the elder village. The spatial context would suggest that both names be interpreted as derived from the appellative *bród*, but this assumption cannot be taken as certain. It seems that we have to do with a place-name derived from a person’s name, as is seemingly suggested by a note in the earliest court register of Kościan, compiled in 1403.<sup>27</sup> There are many more such examples,<sup>28</sup> whereas no onomastic analysis of the names related to the aforementioned appellatives can be carried out without the details of the chronology of settlement in Greater Poland. River-crossing facilities have also been regarded as points of importance to the development of the road network. Taking advantage of the fact that the SHGPoz takes note of fords and bridges with their names proper, it has been resolved that the map will only feature those crossing passages which were strictly related to the presented highroad network, possibly without local passages, as between fields or villages, being plotted. Some of the reflected fords are items with uncertain localisation, as the mentions about them are based on court registers and there is no other material that would enable us to situate these names in space. Such structures or facilities have only been marked for the district of Wałcz, the northern part of Poznań district, and in Kościan district. The items of this kind were, particularly in the north of Poznań Voivodeship, approached as an important element of the road network; they have made it feasible to set out a road between Człopa and Czarnków, or to set out a branch of *Margrabska Droga*, a route that was set through Kozi Bród toward Złotów (Złotowo) and Łobżenica in the district of Nakło. In Kościan district, setting out roads was a high-priority task, owing to the area’s high hydration.<sup>29</sup> The fords and bridges shown on the map helped to identify the busiest roads, among which was certainly the route from Silesia via Wschowa, Śmigiel, Kościan, and Czempin, up to Poznań and further on northwards.

Public roads or highroads (*viae publicae*) were also described, in mediaeval and modern-era records, also as ‘great’ or ‘large’ (*via magna*), or royal (*via regia*). During the centuries, they linked the most essential administrative and commercial centres. Hence, they had as if an institutional role, which enabled a broad economic and cultural exchange between the Crown and the neighbouring countries.<sup>30</sup> These roads were under special care of the ruling monarch; in order to gain a possibly

<sup>26</sup> Z. Zierhoffer, *Brody (12)*, [in:] NMP, vol. 1, p. 344.

<sup>27</sup> *Wielkopolskie rotty sądowe*, vol. 3, p. 119: “Item testes ducit Przemil Rogaczewsky erga Stanislaum Szydowcam: primus Portreo Colnicza, secundus Albertus Bril, tercius Lech Sadora, quartus Johannes Brod [underlined by T.Z.], quintus Adam filius Pyanowsky, sextus Andreas Szczepowsky”.

<sup>28</sup> An issue that calls for addressing as a special focus is the settlements whose names are derived from the appellative *kamień* (stone). For instance, the name of the ironworks settlement of Kamiennik (*Hamer Kamiennik*) in Poznań Voivodeship was probably re-conceived after that of the nearby pond (LWVK 1564, Part 1, p. 193: “in the voide by this realms are two pitches wherein tarr is burned, a pitt is at Kamieniecz”; p. 198: “the pond Kamieniecz upon this same streame also proveth to be empty”). The ironworks is attested in RPWP, pzn, 1580, no. 780; RPWP, pzn, 1581, no. 771; RPWP, pzn, 1583, no. 784. In the sixteenth-century territory of Kalisz and Poznań Voivodeships, less than forty examples have hitherto been identified of the names derived from the appellatives *kamień*, *most*, and *bród*, which ought to be analysed for their origins and, possibly, for their functioning in the context of development of roads and trade routes in the mediaeval and early modern age.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. Wędzki, *Rola przejść przez środkową Obrę w kształtowaniu sieci miejskiej południowo-zachodniej Wielkopolski*, [in:] idem, *Ze studiów nad procesami osadniczymi ziem Polski zachodniej. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1987 (Instytut Słowianoznawstwa PAN, Prace Sławistyczne, vol. 64), pp. 8–55.

<sup>30</sup> S. Lewicki, *Drogi handlowe w Polsce w wiekach średnich*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności”, vol. 8, 1906, no. 8, pp. 11–14; W. Szulist, *Ważniejsze szlaki handlowo-komunikacyjne północno-zachodniego Pomorza Gdańskiego w XVI–XVIII w.*, „Zapiski Historyczne”, vol. 35, 1970, no. 3–4, pp. 99–110; H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7; B. Wyrozumka, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI wieku*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1977, pp. 5–6; A. Janeczek, *Kierunki handlu solą ruską w świetle spisu gościńców prasolskich z pierwszej połowy XVI w.*, [in:] *Scientia nihil est quam veritatis imago. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, ed. A. Sochacka, P. Jusiak, Lublin 2014, pp. 311–312; T. Čelkis, *Stan dróg lądowych i struktura systemu połączeń w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w końcu XV–XVII wieku*, „Zapiski Historyczne”, vol. 69, 2014, no. 3, pp. 44–47; cf. M. Maciejewska, *Gościńiec*, [in:] *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 8, ed. H. Górka, Cracow 1974, p. 56; M. Szilágyi, *On the Road. The History and Archaeology of Communication Networks in East-Central Europe*, Budapest 2014, pp. 85–91; Ch. Oertel, *Road Networks, Communications, and the Teutonic Order. A Case Study from Medieval Thuringia*, [in:] *Journeying Along Medieval Routes in Europe and the Middle East*, ed. A.L. Gaiscoigne, L.V. Hicks, M. O’Doherty, Turnhout 2016 (Medieval Voyaging, vol. 3), pp. 205–229; M. Brzostowicz, *Ląd i ziemia nad Wartą*, [in:] *O rzece i wodzie w życiu codziennym*, pp. 93–111.

high income from them, the king would develop the system of royal customs duties and tolls, whilst in parallel running the commercial traffic through the staple/storage right and development of the market network.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the highroads were as if in opposition to the local (rural) roads, the latter being directly managed by landowners who were bound (at least theoretically) to render them available to all travellers.<sup>32</sup>

The naming of roads in the records related to Greater Poland's territory is in line with the terms encountered at the time in the other areas of the Crown. For example, the way set through Gniezno was called 'great' (*magna via*),<sup>33</sup> as per a document dated 1394; the way from Koło to Brudzew, a locality situated at the border of Konin and Kalisz districts, set 'versus terras Poloni[a]e, S[i]lesia[e]', was called 'public' (*via publica*).<sup>34</sup> Another high road that led from Koło toward Sieradz is mentioned in a 1422 document issued by King Władysław II Jagiełło, just as a *via*.<sup>35</sup> The way linking Środa and Pyzdry was referred to in 1390 as a *strata publica*;<sup>36</sup> a dozen years later, the trackway leading from Środa to Poznań was described as a *via publica*.<sup>37</sup> Such Latin descriptions functioned also in Polish, as is made clear in a demarcation preserved in the land register of Kalisz from 1518, reading: 'usque ad viam magnam, que vadit per medium borre [i.e., through the middle of the *bór*=(basically, coniferous) forest], que via vadit circa villas alias Ninyno, Roszdzyalovo et Nandzerzewo ex Calysch in Coszmynek, que voactur wyelga droga [i.e., *the greate roade*] et ab eandem wyelga droga [*ditto*] vadunt scopuli circa borram Dampsky [=name of the forest] alias nad borem dampskym [a Polish equivalent of the foregoing phrase]'.<sup>38</sup> The highroad from Kobylin to Zduny is attested also in the subsequently compiled land register of the district of Kalisz, 1593.<sup>39</sup> The phrase *wielka droga* ('great road') was used for the route leading from Głogów to Poznań via Śmigiel, Glińsko, and Czacz;<sup>40</sup> the same name described the way from Gniezno to Poznań, set via Pobiedziska and Biskupice (1394).<sup>41</sup> In 1591, upon demarcation of the estates between Dachowa and Szczodrzykowo in Poznań Voivodeship, a *wielka droga* was mentioned, set through the local forests and going from Nowe Miasto nad Wartą, in Pyzdry district, up to Poznań.<sup>42</sup> Attested (thrice) for the former half of the sixteenth century is the route going from Borek in Pyzdry district to Dolsk.<sup>43</sup> A mention from 1595 refers to a public road from Poznań to Pszczew via Pniewy, Lewice, and Silna.<sup>44</sup> As is known, the bridge toll (*mostowe*) was collected also at Pawłów near Jutrosin. A *strata publica* was set through these localities, which 'tendit Posnania,

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<sup>31</sup> K. Stachowska, *Prawo składu w Polsce do 1565 r.*, „Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności”, vol. 51, 1950, no. 9, pp. 586–593; see also: L. Koczy, *Handel Poznania do połowy wieku XVI*, Poznań 1930, pp. 158–200; G. Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni gospodarczej Europy (XIII–XV wiek). Centrum czy peryferie?*, Wrocław 2009, pp. 128–136, especially p. 130 and footnote 188 (listing further relevant references).

<sup>32</sup> B. Wyrozumski, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, pp. 14–15; VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 385 (O wydaniu dróg); see also: S. Bylina, *Drogi – granice – most. Studia o przestrzeni publicznej i sakralnej w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 2012, p. 13; S. Beldowski, *Drożysko*, [in:] *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 6, ed. M. Borecki, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1972, p. 57.

<sup>33</sup> KDW VI, no. 339.

<sup>34</sup> KDW IX, no. 1206.

<sup>35</sup> KDW VIII, no. 944: “molendini nostri circa Colo civitatem nostram prope pontem et viam, quibus itur versus Syradiam, super flumine Wartha situati”.

<sup>36</sup> KDW III, no. 1436.

<sup>37</sup> KDW V, no. 393.

<sup>38</sup> Kalisz Ziem. 20, ff. 40–40v. The register contains a number of mixed sheets; the quoted note follows the sequence of sheets: 43, 44, 41[*sic*], 39[*sic*], after which f. 45 and 46 are inserted. Let us add that AHP Sieradz does not regard the road through Koźminek as an important highroad; see the way from Dobra toward Kalisz, in M. Wilska, *Ważniejsze drogi województw sieradzkiego i łęczyckiego w XVI wieku*, cartographic comp. E. Rutkowska, [in:] AHP Sieradz, part 1, plan no. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Kalisz Ziem. 21, ff. 366v: “a via magna versus Cobylyn de Zduny ad viam que ducit a molendino dicto Koth ad villam Besthwyn”.

<sup>40</sup> K. Górską-Gołaska, *Kościan*, [in:] SHGPoz, part II, p. 345.

<sup>41</sup> J. Luciński, *Biskupice*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 56.

<sup>42</sup> K. Górską-Gołaska, *Dachowa*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 322; AP Poznań, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego w Poznaniu, sign. 157, p. 988: “the broad *płosa* [=strip of land, 12-*zagon* (field-patch) long] that is beyond Mister Stanisław's ground[,] the half commencing with the forest upp to certaine signes by the greate roade which goeth from Dachowa to Kurnik”. Roads were quite often set through woods, thickets of bushes indeed; see, for example, SHGPoz, part II, pp. 433, 460; AP Poznań, Sąd podkomorzego województwa kaliskiego, Kalisz P. 1, f. 31: “Nagorna villam regalem iacentem prope viam, qua itur de Choyny ad Nagorna inter rubeta”.

<sup>43</sup> J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, p. 377.

<sup>44</sup> I. Skierska, *Pczew*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 617.

Vratislaviam et in Silesiam’;<sup>45</sup> its condition left much to be desired, as is stated not only by the said document but also by the *Akt rewizorów ziemskich* (hereinafter, Akt rew.), compiled in 1571.<sup>46</sup> Apart from the mentions of highroads, there is a note from 1429 on a ‘straight and accustomed way’ (*via recta et solita*) leading from Żnin to Toruń ‘per Labiszyn, Lisowo, Myslowice, Loiewo et Blinno’.<sup>47</sup> Another known example is that of a route named after the direction of commercial exchange, set through the Land of Wałcz and linking Brandenburg with Gdansk. Called Margrabska Droga (*via Marchionalis, Preusnische Weg, Markgrawen Weg*), the route was one of the major East-West transport arteries in the region, in the Middle Ages as well as in the modern period.<sup>48</sup>

Facing the existing research experience was part of our task. The highroad network shown in this AHP volume is not the first historiographical attempt at creating an image of Greater Poland’s roads in the preindustrial era. We have two, now classical, elaborations that portray, in a simplified fashion, the courses of traffic routes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – namely, the study by Stefan Weymann<sup>49</sup> and the map attached to Zbigniew Góralski’s edition of the inspection of roads, tariffs, and bridge toll of 1767.<sup>50</sup> The Weymann article collects a number of mentions of roads from scattered records, including diplomatic codices, published studies on the history of law, or copies/excerpts from now-inexistent pre-war files, kept at the Central Archives of Historical Records [AGAD] and the Krasieński Library. The method of cartographic presentation of the layout of roads shown in the map attached to Weymann study basically shows the main directions of trade, rather than a real courses of the roads concerned, which is of essential importance to our proposed reconstruction – primarily, in terms of compliance in the matching of the plotted course of a road between the atlas map and the background content. The layout attached to the Góralski article has a similar function as it represents important traffic arteries along with the side courses.<sup>51</sup> In spite of a considerable lapse of time from the dates of their publication, both studies have still been approached as a point-of-departure for the research into sixteenth-century roads in view of this AHP volume.

It has to be remarked, though, that the maps by Weymann and Góralski depict the road network up to the line of the River Noteć. Their reconstructions do not cover the roads in the northern territory of the sixteenth-century district of Poznań and the entirety of Nakło and Wałcz districts. In Weymann’s article, the limit line beyond which no roads are shown is Nakło – Białośliwie – Ujście – Piła – Trzcianka (Trzciana Łąka) – Czarnków – Wieleń; in the Góralski edition, the line is Nakło – Białośliwie – Ujście – Wałcz – Człopa – Wieleń. These obvious gaps are explainable by several factors. One is the poorly preserved and dispersed records for those areas, covering the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The other is a rather weak economic position of the centres situated in this area, which largely tended to be omitted by long-distance and far-reaching trade operations, extending from Frankfurt, Krosno, Żagań, Zgorzelec, Szczecin, toward Toruń and Gdańsk. The main freight traffic went via Poznań and Kalisz, moving toward the north-east through Kalisz Voivodeship, including via Gniezno, Konin, Koło, and Pызdry.<sup>52</sup> Only one of the branches of the Frankfurt-Pomeranian route led through the land of Wałcz – namely, the aforementioned *Margrabska Droga*, which was handled by the inland customs-house

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<sup>45</sup> MK 108, ff. 440v.

<sup>46</sup> See Akt rew., p. 44: “As we were there, we could see that in a drie seasons [one] may circumvent the bridges with no damage. But we have the concern that in the springe on the melte and thawe the crossing would be bad and difficult. And it was apparent to uss that the dutie could remain without complaints amongst the people shouldst it be provided that the dutie never be taken [=collected], save at the [time of] bad roads, if the bridges may not be circumvented, and [this] for the sake that the old road be spoyled not by meanes of no artifice”. Cf. MK 31, 238: “multa loca esse paludiosa in via publica”.

<sup>47</sup> KDW V, no. 504. In this atlas, the road is marked only partly; cf H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2.

<sup>48</sup> K. Góraska-Gołaska, [*Margrabska Droga*], [in:], SHGPoz, part III, p. 89; eadem, *Zasadzki rycerstwa wielkopolskiego na Drodze Margrabskiej pod Turzą Górą w 1430 r.*, SMDWP, vol. 12, 1976, no. 1, pp. 53–62; T. Jurek, *Wielkopolska*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 585–593. The route is also mentioned in W. Szulist, *Ważniejsze szlaki*, p. 105. Margrabska Droga was also described as a *via magna et notabilis*; see A. Wielopolski, *Polsko-pomorskie spory graniczne w latach 1536–1555*, PZ, vol. 10, 1954, no. 5–6, pp. 97, 102, where it is referred to as a *droga marchionów* (the Margraves’/Markherzogs’ road).

<sup>49</sup> Weymann, *Drogi*, pp. 194–253.

<sup>50</sup> *Taryfy 1767*, pp. 225–307.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 306–307.

<sup>52</sup> *Hansische Handelsstrassen: Atlas*, comp. H. Weczerka, Köln–Graz 1962 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte. Neue Folge, vol. 13, part 1), Kart. VII.

in Wałcz, attested as of 1524,<sup>53</sup> with contribution from the fairs, of which four were held locally at the century's end.<sup>54</sup> Wałcz is known to have been the major urban centre in its namesake district. The other West-to-East towns of importance were Łobżenica and Nakło nad Notecią (Nakiel), situated in Nakło district.<sup>55</sup> In Nakło itself, like in Wałcz, customs-houses, attested as of 1524, are known to have functioned.<sup>56</sup> The Nakło fair is known from 1520 onwards.<sup>57</sup> Akt rew. tells us moreover that highroads were available in Nakło 'that goe to Gdańsk, to Łobżenica, to Bydgoszcz, to Gniezno'.<sup>58</sup> The brevity of mentions traceable in the records goes hand in hand with scarcity of cartographic sources: the only map that depicts the concerned area fairly well was conceived by Schrötter.

Particularly helpful in our reconstruction of the network of border-area connections in the west of Greater Poland were, among others: the monograph on Hanseatic roads edited by Hugo Weczerka,<sup>59</sup> lists of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century customs-houses in the Lower Silesia, compiled by Janina Nowakowa in the 1950s;<sup>60</sup> Kazimierz Ślaski's article on early mediaeval inland trade routes;<sup>61</sup> and, the atlas of the eighteenth-century Silesia, prepared by a team of Polish scholars.<sup>62</sup> The *Historische Handatlas von Brandenburg* has been used as a reference.<sup>63</sup>

At the end of the discussion of introductory issues, let us mention that the Geographical Information Systems (GIS) software and the source data amassed and compiled into databases, in line with the source code and object code models, has enabled to efficiently gather and use complete sets of source material, plot them on the geographical space and subject them to applicable analyses.<sup>64</sup> It is probably this method of operation that is responsible, at least partly, for the depiction in this volume of a denser network of roads, as compared to the preceding volumes. This approach has moreover led to a major complementation of the legend of the thematic map, scale 1:500,000, with addition of information on fairs/markets, customs-houses and toll collection points, and on the settlements whereat intense sales or propination of spirits was carried out.

The roads shown on the maps in this volume make up a static image of transport connections between individual points, which might misleadingly suggest that the (high)roads, regardless of their status or category, never altered their course in the realities of their time.<sup>65</sup> This illusion might be based on the

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<sup>53</sup> MK 36, f. 357: "Loca in quibus thelonea debent exigi, et nomina theloneorum. Maior Polonia [– –] Versus Saxoniam: Miedzyrzecz, Skwirzynna, Szyraków, Wronki, Walcz, Wielen, Naklo, ubicumque sunt regalia thelonea".

<sup>54</sup> A corroboration of the document from the 1570s is contained in: MK 135, ff. 512v–513. No search has been carried out in the registers from King Stephen Báthory's time. For the course of the road, cf. the version in *Hansische Handelsstrassen: Atlas*, Kart. VII.

<sup>55</sup> Nakło [nad Notecią]/Nakiel underwent a dynamic development in the sixteenth century, compared to the preceding century. The tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century repeatedly note down that the number of local craftsmen exceeded 100 – in 1565 (RPWK, nkl, 1564, no. 190: 164), 1578 (RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 254: 139), 1581 (RPWK, nkl, 1581, no. 246: 121), and 1582 (RPWK, nkl, 1582, no. 225: 114); see M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 106–118, and a polemic essay by M. Słoń in idem, *Miasta prywatne w sieci miejskiej Wielkopolski XV–XVI wieku*, RDSG, vol. 77, 2016, 93–123. Detailed data for the categories of artisans are only specified in the 1582 tax register, i.e. butchers – 22, tailors – 10, shoemakers – 21, and [female] bakers – 20. Food and textile manufacture was thus dominant in Nakło, which was probably strongly associated with the trade routes set through the town. (Łobżenica had a one-wheeled fulling mill operating, as mentioned since the late 1570s; see RPWK, nkl, 1578, no. 254).

<sup>56</sup> See footnote 16.

<sup>57</sup> MK 34, ff. 204–205v (MRPS IV/1, no. 3177).

<sup>58</sup> Akt rew., p. 139; cf. Taryfy 1767, p. 294: "Nakło. A royal town whereinto diverse tracts come, from Gniezno toward Janowiec, etc., toward Keynia, etc., from Poznań toward Wągrowiec, etc."

<sup>59</sup> *Hansische Handelsstrassen: Atlas*, passim.

<sup>60</sup> J. Nowakowa, *Rozmieszczenie komór celnych i przebieg dróg handlowych na Śląsku do końca XIV wieku*, Wrocław 1951 (Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, Series A, 43).

<sup>61</sup> K. Ślaski, *Łądowe szlaki handlowe Pomorza w XI–XIII w.*, „Zapiski Historyczne”, vol. 34, 1969, no. 3, pp. 29–44.

<sup>62</sup> *Śląsk w końcu XVIII w.*, vol. 2, part 1–2, ed. J. Janczak, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1984 (Atlas Historyczny Polski. Mapy XVIII wieku, vol. 2).

<sup>63</sup> *Historischer Handatlas von Brandenburg und Berlin*, sheet 3: *Städtische Siedlungen im Mittelalter*, comp. B. Schulze, pub. G. Heinrich, Berlin 1980; ibidem, sheet 5: *Handelsstrassen des Mittelalters: 1300–1375–1600*, comp. B. Schulze, pub. G. Heinrich, Berlin 1980; ibidem, sheet 46, *Heer- und Handelsstraßen um 1700*, comp. B. Schulze, pub. G. Heinrich, Berlin 1973).

<sup>64</sup> B. Szady, *Czasowo-przestrzenne bazy danych jako narzędzie geografii historycznej*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Geographic Socio-Oeconomica”, vol. 14, 2013, pp. 17–32 (English version: *Spatio-Temporal Databases as Research Tool in Historical Geography*, „Geographia Polonica”, vol. 89, 2016, no. 3, pp. 359–370).

<sup>65</sup> For more on the condition of roads in the period concerned, see, inter alia: H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2; T. Čelkis, *Stan dróg lądowych*, pp. 47–52; O. Toda, *Evidence on the Engineering and Upkeep of Roads in*

idea of paved roads based on today's perception, with once-set direction remaining mostly unaltered in its material form. It is worth reminding at this point that in the preindustrial age, highroads or routes could have their course altered along individual sections, be it due to adverse weather factors such as flooding or excessive snowfall.<sup>66</sup> It is this nature-related aspect that would explain the functioning of wintertime and summertime routes as shown in the Perthées maps, among others. Also the ownership relations and neighbour relationships might have affected the courses of roads. As an example, let us quote the locality of Lubstów in Konin district, where, resulting from an argument between two local noblemen, the toll collection place, together with the main traffic route, was moved quarter a mile away from the previous road. The old highroad was no more in use and was too far away from the local community, as the change remarkably hindered reaching the district's central area.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, the road from Koło to Toruń was moved owing to the damage caused by the carters travelling the section between the arable fields in Osiek Mały village. Stanisław Wysocki, the village's owner, permitted the merchants to 'travell to Budziszlaw, which allso is mine propertie, as the distance is shorter and the road better, for more of it be made through the forest than through the field'.<sup>68</sup> The protestation was concluded by the request that 'Y[our] H[onours] [i.e., the landed inspectors] have entered in their files also the road that I have released through the other land of mine, [and] admitted through the apparitor that [this option] be published'.<sup>69</sup>

Public roads could, at various sections, function as local roads – as 'mass' (*meszne*) roads used by local church-goers and routes leading to mills or inns.<sup>70</sup> Among other functions, highroads enabled to efficiently manage a given territory. Antoni Gąsiorowski showed it in his research years ago, noting that the highroads had an essential role in the management of Greater Poland by *starostas*-general. As part of their routine duties, they would pay visits to the most populated parts of the two voivodeships, most frequently moving along the routes from Poznań through to Środa, Pyzdry, and Kalisz; Poznań to Kościan; or, Poznań to Gniezno, combining these itineraries with accepting transactions in real properties (so-called resignations, Latin *resignationes*).<sup>71</sup> Not much can be added to these observations based on sixteenth-century Jagiellon itineraries. King Sigismund I the Old (Zygmunt I Stary) visited Greater Poland only once, in the late 1512 and early 1513;<sup>72</sup> his son Sigismund II Augustus (Zygmunt II August), involved in other affairs, would never visit the area.<sup>73</sup> Otherwise, we know that in 1556, Princess Sophia Jagiellon (Zofia Jagiellonka) on her way from Warsaw to Wolffenbüttel to her nuptials

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*Late Medieval Transylvania*, „Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica”, vol. 17, 2013, no. 2, pp. 173–200; M. Szilágyi, *On the Road*, pp. 32–52. This to be juxtaposed with the archaeological research into rural 'rough roads' (*drożyskos*); cf. K. Fokt, *Późnośredniowieczne osadnictwo wiejskie na Dolnym Śląsku w świetle badań archeologicznych*, Cracow 2012, pp. 170–178 and, with the potential offered by laser scanning technology that enables non-invasive tracing of the development of road networks – as in, e.g., M. Szilágyi, *On the Road*, pp. 32–52; J. Matínek, A. Létal, J. Peška et al., *Identifikace starých cest a dalších objektů za pomoci LLS*, [in:] *Archeologie a letecké laserové skenování krajiny*, ed. M. Gojda, J. John, Plzeň 2013, pp. 228–239.

<sup>66</sup> For the seasonal dependence of road traffic, see H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2; cf. R. Klimek, *Ślady średniowiecznej granicy Warmii między Reszlem a Świętą Lipką*, SG, vol. 4, 2016, ryc. 15, p. 45. Some interesting examples in this respect are provided by the inspection record re. tolls and 'dyke duties' (*grobelne*) in the Ruthenian Voivodeship area, stating that the bridge toll collection in Łopacino "seemeth to be right, as grand bridges are being built there by Lord the *Starosta* of Busk through two swampes, which no carter from Volhynia can circumvent not whilst on his way. Of one bridge, in the likeness, there is six furlonges, of the second circa vel ultra through three furlonges"; AGAD, [so-called] *Metryka Litewska IV B*, f. 415; see also A. Janeczek, *Staropolski układ komunikacyjny*, pp. 18–20.

<sup>67</sup> Akt rew., pp. 141–142.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, pp. 145–146.

<sup>69</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>70</sup> M. Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape. Landscape Archaeology and Local History*, London–New York 2002, pp. 143–148; see also M. Szilágyi, *On the Road*, pp. 86–87, with a table headed *The Classification of Terms Referring to Roads in Medieval Hungary*.

<sup>71</sup> A. Gąsiorowski analyses in his book the itineraries of *Starostas*-General Andrzej Ciołek of Żelechów (1434–5), Wojciech Masalski (1443–7), Stanisław Ostroróg (1448–51), Piotr Świdra of Szamotuły (1471), and Maciej Mosiński of Bnin (1478); for more, see idem, *Urzednicy zarzadu lokalnego w późnośredniowiecznej Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1970, pp. 248–260; cf. M. Gochna, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.1.4.

<sup>72</sup> The king's personal visits are atested for Piotrków Trybunalski, Kalisz, Poznań, Środa, Konin, and Koło; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów*, „Studia Historyczne”, vol. 16, 1973, no. 2, pp. 260, 274.

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, p. 275; A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August król polski i wielki książę litewski 1520-1562* (Warsaw 1996), 185–1; T. Ratajczak, *Podróże władcy i architektura. Przebudowa królewskich rezydencji za panowania Zygmunta Starego*, „Artium Quaestiones”, vol. 17, 2006, pp. 31–35.

ceremony with Henry II, Duke of Braunschweig, travelled through Greater Poland, stopping on 1<sup>st</sup> February in Koło, on 2<sup>nd</sup> in Kleczew,<sup>74</sup> on 3<sup>rd</sup> in Września, on 4<sup>th</sup> in Poznań, on 5<sup>th</sup> in Kościan, and on 6<sup>th</sup> in Wschowa. After a day's rest, the princess arrived in Głogów on 8<sup>th</sup> February and set off on her journey again.<sup>75</sup>

Let us remark that in the course of our reconstruction work, we have abandoned the idea of looking through a number of volumes of diaries and inspection registers or visitation records. Leaving aside the question of maps' target scale (1:250,000 for the main map of settlement and 1:500,000 for the thematic map focus on roads), tackling such records would primarily call for developing a theoretical model of cartographic representation of itineraries, as the existing representation methods left at times much to be desired.<sup>76</sup> A map of travel ought to combine spatial and temporal attributes.<sup>77</sup> It should moreover be designed so as to present uncertain source data and be able to comment, in a defined fashion, on the events occurring at the given travel's background. A separate issue is the selection of an appropriate cartographic background whilst suggesting to the reader a specified interpretation in the form of network (and, here or there, significance) of the roads, related forest areas, hydrographic features, settlement network, and so on.<sup>78</sup> Due to their character, the data would mostly show the general travel route, going from one point to the other along, basically, the local roads which were excluded from the AHP series' maps. In any case, the data from visitation records and tax registers would spatially coincide with parish churches or towns in a given area.<sup>79</sup> These topics goes much beyond the limits of this chapter.

In spite of the use of so large a body of sources, the data so obtained have not enabled us to draw a precise road network for the late sixteenth century, similarly as in the preceding AHP volumes. Hence, the reconstructed map of the major roads is the most hypothetical one of those comprised in this series.<sup>80</sup> The basic way to enable the setting out the highroads was the use of the retrogressive method. It primarily takes advantage of a possibly fullest set of source data and available technical aids, enabling to determine that a given road might have been frequented in the period of our focus. Retrogressive analysis thus consisted in an appropriate selection of roads from the old maps and, as

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<sup>74</sup> Erroneously referred to as 'Kleczów' in *Royal Marriages of Princes and Princesses in Poland and Lithuania c. 1500–1800. Companion Guide to the Exhibition*, ed. A. Bues, Z. Krysiewicz, Warsaw 2016, p. 86.

<sup>75</sup> I owe gratitude to Dr Almut Bues of the German Historical Institute in Warsaw for sharing with me the notes from her archive search in Wolfenbüttel available.

<sup>76</sup> The extreme examples illustrating these problems are, for one thing, the recently published itinerary of King Casimir IV Jagiellon (Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk) (G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka 1440–1492*, Warsaw 2014) and a digital map showing the 1440–1493 travel itineraries of Emperor Frederick III (J. Laczny, *Friedrich III. (1440–1493) auf Reisen. Die Erstellung des Itinerars eines spätmittelalterlichen Herrschers unter Anwendung eines Historical Geographic Information System (Historical GIS)*, [in:] *Perzeption und Rezeption. Wahrnehmung und Deutung im Mittelalter und in der Moderne*, ed. J. Laczny, J. Sarnowsky, Göttingen 2014 (Nova Mediaevalia Quellen und Studien zum europäischen Mittelalter, vol. 12), pp. 33–65).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *Uproszczony schemat podróży wizytacyjnej po archidiecezji pomorskiej zimą 1686 i wiosną 1687 r.*, cartographic comp. T. Związek, [in:] T. Nowacki, *Podróż wizytacyjna archidiecezji pomorskiej w 1686 i 1687 r.*, SG, vol. 3, 2015, p. 118.

<sup>78</sup> This is why presentation of Sophia Jagiellon's itinerary from the mid-sixteenth century against the background of a hundred years later map is definitely unjustifiable; see footnote 74, and, J. Laczny, *Friedrich III. (1440–1493) auf Reisen*. Another erroneous practice is to show one beside the other a historical (e.g., mediaeval) content and information on today's highway and airport network.

<sup>79</sup> The dates appearing against the entries marking the paid tax in the tax registers is an issue that calls for a dedicated elaboration. Based on the observations, in most cases the expected picture that would altogether form a picture of tax collectors' travels would not be produced. This is so due to the character of collection of tax benefits in the late mediaeval and early modern period in Poland, with the collector not moving across the district but the peasants or noblemen personally delivering benefits to the district's central town. However, this issue calls for further study and a much wider recognition of tax records.

<sup>80</sup> The lack of a sixteenth-century records of revision (inspection) of roads, bridges, and customs duties from areas within Poznań Voivodeship is distinctly noticeable. An analogous historical record is fortunately surviving for Voivodeship of Kalisz, in MK, dz. XVIII, Lustracje, sign. 4, ff. 300–309 (see also Akt rew., passim). Cf. the commentaries in AHP Cracow, M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cracow, footnote 4, in this edition III.5.1, and AHP Sandomierz, H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, footnote 2, in this edition III.5.2, where the material related to roads and customs duties from a manuscript book kept at the National Archives in Cracow, Branch of the Sanguszko Archive, MS ASang 19, has been used. Interestingly, Stefan Wojciechowski did not use this source in compiling the atlas volume on Voivodeship of Lublin; cf. AHP Lublin, in this edition III.5.3, and ASang 19, pp. 297–340, 361–369. Also, see H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7; A. Janeczek, *Staropolski układ komunikacyjny*, pp. 18–22.

a subsequent stage, drawing its possibly earliest, i.e. sixteenth-century, courses.<sup>81</sup> The final stage consisted in a categorisation of the set-out roads so that a scale 1:500,000 map could show their courses while also facilitating to the reader the interpretation of the courses of trade routes, transport/traffic routes, and/or other socioeconomic phenomena.

It has to be remarked at this point that, compared to the preceding volumes, the 1:500,000 map of roads has been compiled in a somewhat different way. Apart from the broader thematic scope signalled in the legend (see below), the map features the forest network from the main map. Earlier, this operation was difficult due to technical constraints.<sup>82</sup> Insertion of the forest network into a map of roads helps to better understand the highroad network layout. This move has made clear the reasons behind no highroads present between Chodecz, Zagórów, and Rychwał, and rather sparse road network in the northern part of Poznań district, in the area of the Notecka Primeval Forest.

The adopted point-of-departure for the work done so far on the reconstruction of the road network was the network of roads as recorded in the maps from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As far as possible, the maps whose cartographic content did not display the effects of the industrialisation unfolding in Central Europe were used in the first place. These phenomena are observable, for instance, in the *Quartermaster's Office Map* or in the UMTB series' maps. One illustrative examples is the vicinity of Wschowa, for which the sheet UMTB no. 2339, drawn up in 1824, features a planned arterial road set through Dębowa Łęka, traversing Długie Nowe and Długie Stare, and finally reaching Leszno (see Fig. 2, with the planned road marked salmon pink). The road was indeed constructed during the nineteenth century, as is testified (for instance) by the WIG sheet of more than a hundred years later.



**Figure 2. Detail of UMTB sheet no. 2339 showing a design of the arterial road to Leszno via Dębowa Łęka, Długie Stare, and Długie Nowe**

**Table 1. Source-based categorisation of topological objects related to the transport network in maps of Greater Poland used in the AHP-series Greater Poland volume**

Perthées (1804)	Gilly (1802)	Schrötter (1804)	UMTB (1818/1820–1876)
postal roads	Fahrende Posten, Reitende Posten, Kariol Posten, Boten Posten, Besondere Extra Postwege	Land und Poststrasse	–
–	–	–	Stein Chausseen
routes/roadways, i.e. public roads, highroads	Hauptstrasse von einer Stadt zur benachbarten	Gewöhnliche Wege	Gewöhnlich Chausseen, Landstrassen
ordinary roads	Dorfwege, Nebenwege	Fussteig	Gewöhnlich Feldwege, Fussteig

[Compiled by T. Panecki, based on own material.]

<sup>81</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Badania sieci drożnej średniowiecznej Polski*, [in:] eadem, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury*, ed. A. Janeczek, afterword M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Warsaw 2011 (Collectio Archaeologica Historica et Ethnologica, vol. 4), pp. 13–24.

<sup>82</sup> I owe this information to Henryk Rutkowski.

Mention is moreover deserved of the dissimilar methods of road classification reflected in the maps concerned (Table 1). A breakdown of the data for the four most important maps has led to the observation that the categorisation of roads in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century significantly deviated from the practice applied a few centuries earlier. This was so mainly due to the intense development of the postal system, economic change, and gradual development of rural colonisation in the areas under analysis.<sup>83</sup> The degree of change is well illustrated by the classification of roads in the maps by Perthées, where highroads and routes or roadways were secondary to postal roads. This observation implies that retrogressive use of the road network depicted on old maps should basically consist in redrawing (copying) the road's course with use of an appropriate base map, rather than attributing to it the status of main or side road, merely implied by its declared classification.<sup>84</sup>

Another issue requiring explanation is the shifts between the overlapping sheets of the maps used for the present purpose. The use of the GIS software has enabled to equip the maps with appropriate spatial reference, which enabled simultaneous analysis of the maps, regardless of their scale or degree of accuracy. Apart from the exact and accurate UMTB, *Quartermaster's Office Map*, and WIG maps, spatial reference was also given to the less precise maps (Gilly) as well as to those whose accuracy ought to be regarded as, basically, accepted (Freudenhammer, Perthées).<sup>85</sup> Consequently, in the course of the drawing of roads, one had to make certain whether a given road could be regarded as valuable in terms of the present reconstruction, and whether it is definitely identifiable in the reference (WIG) map. In case of a difficulty occurring, it was necessary to identify the reason for any possible difference.<sup>86</sup> To give an example, when drawing a road in Kcynia district, to link Żnin, Sobiejuchy, and Kowalewo, the Gilly map showed a road going along the Gaśawka, whereas the much later WIG sheet featured a railroad line along this route. In spite of considerable differences in the shifts of localities between Gilly's map and the WIG map in that area (i.e., approximately 550 m for Brzyskorzystewko, 750 m for Sobiejuchy, 1,050 m for Dąbrówka Słupska, 850 m for Dobrylewo, 250 m for Wąsosz, and 550 m for Żędowo), the course of the sixteenth-century road follows Gilly's map, assuming that the railway line has replaced the transport route once set along the river (see Fig. 3).

Yet another problem encountered while drawing the network of sixteenth-century roads was that a number of settlement accretions and influences characteristic of the subsequent centuries were taken into account. Along with a bigger number of new demesne farmsteads, manorial settlements, ironworks, glassworks, the *Olęder* (i.e., mainly, Dutch) colonisation expanded, reaching its peak in Greater Poland between the late seventeenth century and the collapse of Poland-Lithuania at the end of the following century.<sup>87</sup> One example to illustrate this issue is the connection between Trzciel and Międzyrzecz via the villages of Rybojady, Siercz, and Bobowicko. The route probably went in the sixteenth century along the Obra River, as shown on this volume's map. Based on the WIG map sheet, the road to Międzyrzecz might have been drawn along the roadway set approximately 5 kilometres west of the Obra. This solution seems to be suggested by a map from pre-war time and the much older map by

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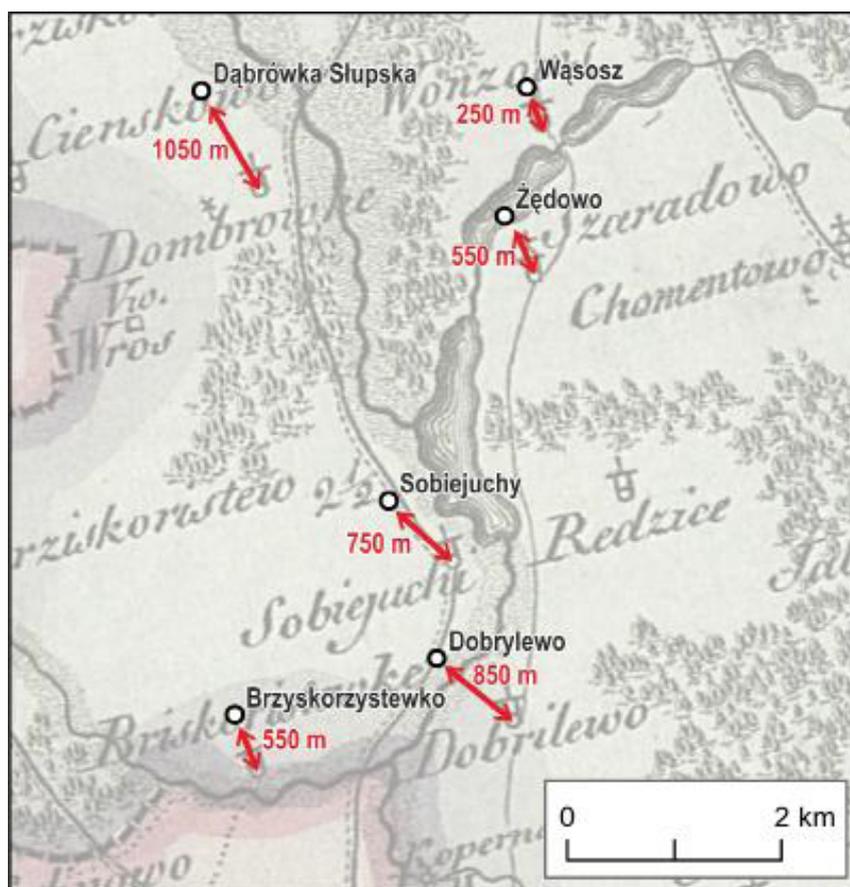
<sup>83</sup> For a broader account, see A. Janeczek, *Staropolski układ komunikacyjny*, pp. 12–18.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21, importantly remarking, following H. Rutkowski's observations, that the eighteenth-century road network is a starting point for – rather than the actual purpose of – retrogressive research into the earlier periods.

<sup>85</sup> See T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition II.2.4, with precise calculation of the root-mean-square error (RMSE) for the three most important maps used in the preparation of this atlas.

<sup>86</sup> Of the recent studies exploring this topic, see J. Wolski, *Błędy i niepewność w procesie tworzenia map numerycznych*, [in:] *Źródła kartograficzne w badaniach krajobrazu kulturowego*, ed. J. Plit, J. Nita, Sosnowiec 2012 (Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego, vol. 16), pp. 15–32; T. Panecki, *Modelowanie obiektów topograficznych w bazach danych historycznych*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Geographica Socio-Oeconomica”, vol. 21, 2015, pp. 37–51.

<sup>87</sup> J.T. Baranowski, *Wsie holenderskie na ziemiach polskich*, PH, vol. 19, 1915, pp. 65–82; W. Rusiński, *Osady tzw. „Olędrów” w dawnym woj. poznańskim*, Poznań–Cracow 1947; Z. Chodyła, *Ługi Ujskie – najstarsza osada olęderska w Wielkopolsce (1597–1772)*, „Rocznik Nadnotecki”, vol. 30, 1999, pp. 29–58; *idem*, *Pochodzenie, nazwiska, wyznanie i narodowość mieszkańców osad olęderskich założonych w latach 1700–ok. 1783 na obszarze dzisiejszego powiatu nowotomyskiego*, „Przełęcz Nowotomyski”, vol. 18, 2011, no. 2, pp. 3–22; *idem*, *Zarys najstarszych dziejów osad olęderskich w Puszczy Pyzdrowskiej 1746–1793*, Pyzdry 2016; H. Kosiorek, *Nowa forma osadnictwa wiejskiego na pograniczu wielkopolsko-lubuskim w okresie wczesnonowoczesnym – osadnictwo „olęderskie”*, „Rocznik Lubuski”, vol. 26, 2000, no. 2, pp. 37–49; M. Rutkiewicz, *Sposoby tworzenia wielkopolskich nazw osad olęderskich*, [in:] *Toponimia i oronimia*, ed. A. Cieślakowa, B. Czopek-Kopciuch, Cracow 2001, pp. 155–168; T. Figlus, *Wsie olęderskie w Polsce środkowej. Uwagi na temat zróżnicowania morfogenetycznego na tle rozwoju osadnictwa*, „Rocznik Łódzki”, vol. 62, 2014, pp. 143–159; M. Hlebionek, M. Targowski, *Osadnictwo olęderskie na ziemi wieleńskiej*, Wieleń 2014.



**Figure 3. Exemplary localisation errors: WIG background map vs. Gilly's map (1802) [compiled by T. Panecki]**

Gilly. However, the roadway was formed in late modern period and should be associated with local foundations under the Dutch settlement law, which is clearly visible already on Perthées's map, with two colonies plotted – Hollendry Eschenwaldzkie and Hollendry Siereckie.<sup>88</sup> We consequently believe that there is little probability that a sixteenth-century road connecting Trzciel and Międzyrzecz could be set through an area that was inaccessible at that time, so the route has finally been set out closer to the Odra line.<sup>89</sup>

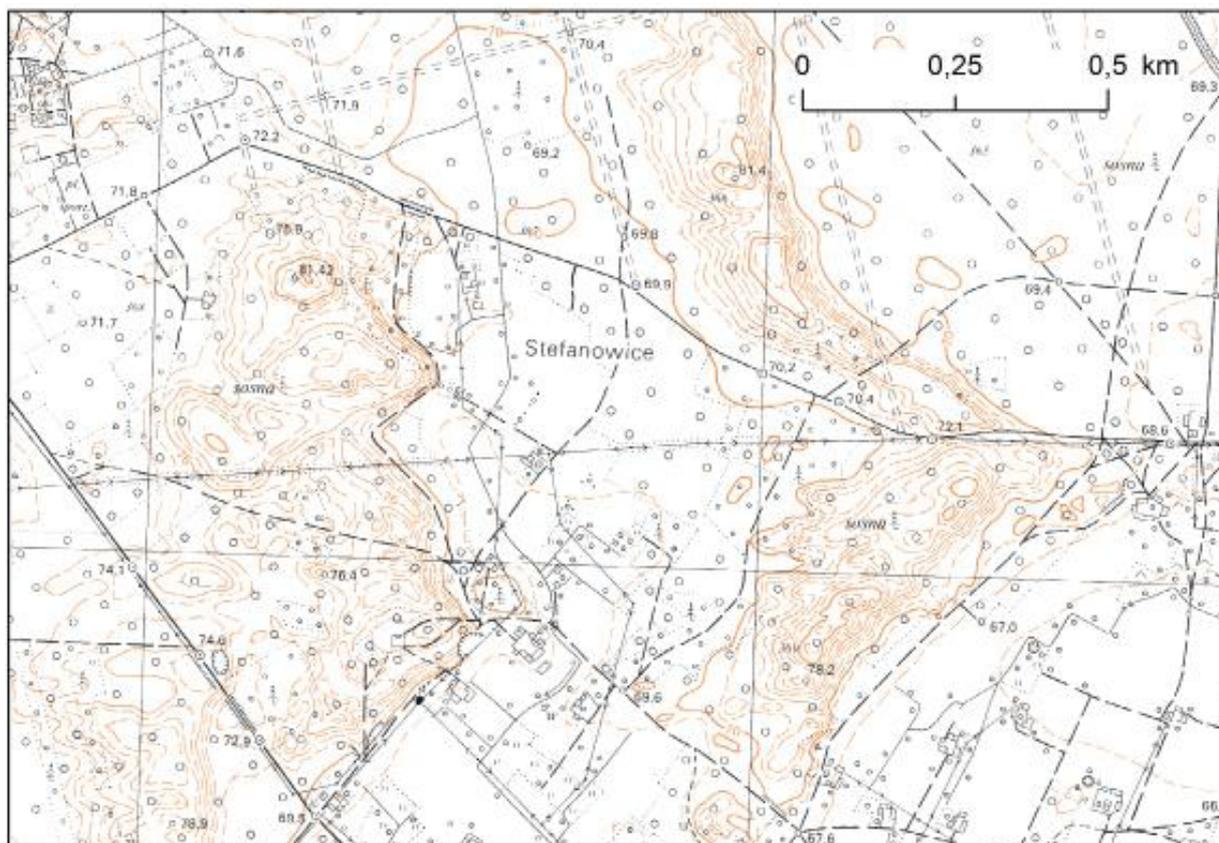
One of the reasons behind the lack in the sixteenth century of roads at the borderland between the districts of Poznań and Kościan, within the area delineated by Trzciel, Lwówek, Opalenica, Grodzisk Wielkopolski (Grodzisko), and Zbąszyń, is that fact that the terrain had been overgrown by forest probably since the mediaeval age, until the final decades of the seventeenth century. In spite of periodical exploitation of forest resources by glassworkers<sup>90</sup> and probably of the bog iron (morass ore) by ore miners from the nearby ironworks in Kuźnica Zbąska (*Hamer*), the area became permanently

<sup>88</sup> W. Rusiński, *Osady tzw. „Olędrow”*, pp. 133, 139. One of those *Olędry* (Dutch-type) settlements is said to have been set up ca. 1722 in a wasteland area.

<sup>89</sup> Taryfy 1767, p. 243, mentions routes leading from Trzciel to Frankfurt, Lwówek, and Międzyzchód; they are moreover confirmed by early cartographic records. The road going through Rybojady was described as an 'ordinary road' (*droga zwyczajna*).

<sup>90</sup> Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, *Archeologiczne Zdjęcie Polski, obszar 54–21*. In the vicinity of Sątopy and Bukowiec villages, a glassworks is attested, which probably functioned in the seventeenth century. An area frame survey has found numerous fragments of sinters, clumped glass fragments, parts of glass objects and modern ceramics items, and pieces of brick. The approximate area across which these finds were scattered, was approx. 10 ha. The earliest cartographic confirmation of a glassworks in that area is known from the printed map by Gilly ('Vw. Glasshütte'); UMTB features the same description ('Vw. Glashütte'). Unfortunately, the Perthées map is corrupt in this place, which makes it pretty difficult to state whether the structure was known to the cartographer from the descriptions of the local parish. For associations/correlations between industrial operations and the forest complexes, see A. Wyrobisz, *Warunki rozwoju przemysłu w Polsce w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, [in:] *Studia nad produkcją rzemieślniczą w Polsce*, ed. Z. Kamieńska, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1976 (*Studia i Materiały z Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 51), pp. 214–215; E. Černá, *Středověké sklárny v severozápadních Čechách: přínos archeologie k dějinám českého sklárství*, Most–Praha 2016, pp. 193–209.

populated only at the time of the Dutch settlers.<sup>91</sup> Apart from wetlands, appearing a great deal in the area,<sup>92</sup> another hindrance must have been its numerous geomorphological ridges (see Fig. 4). The eighteenth century, with its practice of founding settlements and settlers under the Dutch law, finally brought about a change in the local landscape. The forest was cleared, the wetland dried, and local roads were punched through the sandy embankments to enable transport and communication with the earlier-founded settlements.



**Figure 4. Geomorphological ridges in the area of the road between Chrońnica village of former Dutch colony in Jastrzębsko Stare (scale 1:10,000, coordinate system 65; [www.geoportal.gov.pl](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl))**

As part of her reconstruction work on Cracow Voivodeship's roads, Małgorzata Wilska observed that inn settlements are of particular importance to the subject-matter.<sup>93</sup> The records we have analysed

<sup>91</sup> T. Panecki, T. Związek, *Materiały do badań nad rekonstrukcją zalesienia na Równinie Nowotomyskiej w XVI w.*, „Atlas Źródeł i Materiałów do Dziejów Dawnej Polski”, [www.atlasfontium.pl](http://www.atlasfontium.pl) (access 21.03.2016); iidem, *Osadnictwo ołędzkie w badaniach nad rekonstrukcją szesnastowiecznego zalesienia na przykładzie okolic Nowego Tomyśla*, SG, vol. 5, 2017, pp. 29–62. The onomastic material for this territory confirms moreover that a settlement called Budy temporarily existed in a forest clearing a few kilometres west of Łomnica upon Wielka Samica; see J. Luciński, *Chrońnica*, [in:] SHGPoz, part I, pp. 223–224: “[In] 1582 a trial over damage violently committed in Chrońnica: a meadow mowed down at the site called Tążyń and 100 carts of hay taken off, 46 oaks and 150 other trees logged in Tążyń woods, 60 carts of hay taken off from the place called Buda, 40 carts from the place called Tążyń, and 50 carts from the place called Chojennik”.

<sup>92</sup> W. Matuszkiewicz, J.B. Faliński, A.S. Kostrowicki, J.M. Matuszkiewicz, R. Olaczek, T. Wojterski, *Potencjalna roślinność naturalna Polski. Mapa przeglądowa 1:300 000*, IGI PAN 1995.

<sup>93</sup> Classing a settlement as an ‘inn’ (*resp.* ‘tavern’) one has been based on two basic factors: a name proper and location outside the main village abode or outside the town's limits; M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.5.1. On inns/Caverns as such, see I. Cieśla, *Taberna wczesnośredniowieczna na ziemiach polskich*, „Studia Wczesnośredniowieczne”, vol. 4, 1958, pp. 159–225; A. Wędzki, *Rola przejść przez środkową Obrę w kształtowaniu sieci miejskiej południowo-zachodniej wielkopolski*, [in:] idem, *Ze studiów nad procesami osadniczymi*, pp. 12–13; H. Zaremska, *Miejsca spotkań kultury masowej: karczmy i łaźnie*, [in:] *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV–XV w.*, ed. B. Geremek, Warsaw 1997, pp. 240–249; T. Lalik, *Karczma*, [in:] *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 roku*, vol. 1, ed. A. Mączak, Warsaw 1981, pp. 296–298.

for the present purpose do not offer a considerable number of such sites, though.<sup>94</sup> As at present, only two localities are known to have had such a function in Greater Poland in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The first was probably Górkki in Kościan district, located on the route from Silesia to Poznań;<sup>95</sup> the other was Bełzant in Wałcz land, founded in 1593.<sup>96</sup>

Looking for other methods supporting the reconstruction of the road network, it has been decided that as nodal points recognised should also be the settlements with three or more inns, regardless of their ownership status. Adoption of this limit is basically grounded in the difficulty of analysing the available data. As Krzysztof Boroda has recently observed, inns or taverns specified in the tax registers might have had nothing to do with buildings with ‘food-serving and hotel’ functions; they might have merely been outlets distributing beer among the locals.<sup>97</sup> Alternatively, the spirits propination might in itself have been subject to taxation.<sup>98</sup> This issue is illustrated, for instance, by the resolution of a ‘universal proclamation on tax collection’ adopted at the 1493 diet (*sejm*) assembly in Piotrków. Whereby ‘as part of the *lan*-based collection, liable to taxation were only those inns whose owners traded in beers manufactured by someone else. As for the on-licence retail sale of self-made beers, the innkeepers were obligated to pay the liquor excise tax (*czopowe*)’.<sup>99</sup>

There are no more detailed mass-scale records available with respect to the area under discussion; even the available ones are incomplete. The propination outlets mentioned in the registers were often described as void (*desertae*), usually without giving the reason.<sup>100</sup> Very few registers or lists offer somewhat more precise information, for example referring to a fire of a site or facility as the reason for failing to pay the tax.<sup>101</sup> Some innkeepers might have not paid a benefit due to the release period (*wolnizna*) received because of having constructed the inn or tavern.<sup>102</sup> Yet, such issues are detailed to the extent not to be encountered in the historical material.<sup>103</sup> Otherwise, it is impossible to grasp the picture of an exact and permanent network of roads for each of the decades concerned, since the roadways might have their courses altered, as repeatedly mentioned above. Because of these remarks, we have decided to break down, for each of the districts of sixteenth-century Greater Poland, or the registers taking note of the area’s inns/taverns, in order to mark and control the course of the highroads of our interest. This has enabled us to, among other things, set out the roads through the Mogilno

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<sup>94</sup> There were as many as thirty such units within Cracow Voivodeship alone; M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.5.1.

<sup>95</sup> The former area of Górkki settlement is today probably a part of Pecna village. The settlement is identified based on the 1526 demarcation stating that the demesne farmstead and arable fields in the village of ‘Peczna’ were partly situated *versus tabernas Gorky*; see SHGPoz, Part I, p. 645. W LBP, p. 133: “in villa Gorki tres taberne, braxant cervisium, et duo ortulani”. Górkki is mentioned as a *villa* in all the Kościan district tax registers; RPWP, ksc, passim. Having regard to the information on manufacture and sale (‘propination’) of alcoholic beverages recorded for Górkki at the beginning of the sixteenth century in 1563 (RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 265), and in the 1580s, with specifications of local craftsmen and quarters of inn *lans* (RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 267; RPWP, ksc, 1581, no. 337; RPWP, ksc, 1582, no. 34 (breakdown of *retentias*, i.e. ‘retained’/unpaid debt amounts)), Górkki have been classed as an autonomous inn settlement, as opposed to the SHGPoz interpretation.

<sup>96</sup> See A. Borek, M. Słomski, *Location of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.1.4.

<sup>97</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, pp. 720–726, 736–737. This to be juxtaposed against G. Woliński’s observations based on one of mediaeval Teutonic commandries: idem, *Karczmy wiejskie na terenie komturstwa tucholskiego w XIV i XV w.*, „Zeszyty Chojnickie”, vol. 31, 2015, pp. 13–51. Archaeological research has not been much supportive in this respect; see, inter alia, M. Pytlak, P. Pytlak, *Domniemana średniowieczna karczma w Strzelcach Kujawskich. Materiały z badań archeologicznych*, „Archeologia Środkowego Nadodrza”, vol. 11, 2014, pp. 107–145; W. Chudziak, M. Weinkauff, E. Siemianowska et al., *Domniemana karczma z wczesnośredniowiecznego zespołu osadniczego w Kaldusie na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim*, „Przegląd Archeologiczny”, vol. 64, 2016, pp. 133–172.

<sup>98</sup> RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 54: “tabernator Futhek non solvit. Item at the parsones the [female] cooke selleth liquor as well as beere, non solvit”.

<sup>99</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza*, p. 722; see VC, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 57: “Item tabernae que non solvebant *czopowe* [=liquor excise tax] aut nihilominus braxant cervisiam, sed solum braxatam per alios propinatores in villis consistentes, solvant per sex grossos” (quoted after K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza*).

<sup>100</sup> For instance, RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 306; RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 343; RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 3. Instead of *taberna deserta*, other phrases/descriptions would appear: RPWK, kls, 1552, no. 704: “[taberna] non propriant”; RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 3: “a taberna non dedit iuxta registra”.

<sup>101</sup> RPWP, pzn, 1563, no. 326: “item taberna propter conflagracionem ignis nihil dedit”; *ibidem*, no. 192: “item taberna propter conflagracionem ignis deserta”.

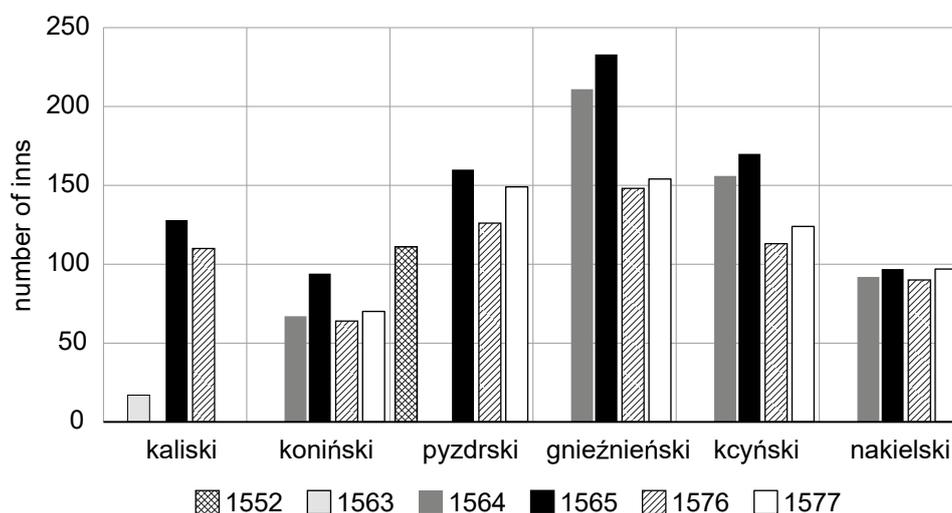
<sup>102</sup> RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 119: “alius tabernator Sobek noviter locatus a duobus annis libertate gaudet”.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *Księgi sądowe wiejskie*, vol. 1, pub. B. Ulanowski, Cracow 1921 (Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pomniki, vol. 11), no. 4585, p. 110, and other supplications to the Chapter, as published therein.

monastery estate, complete the road network around Lwówek in Poznań district, and lay out routes in the areas of Nakło and Wałcz districts proving the least represented in the available records.

We have used in our work the registers from the 1560s and 1570s (see Figure 5). The selection was primarily based on the residual condition of the surviving tax inventories from the fifties and took into account the change in the taxation of inns brought about in the late seventies. By that time, inns and taverns were obligated to pay a flat-rate tax of 20 grosz per hereditary inn and 12 grosz per annual inn.<sup>104</sup> The taxation pattern was altered in 1578, with the flat-rate tax being replaced with the ‘inn *lan*’ assignable to each single inn as the tax base.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, of use have been the tax registers from the 1580s as well. When compared, the data for the districts of Kalisz Voivodeship have shown that most of the outlets of our interest were listed in the 1565 and 1577, as far as the two respective decades are concerned (see Figure 5). Hence, these two fiscal years have been the most broadly used in our road network reconstruction exercise (cf. Figure 6).

In sum, setting out the network of roadways based solely on strictly economic data (inns declaring their payment of the rural liquor excise tax) could have erroneously depicted the transport connections as the nodal point would render the production/manufacture-related importance for a given place whilst not referring to flows of people. Let us remark, though, that the adopted perception as nodal points on the map of those rural settlements whereat three or more inns/taverns were taxed is only to serve as a suggestion whether the locality concerned was associated with the supra-local transport (and communication) system or not.<sup>106</sup>



**Figure 5. Statistics of all the inns/taverns identified for Voivodeship of Kalisz, second half of the sixteenth century. [Author’s own compilation, based on relevant tax registers (www.atlasfontium.pl)]**

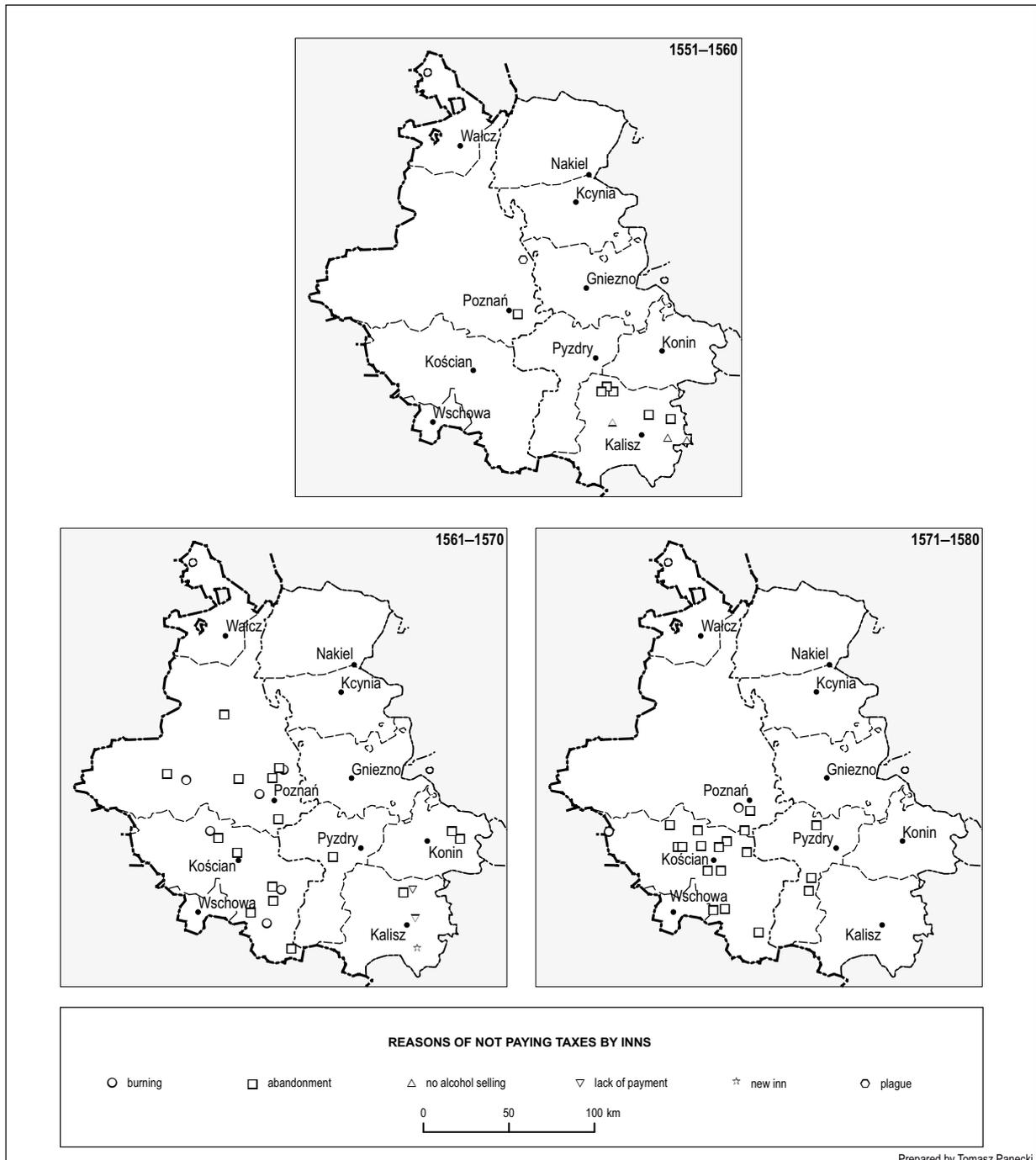
Like the above-discussed fords and inns, one of the most crucial nodal points of essential importance to the reconstruction of the road network were the places at which cash benefits were collected from wayfarers.<sup>107</sup> Hence, the detailed map of roads features localities as to which it is known that customs duty, toll, or both benefits, was/were collected in them in the sixteenth century (reference:

<sup>104</sup> VC, vol. 2, fasc. 1, p. 207.

<sup>105</sup> Ibidem, p. 424.

<sup>106</sup> RPWK and RPWP. Analysis is quite difficult given the lack in these editions of Greater Polish tax registers of any of breakdowns of the liquor excise tax (*czopowe*), which formed a cohesive whole together with the feoff (‘*lan*-based’) tax collection.

<sup>107</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7: “Also the convenient passageways through the other natural obstacles contributed to the unchangeability of the roads and durable ways of their use. The well-functioning accommodation and supply places had a similar influence, as did the customs-houses, which the merchants were not supposed to steer clear of”. Cf. A. Janeczek, *Staropolski układ komunikacyjny*, pp. 21–22; see also D. Cyngot, *Komory celne we wczesnym średniowieczu. Możliwość identyfikacji archeologicznej na przykładzie szlaku bużańsko-wiślanego*, „Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia”, vol. 5, 2016, pp. 65–77.



Prepared by Tomasz Panecki

**Map 1. Spatial distribution of Greater Poland's inns/taverns not paying taxes in the second half of the 16th century (based on relevant tax registers; [www.atlasfontium.pl](http://www.atlasfontium.pl))**

‘customs-houses and toll collection points’). The use of one sign for fees for transported goods (duty) and for the transport itself (toll) is based on their frequently having been referred to, in the Old Polish period, jointly as ‘[customs] duty’ (*clo*).<sup>108</sup> Thus, it has sometimes proved hardly possible to differentiate

<sup>108</sup> For more on this topic, see Rybarski, *Handel*, pp. 295–313; A. Manikowski, J. Łukasiewicz, M. Kaliszuk, *Cło*, [in:] *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej*, vol. 1, pp. 103–105; S. Russocki, *Myto*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 572; *Cło*, [in:] *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 1, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Warsaw 1953–1955, pp. 313–315, quoting the two basic meanings, i.e.: ‘*myto* is a fee charged for the passage, crossing, transit, or transport [i.e., equivalent of toll]’, and ‘the place at which customs duty is collected, customs facility’. Cf. *Myto*, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. 4, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1963–1965, pp. 378–379: ‘levies and fees of diverse kinds; also, the place at which the same are collected; *vectigal, tributum, portorium vel teloneum*’, ‘fee charged for the passage, crossing, transit, or transport (by road, bridge, or river); *portorium pretium quod ab transgredientibus viam,*

between these two types of fee. The possible separate presentation of customs-houses and toll collection points (stations), and the places where both benefits were collected, could have proved misleading to the reader; therefore, we have decided that a safer solution, and one that reflects the current state of research on the topic in question, would be to inform that the given collection facility functioned in the related locality in the sixteenth century and has been taken into account upon the marking out of individual routes.<sup>109</sup>

The largest body of information on the customs system has been preserved till our day among the Crown Treasury Archive materials.<sup>110</sup> Some of the customs-houses were directly referred to in the records as ‘royal [customs] houses’ (*camere regales*),<sup>111</sup> though some of them were described as ‘border’ or ‘frontier’ ones (*camere finitimes*).<sup>112</sup> The royal customs were administered by revenueurs who, according to Antoni Gąsiorowski, reported directly to the royal court.<sup>113</sup>

The largest numbers of customs-houses within Greater Poland appeared in the Polish-Silesian and Polish-Brandenburg border area, handling the North-South and East-West commercial traffic. Well apparent is the distribution of these facilities along the lines of the major rivers: the Warta (in Skwierzyna, Międzychód, Sieraków, Wronki,<sup>114</sup> Oborniki,<sup>115</sup> Poznań, Śrem, Pogorzelica, Pyzdry, Konin, and Koło), the Noteć (in Wieleń and Nakło),<sup>116</sup> the Odra (in Międzyrzecz, Brójce, Grójec Wielki (Grójce Stare, Grodziec), Zbąszyń, Kopanica, Kębłowo, Kościan, Krzywiń, Dolsk, and Jaraczewo), and the Prosna (in Kalisz<sup>117</sup> and Ołobok). These places had been important river crossing points since the Middle Ages. For instance, Śrem was referred to as ‘privileged in the macro-scale by its location on the Central Poland’s gap of the Warta, which was pivotal in terms of transport, at the crossroads of important routes, a water and a land one, linking the country’s central area and its capital towns (Poznań, Gniezno) with southern Greater Poland, Silesia, Bohemia ... The impact of the state administrative factor on the form and development of the ecumene is extremely clearly observable on the example of Śrem, and this for four specific reasons: a castellany burg-city maintained between in the tenth/eleventh to end twelfth centuries, a customs-house fixed above the passage, a left-bank ducal fair settlement founded in 1253 r. (Stare Miasto), and the town’s removal to the right bank of the river by way of a royal deed dated 1393 (Nowe Miasto)’.<sup>118</sup> That the place was a very important transport hub is also mentioned in

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*pontem, fluvium solvebatur*. E.g., LWWK 1569: “of the excisse [= customs duty] or the brigde-taxe, 6 fl. cometh in everie yeare” (ff. 42v); Akt rew., *passim*.

<sup>109</sup> The same is true for the *przykomoreks* (*przykomóreks*) – lower-tier customs-houses affiliated to the ‘major’ houses (see below for more).

<sup>110</sup> An extremely large collection of customs-house accounts regrettably perished in fire during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 (*Księgi celne Korony*, p. VII).

<sup>111</sup> Rach. kom. cel., sign. C10, f. 2: the title of fascicle reads, [Oborniki:] “A regester of the royall excisse that hath been commenced since the Epiphanie untill the Whyte Sunday [= Whitsun] in the year 1585”, and C11, f. 1: “Anno domini 1585. A regester of the collectyon of the HRM excisse at the [customs] house of Wronki”; also, see J. Rutkowski, *Skarbowość polska za Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*, KH, vol. 23, 1909, no. 1–2, p. 32.

<sup>112</sup> The name was applied to the customs-houses in Poznań, Skwierzyna, Międzyrzecz, Zbąszyń, Brójce, Kopanica, Kębłowo, Wschowa, Śrem, Poniec, and Dybów; ASK I 124, ff. 11v–14, ‘Descriptio camerarum finitimarum contributionis quartii grosi pro anno domini 1583 in conventionibus particularibus ac generali in Colo laudate’. R. Rybarski remarks that the houses thus named collected the so-called ‘new’ customs duty (Rybarski, *Handel*, p. 18).

<sup>113</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzednicy zarzadu lokalnego*, p. 214.

<sup>114</sup> MK 36, f. 857 (MRPS IV/2, 13852); CMP, 151: “[camera] versus Saxoniam”.

<sup>115</sup> The Poznań duty was collected thereat: “from Oborniki doe they take the excisse to the castel from those who passe bye Poznan bye waye of this same practice bye waye of this same practice [*sic*] as [the one applied] in Posznan [= Poznań], off which there cometh to the yeare circa vel ultra 4 fl. 12 gr[osz]” (LWWK 1569, ff. 1–1v).

<sup>116</sup> The trade in the border area between Poznań district and Wałcz land was probably associated with the functioning of Margrabska Droga, and this is probably the reason why toll was collected in Ujście. LWWK 1569, f. 9: “Of the bridge-tolle which the Jewe of Pila [Piła] is holding ratione arendae payeth he per 19 fl. 6 gr of his owne annuati”. Ujście 1627, f. 1: “This towne hath considerable onera in the construction and repaire of the bridge over the Noteś [Noteć] and Głda [Gwda] rivers, which it is with a greate burden and cost that they are bounde to renovate, this same as for the repaire of the fascine for the mille. Supplicated have they to Her Maiestie the Queene so that the excisse from that same bridge, whose circa vel ultra fl. 16 cometh, be mercyfully allowed”. In this context, no wonder that Jastrowie the village turned into a town in the seventeenth century, where collection of toll was also allowed (Ujście 1627, f. 3).

<sup>117</sup> The annual income from the castle duty 16 fl. (LWWK 1569, ff. 59v).

<sup>118</sup> J. Fogel, A. Sikorski, S. Bakiera, *Uwagi na temat relacji wybranych elementów średniowiecznej aglomeracji śremskiej (gród – miasto – przeprawa warciańska)*, „Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses”, vol. 36, 1987/1988, p. 137. From more on the passage facility, its throughput and functioning in general, see *ibidem*, pp. 154–156.

a 1398 document issued by King Władysław Jagiełło, which ordered the merchants and residents of Greater Poland to head toward Wrocław and Silesia along the old road going via Śrem and Poniec.<sup>119</sup> Along with the changes occurring in the trade routes in the Middle Ages, a decreased importance of the significance of the passage in Śrem should be noticed, as the mainstream commercial traffic moved at that time into the routes leading via Poznań or Kalisz.<sup>120</sup> The movement at customs-houses was also period-dependent, basically related to the dates of fairs in Greater Poland and its adjacent regions. Understandably enough, other economic circumstances also had an impact, such as the supply of salt in Bydgoszcz,<sup>121</sup> let alone warfare.<sup>122</sup> As a result, some roads were busier whereas others were less intensely frequented in a given quarter of the year.<sup>123</sup> Let us note, though, that the quality of the data contained in the customs-house' accounts was affected by numerous royal bestowals exempting the burghers in the specified towns from payment of duties within the Crown territory.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, the nobles were basically exempt from customs duties at the time.<sup>125</sup>

It is worth mentioning that customs duty revenues could be leased. Instances of leasing the income, for example, to Jews have been reported for Ujście<sup>126</sup> or Gniezno.<sup>127</sup> Otherwise, land officials are known to have often hold customs income.<sup>128</sup> For example, Kalisz Castellan Andrzej of Szamotuły transferred in 1498 his right to customs income at Kalisz, Konin, and Kleczew to his daughter Katarzyna for a period of three years.<sup>129</sup> The 1569 record of an inspection of the *Starosta's* District of Rogoźno has it that 'in [...] Skoki doeth Lady Liathalska the Castellanness of Łąd a halfe of the excise [= customs duty][,] this not being knowne upon which righte that, for none righte hath been showne therefor, that they are now collecting from her. Every thinge which allwayes bellonged toward Rogozno[,] thus the accounte was given.'<sup>130</sup> However, the payments on that duty had been bestowed to her husband Jerzy Latalski by King Sigismund the Old in 1539.<sup>131</sup> On top of that, the customs-based income was distributed among the king's trusted men. In 1553, Maciej Mokronowski received an annual salary of 100 *grzywnas* from Greater Polish customs;<sup>132</sup> 1555 saw royal courtier Jakub Kosmowski receive an annual salary (*stipendium, pensium*) of 100 florins from Poznań customs

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<sup>119</sup> KDW III, no. 1988: "quod omnes et singuli mercatores, cives, oppidani et incole civitatum et oppidorum nostrorum regalium in terra nostra Maioris Polonie consistentium, cum rebus et mercibus ipsorum quibuslibet volentes versus Vratislaviam proficisci, eisdem antiquis viis, quibus tempore serenissimi principis domini Kazimiri regis Polonie illustris bone memorie videlicet versus Silesiam transire et theloneare consueverunt, scilicet per Szrem et per Poniec transire debeant et omnimodo teneantur".

<sup>120</sup> I. Skierska, *Śrem\**, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 34–35 and footnote 4, p. 72, where we read that "the privilege in question already upon its issuance in 1398 did not fully correspond with the changes in the commercial traffic on the roads in southern Greater Poland; consequently, it was renewed unaltered and approved in the years 1441, 1504, 1578, 1601, and 1633 for Poniec only, where the customs-house played an essential part also in the following centuries – on the way from Poznań, via Kościan, to Wrocław". Also, see Chart no. 2 herein, showing that the revenue from the Śrem customs-house ranked among the lowest attested by the surviving records.

<sup>121</sup> LWWK 1569, ff. 86v: "And this excise [= from Rogoźno] doeth more at the tyme when there is suffycient salte at the bydgoszcz house".

<sup>122</sup> Rybarski, *Tabele*, p. 71.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. S. Kazusek, *Sezonowość transportu lądowego i wodnego na ziemiach polskich w XVI–XVIII w. Wybrane aspekty analizy historyczno-statystycznej*, [in:] „*Mkną po szynach...*” *Z dziejów transportu i komunikacji na ziemiach polskich na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. T. Głowiński, R. Klementowski, Wrocław 2014 (Wrocławskie Spotkania z Historią Gospodarczą, vol. 9), pp. 29–31.

<sup>124</sup> "The excisse that for this tyme is being helde [upon] lease by M.[r] Barthosz Węgierski the castell-court scribe maketh to [= per] yeare 220 fl. | and prior thereto it [= the customs duty] was leased at fl. 250. The reasone they gave was that there be manie townes which doth have exemptyons from the payment of excisse, the aire [= 'effluvial air', i.e. miasma/pestilence] hath ben prevalent during those yeares, and allso manie a carter are travelling towarde Nakiel and along the border lande" (LWWK 1569, f. 340).

<sup>125</sup> Rybarski, *Handel*, p. 19.

<sup>126</sup> See footnote 116.

<sup>127</sup> Akt rew., p. 140 and footnote 68, with a reference to the 1565 Piotków diet's constitution banning the lease of customs to Jews.

<sup>128</sup> A dozen-or-so examples from the beginning of the sixteenth century have been gathered and described by J. Rutkowski; see *idem*, *Skarbowość polska*, pp. 33–37; cf. A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzednicy zarządu lokalnego*, pp. 72–95.

<sup>129</sup> AP Poznań, Poznań Gr. 7, f. 103 (p. 206); A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzednicy zarządu lokalnego*, p. 214, footnote 563.

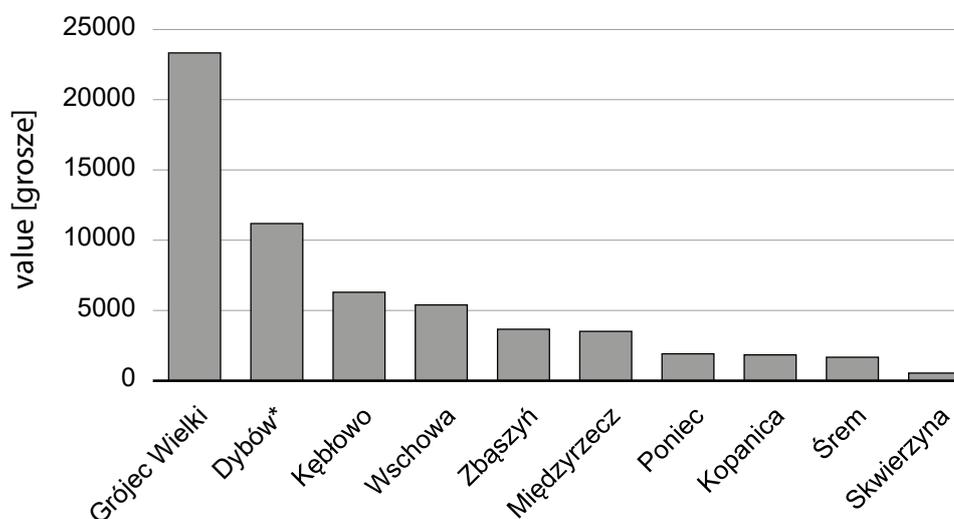
<sup>130</sup> LWWK 1569, ff. 86v.

<sup>131</sup> MK 55, ff. 35–35v.

<sup>132</sup> MK 83, ff. 124v–125v (MRPS V, no. 1437).

revenue;<sup>133</sup> in 1557 the like benefactor was Piotr Rozbicki, the royal cavalry commander.<sup>134</sup> Annuities or life pensions drawn from Poznań customs revenues were granted in some cases, as with Mikołaj Djatkowski in 1534, for instance.<sup>135</sup> Examples of this sort were numerous; in any case, customs-based income contributed, as well, to the personal policy pursued by the monarch, as broad concept. Very importantly, Greater Polish *starostas*-general did not take advantage of the customs income.<sup>136</sup>

Based on the material available, it is difficult to unambiguously estimate the amounts of income received by the Crown treasury from customs incomes of diverse provinces. In 1564, the king jointly leased out the customs of Lesser Poland and those of Greater Poland to Stanisław Spławski, the then-Castellan of Krzywiń, and Jakub Rokossowski, Deputy Judge of Poznań, later Treasurer of the Crown,<sup>137</sup> at 45,000 *florins per annum*, for the period of January 1564 until end of 1566.<sup>138</sup> Then, in 1566, the income from water customs duty at Włocławek was leased for three years to Jan Leśniowski, Cup-bearer of Lwów and secretary to the king, at 7,000 *florins per annum*.<sup>139</sup> To compare, based on the fascicle kept at the Crown Treasury Archive [ASK], listing the payments received from Voivodeship of Poznań in 1583 – the Crown treasury's is estimated at 3,748 florins.<sup>140</sup>



**Figure 7. Annual income from the frontier customs-houses as of 1583. [Compiled by the Author based on ASK I 124, k. 11v–14. Poznań is not specified owing to the enormous amount of its revenue (almost 80,000 grosz). The asterisk stands for the house situated in Cuyavia.]**

In our work on the reconstruction of Greater Poland's roads, we have moreover used the available fascicles of customs-house accounts. The information regarding the customs-houses as such was partly obtained from the pre-war study by Roman Rybarski and from the residually preserved files kept at the State Archives in Poznań. Having access to the entire ASK resource, Rybarski described before the Second World War how the accounts were constructed, namely: 'in the detailed registers, usually the duty payment date and the amount of duty, the commodity and its quantity; also, the origin

<sup>133</sup> MK 87, ff. 139–139v (MRPS V, no. 7310).

<sup>134</sup> MK 89, ff. 481–481v (MRPS V, no. 8097).

<sup>135</sup> MK 49, ff. 140–140v (MRPS IV, no. 17599).

<sup>136</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Urzednicy zarzadu lokalnego*, pp. 213–214.

<sup>137</sup> See K Chłapowski, *Ownership affiliation of settlements*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.3.3.4.

<sup>138</sup> MK 96, ff. 212v–214v (MRPS V, no. 9299). In 1565, the amount was raised to 48,000 florins; MK 96, ff. 437v–441v (MRPS V, no. 9494); cf. MK 110, ff. 395v–400 (MRPS V, no. 10576).

<sup>139</sup> MK 100, ff. 124bv–126v (MRPS V, no. 9692).

<sup>140</sup> ASK I 124, f. 14. For an initial estimate of the income arguably yielded by the country's entire customs system in the Jagiellonian age, see P. Guzowski, K. Boroda, *From King's Finance to Public Finance. Different Strategies of Fighting Financial Crisis in the Kingdom of Poland under Jagiellonian Rule (1386–1572)*, [in:] *The Financial Crises, Their Management, Their Social Implications and Their Consequences in Pre-Industrial Times*, ed. G. Nigro, M.T. Bartoli, M. Boddi et al., Firenze 2016, p. 456.

and, possibly, the name of the merchant transporting the goods. Oftentimes, along the name of such merchant, the name of the carter carrying the merchandise; or, elsewhere, just where he came from'.<sup>141</sup> Referring to the customs accounts' details of the merchant's 'origin', the author probably had in mind the fact that the sources would not directly point to the place from which he had arrived and where he was going to. The individuals mentioned in any such record have their first name, surname, and – quite probably – birthplace (and, possibly, the abode) specified.<sup>142</sup> We would not be told the merchant's itinerary, last stopover, or the town he was heading for. All in all, the usefulness of those accounts in the reconstruction of the road network has proved to be much limited. They enabled us to, above all, get a picture of the specificity of the superregional and local trade between the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the involved parts of the German dominions. At the customs house in Międzyrzecz, for example, subject to the duty were most frequently the cereals (rye, oats), cloth, wool, barrelled herrings, cowhides/oxhides, iron goods, butter, or honey.<sup>143</sup> The vast majority of goods handled at the peer facility in Wschowa included millstones, swine, oxen, grain, cowhides/oxhides, Silesian beer, and cloths.<sup>144</sup>

In our work on Greater Poland's roads, we did not have at our disposal a substantial resource of revisions and inspections of roads, customs, and tolls, comparable to that available for Lesser Poland.<sup>145</sup> The data were gathered from dispersed records, sometimes quite enigmatic.

Babimost was a special case as regards the houses handling the royal customs, which were situated in towns – mostly, though not only, royal ones. Babimost was first mentioned in 1513, among the localities through which merchants reportedly travelled and duties were collected.<sup>146</sup> Then, the town's name is noted among customs-houses in 1519;<sup>147</sup> then again, in 1524, as a place of duty collection *versus Silesiam*, alongside Paradyż, Zbąszyń, Kopanica, Wschowa, and Sulmierzyce.<sup>148</sup> No later reference has been encountered regarding Babimost; instead, as of 1535, a customs-house is seen operating in the nearby village of Grójec Wielki (Grójce Stare; Grodziec). Roman Rybarski's comprehensive study quotes details of this particular house for the years 1535–82.<sup>149</sup> The house's unique location is confirmed by the recently published list of fairs and customs-houses related to the trade in oxen.<sup>150</sup> The enumeration of a total of eight localities, from Sulmierzyce to Zbąszyń, appearing six times in the study, points to one direction of moving forward.<sup>151</sup> It can be presumed that the customs-house was moved in between 1524 and 1535 from Babimost to Grójec as the topography of the latter location facilitated the control of road traffic.<sup>152</sup>

For this particular reason, we have resolved to mark on the road map, depicting the control points over the entire sixteenth century, the uncertain character of the Babimost house, and the rather uncertain character of the Grójec Wielki house.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Rybarski, *Handel*, pp. 17–18.

<sup>142</sup> See, for example, Rach. kom. cel., sign. C1, ff. 5v: "Opcz the baker from Miedzirzecz [= Międzyrzecz] theloneum finitum solvit upon one horse"; *ibidem*, f. 4: "Jurga civis with his companyon [from] Zielona Gora [Góra] upon carrying rye by 4 horses in 2 cartes abroade solvit"; cf. H. Samsonowicz, *Handel na pograniczu polsko-śląskim w świetle danych komory celnej w Częstochowie z 1584 r.*, KH, vol. 99, 1992, no. 4, pp. 9–10.

<sup>143</sup> Rach. kom. cel., sign. C1–C4.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. C5–C8.

<sup>145</sup> M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.5.1.

<sup>146</sup> *Corpus iuris Polonici*, vol. I/3, no. 130, pp. 263–264: "Via et loca eundi mercatoribus. ... Nakell; Posnania camera; custodia Medzirecz, Babimost, Przemundt, Obra, Keblow; Frankfordt". According to Oswald Balzer, the editor, the term *custodia* (watchtower) referred not only to Międzyrzecz but also to the subsequently named towns, except of Frankfurt (situated outside Poland).

<sup>147</sup> MK 33, p. 432 (MRPS IV/2, no. 12351).

<sup>148</sup> MK 36, f. 857 (MRPS IV/2, no. 13852); CMP, no. 151.

<sup>149</sup> Rybarski, *Tabele*, pp. 118–135. Two mentions dated 1583 can be added at this point: 'camera Grodziensis' (ASK I 124, ff. 12v), and 'camera Grodziecensis' (Rach. kom. cel., sign. C12, ff. 12v–13).

<sup>150</sup> *Spisanie jarmarków*, p. 158: "Pro Margarete [13 VII] the faire at Gostin main[ly] for oxen. There in the faire-place diligent observation must needs be done, it being written where, who, and wherefrom he shall buy the oxen. From that Gostin, one must arrive at the customes-houses, commencing [with] Sulmierzycze, Zduny, Jutrossyn, Poniecz, Wschowa, Kopanicza, upp to Groicz [Grójec], Zbassyn [Zbąszyń] so that the oxen bee calculated".

<sup>151</sup> The edition erroneously identifies Grójec Wielki with the village of Brójce (*ibidem*, footnote 21), located north-west of Zbąszyń; Brójce was a town in the sixteenth century.

<sup>152</sup> The section on the customs-house in Grójec Wielki is written by Henryk Rutkowski.

<sup>153</sup> Owing to the confusion as to records, the house in Grójec Wielki was erroneously identified as the town of Brójce, which was situated between Babimost and Międzyrzecz (T. Związek, *Uwagi w związku z edycją*, pp. 406–407).

Two more uncertain structures are plotted on the map of roads: the customs-house in Paradyż and the toll collection station in Strzyżewek (Strzeszew). The former locality only appears in a 1524 document.<sup>154</sup> No mention confirming the Paradyż facility functioning in the later periods has been found, though. Having regard to the incomplete surviving data and the lack of basic records such as completely preserved customs-house accounts, it has been decided that inserting a reference to a customs-house that existed in the first quarter of the sixteenth century should be a better solution than merely ignoring it. The toll collection facility in Strzyżewek (Pyzdry district, Cerekwica parish) has been treated in the same way. The known fact is that the locality was only mentioned as *deserta* in the 1552 tax register;<sup>155</sup> apart from that, Strzyżewek is mentioned in Sigismund II Augustus's document dated 9 January 1562, whereby the monarch granted Baltazar Jaraczewski the right to collect the bridge toll (*mostowe*) in *oppido Strzeszewo*.<sup>156</sup> The latter mention is so far the only known piece of information that confirms the status of Strzyżewek as a town.

Apart from customs-houses, a network of so-called lower-tier customs-houses, called *przykomoreks*, functioned.<sup>157</sup> Their purpose was to seal the existing customs-house network and thereby to contribute to increased income of the royal treasury.<sup>158</sup> Those facilities were not often mentioned in the sources, and therefore – given the current status of research – exact examination of their geographic density is not possible. An idea of how they functioned is suggested by the watchtowers deployed between Poniec, Jutrosin, and Sulmierzyce, for they were installed on all the clear roads leading from Silesia deeper into Greater Poland.<sup>159</sup> A similar *przykomorek* system functioned in the Starosta's District of Rogoźno estate, with fees collected in Gościejewo, Owczegłowy, Skoki, and Tłukawy – that is, along the trade routes leading from Pomerania, south-eastwards toward Poznań, Frankfurt, Głogów, and Wrocław.<sup>160</sup>

Of the twenty-two *przykomoreks*, four were only confirmed in 1513 – namely, the facilities in Górka,<sup>161</sup> Obra, Przemęt, and Szymanowo (*Szymunowo*) localities. Due to this reason, they are marked on the map in a different way. It however sometimes happened that a watchtower or guardhouse, so called at the century's beginning, was described in the later sources as a royal customs-house. Międzyrzecz is one such example: mentioned as *custodia Medzirecz* in 1513,<sup>162</sup> the town appeared in a 1524 list of places where customs duties were collected. However, the context of the record suggested that a fully-fledged house rather than a *przykomorek* functioned there,<sup>163</sup> which is confirmed in the surviving customs-house accounts from the State Archives of Poznań, where four fascicles, dated 1581, have been preserved.<sup>164</sup> Consequently, the places for which no later-date mentions have been found as to a house or *przykomorek* functioning have been marked in the main map as watchtowers.

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<sup>154</sup> See footnote 114; cf. KDW I, no. 227.

<sup>155</sup> RPWK, pzd, 1552, no. 59. A similar opinion is expressed by L. Polaszewski (Polaszewski, *Własność*, p. 144), the locality being described as an unlocalised void rural area.

<sup>156</sup> MK 95, ff. 570v–571. Baltazar Jaraczewski reappears in the records, notably as the owner of Jaraczewo in the tax register from 1577 r.; RPWK, pzd, 1577, no. 119. A namesake person appears in court records from the 1540s; see, e.g., Teki Dworzaczka, 2751 (no. 172) 1546.

<sup>157</sup> By all indications, such facilities should rather be identified with the Latin term *custodia*, which stood for a “defensive border watchtower, at which duties were collected from the through-farers” (after the entry in *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*, www.scriptoros.pl, access 17.03.2017).

<sup>158</sup> These terms were introduced into the literature and academic exchange by B. Wyrozumska, who differentiated in her book between *strażnica* (watchtower, guardhouse) and *przykomorek* (lower-tier customs-houses affiliated to the major ones), giving no explanation, however, as to the characteristics of both types of facility. Based on the proposed argument, both terms seem to refer to a watchtower or guardhouse, whose purpose was to seal the customs network and collect the fees receivable from the merchants travelling by. A *przykomorek* was dependent on the main house which was the basic unit of account with the fiscal apparatus; the records described them as adjacent sites; eadem, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, pp. 21–24.

<sup>159</sup> A surviving breakdown of smuggling provides some more information on the functioning of customs-houses and *przykomoreks*; as, for instance, in Rach. kom. cel., sign. C12, f. 14: “Die Julii 1583 anni, having with them from the othere customes-houses [and] from guarde[-house]s numero 20 of horses behind Miedzyrzec[z] and Skwierzyzna there I tooke from the clothyeres from Francffort with three carts of clothe from whome I tooke fl. 70”.

<sup>160</sup> Also, see K. Górka-Gońska, *Rogoźno*, [in:] SHGPoz, part IV, p. 112.

<sup>161</sup> Identified after Weymann, *Drogi*, p. 220.

<sup>162</sup> *Corpus iuris Polonici*, vol. I/3, no. 130.

<sup>163</sup> MK 36, f. 857.

<sup>164</sup> Rach. kom. cel., sign. C1–C4. Before the Second World War, accounts for the period from 1507 until the 1580s were moreover known; Rybarski, *Tabele*, pp. 46–159.

An additional element appearing in the map of roads are the attached notes informing on fairs held in the urban centres hosting them. As the functioning of annual fairs in a given place was characteristic of urban areas, this is rendered by highlighting the town's name rather than marking separate points: with a pretty large number of individual references, the latter solution would have made the reading of the map's content less convenient.

As no studies have hitherto addressed Greater Poland's mediaeval and modern-age fair network, the map depicts the fairs attested based on the sixteenth-century material.<sup>165</sup> The basic source which has enabled us to identify the localities is *Spisanie jarmarków wielkopolskich*,<sup>166</sup> a paper document kept at the AGAD, whose precise date of compilation is not established; its editors have dated it at between the first and the third quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>167</sup> The manuscript is probably partly corrupted as it lacks the dates of December fairs.<sup>168</sup> It has to be remarked, with a hint of uncertainty, that the manuscript is probably the one of the many such copies that circulated across the country in that time.<sup>169</sup> A valuable contribution to the image of the fairs is the aforesaid *sejm* constitution of 1565. No less valuable in this respect is the annex to the monograph penned by Agnieszka Bartoszewicz,<sup>170</sup> with extract specifying the dates of annual fairs in towns and cities across the Crown, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Information in this respect has moreover been obtained from excerpts contained in the Poznań dictionary file and from paper and parchments documents browsed through at the AGAD. This still-incomplete picture will need to be complemented as the work on the fair network in Greater Poland and the entire sixteenth-century Kingdom of Poland progresses.<sup>171</sup>

In line with the binding assumptions of the AHP series, we have attached (below) a breakdown of highroads being the main 'connections between the country's large economic, political, and cultural centres'.<sup>172</sup> These roads are featured on the map, scale 1:500,000, as main roads. Owing to variants characteristic of individual roads, the alternative connections going through localities are marked with square bracket. The list of transport routes opens with Poznań, which was definitely the most important Greater Polish urban centre of supra-regional significance, Another essential point in the economic map of the sixteenth century, Kalisz has been made part of a broader context of the layout of major highroads (see item 4 below). Wherever possible, additional lists of road connections related to the Kalisz junction (items 9–12).<sup>173</sup> Let us finally add that the localities situated right behind the border, in the area marked with prevalent influence of the German language (i.e. Silesia, Brandenburg, and Duchy of Pomerania), at which the plotted roads arrived, have been given their present-day names in the reconstruction maps. Their sixteenth-century names, identified based on the NMP material, are given in parentheses. The road network extending beyond the limits of Greater Poland's voivodeships toward North-West has been reduced to the necessary minimum, owing to the scarcity of studies on the roads in the Brześć Kujawski and Inowrocław Voivodeships.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> For two localities, no mention has hitherto been found that would attest to fairs held in the second half of the sixteenth century – namely, Barcin (confirmed 1472; MRPS I, no. 933) and Benice, attested 1510 (MRPS IV/2, no. 9395).

<sup>166</sup> See footnote 12.

<sup>167</sup> *Spisanie jarmarków*, p. 157.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 156.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibidem*; cf. Rybarski, *Handel*, p. 204: "at the Treasury Archive, a document from 1584 has been preserved under the name of *A list of must-go fairs* [*Spis jarmarków, na których trzeba bywać*]; it is an instruction for the notary or customs warden of Greater Poland, enumerating the most important Greater Polish and Silesian fairs".

<sup>170</sup> See above, footnote 10.

<sup>171</sup> A project is presently underway in the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN) on the fair network in Greater Poland *Annual Fairs in Greater Poland from the Late Middle Ages to the Deluge (1385–1655)*.

<sup>172</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2.

<sup>173</sup> For more on the importance of Kalisz in the map of roads, see the commentary to the city's map (U. Sowina, T. Związek, T. Panecki, *Kalisz in the middle of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.6.13.4) and oraz Weymann, *Drogi*, pp. 241–249.

<sup>174</sup> The land of Dobrzyń (H. Bartoszewicz, *Drogi handlowe ziemie dobrzyńskiej w XV–XVI w.*, „Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica”, vol. 4, 1994, pp. 155–171) and the land of Chełmno (idem, *Drogi handlowe ziemie chełmońskiej w XV–XVI w.*, „Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica”, vol. 6, 1996, pp. 43–64) have so far been covered. The historical roads in Cuyavia will be covered in the next volume of our atlas.

1. **Poznań – Gdańsk:**
  - (a) Poznań – Oborniki – Ryczywół – Chodzież – Nakło nad Notecią (Nakiel) – Mrocza – Więcbork – Sępólno Krajeńskie (Sempolbork) – Kamień Krajeński (Kamień);
  - (b) as in **1(a)** up to Nakło nad Notecią; subsequently, Łobzenica – Złotów (Złotowo) – Lędyczek;
  - (c) Poznań – Oborniki – Rogoźno – Wągrowiec – Łekno – Kcynia – Nakło nad Notecią, further on as **1(a) & 1(b)** roads;
  - (d) Poznań – Murowana Goślina (Goślina Kościelna) – Skoki – Mieścisko – Janowiec – Żerniki – Żnin – Kcynia – Nakło nad Notecią, further on as **1(a) & 1(b)** roads;
  - (e) Poznań – Murowana Goślina further on as **1(d)** road, up to Żnin, then Szubin – Rynarzewo – Bydgoszcz.
2. **Poznań – Toruń:**
  - (a) Poznań – Murowana Goślina jak as **1(d)** road, up to Żnin, then Barcin – Gniewkowo;
  - (b) Poznań – Pobiedziska – Gniezno – Trzemeszno – Wylatowo (Wielatowo) – Kwieciszewo – Strzelno – Kruszwica.
3. **Poznań – Warsaw:**
  - (a) Poznań – Pobiedziska – Czarniejewo (Czerniewo) – Powidz – Kleczew – Ślesin – Brdów (Brdowo) – Kłodawa;<sup>175</sup>
  - (b) as **3(a)** road, up to Ślesin, and then Licheń Stary (Lichyń) – Koło;
  - (c) Poznań – Kostrzyn – Września – Słupca – Golina – Konin – Koło – Dąbie;
  - (d) Poznań – Środa Wielkopolska (Środa) – Miłosław – Pызdry – Zagórow – [or, optionally, Łądek – Golina –] Konin – Koło.
4. **Poznań – Cracow:**
  - (a) as **3(c)** road;
  - (b) Środa Wielkopolska – Miłosław – Pызdry – Chodecz – Stawiszyn – Koźminek – Warta – Sieradz;<sup>176</sup>
  - (c) as **4(b)** road, up to Chodecz, and then Kalisz – Opatówek – Staw – [Warta]<sup>177</sup> – Sieradz;
  - (d) as **4(c)** road, up to Kalisz, then Ołobok – Grabów;
  - (e) Poznań – Kórnik (Kurnik) – Bnin – Nowe Miasto nad Wartą (Nowe Miasto) – [Jarocin] – Pleszew (Pleszów) – Kalisz, then as **4(d)** road.
5. **Poznań – Wrocław:**
  - (a) Poznań – Kórnik (Kurnik) – Nowe Miasto – Jarocin – Koźmin – Krotoszyn – Zduny – Milicz (Militsch).
6. **Poznań – Głogów:**
  - (a) Poznań – Mosina – Czempin – Kościan – Śmigiel – Wschowa – Głogów (Gross Glogau);
  - (b) Poznań – Buk – Opalenica – Grodzisk Wielkopolski (Grodzisko) – Wolsztyn – Kontop (Kontopp).
7. **Poznań – Frankfurt (Oder):**
  - (a) Poznań – Buk – Lwówek – Trzciel – Brójce – Świebodzin (Schwiebus);
  - (b) Poznań – Pniewy – Lewice – Pszczew (Pczew) – Międzyrzecz – Sulęcín (Zielenzig).
8. **Poznań – Szczecin:**<sup>178</sup>
  - (a) Poznań – Pniewy – Kamionna (Kamiona) – Międzychód – Skwierzyna – [Santok (Zantoch)] – [Deszczno (Dechsel)] – Gorzów Wielkopolski (Landsberg);
  - (b) as **8(a)** road, up to Międzychód, and then Drezdenko (Dreisen);
  - (c) Poznań – Szamotuły – Ostroróg – Sieraków – Drezdenko;
  - (d) as **8(c)** road, up to Ostroróg, then Wronki – Wieleń – Człopa – Tuczno – Mirosławiec (Frydland) [– Pożrzadło Wielkie (Gross Spiegiel) lub Kalisz Pomorski (Kallies)];
  - (e) as **1(a)** road, up to Ryczywół, then Czarnków – Człopa, and then as **8(d)** road;
  - (f) as **1(a)** road, up to Chodzież, then Ujście – Piła – Wałcz [– Czaplinek – Gawroniec (Gersdorf)] – Złocieniec (Falkenburg).

<sup>175</sup> Further on, as in: M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.5.5.

<sup>176</sup> M. Wilska's map of highroads does not feature this road; eadem, *Ważniejsze drogi województw sieradzkiego i łęczyckiego*.

<sup>177</sup> Eadem, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.5.5.

<sup>178</sup> As regards these roads, their connections with Margrabska Droga were of enormous importance.

9. **Kalisz – Toruń:**

- (a) Kalisz – Stawiszyn – Rychwał – Konin – Kazimierz Biskupi (Kazimierz) – Wilczyn (Wilczyno) – Strzelno – Kruszwica;
- (b) Kalisz – Morawin (Morawino) – Turek – Brudzew – Koło – Brdów (Brodowo) – Izbica Kujawska.

10. **Kalisz – Warsaw:**

- (a) Kalisz – Morawin – Brudzew – Koło [– Grzegorzewo – Kłodawa lub Dąbie];
- (b) Kalisz – Koźminek – Dobra – Uniejów.

11. **Kalisz – Wrocław:**

- (a) Kalisz – Ołobok – Grabów;
- (b) Kalisz – Kwiatków (Kwiatkowo) – Ostrów Wielkopolski (Ostrów) – [Odolanów (Odalanów)] – Sulmierzyce (Sulimierzyce) – Milicz;
- (c) Kalisz – Raszków (Raszkowo) – Krotoszyn – Zduny – Milicz.

12. **Kalisz – Głogów:**

- (a) as **11(c)** road, up to Raszków (Raszkowo), then Kobylin – Miejska Górka (Górka) or [Krobia – Poniec – Góra] – Głogów;
- (b) Kalisz – Dobrzyca – Koźmin – Pogorzela – Gostyń – Leszno – Wschowa – Głogów;
- (c) as **12(a)** road, up to Górka, then Sarnów (Sarnowo) – Wąsosz (Herrnstadt).

(2017)

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

### III.5.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Małgorzata Wilska*

The rules applied while working on the map of important roads of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships in the sixteenth century were similar to those applied for previous volumes of the AHP.<sup>1</sup> We do not possess many sources directly related to roads in our area in the sixteenth century. These materials allow only for a partial reconstruction of the road network. Comparing them with eighteenth and nineteenth century maps, we can see, how permanent was the network in the course of centuries, until the nineteenth century. Various factors contributed to this situation, the lay of the land and the development of the settlement among others.

Sixteenth century sources mention two types of roads: highroads, i.e. public roads (called *viae* or *stratae publicae, magnae, communes* or *regiae*)<sup>2</sup> and local roads, described as ‘straight’ or common roads. Our map shows chosen public roads – highroads. They were under the protection of a lord.<sup>3</sup> In the Middle Ages traders had to stick to certain dedicated routes, later the road obligation was not strictly obeyed, but still in the sixteenth century some roads were recommended in royal documents. For instance, in 1566 traders travelling from Warsaw to Wrocław were advised to take the road through Piotrków, Radomsko, Wieluń, Bolesławiec, Baranów, and further on through Syców, in Silesia.<sup>4</sup>

We have used the retrogression method: the map of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships shows a selection of highroads presented on maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Sources from the sixteenth century were taken into account while making this choice. These are, above all, inspections, Łaski’s *Liber beneficiorum*, documents and also royal itineraries and trade routes reconstructed in historical studies.<sup>5</sup> The results of studies on towns have been included as well. All sixteenth century towns are situated by highroads marked on our map.

For Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships there are no customs inspections, such as exists for Sandomierz Voivodeship. We had to rely on brief information, such as on customs houses listed in the 1564/65 inspection in Łęczyca, Żychlin, Zgierz, Łódź, Ujazd, Wolbórz, Krośniewice, Dąbie and Ostrów village.<sup>6</sup> There were few remarks on roads in Łaski’s *Liber beneficiorum*, but sometimes they contained precious information. For instance, thanks to the remark on the road leaving Łęczyca due east we could follow the road through Góra Świętej Małgorzaty and further on to Piątek.<sup>7</sup> Data from

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<sup>1</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7; idem, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2.

<sup>2</sup> K. Buczek, *Wstęp historyczny*, [in:] LDK, p. V n; idem, *Głos w dyskusji nad początkami państwa polskiego*, KH, vol. 67, 1960, no. 4, p. 1097.

<sup>3</sup> J. Matuszewski, *Ręka pańska*, „Przegląd Zachodni”, vol. 11, 1955, no. 3–4, pp. 598–612.

<sup>4</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> P. Dąbkowski, *Przewóz wodny*, „Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny”, vol. 57, 1914, pp. 196–301; K. Buczek, *Wstęp historyczny*, p. V; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1928, p. 29; S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg w Wielkopolsce od X do XVII w.*, „Przegląd Zachodni”, vol. 9, 1953, no. 68, pp. 194–253; A. Gąsiorowski, *Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów*, „Studia Historyczne”, vol. 16, 1973, no. 2, p. 263; J. Baszanowski, *Z dziejów handlu polskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku. Handel wołami*, Gdańsk 1977, pp. 90–101, 173.

<sup>6</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 132; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa*, vol. 2, tables concerning customs houses, pp. 47–145.

<sup>7</sup> Łaski LB, I, p. 416.

written sources informs, which villages the road crosses, but only after confronting the data with cartographical materials were we able to determine its precise course in the area.

Gilly's map, presenting the course of main highroads, is particularly important for the described territory. There is no special Karl Perthées's map for Sieradz Voivodeship, the maps of neighbouring voivodeships have been used. Sometimes we had to accept a fragment of a road from the Topographical Map of the Kingdom of Poland. Detailed courses of roads were determined in accordance with those maps on the basis of 1:100,000 maps from the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup>

The use of maps from the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century makes the course of roads on our map hypothetical to a large degree, even though the data was verified against sixteenth century written sources. It is possible, that a road barely marked on an eighteenth century map was an important route 200 years earlier, and vice versa.

The points in which the roads entered Mazovia and Sandomierz territory were taken from the published volumes of AHP.<sup>9</sup> Especially useful were: map of roads of Cracow Voivodeship, prepared by Bożena Wyrozumska on the basis of the 1570 road inspection, map of roads in Wieluń and Ostrzeszów lands made by Ryszard Rosin, and – above all – map of Poznań and Kalisz junction prepared by Stefan Weymann. (on scale of 1:1,800,000).<sup>10</sup>

Roads around Piotrków were prepared by Henryk Rutkowski. Piotrków was the most important interchange in the territory of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships. In the sixteenth century *Sejms* (Diets) and bishop synods gathered there, as well as – from 1578 – Tribunal conventions.<sup>11</sup> The majority of highroads have already been described by Ryszard Rosin, mostly for the Middle Ages, but using sixteenth century sources.<sup>12</sup> As in other places, here the detailed course of the roads was reconstructed on the basis of Gilly's map, and partly based on Perthées and Brodowski's maps (adequately to their range); where the above-mentioned cartographical sources proved insufficient, we resorted to the Topographical Map. The following roads were added to those appearing in Rosin's studies: Piotrków–Bujny–Siomki–Bogdanów–Borowa–Zdzieszulice–Grocholice, with the variant: Siomki–Wroników Mały (Łaski)–Borowa (this road led further on via Kaszewice, Szczerców, and Osjaków to Wieluń); Piotrków–Borowa (like previous road)–Zawadów–Uszczanowice (Łuszczanowice)–Pajęczno (from there to Radomsko–Wieluń road);<sup>13</sup> Piotrków–Rokoszyce–Gomolin–Suchcice–Widawa, from which one could go to Sieradz and Slesia;<sup>14</sup> Piotrków–Bugaj–Uszczyn–Barkowice–Błogie (and further on to Opoczno)<sup>15</sup>.

Wieluń was an important communication centre in the southern part of our territory. In this area we were basing mainly on R. Rosin's studies,<sup>16</sup> with only occasional changes based on cartographical sources. A road via Niedzielsko–Staw–Stawek–Gromadzice was placed from Wieluń north, according to Rosin, not Gilly, who in this place draws the road through Bieniędzice to Czarnożyły. On the other hand, the road Walichnowy–Naramice–Czarnożyły–Niemierzyn, not included in Rosin's studies, was placed according to Gilly's map. It was the continuation of the Niemierzyn–Konopnica fragment, where a customs-house was situated.<sup>17</sup> Like Perthées, we made a change and led the trail from Jaworzno

<sup>8</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Źródła kartograficzne*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition II.2.12357.

<sup>9</sup> See the main maps of Mazovia and Sandomierz Voivodeships.

<sup>10</sup> B. Wyrozumska, map *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej w XVI w.*, [in:] LDK; Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, map no. 4; S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg*, p. 248.

<sup>11</sup> See the commentary to the plan of Piotrków, in this edition III.6.21.5.

<sup>12</sup> R. Rosin, *Piotrków Trybunalski w średniowieczu*, [in:] *750 lat Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego*, ed. R. Rosin, Piotrków Trybunalski 1967, pp. 17–20; Rosin, *Wolbórz*, pp. 34–37; R. Rosin, *Dzieje Piotrkowa do przelomu XV i XVI w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego*, ed. B. Baranowski, Łódź 1989, pp. 21–24.

<sup>13</sup> The Piotrków–Pajęczno road is attested in corresponding part by two Perthées's maps (of Sandomierz and Cracow Voivodeships). Moreover, part of both roads mentioned appear on Gilly's and Brodowski's maps (here only the Piotrków–Bujny part), and the gaps can be filled by the Topographical Map. The fact that the road through Bujny and Borowa (and not only through Rokoszyce) was used by travellers going to Silesia is proven by the emergence of Wrocław suburb by this road. See the plan of Piotrków and the commentary, in this edition III.6.21.5.

<sup>14</sup> The Piotrków–Widawa road is presented on Perthées's and Gilly's maps. In the seventeenth century it constituted a part of the main trade route between Warsaw and Silesia, and a mail route as well. M. Wolański, *Związki handlowe Śląska z Rzeczpospolitą w XVII w. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wrocławia*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 49 f. and map.

<sup>15</sup> Major road on Perthées's and Brodowski's maps

<sup>16</sup> Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, pp. 218–225.

<sup>17</sup> VL, IV, p. 41; cf. S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg*, p. 232.

through Dzietrzniki, Pątnów to Wieluń. This road was connected to Krzepice–Kłobucko and was a part of the Cracow–Kalisz road.

In Ostrzeszów district the road from Silesia was placed (following Rosin) from Ligota via Kobyła Góra, not through Myślniew (as on Gilly's map) to Ostrzeszów, while in the northern part of this territory, the road to Kalisz was based on Gilly and Weyman – through Biskupice, not Strzyżew, as in Rosin. Following Gilly and Perthées, a parallel road Grabów–Mikstat was led to Odolanów, this road is a continuation of the Sieradz–Grabów road. Also after Gilly and Perthées a connection Baranów–Kępno–Myjomice–Doruchów to Grabów was marked, it constituted a part of a Silesian road from Namysłów to Kalisz. A road from Praszki was drawn via Stradziec–Jaworzno–Parzymiechy to Działoszyn, and its branch to Danków. These are old routes used during Middle Age gatherings in Danków. They connected Cracow with Silesia, running through Radomsko–Pajęczno–Działoszyn: three towns that were still important in the sixteenth century. Warężak's materials prove the rank of those towns and roads in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

A road from Częstochowa and Mstów was marked through Rędziny–Mykanów–Cykarzew to Brzeźnica and its continuation in the north-eastern direction via Kłomnice–Pławno to Radomsko, where it joined the road to Piotrków. Its course in the area of Mykanów was placed based on Perthées, not Gilly, who saw the track from Biała, via Radostków–Lubojna. The road through Kościelec–Rędziny we present is also based on Warężak's notes.<sup>19</sup>

There was a ford on the Warta, south of Brzeźnica, near a tributary of the rivulet Pisia, and the road reached the town from the side of Stare Miasto village, as was shown by Perthées, not as Gilly wanted. He led the main road from the east, creating a bend reaching the road from Jedlno.

While marking the roads in the area of Łódź, we were basing on Rosin's studies (Piotrków–Łęczyca track via Łódź and Zgierz, and also the Zgierz–Brzeziny road).<sup>20</sup> The Zgierz–Stryków part was placed following Gilly, and the part from Zgierz to the West, to Lutomiersk, after Gilly-Cron.<sup>21</sup>

Natural environment influenced the course of the roads, especially in places, where it caused serious obstacles. In our territory, such obstacles were great strips of swampy river valleys in the northern part of Łęczyca Voivodeship.<sup>22</sup> Since the early Middle Ages until the fall of the Commonwealth, there were three passages through the floodplains and marshes of the River Bzura and the drainage basin of Ner River with the Warta.

The most important of those passages was the Łęczyca–Topola connection, a section of around 2 km, called *pons* or *vadum* (ford) in sixteenth century sources. Hence, there is Topola *zabrodnia* ('beyond a ford'), and the villages lying north of the marsh and mud strip were called *villae transpontanae* in the 1576 register.<sup>23</sup> We can only imagine, what the crossing looked like. It was a dyke, running through higher and dryer spots in the marshes, reinforced with sand or covered with wood. Probably, bridges were built over more wet and muddy crossings. The passage was neither easy nor comfortable, as confirmed by the 1791 inspection that calls it 'from the city (Łęczyca) on the Greater Poland road, a broad ford runs as far as Topola, difficult and dangerous old route'.<sup>24</sup> Despite these difficulties, routes from Cuyavia to Lesser Poland, from Toruń to Lwów and from Poznań to Ruthenia led through Łęczyca. Many sixteenth century records mention the customs-house in Łęczyca. From the fifteenth century we know about the course of a road leading towards Ruthenia through Łęczyca, Stryków, Brzeziny and Inowłódz.<sup>25</sup> Another road went from Mazovia through Bielawy, where a bridge was built by Alexander Jagiellon's permission 'per viam seu stratam publicam de Masovia versus

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<sup>18</sup> J. Warężak, *Materiały rękopiśmienne dotyczące woj. sieradzkiego i łęczyckiego z XVIII w.* (see *Źródła pisane*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition II.1.12357).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> *Łódź. Dzieje miasta*, ed. R. Rosin, Łódź 1980, pp. 66–68, 78 f.; *Brzeziny. Dzieje miasta do 1995 roku*, ed. K. Badziak, Łódź–Brzeziny 1997, pp. 38 f.

<sup>21</sup> Gilly's and Gilly-Cron's map and *Zgierz. Dzieje miasta do 1988 r.*, ed. R. Rosin, Łódź–Zgierz 1995, pp. 55 f.

<sup>22</sup> S. Zajązkowski, *O przejściach przez błota łęczyckie*, [in:] *Ziemia i ludzie dawnej Polski*, ed. A. Galos, J. Janczak, Wrocław 1976, pp. 83–125.

<sup>23</sup> P. Wielkopolska, vol. 2, p. 50; S. Zajązkowski, *O przejściach*, p. 98.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted after S. Zajązkowski, *O posiadłościach klasztoru trzemesznieńskiego w Łęczyckim w XII w. na tle początków Łęczycy*, „Roczniki Historyczne”, vol. 31, 1964, pp. 61–68; Zajązkowski, *O kształtowaniu się*, pp. 143–145.

<sup>25</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 59.

Lanciam per fluvium dictum Mroga euntes' (1505).<sup>26</sup> The same road is also mentioned by Łaski: 'per viam que ducit ex eadem villa Chroslin in Byelawy'.<sup>27</sup> From Topola ran two variants of the road to Koło: the old road along the marshes and the River Ner and via Kłodawa. In the south-eastern direction from Łęczyca led a road through Tum and Góra Świętej Małgorzaty – as recorded in Łaski: 'in Gora iacentes, ab... videlicet circa ipsum praedium et eodem usque ad viam, quae vadit de Lancicis in Pyathek'.<sup>28</sup> From Piątek to Łowicz, this road was reconstructed on the basis of the maps of Gilly and Cron – through Bielawy and Chruslin. Road to Uniejów left Łęczyca to the south-west, south went the roads to Szadek, Sieradz, Lutomiersk and Piotrków, and the roads to Stryków and Brzeziny ran in the south-eastern direction.

Another passage through the marshes went along the downriver course of Gnida, along the River Ner, to the broad floodplain of this river with the Warta. This passage is marked by two settlements: Dąbie and Sobótka. In this place Łęczyca Marshes become narrower, the left bank was grown with forests visible on Gilly's map, whereas arms of the River Warta – which had two beds here: western and eastern – flowed from the West. In the sixteenth century, a road from Uniejów went across this area, reaching the Łęczyca – Koło route. The sources mention a customs-house, operating in Dąbie since the thirteenth century, and a road led from there through Uniejów, and further on through Dobra to Kalisz. In Dobra it joined the road to Warta, Sieradz and further south.

The third passage through the Bzura marshes led from Sobota to Walewice. The bridge over the River Bzura was situated on this road, which is mentioned by Łaski: 'cum prato circa pontem in littore fluvii iacente' next to the description of the benefices of Sobota parish.<sup>29</sup> On Perthées and Gilly's map a track is shown, running south and drawn on our map through Walewice, Bielawy, Bratoszewice. There crossed the route leading through Stryków, Zgierz, Lutomiersko, Szadek, Sieradz. In Szadek the route branched out to Warta–Kalisz.<sup>30</sup>

Sieradz was an important communication centre in the central part of our territory. In this city busy roads, running from the north to the south and from the west to the east, met. In the sixteenth century new centres, like Zgierz, become very significant, and in the following centuries – Łódź (then Łodzia). In this area we based our reconstruction of the road network on Rosin's studies, e.g. including the Brzeziny–Lutomiersk route through Łódź among important roads. On our map it was placed according to Gilly. A Lublin road, that marked the border between Będzeliń and Koluszki, Długie and Redzeń (Długie and Redzeń lay in Rawa Voivodeship) is mentioned in 1598.<sup>31</sup> As such, the course of the Brzeziny–Budziszewice road was shown differently than in the Mazovia map.

Important routes of nation-wide importance ran through Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships. On the basis of the present state of research, the following connections can be listed as the most important roads in this area:

Cracow–Poznań:

- a) through Koniecpol–Pławno–Radomsko–Szczerców–Widawa–Burzenin–Sieradz–Warta–Dobra–Turek–Konin,
- b) through Częstochowa–Kłobuck–Krzepice–Jaworzno–Wieluń–Złoczew–Sieradz and further through Warta (like in variant a) or Błaszki–Staw–Kalisz,
- c) through Częstochowa–Kłobuck–Krzepice–Sokolniki–Wieruszów–Grabów–Ołobok–Kalisz.

Cracow–Toruń:

- a) through Przedbórz–Piotrków–Tuszyn–Łódź–Zgierz–Łęczyca–Sobótka–Kłodawa,
- b) through Pławno–Radomsko–Kamieńsk–Piotrków – and further like in the previous variant.

Cracow–Płock: through Pławno–Radomsko or Przedbórz and further through Piotrków–Tuszyn–Łódź–Zgierz–Łęczyca–Kutno.

Warsaw–Poznań:

- a) through Łowicz–Pniewie–Kutno–Krośniewice–Kłodawa–Koło,

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<sup>26</sup> MRPS III, no. 2250.

<sup>27</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 347.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidiem, p. 415.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidiem, p. 503.

<sup>30</sup> S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg*, p. 216.

<sup>31</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 122.

b) through Łowicz–Bielawy–Piątek–Łęczycza–Topola–Dąbie–Koło.

Warsaw–Wrocław:

a) through Głowno–Stryków–Zgierz–Lutomiersk–Szadek–Sieradz–Grabów–Ostrzeszów–Syców,

b) from Sieradz through Złoczew–Sokolniki–Wieruszów–Kępno–Syców,

c) through Piotrków–Kamieńsko–Radomsko–Brzeźnica–Działoszyn–Toporów–Wieluń–Bolesławiec–Kępno.  
Lublin–Poznań:

a) through Inowódz–Lubocheń–Brzeziny–Stryków–Łęczycza–Sobótka–Kłodawa–Koło,

b) through Inowódz–Stryków–Łęczycza–Dąbie–Koło.

Toruń–Wrocław: through Konin–Kalisz–Ołobok–Grabów–Ostrzeszów–Syców.

Płock–Wrocław: through Gostynin–Kutno–Łęczycza–Wartkowice–Uniejów–Turek–Kalisz–Grabów–  
Ostrzeszów–Syców.

Lublin–Wrocław through Przedbórz–Radomsko–Brzeźnica–Działoszyn–Toporów–Wieluń and from there:

a) through Sokolniki–Wieruszów–Kępno–Syców,

b) from Wieluń through Skomlin–Bolesławiec–Opatów–Baranów–Kępno–Syców.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.5a.5 MAP OF THE ŁÓDŹ AREA

*Henryk Rutkowski*

The map of the Łódź area on a scale of 1:125,000 is a twice-enlarged fragment of the main map. Its purpose is to provide a more detailed sixteenth century picture of the area that today constitutes a part of one of the Polish metropolises. At that time Łódź (as it was called) was a small town that, together with some of the surrounding villages, belonged to the Włocławek bishopric. District border ran through this area (Łódź belonged to Brzeziny district, and Bałuty village to Łęczyca district), as well as the border between Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships (in the former also a fragment of the border between Piotrków and Szadek districts).

Materials gathered and studied by K. Chłapowski, A. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, E. Rutkowska and M. Wilska contributed to the creation of this map, according to the division of work between the authors of the main map.<sup>1</sup> However, the twice-enlarged scale required a more-detailed marking, especially in the cases of the localization of settlements and the course of roads and borders. To achieve this, maps and plans included in the monograph on the history of Łódź were used, apart from cartographic sources used in the work on the whole territory of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships.<sup>2</sup>

The river network on the map of the area of Łódź was supplemented in relation to the main map with four streams. These are: Jamnica (Bałutka), Karolewka, Dąbrówka and Czerniec.<sup>3</sup> Apart from important roads, presented on the main map, several other roads were marked, chosen on the basis of cartographical sources from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Present city borders constitute a particular addition to the map. They were added to help orientation, on the basis of the map of Łódź published in 1997.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>1</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Introduction to volume 5: Sieradz and Łęczyca voivodeships* (1998), [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition I.2.5

<sup>2</sup> *Łódź. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1, ed. R. Rosin, Warsaw 1980, pp. 35, 78, 98, 149, 151, 152, after p. 152; texts by R. Rosin (pp. 66–68, 88–91, 97–109) and B. Baranowski (pp. 123–133) were also helpful.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 34–43.

### III.5.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

*Tomasz Związek*

In accordance with the principles adopted in the AHP series, the road network depicted on the road map includes both major routes (highways) and secondary roads, but not local roads.<sup>1</sup> Although the road network's development has always been and still remains closely related to transport and economy, the functions of roads are not limited to these two aspects only. Consequently, research concerning the history of roads is by no means easy to perform, as it requires not only collecting a large amount of data, but, more importantly, requires one to cope with temporal and spatial variability of old roads. No sixteenth-century inspection records of the movement in inland customs houses have survived for Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land, and it was not possible to reconstruct the network of toll collection points. Inspections of royal estates, mainly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also provided very few details concerning the state of roads. However, some valuable large-scale historic cartographic objects have been preserved (Perthées's maps – known from their glass photocopies, as well as maps of Textor, Gilly, Schrötter, and von Pfau).<sup>2</sup> Hence, the reconstruction of the road network of sixteenth-century Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land was prepared, as was the case in the earlier volumes, using the retrogression method.<sup>3</sup> The relative shortage of written materials that could be used for the reconstruction of the road network is not surprising considering the fact that the Vistula was the vital thoroughfare in the territory of Cuyavia. Goods from the entire territory of the Crown were transported *via* the river to Gdańsk. Initial analyses of sources suggest also that Cuyavia should be considered as part of the Greater Poland customs province, which means that the road network system should be more closely connected with the network of customs houses and lower-tier customs houses (*przykomorki*) described in the Greater Poland volume.<sup>4</sup> The roads in question are also a continuation of the network analysed in the Mazovia<sup>5</sup> and Łęczyca-Sieradz<sup>6</sup> volumes. The volume devoted to Royal Prussia presents only the eighteenth-century road network, which also needed to be updated.<sup>7</sup>

As in the previous volumes, an important step was to create a list of nodal points, which included a network of customs houses, fairs, inn settlements and villages with at least two inns.<sup>8</sup> Other useful sources of information included two articles written by Henryk Bartoszewicz,<sup>9</sup> in which the author reconstructed the network of trade roads in Dobrzyń and Chełmno Lands. The edition of the bridge

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<sup>1</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2.

<sup>2</sup> For more information, see: K. Słomska-Przech, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition II.2.6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Rutkowski, *Metoda retrogresji w geografii historycznej Polski (wybrane zagadnienia)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, p. 152; T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4.

<sup>4</sup> T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4; cf. idem, *Uwagi w związku z edycją „Ksiąg celnych Korony z drugiej połowy XVI wieku”*, pub. Szymon Kazusek, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego, Kielce 2017, ss. 383, map, RDSG, vol. 78, 2017, p. 414.

<sup>5</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7.

<sup>6</sup> M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.5.5.

<sup>7</sup> M. Biskup, *Roads*, [in:] MRP, in this edition III.5.9a.

<sup>8</sup> T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4, including the references to subject literature contained therein.

<sup>9</sup> H. Bartoszewicz, *Drogi handlowe ziemi dobrzyńskiej w XV–XVI w.*, „Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica”, vol. 4, 1994, pp. 155–171; idem, *Drogi handlowe ziemi chełmińskiej w XV–XVI w.*, „Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica”, vol. 6, 1996, pp. 43–64.

and dyke toll rates from part of Cuyavia which was published years ago by Zbigniew Góralski<sup>10</sup> is also useful. The proposed sixteenth-century road network was developed to reflect the state of roads not as of the last decades of the century (mainly the 1580s), as was the case in the Greater Poland volume, but for ca. 1564–1565. This different approach is motivated mostly by the lack of relevant data from the second half of the sixteenth century concerning the region's towns and difficulties in developing their exact categorisation.<sup>11</sup> The amounts of paid liquor excise tax were treated as the basic data indicating the economic strength of individual urban centres.<sup>12</sup> They were obtained from the surviving summaries of tax registers from 1564, 1565, and 1569.<sup>13</sup>

In the literature on the subject, there is a belief that the areas in question were located off the main transport routes (Dobrzyń land) and that they constituted transit areas, connecting the main economic centres of a more-broadly-understood region (Toruń and, further, also Gdańsk) with other parts of the State by means of land routes (primarily, Greater Poland and Mazovia) and the most important waterway – the Vistula River.<sup>14</sup> However, the region should be analysed in a more holistic manner and placed within the broader context of the operations of the Crown's economy.<sup>15</sup> The available 1564, 1565 and 1569 data concerning liquor excise tax prove that, apart from Toruń, Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszawa) and Bydgoszcz were the region's crucial economic hubs. They probably had their own local markets and maybe even exported goods to areas outside of Cuyavia.<sup>16</sup> A comparison of the data from the available years (see: Maps 1–3) highlights the natural fluctuation in the payments of liquor excise taxes, resulting not only from changes in grain markets,<sup>17</sup> but also extraordinary crises affecting individual towns. It is easily noticeable, for example, in Nieszawa, whose economic activity decreased by half (from over 10,000 to 5,000 grosze) when comparing 1564 and 1569 as a result of the plague raging in the town.<sup>18</sup> It can be also assumed that Nieszawa was closely related to other Cuyavian towns, which formed its natural supply base.<sup>19</sup> This is evidenced by the spatial distribution of nearby fairs.<sup>20</sup> In the sixteenth century, Inowrocław (r),<sup>21</sup> Kruszwica (r)<sup>22</sup> and Chodecz (n)<sup>23</sup> reportedly had four fairs every year, while Sompolno (Sąpolno, c),<sup>24</sup> Lubraniec (n),<sup>25</sup> Kowal (Kowale, r),<sup>26</sup> Dobrzyń

<sup>10</sup> *Taryfy mostowego i grobelnego Wielkopolski z 1767 r. Województwo łęczyckie i brzesko-kujawskie*, pub. Z. Góralski, SMDWP, vol. 7, 1962, no. 2, pp. 221–276.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. P. Szewdo-Kielczewska, *Character and size of settlements: Cities and towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, pp. 102–103, in this edition III.3.2b.6.

<sup>12</sup> Let us recall that this was a tax on alcohol propination.

<sup>13</sup> ASK II 24, ff. 75–188 (1564 Summary of Tax Registers of the Polish Kingdom) and *ibidem*, ff. 197–312 (1565 Summary of Tax Registers), and ASK I 112, which includes the 1569 summary of tax registers; see: K. Boroda, *Komu i do czego potrzebne były w XVI w. sumariusze podatkowe? O narodzinach planowania budżetowego we wczesnonowoczesnym Królestwie Polskim*, RDSG, vol. 73, 2013, pp. 29–50.

<sup>14</sup> H. Bartoszewicz, *Drogi handlowe ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 163.

<sup>15</sup> Naturally, this region was under the strong influence of Toruń, but there is no data from 1560s concerning this area. All that is known is that the town was in arrears with liquor excise tax payments; ASK I 112, ff. 139v–140r.

<sup>16</sup> K. Boroda, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego w XVI wieku*, Białystok 2016, pp. 522–523.

<sup>17</sup> Tenże, *Rynek produkcji piwa i handlu alkoholem w woj. łęczyckim w XVI wieku*, [in:] *Rynki lokalne i regionalne w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. P. Guzowski, K. Boroda, Białystok–Cracow 2013, pp. 55–85; *idem*, *Wpływy z czopowego jako wskaźnik lokalnego zróżnicowania poziomu produkcji piwa pełnego w miastach Królestwa Polskiego w latach 60. XVI w.*, SG, vol. 4, 2016, pp. 66–80; *idem*, *Geografia gospodarcza Królestwa Polskiego*, pp. 553–554, 581–590; cf. S. Mielczarski, *Rynek zbożowy na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku: próba rejonizacji*, Gdańsk 1962; K. Boroda, *Przestrzenne zróżnicowanie wysokości cen żyta, pszenicy, jęczmienia i owsa na terenie Królestwa Polskiego w lustracjach królewskich z lat 1564–1565*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, pp. 235–247.

<sup>18</sup> ASK I 112, f. 79v.

<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, the information from the tax registers does not show precise data on the structure of the town's craftsmen population, but it is known that, in 1564, a tax on craftsmen in the amount of almost 12 florins was paid from Nieszawa; ASK I 30, f. 349r.

<sup>20</sup> Data concerning fairs is taken from the database of fairs developed as part of a project carried out at the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences titled 'Annual Fairs in Greater Poland from the Late Middle Ages to the Deluge (1385–1655)' and the annex to book by A. Bartoszewicz, *Czas w małych miastach. Studium z dziejów kultury umysłowej późnośredniowiecznej Polski*, Warsaw–Pułtusk 2003.

<sup>21</sup> MK 70, f. 363 (1546).

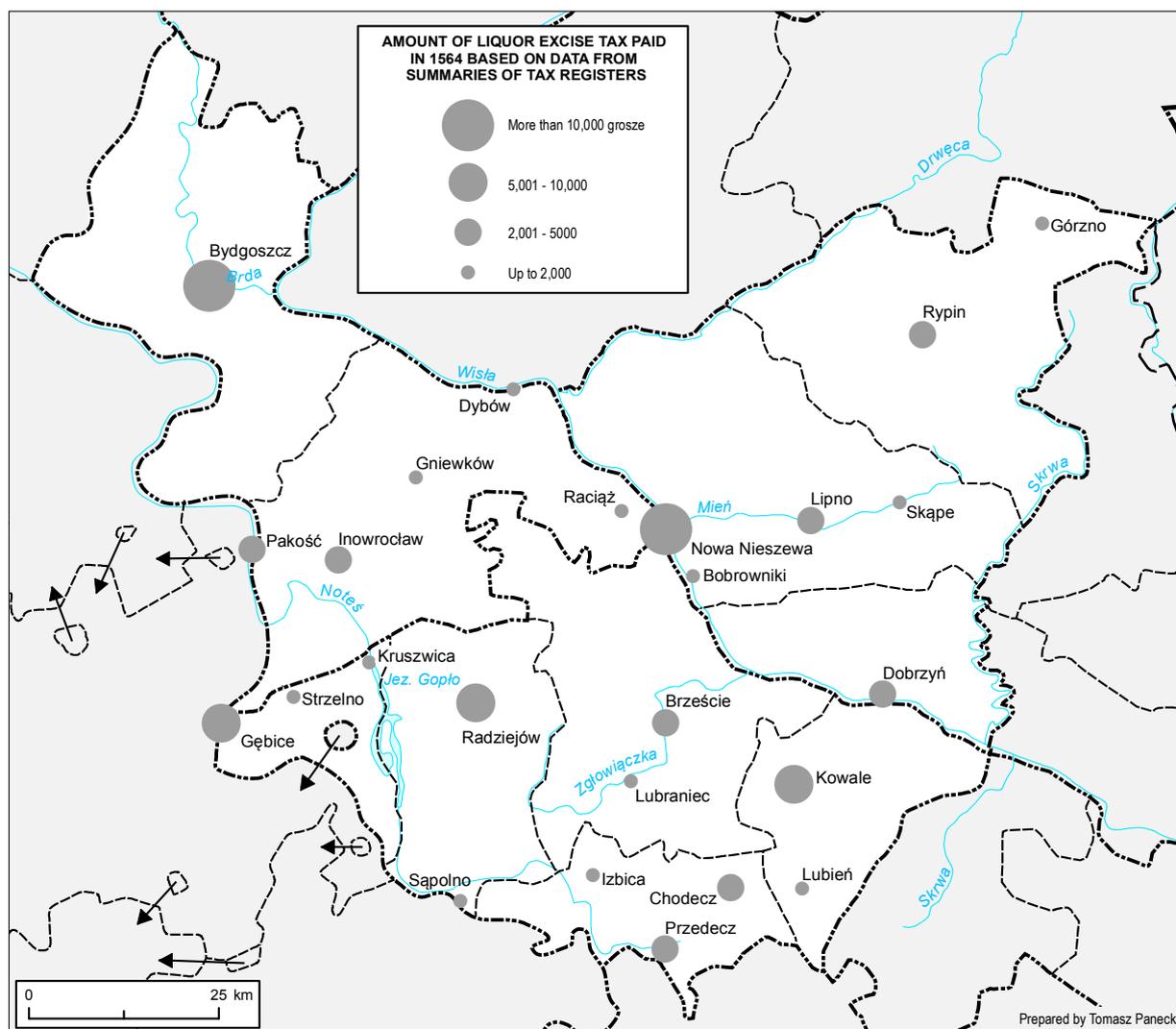
<sup>22</sup> MK 133, ff. 514–515 (1592).

<sup>23</sup> MK 137, ff. 353–357 (1592).

<sup>24</sup> MK 57, ff. 151 (1540).

<sup>25</sup> MK 24, ff. 94–95 (1509); MK 25, ff. 140–141 (1512).

<sup>26</sup> MK 34, f. 194 (1519).



**Map 1. Amount of liquor excise tax paid in 1564 based on data from summaries of tax registers**

(Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula, r)<sup>27</sup> and Skępe (Skępe, n)<sup>28</sup> had three. The annual fairs were geographically arranged in the shape of a horseshoe that surrounded Nieszawa from the west, south, and east (see: Map 4). The importance of Nieszawa as an urban centre must have also been caused by the fact that the salt storage of Lesser Poland's salt mines was located in this town.<sup>29</sup> The dynamic development of this part of Cuyavia was probably also driven by the fact that a water customs house was opened in Włocławek (Włocław, c) as early as in the 1660s. The annual income from the customs house amounted at that time to approximately 96,000 grosze.<sup>30</sup>

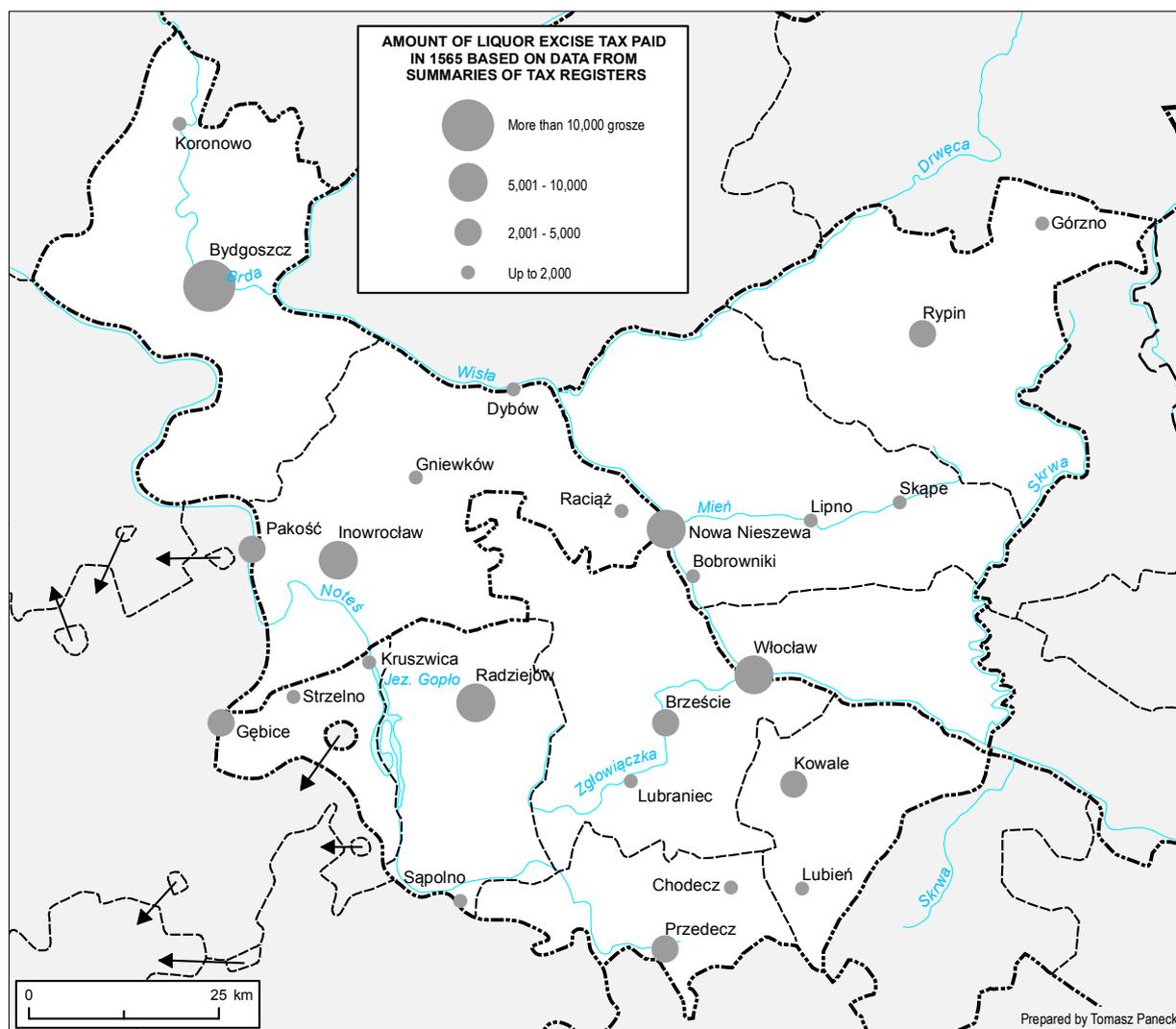
Only a few customs houses were identified for the sixteenth century, mainly the ones scattered around the most important towns of the region. The search of the Crown Metrica revealed no source references to toll collection points in this area. The main known inland customs houses in the second half

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, f. 28 (1519).

<sup>28</sup> MK 95, f. 40v (1559).

<sup>29</sup> D. Molenda, *Zdobycie surowców mineralnych*, [in:] *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, vol. 3: *Od VI do XVII w.*, ed. A. Keckowa, D. Molenda, Wrocław 1978, p. 123.

<sup>30</sup> Earlier, waterway customs houses were located in Dobrzyń, Bobrowniki, Słońsk and Przypust; LWVK 1564, part 2, p. 236. For more information on water toll, see: A. Pawiński, *Skarbowość w Polsce i jej dzieje za Stefana Batorego*, Warsaw 1881, pp. 110–111; R. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, vol. 1: *Rozwój handlu i polityki handlowej*, Poznań 1928, pp. 302–303; *Regestra theloni aquatici Wladislaviensis saeculi XVI*, pub. S. Kutrzeba, F. Duda, Cracow 1915; LWVK 1564, part 2, pp. 236–239; cf. R. Rybarski, *Wielkie zupy solne w latach 1497–1594*, Warsaw 1932.



**Map 2. Amount of liquor excise tax paid in 1565 based on data from summaries of tax registers**

of the sixteenth century are associated with Brześć Kujawski (Brzeście, r),<sup>31</sup> Radziejów (r),<sup>32</sup> Przedecz (r),<sup>33</sup> Dybów (r),<sup>34</sup> and Inowrocław (r).<sup>35</sup> The Przedecz toll was collected in Kłodawa and Dąbrowice, both located in Łęczyca Voivodeship.<sup>36</sup> A comparison of revenues obtained from these customs houses over the course of 30 years indicates that the traffic on this route decreased significantly over time, as the revenues from the customs house in Kłodawa at the end of the 1530s exceeded 500 florins, and, in the inspection period of 1564–1565, amounted to only 150 florins. In addition, in Przedecz, toll was collected in 1660s only from those carters that were going south, not from the ones heading north.<sup>37</sup> This should be interpreted not only as information about the likely volume of traffic, but also as an indication that the vast majority of goods travelling north were transported *via* the Vistula.

<sup>31</sup> MK 110, ff. 176–176v (=MRPS V, no. 10725); LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 208.

<sup>32</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 230.

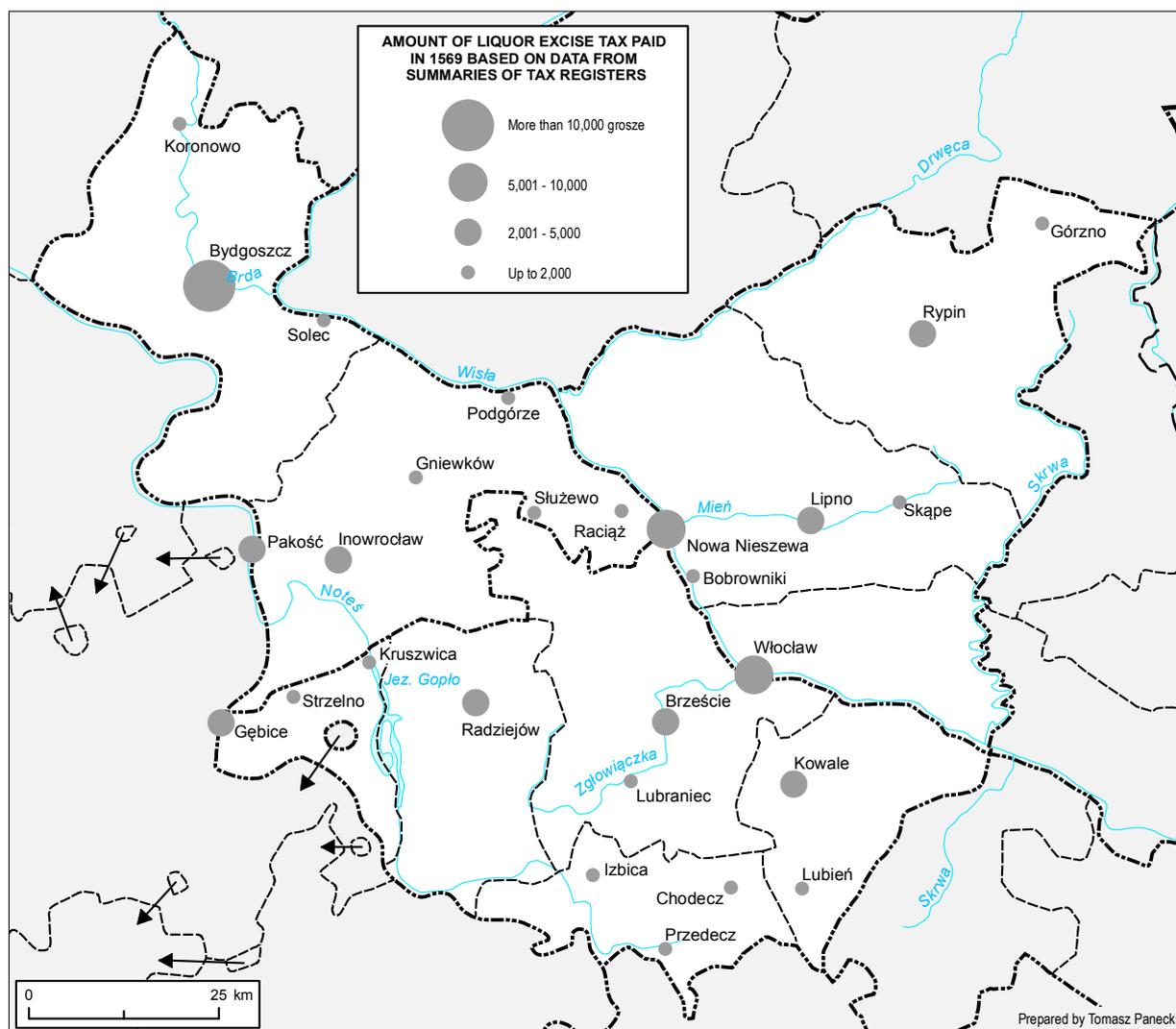
<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 168. The description of the inspection states that ‘there are no markets or fairs in this town’. It is known, however, that a town fair was recorded in 1544 (MK 66, f. 209) and, later, only in 1615 (MK 156, f. 41). Most likely, the annotation in the inspection of royal estates resulted from the temporary economic crisis and weakening of both local and regional trade.

<sup>34</sup> The Dybów customs house was, however, classified as one of the Greater Poland customs houses; ASK I 124, 13v.

<sup>35</sup> MK 78, f. 454v (=MRPS V, no. 1087); LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 243.

<sup>36</sup> ASK I 90 (Rachunki królewskie (Royal Accounts)), ff. 26r (1537); cf. LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 161, 177.

<sup>37</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 168.



**Map 3. Amount of liquor excise tax paid in 1569 based on data from summaries of tax registers**

The older (medieval) toll collection points which are worth mentioning include customs houses in Dobrzyń, Michałów (n), Rypin (r), Księża (n), Bobrowniki (r), Lipno (r), and Słońsk (r).<sup>38</sup> The scant amount of available data on annual revenues from municipal tolls from Brześć, Radziejów (r), Przedecz (with lower-tier customs houses), and Bydgoszcz indicate that the majority of traffic (transport of goods) in this area was conducted along the north-south and north-south-west lines. The high income from the customs house in Kłodawa (4,500 grosze) suggests that around 1564 the route through Kłodawa was the main land thoroughfare between Lesser Poland and the central provinces and Cuyavia and Toruń.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, the high income generated by the customs houses in Radziejów (12,000 grosze) and Inowrocław (6,600 grosze) was related to important Gniezno fairs, as well as Silesian and Poznań trade.<sup>40</sup> The income in the amount of 60,000 grosze recorded in Bydgoszcz can probably be explained not only by the town's beneficial geographical conditions, but also by the fact that it had a salt storage house.<sup>41</sup>

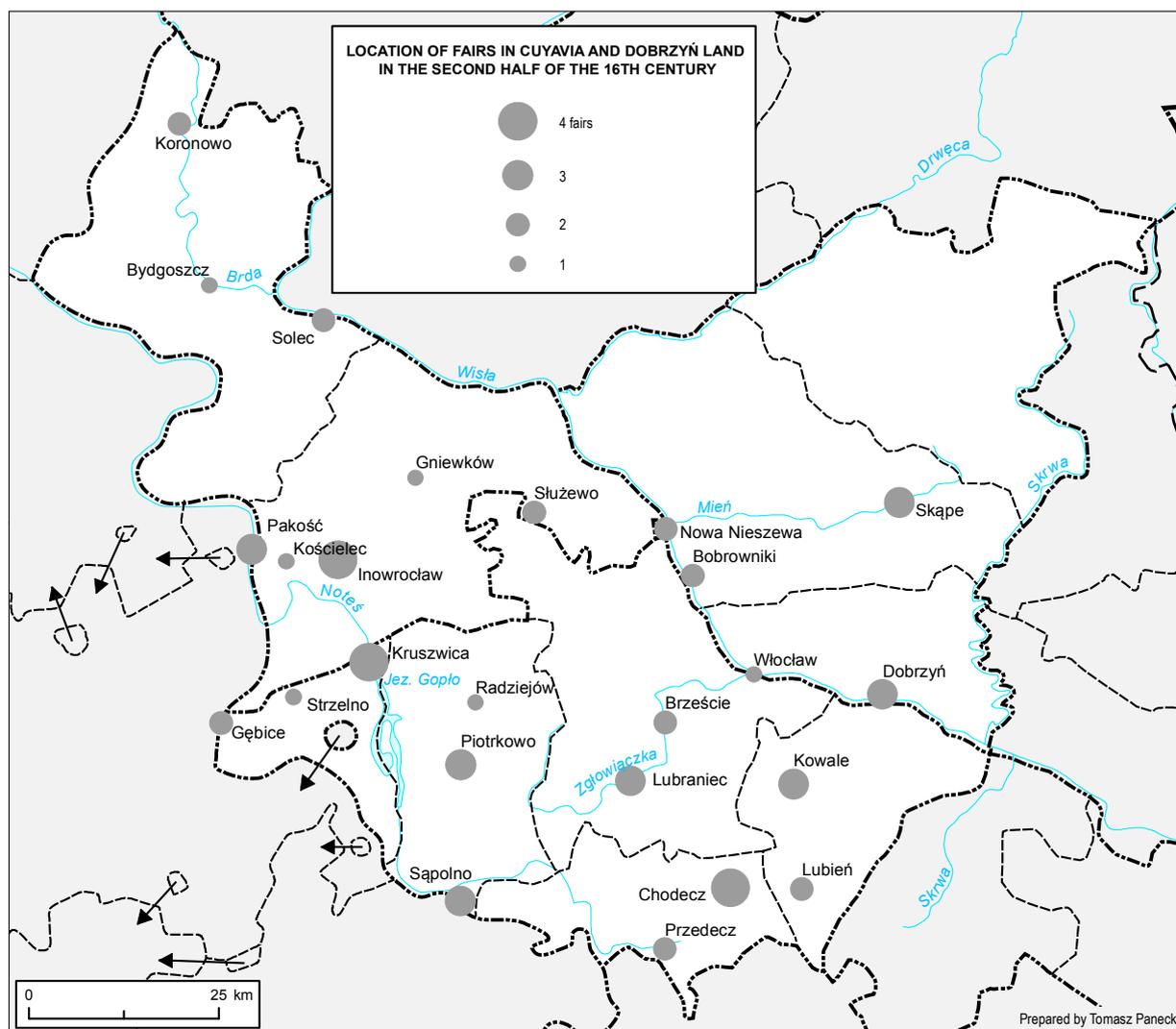
There was only one settlement – Dunaj, located in Brześć District – which was classified as an inn settlement. The tax registers from the end of the fifteenth century do not report anything aside

<sup>38</sup> H. Bartoszewicz, *Drugi handlowe ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, pp. 160–161.

<sup>39</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 161.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, pp. 230, 243.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, p. 258.



**Map 4. Location of fairs in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the 16th century**

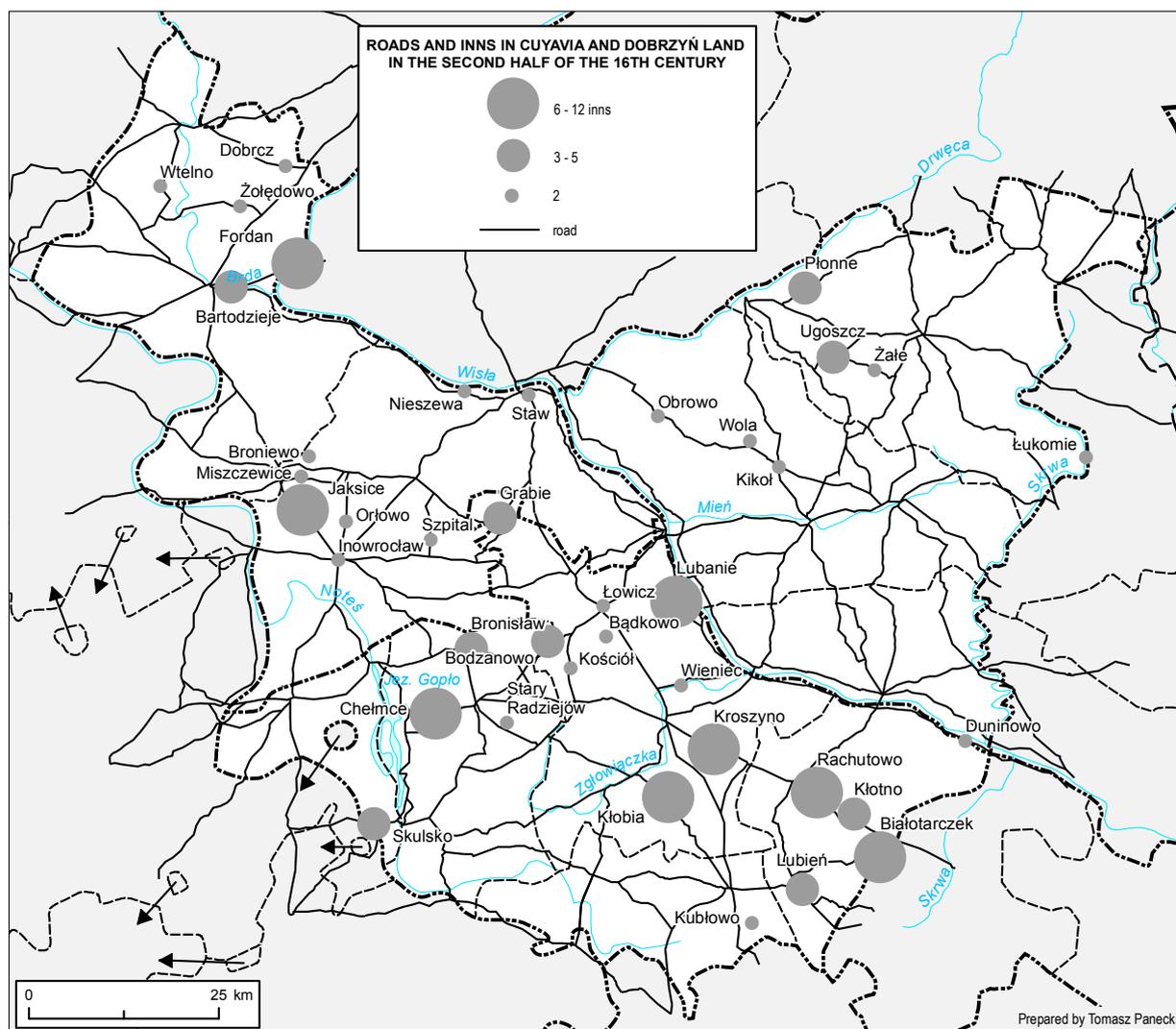
from inns for this settlement, of which there were six at that time.<sup>42</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, the traffic on the road running through Dunaj had to decrease significantly because taxes from only two annual inns and one craftsman are recorded in the tax register for 1567.<sup>43</sup> A one-lan unit of a noble-held parcel was also mentioned in the tax register for that year, and for that year only. Its presence was not confirmed in later years and did not influence the classification of the settlement status of the place. Ten years later, there was only one inn in Dunaj;<sup>44</sup> in later years, the registers recorded only payments from a single craftsman there.<sup>45</sup> The network and classification of roads in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land were also based on villages where two or more inns were declared for tax purposes. Data from the 1577 tax register, including 32 mentions of inns, were used for the analysis of Inowrocław and Brześć Voivodeships. On the other hand, data from 1564, which mentioned seven settlements with inns, were used for Dobrzyń land. The villages in the south-east of Cuyavia – near Kowal, Brześć and Lubraniec – contained the highest number of inns. Other important transport nodes included Fordon (Fordan, r), as well as the village of Płonne (n) located in Dobrzyń land on one of the roads between Warmia and Toruń (see: Map 5).

<sup>42</sup> Lustracja 1489, p. 107.

<sup>43</sup> ASK I 29, ff. 388v.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, ff. 427r.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. ibidem, ff. 627r.



**Map 5. Roads and inns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land in the second half of the 16th century**

The above-discussed economic factors were taken into account in the development of the classification of roads. As main highways, we classed those connections which were most likely to have been vital trade routes and generally important transportation trails. As already mentioned, the shape of the proposed road network of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land is based largely on the road system adopted in previous AHP volumes, and complements previous works. In this case, however, their chronology is more important, because the assumptions adopted for reconstruction of the importance of individual roads could not be fully universal, as shown in the volume on Greater Poland. Nieszawa, Toruń and Bydgoszcz were considered the main transport nodes of the region. Our road categories maintain continuity of the vital transportation routes to Gdańsk, which is considered to have been the most important economic hub in northern Poland. One example which illustrates how the previous volumes were additionally supplemented with new information is the road from Włocławek to Płock which was not depicted in AHP Mazovia. Its importance in the sixteenth century is confirmed by the fact that in 1577 there were two inns serving people engaged in the local transport of goods, both *via* land and water.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the importance of the roads leading south to Łęczyca Voivodeship through Chodecz and Przedecz also had to be verified. According to the data on the amounts of payments collected in the Przedecz customs houses, the route was in constant use. Travellers probably used it not only to reach the Włocławek customs house, but also as one of the routes which allowed them to reach Toruń.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, ff. 429v.

Compared to AHP Greater Poland, the road network in the south-west of Cuyavia in the vicinity of Skulsko, Gębice, Strzelno, and Kruszwica, is also presented with greater degree of density. In turn, due to the lack of relevant early modern data, all river crossings were represented in accordance with the eighteenth-century information on their condition.<sup>47</sup> The most important crossings included the ones in Włocławek, Nieszawa, near Toruń, and in Fordon. Two additional Vistula crossings were marked at the level of Dobrzyń and Bobrowniki, reflecting information presented in Gilly. However, they were treated as factors which complement the already existing road network. There is also evidence of eighteenth-century water transport on Lake Gopło,<sup>48</sup> which also had to play an auxiliary role in relation to the existing land routes.

Environmental conditions, in particular hydrographic ones, had great influence on the transport routes of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. A comparison of Perthées's maps with the content of later cartographic works, e.g. Gilly, reveals the changes that took place in Cuyavia in the late early modern era and the beginning of industrial times. Two closely related phenomena illustrate the reasons behind changes in groundwater level at the turn of the nineteenth century – the intense influx of new settlers and the development of new villages, which changed the existing landscape. At the end of the eighteenth century, Cuyavia was subject to intense Dutch colonization.<sup>49</sup> The new land management model led to deforestation and construction of drainage channels, thereby reducing groundwater levels.<sup>50</sup> Although there were only a few Dutch-type settlements identified in Cuyavia in the sixteenth century,<sup>51</sup> there was a significant increase in the number of Dutch colonies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>52</sup> The greatest environmental changes in the here-described area should also be associated with the policy adopted by Prussia towards its newly annexed lands.<sup>53</sup>

As has been emphasised in previous AHP volumes, some roads in the pre-industrial era were also seasonal in nature.<sup>54</sup> This means that their course was somewhat arbitrary and could be subject to various changes over the course of a year. Perthées marked mudlands in Cuyavia both on his sketches<sup>55</sup> and detailed maps. These were wetlands, which – on the one hand – could be inaccessible during periods of intense rainfall, overflows, and flooding, etc., but which – on the other hand – could also periodically disappear during hot summer months.<sup>56</sup> For example, in the vicinity of Izbica Kujawska (Izbica, n), in the south of the town, there were 'great marshes outside Grochowiska',<sup>57</sup> while in the north, there were 'Piwno marshes', and, to the east of the town, there were boggy meadows. The situation

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<sup>47</sup> See *Taryfy mostowego i grobelnego*, pp. 221–276 and according to Gilly's map.

<sup>48</sup> *Taryfy mostowego i grobelnego*, p. 243; 'From this place, over the border of Kalisz Voivodeship, I went through the more public forests and an ordinary road towards the tracts, and reached a village called Mały Przewóz of His Excellency Lord Wysocki located on Lake Gopło. After crossing the lake, I headed towards the inn called Mielnica, a hereditary ownership of High Right Hon. Lord Dzieścielski, where the innkeeper controls the water transport on Gopło Lake, whose width amounts to, in a straight line, 150 Warsaw ells. The innkeeper uses four joined-together boats for transport. At most, they can carry a half-covered coach with 4 horses, and not one that can be loaded with a lot, because these boats, or barges, are very old and weak'.

<sup>49</sup> Degórska, *Transformacja krajobrazu*, pp. 66–78.

<sup>50</sup> Compare with a similar situation in Greater Poland described in: A. Kaniecki, *The Influence of Anthropopressure on Water Relations in the Wielkopolska Lowland*, „Geographia Polonica”, vol. 68, 1997, pp. 65–80; see also Degórska, *Transformacja krajobrazu*, pp. 66–90.

<sup>51</sup> For more information on this subject, see: W. Duży, *Character and size of settlements: Rural settlements*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.3.2a.6.

<sup>52</sup> The number of settlements whose names are derived from the appellatives *rumunek* and *buda* was also growing at that point. These phenomena should also be associated with the progressive changes occurring in land development at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Cuyavia; cf. K. Zawodzińska-Bukowiec, *Nazwy części wsi, przysiółków, osad i rumunków – nazwy terenowe czy miejscowe? (na podstawie toponimów ziemi dobrzyńskiej)*, [in:] *Mikrotoponimia i makrotoponimia. Problematyka wstępna*, ed. A. Gałkowski, R. Gliwa, Łódź 2014, pp. 279–288.

<sup>53</sup> D. Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature. Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*, New York–London 2006, pp. 21–75.

<sup>54</sup> T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4, footnote 66, with further references.

<sup>55</sup> *Szkice Perthéesa*, vol. 9, microfilm no. 97.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 9.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, ff. 9v: 'A stream from Przedeczek Lake flows through a forest into boggy meadows outside the field of the village of Ciepliń, which cannot be entered during wet summers. Along the length, they stretch almost half a mile in width, but unevenly, in another place, the width will be six staję. When the water pools, the water from these meadows forms a stream that goes to Komorowski Lake, outside a small ford, near Choczyszewo'. Cf. *ibid.*, 'Zdary, boggy meadows, where you can travel only on the edges, between the fields of villages [– –]. A stream from Błęńskie Lake runs through these meadows, and

was similar in the area surrounding Sadlno Parish. Still, the inspection of bridges and causeways from 1767 mentioned that there was a river outside the village of Patrowa in Kowal District, through which ‘the water flows from the upper fields in spring and is sometimes an elbow deep or shallower’.<sup>58</sup> Thus, the roads in this area ran through dry crossings where there was as little chance of flooding as possible. Therefore, the changing hydrological conditions could have had a significant impact on road passability. For example, the road located in the vicinity of Świątkowice Village was muddy in spring or whenever it rained, and, ‘in the village itself, a 2-ell wide stream crosses the road, which, in the spring, becomes wider, that is, has the width of 3 Warsaw ells’.<sup>59</sup> Roads in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land ran also along the Vistula, constituting alternative land arteries to the river transport route. However, despite their importance, these roads were difficult to pass because of their poor condition, and the fact that they were overgrown and cramped with people.<sup>60</sup>

Transport routes were often marked out by fords, bridges and weirs, which in this context should be treated as important transport junctions.<sup>61</sup> The roads running southwards from Toruń to Gniewkowo, Inowrocław and Służewo are a good illustration of this. The map of von Pfau has the highest number of routes as at the end of the eighteenth century, showing several almost equal-ranking roads starting from Podgórze. Among other things, it shows a water reservoir near Branno (n), which was not depicted on later maps (including Perthées’s map). The road starting from Służewo, which runs across a causeway (bridge?) on an unknown watercourse right next to Dulewski Młyn (Mill) was identified as the main road on the north-south route.<sup>62</sup> The fact that there were inn settlements, specifically Pieczonka, Kuchnia Królewska, and Dziwak, and a chapel on this road in the eighteenth century provides a further proof of its significance. The starting point of the second important road passing through the forest complex was designated as Gniewkowo, in accordance with the assumption that this town should have had a direct connection with as important a town as Toruń. However, the issue of the connection between Gniewkowo and Bydgoszcz remains unclear. Although there is a connection of this type (through the forest) on Gilly’s map, the absence of a strongly developed sixteenth-century settlement structure in this area suggests that one ought to be very cautious before drawing any conclusions.

The list below presents the most important highways of the area.

1. **Brześć Kujawski (Brzeście) – Toruń:**
  - a) Łowiczek (Łowicz) – Koneck – Stawki (Staw);
  - b) like road 1a to Łowiczek and further: Nieszawa (Nowa Nieszawa) – Raciążek (Raciąż) – Ciechocinek (Ciechocino) – Czerniewice.
2. **Brześć Kujawski – Warsaw:**
  - a) Kowal (Kowale) – Dąb Wielki (Dąb) – Nowy Duninów (Duninowo) – Gąbin – Sochaczew – Błonie;
  - b) Kowal – Gostynin, and further on to Gąbin.
3. **Brześć Kujawski – Łęczyca:**
  - a) Kazanie (Kazom) – Marysin (Szych) – Szczytno – Chodecz – Psary – Dąbrowice – Krośniewice;
  - b) Sokołowo-Parcele (Sokołowo) – Humlin (Chomlino) – Jarantowice (Jaruntowice) – Chodecz and, then, like road 3a.
4. **Brześć Kujawski – Kalisz:**
  - a) Lubraniec – Janiszewo – Skaszyn (Skaszyno) – Izbica Kujawska (Izbica) – Świętosławice – Brdów (Brdowo) – Koło – Brudzew (Brudzewo) – Turek.
5. **Brześć Kujawski – Poznań:**
  - a) Osięciny – Radziejów – Kruszwica – Strzelno – Trzemeszno – Pobiedziska.

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one half of it spreads through a ditch outside Obałka, and goes through the other ditch through the Obałka’s lands to the small pond of Karbanów.’

<sup>58</sup> *Taryfy mostowego i grobelnego*, p. 237.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 237.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 249: ‘I have not established any dyke toll on this route, which, either from Warsaw, or when turning to Toruń or Brześć, is closer for carters and merchants, but is extremely difficult due to narrow roads which were broken and cut by springs’. See other mentions on the same page.

<sup>61</sup> *Szkice Perthéesa*, vol. 9, f. 29: ‘here is the Gąsiorek ford, 4 staje from the mill. Across this ford, the road to Brześć’.

<sup>62</sup> On the map created by von Pfau, it is indicated as Maciejowy Mill (Matschewer Mühle), and on the map created by Perthées as Maciejów Mill.

**6. Dobrzyń – Toruń**

- a) Dobrzyń – Suszyce – Bobrowniki – Stare Rybitwy (Rybitwy) – Nowogródek (Nowogród Sumińskich) – Złotoria;
- b) like road 6a to Stare Rybitwy and, then, Nieszawa, and further like road 1b;
- c) Strachon – Dyblin (Dyblino) – Kisielewo – Nowa Wieś – Lipno – Kikół (Kikoł) – Dobrzejewice;
- d) like road 6c to Strachon and, then, Głowczyn (Głowczynno) up to Nowa Wieś and further, again, like road 6c;
- e) Mokowo – Będzeń (Będzenie) – Skępe (Skąpe) – Chodorążek and, then, like road 5c.

**7. Dobrzyń – Warsaw:**

- a) Wyszyna – Uniejewo – Płock (Płocko) – Wyszogród – Sochaczew – Błonie.

**8. Inowrocław – Toruń:**

- a) Szadłowice (Szawłowice) – Gniewkowo (Gniewków) – Podgórz (Podgórze);
- b) Jacewo – Marcinkowo – Brudnia (Brodnia) – Zduny (Zdunowo) – Opoki – Grabie – Chrusty (Dulewski Młyn) – Stawki (Staw).

**9. Inowrocław – Gdańsk:**

- a) like roads 8a and 8b, and further: Chełmża (Chełmża) – Grudziądz – Sztum – Malbork;
- b) Złotniki Kujawskie (Złotniki) – Nowa Wieś Wielka (Nowa Wieś) – Bydgoszcz – Kusowo – Gniew – Tczew.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

### III.5.7 MAZOVIA

*Henryk Rutkowski*

Before we present the method used to prepare and present the road network on the map of Mazovia, we wish to provide some valuable general information on old roads, as in the literature on this subject certain issues were left without necessary clarification.

There were two categories of roads in sixteenth century Poland, just as in the earlier period and the following century: highways and other roads, which could be called local. We accept the division used in the sources, yet in historical studies one can find more categories, differentiated particularly on the basis of the significance to trade of a given road.<sup>1</sup>

**Local roads** were used for communication within a single settlement and also connected it with the mill and neighbouring villages, the church, the closest city or town. These roads could be generally accessible, but also could be closed for strangers by the owner of the estates through which they ran.<sup>2</sup> This important difference between local roads and highways was reflected in the terminology, both Latin and Polish.<sup>3</sup>

The **highways**, that is public roads, were open to everyone and used for long distance communication. They connected trade and administration centres, namely towns, which functioned as market and fair sites, centres of large estates, capitals of voivodeships, lands and districts, seats of bishoprics and archdeaconries. It was the starostas' duty to protect the general accessibility of roads and the safety of travellers. Road robbery was one of the so-called 'four gord articles'.<sup>4</sup>

The highways were to be twice as wide as normal roads, so that carts could pass by. The constitution of the *Sejm* of Lublin from 1569 determined the width of highways at 10 ells, i.e. almost 6 m.<sup>5</sup> However, the inspection of the roads in Cracow Voivodeship, conducted on the basis of this constitution in the following year, shows us that in many places the highways were narrower. It is unlikely that the inspectors' directives could have changed this. The roads led through waterlogged areas required padding with fascine, tree trunks or stones, or even building an embankment. Usually, this duty was imposed on the owners of the area through which the highway ran, but in reality many proprietors evaded this responsibility, and public roads became impassable in places. Some highway fragments – also outside royal estates – were maintained by royal customs officials.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, 1565 there appears an opposition: highway–simple road. LS 1564/1565, p. 107. About the division of roads in Polish historiography see e.g. Szulist, *Ważniejsze szlaki handlowo-komunikacyjne północno-zachodniego Pomorza Gdańskiego w XVI–XVIII w.*, ZH, vol. 35, 1970, no. 3/4, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> In the privileges of Mazovian Voivodeship from 1576 there is a decision that according to the old tradition, each nobleman should allow everyone a free passage through his property 'to the church, market, mill, crossing and a highways, if they needed', VL, vol. 2, p. 170; cf. S. Russocki, *Uwagi o polityce targowej ksiąząt mazowieckich w XIV i XV w.*, PH, vol. 51, 1960, no. 2, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1956–1959, pp. 182–187, 470–471; M.S.B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1951, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, ed. J. Bardach, vol. 1, Warsaw 1964, pp. 478, 513; vol. 2, Warsaw 1966, pp. 151, 337.

<sup>5</sup> VL, vol. 2, pp. 97–98.

<sup>6</sup> LDK, *passim*. In Łomża land, the nobles from four parishes were obliged to repair the bridge over the river and swamp called Gać, so outside their property; in 1538 this old duty was cancelled. AGAD, dok. Perg. no. 656, 1537 (according to the Kartoteka SHGM); J.W. Bandtkie, *Ius Polonicum*, Warsaw 1831, p. 469; LM 1565, vol. 2, p. 72.

When the construction, or preservation of an embankment, a bridge, etc. required higher expenditures, the king granted a toll privilege. Sometimes such a privilege was granted in advance, but this did not always lead to the realization of the announced investment. Despite frequently repeated orders forbidding the unjustified collection of tolls, such instances were very common. Together with public and private customs houses, they posed a severe impediment to the trade.<sup>7</sup>

The highways differed in terms of their importance, i.e. range, and the intensity of traffic varied. Some public roads served international trade, others only connected neighbouring parochial centres.<sup>8</sup>

Before we move to the roads presented on our map, we should mention that the scale of 1:250,000 would have allowed us to include not only all highways, but also the majority of local roads. Yet given the fact that roads connected all settlements, **showing local roads on our map would have purpose only if we could mark their course exactly**, with precision close to the one of modern topographic maps. It was impossible, so we decided that local roads should be left out completely.

Highways are a different case, as their reconstruction, even only in approximation, should prove useful. Unfortunately, **because of the insufficient source basis, it is impossible to show all sixteenth century Mazovian highways**. The 1564–1565 inspection of customs and tolls did not survive for Mazovia,<sup>9</sup> neither did the public road inspection conducted around 1570. In fact, these sources, an even relatively thorough inspection, failed to present a complete layout of the highway network.<sup>10</sup>

We have only partial information concerning the public roads of Mazovia in the sixteenth century, as well as in the adjacent centuries. These are usually mentions allowing us to mark a more precise course of a road in the vicinity of one or several settlements, often revealing the destination of the road to us. Still, it is not enough to obtain a proper sixteenth century highway network on the map of our scale. More importantly, as all these records are quite random, it is justified to believe that not all highways were recorded in the surviving sources.<sup>11</sup>

An example, referring to Ciechanów land, was provided by A. Borkiewicz-Celińska. Although her study focuses on an earlier period (prior to 1526), the issue of the road network remains exactly the same as in the second half of the sixteenth century. Research based on all surviving source materials revealed fragments of 18 highways. The author guesses that there were several more public roads.<sup>12</sup> So, even a full query of all surviving sources would not result in a complete depiction of the road network. This proves we were right to follow a different path.

For the aforesaid reason, the map of WP shows roads according to the state recorded by the cartography at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The direction of the routes was based on Perthées's map (all maps shown on this map were transferred), whereas the course of the routes was based on Textor's and the Quartermaster's maps.<sup>13</sup> Disregarding the issue of the thoroughness and completeness of the reality depicted by these maps, we should consider, whether the state from the close of the eighteenth century bears any resemblance to the situation two centuries earlier. We thus reach the problem of the changeability of roads, which requires us to draw a distinction between two phenomena: the changes in the course of roads, and the changes in the use of roads.

We observe a long-lasting constancy in the course of all roads. The main reason behind the stability of communication routes is the fact that the changes in the settlement network are very rare

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<sup>7</sup> LDK, pp. IX–XI; S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg w Wielkopolsce*, „Przegląd Zachodni”, vol. 9, 1953, no. 2, pp. 197–199, 203–204.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. Wolff, *Ziemia zakroczymska za książąt mazowieckich*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Nasielska i dawnej ziemi zakroczymskiej*, Warsaw 1970, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> Only fragments survive, see footnote 47.

<sup>10</sup> LDK, especially pp. XII–XVI, XX. J. Senkowski, on the other hand, believes that this inspection covered all highways. Review in KHKM, vol. 20, 1972, pp. 348–349.

<sup>11</sup> WP, p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej w XV wieku (1370–1526)*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 134–142. On pp. 136–138, in the list of source entries, entry no. 9 refers to the fragment of the highway under no. 18. Entries no. 10 and 18 are mixed (road Ciechanów–Nasielsk mentioned in the last entry from no. 18). No. 17 mentions two roads, the second of which is either identical with the road no. 6, or is a connection between Przasnysz and Maków through Bogate. It could also be added that in the files of SHGM there are many entries concerning roads in Zakroczym land, while the data about other territories is much more limited.

<sup>13</sup> WP, p. 36.

and slow. Particularly in earlier times, when no major hardened roads were being built and their direction was not straightened, the course of the roads remained mostly unchanged.

Although the usage of individual connections, that is the range and intensity of traffic display higher changeability, from our point of view the course of the roads remained stable.

Many roads led to remote settlements, and the choice of the route depended on various factors, as for instance terrain conditions of climate (season), which could prevent travellers from passing clayey areas during the rainy season, or allow them to drive carts and sledges on frozen waters in winter. However, natural conditions usually played an opposite, preservative role, especially when they were connected with artificial devices. This can be clearly seen in the example of crossings on large rivers, where fords, landings or even bridges were built. Other convenient passages through various natural obstacles contributed to the stability of routes and their use. The same could be said about well-organized lodgings and supply bases, as well as customs houses, which could not be by-passed.

Apart from the seasonal changes described above, there were also other changes in the use of highways. Mostly, these were the results of devastation and neglecting necessary repairs, which forced the travellers to choose other, better roads. Minor shifts of traffic, for instance to the road running through a nearby village, occurred probably more often than permanent modifications of routes.<sup>14</sup> Various changes in the use of roads were temporary and partial. In such cases different tracks functioned between two settlements. Instances, when another road assumed the role of the old highway permanently, that is the category of both roads changed – one of them stopped being considered a highway, and the other one gained this status – were probably rare. It should be noted that all changes in the connection between towns meant that the traffic was moved to another existing road, not that new roads were being built.

The eighteenth century brought relatively greater changes in the public road network. The development of the post led to a new category of roads being isolated: post roads. In some places, certain fragments of highways were being straightened, more roads were being hardened (these were still, however, short fragments in the vicinity of towns).<sup>15</sup>

In the end, we can assume that in **the eighteenth century the state of road network was largely similar to that in the sixteenth century**. We can therefore base our study on the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from the period before the great agrarian reforms and the popularization of hardened highways.<sup>16</sup> However, it seems that the solution presented on the map of Płock Voivodeship (AHP 1958) was not the best choice possible, as it excludes the changes which must have accompanied the change of the significance of towns in certain areas.

In this case we decided to reconstruct the network of major roads in the second half of the sixteenth century (our starting point was the highway network at the close of the eighteenth century). As such, the depiction of the road network on the map of Mazovia resembles the one shown on the map of Lublin Voivodeship.<sup>17</sup> We refrained from marking all highways, but limited ourselves to those which probably played an important role in the sixteenth century.

Our point of departure – the situation at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – is quite well-known, but still not completely so. Significant discrepancies can be found in the presentation of major roads between Perthées's map and the maps prepared by the partitioning countries (maps by Textor, Gilly, Heldensfeld – Benedicti). This could only be a partial reflection of actual changes in the road network, caused mainly by the partitions. Mostly, these differences occurred because the authors of the maps lacked precise information or made mistakes in their cartographic

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. LDK, pp. 5, 31 and other; H. Rutkowski, *Wstęp do historii dróg w województwie kieleckim*, [in:] *Konferencja naukowo-techniczna „Kieleckie Dni Drogowe”*, Kielce 1963, pp. I–XII.

<sup>15</sup> In 1782 'beaten highways' are mentioned: Warsaw–Jabłonna and Praga–Grodzisko. *Rozrządzenia y pisma pasterskie za rządów J. O. Xięcia Imci Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego biskupa płockiego do diecezji płockiej*, Warsaw 1785, pp. 150–151. Contemporary suggestions to flatten the roads were mentioned by I. Turnau, *Przegląd zagadnień transportu i komunikacji w polskiej literaturze gospodarczej okresu Oświecenia*, KHKM, vol. 13, 1965, no. 2, p. 379; cf. J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, Białystok 1967, pp. 253, 281–282. W. Szulist rightly emphasizes (*Ważniejsze szlaki*, pp. 100, 105, 110) that not every post road was important for other types of traffic, particularly for trade.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg*, pp. 196–197, 205, 208.

<sup>17</sup> AHP Lublin, map and commentary, in this edition III.5.3.

drawings or engravings. Surviving materials on tracts and crossings from around 1767 seem to support this thesis.<sup>18</sup>

The reconstruction of major roads in the second half of the sixteenth century was conducted in two stages: first the selection of highways, and then the determination of their course.

In the first stage the importance was assumed of those roads, which connected cities and towns of some economic or administrative significance.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, we referred to data on the sixteenth century trade routes and some travel journals (particularly those of kings).<sup>20</sup> Our choice of post roads and highways (tracts) shown on the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was made on the basis of these records.<sup>21</sup>

The picture obtained that way still required certain additions, for instance of the roads which probably played an important role in the sixteenth century, but lost it when the towns these roads connected lost their importance. The road from Czersk leading to Biała through Grójec is a good example here. It connected the land capital with a subordinate district town, but also connected Czersk and Grójec with the centre of the next district, situated in another voivodeship, i.e. with Biała. Truly, this was a small town, but the road through Biała ran to Rawa, the capital of the voivodeship. As such, the entire highway should be counted among major roads.

In such cases, when a highway did not appear on the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, any record from the fifteenth–sixteenth century, confirming that this public road existed, was particularly important. For instance, the said road from Czersk to Biała is attested to (as a highway Grójec–Rawa) in 1436 near the villages Cychry and Wiatrowiec.<sup>22</sup>

Inside Ciechanów land the results of our research on the road network bear much resemblance to the study by A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, who based her presentation of roads mostly on the maps by Perthées and Textor. Records found in written sources from the studied period served only as supplementary information, and in fact were not fully utilized. Still, the author did not limit herself to highways.<sup>23</sup> Our map shows almost all highways attested to in the sources quoted by A. Borkiewicz-Celińska.<sup>24</sup> We included the majority of the remaining roads marked by this author, and also four highways excluded from this study on Ciechanów land.<sup>25</sup>

For the sake of simplicity, we decided not to include **variants of roads** on our map. When the old maps showed two or three connections between two settlements, we chose one of them. For instance, according to Perthées's map, the road connecting Sochaczew with Błonie split into two tracks: one went through villages (e.g. Paprotnia), the other only through inns (e.g. Wymysłów). Our maps shows

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<sup>18</sup> *Źródła i metoda*, [in:] MWK, pp. 32–33, 82–84; WP, pp. 36–37; Z. Góralski, *Taryfa mostowego i grobelnego województwa płockiego z 1767 r.*, „Teki Archiwalne”, vol. 9, 1963, pp. 9–30; idem, *Materiały dotyczące traktów i przepraw od 1767 roku z zaginionych akt Komisji Skarbu Koronnego*, KHKM, vol. 13, 1965, no. 2, pp. 369–376, map.

<sup>19</sup> S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg*, pp. 202–206. Compare with the term used in the legend to Gilly's map: 'Hauptstrasse von einer Stadt zur benachbarten.'

<sup>20</sup> Useful information about important roads based on the sources and studies on trade and travelling can be found on the maps: S. Herbst, W. Trzebiński, *Drogi w Polsce około 1500 r.*, Warsaw 1947, Studium Planu Krajowego, Główny Urząd Planowania Przestrzennego (copy); S. Herbst, *Drogi na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej około 1650 r.*, Warsaw 1947, Studium Planu Krajowego, Główny Urząd Planowania Przestrzennego (copy).

<sup>21</sup> Of the 18 highways confirmed in the fifteenth–sixteenth century sources in Ciechanów land, seven appear of Perthées's and Textor's maps (disregarding some minor differences in the course), six only on Perthées's map, two on Textor's map, and three are not marked on these maps. A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej*, pp. 136–138, and the following corrections: roads 9 and 11 appear also on Perthées's map (no. 9 as Karniewo-Maków), mention no. 14 concerns the highway through Wągry marked by Perthées, and not by Textor, the road no. 13 (through Sobanice and certainly Żukowo) does not appear on any of the two maps. Cf. WP, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> 'publica strata seu via Rawska, que vadit de Grodzec in Rawam,' MK 3, ff. 183v.

<sup>23</sup> Of the highways mentioned in the written sources two were marked according to Textor's map, but not in agreement with quoted entries (no. 13 and 14), and the third highway was shown only in part overlapping with another road (no. 12). The highway no. 18 was shown on the basis of the Quartermaster's map. Of the remaining roads, which do not appear in the sources, only the highway Ciechanów–Sochocin supposedly did not appear on old maps, but it is marked on Perthées's map of Płock Voivodeship. We could not find the road from Płońsk to Nasielsk in cartographic sources, which led south of Królewo, as well as several minor roads marked by the author; A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej*, pp. 135–139 and map on p. 141.

<sup>24</sup> We decided not to mark only two roads, also excluded on A. Borkiewicz-Celińska's map. These were the roads Ciechanów–Krasne and Czerwińsk–Żukowo (no. 12 and 13).

<sup>25</sup> These are the connections: Krzynowłoga Mała–Janowo, Przasnysz–Bogate–Maków, Sochocin–Sarbiewo–Raciąż, Czerwińsk–Wyszogród. Note that two last highways appear on Perthées's map.

only the first variant. Similarly, we chose only one of the two roads depicted by Perthées between Wizna and Zawady. Here we could add that some of these branches were seasonal.<sup>26</sup>

Detailed course of roads was determined according to the maps from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, on the basis of the 1:100,000 maps from the first half of the twentieth century. When a highway appeared only on Perthées's map, we resorted to other old maps, e.g. the detailed course of the road between Mogielnica and Goszczyn was marked with the help of rural roads marked on Gilly's and Quartermaster's maps. When a highway appeared on several maps and these maps show certain differences in the course of the road, we accepted various solutions, believing that in such cases it would be wrong to assume the priority of only one map.<sup>27</sup> Naturally, the sixteenth century settlement network of a given area helped us make the proper choice. Therefore we sometimes accepted the course of a road shown by Perthées on his map, e.g. the highway Płock–Bodzanów through Jasień, Miszewo Strzałkowskie, Peplowo, which finds confirmation in the sources from the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The road from Sierpc through Mochowo towards Dobrzyń can be an example of a different solution. We placed the road not through Kurowo, as on Perthées's map, but through Zglinice Wielkie – as on the Quartermaster's map (the highway does not appear on Textor's map).<sup>29</sup> Similarly, certain roads in the vicinity of Mława were simplified or distorted by Perthées, whereas Textor drew them more precisely and probably more faithfully.

Yet another example is the connection between Wyszogród and Gąbin, determined on the basis of the maps by Perthées and Gilly: the fragment Wyszogród–Iłów was marked on both these maps, Iłów–Jamno only on Gilly's, Jamno–Słubice on Perthées's (Gilly shows Iłów–Słubice), Słubice–Wymyśle appears on both maps, and Wymyśle–Gąbin only on Gilly's. Finally, an example of using additional materials from the eighteenth century, which allowed us to control the highways shown on the maps: the road Skierniewice–Jeżów was placed partly according to Perthées, and partly according to Gilly's map, and partly according to the written source.<sup>30</sup>

In some cases, when we were able to say that the course of a highway in the sixteenth century differed from the one shown by the eighteenth century sources, we accepted such a deviation from our basic source. So the fragment of the road connecting Sierpc and Bielsk – before Bałyszewo – was placed differently than on the maps by Perthées and Textor, i.e. through Grodkowo Sędzicowe, according to a source entry from 1595–1596.<sup>31</sup> On our map, the highway Płońsk–Nowe Miasto runs not through Bołęcino, but through Sobieszczki, where in the sixteenth century there was a bridge over the River Wkra.<sup>32</sup> On Gilly's map, the route Grójec–Warka goes through Kocieszewo and Miedzechowo, whereas we accepted its course through two parochial villages, Jasieniec and Boglewice, according to the confirmation from 1414–1425.<sup>33</sup> This course mostly overlaps with other highways which appear on old maps, so only the fragment Krobowo–Boglewice required supplementation. Exceptionally, the road from Warsaw through Stanisławów and Liw towards Lithuania was shown in two variants between Dobrze and Liw. The older variant was mentioned in written sources from 1462 and 1548, and the newer one was shown on the maps by Perthées and Heldensfeld – Benedicti. Entries from the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries mention an old road leading from Warsaw to Lithuania through Osówno Stare and Czerwonka,<sup>34</sup> whereas according to the maps this highway went through Pniewnik.

Here follows the list of these roads shown on our map, which were not marked on Perthées's map or the maps of the partitioning countries from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The list contains, among others, the highways which changed their route only partially between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries after a neighbouring town became more important than the old

<sup>26</sup> A fragment of the road Dąbkowice–Krepa was provided with an explanation of Gilly's map: 'im Herbst und Frühjahr.'

<sup>27</sup> See footnote 21.

<sup>28</sup> In 1575 this highway was mentioned next to Gulczewo and Jasień, and in 1593 through Peplowo Lenarty. *Płockie grodz. wiecz.*, no. 61, f. 23; no. 95, ff. 25 and 214.

<sup>29</sup> Dobrzyń highway is mentioned in a note from 1595 about Zglinice Wielkie; *ibidem*, no. 98, f. 131.

<sup>30</sup> J. Warężak, *Osadnictwo kasztelanii łowickiej (1136–1847)*, part 1, Łódź 1952, p. 114.

<sup>31</sup> *Płockie grodz. wiecz.*, no. 98, ff. 188–189 and 326.

<sup>32</sup> LM 1565, vol. 1, p. 165; LM XVII, p. 36. An entry from 1449 about a highway near Bołęcino does not – we believe – reject the possibility that this road also went through Pruszkowo and Sobieski (Sobieszczki); A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej*, pp. 136–137, no. 7.

<sup>33</sup> MK, no. 3, f. 39.

<sup>34</sup> Now2, p. 38.

centre (from Czersk to Góra Kalwaria, from Wąsosz to Szczuczyn). The majority of these roads, not confirmed by our basic cartographic sources, appear as higher-rank roads on the Quartermaster's map (in each such case we provide an explanation: Quat. in brackets).

Roads in northern Mazovia: Krzynowłoga Mała–Janowo (Quat.), Nowe Miasto–Kałużyn–Gołymin (Quat.),<sup>35</sup> Nowe Miasto–Klukowo–Przewodowo–Pułtusk (Quat.), Nasielsk–Winnica–Pułtusk (Quat.), Maków–Węgrzynowo–Leszno with a connection to Przasnysz (Quat.), Korzeniste–Poryte–Wilamowo as a fragment of the road Nowogród–Wąsosz,<sup>36</sup> Niedźwiadna–Wąsosz as a continuation of the road Kolno–Niedźwiadna, Kędziorowo–Grajewo i.e. extension of the road from Wąsosz,<sup>37</sup> Grajewo–Białaszewo–Klimaszewnica, from there the connection to Radziłów,<sup>38</sup> Burzyno–Ślasy as a fragment of the highway Wizna–Radziłów (Quat.), Radziłów–Wąsosz (Quat.), Wola Zambrowska–Dąbrowa–Ciechanowiec, i.e. fragment of the road from Łomża to Ciechanowiec.<sup>39</sup>

Roads in southern Mazovia: Wola Pasikońska–Żelazowa Wola, i.e. the connection between Warsaw and Sochaczew through Leszno (Quat.),<sup>40</sup> Grójec–Osuchów as a fragment of the highway from Grójec through Biała to Rawa,<sup>41</sup> Grójec–Drwalewo–Czersk,<sup>42</sup> Goszczyn–Fałęcice–Białobrzegi (Quat.), Grabowo–Ryczywół, i.e. fragment of the road from Warka to Ryczywół, Cędrawice–Sobików–Czersk as the connection between Tarczyn and Czersk,<sup>43</sup> Czersk–Radwanków–Osieck,<sup>44</sup> Mińsk–Wiśniewo–Zimna Woda as a fragment of the route from Czersk to Liw,<sup>45</sup> Latowicz–Kuflew–Cegłów (Quat.).<sup>46</sup>

Although the degree of probability of roads, or even their fragments, varies, the road network of Mazovia depicted on our map could generally be described as follows: all roads marked on the map likely did exist in the sixteenth century (despite some minor differences in their course, e.g. through a village or around a village), but some of them may have been less important. On the other hand, it is possible that an important highway was overlooked and excluded from our map. However, one may believe that (in modern terminology) of main roads all were depicted, and of secondary roads – the majority. The road network presented on our map is therefore incomplete and not wholly certain, but is still approximately correct.

We know some of the crossings and bridges on the roads shown on our map. In this case we based on the sixteenth century source records, particularly those from the second half of the century, as bridges were more likely to be destroyed than roads. Naturally, the information is not complete. The majority of entries referred to bridges on royal estates.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> A. Borkiewicz-Celińska, *Osadnictwo ziemi ciechanowskiej*, p. 138, no. 18.

<sup>36</sup> The fragment Nowogród–Korzeniste appears on Perthées's map as a fragment of the road Nowogród–Szczuczyn, the fragment Wilamowo–Wąsosz is a part of the highway from Łomża to Wąsosz. The road Korzeniste–Dzierżbia is mentioned in the road inspection from 1767. Z. Góralski, *Materiały*, p. 372. The road we showed appears partially as a tract on the Quartermaster's map.

<sup>37</sup> The fragment Kuchmistrzewo (today Wierzbowo)–Grajewo is a tract on the Quartermaster's map.

<sup>38</sup> Only the fragment Białaszewo–Klimaszewnica appears on the Quartermaster's map.

<sup>39</sup> This road is described (partly in much detail) in the document separating the Crown and Lithuania from 1546. Dogiel, part II, pp. 14, 18–19.

<sup>40</sup> This is a fork of the road Warsaw–Leszno–Brochów–Wyszogród, marked on Perthées's map. We introduced one modification and lead the road through Łazy. The highway Żelazowa Wola–Sochaczew was based on the maps by Gilly and Perthées. The entire tract appears on the Quartermaster's map, but it does not go through Wola Pasikońska.

<sup>41</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.5.2, and footnote 22.

<sup>42</sup> We present the shortest connection between Czersk and Grójec, i.e. the one leading through parochial villages Drwalewo and Chynów; the fragment Grójec–Żyrowo Wielkie appears as a tract on the Quartermaster's map.

<sup>43</sup> This is a modification of the highway Tarczyn–Góra Kalwaria presented on Gilly's map. We introduced changes in two fragments: instead through Ustanów, we led the road through Krupia Wólka (before: Wólka Uwielińska), and we added the connection through Sobików–Czaplino between Cędrawice and Czersk.

<sup>44</sup> The 1569 inspection mentions the two bridges on the road from Czersk to the crossing: 'the town needs them very much, as well as the carters, because a great highway goes there', LM 1569, ff. 48v.

<sup>45</sup> Only a small fragment of the road Mińsk–Zimna Woda, namely between Mińsk and Niedziałka, appears on the Quartermaster's map as a tract. In 1506 Sigismund the Old travelled the road through Czersk, Wiśniewo, Liw. AGAD, ASK, Rachunki Królewskie, no. 33, ff. 213 f; A. Pawiński, *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*, Warsaw 1893, p. 231.

<sup>46</sup> The fragment Kuflew–Cegłów is mentioned in the inspection of roads from 1767; Z. Góralski, *Materiały*, p. 375. Sigismund August, on his way from Lublin to Knyszyn, travelled the road through Stoczek and Kuflew in 1569. MRPS V, no. 4088, 8763–8786.

<sup>47</sup> The basic sources of information about bridges and crossing were: the surviving fragments of the inspection of bridges, that is the inspector's accounts before the *sejms* in 1566 and 1567, AGAD, dz. XVIII, no. 4, ff. 74–93v, 290–296v; inspections

We provide the list of settlements in or near which **bridges** were situated, in alphabetical order (without bridges located outside the network of important roads): Błonie, Bobrowniki (Sochaczew district), Borukowo (Zakroczym district), Brochów (Sochaczew district), Cielądz (Biała district),<sup>48</sup> Czersk,<sup>49</sup> Fałęcice (Grójec district), Gać (Łomża district),<sup>50</sup> Gąbin, Gostynin, Grójec, Janowo (Przasnysz district), Kamieńczyk, Latowicz (Garwolin district),<sup>51</sup> Liw Stary, Lubowidz (Sreńsk district), Łomża, Łowicz, Maków, Nowogród (Łomża district), Ostrołęka, Pęcice (Warsaw district), Płońsk, Popielżyn Zawady (Zakroczym district), Popień (Rawa district), Pułtusk,<sup>52</sup> Rawa,<sup>53</sup> Rożan, Sobieski (Zakroczym district), Sochaczew, Sochocin, Świder (Czersk district), Warka, Warsaw,<sup>54</sup> Wilga (Garwolin district), Wizna,<sup>55</sup> Zakroczym,<sup>56</sup> Zawady (Zambrów district).<sup>57</sup>

It is certain that in Mazovia there was only one bridge over the River Vistula – the Warsaw bridge. Still, many ferries must have operated on this largest river. They were also situated on other large rivers which were difficult or even impossible to cross. Just like bridges over smaller rivers, the ferries on the large ones were located by both highways and local roads.<sup>58</sup>

The sixteenth century sources confirm the following ferry crossings, which connected major roads: over the Vistula in Czersk,<sup>59</sup> Warsaw, Zakroczym, Wyszogród and Płock, on the Narew – in Serock, Zegrze, over the Bug – in Nur.

Inland ports served as a connection between waterways and land routes.<sup>60</sup>

The intensity of the traffic defined the importance of each road. The traffic was related to various factors, such as the political activity of the nobles. However, the importance of roads can best be judged based on trade. The results of contemporary research allow us to list the following connections between large economic, political and cultural centres as **the most important roads in sixteenth century Mazovia**.<sup>61</sup>

1. Warsaw–Cracow:

a) Czersk, Warka, Radom,

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of royal property from 1565, 1569 and 1616 (MRPS). Cf. WP, pp. 37–38; J. Senkowski, *Skarbowość Mazowsza od końca XIV wieku do 1526 roku*, Warsaw 1965, pp. 78–82.

<sup>48</sup> ‘sixteen rods of wooden road through the muds, and on this wood cut logs, laid in a row’, AGAD, dz. XVIII, no. 4, f. 88. So this was in fact a dyke, probably with some bridges allowing the watercourses – shown on the maps – to flow.

<sup>49</sup> There were two bridges near Czersk ‘over an arm of the Vistula or a lake – on the highway to the crossing’, AGAD, dz. XVIII, no. 4, f. 90. See footnote 44.

<sup>50</sup> The 1565 inspection tell us that after the nobles were freed from their duty to repair the bridges in Gać village, only the burghers from Łomża and the subjects from royal villages repaired their spans, and the carters avoided this crossing because it was bad. In 1592 the nobility of Zambrów district requested that – because of the bad crossing in Gać – J. Żabicki, the subcamerarius of Zakroczym, was allowed to build a bridge and collect toll. LM 1565, vol. 2, pp. 72, 78, 80; *Dyaryusze i akta sejmowe r. 1591–1592*, pub. E. Barwiński, Cracow 1911, p. 143. Cf. MRPS V, no. 3550; VL, vol. 2, p. 287. See also above, footnote 6.

<sup>51</sup> There were two bridges in Latowicz. LM 1565, vol. 1, p. 121.

<sup>52</sup> J. Zwolińska, *Pułtusk w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Pułtusk. Studia i materiały z dziejów miasta i regionu*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1968, pp. 34–39.

<sup>53</sup> Two bridges, see W. Kalinowski, *Rawa*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.6.25.7.

<sup>54</sup> See W. Szaniawska, *Warsaw*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.6.29.7.

<sup>55</sup> The inspection mentions bridges, LM 1565, vol. 2, p. 46.

<sup>56</sup> ‘a great bridge before the town, on a great highway over a very deep ditch’. LM 1565, vol. 1, p. 143.

<sup>57</sup> The bridge on the River Ślina between Zawady and Łopuchów in Podlasie. Dogiel, part 2, p. 5. In 1564 bridge toll was mentioned on the River Narew in Zegrze (AGAD, dz. XVIII, no. 4, f. 291), but there is no proof there really was a bridge there; also, we know about a crossing in Zegrze, see e.g. J. Senkowski, *Skarbowość Mazowsza*.

<sup>58</sup> Compare with a clear example in *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego*, p. 107.

<sup>59</sup> There were two crossings through the Vistula in the vicinity of Czersk: one towards Radwanków, and the other towards Kosumce. LM 1569, ff. 47v.

<sup>60</sup> See J. Humnicki, K. Pacuski, *Geographical environment*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.1.7.

<sup>61</sup> Important works: S. Herbst, W. Trzebiński, *Drogi*; S. Herbst, *Drogi*; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rola Warszawy w handlu z W. Ks. Litewskim i Rosją w XVI w.*, KH, vol. 63, 1956, no. 2, pp. 3–26; eadem, *Studia z dziejów handlu Polski z Wielkim Księstwem Litewskim i Rosją w XVI wieku*, Warsaw 1956, pp. 30–40 and map; T. Chudoba, *Z zagadnień handlu wiślanego Warszawy w XVI wieku*, PH, vol. 50, 1959, pp. 297–321; M. Wolański, *Związki handlowe Śląska z Rzeczpospolitą w XVII wieku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wrocławia*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 49–50; J. Topolski, *Rola Gniezna w handlu europejskim od XV do XVII wieku*, SMDWP, vol. 7, 1962, no. 2, pp. 15–16, 20–22, 34–57, 63; M. Grycz, *Handel Poznania 1550–1655*, Poznań 1964, pp. 41–44, 72–79 i tabl. 5, 6; F. Bruns, H. Weczerka, *Hansische Handelstrassen: Atlas*, Köln–Graz 1962; *Textband*, Weimar 1967, pp. 595–704; J.M. Małecki, *Związki handlowe miast polskich z Gdańskiem w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1968, pp. 32–40, 67–92, 177–180.

- b) Grójec, Nowe Miasto, Opoczno;
- 2. Warsaw–Wrocław:
  - a) Mszczonów, Rawa, Piotrków,
  - b) Sochaczew, Łowicz, and then either Piotrków or Stryków, Sieradz, or Łęczyca;
- 3. Warsaw–Poznań (also Gniezno): Sochaczew, Łowicz, Kutno, Kłodawa;
- 4. Warsaw–Toruń:
  - a) Sochaczew, Gostynin, Brześć Kujawski,
  - b) Zakroczym, Wyszogród, Płock, Dobrzyń;
- 5. Warsaw–Gdańsk:
  - a) Zakroczym, Nowe Miasto, Ciechanów, Mława, then either Działdowo or Nidzica,
  - b) Serock, Nowe Miasto, Ciechanów and as above,
  - c) Serock, Pułtusk, Ciechanów and as above,
  - d) Serock, Pułtusk, Przasnysz, Mława and Działdowo or Nidzica,
  - e) Serock, Pułtusk, Przasnysz, Janowo, Nidzica;
- 6. Warsaw–Królewiec:
  - a) like 5b and 5c,
  - b) Serock, Pułtusk, Przasnysz, Chorzele, Szczytno,
  - c) Serock, Pułtusk, Różan, Ostrołęka, Łomża, Kolno, Pisz;
- 7. Warsaw–Grodno (also Vilnius and Mińsk):
  - a) Serock, Pułtusk, Różan, Łomża, Wąsosz, Rajgród,
  - b) as above to Łomża, then Wizna (or Rudki), Tykocin,
  - c) Kamieńczyk or Wyszaków, then Ostrów, Zambrów, Tykocin,
  - d) Liw, Nur, Ciechanowiec,
  - e) Liw, Drohiczyn;
- 8. Warsaw–Brześć:
  - a) like 7e,
  - b) Mińsk, Łuków;
- 9. Warsaw–Lublin:
  - a) Karczew, Wilga, Stężycza,
  - b) Czersk, Magnuszew, Kazimierz Dolny;
- 10. Płock–Wrocław: Gostynin, Kutno, Łęczyca;
- 11. Toruń–Grodno:
  - a) Skępe or Rypin, then Sierpc, Raciąż, Ciechanów, Rożan, Ostrołęka, Łomża, Wąsosz, Rajgród;
  - b) as above to Łomża, then Wizna (or Rudki), Tykocin;
- 12. Toruń–Brześć:
  - a) Sierpc, Raciąż, Ciechanów, Pułtusk, Wyszaków, Nur, Drohiczyn,
  - b) Sierpc, Raciąż, Płońsk, Serock, Nur, Drohiczyn,
  - c) Płock, Zakroczym, Serock, Nur, Drohiczyn;
- 13. Toruń–Lublin (also Lwów):
  - a) Brześć Kujawski, Gostynin, Łowicz, Rawa, Białobrzegi, Radom,
  - b) as above to Rawa, then Nowe Miasto, Radom;
- 14. Gdańsk–Brześć: Działdowo or Nidzica, then Mława, Pułtusk, Wyszaków, Nur, Drohiczyn;
- 15. Brześć–Królewiec: Ciechanowiec, Zambrów, Łomża, Kolno, Pisz.

Probably the two most important sixteenth century trade routes led through Mazovia. The first one was the road from Moldova and the Russian lands of the Crown, running through Lublin to Gdańsk. In actuality, several routes led that way. The other important trade route was the connection between Russia and Lithuania with Greater Poland. Most of the variants of the first route, and the entire second route (if we disregard the road to Greater Poland leading through Toruń) ran through Warsaw, which in the sixteenth century had already become the most important road interchange in Mazovia.

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.5.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

*Michał Sierba*

Here we present maps that illustrate the more significant highways of the Podlasie Voivodeship. These routes have been depicted twice – once on the general map, and once on a thematic one. On the latter, all the communication routes have been, in accordance with the marking system employed in previous tomes of the AHP series, divided into main roads and those viewed of secondary importance.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the volume that concentrates on the Greater Poland,<sup>2</sup> this work does not include places tied to the alcohol sale (e.g., inns) as a result of the scarcity of relevant data. Watchtowers are also absent, as sources simply do not mention them. Toll gates and toll points do not appear on this map either. Due to the inability to pinpoint the exact type of crossing in all cases, points of passage across rivers have also been omitted. In the same manner as in prior AHP volumes (especially those concerning the regions of Greater Poland, Cracow Voivodeship and Cuyavia) adopted has been the method of finding important communication hubs, hence the appearances on the thematic map of, among other landmarks, points of customs clearance (custom houses).

While reconstructing the roads of the Podlasie Voivodeship, (as was done in previous volumes of the AHP series), the retrogressive method has been adopted.<sup>3</sup> The network of primary roads was recreated on the basis of maps from the turn of the nineteenth century. The most noteworthy being the works of Karol Perthées of 1795 and the maps of von Stein, Johann Christoph von Textor and Anton Mayer von Heldensfeld, all dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. These were later compared with the maps of the Quartermasters and WIG.<sup>4</sup> For the northern part of the Bielsk land (north of Tykocin) two Russian maps from 1706<sup>5</sup> and Swedish documents charting the route taken by their army, dating back to 1655,<sup>6</sup> have proved to be a valuable supplementation to the already existing data. Plotting the course of communication routes was also greatly aided by preserved schematic estate maps from the sixteenth century depicting the area.<sup>7</sup> This undertaking was supplemented by surveys and rough sketches of a part of the Podlasie parishes, ones dating back to 1784; the same resources

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<sup>1</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7; M. Wilska, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.5.1; eadem, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Sieradz, in this edition III.5.5.

<sup>2</sup> T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4.

<sup>3</sup> This having already been described in other volumes of AHP. See also H. Rutkowski, *Metoda retrogresji w geografii historycznej Polski (wybrane zagadnienia)*, SG, vol. 7, 2019, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> These maps have already been described by T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition II.2.8.

<sup>5</sup> The originals of these maps are to be found in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Despite having mixed up directions, scales and topographies they nonetheless bring a lot of interesting material concerning roads. See K. Łopatecki, *Two Maps of the Podlasie-Grodno Borderline from 1706*, KHKM, vol. 67, 2019, pp. 489–504. I would like to sincerely thank Prof. K. Łopatecki for making available scans of these maps.

<sup>6</sup> K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *Mapy i plany Rzeczypospolitej XVII w. znajdujące się w archiwach w Sztokholmie*, vol. 1, Warsaw 2011, pp. 242–289.

<sup>7</sup> See S. Alexandrowicz, *Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII w.*, Warsaw 2012, pp. 136–138; idem, *Mapy majątkowe północnego Podlasia z XVI wieku*, KHKM, vol. 4, 1966, no. 2, pp. 279–305; *Žvilgsnis į Lietuvos Didžiąją Kunigaikštystę iš paukščio skrydžio. XVI–XIX amžiaus rankraštinių kartografijos šaltiniai*, ed. T. Čelkis, V. Karpova-Čelkienė, Vilnius 2015, pp. 208–217. These maps are to be found in: BUWil., sign. F23-131, F23-132, F23-134, F23-135.

that were used by Karol Perthées in creating his detailed map of the Podlasie Voivodeship.<sup>8</sup> Previous volumes of the AHP have been taken into consideration when reconstructing roads situated in areas bordering with the Voivodeships of Mazovia and Lublin.<sup>9</sup>

The quality of the written sources that could potentially provide support when drawing up a comprehensive image of the Podlasie road network, and here when compared to other regions of the Crown covered by the AHP series, is rather poor. There is an absence of satisfactory records and road surveys, toll points, points of customs clearance and custom houses. Surveys of Crown land are of little help either, except for indicating the location of crossing points for some of the bigger rivers.<sup>10</sup> Only partial records from the Augustów customs house remain, with these covering just a portion of the year 1607.<sup>11</sup> Preliminary research conducted in courthouse ledgers and their copies, with rare exceptions, did not yield satisfactory effects.<sup>12</sup> For the period dating back before the concluding of the Union of Lublin published volumes of the *Lietuvos Metrika*<sup>13</sup> were utilized, while the *Crown Metrica*<sup>14</sup> was employed for later periods. This preliminary research was supplemented by noble court archives, which ultimately proved to be of little help, especially in the context of the sixteenth century. More information could be found in sixteenth-century inventories of royal estates.<sup>15</sup> The research was subsequently expanded and enhanced by the published itineraries of authorities and noblemen,<sup>16</sup> as well as through select diaries<sup>17</sup> which, due to their limited source content were expanded to encompass those from the seventeenth century. Significant pointers were provided by the descriptions, sketches and maps depicting

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<sup>8</sup> Szkice Perthéesa; a part have been published. *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku: dekanat knyszyński i dekanat augustowski*, pub. W. Wernerowa, Warsaw 1996. Supplementation of these sources are also materials derived from the acts of the Treasury Commissions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland: *Seniųjų Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kelių aprašymai*, pub. A.A. Baliulis, T. Čelkis, Vilnius 2018; Z. Góralski, *Materiały dotyczące traktów i przepraw od 1767 r. z zaginionych akt Komisji Skarbu Koronnego*, KHKM, vol. 13, 1965, no. 2, pp. 369–376.

<sup>9</sup> AHP Lublin and AHP Mazovia. On the Podlasie–Mazovia border terrains it was necessary to conduct a minor correction to the look of some roads, but this was not to have an impact on the whole course of the routes themselves. The exception being the environs of Tykocin, where from Mazovian Zawady a road led to Podlasie which was to fork beyond the River Ślina. With one fork heading in the direction of Tykocin, while the other towards the crossing of the Narew at the village of Nieciecze (in the sixteenth century Nieciecze). Only the former remains, about which below.

<sup>10</sup> ASK XLVI 149; MK XVIII 64; LWP 1570, 1576; LWP 1602.

<sup>11</sup> APoz., Miscellanea, sign. 96.

<sup>12</sup> Complete research would require many years of work and significant funds. There are over 500 legal ledgers in Minsk and Moscow – a part of these have, in the form of scans, been transferred to AGAD and APB; NGAB, Mińsk, ff. 1706, 1708, 1712, 1715, 1726, 1759, 1789; RGADA, f. 356, op. 1. There are 57 municipal castle court Bransk ledgers, 19 land court ledgers, 99 Drohiczyń municipal (castle court) ledgers, 3 Goniądz municipal (castle court) ledgers and 14 Suraz land court ledgers in AGAD's possession. S. Tarnowski, *Akta ziemskie i grodzkie*, [in:] *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Informator o zasobie*, ed. T. Zielińska, Warsaw 1992, pp. 52–54. It follows to add that a lot of information concerning Podlasie can also be found in Mazovia ledgers. Excerpts and extracts from Podlasie and Mazovian court ledgers were compiled by Ignacy Kapica, hence the popular reference to them as being Kapicjans. This resource is scattered across AGAD, ANK, the State Archive in Łódź, the Central State Historical Archive of the Ukraine in Kiev and Lviv, the Diocese Archive in Drohiczyń, the Parish Archive in Tykocin.

<sup>13</sup> See, among others, the series *Lietuvos Metrika* published in Vilnius and *Metryka Vjalikaga Knjastva Litouskaga* printed in Minsk.

<sup>14</sup> MK.

<sup>15</sup> These sources have been discussed in K. Boroda, *Written sources* [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition II.1.8.

<sup>16</sup> A. Gašiorowski, *Itineraria dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów*, „Studia Historyczne”, vol. 16, 1973, no. 2, pp. 249–275; idem, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagielly 1386–1434*, Warsaw 1972; *Itinerarium Bogusława Radziwiłła (1620–1669)*, [in:] B. Radziwiłł, *Autobiografia*, pub. T. Wasilewski, Warsaw 1979, pp. 235–259; *Itinerarium Władysława III Warneńczyka króla Polski i Węgier*, comp. S. Kwiatkowski, Lwów 1879; F. Papée, *Jan Olbracht*, Cracow 1936, pp. 229–248; K. Pietkiewicz, *Itinerarium króla Aleksandra Jagiellończyka 1492–1506*, Warsaw 2016; S. Polechow, *Itinerarium wielkiego księcia litewskiego Witolda: 4/5 sierpnia 1392–27 października 1430*, „Rocznik Lituanistyczny”, vol. 5, 2019, pp. 9–120; G. Rutkowska, *Itinerarium króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka 1440–1492*, Warsaw 2014; M. Wrede, *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, Warsaw 2010; idem, *Itinerarium króla Zygmunta III 1587–1632*, Warsaw 2019.

<sup>17</sup> J.A. Chrapowicki, *Diariusz*, part 1: *Lata 1656–1664*, comp. and intro. T. Wasilewski, Warsaw 1978; *Dziennik biskupa Piotra Myszkowskiego 1555–1568*, pub. Ł. Kurdybacha, KH, vol. 47, 1933, no. 1, pp. 447–468; S. Niezabitowski, *Dzienniki 1695–1700*, comp. and intro. A. Sajkowki, Poznań 1998; B. Radziwiłł, *Autobiografia*, pp. 119–154; *Путешествие стольника П.А. Толстого по Европе 1697–1699*, pub. Л.А. Ольшевская, С.Н. Травников, Москва 1992. These have been utilised despite methodological reservations. See T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4. The mentioned diaries and accounts are often extremely detailed in their description of a road travelled which, given a weak source base, acts as an important supplement in the reconstruction of a road network.

the routes taken by armies during the Great Northern War and, above all, those produced during the period of the Swedish Deluge.<sup>18</sup> Road reconstructions by Stanisław Herbst,<sup>19</sup> Hugo Weczerka,<sup>20</sup> and Stanisław Lewicki,<sup>21</sup> as well as Georg Ignaz von Metzburg and Johann von Lichtenstern's<sup>22</sup> map have been used as visual sources. Incidentally, it is worth noting that archaeological excavations and digs from the Podlasie area have contributed little that could be utilized while reconstructing the region's sixteenth-century road network.

The subject literature available that covers communication routes and relevant crossing points of Podlasie is poor and in no way may be deemed satisfactory.<sup>23</sup> This topic has often been marginalised in favour of works on settlement, specific villages, towns, and estates, and here a tendency visible not merely in works on the sixteenth century, but in equally in those spanning the medieval and modern era.<sup>24</sup> The most information can be found in Józef Maroszek's monograph on the Podlasie Voivodeship up to the Third Partition,<sup>25</sup> as well as in his post-doctoral (*habilitacja*) thesis on northern Podlasie,<sup>26</sup> although this researcher equally covers the issue fairly superficially. Certain information can be also found in the (still indispensable) work by Aleksander Jabłonowski.<sup>27</sup> The only author to cover the road network question more extensively is Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz. Her research revolving around communication routes of the early medieval period.<sup>28</sup> In turn, the Warsaw–Wilno postal route has been described rather modestly in a piece by Grzegorz Ryżewski.<sup>29</sup> The course of some of the more prominent roads of northern Podlasie have been described and depicted on maps found in the works of Jerzy Wiśniewski.<sup>30</sup> Alina Wawrzyńczyk had explored the problem of the location of primary trade

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<sup>18</sup> Krigsarkivet, Stockholm, Sveriges Krig, sign. 5:47, March of the Swedish army from Brzozowo to Nowy Dwór in 1708 (I would like to thank Prof. K. Łopatecki for making available a fragment of this sketch); K. Łopatecki, *Two Maps*, pp. 489–504; K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *Mapy i plany*, pp. 242–289; W. Majewski, *Potop szwedzki (1655–1660)*, [in:] *Z dziejów wojskowych ziem północno-wschodniej Polski*, part I, ed. Z. Koszyła, Białystok 1986, pp. 72–118; T.M. Nowak, *Szwedzka mapa przemarszu wojsk Karola XII w 1708 r. z Kujaw na Białoruś*, [in:] *Europa Orientalis. Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi od średniowiecza po współczesność. Studia i materiały ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Alexandrowiczowi w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z. Karpus, T. Kempa, D. Michaluk, Toruń 1996, pp. 197–209; J. Płosiński, *Potop szwedzki na Podlasiu 1655–1657*, Zabrze 2006.

<sup>19</sup> *Drogi w Polsce około 1500 r.*, ed. S. Herbst [Warsaw], 1947; *Drogi w Polsce około 1650 r.*, ed. S. Herbst, [Warsaw] 1947.

<sup>20</sup> *Hansische Handelsstrassen. Atlas*, ed. H. Weczerka, Köln–Graz 1962. I would like to thank Dr. T. Związek for his analytical comments in relation to this work.

<sup>21</sup> *Drogi handlowe w Polsce w wiekach średnich i w XVI w.*, comp. S. Lewicki, Warsaw 1926.

<sup>22</sup> *West-Galizien*, ed. G.I von Metzburg, J. von Lichtenstern, Wiedeń 1803.

<sup>23</sup> A review of the Polish-language subject literature into road research has been conducted by A. Janeczek, *Staropolski układ komunikacyjny na mapie józefińskiej Galicji z lat 1779–1783. Szansa czy iluzja rekonstrukcji*, [in:] *Galiczyjskie drogi i bezdroża. Studium infrastruktury, organizacji i kultury podróżowania*, ed. J. Kamińska-Kwak, Rzeszów 2013, pp. 9–12. A multi-lingual subject literature examines the roads of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (together with Podlasie) and is discussed in: G. Błaszczuk, *Geografia historyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Stan i perspektywy badań*, Poznań 2007, pp. 75–82; T. Čelkis, *Stan dróg lądowych i struktura systemu połączeń w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w końcu XV–XVII w.*, „Zapiski Historyczne”, vol. 79, 2014, no. 3, pp. 40–43.

<sup>24</sup> In many works concerning estate complexes or individual settlements, authors writing about the sixteenth century have not conducted their own research into the road network, but have merely uncritically described it on the basis of maps of the eighteenth and nineteenth century in many cases not informing the reader as to the source basis of their investigations.

<sup>25</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 345–366. This work contains however many factual errors; see review: Z. Anusik, „Przegląd Nauk Historycznych”, vol. 14, 2015, no. 1, pp. 214–233.

<sup>26</sup> J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony w planach Zygmunta Augusta. Z historii dziejów realizacji myśli monarszej między Niemnem a Narwią*, Białystok 2000.

<sup>27</sup> Podlasie II–III.

<sup>28</sup> T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Wczesnośredniowieczna sieć drożna na Podlasiu*, [in:] eadem, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury*, selection and comp. A. Janeczek, afterword M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Warsaw 2011, pp. 269–282; eadem, *Węzeł drogowy pułtuski na tle sieci komunikacyjnej wczesnośredniowiecznego Mazowsza (X–XIII w.)*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 253–268. In a marginal way this topic has been discussed also by E. Kowalczyk in relation to the border territory of the Teutonic state, Mazovia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; eadem, *Szlaki drogowe w puszczy na pograniczu mazowiecko-pruskim w średniowieczu*, KH, vol. 106, 1999, no. 1, pp. 3–18. The subject of roads at the end of the Middle Ages is also raised in the article by: P. Czyżewski, *Handel na Podlasiu w drugiej połowie XV w.*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1994, no. 1 (33), pp. 3–10.

<sup>29</sup> G. Ryżewski, *Wielki trakt Warszawa-Wilno w XVIII w.*, Sokołów Podlaski 2013. The history of the station on this route at Buksztel is discussed in the article: W. Jarmolik, L. Postołowicz, *Stacja pocztowa w Buksztelu w końcu XVIII w.*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1990, no. 4 (20) pp. 6–10.

<sup>30</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1967, pp. 13–294; idem, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie*

routes located on the east-west axis, including a demonstrative map aside the text.<sup>31</sup> The main roads in the Mazovia, as well as their connections to other parts of Poland are discussed by Władysław Szulist.<sup>32</sup>

A lack of adequate source materials and academic publications forces one to make the assumption that the map depicting the roads of Podlasie will be the most hypothesis-based within the whole AHP series. This assumption aside, one must suppose that a critical application of maps dating back to the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when taking into consideration the significant permanence of communication routes as such, it makes their marked course highly probable, with differences appearing rather in the detailed course of these routes took as opposed to their more general shape, significance and direction.<sup>33</sup> Surviving source materials as well as existing literary works on the topic most often mention only notable intersections and the place names through which these roads passed. Very rarely do we find ourselves in possession of data covering the lands that stretched between these markers and the course that smaller routes took between the unmentioned territories and settlements themselves.

The first step taken was locating and subsequently pinning down the route of the main roads as shown on maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These findings were then verified. This process consisted of comparing the charted routes of specific roads on all the map versions with each other. Subsequently, using sixteenth-century sources the crossing points across rivers (bridges, fords and ferry crossing points) were marked, as well as attempting to compile a list of all settlements where either toll gates or custom houses were located and in operation.<sup>34</sup> Settlements that housed a significant number of inns and potential boarding houses, usually towns, were often (though not always) treated as hubs and intersections of sorts, where important communication routes came together.<sup>35</sup> The map also pinpoints places where inns were scarcer – this pointer served as an aid in situations of controversy and uncertainty, not as a primary marker of indicating the course of any road as such. In cases where it was unclear whether a route crossed through a settlement or not, the placement of one or more inns increased the likelihood of the former variant, though this in no way provided one with a decisive answer. This method had a merely fragmentary usage, for the tax registers which were the basis for creating this volume in the AHP series, were very sparing in their descriptions of agricultural buildings and settlements (especially in the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands). The topographic attributes of the region played a significant role in ascertaining the trajectory of roads. It allowed factors such as the presence of wetlands to be taken into account, which allowed for corrections to be made based on the difficulty and accessibility of the terrain. The shape of the settlement network too was taken into consideration, as this was a factor often associated with the course and shape of important communication routes.<sup>36</sup>

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grajewskim do połowy XVI w., [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, vol. 1, ed. M. Gnatowski, H. Majecki, Warsaw 1975, pp. 9–252; idem, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie suwalskim od XV w. do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Suwalszczyzny*, ed. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1965, pp. 51–138; idem, *Początki Białegostoku i okolicznego osadnictwa*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 4, ed. H. Majecki, Białystok 1985, pp. 7–28; idem, *Rozwój osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-rusko-litewskim od końca XIV do połowy XVII w.*, „Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, pp. 115–136.

<sup>31</sup> A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia z dziejów handlu Polski z Wielkim Księstwem Litewskim i Rosją w XVI w.*, Warsaw 1956. Mention should be given to the following of those significant works that allow one to supplement our picture of the roadways of the Podlasie and Brześć Litewski district border region: eadem, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu w XV i XVI w.*, Wrocław 1951; S. Wysłouch, *Dawne drogi Polesia. Ze studjów nad historją gospodarczą Polesia w XVI–XVIII w.*, Wilno 1937.

<sup>32</sup> W. Szulist, *Ważniejsze szlaki handlowo-komunikacyjne województwa mazowieckiego w XVI–XVIII w.*, „Rocznik Mazowiecki”, vol. 6, 1976, pp. 325–358. However, despite the article’s title mainly it is the state at the end of the eighteenth century that is described. It follows to mention that the author did not make use of the AHP Mazovia volume and based himself on his own analysis of maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

<sup>33</sup> There exist exceptions to this rule that will be discussed below.

<sup>34</sup> S. Weymann’s view to connect the customs houses with the road network is a valid one; idem, *Cła i drogi handlowe w Polsce piastowskiej*, Poznań 1938, p. 90. For other view on this matter see: H. Samsonowicz, *Przemiany osi drożnych w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, PH, vol. 64, 1973, no. 4, p. 705.

<sup>35</sup> An additional problem in any retrogressive reconstruction is that of towns founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. On maps from the turn of the nineteenth century the most important roads passed through the majority of them. However this did not have to be the case in the sixteenth century. Symptomatic is the example of the present-day capital of the Podlasie Voivodeship, Białystok, about which below.

<sup>36</sup> This argument was advanced by T. Dunin-Wąsowicz in researching early-medieval Polish communication routes; eadem, *Badania sieci drożnej średniowiecznej Polski*, [in:] eadem, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski*, p. 18. It is equally accurate for later periods.

The maps created using all the above mentioned methods were then confronted with detailed accounts contained in written and cartographic sources as well as those covered in historical research papers. This facilitated the finding and removal of changes that had occurred between the early medieval era and the sixteenth century, as well as the period between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

Locating all the river crossing points proved a difficult task, as one could not blindly rely on maps from the turn of the eighteenth century for the relevant data; the course and water levels of rivers being susceptible to change in certain parts. Another important factor was the aspect of rivalry and conflict between landowners over, amongst other things, river crossing points – a point of dispute that often influenced the trajectory main roads took.<sup>37</sup> In some instances earlier maps and written sources aided in solving these inaccuracies, but this was not always the case. Waniewo serves as a prime example of this problem. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century it was the location of a bridge that straddled the Narew River, as well as having a castle. In the first half of the sixteenth century both the town and pertaining lands belonged to the Radziwiłł family, who at the time were engaged in a serious conflict with Olbracht Gasztold – the proprietor of the nearby town of Tykocin. Olbracht, as a form of payback for the invasion of his lands and the burning of the Tykocin Castle, ransacked Waniewo, destroying the local bridge and fortress in the process. The bridge was later restored.<sup>38</sup> However, this renovation process must have taken a significant amount of time, because it managed to influence the trajectory of the road. The route that crossed those lands was redirected to the crossing of the Narew River, newly created by Gasztold in the vicinity of Żółtki and Złotoria, therein making the road through Waniewo practically obsolete.<sup>39</sup> Olbracht Gasztold used a similar strategy when destroying the Narew River bridge located between the villages of Łazy Duże (in the sixteenth century known simply as Łazy) and Nieciece, thus changing the route of the high road, redirecting it in the direction of Tykocin, owned by him.<sup>40</sup>

The primary crossings that bridged the most important rivers of Podlasie at the end of the sixteenth century were:

- on the Bug River: Drohiczyn, Tonkiele (known as Tunkiele in the sixteenth century), Siemiatycze (Turna Mała, known as Turna-Ogrodniki in the sixteenth century), Granne-Krzemień, Mielnik, Niemirów;
- on the Narew River: Tykocin, Strabla, Płoski-Wojszki, Narew, Suraż, Żółtki-Złotoria;
- on the Nurzec River: Ciechanowiec, Brańsk, Boćki, Kleszczele;
- on the Biebrza River (also known in the sixteenth century as the Bobra): Osowiec;
- on the Netta River: Augustów, Białobrzegi;
- on the Ełk River (known in the sixteenth century as the Łęk): Bogusze;
- on the Ślina River: Zawady-Łopuchowo;
- on the Liwiec River: Węgrów, Mokobody, Mordy (Wyczóki), Chodów.

Customs houses in the Podlasie were often tied to the location of river crossings or important intersections within the communication route network. There is no available register of any units functioning in Podlasie that date back to the end of the sixteenth century. Some of them appear merely as brief mentions from the first half of that century, though it is safe to assume their location remained more or less the same. Customs houses and affiliated subunits were located in Bielsk Podlaski (in the sixteenth century known simply as Bielsk), Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Łosice, Węgrów, Ciechanowiec, Wysokie Mazowieckie (Wysokie in the sixteenth century), Suraż, Tykocin, Narew and Augustów.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Rewizja komór celnych i stacji mytnicznych województwa kaliskiego z 1571 r. Edycja „Aktu rewizorów ziemskich”*, pub. T. Związek, SŻ, vol. 54, 2017, pp. 141–142.

<sup>38</sup> Preserved are entries for 1600 and 1604 which show that a bridge existed then at Waniewo. ZZG, sign. 375, p. 38; ZZG, sign. 378, pp. 1–13.

<sup>39</sup> A. Oleksicki, *Waniewo. Dzieje regresu dawnego miasta*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1988, no. 3 (11), pp. 10–11.

<sup>40</sup> Kopicjana 64, pp. 190–201.

<sup>41</sup> APPoz., *Miscellanea*, sign. 96; Podlasie III, pp. 192–196; J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim*, p. 108; D. Michaluk, *Z dziejów Narwi i okolic. W 480 rocznicę nadania prawa chełmińskiego 1514–1994*, Białystok–Narew 1996, p. 17; see J. Szlaszyński, *Stosunki handlowe na pograniczu polsko-litewsko-pruskim na początku drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, „Rocznik Augustowsko-Suwalski”, vol. 4, 2004, <http://www.astn.pl/r2004/stos.htm> (access 20.12.2020). S. Kazusek mentions only the customs houses at Tykocin, Bielsk Podlaski, Drohiczyn and Mielnik; *Księgi celne Korony z drugiej połowy XVI w.*, pub. S. Kazusek, Kielce 2017, map. It is possible that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Hlebowicz family established an illegal customs house in Mordy. Podlasie III, p. 195.

In the sixteenth century salt storage points existed in Drohiczyn, Tykocin and Goniądz.<sup>42</sup> The exact timeframe within which these units functioned is unknown, which is why they do not appear on the subject map.

A significantly encountered issue was how to choose from the selection of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century roads those that would be represented in the abovementioned map for the sixteenth century. Some of them, though of lesser importance in later centuries, played a vital role within the sixteenth century communication network. An example is a 'large road' ('*wielka droga*') that in the sixteenth century ran from Goniądz through Trzcianne, Boguszewo, across the bridge in Lewonie (known as Krasowo in the sixteenth century), then through Knyszyn, heading eastward through the Knyszyn Royal Forest, reaching Straż located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and carrying on all the way to Grodno itself.<sup>43</sup> Similar issues arose in many other cases, because written sources, as well as academic writings on the subject were often imprecise in categorising and naming specific roads. Available resources on the topic often feature terms such as *large road*, *magna via*, high road, tract, public right of way, *via publica*, *via*, *strata*, or simply road, sometimes containing an additional descriptor referring to a place name or a landowner the said road led to. In reference to the first six terms one can with some certainty assume that the routes being described were of some importance – though even that cannot be assumed to be always the case. In instances where the denomination was impossible to ascertain, and here based on literary and other sources alone, the demarcation of roads from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were taken into consideration (after much scrutiny). The primary source analysed was the map created by Perthées, and after that the employment of other maps dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> In these circumstances, due to the inaccuracies found on Perthées's map, though the classification of particular roads was decided on based on his work, the more detailed topography of their course was reconstructed using more detailed maps.<sup>45</sup> During analysis the importance and size of the locations through which the particular road passed were taken into account, as well as the destinations and connections to landmarks outside the perimeter of the Podlasie Voivodeship along with factors such as river crossings, natural obstacles, the network of settlements, the placement of parishes, marketplaces and places of trade as well as the number of inns located en route. These instances occurred most commonly during the reconstruction of certain fragments located within the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands.<sup>46</sup> The last step involved categorising the charted roads into main roads and those of secondary importance – a process that has been reflected in the thematic map and the list of noteworthy routes located at the end of this chapter.

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<sup>42</sup> Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 366.

<sup>43</sup> See J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, tabl. XVII.

<sup>44</sup> On the maps employed in the reconstruction from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, roads had various designations and notations. Von Stein employs the following terms: national roads (*Landstrassen*), communication roads (*Communications Wege*), dry ground roads (*trokne Feldwege*), marshy roads (*Nasse Wald u. Weissen Wege*), foot byways (paths) (*Fussweg*). On Textor's map the main division is that between national roads and postal routes (*Land und Poststrassen*), ordinary (*Gewöhnliche Wege*), as equally foot byways (paths) (*Fußsteige*). Heldensfeld mentions road-highways (*Chaussee*), postal and communication roads (*Post- u. Communication-strassen*), routes (*Landstrasse*), ordinary roads (*Ordinaire Fahrwege*), field ways and forest paths (*Feld- u. Waldwege*), foot bypaths (*Fusssteig, Steef, Pflad*). Perthées's Polish-language map divides roads into: postal, cart drivers' and ordinary roads. On the maps mentioned the self-same roads had often divergent meanings, which most obviously complicated matters. It follows to add that some of the lower category roads appeared to have been important thoroughfares in the sixteenth century while those of a higher categorisation are of less significance for the sixteenth-century; cf. road categorisation: Z. Budzyński, *Cesarskie gościńce w Galicji. Pierwszy etap budowy sieci dróg bitych (według mapy józefińskiej Fryderyka Miega)*, [in:] *Galicyjskie drogi i bezdroża*, pp. 25–57; A. Janeczek, *Staropolski układ komunikacyjny*, pp. 12–18; T. Panecki, *Koncepcja struktury bazy danych historycznych obiektów topograficznych*, Warsaw 2018, PhD thesis under the supervision of Dr. hab. W. Ostrowski, Dr. Eng. I. Karsznia, Warsaw University's Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, pp. 83–95; M. Zawadzki, *Sieć komunikacyjna województwa lubelskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII w.*, Lublin 2019, PhD thesis under the supervision of Dr. hab. B. Konopska, Dr. hab. B. Szady, the Lublin Maria Curie-Skłodowska University's Faculty of Earth Sciences and Spatial Management, pp. 96–106; T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. M. Zawadzki, *Sieć komunikacyjna województwa lubelskiego*, pp. 71–74; idem, *Methodology of Reconstruction of the Old-Polish Road Network as Exemplified by the Historic Lublin Voivodeship*, "Polish Cartographical Review", vol. 51, 2019, no. 3, pp. 129–141.

<sup>46</sup> The road network for the Bielsk land is easier to notice in the source materials, as well as having been researched in more detail by historians – and in particular the part to the north of Tykocin.

This text will not cover the course of every single route in the area, as this is not the intention of such a commentary. It is important, however, to indicate cases of conflicting information and other problematic instances. These discrepancies are usually caused by inconsistencies between the source material and other appropriate literary writings and maps from the period of the seventeenth to the twentieth century. We will begin in the north. Jerzy Wiśniewski, a renowned researcher in the field of northern Podlasie settlement history, has included in his written findings a map depicting the Augustów district (within its 1965 boundaries). He has marked on it the course of the *grand way* that went in the direction of Augustów – Żarnowo Drugie (known as Żarnowo in the sixteenth century) – Stara Kamionka (in the sixteenth century simply Kamionka) – Pomiany-Żrobki – Rajgród.<sup>47</sup> Such a road did exist and has been indicated on the maps mentioned. It does however seem that circa the year 1600 a much more vital role was played by the road connecting the settlements of Augustów and Rajgród along the following route: Augustów – Netta Pierwsza (known in the sixteenth century as Netta) – Bargłów Kościelny (known in the sixteenth century as Bargłowo) – Solistówka (known in the sixteenth century as Szelistówka) – Rajgród. A schematic trajectory of this route can be found in a terrain sketch from the route of the Swedish army's marching route of 1655 and from a Russian map of 1706.<sup>48</sup> The extended trajectory of this route equally poses a problem. The way from Rajgród to Wizna passed through Czarna Wieś (known as Czarny Las in the sixteenth century) – Skrodzkie – Karwowo – Kołaki – Rydzewo – Kosówka, avoiding Lake Toczyłowo on its northern side to subsequently cross the border into the Mazovia Voivodeship at Bogusze in a location known as Kamienny Bród,<sup>49</sup> from where it continued on through Grajewo to Radziwiłów or Wąsosz.<sup>50</sup> This route, however, is not substantiated by certain other maps. According to Perthées the route led between the villages of Bukowo and Kołaki, where it forked. The northern leg of the road led through Rydzewo and subsequently Długosze, located on Prussian soil. The second offshoot, as Perthées claims, did not pass through Rydzewo, instead going off in a north-west direction and crossing the border with the Mazovia on the River Ełk, near Toczyłowo. The Toczyłowo route should be classified as one of local-level importance. There is an absence of source evidence to show that there was a crossing across the Ełk River here in the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> As a result it has not been included on the map. Northern Podlasie (north of the Biebrza River) was most lacking in communication routes. The only noteworthy roads in this area were the route connecting Grajewo through Rajgród, Augustów to Grodno, as well as the Podlasie section of the Królewiec (known in sixteenth century as Königsberg, now it is Kaliningrad) – Augustów – Grodno high road.

The northern part of Podlasie had restricted contact with the rest of the voivodeship due to the lack of a stable, established connections within the area of Goniądz. In order to reach it one had to actually leave the territory of Podlasie and take a tortuous roundabout route or only travel in winter. In the area located between the Jęgrznia, Biebrza, Ełk and Netta Rivers there existed a place marked by Perthées on his map as 'profoundly muddy terrain, impassable in summer, possibly crossable in winter.'<sup>52</sup> One of the more significant routes connecting Augustów with the rest of Podlasie was the

<sup>47</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim*, fig. 10.

<sup>48</sup> K. Łopatecki, *Two Maps*, p. 493; K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *Mapy i plany*, pp. 267–269.

<sup>49</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie grajewskim*, p. 251.

<sup>50</sup> Such a course for the road is coincident with J. Wiśniewski's map, which he located [in:] *ibidem*, p. 214. Wilhelm von Bancke marked the settlement at 'Wolka' on a sketch of the Swedish march in 1655, through which the army was to have passed. The map's publishers interpreted matters whereby this would have been Wólka Piotrowska, which would have made the line of march illogical and contrary to the sketch where the subsequent place on the route was Kołaki, which lies in a straight line to the north of Wólka Piotrowska, while on the sketch it is marked that the road went in a westerly direction with a slight deviation to the north. Therefore matters must have concerned a place unknown today (possibly Karwowo). Such a course for the road is also not completely possible; for the road was to have passed by Chmiele from the south and headed north; K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *Mapy i plany*, pp. 268–271. However, in order to reach Kołaki the road should have headed in a southern direction.

<sup>51</sup> J. Wiśniewski has written: 'The only land passage was at Kamienny Bród on the River Ełk, that is at the village of Bogusze, right on the former Prussian border. So in the Middle Ages as in the modern era only in this place could one travel by land road from Mazovia to the environs of Rajgród and Augustów', *idem*, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie grajewskim*, p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> A road across mud was possible in winter as was achieved by, among others, Janusz Radziwiłł with his army at the end of 1655 making it from Rajgród to Tykocin. See J. Płoskiński, *Potop szwedzki*, p. 20. In a northerly direction from the village of Wroceń (in the sixteenth century Wroczenie) there was a road across the Biebrza marshes, noted by von Steian on his map as: 'Bey auserst durren Sommer nur mit Bauerwagen zu passiren'.

Augustów – Białobrzegi (the Netta River crossing)<sup>53</sup> – Sztabin (a bridge across the River Biebrza).<sup>54</sup> This road later forked and led either through Mikicin or Korycin to Goniądz or through Korycin and Jasionówka to Knyszyn.

Certain controversial points regarding the exact trajectory of communication routes arose in the Goniądz area. The first issue concerned the crossing of the Biebrza River at Goniądz. There are a few valid points to confirm this assumption. Maps published both by Textor as well as by WIG illustrate a route leading from Goniądz across the Biebrza River and reaching Wólka Piaseczna (known in the sixteenth century as Wólka Przytuły). Additionally, it is important to note that the inventory for the Goniądz starosta's district of 1571 mentions fees paid for transportation and river crossing tolls.<sup>55</sup> This points to the lack of a bridge and the functioning of a ferrying system. Such a ferrying point existed within the vicinity in a north-west direction from Goniądz, near Osowiec with this being mentioned in written sources.<sup>56</sup> Another cause of debate is the trajectory of the Goniądz-Mikicin route. Each map represents this segment of road slightly differently. Here the decision was taken to verify the cartographic sources with the description of the Swedish army's marching route of 1708<sup>57</sup> and a Russian map from the year 1706.<sup>58</sup> The road led through Goniądz – Klewianka<sup>59</sup> – Krzecz – Smogorówka Goniądzka (in the sixteenth century known as Smogorówka) – Smogorówka Dolistowska (in the sixteenth century simply Smogorówka) – Radzie – Moniuszki – Mikicin.<sup>60</sup> During the research process a decision to classify the late sixteenth century road from Goniądz to Dolistowo Stare (in the sixteenth century Dolistowo), Zabiele and Karpowicze (in the sixteenth century Brzozowo-Karpowicze) as well as the roads going in the direction of Dzieciółowo as routes of merely local importance, thus excluding them from inclusion on the aforementioned maps.

The course of the road leading from Goniądz to Knyszyn also was a cause for debate, first and foremost the point at which it crossed the River Nereśl. In the first half of the sixteenth century the crossing was located in Lewonie.<sup>61</sup> This version of the route is confirmed by an estate map from circa 1561<sup>62</sup> and additionally a map dating back to the period between 1545 and 1564.<sup>63</sup> Józef Maroszek has drawn up a map of Knyszyn and surroundings for around the year 1574. He has marked the main road connecting Goniądz, Knyszyn and Grodno via the Nereśl Bridge at Lewonie.<sup>64</sup> Maps from the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century show the main road to lead through the Czechowizna lands while denominating the Lewonie route to be a local track. Despite this conflicting data, I have decided to include the road leading through Lewonie, trusting that it had not diminished in importance between 1561 and 1600. Bigger reservations arose on the matter of placing the road's route through the Czechowizna lands, for if the Knyszyn – Lewonie – Goniądz road played any role that influenced the region on a level above that of local significance it follows to assume that the Czechowizna route

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<sup>53</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim*, p. 45. There is information about the existence of a bridge here at the end of the eighteenth century which subsequently was destroyed. J. Szlaszyński, A. Makowski, *Augustów. Monografia historyczna*, Augustów 2007, p. 34. It is unknown whether a bridge was to be found there in the sixteenth century or simply a ford or ferry.

<sup>54</sup> This bridge existed already around 1554; MK 410, pp. 1065–1066.

<sup>55</sup> „Przewóz też jest u tego miasta przez rzekę Biebrzę. Kiedy wielka woda jest, tedy od wozu dają przewoźnego po gr 2 pol., a od konia po gr 1, od bydłęcia także gr 1. A kiedy mała woda, tedy od wozu dają po gr 1, od konia po ½ gr i od bydłęcia też po ½ gr. Podużne zasię cło jest takie: postronni ludzie, gdy z towarem jadą na one stronę rzeki Biebrzej, tedy dają od duhy, to jest od wozu po groszu litewskim”, Goniądz 1571, pp. 59, 163. These payments are also mentioned in LWP 1602, p. 41

<sup>56</sup> *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii litewskich z 1784 roku*, pp. 82, 180.

<sup>57</sup> T.M. Nowak, *Szwedzka mapa*, pp. 197–209.

<sup>58</sup> K. Łopatecki, *Two Maps*, p. 493.

<sup>59</sup> Most likely the track did not pass through the village but through the demesne which lay to the north of the village of Klewianka.

<sup>60</sup> The Swedish army in 1708 took a somewhat roundabout route Moniuszki – Dzieciółowo – Brzozowa – Skindzierz – Żuchowo – Chodorówka – Suchowola, through which they avoided Mikicin. T.M. Nowak, *Szwedzka mapa*, pp. 204, 207. On Perthées's map this road takes a somewhat different course, but this is the result, among other things, of the faulty locating of some settlements on the part of the author.

<sup>61</sup> In 1510 Sigismund I the Old allowed Mikołaj Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł the Wilno voivode to repair four bridges, one of which in the environs of Boguszewo – in Lewonie. AGAD, Zb. dok. pergaminowych, no. 1393.

<sup>62</sup> BUWil, sign. F23-135.

<sup>63</sup> BUWil, sign. F23-131.

<sup>64</sup> J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, tabl. XVII.

was of little importance. For these aforementioned reasons it has been omitted from the maps.<sup>65</sup> The subsequent trajectory of the Lewonie – Goniądz road also poses an interesting query. Maroszek suggests that it carried on to Boguszewo and subsequently to Trzcianne.<sup>66</sup> Such a road did indeed exist. Around the level of Trzcianne it joined up with the Goniądz – Trzcianne – Tykocin way. However, this was not the sole route of importance leading from Lewonie to Goniądz. On an estate map dating back to circa 1561 there is a demarcation indicating an additional route, arching up in a northern direction towards Goniądz somewhere around the location of the village of Kołodzieże (in the sixteenth century Kołodzieże) and another unmarked settlement, completely passing by Trzcianne en route.<sup>67</sup> This road has also been presented on the aforementioned maps, even though its course is more or less hypothetical.

A decision was made, and here going contrary to Józef Maroszek's pointers, to chart the highway from Grodno on through Knyszyn, and not through Wodziłówka that played no important role in the second part of sixteenth century. I consider that omitting Knyszyn from the highway trajectory would be illogical, even if on the route was a royal residence.<sup>68</sup> On Perthées's map one can observe two similar roads on the Knyszyn – Jasionówka stretch: 1. Knyszyn – the environs of Jaskra – Jasionówka; 2. Knyszyn – Zofiówka (in the sixteenth century Safiejewo) – Chobotki – Jasionówka. On comparing the course of these two roads on different maps a decision was made to include only the first of the two, as this was most likely the more important one. This decision is backed by the existence of various offshoots that led on a local level to Kalinówka Kościelna and further on to the Goniądz – Korycin road. This part of the map omits the highway that led to the bridge that crossed the Narew River between the settlements of Łazy Duże and Nieciece. This highway subsequently branched off into a route leading to the village of Zajki and one heading for the bridge at Łazy Duże-Nieciece.<sup>69</sup> Around 1520 the bridge was destroyed by Olbracht Gasztołd, and the highway was redirected to nearby Tykocin that belonged to him.<sup>70</sup>

The biggest challenge faced when attempting to create the road maps herein presented was the recreation of the communicational accessibility of Białystok. By the end of the sixteenth century this was a village with a market square, a church and a fortified manor house belonging to the Wiesiołowski family.<sup>71</sup> It did not constitute an important commercial or service centre, neither was it a place of primary importance in general. Issues with recreating the local road network arose due to Białystok's change in status following it being taken over by the Branicki family of the Gryf coat-of-arms. In the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries Białystok was to gain municipal status and experience noticeable expansion; it was to see its structure and shape changed, and record a notable increase in population as well as becoming the setting for a magnate residence known as 'The Versailles of the North.' As Białystok evolved, so did the surrounding road network. On the aforementioned maps the most important eighteenth-century route, the Warsaw–Wilno postal way which passed through, among others, Białystok – Bielsk Podlaski – Brańsk – Sokołów Podlaski (Sokołów in the sixteenth century) – Węgrów – Liw, is nowhere to be found. In the sixteenth century this road most likely did not exist on the stretch between Bielsk Podlaski and Białystok.<sup>72</sup> It is more probable that Białystok and Bielsk

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<sup>65</sup> See, on the subject of the lack in the presented reconstruction of several variants for roads connecting the same settlements: H. Rutkowski, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.5.7.

<sup>66</sup> J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony*, tabl. XVII.

<sup>67</sup> BUWil., sign. F23-135.

<sup>68</sup> It additionally follows to note that during a forest inspection in 1559 noted was: 'Ostęp Nerestek, which begins from the great Wilno road that goes through Knyszyn'. Which means that the road already went through Knyszyn at the time and not through Wodziłówka. A. Kołodziejczyk, *Z dziejów kolonizacji puszczy na Podlasiu w XV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XIV do XVI wieku. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Antoniemu Czacharowskiemu w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2002, p. 79, from *Ревизія пуць и переходовъ звѣриныхъ въ бывшемъ великомъ княжествѣ литовскомъ, съ присовокупленіемъ грамотъ и привилегій на входы въ пуцьи и на земли*, Вильна 1867, p. 33. Also an estate map from around 1561 shows the road course running through Knyszyn, and not to the north of it. BUWil., sign. F23-135.

<sup>69</sup> Kapićjana 44, p. 289.

<sup>70</sup> Kapićjana 64, pp. 190–201.

<sup>71</sup> See M. Gochna, *Character of settlements*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.3.2.8.

<sup>72</sup> G. Ryzewski, *Wielki trakt*, p. 11.

Podlaski were connected by a network of roads instead of one direct highway.<sup>73</sup> Documentation in the form of an act dating back to 1514 indicates the existence of a so-called ‘Kožany way’ which led from Kożany on the Narew River all the way to the point where the River Czarna joins the Supraśl. This could have coincided with the later trajectory of the Bielsk Podlaski – Białystok route.<sup>74</sup> However, this road cannot be deemed important as a right of way for the end of the sixteenth century hence its exclusion from the aforementioned maps. During this time Białystok was definitely on the course of the road that connected Suraż with Wasilków.<sup>75</sup> Białystok was also connected to Tykocin and Knyszyn. Choroszcz and Białystok were connected by two routes – the so-called ‘Chodkiewiczowska’ and ‘Bazylińska’ ways. The former constituted a tract between two properties owned by the Chodkiewicz family – Choroszcza and Gródek, while the second one connected Choroszcz to Supraśl, which had been gifted to Basilian monks by a family member.<sup>76</sup> It is quite probable that Zabłudów too boasted a direct connection to Białystok in the sixteenth century. The Zabłudów and Choroszcz estates belonged to the Chodkiewicz family, who most likely passed through Białystok while travelling from one land holding to the other.<sup>77</sup> Despite the existence of several research papers focused on the spatial city plan of Białystok itself as well as the roads that served and passed through it,<sup>78</sup> and personal attempts to portray the road situation on the maps herein presented, the exact trajectory of the routes in that region in the sixteenth century still remains an open question.

Communication routes from the southern part of the Bielsk land, as well as the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands according to maps from the turn of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century mostly coincide with the sources available for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is important to note that this particular section of Podlasie is not as well documented in sources as is the northern part of the Bielsk land, which leads to less effective methods of verification. Recreating the state of roads in Podlasie for around the year 1600 is a very challenging task. Consulting sources from the second half of the seventeenth century is necessary in order to create a comprehensive image. Due to the lack of sources for the southern part of the voivodeship, one of the available options is surveying the routes taken by armed forces during the period of the Swedish Deluge.<sup>79</sup> It is of course completely possible that the army travelled not just along main routes, but also used local byroads. However, due to the greater ease in movement and the better maintained state of such highways, these

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<sup>73</sup> In confirming the rights of the Białystok Catholic church of 1661 Jan Kazimierz recalled the *lane* to the village of Krywłany; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A.C. Dobroński, Białystok 2012, p. 72. Krywłany is a sub-Białystok village that lay on the subsequent postal road to the south of Białystok. Today it is a part of the city itself.

<sup>74</sup> According to J. Maroszek: ‘The Kożany road leads from Bielsk [Podlaski] through Kożany grand ducal pastures at the mouth of the River Czarna entering the Supraśl and further on to Wodziłówka (Knyszyn)’; idem, *Wasilków – miasto renesansowej harmonii*, [in:] *Wasilków miasto renesansowej harmonii 1566–2006*, ed. J. Maroszek, Wasilków 2006, p. 14.

<sup>75</sup> In the aforementioned confirmation of the rights of the Białystok Catholic church of 1661 the king wrote about a road ‘great that leads to Suraż, Wasilków and elsewhere,’ idem, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, p. 72. In Wasilków at least from the year 1566 there was a bridge over the Supraśl River, on which the road from Białystok ran. *Wasilków – miasto renesansowej harmonii*, p. 5. Besides King Sigismund III Vasa visited Wasilków on his travels in 1601, 1612, 1613 and 1620; M. Wrede *Itinerarium króla Zygmunta III*, pp. 190, 247, 259, 278.

<sup>76</sup> T. Popławski, *Droga Chodkiewiczowska i Bazylińska – najstarsze trakty Białegostoku*, „Białostoczczyzna”, 1995, no. 4, pp. 103–106; T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, ed. J. Antonowicz, J. Joka, Białystok 1968, pp. 111–112.

<sup>77</sup> Most curious is, however, the fact that the author of diary from the second half of the seventeenth century, Jan Antoni Chrapowicki passing often between Zabłudów and Wasilków, never once mentioned Białystok; idem, *Diariusz*, part 1.

<sup>78</sup> See i.a.: J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny w Białymstoku na przełomie XVI i XVII w.*, „Rocznik Białostocki”, vol. 2, 1961, pp. 53–97; W. Kusiński, *Rozwój przestrzenny miasta Białegostoku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, pp. 29–56; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 51–94; A. Oleksicki, *Rozwój przestrzenny i struktura ludności Białegostoku w XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. A. Wyrobisz, Warsaw 1981, pp. 31–90; A. Oleksicki, A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Białystok w czasach Branickich (1708–1795)*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, pp. 95–212; T. Popławski, *Droga Chodkiewiczowska i Bazylińska*, pp. 103–106; J. Tęgowski, W. Wróbel, *Dzieje Białegostoku w okresie średniowiecza i wczesnej nowożytności*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, pp. 23–50; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Zarys dziejów okolic Białegostoku od starożytności do początków XVI w.*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 1, pp. 57–80; T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, pp. 107–128; idem, *Kształtowanie się białostockiego ośrodka miejskiego w XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. 4, pp. 29–40; J. Wiśniewski, *Początki Białegostoku i okolicznego*, pp. 7–28.

<sup>79</sup> See footnote 18.

were the most common choice. Marking down these trails on maps confirms that the majority of them coincides with the course of the main roads seen on maps dating back to the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Detailed descriptions of the trajectory of main roads on the routes of Grodno – Narew – Bielsk Podlaski – Węgrów and Zabłudów – Bielsk Podlaski – Węgrów can be recreated on the basis of the data contained in the diaries of Jan Antoni Chrapowicki and Stanisław Niezabitowski who used these routes regularly to travel to Warsaw.<sup>80</sup> The shape of this route as sketched through the accounts of Niezabitowski is not entirely in accordance with the trajectory illustrated by Perthées's map. Instead of travelling from Drochlin to Ostrożany and subsequently to the river crossing point located in Granne, he most likely took a shortcut along a route visible on the map created by Textor. Niezabitowski passed by Krakówki-Zdzichy (in the sixteenth century known as Zdzichy), Twarogi-Trąbnica (Twarogi-Trubnica in the sixteenth century), Miodusy-Pokrzywne (Miodusy Koprzywne in the sixteenth century), not passing directly through any of them.<sup>81</sup> Both travellers opted for an unusual route between Bielsk Podlaski and Płoski.<sup>82</sup> Instead of following the road that led straight through Proniewicze – Haćki (Haczki in the sixteenth century) – Chraboły – Płoski, Niezabitowski and Chrapowicki opted for a circular: Bielsk Podlaski – Biała (non-existent in the sixteenth century) – Orlanka (non-existent in the sixteenth century) – Saki – Lubów (a largely unknown settlement) – Zubowo – Rzepniewo – Płoski or Bielsk Podlaski – Rajsk – Płoski.<sup>83</sup> They have also been marked on the maps.

In the seventeenth century there existed a road that connected Zabłudów and Narew by means of the Ancuty (Hanczuty in the sixteenth century) – Saki (which did not exist in the sixteenth century) – Bielki – Małynka route.<sup>84</sup> It seems, however, that in earlier decades this was merely a local byway, and for these reasons has not make an appearance on the maps.<sup>85</sup> All evidence also points towards the existence of a prominent trail connecting Suraż and Narew through Ancuty – Trześcianka (Trościanica in the sixteenth century) – Soce – Pawły (Pawłowicze in the sixteenth century) – Ryboły (Antonowicze in the sixteenth century) – Wojszki – Baranki – Rynki (Rymki in the sixteenth century).<sup>86</sup> The elevated status as given by Dorota Michaluk raises doubts and here designated 'grand way or the Bielsk summer highway',<sup>87</sup> leading along the southern bank of the Narew River through Kaczały – Janowo – the vicinity of Koźlik – Stupniki all the way to Płoski, from where Bielsk Podlaski could be reached by travelling south while Zabłudów or Suraż were accessible by crossing the Narew River. This road mirrored the highway from Bielsk Podlaski to Narew through Klejniki (known as Zygmuntowo in the sixteenth century) or Lada, then later, on the other side of the Narew River the Suraż – Narew

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<sup>80</sup> See footnote 17.

<sup>81</sup> Such a conclusion may be drawn from Niezabitowski's notes, where reference is made to almost each and every place he passed by. However, between Grodzisk and Granne he makes no reference to any settlement; idem, *Dzienniki*, pp. 100, 125, 130, 151, 162, 249, 251–252. Somewhat untypically Piotr Tolstoy, a Muscovite diplomat, decided on the Granne – Węgrów road. He managed to cross the Bug at Granne, later making for Zembrów, from where he continued on to Węgrów. This was obviously a roundabout route. He did similarly on the route Granne – Boćki, where he rode through Dziadkowice; *Иныеместные столыника П.А. Толстого*, pp. 352, 356.

<sup>82</sup> At Płoski there was a bridge across the Narew; LWP 1602, p. 78.

<sup>83</sup> Once Niezabitowski noted that he travelled the route Bielsk Podlaski – Proniewicze – Chraboły – Płoski; idem, *Dzienniki*, pp. 100, 125, 130, 252; J.A. Chrapowicki, *Diariusz*, part 1, p. 203.

<sup>84</sup> More than likely along this road from Zabłudów and further through Narew – Lada – Szczyty-Dzięciołowo (in the sixteenth century Dzięciołowo) to Orla Muscovite troops made their way in 1659. J.A. Chrapowicki, *Diariusz*, part 1, p. 216.

<sup>85</sup> An increase in its significance was presumably to have occurred in the seventeenth century when Orla (from 1585) and Zabłudów (from 1599) found themselves in the hands of the Birze branch of the Radziwiłł family.

<sup>86</sup> A. Kołodziejczyk, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu w XV–XVI wieku*, Olsztyn 2012, p. 122.

<sup>87</sup> See D. Michaluk, *Z dziejów Narwi*, map *Narew na tle osadnictwa w XII–XVIII w.* There equally appears another problem in the case of this work. There is attached to D. Michaluk's publication a reconstruction of the spatial arrangement of Narew for the year 1560. Marked there are three crossings over the River Narew. One of these leads to Wilno, the second to Grodno, while the third to Suraż; ibidem, plan *Narew w 1560 r.* However, on the attached map depicting the settlement in the vicinity of Narew together with the course of the roads – there is no route to Wilno marked. More than likely these two roads were in fact one and the same route, and even if not then these two roads crossed and further were to be but one. In another of her works the author also includes a spatial reconstruction of Narew for the year 1560. There the ford crossing to Grodno she describes as 'A ford crossing of a medieval route'; eadem, *Miasteczko Narew w XVI w. – powstanie i rozwój*, [in:] *Europa Orientalis*, p. 129. The inventory of 1560 recalls but a single bridge on the River Narew, from which Kościelna Street started its course. AWAK 14, p. 62.

highway. Evidence suggests that this road was not used as often as the other two routes, consequently it has been excluded from the maps.

Another interesting issue is the road network connecting the town of Milejczyce, located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania between Kleszczele and Siemiatycze. Sigismund I the Old when granting it municipal rights in 1516 stressed that he was granting them out of the necessity to provide a place of respite for the monarch and his subjects on the road between Mielnik and Bielsk Podlaski.<sup>88</sup> During the early modern period this road diminished in importance, causing Perthées to mark it as one of lesser importance on his map. It does appear however that in the sixteenth century this was quite an important route.<sup>89</sup> The exact reconstruction of its course has proven to be quite challenging – hence the highly hypothetical nature of its representation. On consulting Perthées's map it does seem that for the town of Milejczyce it was more important to appear on the route Siemiatycze – Kleszczele, though the link to Bielsk Podlaski and Mielnik was in the sixteenth century the most significant. The section of the road linking Bielsk Podlaski and Milejczyce has been etched according to the pointers from Perthées's *Polonia* map of 1770 and expanded on the basis of later maps. In its creation Perthées utilised older maps hence also the marking of this route on his.<sup>90</sup> An interesting query is posed by the fact that Mielnik had both a Milejczycka and a Bielska Streets.<sup>91</sup> However, according to Prussian maps from the beginning of the nineteenth century these two streets crossed each other not far to the north of the town. Neither of them directly led to Bielsk Podlaski, going instead to Milejczyce. The route leading from Mielnik to Wysokie (known as Wysokie Litewskie in the sixteenth century) led not from the city itself, but instead (cited after D. Michaluk) began by the crossing of the Bug River located near Mielnik.<sup>92</sup>

Looking at Perthées' map we can see a road that lead from Siemiatycze to Klimczyce through Słochy W[ielkie] (known today as Słochy Annapolskie). This road was referred to as *grobła nowa* (new levee way). It appears that in the sixteenth century this road did not exist or was merely a local byway that did not cross the Bug River itself. A bridge on the Bug existed in Turna Mała, located just a couple of kilometres eastward.<sup>93</sup> The ferrying point at Stare Mierzvice (Mierzvice in the sixteenth century) probably was not in operation (visible on Perthées's map),<sup>94</sup> and consequently the route leading through Bużka (Buzka in the sixteenth century) – Stare Mierzvice – Rozwadów (Rozwadowo in the sixteenth century) – Sarnaki (if it existed at all in the sixteenth century) was just a local byway, and has not found its reflection on the maps. The doubling of trails leading from Łosice to Siemiatycze, as marked on Perthées's map is another issue needing further attention. In the beginning there was but one route that forked at the height of Falatycz. The first offshoot went in the direction of Ostromęczyn and Kisielew, all the way along the side of the Bug as the road between Mężenin (Mężenino in the sixteenth century) and Klimczyce that led eastwards to the Bug River crossing at Turna Mała. The second branch led through Sarnaki to the Bug River crossing at Turna Mała. The part of the first route between Ostromęczyn and Kisielew and Klimczyce did not play an important role in the sixteenth century if it existed at all for it led to the crossing located at Klimczyce, which is marked on Perthées's map, but could not be found in sources pre-dating those of the eighteenth century. So there is the possibility that this crossing point simply did not exist- especially that relatively nearby is the bridge at Turna Mała.<sup>95</sup> Hence this route is not found on the map. However, on Perthées's visible is yet another link

<sup>88</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga nr. 9 (1511–1518)*, pub. K. Pietkiewicz, A. Baliulis, Vilnius 2002, pp. 191–193.

<sup>89</sup> See A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu*, map.

<sup>90</sup> Such a course also lends credence to the delimitation of the Boćki estates of Paweł Sapieha from the village of Lewki belonging to Iwan Jesman of 1532. It ran across the environs between the villages of Piliki, Lewki, Mokre and Podbiele. It was through these lands that the Mielnik 'great road' ran; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 17 (1530–1536)*, pub. L. Karalius, D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 2015, pp. 290–293 (I would like to thank Dr. T. Jaszczolt for drawing my attention to this).

<sup>91</sup> See. A. Buczyło, *Mielnik*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.19.8.

<sup>92</sup> D. Michaluk, *Rozwój układu przestrzennego Mielnika w XIII–XVIII w.*, SP, vol. 4, 1993, pp. 34–35. In Mielnik itself there existed a street Wysocka, which more than likely fulfilled the role of being a local road leading to the main road to Wysokie itself; see A. Buczyło, *Mielnik*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.6.19.8.

<sup>93</sup> In 1554 Sigismunt August gave Stanisław Tęczyński permission to build a bridge on the Bug in the vicinity of Siemiatycze and to charge tolls. AGAD, Zb dok. pergaminowych, no. 6890; MK 119, ff. 398v–400.

<sup>94</sup> Possibly mention of this crossing comes in the appeal of the Mielnik burghers of 1642: 'A crossing on the River Bug being near Mielnik', NAHB, Mińsk, f. 1708-1-1, ff. 331v.

<sup>95</sup> In the Mielnik municipal ledger of 1580 there is mention of an attack on the servants of Piotr Skarbek and his wife on a public road from the bridge at Turna Mała to Lipno (I would like to thank Dr. T. Jaszczolt for this information). This

(according to this map of lesser importance) – the connection between Turna Mała and Falatycze. The route ran from Turna Mała to Sarnaki, hence it headed in the direction of Grzybów (in the sixteenth century Grzybowo) – Ostromęczyn – Górki and further onto Falatycze. This road may also be seen on Heldensfeld's map. This is most probably the main route connecting Siemiatycze and Łosice.<sup>96</sup> It is possible that this second variant (Turna Mała – Sarnaki – Chłopków (Chłopkovo in the sixteenth century) – Falatycze) equally existed in the sixteenth century, hence it appears on the thematic map as a secondary byway.

Perthées' and Heldensfeld's maps depict not two but three possible routes crossing the area between the settlements of Rusków (known in the sixteenth century as Ruskowo), Tokary, Drażniew (Drażniewo in the sixteenth century) and Ruda. These maps point to the existence of three crossing points for the River Toczna, all located on the same small area of territory, and each of them being part of an important thoroughfare. At the beginning of the sixteenth century such a crossing point was definitely located in Drażniewo. This busy route was used by merchants and led along the road and causeway for which, and dating back to 1510, Niemira Hrymalicz exacted toll fees.<sup>97</sup> There is no mention of the other two roads in sources that date back to the sixteenth century. It is, however, possible that at Tokary or Ruda there did exist a ferry crossing, suggesting that the roads course was directed towards Skrzyszew (in the sixteenth century Skrzyszewo).

With a degree of hesitation I took the decision to mark on the maps two roads that led to Międzyrzec Podlaski (Międzyrzec in the sixteenth century), which in 1600 was located beyond the borders of the Voivodeship of Podlasie. The first led from Łosice, the second forked off from the Łosice – Siemiatycze road, subsequently cutting across the Łosice – Janów Podlaski (Janów in the sixteenth century) thoroughfare and carried on further through Huszlew. The simultaneous existence of both roads in the sixteenth century raises some suspicion, and here mainly as they connected and linked the at same locations. However, in its defence is the fact that Łosice definitely had a direct connection to Międzyrzec Podlaski, just as Siemiatycze and here because Międzyrzec Podlaski was at that time an important communication hub and a crossing point where roads going through Podlasie to places such as Brześć Litewski, Łuków, Parczew and Lublin, as well as the Warsaw – Brześć Litewski route, converged.

A road which was not marked as an important route on any of the maps from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century is an interesting case in point. This was the thoroughfare leading from Ciechanowiec to the crossing point over the Bug River between the settlements of Wojtkowice-Glinna (in the sixteenth century Wojtkowicze-Glinna) and Kamieńczyk. This way was to travel, among others, Stefan Batory on his way to Warsaw through Miedzna (in the sixteenth century Międzyzlesie), Liw and Stanisławów. Prussian maps indicate a ferry crossing point located on this section of the River Bug. A similar situation occurred at the Gródek crossing point located between Drohiczyń and Granne. This was most probably the location of a ford, also used at the time by Stefan Batory.<sup>98</sup> Additionally, during the time of the Swedish Deluge it constituted a frequently used alternative crossing method to reach nearby Granne and Drohiczyń.<sup>99</sup> These routes assuredly played

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settlement lies on the mentioned road from Łosice to Klimczyce. Given that it passed through Turna Mała to Lipno it means that in Klimczyce there was no crossing across the Bug, only that at Turna Mała.

<sup>96</sup> This is pointed to by the road notation from Piotr Myszkowski's diary of 1566 who travelling from Knyszyn to Lublin, rode on, among others, the following route: Knyszyn – Choroszcz – Bielsk Podlaski – Hornowo – Siemiatycze – Ostromęczyn – Międzyrzec Podlaski (in the sixteenth century Międzyrzec); *Dziennik biskupa Piotra Myszkowskiego*, p. 464. Sigismund August also travelled on this route as is borne out by documents issued in, among other places, Bielsk Podlaski, Siemiatycze and Ostromęczyn; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 47 (1565–1567)*, pub. E. Deveikytė, G. Lesmaitis, Vilnius 2018, pp. 26–29 (I thank Dr. T. Jaszczolt for pointing this out). The given road route Sarnaki – Ostromęczyn – Falatycze is the more likely, not that this excludes a different course, for example: Sarnaki – Kisielew – Ostromęczyn – Falatycze or Turna Mała – Lipno – Kisielew – Ostromęczyn – Falatycze.

<sup>97</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga nr. 8 (1499–1514)*, pub. A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius, D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 1995, p. 362. A part of the authors suggest that the crossing at Drażniew was across the Bug; see for example I.T. Baranowski, *Podlasie w przededniu Unii Lubelskiej*, PH, vol. 7, 1908, no. 2, p. 197. Drażniew is 2.5 km away from the river; to which a bridge and later a ferry crossing was in Drohiczyń not far away. See: T. Jaszczolt, *Most w Drohiczyń i jego właściciele w I połowie XVI w.*, [in:] *Małe miasta: gospodarka*, ed. M. Zemło, Lublin–Supraśl 2007, pp. 11–33.

<sup>98</sup> M. Wrede, *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego*, pp. 81, 97.

<sup>99</sup> During the Swedish Deluge there are several references to this crossing over the Bug being used – including by the army of Bogusław Radziwiłł and the Transilvarian army; *Itinerarium Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 242; J. Płosiński, *Potop szwedzki*, pp. 30, 80, 84, 154.

important roles within the sixteenth century road infrastructure, but were not as popular as the route that led through Granne. Despite this I have still decided to include them on the maps.

The distance from Węgrów to Mokobody could be travelled by two routes. The first way led through Ruchna while the second one traversed Szaruty. Out of the two, the second variant was deemed more important and is therefore included on the map.<sup>100</sup>

When examining the thematic map, the absence of main roads located in the territory between the border with the Voivodeship of Mazovia and the Jabłonka Kościelna (in the sixteenth century known as Jabłonka) – Wysokie Mazowieckie – Sokoły – Tykocin road becomes apparent. This was historically an area divided into various smallholdings owned by noblemen (especially in the case of the sixteenth century parishes of Kobylin Poświętne and Kulesze Rokietnica), devoid of larger settlements. This area stands out in the whole of the Podlasie (not counting heavily forested and marsh-covered areas) region because of the scarcity of its network of main roads, which is not to say that there were no roads. The commission called into being to demarcate Mazovia and Podlasie in the year 1546 recalled ‘the Łomża road’, the ‘Suraż road’ or the ‘great Suraż road’ leading to Łomża and which divided the two territories. This began in Zawady in Mazovia and ran through a significant part of the western border of the Biesk land to the south of the River Ślina.<sup>101</sup> The employment of the formulation ‘great road’ appears to be excessive on the part of those writing matters down. This road did not have much significance in the first half of the sixteenth century, with its importance diminishing in the second half of the century.<sup>102</sup> Hence its non-inclusion on the map. The area between the Stare Lipki (Lipki in the sixteenth century) – Kosów Lacki (Kosowo in the sixteenth century) and the Kosów Lacki – Miedzna, Miedzna – Stara Wieś routes was also characterized by a low level of connectivity to the main road network. The main reasons for its occurrence was poor settlement infrastructure as well as the prevalence of heavily wooded areas, as can be seen on map by Perthées and Heldensfeld. A similar situation could be observed in the area enclosed by the circular Skrzyszew – Paprotnia – Zakrze – Tokary – Skrzyszew route. It is important to note, however, that it was crisscrossed by a network of local byways, for instance the following roads: Korczew (Korczewo in the sixteenth century) – Knychówek (Knychowo in the sixteenth century) – Paprotnia or Korczew – Dąbrowa (known as Duplewicze in the sixteenth century) – Przesmyki.

Before concluding it is imperative to name all the most important roads connecting important landmarks located both within and outside the country whose course crossed through the territory of the Podlasie. These have been marked as main roads on the thematic map. In line with the rest of the AHP series the connections presented have their starting and termination points located outside the Voivodeship of Podlasie. In the east the focus is directed on the Brześć Litewski and Grodno lines of communication, a network that served as the basis for travel to other important centres located in the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>103</sup> Connections to various cities located in the Crown, Royal Prussia and the Duchy of Prussia included Warsaw, Królewiec, Gdańsk, Cracow and Lublin. From these main tracts many offshoots formed, connecting them to the rest of the Crown, as well as to Silesia and the lands pertaining to the Holy Roman Empire. The primary routes were:

1. Warsaw – Grodno

- a) Łomża – Grajewo – Rajgród – Augustów – Lipsk;
- b) Wizna or Zambrów – Zawady – Tykocin – Knyszyn – Sokółka – Kuźnica;
- c) Liw – Węgrów – Sokołów Podlaski – Brańsk – Bielsk Podlaski – Narew – Jałówka – Gródek – Krynki;

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<sup>100</sup> See M. Gochna, „Porządki jako największe i najlepsze”. *Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrowa – rola magnata w funkcjonowaniu miasta prywatnego*, Węgrów 2016, map *Włość starowiejska i sokołowska ok. 1620 r.* (I would like to thank Michał Gochna for his help in this matter).

<sup>101</sup> AGAD, Varia Oddziału I, sign. 55, ff. 11–19.

<sup>102</sup> It follows to emphasize that the very name of the road is puzzling for if it were to have been a connector for first and foremost Suraż and Łomża, then travelling this route would have clocked up many kilometres in comparison with the road going through Wysokie Mazowieckie and Zambrów (in the sixteenth century Zambrowo). The significance of this route would also have been diminished by the course running parallel on the Mazovia side and linking Zawady – Rutki (in the sixteenth century Rudki) – Zambrów. The publishers of the Mazovia volume of AHP have also not recognised the aforementioned ‘great Suraż road’ as important – hence their decision not to include it on the map; see AHP Mazovia, map.

<sup>103</sup> From Grodno the roads went through Merez to Wilno and Kowno, through Nowogródek right to Minsk.

- d) as above, leading to Sokołów Podlaski, further on to Drohiczyn – Boćki – Bielsk Podlaski, and continuing on as above;
  - e) Nur – Ciechanowiec – Brańsk – Bielsk Podlaski, and continuing as above.
2. Warsaw – Brześć Litewski
    - a) Liw – Węgrów – Drohiczyn – Siemiatycze – Wysokie;
    - b) as above, leading to Siemiatycze, Mielnik – Wołczyn.
  3. Królewiec – Grodno
    - a) Olecko – Raczki – Augustów – Lipsk;
    - b) Ełk – Rajgród – Augustów – Lipsk.
  4. Królewiec – Brześć Litewski
    - a) Ełk – Grajewo – Łomża – Nur – Ciechanowiec – Drohiczyn – Siemiatycze – Mielnik – Wołczyn;
    - b) as above, leading to Siemiatycze, Wysokie;
    - c) Ełk – Grajewo – Goniądz – Tykocin – Suraż – Bielsk Podlaski – Milejczyce – Mielnik – Wołczyn.
  5. Gdańsk – Brześć Litewski
    - a) Działdowo or Nidzica – Pułtusk – Nur – Ciechanowiec – Drohiczyn, continuing as 2a or 2b.
  6. Cracow – Grodno
    - a) Radom – Łuków – Międzyrzec Podlaski – Łosice – Mielnik – Milejczyce – Bielsk Podlaski, with a continuation the same as in 1c;
    - b) Radom – Warsaw, with a continuation the same as in 1a–1e.
  7. Lublin – Grodno
    - a) Parczew or Łuków, with a continuation the same as in 6a;
    - b) as above leading to Łosice, further Siemiatycze, Boćki – Bielsk Podlaski, with a continuation the same as in 1c.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

### III.5.9A ROYAL PRUSSIA, PART 1 (1961)

*Marian Biskup*

Roads were also taken into consideration in the reconstruction of the state of the settlement network in the sixteenth century. The Schrötter Atlas served as the primary source in this effort, with both public roads (so-called *Land- und Poststrassen, gościńce*) and smaller village roads marked on the maps. The current map includes only this first category, namely post roads. The prevalent stability of road networks allows for speculation that, with a great degree of probability, these roads would have remained unchanged from the late the sixteenth century until the late eighteenth century and beyond. Modern maps were used for control and minor supplementation.

The reconstructed road network of Royal Prussia presents quite a bustling image, especially in Chełmno and Pomeranian Voivodeships. Chełmno Voivodeship had both latitudinal and meridional main roads, and all cities were connected by public roads. The most important hubs were Toruń, Chełmno, Grudziądz, Golub, and Brodnica. This speaks of the economic significance of these urban centres, even for sometimes faraway regions; for example, Grudziądz, a town located on the Vistula, was an important partner in the wheat trade to the Lubawa Land. Major routes, with significance beyond their region, ran north from Toruń, Golub, and Brodnica, through Grudziądz, Malbork, and finally to Gdańsk.

The road network in Malbork Voivodeship, due to the limitations imposed by the terrain, was concentrated mostly in the western part, in the area of Sztum, Malbork, and Nowy Staw. In the north-eastern part of its voivodeship, Elbląg constituted another major centre, connected with roads heading to the Duchy of Prussia and to Warmia.

In Pomeranian Voivodeship, most routes led north with Gdańsk as the main destination. One notable public road was the old road from Świecie upon the Vistula, through Starogard, and to Gdańsk. One of its branches leads from Świecie, through Nowe, Gniew, and Tczew – Royal Prussia's most important centres by the Vistula. Two other major public roads converged in Starogard, coming in from Chojnice and Tuchola in the south, and crossing the Tuchola Forest.

The roads described above converged in Gdańsk, together with several others, coming in from the west, from Kościerzyna and Mirachowo, and from the north, from Puck. There were also roads connecting to the Duchy of Pomerania, via Lębork and Bytów. In the southern part of the voivodeship, Tuchola, Człuchów, and especially Chojnice served as major hubs, with roads coming in from all parts of the voivodeship, as well as the Duchy of Pomerania (from Białobór) and Greater Poland (from Kamień).

Some of these major arteries were extensions of roads leading from the central regions of the Polish Crown. The road connecting Świecie and Gdańsk joined with the road leading to Kuyavia (Bydgoszcz – Inowrocław). Roads leading from Toruń or Golub, following the route of Brodnica – Grudziądz – Malbork were extensions of larger routes, leading from Kuyavia, Dobrzyń land, and Masovia towards Gdańsk. The importance of these routes is evidenced by the bridge across the Vistula in Toruń, which appears in the sources already towards the end of the fifteenth century;<sup>1</sup> correspondingly, bridges could

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<sup>1</sup> A. Mańkowski, *Przywilej króla Jana Olbrachta z r. 1495 na most drewniany na Wiśle pod Toruniem*, „Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”, vol. 8, no. 11–12, Toruń 1931, pp. 303–304.

be found on the Drwęca in Brodnica, Golub, and Lubicz,<sup>2</sup> as well as on the Nogat, opposite Malbork (since the mid-fourteenth century).<sup>3</sup>

The sources indicate that there was also an abundance of ferry crossings, mainly on the Vistula and the Nogat. In Chełmno Voivodeship, the existence of one such crossing is mentioned in the sources, between Chełmno and Świecie.<sup>4</sup> There was also a well-established ferry crossing connecting Ostromecko and Fordon, on the route between Toruń and Bydgoszcz, and another crossing connecting Grudziadz and Michał, which is evidenced by the continuation of the roads on both sides of the Vistula.

There were at least seven ferry crossings in Malbork Voivodeship, mainly across the Nogat (in Benowo, Biała Góra, Sadlno, Klimonty, and Janówka)<sup>5</sup> and across the Leniwka (Ostaszewo, Palczewo).<sup>6</sup> There was another ferry crossing across the Leniwka in Pomeranian Voivodeship, between Kończewice and Gorzędziej, near Tczew.<sup>7</sup> The evidence for ferry crossings helps explain some “missing” stretches in the road network and the means of crossing the Vistula and the Nogat.

(1961)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>2</sup> The existence of the bridge on the Drwęca in Brodnica in early the seventeenth century is evidenced by the plan of the town of Brodnica from 1628 (original in Kungl. Krigsarkivet, Stockholm, sign. Sverigeskrig, Strasburg 1628, no. 1), photographic copy in the IUA collection in Warsaw, no. 985/1; cf. H. Plehn, *Ortsgeschichte des Kreises Strasburg in Westpreussen*, Królewiec 1900, p. 29 (bridge in Golub in 1511).

The existence of the bridge in Lubicz can be traced back to the mid-fifteenth century (H. Maercker, *Geschichte der ländlichen Ortschaften und der drei kleineren Städte des Kreises Thorn*, Gdańsk 1899–1900, p. 339).

<sup>3</sup> G. Berg, *Geschichte der Stadt Marienburg*, Malbork 1921, pp. 208–209.

<sup>4</sup> *Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego z r. 1614*, pub. A. Mańkowski, Toruń 1927 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 22), p. 138; cf. Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, 1–3, p. 344.

<sup>5</sup> ASK XLVI 29, p. 182 (Benowo – ferry from Gniew to Sztum); *Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. 23, p. 76 (Biała Góra and Sadlno) and WAP Gdańsk, Elbląg Archives, Rachunki Landrichteramt, pp. 18v (Klimonty); *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii malborskiej*, vol. 2, p. 28 (ferry crossing in Janowce).

<sup>6</sup> AGAD, *Ekonomia malborska*, W. 225, 1565 (Ostaszewo).

<sup>7</sup> ASK XLVI 28, p. 438 (Gorzędziej); *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii malborskiej*, vol. 2, p. 39.

### III.5.9B ROYAL PRUSSIA, PART 2 (2021)

*Tomasz Związek*

Preliminary research on the road network in Royal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century dates back to the 1960s. Compiled by Stanisław Herbst, the findings of the study were first introduced in the B series of the *Historical Atlas of Poland*.<sup>1</sup> Another notable analysis can be found in Krzysztof Mikulski's 1994 book on settlement processes of the period.<sup>2</sup> The state of research has since undergone verification and has been adjusted to the methodology developed and utilised in current cartographic publications.<sup>3</sup>

One of the main components of the study was the hypothesis that major roads should lead through the strongest economic centres in this area (including Grudziądz, Dzierzgoń, Elbląg, Tuchola, Skarszewy, Chojnice, Nowe, Gniew, Sztum, Starogard or Malbork) and converge in the town which was the strongest socioeconomic and cultural hub in the region of Royal Prussia, which at the time was Gdańsk.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, the shape and the categories of the roads within the network should reflect the key position of this urban centre, important in both the region in particular and the Polish Crown in general. In accordance with the methodology used in the research, roads have been categorised as either **primary** or **secondary**. As opposed to research by Marian Biskup in the previous volume,<sup>5</sup> the identification and verification of the roads was not based on the post road network depicted in Schrötter Atlas maps. However, Biskup's maps were digitised and juxtaposed with the road network compiled on the basis of current research, independent of its predecessor, as a control measure for both accuracy, and any missing elements. In the end, Biskup's map and the map based on current research yielded very similar results (Map 1). It should be noted that this current state of research was also informed by previous reconstruction efforts of road networks in volumes on the regions of Greater Poland and Cuyavia. However, the lack of source materials on roads in Western and Eastern Pomerania proved to be a major obstacle in establishing the shape of route connections on both the western and eastern borders of Royal Prussia.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly to the last three volumes of the AHP, the large number of inns in towns and villages served as the basis of establishing points of convergence in the road network.<sup>7</sup> A surviving liquor excise registry from 1569 (Map 2)<sup>8</sup> was used to categorise the importance of Prussian towns as communication centres. However, Gdańsk did not feature in the ledger, as at the time the town was exempted

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<sup>1</sup> MRP.

<sup>2</sup> K. Mikulski, *Osadnictwo wiejskie województwa pomorskiego od połowy XVI do końca XVII wieku*, Toruń, 1994, pp. 29–30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.5.4; idem, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.5.6; M. Sierba, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Podlasie, in this edition III.5.8.

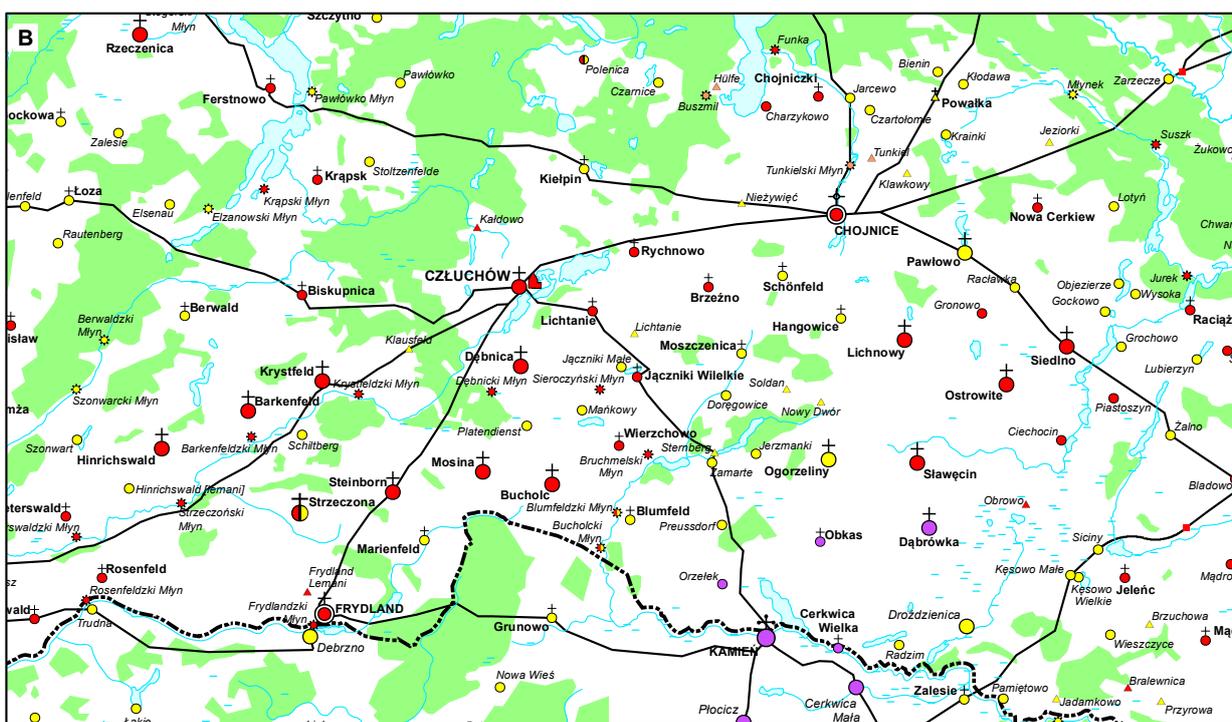
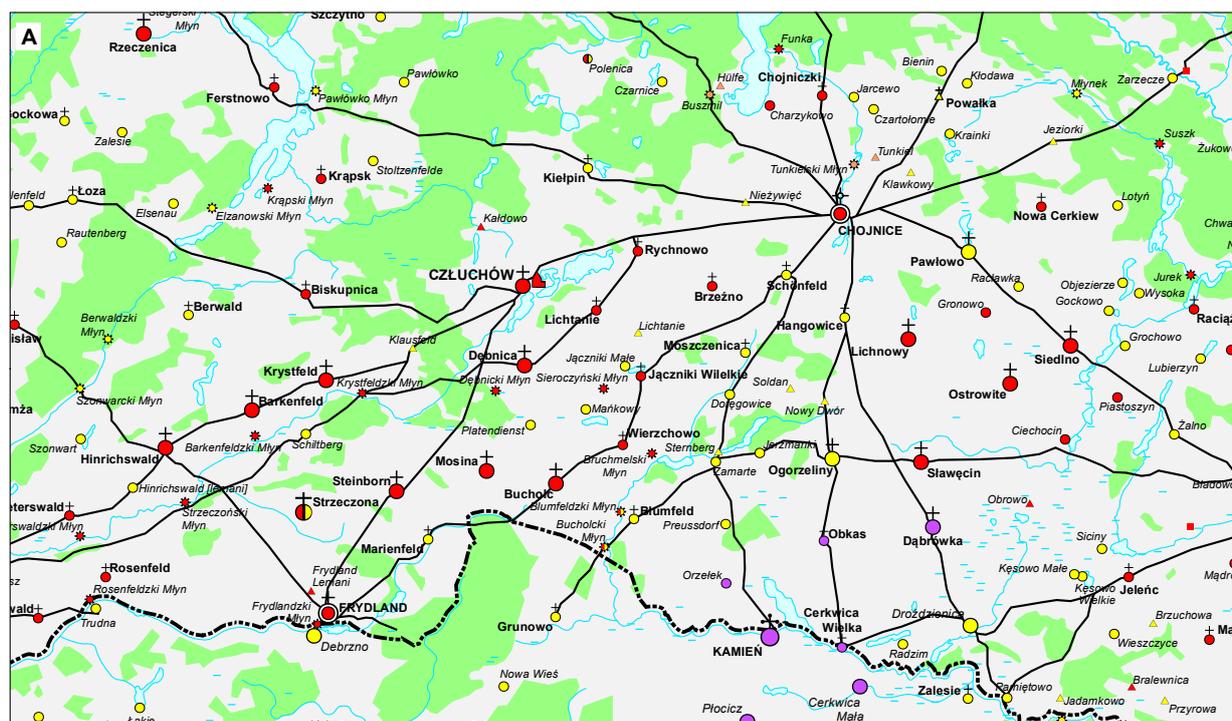
<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII w.*, Warsaw 1962; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1986.

<sup>5</sup> MRP, p. 36.

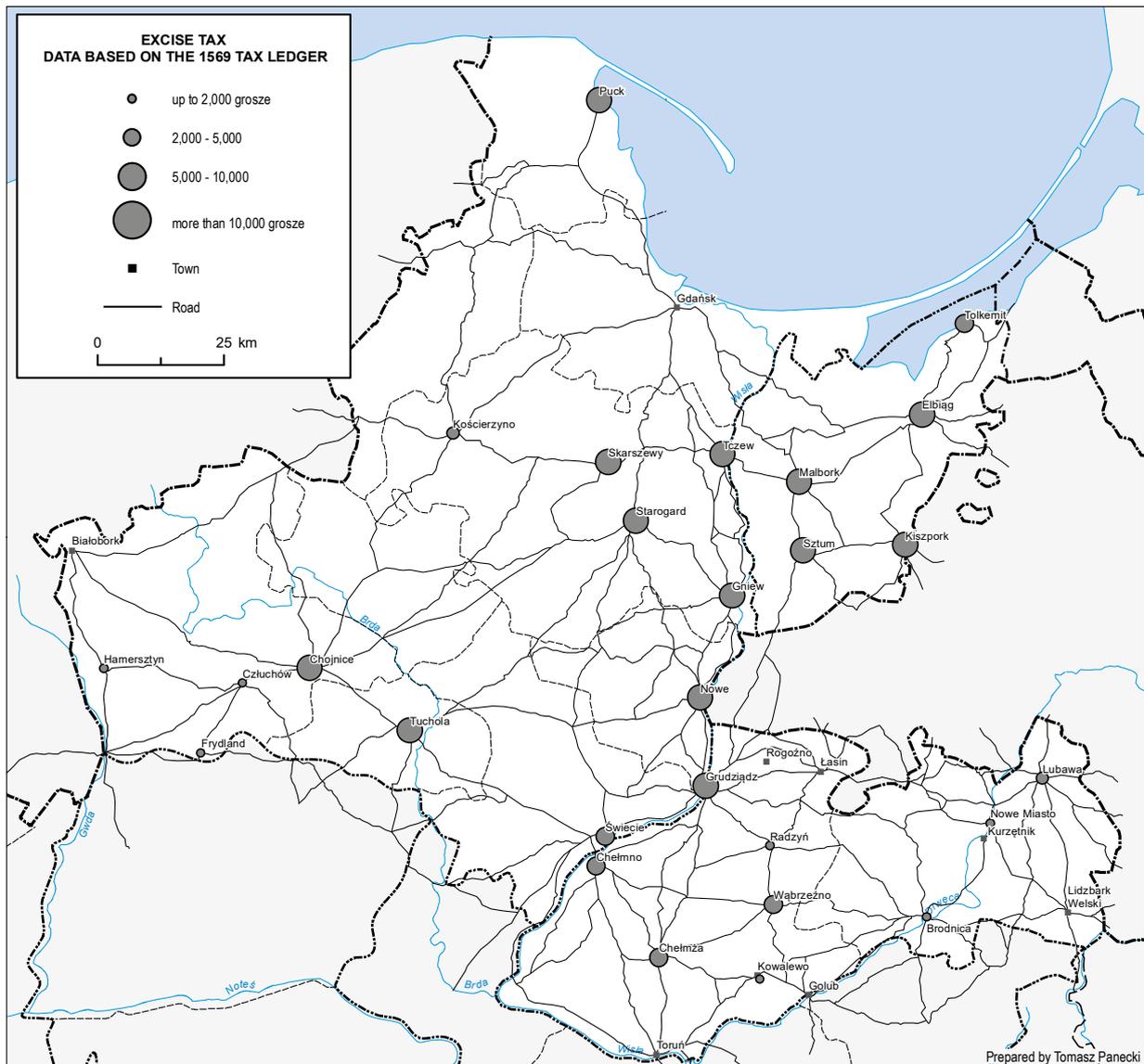
<sup>6</sup> In the context of Western Pomerania, *Hansische Handelsstrassen: Atlas*, comp. H. Weczerka, Köln–Graz 1962 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, Neue Folge, vol. 13) proved to be an invaluable source. I would like to thank Neils Petersen and Bart Holterman for making the digital version of the atlas available to me in the course of this research.

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the lack of sufficient data in royal property inspection reports barred the reconstruction of toll points in the region.

<sup>8</sup> AGAD, ASK I 112.



**Map 1. Comparison of road networks depicted in Marian Biskup's atlas (A) and the current reconstruction (B). Due to the scale of the map (1:500,000), a generalised, streamlined image of the road network was necessary. Symbols from the 1:250,000 AHP map were used**



Map 2. Excise tax. Data based on the 1569 tax ledger

from the tax.<sup>9</sup> Despite this, the ledger helped pinpoint the economic potential of urban centres in the entirety of the sixteenth century Royal Prussia.<sup>10</sup> The routes in the road network were outlined by another, closely related network of inns and taverns.<sup>11</sup> The network was based on the surviving tax register from 1570 (Map 3).<sup>12</sup>

(2021)

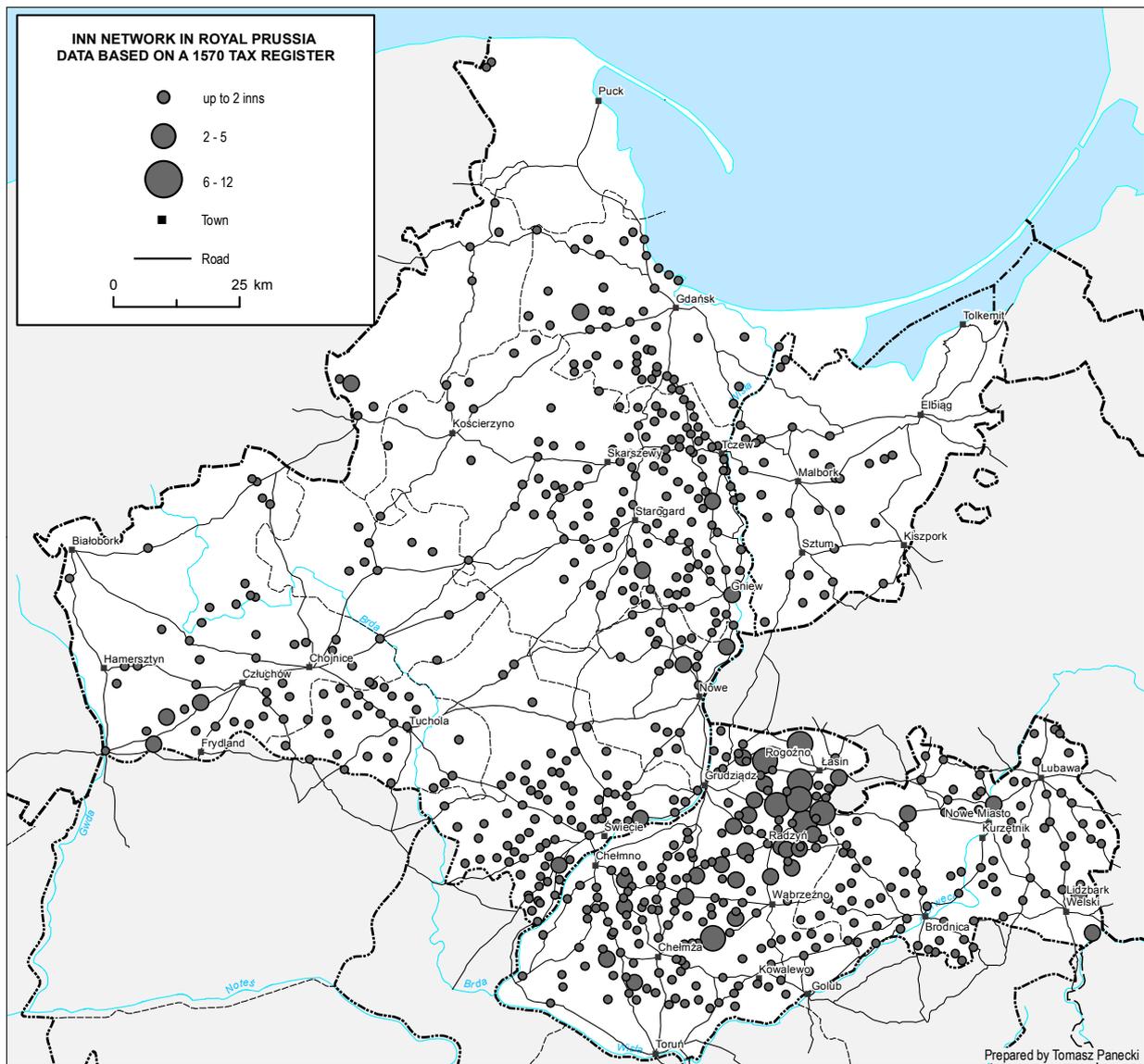
Translated by Paulina Waclawik

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, f. 148.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. T. Związek, *Roads*, [in:] AHP Cuyavia, in this edition III.5.6.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. K. Mikulski, *Osadnictwo wiejskie*, p. 29–30.

<sup>12</sup> AGAD, ASK I 52. A preliminary converted version in the form of a database used in the research was compiled by professor Krzysztof Mikulski.



**Map 3. Inn network in Royal Prussia. Data based on a 1570 tax register**

## III.6 TOWN PLANS

### III.6a INTRODUCTION

*Marek Słoń*

As in the case of the main map, town plans are reconstructed primarily on the basis of written sources from the sixteenth century, directly or through secondary scholarship, and cartographic sources from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the former, we obtain information about the existence of individual buildings, while more recent plans and maps show us their approximate range from a century or two later. Transferring a spatial image into the past is a classic example of the application of retrogression and should be used in accordance with the principles of this method. First and foremost, the subjects of this method should be elements that are relatively permanent, such as ownership boundaries, and not those inherently variable, like the outline of a wooden building. One must always remember about the approximate and partly hypothetical nature of the resulting information. Only some spatial shapes can be considered reliable and precise. These usually are fragments of brick buildings that have at least been preserved as relics or foundations. These are a kind of controlled variable in reconstruction that make it possible to, on the one hand, verify the hypotheses, and on the other hand, coordinate other elements with them.

The legend for town maps includes (throughout the entire AHP series) seven basic surface markings. The buildings were divided into three categories: urban, suburban and rural. These are not outlines of particular buildings, but rather the area of property intended for construction and development. The urban districts are quarters surrounded by streets, squares or outer town limits. In small and unfortified centers, most of this area was not covered with buildings, some of the land could even be used for small gardens. However, this does not change their character. Moreover, even in the richest cities and between the most cramped walls, neither whole quarters nor individual properties could be filled with buildings, and the extent of these cannot be reconstructed for the sixteenth century. Where, preserved in the oldest cartographic records, ownership divisions could have been made with some probability to reflect the location parceling, individual lines or grids have been drawn indicating the width and direction of the property. In the case of suburban and rural buildings, our knowledge of its spatial extent is usually limited to the fact that the houses and farm buildings stretched along the road. Sixteenth-century buildings, the size and shape of which can be estimated, are shown separately. This applies primarily to defensive buildings and churches.

With regard to the use of undeveloped land, there is even less information available. Several categories have been distinguished among them. Gardens, i.e., small and usually fenced off areas of intensive mixed cultivation, have been marked on the map, as well as orchards and vineyards. Arable lands are shown too. Meadows, pastures and wastelands, which are identified spatially, function as a separate category, created primarily on the basis of the reconstruction of natural conditions, such as floodplains. However, there are also areas near towns, which were not classified into any of these categories. These are shown in the reconstruction as arable lands.

The names provided in the plans have been derived from sources dated to the sixteenth century. The network of roads is, to a great extent, the result of the juxtaposition of the settlements with the cartographic records from the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The latter are also the basis

for the reconstruction of rivers and water reservoirs, although available source records as well as the results of archaeological and hydrological research have been taken into account. To avoid geometric distortions, all the data is applied to precise, contemporary terrain mapping.

*(2017)*

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

### III.6.1.1 BIECZ

*Jarosław Suproniuk*

The royal city of Biecz was the seat of judicial authorities for the entire land of Biecz: land courts gathered here, the gord court (court of the starosta of Biecz) resided in the town, as well as the court of high Magdeburg law, which had other seats in Cracow and Nowy Sącz.<sup>1</sup>

The plan of the sixteenth century Biecz (at a scale of 1:10,000) was reconstructed on the basis of: a cadastral plan *Stadt Biecz sammt Ortschaften Belna, Harta und Przedmieście niżne in Galizien Jasloer Kreis* at a scale of 1:2,880 from 1850,<sup>2</sup> and the plan of old Biecz by Józef Barut, based on archaeological research.<sup>3</sup> The cadastral plan shows the city with its street network, plots (with buildings), city buildings, road and river network, and the nearest surroundings of Biecz, but only on the left, northern bank of the River Ropa. J. Barut's plan shows Biecz within city fortifications, and the church of St. Ann, and the monastery of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance, both situated east of the city.

The image of the city by Frans Franciszek Hogenberg, created at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries played an important role in our reconstruction. It was printed in the 6<sup>th</sup> volume (*Theatrum urbium praecipuorum mundi*) of Georg Jerzy Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. According to the literature on this subject, Hogenberg 'drew Biecz from nature, and therefore can be trusted not only to present the correct number of towers on the southern side of the city, but also to show certain buildings, and their function, exactly as they were'.<sup>4</sup> The drawing shows the city as seen from the south, and a bit from above. As a result, almost all fortifications can be discerned, as well as the city centre, with the nearest surroundings to the River Ropa, and Przedmieście Górne.

The information found in *Materiały do historii Biecza*,<sup>5</sup> published by Franciszek Bujak, allow us to use cartographic data in relation to our chosen period, and quite often also to roughly localize topographical objects, which were not presented on any cartographic, or topographic source. The earliest data (before 1530) on Biecz, its location, borders, inhabitants, topographic objects, town and sacral buildings, come from *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego*

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<sup>1</sup> F. Kiryk, *Z dziejów miast zachodniej części ziemi bieckiej do r. 1520*, [in:] *Nad rzeką Ropą. Szkice historyczne*, Cracow 1968, p. 118; *Miasta polskie*, vol. 2, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> State Archive in Przemyśl, Geodesy Archive, no. 55, by A. Lachinger, A. Wind, J. Vogl, L. Tomaszewski, L. Bittner.

<sup>3</sup> The plan was included in: J. Barut, *Dawna ziemia biecka i jej stolica*, [in:] *Biecz: studia historyczne*, ed. R. Kaleta, Wrocław 1963, p. 137; T. Ślawnski, *Studia nad ludnością Biecza w wiekach XIV–XVII*, "Małopolskie Studia Historyczne", vol. 1, 1958, no. 3–4, map after p. 32; idem, *Mieszkaństwo bieckie na przełomie XVI i XVII stulecia*, [in:] idem, *Biecz: szkice historyczne*, Biecz 2002, p. 149. For a plan of Biecz with numbers of archaeological sites see: A. Kunysz, A. Kwolek, *Badania archeologiczne w 1963 r. na terenie Podgrodzia i miasta lokacyjnego w Bieczu*, [in:] *Sprawozdanie Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego za rok 1963*, Rzeszów 1963, p. 46. Results of archaeological research (mostly manuscripts kept in Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków ['Preservation of historic landmarks laboratory'] in Cracow) have recently been gathered by B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, part 2: *Katalog lokacyjnych układów urbanistycznych*, Cracow 2004, pp. 13–19 and bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> J. Barut, *Dawna ziemia biecka*, p. 140. Also see comments: R. Kaleta, *Zamek w Bieczu*, [in:] *Biecz: studia historyczne*, pp. 103 f., inside also a copy of the print; J. Barut, *Baszta "radziecka" w Bieczu*, [in:] *Biecz: studia historyczne*, p. 153. See S. Załubski, *Biecz – studia rozwoju historycznego i układu przestrzennego*, "Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji" (Polska Akademia Nauk, oddział w Krakowie), lipiec–grudzień 1965, Cracow 1966, pp. 596–602.

<sup>5</sup> *Materiały – F. Bujak, Materiały do historii miasta Biecza (1361–1632)*, Cracow 1914.

w średniowieczu.<sup>6</sup> Valuable information can be found in collections of articles: *Biecz: studia historyczne*, *Biecz: szkice historyczne* oraz *Nad rzeką Ropą. Szkice historyczne*.<sup>7</sup> The published *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego 1564* unfortunately lacks Biecz, and the 1569 inspection only records the price paid by the city; the inspection conducted in 1616 tells us little more.<sup>8</sup>

**Fortifications of Biecz.** We do not know the exact date of the construction of the city walls: it could have happened at the close of the thirteenth century,<sup>9</sup> during Ladislaus the Elbow-high's reign,<sup>10</sup> or during Casimir the Great's reign.<sup>11</sup> The first entry concerning the city walls comes from 1399, when Ladislaus Jagiello allowed the burghers of Biecz to employ people living in the suburbs to repair the walls.<sup>12</sup> Topography defined the course of the city walls: Biecz occupies an entire hill on the left, northern bank of the River Ropa. Various bodies of water also influenced the final shape of the fortifications: the stream Zadziurze flows at the foot of the northern and north-western slope, and there was a flume (Młynówka) on the southern side, between the city and the River Ropa.<sup>13</sup> The walls had an oval, prolonged shape, stretching from the east to the west, and its south-eastern part formed a protruding wedge. The fortifications were around 1,200 m long.<sup>14</sup>

The northern wall of the fortifications, some 300 m long, was cut in three almost equal parts by a round tower and a wicket. In this part of the city, the walls were slightly concave, and also secured by the scarp, the ditch, and the earth embankment. Due to the sloping terrain, the ditch was probably not filled with water.<sup>15</sup> There was a quadrangular tower in the north-eastern corner.

The north-eastern fragment was also concave in shape. The eastern part of the fortifications, between the north-eastern tower and the wedge, occupied by the Church of the Holy Spirit, was cut into two even parts by Dolna Gate ('Lower Gate', also called Pilzneńska). Each part was around 110 m long. A ditch and earth embankment were also on this side. The embankment surrounded the wedge, and probably ended freely in Młynówka.<sup>16</sup>

The southern fragment of the walls, from the Church of the Holy Spirit to the Main Gate (in the west) was some 490 m long, and had eight towers (including two wickets).<sup>17</sup> There was no ditch or embankment on this site, as the scarp reached around 20 m here. The proximity of the River Ropa and the artificial flume strengthened the city's defence from the south. The inhabitants could reach the building situated by the River Ropa and the flume through the two wickets in the wall.

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<sup>6</sup> SHG Kraków, part I, no. 1, pp. 72–88.

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 177 and 179. Manuscripts provide much information on the urban and topographic character: e.g. Biecz court books, or city's bills, see: AP Kraków, Wawel division: Biecz court books from 1550–1603, Dep. 7–13; Biecz city bills 1540–1553, Dep. 24–25. Por. also R. Rybarski, *Gospodarka miasta Biecza w XVI i początkach XVII stulecia*, "Ekonomista", vol. 9, 1909, no. 3, pp. 57–98; vol. 10, 1910, no. 1, pp. 51–109 or reprint: idem, *Gospodarka miasta Biecza w XVI i początkach XVII stulecia*, Biecz 1998.

<sup>8</sup> LK 1569, f. 590v; LK 1616, f. 168–170: *Civitas Biecz cum suburbio*. Biecz is described only in: LK 1659–1664, part 2, pp. 611–622. For the number of artisans paying the tax in 1629, see: Tax reg. 1629, pp. 283 f.; and in 1680: Rej. pob. 1680, pp. 310 f., 342 f.; Tax reg. 1595, pp. 599–600: Biecz – paid 224 zł town tax; it also lists: five mill wheels, one fulling wheel, one hemp mill, and nine butchers, six bakers, 14 shoemakers, five harness makers, one goldsmith, five coopers, five locksmiths, two saddlers, five smiths, nine tailors, 12 cloth sellers, 16 weavers, 12 furriers, five potters, one apothecary, one swordmaker, one barber-surgeon, one cartwright, two hat makers, two wheelwright, one coppersmith, one bathhouse worker and 85 landless peasants.

<sup>9</sup> *Miasta polskie*, vol. 2, p. 340.

<sup>10</sup> R. Kaleta, *Zamek w Bieczu*, p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> T. Ślowski, *Mieszkaństwo bieckie*, p. 121.

<sup>12</sup> *Materiały*, no. 19. Latin text and Polish translation [in:] "Dodatek tygodniowy przy Gazecie Lwowskiej", 1853, no. 45, p. 180.

<sup>13</sup> See J. Barut, *Dawna ziemia biecka*, p. 136; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 91. See also F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji Małopolski XIII–XVI w. Województwo krakowskie (powiaty południowe)*, Cracow 1985, p. 43; T. Szydłowski, *Pomniki architektury epoki piastowskiej we województwie krakowskim i kieleckim*, Cracow 1928, p. 135; T. Tołwiński, *Urbanistyka*, vol. 1: *Budowa miasta w przeszłości*, Warsaw 1947, p. 136.

<sup>14</sup> For detailed description of the remaining part of the wall see: Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 94 f.; See J. Bogdanowski, *Obwarowania miasta Biecza*, "Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji" (Polska Akademia Nauk, oddział w Krakowie), lipiec–grudzień 1965, Cracow 1966, pp. 602–606.

<sup>15</sup> J. Barut, *Dawna ziemia biecka*, pp. 139 f.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 140.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 141.

The western fragment of city fortifications was over 120 m long.<sup>18</sup> This was the most fortified part of the walls. Goods entered and left Biecz through the western gate (Górna Gate). Travellers going to the east (to Ruthenia, or to Transylvania through Dukla Pass) also used this gate, whereas the eastern gate (Dolna Gate) played a secondary role. It connected the city with the north, with the district of Pilzno. The conversion of the road leading from Biecz to Gorlice, conducted in 1790–1794, resulted in the complete destruction of Górna Gate, and that made its reconstruction difficult.

The north-western fragment of the defensive walls, from the tower situated at the back of the parson's garden to the church tower, was around 100 m long, and had four towers. We accept J. Barut's opinion that 'the northern embankment and the moat continued here, and soon ended after it passed under the drawbridge'.<sup>19</sup> It seems that one of these towers defended the wicket of the church cemetery. The reconstruction of Górna Gate is the most hypothetical. Again, we accept J. Barut's belief that it consisted of four gates: 'the first one, outer, was rather symbolic and it led to the drawbridge, raised towards two small towers on the other side. They formed the second gate'.<sup>20</sup> Behind this second gate two parallel walls formed a short fragment (so-called 'neck'), which reached the third gate, defended from the south by a vast tower. Behind the third gate there was a courtyard closed by the church wall from the north, and by the city wall and Radziecka tower in the south.

In total, there were 16 towers in the fortifications of Biecz, including four wickets: two in the south, one in the west, and one in the north.<sup>21</sup>

**Biecz inside the fortifications.** The area of the city within the fortifications was over 7 ha.<sup>22</sup> The urban layout of Biecz was prolonged along the main trade route, running from the east to the west: the distance between the gates Górna and Dolna was some 430 m, while the city was only 170 m wide (from the south to the north).

The quadrangular market square occupied the centre of the city. Its shape resembled a rectangle with a prolonged northern and southern frontage, 110 m long and 73,5 m wide (375 × 250 feet).<sup>23</sup> The two-storey town hall stands in the centre of the market square.<sup>24</sup> The main entrance to the building was probably situated on the western facade. Possibly, other buildings stood adjacent to the town hall. For instance, we do not know, whether the weigh house was located in the town hall, or in a separate building next to the town hall;<sup>25</sup> it is possible that cloth cropping was done in one of the rooms in the town hall; the mason's house<sup>26</sup> and some other house<sup>27</sup> stood by the town hall. Also salt sellers, butchers, and shoemakers had their stalls in the market square.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 142.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 143. J. Bogdanowski, *Obwarowania*, p. 605, includes the reconstruction of the barbican by Górna Gate.

<sup>21</sup> The reconstruction of the western fragment of the city walls is only hypothetical, as Górna Gate was destroyed and on Hogenberg's print the church of the Corpus Christi blocks out the north-western fragment of the fortifications. Some scholars give different values: e.g. A. Wąchała, *Biecz. Starożytne królewskie miasto grodowe*, Grudziądz 1930, pp. 9 f., claims Biecz had 15 towers, and probably six wickets. Similarly F. Srzeniawski, *Biecz w swoich pamiątkach*, Jasło 1878, p. 45: 'The fortress had only two gates/Six smaller wickets/Drawbridges by each of them/allowing to leave the city/ The gates were fortified with towers/and wickets by small towers'.

<sup>22</sup> T. Ślowski, *Studia nad ludnością Biecza*, p. 27 determines the area of Biecz at 73,200 m<sup>2</sup>. J. Barut, *Dawna ziemia biecka*, p. 138 gives 73,000 m<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, p. 17; includes precise measurements (in metres, feet, rods, ropes) of individual elements of the urban layout of Biecz. T. Ślowski determines the area of the market square at 7800 m<sup>2</sup>. See T. Ślowski, *Rynek w Bieczu*, [in:] idem, *Ratusz królewskiego miasta Biecza: siedziba władz samorządowych na przestrzeni dziejów*, Biecz 2000, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> About history, look, destruction and reconstruction of the town hall tower, the stages of the development of the town hall and the remaining parts see: S. Walczy, S. Załubski, *Ratusz w Bieczu w świetle ksiąg miejskich, inwentaryzacji i analizy architektonicznej*, [in:] *Biecz: studia historyczne*, pp. 170-274. See also T. Ślowski, *Ratusz w Bieczu*, [in:] idem, *Ratusz królewskiego miasta Biecza*, pp. 21-54. And S. Walczy, *Badania architektoniczne ratusza bieckiego*, "Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji" (Polska Akademia Nauk, oddział w Krakowie), lipiec-grudzień 1965, Cracow 1966, pp. 606-609.

<sup>25</sup> An entry from 9 May 1554 tells us: '... et in carcere in praetorio apud stateram...', see Materiały, no. 257.

<sup>26</sup> 'Alberti muratoris coniunx de conducta domuncula penes praetorium', as quoted in S. Walczy, S. Załubski, *Ratusz w Bieczu*, p. 228, footnote 150.

<sup>27</sup> 1602: 'Hedvigis Kristkowa e domuncula penes praetorium dedit annalem censum', as quoted ibidem, p. 228, footnote 151.

<sup>28</sup> See Materiały, no. 18: the endowments of the vogt of Biecz.

Two pairs of transit streets met in the market square. They ran from the east to the west: from Górna Gate and the parochial church to the market square (Kościelna Street north of the western block by the market, and Węgierska street south of it), and from the market square towards Dolna Gate (Piekarska Street north of the eastern block by the market square, and south of it – Grodzka Street).<sup>29</sup> The streets were over 7 m (25 feet) wide. Also, four narrow lanes left from the corners of the market square: two went southwards to the wickets, two northwards – one to the northern wicket, and the other, which left from the north-western corner, was ‘moved’ west and reached the round defensive tower in the wall. It is estimated these lanes were around 1,7 m (6 feet) wide.<sup>30</sup> Two similar lanes ran also in the western part of the city: between the streets Kościelna and Węgierska, at the back of the western block by the market square, and one small lane ran in the north-western part of the city: from the parochial church and the exit of Kościelna Street to the city wall. There were two such lanes in the eastern part of Biecz, they ran from the north to the south: one of them was situated at the back of the eastern block by the market square, from the exit of Piekarska Street to Grodzka Street, and the other – Św. Ducha Street – led from Grodzka Street to the vogt’s house and the Hospital of the Holy Spirit.<sup>31</sup> A street ran along the city walls, it surrounded the city, except for a south-eastern fragment, where the church of the Holy Spirit, the hospital, and the vogt’s house stood. In 1570, streets in Biecz were described as ‘good roads in town, cobbles both in the streets, and the market square...’.<sup>32</sup>

Building blocks in Biecz were diversified. Those along longer frontages of the market square were themselves prolonged, had only one frontage, and were divided by small lanes. The eastern and western blocks by the market square had plots with two frontages. One-frontage plots were mostly situated close to the city walls. Altogether, we found 166 plots in Biecz measuring 7,3 m × 42 m (25 × 144 feet), and 48 plots measuring 7,3 m × 29 m (25 × 100 feet).<sup>33</sup> We know the number of the houses in 1626, together with their division into streets and frontages of the market square. There were 23 houses in Kościelna Street, ‘in the first wall of the market square’ – 11 houses, in Piekarska Street – 29, ‘in the second wall of the market square’ – 6, in Grodzka Street – 23, in Św. Ducha – 7, ‘in the third wall of the market square’ – 14, in Węgierska Street – 26, and ‘in the fourth wall of the market square’ – 11 houses. This gives us 150 houses inside the fortifications.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, the source does not tell us, which houses were brick, and how many people lived in the buildings.

The late-Gothic parochial church (*fara*) of the Corpus Christi dominated (and still dominates) the western part of the city.<sup>35</sup> The cemetery, mentioned already in 1473,<sup>36</sup> lay to the north of the church,

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<sup>29</sup> For street names from 1590 see Materiały, no. 343: ‘... in platea ecclesiae’, ‘... in platea pistoria’, ‘... in platea castrensi’, ‘... in platea Ungaricali’. Street names appear earlier, e.g. in 1590, see Biecz court books from 1550–1556, AP Kraków, Dep. 7, p. 41: ‘... domum in platea pistorium...’, in 1563, see Biecz court books from 1559–1563, Dep. 9, p. 1085: ‘... quia domum in platea pistorium...’. Term ‘... in platea castrensi’ this could also be understood as ‘Zamkowa Str.’, see F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji*, p. 44. However, already in the document from 26 July 1395, in which queen Hedwig concedes the hospital of the Holy Spirit be built, the place for the hospital was called a square, where the royal manor once stood: ‘aream nostram, in qua alias regalis curia erat...’, see Materiały, no. 15; Dodatek GL, 1850–1851, no. 23, p. 91. Some entries from the end of the fourteenth century suggest that at the time the streets in Biecz were still unnamed: 1398: ‘... domum Nicolao Paltinger sitam in plathea versus scolias’, ‘... resignavit domum [...] et usus proprios convertendum et sitam retro antiquum Zilbirmanum braxatorem’, see *Najdawniejsza księga sądowa miasta Biecza*, pub. B. Ulanowski, “Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej”, vol. 5, Cracow 1897, no. 79, 125; Also F. Kiryk, *Z dziejów miast*, p. 109. After the castle was demolished in 1475 (it was situated southwest of the city on Góra Zamkowa) the starosta’s district authorities resided on a ‘gord’ east of the city, outside Dolna Gate: this was the seat for gord and land courts until 1641, see T. Ślowski, *Biecz. Gród starościński. Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne*, [in:] idem, *Biecz: szkice historyczne*, pp. 290–292. The inspection from 1602 describes the road, which ran from Dolna Gate ‘viam ad Pilsno post curiam castrensem’, see Materiały, no. 368. For these and other reasons we are inclined to accept the name ‘Grodzka Street’.

<sup>30</sup> B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, pp. 17 f.

<sup>31</sup> Materiały, no. 343: ‘in domo in platea S. Spiritus’.

<sup>32</sup> LDK, p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, p. 18; this number of parcels suggests there were 214 houses in the city. T. Ślowski, *Studia nad ludnością Biecza*, p. 30, informs there were 128 parcels in Biecz, and the houses stood in 70% of them, so that would give us 209 houses inside the walls.

<sup>34</sup> Materiały, no. 495. See also: Regestum 1626 and Regestr 1626. Also A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska XVII w.*, Warsaw 1980, pp. 84–88.

<sup>35</sup> About the parochial church (building, equipment, epitaphs) see S. Tomkowicz, *Powiat gorlicki*, “Teki Grona Konserwatorów Galicyi Zachodniej”, vol. 1, 1900, pp. 175–230.

<sup>36</sup> Materiały, no. 60. The visitation of the parochial church, conducted on request of bishop Filip Padniewski in 1565 mentions: ‘a cemetery surrounded by walls’; similarly, the visitation of the provost of Tarnów, Krzysztof Kazimierski, from 1595 tells us that ‘the cemetery was surrounded by a wall’ see Materiały, no. 299 and 352.

and reached the western wicket. The fortified belfry and the presbytery reached the city wall, and strengthened the city's defence. There was a chapel dedicated to St. Barbara (also called a church) in the cemetery, which was already abandoned in 1602, and 'turning into ruin'.<sup>37</sup> In 1595, 'the town council had recently built a house for the widows near the church'.<sup>38</sup> Biecz school stood south of the parochial church, by the city walls.<sup>39</sup>

The Hospital of the Holy Spirit (asylum), built in 1395, was situated in the south-western wedge of the city, just like the hospital church (recorded from 1398), of the same denomination.<sup>40</sup> There probably was a cemetery by the hospital. The vogt's house stood west of the hospital. Probably, its southern wall touched the city wall, and the eastern wall – the defensive tower.<sup>41</sup> The city bathhouse (mentioned from 1395) was probably located in this part of Biecz, west of the vogt's house.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from sacral and city buildings already mentioned, we should also describe elements, which were not marked on our plan, but constituted an integral part of the sixteenth century city. These include breweries (recorded from the end of the fourteenth century). For instance: we know a brewery from 1592 situated in the southern frontage of the market square, next to Mikołaj Leszczyński's house; another brewery was mentioned in 1595 in Kościelna Street, next to Barbara Rzgowska's house; and Jerzy Jurecki's house with a brewery was mentioned in Piekarska Street.<sup>43</sup> Numerous hop-fields (together with a hop drying house), gardens, and utility buildings belonging to the burghers, like stables, pigsties, various barns, sheds or warehouses and granaries fulfilled a similar role in the city. In our period, the city probably had some channel system, supplying the inhabitants with water, if in the fifteenth century Biecz had obtained permission to build such a system.<sup>44</sup>

**Suburbs.** The first entry mentioning the suburbs comes from 1397.<sup>45</sup> The suburbs of Biecz were vast, and incoherent in terms of terrain: some were located away from the River Ropa, like Załawie, or Bedlna, which was also called Przedmieście Wójtowskie. In terms of ownership, we can distinguish estates belonging to the vogt, the city, and the parochial church.<sup>46</sup> The topographic criterion allows us to distinguish Przedmieście Dolne (situated east of the city, together with Bedlna), and Przedmieście

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<sup>37</sup> Materiały, no. 368; there information that 'the repairs ordered by the cardinals were not conducted by the late parson Piotr Piotrowski or the counsellors'. Since 1473 recorded as 'altaria św. Barbary' in the chapel on the parochial church cemetery (Materiały, no. 60, 61); in 1546 called 'the chapel of St. Stanislaus' by the parochial church (Materiały, no. 205). The 1595 visitation tells us that the chapel of St. Barbara, built on the cemetery, so that Polish service could be offered there, was empty (Materiały, no. 352), and in 1598 there is an entry mentioning 'an altar dedicated to St. Barbara in the cemetery chapel' (Materiały, no. 355). SHG Cracow (part I, no. 1, p. 80) uses the term 'church of St. Barbara'.

<sup>38</sup> Materiały, no. 352. The 1602 visitation calls this house 'Hospitale viduarum civium senio confectorum provisionis consulum' (Materiały, no. 368).

<sup>39</sup> Materiały, no. 200: the town council endowed Andrzej, the town scribe, with a plot 'between the city wall, the school and the tower over the upper gate' so that he could build a house. See also an entry from 1557 in the court book of Biecz 1556–1559, AP Kraków, Dep. 8, p. 225: '...quia domum virum ambrozium shiklia ab una et portam superiorem ab altera partibus ex opposito schole sitam...'. About the school recently Suproniuk 2002, also Pachulski 1927.

<sup>40</sup> See "Dodatek tygodniowy przy Gazecie Lwowskiej", 1850–1851, no. 23, p. 91. The hospital church ('ecclesie hospitalis') mentioned in 1398, see *Najdawniejsza księga sądowa miasta Biecza*, no. 5. Also SHG Kraków, part I, no. 1, pp. 80 f. (inside: church of the Holy Spirit). The 1595 visitation mentions 'a chapel by the hospital of the Holy Spirit', and describes it as neglected (Materiały, no. 352).

<sup>41</sup> The construction of this house was commenced by Jakub Sieklucki (castellan of Biecz 1500–1503, starosta of Biecz 1500–1511) in 1500–1506. In 1641 it became the seat of the starosta of Biecz, see T. Ślowski, *Biecz. Gród starościński*, pp. 294–296.

<sup>42</sup> Materiały, no. 15; Also T. Ślowski, *Biecz. Gród starościński*, p. 307. In 1505 r. Alexander Jagiellon allowed Jakub of Siekluka to buy a parcel with a home on the left side of the vogt's house, towards the bathhouse, see MRPS, vol. III, no. 2378 ('... in eodem oppido ad sinistram partem domus advocatiae illius versus balneum sitam, ab ipso Ozanek emere consentit.'). Also. SHG Kraków, part I, no. 1, p. 76. In 1611, during the division of property of Sebastian, son of Marcin Barian Rokicki, the bathhouse was described as situated 'on the city embankment with a garden', quoted in T. Ślowski, *Mieszczanstwo bieckie*, p. 127. Materiały, no. 343, p. 135: '... in domo aciali olim Martini Rossocha mariti sui inter olim Laurentii pellionis, plateola, qua itur ad balneum intercurrente, et Alberti Schepiolo domos in platea castrensi', p. 136: '... in domo aciali in circulo inter olim Martini Rossocha, plateola, qua itur ad balneum, intercurrente, et olim Simonie Rigler domos'.

<sup>43</sup> As quoted by T. Ślowski, *Mieszczanstwo bieckie*, p. 122. The earliest entries about hops production see: SHG Kraków, part I, no. 1, p. 75.

<sup>44</sup> Lib. Form. 1888, no. 204: '... in ipso opido canalia aquatica faciendum, construendum et erigendum necnon aquam ad eandem undecunque de arwis, agris et montibus decurrentem'.

<sup>45</sup> *Najdawniejsza księga sądowa miasta Biecza*, no. 523: 'Laurencius suburbanus Beczensis...'

<sup>46</sup> See the comment on 'Biecz suburbs' [in:] SHG Kraków, part I, no. 1, p. 76.

Górne, that is the area west (northwest and southwest) of the city.<sup>47</sup> The inconsistency of the area of the suburbs of Biecz can also be confirmed by the ‘inspection of tolls, customs, bridges and roads of the voivodeships in Lesser Poland’ conducted in 1564, in which Przedmieście Górne was described as two separate suburbs.<sup>48</sup> We should also note here that not only compact settlement clusters were called suburbs, but also uninhabited areas within city jurisdictions. Tax registers list Przedmieście Dolne and Przedmieście Wójtowskie, not shown on our plan, as separate settlements. The city owned Przedmieście Dolne, which had 28,5 lan in the 1580s, and 29,5 lan ten years later.<sup>49</sup> 53 inhabitants of the suburbs were listed by name in 1510, along with fields they owned.<sup>50</sup> Still in 1888 Przedmieście Dolne (Niżne) was described as property of Biecz, situated ‘between the monastery and the city. It has a watermill on a stream flowing to the River Ropa from its left bank’.<sup>51</sup>

The River Ropa, which divided not so much the suburbs, but grounds of burghers, suburb inhabitants, or of the vogt, forced the people to have access to the other bank. The inspectors controlling the state of roads in Cracow Voivodeship in 1570 wrote: ‘They showed us seven bridges, and the eighth one was great, it was built over the swamps over 200 m long’.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, we have no source, which would tell us, where the bridges were situated, they cannot be seen on Hogenberg’s picture.<sup>53</sup> It is also difficult to deduct the possible location of bridges from Mieg’s map of Galicia from 1775–1783 (at a scale of 1:28,800). It shows one ‘bridge’ (more or less between the southern wickets), but none of the roads run through here: the roads are marked east and west from it.<sup>54</sup>

Suburban buildings were shown on the plan of Biecz based on Hogenberg’s image, which also helped us mark mills on Młynówka. There were certain buildings and structures in the suburbs, which were difficult to localize and mark, given the scale used: numerous demesnes belonging to the burghers, the vogt, and the parson, breweries, lime kilns (to the northwest of town; hence the current name Wapniska), brickyards, or alum mine, situated in the village Korczyny, later incorporated.<sup>55</sup>

A chapel (‘church’) dedicated to St. Jacob, and a royal gord (‘castle’) were marked in Przedmieście Dolne. The church of St. Jacob, mentioned since 1450, was situated ‘extra muros Biecenses’.<sup>56</sup> In 1624, it was described as ‘located in the smaller (lower) suburb’, it was also said that the square intended by the city for the construction of a monastery of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance was located ‘next to the church of St. Jacob, in the lower suburb’.<sup>57</sup> The ‘royal castle’ (also seat of the starosta of Biecz) stood close to the chapel of St. Jacob. It was built between 1475 and 1487 and functioned until 1641, when it was turned into the monastery of the Order of Primitive Observance, and the brothers moved in.<sup>58</sup> In Przedmieście Dolne there was also a chapel of St. Nicolas, in a place

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<sup>47</sup> See T. Ślowski, *Przedmieścia bieckie w historycznym zarysie*, [in:] idem, *Biecz: szkice historyczne*, p. 246. Góra Zamkowa (‘Castle Hill’) situated southwest of Biecz, was described as a part of Przedmieście Górne, see Cons. Biecz 1612–1644, p. 880: (10 September 1633) ‘...sub monte Castris in suburbia superiori Biecensis...’.

<sup>48</sup> Lustracja ceł 1564/65, p. 214: ‘A great highway from Cracow to Hungary, one suburb called Krakowskie [...] which stretches for two staje from the gate. In the other suburb there were two bridges from this gate [...]. In the fourth suburb, Dembowcza or Zmygroda are three swampy places [...]’.

<sup>49</sup> P. Małopolska, vol. 3, p. 115; Tax reg. 1588, ASK I, 126, f. 312; Tax reg. 1589, ASK I, 127, f. 284. *Regestr poborowy województwa crakowskiego pod sprawą y urzędem IMOści pana Stanisława Morskiego z Morska, poborcze na sejmie walnym Warszawskim Coronnym in a. 1593 uchwalonym*, BJ, MS 5043, fol. 267 [microfilm in BN no. 1152]; Tax reg. 1595, fol. 224 [microfilm w BN no. 18567].

<sup>50</sup> Rejestr dochodów ze starostwa bieckiego z lat 1508–1510, ASK I, 1, pp. 400–405, 483–488, 500–505, see also SHG Kraków, part I, no. 1, p. 76.

<sup>51</sup> SGKP, vol. 9, p. 137.

<sup>52</sup> LDK, p. 44.

<sup>53</sup> In LDK B. Wyrozumka emphasized this probably means two drawbridges in front of Górna and Dolna gate and the bridge over the Ropa (which can be seen on the cadastral plan from 1850).

<sup>54</sup> Mapa Galicji 1775–1783, by Mieg, Kriegsarchiv Vienna, photocopies in e.g. Pracownia Atlasu Historycznego, Instytut Historii PAN, section no. 68.

<sup>55</sup> T. Ślowski, *Przedmieścia bieckie*, pp. 255 f., 265 f.

<sup>56</sup> Materiały, no. 47. Described in the 1595 visitation as: ‘a chapel outside the city’ and ‘chapel of St. Jacob, bricked’.

<sup>57</sup> Materiały, no. 487 and 488. According to T. Ślowski ‘The church of St. Jacob was partially destroyed by floods and the lack of care’, as quoted in T. Ślowski, *Przedmieścia bieckie*, p. 264. See also Pasiiecznik 1984, p. 13: ‘a church of St. Jacob the apostle, by the road to Jasło, built around 1550 by Zimowie, the parents of the provost of the church of the Holy Spirit, Sebastian Hiemovius’; p. 18: ‘Church of St. Jacob – not this place lies inside a timber mill’.

<sup>58</sup> T. Ślowski, *Przedmieścia bieckie*, p. 264; idem, *Biecz. Gród starościński*, pp. 290–292. On 25 August 1639 the *sejmik* (dietine) of Cracow Voivodeship in Proszowice decided that: ‘the delegates will of for the desertion of the royal town of Biecz,

difficult to localize.<sup>59</sup> We do not know the location of the church of the Holy Cross, or the chapel of the Holy Virgin Mary.<sup>60</sup>

The church of St. Peter stood south of Przedmieście Górne. In the 1595 visitation it was called a chapel of St. Peter ‘older than the town itself, wooden, has a consecrated altar, a field, a garden, and a small house’.<sup>61</sup> The city bleachery (marked on the plan) was situated in this part of the suburb, between the church of St. Peter and the city, by the River Ropa, as well as ‘another one’, built by the starosta of Biecz in 1554.<sup>62</sup>

In total, in 1629 in the suburbs there were ‘46 serf huts, two herdsman huts [...] one hut of the *soltys*’ and ‘107 small houses outside both gates and around the city’.<sup>63</sup>

## ANNEX BURGHERS OF BIECZ IN 1590

(Prepared on the basis of the register of money appropriated by Marcin Kromer for scholarships for the youth of Biecz, who studied at the University of Cracow<sup>64</sup>)

Name, surname (nickname)	Occupation, function	Street
Jerzy Potrawka	butcher	Kościelna
Albert Lisowicz alias Pasternak	baker	Kościelna
Albert Koczurek and his wife Jadwiga Szczepanowiczowna	shoemaker	Kościelna
Andrzej Rzgowski		Kościelna
Jan Chodor	barber-surgeon	Kościelna

so that the vogt’s district of Biecz was turned into a town and commuted’, Akta sejmik. krak. 1955, part 1, art. 46, p. 240. Only on 9 July 1641 did the nobles of Biecz district decide on the *sejmik* (dietine) of Cracow Voivodeship in Proszowice that: ‘All estates and substances of our district depended on good and secure protection of the town books of Biecz, which are kept outside the city in the place loco nullo praesidio munito; that is why we de unanimi consensu allow, providendo indemnitati nostrae the town books of Biecz be moved to the vogt’s office in Biecz from their current location, and the vogt’s residence shall be permanently considered a castle and gord, so that the courts of the starosta and the gord courts could be held there. We allow a brick storeroom for the books be built to keep the books and house gord court, and one collection of the lan tax and the town tax in our district of Biecz, together with everything according to the universals of the Diet be spent’, Akta sejmik. krak. 1955, part 1, no. 101, p. 266. The *Sejm Walny* (General Diet) of the Crown on 20 August 1641 confirmed Kommutacya Grodu Bieckiego za Woytostwo: ‘In order to prevent the danger, which could inde oriri our Grod of Biecz, outside the city be left without protection and destroyed, on request of the delegates from this district, with perimission of Jan Wielopolski, the starosta of Biecz, we move the vogt’s seat. And the vogt’s seat in the seat is to remain ours, and hold courts, and store books. So that they could be conducted more conveniently: laudum for a tax to build a court house and a storeroom is heareby approved’, *Konstytucye seymu walnego koronnego sześciedzielnego warszawskiego 20 sierpnia 1641*, art. 42, p. 21 (p. 14), [in:] VL, vol. 4.

<sup>59</sup> The church of St. Nicolas mentioned in 1450 (Materiały, no. 47) described in the 1595 visitation as ‘a chapel of St. Nicolas’ outside the city (Materiały, no. 352). The only entry about the location of the church comes from 1485: ‘penes curiam nostram regalem versus ecclesiam s. Nicolai’ and ‘s. Nicolai iuxta curiam castrensem’ (Materiały, no. 75).

<sup>60</sup> The church of the Holy Cross is mentioned in 1450 (Biecz 1945, no. 47), and the 1595 visitation calls it a chapel situated outside the city, just like the chapel of the Holy Virgin Mary (Materiały, no. 352). ‘All not consecrated (i.e. of St. Jacob, St. Nicolas, Holy Cross, and the Virgin Mary) and not endowed, but traditionally masses were held there sometimes’ (Materiały, no. 352). T. Ślawski, *Przedmieścia bieckie*, p. 264 tells us the churches of the Holy Cross and St. Nicolas, and the Virgin Mary ‘were destroyed in 1656 by the Polish soldiers, so that the defence of the town and the monastery against the Swedes was easier’; J. Pasiecznik, *Kościół i Klasztor Franciszkanów-Reformatów w Bieczu*, p. 42 informs us that wooden churches (St. Nicolas, Holy Cross, and the Mother of God) was burned down in January 1657 during the invasion of Rakoczy’s army, to improve the defence of the monastery.

<sup>61</sup> Materiały, no. 352; See also SHG Kraków, part I, no. 1, p. 81.

<sup>62</sup> Materiały, no. 46 and 255. Also Lustracja ceł 1564/1565, p. 214: ‘In the other suburbs from this gate two bridges showed us a flumen, which led water from the River Ropa to the town’s bleachery and mill [...]’.

<sup>63</sup> Materiały, no 515 and 516.

<sup>64</sup> *Pecuniae censuales civitatis Bieczensis i inne zapiski dotyczące Biecza z lat 1519–1627* (tzw. Kodeks Samborczyka), BJ, MS 17, f. 105–115 [microfilm w BN no. 2033]. See Materiały, no. 343; the order used in the document was kept.

Name, surname (nickname)	Occupation, function	Street
Walenty	smith	Kościelna
Grzegorz and his wife Zofia	harness maker	
Bartłomiej	cooper	Kościelna
Adam Jodlowski		Kościelna
Mikołaj that is Mazur	cooper	Kościelna
Albert Kuncza that is Krol	butcher	Kościelna
Sebastian Sziedlecza	shoemaker	Kościelna
Marcin	harness maker	Kościelna
Stanisław Pyeś	weaver	Kościelna
Paweł Trzebniczki (son of) the late Błażej	shoemaker	Kościelna
Grzegorz Gay	cooper	Kościelna
Walenty	cooper	Kościelna
Jerzy Płowy		Kościelna
Stanisław Casprowicz		Kościelna
Jan Chelpa	shoemaker	
Mateusz Maizenast	shoemaker	
Walenty Pachowicz	shoemaker	
Paweł Stachak and his wife Jadwiga Ruskowna	shoemaker	
Jakub Schip		
Zofia Zarębiąka widow of Józef Russek shoemaker		
Wacław Sezibor that is Magnerowski		
Jakub Kurzawa	furrier	Piekarska
Jan Czapla		Piekarska
Marek Koczowski	baker	Piekarska
Jerzy Mennert		Węgierska
Szymon Czignar		
Jakub Jureczki		
Jan Zaiącz	baker	Piekarska
Jerzy Jureczki		Piekarska
Andrzej Lignarek	tailor	Piekarska
Walenty	shoemaker	Piekarska
Grzegorz Ryznar	baker	Piekarska
Łukasz Nosska	shoemaker	Piekarska
Marcin Jeronimowicz		Piekarska
Sebastian Ryszkowicz and his wife Małgorzata	shoemaker	
Sebastian	smith	
Albert Materna that is Czarnilass	shoemaker	
Antoni Ilgowicz	locksmith	
Gal Koziel	cloth merchant	

Name, surname (nickname)	Occupation, function	Street
Benedykt Nowak that is Banasz		Piekarska
Tomasz Schindler		Piekarska
Albert Fabian that is Nieska	cloth merchant	Piekarska
Józef Mazanek		Piekarska
Albert Boguniowski	cloth merchant	
Piotr Piotrowicz		
Jan Hannussek		
Albert Lagowski and his wife Anna Koczowna		
Szymon Dudek	tailor	Grodzka
Stanisław	smith	Grodzka
Paweł Bochnia	smith	Grodzka
Feliks Jodlowski		Grodzka
Michał Ziętek	butcher	Grodzka
Albert Nowak	butcher	Grodzka
Anna widow of Maciej Zaiącz		Grodzka
Sebastian	sword maker	Grodzka
Albert Lieszny	harness maker	Grodzka
Jan Mathiassek that is Lepiczki		Grodzka
Andrzej Nowak		Grodzka
Albert Schepiolo	town counsellor	Grodzka
Jadwiga widow of Marcini Rossocha		
Maciej Kossarzowicz	cloth merchant	Św. Ducha
Błażej Axamit		Św. Ducha
Franciszek Trawinski		Św. Ducha
Katarzyna, daughter of the late furrier Wawrzyniec and her husband Wawrzyniec Jarzębinski		
Stanisław Florianowicz and his wife Jadwiga Mądrząka		
Szymon Simonowicz		
Mikołaj that is Skrzypek	seller	
Tomasz	furrier	
Paweł Panek		
Katarzyna Szienna widow of Jakub Florianowicz and her second husband Jan Gorliczki		
Wawrzyniec Harcz	shoemaker	Węgierska
Sebastian Bratus		Węgierska
Szymon Czignar that is Kolba		Węgierska
Jakub Jureczki	furrier	Węgierska
Erazm Harcz and his wife Małgorzata Zaiączowna		Węgierska
Jakub Jureczki		Węgierska
Jakub Kurzawa		Węgierska

<b>Name, surname (nickname)</b>	<b>Occupation, function</b>	<b>Street</b>
Stanisław Zgoda	carpenter, town counsellor	Węgierska
Krzysztof	shoemaker	Węgierska
Aleksy	furrier	Węgierska
Walenty	tailor	Węgierska
Józef	harness maker	Węgierska
Adam Bedliński that is Foltinowic	tailor	Węgierska
Paweł Maizenastek	shoemaker	Węgierska
Jakub Buiak	shoemaker	Kościelna
Hieronim Libussa	furrier	Węgierska
Sebastian Barian	apothecary	
Tomasz Dimalka	cooper	Węgierska
Jan Smithowski	tailor	Kościelna
Marcin	locksmith	Kościelna
Stanisław Wolski		Kościelna
Franciszek Rączowicz	smith	Węgierska
Jerzy Chodor		Węgierska
Mikołaj Kothiss	mason	Węgierska
Szymon Hybnar	furrier	
Maksymilla Lesczowa		
Andrzej Clara	potter	

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.6.2.8 BIELSK PODLASKI

*Michał Sierba*

Bielsk Podlaski<sup>1</sup> acted as the capital for the surrounding Bielsk land – one of the three lands that formed the Podlasie Voivodeship after the year 1566. In the sixteenth century, Bielsk, and the six municipal villages surrounding it constituted the biggest town in the Voivodeship.

The plan of Bielsk presented in this volume is of a mostly hypothetical nature – this is due to the absence of comprehensive data in both literary and cartographic sources, which has made accurately recreating the town's street network as well as the types and appearance of the buildings in the time frame of the sixteenth century well nigh impossible. This is particularly true concerning terrain that fell into the private ownership of the so-called *jurydyka*: land privately owned yet comprising a part of a larger municipal unit. The current plan in no way pretends to constitute an exact representation of Bielsk, for such still requires critical reflection particularly given the state of research, newly discovered sources and their ambiguous entries, which all make for a host of possible interpretations. The majority of town plans presented in the AHP depict them as they were circa the year 1600. In the case of Bielsk reconstructing the town plan in accordance with this time period is far more difficult, if at all possible. Due to these factors the town plan was created to depict the municipal space as it appeared in the year 1563. These particular time constraints were influenced by two factors, the first being the availability of sources. The only inventory-related (registries of the VoloK Reform) sources that could be utilized in potential municipal space reconstructions date back to the 1560–1563.<sup>2</sup> The second reason was another series of fires that broke out in the 1570s as well as in the year 1591, destroying a further portion of the town's buildings.<sup>3</sup>

The first known plan depicting the town's layout dates back to the year 1781. This was the fruit of the undertakings of the *boni ordinis* board, whose role was to reform and improve existing laws, privileges as well as the general appearance of Bielsk. This document survived, reaching modern times in the form of a copy made during the inter-war period.<sup>4</sup> Von Stein's map titled *The New-Eastern Provinces of Prussia*<sup>5</sup> has also proved to be helpful, as well as a map of the Bielsk district from the year 1839,<sup>6</sup> and a Bielsk municipal plan from the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The main basis for developing an accurate urban overview was a detailed plan of Bielsk from 1834, which originated from National Historical Archives of Belarus in Grodno.<sup>8</sup> This was supplemented by a more general

<sup>1</sup> In further references the shorter form *Bielsk* shall be used.

<sup>2</sup> BUWil, catalogue no. F5-A41-7932; KWid, catalogue no. 2816, ff. 19–23v; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506 (manuscript without homogeneous pagination).

<sup>3</sup> MK, vol. 112, ff. 166-166v; Podlasie I, p. 143; G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*, Białystok 1995, p. 21; *Zbiór dziejopisów polskich w czterech tomach zawartych*, vol. 1: *Kronika Marcina Bielskiego niegdyś w Krakowie drukowana, teraz znowu doprowadzeniem aż do Augusta III przedrukowana*, publ. F. Bohomolec, Warsaw 1764, p. 561.

<sup>4</sup> The author is not acquainted with the original of this copy; having made use merely of the photocopy that is to be found in the Bielsk branch of the Podlasie Museum, and which is on the fourth page of the cover of the work: *Bielsk Podlaski. Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta*, ed. Z. Romaniuk, Bielsk Podlaski 1999.

<sup>5</sup> For more on the subject of this map see T. Panecki, *Cartographic sources* in this edition: II.2.8.

<sup>6</sup> Warsaw University Library, Cartography Department, catalogue no. 4242. *Karta jeograficzna Białostockiego obwodu powiatu bielskiego 1839 r.*

<sup>7</sup> The map was published [in:] J. Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, intro. B. Białokozowicz, Studziwody 2007, p. 135.

<sup>8</sup> NGAB Grodno, f. 126, 1, 105 (for making this scan available, as well as other plans of Bielsk from the 1830s I am most grateful to Mr. Wojciech Konończuk). The plan contains detailed information on the spatial planning of the town – the

plan of Bielsk from 1830,<sup>9</sup> and the terrain plans of five communal pasture grounds that all date back to the same year.<sup>10</sup>

Up to the present day preserved is a recently discovered register of the Voloč Reforms of 1563 conducted by Andrzej Dybowski.<sup>11</sup> Hitherto research had been based first and foremost on a fragmentary eighteenth-century copy of the register. This contains chiefly information on Catholic Church and Orthodox Church properties and real estate. Only a portion of the streets are mentioned by name. It is also important to note that the copy was created seemingly at random, with visible and sudden jumps to various parts of the town as well as numerous omissions of other areas.<sup>12</sup> Appropriate supplementation of this source was found in an nineteenth-century abridged list that encompasses an incomplete record of streets and places of worship located within the town boundaries. This source is related to the first, though not entirely successful reform conducted by Stanisław Dziewiałtowski Skoczek.<sup>13</sup> Inspections from the years 1576, 1602 and 1664 do not provide much information that could be considered relevant in any process of spatial reconstruction for the Bielsk municipal area.<sup>14</sup> Examples of detailed inventory records first date back to as late as 1772<sup>15</sup> and 1779.<sup>16</sup> While any surviving municipal ledgers only account for the second half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century onwards.<sup>17</sup>

Due to the absence of sixteenth century cartographic sources and the fragmented nature of the existing inventory ones, retrogressive and comparison-based methods were implemented when reconstructing the layout of Bielsk. Inventory sources from the eighteenth century were correlated with existing mentions of the Voloč Reform conducted in the area, with the overarching similarities and disparities selected and used as the basis upon which changes to the municipal layout could be simulated. This data was supplemented by information gathered from other sources, such as records of granted privileges, verification procedures, legal acts, chronicles, records of Church visitations, excavations and records of archeological digs and research. All the gathered data was then marked on the aforementioned maps and plans of the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, as well as the contemporary map of the town. The work was based on the earlier mentioned plan from 1834, which was transformed with the aid of the gathered resources. During every stage of the proceedings the outcomes were compared to other existing attempts at reconstructing Bielsk's layout. The first to undertake such a project was Stanisław Herbst, whose work was not free of errors and inaccuracies.<sup>18</sup> The next was Anna Czapska, who also made some fundamental mistakes.<sup>19</sup> This topic also appears in the monograph on Bielsk by Henryk Kosieradzki.<sup>20</sup> The most extensive writings on the topic can be found in the work of Jerzy Zieleniewski, who supplemented his findings with very informative and valuable plans that depict Bielsk itself, as well as its suburbs and surrounding areas

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localisation of all public utility buildings, residential houses and certain economic objects, the names of streets and their course, and a description of the specific town boundaries. Visible is also a noticeable part of the hydrographic network as equally the positioning of various bridges. The plan was drawn up on a scale of 1:6,800 (I would like to thank Dr T. Panecki for his assistance here). For more on the subject of the plan see: W. Konończuk, *Nieznany plan Bielska z 1834 r. Z dziejów kształtowania się układu przestrzennego miasta*, "Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego", vol. 26, 2020, pp. 87–113.

<sup>9</sup> Russian State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg, f. 1293, 166, 10.

<sup>10</sup> This plan is located under the self same catalogue number as the Bielsk plan of 1834. NGAB Grodno, f. 126, 1, 105.

<sup>11</sup> MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506, I would like to thank Dr. T. Jaszczołt for information as to this source.

<sup>12</sup> KWiD, catalogue no. 2816, ff. 19–23v.

<sup>13</sup> BUWil., catalogue no. F5-A41-7932.

<sup>14</sup> MK, XVIII, 64, pp. 564–580; *LWP 1570, 1576*, pp. 29–31; *LWP 1602*, pp. 63–66.

<sup>15</sup> BUWil., F4 (A1661).

<sup>16</sup> *Описание Рукописного Отдѣленія Виленской Публичной Библиотеки*, vol. 4, Wilno 1903, pp. 57–112.

<sup>17</sup> AGAD, Bielsk municipal ledgers, catalogue nos. 1–3; NGAB, Grodno, f. 877-2-1-2.

<sup>18</sup> S. Herbst, *Bielsk Podlaski*, [in:] *Studia z historii budowy miast*, "Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury", vol. 6, 1957, 2/17, pp. 39–47. A critique of this article has been conducted by J. Zieleniewski. Idem, *Powstanie i rozwój układu przestrzennego Bielska Podlaskiego w XIV–XVIII w.*, "Studia Podlaskie", vol. 1, 1990, p. 51; idem, *Bielsk Podlaski – topografia historyczna w XII–XVIII w.*, an MA thesis written under the academic supervision of Prof. Stanisław Alexandrowicz, Białystok 1980–1981, TS, pp. 3–5.

<sup>19</sup> A. Czapska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabytki architektoniczne Bielska Podlaskiego*, "Białostoczczyzna", 1990, no. 4, pp. 1–4; idem, *Zasady sytuowania założeń barokowych w miasteczkach podlaskich od połowy wieku XVII po wiek XVIII*, "Rocznik Białostocki", vol. 9, 1970, pp. 35–145. A critique of these articles has been conducted by J. Zieleniewski. Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, pp. 51–52; idem, *Bielsk Podlaski – topografia historyczna*, pp. 5–6.

<sup>20</sup> H. Kosieradzki, *Bielsk Podlaski. Dzieje miasta*, Bielsk Podlaski 1987, pp. 36–47.

in the year 1563 and during the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>21</sup> These plans did, however, require some level of verification and supplementation in order to make them complete. In the works of this author the introduction of street names into the sixteenth-century topography can be observed, even though some of these place names appeared only in historically later sources. The newest attempt at describing the spatial expanse of the town (without jotting them down in the form of a plan) was contained in a topical source work compiled by Waldemar Bukowski and Dorota Michaluk.<sup>22</sup>

Bielsk and its surrounding villages are located on the Bielsk Plain. The topography of the area is fairly flat. The area constitutes a gently undulating ground moraine. The elevation levels in the boundaries of modern-day Bielsk fluctuate between altitudes of 135 and 155 m AMSL. The lowest-lying areas are found in the valley located between the Biała and Lubka Rivers. The highest spot is located in the area of the main square and principal church. In areas surrounding the nearby streams and rivers there existed a boggy section of terrain which was not settled. This was divided up into meadows, gardens or fallow lands, and sometimes the occasional tannery, which needed large quantities of water when processing their leather products. The plan clearly reveals the lack of residential building in that area, especially on the western shore of the Biała River. This was also true for the area surrounding the Lubka River. Bielsk between the middle of the sixteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century saw little to no territorial expansion – a phenomenon noticeable on nineteenth-century town plans. It was only to evolve and expand in later years – and here mainly in a southern and northern direction.

Bielsk's hydrographic network is comprised of several watercourses. The Biała River, being the left tributary of the Orłanka River, which constitutes the left tributary of the Narew, played a major role. This was not a large waterway, and definitely could not be used to transport goods. The plan depicts its course, which was reconstructed based on the main trajectory taken from nineteenth-century maps and plans, hypothesizing on the basis of old river beds located in the area (visible on the 1834 plan). The Lubka River, once originating to the southwest of the town, acts as a tributary to the Biała. It flowed through its southern outskirts, turning in a northeastern direction in the area once occupied by a gord. Another tributary of the Biała River was a brook called the Seret, whose course began to the west of the town, subsequently to flow through forest, through which it cut the road to Brańsk, only later to emerge at the level of the eighteenth-century Poświęcińska Street (known today as Poświętna Street) and carried on in an eastward direction, crossing the trajectory of Kondratowska, Litewska and Hrycowska Streets. Here its course is presented according to the Bielsk plan of 1830.<sup>23</sup> The Seret subsequently flows into the pool that is reached by Stare Miasto Street. Beneath the Seret there flowed another stream,<sup>24</sup> which combined in this pool and together created a stream that enters into the River Biała. On the eastern bank of the Biała River two additional streams, acting as its tributaries could be found. One crossed Dubicka Street at its northern section, the other flowing across the street's southern stretch. The Bielsk area also featured pools and ponds of various sizes but pinpointing their exact location and number based on surviving sources is simply not possible. Nineteenth-century maps illustrate four sizeable pools located to the north of the parish church. These bodies of water are also mentioned in the subject literature relevant to the topic.<sup>25</sup> Records of official visits to the Bielsk church elaborate that the digging of some of them was commissioned in the second half of the eighteenth-century.<sup>26</sup> It is also possible that a pool or multiple ponds existed in the area occupied by the old gord, as they

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<sup>21</sup> Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, pp. 47–70; idem, *Średniowieczny zespół osadniczo-obronny w Bielsku Podlaskim. Siedziba namiestników bielskich w panoramie miasta z pierwszej połowy XVI w.*, [in:] *Europa Orientalis. Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi od średniowiecza po współczesność. Studia i materiały ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Alexandrowiczowi w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z. Karpus, T. Kempa, D. Michaluk, Toruń 1996, pp. 115–125; idem, *Bielsk Podlaski – topografia historyczna*.

<sup>22</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 15–34.

<sup>23</sup> One can observe on the plan from the inter-war period a different course taken, something that obviously does not mean that this is how it appeared originally; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/240, sheet 5. This stream is marked as: channel 'M', I am most grateful to the former director of MPwB Mr. A. Lechowski and the former head of the Bielsk Podlaski branch Ms. A. Dębowska for allowing access.

<sup>24</sup> This is equally visible on the interwar plan. It was there marked as: central channel 'P'; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/240, sheet 5.

<sup>25</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> Archiwum Archidiecezji Białostockiej, *Kopia wizyty dekanalnej w kościele bielskim z 1804 r.* [without catalogue number].

are all mentioned in an inventory registry of 1779.<sup>27</sup> However, their existence in the sixteenth century cannot be confirmed, which is why they have not been included on the plan. Royal pools existed in the environs of Dubicka Street and the road leading to Stanisławowo; however we do not know their precise location, hence they have not been included in the plan.<sup>28</sup> The existence of others that feature on nineteenth century maps is even more doubtful, which is why they also have been omitted from our visual representation of Bielsk.

The Bielsk settlement was formed and developed initially on the marshy terrain located by the Biała and Lubka Rivers, reaching out on the northern side all the way to where the main square is today located. Archeologists claim that the beginnings of Bielsk are tied to a settlement that existed in the tenth century around the area of today's Zamkowa Street.<sup>29</sup> Not far from the settlement a gord was constructed, located by the Lubka River. It was probably erected by Ruthenian princes in the period of the twelfth–thirteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The first mention of the town of Bielsk appears in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle<sup>31</sup> in the year 1252. According to archeological findings, the Bielsk gord was actively used for only quite a relatively short period of time, because not too long after its creation it burnt down in a fire.<sup>32</sup> To the north of the gord an outer bailey was formed. To the east of the gord, on both sides of present-day Zamkowa Street (which is omitted from the plan) there was a settlement which functioned during the medieval era. It lost its status when a castle was erected in a different location, and when the area was declared an vogtship in 1430.<sup>33</sup> Further settlements developed in a northern direction, following the course of the Vilnius Road (in the sixteenth century known as Wielka Street and Litewska) and the later developed street of Stare Miasto Street (present-day Jagiellońska Street). Over time many new settlements formed in these areas, and would later become various districts of Bielsk itself.<sup>34</sup>

Researchers into Bielsk's history propose that after Bielsk was occupied by the Lithuanians in the mid-fourteenth century all the functions performed by the gord were taken over by the wooden castle herein erected.<sup>35</sup> This was due to the constant threat posed by the Teutonic Order.<sup>36</sup> Initially it was believed that the castle was erected on the site of the old gord, nowadays falsely named *Góra Zamkowa* (Castle Hill).<sup>37</sup> This theory has been disproven by archeological findings.<sup>38</sup> Jerzy Zieleniewski ventured forth a hypothesis that the Lithuanian castle was located between the streets visible on the plan: Żalubecka, Zamkowa and an unnamed street (present-day G. Narutowicza Street, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Podzamecka Street).<sup>39</sup> This theory has neither been confirmed, nor disproven

<sup>27</sup> *Описание Руконсаго*, vol. 4, p. 77.

<sup>28</sup> MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506.

<sup>29</sup> Many artefacts reaching back chronologically from the tenth to the thirteenth century have been found there. *Informator archeologiczny. Badania. Rok 1976*, Warsaw 1977, p. 175; J. Maciejczuk, *Sprawozdanie z badań i nadzorów archeologicznych w Bielsku Podlaskim na ulicy Zamkowej 26 VI-15 IX 1997*, WUOZwB, TS; K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne Bielska Podlaskiego na tle historiografii*, "Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne", 2004, no. 21, pp. 135–136. In the sixteenth century more than likely no street existed there at all. It is only in a document of 1610 that streets without names start to be mentioned. This document set the *Nowa Osada Podzamecka* along its length. MK, XVIII, 64, pp. 569–570.

<sup>30</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Osadnictwo wschodniej Białostoczczyzny, geneza, rozwój oraz zróżnicowanie i przemiany etniczne*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica", vol. 11, 1977, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów)*, publ. intro. and footnotes by D. Dąbrowska, A. Jusupowicz, [in:] *Pomniki Dziejowe Polski*, series II, vol. 16, Cracow-Warsaw 2017, pp. 328–329.

<sup>32</sup> W. Szymański, *Komunikat o wynikach sondażowych badań grodzisk w Bielsku Podlaskim i we Wnorach-Wypychach*, "Rocznik Białostocki", vol. 13, 1976, p. 502.

<sup>33</sup> K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne*, pp. 135–138.

<sup>34</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup> We learn that the castle was wooden from, among others, the account of Aleksander Gwagnin: 'The castle was wooden, but burnt down'; idem, *Z kroniki Sarmacji europejskiej. Opisanie Polski, W. Ks. Litewskiego, Ziemi ruskiej, Ziemi pruskiej, Ziemi inflandzkiej, Ziemi żmudzkiej*, publ. K.T. Turowski, Cracow 1860, p. 25.

<sup>36</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> This thesis was advanced by the nineteenth-century researchers J. Jaroszewicz and F. Pokrowski. Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 103; Ф.В. Покровский, *Археологическая карта Гробненской губернии, Вильна 1896*. Repeated in later subject literature.

<sup>38</sup> W. Szymański, *Komunikat o wynikach sondażowych badań*, p. 502.

<sup>39</sup> J. Zieleniewski to confirm his hypothesis has advanced several fundamental arguments. The register of the Vokok Reforms recalled that Wielka Street ran from the town market square to the castle. This ended at the junction with Zamkowa Street, while the extension of Wielka Street was Żalubecka Street. Together with the unnamed street (present-day G. Narutowicza

by archeological research something that makes for an exact recreation of the built-up area difficult.<sup>40</sup> Given the premises adopted by the AHP series whereby only confirmed elements may be marked, this castle is not located on the plan herein presented. In the sixteenth century, due to political changes, such as the Polish-Lithuanian Union, the eradication of the Teutonic threat, and the assimilation of Mazovia into the Polish Crown, the castle's function changed. It stopped serving a defensive purpose, instead becoming the headquarters of local authorities and often housed monarchs.<sup>41</sup> There are no surviving accounts as to what the castle looked like, the only thing known is the fact that it was comprised of two parts- an upper and lower castle. It ceased to exist on the 22 July 1564, when 'a lightning bolt struck down the upper castle with a flame so potent, that in two hours not just the upper, but the lower section were reduced to mere ash; a terrible flame which the king [Sigismund August – M.S.] could only helplessly survey from the safety of the stables, mounted upon his steed.'<sup>42</sup> It should be added that, with the exception of the castle, Bielsk was in no other way fortified.

Bielsk gained municipal rights in a staggered and gradual manner.<sup>43</sup> The first stage being the bestowing of a hereditary vogtship on a certain Andrzej on the 2 January 1430 by the grand duke of Lithuania, Witold. This privilege meant that the only groups allowed to settle in Bielsk were Catholic Poles and Germans, although no harm was to be done to the Ruthenians native to this region.<sup>44</sup> This document introduced two legislative orders into Bielsk. Due to these circumstances a new settlement by the name *Miasto Lackie* (Polish Town) was formed in the northern part of Bielsk. This municipal area was populated by both Polish and German inhabitants, and functioned under German Law. The Ruthenian district was located in a part of Bielsk known as *Stare Miasto* (Old Town), and operated under Ruthenian Law. This area in the sixteenth century covered the Stare Miasto Street,<sup>45</sup> the area surrounding the gord as well as the settlements Podzamecka and Kłopoty,<sup>46</sup> the latter of which was located to the north of the subsequently erected parish church, continuing along the sixteenth-century Kłopotowska Street, reaching up to Zarynek Street (at present a part of 11 Listopada Street). These two settlements were created to guarantee a stable agricultural and service base; one that could provide for the Bielsk castle.<sup>47</sup>

In the November of 1495 the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Aleksander Jagiellończyk granted Bielsk Magdeburg rights, an act of legislation which applied to all ethnic groups living within the municipal bounds. During different periods many municipal villages were to be formed: Augustowo,

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Street) they created a spindle-shaped square on which the castle was to stand. Here was also to have run the routes leading to Brześć Litewski, Brańsk, Grodno and Suraz. According to Zieleniewski, a market square was to have been situated on the opposition side to the junction of these roads, one that was later to be abandoned and turned into settlement. In the 1980s J. Zieleniewski conducted 'geotechnical work by means of drilling', which was to have confirmed the existence of the castle in the discussed place; idem *Bielsk Podlaski – topografia historyczna*, p. 10; idem, *Średniowieczny zespół osadniczo-obronny w Bielsku Podlaskim*, pp. 117–119, 124–125. The employment of this method and the conclusions drawn by someone who is not an archaeologist raises doubts as to the appropriate interpretation of the final results, ones that could have been willingly subject to the earlier formulated hypothesis as to the location of the castle. Nevertheless this does not alter the fact that in the light of the register of Vokok Reform for 1563 such a localisation is indeed highly probable; see MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506.

<sup>40</sup> K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne Bielska*, pp. 137–138; K. Rusin, *Sprawozdanie z nadzoru archeologiczno-konserwatorskiego nad pracami ziemnymi związanymi z budową kanalizacji sanitarnej i deszczowej na ul. Narutowicza i Kazanowskiego w Bielsku Podlaskim w 1996 r.*, WUOZwB, TS, pp. 2–7.

<sup>41</sup> The residence of rulers in Bielsk is confirmed by their published itinerary. See M. Sierba, *Roads* in this volume, footnote 16.

<sup>42</sup> *Zbiór dziejopisów polskich*, vol. 1, p. 561. This information is not accurate for on the 10 July the king left Bielsk and headed for Parczew. Bukowski, Michaluk, Przywileje, p. 18.

<sup>43</sup> Bielsk already prior to the obtainment of Magdesburg rights was in relation to its economic structure municipal in character. Despite this, and here like so many similar settlements in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, up until the moment of gaining municipal rights it was subject to ducal law.

<sup>44</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 67–69.

<sup>45</sup> Archaeological research has shown that this part of Bielsk was inhabited at least from the fifteenth century. In the southern part of the Old Town have also been found the oldest archaeological remains. Z. Misiuk, *Badania archeologiczne w Bielsku Podlaskim na ul. Poniatowskiego 14 przeprowadzone we wrześniu 2003 r.*, "Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne", 2005, no. 23, p. 169.

<sup>46</sup> According to archaeological research the area of the settlement at Kłopoty was inhabited from at least the second half of the fourteenth century. L. Pawlata, *Badania archeologiczne na starym mieście w Bielsku Podlaskim na tle wyników dotychczasowych badań*, "Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego", 2015, no. 21, p. 271.

<sup>47</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 18.

Stryki (Młodzianowo or Stryki interchangeably in the sixteenth century), Szastały (in the sixteenth century Koszczyno or Szastały), Widowo (in the sixteenth century known as Stanisławowo, in the seventeenth century Widowo or equally Stanisławowo),<sup>48</sup> Parcewo (Piotrowo in the sixteenth century) and Spiczki.<sup>49</sup> The municipal laws also extended to a leather tanning settlement located on the other bank of the Biała River, known as Dubicze.<sup>50</sup> The so-called *people of Kolyenka* or *Kolyenkowicze*<sup>51</sup> also fell under this legislature. This group was most likely comprised of individuals of Ruthenian provenance, falling somewhere between the peasantry and the gentry in their social ranking. Their place of origin is unknown, but during the Voloč Reform they were most likely instructed to move to the area known as *na Kolence*, which is located at the very top of the plan, straddling the Wilno Road.<sup>52</sup> Only the so-called *Podzamecka* settlement was not covered by the document, which was transformed into an area of starosts *jurydyka* with its own vogt.<sup>53</sup> Aleksander Jagiellończyk approved in this document the freedom of access for the local townsfolk to the surrounding forests, in an area 'reaching out in the direction of Grodno, all the way to the banks of the Narew River, stretching out towards Brześć Litewski up to the river named Dobra Woda,<sup>54</sup> and in another direction reaching the village of Burycze.<sup>55</sup> This municipal ring of influence stretched from the village of Koszele located in the southeast, to the Krzywa<sup>56</sup> Brook in the east and the *Wierhuszewka* Stream, in 1501 known as the *Wojtuszkówka*.<sup>57</sup> From the northwestern, western and northern sides the municipal boundaries were marked by the following villages: Niewino Stare (Niwinowo in the sixteenth century), Malinowo (Malinowo-Żółtki in the sixteenth century), Łubin Kościelny (Łubino in the sixteenth century), Pietrzykowo-Wyszki, Bańki and Hryniewiczze.<sup>58</sup> Between 1499 and 1501 Aleksander Jagiellończyk consolidated, legitimised and expanded the municipal rights of Bielsk.<sup>59</sup>

A major factor that influenced the shape of urban development both before and after the Voloč Reform was the funding and location of places of worship in Bielsk. All places of worship that existed

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<sup>48</sup> In subsequent parts of the commentary the form Stanisławowo will be used and not Widowo, to enable consistency with the plan to be maintained. In Stanisławowo was situated a demesne that constituted an income for the Bielsk vogt. In the inspection of 1576 mention is made of six vogt voloks. *LWP 1570, 1576*, p. 31. Prior to 1614 this was the property of Maciej Szepliński, from whom it was bought in 1614 by Jan Lubmajer. From then onwards the land was to go under the name Lubmajerowizna. E. Bończak-Kucharczyk, J. Maroszek, *Widowo*, <http://www.ogrodowy.minigo.pl/index.php/article/show/id/235> [accessed: 27 11 2019].

<sup>49</sup> All the Bielsk municipal villages are to be found on the main map. They do not appear on the plan as a result of their distribution at distance and in various directions from Bielsk. This would have required a change in scale resulting in the town plan itself being difficult to interpret. See M. Gochna, *Character of settlements* in this volume.

<sup>50</sup> Bukowski, Michałuk, *Przywileje*, p. 23. Researchers into the history of Bielsk also mention the tanning community Zastawie, which was to have been situated in the southern part of the present-day Dubicze Street. Archive research has not revealed a settlement of that name in the sixteenth century and consequently it has not been marked on the annotated plan. J. Zieleniewski was the first to write about the existence of a settlement of such a name, but he did not include its location on the plan of the town he devised for 1563. He did mark on this plan though Zastawiecka Street. The settlement at Zastawie itself only occurs on his plan of Bielsk of the eighteenth century. J. Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój*, p. 64; plan [1] *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w 1563 r.*; plan [2] *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w XVIII wieku* after p. 328. Around the year 1563 a street of such a name did not exist. This was the southern part of the present-day street Dubicze Street, which in the register of Voloč Reforms of 1563 is not named. J. Zieleniewski presumably drew his information from the inventory of 1779; *Opisanie Рукоснаго*, vol. 4, pp. 78–81. The inventory of 1772 makes no mention of this street or settlement. BUWil., catalogue no. F4-A1661. On the town plan of 1834 there is also no Zastawiecka – only Dubicka Street. NGAB, Grodno, f. 126-1-105. J. Jaroszewicz mentions this street in his description of the town of 1845. Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 134.

<sup>51</sup> Bukowski, Michałuk, *Przywileje*, pp. 73–76.

<sup>52</sup> Idem, pp. 23-24. See Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój*, pp. 64–65; plan *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w 1563 roku*.

<sup>53</sup> Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, p. 69; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 147.

<sup>54</sup> This was the right-bank tributary of the Nurzec at the village of Dobrowoda to the east of Kleszczele. Bukowski, Michałuk, *Przywileje*, p. 74.

<sup>55</sup> A non-existent village, whose land was combined during the Voloč Reform with the village of Kleniki, subsequently Zyguntowa – at present the village of Klejniki. D. Michałuk, *Z dziejów Narwi i okolic. W 480 rocznicę nadania prawa chełmińskiego 1514-1994*, Białystok-Narew 1996, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> According to Z. Romaniuk this was an earlier name for the River Orlanka. *Przywileje wielkoksiążęce i królewskie dotyczące Bielska Podlaskiego z lat 1430-1512*, ed. Z. Romaniuk, [in:] *Bielsk Podlaski. Studia i materiały*, p. 260. J. Zieleniewski considers the village of Krzywa to be located on the right bank of this brook. Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, p. 52.

<sup>57</sup> Bukowski, Michałuk, *Przywileje*, pp. 73–76, 88. According to Z. Romaniuk today this is a ditch to the south of the village of Kotły. Idem, *Bielsk w latach 1366–1513 (na tle dziejów regionu)*, [in:] *Bielsk Podlaski. Studia i materiały*, p. 24.

<sup>58</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Osadnictwo wschodniej Białostocczyzny*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>59</sup> Bukowski, Michałuk, *Przywileje*, pp. 79–88.

in the sixteenth century have been marked on the plan. The first Orthodox church was most likely erected within the perimeter of the gord and was later relocated to Bielsk castle. This place of worship is associated with the Orthodox church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was most likely relocated in 1562 from the castle to the Old Town, where an Orthodox church bearing the same name exists to this day.<sup>60</sup> Next to the temple there was most likely also a graveyard.<sup>61</sup>

Before the year 1527 an Orthodox monastery and church complex were created on Zamkowa Street (the present-day intersection of the Zamkowa and J. Poniatowskiego Streets).<sup>62</sup> The monastery grounds encompassed a graveyard and its remains have been found in a lane of present-day J. Poniatowskiego Street as well as in the area to the north as equally the south of this street.<sup>63</sup>

The most important site of Orthodox worship in the town was the church of St. Michael, which was later given the designation The Transfiguration. The first verifiable mention of its existence comes from the year 1560 when it was granted two voloks of land in Stryki.<sup>64</sup> It was placed in the southern part of Wielka Street on the east-facing frontage. Its origins, however, were most probably before the year 1560, during the process of the actual municipal organization of this part of the town. It is also known that in the second half of the sixteenth century it functioned as a cathedral church and was the principal Orthodox church in town. Adjacent to the church existed a hospital which in the 1580s was additionally granted 4 voloks of land in the starostvillage of Gredele (Hredele in the sixteenth century).<sup>65</sup>

The Holy Trinity Orthodox church appears for the first time in documents in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was located immediately on the intersection of Litewska Street and *Droga do Młynów*, referred to as *Wypustowa* in the eighteenth century (present-day Widowska Street). It was separated from the aforementioned crossroads by a single lot. Confirmed has been its existence in the 1560s.

The last Orthodox church, the church of the Resurrection was to have been relocated to Bielsk from its original placement in the village of Lewki. It was placed on a triangular square, located at the junction of the sixteenth-century streets Dubicka and Łoknicka Streets on the right bank of the Biała River. During the VoloK Reform the church was most likely moved to its present-day location the crossroads of the sixteenth-century streets: Brzeska and Orłańska.<sup>66</sup>

Catholic places of worship also had an important influence on the shape and direction of urban development. The parish was presumably founded at the latest in 1430 in order to fulfill the spiritual needs of Catholic settlers.<sup>67</sup> The first existing source information regarding the parishes of the Nativity

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<sup>60</sup> Idem, pp. 18, 20. (see there also the subject literature and discussion on the subject of the transfer of the Orthodox church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary).

<sup>61</sup> WUOZwB, catalogue no. 310/A, M. Sobczak, *Sprawozdanie wstępne z badań wykopaliskowych w Bielsku Podlaskim. Działki 2993 i 3031/6 przy ul. Kopernika, lipiec 2004*, TS; WUOZwB, b. catalogue no., D. Krasnodębski, J. Mizerka, *Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych-nadzorów przeprowadzonych w Bielsku Podlaskim na działce 3004/1 (ul. Poniatowskiego)*, TS.

<sup>62</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 103. G. Sosna and D. Fionik are of the view that the Orthodox church of St. Nicholas could have existed before the year 1430, for later a monastic order was founded there. Idem, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*, p. 97. However, this hypothesis does not find its confirmation in the sources. The monastery and Orthodox church that belonged to it no longer exist – the church burnt down in 1941. At the junction of the present-day of Zamkowa and Poniatowskiego Streets a chapel-shrine has been placed. A secondary school is housed in what remains of the monastery property. *ibidem*, pp. 115–117.

<sup>63</sup> WUOZwB, b. catalogue no., D. Krasnodębski, J. Mizerka, *Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych-nadzorów przeprowadzonych w Bielsku Podlaskim na działce 3004/1 (ul. Poniatowskiego)*, TS; Z. Misiuk, *Badania archeologiczne w Bielsku*, pp. 163–167.

<sup>64</sup> LMAVB, f. 41-394, p. 851.

<sup>65</sup> Idem; KWiD, catalogue no. 2816, ff. 19-23v.; D. Fionik, G. Sosna, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*, pp. 21, 121–122; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 115; Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, p. 102; Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 20.

<sup>66</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 25; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 106. On the Church square next to the junction of Dubicka and Łoknicka Streets was a cemetery. In 1993 during the course of archaeological digs several graves were discovered. MPwB, Dział Archeologii, catalogue no. B/627, *Karta archiwalna stanowiska no. 38 w Bielsku Podlaskim*; K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne Bielska*, p. 140. Following the transfer of the Orthodox church to its present-day location the square was used as a market place for the tanning settlement at Dubicze. Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 25. As an aside is the matter of the adoption of the Union of Brześć by the Bielsk Orthodox churches, something which lies outside the plan's time scope. The current topic is most complex and has already been covered in the relevant subject literature. See: G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Dzieje cerkwi w Bielsku Podlaskim*; J. Maroszek, *Katolicy – unicy w Bielsku Podlaskim w latach 1596–1839*, [in:] *Bielsk Podlaski. Studia i materiały*, pp. 31–82.

<sup>67</sup> Z. Romaniuk is of the view that a church existed more than likely already before 1430 even though this cannot be confirmed in the sources. Z. Romaniuk, *Bielsk w latach 1366–1513*, p. 18.

of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. Nicholas can be traced back to a later date – 1446.<sup>68</sup> The church was placed in the same location as a present-day basilica bearing the same name. The original founding act was lost as early as the fifteenth century. In 1492 the Grand Duke of Lithuania Aleksander issued a special document in which he affirmed the parish's rights and possessions. The funding bequeathed encompassed, amongst other things, two plots within the town. On the first stood a church and adjacent graveyard, and additionally a school and vicar's residence, on the second, a manor presbytery surrounded by gardens.<sup>69</sup> Along with the granting of vogtship privileges in 1430 and the founding of the parish church, a marketplace was created in the vicinity of the church, which later during the Vok Reform was measured and transformed into a town square, with a town hall and stalls in the centre. The eastern frontage of the square was marked out by a street which in the sixteenth century was known as Wielka, and in subsequent years called Szeroka and Rynkowa, and which constituted one of the town's main communication arteries. This route was further extended by a street called Litewska, which further down the line became the Wilno Road.<sup>70</sup> The square became a hub of trade and administration services in Bielsk, which influenced the depreciation in importance of the old castle settlement. It is important to note that the area located to the north of the parish church was under Church ownership and jurisdiction referred to as Poświętne.<sup>71</sup>

On the eastern side of Litewska Street, to the south of the Seret Brook existed property belonging to the hospital and the chapel of St. Martin's.<sup>72</sup> A shelter for the poor was definitely already functioning in 1521.<sup>73</sup> Both the shelter and the chapel were dissolved sometime between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>74</sup> The plan omits another Catholic church, located at the junction of Knyszyńska and Litewska Streets. In 1632 a Carmelite monastery, along with the area falling under its jurisdiction was founded in the same location.

The biggest factor that influenced the spacial layout of Bielsk and its suburbs was the aforementioned Vok Reform. This was conducted according to the 'Vok Act' of 1557.<sup>75</sup> The measuring of the Bielsk estate was to have commenced as early as 1540, when this was in the hands of Queen Bona.<sup>76</sup> The outcomes of which are unknown to this day. During the reign of King Sigismund II August the measurements were taken twice, both within the municipal boundaries proper, as well as the surrounding areas. In 1560 this process was initiated by Stanisław Dziewiałtowski Skoczek. He conducted his work in a manner that did not fully adhere to the Vok Act and the instructions of the Grand Duke, as a result infringing peasant rights.<sup>77</sup> Consequently he was removed from his administrative role. His place was taken by Andrzej Dybowski, who was assisted by Adam Pilchowski.<sup>78</sup> The measurement process finished in 1563.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga Nr. 3 (1440–1498)*, publ. L. Anužytė, A. Baliulis, Vilnius 1998, p. 28.

<sup>69</sup> ZZG, catalogue no. 680, pp. 1–6 Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 22. With time the property was enlarged. See E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii katolickiej Narodzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny i św. Mikołaja w Bielsku Podlaskim, Drohiczyn–Warsaw 2012*, pp. 414–419; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 119.

<sup>70</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 25, 28.

<sup>71</sup> Zieleniewski, *Bielsk Podlaski – topografia historyczna*, p. 13.

<sup>72</sup> J. Zieleniewski has located in the place of the chapel of St. Martin and the hospital the cemetery that was to have belonged to it; while the buildings themselves are on the road *Droga do Młynów*; Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska, plan Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w 1563 roku*. However the entries from the Vok Reform mention nothing about a cemetery but clearly locate the position of the chapel and hospital; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506.

<sup>73</sup> Some researchers connect its foundation with the personage of Sigismund I the Old, however an exact date is unknown. E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii*, pp. 70–71; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 125.

<sup>74</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>75</sup> For more on the subject of the Vok Reform see: Jaroszewicz, *Obraz Litwy pod względem jej cywilizacji od czasów najdawniejszych do końca wieku XVIII*, part 2, *Litwa w pierwszych trzech wiekach po przyjęciu wiary chrześcijańskiej*, Wilno 1844, pp. 229–275; J. Ochmański, *Dawna Litwa. Studia historyczne*, Olsztyn 1986, pp. 158–197.

<sup>76</sup> Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, p. 57.

<sup>77</sup> See: KWiD, catalogue no. 2816, f. 3v; Ł. Górnicki, *Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej*, comp. H. Barycz, Wrocław 2003, pp. 143–145; J. Maroszek, *Katolicy – unicy*, pp. 72–73. In the privilege of 1565 the king also presented his motivation for conducting a new reform: 'Having seen that their [Bielsk burghers – M.S.] municipal lands lying amidst our demesnes and the estate serfs [our] could not be in accordance with their law as a village settled and at peace, then we ordered afresh to change this bad reform'. Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 97.

<sup>78</sup> Kopicjana, 10, pp. 33–37; KWiD, catalogue no. 2816, ff. 3–4; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506; Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 95–97; J. Maroszek, *Katolicy – unicy*, pp. 72–73.

<sup>79</sup> MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506.

It appears that as a result to the aforementioned reform the layout of Bielsk was arranged in accordance with the premise of roads running from south to north. The town's main axis was Wielka and Litewska Streets. Along these streets, or in their near vicinity were to be placed the most important points on the town map, such as the centrally positioned Main Square, the castle located on the southern border of the town, as well as the various religions churches. The plan does not feature a detailed breakdown into individual urban lots, and here simply because the preserved research base do not provide enough insight into the issue. Hypothetical for the sixteenth century is also any demarcation into plot users or non-users of an agricultural, rural, horticultural, pastoral or fallow nature. The buildings were most probably located 'here and there' – a phenomenon most likely influenced by the lay of the land. This can be seen when looking at a plan for the year 1834 and consulting eighteenth-century descriptions of the town. There is a stark absence of regularity. Streets were of varying lengths and intersected each other at different angles, consequently a fixed axis or point of reference was clearly absent.

The VoloK Reform resulted in the measurement and division into voloks of the municipal area itself. Bielsk had virtually no agricultural areas within its boundaries, relying instead on the lands located in the surrounding municipal villages – ones enjoying the status of full-privileged parts of the town. In total 381 voloks in all were counted: 164 in the village of Augustowo, 43 voloks in Stryki, 29 voloks in Szastały, 74 voloks in Stanisławowo, 45 voloks in Parcewo and 16 voloks in Spiczki.<sup>80</sup> The town itself had 121 morgens and 5 rods of land.<sup>81</sup> These reforms changed the layout of the municipal villages, turning them into linear settlements. Additionally, the layout of arable lands was adjusted. After the VoloK Reform was implemented Bielsk became one of the centres in the Podlasie Voivodeship that had the most land at its disposal. The municipal villages were located at a fair distance from the Biała and Orłanka Rivers but this did not mean they were cut off from the water supply. They were reached by streams of various sorts and additionally could boast fish ponds.

The available sources are insufficient for us to appraise the changes that occurred to Bielsk's layout as a result of the VoloK Reform. Jerzy Zieleniewski believes that before the VoloK Reform Wielka Street hosted a substantial marketplace, which extended from the castle in a northward direction. During the reform it was narrowed and turned into a street. The reform also targeted and closed down marketplaces located by the town's churches. The only trading plot to survive was the market used by the settlement at Dubicze in their tannery trade, located where the Orthodox church of the Resurrection had originally stood. In place of many trading plots a sizeable town market square was created, rectangular in shape and located to the east of the parish church.<sup>82</sup> This square has survived and still exists to this day. The eastern side of the square corresponds to the course of Wielka Street. In 1563 here stood the town hall and stalls.<sup>83</sup> Presumably also here was situated the town scales.

It is also likely that, as a result of the VoloK Reform, plots of land had been measured and were divided anew, which would have helped regulate and systemize the layout of real estate located within the town boundaries, however the irregular forms of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings cast doubt upon this theory. During the reform all agricultural buildings located in the vicinity of the castle were pulled down and relocated to the Hołowiesk demesne that was located not far from Bielsk in a southeastern direction. The starost's castle residence remained in place until it too was relocated to Hołowiesk following the 1564 fire. Here a Renaissance-style palace and garden complex was created, complete with an adjacent agricultural section, this located to the south of it.<sup>84</sup> How long the palace

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<sup>80</sup> This figure does not include the 10 voloks of Bielsk Orthodox church property at Stryki; Kopicjana, 10, pp. 33–37; J. Maroszek, *Katolicy – unici*, pp. 72–73. In 1565 Sigismund August confirmed the expanse of Bielsk land by 359 voloks. Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 95–97. This figure did not take into consideration voloks free of duties.

<sup>81</sup> MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. According to later inspections the town possessed 106 morgens and 7 rods of property and 12 morgens of land located beyond municipal fields that was taken into cultivation. *LWP 1570, 1576*, pp. 29–31; *LWP 1602*, pp. 63–66.

<sup>82</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 25; *Opisanie Rukopnago*, vol. 4, p. 61; Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, pp. 62, 64–65, 69–70.

<sup>83</sup> MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. E. Narolska, J. Jaroszewicz and H. Kosieradzki are of the view that a wooden town hall could have been in existence in Bielsk in the fifteenth century though they do not quote any source references; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 129; H. Kosieradzki, *Bielsk Podlaski*, p. 72; E. Narolska, *Ratusz w Bielsku Podlaskim – dzieje, przeobrażenia i konserwacja*, "Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Białostockiego", 1997, no. 3, pp. 98–99.

<sup>84</sup> According to Zieleniewski then also was to be eradicated the royal stables at Zarynek (present-day 11 Listopada Street). Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, pp. 64, 69–70. However, there is no certainty as to when this happened,

stables, located opposite the St. Nicholas monastery complex and mentioned in the Voloč Reform register, existed is unknown.<sup>85</sup>

Records of municipal privileges granted at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries mention a couple buildings which were presumably erected in Bielsk at that time: the vogtship baths, municipal public baths, shambles, vogtship taverns, waxmaker's shops and fabric finishing workshops.<sup>86</sup> Sources from the end of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century also mention that Bielsk had a customs house.<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately attempts at locating these buildings and marking them on the plan have been – bar the shambles – unsuccessful.

*Jurydyka* was a fundamental part of the urban expanse. One of the first was the Podzamecka settlement, which was subordinate to the vogt. It was located in the environs of the castle on the western frontage of an unnamed street (present-day G. Narutowicza Street)<sup>88</sup> and the southern frontage of Zamkowa Street.<sup>89</sup> Equally the inhabitants in fragments of both frontages of Grobelna Street and the northern part of Stare Miasto Street were subordinate to the vogt.<sup>90</sup> When it was created in 1495, it was not covered by the municipal rights granted by Aleksander Jagiellończyk.<sup>91</sup> In 1565 the existence of 36 lots was recorded.<sup>92</sup> The year 1610 saw the creation of a street that branched off Zamkowa Street in a southward direction, starting around the level of St. Nicholas' monastery. On both sides of the then-nameless street (at present a part of Zamkowa Street), in the section located beyond the Lubka River created was a settlement called Nowa Osada Podzamecka, but this location has not been included in the aforementioned plan.<sup>93</sup> Poświętne constituted the second *jurydyka*, which was located to the north of the parish church and featured many plots and a taverns. This *jurydyka* most likely came into existence in 1430, and most certainly existed by the year 1492, but the clergy had to wait until Sigismundus I the Old gave his consent for serfs to be settled there.<sup>94</sup>

Bielsk's layout did not change fundamentally after the Voloč Reform and survives in more or less the same configuration to this day.<sup>95</sup> Consequently we are able to locate almost all contemporary streets with reasonable ease in relation to the street network in existence in 1563. Obviously these routes were no way identical, as the widths of some street and the course of certain of their sections may have varied. The streets on the plan have been named accordingly to the designations used for

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where their exact location was or even if they existed there altogether. Given these controversies they have not been marked on the plan.

<sup>85</sup> KWiD, catalogue no. 2816, f. 19v. MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506.

<sup>86</sup> Bukowski, Michałuk, *Przywileje*, pp. 73–88.

<sup>87</sup> J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 266–267; Z. Romaniuk, *Bielsk w latach 1366–1513*, p. 22.

<sup>88</sup> Unfortunately the sixteenth-century sources do not provide us with any information about buildings along the length of this street, hence no such constructions have been included on the plan. It is quite possible that in 1563 the entire western frontage was made up of the castle which could have been situated there.

<sup>89</sup> The grounds along the southern frontage of Zamkowa and Grobelna Streets on the section from Zalubecka Street to the crossing on the River Biała equally belonged to the Podzamecka settlement; see LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 41–42; LWP 1602, p. 67. The privileges of the Podzamecka settlement have been confirmed many times. Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 147; *Onucanie Rukopnago*, vol. 4, p. 65. The inspection of 1664 described the area of the old Podzamecka settlement: 'Podzamcze in Bielsk alias Podzamecka Street. Going from the Hołowiesk's manor house to the town there is a street at the stone causeway called Podzamcze of the old settlement. It stretches along one side to the west up to the Lubka Brook, past the Ruthenian Orthodox church of St. Nicolas right up to the junction with the long municipal street known as Zalubcze.' MK, XVIII, catalogue no. 64, p. 569. This was already after the founding of the Nowa Osada Podzamecka (New Podzamecka Settlement), which limited the territorial range of the Podzamecka settlement to the east, about which more below.

<sup>90</sup> In the register of the Voloč Reform of 1563 there is mentioned in describing the eastern frontage of Stare Miasto Street: 'Here begin the squares of the castle expanse directly under the jurisdiction of the starost, a side street that leads from the old town to the pool.' Here were to have been situated five properties in total: MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. Most probably the reference is to the pool at the little bridge over the stream which cut across the nineteenth-century Stare Miasto Street; see Российский государственный исторический архив, Санкт-Петербург, f. 1293-166-10. On the plan analysed Stare Miasto Street ends there.

<sup>91</sup> J.M. Szczerba, *Jurydyki i libertacje królewskich miast podlaskich do połowy XVII w.*, "Studia Podlaskie, vol. 1, 1990, p. 19.

<sup>92</sup> Podlasie II, p. 61. See also: LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 41–42; LWP 1602, p. 67.

<sup>93</sup> MK, XVIII, 64, pp. 569–570.

<sup>94</sup> Podlasie II, p. 218; J.M. Szczerba, *Jurydyki i libertacje*, p. 25.

<sup>95</sup> The remark concerns the area taken up by Bielsk in the sixteenth-eighteenth century, where at a later stage the urban area built on became greater.

the VoloK Reform. With few exceptions if streets do not appear in the relevant documents then they have not been entered onto the plan.<sup>96</sup>

The most important communication axis for Bielsk in the sixteenth century was Wielka Street. This constituted a part of the Wilno Road or Lithuanian High Road running through Bielsk on its way to Grodno and Wilno.<sup>97</sup> This road was additionally comprised of Litewska Street, an extension of Wielka Street which then turned into the Wilno Road. Today the aforementioned streets are A. Mickiewicza Street in the section branching off the intersection with 11 Listopada Street onwards. To the east of the market square, next to the chapel of St. Martin, leading off from Litewska Street, Hrycowska Street starts its course (present-day Kazimierzowska Street). It headed eastward, after which it turned into a northerly direction, passing by the Seret Brook and going on right the way to *Droga do Młynów*. In this part of Hrycowska Street it corresponds to the course of present-day Ogrodowa Street up to the crossroads with Widowska Street.<sup>98</sup>

To the north of Litewska Street in an eastbound direction, not far from the Holy Trinity Orthodox church was to be found *Droga do Młynów* (in the eighteenth century Wypustowa Street), the extension to which was beyond the River Biała the road to nearby Stanisławowo. Today this is Widowska Street. Litewska Street went on further from *Droga do Młynów* in a north-east direction, where on both frontages it was accompanied by lots at the rears of which were allotment-field farmland. Already beyond the scope of the plan in an easterly direction there branched from it ‘a small street free to accessing of common pasture and the River Biała,’ beyond which equally municipal properties extended. While in a western direction stretched out ‘the small street of Pluczie [present-day Plutycze – M.S.] towards the fields’, while the further stretch of Litewska Street ‘the small street to the Hryniewice boyars Hryniewicz’, after the crossing over of which were still four municipal properties.

The street Litewska Street forked around the level of the later monastery of the Carmelite Order. The road going in a northwestern direction became Knyszyńska Street – known today as Żwirki and Wigury Street. Beyond the town it stretched on further to *municipal pastures* and here in the direction of Suraż. On a significant part of this street were located measured out lots; on which in 1563 there were still no buildings. There branched off from this street, in a northerly direction, a small street to morgens. An offshoot of Litewska Street in the environs of the junction with Knyszyńska Street was Kondratowska Street (present-day J. Dąbrowskiego Street) which meandered and carried on in a southward direction (present-day Kryniczna Street),<sup>99</sup> finally reaching the north-western corner of the town square.

Not far to west of the square was, and is still is to this day, the location of the parish church, next to which there could be found an irregularly-shaped yard. From this yard there branched off a street, which sixteenth century sources do not mention by name, but which is later referred to as Poświęcińska Street or Poświętne Street (present-day Poświętna Street). This street branched out in a northwestern direction and carried on until it reached Knyszyńska Street.<sup>100</sup>

At the church square another street branched off, this time in a southwestern direction. This was Kłopotowska Street – named after the Kłopoty settlement (today T. Kościuszki Street). It extended to Zarynek Street – today’s 11 Listopada Street. The extension of this street in a western direction constituted part of the Brańsk Road. At Zarynek Street located was a place where the town allotments and

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<sup>96</sup> Cf. Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielsk, plan Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w 1563 roku*.

<sup>97</sup> One can find in the sources also the designation: Gościniec Narewski; ZZG, catalogue no. 31, p. 348.

<sup>98</sup> Noted in 1779 in the north part of this street right up to the road *Droga do Młynów* is a new district called Nowa Osada (New Settlement); *Opisanie Pykonchnago*, vol. 4, p. 71. The name semantically implying that it did not exist in the sixteenth century.

<sup>99</sup> According to eighteenth-century sources from the southern frontage of Knyszyńska Street and here already behind the Carmelite complex emerged the side street Świnia, which joined up with Kondratowska Street where the latter turned southwards. BUWil., F4 (A-1661), ff. 1-1v; *Opisanie Pykonchnago*, vol. 4, pp. 71-72. It is possible that this small street already existed in the sixteenth century – yet this cannot be confirmed in the source material. Today this is rather a broad pavement (and not a street) joining Kryniczna and Żwirki and Wigury Streets.

<sup>100</sup> The preserved VoloK Reform sources do not make reference to this street for it lay in its entirety on the territory of Church *jurydyka*. A similar situation was noted in the seventeenth and eighteenth century on Podzamecka Street (at present G. Narutowicza Street). On Poświętne stood 15 houses and cottages; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. One may conjecture that in 1563 the Poświętne *jurydyka* was more built-up, hence the placing on the plan of hypothetical buildings.

threshing floors were located.<sup>101</sup> Outside the municipal boundaries the Brańsk road forked and carried on in the form of routes leading to, amongst others, Augustowo and Wyszki.

Zarynek Street intersected Wielka Street in the east and carried on in a northward direction and crossed Zalubecka Street, only to carry on towards the south (today forming the southern part of A. Mickiewicza Street and the northern fragment of Wojska Polskiego Street). The eastbound extension of Zarynek Street was Zamkowa Street (present-day J. Poniatowskiego Street),<sup>102</sup> which in the sixteenth century had a slightly more southbound course than it does today, at least in the section located near St. Nicholas' monastery. Zalubecka Street was to cross over the River Lubka and to further carry on to the town of Boćki, which was a part of the Cracow main road. To the south of the River Lubka 'from this to Zalubecka Street the small street went left (in a southern direction) by the Mielnik main road.' This road may be identified in its course with the present-day Dubiażyńska Street. With Zalubecka Street an unnamed street (at present G. Narutowicza Street) joined,<sup>103</sup> which led to Zamkowa Street. On the expanse remaining between the Streets Zalubecka, Zamkowa and the unnamed street (at present G. Narutowicza Street) could have been the site where, up to 1564, the Bielsk castle was located. Zamkowa Street in the environs of St. Nicholas' monastery deviates from the course of present-day J. Poniatowskiego Street due to the existence of a graveyard located in that very spot.<sup>104</sup> The southern frontage of Zamkowa Street probably did not have any buildings on it.<sup>105</sup>

Zamkowa Street at the height of the St. Nicholas monastery is linked to other roads. In a northern direction runs Stare Miasto Street (at present the southern section of Jagiellońska Street). This ends up at the pool and brook that flows into the River Biała.<sup>106</sup> From Wielka Street in the direction of St. Nicholas led Dziechil Street – today M. Kopernika Street. The continuation of Zamkowa Street from the St. Nicholas monastery to the east was Grobelna Street (Hrebena), which headed to the crossing of the River Biała. In the eighteenth century it was called Grobelna or Mostowa Street (the present-day western section of Stefana Batorego Street), crossing over the river on three bridges. In these environs three mills could be found. Over the River Biała Grobelna Street crossed into Brzeska Street, which ran further in the direction of the south-east towards Brześć Litewski. This started at the crossroads with Orłańska Street leading southwards to Hołowiesk and Brześć Litewski (at present R. Traugutta Street).

Not far from the Biała River off Grobelna Street departs in a northerly direction an unnamed street which goes as far as Łoknicka Street. In the inventory of 1779 it is referred to as Zastawiecka Street, whose extension was Dubicka Street (at present one Dubicze Street).<sup>107</sup> The second ran from

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<sup>101</sup> This is pointed to by sixteenth- and eighteenth-century sources, as equally evidence from archaeological digs. K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne Bielska*, p. 146; L. Pawłata, *Badania archeologiczne na starym mieście w Bielsku*, p. 263.

<sup>102</sup> This street was not mentioned by name in the Volok Reform register of 1563. The source describes it as 'a street starting off from Wielka Street and going from the Market Square to the castle'; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. Zamkowa Street is noted in the Dziewiałtowski Volok Reform of 1560; BUWil, catalogue no. F5-A41-7932. From where its name appears on the plan.

<sup>103</sup> The recalled nameless street (at present G. Narutowicza Street, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Podzamecka Street) more than likely existed in 1563. As equally the register for this year, as a notation from the Dziewiałtowski Volok Reform do not mention this street for in its entirety it lay on the area of the *jurydyka*. Hence the decision to mark the street on the plan but without a name.

<sup>104</sup> Archaeological digs discovered, under the surface of the present-day Poniatowskiego Street and on its southern frontage, human remains from the territory of the former cemetery at the monastery of St. Nicholas. We do not know the exact boundaries of this cemetery wherein the course of the street is hypothetical. The street must have avoided the cemetery from the north to the south; WUOZwB, b. catalogue no., D. Krasnołębski, J. Mizerka, *Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych-nadzorów przeprowadzonych w Bielsku Podlaskim na działce 3004/1 (ul. Poniatowskiego)*, TS; Z. Misiuk, *Badania archeologiczne w Bielsku*, pp. 163–167.

<sup>105</sup> Archaeological digs conducted on the present-day property at Poniatowskiego Street 14 show that in the sixteenth century this was boggy ground that had material from burnt down buildings scattered over it (possibly from the burnt down castle or following the fire of 1591). It was inhabited only in the seventeenth century. *ibidem*, pp. 167–171.

<sup>106</sup> See footnote 90 above.

<sup>107</sup> The name Dubicka Street in the Volok Reform register of 1563 only referred to the north part of present-day Dubicze Street. Its description has its start from the royal pools on the River Biała; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. This term related presumably to the mill pond on the river Biała at the Sikinin mill, possibly on the south or north of the road leading to Stanisławowo were to be found water bodies (pools). On the map of Bielsk of 1834 visible is a pool on the north frontage of the road leading to Stanisławowo. However, one can also see a pool at the end of the stream that cuts across the northern part of present-day Dubicze Street; NGAB, Grodno, f. 126-1-105.

a triangular plot, where up until the time of the VoloK Reform was to be found the Orthodox church of the Resurrection, to the street leading to Stanisławowo (at present Widowska Street). From the eastern tip of the aforementioned plot ran off Łoknicka Street leading to the village of Łoknica (at present Warzywna Street). While from the northern tip of the plot two roads depart, one towards the River Biała, this being an unnamed small street (at present the eastern section of Kazimierzowska Street), while the second is the already mentioned Dubicka Street. From Dubicka Street several smaller back streets branch off, which lead down to the River Biała.<sup>108</sup>

Problematic was the precise locating of a street unnamed in the VoloK Reform register of 1563. 'A new street beyond the royal pools'.<sup>109</sup> It was situated on the eastern bank of the River Biała. It was not possible to establish the course of the back street Krzyżowa, which according to the note from the Dziewiałtowski VoloK Reform was to have been located near to the Orthodox church of the Resurrection.<sup>110</sup> It is possible that it was simply removed or changed location.

On the map Pieski Street has not been located, for there was no certainty as to its situation or course. It was located in the environs of Dubicka and Łoknicka Streets.<sup>111</sup> On the plan cannot be found the street that ran along the western edge of the town and which connected Knyszyńska Street with the road to Brańsk. Jerzy Zieleniewski marked its trajectory in his reconstruction of Bielsk in 1563 and the eighteenth century, naming it the Brańsk Highway (present-day al. Piłsudskiego).<sup>112</sup> However, this street is not mentioned in sixteenth century sources.<sup>113</sup> The existence of other streets, side streets, tracks and paths is quite likely but they have been omitted by sixteenth century documents, as the role they played was strictly in terms of communication and access routes they did not have any homesteads on them.

Bielsk additionally had various objects of economic and trade activity. Five mills are marked on the plan. Three of them were municipal property, with the other two belonging to the starost. The first three of these mills (Sieheniewicz, Ożar and Lihy) were located next to bridges that crossed the Biała

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<sup>108</sup> BUWil, catalogue no. F4-A1661; BUWil, catalogue no. F5-A41-7932; KWiD, catalogue no. 2816, pp. 19–23v; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506; *Opisanie Rukopnago*, vol. 4, pp. 57–112.; cf. Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 15–34; S. Herbst, *Bielsk Podlaski*, pp. 39–47; H. Kosieradzki, *Bielsk Podlaski*, pp. 36–47; Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, pp. 47–70, plan *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w 1563 roku*.

<sup>109</sup> 'A new street beyond His majesty's pools, laid on two plains, this end is at the above mentioned pools, the other end at the new road, which leads from the village Stanisławowo to the Sikinine mill, leading to Bielsk. The right side leading to His Majesty's pools and to the Sikinine mill. Of which plain the ends of the boundaries' ends and face the common pastures. There Dubicze inhabitants on residential lots facing the sunset opposite the left plain. [...] The other left plain of this street, in which their gardens end towards the malt houses, up to the boundary where have been made free clay pits and the meadows facing the sunrise opposite the right plain.'; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. The exact locating of this street is complicated by the lack of placement for the royal pools and malt house, as equally the location of clay extraction. However if one were to assume that the royal pools described are those visible on the plan of 1834 and that from the mid nineteenth century at the end of the stream cutting across the northern fragment of present-day Dubicze Street, then one may state that the discussed street corresponds to the course of the northern fragment of the present-day street Chmielna Street; NGAB, Grodno, f. 126-1-105; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 135. Given the lack of certainty the street has not been located on the plan.

<sup>110</sup> BUWil, catalogue no. F5-A41-7932.

<sup>111</sup> 'Pieski Street one plain at outlet it lies back to free outlet, one side from Stanisławowo volok, the second to the Biała River, in front lots in April of 1563 prepared and distributed, it starts from Stanisławowo volok" MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. Zieleniewski on his plan of Bielsk in 1563 has marked Piaskowa Street and the Piaski meadows; *ibidem*, *Bielsk Podlaski – topografia historyczna*, plan *Bielsk Podlaski w 1563 roku*. However, Piaskowa Street as marked by him would be too short for the number of properties marked and measured up in 1563. According to the inventory of 1779 Piaski Street was situated where was the then Zastawecka Street after passing by the cobbled causeway; *Opisanie Rukopnago*, vol. 4, p. 79. Undated inventory (most probably from the mid seventeenth century) mentions: 'Piaski, Dubic[z]e from Łoknicka Street', while further on: 'the right side [in] Piaski, heading towards the mills'; MPwB, catalogue no. M/H/506. Visible on nineteenth-century maps is a road heading in a south-eastern direction, and departing from a triangular plot at the junction with Dubicka Street and Łoknicka Street. It is possible that this was Pieski/Piaski Street; see above footnotes 8-10. However, given the overall lack of certainty it has ultimately not been marked on the plan.

<sup>112</sup> Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, pp. 47–70, plan *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w 1563 roku*; plan *Bielsk Podlaski. Układ przestrzenny w XVIII wieku*.

<sup>113</sup> Possibly this street was *ulica wielka Zachawecka*. It was mentioned in a notation within the register for the first volok reform. Though possible also is that the name referred to another street. However, the order in which the streets are enumerated suggests that the matter might concern the present-day al. Piłsudskiego. BUWil., catalogue no. F5-A41-7932. It is not mentioned in the VoloK Reform register of 1563. Given this lack of certainty it has not been included on the plan. This street should not be confused with the Zastawecka Street mentioned in 1779, which was situated in a completely different part of town, and for certain could not be deemed *wielka* (great).

River. The castle mill was situated on the Lubka River not far from a bridge of the Biała River. The last of these known as Sikinin was located at a Biała River crossing on the road to Stanisławowo.<sup>114</sup> Both the town and its suburbs had many taverns. According to the inspection of 1602 there were 50 beer taverns and six mead houses.<sup>115</sup> It is uncertain how many taverns were located in the Poświęcińska *jurydyka*, but they existed given that the parish priest had the authorization to allow them to operate.<sup>116</sup> In 1602 no taverns were noted in the area belonging to the Podzamecka *jurydyka*, though this does not mean that none had existed previously or were to exist afterwards.

The forest, which was freely accessible for the utilisation of the town's inhabitants, was an important element of the local landscape. In the case of Bielsk the forestial borders were mentioned in the rights privilege granted by Aleksander Jagiellończyk of 1495 (mention of which has already been made). On the 15 July 1554 Queen Bona exchanged the originally granted lands for 120 voloks of forest located by the Narew and Łoknica Rivers. This forrested area was taken away from the town during the Voloł Reform of 1561; with Sigismund II Augustus instructing for another area be presented to the town, although this order was not executed during his lifetime. It is unclear where the residents of Bielsk sourced their timber and wood for the years 1561–1581.<sup>117</sup> The plan displays only two small wooded areas which most certainly would not have covered the townsmen's needs.

The inhabitants of Bielsk specialized in the leather trade, which is the reason for the existence of so many tanneries and leather workshops in the area. The town was home to many tanners,<sup>118</sup> especially in the area of the Dubicze settlement, which was a leader in the craft. The local workers took advantage of the easy access to the waters of the Biała River and its tributaries.<sup>119</sup> This settlement was also located at a reasonable distance from the town centre, which meant the unpleasant aspects of the leatherworking industry were not overly burdensome for the inhabitants. Tanners could also be encountered at the Podzamecka and Church *jurydyki*.<sup>120</sup>

In 1563 Bielsk, in conjunction with its suburbs, amounted to 830 households in total, out of which 36 were on the territory of the Podzamecka *jurydyka* while 220 more were located in the municipal villages.<sup>121</sup> A survey from 1576 mentions 557 houses located within town boundaries and 193 plots (not counting those located in *jurydyki* territory).<sup>122</sup> At this time Bielsk definitely constituted the biggest municipal centre in Podlasie, towering above others in terms of number of inhabitants.<sup>123</sup> Aleksander Gwagnin in the sixteenth century had this to say about the town: 'This town of Podlasie

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<sup>114</sup> The first three millers were Konrad Sieheniowicz, Jakim Ożar and Chwiedor Lihy; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. One may come across in the subject literature the names of these mills, where according to the inspection of 1576 the millers were Jacek Szypliwy, Łukasz Ożarowicz and Okuł Jazykowicz; LWP 1570, 1576, pp. 31, 61.

<sup>115</sup> LWP 1602, p. 63.

<sup>116</sup> E. Beszta-Borowski, *Dzieje parafii*, pp. 415–417; Podlasie II, p. 218; J.M. Szczerba, *Jurydyki i libertacje*, p. 25.

<sup>117</sup> In 1576 Stefan Batory repeated the order of Sigismund August and called a commission to divide the municipal forest. Thanks to the involvement of Anna Jagiellonka in 1581 the town was given 30 voloks of forest called Kąt Lasu, which the queen confirmed in 1583. This terrain was to have been in the environs of the villages of Istok, Jagodniki and Orzeszkowo (to the south of Hajnówka). AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta Prawno-Majątkowe, catalogue no. 1117, p. 17; MK 135, ff. 1v-3; catalogue no. 129, f. 484-485v; APB, Starszy Notariusz Sądu Okręgowego w Grodnie, catalogue no. 238, pp. 74–76v; Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, pp. 89, 145; Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 28, 103-104; *Летопись занятий Археографической Комиссии 1862–1863*, Санкт Петербург 1862, ch. III-IV, pp. 30–32. see Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, plan *Obszary leśne trzebione i kolonizowane przez Bielsk w XV i XVI w.*

<sup>118</sup> The inspection of 1576 enumerates two saddlers, one leatherworker, eight furriers, 39 cobblers and 53 tanners. LWP 1570, 1576, p. 29. While the tax register of 1580 recalls one leather purse maker, two leatherworkers, 12 furriers, 62 cobblers and 54 tanners. ASK I 47, ff. 648–649v.

<sup>119</sup> Zieleniewski, *Powstanie i rozwój Bielska*, p. 56.

<sup>120</sup> Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 54. In the sixteenth century guild organisations developed in Bielsk focusing on various kinds of leather workers. See AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta Prawno-Majątkowe, catalogue no. 1122, pp. 53–54; BUWil, catalogue no. F5-A24-4369; F5-A24-4402; *Летопись занятий*, ch. 3–4, p. 31; Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, p. 54. Other artisan branches were not so developed.

<sup>121</sup> Jaroszewicz, *Miasto Bielsk*, p. 97.

<sup>122</sup> Used in the inspection is the expression: 'Houses in this place in the market square, streets and suburbs are 557.' LWP 1570, 1576, p. 29. Here it is possible that with regard to the designation 'suburbs' reference was being made to parts of the town like the settlements at Kolence or Dubicze. It seems that this figure of 557 does not include the buildings of municipal villages – hence also the difference when compared to the Voloł Reform. Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 23, 28.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV – I połowa XVII w.)*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica", vol. 1, 1964, p. 151.

shines in timber-sided excellence, by the Biała River, sprawling toward the Lithuanian border lies.’<sup>124</sup> In the sixteenth century there most probably was an absence of brick buildings. The streets in their vast majority were without cobbles. It is hard to ascertain in the present day, which parts were cobbled and which mere earth.<sup>125</sup> Archeological excavations have led us to conclude that at least a part of the town’s roads employed timber planks as surfacing while others were reinforced with brushwood fascines.<sup>126</sup> The appearance of urban sprawl was accurately described by Stanisław Herbst: ‘A network of close-standing houses with a regular skyline concentrated mostly in the town centre. The buildings located on other streets, especially those on the outskirts were placed in a more irregular manner and often featured front gates, nestled between the shacks and manors.’<sup>127</sup> Recreating the state of Bielsk’s architecture in the sixteenth century solely on the basis of surviving sources is unfortunately not possible. In the region surrounding the main Market Square the buildings were placed quite close together, though it is probable that with the greater the distance from it the less intense the construction proximity. The archeological research hitherto conducted is only of a fragmented nature, which makes recreating the entirety of the townscape a near impossibility.<sup>128</sup> Urban lots tended to be long and narrow. The houses were located by the edge of the lots, near the street and were usually thatched with straw or covered in wood shingles.<sup>129</sup> To the rear of the premises utility building and plots of arable land were located. Bielsk, like other towns in the Podlasie Voivodeship was a centre of agriculture and artisan trade. This greatly influenced the structure and placement of buildings, as much of the urban plots had to be used for the deployment of barns, pigstys and storehouses. The plan clearly presents this phenomenon, showing the outlines of buildings concentrating round the various streets and pathways while the middle of the plots remains empty. Those vacant plots were occupied by the threshing floors, which are not marked on the plan. Amongst these areas could be found horticultural allotments. To avoid overcrowding the plan with too much unnecessary detail, the latter have been marked. Some streets lacked buildings altogether. A good example is Zarynek Street. The north-facing side of this street was made up of the threshing floors belonging to the burghers who were the proprietors of lots that intersected the of Kłopotowica and Wielka Streets. It is also important to note that within the town boundaries with no residential buildings constructed on them at all.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>124</sup> A. Gwagnin, *Z kroniki Sarmacji europejskiej*, p. 25.

<sup>125</sup> Orłańska Street was cobbled; MPwB, catalogue no. H/D/506. It is possible that the environs of the market square were paved. Three levels of stone paving found in the course of archaeological digs on the property at present-day A. Mickiewicz Street 58 point to the said. K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne Bielska*, pp. 139-140. It is known that in the second half of the eighteenth century Wielka Street was cobbled (paved). H. Kosieradzki, *Bielsk Podlaski*, p. 58. W In the 1780s Michał Starzeński described the town thus: ‘In the town there was no Catholic church, or town hall, or cobbles.’ *Na schyłku dni Rzeczypospolitej. Kartki z pamiętnika Michała Starzeńskiego (1757-1795)*, ed. H. Mościcki, Warsaw 1914, p. 68. However, in a document of 1590 contained is ‘so these burghers the cobbles, the causeways and bridges repaired.’ MK, XVIII, 64, p. 565.

<sup>126</sup> K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne Bielska*, p. 138; L. Pawlata, *Badania archeologiczne na starym mieście w Bielsku*, p. 271; Z. Romaniuk, *Bielsk w latach 1366–1513*, p. 27.

<sup>127</sup> S. Herbst, *Bielsk Podlaski*, p. 44.

<sup>128</sup> There are settlement zones which we are able to consider on the basis of archaeological research as intensively utilised by their former residents – and here equally in the sixteenth century. Belonging to these is the modern centre of the town, the northern part of present-day Kościuszki Street, the environs of the intersection of present-day 3 Maja Street with Kościuszki and Mickiewicz Streets, as well as the territory close to the crossroads of Jagiellońska and Kopernika Streets. L. Pawlata, B. Wetoszka, *Badania archeologiczne w formie nadzoru nad pracami ziemnymi inwestycji “Rozbudowa infrastruktury ochrony środowiska w ulicach w Bielsku Podlaskim, ul. Rejtana, Kościuszki, Żeromskiego, 3-go Maja i Szkolnej” w 2012 r.*, manuscript, pp. 10–22; L. Pawlata, *Badania archeologiczne na starym mieście w Bielsku*, p. 247; WUOZwB, sygn. 310/A, M. Sobczak, *Sprawozdanie wstępne z badań wykopaliskowych w Bielsku Podlaskim. Działki 2993 i 3031/6 przy ul. Kopernika, lipiec 2004*, manuscript.

<sup>129</sup> A. Czapska, *Układ przestrzenny*, p. 2.

<sup>130</sup> This is borne out by archaeological digs which point to a later settlement of areas next to streams, the bank of the River Biała (as a result of seasonal flooding) as well as between the present-day Ogródowa and A. Kazanowskiego Streets. A part of these areas constituted the economic base for the plots located on other streets. WUOZwB, sygn. 195, M. Karczewska, *Wyniki nadzoru archeologicznego przeprowadzonego w dniach 20-25 września 1998 r. nad wykopem budowlanym pod “Sukiennice Bielskie” w Bielsku Podlaskim na ul. Krynicznej 10, woj. białostockie*, TS; K. Mazuruk, *Stanowiska archeologiczne Bielska*, pp. 144, 147; Z. Misiuk, *Badania archeologiczne w Bielsku*, p. 170; WUOZwB, sygn. 495/A *Nadzór archeologiczny nad pracami ziemnymi związanymi z budową sieci cieplnej przy ul. Kazanowskiego, Ogródowej, Jagiellońskiej i Widowskiej w Bielsku Podlaskim*, TS; WUOZwB, absence of a catalogue no., TS; L. Pawlata, *Badania archeologiczne w Bielsku Podlaskim, stanowisko 4 – Stare Miasto, podczas realizacji zadania “Budowa boisk i bieżni do celów dydaktycznych przy Zespole Szkół z DNJB w Bielsku Podlaskim u zbiegu ulic Poniatowskiego i Zamkowej*, TS.

The process of urban development was halted by the wars that occurred during the mid seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. These historical events greatly reduced the number of houses and inhabitants. During the period of urban regeneration in 1779 it was noted that the town numbered a mere '269 inhabited lots, 438 commercial gardens (allotments) laid fallow or made empty and 38 barren lots.'<sup>131</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>131</sup> *Описаніє Рукописнаго*, vol. 4 p. 81.

### III.6.3.6 BRZEŚĆ KUJAWSKI

*Dariusz Karczewski*

#### Sources

The cartographic material that could be used to recreate the spatial arrangement of the old town of Brześć Kujawski (Brześć, r) is extremely limited. First of all, there is no cadastral plan for the town. A 1:1,000 map from the beginning of the nineteenth century has survived only in the form of a copy made in 1915, known from its redrawn copy created by the famous architect, Prof. Oskar Sosnowski.<sup>1</sup> This map is highly valuable because it shows a network of streets and parcels, in both the town itself and the suburbs. It was made more widely available in the work on this Polish medieval town's defensive walls in the form of a second redrawn copy from 1967.<sup>2</sup> Earlier, in a slightly simplified version which lacked the outline of individual plots of land, it became the basis of a plan published in the collection of small-scale general maps of Polish towns from 1927.<sup>3</sup> Three Russian plans from the late nineteenth century were also helpful in some aspects. One is the town plan of Brześć Kujawski from 1897,<sup>4</sup> another shows the north-west corner of the town around the former Dominican church,<sup>5</sup> and the third covers the area of the then prison, *i.e.* the former castle.<sup>6</sup> The stock of iconographic sources concerning the former town of Brześć Kujawski is equally unimpressive. In practice, it is limited to merely an engraving included in the work of Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) concerning the achievements of Charles X Gustav.<sup>7</sup> It was drawn from memory by Erik Jönsson Dahlbergh, who was the chief quartermaster of the Swedish army at that time. The engraving presents a view of the town and the castle from the west side in 1657.

When compared with the above, the amount of available descriptive sources seems much higher. The most notable sources falling within this group include the register of Brześć Gord Starosty property from the close of the fifteenth century<sup>8</sup> and the book of the Brześć Kujawski town court.<sup>9</sup> The 1564–1565<sup>10</sup> and 1569<sup>11</sup> inspections of royal estates are equally valuable in terms of the information they offer. These records are supplemented or confirmed by inspections of royal estates from the seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> The sixteenth-century visitations of the bishop of Włocławek diocese, most of which have been published, are of particular importance as sources of information on Brześć churches.

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<sup>1</sup> Formerly stored at the Department of Polish Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology, sign. U.II.103; see: J. Widawski, *Miejskie mury obronne w państwie polskim do początku XV wieku*, Warsaw 1973, p. 114, footnote 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, ill. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Plany przeglądowe miast polskich*, seria 1, prep. A. Kuncewicz, Warsaw 1929, p. 14, no. 9 (where it was noted that the plan was copied in 1927), and table 9.

<sup>4</sup> AGAD, Cartographic Collection from 1579–1944, sign. 524–13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 16–16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 535–9.

<sup>7</sup> S. Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueciae Rege gestis commentariorum libri septem elegantissimi tabulis aeneis exornati cum triplici indice*, Norimbergae 1696.

<sup>8</sup> Brzeskie 1494, pp. 355–398.

<sup>9</sup> BUW, Ławn. Brz.

<sup>10</sup> LWWK 1564.

<sup>11</sup> *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, pub. i comp. Z. Górski, A. Mietz, Bydgoszcz–Wierzbinek 2014, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1; LWWK 1628, part 3; LWWK 1659.

The most valuable of them, due to their very detailed nature, are the 1584<sup>13</sup> and 1598<sup>14</sup> visitations of Brześć deanery. We have also used a repertory of the visitation records kept in the Diocesan Archives in Włocławek, which was compiled by Witold Kujawski and constitutes a very useful reference source.<sup>15</sup>

## Town

It has yet to be determined when exactly a town was chartered with German law in Brześć Kujawski. The first item of information to confirm its town status dates to 1250, and also happens to be the earliest written record of this settlement. The initiative to found this town should be attributed to Duke Casimir I of Cuyavia and Łęczyca (d. 1267).<sup>16</sup> Most likely at the end of the thirteenth century, this time on the initiative of Duke Ladislaus the Short, the town was translocated from the area of today's Stary Brześć Village to the south, to the top of a rather high moraine hill.<sup>17</sup> The municipal authorities have only begun to take shape in the first decades of the fourteenth century, as evidenced by first mentions of a vogt (1306),<sup>18</sup> town court members (*lawnicy*) (1317),<sup>19</sup> and representatives of the town council, which included counsellors (1317)<sup>20</sup> and a mayor (1328).<sup>21</sup> Until 1300, Brześć was the town of residence of Duke Ladislaus the Short and the capital of the Duchy of Brześć.<sup>22</sup> In the years 1300–1306, it was ruled by Czech kings.<sup>23</sup> The first information about Cuyavian (Brześć) starostas comes from this period.<sup>24</sup> They were appointed by the king and exercised direct authority in a given starosty on behalf of the monarch. After Ladislaus the Short regained control over this part of the Kingdom of Poland, the office of starosta was maintained, except for a short period when the Teutonic Order occupied the Brześć area of Cuyavia in 1332–1343. After the death of King Louis I of Hungary (1383), the Brześć area of Cuyavia was taken over by one of the pretenders to the Polish throne – Mazovian Duke Siemowit IV. The land remained in his hands until May 1398.<sup>25</sup> Until the end of the fifteenth century, the town frequently hosted gatherings and sejmiks (dietines), which brought together the nobility of the Brześć region, whilst Radziejów became the customary venue for dietines of both Cuyavian voivodeships only at the beginning of the following century.<sup>26</sup> At that time, Brześć

<sup>13</sup> MHDW 19, pp. 92–109.

<sup>14</sup> MHDW 20.

<sup>15</sup> Repertorium 68, pp. 27–161.

<sup>16</sup> KDP, vol. 2, part 1, no. 44; Guldon, *Lokacje*, pp. 21–22; L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki translokacji średniowiecznego Brześcia Kujawskiego*, KHKM, vol. 42, 1994, no. 1, p. 88; A. Kosecki, *Lokacje miejskie księcia Kazimierza Konradowica na Kujawach*, [in:] *Książę Kazimierz Konradowicz zę Kazimierz Konradowicz i Kujawy jego czasów*, ed. D. Karczewski, Cracow 2017, pp. 178–179; Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 34–41.

<sup>17</sup> L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki translokacji średniowiecznego Brześcia Kujawskiego*, pp. 87–96, and the polemic of *Brześć za rządów wójta Tylo (1306–1320) i jego lokalizacja*, ZK-D, vol. 15: *Kujawy wschodnie i ziemia dobrzyńska w średniowieczu*, 2001, pp. 75–79. Only Jan Długosz claimed that the translocation of Brześć to its current location was the doing of Teutonic Knights; *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ks. 9, pub. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in., Varsaviae 1978, p. 174.

<sup>18</sup> KDW, vol. 2, no. 897; J. Pakulski, *Brześć za rządów wójta Tylo*, p. 67. The vogt's office and vogts are also presented in Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 252–268.

<sup>19</sup> K. Maleczyński, *Kilkanaście dokumentów Władysława Łokietka z lat 1296–1329*, SŻ, vol. 6, 1961, no. 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Dokumenty kujawskie i mazowieckie przeważnie z XIII wieku*, pub. B. Ulanowski, Cracow 1887, pp. 240–241, no. 66; K. Maleczyński, *Kilkanaście dokumentów Władysława Łokietka z lat 1296–1329*, no. 6; A. Kowalewska, *Zarys historyczny do 1793*, [in:] *Monografia Brześcia Kujawskiego*, ed. B. Głębowicz, Włocławek 1970, p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> KDW, vol. 2, no. 1091. The local government authorities of medieval Brześć were presented in detail by A. Kosecki – Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 363–372, 413–419.

<sup>22</sup> R. Kozłowski, *Geneza i granice księstwa brzesko-kujawskiego*, PKHBTN, vol. 5, 1968, pp. 77–113.

<sup>23</sup> Z. Szawłowski, *Rola Brześcia Kujawskiego w upadku władzy Przemysławów w Polsce*, ZK-D, seria A: *Historia*, 1978, pp. 49–62.

<sup>24</sup> *Urządnicy VI/1*, pp. 129–130, no. 440–444.

<sup>25</sup> J. Bieniak, *Epilog zabiegów Siemowita IV o koronę polską*, “Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia”, vol. 9, 1973, pp. 71–87; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV (1374–1426). Studium o elicie politycznej Mazowsza na przełomie XIV i XV wieku*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 33–42; eadem, *Rządy Siemowita IV na Kujawach brzeskich w latach 1383–1398*, ZK-D, vol. 15: *Kujawy wschodnie i ziemia dobrzyńska w średniowieczu*, 2001, pp. 39–64.

<sup>26</sup> H. Ruciński, *Początki i rozwój szlacheckiej reprezentacji stanowej na Kujawach od końca XIV do początków XVI w.*, PKHBTN, vol. 3, 1966, pp. 11–53.

Kujawski was classified as a medium-sized town with a fairly wide range of trade connections.<sup>27</sup> Even at the end of the fifteenth century, the starostas of Brześć included almost all previously unencumbered royal estates in the territory of Brześć Voivodeship.<sup>28</sup> The town was hit by a great fire, most likely in 1558. All the churches inside the walls, as well as the suburban hospital with the Holy Spirit Chapel,<sup>29</sup> and the Jewish district,<sup>30</sup> were beyond doubt destroyed. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Brześć Voivodeship consisted of Brześć, Falborz (Chwaliboż, rt), Falborek (Chwalibożek, r), Gołębin (Gołębino, r), Kłobię (r), Kruszyn (Kroszyno, r), Lekarzewice (r), Miechowice Duże (Mnichowice, r), Rządka Wołę (Wołę Rządka, rc), Sokołowo (rc), Stary Brześć (Stare Miasto, rc).<sup>31</sup> The castle was the seat of the Brześć starostas and the place where gord and land court books were kept.

## Town defensive walls

The town walls which surrounded the chartered town of Brześć Kujawski had a semicircle-like shape, with Zgłowiączka River forming its bowstring. On the remaining three sides, the town was encircled by a moat watered by the river. This fortification element was both mentioned by Jan Długosz<sup>32</sup> and referenced in early modern inspections.<sup>33</sup> Town fortifications, walls and towers were mentioned for the first time in 1306.<sup>34</sup> Most likely, they were not yet finished at that point, but it had already been mentioned that the towers could not be higher than castle fortifications. During the Teutonic siege in April 1332, the defensive walls of Brześć Kujawski were to be destroyed by siege engines.<sup>35</sup> From the north, the entrance to the town was defended by Toruńska Gate, while Krakowska Gate was located next to the parochial church, on the south side. There was one more gate (wicket?) from the west side, leading to Zgłowiączka River. Two pieces of evidence stand proof of this claim: Erik Jönsson Dahlbergh's drawing and the route of present-day Widok Street, which runs from the north-west corner of the square towards the river. Still, it remains open to debate whether this was an original or an early modern design. Jarosław Widawski assumed that two more gates were planted in the line of the town walls, on the east side (within the extension of Szewska/Mistrzowska Street) and on the south side (within the extension of Zamkowa Street).<sup>36</sup> However, these two gates are confirmed neither in written sources nor archaeological research. Only two gates are mentioned even at the end of the eighteenth century, although the general condition of the defensive walls was already considered to be very poor at that time.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 105–123; H. Samsonowicz, *Horyzonty przestrzenne małego miasta. Kontakty Brześcia Kujawskiego w XV w.*, [in:] *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, Cracow 1995, pp. 355–360.

<sup>28</sup> Brzeskie 1494, pp. 363–398.

<sup>29</sup> This was signalled by the visitation of 1584, indicating that it took place 25 years ago; MHDW 19, pp. 95, 98. S. Kuliński, *Monografia Brześcia Kujawskiego. Pamiątka 700-lecia istnienia kościoła parafialnego*, Włocławek 1935, p. 53, mentions the date of 1556, but without any reference to the source.

<sup>30</sup> This is confirmed by the tax exemption issued to the Jews of Brześć by Sigismund Augustus in 1558; AGAD, Potocki Family Public Archive, sign. 304, f. 310.

<sup>31</sup> The area of Brześć Gord Starosty is illustrated by the maps attached to the following publications: LWWK 1564, part 2 (map of *Królewstyczna województw brzeskiego i inowrocławskiego oraz Ziemi dobrzyńskiej według lustracji 1564–1565* ('Royal Estates of Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships and Dobrzyń Land according to the Inspections of 1564–1565'); *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, p. 89.

<sup>32</sup> *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*, book 9, p. 174. According to the chronicler, the Teutonic Knights were the ones who finally fortified Brześć Kujawski with a brick wall and a moat; cf. Kajzer 1995 p. 113, which assumes that construction of the town walls and the castle began simultaneously in mid-fourteenth century.

<sup>33</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 110.

<sup>34</sup> KDW, vol. 2, no. 687; J. Bieniak, *Wielkopolska, Kujawy, ziemia łączycka i sieradzka wobec problemu zjednoczenia państwowego w latach 1300–1306*, Toruń 1969, p. 30.

<sup>35</sup> *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, vol. 1, pub. I. Zakrzewski, pub. 2, Poznań 1890, p. 270.

<sup>36</sup> J. Widawski, *Miejskie mury obronne*, p. 117 and the plan no. 14 on p. 114.

<sup>37</sup> J. Wąsicki, *Opisy miast polskich z lat 1793–1794*, part 1, Poznań 1962, p. 40; L. Kajzer, *Inwentarz mieszczań miasta Jego Królewskiej Mości Brześcia Kujawskiego osiadłych i nieosiadłych z roku 1782*, ZK-D, vol. 12: *Miasta Kujaw i ziemi dobrzyńskiej w XX wieku*, 1998, p. 288.

## Castle

The castle in Brześć Kujawski was situated on Zgłowiączka River, on the southern moraine spur of the town hill. Its defensive qualities were emphasized by the relative height of the terrain – approximately 10 m above river level. In historical and archaeological literature, the genesis of the castle, much like that of the town itself, is described in contradictory ways.<sup>38</sup> The first information about this building (*castrum*) was included in the armistice document of 1306.<sup>39</sup> The predecessor of Brześć Castle was a gord located somewhere in the area of today's Stary Brześć Village, whose more precise location remains obscure.<sup>40</sup> For over a century and a half, the castle in Brześć Kujawski was an important military point on the Cuyavian-Teutonic border and a site of political negotiations, repeatedly visited by rulers. Its importance clearly decreased, as was the case with other Cuyavian strongholds, when the Teutonic Knights ceased to be a direct threat. That was only after the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466), which was victorious for the Kingdom of Poland. The laconic description from 1494, which stated that 'in castro omnia sunt ruinosa',<sup>41</sup> can be seen as a confirmation of this fact. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the condition of the castle clearly improved, as evidenced by the 1565 inspection. Its circumferential walls were built on a plan whose shape resembled a rectangle. In the northern part of the complex, on the town side, there was a rectangular building of a Gothic grand tenement house. A gate tower with a drawbridge, additionally protected by a watchtower (*sambornia*), adjoined it to the east. There were also two cellars in this section. Along the eastern wall of the castle, there was a cellared building with one floor above the ground level, intended 'for living in the summer'. In the south-eastern corner of the castle walls, there was a cylindrical tower (bergfried), 'commonly called Kesza', which also served as a prison.<sup>42</sup> By the southern wall, there were three buildings with living quarters and storage areas. On the west side, there was a bakery and a kitchen, as well as a wicket gate leading to the ramparts. The inspector assessed the condition of roof trusses and coverings as very poor. Only the gate tower was covered with tiles. The castle was separated from the town by a wide ditch (moat) with a 24-meter-long bridge.<sup>43</sup> To the north of this moat, there was a spacious outer bailey, protected by a wooden fence with a gate. It was a service and transport for the castle, primarily intended for the stables and a house of the equerry. By analogy, it can be assumed that the outer bailey was built in the times of Ladislaus Jagiello, and its importance decreased at the end of the sixteenth century or at the beginning of the next century.<sup>44</sup> Also, the outer bailey was separated from the town with a ditch.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, Falborek Demesne, located across the river and opposite the castle, served at that time as the castle's supply base.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, according to the inspection from 1632, the condition of castle buildings was already much worse at that point,<sup>47</sup> and this picture was complemented by the burnt ruin left by Swedish and Polish troops passing through the town during the Deluge.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Recently, L. Kajzer put forward a rather controversial thesis on this subject in Kajzer 1994b, pp. 93–95; L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki translokacji średniowiecznego Brześcia Kujawskiego*, pp. 161, 164. Based on archaeological observations, he assumed that Brześć Castle was built around the mid-fourteenth century. Thus, he attributed its foundation to King Casimir the Great. Subject literature's stance on this issue has been presented in Pietrzak 2003, p. 76.

<sup>39</sup> KDW, vol. 2, no. 897.

<sup>40</sup> L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki translokacji średniowiecznego Brześcia Kujawskiego*, p. 92; idem, *Warownie Kujaw*, pp. 110–111; idem, *Zamek w Brześciu Kujawskim*, p. 161.

<sup>41</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 397.

<sup>42</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 109. Kajzer 1995b, p. 163.

<sup>43</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 109.

<sup>44</sup> M. Żemigala, *Przygródki zamków królewskich w Wielkopolsce i na Kujawach w latach 1564–1565*, "Rocznik Łódzki", vol. 57, 2010, pp. 163–176. The outer bailey is no longer mentioned in the seventeenth-century inspections of Brześć Castle.

<sup>45</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 110.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, part 2, p. 111; *Lustracja kon.*, p. 34.

<sup>47</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 70–71.

<sup>48</sup> LWWK 1659, part 2, p. 253; M. Nagielski, K. Kossarzecki, Ł. Przybyłek, A. Haratym, *Zniszczenia szwedzkie na terenie Korony w okresie potopu: 1655–1660*, Warsaw 2015, pp. 127–130.

## Townspeople

There were 192 parcels<sup>49</sup> within town walls, which, according to various demographic estimates, translated into about 1,100–1,300 inhabitants in the period from the turn of the sixteenth century to the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>50</sup> The Jews stood out as a specific sub-group. The oldest information about Brześć Jews dates back to 1428,<sup>51</sup> although Żydowska Street (Jewish Street, *platea Iudeorum*) was mentioned as early as in 1463.<sup>52</sup> The Jewish community in Brześć Kujawski was one of Cuyavia's oldest.<sup>53</sup> Subject literature commonly accepts the view that a fully organised Jewish community (*kehilla*) functioned in Brześć in the sixteenth or perhaps even in the fifteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Existence of an organised community would imply that Brześć had a synagogue, but sources mentions no such temple *expressis verbis* until 1782. At that time, it was located on the left side of Żydowska Street (looking from Mistrzowska Street).<sup>55</sup> A Jewish school is mentioned to have existed in the town at the close of the fifteenth century,<sup>56</sup> which could possibly be identified with a synagogue? The local Jewish cemetery was recorded relatively late (1619–1620).<sup>57</sup> Considering the stable nature of this site type, it can be assumed with a high degree of probability that it was located west of Zgłowiączka River, on the road towards Radziejów and Kruszwica. As part of the extraordinary tax announced on the occasion of the coronation of Sigismund the Old in 1507, the Jews of Brześć paid a considerable sum of 25 florins,<sup>58</sup> which may point to the fairly big size and wealth of the community. In the sixteenth century, Brześć became the arena of a socio-economic conflict between its Christian and Jewish inhabitants. The main point of contention was the number of town parcels occupied by Jews and the amount of taxes they paid. The document of King Sigismund the Old of 25 February 1538 mediated an agreement between the representatives of the town's Christian inhabitants and the elders of the Brześć Jewish community. The ruler set the number of Jewish houses and municipal parcels at 15, forbidding their sale to Christians.<sup>59</sup> A similar agreement was concluded on 21 July 1558, this time allowing the number of Jewish houses in the town to be increased by another eight.<sup>60</sup> The 1564–1565 inspection showed 18 Jewish houses and a schoolhouse in Brześć.<sup>61</sup> Despite this, in 1620, the town's inhabitants complained to the inspectors that the Jews occupied more houses and town plots than was specified in the previous agreement.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 311; *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, pp. 56–57 and 72, table 2.

<sup>51</sup> E. Feldman, *Di elteste jedyjes wegn Jidn in pojlisze sztot in XIV–XVI jorhundert*, “Bleter far Geszichte”, vol. 1, 1934, p. 63. This is confirmed by the appearance of a Jewess by the name of Sara from Brześć mentioned in 1430; KDW, vol. 9, no. 1244.

<sup>52</sup> BUW, Ławn. Brz., f. 82.

<sup>53</sup> Z. Guldon, *Żydzi w miastach kujawskich w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ZK, vol. 9, 1993, pp. 100–101; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Skupiska i gminy żydowskie w Polsce do końca XVI wieku*, “Czasy Nowożytne”, vol. 21, 2008, pp. 182–184.

<sup>54</sup> Z. Guldon, *Skupiska żydowskie w miastach polskich w XV–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach*, vol. 2: *Materiały z konferencji, Kraków 24–26 XI 1998*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, S. Gąsiorowski, Cracow 2000, p. 23; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Skupiska i gminy żydowskie w Polsce do końca XVI wieku*, “Czasy Nowożytne”, vol. 21, 2008, p. 32.

<sup>55</sup> L. Kajzer, *Inwentarz mieszczan*, p. 287.

<sup>56</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 367.

<sup>57</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 312, 314.

<sup>58</sup> M. Horn, *Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich w Polsce z 1507 r.*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 1974, no. 3 (91), p. 12.

<sup>59</sup> MRPS IV, no. 19004; *Dyplomatariusz dotyczący Żydów w dawnej Polsce na źródłach archiwalnych osnuty (1388–1782)*, pub. M. Bersohn, Warsaw 1910, no. 44. The plot of land called *Przechassowska* was an exception, as it was castle (gord starosty) land.

<sup>60</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 313; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 73; MRPS IV, no. 19004.

<sup>61</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 274.

<sup>62</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 313–314.

## Suburbs

It seems that late medieval Brześć Kujawski had only one suburb, and this was most probably the later Krakowskie (*Cracow*) Suburb. The 1465 entries to the Brześć court book simply mention a *suburbium Brestensis* or simply a *suburbium*.<sup>63</sup> However, aside from the suburb, it seems that there was a weavers' settlement on the so-called 'kowalska' (*blacksmith's*) road (probably the same road which was called Smólska Road in the eighteenth century), as a 1466 record indicates the existence of a property located 'penes viam que dicitur in Cowale versus lanificum Brześcensis'.<sup>64</sup> Already the 1494 inventory of the estates falling within Brześć Gord Starosty listed 35 parcels and nine granaries in the suburbs. In the eighteenth century, the following streets of Krakowskie suburb were listed: Zduńska, Strycharska, Zatylna, Nadrzeczna, Krakowska, Sokołowska, and Smólska. At that time, the hilly, sandy area to the south of the town, outside the Krakowskie Suburb, which stretched in the form of a strip of land from Zgłowiączka River to the border of Guźlin Village, was called *Góry* or *Góra* (Eng. *Mountains* or *Mountain*, respectively).<sup>65</sup> The sixteenth century saw the emergence of what was to become Toruńskie (Toruń) Suburb to the north of Toruń Gate. In 1533, the Brześć town council sold to the Brześć townspeople a garden called *Jeziorny*, consisting of seven parts.<sup>66</sup> Jezierna Street was located in the suburb and was the site of seven gardens belonging to the town's inhabitants, as mentioned in the sixteenth-century inspections.<sup>67</sup> The name suggests that the street lead towards Smętowo Lake. Back then, the townspeople cultivated orchards in the area between the town wall and the river.<sup>68</sup> The records from the end of the eighteenth century indicate that there were Solarska and Toruńska Streets in the Toruńskie Suburb, as well as gardens in the area known as *Na Brzuśni*.<sup>69</sup> In 1551, King Sigismund Augustus granted the inhabitants of Brześć Kujawski a permit to exploit the nearby marl deposits for the production of lime and cement. Over time, the area where this sedimentary rock was mined began to be called *Margle* or *Duże Margle* (Eng. *Marls*, or *Big Marls*, respectively).<sup>70</sup>

## Churches

### Parochial church of St. Stanislaus

St. Peter's was the original church of Brześć Kujawski. This church was located near the town, in what is today the village of Stary Brześć.<sup>71</sup> The first mention of this church can be found relatively early in the history of Brześć, as it comes from 1264.<sup>72</sup> In 1313, Duke Ladislaus the Short handed it over to be managed by Knights of the Cross with the Red Star.<sup>73</sup> This is the last reference to this temple as a parish church, which could indicate that the translocated town acquired a new, or at least a partially completed, Gothic parish church at that time. For centuries, the structure of the church of St. Peter's had been wooden, and survived in this form until the end of the sixteenth century. According to the 1584 visitation, by that point no mass had been celebrated in the church for a year, and the associated

<sup>63</sup> BUW, Ławn. Brz., ff. 88, 100v.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, f. 95.

<sup>65</sup> L. Kajzer, *Inwentarz mieszczan*, p. 293; M. Kallas, *Opis historyczno-statystyczny Brześcia Kujawskiego z 1820 roku*, ZK-D, seria B: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1979, p. 204.

<sup>66</sup> AGAD, Potocki Family Public Archive, sign. 304, ff. 297v–298v = MRPS IV, no. 18974, 23310.

<sup>67</sup> LW 1564, part 2, p. 207; Lustracja kon., p. 22.

<sup>68</sup> MHDW 20, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>69</sup> L. Kajzer, *Inwentarz mieszczan*, pp. 292–293.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem, p. 293; M. Kallas, *Opis historyczno-statystyczny Brześcia Kujawskiego*, p. 197.

<sup>71</sup> The most probable location is the burial ground in Stary Brześć (site 4), the use of which dates from the mid-twelfth to the sixteenth century. Its approximate distance from the main square of the modern town is approx. 2,100 m; Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 41. A. Andrzejewska, *Z badań nad kształtowaniem się wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa Kujaw brzeskich. Rejon Brześcia Kujawskiego*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona", vol. 15, part 2, 2005, p. 17.

<sup>72</sup> J. Pakulski, *Brześć Kujawski za rządów wójta Tylo*, pp. 80–81, annex 1. The next reference comes from 1294; KDP, vol. 1, no. 56.

<sup>73</sup> A. Mosbach, *Wiadomości do dziejów polskich z Archiwum Prowincyi Szląskiej*, Wrocław 1860, pp. 38–39 'ecclesiam Beati Petri parrochiale in ciuitate Brethensi'.

endowment was transferred to the church of St. Stanislaus.<sup>74</sup> Despite the post-visitation recommendations, the church had not been renovated.<sup>75</sup> The parish priest of Brześć, Wawrzyniec, mentioned in the papal tithing list from 1325, probably performed his service already in a brick church.<sup>76</sup> It was probably the site of some sessions of the papal Inowrocław-Brześć trial (1320–1321).<sup>77</sup> Its patronage was recorded relatively late – in the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>78</sup> In 1489, Brześć Parish was made up of the following settlements: Brześć Kujawski, Stary Brześć, Falborek, Falborz, Guźlin (Guźlino, t), Jądrowice (Jandrowice, n), Kuczyną (c), Miechowice, Pikutkowo (Pilchutkowo, t), Rządka Wola, and two parts of a very fragmented Smólsk (Smolsko, n) – the noble part (Smólsk Krystyna) and the part belonging to Włocławek Chapter (later known as Popowiczki and Ardziakonowo).<sup>79</sup> This parochial district did not change much in the late sixteenth century.<sup>80</sup> At the end of the century, there was already a brick belfry by the parochial church, although it was not yet fully finished at that point.<sup>81</sup> The surroundings of the church could not have been impressive since the inspector wrote that the cemetery was only partially repaired, the presbytery was badly neglected, and the fence was ruined. There were also stables and houses of prayer brotherhoods, houses of mansionaries and altarists, a brick school building and a small but well-kept preacher's house.<sup>82</sup> In the first half of the eighteenth century, the presbytery was housed in a two-story building adjacent to the town walls.<sup>83</sup>

### The Dominican Monastery and the church of St. Michael

The Dominican Monastery with the conventual church dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel was located in the north-west corner of town walls, at Toruńska Gate. The Monastery was built there in the period of the chartered town's translocation at the turn of the fourteenth century. According to the traditional beliefs passed on by Jan Długosz, the Monastery was founded in 1264 by Casimir I of Cuyavia, the Duke of Cuyavia and Łęczyca.<sup>84</sup> Originally, therefore, it had to be located in the area of today's village of Stary Brześć like the entire thirteenth-century town. During the Teutonic invasion of 1332, it shared the fate of the town, which was destroyed during the siege.<sup>85</sup> It was rebuilt using bricks. However, the construction of the church was not carried out simultaneously with other investments in the town, as archaeological research indicates these activities were carried out later.<sup>86</sup> Its presbytery was to be constructed by the Bishop of Włocławek, Zbylut of Gołańcza, member of the Pałuk family (1364–1383).<sup>87</sup> Next, the nave was expanded, which probably lasted until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Monastery buildings were wooden or half-timbered at the time, or possibly

<sup>74</sup> MHDW 19, pp. 96, 97–98; cf. visitation from 1590; MHDW 23, p. 125. Kujawski, Parafie, pp. 226–227.

<sup>75</sup> MHDW 22, p. 168.

<sup>76</sup> *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 1, pub. J. Ptaśnik, Cracow 1913, p. 266.

<sup>77</sup> *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, vol. 1: *Causa Junivladislaviae et Brestiae-Cuiaviae anno 1320–1321 acta*, pub. H. Chłopocka, Wrocław 1970, pp. 15, 22, 78.

<sup>78</sup> *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 4, ed. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, H. Wajs, Rzym–Lublin 1992, no. 837 (1421); *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, pub. A. Prochaska, Cracow 1882, no. 1152 (1424).

<sup>79</sup> Lustracja 1489, pp. 92–93. It should be added that two other nobility land units in Smólsk and Nowa Wieś Smólska belonged to Kruszyn Parish; *ibidem*, p. 94.

<sup>80</sup> The visitation of 1584 (MHDW 19, p. 96) mentions that Brześć Parish, apart from Brześć itself, also includes the following villages: Rządka Wola, Jądrowice, Miechowice, Kuczyną, Falborz, Stary Brześć, Pikutkowo, Popowice, Smólsk, and Góźlin. The visitation from 1598 (MHDW 20, p. 12) contains a similar list.

<sup>81</sup> MHDW 20, p. 6.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 6–7.

<sup>83</sup> Repertorium 71.

<sup>84</sup> *Ioannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ks. 7–8, pub. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in., Varsoviae 1975, vol. 7-8, p. 142: '[Duke Casimir – D.K.] *monasterium in opido suo Brzeszcze Cuyaviensi fundit et erigit et fratres praedictos a provinciali Poloniae petitos et ex Cracoviensi conventu assumptos in illo locat*'. An extensive monograph of the medieval history of Brześć Dominicans was prepared by K. Optołowicz, *Klasztor dominikański w Brześciu Kujawskim w średniowieczu (XIII–XV w.)*, Toruń 2014, MS of Ph.D. thesis, [https://repozytorium.umk.pl/bitstream/handle/item/5847/K\\_OPTOLOWICZ-DOKTORAT.PDF?sequence=1](https://repozytorium.umk.pl/bitstream/handle/item/5847/K_OPTOLOWICZ-DOKTORAT.PDF?sequence=1) (access: 8.10.2020.).

<sup>85</sup> *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, vol. 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 372.

<sup>86</sup> A. Andrzejewska, L. Kajzer, *Badania zespołu poddominikańskiego w Brześciu Kujawskim*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona", vol. 1, 1995, p. 145.

<sup>87</sup> *Ioannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vols. 10–11, ed. S. Gawęda et al., Varsoviae 1982, pp. 129–130.

only partially made of brick (the so-called priory).<sup>88</sup> In 1584, the inspector indicated that the Dominican church, just like the convent's house, was badly damaged. At that time, the Monastery operated a small hospital (for 3–4 people) for the poor.<sup>89</sup>

### The hospital and church of the Holy Spirit

The consent to the foundation of the Holy Spirit Hospital in Brześć Kujawski was given by Duke Ladislaus the Short in 1294. It was to be located near the town, on a public road near the end of a bridge. The Duke entrusted the organisation and management of this charitable institution to the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star.<sup>90</sup> The following year, the same ruler concluded an agreement with Jan, a burgher from Toruń, for the construction of a hospital in the outskirts of the town.<sup>91</sup> In order to create the foundation's supply and financial base, the Duke endowed it with the knight's village of Kąty, which had been confiscated for robberies, along with the right to build a mill at the point where Bachorze River fed into Zgłowiączka<sup>92</sup> in 1297. These actions were complemented by the foundation of the parish church of St. Peter in (Stary) Brześć.<sup>93</sup> The exact location of the poorhouse was specified in subsequent visitations which mention that it was located outside town walls, in the Krakowskie Suburb, on the road leading to Włocławek.<sup>94</sup> At the end of the second half of the sixteenth century, the hospital buildings had a half-timbered structure with wattle-and-daub infill, while the chapel was wooden. There was a garden and a cemetery next to the chapel.<sup>95</sup> At that time, it had about 30 inhabitants.<sup>96</sup> In the first half of the next century, the chapel was rebuilt as a half-timbered structure with wattle-and-daub infill.<sup>97</sup> Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star continued to take care of this poorhouse.<sup>98</sup> However, with the progress of the Reformation, their religious discipline and dependence on the St. Matthias House began to weaken. As a result, during the Sejm (Diet) in Piotrków Trybunalski in 1565, King Sigismund Augustus incorporated the Brześć hospital provosty of Holy Spirit, together with the income to which it was entitled, into the local parish church.<sup>99</sup>

### Streets

The 1494 register of rents from Brześć Kujawski mentions the market square (*circulus*), which, as we can assume, probably contained a block of town buildings located around the market square with a town hall. References to the rents from craftsmen working near the town hall (*subpretoriales*) can

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<sup>88</sup> A. Andrzejewska, L. Kajzer, *Badania zespołu poddominikańskiego w Brześciu Kujawskim*, pp. 134–135, 146; eadem, *Klasztor dominikanów w Brześciu Kujawskim*, [in:] *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Wrocław–Opole 2000, pp. 536–538.

<sup>89</sup> MHDW 19, p. 98.

<sup>90</sup> A. Mosbach, *Wiadomości do dziejów polskich*, pp. 32–33= KDP, vol. 2, part 1, no. 459. It was described as located outside town walls in a document from 1389: KDP, vol. 2, part 2, no. 534. 'ecclesiam Sancti Spiritus seu hospitale sitam ante valvam civitatis Brzeszcz'. A competent synthesis of this order's commandery was given by M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 1999, p. 123. A broader, albeit with many errors, analysis can be found in: S. Paczkowski, *Z dziejów zakonu krzyżowców z czerwoną gwiazdą na Kujawach*, ZK-D, vol. 15: *Kujawy wschodnie i ziemia dobrzyńska w średniowieczu*, 2001, pp. 93–101.

<sup>91</sup> A. Mosbach, *Wiadomości do dziejów polskich*, p. 34.

<sup>92</sup> KDP, vol. 2, part 1, no. 414.

<sup>93</sup> A. Mosbach, *Wiadomości do dziejów polskich*, pp. 37–39.

<sup>94</sup> MHDW 19, p. 98; S. Kuliński, *Monografia Brześcia Kujawskiego*, p. 43.

<sup>95</sup> MHDW 20, p. 18; D. Chyła, *Opieka społeczna na Kujawach w latach 1577–1772*, Lublin 2015, pp. 104, 128.

<sup>96</sup> The 1584 inspection mentions 28 poor (MHDW 19, p. 98), while the 1598 inspection lists: 12 old men, 14 old women, 5 children and a coachman (MHDW 20, p. 19).

<sup>97</sup> Chyła 2015, p. 131, footnote 232.

<sup>98</sup> ADWł, Kopiarz 11, ff. 51–53.

<sup>99</sup> Ibidem, ff. 22v–24; S. Kuliński, *Monografia Brześcia Kujawskiego*, pp. 43–44, 84. M. Surdacki, *Szpitalnictwo zakonne w średniowiecznej Polsce*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", vol. 63, 2015, no. 2, pp. 69–70; Surdacki incorrectly attributed this decision to Bishop H. Rozdrażewski. This hospital's charitable activity is described in detail in: Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Działalność charytatywna w archidiakonatach kruszwickim i włocławskim diecezji kujawskiej i pomorskiej*, Włocławek 2015, passim.

be seen as further proof of this hypothesis.<sup>100</sup> Little can be said about the appearance of the town hall apart from what can be seen in the engraving by Erik Jönsson Dahlbergh. It seems to be a massive, two-storey building with a gable roof, which is adjoined on its eastern side by a square tower. It was about two storeys higher and was topped with a baroque cupola. In the late Middle Ages, the buildings around the market square were at least partially made of brick,<sup>101</sup> and tenement houses began to appear in the town at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>102</sup> The sources mention also Mnisza Street (*platea Monachorum*), which ran from Toruńska Gate to the market square, and whose name referred to the nearby Dominican Monastery.<sup>103</sup> This name was first mentioned in sources in 1458.<sup>104</sup> The next specified street is Tkacka Street (*platea Textorum*), which ran from the north-eastern corner of the market to the north. It was not only mentioned in historical sources many times under this name,<sup>105</sup> but also appeared earlier (1440) as the *platea Lanificum*.<sup>106</sup> It was identical to Knapska Street, mentioned in 1782.<sup>107</sup> Szewska Street (*platea Sutorum*)<sup>108</sup> was most likely the same street as Mistrzowska Street mentioned in the inventory from the end of the eighteenth century. It led from the north-eastern corner of the market square to the town defensive walls.<sup>109</sup> Leśna Street (*platea Lesznÿa*)<sup>110</sup> and Świnia Street (*platea Szwÿnÿa*)<sup>111</sup> also date back to at least the fifteenth century. In 1463, the following streets were registered in the town's council book: Zamkowa Street (*platea Castrensis*),<sup>112</sup> Żydowska Street (*platea Iudeorum*),<sup>113</sup> and another street referred to in a descriptive manner as located opposite the parish church (*platea versus ecclesiam parrochiale*).<sup>114</sup> It was probably the same street which was later called Farna Street.

## Municipal facilities

The sixteenth-century inspections mention the existence of a municipal scale and a bathhouse,<sup>115</sup> but their location is difficult to determine. In the case of the scale, it can be presumed that it was, as was the custom, located in the middle of the market square in the block of buildings centred around the town hall or by one of its frontages. According to the 1527 *Liber Retaxationum* of Włocławek Diocese, throughout the sixteenth century, Brześć had an active parish school<sup>116</sup> whose origins can be traced back to at least the first decades of the previous century.<sup>117</sup> Visitations from the end of the sixteenth century describe it as being located in a brick building near the parish church.<sup>118</sup> As already noted, there was also a Jewish school,<sup>119</sup> references of which were recorded already in 1494. It was

<sup>100</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 364.

<sup>101</sup> BUW, Ławn. Brz., f. 7 (1424); KDW, vol. 10, no. 1524 (1440: 'in opido Brestensi, in domo lapidea providi Petri Modiste in circulo sita').

<sup>102</sup> MHDW 20, p. 8.

<sup>103</sup> BUW, Ławn. Brz., f. 7.

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, ff. 70v, 72, 100v, 108.

<sup>105</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 365; BUW, Ławn. Brz., ff. 70v, 71v, 72v, 74, 80, 81v, 95, 95v, 96, 106–106v, 107.

<sup>106</sup> BUW, Ławn. Brz., f. 27v.

<sup>107</sup> L. Kajzer, *Inwentarz mieszczan*, pp. 268, 283, 285–286.

<sup>108</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 366; BUW, Ławn. Brz., ff. 79v, 88 (twice), 95v.

<sup>109</sup> Kajzer 1998, p. 286.

<sup>110</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 366; BUW, Ławn. Brz., f. 96 ('platea Leszna'), 116v ('platea Lyeszna').

<sup>111</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 367; BUW, Ławn. Brz., f. 72v ('platea dicta Swinia'), 108 ('platea Swÿna').

<sup>112</sup> BUW, Ławn. Brz., ff. 81v, 88 ('in platea sitam eundo ad castrum').

<sup>113</sup> Ibidem, f. 82.

<sup>114</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>115</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 209; *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, p. 24. Brześć had a municipal bathhouse since at least the beginning of the fifteenth century, when its existence was confirmed by a reference to *Johannes balneator de Brzest*; Ulanowski 1902, no 83.

<sup>116</sup> MHDW 11, p. 34.

<sup>117</sup> *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, vol. 3, part 1, pub. B. Ulanowski, Cracow 1908, vol. 3, part 1, p. 222, no. 472.

<sup>118</sup> MHDW 11, p. 34; MHDW 20, p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 274.

located in Świnia Street which probably later became Żydowska Street.<sup>120</sup> It is also worth noting that there was a water supply system in the town, for which King Sigismund Augustus issued a relevant privilege on 5 January 1549.<sup>121</sup>

## Town property

‘This town has no fields, but it has gardens a plenty’<sup>122</sup> – this sentiment was unanimously emphasised in all the inspections.<sup>123</sup> Still, this statement alone, if left without elaboration, would be misleading since the nearby villages of Pikutkowo and Guźlin belonged to the town. They were granted to Brześć *ad reformationem praenomitatae civitatis* by Ladislaus the Short in 1292,<sup>124</sup> which was confirmed in 1538 by King Sigismund the Old.<sup>125</sup> In 1383, the Duke of Mazovia, Siemowit IV, granted the town *in subsidium* the village of Stary Brześć, confirming that the town owned Pikutków and Guźlin.<sup>126</sup> Later, the village returned to the Brześć starostas. In addition, Brześć burghers held a meadow called Obora, given to them by King Ladislaus Jagiello in 1431 as compensation for the damage caused by the fire which occurred during the Teutonic invasion of August of that year.<sup>127</sup>

## Mills

The royal mill with a mill pond on Zgłowiączka River, located outside the town gate, was first mentioned in a document issued by Casimir the Great in 1364.<sup>128</sup> As the mill had to be operated, the dammed river undoubtedly formed a vast pond (*piscina*) at the level of the town, which was first mentioned in 1346.<sup>129</sup> In 1489, two royal water mills located near the town were already listed in the records.<sup>130</sup> The records from 1494,<sup>131</sup> not a much later period, list only one mill with six wheels in Brześć. Five of them were used for grinding grain, and the sixth for moving the fulling mill. The 1565 inspection also mentions only one mill with only two undershoot wheels;<sup>132</sup> it was similarly described in 1569.<sup>133</sup> Its location is more precisely defined by the assignment documents from 1574.<sup>134</sup> According to the 1569 inspection, a new mill called *Wilcze Gardło* was already in operation at that time. It was supposed to be built *na Zdroju* (Polish for: ‘over a spring’), and it had one overshot wheel.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 367.

<sup>121</sup> AGAD, Potocki Family Public Archive, sign. 304, ff. 274–276 = MRPS V, vol. 2, no. 4686 LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 208 and *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, p. 22, inform that inhabitants paid already a fee “for the water lines”.

<sup>122</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 311.

<sup>123</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 207; *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, p. 22; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 71.

<sup>124</sup> KDP, vol. 1, no. 79.

<sup>125</sup> AGAD, Parchment Documents, sign. 4309 = MRPS IV, no. 18951.

<sup>126</sup> J. Pakulski, *Brześć Kujawski za rządów wójta Tylo*, pp. 82–83, annex 2.

<sup>127</sup> KDP, vol. 2, part 2, no. 557. This edition of the document (according to the copy included in MK) was issued in 1401. It should be corrected in 1431, which is supported by: the narrative of the certificate, the day of its issuance (Friday on the St. Clement’s Day) and the fact that its place of issue (Cracow) was consistent with the royal itinerary; cf. A. Gąsiorowski, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagielly: 1386–1434*, ed. 2 corr. and comp., prep. for print A. Gąsiorowski, G. Rutkowska, Warsaw 2015, pp. 120, 145.

<sup>128</sup> KDP, vol. 2, part 2, no. 520.

<sup>129</sup> Ibidem, part 1, no. 278.

<sup>130</sup> *Lustracja 1489*, p. 98.

<sup>131</sup> Brzeskie 1494, p. 369.

<sup>132</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 209.

<sup>133</sup> *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, p. 23.

<sup>134</sup> MRPS VI, no. 249; 301: ‘molendinum Brzestensem extra muros et portam civilem versus Toruniam tendentem in fluvio Zgoviątką situm’.

<sup>135</sup> *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, p. 23.

Inspections from the seventeenth century clearly define it as already devastated.<sup>136</sup> At present, it is difficult to clearly define its location, but most likely it could have been located by Zgłowiączka River, south of the town, at the height of the castle.

## Roads

A long-distance trade route from Toruń to Red Ruthenia passed through Brześć Kujawski already in the Middle Ages. Around 1316, Ladislaus the Short designated a route to Sandomierz for Toruń merchants through Brześć Kujawski, Łęczycza, Inowłódz or Sulejów, Wąchock, Opatów and further, from Opatów through Zawichost to Ruthenia.<sup>137</sup> His son took a similar approach in 1349, creating a Toruń-Sandomierz route that went through Brześć Kujawski, Łęczycza, and Opoczno.<sup>138</sup> During the reign of Casimir the Great (around 1350–1360), Brześć was mentioned as part of the trade route from Toruń to Lviv. Leaving Brześć Kujawski, the route led further through Kowal, Gostynin, Łowicz, Rawa Mazowiecka, Góra (near Nowe Miasto upon Pilica), Radom, Opatów, and Sandomierz. There was also an alternative road to Lviv (named *Via nova* in the deed) through Brześć Kujawski, Przedecz, Łęczycza, Inowłódz, Opoczno, Radom, Opatów and Sandomierz.<sup>139</sup> During the reign of Casimir the Great, Prussian merchants who travelled through Brześć Kujawski to Sandomierz opened an extension of this route to Hungary.<sup>140</sup> Aside from this route, there was also a road leading from Brześć Kujawski to Włocławek. It was of local importance and although it does not appear in sources until the first half of the fifteenth century, it can be assumed that it was already in use much earlier.<sup>141</sup> This route naturally extended through Kruszwica to the west – to Greater Poland.<sup>142</sup>

(2021)

Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak

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<sup>136</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 75; LWWK 1659, part 2, p. 255. The 1616–1620 inspection suggests that it was still active at that time, unless the inspectors only copied the information from an earlier visitation: rent of 4 florins; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 313.

<sup>137</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 2, part 1, pub. M. Hein, E. Maschke, Königsberg 1932, no. 228 = *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, part 4, pub. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, Wrocław 1969, no. 892; to read more about the dating of this document, see: M. Magdański, *Organizacja kupiectwa i handlu toruńskiego do roku 1403*, Toruń 1939, pp. 53–56.

<sup>138</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 4, published by H. Koeppen, Marburg 1960, no. 424 = KDW, vol. 2, no. 1289.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 5, part 2, published by K. Konrad, in cooperation with H. Koeppen, Marburg 1973, no. 951.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 4, no. 447; M. Magdański, *Organizacja kupiectwa i handlu toruńskiego do roku 1403*, Toruń 1939, pp. 5–67.

<sup>141</sup> KDP, vol. 2, part 2, no. 400; ADWł, Independent Documents, sign. 376.

<sup>142</sup> S. Weymann, *Cła i drogi handlowe w Polsce piastowskiej*, Poznań 1938, pp. 105–106.

### III.6.4.9b CHEŁMNO

*Marek Grzegorz Zieliński*

One could reasonably expect that in the case of Chełmno – one of the major urban centres of the Commonwealth and the former capital town of a voivodeship belonging to Royal Prussia – the reconstruction of the town's profile in the second half of the sixteenth century should not cause much difficulty. All the more because it was the biggest Church town in the estates of the bishops of Chełmno, affected by the Reformation movements to a slight degree only and subjected to strong polonization in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century. Undoubtedly, sixteenth century Chełmno should not be seen solely through the prism of its original location area. The steady growth of the agrarian potential of the town, increasingly affecting its economic profile, makes it necessary to consider the town in connection with its vast patrimonium. As is often the case, one obstacle is the quality of the source material preserved, which obviously affects research. In most general terms, the core of the source material which allows a relatively precise recreation of the spatial layout of the town has been preserved either for the Middle Ages or for the period between the seventeenth and eighteenth century. As the author of this article feels more scientifically attracted to modern history, the retrogressive method has been used for the reconstruction of the profile of Chełmno at the end of the sixteenth century.

The key archive resources for the study of the history of Chełmno in the sixteenth century can be found in the State Archive in Toruń, the Archive of the Parochial Church of Chełmno – the deposit in the Archive of Old Records of the Diocese of Toruń, and the Diocesan Archive in Pelplin. The key materials include books of municipal expenses, records of bishops' inspections, inventories of bishops' estates, chronicles kept by orders and books kept by guilds. Unfortunately, during the Second World War, nearly all council and court books were lost. The preserved treasury records cover the town's spending starting from 1626.<sup>1</sup> Some light can be shed on the structure of the fiscal system and the condition of the buildings in town thanks to the tax records (*księga czynszów*) from the years 1749–1773 and the register of rents for the years 1726–1752.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the aforementioned sources, one can consult the three preserved books of the court of assessors from the years 1480–1559, 1619–1627, 1696.<sup>3</sup> Of particular importance for the study of the organisation of the urban authorities is the book of regulations (*wilkierz*) issued by Bishop Piotr Kostka in 1590 together with the town ordinances issued by Bishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki in 1603, Bishop Maciej Konopacki in 1612, Bishop Jan Kuczborski in 1619, and Bishop Jakub Zadzik in 1626 as well as the 'Town Hall Resolutions concerning Łęg' (*Rezolucje Magistratu względem Łęgu*) starting from 1583 until 1772.<sup>4</sup> Of smaller importance for the study of the history of Chełmno are the books of protocols of the courts of the Chełmno Bishopric estates kept in the Toruń Archive and Diocesan Archive in Pelplin.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 9–87.

<sup>2</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 88, 89, 91.

<sup>3</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 1–3.

<sup>4</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, pp. 63–91, 102–104; ADPelplin, Culmensia et Pomesaniensia, sign. C 9, C 13, C 18. Cf. Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła nowożytnego prawa chełmińskiego (XVII wiek)*, part 2, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne", vol. 24, 1972, no. 1, pp. 151–184.

<sup>5</sup> ADPelplin, Culmensia et Pomesaniensia, sign. C 51a, (*no pagination*) the first 70 sheets; APT, Sądy dominialne dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego, sign. 1–9.

The Pelplin Archive also houses extremely valuable documents from the general bishops' inspections of the Chełmno parish carried out in the seventeenth century by Andrzej Leszczyński in 1647, Andrzej Olszowski in 1672, Jan Małachowski in 1680. Unfortunately, we have no account of the general inspection carried out in 1581–1594 by Bishop Piotr Kostka. Very useful for research are also the ordinances issued by Bishops Wawrzyniec Gembicki, Maciej Konopacki, Jan Kuczborski. The *Acta curiae* of 1639–164 also include the book of regulations of the brewers' guild of Chełmno from the year 1471.<sup>6</sup>

The Archive of the Sisters of Mercy in Chełmno keeps the chronicle of the Benedictines of Chełmno from the years 1578–1619, which registered the life of the order and the town during the key period of the reign of Abbess Magdalena Mortęska.<sup>7</sup>

The Museum of the Land of Chełmno houses the plans by Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Rüdiger and Westphal,<sup>8</sup> which are crucial for the establishment of the town topography. We know of two plans of Chełmno by Rüdiger; both show Chełmno from a 'stereoscope' perspective. The copy kept in Chełmno is a photocopy of the original, which measures 78 × 110 cm. At present, the original remains unknown. The plan was drawn after the first partition of Poland, definitely between 1782 and 1792, the date of the author's death. A copy of this plan is also kept in the State Archive in Toruń.<sup>9</sup> The second plan which we know of is that of Chełmno by Rüdiger was drawn between 1776 and 1779 and is currently held by the Geheimes Stattsarchiv Preissischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin Dahlem.<sup>10</sup> The analysis of the precise and accurate rendering of many details testifies to the author's utmost diligence. Nevertheless, the work is not free from mistakes.<sup>11</sup> The two plans by Westphal, dated 1820 and 1849, show the town together with the Vistula riverbank area. The preparation of the plans was definitely preceded by minute measurements of the land, which makes them a credible source to consult. The first of the two plans by Westphal also contains valuable inscriptions from 1821–1824. The plan is almost identical to the one kept in the Berlin Archive.<sup>12</sup>

When discussing the cartographic sources, one should not forget the map drawn by Fredrich Leopold Schrötter, which concluded the cartographic works carried out at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, the estates of Chełmno were included only at the borders of the four sheets, which makes the analysis slightly more complicated. On the other hand, the 'Polonia' map of 1770 by Karl Perthées as well as the 'Charte vom Königlich Preussischen Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder' by Renner published in 1831<sup>14</sup> are not of much use. And conversely, the maps of the regulation works on the Vistula in 1849<sup>15</sup> prove extremely useful for the establishment of the hydrographic changes in the

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<sup>6</sup> ADPelplin, Culmensia et Pomesaniensia, sign. C 13; print: Z. Zdrójkowski, *Chełmiński wilkierz cechu piwowarów z roku 1471*, "Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu", vol. 15, 1950, no. 3–4, pp. 155–160; see also *Ziemia chełmińska w przeszłości. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 1961, pp. 106–109.

<sup>7</sup> Archiwum Sióstr Miłosierdzia w Chełmnie, sign. I-J/4, "Annales to jest Roczne Dzieje Kłostoru Chełmińskiego od czasu naprawy abo reformatie i jego po spustoszeniu w roku po Narodzeniu Panskim" a.k.a. *Kronika Benedyktynek*, p. 453; *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, publ. W. Szolński, Pelplin 1937, p. 22; J. Fankidejski, *Klasztory żeńskie w diecezji chełmińskiej*, Pelplin 1883, p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> MZCh, sign. MZCH/D/1, plan by G. F. W. Rüdiger; sign. MZCH/D/277, "Carte von der Stadt Culm auf Requisition des Magistrats nach Massgabe der hohen Regierungs Instruction vom 14-ten Febr. 1810", plan by F. Westphal dated January/February 1820, dimensions: 81 × 100 cm; sign. MZCH/D/278, "Situations Plan von der Stromlage der Weichsel gegen Culm und Schwetz", plan by F. Westphal dated 15 May 1849, dimensions: 35.5 × 122.5 cm. Rüdiger's plan of Chełmno is erroneously dated 1776. On the plan from 1849, there is an initial "F" in front of Westphal's name. Despite the similarity in drawing and colours, handwriting, it is uncertain whether the author of both plans was the same person.

<sup>9</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 2806. Cf.: Z.H. Nowak, *Jerzy Fryderyk Wilhelm Rüdiger i jego plany Torunia i Chełmna z drugiej połowy XVIII w.*, [in:] *Kartografia forteczna*, ed. A. Tomczak, Warsaw 1991, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>10</sup> GStA PK, sign. XI. HA, G50695, dimensions: 56.6 × 58.5 cm, reproduced [in:] AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 8.

<sup>11</sup> See also the plan by Rüdiger in *Historische Pläne und Grundrisse von Städten und Ortschaften in Polen. Ein deutsch-polnischer Katalog*, publ. E. Klemp, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 62 no. 565 and reproduction on p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> GStA PK, sign. HA. 2343, dimensions: 84 × 101 cm, reproduced [in:] AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 11.

<sup>13</sup> F.L. Schrötter, *Karte von Ost-Preussen nebst Preussisch Litthauen und West-Preussen nebst dem Netzedistrict aufgenommen unter Leitung des Königl. Preuss. Staats Ministers Frey Herrn von Schrötter in den Jahren von 1796 bis 1802*, Berlin 1803–1810; ibidem, *Karte von Ost-Preussen nebst Preussisch Litthauen und West-Preussen nebst Netzedistrict 1796–1802*, Wiesbaden 1978; M. Biskup, *Cartographic sources*, [in:] MRP, in this edition: II.2.9a.

<sup>14</sup> *Atlas des Königreichs Preussen in siebenundzwanzig Blättern*, Erfurt 1831; K. de Perthées, "Polonia ... 1770", Warsaw 1987.

<sup>15</sup> *Atlas zur Zeitschrift für Bauwesen herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung der Königl. Technischen Bau-Deputation und des Architekten-Vereins zu Berlin*, publ. G. Erbkam, vol. 8, issues X to XII, Berlin 1858, Bl. 33; *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*

nearest vicinity of Chełmno. Of some importance for the establishment of the exact location of the road called 'Nadolnik' is also the panoramic view of Chełmno from the north-east painted by Carl Schulin in the early nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Some interesting remarks on the burghers' architecture can be made thanks to the analysis of the panoramic view of the town from the painting of St. Roch and Sebastian from 1708, kept at present in the St. Peter and Paul church in Chełmno,<sup>17</sup> and the votive painting placed under the matroneum in the parochial church. Less importance can be attached to the oldest panoramic views of the town painted by Bartosz Paprocki in 1599 and Johan Jacob Vogel in 1684.<sup>18</sup>

The Archive of the Parochial Church of Chełmno also contains a very interesting document – the book of copies (*kopiarusz*) of the archery brotherhood drawn up in 1695, containing the book of regulations of the guild from 1427 as well as extracts from some bishops' ordinances concerning the brotherhood issues.<sup>19</sup> The birth records of Chełmno, obviously useful for demographic studies, do not cover the sixteenth century. The oldest records of this sort begin in 1640. The oldest book of baptisms of Chełmno, which covered the end of the sixteenth century and survived until the Second World War,<sup>20</sup> is no longer available.

When it comes to printed sources, one should point to the seventeenth century works by Jesuit Fryderyk Szembek, Stanisław Brzechwa and Paweł Kuszewicz.<sup>21</sup>

The first editions of the sources for the study of the town history were published as early as the mid-nineteenth century. One of the oldest is the printed copy of the sumptuary (luxury) law of the town of Chełmno produced in 1843 by Kazimierz Wójcicki. Unfortunately, only fragments of the manuscript were quoted without indication of the place where the original was kept and drawn up.<sup>22</sup> Another text – this time enabling the study of the Reformation – was published in 1858 by W.S. Broel-Plater.<sup>23</sup> Yet another very important source publication for the study of the schooling and Church in Chełmno is the 'Urkundenbuch des Bisthumus Culm' collected by C.P. Woelky in 1884–1887. In the early twentieth century, thanks to the priests Wojciech Pobłocki and Bruno Czaplą, the two oldest documents from the bishops' inspections in 1647 and 1667, which also covered the parish of Chełmno, were published in

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*herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung der Königl. Technischen Bau-Deputation und des Architekten-Vereins zu Berlin*, publ. G. Erbkam, vol. 8, Berlin 1858, pp. 171–172.

<sup>16</sup> MZCh, sign. MZCH/H/315.

<sup>17</sup> AFCh, sign. 1082, dimensions: 127 × 94 cm. Cf.: M.G. Zieliński, *Archiwum Fary Chełmińskiej*, Bydgoszcz 2019, pp. 337ff.

<sup>18</sup> B. Paprocki, *Ogrod krolewsky w ktorem o poczatku cesarzow rzymskich, arcyxiązt rakuskich, krolow polskich, czeskych, xiązt slanskich, ruskich, litewskich, pruskich rozrozdzenia ich krotko opisane naidziesz przez ...*, [Prague] 1599, p. 220; Ch. Hartknoch, *Alt- und Neues Preussenn: oder Preussischer Historien zwey Theile, in derer erstem von desz Landes vorjähriger Gelegenheit und Nahmen... In dem andern aber von desz Teutschen Ordens Ursprung, desselben, wie auch der nachfolgenden Herschafft... mit sonderbahren Fleisz zusammen getragen durch ...*, Franckfurt–Leipzig 1684.

<sup>19</sup> AFCh, sign. 231, p. 8v.

<sup>20</sup> Z. Rogala, *Z najstarszej chełmińskiej księgi metrycznej chrztów*, [in:] *Kalendarz kościelny dla parafii chełmińskiej na rok Pański 1931*, Tczew [1930].

<sup>21</sup> P. Kuszewicz, *Prawa chełmińskiego poprawionego i z łacińskiego języka na polski przetłumaczonego xiąg pięcioro ku pospolitemu użytkowi przez ... z Chelмна*, Poznań 1623; F. Szembek, *Pomoc z Nieba na uspokojenie Prus z dawna Polakom od Pana Boga nagotowana. To jest: SS. Patronowie Kraiow Pruskich, wojną terażniejszą utrapionych, y zycia ich świętobliwego krotkie opisanie*, Toruń 1627; idem, *Światło. W ciemnościach Błędów y Utrapienia, Przykładem życia, Nauką Starożytną y Pomocą Modlitwą, Potrzebującym Świeczące na Prusiech. Błogosławiony Jan Lobedaw Thorunianin. Zakonnik Franciszka Świętego, Kapłan Jeden Zdawnych SS. Patronow Kraiow Pruskich. S. Juty de Sangerhausen niegdy Spowiednik, Zeglarzow i Ludzi Innych Wodą się Bawiących Pomocnik Osobliwy. W Chelmnie Mieście Biskupim w Prusiech u Braci Swey Zakonney odpoczywający Cudami Sławny...*, Toruń [ca. 1638]; S. Brzechfa, *Skarb bogaty w Przewacnym Klasztorze Panien Chełmińskich Benedikta Świętego świeżo odkryty. To jest rzecz która przy przeniesieniu ciała Przewielebney Panny Magdaleny Mortęskiej Ksieniej pomienionego klasztoru blisko przeszley, do ludzi miał X. ... Societas Jezu, Cracow* [after 11 July 1633]; idem, *Pochodnia ludziom zakonnym osobliwie plci białogłowskiej na lichtarzu klasztoru chełmińskiego wystawiona to jest Zywoť Magdaleny Mortęskiej*, [no place] 1634; idem, *Nayprzewielebnieysza w Bogu Panna Magdalena Mortęska, Xsieni Klasztoru Chełmińskiego Reguły S. O. Benedykta y caley Reformacyi Chełmińskiej od Stolicy Apostolskiej roku 1605 approbowaney*, Poznań 1747.

<sup>22</sup> K.W. Wójcicki, *Obrazy starodawne*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1843, pp. 280–283.

<sup>23</sup> *Burmistrz i ławnicy chełmińscy do Zygmunta Augusta o prześladowaniu wiary luterskiej przez biskupa chełmińskiego (z rekopismu autografów Wład. Hr. Ostrowskiego)*, [in:] *Zbiór pamiętników do dziejów polskich*, publ. W.S. Broel-Plater, vol. 2, Warsaw 1858, pp. 1–6.

print.<sup>24</sup> In the interwar period, Father Tadeusz Glemma, and subsequently Father Władysław Szoldrski, published extensive fragments of the Benedictine chronicle.<sup>25</sup> After the Second World War, the key source editions referring to the sixteenth century were published by Jadwiga Lechicka and Zbigniew Zdrójkowski.<sup>26</sup>

In the existing historiography, relatively little space has been devoted to the early modern period history of Chełmno; this applies to the German and Polish texts equally. Still, some of the crucial publications saw the light of day as early as in the nineteenth century; these include the work of Johannes Seeman, Eugeniusz Janota, Jakub Fankidejski, Gustaw Pobłocki, Józef Łukaszewicz and Wojciech Łożyński, Feliks Koneczny, Johann Heise.<sup>27</sup>

The topic of the early modern period history of Chełmno was also taken up by Friedrich Schultz, whose monumental work constitutes a continuation of the mediaeval history of the town. The volumes devoted to the modern period have been preserved as manuscripts under the titles ‘Geschichte der Stadt Kulm and der Kulmer Kreis vom Jahre 1479’ and ‘Die Stadt Kulm und deren Umliegenschaft seit dem Jahre 1600’.<sup>28</sup>

The interwar period brought some more prominent works by Jan Nierzwicki, Bolesław Makowski, Mieczysław Orłowicz, Alfons Mańkowski.<sup>29</sup>

In the period after the Second World War, the study of the demographics of Chełmno was undertaken by Sergiusz Sadowski in the publication entitled ‘Ludność i stosunki narodowościowe miasta Chełmna do schyłku dawnej Rzeczypospolitej’ (*The Population and Ethnic Relations of the Town of Chełmno until the Fall of the Former Polish Commonwealth*).<sup>30</sup> In 1961, a volume of the AHP was published which showed the issues of the geomorphology, settlement, property, demographics and economy of Royal Prussia.<sup>31</sup> Undoubtedly, the greatest contribution to the study of the mediaeval and modern history of the town in the second half of the twentieth century was brought by Zenon Hubert Nowak.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Visitationes ecclesiarum dioecesis Culmensis et Pomesaniae Andrea Leszczyński episcopo A. 1647 factae*, curavit A. Pobłocki, *Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. 4–5, Toruń 1900; *Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Culmensi et Pomesaniae episcopo a. 1667–1672 factae*, curavit B. Czaplą, *Fontes TNT*, vol. 6–10, Toruń 1902–1906.

<sup>25</sup> T. Glemma, *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich 1578–1619*, Toruń 1926.

<sup>26</sup> *Źródła do dziejów Akademii Chełmińskiej 1386–1815*, elab. J. Lechicka, Wrocław 1963; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Chełmiński wilkierz*; idem, *Nieznane źródła prawa chełmińskiego z XVI i XVII wieku*, part 1, “Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne”, vol. 23, 1971, no. 2, pp. 141–182; idem, *Nieznane źródła*, part 2.

<sup>27</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *Historia szkół w Koronie i w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794*, vol. 3, Poznań 1851; J. Seemann, *Die Culmer Pfarrkirche*, Preussische Provinzial-Blätter N. F., vol. 10, Culm 1856; idem, *Die Culmer Pfarrkirche. Eine geschichtliche Abhandlung von Gymnasial-Oberlehrer...*, Sprawozdanie Królewskiego Gimnazjum Katolickiego w Chełmnie z roku szkolnego 1855–1856, Chełmno 1856; idem, *Ueber das Franziskaner-Kloster in Culm, Jahresbericht über das Königliche Katolische Progymnasium zu Neustadt in Westpreussen*, Neustadt 1860; W. Łożyński, *Die Culmer Academie im Jahre 1554. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte dieser Anstalt*, Program Królewskiego Gimnazjum Katolickiego w Chełmnie na rok szkolny 1856–57, Chełmno 1857; E. Janota, *Opis kościoła farnego w Chełmnie (w Prusach)*, “Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny”, R. XVIII, 1858, Seria Nova, no. 10; J. Fankidejski, *Obrazy cudowne i miejsca w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej podług urzędowych akt kościelnych i miejscowych podań*, Pelplin 1880; idem, *Klasztory żeńskie*; idem, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej, podług urzędowych akt kościelnych, opisał...*, Pelplin 1880; G. Pobłocki, *Niektóre wiadomości o Pannach Benedyktynek w Chełmnie i reformacji klasztorów teje reguły w Polsce*, “Przegląd Kościelny”, 1881, no. 16–21; idem, *Dom Sióstr Miłosierdzia w Chełmnie*, “Przegląd Kościelny”, 1882, no. 43–44; *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen, H. V, Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Kulm*, elab. J. Heise, Danzig 1887, pp. 25–80; F. Koneczny, *Zatarg szkolny chełmiński 1554–7*, “Przegląd Powszechny”, vol. 34, 1892.

<sup>28</sup> MZCh, sign. D/519. The first part is 254 pages long, the second – 186. At an unknown time, a typescript was made, which is held by the Towarzystwo Naukowe in Toruń. Z.H. Nowak used this copy when editing the second edition of the text of *Dzieje Chełmna do końca XVIII w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmna. Zarys monograficzny*, ed. M. Biskup, Warsaw–Poznań–Toruń 1987; F. Schultz, *Geschichte der Stadt und des Kreises Kulm*, vol. 1, Danzig 1876, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition Kulm 1895.

<sup>29</sup> A. Mańkowski, *Dzieje bractwa strzelców chełmińskiego*, “Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”, vol. 5, 1920, no. 2; M. Orłowicz, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po województwie pomorskiem*, Lwów–Warsaw 1924; B. Makowski, *Sztuka na Pomorzu. Jej dzieje i zabytki*, Toruń 1932; J. Nierzwicki, *700 lat parafji chełmińskiej*, Chełmno 1933.

<sup>30</sup> MZCh, sign. MZCH/E/142; S. Sadowski, *Ludność i stosunki narodowościowe miasta Chełmna do schyłku dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Toruń 1950, MS.

<sup>31</sup> MRP.

<sup>32</sup> Z.H. Nowak, *Starania o założenie uniwersytetu w Chełmnie w XIV i XV w.*, ZH, vol. 31, 1966, no. 4; idem, *Dzieje Chełmna do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmna i jego regionu. Zarys monograficzny*, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 1968; idem, *Dzieje Chełmna* (publ. 1987). The second article is in fact a repetition of the first one. The most serious changes have been introduced to the sub-chapter: “Zmiany ustrojowe na przełomie XVI i XVII w.”; idem, *Dzieje tzw. Akademii Chełmińskiej*,

A large contribution in the field of art history was brought by Teresa Mroczo.<sup>33</sup> The sensational research by Eliza Szandorowska into the printing industry in Chełmno in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has suggested that possibly there was a robust printing trade functioning in Chełmno already at that time.<sup>34</sup> Many important observations were made by the following authors: Eugeniusz Gąsiorowski, Jerzy Kałdowski, Jerzy Domasłowski and Lilianna Kranz-Domasłowska.<sup>35</sup> In 2007, the work of Marek G. Zieliński was published.<sup>36</sup>

Another most valuable source is the 'Atlas historyczny miast polskich' (*The Historical Atlas of Polish Towns*), in which one book was devoted to Chełmno. It features reproductions of panoramic views and plans of the town. Even though out of fourteen sheets included in this book only three refer to the period of the former Polish Commonwealth, the study of the topography of the town and its vicinity can benefit also from later plans, drawn after the first partition of Poland or even at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One should not forget the 'Album Steinera' (*Steiner's Album*), a collection of works by the Toruń-based engraver kept at the Toruń Museum and published in 1998; it contains four drawings of Chełmno, which are – very importantly – inscribed with captions.<sup>37</sup>

Last but not least, when attempting to reconstruct the profile of Chełmno in the sixteenth century, one should not disregard the works referring to the mediaeval period, without which the understanding of the processes going on in the subsequent epoch would be impossible and inaccessible due to the lack of proper sources. In this regard, the dissertations by Tomasz Jasiński, Zenon Hubert Nowak and Jan Zobolewicz<sup>38</sup> deserve a mention.

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It is believed that the foundation of the castle town of Chełmno coincided with the foundation of the Polish state in general.<sup>39</sup> It was located on top of Góra Świętego Wawrzyńca (*St. Laurent Hill*). The mention of Chełmno in the so-called Falsification from Mogilno testifies to the fact that already in the eleventh century its economic profile was shaped by trade and crafts. It is equally clear that during this period it also served major civil, military and Church administrative functions at the northern border of the early Piast state. The castle town together with its spacious suburbs occupied a prominent hill, sloping down at some 30–45°; it was surrounded by a wooden-clay palisade with the base width of approximately 50 m and the height of over 15 metres.<sup>40</sup>

At the turn of the thirteenth century, the castle town of Chełmno became a centre of intensive military-missionary activities directed against the Old Prussian tribes, which kept attacking the Chełmno land from the north.<sup>41</sup> As a result of one of the such assaults which took place before 1222, the castle

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[in:] *ibidem* (publ. 1987); *idem*, *Bracia Wspólnego Życia i ich szkoła w Chełmnie (1473–1536/1545)*, ZH, vol. 52, 1987, no. 4, pp. 53–77.

<sup>33</sup> *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 11, ed. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, no. 4: *Dawny powiat chełmiński*, elab. T. Mroczo, Warsaw 1976; T. Mroczo, *Sztuka Chełmna do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmna* (publ. 1987).

<sup>34</sup> E. Szandorowska, *Biblioteka i pracownia introligatorska Braci Wspólnego Życia w Chełmnie, Próba rekonstrukcji*, "Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej", vol. 9, 1973, pp. 265–285.

<sup>35</sup> E. Gąsiorowski, *Rynek i Ratusz chełmiński*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 10, 1965, no. 1, pp. 3–28; J. Domasłowski, *Kościół i dawny klasztor cysterek w Chełmnie*, Warsaw–Poznań–Toruń 1983; J. Kałdowski, *Ratusz w Chełmnie*, Toruń 1984; L. Krantz-Domasłowska, J. Domasłowski, *Kościół farny w Chełmnie*, Toruń 1991.

<sup>36</sup> M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno, civitas totius Prussiae metropolis XVI–XVIII w.*, Bydgoszcz 2007.

<sup>37</sup> *Toruń i miasta ziemi chełmińskiej na rysunkach Jerzego Fryderyka Steinera z pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku (tzw. Album Steinera)*, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 1998.

<sup>38</sup> J. Zobolewicz, *Układ przestrzenny średniowiecznego Chełmna*, "Zeszyty Naukowe UMK, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Zabytkoznawstwo", no. 3 (28), 1968, pp. 3–60; T. Jasiński, *Przedmieścia średniowiecznego Torunia i Chełmna*, Poznań 1982; Z.H. Nowak, *Przyczynek do układu przestrzennego średniowiecznego Chełmna*, [in:] *Historia i archiwistyka. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Andrzeja Tomczaka*, introduction S. Kalembka, M. Wojciechowski, Toruń–Warsaw 1992.

<sup>39</sup> Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna do końca XVIII w.* (publ. 1987), p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> W. Chudziak, *Wczesnośredniowieczna przestrzeń sakralna in Culmine na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim*, Toruń 2003, pp. 33, 39; *idem*, *Archeologia wczesnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Dzieje regionu kujawsko-pomorskiego*, ed. A. Radziński, Toruń 2017, pp. 144–149, 178.

<sup>41</sup> *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae*, ed. C. Maleczyński, vol. 3, Wrocław 1964, no. 284; Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna do końca XVIII wieku*, (publ. 1968), p. 110; J. Bieniak, *Studia nad dziejami ziemi chełmińskiej w okresie piastowskim*, "Rocznik Grudziądzki", vol. 5–6, 1970, p. 38; J. Powierski, *Hugo Butyr. Fragment stosunków polsko-*

town of Chełmno was destroyed. Measures to reconstruct it were taken by Duke Konrad of Mazovia, who held jurisdiction over the town, and the missionary bishop Chrystian.<sup>42</sup>

The plan to hand the land of Chełmno over to the Teutonic Order, which Konrad conceived in 1226, was still related to the perception of the town as a centre for missionary efforts, as evidenced by the idea to erect a Dominican monastery inside its perimeter – the first one planned on the territories captured by the Teutonic knights after 1228.<sup>43</sup>

The Teutonic knights took control of the land of Chełmno in 1230–1232; the town became the seat of a commandery. When carrying out the location of Chełmno, which ultimately took place on 28 December 1233, together with the indispensable settlement activities, they gave up the idea of returning to Góra Świętego Wawrzyńca; instead, they chose a spot some 2 km up the Vistula, which offered more favourable conditions for the construction of the town around the Teutonic castle. The location document was issued in Chełmno by Grand Master Herman von Salza and Country Master Herman Balk. The urban commune was organised according to the modified provisions of the Magdeburg Law, which subsequently came to be used for the locations inside the territory of the Teutonic state as well as outside its borders, mainly in Mazovia and Kuyavia, as the so-called Chełmno Law. It was planned that Chełmno should become the capital town of the Teutonic state under creation at that time; therefore, it received 420 lans of land. The Chełmno parish was equipped generously too, as it received eight lans in the vicinity of the town and another 80 to their discretion.<sup>44</sup> Although the location privilege is the first document to mention the parish of Chełmno, undoubtedly it was established even earlier than that. The Chełmno parish was incorporated in the Chełmno diocese established in 1243, however the seat of the bishop and the chapter was located in 1252 in Chełmża, 18 km from Chełmno.<sup>45</sup>

It was most likely the destruction of the town by a fire which encouraged the decision not to reconstruct it in the same location but to move it in 1239 to a spot which appeared to be more favourable for trade, i.e., some 5 km down the Vistula, in the direct vicinity of a tributary channel, which later came to be called the Trynka. It appears that the place was to be guarded by a Teutonic guardhouse known as Mestwin Tower, whose erection dated back to the second quarter of the thirteenth century<sup>46</sup> This location turned out to be rather unfortunate, because the area was a flood plain with poor defensive qualities, which was taken advantage of in 1244 by Duke Świętopełk. Consequently, the next step was to move the town to the hills where it is located at present. The subsequent translocations of the town have been recorded in the place names: Starogród (*Old Castle Town*) – in relation to the first localisation; *Antiqua Civitas* – in relation to the second localisation; the name was used as late

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niderlandzkich w XII w., ZH, vol. 37, 1972, pp. 26–29; 38–41; T. Jasiński, *Pierwsze lokacje nad Wisłą. 750 lat Torunia i Chełmna*, Toruń 1980, pp. 9–10, 24; W. Rozynekowski, *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej w diecezji chełmińskiej w czasach panowania zakonu krzyżackiego*, Toruń 2000, p. 59.

<sup>42</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abtheilung*, vol. 1, Königsberg 1882, no. 41; *Codex diplomaticus et commemorationum Masoviae generalis*, publ. J. K. Kochanowski, Varsovia 1919, no. 217; *Ziemia chełmińska w przeszłości*, pp. 5–8; *Zakon Krzyżacki i jego państwo w Prusach. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. A. Radziwiński, Toruń 2005, pp. 24ff.

<sup>43</sup> According to the Dominican tradition of the seventeenth century, the erection of the monastery in Chełmno took place as early as 1228 thanks to Saint Jacek Odrowąż and the legate William of Modena. The friary was supposed to become the main tool for the missionary work among the heathen tribes. See: Archiwum Dominikanów w Krakowie, sign. Pp 125, Inwentarze klasztorów sporządzone podczas wizytacji Jerzego Trebnica, prowincjała OP w latach 1619–1621. Cf.: S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, vol. 2, Lwów 1861, p. 294; P. Kielar, *Początki zakonu dominikańskiego w Polsce*, “*Nasza Przeszłość*”, vol. 39, 1973, pp. 69, 71; M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka – Społeczeństwo – Państwo – Ideologia*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 136; T. Jasiński, *Trzy nieznanne oryginalne bulle Grzegorza IX dotyczące misji pruskiej z lat 1232–1234*, ZH, vol. 53, 1988, no. 3–4, pp. 58, 62ff.; A. Liedtke, *Zarys dziejów diecezji chełmińskiej do 1945 roku*, Pelplin 1994, p. 30; M.G. Zieliński, A. Soborska-Zielińska, *Kościół Świętych Piotra i Pawła w Chełmnie*, Pelplin 2005, pp. 8ff; S. Zonenberg, *Stosunki krzyżacko-mendykankie w Prusach do 1466 roku*, Bydgoszcz 2018, pp. 27, 29 f.

<sup>44</sup> K. Zielińska-Melkowska, *Pierwotny i odnowiony przywilej chełmiński (1233 i 1251 r.)*, Toruń 1984, pp. 15–23, 28.

<sup>45</sup> S. Kujot, *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej?*, part 2, Toruń 1904, pp. 134ff, 270; *Diecezja chełmińska. Zarys historyczno-statystyczny*, Pelplin 1928, p. 16; A. Radziwiński, *Fundacja i inkorporacja kapituły katedralnej w Chełmży oraz załamanie misji dominikańskiej w Prusach w połowie XIII w.*, ZH, vol. 61, 1991, pp. 12–16; idem, *Wokół początków diecezji chełmińskiej*, ZH, vol. 61, 1996, pp. 7–12; M. Biskup, *Przemiany terytorialne diecezji chełmińskiej (1243–1992)*, [in:] *Ars Sacra. Dawna sztuka diecezji toruńskiej*, Toruń 1993, p. 12; W. Rozynekowski, *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej*, p. 69; M.G. Zieliński, *Archiwum Fary Chełmińskiej*, Bydgoszcz 2019, pp. 16–18.

<sup>46</sup> T. Mroczo, *Sztuka Chełmna*, p. 149.

as the sixteenth century, when it got replaced by the name Rybaki.<sup>47</sup> It was then that Country Master Eberhard von Sayn on 1 October 1251 in Chełmno confirmed the destroyed original Chełmno privilege with a separate document.<sup>48</sup> It differed, however, in some details from the original one; Chełmno was no longer titled 'the capital town', but only 'the main one'.

This time, the town found itself on a hilly terrain reaching approximately 40 m above the Vistula level, on hill tops from which the access to the Vistula was the most advantageous and closest between Ostromecko and Grudziądz.<sup>49</sup> It was planned anew on an area of approximately 28 hectares. This area was so spacious that in spite of the dynamic development of the town in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, during the Middle Ages, there was no need to locate a Chełmno new town, which also affected the development of the suburbs. Longitudinally, the town's broadest measurement reached approximately 772 m; along the traverse axis, it reached 444 m. The blocks measured 20 × 20 Chełmno rods, equalling approximately 87 × 87 m; however due to the fact that the design of the town market was square, the blocks of the market belt along the traverse axis were given the measurements 30 × 20 rods, or approximately 130.5 × 87 m. Furthermore, some of the blocks in the vicinity of the walls could not have a regular shape. There were 15 blocks with regular measurements and 16 with non-regular measurements, i.e., bigger or smaller ones. According to the measurements taken by J. Zobolewicz, the majority of the blocks were divided into 16 plots. In total, as many as 420 plots could have been made available for construction. The width of the majority of streets was 2.5 rod, i.e., approximately 11 m.<sup>50</sup>

After mapping out the blocks for the erection of buildings, delimited by the streets criss-crossing perpendicularly, construction works started on the parochial church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary, the Dominican church of St. Peter and Paul; after 1255, the Franciscan church of St. Jacob and Nicholas; after 1266, the female Cistercian church of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist as well as the town rampart; around 1298, the town hall, and the hospital church of the Holy Spirit. The construction works leading to the creation of the present church buildings are dated 1280–1330. There are also relics of gothic dwellings dating back to the same period. The youngest church – dated the mid-fourteenth century – is the one devoted to Saint Martin.<sup>51</sup>

The Chełmno town hall was the seat of the higher court of the Chełmno Law;<sup>52</sup> in 1386, Grand Master Konrad Zöllner took steps to locate a university in Chełmno, the establishment of which was approved by Pope Urban VI. It remains unclear whether already at that time the block located to the north-west of the parochial cemetery was designated for that purpose; however, the university was not created. The idea to have a higher education institution in the town reappeared several times in the fifteenth century, and ultimately in 1472, with the support of Bishop Wincenty Kiełbasa, a *stadium particulare* was established. The school was entrusted to the Brethren of the Common Life, who had their headquarters in Zwolle in the Netherlands.<sup>53</sup> In all likelihood, the aforementioned block in the closest vicinity of the parochial church and presbytery was designated for the school.

The urban development of Chełmno until the end of the Middle Ages did not interfere with the chessboard layout of blocks and streets. The generosity of the original planning still met the

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<sup>47</sup> *Księga ławnicza sądu przedmiejskiego Chełmna 1480–1559 (1567)*, publ. Z.H. Nowak, J. Tandecki, Warsaw–Poznań–Toruń 1990, p. 93.

<sup>48</sup> Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna do końca XVIII w.*, (publ. 1987), pp. 65–67; K. Zielińska-Melkowska, *Pierwotny i odnowiony przywilej chełmiński*, pp. 47, 56–57.

<sup>49</sup> J. T. Dziedzic, P. Ossowski, *Powiat i miasto Chełmno. Monografia krajoznawcza według współczesnego stanu z mapą powiatu i 19 widokami miasta*, Chełmno 1923, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> E. Gąsiorowski, *Rynek i Ratusz chełmiński*, p. 6. 1 Chełmno rod = 4.35 m.

<sup>51</sup> *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, pp. 6, 7, 31, 36, 50, 53, 54, 58; T. Mroczko, *Architektura gotycka na ziemi chełmińskiej*, Warsaw 1980, pp. 140, 306; etiam, *Sztuka Chełmna do końca XVIII wieku*, pp. 149–163; A. Zielski, *Uwarunkowania środowiskowe przyrostów radialnych sosny zwyczajnej (Pinus sylvestris L.) w Polsce północnej na podstawie wielowiekowej chronologii*, Toruń 1997, p. 11; M.G. Zieliński, *Kościół św. Jakuba Starszego i św. Mikołaja w Chełmnie*, Pelplin 2002, pp. 9, 11–15; P. Samół, *Architektura kościoła poddominikańskiego pw. św. św. Piotra i Pawła w Chełmnie w świetle badań z lat 2010–2013*, [in:] *Średniowieczna architektura sakralna w Polsce w świetle najnowszych badań. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Początków Państwa polskiego w Gnieźnie 13–15 listopada 2013*, ed. T. Janiak, D. Stryniak, Gniezno 2014, pp. 191–204; idem, *Klasztor Dominikanów przy kościele śś. Piotra i Pawła w Chełmnie. Stan zachowania na początku XIX wieku i zagospodarowanie terenu po jego rozbiórce*, "Tabularium Historiae", vol. 7, 2020, p. 80.

<sup>52</sup> Z. Zdrójkowski, *Zarys dziejów prawa chełmińskiego. Studium z okazji siedemsetpięćdziesięciolecia wydania przywileju chełmińskiego oraz lokacji miast Chełmna i Torunia*, Toruń 1983, p. 20.

<sup>53</sup> Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje tzw. Akademii Chełmińskiej*, pp. 131–135.

needs of the townsfolk. In reality, no new civic or sacral buildings were erected which would distort the mediaeval layout determined during the second translocation of the town; the town's civil infrastructure, dwellings and utility buildings did not interfere with the mediaeval arrangement of the plots either.

As the seat of the Teutonic delegation and a witness to some of the Polish-Teutonic negotiations in 1466, the town did not return with its lands under the reign of the Polish kings after the peace Treaty of Toruń. It remained under the occupation of the Teutonic mercenary Bernhard von Zinnenberg, also known as Bernard Szumborski, and his heirs, and then Commander Georg Ramung von Rameck until 10 November 1479.<sup>54</sup> It remained a royal town until 26 May 1505, when King Alexander Jagiellon bestowed the town upon the bishops of Chełmno together with some other settlements, including the nearby castle in Starogród, which proved especially important for the future fate of Chełmno.

The sixteenth century was not, as it is sometimes suggested in the literature, a period of fall, but rather one of economic stability, in spite of some religious turmoil and cataclysms, such as the big fire of the town in 1544. This is evidenced by investment in new constructions; in two stages in the years 1567–1572 and 1589–1596, the Renaissance-Mannerist reconstruction of the town hall was completed.<sup>55</sup> The new building was twice the size of the previous, gothic one. The good financial condition of the burghers can also be deduced from the construction of the 'arcade' house (*'dom podcieniowy'*, i.e. a prestigious house type with a large outdoor area protected from the sun by a protruding roof) in the eastern façade of the town square, which carried some traits of the Dutch Mannerism; it was also known as the 'Polish House'. Among the most representative buildings was also the tenement house erected in 1570 by Melchior Cywiński and located in the corner of the town square and Rycerska (*Knight*) Street. Be that as it may, the town no longer played as significant an economic role as in the thirteenth century.

The location of the town on hills and the natural defensive qualities of the terrain did not force the development of modern fortifications, even though the mediaeval rampart ceased to meet the battlefield requirements, as imposed by the advancement in the art of war. Nevertheless, in 1563, the town obtained a royal privilege to restore and raise the walls. The layout of the walls was adjusted to the natural conditions imposed by the terrain in such a way as to make them fulfil defensive functions, at the same time surrounding as big a part of the town hills as possible. For this reason, their arrangement was irregular. In the privilege issued in 1563, King Sigismund Augustus approved of the reconstruction and raising of the defensive walls. Steiner's plan shows the wall complex equipped with 27 towers and six gates. Rüdiger's plan features 32 towers. The 1773 plan features 30 fortified towers.<sup>56</sup> The differences in the number of fortified towers follow mainly from the different marking of some objects, such as doors or towers. The majority of the towers – rectangular or half-circular – were open on the inner side, which means they served no other purpose than defence. Rüdiger's plan shows some towers as covered with sloping roofs. It can be assumed that the same was true also in the sixteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Out of seven mediaeval town gates (Grubińska, presently known as Grudziądzka; Toruńska, in the sixteenth century also known as Duchy Świętego [*Holy Spirit*]; Wodna [*Water*], in the sixteenth century more often called Paulińska [*Pauline*]; Franciszkańska [*Franciscan*], which starting from the seventeenth century was commonly called Rosmelska, Sukiennicza [*Draper*], Mostowa [*Bridge*] and Merseburska), only the first five were operating in the sixteenth century. The non-operating gates were called empty.<sup>58</sup> From the north, Furta Rybacka (*Fisherman Door*) was open at the end of the street called the same name. In 1612, Bishop Maciej Konopacki re-named it Brama Rybacka (*Fishermen Gate*). It must have been really broad if the bishop had ordered the installation of crosses inside the passage to prevent driving carriages.<sup>59</sup> If Steiner is to be believed, Chełmno's gates – with the only

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<sup>54</sup> F. Schultz, *Bernhard von Zinnenberg, ein Heerführer im dreizehnjährigen Städtekrige*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins", vol. 22, Danzig 1887.

<sup>55</sup> J. Kałdowski, *Ratusz w Chełmnie*, Toruń 1984, pp. 17–21.

<sup>56</sup> *Toruń i miasta ziemi chełmińskiej*, fig. 106; AHMP Chełmno, plans no. 6, 8, 9.

<sup>57</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 45, p. 17; sign. 48, pp. 4v; sign. 51, pp. 1v, 45.

<sup>58</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 29, pp. 53ff; sign. 32, p. 46; *Księga ławnicza sądu przedmiejskiego*, pp. 3, 14, 17, 37, 50, 100, 106. On the town gates, see: F. Schultz, *Die Stadt Kulm in Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins", vol. 23, 1888, pp. 15 ff.; J. Zobołowicz, *Układ przestrzenny średniowiecznego Chełmna*, pp. 23ff.

<sup>59</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 254; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznanne źródła*, part 2, p. 155.

exception of Wodna – had auxiliary front fortifications, or barbican. On the barbican of Grubińska Gate, the Chapel of the Apparition of Mother of God was built in the mid-seventeenth century.

Along the fortifications, there was a narrow belt free from any construction – it was not even separated with any fences. This belt was necessary to ensure a free access to the walls. The only exception was in the vicinity of the Holy Spirit Hospital and the female Benedictine monastery.

Since its establishment, Chełmno has preserved the original chessboard layout of streets virtually unchanged. There were eighteen of those altogether. The Old Polish archives mention 13 street names, including one outside the town walls: Grubińska, Wodna (Water),<sup>60</sup> Toruńska Duchy Świętego (*Holy Spirit*)<sup>61</sup> and another one known under the name Duchy Świętego too,<sup>62</sup> Rosmelska,<sup>63</sup> Kaznodziejska (*Preacher*),<sup>64</sup> Knapska,<sup>65</sup> Polska (*Polish*) – mentioned as late as 1545<sup>66</sup> and most likely identical to Szpitalna (*Hospital*),<sup>67</sup> Sukiennicza, later called Tkacka (both names referring to draper's trade),<sup>68</sup> Ciasna (*Strait*),<sup>69</sup> and outside, Brama Wodna (*Water Gate*), Kamienna (*Stone*) Street.<sup>70</sup> In 1583, Kaznodziejska Street ran still as far as the defensive wall at the western extreme of the town.<sup>71</sup> In the Middle Ages, the following names were also used: Tłusta (*Fat*), Rogowa (*Horn or Corner*), Kotlarska (*Coppersmith*), Merseburska, Mostowa (*Bridge*), Paulińska (*Pauline*), Przy św. Marcinie (*At St. Martin*), Za św. Pawłem (*Behind St. Paul*), Wąska (*Narrow*).<sup>72</sup> The aforementioned names were customary, so it cannot be excluded that in casual speech, a few different names in Polish and in German were used to refer to one and the same street. All the streets preserved their original width. The street network has not changed, however the passageways in the town got changed in connection with the closing of some gates and doors. The greatest communicative importance was attached to the streets of Grubińska, Toruńska and Wodna. As early as 1626, Bishop Jakub Zadzik ordered the town authorities to take care of the condition of the paving.<sup>73</sup> This means that the most important sections of streets and town squares had to be paved much earlier than that.

The centre of the town, just like in the previous period, was the town square (*Rynek*). At each of the four corners, two full-width streets met perpendicularly. Its dimensions, as encircled by the streets, were approximately 36 × 26 rods, i.e., around 157 × 113 m; the area measured 1.77 ha. The town hall together with the merchant house occupied the middle part of the square. The relatively small one-storey town hall was dominated by a 47 m high tower crowned with an ornamental Renaissance top. The weighing scales were installed on the ground floor of the town hall. To the east of the town hall, there stood the house of commerce, also known as 'Dom Angielski' (*English House*), which in the modern period was also called 'Pakusz'. This last name derived from the German expression 'Englises

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<sup>60</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 13, p. 12; sign. 17, p. 19; sign. 828, pp. 35ff; ibidem, Sądy dominialne dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego, sign. 7, p. 169. On the street names, see: "Kulmer Zeitung" 1880, no. 93; F. Schultz, *Die Stadt Kulm in Mittelalter*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>61</sup> APT, Sądy dominialne dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego, sign. 7, p. 152; *Księga ławnicza sądu przedmiejskiego*, p. 52.

<sup>62</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 828, p. 32v; ibidem, Sądy dominialne dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego, sign. 7, p. 166.

<sup>63</sup> AFCh, sign. 147, p. 82; AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 10 dated 1774; the erroneous identification of this street as Świętego Duchy (*Holy Spirit*) in J. Zobołowicz, *Układ przestrzenny średniowiecznego Chełmna*, p. 27.

<sup>64</sup> AFCh, sign. 147, p. 82; APT, AMCh, sign. 76, p. 56; sign. 828, p. 30v; ibidem, Sądy dominialne dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego, sign. 7, p. 163v.

<sup>65</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 10, p. 20v; sign. 828, p. 18v, 20, 26; ibidem, Sądy dominialne dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego, sign. 7, pp. 152, 357; AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 2, item 45 in the legend.

<sup>66</sup> *Księga ławnicza sądu przedmiejskiego*, p. 85.

<sup>67</sup> AFCh, sign. 566, p. 6v; APT, AMCh, sign. 75, p. 43.

<sup>68</sup> ADPelplin, ASDCh, sign. 4, p. 244; *Księga ławnicza sądu przedmiejskiego*, p. 84.

<sup>69</sup> *Księga ławnicza sądu przedmiejskiego*, pp. 59, 86, 95, 104; J. Zobołowicz, *Układ przestrzenny średniowiecznego Chełmna*, p. 28.

<sup>70</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 19, p. 17v. Cf.: "Kulmer Zeitung" 1886, no. 93; [name unknown] Köhler, *Kulmer Strassennamen*, [in:] *Kulm an der Weischel. Stadt und Land im Wechsel der Geschichte 1232–1982*, Bremerrde 1982, pp. 152–155.

<sup>71</sup> *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, pp. 23, 26.

<sup>72</sup> On the plans from 1773 and 1774, the following street names are included: Boczna (*Side*), Dominikańska (*Dominican*), Duchy Świętego (*Holy Spirit*), Franciszkańska (*Franciscan*), Grubińska, Kadecka (*Cadet*), Kapliczna (*Chapel*), Kaznodziejska (*Preacher*), Psia (*Dog*), Rozmelska, Rybacka (*Fishermen*), Rynkowa (*Town Square or Market*), Szkolna (*School*), Szpitalna (*Hospital*), Tkacka (*Draper*), Tłusta (*Fat*), Toruńska (*Toruń*), Wodna (*Water*), Poprzeczna (*Sideway*), Wielka (*Great*) – see: AHMP Chełmno, plans no. 9 and 10.

<sup>73</sup> ADPelplin, Culmensia et Pomesaniensia, sign. C 9, p. 118; APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 251; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 2, p. 165.

Packhaus'.<sup>74</sup> It was an impressive gothic structure with characteristic fault peak. Most likely, it was erected shortly after the town obtained the privilege on 19 May 1298 to have a merchant house with counters and stalls constructed.<sup>75</sup> The basement of Pakusz housed the prison. It consisted of three rooms at two different levels.<sup>76</sup> When necessary, the basement of the town hall served as the torture chamber. Adjacent to the house of commerce from the south were some stalls (stands), while counters, including fish benches, were located to the north of the house of commerce.<sup>77</sup> Towards the end of the sixteenth century, there was a stable or a granary near Pakusz, which in the seventeenth century got restructured as an arsenal.<sup>78</sup> In the south-eastern corner, i.e., at the exit of Grubińska Street there was a guardhouse (the Polish name *wachtbuda* deriving from German).<sup>79</sup>

To the west of the town hall, there was a large pit surrounded with oak logs and used as a fire fighting reservoir; it was called 'Fyca'. Its estimated dimensions were 15 × 22 m. Its creation was necessary due to the problems the town had with getting water. There was a gutter going away from the reservoir and leading under the surface of the town square; for safety reasons, it was covered with wooden logs. It carried excess rainfall water and allowed the draining of the reservoir for maintenance.<sup>80</sup>

There were several wells inside the town. The public ones were located in the town square corners. In the 1590 book of regulations by Bishop Piotr Kostka, it was ordered that there should be five wells inside the town: three on the town square, the fourth one on Grubińska Street and the fifth one on Knapska Street. The well-keepers elected from each quarter were obligated to supervise the condition of the wells.<sup>81</sup> In addition, there were wells used by monasteries and some owned privately by the townspeople, as recorded in later sources.<sup>82</sup> There was one well (or maybe two) operating inside the premises of the Franciscan monastery.<sup>83</sup> In 1604, the old well on the Benedictine courtyard collapsed; the new one was made entirely of stone.<sup>84</sup> There can be no doubt that the water obtained from these wells was too scarce to meet the demands of the town residents, therefore the town was also supplied with water from the Trynka.

In the western façade of the town square at the exit of Rosmelska Street, there was an Artus Court, also known as Dom Duński (*Danish House*), later called Giełda (*Stock Market*). During the Middle Ages, the building was owned by the merchant guild and subsequently, in 1422, it was acquired by stallholders. Rüdiger's plan presents it as an impressive multi-storey building with a gothic stair-like gable and a steep arched portal leading inside. Most likely, there was a terrace with a stoop in front of the Artus Court.<sup>85</sup>

The parochial church of Chełmno occupied a whole block in the town centre, in the immediate vicinity of the town square to the south-west. The parochial church, as the only gothic church in

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<sup>74</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 47, p. 51v, 105.

<sup>75</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, Book no. 2, prepared by A. Seraphim, Königsberg 1909, no. 688.

<sup>76</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 20, p. 85.

<sup>77</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 24, p. 7; sign. 30, p. 24v, 41v.

<sup>78</sup> ADPelplin, *Culmensia et Pomesaniensia*, sign. C 9, p. 118a, 130v; APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 251; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 2, pp. 160, 165.

<sup>79</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 76, pp. 32.

<sup>80</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 28, p. 31v; sign. 32, pp. 46, 47; sign. 34, p. 37; E. Gąsiorowski, *Rynek i Ratusz chełmiński*, p. 12 provides incorrect information that there was a courtyard there, however earlier he mentioned a reservoir of water inside the town square and even marked its location in Fig. 5. Fyca – a name derived from the German word *Pfütze* – puddle.

<sup>81</sup> ADPelplin, *Culmensia et Pomesaniensia*, sign. C 13, p. 464v; APT, AMCh, sign. 4, pp. 70ff; sign. 20, p. 19; AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 10 dated 1774, item "g" in the legend; plan no. 8 dated 1776–1779; E. Gąsiorowski, *Rynek i Ratusz chełmiński*, p. 8; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 155; W. Niewiarowski, *Zarys rozwoju środowiska geograficznego okolic Chełmna*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmna* (publ. 1987), p. 25. Cf.: A. Soborska-Zielińska, *160 lat chełmińskich wodociągów 1842–2002*, Chełmno 2002, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>82</sup> ADPelplin, ASDCh, sign. 4, p. 14; APT, AMCh, sign. 828, p. 107v.

<sup>83</sup> M.G. Zieliński, *Kościół św. Jakuba Starszego*, p. 61.

<sup>84</sup> *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, p. 82.

<sup>85</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 47, p. 82; sign. 48, p. 4v; sign. 49, p. 2v; AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 8, item 14; F. Schultz, *Die Stadt Kulm in Mittelalter*, p. 169; Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna*, (publ. 1987), p. 88. The erroneous location of the Artus Court in the southern façade of the town square is attributable to E. Gąsiorowski, *Rynek i Ratusz chełmiński*, p. 9, with T. Mroczo: *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, p. 66, following in his footsteps. Cf.: Z.H. Nowak, *Przyczynek do układu przestrzennego średniowiecznego Chełmna*, p. 314; E. Pilecka, *Średniowieczne Dwory Artusa w Prusach. Świadectwo kształtowania się nowej świadomości mieszczańskiej*, Toruń 2005, pp. 233–238.

Chełmno, is perfectly orientated. On 7 July 1519, Bishop Jan Konopacki promoted the church to the rank of a collegiate church. The presbytery was located to the west of the temple, opposite the main entrance. It was a single-storey brick-built building. In the backyard there was a stable and further up the plot, a garden.<sup>86</sup> At the southern exit of Franciszkańska Street, which at that time reached the town wall, there was an auxiliary St. Martin church. The entrance to this temple was from this street. In the north-western part of the town, there were two monastic complexes: Franciscans and female Benedictines. During the modern period, in addition to the blocks given to them in the Middle Ages, each of them occupied also an adjacent one, used as a garden. The Dominican monastery occupied a block in the north-eastern part. On the northern side, the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries each touched an approximately 30 m-high monastery church. The oldest wing of each of the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries was perpendicular to the church building. The oldest part of the Benedictine monastery was erected along the church axis at a slope, while the other two wings were perpendicular to the southern façade of the church. Each of the monasteries was surrounded by a complex of utility buildings, such as stables, coach halls, barns, pigsties, breweries and servant quarters. On the southernmost extreme of the town, right next to Toruńska Gate, there was a complex of buildings belonging to the Holy Spirit church and hospital. As opposed to the male monasteries, the hospital building together with its utility surroundings was adjacent to the church from the south. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a stand-alone St. Hyacinth (*Jacek Odrowąz*) chapel was erected by the Dominican church, while at the Benedictine abbey complex, there was St. Michael chapel.<sup>87</sup> There were also two churches located outside the town walls: of St. George and St. Agnes. St. George church stood at the bifurcation of the road to Grubno and Nowawieś, some 400 m from Grubińska Gate and to the right of the exit road.<sup>88</sup> The other church was situated in the Rybaki district, below the monastic church of the Benedictines.<sup>89</sup> In the ravine leading from Grubińska Gate to Kamienna Street, there was most likely a revered miraculous spring.

By all the aforementioned churches, there were operating graveyards with burying sites. In total, there were seven of those in the town and its nearest vicinity. The town's main cemetery was the parochial one, even though laymen could also be buried in monastic graveyards, in particular the Dominican and the Franciscan. Until the end of the sixteenth century, the Benedictines were buried in the graveyard at St. Michael church. After vaults were constructed under the church, starting from 1605 the monks found their eternal rest there, while the graveyard at St. Michael church, commonly called 'kirchówek' (most likely from the German word '*Kirchhof*', meaning '*graveyard*'), was used as the burying site for less significant persons. The graveyards by the churches of St. Martin, St. George and Holy Spirit were used by less affluent residents of the town and villages belonging to the parish. The residents of the Rybaki suburbs could also be buried at St. Agnes church. Throughout the entire modern period, priests, monks, the wealthiest townspeople, and noblemen were buried inside the greatest churches of Chełmno.<sup>90</sup>

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, there were three schools operating in town: the parochial school, the academic gymnasium and the girls' school at the Benedictine monastery. A stand-alone building of the Academy, approximately 15 m long, was situated in the closest vicinity of the parochial church at Szkolna (*School*) Street.<sup>91</sup>

There were two hospitals – or rather shelters – operating in Chełmno. The first one, by the Holy Spirit church, next to Toruńska Gate, gave shelter to the poor, elderly and lonely. The second one, next to St. George church, was located outside the town, at the road to Grubno.

The location of the bathhouse remains unknown, although some suggestions mention that it stood on the premises of the Holy Spirit Hospital. The municipal bathhouse operated under the auspices of both Bishop Piotr Kostka and Bishop Maciej Konopacki. The bath keeper was mentioned in the oldest,

<sup>86</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 26, p. 30.

<sup>87</sup> M.G. Zieliński, A. Soborska-Zielińska, *Kościół Świętych Piotra i Pawła*, p. 38.

<sup>88</sup> *Toruń i miasta ziemi chełmińskiej*, p. 154, Fig. 106.

<sup>89</sup> *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, p. 39; J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły*, p. 14.

<sup>90</sup> AFCh, sign. 4, p. 176; sign. 566, p. 122v; APT, AMCh, sign. 39, pp. 180, 226; *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, pp. 28, 95; M.G. Zieliński, *Cmentarze, krypty, płyty nagrobne i epitafia w Chełmnie w XVI–XVIII w.*, Chełmno 2016.

<sup>91</sup> Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje tzw. Akademii Chełmińskiej*, pp. 134–140; M. Zieliński, *Chełmno civitas totius Prussiae metropolis*, pp. 327–335; K. Mikulski, *Dzieje nowożytne*, [in:] *Dzieje regionu kujawsko-pomorskiego*, p. 295.

currently lost baptismal book of 1598–1664. In 1584, the Benedictines set up a monastery bathhouse by Merseburska Gate. It was made of wood with a brick wall on the outside. A separate bathhouse was used by the priests of the monastic church.<sup>92</sup>

On the north-eastern side of the town hall there was a pillory, mentioned in 1590.<sup>93</sup> The executioner's house as well as the accompanying utility buildings were the property of the town. We do not know their exact location, however, the treasury records suggest that it stood in the vicinity of the defensive walls, rather than on the fringe.<sup>94</sup> Outside the town, by the road to Nowawieś called Nagórník, there were gallows. Decapitation was performed in the vicinity of St. George church.<sup>95</sup>

A horse-operated malt house was located at Rosmelska Street. Most likely, it stood in the back behind the Artus Court. It was powered by a horse mill. On 20 July 1583, Bishop Piotr Kostka renewed the privilege for the construction of a horse mill. The bourgeois families which owned it belonged to the wealthiest in town.<sup>96</sup> Another malt house was owned by the Franciscans; it stood on the monastery premises, most likely in the corner of the present Klasztorna and Biskupia Streets.<sup>97</sup> The Benedictines owned two breweries, which were located inside the monastery premises, near the defensive walls at Merseburska Gate. One of these was constructed in 1595.<sup>98</sup> The town had two windmills. The Dutch windmill was located on the adapted former town gate which closed Knapska Street from the east. It is clearly visible on the 1708 panoramic view of the town from the painting of St. Roch and Sebastian and on the Rüdiger's plan. The town brickyard was located by the road to Grudziądz, called Nagórník. It was probably because of this fact that a part of this road was called Starocegielniania (*Old Brickyard*) in the Middle Ages. The hill upon which it stood was formerly called Ceglana Góra (*Brick Hill*). In the immediate vicinity of the brickyard, there was a small water reservoir, most likely an old clay pit, called 'Glinianka' (the Polish word '*glina*' meaning 'clay'). In addition to a furnace, called the 'great municipal furnace', the brickyard encompassed also the brickmaker's house, an area designated for drying bricks, a well and a water reservoir.<sup>99</sup>

Houses in Chełmno had one, two or even three floors. Brick-made houses were called 'kamienice' (the Polish word '*kamień*' means 'stone', however the term 'kamienica' later came to be rather unambiguously associated with tenement houses). On the other hand, wood and clay were preferably used for the construction of utility buildings. The vast majority of houses had basements.<sup>100</sup> As early as 1590, attempts were made in Bishop Piotr Kostka's town rule to encourage the townspeople to erect buildings on empty plots in town by reminding them that 'they are of no use' (Archaic Polish: *z nich nie idzie żadna wolności*, literally: 'there is no privilege to them').<sup>101</sup> In general, residential infrastructure was more eagerly erected in the eastern part of the town, primarily around the town square as well as Grubińska, Toruńska, and Wodna Streets and, to a lesser degree, along Kaznodziejska and Knapska Streets. As the original construction plots were 2.5 rod wide, there could have been 40 houses at maximum at the town square of Chełmno. Rüdiger's plan of the entire town includes 278 buildings which can be considered residential. Immediately after the capture of Chełmno by the Prussians after the first partition of the Polish Commonwealth, the cadastre registers drawn at that time indicated

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<sup>92</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, pp. 79, 254 ff.; sign. 11, p. 55; ADPelplin, *Culmensia et Pomesaniensia*, C 9, p. 125v; *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, p. 27; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 163; idem, *Nieznane źródła*, part 2, p. 155; Z. Rogala, *Z najstarszej chełmińskiej księgi metrycznej*, p. 49; J. Zbolewicz, *Układ przestrzenny średniowiecznego Chełmna*, p. 28.

<sup>93</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 87; sign. 56, pp. 30v, 31v, 36v and following; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 169; E. Gąsiorowski, *Rynek i Ratusz chełmiński*, p. 8.

<sup>94</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 13, p. 133; sign. 25, p. 35v; sign. 27, p. 41v; sign. 37, p. 61.

<sup>95</sup> ADPelplin, ASDCh, sign. 4, pp. 86 ff.; APT, AMCh, sign. 32, p. 18.

<sup>96</sup> ADPelplin, *Culmensia et Pomesaniensia*, sign. C 9, p. 126v; APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 232, 256; sign. 2008, p. 393; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 178, part 2, p. 156.

<sup>97</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 828, p. 19.

<sup>98</sup> *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, p. 53.

<sup>99</sup> ADPelplin, ASDCh, sign. 4, p. 211; APT, AMCh, sign. 25, p. 20v; sign. 76, p. 43; T. Jasiński, *Przedmieścia średniowiecznego Torunia i Chełmna*, p. 32.

<sup>100</sup> Achiwum Państwowej Służby Ochrony Zabytków w Toruniu, sign. W/1235-W/1241, M. Obremski, M. Farbiszewski, *Studium historyczno-konserwatorskie Starego Miasta w Chełmnie do szczegółowego planu zagospodarowania przestrzennego wykonane na zlecenie Wojewódzkiego Konserwatora w Toruniu*, vol. 3, part 1–7, Toruń 1988, manuscript.

<sup>101</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 71.

257–259 houses.<sup>102</sup> Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the process of the town depopulation was clearly gaining impetus, as evidenced by the voices recorded from the early seventeenth century.<sup>103</sup> Definitely, one of the reasons for the deterioration of the urban infrastructure in the sixteenth century was the great fire of 30 March 1544.<sup>104</sup> What the modern period travellers found so enjoyable about the appearance of Chełmno – the red of the roofs – was a consequence of the orders issued by Bishop Piotr Kostka in his book of documents of 1590, in which he obligated the townspeople to cover their homes with ceramic rather than thatched roofs.<sup>105</sup>

Another important element of the town landscape were gardens or, worse, empty plots located at the town extremes, along the walls. The blocks in the western part were occupied by three monastic gardens. The plot adjacent to the Benedictine monastery, delimited by the streets Klasztorna (*Monastery*) and Biskupia (*Bishop*), was occupied by the Benedictine garden. The second, so-called great garden (according to the naming convention used by Steiner) was cultivated by the Benedictines on the slope of the hill below the monastic church. The garden of the Franciscans was located between the streets Biskupia, Klasztorna and Szkolna. The garden of the Dominicans was located on the monastery premises in the north-eastern corner of the town. Almost the whole block between the streets Kościelna (*Church*), Poprzeczna (*Sideway*), and Rycerska and between Knapska, Poprzeczna and the town wall was occupied by vegetable and fruit gardens. Rüdiger's plan shows only 10 blocks which did not have any gardens. There were also gardens in the Rybaki district as well as in front of Grubińska Gate.<sup>106</sup>

Outside the defensive walls, between Grubińska and Tkacka Gates, by the so-called 'shooting trench', there stood the municipal shooting range used by the archers' guild. Its maintenance was one of the responsibilities of the town. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, it was probably neglected, which bothered the bishops of Chełmno. In the book of town documents of 7 February 1590, Bishop Piotr Kostka ordered reactivation of the marksmen guild and restoration of its former rights and customs. Above all, it was ordered that the income from meadows belonging to the archers' brotherhood should be returned and assigned to the king marksman (*król kurkowy*).<sup>107</sup>

The area of the town inside the walls was divided for fiscal, defensive and police-organisational reasons into four quarters. The first scholar to attempt to recreate this division was F. Schultz. His results were taken over by J. Zobolewicz however, revised and corrected by two other scholars – T. Jasiński and Z.H. Nowak. In their view, the Larger Quarter (*quartale maius*) occupied the south-eastern part of the town and was delimited by the streets Grudziądzka and Toruńska. The Smaller Quarter (*quartale minus*) occupied the south-western side, enclosed by the streets Toruńska and Biskupia. The Franciscan Quarter (*quartale barfotorum*<sup>108</sup>) constituted the north-western part, delimited by the streets Biskupia and Rynkowa (*Town Square or Market*). The Dominican quarter (*quartale praedicatorum*) in the north-eastern part was delimited by the streets Rynkowa and Grudziądzka.<sup>109</sup> Each of the quarters covered also one of the blocks adjacent to the town square. Unfortunately, the preserved quartermaster books

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<sup>102</sup> Between November 1772 and early April 1773, Prussian Privy Financial Advisor Roden collected data on the population of the towns of Royal Prussia. This survey was published by Max Bär, *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, Leipzig 1909, vol. 2, pp. 586, 708ff. See also: *Statystyka Departamentu Bydgoskiego ułożona w miesiącu kwietniu 1812 roku*, elab. M. Kallas, J. Wojciak, Warsaw–Poznań 1972, pp. 72–78. At present, there are approximately 375 residential buildings inside the defensive walls.

<sup>103</sup> ADPelplin, Culmensia et Pomesaniensia, sign. C 9, p. 118; APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 251; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 2, p. 165; K. Górski, *Magdalena Mortęska i jej rola w reformie trydenckiej w Polsce*, "Nasza Przeszłość", vol. 24, 1971, p. 167.

<sup>104</sup> Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna*, (publ. 1987), p. 104.

<sup>105</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 72.

<sup>106</sup> *Toruń i miasta ziemi chełmińskiej*, p. 154, Fig. 106, p. 156, Fig. 108, p. 234ff; AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 9 dated April 1773; A. Soborska-Zielińska, *Parki i ogrody Chełmna*, Chełmno 1999.

<sup>107</sup> ADPelplin, Culmensia et Pomesaniensia, sign. C 9, p. 118, 126, 128v; AFCh, sign. 231, pp. 18–19; APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 81 ff., 251, 255; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 165; part 2, pp. 155 ff., 165 ff.; F. Schultz, *Die Stadt Kulm im Mittelalter*, p. 206ff; A. Mańkowski, *Dzieje bractwa strzelców*, pp. 19, 21.

<sup>108</sup> GStA PK, sign. 322A, no. 3, p. 13 (25). The name of this quarter is given as: barfotorum: F. Schultz, *Die Stadt Kulm im Mittelalter*, p. 11; Z.H. Nowak, *Chełmno*, Gdynia 1967, p. 45; idem, *Przyczynek do układu przestrzennego średniowiecznego Chełmna*, p. 315; T. Jasiński, *Przedmieścia średniowiecznego Torunia i Chełmna*, p. 123.

<sup>109</sup> F. Schultz, *Die Stadt Kulm im Mittelalter*, p. 11; J. Zobolewicz, *Układ przestrzenny średniowiecznego Chełmna*, p. 13; T. Jasiński, *Przedmieścia średniowiecznego Torunia i Chełmna*, p. 123; Z.H. Nowak, *Przyczynek do układu przestrzennego średniowiecznego Chełmna*, pp. 311–314.

did not use the mediaeval names, but only Roman numerals, and secondly, in all likelihood the borders of the quarters had changed.<sup>110</sup>

In the sixteenth century, there were still suburbs to the north-east – Rorgasse and Pantkensee – whose significance was gradually diminishing. Accepting the conclusions of T. Jasiński, the first one was located to the north-east at the town hills, maybe at the bent of Kamienna (*Stone*) Road, near the town's utility infrastructure. The other is hypothesised to have existed in front of Grubińska Gate. At the foot of the uplands on which the town is located from the side of the Vistula, there was a suburb called Rybaki. Its perspectives on territorial development were rather limited. From the south, it was constrained by the town hills, from the north by the Trynka. The 1820 plan of Chełmno presents an irregular network of streets of Rybaki, which corresponds to the present one. The buildings of the suburbs stretched from the place where the present-day Kilińskiego Street meets Żeglarska Street in the east to Łąkowa Street in the west. However the greatest density of brick-made buildings was in the vicinity of the present-day streets of Leśna, Zielona, Portowa. Until the mid-seventeenth century, St. Agnes church stood there. The layout of the roads was roughly the same; however it should be assumed that the two main roads mentioned in the mediaeval sources were Rybacka and Przewoźna, at the intersection of which there was the Przy Grobli (*By the Dyke*) Square.<sup>111</sup> This suburb never got protected by a defensive wall, even though it was here that the river port of the town was located on the bank of the Trynka, next to Przy Grobli Square. According to Tomasz Jasiński, this square was located at the intersection of Przewoźna and Rybacka Streets. In all likelihood, the docks were located in front of Wodna Gate. The upper bed of the Trynka was used for temporary storage of wood which was transported along the main bed of the Vistula.

Marian Biskup counted Chełmno among the main transport nodes of Chełmno voivodeship, as it was located on the main route from Toruń via Unisław to Grudziądz and then Gdańsk. From the perspective of Chełmno, this route began to lose importance in the modern period, because a shorter route became preferable, which bypassed the town. The second route led from the north-west to the south-east via Chełmża and Toruń and was connected to the crossing over the Vistula. The Vistula crossing nearby Chełmno was mentioned already in the privilege of Chełmno of 1233 and then once again in 1251; consequently, it can be assumed that it started functioning around that time. In the modern period, it still played a very important role in the life of the town. The ferry crossing of the Vistula could be reached via the road leading past the Trynka and Kępa Panieńska, or, more specifically, the eastern part of the latter called Ostrów. On the other side of the Vistula, the ferry docked in the vicinity of the present-day Głogówek. The Chełmno crossing played an important role in communication and not only on the local scale.<sup>112</sup> Another crossing operated close to Chełmno between Bieńkówka and Topolno, some 10 km up the Vistula.<sup>113</sup>

The operating town gates connected with roads coming from the most important directions. Grubińska Gate connected with a road which at St. George church brought together two other roads, Grubno and Grudziądz. The road to Grudziądz via Nowawieś was called Nagórník (Polish phrase *na górze* means 'over the hilltop'), as it ran along an upland, at the same time flanking the municipal estates from the south. Furthermore, right at Grubińska Gate, it was joined by a tiny road running along a ravine from the side of Kamienna Street. Toruńska Gate connected with a road from Toruń via Unisław and Osnowo. Some 4 km before Chełmno, the road began to slope down steeply towards the Fryba Valley and past the bridge it rose steeply again until it reached the said gate. Already past the bridge, the road was joined by the road to Starogród and Ostromecko, and further to Fordon and Bydgoszcz. At Wodna Gate, two

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<sup>110</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 88, 89.

<sup>111</sup> T. Jasiński, *Przedmieścia średniowiecznego Torunia i Chełmna*, pp. 124, 127.

<sup>112</sup> MZCh, sign. MZCH/D/277, plan by F. Westphal dated 1820; P. Czaplewski, *Biskupa Rozrażewskiego itineraria czyli rozkład podróży wizytacyjnych po Pomorzu*, "Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu", vol. 3, 1916, no. 9, pp. 21, 29; A. Semrau, *Ein vorstädtisches Zinsregister der Stadt Kulm aus der Zeit von etwa 1320*, "Mitteilungen des Copernicus Vereins für Wissenschaft u. Kunst", vol. 35, 1927, pp. 27 ff.; E. Bahr, *Brücken und Fähren an der unteren Weichsel*, "Westpreussen Jahrbuch", vol. 19, 1969, p. 28; M. Biskup, *Settlement and its aspects. Road network*, [in:] MRP; T. Jasiński, *Przedmieścia średniowiecznego Torunia i Chełmna*, p. 124; AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 3. However, this plan indicates that the road to the ferry branched off from Nadolnik only to the east past Broch.

<sup>113</sup> *Inwentarze dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego (1646 i 1676)*, publ. R. Mienicki, Toruń 1955 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 40), pp. 57, 144

roads began: one going to the left, called Bramita, which led to Rybaki; the other going to the right, Kamienna Street, in the direction of the Vistula crossing, or Grudziądz via Podwiesk, to become another route called Nadolnik (Polish phrase *na dole* means ‘at the bottom’). Nadolnik led in the direction of a deep pond called Broch; it circumvented it and then led between the Trynka and the dyke.<sup>114</sup> Similarly to Nagórniki, Nadolnik too connected the town with the municipal estates and demesnes, among others Nowe Dobra, Kolno, Łęg, Górne Wymiary, Dolne Wymiary, Klamry, Nowawieś, Podwiesk, Wielkie Łunawy, Brankówka, Sosnówka, Rozgarty, Szynych as well as Sztywnag and Gogolin.

The area of the town’s patrimonium amounted to 420 lans, or over 70 km<sup>2</sup> in the Middle Ages. This area, commonly referred to as Nizina (*Lowland*), was bestowed upon to the town already on the basis of the Chełmno privilege of 1233. This endowment was also confirmed in the privilege of 1251. It spread along the Vistula – a belt approximately 3 km wide and 25 km long, from the village Uśc to the south-west of Chełmno up to Lake Rządź and the village Ruda on the periphery of the present-day Grudziądz. It seems that this area in its entirety, or at the very least its part directly dependent on the municipal authorities, is called the ‘fret miejski’ (literally, the municipal common pasture) in the 1590 book of documents. From the south-east, the area was enclosed by the hills called Białe Góry (*White Hills*) and covered with forest. According to T. Jasiński’s estimations, at the turn of the fifteenth century, approximately 60%, or 4,200 ha of the patrimonium, were agrarian lands; 240.8 ha were gardens; 28 ha were meadows, while the rest – approximately 2,531 ha – was mainly used as pastures and covered with woods.<sup>115</sup>

The use of the entire area of the patrimonium for agriculture was rather problematic, as it spread on flooded areas by the Vistula which required extensive melioration works as well as the construction of dykes using the existing hills.<sup>116</sup> Halmhuber, a nineteenth century mayor of Chełmno, claimed that the first dam to protect the municipal estates against flooding from the Vistula was built only in 1525. He also believed that the proper use of the area of the patrimonium dated back to the sixteenth century<sup>117</sup> Surely, one factor which facilitated this process was the settlement of the Dutch settlers in this area; these were people from the Netherlands, usually of the Mennonite faith, who were knowledgeable about melioration. The area was drained among others by the digging of the Wielki Kanał (*Great Canal*), also known as the Rów Główny (*Main Ditch*), which carried water to Lake Rządź.<sup>118</sup> Already in the Middle Ages, the townspeople of Chełmno had their allotments there, called ‘dworzyszczka’. In the sixteenth century, after the conclusion of the last war between Poland and the Teutonic Order, when Chełmno became more stable, the interest of the residents of Chełmno in using the municipal land estates to their benefit started to grow. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, works were started to divide the area of the patrimonium (fields, meadows and gardens) located by the town among the residents to be used for the maintenance of their houses in town and construction of new buildings on empty parcels. This process, called elocation, was carried out first in 1602 and then repeated every 50 years.<sup>119</sup>

A significant element of the landscape of the part of the patrimonium located closest to the sixteenth century Chełmno were residents’ barns. They were situated mainly to the north-east of the town; the main cluster was located by the Vistula, between Rybaki and municipal gardens, in the direction of Nowe Dobra. Only a part of hay and grains was stored there, however, and the rest was kept in stacks near meadows and fields.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Most likely deriving from the German word *Bruch* – swamp, quagmire. The name ‘broch’ was used in the eighteenth century in Chełmno and referred to swampy areas. Cf.: APT, AMCh, sign. 828, p. 18v.

<sup>115</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 10, pp. 2 ff., 3, 42v and following. *Przywilej chełmiński 1233, 1251*, publ. K. Ciesielska, transl. J. Bieniak, Toruń 1983, p. 40. Cf.: *Preussische Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, no. 2, no. 252, p. 185; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 166; T. Jasiński, *Przedmieścia średniowiecznego Torunia i Chełmna*, pp. 37, 129 ff.; S. Cackowski, *Struktura społeczna i gospodarcza wsi województwa chełmińskiego w okresie pierwszego rozbioru Polski. Osadnictwo i ludność chłopska*, Toruń 1985, p. 61 estimated the number of settlements inside the lands of Chełmno in 1571 to be only nine.

<sup>116</sup> M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno civitas totius Prussiae metropolis*, pp. 432–433.

<sup>117</sup> F.L. Halmhuber, *Das Elokationswesen in Culm*, Culm 1850, p. 4.

<sup>118</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, pp. 230ff; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 176; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno civitas totius Prussiae metropolis*, p. 65. The present-day plans call it Kanał Główny (*The Main Canal*) or, which appears completely unjustified, Kanał Starogrodzki (*Old Castle Town Canal*).

<sup>119</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 88; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 170; *Statut sprawy elokacyjnej dla obywateli chełmińskich domy posiadających*, Culm 1850, p. 1; F.L. Halmhuber, *Das Elokationswesen in Culm*, Culm 1850, pp. 5–6.

<sup>120</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 27, p. 51; sign. 828, p. 126.

In the closest vicinity of Chełmno, there were many woods. In the mediaeval times, the townsfolk had an unrestricted access to them; however in the course of time and reductions of the stands of trees, restrictions were introduced. The town owned quite a large stand of trees in Lipa. As early as 1603, Bishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki remarked that the Chełmno woods ‘have got much ravished’ (Archaic Polish: *napustoszały bardzo*). Consequently, he forbade cutting trees for sale already at that time. The only acceptable practice was cutting for one’s own use by the townspeople upon consent of all the three classes of burghers.<sup>121</sup>

In 1794, a remark was made about the topography of Chełmno: “a town on some high hills a quarter mile from the Vistula (...). Not far from the town, down the hill, there is a small river or tributary of the Vistula called the Trynka, which one mile up from Chełmno flows in the direction of Starogród and in half a mile falls back to the Vistula”.<sup>122</sup> As ‘an arm of the Vistula’, the Trynka was already marked on the 1745 plan by Steiner and, similarly, on Westphal’s plans of 1820 and 1849. On the 1840 plan, it is even called ‘the Little Vistula’. On one of the plans from the late eighteenth century, on the other hand, the Trynka is called a river which carries waters in and out of the oxbow lake Chełmianka (present-day Jezioro [Lake] Starogrodzkie). The name ‘Chełmianka’ was used already in 1524.<sup>123</sup> In all likelihood, then, Lake Chełmianka developed out of the original Trynka – the oxbow lake of the Vistula. In the modern period, the main course of the Trynka no longer led through the lake. The Trynka, bending off the Vistula, neared the town at the Benedictine monastery. The subsequent course of the Trynka in the north-western direction past the town was the same as that of the present-day water course called the Trynka and some 2 kilometres past the town it re-joined the Vistula. The peaceful Trynka made it possible to get as close to the town as possible and to unload the goods safely.

The island created between the Trynka and the Vistula was called Kępa Panieńska (*Maiden Grove*). Its area is approximately 450 ha.<sup>124</sup> As if by extension of this grove to the east, there was another part called Ostrów (the Polish word *ostrów* denotes a river island covered with vegetation).<sup>125</sup> The larger, western part of Kępa was separated from Ostrów by a tributary channel called Ramię Trynki (*the Arm of the Trynka*). The plans from the late eighteenth and early show the Ramię Trynki as a dead-end watercourse which did not connect with the Vistula. Further away down the river, there were Kępa Wilcza (*Wolf Grove*), Kępa Pańska (*Lord’s Grove*), and Kępa Ostrowska (*Ostrów Grove*). Up the Vistula in the direction of Starogród, there was Świnia Kępa (*Pig Grove*) on the river.<sup>126</sup> In 1558, King Sigmundus Augustus confirmed the former privilege awarding the two groves to the town. On the other side, there were several groves too, of which Popowska and Krostkowska were given to the Abbess of the Chełmno Benedictines Magdalena Mortęska towards the end of the sixteenth century<sup>127</sup> The groves were covered with trees, therefore Sebastian Fabian Klonowic wrote in 1595 in a poem entitled ‘Flis’ (*timber rafting*):

*When Chełmno, an old Prussian port, through a thicket shines  
You shall turn right.  
(Archaic Polish: Chełmno, stary port pruski, ujźrżysz przez gaj,  
W prawo puszczaj.)*

<sup>121</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, pp. 230 ff.; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 176.

<sup>122</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 187.

<sup>123</sup> MZCh, sign. MZCH/D/277, plan by F. Westphal dated 1820; AHMP Chełmno, plans no. 3, 4, 11, 12; *Toruń i miasta ziemi chełmińskiej*, Fig. 108; *Księga ławnicza sądu przedmiejskiego*, p. 47; *Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego z r. 1614 z uwzględnieniem późniejszych do r. 1759 inwentarzy*, publ. A. Mańkowi, Toruń 1927 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 22), p. 114; *Inwentarze dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego (1646 i 1676)*, pp. 49, 59. This name referred to the north-western part of the lake, from Kaldus in the direction of Chełmno. The name was still used during the interwar period, but already at that time the name ‘Jezioro Starogrodzkie’ was gaining greater popularity – cf.: J. T. Dziedzic, P. Ossowski, *Powiat i miasto Chełmno*, pp. 11ff. Nowadays, the name ‘Chełmianka’ or ‘Chełmionka’ is no longer used.

<sup>124</sup> A. M. Jagodziński, I. Maciejewska-Rutkowska, *Warunki przyrodnicze rezerwatu “Ostrów Panieński” koło Chełmna w ujęciu historycznym*, “Parki Narodowe i Rezerwaty Przyrody”, vol. 24, 2005, pp. 43–49; M. Orłowicz, *Ilustrowany przewodnik*, p. 160.

<sup>125</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 88.

<sup>126</sup> MZCh, sign. MZCH/D/278, plan by F. Westphal dated 1849; AHMP Chełmno, plan no. 3 dated approximately 1796–1802; *Inwentarz dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego z r. 1614*, p. 113; *Inwentarze dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego (1646 i 1676)*, p. 50; *Inwentarze dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego (1723–1747)*, p. 54.

<sup>127</sup> *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, pp. 46, 51; SGKP, vol. 4, Warsaw 1883, p. 710.

From the south and south-west, the town was encircled by the Fryba Stream, also known as the Browina, most likely after the name of the village Browina near Chełmża. Its length is only 43 km, but at the same time, it is the biggest watercourse to flow down from the upland in the vicinity of Chełmno. The Fryba used to flow into the Trynka in the past.<sup>128</sup>

The dykes, also called dams, were constructed along the Vistula bank using natural elevations of the land. One of the oldest dykes stretched along some 3 kilometres from Broch down the Vistula to Nowe Dobra. Then it was extended using hills to reach Podwiesk. In the sixteenth century, the dyke was extended to Rządź. In 1603, Bishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki issued a reminder stating that the duty to maintain the dyke was borne by all the town residents.<sup>129</sup>

An important role in the town's economy was played by lakes. Within the perimeter of the patri-monium, the most important ones were Lake Rządź and Lake Cykop, also known as Kolińskie. Lake Rządź was located at the very extreme of the municipal estates, at the border with Grudziądz estates. For this reason, there were disputes held with the starosts of Grudziądz concerning the rights to this lake; as early as 1524, Starost Jan Sokołowski challenged the ownership of the lake by Chełmno. After a four-year argument, the case was presented in front of the general sejmik in Grudziądz.<sup>130</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, in the period of a significant demographic boom, Chełmno extended its area greatly. Inside the originally located town, many new houses, tenements and public institution buildings were erected. The blocks meant for the construction of buildings were filled up once again. Still, the layout of the streets – and, consequently, blocks – remained in general the same, also in the vicinity of the defensive walls, because the walls had not been pulled down, except small fragments and the entry gates. The only one left was Grudziądzka Gate, which at the same time served religious functions. When it comes to the town square, Pakusz was demolished already at the end of the eighteenth century. All the gothic churches were preserved inside the perimeter of the original location town; however the monasteries of the Dominicans and Franciscans were pulled down just as the Holy Spirit Hospital was. Outside the town, St. George church was demolished. It appears that since the sixteenth century, the road layout in the most immediate vicinity of Chełmno has not changed, even though the road from Toruń to Grudziądz via Chełmno lost its importance. Most likely, the roads leaving the town through the western gates disappeared already in the seventeenth century. The most significant changes occurred in the north-western areas in connection with the massive construction completed in 1855 and 1889, which consisted in the regulation of the banks of the Vistula by the drainage of the waters of the Fryba. As a consequence of these, the 'small Vistula', also known as the Trynka, became 'dead'. The demise of the Trynka was brought about in 1963 in connection with the construction of a fixed bridge over the Vistula and the creation of levees which cut off the former mouth where it flowed into the Vistula. Then, in connection with the designing of the city sewage collector in the 1990s, the presumably oldest Chełmno dyke, which stretched in the direction of Nowe Dobra along the old road called Nadolnik in the past and, today, Nad Groblą, was pulled down.

(2021)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>128</sup> W. Łęga, *Cmentarzysko lateńsko-rzymskie z Chełmna*, Toruń 1938, p. 9. This river is in its initial course now it is called Browina, and at the mouth of the Fryba, and under this name it functions in the Chełmno society. In 1901 two articles appeared in "Gazeta Toruńska" (no. 216 from 19 September 1901; no. 258 from 8 November 1901), the authors of which prove that the only correct name, already in use in 1255, is Browina. It was written: "... who is curious let the first three components of it take the consonants out, and then instead of 'b', 'r', 'w', put 'w', 'r', 'b', and will have an explanation, where does the German name Fribbe come from she took, because it's just a switch bilabial [consonants – K.S.P.], standing on both sides of the liquid [consonant – K.S.-P.]". Cf.: *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, ed. C.P. Woelky, Danzig 1887, no. 38, p. 26.

<sup>129</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 4, p. 232; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Nieznane źródła*, part 1, p. 177; J. T. Dziedzic, P. Ossowski, *Powiat i miasto Chełmno*, p. 9.

<sup>130</sup> APT, AMCh, sign. 24, p. 90; sign. 828, p. 120v; Z.H. Nowak, *Dzieje Chełmna*, (publ. 1987), p. 105.

### III.6.5.1 CZĘSTOCHOWA

*Małgorzata Wilska*

The plan of Częstochowa was reconstructed on the basis of the eighteenth and nineteenth century cartographic sources, supplemented with information collected from written sources – mostly from the sixteenth century. The following cartographic manuscripts were used in the first place: a Swedish military plan from 1702;<sup>1</sup> a plan of military operations conducted near Częstochowa in 1809;<sup>2</sup> ‘Plan sytuacyjny miasta Starej Częstochowy...’ (‘Situational plan of the Old Częstochowa city’) made by Bernhard in 1823 at a scale of 1:1,500;<sup>3</sup> ‘Plan sytuacyjny miasta Nowej Częstochowy wraz z przedmieściem św. Barbary...’ (‘Situational plan of the New Częstochowa city with Św. Barbary suburbs’) also from 1823 and by the same author, at the same scale;<sup>4</sup> ‘Plan sytuacyjny gruntów i siedzib przed regulacją i po regulacji połączonych miast Częstochowy’ (‘Situational plan of grounds and residences before and after the regulation of conjoined cities of Częstochowa’) from 1842, prepared by J. Zawadzki at a scale of 1:5,000.<sup>5</sup> inspections, tax registers, Church visitations (particularly the Radziwiłł visitation from 1598) and other written sources along with later cartographic materials allowed us to reconstruct the sixteenth century urban layout, which is partly hypothetical.<sup>6</sup>

The city is the real subject of this study, as well as other plans in this volume. However, an exception was made in the case of Częstochowa – the plan presents not only the located city and its suburbs, but was also expanded beyond the western border of the city’s territory to show the Pauline Monastery on Jasna Góra, which was excluded from the main map. Already in the fifteenth century, the monastery was the destination for many pilgrimages, which naturally influenced the life of the city.<sup>7</sup>

The earliest settlement in our area – a village Częstochówka (originally Częstochowa, then Częstochowa Stara) – was situated at the foot of the later Jasna Góra, by the road from Cracow to Greater Poland and Silesia. The city of Częstochowa was founded on the left bank of the River Warta, near a crossing of the said road, some 3 km from Jasna Góra.<sup>8</sup> The River Warta flows in the city in a swampy valley. The River Kucelinka flows into the Warta from the east, and the Stradomka, called Rybna in the fourteenth century, and then Żarnowa, from the southwest (both rivers fall beyond the range of our plan). In the sixteenth century, a stream from the current Rynek Wieluński flowed into the Warta, and another stream flowed from the south. The northern one can be seen on the 1809 plan, and it was marked on this basis. The gorge of the Warta to the north between Mirów and Mstów, as well as waterlogged area south of the old city were difficult to cross. The city was founded on a site,

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Compein bey Czenstochoua vom 16 Aug. A. 1702 bis d. 22 Aug.’, in the collection of the Royal Library in Stockholm, microfilm in AGAD, Z. 1, pos. 63/2.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Plan de la defense du fort de Częstochow par les troupes de l’armée polonaise, depuis le 2–17 du mois de mai 1809, avec les attaques des Autrichiens’, AGAD, Zb. Kart., 523–7.

<sup>3</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart., 112–10, 112–7; AP Łódź, Zb. Kart., 184.

<sup>4</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (State Archive in Łódź), Zb. Kart., 216.

<sup>5</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart., 112–9.

<sup>6</sup> B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, part 2: *Katalog układów urbanistycznych*, Cracow 2004, part 2, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> See J. Zbudniewek, *Klasztor jasnogórski i jego rola pielgrzymkowa*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje miasta i klasztoru Jasnogórskiego*, vol. 1, ed. F. Kiryk, Częstochowa 2002, pp. 383–427.

<sup>8</sup> Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Częstochowa*, [in:] SHG Kraków, part 1, no. 3, pp. 466–468.

where the crossing was easier. The road from Lelów to Wieluń ran through this area. In the sixteenth century it was called ‘the great Lelów road’.<sup>9</sup>

Częstochowa was granted municipal rights in the fourteenth century. The document of the location is missing, and the first entry about the city comes from 1377, so it is impossible to say, who located the town, and when. This was a royal town, located ‘in cruda radice’, therefore we must consider both: King Casimir the Great, and Duke Władysław Opolczyk, the owner of Częstochowa and adjacent territories since 1370.<sup>10</sup>

Successive monarchs confirmed town rights of Częstochowa, and geographical conditions allowed the city to expand. Water was easily found here, unlike in the village Częstochówka. The borders of the located town ran in the north where Spadek Street now runs, in the east – Nadrzeczna Street, in the west – current Krakowska and Warszawska streets, and in the south – Przesmyk Street.<sup>11</sup> The city occupied some 8 ha in the sixteenth century. The market square, 62 m long and 110 m wide, i.e. 0,68 ha, was located at the centre of the town.<sup>12</sup> The town hall stood in the market square, and the butchers’ stalls next to the town hall. The first entry on the town hall comes from 1564, and its location is shown on the cartographic sources. There was a bathhouse in the town at the time (attested to since 1423) and the vogt’s manor, built across from the royal manor, whose location remains unknown. The municipal rights were restored in 1502 by King Alexander. In 1540, the same monarch allowed the counsellors of Częstochowa to build a dyke near the bridge over the Warta, and to collect 3 dinars from each cart carrying goods. In 1512, the privilege was confirmed by Sigismund the Old, who emphasized that one dinar from the toll should be spent on bridge and road repairs. In 1508, the king established a market each Monday, and a fair on the first Sunday of the Lent.<sup>13</sup> In 1519 a fire broke out in Częstochowa, and the property of the burghers burned down. As a result, Sigismund the Old freed them for 12 years from town tax on houses, and for two years from liquor excise tax.<sup>14</sup> The confirmation of the vogt’s privilege from 1532 mentions a bridge ‘over the River Warta’.<sup>15</sup> A document issued by Sigismund the Old in 1531 tells us about a mill situated before the city gate.<sup>16</sup> The 1532 inventory of Olsztyn starosta’s district mentions two mills, one belonging to the vogt, and the other – to the king.<sup>17</sup> Four fairs were organized in Częstochowa in 1551.<sup>18</sup> In 1564 there was a customs house in the city, where toll was paid for cattle, horses, carts and oxen driven to Silesia. In 1570 the merchants were advised to take the road through Częstochowa, where bridge toll was collected on the River Warta.

The church of St. Sigismund, situated to the south-west from the market square was originally a subsidiary church of the parochial temple of the Holy Virgin and Mother Mary on Jasna Góra. The church of St. Sigismund, built probably around 1356, became a parochial church in 1382, when Władysław Opolczyk brought the Pauline order to Jasna Góra. In 1474 the parish of St. Sigismund, with benefices, was removed from the administration of a secular parson, and put under the jurisdiction of the prior of the Pauline monastery. In his *Liber beneficiorum* Jan Długosz tells us that between 1470 and 1480 the parish encompassed: the town of Częstochowa, the royal villages – Rększowice, Dzbów, Kiedrzyń, and Wierzchowiska, also several villages of the Church – Grabówka, Częstochówka, and villages belonging to the nobility, like Konopiska, property of Jakub Koniecpolski, Bleszno and Wrzosowa – property of Jakub Trepla, and ironworks in Bleszno (a village belonging to the nobility)

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<sup>9</sup> J. Laberschek, *Nowe spojrzenie na początki miasta Częstochowy*, “Almanach Częstochowy”, 1994, pp. 5-15. The author believes that the most important factor in the development of the city was the building of a crossing over the Warta.

<sup>10</sup> Idem, *Wójtostwo częstochowskie w czasach piastowskich i jagiellońskich*, “Almanach Częstochowy”, 2004, pp. 6–9.

<sup>11</sup> The borders of the town are a controversial issue. The findings of St. Herbst and S. Szymański, corrected only in the south by W. Zaleski, shed much new light. See J. Borowska-Antoniewicz, *Urbanistyka i rozwój przestrzenny*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje*, pp. 451 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The area of the market was copied from St. Herbst and S. Szymański, who reduced it in comparison to S. Krakowski.

<sup>13</sup> MRPS, vol. IV, part 1, no. 226.

<sup>14</sup> *Zbiór dokumentów zakonu Paulinów w Polsce*, vol. 2, ed. J. Zbudniewek, Warsaw 2004, no. 216.

<sup>15</sup> J. Rajman, *Rozwój miasta do połowy XVII w.*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje*, p. 174.

<sup>16</sup> MRPS, vol. IV, part 2, no. 16093.

<sup>17</sup> ASK, LIV, sign. 0–2. The vogt’s mill situated over the bridge was mentioned in 1598 and 1601, in S. Mizery, *Wypisy z ksiąg miejskich Częstochowy*, “Almanach Częstochowy”, 1999, pp. 24, 27.

<sup>18</sup> J. Rajman, *Rozwój miasta*, p. 181.

and Gnaszyn (a village belonging to the Church).<sup>19</sup> Originally, the church of St. Sigismund was made of wood. The documents of the 1598 visitation record that it was made of brick and well-equipped. At the time, it had four stone altars, a tower with two bells, and a signature tower with another bell.<sup>20</sup>

Many burghers of Częstochowa endowed to the benefit of the Church, mainly to charity. In 1559, the vogt, Stanisław Skoczylas, offered some of his money towards the building of a poorhouse. In 1590, a burgher Maciej Mrozon handed three patches of field to the hospital of St. Jacob, founded by Jakub Zalejski.<sup>21</sup>

A document issued in 1388 mentions Jasna Góra as the location of the monastery, and Częstochowa as a town, for the first time. The office of a vogt was also mentioned there, and the city seal was used. The prerogatives of a hereditary vogt, as well as his endowments, were specified in the 1423 privilege of Ladislaus Jagiello. In 1530, this privilege was confirmed by Sigismund the Old. The border of the estates of the vogt's district ran through the forest from the road leading from the village Kawodrza, which belonged to the Pauline Order, to the border of a royal village Dzbów, and then to Bleszno village. The office and district of the vogt in Częstochowa remained in the hands of the nobility, in the sixteenth century it was Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, and Jan Kliziński afterwards. In 1554 the city bought the vogt's office from private owners. This probably meant only the prerogatives, as seizing the estates proved impossible back then.<sup>22</sup>

The inspection conducted in 1564 informs us that the burghers of Częstochowa paid rent from lans, leas and 166 town meadows, 108 gardens and 218 houses. At the time, the town had 14 butchers' stalls, 19 bakers, 23 shoemakers, 10 potters. There was a cropping workshop, and three cloth merchants, as well as a town mill, which had four wheels. In the sixteenth century, the iron merchants formed the most distinctive professional group (the register of the customs house from 1584 mentions several of them), some of them also traded salt. There were two ironworks in Częstochowa parish, mentioned in 1551 and 1598.<sup>23</sup> The Pauline monastery owned a foundry since the end of the fourteenth century, and in the middle of the sixteenth century over 20 founders worked there.

The number of houses grew in the sixteenth century. Between 1564 and 1569 31 houses were built.<sup>24</sup> In 1631, there were 378 burgher houses, and 18 houses of the nobles in Częstochowa.<sup>25</sup> Since 1589, the nobility founded *jurydyki* in the town and on the town grounds, beginning with Jan Ocieski, the starosta of Olsztyn. A Pauline monastery was built south of the parochial church of St. Sigismund in the sixteenth century. The church was said to be brick by the 1598 visitation (three friars and a prior lived there at the time). Sometime before 1539 a school was founded by the church. It was probably situated in the building next to the temple.

At the end of the sixteenth century Cracow Gate ('porta Cracoviensis'<sup>26</sup>) was most certainly brick, just as was the adjoining fragment of the city walls to the south and west. The remaining part of the walls, that is the majority, probably comprised an earth embankment with a palisade. The popular belief, according to which the entire city was surrounded by brick walls (alternatively except for its eastern fragment, on the side of the river) is groundless.<sup>27</sup> The fortifications of Częstochowa: an embankment, only partially strengthened by a wall, were not exceptional, one can clearly see an analogy with Sieradz here.<sup>28</sup> The burghers likely had to look after the fortifications, and perhaps that is why vogt Aleksander Bełdowski laid claim to fragments of the city walls.<sup>29</sup> Another stone building in the south-western part of the town, the monastery, adjoined the church from the south. The western wing of the present-day presbytery is in proportion to the old monastery depicted on the print from

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<sup>19</sup> SHG Kraków, part I, no. 3, Wrocław 1985, pp. 468–470 and J. Zbudniewek, *Parafia św. Zygmunta*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje*, p. 209.

<sup>20</sup> J. Zbudniewek, *Parafia św. Zygmunta*, p. 233.

<sup>21</sup> J. Rajman, *Rozwój miasta*, p. 184.

<sup>22</sup> The entire subject of the vogt's office and district after 1554 requires more research. J. Laberschek, *Wójtostwo*, pp. 11–18.

<sup>23</sup> J. Rajman, *Rozwój miasta*, p. 179.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 169.

<sup>25</sup> ASK, XLVI, 42 (the inventory of Olsztyn starosta's district from 1631), f. 138 f.

<sup>26</sup> AV Cap. 15, f. 128.

<sup>27</sup> See J. Borowska-Antoniewicz's commentary on the subject, J. Borowska-Antoniewicz, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 455–457.

<sup>28</sup> AHP Sieradz, part 1, plan no 38, A. Dunin Wąsowicz, *Sieradz*, *ibidem*, footnote 19, in this edition: III.6.27.5.

<sup>29</sup> LK 1659–1664, part 2, p. 147.

1655. Probably at the end of the sixteenth century some houses in Częstochowa were also brick.<sup>30</sup> The town hall situated on the market square was made of brick.

A cemetery with a wooden chapel of the Holy Cross, mentioned in the 1598 visitation, lay west of the city walls ('extra muros') and the Church of St. Sigismund.

The streets Kościelna, Garncarska, and Poprzeczna appear in the town documents from the sixteenth century.<sup>31</sup> The latter probably ran parallel to the southern side of the market square and was perpendicular to Kościelna and Garncarska Streets (perhaps just like the current Graniczna Street). The names of streets: Targowa, Nadrzeczna, and Mostowa are attested to only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but were probably created earlier.<sup>32</sup>

The so-called 'Royal Tract' led along the western frontage of the market square. This was the road from Krakowska Gate to Wieluńska Gate (now the streets Targowa and Senatorska). It was crossed by the street, which now bear the name of Mostowa, Mirowska, and Ptasia. Fragments of Mirowska Street from the south, and Mostowa from the north, mark the two short frontages of the market square. According to Jadwiga Borowska-Antoniewicz, the location of the church square – the north-eastern corner of which touched the south-western corner of the market square – is a model example of the late-medieval urban layout.<sup>33</sup> It seem, the main communication route (longitudinal) encircled the city from the west, and ran along the present-day Krakowska and Warszawska streets.<sup>34</sup> The eastern block by the market square was closed at the back by Garncarska street.

A wooden chapel dedicated to St. Jacob was founded in 1586, along with a hospital (alms house) for the poor, outside the town, by the road to Jasna Góra. The founder, Jakub Zalejski, the customs scribe of the Crown, put the hospital and the 'church' under the care of the town council of Częstochowa, but under the condition that it would 'never fall into the hands and under the supervision of the priests from Jasna Góra monastery'. The benefices of the hospital grew thanks to the burghers. Around 1630, the hospital and the chapel of St. Jacob were, in the end, seized by the Paulines.<sup>35</sup>

In the sixteenth century, there were also other wooden chapels situated outside the city, both dedicated to St. Barbara: one near the bridge over the River Stradomka, where a hospital was founded in 1572, and the other by the spring near the road from Jasna Góra to Kawodrza. Neither of these chapels was shown on our plan. A demesne belonging to the priests lay south of the town. In 1382 the borders between city grounds and the estates of the monastery were defined. They survived until the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup>

Recent research has confirmed the existence of brick buildings on Jasna Góra hill before the arrival of the Paulines. The discoveries made by the eastern elevation of the monastery buildings revealed fragments of walls of a structure built on bare rock in the fourteenth century, which probably constituted a part of the defensive system created by Casimir the Great.<sup>37</sup> Works of Jacek Laberschek suggest this was a small castle, where the king stayed during his tours around the country.<sup>38</sup> The monastery on Jasna Góra was founded by Władysław Opolczyk in 1382, which used the old structures, and later gradually developed. The chapel, where the miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin was kept, was built from the local limestone, shortly after 1382. The gothic church was built on the site of the old wooden church. In the last years of the sixteenth century, the following parts of the monastery were brick: the chapel, the church, the free-standing tower, and the part of the monastery situated on the side of the town. The monastery was not fortified, as the construction of the fortifications began in 1620.

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<sup>30</sup> S. Mizera, *Wypisy z ksiąg miejskich Częstochowy*, p. 36 (entry mentioning a tenement house in 1605).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 12, 19, 23, 24 (Kościelna Str.), p. 12 (Poprzeczna Str.), 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 (Garncarska Str.).

<sup>32</sup> J. Borowska-Antoniewicz, *Urbanistyka*, p. 460.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 459.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 461.

<sup>35</sup> The site of this foundation is now occupied by the parochial church of St. Jacob. *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce. Seria nowa*, vol. 6, part. 1: *Miasto Częstochowa*, part 1, comp. Z. Rozanow, E. Smulikowska, Warsaw 1995, p. 47. See also J. Rajman, *Rozwój miasta*, p. 201; J. Borowska-Antoniewicz, *Urbanistyka*, p. 470.

<sup>36</sup> J. Borowska-Antoniewicz, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 449–451.

<sup>37</sup> J. Golonka, *Budownictwo i sztuka Jasnej Góry do połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje*, pp. 241–250.

<sup>38</sup> J. Laberschek, *Mało znane średniowieczne zamki na obszarze dzisiejszej Częstochowy: Jasna Góra, Bleszno i Mirów*, "Almanach Częstochowy", vol. 11, 1996, pp. 5–9.

The village Częstochowa appears in the documents as early as 1220. It lay between Jasna Góra and Parkitka hill, by a stream flowing from the place, where the current Rynek Wieluński is situated. After the foundation of the town, the village was called Stara Częstochowa, and since the fifteenth century – Częstochówka.<sup>39</sup> In 1382 it was endowed to the Pauline Friars from Jasna Góra and later developed as a monastery hamlet of agricultural and trade character, attending to the needs of pilgrims. It was the richest village of the monastery. Since the eighteenth century, the inhabitants of Częstochówka paid tithe to the monastery of Canons Regular in Mstów. This situation was a source of conflict with the monastery in Jasna Góra, which lasted throughout the sixteenth century, and spread over other villages belonging to the Paulines: Grabówka, Kawodrza, Kiedrzyn, Wyczerpy, Wierzchowiska. In 1591, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, the Bishop of Cracow, confirmed that Mstów had the rights to the tithe.

In 1564, there were 13 single-lan serf farmsteads and one half-lan in Częstochówka. In 1581, there were 14 serfs, eight smallholders, and five landless peasants there. Some villagers were connected with the monastery, also in the way that they copied the image of the Holy Virgin, which was later sold to the pilgrims coming to Jasna Góra (e.g. in 1543 there appears a painter from Częstochówka called Krystian). There was a conflict between the town of Częstochowa and the convent of the Paulines concerning the sale of food and forage to the pilgrims. The monastery supported the trade, conducted by the inhabitants of Częstochówka in the vicinity of its church. The city obtained numerous decrees of the king, which put a limit to this procedure, dampening the profits of the town market, but the decrees were not executed.<sup>40</sup> The pilgrims were probably partially guilty, as they preferred to stay near the monastery, not in the city.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Częstochówka was repeatedly and completely destroyed in wars and fires, and in the eighteenth century it was turned into the town of Nowa Częstochowa.<sup>41</sup> As such, the situation presented on cartographic sources may differ much from the sixteenth century reality. This fragment of our plan should therefore be treated as hypothetical to a large degree.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>39</sup> Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Częstochowa Stara*, [in:] SHG Kraków, part I, no. 3, pp. 470–471.

<sup>40</sup> J. Rajman, *Rozwój miasta*, p. 195.

<sup>41</sup> F. Kiryk, J. Rajman, *Częstochowa w latach 1660–1793*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje*, pp. 357–365; J. Borowska-Antoniewicz, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 475–476.

### III.6.6.6 DOBRZYŃ-UPON-VISTULA

*Wiesława Duży*

The motivation behind the work on the reconstruction plan of Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula (Dobrzyń, r) was its nominal status as the capital of Dobrzyń Land in old Commonwealth. As per the requirements of the AHP series, the reconstruction plans show towns in accordance with their condition from the second half of the sixteenth century at a scale of 1:10,000. At that time, Dobrzyń was a small town which still operated as a local marketplace.<sup>1</sup> It was, however, also one of Poland's oldest towns – a result of Dobrzyń Land's political situation. From the thirteenth century onwards, this region remained under the influence of the political and social system of its neighbour—the state of the Teutonic Order.

From the eleventh to thirteenth century, Dobrzyń was a gord in the territory of Mazovia. In 1228, Duke Casimir I of Cuyavia bestowed Dobrzyń to the new knightly Order of Dobrzyń as its seat and the central settlement of the order's endowment, but this state of affairs lasted only until 1235.<sup>2</sup> Then, the Order of Dobrzyń merged with the Teutonic Order, and Dobrzyń returned to the Duke of Mazovia.<sup>3</sup> The beginning of the town's foundation can be dated to the period when it constituted property of the Order. Privileges whose details are nowadays unknown probably came to the town from the Order of Dobrzyń, and the appearance of settlers in the area should be linked with the Order's activity, as evidenced, among others, by the settling of the Dobrzyń sołtys.<sup>4</sup> Dobrzyń quickly became the most important centre of the region and received very early first the foundation privilege, and then the privilege to re-charter with Chełmno law in 1519.<sup>5</sup> In 1248, the town with the castellany gord was incorporated into the Duchy of Cuyavia, and so Dobrzyń Land ceased to belong to Mazovia.<sup>6</sup> However, almost all of it remained in Płock diocese, where a separate archdeaconry was created for the town at the turn of the fourteenth century. As Dobrzyń did not have a collegiate church, the archdeacon was part of the Płock Cathedral Chapter.<sup>7</sup> In the following decades, Dobrzyń went through numerous ups and downs, as did all Dobrzyń Land. The situation of the town worsened already in the fifteenth century after the Polish-Teutonic War, when Dobrzyń and its surroundings were destroyed in 1409 by the Teutonic Knights. The town also began to gradually lose its importance. In the period of interest, *i.e.* in the second half of the sixteenth century, Dobrzyń was the seat of the non-gord starosty, associated only with the cluster of estates known as Dobrzyń Gord Starosty, and the capital of one of

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<sup>1</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 105–123; for more information on this subject, see: P. Szewdo-Kiełczewska, *Character and size of settlements: cities and towns in Cuyavia and Dobrzyń Land in the second half of the sixteenth century*, [in] AHP Kujawy, in this edition III.3.2b.6.

<sup>2</sup> The foundation of the Order was described in detail (along with a discussion of diplomatic documentation, *i.e.* the basic corpus of sources for this issue) in W. Polkowska-Markowska, *Dzieje Zakonu Dobrzyńskiego. Przyczynek do kwestii krzyżackiej*, "Roczniki Historyczne", vol. 2, 1926, no. 2, pp. 145–210 (off-print, pp. 1–73), the author discussed the endowment of the Order on pp. 33–45 off-print.; see also: M. Wojtkowski, *Uposażenie rycerzy chrystusowych w ziemi dobrzyńskiej w latach 1228–1235*, ZD, vol. 6, 1999, pp. 9–19.

<sup>3</sup> W. Polkowska-Markowska, *Dzieje Zakonu Dobrzyńskiego*, p. 60 off-print.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 57 off-print.

<sup>5</sup> Guldon, *Lokacje*, pp. 43–46.

<sup>6</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia nad dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytulacją i genealogią książąt*, Warsaw–Cracow 2012, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> A. Witkowska, *Kościół na Mazowszu płockim w XIII i początkach XIV wieku*, "Studia Płockie", vol. 3, 1975, p. 89.

the three districts of Dobrzyń Land. Bobrowniki was the seat of the gord starosty for Dobrzyń Land.<sup>8</sup> In the sixteenth century, the titular offices of the area included also the castellan of Dobrzyń,<sup>9</sup> which was a relic of the former territorial division into castellanies.<sup>10</sup> Dobrzyń had served as the seat of one such castellany.<sup>11</sup> In 1567, officially, on the basis of a *Sejm* (Diet) resolution, it was decided that the sejmiks (dietines) of Dobrzyń Land would gather in Lipno 'as was the old custom [– –] always [– –] in the future'.<sup>12</sup> Dobrzyń was the seat of the parish in Płock diocese and the nominal centre of Dobrzyń archdeaconry and deanery. In the second half of the sixteenth century, apart from the town, the local parish probably owned 17 villages on both sides of the Vistula: Bachorzewo (n), Dąb Wielki (Dąb, r), Dobiegniewo (Dobiegniew, r), Dyblin (Dyblino, n), Glewo (n), Główczyn (Główczyno, n), Głowina (Głowina, n), Gołyszewy (n), Kisielewo (n), Lenie Wielkie (Linie Wielkie, r), Płomiany (n), Ruda (?), Skaszewo (r), Strachon (r), Stróżewo (n), Tulibowo (Tolibowo, n), Zbyszewo (r).<sup>13</sup>

The basis for reconstructing the plan of Dobrzyń in the second half of the sixteenth century was the 1804 town plan created by Goepfner and Penne. It is the oldest known plan which depicts the entire town with such a level of detail, providing information about the buildings and the street network, drawn up at the scale of 1:1,750. The original document, described in detail by Agnieszka and Henryk Bartoszewicz,<sup>14</sup> is kept at AGAD.<sup>15</sup> There are two known versions of this plan, probably the original and a copy later redrawn from that original. The first version did not provide street names, but showed names of the market square, the church of St. Stanislaus, and the monastery. The second version of this plan included names of selected streets, as well as other information. For example, it was emphasised that ruins lay where the destroyed and never rebuilt church of St. Stephen ('Altes Mauerwerk') once stood. The plan showed not only churches, but also an inn located east of the church of St. Stanislaus. The town's parcels were numbered and various types of urban structures were marked on the plan.

The nineteenth-century situational plans of the Franciscan Monastery were also used as an auxiliary material. They depicted individual elements of the layout of the monastery complex, including a cemetery and a belfry.<sup>16</sup> Technical drawings from 1819 concerning the construction of two bridges over ravines at the town's western border also provided additional information. The drawings depict the shape of the ravine which stretched towards the Vistula along the road to Lipno.<sup>17</sup> Another auxiliary source of information was the nineteenth-century situational plan of a section of Dobrzyń. It was drawn up for the purpose of developing the land between the town and the Vistula scarp for the sake of creating a school, probably after the dissolution of the Franciscan Monastery in 1864.<sup>18</sup> The walls of the old (St. Stephan) church, an inn belonging to the voivode, as well as paths leading from the town to the manor and to the scarp, were marked on the plan.<sup>19</sup> We also analysed the plan of municipal land in Dobrzyń from the first half of the nineteenth century. This colourful plan is a fragment of a larger document, without a legend, and shows the layout of fields, a very schematic outline of the town, and the topography of the terrain on the Vistula's riverbank.<sup>20</sup>

Dobrzyń was destroyed many times as a result of both war hostilities and fires.<sup>21</sup> For this reason, its growth was stunted before it could properly develop. These issues also impacted the condition of

<sup>8</sup> Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> Urzędnicy VI/2, pp. 172–173.

<sup>10</sup> There are mentions from 1300 and 1306 of one Dobrzyń voivode, Piotr Ogon of Lubin; Urzędnicy VI/1, pp. 259–263, 282.

<sup>11</sup> See: Guldon, Powierski, Podziały, pp. 154–162.

<sup>12</sup> VC, vol. 2, part 1, p. 203 (cf. VL, vol. 1, p. 641); J. Siemieński, *Organizacja sejmiku Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*, Cracow 1906, p. 6; W. Kriegseisen, *Sejmiki Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 1991, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> ADP, sign. 6, Wiz 1609, f. 338.

<sup>14</sup> A. Bartoszewicz, H. Bartoszewicz, *Kartografia miast Mazowsza i ziemi dobrzyńskiej do końca XIX wieku*, Warsaw–Pułtusk 2012; H. Bartoszewicz, *Obraz kartograficzny miast polskich w XVII–XIX wieku. Katalog wystawy*, Warsaw 2007.

<sup>15</sup> AGAD, Cartographic Collection from 1579–1944, sign. 524-6.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, sign. 17-7.

<sup>17</sup> AGAD, Government Committee of Internal Affairs, sign. 4327, f. 291.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą – z problematyki przemian osadniczych*, [in:] *Pogranicze polsko-pruskie i krzyżackie (II)*, ed. K. Grążawski, Włocławek–Brodnica 2007, p. 238.

<sup>19</sup> AGAD, Cartographic Collection from 1579–1944, sign. 725-001.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, sign. 199-16.

<sup>21</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 64: information about the Teutonic Knights burning the town down, and about seven fires that broke out in Dobrzyń over 11 years in the second half of the sixteenth century, when Stanisław Kryski was the starosta

the preserved sources that could be useful for recreating the layout of the urban space in the period of interest. As no town books, accounts or other documentation prepared by the municipal office have survived to this day, the extant inspections had to become our main sources of information. There are many descriptions of Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula, starting from the 1564 inspection to documents of the late eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the inspections are not particularly rich in information that could facilitate the process of reconstructing the town plan from the second half of the sixteenth century. As the starosty in Dobrzyń was in fact a lease, it was not subject to inspections until the 1630s.<sup>23</sup> In the years 1616–1620, there is only a note about the sum assigned for the fourth life-annuity and information that the inspection had not been performed.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, these documents do not provide insight into the town's structure, and contain only a highly detailed description of the manor and the buildings belonging to the Dobrzyń Starosta. However, they provide valuable information on the Vistula riverside and its nearby tributaries, where the mills were located. An important source of information about the town's layout is the 1616 inventory of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty, drawn up after the death of Starosta Feliks Żelski, of the Ogończyk coat of arms, on the occasion of Jan Podoski, of the Junosza coat of arms, receiving the gord starosty in question.<sup>25</sup> It contains information about the buildings of the manor of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty, the town's main obligations towards the starosta, the surrounding mills and villages of Linie and Skaszewo, as well as forests. The records concerning the functioning of the Franciscan Monastery in Dobrzyń were also a valuable resource. These materials should be treated with due caution, as the originals have been lost and are known only from later copies and published excerpts.<sup>26</sup> Some information useful for the reconstruction of the town plan was established on the basis of the Bobrowniki castle court books in which the confirmation of the privileges granted to the Franciscans of Dobrzyń was filed in 1658.<sup>27</sup> The document centred on, among others, a privilege to build a mill and information on the scope of the monastery's endowment granted in the fourteenth century. The 1659–1665 inspection also mentioned the Franciscans and their mill on Vistula River.<sup>28</sup> The partially published post-visitation protocols of Płock diocese also proved to be helpful, albeit in a limited way.<sup>29</sup>

As the source base for the period in question is rather limited, Dobrzyń has not become a subject of its own monograph. However, due to its significant position among medieval towns, the history of Dobrzyń was of considerable interest to many researchers, both archaeologists and historians, especially regionalists. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Dobrzyń Land became the subject of works by such historians as Wincenty Hipolit Gawarecki,<sup>30</sup> Gustaw Zieliński, with strong ties to Skępe,<sup>31</sup> Dominik Staszewski and Aleksander Maciesza.<sup>32</sup> Zenon Guldon and Jan Powierski published a study on the development of Dobrzyń, which was not very extensive, but nevertheless significant for the history

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of Dobrzyń (lifetime starosta from 20 April 1564, died on 26 June 1595); K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie 1565–1795 (materiały źródłowe)*, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2017, p. 335; Z. Góźdź, *Najazdy krzyżackie na Ziemię Dobrzyńską*, ZD, p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 268; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 64–65; LWWK 1659, part 2, pp. 280–281; *Inwentarze lustracyjne królewskich ziem w ziemi dobrzyńskiej z lat 1774–1777*, pub. i wstęp Z. Górski, A. Mietz, Rypin 1988 (Miscellanea Archiwalne do Dziejów Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej, vol. 1), pp. 5–6.

<sup>23</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 64–67.

<sup>24</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 309–310; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 64–67.

<sup>25</sup> Inw. 1616, p. 230.

<sup>26</sup> ADWł, Monastic Files, sign. 48, Brevis descriptio conventum provinciae Poloniae ordinis minorum conventualium S. P. Francisco facta anno Domini 1762 Compiled by Bonawentura Makowski, at that Time, the Lublin Custodian, from Old Descriptions of Individual Monasteries Prepared in the Warsaw Convent of the Novice Master, p. 71; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne dzieje Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*, Płock 2014, p. 71; cf. Z. Zyglewski, *Początki klasztorów franciszkanów na Kujawach i Mazowszu w ujęciu historiograficznym*, [in:] *Kujawsko-pomorskie rodowody wybitnych uczonych*, ed. Z. Biegański, W. Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 2007 (PKHBTN, vol. 20), pp. 145–174.

<sup>27</sup> AGAD, Bobrowniki Gord Court Books, no sign., ff. 89–90.

<sup>28</sup> LWWK 1659, part 2, pp. 281–282.

<sup>29</sup> Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne dzieje Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*, annexes.

<sup>30</sup> W.H. Gawarecki, *Opis topograficzno-historyczny Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*, Płock 1825, pp. 41–51.

<sup>31</sup> G. Zieliński, *O Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej. Badanie historyczne (z mapą)*, "Biblioteka Warszawska", vol. 3, 1861, pp. 233–283, 525–572; cf. A. Sitko, *Gustaw Zieliński, Towarzystwo Naukowe Płockie oraz dublet biblioteki skępskiej w zbiorach Wojewódzkiej Biblioteki Publicznej im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w Lublinie*, "Bibliotekarz Lubelski", vol. 57, 2004, pp. 19–48; M. Krajewski, *Zieliński Gustaw h. Świnka*, [in:] idem, *Dobrzyński słownik biograficzny*, Włocławek 2002, pp. 719–724.

<sup>32</sup> D. Staszewski, A. Maciesza, *Zarys historyczny Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej. Krótkie studjum nad przeszłością i chwilą obecną*, Płock 1908, pp. 8–10.

of the town.<sup>33</sup> Jerzy Kalinowski also wrote about the spatial development of the town over the centuries, but this study should be treated with due caution. Although providing many valuable tips, it is rather a popular than a scientific publication.<sup>34</sup> Aldona Andrzejewska's article on the archaeological research carried out within the Vistula scarp in Dobrzyń is a very important piece of work for the topic in question.<sup>35</sup> The history of the entire Dobrzyń Land owes a lot to the contributions of Mirosław Krajewski, the editor of *Rocznik Dobrzyński (Dobrzyń Land Yearbook)*, a journal which has been published since 2008, as well as selected volumes of the publishing series *Z dziejów Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej (From the History of Dobrzyń Land)*, which presents the results of cyclical conferences on the history of the region.<sup>36</sup> Krajewski is also the author of bibliographic lists concerning the history of Dobrzyń.<sup>37</sup> As the post-visitation protocols were preserved, it was possible to research the history of the parish and churches of Dobrzyń.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, the chronicle of the Dobrzyń Franciscan Monastery, which was maintained since the eighteenth century, was destroyed, as was most of the Monastery's documentation. As a result, the comprehensive 1918 study on this subject becomes an even more important source, as its author knew the now destroyed sources and referenced some of them in his writing.<sup>39</sup>

Dobrzyń is situated in Dobrzyń Upland on the Vistula River, in the border zone of the Pomeranian-Cuyavian Swell, in a landslide area, which has significant consequences for local settlement patterns. As the research conducted so far indicates, it is the largest landslide area in the entire Polish Lowland. In this section, the Vistula's path runs almost latitudinally, undercutting the right bank. Due to the lack of adequate sources for the sixteenth century, it is not possible to track changes in the course of the river's shoreline in the long term. Diachronic comparative analyses are possible only for cross-sections from the nineteenth to the twenty first century. Changes in the Vistula bank range are presented on the Dobrzyń town plan. It shows three cross-sections: the contemporary shoreline, its shape from the mid-twentieth century and representation of the early nineteenth-century shoreline, marked in accordance with the plan created by Goepfner and Penne. The research conducted so far indicates also that the course of the Vistula's shoreline underwent significant changes over time.<sup>40</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, the land of the local area was described as unstable, due to the presence of springs and streams. The river could easily flood whole swathes of land, and ravines often formed at the shore.<sup>41</sup> During the archaeological research conducted in the mid-twentieth century, it was noticed that the Dobrzyń Vistula Scarp is sliding down at a pace that makes the results of the research imprecise due to the shifting soil layers, and prevents safe research in this area.<sup>42</sup> As a result of these conditions, it was difficult to recreate the previously delineated boundaries of individual municipal or monastic properties, the traces of which can be found in the old records of the Dobrzyń-based monastery. At the end of the fourteenth century, the endowment of the monastery was probably located both within and outside the town, as evidenced by the seventeenth-century confirmation of the privileges granted to the Franciscans of Dobrzyń.<sup>43</sup> In the seventeenth century, it

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<sup>33</sup> Z. Guldon, J. Powierski, *Dzieje Dobrzynia do końca XVIII w.*, [in:] *Z dziejów ziemi dobrzyńskiej. Materiały sesji popularno-naukowej na 900-lecie istnienia Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*, Toruń 1966.

<sup>34</sup> J. Kalinowski, *Rozwój Dobrzynia nad Wisłą na przestrzeni wieków*, Dobrzyń nad Wisłą 2001.

<sup>35</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, pp. 237–260.

<sup>36</sup> The latest volume of this series was published in 2019: *Z dziejów ziemi dobrzyńskiej. Materiały XXIII Konferencji Historycznej "Z dziejów ziemi dobrzyńskiej" w Nowogrodzie, w dniu 11 października 2018 r.*, ed. R. Bartoszewski, M. Krajewski, Dobrzyń nad Wisłą 2019.

<sup>37</sup> M. Krajewski, *Materiały do biografii historycznej ziemi dobrzyńskiej za lata 1985–1992 wraz z uzupełnieniami z lat poprzednich*, ZD, vol. 2, 1992, pp. 207–262; idem, *Przyczynki historyczne i historiograficzne ziemi dobrzyńskiej. Bibliografia zawartości "Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej. Zeszyty Naukowe Dobrzyńskiego Oddziału WTN"*, vol. 1–10: 1989–2006 wraz z krótkim komentarzem i objaśnieniem pisowni hasła "ziemia dobrzyńska", Rypin 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne dzieje Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*.

<sup>39</sup> W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzyniu nad Wisłą. Studium monograficzne na podstawie akt klasztornych*, "Miesięcznik Pastorski Płocki", 1918, no 2, p. 49, no. 3, p. 72; cf. Z. Zyglewski, *Początki klasztorów franciszkanów*.

<sup>40</sup> M. Banach, *Rozwój osuwisk na prawym brzegu zbocza doliny Wisły między Dobrzyniem a Włocławkiem*, Warsaw 1977, pp. 13 f., which also includes information on further literature.

<sup>41</sup> W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzyniu nad Wisłą*, no. 3, p. 72; cf. A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, pp. 237, 239; cf. M. Banach, *Rozwój osuwisk*, pp. 62–70, and photos on the inserts after pp. 16, 31, 56, and appendices.

<sup>42</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, p. 246.

<sup>43</sup> AGAD, Bobrowniki court books, f. 90: 'Prima quidem ipsius limitationi granities, seu radis fossa, incipit retro fornacem seu clibanum cemeterii in coemeterio praedictae ecclesiae, situm infossato ipsius Civitatis, penes aream Nicolai [...] per aream

was impossible to recreate these boundaries in the field due to the fact that part of the land near the river had sunk into the water.<sup>44</sup> Information about the landslide can also be found in the seventeenth century inspection.<sup>45</sup>

There are no written or archaeological sources that could confirm the existence of a town hall on the market square in Dobrzyń. We can only assume that there were butcher's stalls, meat stalls, and other municipal facilities used by the town's inhabitants in this part of the town, although no sources have survived that could confirm their exact location. The main square was most likely an undeveloped rectangular square measuring approximately 87 x 76.5 m, which formed a rectangle measuring approx. 300 x 350 m<sup>46</sup> as demonstrated by previous studies and the results of archaeological works, together with the adjacent blocks of buildings. Streets lead from the corners of the main square in all directions, but their grid is known only from the nineteenth-century town plan. Dating from the nineteenth century until today, Franciszkańska Street led from the southern frontage of the market square to the west, towards the monastery, and then curved slightly in an arc becoming the north-west road to Bobrowniki and Włocławek. The road to Bobrowniki was already noted in the afore-mentioned confirmation of privileges granted to the Franciscan Monastery.<sup>47</sup> Another street led from the south-eastern corner of the square towards the scarp, passing near the church of St. Stephen, and, after the bend, turning into a road to Płock. It can be assumed that this route was the main transport axis of the town. To the south of the square, there were two streets (today: Zamkowa and Farna), the second of which led to the parish St. Stephen's church and, further, to the Vistula scarp. It should be noted that the streets at the south-eastern corner of the market square had an irregular course, which was caused both by the terrain (there is a small slope in this place visible on the plan by Goepfner and Penne) and the fact that the parochial St. Stephen's church with the cemetery were located in the area. On the north side of the square, there was a street which went along its northern frontage (Włocławska in the nineteenth century, present-day Juliusza Słowackiego) and further westwards, ending at the ravine/ditch. In the other direction, heading east, it reached the town quarter bordering on the Płock Suburb. There were also two streets starting at both corners of the square leading north whose end was located at the point when they crossed the third street (in the nineteenth century and today: Zduńska Street), connecting the entire northern block of municipal buildings, bordering on the hypothetical moat.<sup>48</sup> Once the moat was crossed, the road from Dobrzyń to Lipno turned slightly to the north-east, towards the road to Bobrowniki and Włocławek. In the nineteenth century, there were plans to form a direct connection between this road and the town, as evidenced by the above-mentioned technical drawings of two bridges. Perhaps one of them was to connect the afore-mentioned Zduńska Street with the road to Lipno.<sup>49</sup> The enumerated fragments of sources providing information on the medieval boundaries of the property of the Dobrzyń-based monastery can be seen as a source of only very general insight into the spatial arrangement of the town built-up area, referring to the owners of individual parcels, but not the names of streets.<sup>50</sup>

Except for two churches, all town buildings were made of wood in the discussed period. It was only in the eighteenth century that some of the monastic buildings were built of brick replacing the earlier wooden constructions. The monastic church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary and the parish church of St. Stephen were both made of brick.<sup>51</sup>

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desertam existentem ante portam Cimeterri in qua pons jacet lapideus quo itur ad Ecclesiam, inclusa tota eadem area usque ad plateam Civitatis, qua itur ad Bobrowniki, et rursum a platea dicta ad dextram manum penes aream vicini dicti Miodowy ad angulum penes alium vicinum dictum Kachnikow[i]cz ubi limes vera est contra quam iterum se determinat ad januam claustrum, qua itur ad castrum ubi est tertia limes. Quarta vero inter aream Textoris, ad aream Claustrum, quae ducit portam ad Quintam erectam retro aream ipsius textoris. Sexta autem limes in fossato Civitatis ad portam Visla; extra autem fossata Civitatis, prima limes incipit a domo ipsius pomorum tribune usque ad pyrum infra, ubi est altera limes.'

<sup>44</sup> W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzymiu nad Wisłą*, no. 2, pp. 48–49.

<sup>45</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 64: 'there was a kitchen by the river, but the shore sunk under it and it sloped into the river.'

<sup>46</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, p. 237.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzymiu nad Wisłą*, no. 2, pp. 48–49.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. J. Kalinowski, *Rozwój Dobrzynia*, p. 24.

<sup>49</sup> AGAD, General Files.

<sup>50</sup> W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzymiu nad Wisłą*, no. 2, pp. 48–49.

<sup>51</sup> ADP, sign. 6, Wiz. 1609, f. 335): 'ecclesia parochialis Murata et consecrata'; see: Kuźniewska 2014, pp. 55, 57.

The presence of Jews was already noted in Dobrzyń at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup> According to the so-called coronation tax record of 1507, *i.e.* the list of Jewish settlements which paid the extraordinary tax announced at that time, the Jews of Dobrzyń paid 2 florins. This suggests an existence of a small commune, comparable to the communes in Cuyavia's Pakość, and Gniewków, Greater Poland's Kórnik, Łekno and Ostroróg, and Mazovia's Rawa, which contributed the same amounts.<sup>53</sup> The sixteenth-century tax registers confirm that there was an unspecified number of Jews who paid taxes in Dobrzyń. In 1564, the tax amounted to 40 florins, which may mean that the Jewish community had 40 contributors, as indicated by the rate of 1 florin for each Jew given in the universal.<sup>54</sup> These values should, however, be approached with caution, because the register from 1565 does not provide any information about Jews from Dobrzyń, and the register from 1573 reports 15 florins of tax paid by the Jewish population.<sup>55</sup> In turn, the inspection from the beginning of the seventeenth century states that there were six houses belonging to Jews in the town.<sup>56</sup> We do not know where exactly these houses were located. The Goepfner and Penne plan provides some hints, as it depicts Bużnicza Street, whose course was perpendicular to Zduńska Street and connected the latter with Włocławska Street. Most likely, Bużnicza Street, whose name in Polish refers to the word 'bożnica', meaning a Jewish temple, was named after the synagogue in Dobrzyń. A religious building was marked in this part of the town on the 1:25,000 WIG map, but it is impossible to say to which religion it belonged. The synagogue was probably erected in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.<sup>57</sup>

Earlier, fifteenth-century sources mention that there were gardens in the town by the moat, but we do not have any sources that would make it possible to determine their precise location.<sup>58</sup> It can be assumed that the gardens were established mainly along the northern border of the town, because of the topography and also the presence of watercourses and ravines at its eastern and western border. The shoreline of the Vistula could be occupied by fishermen that were mentioned by both inspections and tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, as well as the 1616 inventory of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty.<sup>59</sup> This letter source provides information about the obligations of Dobrzyń fishermen. Their privileges included the right to graze cows and pigs on an island (*ostrów*) on the Vistula River and collect wood and dried branches, as well as to acorns, on condition that they provide two measuring buckets (*korce*) of this feed to the starosta's manor.<sup>60</sup> The 1628–1632 inspection provides more information on fishermen, noting that their duties were rendered to the starosta, not the town.<sup>61</sup> There were probably undefined garden crops in the area occupied by the Monastery, as illustrated by cartographic materials from the nineteenth century, but we do not have clear information concerning this subject in older sources.

Two of the three churches in Dobrzyń were built at the southern border of the town, near the Vistula scarp.

The no-longer-existing parish church under the invocation of St. Szczepan (Stephen), known as the parochial (*farny*) church, as evidenced in the adjacent street bearing the same name (Farna Street), was located near Góra Zamkowa (Castle Mountain). It is possible that the church was built in the Gothic style.<sup>62</sup> The post-visitation protocols from the beginning of the seventeenth century indicate that the church was made of brick with a partly brick and partly wooden tower, and there was a cemetery surrounded by a wooden fence around the church. The church burnt down in a town fire in 1767.<sup>63</sup> It was most likely built just above the scarp, on a fragment of the area protruding towards Góra

<sup>52</sup> Z. Guldon, *Żydzi w miastach kujawskich w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ZK, vol. 9, 1993, pp. 99–108.

<sup>53</sup> See: M. Horn, *Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich w Polsce z 1507 r.*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce", 1974, no. 3 (91), pp. 11–16; H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 244–245.

<sup>54</sup> ASK I 30, f. 290r.

<sup>55</sup> ASK I 30, ff. 453r, 503v.

<sup>56</sup> LWWK 1628, p. 65.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzyniu nad Wisłą*, no. 3, pp. 70–71.

<sup>58</sup> Z. Guldon, J. Powierski, *Dzieje Dobrzynia*, p. 10; *Inwentarze lustracyjne królewsczyzn w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, pp. X, 6.

<sup>59</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 268; ASK I 30, ff. 453r, 503v; Inw. 1616, p. 233; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 64.

<sup>60</sup> Inw. 1616, p. 234.

<sup>61</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 65.

<sup>62</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, p. 243.

<sup>63</sup> ADP, sign. 6, Wiz 1609, f. 337v; Kuźniewska 2014, pp. 55, 57, 152.

Zamkowa.<sup>64</sup> This area sunk into the river, and today only the name of Farna Street and a fragment of the wall indicate that it was the location of the former church. Near the parish church of St. Stephen, there was a hospital, with three gardens and a school.<sup>65</sup>

On the same axis, parallel to the bank of the Vistula, in the south-west corner of the town, there was a Franciscan church and monastery. The appearance of the Franciscans in Dobrzyń should be associated with the foundation activity of Duke Vladislaus II of Opole, but we do not have sources that would allow us to determine the exact date of this foundation. The construction of the church and monastery was probably completed before the fourteenth century.<sup>66</sup> The church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary burned down in the seventeenth century, and was rebuilt as a brick building in 1634. The monastic buildings were still made of wood. However, the church was destroyed in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>67</sup>

The third church in Dobrzyń was the church of St. Stanislaus built in the Płock suburb. It was a small wooden building surrounded by a cemetery. It did not perform the function of a parish church, but a provostry.<sup>68</sup> After the fire at the church of St. Stephen in the eighteenth century, it took over the function of parochial church, and fulfilled them until 1805. From then on, the monastery church became the seat of the parish.<sup>69</sup>

As was already mentioned, there was a Jewish community in Dobrzyń. There was also a synagogue in the town, built in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, but its location is not clearly confirmed in the sources. It is possible that it was built in the quarter at today's Zduńska Street.<sup>70</sup> Archaeological research and a field survey confirm the existence of a Jewish cemetery located on the bank of the Vistula River, west of the town.<sup>71</sup>

In the Middle Ages, there was a 'castle' on Dobrzyń's Castle Hill, or rather a small, fortified manor.<sup>72</sup> It was built on the Vistula River, in the area of a hillfront (*grodzisko*). It was destroyed in 1409, and a wooden starosta's manor with utility structures, surrounded by a fence, was built in this place.<sup>73</sup> There was probably a ditch or channel between the manor and the town, but there is no clear information that could confirm this hypothesis.<sup>74</sup>

Dobrzyń was not surrounded by a wall. We also do not have any information about town gates or wickets. The town was situated on a slope that provided protection from the south. Slopes, ravines, ditches and the already-mentioned fairly unstable ground surrounded the town from the east and west, making it impossible to build permanent fortifications. There is no reliable information about the security features of the northern borders of the town. The Goepfner and Penne plan shows remains of a rampart, a drainage ditch, or a moat. The lack of sources makes it impossible to clearly state what this area looked like in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, we cannot rule out that the town was at least partially surrounded by a moat filled with water. Such a possibility is confirmed by the topography and the presence of aquifers in the soil layers surrounding the town's buildings.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>64</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, p. 238.

<sup>65</sup> ADP, Wiz 1597, f. 5v; ADP, sign. 6, Wiz 1609, f. 339r; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne dzieje Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*, pp. 104, 105.

<sup>66</sup> W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzyniu nad Wisłą*, no. 2, pp. 45–47.

<sup>67</sup> Gawarecki 1825, p. 46; Krajewski 2011, p. 96; Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne dzieje Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*, pp. 67, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne dzieje Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*, p. 63.

<sup>69</sup> See: *ibidem*, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>70</sup> J. Kalinowski, *Rozwój Dobrzynia*, p. 25; A. Bartoszewicz, H. Bartoszewicz, *Kartografia miast Mazowsza i ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. 27; cf. *Inwentarze lustracyjne królewskich ziem w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, p. XVI; W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzyniu nad Wisłą*, no. 3, p. 71.

<sup>71</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, pp. 246–247; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Skupiska i gminy żydowskie w Polsce do końca XVI wieku*, "Czasy Nowożytne", vol. 21, 2008, p. 184.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. descriptions of the buildings of the royal estates in the towns of Dobrzyń Land: LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 58–69; *Inwentarze lustracyjne królewskich ziem w ziemi dobrzyńskiej*; L. Kajzer, *Warownie Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej w świetle najnowszych badań*, [in:] *Stolica i region. Włocławek i jego dzieje na tle przemian Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej. Materiały z sesji naukowej (9–10 maja 1994 roku)*, ed. O. Krut-Horonziak, L. Kajzer, Włocławek 1995, p. 113; W. Chudziak, *Osadnictwo grodowe na Kujawach i ziemi chełmińskiej w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza w świetle tradycji miejsca centralnego*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona", vol. 24, 2016, p. 53; A. Horonziak, L. Kajzer, *Archeologiczna weryfikacja grodzisk i kopców podworskich na obszarze Kujaw Brzeskich i ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, ZK-D, vol. 11: *Archeologia i etnologia*, 1997, pp. 11–40.

<sup>73</sup> Inw. 1616, pp. 231–233.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, pp. 237, 240.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 237, 240; Z. Guldon, J. Powierski, *Dzieje Dobrzynia*, p. 10.

Krupa Mill on Vistula River, visible on the 1:100,000 WIG map, was outside the scope of the Dobrzyń reconstruction plan in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was probably one of the two mills used by the town, which was damaged during the discussed period as a result of construction work carried out by Marcin Głowieński. The second mill could be Łosak Mill, which was probably located near Dobrzyń (the location is unknown) and belonged to the vogt's office.<sup>76</sup> As stated in the inspection from the mid-sixteenth century, Głowieński, who paid tax on the villages of Głowina and Więclawice, located on the Vistula, upriver of Dobrzyń, dug 'a ditch or a dam that [he used to] provide water to His Majesty's mill that belongs to Dobrzyń', which resulted in the stoppage of both the royal mill which belonged to Dobrzyń and the mill owned by the vogt of Dobrzyń. In the inspection, both were described as having been 'built in ancient times'.<sup>77</sup>

The 1616 inventory of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty indicates that there were four floating mills, constructed on boats in the town, or rather near Dobrzyń, on Vistula River.<sup>78</sup> Another mill located near Dobrzyń belonged to the vogt of Dobrzyń. In 1555, Sigismund Augustus consented to the sale of Soczewka Mill (Soszki, n) by a miller by the name of Grzegorz to Vogt Mikołaj Chelmicki.<sup>79</sup> As the mill was located to the north-west of the town, by the stream outside Zbyszewo Village, it was not included in the map of Dobrzyń. There was also a horse mill in the area. It was located at the starosta's manor, on the side of the town, and it was used for grinding malt.<sup>80</sup> It is visible on the town plan. The mill was also founded by the Franciscans of Dobrzyń. As they were granted the privilege to do so at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the mill was not included on the plan.<sup>81</sup> It is worth adding, however, that the mill was situated 'on the rampart in ripa fluminis Istula ex opposito fundi', and both monks and townspeople had the right to use it.<sup>82</sup>

It is likely that there was a small brewery or an inn in the Płock Suburb, near the church of St. Stanislaus. We can only guess its exact location, as there are no unambiguous sources that could identify it.<sup>83</sup> The brewery with the inn which was located on so-called *Psia Górką* (Dog's Hill) was also mentioned in the inspections from the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps the former brewery operated on the site or near the inn which was marked on one of the above-mentioned plans from the nineteenth century.

Certainly, there were also various buildings related to the work performed by craftsmen in the town, but imprecise entries from the tax registers make it impossible to determine their specialisation. The 1616 inventory of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty was the first source to mention butchers of Dobrzyń, who probably had butcher's stalls or booths.<sup>85</sup>

There were probably three suburbs in Dobrzyń in the analysed period. Lipno Suburb and the neighbouring Bobrowniki Suburb were just starting to develop in the second half of the sixteenth century. Płock Suburb, together with the church of St. Stanislaus, could have been inhabited for a long time, but it has not been confirmed in the archaeological material.<sup>86</sup> The inhabitants of Dobrzyń also had privileges to use the river – the privileges of Dobrzyń fishermen were already discussed above. The area west of the town which was covered by this privilege can be estimated on the basis of the records from the mid-sixteenth century inspection, as it contained information about the dispute between the town and a nobleman who breached the borders of Dobrzyń on the river and caused damage to fishermen to the west of the town.<sup>87</sup> As already mentioned, Marcin Głowieński is entered in the tax register of 1564 as payer of tax on the villages of Głowina (Głowina, n) and Więclawice (n); the distance from

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<sup>76</sup> Z. Guldon, *Łosak*, [in:] *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw w średniowieczu*, comp. Z. Guldon, prep. J. Wijaczka, atlasfontium.pl (accessed: 09.01.2020).

<sup>77</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 268.

<sup>78</sup> Inw. 1616, p. 233.

<sup>79</sup> MK 87, K. 16v–17; cf. Z. Guldon, *Soszki*, [in:] *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw*.

<sup>80</sup> Inw. 1616, pp. 234, 237; LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 64–65.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. W. Kastaczyński, *Klasztor o.o. franciszkanów w Dobrzyniu nad Wisłą*, no. 2, p. 49.

<sup>82</sup> LWWK 1659, part 2, p. 282.

<sup>83</sup> Z.H. Kuźniewska, *Kościelne dzieje Dobrzynia nad Wisłą*, pp. 65, 101.

<sup>84</sup> Inwentarze lust. król., p. X.

<sup>85</sup> Inw. 1616, p. 233.

<sup>86</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Dobrzyń nad Wisłą*, p. 247.

<sup>87</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 268.

the Vistula River bank at the town level to the latter villages, measured along the shoreline, is currently approximately 8 km.

Lacking sufficient written and cartographic sources, we can only presume that most of the arable land belonging to the town was located near its northern border. There was no information about the tax on Dobrzyń's lans in the tax registers. It was not until the mid-seventeenth-century inspection that it was recorded that the town had paid a tax from 18 lans, occupying an area of 40 lans.<sup>88</sup> The plan from the nineteenth century, which depicts the areas around Dobrzyń, shows that the fields were clearly managed in the strip cropping style. It is also noticeable that strip cropping was the field management technique mostly used to the north of the town, perpendicular to the Vistula.<sup>89</sup> It is possible that field arrangement was similar in the discussed period, but again, there are no adequate sources that would make it possible to verify this hypothesis.

The 1628–1632 inspection stated that Dobrzyń bordered on Linie Village. The distance from Płock Suburb to the manor situated next to Linie Village currently falls short of 3 km. Skaszewo and Linie Villages were part of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty, but, as they constituted separate villages, they were not included in the reconstruction plan of Dobrzyń.<sup>90</sup> However, it is worth to determine the area occupied by both villages, and thus the surface area of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty. It is possible thanks to the 1616 inventory of Dobrzyń Gord Starosty, which stated that Linie Village was inhabited by 12 subjects who settled on an unspecified number of włóki. Moreover, there were three włóki upon which no-one was settled recorded in the village. There was also a demesne by the lake, near the manor.<sup>91</sup> On the other hand, Skaszewo Village covered the area of 8 włóki, of which only three were settled at the time when the inventory was drafted.<sup>92</sup> There was a manor in the village with a stable, a cowshed, and a barn. The inventory also highlights two small fragments of the forest which belonged to the gord starosty. The first of these fragments occupied a small area near the demesne in Linie Village, the second – an oak forest which was ‘partially damaged’ during the times of the last starosta – was located right next to the starosta's manor in Dobrzyń. The crossing of the Vistula near the town<sup>93</sup> and the above-mentioned obligations of Dobrzyń fishermen also constituted sources of income for the starosta. Available sources only say that the crossing was located near the town, at the level of Dobięgniewo Village, located on the other side of Vistula River.<sup>94</sup>

The afore-mentioned Soczewka Mill (Soszki, n) was part of the Dobrzyń Vogt's estates. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Dobrzyń Vogt's Office was in the hands of the Chelmski family.<sup>95</sup> At that time, Andrzej Chelmski had a debt held against the vogt's office in the amount of 720 grzywnas. Andrzej and his wife, Anna of Grabie, received confirmation of the lifetime right to the vogt's office in 1570.<sup>96</sup> Wierzniczka Village and Łoszek Mill, whose locations are unknown, belonged to the Vogt of Dobrzyń.<sup>97</sup> Perhaps it was the same mill for whose construction the then Vogt of Dobrzyń received a privilege in 1455. The privilege for the Vogt included the villages of Skaszewo (which later, probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century, belonged to the gord starosty), Strachoń, and Zbyszewo.<sup>98</sup>

(2021)

Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak

<sup>88</sup> LWWK 1659, part 2, p. 280.

<sup>89</sup> AGAD, Cartographic Collection from 1579–1944, sign. 199-16.

<sup>90</sup> LWWK 1564, part 3, pp. 268–269; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 66; Z. Górski, A. Mietz, *Stosunki własnościowe w dobrach królewskich ziemi dobrzyńskiej w drugiej połowie XVI i początkach XVII wieku*, ZK-D, vol. 7: *Stosunki polityczne i społeczne w XX wieku*, 1990, pp. 220–222.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 66.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, where it is stated that Skaszewo was deserted.

<sup>93</sup> Inw. 1616, pp. 220–222, 233, 236–237; LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 64.

<sup>94</sup> Inw. 1616.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. L. Chelmski, *Dzieje rodziny Chelmskich z bohaterskim obrońcą Jakubem z Płomian*, [in:] *Z dziejów ziemi dobrzyńskiej. Materiały z XIV konferencji historycznej*, ed. R. Bartoszewski, Dobrzyń nad Wisłą 2010, pp. 30–51.

<sup>96</sup> MRPS V, no. 4304, cf. p. 220.

<sup>97</sup> MRPS IV no. 7717; MRPS V 4698; cf. Z. Guldon, *Łosak*, [in:] Z. Guldon, *Łosak*, [in:] *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw*; *idem*, *Wierzniczka*, [in:] *ibidem*.

<sup>98</sup> MK 119, ff. 392r–395v; cf. Z. Guldon, *Bachorzewo*, [in:] *ibidem*, *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego Kujaw*; *idem*, *Skaszewo*, [in:] *ibidem*, *idem*, *Strachoń*, [in:] *ibidem*; *idem*, *Zbyszewo*, [in:] *ibidem*.

### III.6.7.4 DOLSK

*Michał Słomski*

The map showing the town of Dolsk in the second half of the sixteenth century depicts the town itself and its two suburbs, *Śremskie Przedmieście* (Śrem Suburb) in the north and *Gostyńskie Przedmieście* (Gostyń Suburb) in the south; featured is also the chapel of St. Laurent (*św. Wawrzyńca*), situated south-west of the town proper. Dolsk is featured in AHP as an exemplary Greater Poland's town owned by an ecclesiastical institution – in this particular case, to the bishop of Poznań. Our choice of an urban centre representing Great Poland's Church-owned towns has been based on two determinants – the surviving written sources for the sixteenth century and early decades of the seventeenth, as coupled with an extant plan of the town, compiled at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century. Apart from Dolsk, these conditions are fulfilled by Chwaliszewo and Krzywiń. The space of the former is reconstructed as part of the map of the Poznań agglomeration. As for Krzywiń, the historical records – basically, municipal records, the earliest of which date to the fifteenth century, and a precise plan of the town from 1796, preserved as a copy dated 1826, calls for more complete and more detailed studies on this town's urban space. Among the other towns we have taken into consideration, Żnin has quite satisfactory source materials but its earliest map is from 1842. Krobia, in turn, has a map dating to 1796, but there are no relevant written records available. It was the opposite with Słupca, for which starost's registers from the second half of the sixteenth century are available but the earliest plan showing the locality's town-planning layout is only from 1915. For the town of Buk, an interesting source is a register of the levy (upon appraised value of realty) payable by the municipality to the king (called *szos*) at the end of the sixteenth century; yet, the town's map is from as late as 1936. Also the towns of Kostrzyn, Wągrowiec, and Trzemeszno have a rich heritage of records; however, the available maps of the former and latter are from 1828–9 and 1835, respectively, while Wągrowiec has no corresponding map from the period.<sup>1</sup>

The present reconstruction has been compiled in line with the assumptions adopted for the AHP series' maps of urban areas, in the scale of 1:10,000. The project is based on cartographic records from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and written ones dating to the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. The proposed map is a hypothetical reconstruction, which means that some of its elements are displayed with different degrees of probability.

### Cartographic sources

Among the cartographic sources, the most important one is the plan of the town of Dolsk compiled in 1794–6. Though its original copy is not extant, its two images are known. One is a copy of the original map, made on a glass cliché before the Second World War at the 'Fotochemia' atelier run by Józef Stachowski in Cracow; the copy was used by Henryk Münch as a basic source for his monograph on

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<sup>1</sup> Münch, 155 (Buk), 164–5 (Słupca), and Tab. XXVIII (Kostrzyn), XXIX (Krobia), LXI (Trzemeszno), LXVIII (Żnin). An iconographic view of Słupca from 1705 is preserved, but it could not be used as the basis for developing a map in line with the AHP requirements regarding maps/plans of towns or cities. For a portrait of Słupca, see J. Sobczak, *Słupca w XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Słupcy*, ed. B. Szczepański, Poznań 1996, p. 79.

the origins of the layout of Greater Poland's urban areas. Presently, the copy is kept at the Department of the Historical Atlas, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN).<sup>2</sup> The other image is a manual copy of the plan, also made for Münch, kept today at the State Archives of Poznań (AP Poznań).<sup>3</sup> The map from 1794–6 was most probably made as part of classification and measurement works commenced in 1793 on initiative of the Prussian government. A series of maps of Southern Prussia was meant to provide the basis for calculating the taxation of the Polish lands that were seized by Prussia with the Second Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1793). Along with the maps, detailed measurements of state, clerical, and municipal estate were to be measured in detail; they were supposed to supply the Treasury 50% of their income.<sup>4</sup> The classification was finally carried out in the former royal and Church demesnes, which became property of the state as from 1796;<sup>5</sup> Dolsk was one of the then-mapped towns.

As auxiliary aids, a plan of Dolsk from 1840–1<sup>6</sup> and a sketch plan from 1853<sup>7</sup> have been used – both reflecting the town-planning status of the town before the road from Śrem to Gostyń was constructed in 1854, which traversed the eastern part of the marketplace (the present-day Świętego Ducha St.).<sup>8</sup>

## Written sources

The earliest information concerning municipal and religious buildings, topographic features, the limits of the town, its streets and their names (up to around the middle of the sixteenth century) are put together in the entry on Dolsk contained in IH PAN's historic-geographical dictionary of the mediaeval Voivodeship of Poznań (*Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu*).<sup>9</sup>

For a better understanding of the relationships and relations connected with Dolsk and in order to gain more information, a search has been carried out through the manuscript records – the most important of which being the municipal registers kept today in the fond comprising files of the town of Dolsk ('Akta miasta Dolska') at the State Archives in Poznań.<sup>10</sup> As for the sixteenth century, the notes from the town council's book are from the years 1562–73, and then from 1598 onwards,<sup>11</sup> mostly referring to the town's major buildings. The municipal books from the first two decades of the seventeenth century, which much more frequently used names of streets, have also been used.<sup>12</sup> Among the records contained in the aforesaid fond, a privilege of King Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory) from 1585, determining the amount of customs duty chargeable at Dolsk, stands out with regard to the present purpose.<sup>13</sup>

Of high importance for our work on the plan of Dolsk were the records kept at the Archdiocesan Archive of Poznań; among the most important ones was a document of Poznań Bishop Benedykt

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<sup>2</sup> Münch, ZAH, ref. no. 44; Münch, 4. The original copy is reproduced in *ibidem*, Tab. VII.

<sup>3</sup> AP Poznań, 'Odczyty i kopie planów miast wielkopolskich H. Müncha', ref. no. O.pl.m. 10, "Plan von der Stadt Dolzig und der dem gehörigen Feldmark dem Bischof von Posen gehörig"; see *Plany miast w polskich archiwach państwowych. Katalog*, comp. M. Lewandowska, M. Stelmach, under direction of A. Tomczak, Warsaw 1996, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Pomiary gruntowe w Wielkopolsce: 1793–1861. Studia nad źródłami kartograficznymi Wielkopolski z epoki reform agrarnych*, Wrocław, Warszawa, and Poznań 1965, pp. 33–5.

<sup>5</sup> K. Górską, 'Pomiary gruntów w Wielkopolsce w końcu XVIII i w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku', SMDWP, vol. 2, 1956, no. 1, 129–30; J. Wąsicki, *Ziemie polskie pod zaborem pruskim. Prusy Południowe 1793–1806. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Wrocław 1957, pp. 137, 202–3.

<sup>6</sup> AP Poznań, 'Odczyty i kopie planów miast wielkopolskich H. Müncha', ref. no. O.pl.m. 11; see *Plany miast*, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> AP Poznań, Starostwo Powiatowe w Śremie, sygn. L. Śr. 20, "Plan von den Grenzen der zu Jaskulki gehoerigen Seen bei Dolzig, wie dieselben von dem Gutsbesitzer Franke in Auspruch genommen werden"; see *Plany miast*, p. 69; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Katalog planów miast i wsi wielkopolskich*, fasc. 2: *Plany przechowywane w archiwach państwowych w Poznaniu i w Bydgoszczy z terenu powiatów (według stanu z roku 1918): Jarocin, Pleszew, Śrem, Środa, Września*, Warszawa 1968, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> Jabczyński, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, SHGPoz, part I, pp. 377–84; *idem*, 'Dolsk – klucz, dwór, folwark', SHGPoz, part I, p. 384.

<sup>10</sup> Until 1859, the municipal registers were kept in Dolsk; A. Warschauer, *Die städtischen Archive in der Provinz Posen*, Leipzig 1901, p. 35; Olszewski, pp. 128–9.

<sup>11</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4; AmD, ref. no. I/14, f. 240–8 (excerpts from 1562–3).

<sup>12</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 1–183 (notes from starost's registers, 1615–18, and from a register of loans drawn by burghers of Dolsk from the municipal council's funds assigned to Church institutions, 1598–1623); AmD, ref. no. I/17 (starost's register, 1602–15).

<sup>13</sup> Original copy: AmD, ref. no. I/2; copy: MK 133, f. 137v–138v; trans. by Olszewski, pp. 26–8.

Izdzieński, dated 1548, concerning the buyout of the hereditary vogt's area in Dolsk from the noble Wojciech Dąbrowski, specifying a few aspects of topography and nomenclature within the town and in its surrounding area.<sup>14</sup> Of use has been the only extant sixteenth-century inventory of the Poznań Bishopric's estates, dated 1564.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, pieces of information from ecclesiastical visitations carried out in 1610 and 1629 have been used.<sup>16</sup>

## Related studies

The first books dealing with the history of Dolsk date to before the First World War. In 1857, the Rev. Jan Jabczyński had his *Rys historyczny miasta Dolska*<sup>17</sup> published; the book entitled *Obrazek historyczny miasta Dolska*<sup>18</sup> by the Rev. Witold Olszewski came out in 1902. Both scholars used archival material in their research (Jabczyński would explore the ecclesiastical records; Olszewski, chiefly, those stored at the State Archives of Poznań. In spite of the lapses of years, their studies are still a basic source of information on Dolsk in the Middle Ages and modern era, along with the SHGPoz entry. Also the German researchers Heinrich Wuttke<sup>19</sup> and Adolf Warschauer,<sup>20</sup> active before the First World War, devoted some attention to Dolsk mainly focusing on the town's source legacy. In the later period, Dolsk was of no special interest to scholars. It was dealt with the most extensively by Mieczysław Brust, in his study on the beginnings of Poznań bishops' towns; this author extensively presented his view on the beginnings of the urban structure of Dolsk.<sup>21</sup> The Brust article has proved highly useful in the compilation of the town's plan and this present commentary. Dolsk was moreover referred to by Józef Nowacki<sup>22</sup> and Walerian Sobisiak.<sup>23</sup> Recently, two popular studies on Dolsk penned by Zdzisława Dłużak have been issued.<sup>24</sup>

## Dolsk: a historical outline

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Dolsk was situated in the eastern part of the district of Kościan, Voivodeship of Poznań. It was one of the ten towns owned by the bishops of Poznań.<sup>25</sup> Initially, it most probably formed part of the endowment of the archbishops of Gniezno, as it is mentioned among the Church's possessions in the so-called Gniezno Bull of 1136.<sup>26</sup> Finally, since the middle of the thirteenth century at the latest – it was property of Poznań bishops. It received the town charter, in its Środa variety, from King Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz III Wielki) in 1359, during

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<sup>14</sup> AAP, AE IX, f. 42v–43v; trans. by Jabczyński, pp. 146–9; for more, see J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, klucz, dwór, folwark, SHGP, part 1, Wrocław 1982–1987, p. 380.

<sup>15</sup> The register was first published in Jabczyński, 84–116, the demesne of Dolsk, 151–4. For a more precise edition, see Inw. bp., item 1564, 267–348, demesne of Dolsk: 288–90. Two more inventories of episcopal estates, from 1664 and 1677, have been surveyed; AAP, CP 126, Revisioes bonorum episcopatum in Majori Polonia ab anno 1664, f. 87–91; AAP, CP 127, Revisio bonorum episcopatum in Maiori Polonia 1677, f. 83–87.

<sup>16</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 60r–64v; Wiz. Poz. 1628–1629, f. 246–250.

<sup>17</sup> Jabczyński. About J. Jabczyński see: J.W. Opatrzny, *Jabczyński Jan Nepomucen (1799–1869)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 10, p. 204; E. Kierski, *Ks. Jan Nepomucen Jabczyński (1799–1869)*, “Śremski Notatnik Historyczny”, vol. 9, 2012, pp. 57–69.

<sup>18</sup> Olszewski.

<sup>19</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 288–90.

<sup>20</sup> A. Warschauer, *Die städtischen Archive*, pp. 35–6.

<sup>21</sup> Brust, pp. 126–44.

<sup>22</sup> Now2, pp. 140–1.

<sup>23</sup> W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundiów biskupstwa poznańskiego w XVI do XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1960, pp. 49–53.

<sup>24</sup> Z. Dłużak, *Dolsk*, Poznań 1992; *eadem*, *Dolsk. Moje miasto między dawnymi a nowymi wieki*, Poznań 2009.

<sup>25</sup> Apart from Dolsk, the localities included: Buk, Krobia, Pszczew, Śródka, Wielichowo – in Poznań Voivodeship; Słupca and Ślesin – in Kalisz Voivodeship; Stoczek – in Mazovian Voivodeship; and, Łaskarzew – in Sandomierz Voivodeship; see Now2, 159; W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundiów*, passim; M. Słomski, *Sieć miast kościelnych ziem polskich Korony w XVI w. Przyczynek do problematyki*, RDSG, vol. 77, 2016, p. 449.

<sup>26</sup> KDW I, no. 7.

the pontificate of Bishop Jan Doliwa.<sup>27</sup> The town was the central locality in the episcopal demesne, composed in the latter half of the sixteenth century of Dolsk and six villages.<sup>28</sup> It was probably the need to create an adequate centre of cash-and-commodity trade for the subjects of the Poznań bishop who resided in those villages, and, perhaps, an attempt to increase the episcopal property in the area of the newly-formed town, that became the main reason(s) for Bishop Jan to take action toward the incorporation.<sup>29</sup> There was a parish in Dolsk, which in the second half of the sixteenth century covered the town and fourteen villages and a part of yet another one.<sup>30</sup>

It seems that before Dolsk started to function as the centre of an episcopal demesne and the seat of a parish, the village of Banie acted in these capacities. It was mentioned among the centres of Poznań bishops' demesnes in 1350;<sup>31</sup> its probable location was south of the Lake Banie (today, Dolskie Wielkie; see below), in the vicinity of St. Laurent's chapel. The importance of Banie diminished as the town of Dolsk developed. The village is last noted at the end of the fifteenth century;<sup>32</sup> it is possible that in the later period, it formed some part of the southern suburb of Dolsk.

Dolsk was ravaged by fires a few times, including before 1403, as in that year King Władysław II Jagiełło renewed the town's municipal privilege as its copy had been incinerated.<sup>33</sup> It is also known that a pestilence occurred in the town in 1604.<sup>34</sup> Olszewski mentions an attack of Silesian troops on Dolsk in 1627.<sup>35</sup> The severest havoc was caused by a fire that broke out on 27 April 1790, consuming a part of the marketplace and the houses on Kościelna St., including the parson's house.<sup>36</sup>

## Location

In physical geographic terms, Dolsk is part of the Krzywiń Lake District, which itself is part of the Leszno Lake District.<sup>37</sup> The town is situated between the Lakes Dolskie Wielkie and Dolskie Małe, in an approx. 1 km-wide shallow basin that forms an approximately 10 km-long sluice,<sup>38</sup> on a slight natural elevation of approximately 80 m AMSL. Both lakes formed part of the extensive system called the Racocki Graben (Racocki Rów), stretching from the Ostrowieczno Lake to the lake's point of inflow into the Obra South Canal (Obrzański Kanał Południowy).<sup>39</sup> This watercourse linked both Dolsk lakes south of the chartered town; it was most probably called Samica, though based on the scarce information it is hard to tell whether it was a hydronym of the said watercourse or a stream of an undetermined

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<sup>27</sup> KDW III, no. 1395.

<sup>28</sup> These included: Góra, Grodnica, Księginki, Kunowo, Ostrowieczko (Ostrowieczno Małe), Ostrów (Ostrowo); Inw. bp. poz. 1564, 288–90.

<sup>29</sup> T. Lalik, *Geneza sieci miasteczek w Polsce średniowiecznej*, [in:] *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Przemiany społeczne a układy przestrzenne*, ed. A. Gieysztor, T. Rosłanowski, Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń 1976, pp. 115–120; S. Gawlas, *Przełom lokacyjny w dziejach miast środkowoeuropejskich*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, T. Jurek, Poznań 2005, pp. 143–149.

<sup>30</sup> These included: Błazejewo (Błozejewo), Brzedznia, Brzeźnica (Brzeźnica), Kadzyń (Kadzyn), Księginki, Lipówka, Lubiatowo (Lubiatowo Wielkie), Lubiatówko (Lubiatowo Małe), a part of Małachowo (Malechowo; without the demesne farm), Międzychód, Mszczyczyn (Mszczyczyno), Nowiec, Ostrowieczko (Ostrowieczno Małe), Ostrowieczno (Ostrowieczno Wielkie), Pokrzywnica, Trąbinek (Trąbinko); Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 63v. J. Nowacki informs that the town of Dolsk and seventeen villages belonged to the parish in the sixteenth century; Now2, 411.

<sup>31</sup> KDW III, no. 1295.

<sup>32</sup> J. Luciński, *Banie*, SHGPoz, part I, pp. 10–11.

<sup>33</sup> KDW V, no. 28; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 383.

<sup>34</sup> Olszewski, p. 111. Mentions of the epidemic can be found in the municipal registers, e.g. in the will of Marcin Całuj, a burgher of Dolsk (1604), or in a 1607 note referring to Wojciech Ogórek, a Dolsk burgher who died of the plague; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 153, 169.

<sup>35</sup> Olszewski, p. 112.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114.

<sup>37</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, Warsaw 1998, p. 153; Brust, p. 126; A. Choiński, *Limnologia fizyczna Polski*, Poznań 2007, p. 40.

<sup>38</sup> Münch, pp. 106–107, 169; Brust, pp. 127, 129.

<sup>39</sup> *Hydronimia Odry. Wykaz nazw w układzie hydrograficznym*, ed. H. Borek, Opole 1983, pp. 141–142; J. Duma, *Nazwy wodne w dorzeczu Warty od Proсны po Ujście do Odry (z wyłączeniem dorzecza Noteci)*, part 1: *Nazwy rzek*, Warsaw 2010, pp. 195–196, 217 (identifying the name 'Samica' as a part of the upper course of Racocki Graben).

name was called so.<sup>40</sup> The name is marked in the map in brace brackets as hypothetical. Also the path of the watercourse is indicative only. Due to strong paludification, it could have gone along different recesses,<sup>41</sup> depending on the quantity of rainfall and current level of water in the area.

North and south of Dolsk, moraine hills and kame hills appear; the higher and steeper are those that shape the topographic form of the Śrem Suburb in the north of Dolsk. The relative heights in the area oscillate between 11 m (so-called Kramarska Góra, a hill approximately 91 m high, outside the present map, though located right behind its north-eastern corner, by the road to Trąbinek<sup>42</sup>) and 28–30 m (the fell on which windmills are marked, approximately height 108 m, and the hill in the north-western part of the map, through which a road to Lubiатовo Małe led, and whereon the cemetery in Kościańska St. is situated today; its height was approximately 110 m). In the southern suburb of Dolsk, the relative figures are somewhat lower (approximately. 10–15 m), albeit the chapel of St. Laurent, situated outside the town, was erected at the height of approximately 100 m – some 20 m higher than the chartered town.

The aforementioned names of lakes are present-day names. In the Middle Ages and modern age, the Lake Dolskie Wielkie was known as Banie; Dolskie Małe was simply called Dolskie (the respective modern names are used herein below).<sup>43</sup> According to some scholars, the lakes were once connected to form a larger lake; Jabczyński believed that the dyke linking in the sixteenth century the town's centre and the Gostyń Suburb was erected before 1363.<sup>44</sup> Dolsk owes its name to its location in a depression.<sup>45</sup> The town's spatial development was determined by the physical geographic conditions (discussed above).

The greatest change in the town's landscape was the overgrowing and drying of the Dolskie Lake. It is still visible on the 1794 map that its south-western part reached up to the gardens in the market's southern frontage, on two-thirds of its length beginning with the eastern corner. However, the lake's banks were much overgrown already then, as is reflected by the signatures on the map. With time, the lake increasingly dried up, which by the middle of the nineteenth century enabled the construction of the Śrem–Gostyń road running through the eastern part of the market. Already the plans from 1840–1 and 1853 make it apparent that the lake's reach had shrunk significantly; at that time, it only reached the south-eastern corner of the market. The detailed maps from the first half of the twentieth century (MTB sheet from 1880–1888–1911<sup>46</sup> and WIG map sheet dated 1933, both in the scale of 1:25,000) record the progressing extinction of the western part of the Dolskie Lake. Probably in the second half of the sixteenth century the lake's south-western part penetrated even further westward than as shown in the 1794 map.

Since the AHP series' main map has its hydrographic features reconstructed based on maps from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, our plan of Dolsk has the range of the Dolskie Lake marked as of the end of the eighteenth century. However, a hypothetical reconstruction of the lake's shrinking surface (on a to-date basis) has been proposed (see Figure 1).

Our reconstruction of the changes in the reach of the lake, based on the aforementioned maps from 1794–6 and 1853, MTB map sheets from 1880–1888–1911 and the detailed WIG map from 1933 (both

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<sup>40</sup> Mentions of this watercourse are scarce and not associated directly with the town. In 1486, Wawrzyniec Lipowski, pledged to Piotr Górecki the amount of 9 *grzywnas* of debt, with the buyout right upon three 'trawl water-depths' of the Ostrowieczno Lake (east of Dolsk) and the Samica stream flowing out of Ostrowieczno and then flowing into Tursko Lake; G. Rutkowska, 'Ostrowieczno', SHGPoz, part III, 505; K. Górka-Gońska, 'Samica', SHGPoz, part IV, 283. In 1560 r. Maciej Wilkowski of Małe Lubiатовo sued the Lubiатовo-based Lubiатовski family for their 'violent take-over off the old ditch or the *samica*', which linked the Banie Lake with another lake (probably, Brzednie; J. Luciński, *Lubiатовo Małe*, SHGPoz, part II, p. 620). The municipal files mention, in 1571, a watercourse named *Samica*, situated in a depression, by which a Dolsk burgher's garden, to be transacted, was located (AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 132: "ad primam semitam iacentem in profundo dicta Samycza asz nadol" [the reading of the penultimate word is uncertain]).

<sup>41</sup> The depression through which water flew is mentioned in a 1571 note; AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 132; see footnote 39.

<sup>42</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 396 (1613): "hortos sive agros suos dictos Kramarska Gora ... iuxta viam versus Trąbinek".

<sup>43</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 22: "lacus dicti [*sic*] Banye"; ibidem, f. 30: "lacus dicti [*sic*] Dolsko"; AAP, CP 126 (1664), f. 88: "Of the lakes bye that towne, there are 2. One is called Bonie, and the other Dolsko"; J. Luciński, *Banie*, p. 10; idem, *Dolsk*, pp. 384–385; J. Duma, *Nazwy wodne w dorzeczu Warty od Prosnego ujścia do Odry (z wyłączeniem dorzecza Noteci)*, part 2: *Nazwy jezior*, Warsaw 2010, pp. 223, 406.

<sup>44</sup> Jabczyński, p. 63; Brust, p. 129, footnote 210. Also, in the opinion of K. Hładyłowicz, the aggregation of lakes might have formed one large lake in the past; quoted after W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundiów*, p. 50.

<sup>45</sup> S. Kozierowski (*Badania nazw topograficznych dzisiejszej archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1, Poznań 1916, p. 139) explains it as a "settlement by the water, located on the bottom level"; also, see Jabczyński, 2; NMP, vol. 2, p. 394; Brust, p. 130.

<sup>46</sup> MTB, sheet 4068 (Dolzig, 1888–1890–1911).

1:25,000), as well as on the modern Topographic Objects Database map (BDOT10K). The base has supported our presentation of the lake's surface at the end of the twentieth century and the drawing of the hypothetical earliest possible range of the lake, along contour line 78.75 m. This particular contour line has been selected as the stretching of the lake's line along the full-value contour line (80 m) would have caused a connection of the Dolskie Lake with the Banie Lake and, moreover, a significant increase in the range of the lake in its eastern part.

The hydrographic conditions must have exerted an essential influence on the town's life, though in records we have examined virtually do not mention the lake's impact on Dolsk. Also the dwellers of the nearby villages must have experienced the influence of the lakes. The 1383 deed incorporating the parish churches in Banie (probably, St. Laurent's chapel) in Ostrowieczno to the parish in Dolsk referred to the local church-goers' problems with getting through to either of those churches due to frequent inundations.<sup>47</sup> Problems with high water table were felt also at the demarcations between the town and its adjacent villages.<sup>48</sup> A wetland area – or, in any case, one that was used as a fishing pool – was located also north of Dolsk. 1403 saw King Władysław II Jagiełło bestow the Poznań bishops with 'rippam nostram seu littus paludis siue stagni, wlgariter dicti Prussy', which were situated by the road from Dolsk to Drzonek.<sup>49</sup> The ponds situated 'at Kotowo', mentioned in the inventory of Poznań bishops' estates, might have been meant: there, an abandoned pond was noted as of 1564 and a place appeared that was convenient, in the opinion of the inventory's compiler, for setting up a new one.<sup>50</sup> Due to the restrictions imposed by the adopted scale, the aforementioned area has not been plotted on our map.

## The size and character of the town

The town had a dozen-or-so *lans* at its disposal. As per the 1564 inventory of Poznań bishops' demesnes, 17.5 *lans* was property of Dolsk,<sup>51</sup> while tax registers from the latter half of the sixteenth century inform about 16–16.25 town's *lans*.<sup>52</sup> Agriculture and horticulture had quite an important role in the town's economic and social life but were not the only source of income for at least a part of its inhabitants. The records speak of individuals performing handicraft professions, which were mostly typical of small towns (related to food industry as well as shoemakers, stove-makers, and so on). Hence, Dolsk cannot be referred to as a farming-only town.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> KDW III, no. 1811: "et presertim ad petitionem parrochianorum et populo[!], qui et tempore hyemnali et inundacionis et diluvium aquarum, cum pluvie inundant glaciesque dissolvitur, prefatas ecclesias sine magna difficultate non poterant adire et congruo tempore divinis officiis interesse".

<sup>48</sup> As of 1513, a part of the border between Dolsk and Lubiatowo Małe was not yet been determined due to high water table; MK 26, f. 258r; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, 377.

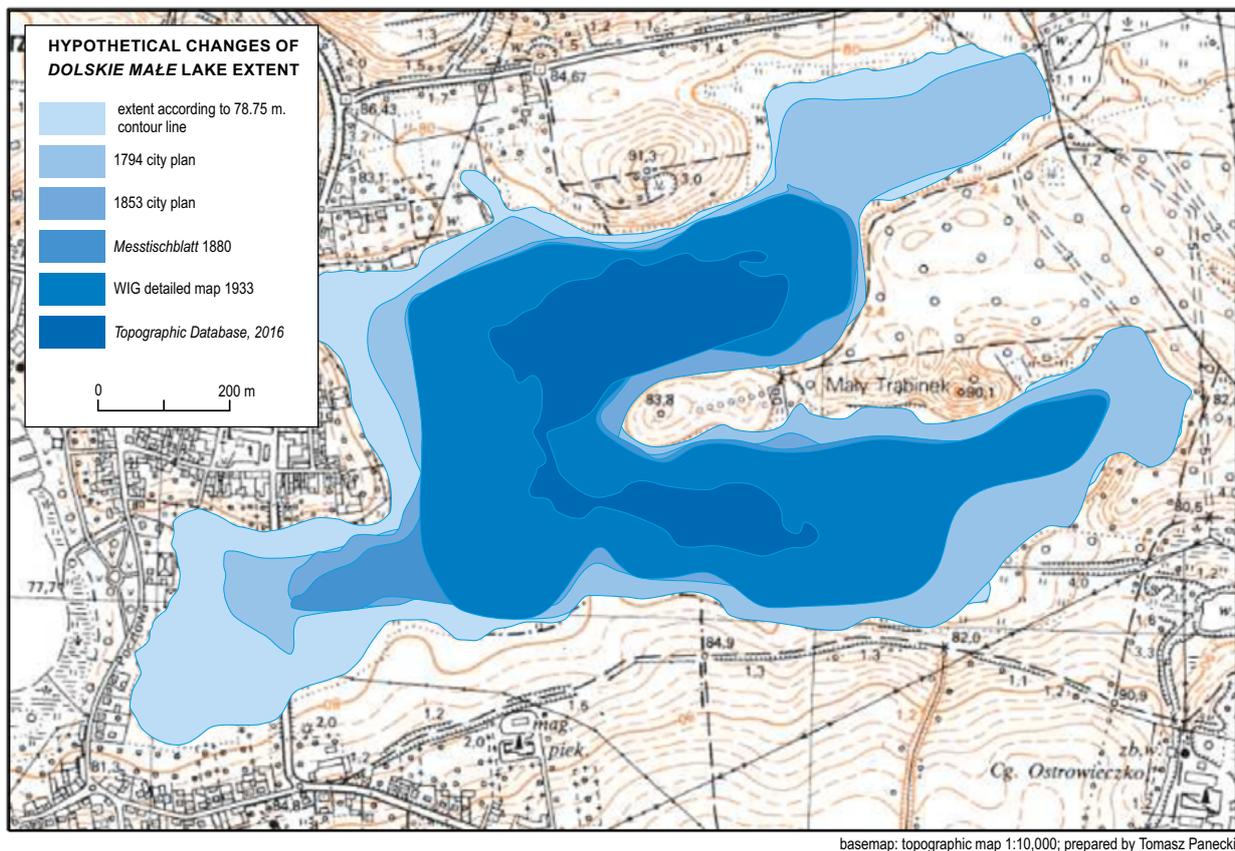
<sup>49</sup> KDW V, no. 30; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, 377.

<sup>50</sup> Inw. bp. poz. 1564, p. 289. Kotowo never appears in the tax registers in the second half of the sixteenth century, though at the end of the fifteenth century it was still referred to as a separate settlement; J. Luciński, 'Kotowo', SHGPoz, part II, p. 415. At the end of the seventeenth century, the aforementioned forest was called 'Kotowo'; after S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych*, vol. 1, p. 339. J. Jabczyński (Jabczyński, p. 70) identified those marshes as situated within the limits of Dolsk presbytery's land in the nineteenth century, named Krupczyn. Mentions of Krupczyn are extremely scarce; in 1295, the bishop of Poznań granted the domain of Krupczyn (*Krupczino*) to Bartłomiej and Mikołaj, sons of Męcz; KDW II, no. 730. Thereafter, the name 'Krupczyn' appears in a 1777 visitation record, as a part belonging to the Dolsk parson's endowment (*agger versus Srem Krupczyn*; after S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych*, vol. 1, p. 358; also, see J. Luciński, *Krupczyno*, SHGPoz, part II, p. 470). MTB, sheet 4068 (Dolzig, 1888–1890–1911) sheet still shows a parson's demesne farm situated by the road to Śrem, north of the extent of the map's range, where today's Krupczyn. Today, Kotowo village is situated north of Krupczyn.

<sup>51</sup> Inw. bp. poz. 1564, p. 288. The 17.5 *lans* in Dolsk, from which the tithe was paid to the Parson of Dolsk, is mentioned also in the 1610 visitation record; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 63v–64r; also, see W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundiów*, p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1565, no. 711; RPWP, ksc, 1567, no. 675; RPWP, ksc, 1570, no. 94; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 182; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 795; RPWP, ksc, 1581, no. 563; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 625.

<sup>53</sup> Dolsk is, apparently, so approached in T. Czwojdrak, *Miasteczka rolnicze w latyfundiów biskupstwa poznańskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*, "Roczniki Wyższej Szkoły Rolniczej w Poznaniu", vol. 45, 1969, pp. 3–12 (though it is remarked [on p. 6] that until the mid-seventeenth century, Dolsk (among other localities) was home to a little more representatives of diverse crafts compared to the other episcopal towns); A. Głowacka, *Zajęcia rolnicze mieszkańców małych miast Wielkopolski w drugiej połowie XVI i w XVII wieku*, [in:] *Folwark – wieś – latyfundiów. Gospodarstwo wiejskie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII*



basemap: topographic map 1:10,000; prepared by Tomasz Panecki

**Map 1. Hypothetical changes of Dolskie Małe Lake extent**

The town's arable land separated the town from its adjacent villages. The demarcations with Lubiatowo Małe from the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century and from the end of the latter are known.<sup>54</sup> As of 1575, a border mound between Dolsk and the villages of Malechowo and Łagowo is mentioned;<sup>55</sup> the mound is mentioned again at the 1599 demarcation between Łagowo, Dolsk, Malechowo, and Gaj.<sup>56</sup>

The number of houses in Dolsk in the second half of the sixteenth century is unknown. The first statistics is offered by a 1631 hearth-tax register, enumerating four houses of the local *propinatora* and 145 other houses, altogether 149 buildings.<sup>57</sup> As it seems, it is the possible number of houses also for the latter half of the sixteenth century. Due to the above-described physiographic conditions the area within which Dolsk had a potential to develop spatially was restricted. This supposition is confirmed, in a way, by the later statistics of houses and their residents. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dolsk had 146 houses and 784 residents. Resulting from the 1710 epidemic, more than 700 people are reported to have died, with the result that only fifty-nine burghers were reported for the year 1733.<sup>58</sup> A total of 110 *Feuerstellen* were found to appear in the years 1793–4; added to the twenty-four houses in the suburban areas, this makes up 134 households, with 754 dwellers in the town.<sup>59</sup> As of 1810,

wieku, ed. J. Muszyńska, S. Kazusek, J. Pielas, Kielce 2009, pp. 219–228. For comparison, see the remarks in P. Miodunki, *Demograficzny i gospodarczy potencjał małych miast południowej Polski od końca XVI do początku XIX wieku*, RDSG, vol. 78, 2017, pp. 146–151.

<sup>54</sup> Based on the reports of demarcation commissions from 1493 (J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377), 1499 (ibidem), and 1513 (MK 26, f. 257r–258v; MRPS IV/2, no. 10422, 10453; Jabczyński, 75; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377). In 1424, litigation was held at the land (circuit) court of Kościan between the bishop of Poznań and Czerna of Lubiatowo, possibly over the marking out of the borders between the episcopal possessions (Dolsk, Brzednia, Banie, Kotowo) and Lubiatowo Małe; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377.

<sup>55</sup> J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377.

<sup>56</sup> AAP, Dokumenty, Kapituła Katedralna, dokumenty papierowe, ref. no. DK pap XII/003, f. 3r.

<sup>57</sup> Podymne 1631, f. 28r.

<sup>58</sup> W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundium*, p. 52.

<sup>59</sup> J. Wąsicki, *Opisy miast polskich z lat 1793–1794*, part 1, Poznań 1962, pp. 68–71.

Dolsk counted 146 houses and 824 inhabitants;<sup>60</sup> in 1837, the respective figures were 150 and 1,198; in 1857 it had approximately 1,400 inhabitants;<sup>61</sup> and around 1881 there were 145 houses and 1,644 residents.<sup>62</sup>

Since in the first half of the seventeenth century and in the later centuries, the number of houses tended to be around 145–150, it can be presumed that it was similar also in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>63</sup> It is not known whether the number of Dolsk houses was determined together with the suburbs (presumably, yes). Such differentiation was made for the years 1793–4; the total for the town and its suburbs gives the result similar to the other statistics.

Assuming, therefore, that Dolsk around 1600 might have been home to 145–150 houses, the number of its inhabitants can be estimated. Adopting the proportion of five persons per house, the town's population would have been 725–750; with six people per house, the result would be 870–900. As the span is rather considerable, let us presume that the number of Dolsk's inhabitants was approximately 800–850 (900 as a maximum).

An indicative view of the town's size can be gained based on the statistics of craftsmen, based on whom tax was paid in the second half of the sixteenth century; the information of use comes from six tax registers from the years 1563–83. The figures are as follows: 1563 – 112 (which is astonishingly many) craftsmen; 1580 – 59, an 48 in each of 1581 and 1583.<sup>64</sup> These numbers incline one to regard Dolsk as a rather small town, but not one among the smallest, which apparently fits category III, as once proposed for Dolsk by Henryk Samsonowicz.<sup>65</sup>

It also has to be remarked that an unknown number of grounds and houses stood empty. The 1794–6 plan shows empty grounds, with identification numbers attached in the town's western part. Those deserted parcels might have been, in the sixteenth century, plots on which burghers' houses once stood but the fire of the town in 1790 made them deserted and void of people; hence their absence in the earliest map. Empty grounds could also be encountered elsewhere in the town.<sup>66</sup>

As it seems, the houses in Dolsk were wooden only, including at the marketplace.<sup>67</sup> In 1587, upon bestowing an empty ground in the market to Wojciech Dorażala, a burgher and vogt of Dolsk, Poznań Bishop Łukasz Kościelecki had him erect a wooden house within twenty-four months.<sup>68</sup>

## Plots, urban parcels, urban area development

Urban parcels of land were the main constituent of the town's area. Not uniformly developed, they formed one estate – composed, primarily, of the ground on which a house, farm and sanitary (out)

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<sup>60</sup> H. Grossman, *Struktura społeczna i gospodarcza Księstwa Warszawskiego na podstawie spisów ludności 1808–1810*, Warsaw 1925, p. 97.

<sup>61</sup> Jabczyński, p. 1, footnote 1.

<sup>62</sup> SGKP II, p. 103.

<sup>63</sup> See P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, 2015, 2, p. 81. The small populations characteristic of Greater Polish agricultural towns between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth is pointed out to in I.F. Tłoczek, *Miasteczka rolnicze w Wielkopolsce*, Warsaw 1955, pp. 55–56. Whereas the increase of Dolsk's population was fairly remarkable, given the above statistics, it seems that the number of residents of small towns in the late Middle Ages and in the modern age tended to be fairly constant (except for depopulations caused by fires or plagues).

<sup>64</sup> RPWP, ksc, 1563, no. 180; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 795; RPWP, ksc, 1581, no. 563; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 625.

<sup>65</sup> M. Bogucka and H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 115. For more on the use of tax-register data regarding the number of artisans, see M. Słoń, *Miasta prywatne w sieci miejskiej Wielkopolski XV–XVI wieku*, RDSG, vol. 77, 2016, pp. 104–107.

<sup>66</sup> The bestowal by the municipal council of an empty ground in Wodna St. to the 'assiduous Piotr Kaczka' in 1566 (AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 58); the bestowal of a ground by the road to Śrem, 1566 (ibidem, f. 67). Uncared houses appeared in other parts of the town as well, as e.g. in Kozia St., as of 1615 (AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 468).

<sup>67</sup> To mention the wooden house by the road toward Śrem, recorded as of 1602; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 2. The UMTB map, sheet 2270 (Dolzig, 1826) features the property at the corner of Gostyńska and Wodna Sts. as the only brick residential house.

<sup>68</sup> AAP, CP 4, f. 208v: "sub his tamen conditionibus, quo prefatus Albertus Dorazala tenebitur in eadem area deserta infra decursum duorum annorum domum ligneam pro commoditate sua suorumque haeredum et successorum et item pro circuli praedicti oppidi exornatione extruere et aedificare" (1587).

buildings, and areas of garden use<sup>69</sup> – as is visible in the 1794–6 plan (see Figure 1), and as suggested by municipality-related records.<sup>70</sup> The uses of those areas beyond their basic residential and farming functions seem to be attested by considerable depths of the plots of land,<sup>71</sup> which in Dolsk reached up to approximately 90 m – in the parcels of the market’s southern part or the northern frontage of Kozia St., or to approximately 75 – in the eastern frontage of Stary Dwór St.<sup>72</sup> Such remarkable depths might have been due to the remains of property divisions of the former village, prior to the town’s incorporation in 1359, and to the lack of permanent fortifications that would have hindered the elongation of lots in their arrears with no developments.<sup>73</sup> The only limits were posed by the natural barriers of both Dolsk-area lakes and the depression around the town.<sup>74</sup>



**Figure 1. Urban land parcels in Dolsk at the end of the eighteenth century. Visible are the parcels in the marketplace’s eastern frontage (L) and those in Stary Dwór St. (R). The Dolskie Lake’s coastline is marked along the picture’s right-hand-side edge. (Detail of the map of Dolsk, 1794–6 [Münc, ZAH, ref. no. 44].)**

<sup>69</sup> G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie nowożytnych miast w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1977, pp. 214–219; A. Berdecka, *Lokacje i zagospodarowanie miast królewskich w Małopolsce za Kazimierza Wielkiego (1333–1370)*, Wrocław 1982, pp. 51, 72, 74–75; U. Sowina, *Średniowieczna działka miejska w świetle źródeł pisanych*, KHKM, vol. 43, 1995, no. 3, p. 330; A. Głowacka, *Zajęcia rolnicze*, p. 227. C. Buśko, *Stan badań nad parcelą mieszczańską w średniowiecznych miastach śląskich*, KHKM, vol. 43, 1995, no. 3, p. 345 proposes a division of the town parcel into five functional zones, incl. residential, farm, back buildings, sanitary, and garden ones – primarily based, however, on analyses of urban land parcels in towns bigger than Dolsk. The few studies on lots in smaller urban centres confirm this observation; M. Starski, *Zagospodarowanie parcel mieszczańskich w Pucku jako źródło do poznania przemian kulturowych w małym mieście lokacyjnym w późnym średniowieczu*, “*Archaeologia Historica Polona*”, vol. 22, 2014, pp. 145–166.

<sup>70</sup> In 1603, Maciej Szerszeń bequeathed to his wife Anna Masełkówna a security pledge on the house and the garden thereto adjacent (“as upon the house & upon the garden lying beeside that house”, AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 25); in 1608, Melchior the butcher and his wife was about to sell to Wawrzyniec Kobyła a house with a garden in Kozia St. (“domum domum suam propriam iuridice per se possessam, una cum horto in postico eidem domui adiacenti in Caprina platea”; *ibidem*, f. 205).

<sup>71</sup> B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze Ziemi Krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, part 1: *Miasta Ziemi Krakowskiej, chronologia procesów osadniczych i typologia układów urbanistycznych*, Cracow 2004, p. 222.

<sup>72</sup> The differences in the sizes of the plots in the town were mainly based on their functions; *ibidem*, p. 182.

<sup>73</sup> A. Berdecka, *Lokacje i zagospodarowanie*, pp. 72, 74–5.

<sup>74</sup> In 1618, a house was to be sold in Stary Dwór St. with a garden stretching up to the Dolskie Lake, in the backyard (“domum ... in platea Starydwor dicta ... et horto a poste[!] domus ad lacum Dolsco extendente”; AmD, ref. no. I/18, f. 13).

The plots in the urban area were thus typical primarily of small-town habitat-and-garden plots, of the type probably appearing since the first urban foundations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and common also in the period of modern foundations.<sup>75</sup>

The plots' borders formed the frontier of the urban area. Hence, the category 'urban development' or 'built-up area' coincides with the plot borders known from the 1794–6 map,<sup>76</sup> thus perhaps causing a somewhat mistaken idea as to the town's rank or population.<sup>77</sup>

## The marketplace

Münch describes Dolsk's foundation layout as a three-belt one, with three belts parallel to one another, the town square in the central zone. The latter emerged, according to this scholar, out of the former marketplace that stretched from the road toward Śrem to the one toward Gostyń. The buildings forming the development block of the western frontage apparently followed up the houses, stalls, or butcheries originally situated at the centre of the former marketplace. This argument is additionally supported by the fact that the market was situated somewhat to the side of the town, rather than in its centre.<sup>78</sup> There are no source mentions that would confirm Münch's hypothesis.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, let us remind that in 1350, Banie was mentioned as the centre of a Poznań bishopric's demesne; hence, presumably, it might have been in Banie that a space used as the marketplace was located, before the incorporation of the town of Dolsk. If, however, one was to accept that an elongated marketplace initially functioned in Dolsk, its dimensions would have been irregular (approximately 240 x 72 x 258.5 x 95 m). One can doubt whether the town's original market square would have been that large.<sup>80</sup>

The frontages of the Dolsk market square did not form an ideal quadrangle, close to a rectangle, apparently in the sixteenth century. The market's size is estimated at approximately 100 m along the southern (and longest) frontage, 70 m in the eastern frontage, and 74 m in the western one.

The town-planning layout was primarily influenced by the terrain conditions related to the town's location in the basin, between the two lakes.<sup>81</sup> The plan from 1794–6 still reflects a section of the market's southern frontage being limited by the Dolskie Lake. The eastern and western borders were set by the coasts of both lakes; in the north, development was restricted by meadows, marshes, and rather steep elevations.

The market is attested since 1513.<sup>82</sup> There was a town hall at its centre, first mentioned in 1568,<sup>83</sup> and then, more frequently, from 1597 onwards.<sup>84</sup> It is featured on the 1794–6 plan. In Münch's opinion,

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<sup>75</sup> I.F. Tłoczek, *Miasteczka rolnicze*, pp. 67, 95; T. Zarębska, *Przemiany przestrzenne miast polskich w dobie renesansu i baroku*, [in:] *Miasta doby feudalnej*, pp. 222–223, 226–227, 239; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, pp. 217–219; A. Berdecka, *Lokacje i zagospodarowanie*, p. 88; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy*, p. 222.

<sup>76</sup> Urban developments are marked in a similar way in the reconstruction maps of the reach of towns, recently published in the *Historical Atlas of Polish Towns (Atlas historyczny miast polskich)* series (as separate fascicles), i.e. Koronowo, Włocławek, or Wieliczka (the latter having the most precisely drawn town limits of all these examples); *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 2: *Kujawy*, fasc. 2: *Koronowo*, ed. by E. Okoń, R. Czaja, cartographic editors R. Golba, Z. Kozieł, and A. Pilarska (Toruń 2016), f. 2: *Koronowo. Rozwój przestrzenny miasta XIV–XX w.*; fasc. 4: *Włocławek*, ed. by R. Czaja, A. Marynowska, and T. Wąsik, cartographic editors R. Golba, Z. Kozieł, and A. Pilarska (Toruń 2016), f. 2a: *Włocławek. Rozwój miasta XI–XX w. Topografia obiektów*; vol. 5: *Małopolska*, fasc. 3: *Wieliczka*, ed. by Z. Noga, editorial team: Z. Beiersdorf, A. Jodłowski, B. Krasnowolski, and Z. Noga, cartographic editor T. Szpytma (Toruń and Kraków 2015), f. III.3.4: *Wieliczka. Rozwój przestrzenny od końca XIV do połowy XVIII wieku*.

<sup>77</sup> The sometimes very large areas of small towns, chartered in as late as the sixteenth/seventeenth century, has been pointed out by A. Wyrobisz, *Małe miasta w Polsce w XVI i XVII w.*, [in:] *Miasta doby feudalnej*, p. 179.

<sup>78</sup> Münch, pp. 161, 173.

<sup>79</sup> Brust, pp. 134–5.

<sup>80</sup> Some cases are known of town squares or marketplaces were of considerable dimensions, but it was related to the function projected for such towns or their particular trade domains; cf. A. Berdecka, *Lokacje i zagospodarowanie*, pp. 92, 94; Z. Morawski, *Miejskie układy przestrzenne*, [in:] *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, ed. T. Mroczo, M. Arszyński, Warsaw 1995, p. 33. It nonetheless seems that Dolsk did not specialise in any specific type of trade.

<sup>81</sup> Brust, p. 142.

<sup>82</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no. 1680; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377.

<sup>83</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 108.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 189, 191–2f.

the town hall, standing in the middle of the marketplace, was erected upon the town's incorporation.<sup>85</sup> It cannot be found based on the available sources what the construction material was, but it was probably a wooden building.<sup>86</sup> The town council is believed to have gathered mainly inside that building, though the municipal records from the second half of the sixteenth century scarcely mention the officials officiating at that very place.<sup>87</sup>

The market was surrounded by blocks of residential buildings, though, empty grounds could be seen within the frontages;<sup>88</sup> for instance, one of them was bequeathed in 1587 to Wojciech Dorazała, burgher and the Vogt of Dolsk.<sup>89</sup> Mentions of developments in the marketplace's central area, apart from the town hall, are rare and mostly rather general. In 1519, a butchery was mentioned, the income from which was collected by the Dolsk vogt. It must have been a slaughterhouse butchery as the vogt received twelve stones of tallow from it.<sup>90</sup> Two butcheries are mentioned as of 1548, the fees from which were collected by the Dolsk vogt; they had been transferred to the municipality by Bishop Benedykt Izdbieński.<sup>91</sup> The 1564 bishopric estate inventory points to thirteen local slaughterhouse butcheries among the main sources of income flowing from Dolsk.<sup>92</sup> A mention comes from 1572 of the sale of a house at the market's centre, called a *buda* ('shack').<sup>93</sup> In 1606, Jakub Kwapisz sold to his mother Agnieszka Kwapiszka a butchery located at the marketplace, between the butcheries Więckowska and Lorkowska, for one *grzywna*.<sup>94</sup> Shoemakers' stalls also functioned in Dolsk; they are first attested in the privilege whereby Bishop Andrzej of Bnin permitted the shoemakers' and furriers' guild, in 1455, to erect eighteen booths 'in the appropriate places'.<sup>95</sup> A third of the income from the shoemakers' stalls was earmarked for the vogt; another mention of this fact comes from 1519.<sup>96</sup> Also the stallholders, bakers, and potters had their stalls (*penesticae*); the income from them was received by the vogt of Dolsk.<sup>97</sup> Apart from a mention from 1606, there is no certain information about slaughterhouse butcheries or shoemakers' stalls being located at the market's centre; it nonetheless seems that they were situated right there.<sup>98</sup> No mention of the weigh-house or cropping house has been found in the records whatsoever.

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<sup>85</sup> Münch, p. 161.

<sup>86</sup> My argument is based on the analogies with other Polish mediaeval and modern-period small towns (Z. Morawski, *Miejskie układy przestrzenne*, p. 34; A. Bartoszewicz, *Miasto czy wieś? Małe miasta polskie w późnym średniowieczu*, PH, vol. 99, 2008, no. 1, p. 124) as well as on the fact that there is no mention of a brick or stone town hall in Dolsk.

<sup>87</sup> The council would at times gather at the bishop's court, e.g. in 1564, 1567, 1568 (AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 87–88, 109) – primarily in case a decree by the Poznań bishop or Dolsk *starosta* was about to be published to resolve a disputable issue between the involved parties (reconciliation, possession of a mill, etc.).

<sup>88</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 213: "domum suam propriam ... per ruinam structurae collisam ac desertam in circulo Dolscensi", (1608), or references to an empty house of Dolsk burgher Sebastian, a furrier, dated 1609–15 (AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 44, 55, 63; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 268–9, 392).

<sup>89</sup> AAP, CP 4, f. 208r: "aream desertam ... in circulo oppidi sittam acialem penes plateam ex una et domum Jacobi Salawy[?] civis ex altera partibus" (1587).

<sup>90</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no. 1724; J. Luciński, 'Dolsk', 378.

<sup>91</sup> They were situated between the butcheries 'Erazm' and 'Wojciecha' (no more details are known); AAP, AE IX, f. 42v.

<sup>92</sup> Inw. bp. poz. 1564, 288.

<sup>93</sup> AmD, sygn. I/4, f. 173: "domum suam propriam in medio circuli sittam, Budą dictam".

<sup>94</sup> AmD, sygn. I/17, f. 97: "quia macellum suum proprium haereditarium in circulo fori Dolscensis, inter macella parte ab una macelli dicti Więckowska, parte ab altera macelli Lorkowski situm".

<sup>95</sup> AP Poznań, Cechy miasta Dolsk, ref. no. 19: "damus eidem fraternitati in locis ipsis ad hoc deputatis plenam, liberam et omnimodam facultatem denuo erigendi decem et octo macella".

<sup>96</sup> Ibidem; Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no. 1724.

<sup>97</sup> " ... census de penesticis institorum, pistorum, sutorum, figulorum seu ollariorum"; AAP, AE IX, f. 43r.

<sup>98</sup> Such market facilities were usually situated in the midst of the marketplace, through not only at its central point; U. Sowina, *Sieradz. Układ przestrzenny i społeczeństwo miasta w XV–XVI w.*, Warsaw–Sieradz 1991, p. 28; K. Górńska-Gołaska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, vol. 6, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warsaw 1994, p. 234; K. Mikulski, *Topografia i hodonomastyka Nowego Miasta Torunia w XIV–XVIII wieku*, "Zapiski Historyczne", vol. 62, 1997, no. 1, pp. 9–10; A. Bartoszewicz, *Warta. Społeczeństwo miasta w II połowie XV i na początku XVI wieku*, Warsaw [1997], p. 182.

## Streets

The town's three main streets extended from the marketplace: Śremska Street started at the north-eastern corner and led northwards, toward Śrem. From the north-western corner, Kościelna Street went westwards, toward the parish church of St. Michael's. Wodna Street, starting at the south-western corner, also went westwards.

Early name	Today's name
Rynek	pl. Wyzwolenia
Kościelna	Kościelna
Śremska	Świętego Ducha
Stary Dwór (Rybacka/Łazienna)	Rybarska
Wodna (Warcząca)	Podgórna
Kozia	Garncarska
Gostyńska (Warcząca)	Pocztowa

Hodonomatics concerns only three streets in sixteenth-century Dolsk. Kościelna St. was attested the earliest, in 1513.<sup>99</sup> Then, in the century's second half, the names of Wodna (1563)<sup>100</sup> and Kozia Streets (from 1598 on) appear.<sup>101</sup> Only since the first years of the seventeenth century do we encounter mentions of other street names. At the time, the following names of streets appear: Rybacka (1602),<sup>102</sup> Śremska (1602),<sup>103</sup> Stary Dwór (1603),<sup>104</sup> Łazienna (1603),<sup>105</sup> Gostyńska (1603),<sup>106</sup> Warcząca (1606),<sup>107</sup> Błotna (1610),<sup>108</sup> and Garncarska (1611).<sup>109</sup>

Some of these names referred to sections of longer streets; Warcząca was alternately named Wodna<sup>110</sup> or Gostyńska.<sup>111</sup> A part of Wodna St. was called Błotna.<sup>112</sup> Rybacka St. was either a part of

<sup>99</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no. 1680; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 80: "domum iacentem ... in platea Ecclesiastica" (1605) Określano ją niekiedy również opisowo jako "platea, qua itur versus aedes divi Michaelis"; ibidem, f. 310 (1610).

<sup>100</sup> AmD, sygn. I/4, f. 3 (1563 r.): "locum desertum Ploninski nuncupatum a tergo aedem [sic] providi Jacobi Almani lanii parte ab una, a fico stratus, quo itur ad plateau Aquaticam parte ab altera iacentem"; ibidem, f. 35, 58 (1564); AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 11, 23 (1602).

<sup>101</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 210 (1598): "domum Godzikowski in cornu situatam circuli ab una plateae eundo in plateam Kozia dictam et ab alia domus Andreae Kobila utrisque partibus"; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 86: "in plateam dictam Caprinam" (1605).

<sup>102</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 8, 9.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem, f. 2: "in platea versus Szrem" (1602 r.); ibidem, f. 43, 46: "dom ... na Szremski ulicy leżący" (1603).

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, f. 49: "upon his own house ... at the street going toward Starydwor" (1603); ibidem, f. 89: "domo sua propria ... iacente in platea dicta Stary dwor" (1605); ibidem, f. 304: "in platea, qua curitur versus Antiquam Curiam" (1610).

<sup>105</sup> Ibidem, f. 33: "the emptie place alias void of his own ... lying from one side of the house of Maciei Kozak, from the othere side of Łazienna Street".

<sup>106</sup> Ibidem, f. 20, 22, 24.

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem, f. 128, 156 (1606 r.).

<sup>108</sup> Ibidem, f. 317: "domum ... in platea Błotna" (1610).

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem, f. 357: "the house ... in koscielna [sic] streete betwixt the houses of lane garczarska [sic] and of Michał Mąnka lying from bothe sydes" (1611); ibidem, f. 478: "domum suam propriam in plathea figulorum parte ab una viae lapidibus stratae Agnetis Kokoska parte ab altera Stanisłai Nędzy situatam" (1615).

<sup>110</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 32: "in platea Warcząca alias Wodna" (1606).

<sup>111</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 232: "in platea nuncupata Gostinska alias Warcząca" (1608). In 1606, Urszula Sadłowa sold to Jan Iwanek, a locksmith, a house located at Warcząca St., between the houses of the Dolsk preacher and Szczęsna, widow; ibidem, f. 156. Two years later, Jan Iwanek borrowed a sum of money from the municipal office, which he collateralised against his house in Gostyńska St., situated between the Dolsk preacher's house and the house of Mrs. Szczęsna; AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 41.

<sup>112</sup> W 1610 r. Jan Grzybowski sold a house that had fallen to his share after the death of his father Stanisław Grzybowski, to Andrzej Gajdka and his wife Dorota, situated in Błotna St., between the houses of Krzysztof and Wawrzyniec Knychala; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 317. In 1615, Andrzej Gajdka and his wife Dorota exchanged their house, described as located in Wodna St., between the houses of Krzysztof and Wawrzyniec Knychala, for the house of Błażej Wanięga; ibidem, f. 466–467.

Stary Dwór St. or led to the latter.<sup>113</sup> Perhaps the northern part of Stary Dwór was called Łazienna St. (see below – the paragraph on baths).

The name *Stary Dwór* (Old Manor) suggests that there once was a building in the eastern part of the town, after which the street was named. It is difficult to point to the name's actual source based on the records of use for our purpose. Rather than an earlier episcopal manor (see below), the name might presumably have emphasised the once-location of the vogt's house, prior to the vogtship's buyout in 1548.

There were three other streets stretching from the marketplace's corners; due to their lesser importance, they would be referred to as alleys or lanes. One led from the north-eastern corner toward Stary Dwór St.; another one went from the south-eastern corner toward Stary Dwór St. and then on, toward the Dolskie Lake. As it seems, the Dolsk-related records referred to it as a part of Wodna St. or Stary Dwór St., though a street leading toward the lake Dolskie is also frequently mentioned.<sup>114</sup> At the market's south-eastern corner, a lane began that apparently linked Wodna and Gostyńska Sts.,<sup>115</sup> whose role was presumably purely housekeeping and farming-related.

Alleyways functioned also in some development blocks, connecting Dolsk's main streets with farming/housekeeping mechanisms and facilities at the back of the plots, and their role was mainly related to such facilities.<sup>116</sup> A street like this is mentioned as of 1611 at the back of Wleklowski's house, which was situated (as is otherwise known) on Kościelna St.<sup>117</sup> The said street was mentioned upon determining the neighbourhoods of the developments situated at the back of the aforesaid house.<sup>118</sup> Apart from the road leading toward the Dolskie Lake, the records refer to a road toward the other lake, Banie, outside the town;<sup>119</sup> it namely led westwards, from the crossing of Wodna and Gostyńska Sts.

Although Dolsk was not surrounded by a rampart (the natural conditions ensured a rather favourable defensive situation), two town gates were mentioned at the beginning of the seventeenth century:<sup>120</sup> the Gostyńska (Gostyń; 1603) Gate<sup>121</sup> and the Śremska (Śrem; 1610)<sup>122</sup> one.

## Churches

St. Michael the Archangel's church – the town's major church, the centre of the local parish – was situated in the western part of the town.<sup>123</sup> The church was probably erected together with the town's foundation in 1359; in 1363, the thitherto-parson churches in Banie (St. Laurent's; see below) and Ostrowieczno Małe were subordinated to it; the parson of Dolsk is first attested in 1387.<sup>124</sup> The church was seemingly the town's only brick building in the sixteenth century. Tradition had it that it was erected around 1460, under Bishop Andrzej of Bnin, who is reported to have consecrated the church

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<sup>113</sup> Ibidem, f. 408: "in platea piscatorum sive proxime antiquae Curiae" (1613).

<sup>114</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 181 (1623); AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 162 (1607), 303 (1610), 398 (1613).

<sup>115</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 3: "vico stratus, quo itur ad Plateam Aquaticam" (1563); ibidem, f. 11: vicus angularis, quo itur versus Gostin" (1564).

<sup>116</sup> Brust, 143.

<sup>117</sup> In 1618, the female heirs of Jakub Wlekló, Agnieszka and Zofia, sold the house in Kościelna St., formerly belonging to Jakub, to their sister Małgorzata. The house was adjacent to a *via alias przecznice* ('alley, that is, a cross-street'); AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 176.

<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, f. 32 (1606), 120–1 (1617); AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 116 (1606), 351–2 (1611).

<sup>119</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 365 (1612), 422, 436 (1613).

<sup>120</sup> As of 1605, Dolsk burgher Walenty Uszko was to mend "two gates spoiled at Dolsk and the cobbles near them at hiss expense"; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 114. Gates appeared in other towns having no ramparts or walls, at their exit roads – as, for instance, in Grodzisk Wielkopolski (J. Luciński, *Grodzisk*, SHGPoz, part I, p. 683), Krzywiń (K. Góraska-Gołaska, *Krzywiń*, SHGPoz, part II, p. 497), or Chodzież (R. Kabat, *Historia zabudowy Chodzieży*, Chodzież 2008, p. 8).

<sup>121</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 25: "as upon the house and the garden lying beside that house on the one side of the Gostynska gate [*brona*], on the other side of Franciszek Kozdebka's house". The word *brona* meant 'gate' in Old Polish (*brama*, in modern Polish), incl. one that leads to the town; see *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 2, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1967, p. 438.

<sup>122</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 303: "the house at the Szremska [= Śremska] gate [*brama*] and thereto bequeathed he to herr the garden Zabnik [= Żabnik] in totalitie at the Szremska gate at the righte side" (1610).

<sup>123</sup> ŁOp., vol. 2, pp. 55–6; Olszewski, pp. 76–84; Now2, pp. 411.

<sup>124</sup> KDW, III, no. 1811, 1868; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 382; Brust, pp. 141–142.

in 1474.<sup>125</sup> There was a cemetery around it. Not far from the church, probably close to the western end of Kozia St., a presbytery stood,<sup>126</sup> whereas in the vicinity of the western part of Wodna St. and the northern section of Gostyńska St. (also referred to as Warcząca St.), the house of the Dolsk preacher was located.<sup>127</sup> The other church within the town was the Holy Spirit Chapel, erected in the first half of the fifteenth century;<sup>128</sup> it is known in the records mostly as a *capella* or *oraculum*.<sup>129</sup> The chapel was situated in the town's north-eastern part on Śremska St., not far from the town gate. In contrast to the Dolsk parish church, the chapel was wooden.<sup>130</sup> There was a cemetery around it,<sup>131</sup> and the Holy Spirit Hospital was situated not far from it. Town records also mention a house of the Holy Spirit's provost (who is also referred to as the Provost of Dolsk),<sup>132</sup> giving however no clue as to its location; it was seemingly situated next to the other Church buildings or close to the Holy Spirit Chapel and Hospital.

Among the other houses, the one of the vicars<sup>133</sup> was related to the Church, as were those of the altarists,<sup>134</sup> mentioned in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the organist's house, presumably situated on Śremska St.<sup>135</sup>

Outside Dolsk, on an elevation at the southern bank of the Banie Lake, south-west of the town, the chapel of St. Laurent stood, probably the oldest church in the area.<sup>136</sup> In the second half of the fourteenth century, it was united with the church in Dolsk, along with the Ostrowieczno Małe chapel.<sup>137</sup> In the latter half of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, it was probably merely a suburban chapel at which masses were occasionally held, related, for instance, to testament bequests.<sup>138</sup> The building served at times as the waypoint in describing the location of arable land, gardens, and orchards of Dolsk burghers.<sup>139</sup>

## Other buildings

There were, moreover, such facilities or structure in Dolsk whose location cannot be recognised in an undoubtful way. Some of them – namely, the municipal baths, the malt mill, and the windmills – are nonetheless marked in our plan.

<sup>125</sup> ŁOp., vol 2, 55; J. Luciński, 'Dolsk', 383; Brust, 141–2 and footnote 266. J. Jabczyński (*idem*, 77) mentions a nineteenth-century inscription reading '1474' on one of St. Anne's chapel walls.

<sup>126</sup> The parochial house, mentioned as adjacent to a house being an object of a purchase/sale transaction among Dolsk burghers in 1607 and 1609. The house was described as situated in Kozia St.; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 174, 272. As can be presumed, it might have been located in the area where the eighteenth-century presbytery building stands today.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 156 (1606 – here, in Warcząca St.), 240 (1608 – here, in Wodna St.); AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 41 (1608 – here, mentioned as the neighbourhood of a house in Gostyńska St.).

<sup>128</sup> ŁOp., vol. 2, pp. 56–7; Olszewski, pp. 85–6, 93–4; Now2, pp. 411, 655; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, pp. 382–3.

<sup>129</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 1, 35 f. (1560s); Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 64 r: "hospitale S. Spiritus cum capella" (1610).

<sup>130</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 64r: "capella lignea antiqua consecrata".

<sup>131</sup> In 1608, Anna Kościelecka of Kościelec bestowed to the Dolsk hospital an empty ground she owned in Śremska St., neighbouring on the Holy Spirit church's cemetery; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 206–207.

<sup>132</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 71 (1566).

<sup>133</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no.1680–1682 (1513–14); J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 381.

<sup>134</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 33 (1606—in Warcząca St.); AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 261, 263 (1609 – altarist at St. Michael's church), 447–448 (1614 – altarist Jakub Szcześniak of Kazimierz, mentioned for the same neighbourhood as the Warcząca St. house in 1606). Three houses owned by altarists are mentioned in the 1610 visitation record; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 60v.

<sup>135</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 264 (1609). Whether the same house was meant by the visitor of the Dolsk church, who referred to an organist-owned "domunculum cum horto"; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 63r.

<sup>136</sup> Olszewski, pp. 86–91; ŁOp., vol. 2, pp. 56. J. Nowacki dates St. Laurent's Chapel to the 11<sup>th</sup> century; Now2, pp. 351–2. The church was most probably associated with the Banie settlement, which until the incorporation of Dolsk in 1359 was probably the main colonisation point in the area; J. Luciński, *Banie*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>137</sup> KDW III, no. 1811; Jabczyński, pp. 82; Now2, pp. 411.

<sup>138</sup> A mention is extant from 1603 on Gabriel Gabrek's bequest of 8 *grzywnas* to St. Laurent's Chapel (AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 23); in his will dated 1610, Piotr Kuśnierz assigned ten *grzywnas* for masses to be celebrated for his soul by the preacher at, *inter alia*, St. Laurent's Chapel (AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 303).

<sup>139</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 234, 235: "pomario ... in suburbio ad aedes divi Laurentii Levitae tendente, inter hortos et pomaria" (1608 r.); similarly, *ibidem*, f. 325 (1610), 432 (1614).

The baths are earliest mentioned in 1444.<sup>140</sup> Its localisation on the map, in the northern part of Stary Dwór St, has been based on neighbourhood-related mentions found in the municipal registers. As of 1566, the baths is mentioned in the neighbourhood of the house on which a loan of six *grzywnas* was pledged.<sup>141</sup> Though no street name is mentioned, whilst one of the neighbourhoods had a fisherman's house; based on our reconstruction of neighbourhoods, it has been noticed that fishermen had their houses in the eastern part of the town. The baths were mentioned twice whilst determining the neighbourhoods in 1618: once, as a neighbourhood to the house sold by Anna Piaścina to a fisherman named Franciszek and his wife Anastazja (on Stary Dwór St.); then, as a neighbourhood Anastazja Charłężyna's house, in Łazienna St., against which a loan was collateralised.<sup>142</sup> Most probably, the same house was referred to in both cases.<sup>143</sup> The baths' location may have been owed to a quite convenient access to water from the Dolskie Lake or, possibly, from the watercourse north of the hypothetical baths erection site.<sup>144</sup>

First mentioned in 1455, the malt mill is another facility whose marking on the plan is hypothetical. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a quarter of the income from it belonged to the Poznań Cathedral Chapter.<sup>145</sup> Its location close to the manorial buildings comes from 1664;<sup>146</sup> this might hold true for its sixteenth-century location as well. The mill in our plan is marked appears near by the pool between the garden, the demesne farmstead, and the episcopal manor.

Windmills were situated outside the town proper. Mentioned as of 1570,<sup>147</sup> they were located on the heights situated north of the town.<sup>148</sup> At least one of them belonged to the Holy Spirit hospital,<sup>149</sup> one to the parson,<sup>150</sup> and at least one to the municipality.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, in 1600, Bishop Jan Tarnowski permitted Ambroży Giel to have a windmill constructed on the ground behind the vineyard, belonging to the Dolsk manor.<sup>152</sup> This would mean that still in the late sixteenth century, at least four windmills operated in Dolsk at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>153</sup> Their locations in the map are also hypothetical, though determined based on somewhat more precise information compared to that related to the baths or the malt mill.

There was also a parish school functioning in Dolsk. Indirect information on the school appears since 1444, when its students were mentioned.<sup>154</sup> There is no indication of its location in the second

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<sup>140</sup> Namely, on the occasion of Poznań bishop's confirmation of the Dolsk provost's bequest of one *lan* for the Holy Spirit hospital; therefore, clergymen, the local school's students, the indigent, and pilgrims were allowed to use the baths free of any charge; AAP, Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 63r; J. Luciński, 'Dolsk', 378. Bishop Benedykt Izdbieński's 1548 privilege also refers to the municipal baths; AAP, AE IX, f. 42v.

<sup>141</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 51: "in et super domum propriam balneorum eiusdem opidi Dolsko parte ex una et Valentini piscatoris Czossnek dicti parte ex altera".

<sup>142</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 136, 179.

<sup>143</sup> There are two premises to support this idea, one being the same neighbourhood – apart from the baths, the house that was described as *domus Rutae* and, in the second mention, *domus Ruciński* – plus the fact that Anastazja is once mentioned as Franciszek the fisherman's wife and then, as wife of Wojciech Charłęga, Franciszek's widow.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. the remarks on baths in urban areas in U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie w mieście późnośredniowiecznym i wczesnonożowym. Ziemia polskie z Europą w tle*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 102–4.

<sup>145</sup> The income from Dolsk's malt mill belonged to the Poznań Cathedral Chapter pursuant to the decision of Bishop Jan Lubrański from 1504; Jabczyński, pp. 75–6; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 378; K. Lutyński, *Majątek poznańskiej kapituły katedralnej w XVI wieku*, "Nasza Przeszłość", vol. 69, 1988, p. 241.

<sup>146</sup> AAP, CP 126, f. 89; Jabczyński, pp. 185.

<sup>147</sup> "... ex molendinis extra opidum Dolsko ventilibus"; AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 130; also, f. 131.

<sup>148</sup> In 1571, the town council of Dolsk rada transferred to the local burghers: Jan Naskręt, a furrier, Jakub Długosz, and Jan Kustos – an empty ground "post alodium Jacobi Dorazala eundo in montem versus molendinum ventilem"; *ibidem*, f. 144.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 150: "domum spectantem molle hospitalis".

<sup>150</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 16: "the wind-mill of his [i.e. of the miller being party to the deal (M.S.'s note)], standing on the parson's own land" (1602); also, see footnote 136.

<sup>151</sup> As of 1602, mention of a wind-mill standing on the municipal land; *ibidem*, f. 13.

<sup>152</sup> AAP, CP 4, f. 309v: "consensimus et admissimus eidem Ambrosio Giel edificare et extruere molendinum ventile suis impensis in et super loco et area ad curiam nostram Dolscensem spectantis post vineam nostram, penes agrum plebanalem et prope molendinum in eodem agro plebanali situatum" (1600).

<sup>153</sup> The tax registers for the District of Kościan from the second half of the sixteenth century mention, from 1570 on, one windmill from which the tax was paid by the municipality; RPWP, ksc, 1570, no. 94; RPWP, ksc, 1576, no. 182; RPWP, ksc, 1580, no. 795; RPWP, ksc, 1581, no. 563; RPWP, ksc, 1583, no. 625; the municipal windmill might have been meant.

<sup>154</sup> J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 383.

half of the sixteenth century, though it might have been due to the school's situation at the time. The 1610 visitation record states that there is a need to erect a new school building; until then, the young people had been educated at the house of a Dolsk altarist.<sup>155</sup> To this end, the Dolsk parson allocated a ground between the road and the house of vicar Kacper; whether the school was actually constructed is not known, though.<sup>156</sup>

Apart from the school, a number of facilities owned by burghers of Dolsk – the malt-house and breweries. Inns in the town were associated with them, as mentioned since the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>157</sup> Significantly enough, no inn of Dolsk is mentioned in any of the tax registers from the second half the sixteenth century, though these records refer to fees chargeable on *garnecs* (Old Polish gallons) of vodka. Inns were probably arranged at the houses of those burghers dealing with propination. Owing to the aforementioned reasons, no artisan butcheries have been marked. In 1564, the Dolsk's town council provided the butchers' fraternity with a ground, by the road leading to the vogtship, for the construction of a sheepfold.<sup>158</sup> A road leading to a municipal *pasieka* (*sarepta*) was mentioned twice;<sup>159</sup> a pasture on the wetland was possibly meant by that. Information on a brickyard being the object of a sale transaction entered into by Dolsk burghers is from the first decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>160</sup> A gallows functioned in Dolsk in the eighteenth century;<sup>161</sup> it cannot be said whether it was so in the second half of the sixteenth century as well.

## The manor

West of St. Michael's church, a manor of bishops of Poznań was situated, the earliest mention of which is from 1293, the later ones coming from the fifteenth century.<sup>162</sup> It was located at the north-eastern shore of the Banie Lake.<sup>163</sup> The manor was most probably built of timber.<sup>164</sup> Already in the second half of the seventeenth century, its condition was far from appropriate. It owed its temporary renaissance to Bishop Teodor Czartoryski, but after his death in 1768 the building became dilapidated and was wrecked to the extent that the inspectors neglected it in 1793.<sup>165</sup> Józef Nowacki was of opinion that the manor, redeveloped by Teodor Czartoryski, served as a provostry since 1798;<sup>166</sup> however, this

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<sup>155</sup> Jabczyński, p. 79. The visitation record refers once to the altarist's house as a teaching place ("Quintum [altare] domum habens propriam, in qua docebantur pueri ante scholam extractam"; Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 60v), elsewhere pointing to the vicar's house in this respect ("pueri pauci ad docendum in domo vicariali instruebantur"; ibidem, f. 63r). It seems that the same house might have been referred to: in 1605–6, municipal records refer to Wojciech Gierzyk, a man described as an altarist and vicar of St. Michael's church; AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 27, 33, 35–36, (1606); AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 86 (1605).

<sup>156</sup> Wiz. Poz. 1610–1619, f. 63r; Olszewski, p. 91.

<sup>157</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no. 1354, 1568, 1680; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 378.

<sup>158</sup> A sheepfold was to emerge on the ground by the road to the vogtship; in 1578, it was an object of a purchase/sale transaction; AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 21.

<sup>159</sup> Ibidem, f. 156: "plateae versus eundo sareptam civilem" (1572); ibidem, f. 161: "vicus eundo sareptam civilem" (1571); AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 321: "the garden lying upon the municipall land on the one side of Jan Wielki, and on the othere side of the alley as toward the municipall grass-land" (1610).

<sup>160</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 421 (1613). The brickyard was outside the town, by the road toward Trąbinek village.

<sup>161</sup> Olszewski, p. 50.

<sup>162</sup> KDW VI, no. 44 (1293); J. Luciński, *Dolsk – klucz, dwór, folwark*, p. 384 (mentions dated 1418, 1446, 1456, and 1476).

<sup>163</sup> J. Nowacki and M. Brust believe that the earliest, thirteenth/fourteenth-century manor was in the village of Banie (inexistent today), situated on the southern shore of the Banie Lake, near St. Laurent's Chapel; Now2, 140; Brust, 137, 139.

<sup>164</sup> As indicated by references in the episcopal estate inventories from the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, e.g.: "Yet the walls are very flexing. The beames are rotting and also the joyst, this because there is no soffite" (1664; AAP, CP 126, f. 89); "The lorde's grange and the manor by that town is very empty, in which the walls, beames & the othere lumber hath decayed to nothing, and this for the sake that there was no good roofe upon it for a dozen yeares allready" (1676; AAP, CP 127, f. 86). Bishop Teodor Czartoryski, who frequently stayed in Dolsk, had the manor rebuilt, as a wooden building (Jabczyński, p. 190).

<sup>165</sup> Jabczyński, p. 191. The reconstruction carried out by Bishop Czartoryski yielded two brick outbuildings which in the mid-nineteenth-century housed school premises; R. Zawadzki, *Freski biskupa Teodora czyli Dolsk osiemnastowieczny*, "Śremski Notatnik Historyczny", vol. 3, 2009, pp. 82–83. Today, one of them survives and is home to 'Janusz Kusociński' Elementary School; the other annex was demolished in 1988 as the building was structurally unsound; the 'Powstańców Wielkopolskich' Junior Secondary School; Z. Dłużak, *Dolsk. Moje miasto*, p. 37.

<sup>166</sup> Now2, p. 140.

is not true. The site where the manor once stood was destroyed in the middle of the nineteenth century, during the construction of the Śrem–Gostyń road that traversed the eastern part of the marketplace, as earth material from the remains of the manor complex was used in the construction of a section of that road.<sup>167</sup> The plan of Dolsk from 1794–6 still features a slight elevation west of St. Michael’s church. Referring to source information, we have marked the episcopal manor west of the parish church, by the bank of the Banie Lake.<sup>168</sup>

Around the manor, farming and industrial buildings were situated, including a demesne farmstead, a malt mill, as well as meadows, gardens, or pools, as reflected in the 1564 inventory of the Poznań Bishopric’s estates.<sup>169</sup> The first fairly exact description of the buildings is given only in the 1664 inventory,<sup>170</sup> though it does not precisely localise the demesne farm. As it seems, the latter was situated in the area of what is today Szkolna Street. Until the Second World War, it was a village called Jaskółki, situated west of the Dolsk manor; the association between the demesne farm and Jaskółki was obvious for Jabczyński.<sup>171</sup> Brust, for a change, did not link the sixteenth-century demesne farmstead of Dolsk with the later Jaskółki village,<sup>172</sup> though based on the mentions in the eighteenth-century inventory material, as quoted by Sobisiak, one finds that a new village emerged around the Dolsk demesne farm.<sup>173</sup> Hence, in our map, the latter is marked west of the manorial complex.

There was vineyard belonging to the manor as well, first attested as such in 1476, though workers of a Dolsk vineyard appear in the records in as early as 1427.<sup>174</sup> It was most probably located on the southern slope of moraine elevations north of the Banie Lake<sup>175</sup> – and so is it marked on the map. Developments, mostly houses of Dolsk millers, were situated beside the vineyard.<sup>176</sup>

## Suburbs

There were two suburban areas adjacent to Dolsk: north of the town, toward Śrem, there was *Przedmieście Śremskie* (the Śrem Suburb); *Przedmieście Gostyńskie* (the Gostyń Suburb), situated south of the town, was connected with Dolsk with a dyke. The former village of Banie might have been part of the Gostyń Suburb, though it seems that St. Laurent’s Chapel was outside the suburb’s limits. Apart from the residential developments, the suburbs featured a host of gardens, fields, demesne farms, and pens belonging to Dolsk burghers, the parson, the Holy Spirit hospital, the vogt<sup>177</sup> or the local

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<sup>167</sup> Jabczyński, pp. 191–2; also, see Olszewski, p. 41.

<sup>168</sup> Today, the former manor site features infrastructural items of the Municipal and Communal Sports and Recreation Centre.

<sup>169</sup> Inw. bp. poz. 1564, 289. A more precise description of the demesne-farm buildings can be found in the inventory from 1664, whose fragments are quoted by Jabczyński, pp. 184–5.

<sup>170</sup> AAP, CP 126, f. 89–90.

<sup>171</sup> The first mention of Jaskółki is most probably from 1695; Jabczynski, p. 190.

<sup>172</sup> Brust, p. 137, footnote 245. Apparently, the author saw Jaskółki as a settlement point that only emerged in the time Bishop Teodor Czartoryski, in the mid-eighteenth century.

<sup>173</sup> W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundiów*, p. 50 and footnote 196, with the mentions reading: “Jaskółki this village lies right behind the manorial grange and has no separate frontiers”; and, “Belonging to this demesne is the town of Dolsk ... Jaskółki the village beside the przy manorial grange”.

<sup>174</sup> Ulan. Act. Cap., vol. 2, no. 1392; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377; Brust, p. 137. J. Jabczyński (Jabczyński, p. 143) moreover mentions that in 1430 Bishop Stanisław Ciołek bestowed a barrel of wine to the Chapter.

<sup>175</sup> Thus was the vineyard localised by J. Luciński (*idem*, *Dolsk – klucz*, p. 384, footnote 1) and M. Brust (Brust, p. 137).

<sup>176</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 78: “domum suam propriam una cum horto seu pomario ac omnibus aedificiis ad eandem domum spectantibus, iacentem parte ab una loci dicti Vineae, parte ab altera domus Adami Sterpel molitoris” (1605). The properties’ location was similarly described in 1614: “domum in suburbio versus Lubiadowo post curiam Dolsensem parte ab una domus Michaelis Molitoris, parte ab altera Winica [*sic*; = vineyard]”; *ibidem*, f. 439.

<sup>177</sup> As of 1564, the vogt’s district had two gardens; Inw. bp. poz. 1564, 289. It is perhaps to them that the 1606 note refers, upon the bestowal of one of the vogt’s gardens to the newly-established St. Anne’s fraternity at the Michael’s church: “hortum, cuius in possessione nos et antecessores nostri a multo tempore fuimus et ad praesens sumus in suburbio Szremensi oppidi nostri Dolsko Woytowski nuncupato penes lacum Dolsko appellatum ex una et hortum Pawłowski dictum ex altera partibus situm” (1606); AAP, CP 4, f. 359r; also, see Jabczyński, p. 155. On the ‘vogtshipp’ [*wójtostwo*] in the Śrem Suburb, also cf. AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 210 (1608). The vogtship’s fields were more precisely described upon their transferral in 1670 to Stanisław Borowski, Vogt at Księginki. They were situated south of the Banie Lake Banie, facing toward Księginki, by the

nobles.<sup>178</sup> The location of a given garden or field was oftentimes determined in relation to the roads or directions leading to nearby villages.<sup>179</sup> The abovementioned brickyard was situated in the northern suburb.

In the Gostyń Suburb, or, perhaps, between the chartered town and the suburb, there was a pasture named 'Pasięka'. Its location is known from the 1548 document by Bishop Benedykt Izdbieński. The grassland area was situated 'at the left-hand side betwixt the dyke and the gate through which one goes in the direction of Gostyń, and the lake called Dolsko in the upper part of the town'. We are further on told that the pastures shall be bestowed to the burghers of Dolsk, following the buyout of the vogtship in the town, at the size that stretches between the town and the burghers' and vogtship's barns and pens in the suburb behind the dyke, in the direction of Gostyń.<sup>180</sup> Hence, most probably the meadows formed resulting from the drying up of the Dolskie Lake (see above) were called the Pasięka, and so they are marked on the map. Directly by the lake, more gardens and fields owned by local burghers were located.<sup>181</sup>

West of the Przedmieście Gostyńskie developments, between the suburban area and the Chapel of St. Laurent, a small stream flew, named Rzechta (as of 1548).<sup>182</sup> In the later period, a manorial estate emerged on the ground by the stream.<sup>183</sup>

The privilege granted by King Stephen Báthory in 1585 mentions a place called Międzyborze, adjacent to Dolsk.<sup>184</sup> The name is otherwise unknown, though one may consider whether it should be related to Zaborze, which is mentioned in the 1564 inventory of the Poznań bishopric's estate as a deserted part (*fundum desertum*) of the village of Kunowo.<sup>185</sup> It is also possible that the forests were mentioned in the western area of the Banie Lake (*międzyborze*, literally meaning an area between the forests). If the latter option is correct, the area was situated beyond the scope of our map.

The limited space depicted in the map left no room for the headland sticking into the Dolskie Lake from the east, which was called Grodzisko. The municipal register contains mentions from the 1560s about a field called Grodzisko (Ogrodzisko), belonging to a local fisherman.<sup>186</sup> Later on, information on this field appears rather rarely.<sup>187</sup> The name survived at least until the middle of the nineteenth century,

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Gostyń road, and at the town's border with Masłowo. Moreover, bequeathed to Borowski were two meadows named Błosz, situated in Rudki near the lake of Banie, where the hospital's meadow was located. These areas stretched to the limits of Lubiatowo village; Jabczyński, p. 181.

<sup>178</sup> In 1602, the noble Wawrzyniec Zbyszyński securitised a loan of ten *grzywnas* against his house situated in Przedmieście Śremskie, which he eventually sold in 1616 for eighty *grzywnas* Jakub Baran, a Dolsk burgher; AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 19, 79. 1611 saw the noble Jan Wilkowski of Lubiatowo Małe sold a garden in the suburb, facing toward Lubiatowo, to Dolsk burgher Sebastian, a furrier; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 334. In 1618, the noble Anna Bodzewska sold her "small grange, that is, a barnlet", situated by the road to Trąbinki, to Dolsk burgher Marcin Czureł; AmD, ref. no. I/5, f. 163.

<sup>179</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 197: "in suburbio versus Ostrowieczno" (1598); AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 67: "the garden ... on the way to Ostrowieczno"; ibidem, f. 69: "the garden ... as one goes toward Trąbinek" (both mentions are from 1604); ibidem, f. 80: "hortum iacentem circa viam tendentem Gostinum versus"; ibidem, f. 95 (1605); ibidem, f. 163: "in suburbio versus Lubiatowo" (1607).

<sup>180</sup> The excerpt reads as follows in the original: "pascua libera Passięka nuncupata, que sunt in manu sinistra inter aggerem et portem [*sic*], quo inter [*sic*] versus Gostyn et lacum Dolsko nuncupatum in superiori parte oppidi situm [*sic*], ut ita late, sicut nunc spacium et locus inter oppidum ipsum et inter horrea et hortos civium et advocatie in suburbio ultra aggerem versus Gostyn se protendente consistentia extenditur habebunt"; AAP, AE IX, f. 43r; also, see Jabczyński, 148; J. Luciński, 'Dolsk', 377.

<sup>181</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/4, f. 114–115.

<sup>182</sup> AAP, AE IX, f. 43r: "usum rubetorum in alveo Rzechtha"; also, see Jabczyński, 148; J. Luciński, 'Dolsk', 377, 380.

<sup>183</sup> Jabczyński, p. 3; Olszewski, p. 95; S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych*, vol. 2, p. 55: "Podrzęka pf. [= parish of] Dolsk. Therein, also the field Rzekta at Dolsk"; ibidem, p. 166: "Rzekta, a field at Dolsk. ... the place Rzechta at Dolsk from the direction of Księginki; also at Dolsk, a hamlet named Podrzęka"; Brust, 143. Today, Podrzęka is the name of a street in Dolsk.

<sup>184</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/2: "locum dictum Miedzyborze contiguum huic oppido Dolsko". In his translation of the document, W. Olszewski misread *locum* as *lacum*, and thus a lake named Międzyborze was 'created'; Olszewski, p. 27.

<sup>185</sup> Inw. bp. poz. 1564, 290; W. Sobisiak, *Rozwój latyfundiów*, p. 50. Zaborze is also mentioned by K. Hładyłowicz and S. Kozierowski; the latter historian gives 1434 as the date Zaborze was first mentioned; S. Kozierowski, *Badania nazw topograficznych*, vol. 2, p. 435. M. Brust (Brust, p. 140) approached Zaborze as an integral part of the Dolsk conurbation (together with Krupeczyn, situated north of Dolsk).

<sup>186</sup> AmD, sygn. I/4, f. 87: "in et super agrum Ogrodzisko dictum ex utrisque partibus lacus Dolsko dicti iacentem" (1567 r.).

<sup>187</sup> AmD, sygn. I/17, f. 282: "fyve rows on Grodzisk" (1609).

appearing in the plans from 1840–1 and 1853;<sup>188</sup> also Jan Jabczyński and Stanisław Kozierowski refer to it.<sup>189</sup> The name has probably given an impulse for searching in Dolsk for traces of an early mediæval fortified settlement (as this is what *grodzisko* means in Polish). Witold Hensel considered its existence plausible, but expected that the hypothesis be verified, which has not happened so far.<sup>190</sup> Also Münch was inclined to accept that some mound of a castle/burg-city type existed there, whereon he would have seen the parish church of Dolsk. This author associated the pre-incorporation settlement, a market-oriented village, with a *grodzisko* that supposedly once had existed there.<sup>191</sup>

## Roads

The road linking Śrem and Gostyń would go via Dolsk.<sup>192</sup> According to Stefan Weymann, it branched off the Poznań–Wrocław road whose importance in the late Middle Ages was higher than in the sixteenth century.<sup>193</sup> It is hard to say whether this opinion precisely reflected the reality. The Stephen Báthory privilege granting the customs-duty income to Dolsk in 1585 still referred to merchants going from Wrocław and other Silesian towns and making for Poznań, Toruń, Gdańsk, and Kalisz as well as Głogów.<sup>194</sup> It is impossible to find on this basis how busy the route was, but it certainly was still in use.<sup>195</sup> The road to Śrem went out from the north-eastern corner of the marketplace, turned westward in Przedmieście Śremskie and finally turned northwards; the road to Gostyń started in the town's south-western part. These roads were described as cobbled at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>196</sup>

The so-called great road from the town of Borek toward Dolsk was mentioned in the sixteenth century<sup>197</sup> – possibly, a section of the road along which the merchants mentioned as of 1585 would go on their way from Kalisz toward Silesia. Presumably, the roads towards the villages of Ostrowieczno and Pokrzywnica, situated east of Dolsk, were its fragments.<sup>198</sup>

Along with the main arteries, also roads of local importance went out of the town to enable transport and communication with the surrounding localities. A few of them might have been parts of larger roads. Based on the information on the road from Dolsk to Drzonek village,<sup>199</sup> situated between Dolsk and Śrem, one may conclude that sometimes this is how a part of the route from Dolsk to Śrem was called, at times. The very end of the sixteenth century (1599) saw mentions of the so-called great road from Dolsk, which led toward Bielewo village.<sup>200</sup> Also in 1599, a road referred to as Kałkowo (?Kałkowa), from Tworzymirki village to the so-called great road called *dolska* [= of Dolsk] was

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<sup>188</sup> AP Poznań, Odrisy i kopie planów miast wielkopolskich H. Müncha, ref. no. O.pl.m. 11; AP Poznań, Starostwo Powiatowe w Śremie, ref. no. L. Śr. 20; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 383.

<sup>189</sup> Jabczyński, p. 3. S. Kozierowski mentions a trench near Dolsk, facing toward Masłowo (i.e. north-east of the town), which was reportedly called 'Grodzisko'; *idem*, *Badania nazw topograficznych*, vol. 1, p. 226.

<sup>190</sup> W. Hensel, *Studia i materiały do osadnictwa Wielkopolski wczesnohistorycznej*, vol. 1, Poznań 1950, pp. 180–1.

<sup>191</sup> Münch, pp. 59, 87–8.

<sup>192</sup> Weymann, *Drogi*, p. 228; Brust, p. 135. The road from Gostyń was mentioned in 1464 and 1488; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 378.

<sup>193</sup> Weymann, *Drogi*, p. 228.

<sup>194</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/2 = MK 133, f. 137v: "mercatorum vectorum omniumque transeuntum hominum Wratislavia caeterisque Silesiae civitatibus Posnaniam, Thoruniam, Gedanum aliisque tum Poloniae, tum Prussiae civitates ac etiam Calissia aliisque Regni civitatibus versus Glogoviam caeterasque Germaniae civitates impediatur".

<sup>195</sup> Cf. T. Związek, *Roads* [in] AHP Wielkopolska, in this edition III.5.4. Let us add that UMTB map, sheet 2200 (Schrimm, 1826) and 2270 (Dolzig, 1826), the road connecting Śrem and Dolsk was marked as a stone roadway, which would point to its importance in the nineteenth century.

<sup>196</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 466: "domum -- in platea Gostinensis parte ab una viae stratae lapidibus parte ab altera Thomae Oczko situatam" (1615). There were four cobbled streets in Dolsk in 1793–4; J. Wąsicki, *Opisy miast*, p. 68.

<sup>197</sup> Referred to in 1514, 1530, and 1542; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 378.

<sup>198</sup> The road to Pokrzywnica was mentioned in 1606, with burgher-owned barns located along it; AmD, ref. no. I/17, f. 141. The Pokrzywnica direction was, however, rarely referred to when determining the location of farming appliances or municipal arable lands.

<sup>199</sup> J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 377–8.

<sup>200</sup> AAP, 'Dokumenty, Kapituła Katedralna, dokumenty papierowe', ref. no. DK pap XII/003, f. 3r: "circa viam magnam ex oppido Dolsko versus villam Bielewo pendentem".

mentioned.<sup>201</sup> It seems that the road being referred to went westward from the Gostyń Suburb or was a branch or a part of the road toward Gostyń.

The quality of the roads and their maintenance was the responsibility of the municipal commune, bound to this end by the royal privileges: (i) the bestowal, in 1513, of the bridge levy (*mostowe*) by King Sigismund I the Old (Zygmunt I Stary) for the town council at three denarii on each cart (it having been stipulated that a portion of that income be allocated for the repair of bridges and roads around Dolsk); and, (ii) the corroboration of the customs-house by Stephen Báthory in 1585 (containing a similar obligation).<sup>202</sup>

(2017)

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

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<sup>201</sup> Ibidem, f. 3v: “Kalkowo de villa Tworzymierki ad Magnam Viam Dolska nuncupatam”, and, “haec via Kalkowa concurrat cum Magna Dolska dicta” (1599). SHGPoz’s entry on Dolsk erroneously has 1559; J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 378.

<sup>202</sup> AmD, ref. no. I/1; also, see J. Luciński, *Dolsk*, p. 378; AmD, ref. no. I/2 = MK 133, f. 137v–138v.

### III.6.8.8 DROHICZYN

*Tomasz Jaszczolt*

The plan of Drohiczyn has been reconstructed by means of a retrogressive method employing the oldest known cartographic representations of the town, with these being supplemented by written sources. Obviously, as was the case in the reconstruction of the majority of the town plans herein included, so equally here there understandably has to be a certain amount of source interpretation, one combining certain elements, for example, the position of sacral buildings or street networks, with elements of a lower degree of certainty.

From amongst the cartographic sources available the oldest plan of Drohiczyn to have survived to this day is one from 1789. Though in itself it has not survived as an original to our day. In the 1880s it was kept in the Town Hall (*Ratusz*) in Drohiczyn, where a colour copy was made by the Russian archaeologist Nikolai Petrovich Avenarius, who was carrying out excavational digs in Drohiczyn and environs. Next this plan was to turn up in the private collection of the said academic, while presently it is housed at the Institute of the History of Russian Material Culture at the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.<sup>1</sup> The copy of the plan is most valuable as it shows the former course of the River Bug, which after 1789 was to undergo a significant directional change, one lasting the course of the subsequent century. It also shows the location of subsequently nonexistent sacral objects (churches).

The next two plans are from the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were drawn up by Russian army officers; for after the year 1807 Drohiczyn found itself within the area of the Białystok Oblast that was incorporated into the Russian Empire. These plans can be found today at the Central State Historical-Military Archive in Moscow. The first of these: ‘Plan miasta Drohiczyna z okolicznymi miejscowościami w Obwodzie Białostockim’ was compiled in 1810.<sup>2</sup> In turn, the second ‘Plan powiatowego miasta Drohiczyna z przyległościami w Obwodzie Białostockim’ comes from 1828.<sup>3</sup> Both plans show relatively well the street layout, the distribution of the most important buildings, the extent of the plots, squares and gardens (allotments) within the boundaries of the town.

At the cartographic collection of the University Library in Wilno preserved was a colour plan from around the year 1840 presenting the central part of the town with a marking of the most important sacral and secular buildings as well as the houses situated around the market square.<sup>4</sup> Also useful in the creation of the scope of the urban build at the turn of the seventeenth century turned out to be the topographic maps created under the supervision of the Prussian officers von Stein and von Geusau for the part of Drohiczyn covered by the Prussian partition as well as under the leadership of Colonel Anton Mayer von Heldensfeld for the Ruthenian side of Drohiczyn, which found itself under Austrian

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<sup>1</sup> The Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Material Culture in St. Petersburg, F 1-1886-55, f. 35; black and white reproduction [in:] H. Siemienczuk, *Prawosławne monasteria Podlasia w latach 1786–1789*, “Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, no. 12, 1999, p. 179; L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyna w świetle źródeł archeologicznych i historycznych*, “Biuletyn konserwatorski województwa podlaskiego”, no. 17, 2011, p. 70. (I would like to thank Dr. M. Dzik for providing access to an electronic copy of the plan).

<sup>2</sup> The Central State Historical-Military Archive in Moscow, f. 846-16-21907.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, f. 846-16-21909.

<sup>4</sup> BUW, f. 23-130. There is no date on the plan but the information contained regarding the closed monastery and Franciscan church allowed one to date it to a period post-1832. A reproduction of the plan appears in: “Białostoczczyzna”, no. 2, 1999 (cover), here, however, the plan is incorrectly dated to circa. 1810.

partition administration. Thanks to him it was also possible to recreate the street path network, and as it seems one that authentically reflects its course in earlier centuries as well. Useful was also the map of Drohiczyń and environs for the year 1887 preserved in the aforementioned collection of Nikolai Avenarius.<sup>5</sup>

Known views of Drohiczyń are only available for the period post the second half of the nineteenth century. The best known amongst them is the lithograph compiled by Teodor Nakielski in 1879,<sup>6</sup> and also the separately published views of various objects from within the town boundaries published in 'Tygodnik Ilustrowany' also by Nakielski. In turn, in the collections of Avenarius, preserved is a view of Drohiczyń drawn by him from the side of the River Bug. This view, next to the then existing buildings, also contains marked places where were to be found already nonexistent in the nineteenth-century: the Orthodox castle churches of St. Nicholas and the Pure Virgin Mary.<sup>7</sup>

The most useful from amongst the written sources were the ledgers of the municipal jurors and those of the vogt's (*wójt's*) office, together with the copied collections of the privileges of Drohiczyń preserved in 45 units for the period 1537–1798, which unfortunately disappeared – along with the AGAD sources, in 1944.<sup>8</sup> However, to a degree their loss finds recompensation in the land court ledgers and municipal acts for Drohiczyń itself to which were included a certain number of documents containing, among other things, privileges for the *libertacje* – 'freeing of obligations to pay municipal taxations and duties' of town squares as well as for retail transactions of buying and selling conducted within the boundaries of Drohiczyń. An important source are the ledgers of the Lithuanian Metrica (up to 1569) and subsequently the Royal Metrica, to which were entered copies of municipal and guild privileges, documents referring to the office of vogtship and its holders as well as the endowment of lots and urban voloks and the freeing of obligations for the said.

Lost also is the VoloK Reform register for Drohiczyń and the Drohiczyń starosty conducted for the years 1562–1564, by the surveyor Dymitr Sapięha. Equally there is no knowledge as to copies or even fragments of the said. Such a register would be undoubtedly the most useful in recreating the spatial layout of Drohiczyń in the second half of the sixteenth century. Its worth can be seen on the basis of those measurement registers that did survive and which charted other Podlasie towns: Brańsk, Suraż, Mięlnik, Kleszczęle, Narew, Bięlsk. Also we have no preserved inventories for the Drohiczyń of the sixteenth century. To a degree their absence is supplemented by information contained in the town inspections of the sixteenth century, which were published. Particularly abundant in information is the inspection conducted in 1570 following Podlasie's incorporation into the Polish Crown. Yet only in part, and here scantily, do we have preserved the contents of the register of 1576.<sup>9</sup> Most has been provided in summary by J. Jaroszewicz.<sup>10</sup> In turn, the registers for Drohiczyń for the years 1616<sup>11</sup> and 1661<sup>12</sup> await publication.

Drohiczyń has yet to see a monograph written about it that would satisfy academic expectations. For the book published in 1938 cannot be classified as such, because it was written by a pupil of the Drohiczyń secondary school, Feliks Zygmunt Weremiej,<sup>13</sup> as equally the book compiled by Zenon Skrzypkowski and Zbigniew Ruczał, enthusiasts for Drohiczyń local history.<sup>14</sup> However, there do exist many academic articles and minor publications on Drohiczyń itself as well as those that treat it within research into Podlasie as a whole. The oldest of these includes the work by Józef Jaroszewicz from the first half of the nineteenth century, which in many places has preserved a currency and relevance today and is one of some worth for it has drawn on sources then available to the author and yet ones

<sup>5</sup> The Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Material Culture in St. Petersburg, f. 1-1886-55, f. 36.

<sup>6</sup> A lithograph produced and presented to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski to mark 50 years of his literary career (issued in multiple copies, one of which is preserved at the Regional Museum in Drohiczyń).

<sup>7</sup> The Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Material Culture in St. Petersburg, f. 1-1886-55, f. 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Inwentarz b. Wileńskiego Archiwum Centralnego*, part. 1: no. 1–11794, Wilno 1929, pp. 384–385; A. Wolff, *Akta partykularne przedrozbiorowe Archiwum Głównego 1381–1835*, [in:] *Straty archiwów i bibliotek warszawskich w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych*, vol. 1: *Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych*, ed. A. Stebelski, Warsaw 1957, p. 210.

<sup>9</sup> *LWP 1570 I 1576*, p. 72.

<sup>10</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, Drohiczyń, "Athenaeum wileńskie", no. 4, Wilno 1847, pp. 26–27.

<sup>11</sup> ASK, o. XLVI, no. 149, ff. 162–165.

<sup>12</sup> MK XVIII 64, Inspections, pp. 555–556.

<sup>13</sup> F. Z. Weremiej, *Stolica Jaćwieży. Monografia miasta Drohiczyń nad Bugiem w zarysie historycznym*, Drohiczyń 1938.

<sup>14</sup> Z. Skrzypkowski, Z. Ruczał, *Drohiczyń – historyczna stolica Podlasia*, [Drohiczyń 2006].

that today no longer exist.<sup>15</sup> During archaeological digs conducted in Drohiczyn and environs the aforementioned Nikolai Avenarius made reference in his text to aspects of the town's history.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of archaeological research conducted in the 1950s Krystyna Musianowicz produced a monograph of early medieval Drohiczyn.<sup>17</sup> Equally, later archaeological digs by subsequent researchers have brought to light new findings on the subject of Drohiczyn's past, especially for those periods where there is an absence of written sources or where these are few in number. The works of Lech Pawlata act as a summary of these digs and excavations and an overview of the earlier subject literature, he himself being keenly involved in exploring a series of aspects of Drohiczyn and its oldest history, superbly fusing archaeological digs research with historical findings.<sup>18</sup>

A conference held in Drohiczyn in 1978 and organised by Białystok historical circles brought some valuable findings on the subject of the town. The collected works were, however, published in a limited edition with copies today difficult to obtain. The text by Leszek Postołowicz found therein contained is worthy of attention on the spatial layout of Drohiczyn in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, as equally the piece by Józef Maroszek on the cultural role of Drohiczyn across the centuries.<sup>19</sup> Equally many other works by Maroszek occupy an important place in the historiography of not only the whole of Podlasie but of Drohiczyn as well. A work prepared to mark the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the bestowing of a charter (Magdeburg Rights) on Drohiczyn was written exclusively about the town. This chiefly concerns itself with crafts and trade but also deals with other aspects of the town's history.<sup>20</sup>

By far the oldest known source mention of Drohiczyn is from the year 1142, when the then grand Kijów Prince Vsevolod II of Kijów allocated this town as well as Brześć Litewski to one of his brothers – Igor Olegovich, yet it is widely accepted that the history of Drohiczyn did not begin then but at least a century earlier when it had become the property of the Kijów prince Yaroslav the Wise as ‘payment’ for the aid he had shown Kazimierz Odnowiciel in the fight against the Yotvingians and Masław, the self-proclaimed ruler of Mazovia. It was to have been then that a fortified settlement was built in Drohiczyn, around which the town was to have developed. This hypothesis can be confirmed by earlier and the latest archaeological findings; for the founding of the town of Drohiczyn is dated to the eleventh century.<sup>21</sup>

In the twelfth century Drohiczyn was an important trade hub connecting Poland and Rus, irrefutable evidence of which are the numerous lead seals that have been discovered here since the end of the nineteenth century. These present an array of marks and signs, letters of the Cyrillic alphabet, images of saints, animals, birds, as well as the coats of arms of Ruthenian princes.<sup>22</sup> The existence of long-distance trade is also proved by a tile with the image of a winged lion and the inscription ‘Ex officina Sancti Marci’, which had found its way to Drohiczyn from distant Venice.

At the end of the twelfth century Drohiczyn found itself within the sphere of influence of Prince Kazimierz the Just and subsequently his son, Konrad Mazowiecki. And it was Konrad who in 1237 bestowed the castle at Drohiczyn together with the area bound by the Rivers Bug and Nur (Nurzec) right up to the borders with Rus, to knights from the earlier order of the Dobrzyń brothers,<sup>23</sup> who

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<sup>15</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn Opis historyczny*, pp. 1–48.

<sup>16</sup> Н. П. Авенариус, *Дрогичин Надбужский и его древности*, [in:] *Древности Северо-Западного края*, vol 1. part 1, St. Peterburg. 1890.

<sup>17</sup> K. Musianowicz, *Drohiczyn we wczesnym średniowieczu*, “Materiały Wczesnośredniowieczne”, vol. 6, 1969, pp.7–228.

<sup>18</sup> From the most important works: L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyna w świetle źródeł archeologicznych i historycznych*, “Biuletyn konserwatorski województwa podlaskiego”, no. 17, 2011, pp. 67–97; idem: *Problematyka badań nad powstaniem i organizacją przestrzeni miejskiej średniowiecznego Drohiczyna*, [in:] *Małe miasta. Perspektywa archeologiczna*, Lublin-Supraśl 2014, pp. 23–78; idem: *Plomby typu drohiczynskiego – problematyka badań*, “Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne”, no. 12, 2016, pp. 83–140.

<sup>19</sup> *Drohiczyn. Dzieje miasta na tle dziejów regionu (do 1950)*, Białystok 1980.

<sup>20</sup> J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło i handel w Drohiczynie do końca XVIII wieku*, “Białostoczczyzna”, no. 2, 1999, pp. 3–15.

<sup>21</sup> L. Pawlata, *Problematyka badań*, pp. 36–38.

<sup>22</sup> Idem, *Plomby typu drohiczynskiego*, pp. 84–91. Here equally earlier subject literature and a summary of research into Drohiczyn seals.

<sup>23</sup> A parchment original of the document of Konrad I Mazowiecki of 1237 held at Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, XX HA, Pergamenturkunden, Schieblade 57, no. 42; published in, among others: *Codex diplomaticus et commemorationum Masoviae generalis*, vol. 1, ed. J.K. Kochanowski, Warsaw 1919, pp. 421–423, no. 366.

were connected with the Knight Templars when the bestowal took place.<sup>24</sup> Drohiczyn was taken from the Templars by the Galician Prince Daniel Romanovich and this presumably in 1243.<sup>25</sup> And it was Drohiczyn that Daniel Romanovich chose for his coronation in 1253, and which was conducted by the papal legate Opizon of Mezzano with the accompaniment of the Cracow bishop Jan Prandota.<sup>26</sup> In 1275 Drohiczyn was taken and torched by the forces of the Lithuanian prince Trojden, who equally put its inhabitants to the sword.<sup>27</sup>

Drohiczyn entered into the composition of the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia under Romanovich rule until the death of the last ruler, Prince Yuri II Boleslav who died in 1340 – most presumably poisoned by his boyars. Yuri II Boleslav, the son of the Mazovian Prince Trojden, inherited the the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia on the deaths of his uncles: Andrzej and Lew Juriewicz. Following his death the part of the inheritance that included Drohiczyn was taken over by the brothers of the deceased, Siemowit and Kazimierz, and possibly maybe even by his father Trojden. The holding of Drohiczyn by the Masovians is borne out by a document penned by Siemowit Trojdenowic of 1342, and directed towards his voivode-governor titled as *Drohiczyn*.<sup>28</sup>

However shortly, presumably as a result of the battles fought in 1351, during which at Mielnik the Płock Prince Bolesław III Wańkowic died at the hands of the Lithuanians, the Drohiczyn lands were taken from the Mazovians by the Lithuanian Prince Kiejstut, who in 1355 together with his brother Lubart issued a document allowing Torun merchants to freely travel to Łuck by means of the road leading through Drohiczyn, Mielnik and Brześć Litewski.<sup>29</sup>

The definite inclusion of Drohiczyn within Kiejstut's possessions of is borne out by the treaty of 1366 which he concluded in conjunction with his brother Olgierd with the King of Poland, Kazimierz Wielki. Kazimierz promised not to raid the lands establishing their centres as the fortresses at Brześć Litewski, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Bielsk and Kamieniec – these belonging to Kiejstut, as well as at Kobryń being the property of the Grand Duke Olgierd.<sup>30</sup> The Drohiczyn lands, in a way similar to the lands of Brześć Litewski and Kamieniec, became at the end of Kiejstut's rule the object of a crusade on the part of the Teutonic Order, who left the lands seriously ravaged.<sup>31</sup> The treaty of 1379, concluded between Lithuania and the Order, and outlining the peace terms, mentions amongst the lands exempt from the Teutonic incursions the lands of, among others, Suraż, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Brześć Litewski, Bielsk and Kamieniec.<sup>32</sup> Following the death of prince Kiejstut and the defection of his son Witold to the Order, the Mazovian Prince Janusz attempted to take the Drohiczyn lands and possibly equally those of Brześć Litewski. However, he was to very quickly lose these to Jagiełło. Only following his return from the Teutonic Order and reconciliation with Jagiełło in 1385 did Witold receive back a part of the patrimony together with Grodno, Brześć Litewski, Kamieniec, Wołkowysk, Drohiczyn and Mielnik. In the documents drawn up by him for the years 1386–1389 Witold titled himself the prince of Brześć Litewski<sup>33</sup> or Grodno,<sup>34</sup> though he undoubtedly also held Drohiczyn as is borne out by the appearance in his retinue the Drohiczyn voivode Jan in 1388. Following another desertion to the Teutonic Knights in 1389, Witold again lost his patrimony, which was personally taken control of in February 1390 by King Władysław Jagiełło. The Drohiczyn lands with fortified towns at Drohiczyn, Bielsk, Mielnik and

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<sup>24</sup> A. Jusupović, *Domus quondam dobrinensis. Przyczynek do dziejów templariuszy na ziemiach Konrada Mazowieckiego*, "Zapiski Historyczne", 71, 2006, pp. 11–14.

<sup>25</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów)*, ed., intro. and footnotes. D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, with the cooperation of I. Juriewa, A. Majorow, T. Wiłkuł, Cracow–Warsaw 2017 (Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, series 2, vol. 16), p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz król Rusi. Biografia polityczna*, Cracow 2012, pp. 349–366.

<sup>27</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska*, p. 227.

<sup>28</sup> *Nowy Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Mazowsza*, vol. II, ed. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, with the cooperation of K. Pacuski, H. Wajs, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk–Łódź, 1989, pp. 252–253.

<sup>29</sup> В.Розов, *Українські грамоти, XIV в. і перша половина XV в.*, Київ, 1928. parts 1–2, no. 1.

<sup>30</sup> A. Czuczynski, *Traktat książąt litewskich z Kazimierzem Wielkim z r. 1366*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", vol. 4, 1890, pp. 513–515.

<sup>31</sup> *Wigand von Marburg. Nowa kronika pruska*, ed. S. Zonenberg, K. Kwiatkowski, Toruń 2017, p. 425

<sup>32</sup> Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, XX HA, Pergamenturkunden, Schieblade 52, no. 3.

<sup>33</sup> As, for example, in the document of 1388 issued in Kamieniec containing the endowment for the Wilno bishopric for, among other places, in the territories of the Brześć land; *Vitoldiana. Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae: 1386–1430*, collected and ed. J. Ochmański, Warsaw–Poznań 1986, no 9, pp. 15–16.

<sup>34</sup> *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, ed. A. Prochaska, Cracoviae 1882, no. LIII.

Suraz he handed over late in the summer of 1390 to the Mazovian Prince Janusz, as is stated in the document drawn on 2 September 1391. Drohiczyn was then mentioned most clearly as the main centre for the entire territory, something that underlined its significance.<sup>35</sup> Following Witold's return to Lithuania and the accord agreed in 1392 in Ostrów, Brześć Litewski and Kamieniec were to permanently return to his possessions. The Drohiczyn lands he was to acquire later, only between the years 1401 and 1405. Witold's rule over the Drohiczyn lands is confirmed by his presence in Drohiczyn, noted down at the end of his governance<sup>36</sup> as well as the preserved endowments to Orthodox churches, Catholic churches, the knighthood and boyars within this territory. One of Witold's documents of 1420 was even issued during his stay 'in castro Drohicin'. After a short episode of governance in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by the Świdrygiełło family the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands found themselves as a part of the said and under the rule of Witold's younger brother – Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz.

Taking advantage of Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz's death in March 1440, the Drohiczyn lands were taken over that very year by the Mazovian Prince Bolesław IV, who even nominated the Drohiczyn castellan. This was to be Jan Nasuta, who came from a Mazovian family but who equally had land possessions in the Drohiczyn area.<sup>37</sup> In the late summer of 1444 the Lithuanian army led by Jan Gasztołd took the Drohiczyn lands and rejoined them to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. From then onwards until 1569 Drohiczyn, together with the whole of Podlasie, found itself within the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. For in this year, on the strength of the charter of King Sigismund August, it was joined to the Polish Crown.

The preserved charter bestowing on Drohiczyn Magdeburg Rights was issued only in 1498. However there are known numerous testimonies to the fact that Drohiczyn had earlier held town rights, possible those of Kulm Law. These testimonies are first and foremost references to institutions typical for towns founded on the basis of German Law. So we have consequently information from Drohiczyn about a town council, mayors, burghers already during the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Worthy of note is that Bolesław IV while residing in Drohiczyn bestowed Kulm Law rights on Mielnik.<sup>39</sup> However, there are no traces of an analogical charter for Drohiczyn, which to a certain extent points to Drohiczyn having obtained such charter privileges earlier, and here possibly under the reign of Prince Janusz I the Elder (1390–1401) or also from the hand of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Witold. Nevertheless in Witold's privilege for the vogtship for Stanisław Dziadek of 1429, Drohiczyn is referred to as 'oppidum'.<sup>40</sup> Equally in the privileges granted by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk for the Wilno burghers of 1441, Drohiczyn is mentioned amongst 14 towns from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that had obtained the right to trade freely.<sup>41</sup>

The charter process on the basis of German Law was inseparably connected with the establishment in a town of the office of vogt, which could have existed in Drohiczyn already at the beginning of the

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<sup>35</sup> M. Radoch, *W sprawie daty nadania przez Władysława Jagiełłę ziemi drohiczyńskiej księciu mazowieckiemu Januszowi I*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XIV do XVI w.*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 11–20; the author only erroneously attempts to correct the date of the Władysław Jagiełło privilege from 15 September 1391 to 1390. The privilege was issued a year later and here for the actual transfer of the Drohiczyn land to Janusz I.

<sup>36</sup> S. Polechow, *Itinerarium wielkiego księcia litewskiego Witolda: 4/5 sierpnia 1392–27 października 1430*, "Rocznik Lituanistyczny", vol. 5, 2019, pp. 96–98.

<sup>37</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohiczyńska i bielska pod rządami księcia mazowieckiego Bolesława IV w latach 1440–1444*, [in:] *Dziedzictwo ksiąg mazowieckich. Stan badań i postulaty badawcze*, Warsaw 2018, pp. 334–335; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia nad dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytucją i genealogią ksiąg*, Cracow 2012, p. 566.

<sup>38</sup> Including: Marcin Schneider, a Drohiczyn burgher 1417 (M. Radoch, *Kilka uwag o konfliktach na pograniczu litewsko-mazowieckim i litewsko-krzyżackim w latach 1401–1426*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XV do XVI wieku*, Olsztyn 2005, p. 15); Wit Drohiczyn councillor in 1438 (AN Cracow, Zbiór Zygmunta Glogera, catalogue no. 32, p. 452); Jakub Strugała Drohiczyn mayor 1470 (AGAD, Kapicjana, sign. 5, p. 12; *Księga ławnicza miasta Nowej Warszawy*, ed. A. Wolff, Wrocław 1960, p. 144, no. 730) A letter of the Drohiczyn mayor and town council of 1486 to the city council of Gdansk (AP Gdańsk, catalogue no. 300 D/7, no. 81, p. 1); Matys 'Polish' mayor, Paszko Sliniczyc, 'Ruthenian' councillor, Artyszko, 'Bug-side' councillor, Butko, Patrysz, Paszko Cybowicz, Drohiczyn burghers in 1492 (AGAD, parchment document no. 4783).

<sup>39</sup> MK 3, f. 246.

<sup>40</sup> *Vitoldiana*, no. 188, pp. 156–157.

<sup>41</sup> LMAVB, f. 1-17; *Zbiór dawnych dyplomatów i aktów miast Wilna, Kowna, Trok, prawosławnych monasterów, cerkwi i w różnych sprawach*, Wilno 1843, pp. 7–10, no. 7.

fifteenth century. This is directly borne out by the notation of 1414 in which mentioned is a certain Niklasz, the old vogt from Drohiczyn.<sup>42</sup>

However, it was only on the 28 December 1429 and in Grodno that Prince Witold issued privileges by which the vogtship in Drohiczyn was bestowed on the notorious Stanisław Dziadek. The chief holding of the vogt's office was 6 voloks of land. In addition the vogt received also a third of payments from court fines as well as every third stone of wax. He also gained the right to build and hold a mill, at which the inhabitants of Drohiczyn and neighbouring villages could grind their grain. As vogt Stanisław Dziadek was to administer in the fashion of the vogts of Lublin.<sup>43</sup> And from the hands of Stanisław Dziadek the office of vogt quickly passed on to others.<sup>44</sup> Known are the following Drohiczyn vogts of the fifteenth century: Grzegorz (1438–1448), Mikołaj Chodowski (1479–1481), Andrzej (1497–1536).<sup>45</sup> Sixteenth-century sources point to the existence of a folwark and vogt's manor house in Drohiczyn. A street plan of 1810 marks in the eastern part of the town, on the road to Zajęcznik, the presence of a *wójtowszczyzna* manor house. Equally on Stein's map there is shown in the self same place the existence of a larger object. The Drohiczyn office of vogt was to remain unbroken in operative function up until the Third Partition itself. One may equally assume that the office itself was unchanged in its location for this duration. Consequently, it has been decided to locate the vogt's manor house on the map in accordance with the location given in the aforementioned sources.

The final stage crowning the process of the founding of Drohiczyn was the obtaining by the town of a Magdeburg Law charter, from Aleksander Jagiellończyk on the 4 October 1498.<sup>46</sup> In the document the ruler clearly stated that the variety of different, and here at times contrary, laws and customs in force and used on a daily basis by various nations and denominations in towns across the expanse of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, here including Drohiczyn, impacted negatively on their functioning. Desiring as a consequence to impose order in this matter, Aleksander bestowed Magdeburg Law on all the inhabitants of Drohiczyn, both on the Polish and Ruthenian sides, while simultaneously revoking and repealing all other laws hitherto in force and used in particular by the Ruthenians who resided there. It endorsed the authority of the vogt over the town's burghers, who could be judged only by him and mayors and councillors. And with the same the burghers were exclusively under the jurisdiction of the castle and grand ducal starosts. The town was granted four dates for fairs; these to take place after Palm Sunday and following the feast days of Corpus Christi, the Exaltation of the Cross, and of St. Simon and St. Jude Thaddeus. Only at this time trade could be conducted in Drohiczyn by burghers from other towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. An exception was granted only to the inhabitants of Wilno, Troki and Polock, who as a consequence of special privileges were able to trade on different dates. Each of the aforementioned markets was to last a single week.

The original charter granted by Aleksander most presumably had been burnt before 1569. And so the Drohiczyn burghers presented at the Lublin Diet (*Sejm*) not the original but a copy of its entry into the Drohiczyn land ledgers of 1542. For certainty it did not exist in 1592 where written was simply: 'The town of Drohiczyn through great and frequent deterioration had fallen foul of great misfortune with the town's original charter destroyed.'<sup>47</sup>

For a long time after 1569 and the inclusion of Podlasie within the structure of the Polish Crown, the inhabitants of Drohiczyn were unable to free themselves from the cumbersome taxes levied in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and which they had to pay to the starost. Undoubtedly the position of the Podlasie and Drohiczyn starost Mikołaj Kiszka (d. 1587) impacted on this, as he did not want to resign from the payment of these taxes. It was only to be with his son and successor as Drohiczyn

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<sup>42</sup> *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, no. 649, pp. 329–330.

<sup>43</sup> RGADA, f. 389-1-31, ff. 11v–12; *Акты Литовско-Русского государства*, vol. 1, ed. М.В. Довнар-Запольский, Москва 1899, no. 2, pp. 2–3; *Vitoldiana*, no. 188, pp. 156–157.

<sup>44</sup> The son of Stanisław Dziadek appearing in 1458: Andrzej, was not the vogtship owner. NGAB Minsk, f. 1759-2-28, ff. 181–181v.

<sup>45</sup> ZZG, catalogue no. 32, p. 452; AGAD, Drohicke grodzkie, series 2, no. 1, ff. 346v, 405v; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-6, ff. 114–114v.

<sup>46</sup> A document preserved in copies from the sixteenth century, including: RGADA, f. 389-1-13, ff. 109–110v; MK 101, f. 368; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-5, ff. 129v–131; Kapicjana 2, pp. 49–54.

<sup>47</sup> *Dyaryusze i akta sejmowe r. 1591–1592*, ed. E. Barwiński, Cracow 1911 (*Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 21), p. 149.

starost Mikołaj Kiszka in his document of 24 November 1588, and here on the clear instruction of the king, that an end to the levying of taxes on the basis of Lithuanian custom came about and deemed contrary to the Podlasie inclusion charter of 1569.<sup>48</sup> The Drohiczyn burghers were to pay only renes at a rate of 50 *grosz* per volok on the 'Polish' side while at a rate of 30 and 1/8 of a *grosz* per volok on the Ruthenian side, and here as a result of the poorer land that was to be found in this part of Drohiczyn and additionally levies from taverns at a rate of 70 *złoty* annually.<sup>49</sup> However, despite this there still occurred situations where the starosts did not adhere to the decisions adopted, resulting in the need for royal intervention. In the years 1617 and 1618 King Sigismund III, reminded the aforementioned Mikołaj Kiszka not to exploit the Drohiczyn millers and other burghers.<sup>50</sup>

From the 1580s onwards mentioned is the presence of Scots in Drohiczyn, who were to settle here in increasing numbers. Already in 1589 a plot in Drohiczyn was owned by a certain Kilian Szkot (Scot).<sup>51</sup> At the turn of the seventeenth century the mayor was even a Scot, Wojciech, who went under the characteristic surname of Baranowski.

The inspection of 1570 in writing about Drohiczyn claimed it to be 'a large district and a leading town in Podlasie.'<sup>52</sup> Identical information is contained in the inspection conducted in 1616.<sup>53</sup> Drohiczyn's significance was undoubtedly the result of its earlier tradition, for in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it had been the most important town within a territory more or less corresponding to the area of the later Podlasie Voivodeship. Also later it was to become the seat of noble courts, which initially functioned within the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania only in Podlasie. The land court in Drohiczyn was already in operation in the day of the Grand Duke Witold, that is from at least 1427, and for certain with his permission.<sup>54</sup> On the 19 June 1445 Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, the Grand Lithuanian Duke, bestowed on the nobility of the Drohiczyn lands the privilege to employ Polish law, and as it had been employed in the times of the Grand Dukes Witold and Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz.<sup>55</sup>

In 1516 king Sigismund the Elder issued the privilege enabling the nobility of the Drohiczyn lands to employ Polish Law.<sup>56</sup> At this moment a separate castle court was constituted. Earlier the matters that it heard had been dealt with by castellian courts adjudicated over by starosts. The first Drohiczyn municipal judge mentioned was Hieronim Rospąd Jabłoński in the years 1517–1522.<sup>57</sup>

In 1513 the Voivodeship of Podlasie was created, with the voivode being named Jan (Iwan) Sapieha, a marshall and grand ducal secretary. When he died in 1517 an interlude in the functioning of the voivodeship as such occurred, this being from the formal perspective as a result of an absence of an office holder. Only with the privilege of 1520 did King Sigismund I the Elder nominate a new Podlasie voivode, Janusz Kostewicz and formed anew the voivodeship clearly demarcating its territory, in which there was to be found besides Drohiczyn, Bielsk and Mielnik also Brześć Litewski, Kamieniec and Kobryń.<sup>58</sup> However, at that time Drohiczyn was not considered the capital of the voivodeship, proof of which being simply the fact that the voivodeship did not owe its name to the name of the town, as was the case with all the other Lithuanian voivodeships. Drohiczyn was to gain the status of voivodeship town only following the conclusion of the Union of Lublin, where voivodeship meetings, general council sittings, as well as the selection of Podlasie Voivodeship deputies for the Crown Tribunal took place. In the mid sixteenth century Drohiczyn was the only royal town in the Drohiczyn lands (up until 1565 also Wysokie).

<sup>48</sup> A royal mandate of 30 January 1588 directed to Mikołaj Kiszka the Drohiczyn starost; ZZG, catalogue no. 30, p. 90.

<sup>49</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-15, ff. 101-102; J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn Opis historyczny*, p. 27.

<sup>50</sup> AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie 11, ff. 275-276; J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn Opis historyczny*, pp. 29–30.

<sup>51</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-44, ff. 198v–199.

<sup>52</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> ASK XLVI 149, f. 162.

<sup>54</sup> In 1427 noted was the ziemski Drohiczyn '*subiudex*'; literally sub-judge, Grzymek of Padkowice, State Archives in Białystok. Registry of the Drohiczyn land ledgers for the years 1640–1697, p. 112. For certain the sub-judge was accompanied in his judging by a lander judge.

<sup>55</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-28, f. 10.

<sup>56</sup> VL, vol. I, pp. 174-175; RGADA Moskwa, f. 389-1-13, ff. 100–103.

<sup>57</sup> AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie, no. 1, f. 55v; AGAD, Drohickie grodzkie, series 2, no. 2, f. 195v; *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol. 20: *Литовская метрика*, part. 2, vol. 1: *Книги судных дел*, С.-Петербург 1903, col. 1314, 1444.

<sup>58</sup> Parchment original: AGAD, collection of parchment documents, no. 1137; Podlasie III, pp. 157–159; *Urządnicy podlascy*, pp. 14–15.

Sixteenth-century Drohiczyn was situated on both banks of the River Bug. On the right (northern) bank was to be found the part of the town usually referred to as the Polish Side (or Polish Drohiczyn). In turn the part lying on the opposite bank of the Bug was known as the Ruthenian Side (respectively: Ruthenian Drohiczyn). For this reason sometimes in the sources there is talk of two towns.<sup>59</sup> The matter as to the origin of the nomenclature of the two sides of Drohiczyn itself is not completely clear and will require further and detailed research. In our opinion it is not a reflection of the settlement and ethnic relations that occurred within Drohiczyn as such. For on both sides of the river we can come across resident Poles and Ruthenians. So the River Bug was not a boundary strictly dividing the two nations from each other. The most striking thing is the fact that the main Orthodox churches were located on the Polish side. The most sensible explanation for this state of affairs is the note from the Drohiczyn Magdeburg charter of 1498, where Aleksander Jagiellończyk allowed for the selection of two mayors and two sets of municipal council each of eight councillors strong – a separate one for the Poles and again for the Ruthenians. It is possible, therefore, that these mayors and councillors conducted their affairs of office in the appropriately named parts of Drohiczyn, that is on the relevant Polish and Ruthenian sides. Such a state of affairs must have occurred beforehand given that in 1492 there is already documentary talk of a ‘Polish mayor’ and ‘Ruthenian councillor’ from Drohiczyn. Even the majority of the sources that make mention of these two separate sides do treat Drohiczyn as a single municipal organism.

It is beyond doubt that its positioning on the River Bug impacted on the development of the town and pre-charter settlements in Drohiczyn. The Drohiczyn town itself was situated on the right bank of the river in a position commanding the valley lying opposite. The Bug River valley opposite the Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) is fairly wide and of approximately 4 km in length. The Bug River within the territory of Drohiczyn encompasses numerous meanders; while the river current laps alternately the shores of both banks. As a consequence the River Bug has changed its course over the centuries. Traces of these changes are the old river bed, the so *bużyska*.<sup>60</sup> One of the old river beds is situated to the west of the town and may be clearly seen on Stein’s map. One can most certainly identify it with the so-called lower lake mentioned in 1553 and which is situated not far from the place referred to as *Wasznik*. The old river bed has been included on the map.

An open form settlement developed around the early medieval town this being comprised of several settlements. The territory later taken up by the foundation market earlier had been used for colonising and creating a central settlement which was connected to the eastern settlement (to the north east of the town). On the bank of the River Bug developed a western settlement, quite possibly settled in the main by a populace of western origin; hence here was later situated a Roman Catholic church. Traces of settlement have also been discovered on the area of Góra Kramczewska, separated from the central settlements by a ravine and the stream that flows through it. Land on the opposite side of the Bug was also used for settlement purposes, later occupied by Ruthenian Drohiczyn.<sup>61</sup>

The boundaries of the municipal fields were presumably formed a long time prior to settlement on the basis of Magdeburg Law in 1498. There is no actual mention of these in the charter itself, which presumably means that for the majority they were already marked out and were based on the boundary limits of neighbouring settlements. The borders of the fields that belonged to the Polish Side of Drohiczyn were presented as follows: from the west they bordered lands referred to as *Budkowszczyzna*. Initially this had been the town’s oak wood bequeathed in 1522 by the Drohiczyn starost Jan Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł to the castellan usher, Bartłomiej Budka. In the description of the boundaries of this endowment there is clearly talk about its meeting, on the one hand, with the borders of municipal fields, while on the other side with the road leaving Drohiczyn in the direction of Gródek.<sup>62</sup> To the north the town bordered the village of Kłyżówka, which belonged to the Drohiczyn Franciscans as well as the village of Sieniewice belonging to the Horbowski family and the village of Koczery (Koczeryh)

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<sup>59</sup> As, for example, in the document of the government inspector Dymitr Sapięha of 1564, AGAD, MK 108, f. 15: ‘the voloks and holdings of both Drohiczyn towns’.

<sup>60</sup> K. Musianowicz, *Drohiczyn we wczesnym średniowieczu*, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> A. Andrzejewski, J. Sikora, *Drohiczyn średniowieczny i nowożytny w świetle badań z roku 2006*, “Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne”, no. 5, 2009, pp. 169–171, 188 (a little map also showing the spatial development of Drohiczyn in the twelfth–thirteenth century).

<sup>62</sup> AGAD, Drohiczkie ziemskie 2, ff. 347v–348.

inhabited by boyars of Ruthenian origin, the Koczerha-Koczerski family. From the east Drohiczyn bordered with the village of Bujaki, which in the sixteenth century belonged to the Izdebski family.

Almost from the very beginning of the sixteenth century the inhabitants of Drohiczyn were in dispute with the owners of Bujaki over the course of the boundaries. Already in 1521 the Drohiczyn starost, Jan Radziwiłł, together with arbitrators, attempted to resolve the dispute between the vogt, the mayor and the Drohiczyn burghers on the one side and Ms. Zofia Izdebska of Bujaki on the other over the oak wood situated between the town and Bujaki, rights to which were claimed by both sides. He also carried out a demarcation, the course of which was noted down.<sup>63</sup> However, this was not to resolve the dispute and it was only in 1531 that the Drohiczyn chamberlain conducted another demarcation of the Drohiczyn lands bordering those of Bujaki. And here again the matter concerned the disputed oak wood, which the Drohiczyn burghers considered their property. The boundary was to have commenced from the charcoal smithy situated on the road leading from Drohiczyn to the village of Boguszki and separating the lands of the village of Zajęcznika from the disputed oak wood. This was marked by mounds formed out of earth and stone, of which the latter the chamberlain ordered to be scattered on the road leading from Drohiczyn to Rogawka.<sup>64</sup>

In turn, the part of Drohiczyn located on the left bank of the River Bug, namely the Ruthenian Side, bordered, from the east, the village of Drażniew (Drażniewo) belonging to the Niemira family of the Gozdaw coat of arms. In 1545 commissioners appointed by the king, Sigismund August, carried out a marking of the boundaries between the lands of Drażniew held by Stanisław Niemira and the Drohiczyn lands.<sup>65</sup> From the southern side the Drohiczyn municipal lands bordered with the villages of Korczew (Korczewo) and Laskowice belonging in the sixteenth century to the Hlebowicz family of the coat of arms of Leliwa. From the west the boundary consisted of the riverlet Kamianka (at present the riverlet Kołodziejka) beyond which stretched the lands of the village of Starczewice. This village initially belonged to Drohiczyn castle but in 1555 it was given by King Sigismund August to the grand ducal scribe Maciej Sawicki in exchange for an earlier bestowed folwark in Drohiczyn, then returned to the castle.<sup>66</sup> The Przekop mill complex settlement also belonged to village of Starczewice, the millers of which were still subject in the fifteenth century to Drohiczyn castle in. In 1455 the Drohiczyn starost Jan Nasuta allowed the mill at Przekop to be sold by the miller Bartłomiej to the nobleman Grzegorz of Zalesie.<sup>67</sup>

In place of the currently existing eighteenth-century-founded village of Bużyska was situated land of the same name and mentioned in 1589 when the king allowed his 'scout' Adam Truszkowski to purchase 5 voloks including land from the heirs to the former Drohiczyn vogt Mikołaj Chodowski. This land was defined as lying between the moat of the 'Ruthenian town Drohiczyn and the River Bug.'<sup>68</sup> This land was marked on the plan of Drohiczyn in the place where at present the village of Bużyski can be found.

During the Voloč Reforms of Drohiczyn and of the Drohiczyn starost conducted in 1563 and 1564 respectively by the royal inspector Dymitr Sapięha, the final division of the municipal voloks and their summing up was carried out. In the inspection of 1570 it is stated that Drohiczyn numbered 58 voloks of the Chełmno measure on the one side. This figure only made reference to the Polish side. With the inspection of 1576 giving somewhat different figures. On the Polish side there was to be found in total 61  $\frac{3}{4}$  voloks, while on the Ruthenian 46 voloks.<sup>69</sup> On the Polish side 43 voloks paid rents while on the Ruthenian this figure was 44. The town had on both sides 147 morgens of meadow, while the total number of houses was then 327. At this time there were six houses in Drohiczyn exempt from the payment of rents, rates and taxes. On the Polish side 42 Lithuanian *grosz* was paid for a volok while on the Ruthenian the price was 30. The inspection of 1576 also provides a detailed

<sup>63</sup> *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol. 20, col. 1554–1557.

<sup>64</sup> RGADA, f. 389-1-13, ff. 110v–111v.

<sup>65</sup> AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie no. 2, ff. 394v–397.

<sup>66</sup> RGADA, f. 389-1-38, ff. 232v–233, no. 166; NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-45, ff. 286–287.

<sup>67</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-49, ff. 34v–35v.

<sup>68</sup> MK 135, ff. 597–597v; *Księga wpisów podkanclerzego Wojciecha Baranowskiego z okresu marzec 1588 – grudzień 1590 MK 135 z Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, ed. W. Krawczuk, M. Kulecki, Warsaw 2010 (Sumariusz Metryki Koronnej, new series, vol. 4), no. 639.

<sup>69</sup> The Benedictine Archive in Drohiczyn, uncatalogued acts; J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 26.

list of craftsmen and stall holders who were to pay tax. In total there were 77 of them: nine tailors, five furriers, two 'beekeepers', four barbers, four blacksmiths, eight butchers, a goldsmith, a sadler, a locksmith, 40 cobblers, 20 carters, six stallholders. Besides, on both sides there were to be found 45 beer taverns paying tax and eight free houses, 13 mead houses, 20 spirit houses of which one was a free house.<sup>70</sup> According to an earlier inspection of 1570, beer taverns numbered 63, mead houses 12 and spirit establishments two.<sup>71</sup> A detailed breakdown of the craftsmen in Drohiczyn is also given by the tax register of 1580.<sup>72</sup>

In Drohiczyn tailors and cobblers were organised into guilds, which possessed separate privileges. Cobblers, the most numerously represented in Drohiczyn obtained a charter and statute that defined the principles of how they functioned and this on the power of Sigismund August's document of 23 October 1562.<sup>73</sup> Tailors and shearers received from Sigismund August a charter on 10 October 1565 modelled on the document issued to the tailors' guild in the town of Liw.<sup>74</sup> There equally existed in Drohiczyn a confraternity of local merchants: Poles, Ruthenians and Scots. In 1643 this confraternity compiled its own act which was ratified in 1644 by Władysław IV.<sup>75</sup>

The Magdeburg Law charter of 1498 gave permission for the construction of a town hall 'in loco digniori'. The most suitable place for its location was obviously the market square (at present Kościuszko Square), on which undoubtedly it was placed. The market square like the whole urban construct was wooden in structure, hence it most certainly must have been affected by the fires which often afflicted Drohiczyn. In 1592 the nobility assembled at the deputy council asked King Sigismund III to grant wood from the royal forests to build the town hall, which prior to this had most likely burnt down.<sup>76</sup> It follows to assume that during the period covered by research a town hall in Drohiczyn existed, although presumably with small breaks. Therefore it has been entered onto the plan according to the localisation shown on the sketch of 1789. In 1805 the town hall burnt down again and was not to be subsequently rebuilt.<sup>77</sup> The charter of 1498 also gave permission for the burghers to build in the vicinity of the town hall, scales, a shearing machine, shambles, and a wax press as well as a town baths. Undoubtedly such structures came into being at this time. We have a clear reference to the functioning of the baths from the year 1506 onwards, when it was used by Prince Zygmunt Jagiellończyk (the later king Sigismund I the Elder) at the time en route to Lithuania.<sup>78</sup>

Around the town hall in the vicinity of the market square there presumably were located a number of residential houses. According to the tax register of 1580 there were ten of them, in turn according to the register of 1588 – 11. Street houses in both registers were 168 in number, while cottages amounted to 143 in number, with so-called 'hovels' numbering seven. Besides this there were 381 gardens (allotments) maintained within the municipal territory itself.<sup>79</sup>

In a document of Dymitr Sapieha of 1564 there is talk of a square placed 'in the street which leads from the old market square'.<sup>80</sup> This reference shows that most probably during the survey of Drohiczyn in 1563 occurred the charting of a site for a second market square. However, it is not known where this was located. It is possible that it was to be found on the Ruthenian Side of Drohiczyn. It is also not to be excluded that it could have been demarcated on Góra Kramczewska at the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity, around which was situated a square that could have been used for trading. This was still visible on nineteenth-century maps.

The lack of the Drohiczyn survey text of 1563 does not enable one to recreate exactly the names of the streets as they were used in the town at the time. The preserved sources equally provide almost

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<sup>70</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup> Podlasie, I, pp. 1–2.

<sup>73</sup> AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie no. 17, ff. 317–319.

<sup>74</sup> AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie no 5, ff. 42v.

<sup>75</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-74, ff. 90–92v; J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>76</sup> *Dyaryusze i akta sejmowe r. 1591–1592*, p. 150.

<sup>77</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 24.

<sup>78</sup> *Jagelló Zsigimond herceg udvarának szamadaskönyve (1504–1507). The Court Account Book of Sigismund Jagiellon (1504–1507)*, ed. Krisztina Rábai, Szeged 2014, p. 342.

<sup>79</sup> Podlasie I, p. 1; ASK I 47, f. 759.

<sup>80</sup> MK, 108, f. 15.

no information on this matter. Known documents of sale, donations and loans secured against properties, plots or municipal gardens (allotments) record their location chiefly on the basis of the surnames of the owners of adjacent properties. Only in two of Dymitr Sapieha's documents of 1564, and here compiled after the Drohiczyn survey, do we have access to street names as such.<sup>81</sup> In both documents there is mention of Bielska Street, which it follows to connect to the present-day Kraszewskiego Street running from the north-east corner, right at the Franciscan church. Its natural extension should have been the road heading in the direction of Bielsk and further on to Wilno. Hence the street was named Wileńska (Wilno Street) in the seventeenth century. In Sapieha's documents there is also talk of a Krzyżowa Street. Of especial importance is the notation that states that this street runs from Bielska Street in the direction of Wasilew. On the basis of this pointer it follows to identify this street with the present-day streets of Mickiewicza and Nieznanego Żołnierza Streets (formerly the single Warszawska Street), which constituted one communicative stretch heading in a westerly direction; that is towards Tonkiele and Wasilew, where in the sixteenth century there existed a ferry crossing over the River Bug. Mentioned is also Wójtowska Street, which was to have been an extension of a small street running from the market square at the house of the Drohiczyn judge's wife Anna Gałączyna and was situated 'on the right fortification'. It is highly likely that the Wójtowska Street ran from the central part of the town in the direction of the manor house and the folwark that belonged to the Drohiczyn vogts. These were situated on the eastern edge of the town. The vogt's manor house is marked on Stein's map as well as the Russian plan of Drohiczyn of 1810. As a consequence the said nameless side street running from the market square at the house of the Gałączyna family in the direction of Wójtowska Street may be identified as the present-day Ratuszowa Street (formerly Ogródowa). Of the aforementioned streets marked on the plan are: Bielska Street, Krzyżowa Street and Wójtowska Street. However, the demarcation of Ratuszowa Street has not been undertaken.

From the north-eastern corner of the market in an easterly direction ran the street known as Lubelska Street (at present Zygmunta Szmita), whose course was along the embankment on the side of Góra Kramczewska. It descended in the direction of the River Bug and the ferry crossing (the old bridge). Its extension was to have been found on the Ruthenian Side from which it branched off in the direction of Drażniew and Łosice and further to Lublin itself. Lubelska Street, despite the fact that it is not noted in any sixteenth-century sources, has been marked on the plan as a result of its importance as a communication route. Similarly is marked the Kościelna Street running from the south-west corner of the market in a westerly direction towards the church of the Holy Trinity as equally Rudnicka Street (present-day Ciechanowiecka), which departed in a northerly direction from the north-west corner of the market. Such names these streets could have had already in the sixteenth century.

Also on the Ruthenian Side the urban structure was arranged around streets. This can be clearly seen on the maps of Stein and Heldensfeld. The names of certain streets were still known in the twentieth century, these being: Lubelska, Warszawska, Kołaczewska (Korczewska?) and Szeroka.<sup>82</sup> Of these almost certain as to existence in the sixteenth century is Lubelska Street, which was an extension of a street of the self same name on the Polish Side and which subsequently headed off south. Warszawska Street ran initially in a westerly direction to the road leading to Skrzyszew, from where it continued onto Warsaw through Sokołów and Węgrów. Szeroka Street undoubtedly was to be found in the central part of the Ruthenian Side and one may identify it with a street of a clearly broad appearance and somewhat different direction and course than others marked on Stein's map. It is possible that this at the same time constituted the market square for this part of Drohiczyn. On the plan for the Ruthenian Side marked are the Warszawska Street, Lubelska Street and Szeroka Street.

The inspection of 1616 gives a combined figure of 106 voloks on both sides – the Polish and the Ruthenian. As equally the inspection of 1570 as that of 1616 informs that the number of voloks free of rates and rent in Drohiczyn was 18. However, a more exact summing up shows that their number was 19. According to the inspection of 1570 free voloks belonged to the following possessions: the Drohiczyn presbytery had 2 voloks, besides which 1 belonged to the hospital's endowment, 6 voloks belonged to

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<sup>81</sup> MK 105, f. 283 (a Dymitr Sapieha document of 9 May 1564 issued for the Drohiczyn townswoman Michałowa Czechowa), idem, MK 108, ff. 14–16 (a Dymitr Sapieha document of 20 April 1564 issued for Maciej Sawicki).

<sup>82</sup> L. Pośtołowicz, *Układ przestrzenny Drohiczyzna do końca XVIII w.*, [in:] *Drohiczyn. Dzieje miasta na tle dziejów regionu*, Białystok 1980, p. 36.

the voivodeship, in accordance with the charter/privileges of Prince Witold of 1429. In turn a further 10 were in the hands of private owners. Amongst which 2 were owned by Maciej Chądryński the Drohiczyn chamberlain, the owner of three was Maciej Sawicki, at the time the Drohiczyn tribune; while the most, a whole 5 voloks, was owned by Agnieszka the widow of Michał Czech a Drohiczyn burgher.

According to the inspection of 1616 the number of voloks free of rates and rent in Drohiczyn is presented identically. All institutions possessed them in an unchanged number. However, private voloks changed hands. The 5 voloks of Michał Czech were held by his descendants, similarly the two owned by Maciej Chądryński, the Drohiczyn chamberlain, which were held by his son Andrzej, the Nur starost as well as his nephews. In turn the voloks of Maciej Sawicki in 1616 belonged to Mikołaj Kiszka the Drohiczyn starost.<sup>83</sup>

During the course of the seventeenth century the number of *jurydyka* (privately owned plots within a broader municipal entity) and nobility taxation exemptions in Drohiczyn rose so sharply that according to the inventory of the Drohiczyn starost of 1690 on the Polish Side there were only 24 homes subject to municipal law, while 15 voloks were sown. On the Ruthenian Side were 14 houses. In turn two fields were completely overgrown with forest and shrub bush, only in one field were 2 voloks sown. For this reason the then Drohiczyn starost Jan Butler complained about the low levels of income drawn both in Drohiczyn itself as equally from the starosty as a whole.<sup>84</sup>

In the inspection of 1570 talk is of the castle vineyards situated at the church of the Holy Trinity. The most suitable location for which would be the southern slopes running between the 'blessed land' (*poświętne*) and the Bug River. And so the vineyard is marked on the plan.

According to researchers, the Kijów princes in the eleventh century on taking their Bug territories bordering on Mazovia, were to found their own towns including the settlements at Drohiczyn and Mielnik with a view to a more effective rule and administration over the area. The castle at Drohiczyn ('castrum Drohicin') was erected on a hill directly adjoining the River Bug. What it looked like or the appearance of the buildings it housed is unknown. The buildings and other fortifications were presumably in the main wooden, although some of them could have been of stone, or at least their foundations were. We can find source mentions concerning the castle at Drohiczyn in the document of Konrad Mazowiecki of 1237 for the one time Dobrzyń brothers. It was destroyed in 1275 by the Lithuanian forces of Prince Trojden. Equally in 1383 the forces of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagiełło, burnt down the castle while taking it from Mazovian hands. It was undoubtedly rebuilt by Prince Witold, who was to stay there several times while surveying his realm. In the fifteenth century Drohiczyn castle was also the seat of the grand ducal aldermens-governors who were responsible for administrative-judicial functions. In turn, in the first half of the sixteenth century, imprisoned in its dungeons were Muscovite prisoners-of-war taken captive at the Battle of Orsza in 1514 and in subsequent engagements. In 1519 to be found in Drohiczyn were 25 Muscovite prisoners, a few of whom died. Equally in 1538 kept here were 17 prisoners from various parts of Muscovy.<sup>85</sup>

The lack of preserved sixteenth-century inventories makes it impossible to provide an exact and comprehensive description of the appearance of the buildings to be found on Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill). Estimations based chiefly on archaeological evidence only give in part the picture as to the layout of the buildings but are to a large degree merely hypothetical. The main castle building was to be situated on the north-western part of the hill, at its highest point. In the western part of the fortifications the entrance gate may have been located and as a result of the smallest difference in height between the castle and the settlement beyond the castle walls being here.<sup>86</sup> In the confines of the castle itself was at least one stone tower, whose existence is pointed to by nineteenth-century tradition. This was to have been dismantled in 1788.<sup>87</sup>

In 1592 the Drohiczyn nobility gathered at the envoy Diet; in one of the points of instruction given to the envoys Jan Wodyński and Kacper Kosiński, they asked the king for permission to take wood

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<sup>83</sup> ASK XLVI, no. 149, f. 162.

<sup>84</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-185, ff. 464-465.

<sup>85</sup> *Metrika. Knyga nr 7 (1506-1539)*, ed. I. Ilarienė, L. Karalius, D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 2011, no. 374, p. 613; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr 11 (1518-1523)*, ed. A. Dubonis, Vilnius 1997, no. 74, p. 90.

<sup>86</sup> L. Pawlata, *Problematyka badań* pp. 64-66.

<sup>87</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 38.

from any royal forest to build a house at the castle in which magistrate court sessions could be held and court acts kept.<sup>88</sup> A similar petition was presented by the nobility in relation to the land ledgers, asking for the designation of a plot in Drohiczyn for the construction of a shop for their storage.

In 1612, on an inspection of the Franciscan monastery, it was stated that Drohiczyn [is] 'a town on the Bug, all wood, inhabited chiefly by schismatics and heretics – without defensive walls bar the castle.'<sup>89</sup>

In the seventeenth century the castle no longer fulfilled a defensive function being purely administrative, hence probably not much attention was paid to the state of the buildings on the hill to ensure they were suitably maintained. The final destruction being inflicted during the advance of Swedish and Transylvanian forces in 1657, and then again in 1660 during the attack of Ivan Khovansky's Muscovite forces, when the castle together with all of its buildings was totally (*funditus*) burnt down and destroyed.<sup>90</sup> Only the dungeons were left, which were still partially accessible in the mid eighteenth century.<sup>91</sup> The River Bug also played its part in Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill's) destruction, many times washing over it resulting in only a part of it being preserved to this day. The localisation and marking of Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) on the plan is not difficult. However, more has been marked than is at present visible, and therefore it is necessary to take into consideration the part destroyed to the south by the river.

The parish church in Drohiczyn was the church of the Holy Trinity. The lack of sources makes it impossible to exactly establish its origins and the persons responsible for its funding. Later tradition ascribes the founding of the Drohiczyn parish church to King Władysław Jagiello, immediately after Lithuania's adoption of Christianity.<sup>92</sup> But he could have only done so in the year 1390, when he held control over the Drohiczyn lands, having taken them from Prince Witold allied at the time with the Teutonic knights. Equally in the same year Jagiełło bestowed the Drohiczyn lands on the Mazovian Prince Janusz I. And indeed his personage may also be considered as a potential funder of the church. However, it seems that all those who controlled Drohiczyn at the turn of the fifteenth century could have had an input in the creation of this Roman Catholic church. The most certain is Witold's endowment of the Drohiczyn parish church in the village of Ruda, situated on the opposite bank of the Bug, which later was to constitute a part of the church benefice right up until the Partitions. The first concrete piece of information as to the existence of a church in Drohiczyn is a mention of its priest Dobiesław in 1419,<sup>93</sup> and who is still known about in 1450. His successor Wawrzyniec, as the Drohiczyn parish priest gave, in 1458, a mill in the aforementioned parish village of Ruda to Andrzej, the son of Stanisław Dziadek, a former Drohiczyn vogt.<sup>94</sup> In 1492 the Grand Duke of Lithuania Aleksander Jagiellończyk instructed the Drohiczyn starost to give Father Jan, the Drohiczyn parish priest of the church of the Holy Trinity, annually 6 *rączka* 'hands' [a medieval measure approximately equalling 10 and ¼ *garniec* where 1 *garniec* = approx. 4 litres – G.T.] of honey from the ducal rent.<sup>95</sup>

The original charter for the Drohiczyn church, in as far as it was ever issued, became lost at the end of the fifteenth century. It therefore became imperative to issue a new document that comprehensively covered the rights bestowed on the presbyteries, enabling the parish priests to draw their former incomes. A new privilege was issued by King Sigismund I in 1509 following the hearing of a commission called into being by himself that cross-examined numerous witnesses for this purpose. The King clearly notes in the document that earlier endowments to the Church had been made by his predecessors, the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. The information contained in the document is undoubtedly

<sup>88</sup> *Dyaryusze i akta sejmowe r. 1591–1592*, p. 147.

<sup>89</sup> J. Maroszek, *Klasztory Podlasia. Źródła kultury i świadomości narodowej*, Białystok 1995, pp. 20–24.

<sup>90</sup> L. Pawlata, *Problematyka badań* p. 64.

<sup>91</sup> R. Górny, *Dotknąć historii. Obraz Podlasia w świetle dawnych archiwaliów malowany współczesną fotografią*, Warsaw 2019, p. 89.

<sup>92</sup> As, for example, in the inspection of the Drohiczyn church in 1791; ADS, catalogue no. 139, f. 102v.

<sup>93</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 3, f. 52.

<sup>94</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-28, ff. 181–182v; ZZG, catalogue no. 32, p. 476.

<sup>95</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, knyga nr 5*, p. 41, no. 5. This endowment was once erroneously ascribed to the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity in Drohiczyn. In the register notation there is indeed mention of an 'Orthodox church'. Yet here the scribe is using inappropriate terminology in reference to a Roman Catholic church. Father Jan of Iwieniec is known as the Drohiczyn parish priest from elsewhere. In addition, the accrediting of 6 *rączek* (hands) of honey for the Drohiczyn parish priests we find also in the foundation document for the church in Drohiczyn for the year 1509 as well as in the inventory of 1546.

confirmation of the earlier church privileges. Firstly this consisted of the village of Ruda with mill and other additions: next certain meadows situated in Drohiczyn at the royal meadows, the bank of the Toczna brook with a mill situated next to the Holy Saviour Orthodox monastery. What is important is that in this mill the right to free milling was obtained by the Drohiczyn burghers. In the same place the church gained the right to the annual receipt of 4 three score *grosz* from the alcohol tax<sup>96</sup> levied on the taverns in Drohiczyn. Confirmed also was the above mentioned right to receive 6 *rączka* (manuals) of honey from the ducal rent. The Drohiczyn burghers as equally Catholic as Orthodox were obliged to raise a money tithe at a rate of 6 *grosz* for every settled volok; one of the parts belonged to the vogt as well as from the royal court and here established according to the old custom of a sheaf tithe. The sheaf tithe was also to be paid by the inhabitants of 28 royal and noble villages enumerated in the document.<sup>97</sup> These villages in the main formed the parish of Drohiczyn. In 1543 the Łuck bishop Jerzy Chwalczewski resolved a dispute between the Drohiczyn parish priest Jakub Topolski and the Franciscan guardian, Jakub, relating to the conducting of the sacraments across the territory of Drohiczyn and environs. The general right to this the bishop bestowed on the parish priest and his curates. The monks could perform the sacraments only in the case of their number being such that the parish priests were not able to manage the said.<sup>98</sup> In 1543 a Drohiczyn resident Dorota Pidajowa, in carrying out the last wishes of her husband Stanisław, funded at the parish church of St. Anne an altar in the church's southern chapel. She bestowed for the funding of the altar and the altar keeper a volok known as Pidajowska and a meadow at Czornakowska.<sup>99</sup>

The endowments of the Drohiczyn church presented by the inventory of 1544 drawn up by the then Drohiczyn parish priest Father Józef Jasiński are almost identical to those contained in the document of 1509.<sup>100</sup> Here mentioned are also the moveables of the parish church. Besides the parish priest two curates worked at the church, as well as an additional nine retainer priests including the altar keeper of the altar funded by Dorota Pidajowa.

The wooden Drohiczyn parish church was burnt down in the great Drohiczyn fire of the 18 August 1559.<sup>101</sup> It is not to be excluded that subsequent fires also damaged the parish church, though no information about this has been uncovered. In 1654 the Drohiczyn parish priest Father Paweł Jędrzej Potrykowski brought several Jesuits from Pułtusk in to help at the Drohiczyn parish church. The events connected with the Swedish Deluge and the incursion of Rakoczy's forces in 1657 was to set back the creation of a Drohiczyn Jesuit residence.<sup>102</sup> Only in the document of 1 March 1659 did King Jan Kazimierz bestow on the Jesuits a parish church benefice giving it additional land situated on the River Bug known as Grelińska, and which in the sixteenth century belonged to the Grela millers.<sup>103</sup> The founding of a Jesuit order in Drohiczyn and their taking over of the parish was finally confirmed by the papal bull of 15 February 1668 by Pope Clement IX.<sup>104</sup> The period 1696–1709 saw a new stone church built, one that stands to this day.

The parish church of the Holy Trinity has been placed on the spot today occupied by the cathedral church, although it cannot be excluded that the initial wooden churches could have been situated elsewhere than it is at present. The same comment can be made in relation to the sacral objects described below.

In 1545 the privilege bestowed on Michał Czech for the Drohiczyn hospital of 1541 was confirmed.<sup>105</sup> The said well-to-do Drohiczyn burgher had bequeathed to the then constructed poorhouse that was the hospital in Drohiczyn, a volok of land called Orlikowska acquired once from Oryssa the wife of Hryćek Surowec, and comprised of three fields between the voloks of Jan Pluskat on the one side and those

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<sup>96</sup> *Kapszczyzna-kapczyzna* – a payment for the distillation of alcoholic beverages in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was levied on burghers in Drohiczyn up until 1589.

<sup>97</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1750-2-27, ff. 423v–424v; Kapicjana 3, pp. 50–58; Kapicjana 4, pp. 611–617; ZZG, catalogue no. 31, pp. 153–160.

<sup>98</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 3, ff. 5–5v.

<sup>99</sup> Idem, ff. 62–62v.

<sup>100</sup> BN, manuscript 9133, pp. 317–333.

<sup>101</sup> AGAD, Drohicckie ziemskie no. 3, f. 4.

<sup>102</sup> E. Borowski, *Działalność Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Drohiczyźnie nad Bugiem*, "Studia Teologiczne", vol. 2, 1984, pp. 159–161.

<sup>103</sup> AGAD, Collection of paper documents, no. 1741; MK XVIII 64, Inspections, p. 556.

<sup>104</sup> AGAD, Collection of parchment documents, no. 6142.

<sup>105</sup> RGADA, f. 389-1-13, ff. 111v–112v; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1888-1-1, ff. 162–162v.

of Maciej Wąs on the other. The king had freed the said volok of any municipal charges and placed it beyond the jurisdiction of the municipal clerks rendering it on an even keel with church voloks. At the same time Michał Czech gained from the king the right to manage the aforementioned volok, yet with the stipulation that the income generated from it be directed to the needs of the hospital. The hospital in Drohiczyn functioned right up until the end of the Commonwealth. The church inspection of Drohiczyn in 1700 shows that the hospital was situated on 'blessed ground'. Its building was designed to accommodate 10 paupers and was made of wood.<sup>106</sup> It was decided to locate the hospital on the plan close to the parish church, where its existence in sixteenth-century Drohiczyn is certain and confirmed by sources.

There also existed at the church of the Holy Trinity a parish school. Its teachers were remunerated in the sixteenth century on the basis of tithes from the villages of Tokary and Starczewice.<sup>107</sup>

The second Catholic church to exist in Drohiczyn in the sixteenth century was the church of Our Lady founded as an order church at the Franciscan monastery. The exact date of its endowment and that of the monastery are unknown. The founding documents were lost in a fire already in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>108</sup> Later tradition noted down at the end of the eighteenth century admittedly gives the year of 1409 as the date of the Franciscans' arrival. This is impossible to verify though and is not necessarily accurately given. However, it is highly possible that the Drohiczyn monastery was funded on the initiative of the Grand Duke Witold and even at the end of the fourteenth century in a way similar to the convents in Wilno, Lida, Oszmiana and Kowno. According to tradition, the initiator of the settlement of Franciscans in Drohiczyn was to have been also the 'Podlasie voivode', who stopped and kept here several monks on their way from Cracow to Lithuania.<sup>109</sup> Here the matter could have concerned one of the Drohiczyn starost-governors who in the fifteenth century were referred to by the name 'voivode'.

We possess extremely scant information about the Drohiczyn Franciscans from the fifteenth century. Possibly the mother superior of the convent was the 'religiosus Joannes gardian de Ruda' mentioned in 1451.<sup>110</sup> In 1470 the guardian was Szymon, who had received a certain endowment from Maciej Miłkowski. What is important is that the document itself was drawn up at the Drohiczyn convent.<sup>111</sup> In 1537 the king, Sigismund I the Elder, resolved a dispute between the Drohiczyn guardian, Jakub, with the Drohiczyn vogt Mikołaj over land at Kłyżówka. The village was mentioned as the inheritance of the Drohiczyn Franciscans from at least the year 1504, when the then guardian Grzegorz declared the village as such.<sup>112</sup> The guardian Jakub claimed that the vogt had taken over the lands illegally, ones which had been given to the convent long before and were described in the charter that had perished in fire only recently along with the burning down of the monastery. The vogt justified his claims on the basis of the vogt charter of 1429. The Drohiczyn starost Iwan Sapieha, in mediating in the dispute, was, however, of the view that in the charter there was only referenced the giving over and endowment of 6 voloks, the boundaries of which were not accurately described, consequently basing matters on witness statements provided by the guardian, he adjudged Kłyżówka to be the property of the Drohiczyn monastery.<sup>113</sup>

The Franciscan church presumably burnt down in 1535 during the great fire that engulfed Drohiczyn. In a document of Sigismund I the Elder's of 3 July 1535 freeing the Drohiczyn burghers of taxes for a six year period there is mention of burnt down houses and 'God's churches.'<sup>114</sup> It was presumably then that the oldest foundation documents for the monastery were burnt, about which the Drohiczyn

<sup>106</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 128, ff. 119–119v.

<sup>107</sup> BN, manuscript 9133, p. 328.

<sup>108</sup> D. Karczewski, *Franciszkanie w monarchii Piastów i Jagiellonów w średniowieczu: powstanie – rozwój – organizacja wewnętrzna*, Cracow 2012, pp. 375–376.

<sup>109</sup> LMAVB, f. 17-193, ff. 11, 20; the same in: ZZG, catalogue no. 804 (Father Karol Gaudenty Żera's manuscript signature *Vorago rerum*, ff. 49v–50; a print of the Cracow manuscript: R. Górny, *Dotknąć historii*, pp. 92–94.

<sup>110</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 149, f. 304.

<sup>111</sup> ADS, catalogue no. D 5, ff. 91v–92; Kapicjana 5, pp. 8–12; T. Jaszczółt, *Lista dobrodziejów klasztoru franciszkańskiego w Drohiczynie z lat 1678–1783*, [in:] *Małe miasta: zabytki*, ed. M. Zemło, R. Dobrowolski, Supraśl–Lublin 2009, pp. 142–143.

<sup>112</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-2, f. 148.

<sup>113</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr 20 (1536–1539)*, ed. R. Ragauskienė, D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 2009, no. 60, pp. 104–105.

<sup>114</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-40, f. 120; *Сборник палеографических снимков с древних грамот и актов, хранящихся в Виленском Центральном Архиве и Виленской Публичной Библиотеке*. вып. 1. (1432–1548). Вильна, 1884, p. 21, no. 37.

guardian Jakub recalled in 1537, when in dispute with the Drohiczyn vogt Mikołaj over the village of Kłyżówka.<sup>115</sup>

The next church was to last about 20 years until it too burnt down on the 18 August 1559 together with the monastery during the next large scale fire and destruction of Drohiczyn.<sup>116</sup> The monastery itself was to have been burnt down by ‘infidels’ as a result of an otherwise unknown incident in 1583. In 1595 and 1601 subsequent Franciscan churches burnt down.<sup>117</sup> The numbers at the Drohiczyn convent in the sixteenth century were small and consequently the monastery itself was not large in size. In 1596 the monastery had living in it a mere six monks: three fathers and three brothers.<sup>118</sup>

The Franciscan church presumably burnt down again also in 1614 where in an inspection from the subsequent year there is talk of a newly built church, as the previous one, wooden and roofed in shingle. At the same time a new monastery building was constructed.<sup>119</sup> The inspection report of 1678 gives us information as to the appearance of the final wooden Franciscan church and monastery in Drohiczyn.<sup>120</sup> After this date the Drohiczyn Franciscans started the process of constructing the stone church that has survived to this day.

The question of the location of the initial Franciscan church and monastery in Drohiczyn requires some explanation. According to Father Karol Żera these objects were to have been constructed on the spot where the building of the former Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary had stood and which had burnt down; with the Franciscans taking over the plot. Karol Żera incorrectly linked the events from the beginning of the seventeenth century when indeed the All-Pure Virgin Mary Orthodox church had burnt down and was not rebuilt and its plot was given by King Sigismund III in 1625 to the Uniate parish priest of Siemiatycze whereas the land on which the Orthodox church had stood was to have been given to the Franciscans. However, ultimately the taking over of this plot by the monks was not to happen, given that even in the royal commission decrees of 1636 resolving the disputes between the Uniates and the Orthodox there is talk of the joint access and use of this plot by both groupings. It therefore follows to accept that the Franciscan church together with the monastery were founded at the end of the fourteenth century or at the beginning of the fifteenth century and that they were situated on the same place and that this was not on the spot of the former Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary, which had been located somewhat more to the south and was founded simultaneously with Franciscan constructs and here up to the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>121</sup> The Franciscan church and monastery have been marked on the plan in the place of the current church of the Assumption for there is nothing in our opinion to indicate that their location in the sixteenth century was any different than it is at present.

The third church in Drohiczyn was already built after the year 1600 and was to be under the jurisdiction of the Benedictine sisters brought to Drohiczyn in 1623 from Torun at the bequest of the Podlasie voivode Wojciech Niemira, who donated the plots for the building of the church and the seat in Drohiczyn. The material basis for the cloister equally came from the wealth bestowed on the order by its first prioress, Zofia Kiszczanka.<sup>122</sup> The church of the Benedictine Sisters, as a later addition, has not been incorporated on the town plan in accordance with the assumptions adopted in the volume.

The burghers of Ruthenian origin inhabiting Drohiczyn were in the overwhelming majority of the Eastern Rite. These were served by the Orthodox churches that existed within the boundaries of the town, and these undoubtedly were in existence already in the twelfth century as is borne out by evidence from archaeological digs and the scant source references: these becoming more numerous only with the onset of the sixteenth century. Already in the mid thirteenth century, according to the Volyn

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<sup>115</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, knyga nr 20*, no. 60 pp. 104–105. ‘And as a church endowment they [the Franciscans] had themselves, though it was to burn when the church of that there order in Drohiczyn burned down.’

<sup>116</sup> AGAD, Drohicckie ziemskie no. 3, f. 4. ‘ecclesia sancti Francisci [sic!] cum cenobio...conflagrate’.

<sup>117</sup> E. Borowski, *Działalność franciszkanów w Drohiczyźnie nad Bugiem od schyłku XIV wieku do 1832 roku*, “*Studia Teologiczne*”, vol. 10, 1992, p. 162.

<sup>118</sup> *Idem*, p. 178.

<sup>119</sup> *Idem*, p. 163.

<sup>120</sup> BUWil, f. 4 A 3862, ff. 444–447.

<sup>121</sup> L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyzny*, p. 75.

<sup>122</sup> E. Borowski, *Działalność panien benedyktynek w Drohiczyźnie nad Bugiem*, “*Studia Teologiczne*”, vol. 7, 1989, pp. 84–88.

Chronicle following the capturing of Drohiczyn by the Galician Prince Daniel, an Orthodox church to honour the Virgin Mary was built in the town on his orders.<sup>123</sup> Its location is not completely certain but it is extremely possible that it was located on the Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) within the town itself. Possibly it underwent damage during the fire in 1383 following the capture of the town by the Lithuanian Duke Jagiełło. It was subsequently not to be rebuilt here. At a later period and here as 'the castle church' mention is made of the church of St. Nicholas.

The Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary (Prechstenska) is mentioned in the sources for the first time only in the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1539 a mention is made of its priest (*pop*) Łuka.<sup>124</sup> In turn, from the year 1540 and here referred to as 'the Prechstenska priest' reference is made to his son, Marcjan, who on the 2 July of the same year obtained from the Drohiczyn starost confirmation of the holding of land voloks next to the royal village of Rogawka.<sup>125</sup> Two voloks at Rogawka were confirmed on the aforementioned Orthodox church by King Sigismund August in an act of charter of the 25 October 1551. In the document recalled is the endowment of the church by the Lithuanian grand duke Witold.<sup>126</sup> And it is possible that it was then that the church came into existence.

The Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary burnt down during the great fire of Drohiczyn on the 18 August 1559.<sup>127</sup> It is possible that it was not rebuilt straight away; as a result of which the royal inspector for weights and measures Dymitr Sapieha intended to have it transferred to another location. However, this was met with opposition on the part of Father Marcjan Łuczyc, at whose request the King Sigismund August, with a decree of 1563, forbade Sapieha from moving the All-Pure Virgin Mary church to another location and ordered its reconstruction to be carried out where it had earlier stood.<sup>128</sup>

In 1624 the parish priest of the Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary, Father Juchnowicz, protested against the Franciscan guardian in Drohiczyn, Anioł Będzina, that the said had taken over lands within the town of Drohiczyn that belonged to the former Orthodox church.<sup>129</sup> In 1625 Jan Juchnowicz Morze, the parish priest of the All-Pure Virgin Mary Church as a result of his age was unable to rebuild the burnt down structure, transferred its land rights to Father Oksięt Twarowski, the parish priest from Siemiatycze. This deed of covenant was to be confirmed in that very same year by King Sigismund III.<sup>130</sup> However, already in 1627 he bestowed two voloks, these located between Rogawka, Bujaki and Sytki, and which had once belonged to the Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary, on the Benedictine nuns brought to Drohiczyn.<sup>131</sup> Following protests on the part of Father Aleksander Oładowski, the Uniate priest in Siemiatycze, the king in an act of 1631 decided to bestow on him for life ownership of these two voloks.<sup>132</sup> It was to be King Władysław IV who finally confirmed possession of these lands on the Drohiczyn Benedictines. While the plot that remained following the fire destruction of the Orthodox church and referred to as 'soborna', was decreed for common use by both Uniates and the Orthodox by the royal commissioners in 1636.<sup>133</sup> This decree also questioned the authenticity of the above mentioned transfer from the end of the eighteenth century; on the basis of which this plot was one of the possessions of the Drohiczyn Franciscans.<sup>134</sup>

J. Jaroszewicz gives the location of the former Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary, citing the accounts of Drohiczyn inhabitants. According to them it was to have been located on Lubelska Street, and so to the east of the market square and to the south-east of the current Orthodox church of St. Nicholas. In those times situated here was a post station.<sup>135</sup> The exact same location for the former Orthodox church is confirmed on the Drohiczyn plan of 1789, drawn up by Nikolai Avenarius,

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<sup>123</sup> L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyna*, p. 75; *Kronika halicko-wołyńska*, p. 153.

<sup>124</sup> AWAK, p. 35.

<sup>125</sup> RGADA, f. 389-1-13, pp. 106–107.

<sup>126</sup> Idem, f. 389-1-13, ff. 108–109.

<sup>127</sup> AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie no. 3, f. 1.

<sup>128</sup> AWAK, 33, pp. 63–65.

<sup>129</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-122, ff. 419–419v.

<sup>130</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1715-1-127, ff. 105–106; Kapticjana 6, pp. 396–398; R. Górny, *Dotknąć historii*, p. 92.

<sup>131</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-128, ff. 136v-137; The Benedictine Archive in Drohiczyn, uncatalogued acts (copy from the Drohiczyn municipal ledgers of a document of 1627).

<sup>132</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-131, ff. 388–388v.

<sup>133</sup> AWK, 33, p. 289.

<sup>134</sup> L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyna*, p. 74.

<sup>135</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 39.

as well as on his sketch drawn of Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill), on which it is marked on its eastern side. Traces of its foundations together with numerous bones that undoubtedly are the remains of the church cemetery have also seen confirmation in archaeological digs,<sup>136</sup> and so we have placed the church in this location on the plan.

The older Orthodox church of St. Nicholas is certainly fifteenth-century in age, though then it was situated in a completely different location as a wooden structure than it is to be found now as a stone construct. Its oldest known priest 'Orthodox Father Nikolinski' Grzegorz is mentioned in a document of 1519. Presumably there is correlation here with the identity of Grzegorz Father 'Mikuliński', who was to receive the legate from Father Łazowski in for the 40-days' requiem for the dead.<sup>137</sup> The Ruthenian church of St. Nicholas together with the cemetery was also mentioned in 1552.<sup>138</sup> It was to burn down in the fire of the 14 September 1614, which we learn about from the account of its parish priest.<sup>139</sup> It was to be shortly rebuilt. In documents of 1626 and 1665 it is defined as being castellan (*sub arce*).<sup>140</sup> An Orthodox inspection of 1727 even states that it was situated 'on the hill'.<sup>141</sup> Though in point of fact it was never situated on the Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) but next to it, placed in a valley sided by the present-day Kościelna Street. We can see just such a localisation for the Orthodox church on the plan of 1789. Equally on Stein's plan the small marker to the north-east of the hill appears to confirm its localisation. This church was burnt down in the town fire of 1805. In the day of Józef Jaroszewicz the plot left by it was marked by a wooden cross,<sup>142</sup> and so we too have indicated the said on the plan drawn up. The current Orthodox church of St. Nicholas was founded in the second half of the eighteenth century together with the monastery for the Basilian monks.

On the Polish Side of Drohiczyn on the so-called Góra Kramczewska in the sixteenth century there existed the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity. Undoubtedly, it had equally been erected earlier than the dates given in the first written mentions as to its foundation. It had presumably been in existence in the fifteenth century. However, it does not follow to related to this the information from the Lithuanian Metrica of 23 September 1492, according to which Aleksander Jagiellończyk bestowed on 'the Orthodox church' and its 'parish priest', Father Jan, 6 'hands' of honey from economic dues.<sup>143</sup> For this information undoubtedly refers to the Roman Catholic church of the Holy Trinity, whose parish priest was indeed for the years 1486–1495 Father Jan of Iwieniec,<sup>144</sup> and amongst the holdings of the said church for the year of 1544 are the aforementioned gift of 6 'hands' of honey.<sup>145</sup>

J. Jaroszewicz has, on the basis of a list unknown to us today, provided a mention of a bestowal made in favour of the Orthodox church for the year 1500.<sup>146</sup> The first presbyter of the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity, Chwiedko Morze, the son of Aleksy, was mentioned in 1542 when he

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<sup>136</sup> L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyzna*, pp. 75, 86–87. However, the author erroneously doubts in the location at this very spot of the Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary given by J. Jaroszewicz and the plan of 1789.

<sup>137</sup> AGAD, Drohicke grodzkie, series 1, no. 1, f. 766v; NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-6, ff. 373v–374; AWAK 33, pp. 39–40. *Sorokoust* – an Orthodox requiem for the dead or seriously ill and performed for a period of 40 days.

<sup>138</sup> AWAK, 33, p. 50.

<sup>139</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1715-1-74, f. 274; *Седлецкая учебная дирекция. Описание учебных заведений и главнейших местностей Седлецкой губернии*, vol. 1: *Уезды Радинский, Константиновский и Соколовский*, Седлец 1906, p. 316: 'Honorabilis Calistrat Cuczinski curator ecclesiae antiquitus ritus graeciae seu Ruthenicae dedicationis sancti Nicolai Episcopi prope ecclesiam parochiochiale civitatis huius Droficiensis sitae lugubriter manifestatus est de eo, quod ex premissione divina templum Ritus Graeciae seu Ruthenice dedicationis Sancti Nicolai episcopi sabbatho ipso festo Exaltacionis Sanctae Crucis anni proxima praeteriti voragine ignis noctu ferme hora quarta qua omnes homines somno iam dediti erant [...] conflagratum est'.

<sup>140</sup> AWAK, 33, p. 235; R. Górny, *Dotknąć historii*, pp. 101–102.

<sup>141</sup> APL, Chełmski Konsystorz Greckokatolicki, catalogue no. f. 349.

<sup>142</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 39; L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyzna*, p. 85.

<sup>143</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, knyga nr 5*, p. 41. J. Jaroszewicz already considered this document to be as rent/duty for the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity, *Drohiczyn*, p. 40. At present certain researchers continue to ascribe this document to the Orthodox church.

<sup>144</sup> *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XV-XVI a.*, ed. V. Ališauskas, T. Jaszczolt, L. Jovaiša, M. Paknys, Vilnius 2009, p. 127 no. 746.

<sup>145</sup> BN manuscript 9133, p. 319. 'Item domino plebano Drohiciensi ex fundo dantur de castro seu curia Drohiciensi per hayewnik officialem pro ipse existentem singulis anni pro die et festo N crudi mellis manualia seu alias rączky sex.'

<sup>146</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 40. This information is rather incorrect, for placed in the registers for this date was to be the document of Aleksander Jagiellończyk of 1492 which in effect concerned the Catholic church of the Holy Trinity.

waivered the rights to his lands in his native village of Morze.<sup>147</sup> In 1563 during the Drohiczyn Volo Reform the royal inspector Dymitr Sapieha assigned two voloks to the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity, 6 morgens of allotment gardens as well as the tithes from the villages of Chrołowice and Sieniewice.<sup>148</sup> What is not certain is whether these two voloks belonging to the Orthodox church were situated within the boundaries of Drohiczyn itself or possibly in one of the neighbouring villages in a similar way to the case of the Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary.

An Orthodox monastery was already to have existed here by the sixteenth century at the church of the Holy Trinity.<sup>149</sup> There is, however, a lack of any written sources that could confirm such a state of affairs. Any information about the monastery and the monks at the Holy Trinity Orthodox church is only from the seventeenth century. On the strength of commissioner decrees and royal decisions the Orthodox church and monastery of the Holy Trinity was bequeathed to the Orthodox faithful.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century there was, besides the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity, the church of St. Barbara also situated on the hill Góra Kramczewska (Shrine Hill). Then it was treated as a hospital, while subsequently as a refectory or dining hall. However, the origins of this Orthodox church reach back to the sixteenth century. It is highly probable that it was already then connected to the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity. This would be borne out by the note of 1546 in which Chwiedko of Morze appeared 'parochus ecclesiae sanctae Barbare in monte Drohiciensi',<sup>150</sup> and who undoubtedly is the same figure as the above mentioned Chwiedor Morze, the parish priest at the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity in 1542. St. Barbara's Orthodox church was also mentioned in 1588 as lying beyond the built-up areas of Drohiczyn.<sup>151</sup> In the sixteenth century this was not a parish Orthodox church as such rather a branch in relation to the role played by the church of the Holy Trinity. The church building is described in the inventories of the eighteenth century as being wooden in form and it most presumably remained the same in the sixteenth century.<sup>152</sup> In the 1840s this church fulfilled the role of municipal parish church given the ruined and subsequently dismantled Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity.<sup>153</sup> The Orthodox church of St. Barbara was pulled down by the Russians in 1940 during the removal of buildings lying within the border strip.<sup>154</sup> The localisation of the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity and that of St. Barbara on Góra Kramczewska has been established on the basis of plans of 1789 and 1810 as well as from information provided by contemporary inhabitants. At present a private residence stands where both churches once stood, between the Kramczewska Street and Piłsudskiego Street.

Undoubtedly the Orthodox church of the Transfiguration of the Lord situated on the Ruthenian side (the Holy Saviour) has fifteenth-century origins. This is borne out by archaeological digs and excavations that have resulted in revealing here traces of the former church and a medieval cemetery.<sup>155</sup> We come across the first mention of the church in 1509.<sup>156</sup> In 1532 Iwan Sołtan, the grand ducal marshal, confirmed to the church priest Father Wasyl the right to draw tithes from the village of Rudniki, and which his father Aleksander had sold to the bishop of Łuck, Paweł Holszański.<sup>157</sup> In 1548 mention is given of the presbyter of the Orthodox church of the Holy Saviour, Iwan.<sup>158</sup> The monastery that existed at the church of the Transfiguration of the Lord functioned until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Bug, in changing its course, flooded the grounds on which the church and monastery

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<sup>147</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-5, f. 119; AWAK 33, pp. 37–38.

<sup>148</sup> AWAK, 33, p. 399.

<sup>149</sup> Mironowicz, *Podlaskie ośrodki*, pp. 226–232; G. Sosna, *Cerkiewna własność na Białostocczyźnie w XV–XX wieku*, Białystok 2004, pp. 118–119.

<sup>150</sup> NGAB, Minsk, f. 1759-2-24, f. 107. 'nobilis Chwiedko heres in Morze, parochus ecclesiae sancte Barbare in monte Drohiciensi'.

<sup>151</sup> AWAK, 33, p. 114.

<sup>152</sup> L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyna*, p. 81.

<sup>153</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 45.

<sup>154</sup> L. Pawlata, *Budowle sakralne Drohiczyna*, p. 82.

<sup>155</sup> Idem, pp. 84–85.

<sup>156</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-27, f. 424v; Kopicjana 3, pp. 56–58: Information in the endowment document for the Catholic church of the Holy Trinity in Drohiczyn about the lands given the other side of the River Bug: 'post Spas' and 'penes granicies cum Turna Spaskie'.

<sup>157</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1715-1-18, f. 694; Kopicjana 4, pp. 291–294.

<sup>158</sup> AWAK, 33, p. 44.

buildings were located. Despite disputes between the Uniates and the Orthodox in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the church and monastery of the Transfiguration of the Lord were to remain in Orthodox hands until the end of the Polish Commonwealth. The buildings of the Orthodox church and monastery of the Transfiguration of the Lord were marked on the plan of 1789. They are equally visible on the map by Heldensfeld. Here already occupying grounds just beyond the municipal limits of the buildings of the Ruthenian Side from the south-east, between the River Bug and the road leading to Łosice. The plan of 1789 shows the former course of the Bug's river channel, which flowed right next to the Orthodox church. And so equally marked has been the river course and the location of the Orthodox church and monastery on the devised plan herein presented. However, it cannot be excluded that in the sixteenth century the Bug flowed at an even greater distance from the church of the Transfiguration of the Lord than was to be the case in the eighteenth century.

Beside the above mentioned Eastern-Rite churches there were undoubtedly others. Their exact localisation is at present impossible because of the lack of relevant sources. In 1550 there is mention of the Orthodox church of St. Elijah (St. Ilii, Ilińska). At this time the then Drohiczyn vogt donated a garden (allotment) which had once belonged to the Orthodox church of St. Elijah, and which the former presbyter of this church, Ilarion, had given to Zdan Orlik, who in turn had given it to Mikołaj. This garden was situated on the boundary of Surowczyńska Street and the public road, or the brook known as Lutorzic, while Mikołaj bequeathed it to the then presbyter of the Ilińska Orthodox church, Ihnat.<sup>159</sup>

There presumably existed on the territory of mid-sixteenth-century Drohiczyn other smaller churches that following fires were simply not rebuilt with all trace of their existence disappearing. In the year 1545 we have information about an Orthodox priest 'Piątnicki' Prokop, who received a commission from Grzegorz the Orthodox priest in Łazów, to conduct forty masses as part of a *sorokoust* (a forty-day requiem for the deceased) at his Orthodox church in Drohiczyn.<sup>160</sup> This was presumably the Orthodox church of the Martyrs of the Holy Cross (*Piatenka*), which we do not come across later in the sources. Equally, in 1547, there appears Iwan 'Father Mieszkowski'.<sup>161</sup> Here it is difficult to say which church is being referred to. However, a gross exaggeration is the claim from the year 1665 stating there were in total twelve Orthodox churches in Drohiczyn, and that each of these had two voloks of field.<sup>162</sup> In 1603 there were three parish churches of the Eastern Rite; and their presbyters: Jan Juchnowicz (of the Holy Trinity), Chwiedor (St. Nicholas) and Hieronim (*zabuska* of the Holy Saviour) brought charges against the tax collector.<sup>163</sup>

A part of Drohiczyn clearly mentioned in the sources was the so called Góra Kramczewska (Shrine Hill), situated in the eastern part of the town, on the Polish side. It was so named because of the *khrams* (shrines) there situated; these being Orthodox places of worship, (of the Holy Trinity, St. Barbara).<sup>164</sup> This hill was separated from the central part of the town by a fairly deep ravine through which flowed a tributary stream of the Bug River. It is highly possible that the stream was called 'Lutorzic'. Both the hill and the stream have been marked on the map.

The inspection of 1570 states that on the River Bug were nine working mills including one vogt-held and belonging at the time to the Drohiczyn vogt Maciej Sawicki as well as eight castle-held mills – of which six were to be found on the Polish side and two on the Ruthenian.<sup>165</sup> A similar figure of six mills (only on the Polish side) is cited by the inspection of 1576.<sup>166</sup> Not all millers had privileges bestowed on them. We have information about two of them from the sources.

In 1541, King Sigismund I the Old presented a privilege to the miller Wojciech Grela from which it resulted that the Drohiczyn starost Jakub Dowojnowicz had been ordered to settle the Drohiczyn estate by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. At this time the said [Jakub Dowojnowicz] gave to a certain Iwanek Szewc land on the bank of the Bug River opposite the 'Czeremoszne jezioro' in the direction of the

<sup>159</sup> AWAK, 33, pp. 47–48.

<sup>160</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-6, ff. 373v-374; AWAK, 33, pp. 39–40.

<sup>161</sup> AWAK 33, p. 43.

<sup>162</sup> AGAD, Drohickie grodzkie, series II, no. 43, f. 391v; R. Górny, *Dotknąć historii*, p. 103.

<sup>163</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-215, f. 448.

<sup>164</sup> Onacz Szderezko sells the garden (allotment) 'in monte' to the Orthodox priest Przeczyski Marcjan in 1557, AWAK, 33, p. 57; Also in 1565 and 1566 there is mention of: 'montem Koncovska' or 'montem Hranczowska', AWAK, 33, pp. 67, 68.

<sup>165</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 4.

<sup>166</sup> J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 27.

valley of Botczyniec, to Wasznik and the Bug, where he was to build a mill, from which the castle was to receive two measures of all the grain ground with the third measure going to him. And it was the king himself who equally confirmed Wojciech Grela's rights.<sup>167</sup> Another privilege was granted by the king to the miller Micz-Miciel on the 12 December 1533, in which he bestowed on him land on the Bug at a place called Wasznik, on which he himself built a mill; with equally the same obligation to give two measures of grain to the castle. Besides, he was supposed to carry out any necessary auxiliary work on the castle, presumably work connected with carpentry.<sup>168</sup> In 1555 when King Sigismund August wanted to give the said two mills, Grela's and Miciel's, to Maciej Sawicki, he met with the opposition of their leaseholders and in the face of this opposition the king reversed his decision giving Sawicki another property.<sup>169</sup> The place called Wasznik was recalled already in 1553 when the children of the aforementioned miller Mikołaj Micz sold it to the Drohiczyn land scribe Jan Iwanowski. According to the document, this was established on the western side of Drohiczyn and stretched in the direction of the village of Starzewice.<sup>170</sup> This has also been marked on the plan. It was decided to mark two of them from amongst the mentioned mills, the Grelński and Micowski mills, as their localisation between the meadow known as Wasznik and the Bug River appears, in the light of source materials available, highly probable. However, the placing of the remaining mills has been given up on for there is an absence of source materials that allow for even their approximate placement.

Already from about the mid sixteenth century the Bug was a river used to transport sizeable amounts of cargo, chiefly grain in the direction of Gdańsk.<sup>171</sup> Hence the once existing mills and weirs on the river constituted a significant obstacle for such a floating of cargo. In 1589 a parliamentary act was ratified, on the power of which all existing weirs and causeways on the Bug were to be removed. On the ratification of the Constitution of 1598 the Bug was designated a navigable river. From then onwards one could not build any mills or weirs which could significantly obstruct any cargo passage. While those mills that had hitherto existed were to be dismantled by the 11 November 1598.<sup>172</sup> This ordinance was to quickly be protested over by the nobility of the Drohiczyn district.<sup>173</sup> As equally the protest and others meant that the constitution was not rigorously enforced and the inspection of 1616 still noted five mills on both sides of the Bug.<sup>174</sup>

Drohiczyn from its very inception was situated at the crossroads of land and water trade routes. Besides, the town was divided into two by the River Bug – a Polish and Ruthenian part. Undoubtedly the river was to severely hamper communication between the inhabitants of both sides, and particularly in spring and late autumn during periods of intensive rainfall and the flooding of the river itself. Matters were better in winter when it was possible to move across the ice-bound river and in summer where in places the level of the river noticeably lowered and possible fording places appeared. The transport of goods took place also by means of ferry as is recalled in the sources.

In the second decade of the sixteenth century an initiative to build a bridge in Drohiczyn connecting both sides of the town was broached. The initiative was taken up by Michał Ezołowicz, a Jew from Brześć Litewski, who had lobbied King Sigismund I the Old to grant a privilege to build such a bridge in the place where there was a ferry crossing and here out of his own money, and for him to be granted the right to charge tolls for the bridge's maintenance.

One may speculate that the construction of the bridge had been finished in 1519, and that it existed for five years. Indirectly, this is borne out by a document of King Sigismund I issued in Cracow on the 3 June that same year and for Michał Ezołowicz, repeating in their entirety the clauses of the document of the 5 March 1514 and additionally increasing the rights to lease the bridge, charge tolls and the right to run a tavern, with the rights being equally extended to the constructor's children.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> AGAD, Drohickie grodzkie, series 1, no. 1, ff. 632–632v; RGADA, f. 389-1-24, ff. 134–134v.

<sup>168</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-40, ff. 24–24v.

<sup>169</sup> RGADA, f. 389-1-35, ff. 232v–233.

<sup>170</sup> RGADA, f. 389-1-13, ff. 104–105; NGAB Mińsk, f. 1759-2-26, ff. 246v–247.

<sup>171</sup> *Regestra theloni aquatici Wladislaviensis saeculi XVI*, ed. F. Duda, S. Kutrzeba, Cracow 1915.

<sup>172</sup> VL, vol. 2, p. 369; VC, vol. 2, 1550-1609, no. 2, pp. 112, 242.

<sup>173</sup> AR X 700, pp. 1–3.

<sup>174</sup> ASK XLVI 149, f. 164.

<sup>175</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr 11.*, no. 69, pp. 83–84.

In building the bridge, Michał Ezofowicz presumably counted on sizeable incomes from its exploitation. However, one may question whether the construction brought in such large profits in relation to the costs incurred: ones initially for its construction and then for repairs and maintenance. The river itself made this particularly felt, especially in spring, when the level of water was very high, and the bridge's structure was threatened by the floating ice. Information about this comes in a letter from Sigismund I the Old and directed to the Drohiczyn starost and the Płock voivode Piotr Stanisławowicz Kiszka of the 20 April 1525. The King informs the starost that Ezofowicz has built the bridge out of his own money, but that now in spring high waters and ice (*kriga*), bringing great damage with them, were flowing under the bridge. And for this reason Ezofowicz had requested for a deserted bank of the Bug, in length of 'three shots' and wide from the bank up to the hill where those needed to work and repair the bridge could be settled. The king first ordered the starost to check whether the intended area was not already inhabited by someone and whether this would not damage the royal estates. And if there was nothing to hinder matters, he ordered the starost to fulfil Ezofowicz's request and to give him a part of the Bug's bank to settle.<sup>176</sup>

Following Michał Ezofowicz's death, the bridge was inherited by his son Abraham (Awraszko). The original document issued by King Sigismund I on the 20 March 1533 in Cracow has been preserved, which confirms his rights to the bridge. The king confirmed that earlier the privilege had been bestowed on Michał Ezofowicz – Awraszko's father, allowing him to build a bridge at Drohiczyn on the River Bug, in the place where there had been a ferry crossing and to charge tolls. This same right was confirmed on Awraszko by the king with the following conditions: merchants travelling in summer across the ford and in winter across the ice were not to pay a toll; the Drohiczyn burghers with their landless tenants were to pay annually 1 groschen *plaski* each (*szero kie grosze*); stall holders, salt merchants, foot passengers and on horse, as of old were to pay one groschen; a novelty was to be the right to charge tolls at a rate of 12 groschen on rafts, boats, and mastless boats, sailing under the bridge, about which there had been no mention in the earlier documents issued to Michał Ezofowicz.<sup>177</sup> Awraszko Michelewicz was the owner of the bridge at Drohiczyn for only a short time. Possibly he was simply unable to afford the costs of its maintenance and repair and for this reason decided to sell it. The buyer was the Drohiczyn landowner Maciej Lewart Duborowski (Zaborowski). Subsequent owners after his death were, until the mid sixteenth century, Anna Lubecka, Jan Steczko, Stanisław Tęczyński, Florian Zebrzydowski, Andrzej Falkowicz.

On the 8 September 1558 Andrzej Falkowicz's son-in-law Michał Sapięha obtained from the king the right to hold for life the Miklaszewski manor located in the Brańsk starosty known as Sielc or Zamianowo; and this in exchange for the ferry crossing and bridge at Drohiczyn with the plot and the garden (allotment) also.<sup>178</sup> Given the document's context it demonstrates that at this time there was no longer a bridge as such, with only the ferry crossing in operation. This is clearly pointed to in the document of the 10 March 1559, in which the king gave the lease for a period of three years to Maciej Sawicki. He was equally to receive a commission to build a new bridge.<sup>179</sup> However this was not to come to fruition and in Drohiczyn only the ferry crossing remained in operation.

In 1570, during the inspection of the Drohiczyn starosty, the first since Podlasie's inclusion within the Crown, there is confirmation of the existence of a ferry crossing but not of a bridge. The leasing of the ferry gave the crown treasury the sizeable annual sum of 21 *kop* of Lithuanian groschen and 36 denarius.<sup>180</sup> Equally there was to be no bridge at between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

It is worth speculating as to the location of the bridge. It was most likely situated in the place of the ferry crossing as marked on Stein's Prussian map, which linked the Polish and the Ruthenian

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<sup>176</sup> RGADA, f. 389, op. 1, no. 14, f. 235; *Русско-еврейский архив. Документы и материалы для истории евреев в России*, vol. I, *Документы и регесты к истории литовских евреев (1388–1550)*, ed. С. А. Бершадский., Petersburg 1882, no. 97, p. 127.

<sup>177</sup> LMAVB, f. 2-5; П. Гильдебрандт, *Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки*, vol. 1: *Церковнославянские рукописи. Русские пергамены*, Вильно 1871, no. 5, p. 69; R. Jasas, *Pergamentų katalogas*, Vilnius 1980, no. 364, p. 144. The document comes from the Sapięha family archive.

<sup>178</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr 37 (1552–1561)*, ed. D. Baronas, Vilnius 2011, no. 163, p. 224; *Sapięhowie. Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne i majątkowe*, vol. 1, Petersburg 1890, pp. 74–75.

<sup>179</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr 37*, no. 241, p. 267.

<sup>180</sup> LWP 1570, 1576, p. 5; BUWil, f. 4-34, f. 329.

Sides. This appears to be borne out by underwater archaeological research, carried out by divers and archaeologists from Toruń in the year 2000. On one of the sections of the river penetrated, just before the bend washing the present-day Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill), at a distance of about 400 metres from the castle, the channel of the River Bug floods a reasonably wide area and is at this point fairly shallow. Only in the middle part of the channel did the depth reach two metres and here at a width of several metres. Here were discovered, lying on the sandy bottom, parallel to the bank, two wooden beams of a diameter of about 20 cm and a length of 5 metres each, reinforced from the water side by stones and fascine. According to the views of the archaeologists the less steep river banks in this place and the easy access to the water might suggest the existence here of a crossing, of a ferry across the river. An open construction comprising sizeable beams could have constituted a platform or causeway for a ferry operating in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries but could also constitute the remains of the bridge mentioned in the sources.<sup>181</sup> The location of the ferry-crossing (ferry) on the River Bug is based on Stein's map as well as the plan of Drohiczyn from the year 1810. Both sources are in agreement in placing the ferry crossing opposite the municipal beach as it functions at present.

The buildings of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Drohiczyn were predominantly wooden constructions which resulted in them often falling foul to fires. Not only did the houses of burghers burn down but also places of worship and public utility. We most certainly do not have information about all the fires that broke out but from the reports we do have it is clear that this form of natural disaster markedly affected the inhabitants of Drohiczyn.

In 1535 King Sigismund I the Old freed the burghers of Drohiczyn of taxation payments for a period of six years because of a fire that had destroyed their homes and churches.<sup>182</sup>

Most telling is the entry in the Drohiczyn land ledger for the year 1559 informing one that 'In the year of Our Lord 1559 the whole town of Drohiczyn with all of its lots, the church of St. Francis [sic!] with its monastery, the Ruthenian Orthodox church of the All-Pure Virgin Mary and with but the exception of literally a handful of houses at the town boundaries and the immediate environs of the parish church, on Friday on the day of St. Agapit at noon, within the course of two hours, burnt down.' The measure of misfortune was accentuated by the plague rife that year and the flooding caused by the River Bug.<sup>183</sup>

On the 7 July 1569 the king lifted the taxation obligation on fire victims for the town of Drohiczyn. This simply had to have been the result of yet another fire.<sup>184</sup>

In 1583 another large fire broke out in Drohiczyn, as a result of which the burghers gained from King Stefan Batory a privilege exempting them from all taxes with the exception of water duty for a period of four years.<sup>185</sup> Similarly, on the 10 July 1601, King Sigismund III freed the Drohiczyn burghers from taxes for a four year period because of fire.<sup>186</sup> The sources also reveal extensive fires in Drohiczyn for the years 1614 and 1624.<sup>187</sup>

Numerous fires, military obligations, ones most burdensome for the burghers, were but a taste of the events to befall Drohiczyn during the period of the so-called Swedish Deluge. Particularly tragic in its outcome was the advance of the Transilvanian forces of Prince Jerzy Rakoczy (George II Rákóczi) and the Swedish army under Charles IX of Sweden in May 1657, as a result of which almost the entire town and surrounding villages were burnt down. No less tragic in consequences was to be the attack by the Muscovite forces under the command of Ivan Khovansky in January–March 1660. It is therefore of no surprise that those conducting the inspection for the Drohiczyn starosty for the year 1661 noted that 'the town of Drohiczyn, Polish and Ruthenina called funditus and the castle were burnt down by the enemy.' Out of the entirety of 107  $\frac{3}{4}$  voloks, sowed were 15 on the Polish side of Drohiczyn while only one was sown on the Ruthenian side. Still 19 of all the municipal

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<sup>181</sup> W. Szulta, *Podwodny rekonesans archeologiczny w rzece Bug w Drohiczynie*, "Biuletyn konserwatorski województwa podlaskiego", vol. 7, 2001, pp. 269–270.

<sup>182</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1715-1-40, f. 120; *Сборник палеографических снимков с древних грамот и актов*, vol. 1, no. 37, p. 21.

<sup>183</sup> AGAD, Drohickie ziemskie no. 3, f. 4.

<sup>184</sup> NGAB, Mińsk, f. 1759-2-32, ff. 250v–251.

<sup>185</sup> AGAD, Drohickie grodzkie, series 2, no. 4, f. 389; AGAD, Mielnickie grodzkie, no. 4, f. 146v.

<sup>186</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-106, ff. 962v–963.

<sup>187</sup> NGAB Mińsk, f. 1715-1-122, ff. 396v–398, 442v–445.

voloks were freed from the obligation of taking in incomers. Only a few of their owners changed. 6 voloks were the property of the vogtship. The Benedictine nuns held 3 voloks, which had earlier in the sixteenth century belonged to Maciej Sawicki. 1 volok continued to belong to the hospital. The Franciscans noticeably increased their holding, now being in possession of 5 whole voloks. 2 voloks belonged to the Drohiczyn parish church, which was at the time under the governance of the Jesuits. Of the two voloks that had once belonged to the Chądzyński family, one remained in the possession of the Kupiński family, while the second was held by the Franciscans. Of the so-called Czechowski voloks only 2 were counted, of which one was held by Stefan Tonkiel, while the other belonged to Krzysztof Zaleski. There were to have been at the time  $70\frac{3}{4}$  voloks fallow. Of the former 300 homesteads only 80 remained. A way of conceptualising the degree of demographic loss is in the number of artisans registered in the inspection. Noted then were only two cobblers, a fisherman, one butcher, two tailors, and three stove fitters. From amongst all the Scots who had inhabited Drohiczyn in numbers from the second half of the sixteenth century in 1661 there remained but one – a certain Wilhelm Gordon. Only two mills remained. The ferry crossing was still in operation. The weekly markets which should have occurred on Mondays were, in 1661, temporarily suspended.<sup>188</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>188</sup> MK XVIII 64, Inspection, pp. 555–556; J. Jaroszewicz, *Drohiczyn. Opis historyczny*, p. 32.

### III.6.9.9b ELBLĄG

*Roman Czaja*

In the sixteenth century, Elbląg was the biggest town in Malbork voivodeship and, together with Gdańsk and Toruń, belonged to the group of Royal Prussia's greatest towns, whose privileged position was manifested, among others, in the right for each of them to appoint two representatives to the Prussian Council – a body representing all the states of the Prussian province. The importance of the town followed from its socio-economic potential and the tradition of big towns' participation in the political life of the country, which dated back to the Teutonic period. The economic development of the town was based on participation in the long-distance trade and craft industry, with a particular focus on brewing. In the mid-sixteenth century, the population of the whole urban complex of Elbląg reached approximately 15,000.

#### Cartographic and iconographic sources

Key sources for the reconstruction of the spatial layout of the town in the mid-sixteenth century include a plan drawn in 1626 by the Swedish army officer Heinrich Thomé and three vedutas of the town and its fortifications from 1554, 1558 and approximately 1631. The oldest one, drawn by Kaspar Hennenberger from the northern perspective, shows the fortifications and the sacral architecture in detail. The layout of the streets and buildings, on the other hand, was presented in a schematic and simplified manner. It is impossible to differentiate the buildings on the Granary Island (*Wyspa Spichrzów*) and the houses in the suburbs or inside the area of the New Town (*Nowe Miasto*). Within the Northern Suburb, only Saint George's Dyke (*Grobla św. Jerzego*) was marked.<sup>1</sup> The drawing by the municipal master builder Heinrich Holtzapfel from 1558, preserved as a copy from the 1760s, shows the condition of the defensive walls of the Old Town together with a detailed description of the gates and defensive towers. The third veduta was drawn by the geometrist and architect Jakub Hoffman around 1631; it presents the town from the South. It illustrates the changes to the use of the suburban area caused by the erection of the bastion fortifications since 1626 by the Swedish.<sup>2</sup> The author of the copperplate engraving also marked the differences in the building patterns between the Old Town, the areas of the New Town and the suburbs surrounded by a new line of fortifications. The houses in the Old Town look higher and heavier. Three streets of the Old Town set along the north–south axis are visible – Wodna (*Water*), Zamkowa (*Castle*) and Rynek (*the Market Square*) – as well as the medieval defensive complex together with the fortifications in front of Kowalska Gate (*Blacksmith*) and Zamkowa Gate (*Castle Gate*) built in the sixteenth century. The geometric plan of the New Town, the regular building

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<sup>1</sup> APGd, Collection of maps and charts of Elbląg, sign. 1151, V/65, 66; published [in:] AHMP Elbląg, map no. 7; K. Boysen, *Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte des preussischen Kartographen und Historikers Kaspar Hennenberger (1529–1600)*, "Altpreußische Monatsschrift", vol. 45, 1908, pp. 67–135.

<sup>2</sup> APGd., Collection of maps and charts of Elbląg, sign. 1151, 65/ 28; M. Toeppen, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung der Stadt Elbing mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Befestigungen und ihrer wichtigsten Gebäude*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins", vol. 21, 1887, pp. 16 ff.; W. Rynkiewicz-Domino, *Grafika w XVII-wiecznym Elblągu*, "Rocznik Elbląski", vol. 18, 2002, pp. 106 ff., states that this work was created around 1631.

patterns on Wyspa Spichrzów as well as the network of streets inside the bastion fortifications in the Southern Suburb have been presented accurately.<sup>3</sup>

Heinrich Thomé's map, drawn after the capture of the town in July 1626 by the Swedish army, is the oldest existing cartographic source for Elbląg.<sup>4</sup> It shows both towns of Elbląg and the suburbs before the construction of the bastion fortifications in 1626–1629. The network of streets of both Elbląg towns was presented in accordance with the actual state of affairs; the Swedish engineer even tried to differentiate the width of the streets. Nevertheless, he gave up drawing the boundaries of individual plots of land. The network of the streets and roads in the suburbs was rendered with quite high accuracy. For this area, the boundaries of plots and buildings have been marked. It can, however, be hypothesised that this drawing was meant as an illustration only because the number of buildings visible on the map is significantly smaller than the number established based on the written sources. The land book of the suburbs indicates that towards the end of the sixteenth century, there were approximately 610 buildings there, including 520 shacks, whereas the map shows 252 buildings altogether. To learn about the changes caused by the construction of the Old Dutch fortification for the use of suburban land, Heinrich Thomé's 1635 plan is of great importance. It presents, among other things, the design of a new, regular layout of residential infrastructure in the suburbs, within the boundaries of the rampart.<sup>5</sup> A detailed view of the Old and the New Town with plots of land marked is available in the plan from around 1642. However, the number of houses drawn does not correspond to the actual plot divisions. Thus, the map shows a generalised view of the space inside the medieval defensive walls. Still, thanks to the accuracy of the drawing and the credibility of the presentation of the suburban buildings, it can offer a good departure point for a retrogressive analysis of the spatial development.<sup>6</sup> In the upper part of the engraving, a panoramic view of the town from the East was placed, which was prepared based on a drawing by Johann Bass. It does not seem to be a coincidence that, as opposed to the map, the veduta does not show buildings erected outside the area delimited by the rampart.

## Written sources

In addition to the cartographic and iconographic sources in the Elbląg Council Archive, currently stored at the State Archive in Gdańsk, there is also a rich collection of written sources useful for the study of the topography and spatial development of the town. As far as the location of public utility buildings is concerned, one can in the first place consult such documents as the rent books from the years 1376–1403 for Elbląg Old Town and from the years 1376–1403 for its suburbs. A precise reconstruction of the pattern of plots inside the walls is possible thanks to the land book kept from 1417 and the meadow book from 1421.<sup>7</sup> Much information about the use of the suburbs in the fourteenth century

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<sup>3</sup> See. similar characteristics of his veduta of Toruń, *Toruń: dawne widoki miasta. Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Okręgowym w Toruniu w Ratuszu Staromiejskim od 17 lutego do 3 maja 1994*, publ. A. Mierzejewska, M. Woźniak, Toruń 1994, no. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Kungliga Krigsarkivet, Stockholm, Handritade Kartenverk, vol. 12; *Mapy i plany Rzeczypospolitej XVII w. znajdujące się w archiwach w Sztokholmie*, vol. 1., publ. K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Warsaw 2011, pp. 206, 215; G. Eimer, *Die Stadtplanung im schwedischen Ostseereich 1600–1715: mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Idealstadt*, Stockholm 1961, pp. 193ff; B. Dybaś, *Fortece Rzeczypospolitej. Studium z dziejów budowy fortyfikacji stałych w państwie polsko-litewskim w XVII wieku*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Toruń 2018, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>5</sup> G. Eimer, *Die Stadtplanung*, pp. 194ff; *Mapy i plany Rzeczypospolitej XVII w.*, p. 214; R. Czaja, R. Golba, *Strasse, Haus und Parzelle auf den Stadtansichten und Karten von Elbing im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, "Documenta Pragensia", vol. 36, 2017, pp. 445–457.

<sup>6</sup> APGd., Collection of maps and charts of Elbląg, sign. 1151, 65/22, edition of the map [in:] AHMP Elbląg, map no. 9; M. Toeppen, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung*, pp. 19ff.

<sup>7</sup> APGd., Elbląg Town Council., sign. 369,1/118, 126, 1376, 1377; *Das Elbinger Stadtbuch*, vol. 1: 1330–1360(1393), ed. H.W.Hoppe, Osnabrück 1976 (Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands, Beiheft 3); *Das Elbinger Stadtbuch*, vol. 2: 1361–1418, ed. H.W.Hoppe, Münster 1986 (Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands, Beiheft 5); C. Kardasz, *Wykaz czynszów Starego Miasta Elbląga z roku 1385*, [in:] *Piśmienność pragmatyczna – edytorstwo źródeł historycznych – archiwistyka. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Tandeckiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. R. Czaja, K. Kopiński, Toruń 2015, pp. 453–476; on the principles guiding the reconstruction of the layout of land plots and its connection to the measurement maps from the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, see R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1992, pp. 16–17; for characteristics of the preserved town books of the medieval

can be found in the rent books, including the rent book of the suburbs from 1374–1430, which is of special value. Set up in 1430, the land book of the suburbs contains entries on the owners of shacks, gardens, granaries, and barns. A reconstruction of the spatial arrangement and settlement in the suburbs till the end of the sixteenth century is possible thanks to the land book set up in 1565, which was used until 1721.<sup>8</sup> A scarcer body of sources has been preserved for the study of the history of Elbląg New Town; still, for this area, we have at our disposal the rent book for the years 1340–1381 and the land book set up around 1382 and kept until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

## Elaborations

The large number of available sources has made the topography and spatial layout of the town in the Middle Ages and in the modern period some of the most studied research subjects in the modern historiography of Elbląg. The first description of the topography was prepared as early as the first half of the nineteenth century by Michael Gottlieb Fuchs.<sup>10</sup> Max Toeppen's publications are still considered up to date; this author devoted a separate study to the spatial development and this topic also took up much of his monograph about the medieval history of the town.<sup>11</sup> Another distinguished researcher of the past of Elbląg – one of the greatest, even – was Arthur Semrau, who studied the defensive infrastructure, the topography of the market infrastructure and the spatial layout of Elbląg New Town.<sup>12</sup> One of the founders of the Polish inquiry into the past of Elbląg was Stanisław Gierszewski, who in the late 1950s investigated, among others, the spatial aspects of the development of the port in the modern period.<sup>13</sup> In the early 1970s, Jerzy Stankiewicz, on the basis of the example of Masztowa (Mast) Street, presented the possibility of combining architectural studies with the socio-topographical method.<sup>14</sup> Archaeological studies, commenced in the early 1980s by a team under the supervision of Tadeusz Nawroński, not only provided new source material to learn about the history of this chartered town but also inspired interdisciplinary cooperation. The interests of archaeologists, historians, experts in urban studies and the history of art revolved around the space of the town originally chartered in the Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup> The issues related to the development of Elbląg suburbs and its spatial development in the modern period have been undertaken as part of investigations into the socio-topography and the defensive infrastructure.<sup>16</sup> This topic was also covered in the second volume of the synthesis of the town's history devoted to the modern period.<sup>17</sup>

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Elbląg, see J. Tandecki, *Średniowieczne księgi wielkich miast pruskich jako źródła historyczne i zabytki kultury mieszczańskiej (organizacja władz, zachowane archiwalia, działalność kancelarii)*, Warsaw-Toruń 1990, pp. 103–123.

<sup>8</sup> APGd., Elbląg Town Council, sign. 369,1/ 115, 1930, 1931.

<sup>9</sup> APGd., Elbląg Town Council, sign. 369,1/ 113, 3985.

<sup>10</sup> M. G. Fuchs, *Beschreibung der Stadt Elbing und ihres Gebietes in topographischer, geschichtlicher und statistischer Hinsicht*, vol. 1–3, Elbing 1818–1852.

<sup>11</sup> M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Lebens im Mittelalter*, vol. 1–3, Marienwerder 1870–1871; idem, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung*, pp. 1–142.

<sup>12</sup> A. Semrau, *Der Markt in der Altstadt Elbing im 14. Jahrhundert*, MCV, vol. 30, 1922, pp. 1–47; idem, *Die Register über die Bewachung der Altstadt Elbing aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*, MCV, vol. 29, 1921, pp. 50–61; idem, *Die Beschreibung der Neustadt Elbing und ihres Gebietes im Mittelalter*, MCV, vol. 33, 1925, pp. 36–112.

<sup>13</sup> S. Gierszewski, *Życie portowe Elbląga w XVII i XVIII w.*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza. Vol. 2: Pomorze Nowożytnie*, Warsaw 1959, pp. 313–349; idem, *Elbląski przemysł okrętowy w latach 1570–1815*, Gdańsk 1961.

<sup>14</sup> J. Stankiewicz, *Ulica Masztowa w Elblągu*, "Rocznik Elbląski", vol. 5–6, 1972/1973, pp. 8–26, 59–126.

<sup>15</sup> For the results of interdisciplinary studies, see *Elbląg – nowe spojrzenie na średniowieczne miasto. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji Archeologicznej "Elbląg '86"*, ed. A. Czacharowski, T. Nawroński, Gdańsk 1992 (Archaeologia Elbingensis, vol. 1); *Stare miasto w Elblągu – wyzwanie historii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej poświęconej pamięci Tadeusza Nawrońskiego*, ed. G. Nawrońska, J. Tandecki, Elbląg–Gdańsk 1997 (Archaeologia Elbingensis, vol. 2); G. Nawrońska, *Początki Elbląga w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, Elbląg 2012.

<sup>16</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, pp. 145–160; idem, *Anmerkungen zur Sozialtopographie der Stadt Elbing im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, [in:] *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. S. Beckmann, K. Garber, Tübingen 2005, pp. 75–88; B. Dybaś, *Fortece Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 247.

<sup>17</sup> J. Tandecki, *Rozwój przestrzenny miasta i jego stosunki ludnościowe*, [in:] *Historia Elbląga*, Vol. 2, part 1: 1466–1626, ed. A. Groth, Gdańsk 1996, pp. 18–29; J. Tandecki, A. Groth, *Zmiany terytorialne i demograficzne*, [in:] *Historia Elbląga*, Vol. 2, part 2: 1626–1772, ed. A. Groth, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 66–79.

## Spatial layout of Elbląg in the mid-sixteenth century

In the Middle Ages, the Elbląg settlement complex consisted of three parts: (1) the Teutonic castle and the outer bailey together with the neighbouring of Wola Zamkowa [the name indicating a precinct of the castle – translator's note] as well as the fishing cottage Osiek (*Hakelwerk*) in the South; (2) the Old Town with its suburbs; and (3) the New Town, established in 1335–1341, and in 1347 provided with the charter privilege, together with its suburbs. In February 1454, the townspeople conquered and destroyed the castle. While in 1457, on the basis of the privilege issued by Casimir Jagiellon, the areas of the castle, as well as the estates owned by the Commandery in the area of the Elbląg Upland and Żuławy were incorporated into Elbląg Old Town. After the abolition of the legal separation of the New Town municipality in 1478, the entire settlement complex was subjected to the authority of the Council of Elbląg Old Town.<sup>18</sup>

### Elbląg Old Town

The town of Elbląg was located at the edge of the Elbląg Upland by the River Elbląg, which flows from Drużno Lake to the Vistula Bay. The area of the urban settlement gradually sloped towards the river. Its easternmost part – the area of the New Town – stood at the height of – approximately 6 m above sea level; the Old Town, on the other hand, stood at approximately 2–4 m above sea level. Żuławy stretched on the other side of the river. Due to the topography of the area, watercourses flowing down from the Upland went past the area of the Old Town. North of the town boundary, by the docks, the Hundebeke Stream flowed into the River Elbląg. The Kumiela Stream circled the town from the east and the south and flowed into the River Elbląg to the south of the castle. To safeguard water supplies for the town and the castle in the 1770s, a canal was dug where water flowed from the Kumiela across the Eastern Suburb, along Młyńska Dyke (*Młyńska Grobla*) and then across the southern part of the Old Town; in the vicinity of the southern corner of Wodna Street, it flowed into the River Elbląg. Water from this canal supplied the moat of Elbląg Old Town as well as the town's wells; it was also used as the driving force for mills.<sup>19</sup>

The location of Elbląg was connected with the conquest of the lands of Chełmno and Prussia, pursued by the Teutonic Order from 1231, with the support of the Piast dukes and crusaders from the states of the Holy Roman Empire. According to a report from the chronicle kept by the Teutonic Priest Peter of Dusburg, in the spring of 1237, the crusaders erected a fortress near the place where the River Elbląg flowed into the Vistula Bay. After its destruction by Prussians, likely already in the summer of 1237, a new castle was built a few kilometres inland; soon a new town started to develop in its vicinity.<sup>20</sup> The sources include no mention of the participation of people from Lübeck in the campaign in 1237 and in the location of the town. The information from 1240 about the handing over of a codex of the Lübeck laws to the inhabitants of Elbląg indicates, however, that the merchants from the former town quickly got involved in the development of the latter. The debate between the Teutonic Order and the town of Lübeck over the location of a town in Sambia and the Prussian uprising in 1242 postponed the process of the location of Elbląg. It was only on 10 April 1246 that Grand Master Heinrich von Hohenlohe issued the privilege in which he bestowed the patrimonium of the land and the Lübeck law upon the townspeople, alas, with some restrictions compared with the mother town

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<sup>18</sup> The problem of the legal status of the New Town municipality is a subject of discussion: M. Słoń, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne w średniowiecznej Europie*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 279ff, supports the view about the preservation of legal separation of the New Town municipality; Z.H. Nowak, J. Tandecki, *Prawa i przywileje Starego i Nowego Miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, Gdańsk 1998, p. 51, subscribe to the opposing view; R. Czaja, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne w średniowiecznej Europie*, [in:] 'Roczniki Historyczne', vol. 78, 2012, p. 284.

<sup>19</sup> K. Soecknick, *Die Wasserläufe Elbings seit der Ordenszeit*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch", vol. 2, 1937, no. 14, pp. 220ff; W. Długokęcki, *Środowisko naturalne*, [in:] *Historia Elbląga*, vol. 1: *Till 1466*, ed. S. Gierszewski, A. Groth, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Petrus de Dusburgk, *Chronica Terrae Prussiae*, publ. J. Wenta, S. Wyszomirski, Cracow 2007 (MPH, Nova Series, vol. 13), p. 44; J. Powierski, *Początek walk Krzyżaków o panowanie nad Zalewem Wiślanym i założenie Elbląga*, [in:] idem, *Prussica, Artykuły wybrane z lat 1965–1995*, vol. 2, Malbork 2005, pp. 477–538.

model, as the relations between the municipality and the territorial ruler had been drawn up as per the charter privilege for Chełmno and Toruń.<sup>21</sup>

The boundaries of Elbląg Old Town were drawn in the years 1237–1242. They delimited a trapezoidal area of 25 ha, whose dimensions, after the expansion of the town in 1326 into the area directly adjacent to the river, amounted to approximately 500 x 300 m.<sup>22</sup> The urban land was mapped out based on the layout with the central broad street, which at that time had already been well established in the oldest towns of Central and Central Eastern Europe. From Stary Rynek Street (*Alter Markt*) – the main thoroughfare, which was some 300 m long and some 24 wide and which ran parallel to the river – six perpendicular streets were delineated. Five gate streets opened to the embankment. Seen from the south, the first street was Świętego Ducha (*Holy Spirit*) Street, some 300 m long. The next streets, each some 170–180 m long, were Mostowa (*Bridge*) Street, Rybacka (*Fishermen*) Street, Bednarska (*Cooper*) Street later renamed Masztowa (*Mast*) Street and Tobiasza (*Tobias*) Street, also known as Studzienna (*Wells*) Street, since the fifteenth century. At the Dominican monastery, Kuśnierska (*Furrier*) Street was delineated at the exit from which a gate in the defensive wall was built. The only gate from the north (*Targowa Gate*) was built at the exit from Stary Rynek Street. In the eastern direction, several 85-meter-long streets were drawn: Rzeźnicka (*Butcher*) Street, Wieżowa (*Tower*) Street, Garbary (*Tanner*) Street, Sukiennicza (*Draper*) Street, and Kowalska (*Blacksmith*) Street as the only gate street in this part of the town. The Kumiela Canal hindered the mapping out of a regular chessboard layout in the South-Eastern part of the town, where the streets Nad Kumielą (At the Kumiela) Mincerska (*Coin Engraver*) Street, Mała (*Small*) Street and Zamkowa (*Castle*) Street were drawn, the last of which led to the only gate from the South. Walking routes inside the town walls led along Wodna (Water) Street and Ścieżka Kościelna (*Church Path*), which crossed the Western quarters in the middle and offered a shortcut to the parochial church and retail centre. Wałowa (*Levee*) Street ran along the eastern section of the walls, and Ketzerhagen Street led from Targowa Gate to the north-eastern corner of the ramparts. The urban network established after the 1326 expansion of the town in the direction of the river survived without major changes until the end of the eighteenth century. The extension of the fortifications in the vicinity of Kowalska Gate towards the end of the sixteenth century made it possible to demolish a section of the old defensive walls opposite the New Town. In the area obtained in this way, Podmurna (*At the Walls*) Street was drawn, along which around a dozen houses were built.<sup>23</sup>

The first mention of the town's fortifications, most likely made of wood and soil, appears in the privilege issued for the Dominican monastery in 1238.<sup>24</sup> Most likely, the construction of a brick-and-stone wall to protect the town from the east, north, and south started in the 1280s. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the construction of Targowa Gate (1319) and Zamkowa Gate (1322) was concluded. The last section of the town's defensive system which underwent reconstruction was the western part, where, as late as in 1335, a wooden palisade was mentioned. The information about the reconstruction of the gates Mostowa, Ducha Świętego, Rybacka and Bednarska in 1374–1376 indicates the completion of the work on the fortifications protecting the town from the riverside. In addition to nine gates, the defensive system was reinforced by eight towers and a moat.<sup>25</sup> Drawing on the experiences of the 1409–1411 war, in the first half of the fifteenth century, a further extension of the town's fortifications was undertaken. Another line of walls was erected from the east and the north with external fortifications in front of Targowa and Kowalska gates, nine towers and an external moat. The next stage of the extension works was undertaken after the attack of the Teutonic army during the

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<sup>21</sup> T. Jasiński, *Die Rolle des Deutschen Ordens bei der Städtegründungen in Preußen im 13. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preussen und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. U. Arnold, Marburg 1993 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, vol. 44), pp. 94–111; E. Carstenn, *Elbings Kampf um das lübische Recht*, "Hansische Geschichtsblätter", vol. 62, 1937, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>22</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, p. 15; A. Kašinowski, *Ein Blick auf mittelalterliche Raumdisposition von Elbing und ihre Realisierung: Stadt-Baumkomplex-Bauparzelle*, [in:] *Elbląg – nowe spojrzenie na średniowieczne miasto*, pp. 67–78; G. Nawrołska, *Początki Elbląga*, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>23</sup> M. Toeppen, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung*, p. 91; A. Semrau, *Über die Entstehung und den ältesten Gebrauch der Strassennamen in der Altstadt Elbing*, MCV, vol. 32, 1924, pp. 63–74; G. Nawrołska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Elbląga w średniowieczu i okresie wczesnonowożytnym*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona", vol. 23, 2015, p. 167.

<sup>24</sup> CDW, vol. 1, no. 1.

<sup>25</sup> A. Semrau A., *Die Register über die Bewachung*, pp. 50–61; idem, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bautätigkeit in der Altstadt Elbing im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, MCV, vol. 31, 1923, pp. 20–36.

Polish-Prussian war of 1521. More intensive works were carried out in the 1550s. The construction of the southern defensive line required the demolition of the ruins of the Teutonic castle and the gates of the New Town which neighboured the former castle grounds. The person responsible for the works, the master builder Heinrich Holzapfel from Gdańsk, prepared a detailed plan of fortifications in 1558.<sup>26</sup> The defensive line from the side of the river was reinforced with two half-bastions – the northern one in the vicinity of the Dominican monastery, and the southern one on the area of the former castle. A half-round bastion was also erected in the south-eastern corner of the ramparts. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the command of the fortification works was taken over by the architect Timotheus Jost from Gdańsk. At that time, the walls between the gates Targowa and Zamkowa were elevated; furthermore, a new bastion was built in front of Brama Kowalska. The reinforcement of the fortification system of this gate required the demolition of Saint Jacob's church (1601).<sup>27</sup>

Based on the information about the amount of the recognition rent (6 dinars per a full-unit plot) included in the charter privilege and the amount of annual rent payable to the Commander, it can be estimated that originally the town's area was split into approximately 360 full-unit plots. As a result of the division of the original plots and of marking out of new ones in a previously unused area, the initial number and structure of the plots changed substantially. Based on entries in the land book of 1417, the meadow book of 1421 and the rent books, the overall number of plots can be estimated at the level of 658, including 364 full-unit ones and 294 shacks. From the fifteenth century on, the tendency to join plots is more visible; this process did not cause a radical decrease in the number of premises, however. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, only 12 premises were considered double plots, i.e. such produced by the joining of two plots. According to the cadastral plan of Elbląg from 1839, within the walls of the modern town, there were 583 plots. Archaeological studies and metrological analyses did not provide a convincing answer to the question about the original size of the plots. It is very likely that already at the early stages of the town development, the plots differed in size. In the sixteenth century, the most common plot was 2 rods (8.6 m) wide and 6 rods (25.8 m) deep, giving a total area of 222 m<sup>2</sup>. The area of the properties considered shacks was very diverse, ranging from 46 to 148 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>28</sup>

The central position of Stary Rynek Street with its considerable width and easy access to every place in town predestined it to become the centre of trade. Consequently, sections dedicated to trading specific articles were designated along this artery. The northern section between Bednarska and Tobiasza streets was named Targ Węglowy (*Coal Market*). Targ Sienny (*Seed Market*) was located between Rybacka and Bednarska streets. Along the western façade between Ducha Świętego and Mostowa streets, Targ Chlebowy (*Bread Market*) was located.<sup>29</sup> The sacral, administrative and commercial centre was located between Mostowa and Rybacka streets, between the parochial Saint Nicholas church and the town hall complex. At its southern side, petty traders' stands were placed. Shoemakers' stands and the weighing house neighboured the church square from the North, while breadmakers' stalls from the south. On the corner of Rybacka and Stary Rynek streets, the main municipal weighing house was located. Two plots at the eastern façade of the Rynek and the corner plot at Rzeźnicka Street were designated for the construction of the town hall and cloth halls; in the cellars of the town hall, wine was sold. In the courtyard of the town hall a spice garden was set up, where traders and pharmacists traded imported roots and spices. Smaller scales for weighing lighter goods were also installed inside the town hall. In front of the cloth halls, on the corner of Stary Rynek and Rzeźnicka streets, a pillory was mounted to represent the judicial authority of the Council. In a house at Rzeźnicka Street adjacent to the cloth halls, butchers' counters were set up.<sup>30</sup> The prestige which the society ascribed to the urban space near

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<sup>26</sup> APGd., Collection of maps and charts of Elbląg, sign. 1151, 65, 60.

<sup>27</sup> M. Toeppen, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung*, pp. 87–89; W. Behring, *Zur Geschichte der Befestigung Elbings in der polnischen Zeit*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch", vol. 1, 1921/1922, pp. 124–130.

<sup>28</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, pp. 26ff; idem, *Uwagi nad socjotopografią Starego Miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*, [in:] *Stare miasto w Elblągu – wyzwanie historii*, p. 93; M. Rendschmidt, *Das alte Elbinger Bürgerhaus*, Elbing 1933, p. 10; A. Kašinowski, *Ein Blick*, p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, pp. 88ff.

<sup>30</sup> T. Nawroński, *Średniowieczny plac rynkowy Starego Miasta w Elblągu. Próba analizy przestrzenno-funkcjonalnej*, KHKM, vol. 40, 1992, no. 3, pp. 365–379; R. Czaja, *Place targowe Starego Miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu*, KHKM, vol. 40, 1992, no. 3, pp. 359–363.

the Rynek made the elitist Saint George Brotherhood move its seat from the house at 9 Rybacka Street to the corner house (No. 49) at Stary Rynek and Kowalska Streets.<sup>31</sup>

The main elements of the sacral topography had been shaped already in the first decade of the town's development. The construction of the parochial church in the eastern part of the quarter delimited by Mostowa and Rybacka Streets began right after the location of the town. In 1238, the national master Hermann Balk provided Dominicans with a plot of land in the north-western part of the town to erect a monastery and Blessed Virgin Mary church (*Kościół Najświętszej Marii Panny*). In 1242, the Teutonic Order founded a hospital and a chapel at Duchą Świętego Street.<sup>32</sup> After the central authorities of the Teutonic Order were moved to Prussia in 1309, this foundation served as the Order's main hospital in Prussia; it was headed by the Commander of Elbląg, who at the same time held the post of Grand Hospitaller. Based on the royal privilege of 1457, the Town's Council obtained the right to manage the hospital and its assets. Starting from the 1520s, the townspeople of Elbląg showed increasing support for Martin Luther's teaching. The reformation was encouraged by the municipal authorities but hindered by the Bishop of Warmia and the Polish kings. In 1542, by the consent of the last Dominican monks, the Town's Council acquired the buildings of the monastery and Blessed Virgin Mary church, where the first Lutheran commune in Elbląg was established. It also held – since 1563 – the former Holy Spirit Hospital chapel. It took the Lutheran Town Council a little more time to take control over Saint Nicholas church. In 1573, the first Lutheran service was celebrated in the parochial church. It was not until 1576, however, that the privilege issued by King Stephen Báthory confirmed the town's right to organise the structure of the Augsburg church. The settlement of English merchants in the 1580s reinforced the influence of Calvinism. At first, the Calvinist commune gathered for prayers in the house at Duchą Świętego Street. Since 1590, the Mennonites had a prayer house at Garbary Street.<sup>33</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century, there was no church in the town left in the Catholic hands.

## Elbląg Old Town Suburbs

The thirteenth century marks the beginning of the development of Elbląg Old Town Suburbs. In the Middle Ages, three suburban areas were formed: the port, the Northern Suburb and the Eastern Suburb, each of them with different economic functions and buildings. The Western Suburb, located by the river Elbląg, consisted of the embankment and Wyspa Spichrzów (*Granary Island*) – an area on the other side of the river, surrounded by a moat. Between the town walls and the river, infrastructure was created to operate the port, manage long-distance trade and fishing: piers, stalls for herring sellers, counters for the sale of the sturgeon and cod, a fish market, two weighing houses, a crane as well as quality assurance and packaging facilities. In 1596, a new large weighing house was built at Brama Tobiasza. By the river, between Tobiasza Gate and Klasztorna Gate (*Furta*) a municipal bathhouse was also erected. As an extension to Mostowa Gate, already in the fourteenth century, Wysoki (*High*) Bridge was erected, leading to Wyspa Spichrzów. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a new bridge was built; it was called Wagi (*Weighing House*) Bridge or Nizinny (*Lowland*) Bridge.<sup>34</sup> Starting from the beginning of the fourteenth century, granaries were built on the swampy areas on the other side of the river Elbląg; at the first stages of the town development, these were located inside the town walls. The information in the land book of the suburbs indicates that in 1430, Wyspa Spichrzów was surrounded by a palisade and a moat and already had its own network of streets. It encompassed 241 granaries, 65 areas designated for storage of goods and 36 gardens. Other buildings located on Wyspa Spichrzów included the town's slaughterhouse, stalls, a coach house, carpenters' workshops and facilities for storage and distribution of tar products. During the invasion of the army of Gdańsk in

<sup>31</sup> W. Rynkiewicz-Domino, *Budownictwo, architektura i kultura artystyczna*, [in:] *Historia Elbląga*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 240.

<sup>32</sup> CDW, vol. 1, no. 1, 4; B. Jähnig, *Das Entstehen der mittelalterlichen Sakraltopographie von Elbing*, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens", vol. 10, 1987, pp. 40–43.

<sup>33</sup> M. Pawlak, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja. Kościoły i wyznania*, [in:] *Historia Elbląga*, vol. 2, part 1 pp. 186–192; E. Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach Wiślanych w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1994, pp. 53ff.

<sup>34</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, pp. 146ff; G. Nawrońska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Elbląga*, pp. 169ff.

1577, the majority of the buildings on Wyspa Spichrzów were burnt down; the storage base for Elbląg port, however, was quickly restored. To the west of Wyspa Spichrzów, municipal gardens, known as Grubenhagen, were located. To the north of the granary district, on the river bank, there were squares designated in the fifteenth century for the storage of export wood and firewood.<sup>35</sup>

Behind Targowa Gate, by the road to Królewiec (German: *Königsberg*, present-day *Kaliningrad*), another suburb appeared in which facilities necessary for the craft and ship-building industries were located. By the river near the docks, ship-building workshops and a shipyard were located. These were destroyed during the aforementioned invasion of the army of Gdańsk in 1577, however, their reconstruction proceeded immediately.<sup>36</sup> It was also for the needs of ship-building that the ropewalk was fitted in front of Targowa Gate. The infrastructure serving the cloth- and leather-making industries – frames, fulling mills and tanneries – was also erected by the river. The Northern Suburb traditionally housed manufactories of ceramics. The oldest mentions about brickyards in the northern parts of the district date back to the 1330s. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, squares were designated for the storage of wood in the area located north of the shipyard. The oldest street of the Northern Suburb was św. Jerzego (*Saint George's*) Dyke, in the sixteenth century also known as Krowia (*Cow*) Dyke, leading from Brama Targowa in the direction of Tolkmicko and Królewiec. Near the ropewalk, the road bifurcated; the street which branched off was called Złodziejska (*Thieves'*) Dyke. It derived its name from the gallows hill (*Galgenberg*) nearby. Another one of the oldest streets was Szeroka (*Broad*) Street, leading to Saint Jacob's church. In the sixteenth century, the development of the suburban streets was under way; new streets stretched out from the main arteries. One of the most important roads created then was a street, called Słoneczna (*Sunny*) since the eighteenth; it facilitated the communication between the Northern and the Eastern Suburbs.<sup>37</sup> The main sacral institutions in this part of the suburbs were Corpus Christi church (*Kościół Bożego Ciała*) and the shelter erected at the beginning of the fifteenth century at the location of Saint George's leprosarium. In the mid-sixteenth century, by Złodziejska Dyke and in the vicinity of the gallows, there was a chapel called Jerusalem's. The settlement in the Northern Suburb dates back to the 1340s. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the most densely populated areas were located between St. George's Dyke and the river and by Złodziejska Dyke. In the sixteenth century, residential buildings along Złodziejska Dyke reached as far as the gallows hill, covering also the areas located to the north of Corpus Christi church and the former brickyard.<sup>38</sup>

The settlement in the Eastern Suburb dates back to the construction of mills by the Kumiela Canal. In the fifteenth century, four such mills are mentioned in addition to an oil mill, located directly in front of Kowalska Gate, to the east of which, there was a bathhouse.<sup>39</sup> In its vicinity, a shooting range was set up, which after the extension of the fortifications in front of Brama Kowalska towards the end of the sixteenth century, was moved to the intermural space between the walls from Brama Targowa and the Elbląg River. The main artery of the Eastern Suburb was Młyńska (*Mill*) Dyke. As early as the second half of the fourteenth century, several side alleys, leading East and to the New Town, were marked out. In the eastern part of the Suburb, in the fifteenth century, the streets Zielona (*Green*), Błonie, Reynflet, and Neugut were created, enabling communication with the Northern Suburb. The main sacral institution of the Eastern Suburb was Saint Jacob's church – a filial church dependent on the Old Town's parish – mentioned for the first time in the sources in 1338.<sup>40</sup> After the demolition of Saint Jacob's church in 1601, the function of the main suburban church was transferred to Saint Anne's Chapel located in the eastern part of the Suburb. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, Saint Elisabeth's Shelter was erected in front of Brama Kowalska; in the second half of the fifteenth

<sup>35</sup> S. Gierszewski, *Życie portowe Elbląga*, p. 317; idem, *Elbląski przemysł okrętowy*, p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> *Das Elbinger Stadtbuch*, vol. 1, no. 658; S. Gierszewski, *Elbląski przemysł okrętowy*, p. 39; R. Czaja, T. Nawrołski, *Tworzenie miejskiego zespołu osadniczego*, [in:] *Historia Elbląga*, vol. 1, p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> M. Toeppen, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung*, pp. 79ff.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, p. 92; R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, pp. 152ff; W. Długokęcki, *Abriss der Geschichte der Spitäl- und Spitalwesens von Elbing vom 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *75 Jahre Historische Kommission für Ost- und Westpreussische Landesforschung*, ed. B. Jähnig, Lüneburg 1999, pp. 303–351.

<sup>39</sup> R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w XIII–XV w. (do 1454 r.)*, Gdańsk, 2012, p. 27; R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, pp. 157 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Das Elbinger Stadtbuch*, vol. 1, no. 386; R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, p. 158.

century, it was extended to include a chapel.<sup>41</sup> Settlements in the Eastern Suburb developed most rapidly in the area in front of Brama Kowalska. In the fifteenth century, the greatest number of residential shacks was located in the area between the gate and Garncarska (*Potter*) Street. In the sixteenth century, residential infrastructure started to develop along the streets located in the eastern part of the suburb. The development of the settlement in the area of the Old Town suburbs in the sixteenth century is confirmed by the growth of the number of residential buildings. In 1430, in this area of the suburbs, there were 588 premises, including 383 booths and shacks and shacks with gardens. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the number of buildings grew up to approximately 610, while the number of shacks – to 520.<sup>42</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the greatest transformation to the settlement fabric took place in the Southern Suburb, which after 1454 replaced the former castle, outer bailey, precinct of the castle. In addition to garners and a lime kiln, the area also housed facilities supporting the operation of Elbląg's brewing industry (brewhouse, malthouse). In 1578, the coach house was moved from Wyspa Spichrzów to the former castle boroughs.<sup>43</sup> In 1458, a monastery for the Bridgettines was founded inside the castle area; however, due to the lack of support from the townspeople, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was deserted. In 1535, in the former monastery building, Evangelicals located an academic gymnasium.<sup>44</sup> In the first half of the sixteenth century, intensive expansion of the residential infrastructure took place in the area between Grobla Malborska (*Malbork Dyke*) and the Elbląg River. A particularly numerous group among the inhabitants of this part of the suburb, also known as Vorberg, were fishermen.<sup>45</sup>

## Elbląg New Town

Elbląg New Town occupied the area of approximately 9.5 ha. The urban space was designated in the form of a rectangle 215 x 430 m. The main axes of the spatial layout constituted the two long streets: Długa (*Long*) and Pańska, between which the town square together with five other streets were marked out. At first, 160 full-unit plots were mapped out for the townspeople, but they quickly got divided, as in the fifteenth century, the land book listed 239 plots of land. Starting from the sixteenth century, the joining of plots was taking place, as evidenced by the land book kept since 1721, in which 167 plots of land were listed. The layout of the New Town survived without major changes until the eighteenth century. The only significant change was that during the extension of the south-western section of the Old Town fortifications, the western town boundary was moved. In connection with the extension of the ramparts in 1414, some houses at the western side were demolished. In spite of the fact that according to a 1459 agreement with the Old Town Council, the New Town was to be preserved 'in its entire length and width', in the mid-sixteenth century, 19 buildings adjacent to the Old Town from the western side were demolished together with Zamkowa Gate, as well as St. Jacob's Gate, adjacent from the northern side.<sup>46</sup> Of the greatest importance for foreign traffic were Pasłęcka (*Pasłęk*) Gate, to the east and Malborska (*Malbork*) Gate, where the route leading to Malbork began. The New Town did not have brick fortifications. It was protected by a moat and a wooden palisade. A plot in the western part of the town square was designated for the construction of the town hall. The Breadcrumbs' counters were located at the ground floor of the town hall, while butchers' counters were erected in the vicinity of Saint Jacob's Gate. Starting from 1560, the New Town's Evangelical commune had its seat in the town hall. Within the boundaries of the town, there were also facilities for the craft industry;

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<sup>41</sup> M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Stadtbuch*, pp. 125ff; B. Jähmig, *Das Entstehen der Sakraltopographie*, p. 43; W. Długokęcki, *Abriß der Geschichte*, p. 344.

<sup>42</sup> R. Czaja, T. Nawroński, *Tworzenie miejskiego zespołu osadniczego*, p. 97; R. Czaja, R. Golba, *Strasse, Haus und Parzelle*, p. 447.

<sup>43</sup> M. G. Fuchs, *Beschreibung der Stadt Elbing*, vol. 2, p. 173; M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten*, p. 207.

<sup>44</sup> S. Kamińska, *Klasztory brygidek w Gdańsku, Elblągu i Lublinie*, Gdańsk 1970, pp. 44 ff., 147; M. Pawlak, *Dzieje Gimnazjum Elbląskiego w latach 1573–1772*, Olsztyn 1972, p. 24.

<sup>45</sup> M. Toeppen, *Geschichte der räumlichen Ausbreitung*, pp. 91, 95.

<sup>46</sup> A. Semrau, *Die Beschreibung der Neustadt Elbing*, pp. 50 ff.; R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, pp. 168 ff.

in the vicinity of the Old Town moat, the ropewalk was set as well as frames for cloth dyers. At the eastern extreme, there were two breweries and a municipal stall in the fifteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

The New Town Suburbs stretched between Grobla Malborska and the road to Pasłek, also known as St. George's Dyke. The suburbs served mainly economic purposes; they consisted of pastures, gardens, barns and squares used for storage of goods. It was as late as the first half of the sixteenth century that residential shacks started to be erected in the area between Malborska Dyke and the road to Pasłek. By the latter, already in the fourteenth century, a leprosarium and Saint John's Cemetery were founded, but they did not survive into the sixteenth century.<sup>48</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Paulina Waclawik*

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<sup>47</sup> B. Schmid, *Die Neustadt zu Elbing und ihr Rathaus. Eine baugeschichtliche Studie*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins", vol. 50, 1908, pp. 94 ff.; A. Semrau, *Die Beschreibung der Neustadt Elbing*, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>48</sup> R. Czaja, *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga*, p. 170.

### III.6.10.9b GDAŃSK AROUND 1600

*Zofia Maciakowska*

The plan to the scale 1:10,000 presented in this chapters covered the area of Gdańsk and its suburbs, stretching along the main access roads from the direction of Oliwa (from the north), Żuławy and the Vistula Spit (from the east), Tczew (from the south), and Kartuzy (from the west). The reconstruction also included the area of four villages (or their parts) located outside the area of Gdańsk jurisdiction (on the Church property): Szkoty,<sup>1</sup> Biskupia Górka, Chełm, and partly, Siedlce. The central role for the entire town area was played by the Main Town with the abutting Old Suburbs (*Stare Przedmieście, Vorstadt*). To its north, it was separated from the Old Town by moats. From the west, north, and east, the two towns were surrounded by unfortified suburbs with a former Teutonic village, called Zaroślak (*Petershagen*), and gardens around *Rosental* (the beginning stretch of Armii Krajowej Street, not existing now), *Sandgrube* (Ks. Rogaczewskiego Street, now existing only in its the western part), as well as Nowe Ogrody (*Neugarten*) and in the area around the Corpus Christi Hospital (*Szpital Bożego Ciała*) and Lazaret, Długie Ogrody (*Langgarten*), and a group of shacks by the New Moltawa (*Neue Mottlau*), called Szopy (*Mattenbunden*). The eastern suburbs were separated from the town with the Old and New Moltawa as well as the Kanał na Stępce (*Kielgraben*) between which Wyspa Spichrzów (Granary Island) and Ołowianka (*Bleihof*) with Kępa (*Kampe*) were located.

The issue of the reconstruction of the town's area together with its nearest neighbourhood in the period between the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century was addressed several times. Usually, the layout of the medieval town was reconstructed as it was at the end of the Teutonic Knights' rule, i.e., around 1454, and then around 1520, 1577, and 1630. The elaboration of the last three depended on the preservation of the cartographic materials presenting the development of certain fragments of the town fortifications, the form of which affected the town space and the layout of the suburbs. The earliest reconstructions were elaborated by Karl Hoburg (1852)<sup>2</sup> and Gustav Köhler (1893).<sup>3</sup> In the case of the former, the area of the town itself, reconstructed for the first half of the sixteenth century, was depicted in a simplified manner. The suburbs were not included in it at all, as the author focused his research on issues associated with the fortifications. The other researcher presented the town plan from 1577, taking into account the street grid and location of the most important facilities, as well as the purpose of chosen areas within and outside the town.

The reconstruction of the town's urban space as it was c.a. 1520 was also undertaken by Friedrich Froese / Erich Keyser (1931)<sup>4</sup> and Otto Kloeppel (1937).<sup>5</sup> Froese's reconstruction was in line with Köhler's plans and somewhat simplified. On the other hand, O. Kloeppel presented a very detailed layout of the town and its suburbs, and supplemented it with an attempt to reconstruct the parcel divisions and the buildings on the plots, which were then sketched using axonometric drawing. In terms of reconstruction, it should not be treated as an accurate depiction of the divisions and forms of development of

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<sup>1</sup> Since 1781, the village was called Stare Szkoty (*Altschottland*).

<sup>2</sup> K. Hoburg, *Geschichte der Festungswerke Danzigs*, Danzig 1852.

<sup>3</sup> G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen Danzig und Weichselmünde bis zum Jahre 1814 in Verbindung mit der Kriegesgeschichte der freien Stadt Danzig*, vol. 1, *Bis zum Jahre 1734*, Breslau 1893.

<sup>4</sup> F. Froese, *Die Entwicklung des Danziger Stadtbildes*, "Der Nordosten", vol. 1, 1931, plan 3, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> O. Kloeppel, *Das Stadtbild von Danzig in den drei Jahrhunderten seiner großen Geschichte. Die Baukunst im Deutschen Osten. Beiträge zu ihrer Gestaltungsentwicklung*, Danzig 1937.

the plots, as there is no sufficient source basis for that, but only as a visualization of the town's spatial organisation.<sup>6</sup> Subsequent plans concerning the shape of the urban complex of Gdańsk in the sixteenth century were published in the post-war period by Jerzy Stankiewicz for the years 1520,<sup>7</sup> 1580<sup>8</sup> and around 1650.<sup>9</sup> On all of them, the buildings of the town and its suburbs were depicted as blocks, and the water and road systems were presented schematically. The plans included the most important public, sacral, and industrial buildings, as well as the areas in which the timber was stored. The importance of the oldest plans for the research on the town's development was discussed by Heinz Lingenberg.<sup>10</sup>

The plan of Gdańsk as of about 1600 included in this atlas, was created with the use of cartographic and iconographic sources from approximately that time, published results of historical and archaeological research, as well as queries and findings by Wiesław Długokęcki and Zofia Maciakowska, made for the Historical Atlas of Polish Towns vol. 1, issue 8: Gdańsk (within the modern fortifications) including the plan and description reconstructing the area of Gdańsk around 1660, elaborated by both authors.<sup>11</sup> The possibility of using the preserved plans and the town's vedutas in the work on reconstructing the space of Gdańsk around 1600 was the main reason it was decided to present the state of the town and its suburbs at that time. The construction of uniform earthen fortifications of the whole town was already underway, but it took more than 30 years to be completed. At that time, the suburbs on the eastern and southern sides of the town remained unchanged, but they were transformed in the 1620s and 1630s as a result of building a bastion ring. The changes in the northern and western suburbs took place only after 1655 when the hills' fortifications were erected. Therefore, this period allows the capture of the transformation of the medieval town into a modern one. The cartographic sources used are fairly complete, but the available written sources are insufficient to comprehensively explore the space of the town and its suburbs at that time. They are scattered and required extensive archival queries in the town registers. This text is an attempt to synthesize the results of the research.

## Base maps

In elaboration of the base maps for the reconstruction, two plans by August Gersdorff, characterised with high accuracy and wide spatial range, were used: *Situations Plan von der Stadt und Festung Danzig und den Umgebungen bis zum Ausflusse der Weichsel in die Ost See. Aus mehreren Plänen zusammen getragen und durch neu Aufnahmen ergänzt im Jahre 1815*<sup>12</sup> and *Situations Plan von denen innerhalb der demarcations Linie liegenden Danziger Vorstädten Petershagen, Altschottland, Stadtgebieth, Stolzenberg, Neugarten, Schidlitz, Kneipab und allen mit bennanten Vorstädten combinirten Ortschaften und einzelnen Grundstücken, mit Bemerkung der seit dem Jahre 1807 vorgegangenen Veränderungen. Aus speciellen Plänen der Conductuers Meyen, Weichert, Kietsch (?), Fromm, Bach, Heidefeld, Kienitz, Heuer, Erich und Pape, zusammen getragen und durch neue Aufnahmen ergänzt im März 1816*.<sup>13</sup>

The scale of the first plan is about 1:5,000 (240 Rhein rods are 18 cm), and the second – 1:5,000 (200 Rhein rods are 14.9 cm). The former covers the area from the estuary of Vistula to Stare Szkoty, which were not fully covered, and from Krzyżownik to Knipawa/Rudno. The latter has a smaller range in the north, as it covers the territory stretching to the estuary of the Strzyża Creek, and in the

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<sup>6</sup> The shortcomings of this plan are clearly shown by comparison with the axonometric plan of Gdańsk prepared nearly 80 years later, about 1600 (from the Krigsarkivet Stockholm collection, Utländskastads- och fästningsplaner Danzig 13), hereinafter "Stockholm plan"), which shows that even at that time the development was not as advanced as presented by O. Kloeppel.

<sup>7</sup> R. Massalski, J. Stankiewicz, *Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny Gdańska*, [in:] *Gdańsk, jego dzieje i kultura*, ed. T. Bieniecki, Warsaw 1969, p. 147 (together with R. Massalski); J. Stankiewicz, *Rozwój przestrzenny i demograficzny Gdańska pod berłem Jagiellonów*, [in:] *Historia Gdańska*, vol. 2, ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> J. Stankiewicz, *Urbanistyczny i przestrzenny rozwój miasta*, [in:] *Historia Gdańska*, vol. 2, ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, after p. 406.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, after p. 410.

<sup>10</sup> H. Lingenberg, *Die Dokumentation der baugeschichtlichen Situation und Entwicklung Danzigs seit 1600 in seinen ältesten Grundrissen*, "Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens", 1985, no. 23, pp. 213–240.

<sup>11</sup> To be published in 2021.

<sup>12</sup> GStA PK, XI. HA, AKS, Rolle no. 30 L, plan dimensions 182,5 x 82,5 cm.

<sup>13</sup> APGd, 9, 2/1036.

west to Emaus. On the southern side, it depicts a part located beyond Stare Szkoty and Chmielniki. The plan does not include the buildings within the town area but focuses on the suburbs. Both plans mark the topography in the suburban area, river and creek beds, pond outlines, afforestation, as well as graveyards, gardens, meadows, and fields; the second one also includes the wetlands. The first plan depicted the town centre within the inner ring of fortifications in quite a detailed manner, even though the divisions into plots were not marked which was impossible, given the scale of the plan and the small width of the town properties. On the other hand, the outlines of town districts, widths of streets and shapes of public facilities, town gates, and sacral buildings were faithfully reconstructed. The arrangement of the buildings – not always accompanied by delineation of the plots – was shown only in sparsely populated parts of the town, located on its outskirts and suburbs.<sup>14</sup>

An important supplement to both plans was, therefore, the cadastral plan of the town area of Gdańsk by the same author, *Plan der Königlich Preussischen See- und Handlungs-Stadt Danzig mit Bemerkung der Grundstücke eines jeden Besitzers*, dated 1814 (a scale about 1:3,300, 140 Rhein rods are 15.8 cm), where the most important structures were marked with letters and numbers. The relevant legend is placed in its upper part.<sup>15</sup> The preparation of the base maps was also influenced by two later plans: a precise cadastral plan of the town by Daniel Buhse made at a scale of 1:1,000 from 1866–1869<sup>16</sup> and a plan of its immediate suburbs from 1854 at about 1:2,900 (100 Rhein rods are about 377 m),<sup>17</sup> as they allowed for minor corrections in the course of the streets.

The descriptions and commentaries on all of the aforementioned plans were made in German.

## Topography

Gdańsk was founded on the partially waterlogged grounds of the coastline terrace of Kashubian Coast (*Pobrzeże Kaszubskie*), which stretches between the uplands of the Kashubian Lake District (*Pojezierze Kaszubskie*) and the Gdańsk Bay (*Zatoka Gdańska*), at the western edge of the Vistula delta. In the vicinity of Gdańsk, the upland of about 70 m above sea level (and about 50 directly by the town walls) distinctly drops to a height of 10–30 m above sea level. It is interspersed by a series of ravines and valleys carved out by streams and creeks, which in the late Pleistocene period occasionally carried large amounts of water resulting in the eventual formation of sand-gravel alluvial fans in their lower part. The terrace itself is gently inclined in the north-eastern direction. Gdańsk was established at the outlet of the Siedlecki Creek, ran between two mountains Biskupia (*Bischofsberg*) upland to its south, and Gradowa (*Hagelsberg*) from the north. It formed a fan-shaped elevation, reaching from the area of Korzenna Street (*Pfefferstadt*) in the north to the vicinity of the Main Town Hall in the south-east. In the sixteenth century it had already had a low water flow.<sup>18</sup> The town is crossed by the slowly flowing Motława River (*Motlau*), which flows out of Rokickie Lake near Tczew and has its outlet to the Vistula, downstream of the Polski Hak (*Polnischer Hacken*), and the Radunia Canal (*Radaune*), built by the Teutonic Knights before 1338 and routed from Pruszcz Gdański along the edge of the upland to the Old Town.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> An interesting feature of the second plan is that it marks the buildings which were destroyed in 1807 and 1813 and were not rebuilt, houses demolished in 1807 and 1813, buildings not destroyed and those rebuilt after 1813. The first plan distinguishes the royal buildings and other important facilities, as well as the destroyed buildings in suburbs and within the town itself.

<sup>15</sup> APGd, 9, 2/680.

<sup>16</sup> APGd, 1126/376; PAN BG. C I 40.1 The plan consists of 19 sheets.

<sup>17</sup> GStA PK, XI\_HA\_FPK\_E 71251. The plan consists of 9 sheets.

<sup>18</sup> J. Kodracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 59–67; A. Zbierski, *Rozwój przestrzenny Gdańska w IX–XIII w.*, [in:] *Historia Gdańska*, vol. 1, ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1978, pp. 71–73. W. Długokęcki, *Środowisko geograficzne i topografia gdańskiego zespołu osadniczego we wczesnym średniowieczu (do początku XIV w.)*. *Wybrane problemy*, “Acta Cassubiana”, vol. 20, 2018, pp. 8–11.

<sup>19</sup> W. Długokęcki, *Uwagi o dziejach Pruszcza Gdańskiego w średniowieczu*, ZH, vol. 76, 2011, no. 1, pp. 119–120; B. Możejko, B. Śliwiński, *O początkach budowy kanału Raduni w Gdańsku w XIV wieku*, ZH, vol. 77, 2012, no. 2, p. 111; W. Długokęcki, *O początkach Pruszcza i kanału Raduni*. *Odpowiedź Beacie Możejko i Błażejowi Śliwińskiemu*, ibidem, ZH, vol. 77, 2012, no. 2, p. 135.

The vicinity of the Vistula delta was associated with frequent floods affecting the town. In particular, the spring thaw or strong northern winds causing a surge of seawater at the estuary and rising water levels in the estuary zone. The flooding usually affected the lowest parts of the town and its suburbs: Długie Ogrody with Szopy (*Mattenbuden*) and Szafarnia (*Schäferei*), Wyspa Spichrzów (*Granary Island, Speicherinsel*), Ołowianka (*Bleihof*), Brabank and Wiadrownia (*Eimermacherhof*) as well as quays and houses near the Targ Rybny (*Fish Markt*).<sup>20</sup>

The most important roads in the area of Gdańsk were to the west of the town, a route following the Vistula Rivers toward the Western Pomerania, from Tczew towards Oliwa (the former “droga królewska”, *via regia*) and a diverging road that led to Żukowo and Kartuzy; a road towards Żuławy and Mierzeja Wiślana in the east.

## The town in c.a. 1600

The axonometric plan from around 1600 presenting the whole town and parts of the suburbs was the most crucial for our research. Its key advantage is high accuracy in presenting forms of fortifications and buildings in the town.<sup>21</sup> The plan depicts only the part of western suburbs that is in direct proximity to the town, while the eastern suburbs are represented as far as the area of St. Barbara’s Hospital. The plans of suburbs from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century also of great importance: the lost plan of the western front fortifications from about 1590,<sup>22</sup> the plan of Gdańsk from 1601,<sup>23</sup> the plan of northern suburbs going as far as the Strzyża Creek from 1601,<sup>24</sup> and the town’s vedutas from the hills from 1575,<sup>25</sup> 1593/1594<sup>26</sup> and 1617.<sup>27</sup> Other plans that contributed significantly were those of suburbs fortifications prepared since the 1630s<sup>28</sup> and others, dating back to the seventeenth century. They presented the surroundings of Chełm,<sup>29</sup> the buildings of Zaroślak before and after it was burnt down in 1656,<sup>30</sup> as well as situational sketches of Szkoty and the parts of the town located at the foot of Biskupia Górka opposite Zaroślak.<sup>31</sup> In the reconstruction of the eastern suburbs, both the axonometric plan and the plan of the whole town from 1615<sup>32</sup> were used, as well as the plan from 1615 prepared by the so-called “Construction Department” (*Bauamt*), covering the areas east of the line of the modern fortifications planned at that time.<sup>33</sup> To reconstruct the buildings of the town itself, however, the most important were the axonometric plan from about 1600 and the plans depicting certain fragments of the town from a later period,<sup>34</sup> as well as pictures of selected squares and streets from 1617.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>20</sup> R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig historische Beschreibung*, Amsterdam–Dantzig 1688, pp. 276–277. The flooding of Wiadrownia and Brabank is demonstrated by the results of archaeological surveys carried out in these parts of the town in 2011–2012.

<sup>21</sup> The credibility of “the Stockholm plan” was validated with several other cartographic and written sources.

<sup>22</sup> O. Kloepfel, *Das Stadtbild von Danzig*, p. 143; G. Bukal, *Fortyfikacje Gdańska i ujścia Wisły 1454–1793. Studium z dziejów nowożytniej architektury militarnej*, Sopot 2012, p. 289, fig. 2.10; p. 299, fig. 2.30.

<sup>23</sup> Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, R/938, p. 124.

<sup>24</sup> APGd, 300, MP/511.

<sup>25</sup> G. Braun, F. Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, [vol. 2:] *De praecipuis totius universi urbibus. Liber secundus*, Coloniae Agripinae 1575, PAN BG, no. 4488.

<sup>26</sup> A. Moeller, *Warhafftige Contrafactur der Furtreflichen und Weltberumten Sestadt Dantzig in Preuss wie dieselbe vom Bischofsberge eigentlich anzusehen ist. Da zugleich unten an alle Kirchen und furnembste Gebewe mit sonderlichen Buchstaben verzeichnet und genennet werden en*, collection of PAN BG, Z IV 1013.

<sup>27</sup> NLS, KoB DelaG Stö.f.163.

<sup>28</sup> Western Suburbs with Biskupia Górka: APGd, 300, MP/837 (around 1630?); APGd, 300, MP/652 (1635); APGd, 300, MP/630 (around 1641); APGd, 300, MP/626 (around 1655); APGd, 300, MP/629 (around 1650–1655); APGd, 300, MP/631 (around 1656). Northern Suburbs: APGd, 300, MP/810 (around 1626); APGd, 300, MP/764 (1674).

<sup>29</sup> APGd, 300, MP/639 (1659).

<sup>30</sup> APGd, 300, MP/168 (1601); 300, MP/661 (1611); APGd, 300, R/A, 1, f. 676r (1666), 679r (1667), 680r. (1669).

<sup>31</sup> APGd, 1126/384, p. 6 (1634), p. 7 (1679), p. 10 (1664).

<sup>32</sup> A copy of the Gregorius Schmer plan from 1615, not preserved till this day, included in the plan from 1815 GStA PK Berlin, XI. HA, AKS, Rolle no. 30L.

<sup>33</sup> APGd, 300, MP/131.

<sup>34</sup> Plans of the Zamczysko area: Staatsbibliothek, SBB\_III\_C\_Kart. X (1648, copy), lost original published by O. Kloepfel *Das Stadtbild von Danzig*, p. 125; Old Town: APGd, 300, MP/6 (1637); APGd, 300, MP/1200 (1696); PAN BG, C I 50.7 (1780).

<sup>35</sup> PAN BG, no. 4091.

The analysis of written sources made it possible to present the location of several industrial and commercial facilities omitted in the previously elaborated plans that aimed at reconstructing the urban complex of Gdańsk in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, it was not possible to depict its sociotopography, as there are no sources that would allow determining the location of individual craft workshops. Using the retrogressive method it is only possible to identify larger clusters of craftsmen of one particular profession in the areas of some streets.

About the year 1600, the town was enclosed by a very diversified ring of fortifications<sup>36</sup>. The western front was formed by bastion fortifications, and the north and south ones by early modern walls, earthen ramparts and moats. In the east, the town was defended by the New Motława canal and the so-called Psi Wał (*Hundewall*) running along it, together with the flood embankments around Długie Ogrody (*Langgarten*) and Szopy (*Mattenbuden*). There were also fragments of the former fortifications of the Teutonic Knights' castle, which, apart from the small Radunia Canal (*Radaune*), took a form of ramparts and moats running to the tower at the corner of the northern front, called Baszta pod Ciemną Gwiazdą. The town fortifications on the left side of the Motława River enclosed the Main Town (Główne Miasto, *Rechtstadt*), the Old Town (*Stare Miasto, Altstadt*) and the Old Suburbs (*Stare Przedmieście, Vorstadt*) and on its right side: Granary Island (*Wyspa Spichrzów, Speicherinsel*) and Dwór Smolny (*Aschhof*) separated by a canal, Ołowianka (*Bleihof*, previously called *Szafarnia*), and Kępa (*Kampe*), Długie Ogrody and Szopy. The Main Town was separated from the other parts of left-bank Gdańsk by medieval walls and moats (which were already partly backfilled on the west and south side).

The suburbs were located outside the fortifications: in the north – the area around Lazaret and Corpus Christi Hospital (at that time, most of the burghers' gardens in the vicinity of the hospital no longer existed), in the west – the area encompassing the streets: Kurkowa (*Schießstange*), Nowe Ogrody (*Neugarten*), Ks. Rogaczewskiego (*Sandgrube*) and Stawki (*Schwarzes Meer*; currently not existing), formerly known as *Rosental* (now not existing), in the south – the former Teutonic Knights' village Zaroślak (*Petershagen*), in the east – Długie Ogrody (*Langgarten*) and Szopy (*Mattenbuden*), meadows and thickets with loose buildings scattered within the urban patrimony and the former burghers' forest. The western and southern borders of the town were not so clearly distinguished, as the buildings of Siedlce (*Schidlitz*) and Szkoty (*Schottland*) were located just outside the boundaries of the town.

The respective functions of the Main Town and the Old Town, including the division between the two districts, were not fully defined, despite the agreement signed in 1595. The final regulations were not settled until 1637.<sup>37</sup>

The town area was crossed by the Motława River flowing into the Vistula north of Zamczysko (*Altschloss*). It was also crossed by the Radunia Canal with its tributaries, also flowing into the Vistula, but below the estuary of the Motława River.

## Main Town

The Main Town has changed relatively little since medieval times when it encompassed the area from the Motława River to the line of ramparts on the eastern side of Targ Węglowy (*Kohlenmarkt, Coal Market*) and Bogusławskiego (*An der Reitbahn*) and from the line of the town walls on Służebna Street (*Dienergasse*) and Za Murami (*Hintergasse*) in the south to the line of the town walls on the southern side of Podwale Staromiejskie Street (*Altstädtische Graben*). Since the Old Town and the Main

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<sup>36</sup> The most important publications discussing the urban development of Gdańsk in 1600 are: O. Klooppel, *Das Stadtbild von Danzig*, pp. 204–245; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Köln–Wien 1972 (descriptions of particular parts of the town: Main Town – pp. 78–83, 128–134; Osiek – pp. 222–225; Old Town – pp. 229–231, 237–241; Old Suburb – pp. 293–297; western suburbs – pp. 310–314, 376–377; Granary Island – pp. 316–318, 381–386; Szopy and Długie Ogrody – pp. 319–325; Zamczysko – p. 374); J. Stankiewicz, *Gdańsk. Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny oraz powstanie zespołu Gdańsk–Sopot–Gdynia*, Warsaw 1959, pp. 88–99; idem, *Rozwój przestrzenny i demograficzny Gdańska*, pp. 17–27; idem, *Urbanistyczny i przestrzenny rozwój miasta*, pp. 410–432. On town fortifications: K. Hoburg, *Geschichte der Festungswerke*, pp. 22–40; G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen*, pp. 200–295; G. Bukal, *Fortyfikacje Gdańska*, pp. 45–80.

<sup>37</sup> J. Kaufmann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Altstadt Danzig*, "Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins", 55, 1913, pp. 92–96. Full text of the agreement in copy, i.a., PAN BG, Ms 733, pp. 84–97.

Town, as well as the Old Suburbs, were surrounded by a shared line of earthen fortifications, the former walls and moats of the Main Town have become redundant. Only the Wyżynna Gate (*Hohes Tor*), led into the town through the earthen fortifications. The gates in the brick fortifications were the same as in medieval times: in the south – the Kotwiczników Gate, the Rybacka Gate, the Na Zbytkach Gate; in the west – the Długouliczna Gate, the Ludwisarska Gate, and the Ulicy Szerokiej Gate; in the north – the Zamkowa Gate. From the Motława riverside, access to the town was provided by the following gates: Tobiasza (*Tobias*), Straganiarska (*Stallholders*), Świętojańska (*St. John's*), Żuraw (*Crane*), Duchy Św. (*Holy Spirit's*), Mariacka (*St. Mary's*), Chlebnicka (*Bread*), Zielona (*Green*), and Krowia (*Cow*). Two bridges were placed over the Motława River – the Krowi Bridge (*Cow*) and the Zielony Bridge (*Green*). Another one, located just next to the former Teutonic Knights' tower at the exit of Fish Market, connected the Main Town with the Zamczysko area. The town had a comb layout, consisting of wide streets leading towards the Motława River, interconnected by numerous narrow perpendicular streets.<sup>38</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, a decision was made to backfill the moats on the western and southern sides of the town. Around 1600, the moats on the western side of the town from the Narożna Tower to the Gate of the Bellmakers (*Brama Ludwisarska*) were filled.<sup>39</sup> On the area gained north of the Gatehouse complex of Długa Street a new square was created, called Targ Węglowy. Gradual backfilling of the southern moats was intended to enable future expansion of the Main Town buildings up to Podwale Przedmiejskie (*Vorstädtischer Graben*). Shortly after the start of the works, the belt between the former moats was put to use by the shooting society.<sup>40</sup> Initially, the buildings were developed directly by the town walls, both inside and outside.<sup>41</sup> In particular, many buildings were built on the southern side of the town, where numerous huts were erected using the existing wall structures along Za Murami Street (*Hintergasse*) and Służebna Street (*Dienergasse*), among others, in the vicinity of the Rybacka Gate. The huts (in this case small sectional houses) were intended for municipal service employees (Służebna 4–17).<sup>42</sup> Another municipal rental house was built on Targ Węglowy.<sup>43</sup> The northern moat was approached differently. In 1608, it was decided to convert it into a canal, as the canal that had supplied it was intended to be used for industrial purposes, and there was a need to maintain access to water for the inhabitants of the southern part of the Old Town and former Osiek (*Hakelwerk*) during the repair and cleaning of the Radunia canal. Fragments of both former moats stretching from the Gate of Bellmakers to Jacek Tower remained neglected and partially overgrown for a long time.<sup>44</sup>

Permanent buildings were developed in the vicinity of the town walls from the Lawendowa Street (*Lavendelgasse*) to the Targ Rybny Street (*Fischmarkt*), as far as the former Teutonic Knights' external gate tower (the so-called *Hinter Fischmarkt*). Individual constructions were erected on the area of the castle itself, the internal moats of which were systematically backfilled.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> On the urban layout of the Main Town, see: O. Klooppel, *Das Stadtbild von Danzig*, pp. 41–80; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 78–83, 128–134; T. Zarębska, *Przebudowa Gdańska w jego złotym wieku*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 19–22, 24–27; Z. Maciakowska, *Kształtowanie przestrzeni miejskiej Głównego Miasta w Gdańsku do początku XV wieku*, Gdańsk 2011, pp. 66–67.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Hogenberg's view of the town from the foot of Gradowa Mountain. On this subject R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzic*, p. 146; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 1, Danzig 1918, p. 305; G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen*, p. 205.

<sup>40</sup> A note from 1594 mentions the plot of land being used at least 15 years. The tenant himself made a square for fencing and shooting exercises by backfilling a fragment of former town moats, cf. APGd, 15/16, f. 19. Intensive development of the former town moats was taking place until the 1630s. For properties located there cf. e.g., APGd, 300, 12/837, p. 31; APGd, 300, 12/667, p. 268; APGd, 300, 12/832, p. 18, p. 58.

<sup>41</sup> On the ban on erecting objects by the walls due to narrowing down the wall streets, APGd, 300, R/Q, 12, f. 79r, 80r (1570). The problem of buildings adjacent to the external side of the walls being made of non-durable materials is mentioned in the records of a town rule from 1597, PAN BG, Ms 281, f. 81r. Their construction was banned and the existing ones were ordered to be dismantled due to the fire hazard. On the furriers' huts in the area of Timber Market (Targ Drzewny), APGd, 300, 31/95, p. 101 (1594).

<sup>42</sup> These houses – 4–17 Służebna Street – are visible on the “Stockholm plan”, which depicts the moats of the former Teutonic castle as already backfilled.

<sup>43</sup> The description of this house has been preserved in GStA PK in Berlin, II. HA Westpreussen u. Netzedistrikt: Städte, Abt. 9, Varia, no. 49, f. 75r–75v. It was disassembled at the beginning of the nineteenth century due to the construction of a theatre.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the “Stockholm plan” from around 1600 and the view of Timber Market from 1617, Ä. Dickmann, *Praecipuorum locorum et aedificiorum que in urbe Dantiscana visuntur adumbratio*, PAN BG, no. 4091.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the “Stockholm plan”, which shows that the internal moats of the former Teutonic castle have already been filled in.

The area within the town walls had also been a subject of intensified development. In 1577, 1,968 houses and huts were supposedly located in the Main Town excluding the area of Zameczysko.<sup>46</sup> Houses with frame construction were replaced by brick ones (with at least the firewalls made of brick), and the existing brick houses were modified and elevated. These developments were to some extent associated with the street level having risen by about 110–140 cm since medieval times. Various types of outbuildings were being erected in front of the houses – platforms and stoops, roofed and open stalls, one-storey huts. It was not generally allowed, but the preserved concessions suggest that permission for their construction was granted as long as they did not cross the gutter line and were used for craftwork. Keeping the heating devices inside them was forbidden, most likely to prevent them from being used for residential purposes.<sup>47</sup>

There were several marketplaces in the Main Town area. Their location has not changed since medieval times. The main one was Długi Targ (*Langer Markt*), situated on a widened fragment of the street in front of the Artus Court, which held Saturday's fairs of meat and other food products. Nearby, on Chlebnicka Street (*Brotbänkengasse*) at the exit of Kramarska (*Grosse Krämergasse* Street), there was a market (called *Mittelmarkt* in medieval times) which offered birds, fish, crayfish, chicken, etc., as well as vegetables grown in the suburbs.<sup>48</sup> In its immediate vicinity, on Piwna Street (*Jopengasse*) by the huts erected on the edge of the church square, the Targ Pachnidel (*Schnüffelmarkt, the Fragrance Market*) was located.<sup>49</sup> On the other side of St. Mary's church on Św. Ducha, Street (*Heiligegeistgasse*) there was a bread market, although bread was also still sold at Chlebnicka Street.<sup>50</sup> Since the late medieval times, the fish market was located at the exit of Warzywnicza (*Petersiliengasse*) and at the beginning of the seventeenth century it was separated from the Motława River by a series of houses built inside the town wall running along the riverbank from Łabędź to Żuraw.<sup>51</sup> Another one, located in front of the Fishermen's Gate, probably on the bridge or at its exit by Podwale Przedmiejskie Street, was used by the residents of the Old Suburb.<sup>52</sup> Trade in second-hand goods took place on Wednesdays,

<sup>46</sup> APGd, 300, R/Vv, 35, p. 305.

<sup>47</sup> On the town rule regulations prohibiting their construction, cf.: Z. Maciakowska, *Przepisy budowlane w wilkierzach gdańskich i ich wpływ na kształtowanie zabudowy w mieście od średniowiecza do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów domu gdańskiego*, part 2, ed. E. Kizik, Gdańsk 2011, pp. 24–25, 46–49. On outbuildings in the modern town: O. Rollenhagen, *Untersuchung und Beschreibung der Danziger Bürgerhäuser mit besonderer Darstellung der Bauten aus der Zeit der Gotik bis zur Spätrenaissance. Edition der nicht veröffentlichten Dissertation (1910–1915) / Analiza i opis gdańskich kamienic mieszczańskich ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem budowli z czasów gotyku do późnego renesansu. Edycja nieopublikowanej dysertacji (1910–1915)*, ed. E. Barylewska-Szymańska, E. Bauer, D. Popp, W. Szymański, Marburg–Gdańsk 2008, p. 153; E. Kizik, *Przedproża i inne przybudówki gdańskich kamienic w świetle koncesji budowlanych z drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów domu gdańskiego*, part 2, ed. E. Kizik, Gdańsk 2011, pp. 161–167; Z. Maciakowska, "...bynnen dem rynsteyne". *Gospodarowanie skrajnym pasem ulicy w Gdańsku w późnym średniowieczu i w czasach wczesnonowożytnych*, [in:] *Ulica, plac i cmentarz w publicznej przestrzeni średniowiecznego i wczesnonowożytnego miasta Europy Środkowej. Strasse, Platz und Friedhof in dem öffentlichen Raum der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Stadt Mitteleuropas*, ed. S. Krabath, J. Piekalski, K. Wachowski, Wrocław 2011, pp. 249–258.

<sup>48</sup> PAN BG, Ms 281, f. 107v (1597). The market operated since medieval times, P. Simson, *Geschichte der Danziger Willkühr*, "Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens", vol. 3, 1904, p. 58.

<sup>49</sup> This name first appeared in 1597, cf. *Chronik der Marienkirche in Danzig. Das "Historische Kirchen Register" von Eberhard Bötticher (1616). Transkription und Auswertung/ Kronika kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku. "Historisches Kirchen Register" Eberharda Böttichera (1616). Transkrypcja i analiza*, ed. Ch. Herrmann, E. Kizik, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, p. 632. Due to the lack of detailed information on the location of the food market (*Mittelmarkt*), it is possible that it was the same as the later Fragrance Market.

<sup>50</sup> The name of Chlebnicka Street was first mentioned in 1334, APGd, 300, 32/1, f. 34v. On the location of benches in medieval times: T. Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Leipzig 1858, p. 301; M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1962, p. 211 The bread benches were still mentioned at the end of the sixteenth century, cf. APGd, 300, 93/53, p. 84. On the bread market on Św. Ducha Street, S. Rühle, *Geschichte des Gewerks der Schneider*, [Danzig 1931], p. 17: "Uff dem brotmarkte" (from 1477). Bread was also sold near the Zielona Gate, APGd, 300, R/Mm, 2, p. 270 (1638). Cf. J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo w II połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1973, pp. 137–138.

<sup>51</sup> The buildings of this part of the square are visible on the "Stockholm plan".

<sup>52</sup> W. Stephan, *Die Strassennahmen Danzigs*, "Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens", vol. 7, 1911, p. 66. Around 1600, it could have already ceased to exist due to the backfilling of the former moat, which served as a transport route to the Motława River. It was classified as a Main Town market because the properties within the former moat were later incorporated into the Main Town.

Fridays and Saturdays, most likely on a street called Tandeta Street (*Tagnetergasse*).<sup>53</sup> At the newly established Targ Węglowy initially called *Dominiks Plan*, charcoal was sold, and annually around St. Dominic's Day, there was a fair gathering numerous foreign merchants, stallholders and craftsmen. The fairs for larger products and goods were held in the western suburbs. On Saturdays, a cattle market took place in front of the Wyżynna Gate a horse market by the watering-place, and a wool market between the exit of *Sandgrube* Street (*Ks. Rogaczewskiego*) and *Rosental / Schwarzes Meer* Street.<sup>54</sup>

The weigh house was located inside the Zielona Gate by the Motława River.<sup>55</sup> The town charter, known from its renewal in 1378 granted the Main Town the right to set up stalls, butcher's, bread and shoemaker's benches as well as bathhouses, for which the town was to pay an appropriate fee.<sup>56</sup> Since medieval times, the butcher's benches have been located between Mariacka Street and Św. Ducha Street, in the vicinity of the presbytery of St. Mary's church.<sup>57</sup> It is not known whether the shoemaker's benches, initially located at Szewska Street (*Korkenmachergasse*), which runs from St. Mary's church square in the direction of Złotników Street (*Goldschmiedegasse*), still operated at that time.<sup>58</sup> The outlets of other craftsmen's groups were scattered all over the town. They were located in private houses, in the rented cellars underneath and outbuildings, and free-standing stalls situated in front of the houses, behind the gutter line. At the beginning of the seventeenth century probably only one bathhouse still remained – at 111 Św. Ducha Street. Presumably, two other bathhouses, one located near the *Stadthof* a (*Dwór miejski*) and one located opposite the exit of Piwna Street (*Jopengasse*) into Tkacka Street (*Wollwebergasse*), were no longer operating. The first one was being used as a rented flat, and the second one was closed down at the end of the sixteenth century to build a town armoury.<sup>59</sup>

The most important sites of the town were municipal buildings. Another key object was supposed to be the royal residence, which the town authorities were obliged to erect after 1454. However, initially, during their stay in Gdańsk, the kings used the Town Hall premises, then the burgher houses on Długi Targ (11, 17, 39–43, 1–4), adapted for this purpose. Even though in 1570 King Sigismund Augustus agreed to recognise the Zielona Gate built in 1568 as the royal residence, Sigismund III Vasa during his visits to Gdańsk in 1587, 1594 and 1598 still stayed at 39 Długi Targ.<sup>60</sup> The Main Town Hall, where the council meetings were held, was located at 46/47 Długa Street on the western edge of Długi Targ.<sup>61</sup> Since 1549, the law court has been gathering in a house purchased by the council, adjacent to the Artus Court (Długi Targ 45), the so-called Old Jury House (*Stary Dom Ławy*).<sup>62</sup> The building served also for social meetings of merchants' fraternities gathered in benches (*Banken*).

<sup>53</sup> For information on trade days, cf. PAN BG, Ms 281, f. 84r (1597).

<sup>54</sup> On cattle market, PAN BG, Ms 281, f. 107v; M. Bogucka *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 174. Supposedly around the end of the sixteenth century it took place at the Długi Targ Square. Horse market shown on the plans: APGd, 300, MP/598 (ok. 1645), APGd, 300, MP/626 (1650). Location of the wool weighing house probably associated with the market square: APGd, 9, 2/1534 (1806).

<sup>55</sup> R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig*, p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 4, Danzig 1918, no. 97.

<sup>57</sup> They existed there until their removal in the nineteenth century.

<sup>58</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century, many shoemakers already lived in the southern part of Złotników Street. They sold their goods probably directly from their houses.

<sup>59</sup> The bathhouse at Św. Ducha Street was called "gemeine Badstube", APGd, 300, 12/373, p. 96 (1636). The bathhouse disappeared most probably due to assignment of appropriate bathing places in the burghers' homes. The building of the bathhouse by the Town Manor House in 1607 was leased, APGd, 300, 12/832, p. 18. On the square designated for town armoury, cf. APGd, 300, 12/26, p. 60 (1597); A. Bartetzky, *Das Große Zeughaus in Danzig: Baugeschichte, architekturgeschichtliche Stellung, representative Funktion*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 2000, p. 85. The "Stockholm plan" shows that the bathhouse near the *Jopengasse* no longer existed in 1600.

<sup>60</sup> The Zielona Gate was built in Kogi Gate place (demolished in 1563). R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig*, p. 49; I. Fabiani-Madeyska, "Palatium regium" w Gdańsku, "Rocznik Gdański", vol. 15/16, 1956/1957, pp. 153, 157–159; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 369; KZSP Gdańsk, pp. 12–22; J. Barton-Piórkowska, *Zielona Brama w Gdańsku. Dzieje i funkcja* [in:] *Zielona Brama w Gdańsku. Materiały z sesji z 12 maja 2003 r. w Muzeum Archeologicznym w Gdańsku*, ed. J. Pałubicki, Gdańsk 2004, p. 17; E. Barylewska-Szymańska, Z. Maciakowska, *Miejsca zamieszkiwania polskich władców w czasie wizyt w Gdańsku w XV–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Król jedzie! Wizyty władców polskich w Gdańsku XV–XVIII w.*, vol. 1: *Eseje*, ed. E. Kizik, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 181–192.

<sup>61</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 138–143; 359–363; KZSP Gdańsk, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>62</sup> R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig*, p. 52. P. Simson, *Der Artushof in Danzig und seine Bruderschaften, die Banken*, Danzig 1900, pp. 107–109; idem, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 2, pp. 175–176; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 143–153, 366–367; KZSP Gdańsk, pp. 48, 49.

To keep their horses and carriages, the authorities were also using the *Stadthof*, which, since medieval times, had been located in the north-western corner of the town.<sup>63</sup> The knacker's yard was situated by the walls on the side of the Old Town in the vicinity of the Dominican monastery, with the entrance from Pachołów Street (*Büttelgasse*) It is possible that the horse mill of an unknown purpose was still operating nearby.<sup>64</sup>

The town authorities owned a mint, which was located on Ogarna Street (*Hundegasse*), between the *Stadthof* and the Na Zbytki Gate (*Ketterhagensches Tor*). Its exact location is unknown. It is also unknown whether it was still in use at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>65</sup> Nearby, by the walls, a metal foundry was situated.<sup>66</sup>

The town had two prisons at its disposal: in the Town Hall Tower and the buildings erected in the neck of the of Długa Street Gate Complex in 1586–1617.<sup>67</sup> Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, a pillory placed on a platform fixed at the corner of the Town Hall was used to administer milder punishments. In 1604 it was moved to the eastern wall of the Więzienna Tower (*Prison*).<sup>68</sup>

There were two burgher confraternities in the Main Town. The burgher brotherhood of St. George occupied a building erected by the confraternity in 1494 on an intermural space on the northern side of the Długa Street Gate. Next to it, between the low and high walls, a shooting range was located. Another one had been situated at the foot of Gradowa Mountain since 1489. In 1578, a representative of St. George's Court and the shooting yard were taken over by the town, and since 1584 the square was used by a school of fencing.<sup>69</sup> The confraternity of St. Erasmus resided in the buildings adjacent to the Wide Gate (*Brama Szeroka*), and it used the intermural space that stretched from the gate to the Jacek Tower for exercises.<sup>70</sup> The shooting fraternity of an unknown name also used a shooting range located at the Na Zbytki Gate, probably on an intermural space or on the area of the former moat.<sup>71</sup>

Certain guild houses were also situated in this part of Gdańsk. We know the location of several of them: the guild of sailors of St. Jacob's Hospital used the house at 82 Św. Ducha Street (*Heiligegeistgasse*),<sup>72</sup> the guild of goldsmiths at 20 Szeroka Street (*Breitgasse*),<sup>73</sup> furriers at 5 Kołodziejska Street (*Scharrmachergasse*)<sup>74</sup> and tailors at 107 Św. Ducha Street (*Heiligegeistgasse*).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> APGd, 300, 32/1, f. 2v: "Civitas" (1357); R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig*, p. 57; KZSP Gdańsk, pp. 69–70.

<sup>64</sup> APGd, 300, 32/5, f. 92r: "Rekkerye"; ibidem, f. 96r: "beth an de Roßmole"; APGd, 300, 12/662: "civitas Roßmole" (1480).

<sup>65</sup> In 1636, it was referred to as "old", and the apartments located there were leased by Kamlaria in exchange for rent, APGd, 300, 12/373, p. 58

<sup>66</sup> It was probably situated at 1 Za Murami Street as indicated by the 1756 description, APGd, 300, 12/228, pp. 316, 317, and the plan from 1739, APGd, 300, 58/22, before f. 91, published by J.M. Michalak, *Nowe spojrzenie na teatr "elzbietański" w Gdańsku jego budowniczego*, "Gdański Rocznik Kulturalny", vol. 19, 2000, Fig. 1.

<sup>67</sup> APGd, 300, 12/12, p. 137 (1577); D. Kaczor, *Przestępczość kryminalna i wymiar sprawiedliwości w Gdańsku w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 318, 342–344; A. Pudło, *Rozwój Zespołu Przedbramia ul. Długiej na podstawie badań archeologicznych prowadzonych w latach 2001–2004*, [in:] *Zespół Przedbramia ul. Długiej w Gdańsku. Studium archeologiczne*, ed. A. Pudło, Gdańsk 2016, pp. 15, 43–44.

<sup>68</sup> J. Muhl, *Die Danziger Polizei im Laufe der Zeiten*, "Heimatblätter des Deutschen Heimatbundes", vol. 6, 1929, no. 9, p. 14. D. Kaczor, *Przestępczość kryminalna*, pp. 333–334.

<sup>69</sup> C. Weinreich, *Danziger Chronik*, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 4, ed. Th. Hirsch, M. Toeppen, E. Strehle, Leipzig 1870, p. 796. On renting the area of the shooting range for the fencing school cf. P. Gehrke, *Danzigs Schützenbrüderschaften in alter und neuer Zeit*, Danzig 1895, p. 47; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 2, Danzig 1913, p. 352; J.M. Michalak, *Nowe spojrzenie*, p. 116. The "Stockholm plan" is still showing the entire area of the shooting range, later occupied in the northern part by the construction of the Great Armory.

<sup>70</sup> A. Bertling, *Schützengarten und Schützenhaus in Danzig im Wandel der Zeit*, "Heimatblätter des Deutschen Heimatbundes", vol. 9, 1932, no. 2, pp. 3–12, fig. 4. An inventory sketch from 1831 of the Wide Gate building, together with the building belonging to the confraternity, has been preserved: APGd, 300, MP/971.

<sup>71</sup> P. Gehrke, *Danzigs Schützenbrüderschaften*, pp. 15, 48; A. Bertling, *Schützengarten*, pp. 3, 5; J.M. Michalak, *Nowe spojrzenie*, pp. 113–120; APGd, 300, 12/667, p. 268; APGd, 300, 15/16, f. 19r (1579); APGd, 300, 12/837, pp. 31, 128 (1574). The area of the shooting range is visible on the "Stockholm plan". Cf. footnote 40.

<sup>72</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2, pp. 534, 560.

<sup>73</sup> I. Rembowska, *Gdański cech złotników od XIV do końca XVIII w.*, Gdańsk 1971, p. 54. A description of this guild house from 1856 has been preserved: APGd, 300C/1995.

<sup>74</sup> APGd, 300, 32/4, p. 78.

<sup>75</sup> S. Rühle, *Geschichte des Gewerks der Schneider*, p. 17.

Dyehouses and frames used for cloth drying were located mainly in the area of Zamczysko due to the availability of water from the former castle moats and spaces large enough for setting up frames. Their exact locations remain unknown. A large dyehouse was situated in front of the Kotwiczników Tower (*Anchorer's*), at the outlet of the southern external town moat to the Motława River, on the axis of Podwale Przedmiejskie Street (*Vorstädtischer Graben*).<sup>76</sup>

The port quays did not form a single line but were fragmented. The longest section stretched from the Zielona Gate to the Św. Ducha Gate and a short one, from the Krowia Gate to the south. There were also piers in front of the Gates: Żuraw, Świętojańska, and Straganiarska. Narrow piers for fishing boats must have also existed in Targ Rybny area.<sup>77</sup> To set sails, unload and load goods on the ships Wielki Żuraw (*the Big Crane*) at the exit of Szeroka Street<sup>78</sup> was used.

For fiscal and fire safety reasons, the town was divided into four districts around 1417: Wysoki, covering the south-western quarter of the town within the perimeter of Słodowników Street (*Melzergasse*), Ławnicza Street (*Matzkauschegasse*) Kramarska-Podkramarska Street (*Krämer- Kleine Krämergasse*) in the east and Św. Ducha Street (*Heiligegeistgasse*) in the north; Kogi, from these streets to the east to the Motława River; Szeroki, covering the north-western corner of the town as far as the Św. Ducha Street and the line of streets: Grobla I–IV Street (*Erster-Vierter Damm*) U Furty Street (*Am Haustor*); Rybacki, from these streets to the east as far as the Motława River and the Zamczysko area.<sup>79</sup>

Following the Reformation, all the Gdańsk Catholic parish churches served as Protestant ones. In the Main Town, there were two Lutheran parish churches: Mariacki (*St. Mary's*) and Św. Jana (*St. John's*). The boundary between the parishes was formed by Szeroka Street, inhabitants of which belonged to the first parish.<sup>80</sup> Next to both churches the cemeteries and ossuaries were located. Parish schools operated at church squares.<sup>81</sup> The spiritual guidance over Catholics was mainly provided by priests from the Dominican monastery and, occasionally, by a parish priest living in the presbytery of St. Mary's church supported by the Jesuits (there was a chapel administered by them in the area of the presbytery).<sup>82</sup> There was only one monastery within the Main Town – the Dominican monastery with the church of St. Nicholas, located in the north-western corner of the town, and one hospital establishment – the Holy Spirit's, located by the town walls at U Furty Street. The chapel was adjacent to the hospital wing from the north.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Dyehouses on Zamczysko: APGd, 300, 12/226, p. 82; APGd, 300, 12/373, pp. 120, 124, 126, 216; APGd, 300, 12/832, pp. 38, 40, 52; APGd, 300, R/ Mm, 1, p. 385 (1657). P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2, p. 522, mentions the 'Blau-Kiepe' dyehouse in Zamczysko. The frames are shown on the "Stockholm plan". The dyehouse at the Kotwiczników Gate: APGd, 300, 12/226, pp. 170 (1639), 212 (1641); APGd, 300, 12/373, pp. 50, 66, 123, 260; APGd, 300, 12/832, pp. 18, 62, plan – APGd, 300, MP/105 (1617); also M. Grupa, *Wielkane tekstylia gospólstwa i plebsu gdańskiego (XIV–XVII w.) i ich konserwacja*, Toruń 2012, p. 110.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the "Stockholm plan".

<sup>78</sup> R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig*, p. 17; C. Biernat, *Życie portowe Gdańska w XVII i w XVIII w.*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza*, ed. G. Labuda, p. Hoszowski, vol. 2: *Pomorze Nowożytnie*, Warsaw 1959, pp. 239, 248.

<sup>79</sup> On district boundaries, cf. PAN BG, Od 5701, 8°, adl 6 (1539), f. E I, E II. P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. I, pp. 147–148. The names of the districts were mentioned for the first time in 1419.

<sup>80</sup> For parish divisions cf. J. Stankiewicz, *Rozwój przestrzenny i demograficzny*, fig. 2, p. 26; J. Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne w Gdańsku w latach 1601–1846*, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 38–41. Only in 1658 a dispute arose over the inhabitants of the corner house on Tandeta Street, from which one exit led to Szeroka Street and another to Tandeta Street. The residents were allowed to choose one of the two parishes.

<sup>81</sup> On emptying the ossuary at St. Mary's church, cf. *Chronik der Marienkirche in Danzig*, p. 432 (1560). On the facilities at St. John's church, PAN BG, Ms 428, f. 170r–v. The St. Mary's School was located on the northern side of the church; St. John's similarly, at 18 Straganiarska Street.

<sup>82</sup> The pastoral duties in Gdańsk were carried out in monastic churches: Carmelites and Bridgettines. Cf. J. Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne*, pp. 61–63. According to S. Kościelak, the only Catholic parish after 1561 was the parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary, hence its parish priest managed the area covering all 6 former parishes of Gdańsk, idem, *Katolicy w prote stanckim Gdańsku od drugiej połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2012, p. 73.

<sup>83</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 206; R. Massalski, *Gotycki szpital Św. Ducha w Gdańsku*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Gdańskiej. Architektura 9", 1968, no. 124, p. 113; KZSP Gdańsk, p. 159.

## Old Suburb

The Old Suburb was the southern suburb of the Main Town, but its inhabitants probably had enjoyed town rights since the 1570s, just like the burghers of the Main Town.<sup>84</sup> There was only one gate leading into the suburb from the side of – Szkoty and Orunia, at the exit of Rzeźnicka Street (*Fleischergasse*, called the new gate. In 1571, the second gate, Wozowa, was permanently closed. It used to lead to Podwale Przedmiejskie Street from the west and was surrounded by the Wozowy bastion, which was part of the line of the town's modern earthen fortifications.<sup>85</sup> The most important suburban streets were those running on the axis of the gates of the Main Town and the streets parallel to them. They were connected by narrow streets perpendicular to the Motława River. Around the year 1600 this district, although separated from the Main Town by an undeveloped strip of backfilled moats isolated from the suburbs by a wall and a wide parallel street, was the area dedicated for residential purposes of the Main Town, already very intensively developed at that time. In 1577, there were 729 houses and huts.<sup>86</sup> Unlike in the central part of the town, where the parcels were heavily developed, here, behind the houses situated in the frontages of the streets, there were gardens. In many places, especially in the southern part of the suburb and in the Rzeźnicka Street on the section south of Kocurki Street (*Katergasse*), the frontage was not very tightly developed. Back alleys led deeper into several quarters and rental houses were built along them.

A considerable area of the Motława riverbank was occupied by Łasztownia (*Lastadie*), shipyards designed to build various types of ships and boats. A crane used to lift masts of small ships was operating in this area, although its exact location is unknown.<sup>87</sup> Close by was the Dylowy Plac (*Dielenfeld*), where the wood offered for sale was stored. Numerous sheds with wood were also located directly at the southern walls of the suburb. The wood plank storehouses were also located by Motława riverbank beyond the town fortifications.<sup>88</sup> In 1617, a suburban market square was located at Podwale Przedmiejskie Street, to the east of Łasztownia Street and to the west of the street that was a continuation of Kotwiczników Street. Most likely its tradition dated back further.<sup>89</sup> At Targ Dylowy, on the corner of the street close to the fortifications, a royal ash storehouse (*Aschhof*) was erected, and at the east end of Podwale Przedmiejskie Street a dyehouse operated.<sup>90</sup>

Apart from butcher's benches between 72 Rzeźnicka Street and 12–14 Kocurki Street, there were no other commercial facilities in the district. At 9 Podwale Przedmiejskie Street, as in medieval times, a tannery was probably still in operation.<sup>91</sup>

The main (Lutheran) parish church of the Old Suburb was the church of St. Peter and Paul.<sup>92</sup> The church of the Holy Trinity, after the Franciscans waived their rights to both the church and the monastery in 1555, came under the administration of the town council and became the academic church.<sup>93</sup> Both churches were initially taken over by Calvinists.<sup>94</sup> The monastery buildings were transferred to the town school. Since 1558, an Academic Gymnasium (*Gimnazjum Akademickie*) operated in the former

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<sup>84</sup> Mentioned by R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Dantzig*, p. 29. It is not yet clear whether the inhabitants of the suburbs were subject to the municipal law. This issue has been raised since the 1560s, cf. APGd, 300, R/Cc, 1, p. 39 (1565); APGd, 300, R/Q, 12, f. 40v (1570–1577); APGd, 300, Q/12, f. 72r–v (1574); APGd, 300, 93/51, p. 347 (1587).

<sup>85</sup> G. Bukal, *Fortyfikacje Starego Przedmieścia*, [in:] *Historie gdańskich dzielnic*, vol. 2, *Stare Przedmieście*, ed. J. Dargacz, K. Kurkowska, Gdańsk 2019, pp. 46–48; idem, *Fortyfikacje Gdańska*, p. 87.

<sup>86</sup> APGd, 300, R/Vv, 35, p. 305.

<sup>87</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 296; M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 60.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the “Stockholm plan” and Å. Dickmann's veduta from 1617.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Plan APGd, 300, MP/105: “Der Markt”.

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem: “Des Königs Aschhof”, “Die Ferberey undt Paul Hintzen gehöfft”. Cf. E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 296.

<sup>91</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 294. The axonometric plan of Gdańsk from around 1600 shows a tenement house in the frontage of the street and a small building situated further down the plot. It is difficult to determine if it is the tannery building.

<sup>92</sup> The church of St. Peter and Paul formally remained the parish church of the Old Suburbs until 1650, cf. J. Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne*, p. 45.

<sup>93</sup> R. Kubicki, *Franciszkanie na Starym Przedmieściu w XV i XVI wieku*, [in:] *Historie gdańskich dzielnic*, vol. 2, p. 151; S. Kościelak, *Gimnazjum Akademickie na Starym Przedmieściu (1558–1817)*, [in:] ibidem, p. 158.

<sup>94</sup> A Lutheran clergyman was introduced to the church of the Holy Trinity after 1622, and the Lutheran parish was established there in 1650. On the service of both churches cf.: J. Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne*, pp. 45–46.

Franciscan monastery, and since 1596 the Library of the Town Council was also located there.<sup>95</sup> Next to the church, at St. Ann's chapel, a parish for Polish-speaking Lutherans has been established since 1522. Behind the chapel, a small cemetery was located.<sup>96</sup>

At that time, no municipal facilities were located in the suburbs. In three places – at the Podwale Przedmiejskie Street, by St. Peter and Paul's church and St. Trinity church (in a private house) – there were buildings which served as a guardhouse, an armoury, and a fire shed used for storing fire-fighting equipment.<sup>97</sup>

## Wyspa Spichrzów (Granary Island)

The area of Granary Island (separated by the New Motława River in 1576), which has belonged to the Main Town since medieval times, has been used for the construction of granaries and wood stacking yards. From the Main Town side, there were two drawbridges leading to the island: Zielony Bridge and Krowi Bridge, and, from the side of Długie Ogrody and Szopy, two bridges built on the continuation of Stągiewna Street (*Milchkannengasse*): Stągiewny Bridge and the so-called “most na Szopy” (*Bridge to the Shacks*), located on the axis of Żytnia Street (*Münchengasse*).<sup>98</sup> The two former bridges were defended by brick gates connected by a wall which stretched to Psi Wał (*Hundewall*) and encircled the southern and south-eastern part of the island. The wall possibly extended beyond them, perhaps as far as the island's northern cape.

The main street of the island running parallel to the Motława River was Chmielna Street (*Hopfen-gasse*). Several narrow streets departed from it to the east. The most intensively developed areas were located in the vicinity of the Stągiewna Street (*Milchkannengasse*) thoroughfare and a few nearest streets parallel to it, and along Chmielna Street in the part opposite the Main Town. In 1553, 193 granaries were mentioned in the sources, in 1620 – 265.<sup>99</sup> The southern part of the island was occupied mostly by wood stacking yards. Across from the line of southern town moats, the main town slaughterhouse (Chmielna Street 39–45) was located. Since the early seventeenth century its area was no longer used as originally intended and the buildings situated on its premises were leased. The line of port piers ran along the island's western bank.<sup>100</sup>

There were several municipal facilities on the island. The tar storehouse (*Dwór Smolny, Teerhof*) was situated on an islet formed as a result of the separation of the outer southern part of the island by a canal. On the northern side of this canal an ash storehouse (*Dwór Popielny, Aschhof*) was located. Both were moved to this place from the opposite end of the island after being burnt down in 1495.<sup>101</sup> The emptied land was used after 1576 as a place for two municipal granaries.<sup>102</sup> The area of the former carpenter's workshop (*Dwór Ciesielski, Zimmerhof*) occupying the adjacent end of the island was already partly built up with granaries. At 95 Chmielna Street, linen weighing house had been in use since 1530.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> On gymnasium: L. Mokrzecki, *Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie – zarys dziejów*, [in:] *Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie*, vol. I: *Szkice z dziejów*, ed. A. Ceynowa et al., Gdańsk 2008, p. 159; S. Kościelak, *Gimnazjum Akademickie*, p. 159. On library: Z. Nowak, *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis 1596–1817*, [in:] *Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie*, p. 112.

<sup>96</sup> J. Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne*, pp. 51, 92; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 304.

<sup>97</sup> By Podwale Przedmiejskie, APGd, 300, 15/1, f. 8r (1592); also shown on the “Stockholm plan” at the exit of the bridge in front of the Rybacka Gate; at the church of St. Peter and Paul, APGd, 300, 15/1, f. 7v (1592); at the church of the Holy Trinity, APGd, 300, 15//1, 11v–12v (1592), 13r, 20r (1593), 21r, 23r–v, 25r–26r, 54r (1597).

<sup>98</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 385. Bridges visible on A. Moeller's plan from around 1600 and Schmer's plan from 1615.

<sup>99</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 318. The reconstruction of the island's urban layout and development in years 1553 and 1643 was presented by F. Volkholz, *Die Speicherinsel von Danzig*, Danzig 1922 typescript, APGd, 300, R/Bb, 54, pp. 11–16 and on the plans: APGd, 1126/382b.

<sup>100</sup> P. Gehrke, *Das Fleisergewerk in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Danzig 1895, p. 6. By virtue of a privilege granted by Sigismund Augustus in 1567, butchers could carry out the slaughter in private houses, cf. M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 22.

<sup>101</sup> APGd, 300, R/Bb, 54; F. Volkholz, *Die Speicherinsel*, pp. 29–30; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 317.

<sup>102</sup> APGd, 300, 12/12, p. 274. Work on this or the second of the granaries continued in 1595, APGd, 300, 12/21, p. 236; APGd, 300, 12/22, p. 230; APGd, 300, 12/28, p. 219.

<sup>103</sup> APGd, 300, 32/8, f. 149; F. Volkholz, *Die Speicherinsel*, p. 33; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 318.

## Ołowianka (Lead Island) and Polski Hak

The Ołowianka Island was the area of the former Teutonic Knights' granaries and supply houses (*Schäferei*, described this way even in the 1601 plan). It was created when the land of the nearby meadows was cut off by the canal called Na Stępcę. The canal was probably created at the same time as the New Motława canal, continuing its flow in the north-eastern direction as far as the outlet of the Gęsi Canal (*Gänse Graben*) to the Old Motława River. The island was connected to the mainland by a bridge located on the extension of Szafarnia Street as well as with a ferry travelling across the Motława to the pier near Zamczysko.<sup>104</sup> Several granaries, a lead storehouse with a weighing house for weighing lead, and a small crane were located there. Along the Motława River, in the northern part of the island, there were timber stacking yards, and in the eastern part – a municipal carpentry workshop moved to this place from Granary Island and separated by a canal. The wood stacking yards were also located on an island called Polskim Hakiem (*Polnischer Haken*), separated from a carpentry canal, north of Ołowianka.<sup>105</sup> In 1615, a crane called 'masztowy' ('mast-like') or 'Polish' was also situated there.<sup>106</sup>

## Długie Ogrody (Long Gardens) and Szopy (Sheds)

These two districts of Gdańsk belonged to the suburbs of the Main Town. They were enclosed by flood embankments: in the north by Angielska Dyke (*Englischer Damm*) and in the south by Szkocka Dyke (*Schottischer Damm* no longer existing), surrounded by ditches filled with water. Together with the Gęsi Canal, the regulated stretch of the Rozwójka River, they connected the floodplain of the Rozwójka in front of the Żuławska Gate (built on the axis of the dyke located in the middle of the suburb) with New Motława River.<sup>107</sup> According to the records of Gdańsk Law, only gardeners and innkeepers were allowed to settle there. Nevertheless, before around 1574, on many parcels owned by rich burghers, fenced gardens used for entertainment were created, sometimes with gazebos.<sup>108</sup>

The properties located on Długie Ogrody Street, which ran on the line of the former dyke, were very narrow and long at the same time (up to 200 m), and they were mostly covered by gardens. The frontage of the street was built up tightly in the part near the Granary Island, and loosely in the part that was closer to Żuławska Gate. Some of the parcels were entirely occupied by gardens. Because the area was waterlogged, numerous drainage ditches ran along their perimeter.

Since medieval times, in the north-western part of Długie Ogrody from the wetlands by the Motława River and as far as *St. Barbara* Street (*Św. Barbary*), the rope makers' tracks were located. West of them along the New Motława canal, numerous new buildings with fronts directed to Szafarnia Street were erected on the land elevated at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>109</sup> On the opposite side of Długie Ogrody, there was a separate group of buildings, including sheds of straw mats makers, who settled here at the end of the fourteenth century by the wetlands through which the New Motława canal was dug, forming a distinct cluster called Szopy. A building called "*Waldhof*" was located at the exit of

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<sup>104</sup> On the ferry, see: *Chronik der Marienkirche*, p. 485 (1577).

<sup>105</sup> A. Januszajtis, *Z dziejów Ołowianki*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Gdańskiej, Architektura", vol. 20, 1981, pp. 185–187. The crane on the Motława River, the town carpenter's workshop and the wood storehouse were shown on the "Stockholm plan" from around 1600 and 1601 (Wrocław).

<sup>106</sup> GStA PK Berlin, XI. HA, AKS, Rolle no. 30L.

<sup>107</sup> The English Dyke was elevated by using ballast, which was to be thrown there following the decree from 1582, APGd, 300, 66/5, f. 13 r. The ditch in front of the Scottish Dyke transformed into a sewer and a drainage canal, from which the water flowed into the New Motława River in front of the Stągwie Mleczne, on the northern side of the bridge. The former outlet, backfilled or incorporated into the underground canal in the part under the road, is visible on the plan from around 1600 as well as from 1601. On its function, APGd, 300, 66/5, f. 37r (1615).

<sup>108</sup> M. Foltz, *Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushalts*, Danzig 1912, pp. 176–177.

<sup>109</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 320, 322, 324–326. The levelling undertaken in the sixteenth century is indicated by the results of archaeological research, R. Krzywdziński, *Analiza przestrzenno-funkcjonalna archeologicznych reliktów zagospodarowania działek mieszczańskich z południowo-zachodniej części kwartału ulic: Długie Ogrody, Szafarnia, Angielska Grobla i św. Barbary w Gdańsku*, "Archeologia Gdańska", vol. 5, 2013, pp. 30, 31, 37.

the road running along the canal to the south. It was used by guards of the nearby burghers' forest.<sup>110</sup> There were no commercial facilities in this suburb.

The suburban parish church was the Lutheran church of St. Barbara, with a hospital also dedicated to St. Barbara. Behind it, as far as the Angielska Dyke, the gardens and a fenced meadow stretched.<sup>111</sup>

The wetlands south of Długie Ogrody were still covered by thickets and wastelands. There was also the so-called Świńska Meadow (*Schweine Wiese*), to the east of which the burghers' forest stretched.<sup>112</sup> At that time, it was probably already crossed by the so-called 'new ditch', built between the Rozwójka River's floodplain and the Motława River, with which it merged upstream of the town. Perhaps when the level of water in the Motława River was high, this ditch allowed the excess water to flow into the floodplain, and further to the lower part of the river downstream of the town. Roughly midway of its length, a canal with a sluice linked it to the New Motława Canal.<sup>113</sup>

The area north of Długie Ogrody up to the Vistula River was also covered by waterlogged meadows divided into two parts by the Gęsi Canal (former channel of Rozwójka). Across from Ołowianka, some land was allocated to the brewers' wood stacking yards, which after 1576 were moved to this place from Świńska Meadow.<sup>114</sup> To ensure convenient access to the stacking yards, they were crossed by a ditch. Across from Brabank Island at the mouth of the Gęsi Canal to the Motława River, a tavern of the Holy Spirit was located. Near the place where the Motława River flowed into the Vistula River, another tavern called Polski Hak, was named after the cape created at Motława River's outlet to the Vistula River. The entrance to the port of Gdańsk was managed by the use of the so-called bar, a mobile log baffle, which needed to be opened for the ships to pass through. Similar bars were located on Wiadowników Canal (*Eimermachergraben*) and, supposedly, on *Stagnete Graben*, which was beyond the area covered with the plan, on the New and Old Motława, downstream of the sluice called *Megde Loch*.<sup>115</sup>

## Zamczysko, Wiadrownia, Brabank

In 1455, by the virtue of the privilege of the Polish king Kazimierz Jagiellończyk from 1454, the area in the vicinity of the former Teutonic Knights' castle was incorporated into the Main Town. The boundary separating it from the Old Town estate (finally established in 1637) was drawn along the outer moat. The Teutonic sawmill and the area by the castle were left on the Old Town side. In the south, it probably initially ran along the edge of the northern Main Town moat, and later, after the border regulations, along the northern side of the canal built in the moat's place. In the Targ Drzewny Square (*Holzmarkt, Wood Market*) vicinity, it ran along the outer edge of the strip separating the two Main Town moats (including several plots of land within their area, in the section between the Szeroka Gate and the outer gate of the Ludwisarska Gate) and further along the town walls up to Św. Gertrudy Gate.<sup>116</sup>

Therefore, three new areas have been added to the Main Town: the area of the former Teutonic Knights' castle called Zamczysko, the north-eastern castle grounds stretching as far as the Wiadowników

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<sup>110</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 325. The manor house was shown on the plans of the Construction Office from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, e.g., APGd, 300, MP/502 (1620), APGd, 300, MP/1025 (1641), APGd, 300, MP/522 (1700).

<sup>111</sup> The plan from around 1600 shows gardens and a fenced meadow, which could have been used for bleaching. The bleaching workshop was shown for the first time there on a Peter Willer's plan from 1687, PAN BG, No. 5640.

<sup>112</sup> The forest's range is shown on the 1615 plan, APGd, 300, MP/131.

<sup>113</sup> This canal is shown on Schmer's plan from around 1615 and the plan of the "Bauamt" of the same year, APGd, 300, MP/131. Its remaining part (the northern section and a road along the line of the side canal) is also shown on the plan of the "Bauamt" from around 1700, APGd, 300, MP/522.

<sup>114</sup> The square in Szafarnia was considered suitable for storage as early as in 1561, APGd, 300, R/Cc, p. 30. In 1565 a request was made to move it to another convenient location, APGd, 300, 10/1, p. 114r; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 382–383.

<sup>115</sup> The location of all these objects is shown on the 1615 Schmer's plan, GStA PK Berlin, XI. HA, AKS, Rolle No. 30L. For the rules of construction and use of the bars cf. C. Biernat, *Życie portowe Gdańska*, pp. 237–238.

<sup>116</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 4, no. 137. Cf. plan from 1637, APGd, 300, MP/6 and the description of boundaries, PAN BG, Ms 733, 84r–93v. Both the moat and the area around it supposedly belonged to the Main Town, APGd, 300, R/Mm, 1, p. 507 (1608).

Canal, and Brabank – an island located between the canal and the outlet of the Motława River to the Vistula. Until the end of the sixteenth century, they were hardly developed. The castle walls and buildings were mostly torn down, but the old castle moats were not entirely backfilled. In the area of Zamczysko, along the remaining moats, powder mill, dye workshops and the associated frames were allowed to be situated. Additionally, cloth drying frames were placed in its central part.<sup>117</sup> On the castle grounds, to the north-east of the fortifications, the wood stacking yards were located. In 1540, near the place formerly occupied by the Teutonic Knights' brickyard, at the outlet of the castle's outer moat) to the Wiadowników Canal, the bucket makers' guild was given a plot of land.<sup>118</sup> It could be accessed by a passage near the gunpowder tower, the former Teutonic Knights' fortified tower which guarded the outlet of the castle's outer moat. The main street of the settlement overlapped with the later Wielka Street (*Grosse Gasse*, currently non-existent). A crane was placed in the spot where the canal reached the Motława River. The area was separated from the town by a series of medieval castle walls drawn into the perimeter of the town fortifications.<sup>119</sup> A wide section of the quay stretched near one of the castle towers by the Motława River, allowing smaller vessels and a ferry to Ołowianka to be moored. A bar located there marked the outer edge of the port of Gdańsk and made controlling traffic in the port possible. The further, narrow part of the quay stretched as far as a distinct offset in the wall.<sup>120</sup>

Brabank Island, located on the opposite side of the canal, was only accessible by water. There was a ferry to the island from the eastern corner of the castle grounds. Since medieval times, there was a repair shipyard on Brabank, and a tavern of the same name operated near it. On the other side of the island, by the old Radunia channel, a windmill was situated.<sup>121</sup>

## Western suburbs of the Main Town

There was only one gate leading to the western suburbs of the Main Town, the Wyżynna Gate, which also served as the main entrance to Gdańsk. The suburbs were adjacent to the property of the village of Suchanino (*Zigankenberg*) from the north and partly from the west, and further to the west on the properties of the Bridgettine Sisters in Siedlce and those belonging to the Bishop of Włocławek from the south. The latter border, which was marked with border stones with the coat of arms of the Teutonic Knights of Gdańsk and frequently monitored, is known from modern cartography.<sup>122</sup> Little is known about the boundary with the suburbs of the Old Town. Allegedly it ran between the Main Town's shooting range and the grounds of the Corpus Christi hospital.

The suburbs south of the Old Suburbs included Zaroślak, a former Teutonic village. It stretched along an elongated square by the main road below the Radunia Canal. Dense development, marked by the rhythm of narrow parcels reaching the Motława River, stretched only on the eastern side.<sup>123</sup> Just behind Zaroślak, along the southern frontage of today's non-existent Motławska Street (*Mottlauschegasse*), there was a boundary between the estate of Gdańsk and those belonging to the Bishop of Włocławek.

The main street of the suburb, situated outside the town and west of the canal, was Nowe Ogrody beginning in the Targ Rakowy (*Krebsmarkt*) in front of the Wyżynna Gate by the Radunia Canal and running further towards Siedlce. The width of the street included the Siedlecki Creek, which at that time had its origin in a pond located in Krzyżownicy. In the south, through the area of the former gravel and sand excavation, ran a parallel street *Sandgrube* Street, which at the foot of Kminkowa

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<sup>117</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 220. Cf. "Stockholm plan" and the copy of Hans Strakowski's missing plan from 1638, Staatsbibliothek, SBB\_IIC\_Kart. X. The original was published by O. Kloeppel, *Das Stadtbild von Danzig*, p. 125.

<sup>118</sup> S. Rühle, *Anfänge und Zusammenschluß des Danziger Böttchergewerks*, "Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins", vol. 29, 1930, no. 4, p. 67, "einen Raum 28 Ruten lang, hinter dem Schlosse, da ehemals die abgebrannte Ziegelscheune ungefähr gestanden hätte".

<sup>119</sup> G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen*, p. 188. The castle walls and moats are visible on the plan from around 1600 as well as the later ones from 1615 (Schmer) and 1619. (APGd, 300, MP/2).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. the "Stockholm plan".

<sup>121</sup> These objects are shown in Friedrich Berndt's plan of 1601, APGd, 300, MP/511 and Schmer's plan of 1615.

<sup>122</sup> E.g., APGd, 300, MP/630 (ok. 1641), APGd, 300, MP/649 (1650), APGd, 300, MP/629 (1660), APGd, 300, MP/659 (1759). Border signs' checks: 1592 r., APGd, 300, R/A, 1, p. 53; 1601 r., APGd, 300, R/A, 1, p. 59.

<sup>123</sup> APGd, 300, MP/168 (1601); 300, MP/661 (1611).

Mountain (*Kümmelberg*) forked into two roads: one running in the direction of Siedlce (in the western part corresponding with the course of Malczewskiego Street (*Schladahlsche Gasse*) the other – currently non-existent, as it was crossed by the hill fortifications around 1655 – towards the Chełm village. Another parallel street also no longer existing today, ran from the direction of the former Karowa Gate of the Old Suburbs, from the bridge over the Canal of Radunia towards Chełm. A winding road diverged from it, leading to the bishop's village Biskupia Górka situated on the flat top of the mountain (or rather on the edge of the upland).

A short distance from the western moats of the Main Town and the Old Suburb ran the Radunia Canal, which was moved away from the town in 1573 due to the construction of a bastioned fortification ring. Following the safety requirements, the strip of land between the town fortifications up to the Radunia Canal remained undeveloped. It was used for livestock markets and wool trade. The only facility in the immediate vicinity of the town was the new St. Gertrude's Hospital, erected in 1582 on the land south of the Wiebe's Bastion, which was under construction at that time.<sup>124</sup> An old hospital, located near Wyżynna Gate was dismantled in 1563 due to the erection of the fortifications. On the new hospital property, a bleaching workshop operated and a water intake for the Old Suburbs was located nearby.<sup>125</sup>

Since medieval times, several industrial facilities – a bark and a fulling mill – had been operating in front of the Wyżynna Gate by the Radunia Canal, but they had to be relocated due to the alteration of the canal bed.<sup>126</sup> Nearby, there was an inlet for the water from the canal located there since medieval times, from which both municipal sumps and private houses were supplied. In 1536, in its vicinity, the first water pump station (*Kunst wodny*) was built. It amassed water, extracted from the Radunia Canal. After 1539, it was improved by the water led through a pipeline from the inlet on the pond in Krzyżowniki. This network supplied private houses and the Neptune Fountain. The water installation was all burnt down in 1577 and rebuilt in a new location.<sup>127</sup> In 1600, on the side of the canal closer to the town, a new water pump station operated, and, supposedly, there was a fulling mill downstream on the canal.<sup>128</sup> On the other side of the canal, by Targ Rakowy, a tanning mill was built anew.<sup>129</sup>

The development in the frontages of these streets was not continuous. The western suburbs were destroyed every time the town was besieged, last time during the siege of Gdańsk by Stefan Batory's army in 1577. Even in the 1590s, there were only a few houses in the gardens covering almost the entire area of the suburbs. In 1617, their number increased, but it is difficult to say what was the state of the development around 1600.<sup>130</sup>

South of *Rosental* there were sheds of the Main Town brickyard, the former Teutonic Knights' brickyard. It was situated here after 1571 when the Radunia Canal was moved further to the west of the town. Beside it was a clay pit called *Schwarzes Meer*, filled with water at that time, which served as a town dumping ground.<sup>131</sup> There were plans to establish a new cemetery south of the brickyard, to replace the one belonging to the St. Gertrude's Hospital, which was located in front of the Wyżynna Gate and closed down in 1572. It was not possible to ascertain when the plans finally came into being.

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<sup>124</sup> G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen*, p. 215, E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 313.

<sup>125</sup> The intake is shown on the "Stockholm plan", Schmer's plan of 1615 and Ä. Dickmann's veduta of 1617. Perhaps its location is the same as the location of the inlet from 1537, cf. APGd, 300, R/LI, 4, f. 300v. Initially the pipes were probably laid at the bridge in front of the New Gate, cf. APGd, 15/1, f. 73v (1599), f. 79r (1600), f. 128v (1608).

<sup>126</sup> The leather mill leased by the order to the leatherworkers was built in 1397, P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 4, no. 112, p. 74. The bark mill was built before 1493, Ch. Beyer der Ältere, *Danziger Chronik*, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 5, publ. Th. Hirsch, M. Toepen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1874, p. 450. They had been mentioned since the 1560s, APGd, 300, 10/4, f. 115r, 116v (1571), f. 412r (1573), f. 470v (1572), f. 488r, 489r (1573); *Chronik der Marienkirche*, p. 488 (1577).

<sup>127</sup> The water pump station was rebuilt in 1585, P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2, p. 166.

<sup>128</sup> Their position in relation to each other is shown in the Georg Tellior's (?) plan from 1647, APGd, 300, MP/598. It remains uncertain whether the fulling mill existed in 1600. Małgorzata Grupa dates, after Maria Bogucka, its establishing to the seventeenth century, M Grupa *Welniane tekstylia*, p. 105

<sup>129</sup> The agreement concerning the relocation of the tannery mill of the shoemakers' guild to the square located on the western side of the canal, emptied after the destruction of the water station by the suede mill, was established in 1585, APGd, 300, R/Bb, 26c, p. 1.

<sup>130</sup> The suburb is shown on two vedutas drawn from the slope of Biskupia Górka: Anton Möller's from 1592/1593 (PAN BG, Z IV 1013) and Ä. Dickmann's from 1617 (National Library of Sweden, KoB DelaG Stö.f.163), as well as three from the slope of Gradowa Mountain: G. Braun's, F. Hogenberg's from 1573. (PAN BG, no. 4488), A. Moeller's from 1610 (from the main altar in the church of St. Catherine in Gdańsk) and Johann Krieg's, after 1620, MNG/SD/281/M.

<sup>131</sup> APGd, 300, R/Cc, 23, f. 37v (1572). It was also described in: 1630 r. APGd, 300, MP/630.

As late as 1617, the area intended for a new cemetery was occupied by a bleaching workshop.<sup>132</sup> The further eastern part of the slope was torn by clay and sand excavations, extracted for brickyards and the town fortifications built at that time. The excavations in the lower part of the slope, by the Radunia Canal, were gradually levelled and prepared for settlement.

## Old Town and Osiek

Since medieval times, the area of the Old Town has undergone certain changes as a result of expansion of the earthen fortifications. It stretched from Targ Drzewny and Podwale Staromiejskie Street (*Altstädtischer Graben*) in the south to the line of the northern walls and ramparts (at the back of Wapiennicza Street, (*Kalkgasse*, no longer exists), Św. Jakuba Street (*Jacobs-Neugasse*, no longer exists) and from St. Elizabeth's Hospital to the area by the castle and the rampart connecting the castle fortifications to the north wall line. In the 1480s the southern part of the Targ Drzewny Square was enclosed by the walls, and incorporated into the town, partly with the buildings surrounding it. The area by the castle situated by the sawmill, on the outside of the former castle moats, as well as the quarter located between Osiek Street and the Radunia Canal were also included. On the other hand, the area of the town decreased on the western side as a result of the widening of the town ramparts in the years 1547–1563. In 1562, the Gate of St. Gertrude at Targ Drzewny was permanently closed. Since then, the Old Town could only have been directly accessed from the north through the Corpus Christi Gate and St. Jacob's Gate.<sup>133</sup>

The layout of the streets had remained unchanged since medieval times. However, the boundary between the Old Town and Osiek had disappeared. The Town Hall of the latter located at 33 Stolarska Street (*Tischlergasse*), its last trace of autonomy, was sold by the Old Town council in 1597. The streets belonging to this part of the town were already included in the land registry book created in 1624.<sup>134</sup> A fragment of the town with the regular chessboard pattern layout, located north of the Radunia Canal between Rajska Street (*Paradiesgasse*) and Łagiewniki (*Schüsseldamm*), was enclosed from the west by the streets: Elżbietańska (*Elisabeth-Kirchengasse*), Podbielańska (*Weissmünchen-Hintergasse*) and Korzenna Street (*Pfefferstadt*) and from the south by a line of buildings stretching from Podwale Staromiejskie Street to the Radunia Canal, intersected by a series of wider and narrower streets, irregular in the area of Osiek. In 1577, 1,389 houses and huts were located in the Old Town and Osiek.<sup>135</sup>

The market square of the Old Town was Targ Drzewny, situated by the St. Gertrude's Gate, already closed at that time. It is possible that a part of Gnilna Street (*Faulgraben*) near the Corpus Christi Gate, between Korzenna Street and Rajska Street (*Paradiesgasse*), also served as a marketplace.<sup>136</sup> The central

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<sup>132</sup> The hospital cemetery was probably located in the area of the later horse watering place in front of the canal conduit by the Old Town moats. The remains of the deceased were transferred to a new cemetery, APGd, 300, R/LI, 4, f. 540v. On the decommissioning of the cemetery by the hospital of St. Gertrude, G. Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit*, Danzig 1822, vol. 1, p. 264; G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen*, p. 219 (he reported the year 1573 as the time of the relocation). Also E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 408. The use of the future cemetery area by a bleaching workshop is shown on the Ä. Dickmann veduta from 1617 (National Library of Sweden, KoBDelaG Stö.f.163).

<sup>133</sup> On the plots of land near the moat of the Main Town, APGd, 300, 31/95, p. 329 (1595); J. Kaufmann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Altstadt Danzig*, pp. 94–96. Description of the Old Town boundaries from 1637, PAN BG 733, f. 92v–93v. On ramparts development, cf. G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen*, pp. 204–207. G. Bukal, *Fortyfikacje Gdańska*, pp. 84–85. On takeovers of gardens and demolitions of houses, APGd, 300, R/LI, 4, f. 331v (1547), f. 377v (1563); M. Foltz, *Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushaltes*, p. 547; E. Keyser, *Die Besiedlung der Altstadt Danzig*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins", vol. 61, 1921, p. 175. 1000 *grzywnas* were paid in 1549 as compensation. On closing the gates, G. Köhler, *Geschichte der Festungen*, p. 207.

<sup>134</sup> Town Hall location, APGd, 300, 41/180, f. 17v; APGd, 300, 32/24, f. 33r. E. Keyser incorrectly concluded that it was located at Sołecka Street, idem, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 223. He described the Town Hall building as "altes Gemeindehaus". On the sale of the building, which was still being renovated in 1502 and 1511, cf. P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 1, p. 368; J. Kaufmann, *Studien zur Geschichte*, p. 89. As early as 1585, a land register covering only the area of Osiek was introduced – APGd, 300, 32/24, while the Old land register of 1624, APGd, 300, 32/28 already covered the area. Both were in use until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

<sup>135</sup> APGd, 300, R/Vv, 35, pp. 304–305.

<sup>136</sup> The name "Holtzmarkt" has already appeared on the town plan from 1615. The own name Targ Kaszubski (Kashubian Market), indicating its commercial use, appeared only in 1694, W. Stephan, *Die Strassennahmen*, p. 53.

part of the wide waterfront of the Radunia Canal by Rybaki Górne Street (*Hohe Seigen*) was used as a fish market.<sup>137</sup> Within the town, the bread benches were operating on the bridge by Korzenna Street. Butcher's benches were placed between Podzamcze Street (*Burggrafenstraße*) and *Podwale Staromiejskie* Street, east of Sołeczka Street (*Schulzengasse*, no longer exists).<sup>138</sup> The Old Town Slaughterhouse was situated by the side canal of Radunia, at the back of today's properties at 3–4 Na Piaskach Street (*Am Sande*).<sup>139</sup> Since medieval times, bread benches have been placed on the Bread Bridge by the Radunia Canal, in the vicinity of the Town Hall.<sup>140</sup> The weigh house was probably situated on the ground floor of the Town Hall.<sup>141</sup> There is no information about other commercial facilities within the Old Town at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Old Town Hall was located at 33–35 Korzenna Street. Between 1587 and 1595, a new building was erected on the site of a medieval timber frame construction built here after 1455. The town council and the law court held their sessions here. Nearby, at Bielańska Street (*Weißmönchen-Kirchengasse*) – the area of the current car park between the town hall and the building at 5 Bielańska Street – there was a Stadthof, a pillory, and a prison by the Radunia Canal.<sup>142</sup> Two bathhouses were operating in the Old Town at that time one opposite the town hall at 40–41 Korzenna Street and the other at 49–50 Heweliusza Street (*Baumgartschegasse*).<sup>143</sup> It seems that the town knacker's yard was located in the area of the Bożego Ciała Gate.<sup>144</sup>

A number of industrial facilities using the power of the Radunia canals were located in the Old Town. Just behind the ramparts, at the back of the property at 1–3 Garncarska Street (*Töpfergasse*), currently undeveloped, a silver smeltery was placed at the main current of the canal.<sup>145</sup> Downstream, on an island encircled by two branches of the canal, a corn mill called the Great Mill was erected.<sup>146</sup> In the eastern part of the island, another facility was established, perhaps a brick granary. To the north of the mill, two additional branches of the canal were dug and a fulling mill, a tanning mill (the latter still in use around 1600), as well as a small sawmill (sixteenth century), were built over it.<sup>147</sup> At the same side, there was a *Mühenhof* with facilities reaching as far as Bednarska Street (*Böttchergasse*). The remaining part of the canal was not used for economic purposes, which was perhaps because in its lower part fishermen living at Rybaki Górne and Rybaki Dolne (*Höhe-, Nieder Seigen*) kept their pot traps in the water.

From the main canal (the flume) two side branches separated downstream of the ramparts, and upstream of the island of the Great Mill. The first branch, which departed upstream of the silver smeltery, initially ran along the ramparts and then turned eastward in front of the property at 6 *Silberhütte*

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<sup>137</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 178, 189.

<sup>138</sup> On bread benches, cf. J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo w II połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku.*, Gdańsk 1973, p. 138. On meat benches, cf. J. Kaufmann, *Studien zur Geschichte*, pp. 122–123; E. Keyser, *Die Besiedlung*, pp. 170–171; M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 209.

<sup>139</sup> APGd, 300, R/Bb, 26b, f. 11r: “da vor zeiten ihr Kittelhoff gewesen” (1613); APGd, 300, 12/226 p. 605 (1661).

<sup>140</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 241; J. Habela, *Rausz Staromiejski w Gdańsku*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1975, p. 36.

<sup>141</sup> It was supposed to be located here in the seventeenth century, J. Habela, *Ratusz Staromiejski w Gdańsku*, p. 35, as well as in the eighteenth, F.C.G von Duisburg, *Versuch einer historisch-topographischen Beschreibung der freien Stadt Dantzig*, Dantzig 1809, p. 96.

<sup>142</sup> APGd, 300, 32/23, f. 46r, 47r; R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig*, p. 57; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2, p. 560. J. Kaufmann, *Studien zur Geschichte*, p. 104. The prison building is shown in the “Stockholm plan”, and the passage to the prison is presented in the engraving of P. Willer depicting the Old Town Hall, R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig*, before p. 53. The location of the Stadthof and the adjoining pillory is also shown on a plan drawn between 1770 and 1780, PAN BG, C I 50.7.

<sup>143</sup> In 1449, the Teutonic Knights' bathhouse on Korzenna Street was purchased by the town, cf. APGd, 300, 32/23, f. 50. The oldest mention of the bathhouse on Heweliusza Street comes from 1641, APGd, 300, 32/23, f. 86r, 99r. It could have already existed around 1600, as some buildings were shown on the plan from that time.

<sup>144</sup> APGd, 300, 41/184, p. 77: “vor dem Heiligen Leichnamsthore. Dreckbotel dy ander bude” (1511).

<sup>145</sup> M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 146. The location of the smeltery is shown on the plan from 1612, APGd, 300, MP/324.

<sup>146</sup> It is assumed that the time of its creation is determined by the mention of a new flume from 1356 or even a copper foundry from 1355, P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 4, Danzig 1918, no. 88; *Księga Komturstwa Gdańskiego*, publ. K. Ciesielska, I. Janosz-Biskupowa, Warsaw 1985 (Fontes – Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, vol.70), no. 127.

<sup>147</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol 4, no. 93; *Księga Komturstwa Gdańskiego*, no. 226, p. 202. They were located around 13–14 Bednarska Street. The tannery mill at that time belonged to the guild of cordovan makers, APGd, 300, 12/373, p. 376. M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 139. A small sawmill: APGd, 300, 12/373, p. 158 (1636). It seems that it must have already existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, because on the “Stockholm plan” two or three mills were located by the canals. The mill was mentioned in: APGd, 300, 12/373, p. 158.

Street (currently 24 Wały Jagiellońskie). Just after the turn, an oil mill was built by it, and it was still in operation around 1600. Further downstream, at the corner of 14 Kowalska Street (*Schmiedegasse*) a groat mill was established, and at the corner of Młyńska Street (*Große Mühlengasse*, currently an alleyway), at 110 Podwale Staromiejskie Street – two polishing workshops: All these facilities were still in operation at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>148</sup> In the area of the property at 110 Podwale Staromiejskie Street, the branch that supplied the northern moat of the Main Town separated from the canal. The second of the side canals of the Radunia, called the little Radunia, had its origin past the bridge at Garncarska Street (*Töpfergasse*) Just beyond the fork there was a paper mill in place of the former copper foundry.<sup>149</sup> Next to the property at 13 Młyńska Street, the second side canal merged with the first one. There were no other industrial facilities along the further part of the canal, as far as the former Teutonic sawmill at 1 Tartaczna Street (*An der Schneidemühle*). Eventually, the canal forked, encircling a fragment of Osiek and entered the flume at Stajenna Street (*Am Stein*). At that time, there was no watercourse that would connect the little Radunia with the outer castle moat.<sup>150</sup>

While it is known that a town powder mill was located in the Old Town as well, its location could not be determined.<sup>151</sup> There is no information on other industrial establishments in this part of Gdańsk.

Similarly to the Main Town, the Old Town area was divided into four quarters. However, there are no documents preserved which would allow delineating their boundaries.<sup>152</sup>

There were two Lutheran parish churches in the Old Town: the church of St. Catherine of early medieval origin, and the church of St. Bartholomew built after the inhabitants moved from the demolished the Young Town (*Młode Miasto, Jungstadt*) to the uninhabited land of the Old Town after 1455.<sup>153</sup> There were also two monasteries: one belonging to the Bridgettine Sisters by the Radunia Canal, west of Brygidki Street, with the church of St. Brigid, with a congregation of penitents operating by it, with its own chapel, at the end of the seventeenth century used by the Jesuits,<sup>154</sup> and one held by the Carmelites at Elżbietańska Street (*Elisabethkirchengasse*), with the church of St. Elijah and Elisha.<sup>155</sup> Supposedly, at that time the chapel of medieval St. George's Hospital for lepers also still existed.<sup>156</sup> Since medieval times, there were two hospitals: St. Elizabeth's Hospital dedicated to the poor, located on the Radunia Canal at Elżbietanska Street,<sup>157</sup> and St. Jacobs's Hospital for sailors, on Łagiewniki Street near the town ramparts.<sup>158</sup> In 1541, an orphanage for babies and children up to the age of 10

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<sup>148</sup> On the oil mill: *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 6, Lfg. 2, publ. K. Conrad, Marburg 2000, no. 530 (oil mill); APGd, 300, 32/23, f. 5; APGd, 300, MP/324 (plan from 1612). E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 226, incorrectly indicated its location as being on the southern, rather than the northern side of the canal. On the groat mill, M. Foltz, *Geschichte der Danziger Stadthaushalts*, p. 204. Initially, two grinding mills operated here, but since the end of the fifteenth century there was only one, APGd, 300, 32/23, f. 20v: *die schleifmühlen*. M. Foltz, *Geschichte der Danziger Stadthaushalts*, p. 206; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 226; M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 113.

<sup>149</sup> M. Bogucka, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny*, p. 158; APGd, 300, 12/226, p. 191 (1640); APGd, 300, R/Q, 12, f. 27r. (1570–1577).

<sup>150</sup> The connection was depicted in the reconstruction plans by G. Köhler, F. Froese, O. Kloeppe, J. Stankiewicz. Only K. Hoburg did not depict it. It was probably created no sooner than in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was not shown on the lost plan of Zameczysko by J. Strakowski from 1648, cf. the copy in Staatsbibliothek Berlin, SBB/IIIIC/Kart. X 22435. It was first shown on the 1687 plan of the town by P. Willer, PAN BG, no. 5640.

<sup>151</sup> M. Foltz, *Geschichte der Danziger Stadthaushalts*, p. 206. Perhaps the author mistakenly assigned to the Old Town a gunpowder mill built in the strip separating the former castle moats, and thus belonging to the Main Town.

<sup>152</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2, p. 460.

<sup>153</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 256–260.

<sup>154</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 250–252; S. Kościelak, *Katolicy w protestanckim Gdańsku*, pp. 83–85, 88–89. The chapel of the penitents of St. Mary Magdalene was disassembled in 1638. Its remains were discovered during the architectural research carried out after the Second World War, cf.: J. Ciemnołowski, R. Massalski, J. Stankiewicz, *Notatki o odkryciach architektonicznych na terenie Gdańska*, "Rocznik Gdański", vol. 14, 1955, pp. 431–432.

<sup>155</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 261–262; S. Kościelak, *Katolicy w protestanckim Gdańsku*, pp. 85–86.

<sup>156</sup> *Księga komturstwa gdańskiego*, no. 127. The building was to be located on the area granted to the Carmelites in 1464, probably at Elżbietańska Street. According to S. Kościelak, if it still existed, it could be used by the Catholic population of Gdańsk, idem, *Katolicy w protestanckim Gdańsku*, p. 90.

<sup>157</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 4, no. 108, 109; J. Muhl, *St. Elisabeth zu Danzig*, "Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins", vol. 34, 1935, no. 1, pp. 5–9; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 247–250.

<sup>158</sup> E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, pp. 252–256. P. Samól believes that the church of St Jacob indicated as located in the Young Town is the same as the Old Town hospital church. On this subject, cf.: idem, *Kościół i szpital w topografii Młodego Miasta Gdańska*, [in:] *Między Gdańskiem a Santiago: 600-lecie konsekracji kościoła św. Jakuba fundacji szypków gdańskich*, ed. B. Siek, A. Szarszewski, P. Paluchowski, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 76–83; idem, *Młode Miasto Gdańsk (1380–1455) i jego patry-*

was established by St. Elizabeth's Hospital.<sup>159</sup> Over the outer dam of the Teutonic castle, there was a house for the patients with smallpox (rebuilt in 1602 after the fire of 1592).<sup>160</sup>

## Old Town suburbs

The suburbs around Old Town encompassed a small area on the north and north-western side of the town, described in the land books as situated "in front of the Corpus Christi Gate". Two gates led to it: Corpus Christi and St. Jacob's. The main street of the northern suburb, which partly overlapped with Jana z Kolna Street (*Schichaugasse*) was called *Hinter dem Lazareth* Street. The northern suburb was delimited from the west by a route leading initially along Dyrekcyjna Street (*Am Olivaer Tor*), and then through the Young Town's timber stacking yards. To the west of it, the open space stretching all the way to the hills was traversed by a number of north-south roads crossed with many shortcuts. Most of the land in the suburb was occupied by gardens, behind which meadows stretched as far as the Vistula River.<sup>161</sup>

The oldest known building in the area was the Lazaret built before 1515.<sup>162</sup> It was a hospital for infectious diseases, and eventually also for the old and infirm. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, a number of buildings were built on the hospital's property – a hospital with a chapel, a kitchen and houses for the prebendaries. On the other side of *Hinter dem Lazareth* Street, a pesthouse was built for patients with smallpox (c.a. 1601).<sup>163</sup> North of the area belonging to Lazaret, the garden of Old Town councillors was located, and within its perimeter a brick building of unknown purpose was erected. Behind the garden, there was a square with cloth drying frames and Old Town timber stacking yards, accessed by a canal which flew into the Vistula River (it marked the boundary with the Young Town area until 1455). On the eastern side of the street, near the St. Jacob's Gate, there were several plots of land belonging to Gdańsk hospitals, with buildings located near the street.<sup>164</sup>

On the northern side of the former border canal, till 1455, lay the areas of the Young Town. Their majority was used by the Old Town and Gdańsk hospitals. Only some facilities were in the hands of the Main Town Council. The closest to the town were the so-called "Young Town" wood stacking yards stretching around the fenced square with cloth making frames, and as far as the road leading from the Corpus Christi hospital, past the Old Town brickyard and towards Nowe Szkoty (*Neuschotland*). The brickyard was located in the vicinity of the current eastern frontage of Marynarki Polskiej Street, at the northern edge of the area of the *Schichau's* shipyard (before the World War II at the exit of Jana z Kolna Street) and at the end of the canal built after 1539, which served to transport the wood intended for burning bricks and roof tiles.<sup>165</sup> Next to the brickyard, a lime kiln was located. In the vicinity, along one of several parallel routes leading from the town to the north, the Young Town hospital of the All Angels of God was situated (in the Steffen's Park on the west side of the current railway line, by the exit of the eastern one from two central avenues of the park, opposite Tuwima Street (*Linden Straße*)). Halfway between the canal of the brickyard and the Young Town's stacking yards along the Vistula River, the Main Town lime kiln was located, and to the north of it, the Main Town's and the Old Town's store places for limestone. Most likely there was a quay in this area used for unloading limestone shipments.<sup>166</sup>

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*monium*, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 161–163, 190–197. I do not agree with the reasoning put forward by the researcher, and I believe that there were two churches under this name: the Young Town church and the Old Town church. More on this subject in the Historical Atlas of Polish Towns: Gdańsk [in print].

<sup>159</sup> J. Muhl, *St. Elisabeth*, p. 8, A. Szarszewski, *Ordynacje Domu Dziecka w Gdańsku*, Toruń 2006, p. 9–11

<sup>160</sup> E. Praetorius, *Das Evangelische Dantzig vorstellend Den Lebens Lauff aller Evangelischen Lehrer in Dantzig*, PAN BG, Ms 428, f. 710v; F.C.G. v. Duisburg, *Versuch*, p. 244. It was depicted on a "Stockholm plan".

<sup>161</sup> APGd, 300, MP/511 (1601), APGd, 300, MP/525 (1604).

<sup>162</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2, p. 384. It was to be built on the site previously occupied by the Young Town hospital of St. Roch. The buildings of the hospital are shown on the plan from 1601, APGd, 300, MP/511.

<sup>163</sup> P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2, p. 530.

<sup>164</sup> All these objects are shown on a plan from 1601, APGd, 300, MP/511. The pesthouse was marked on a plan from 1674, APGd, 300, MP/764.

<sup>165</sup> APGd, 300, R/LI, 4, f. 310r.

<sup>166</sup> All these facilities and roads are also shown on the APGd, 300, MP/511. On a medieval hospital cf. P. Samól, *Młode Miasto*, pp. 187–190.

Other buildings located between the Vistula River and the hills were only to be found in the vicinity of Wrzeszcz (*Langfuhr*), by the creek of the Królewska Dolina (*Royal Valley*) and the Strzyża River.

West of the Old Town and the wide area crossed with parallel routes, on the edge of the hills, the Corpus Christi hospital buildings, including a hospital church were located. A cemetery was located by the hospital, on its southern side. Both the hospital and the cemetery were fenced. A road leading to Suchanino ran along the northern boundary of the hospital, through the valley between Gradowa Mountain and *Wunderberg* Hill, next to the shooting range of the Old Town burghers.<sup>167</sup> North of the road, on the slope of another hill, there was a chapel called Jerusalem, intended for the use of those sentenced to be executed on Szubieniczna Mountain located at the exit of the Royal Valley.<sup>168</sup>

To the south of the Corpus Christi Hospital and to the west of the Old Town, on the slopes of all the hills there were disorganised excavations of earth and sand, used for embankments and levelling. In accordance with the recommendations of the municipal authorities, the cavities created by digging were filled with municipal waste.<sup>169</sup>

Similar, scattered clay excavations were located on the hills stretching from Gradowa Mountain to the north as far as the Royal Valley.<sup>170</sup>

## Suburban villages

The development of Gdańsk's suburbs on the southern and western sides of the town almost unnoticeably transformed into the villages belonging to the Bishop of Włocławek – Szkoty, and to Bridgettine Sisters – Siedlce. Szkoty were adjacent to Zaroślak, separated only by a road. They were divided into the so-called “lower side”, which comprised of houses in the frontage of a road below the Radunia Canal and further abutted Pelplińskie Chmielniki (*Pelplinischer Hoppenbruch*) and Krótka Rega (*Kurze Reihe*), and the “upper side”, which encompassed houses located along the canal on its western side. Another cluster of houses was located in a small area enclosed by forked roads in the vicinity of Chmielniki gardens.<sup>171</sup> On the bishop's property on Biskupia Górka there was also a village with medieval origins, bearing the same name. The buildings continued on both sides of the road from the village towards the west, to the village of Chełm (*Stolzenberg*). Access to Biskupia Górka was also possible from the town side, by a road leading along the hillside. The village of Chełm itself was situated on the ridge of a hill that stretched from Biskupia Górka to the west. Both villages had the single-street layout.<sup>172</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Paulina Wacławik*

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<sup>167</sup> This hill is named *Wunderberg* on a plan from around 1641, APGd, 300, MP/630 and a plan created after 1697, APGd, 300, MP/637. G. Bukal calls it the Admiral (from the names of the two sconces on it: Admiral and Vice Admiral, cf. idem, *Fortyfikacje Gdańska*, pp. 157, 363: fig. 7.9, p. 369: fig. 7.22. The author believed that the name *Wunderberg* was derived from the name of the scone that was built on it – *Wunder Schanze*.

<sup>168</sup> PAN BG, Ms 428, f. 517r, v; E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte*, p. 314. The chapel is shown on the plan, APGd, 300, MP/511 (1601).

<sup>169</sup> The Corpus Christi hospital and its neighbourhood is shown on the drawing of Ä. Dickmann from 1617, PAN BG, Gr. Al. 4090. In 1565, a decision was made to change the location of the waste disposal site. From then on, it was to be taken to the ramparts, APGd, 300, 10/1, f. 335r, 368r. Cf. also D. Kaczor, *Utrzymywanie czystości w wielkich miastach Prus królewskich XVI–XVIII wieku. Studium z dziejów kultury sanitarnej w mieście nowożytnym*, Gdańsk 2014, p. 173.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Berndt's plan from 1601, APGd, 300, MP/511.

<sup>171</sup> The plan with the location of the village, APGd, 1126/384, p. 10 (1664). In 1614, the areas belonged to the Jesuits, who later built a church of the Visitation of Mary, see: S. Kościelak, *Jezuici w Gdańsku od drugiej połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2003, p. 43. The lands in the nearby Breberg (Jezuicka Góra) were granted in 1592, ibidem, p. 33.

<sup>172</sup> On Stara Górka, later called Biskupia Górka cf. K. Bruski, *Chełm w późnym średniowieczu i u progu epoki nowożytnej (XIV–XVI w.)*, [in:] *Historie gdańskich dzielnic*, vol. 1: *Chełm*, ed. J. Dargacz, K. Kurkowska, P. Paluchowski, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 18–19. On Chełm cf. Z. Maciakowska, *Dawny Chełm pod Gdańskiem. Rozwój przestrzenny do czasu zniszczenia na początku XIX wieku*, [in:] idem, pp. 56–57.

### III.6.11.4 GNIEZNO SETTLEMENT COMPLEX

*Anna Paulina Orłowska*

The map shows the city of Gniezno: the town within its walls (after the location prior to 1241) along with the cathedral hill and numerous suburbs and villages: Jędrzejewo, Cierpięgi, Targowisko, Wójtostwo, Piotrowo, Grzybowo Świętojańskie and Panieńskie, Słomianka, Kustodia and Kawiory.

The reconstruction was developed according to the tenets of the AHP series. Its basis are cartographic sources from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, iconographic sources dated from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries and written sources mainly from the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. A scale of 1:10,000 was adopted. The map is a hypothetical reconstruction, i.e., its elements are presented with a varying degree of probability. Especially in the case of elements known only from written sources, the location may not be fully accurate.

#### **Cartographic and iconographic sources**

The fundamental cartographic source for creating our map was the *Mappa z położeniem samych Placów y ogrodów do Miasta Gniezna należące*, developed at the request of the Boni Ordinis Commission by Karol de Kirszenstein in 1787. In this study, the scanned sketch of the map created by Marcin Beyer in 1949 was used. It was compared with a printed copy from the Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno. There are two more known copies of this map, which were not accessible; however, judging based on the preview images, they do not seem to differ from the aforementioned versions neither in the scope nor in detail. There is no information about the existence of the original. The plan commissioned by the *Boni Ordinis* Commission is highly precise and covers the area of the located town and its southern suburbs. The areas at the edges of the map are drawn with low precision, only barely marked. This is especially true of the hill with the Church of St. John and – unfortunately enough – the present-day surroundings of the train station, extensively transformed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The area of Wzgórze Lecha (Lech Hill) is located completely outside of the plan.

The second map from the eighteenth century is dated to 1797 and, unfortunately, has been preserved only in a very simplified sketch published in the year 1946 by Henryk Münch.<sup>1</sup> The original plan was kept in the Poznań archives and was lost during the Second World War.<sup>2</sup> Münch used a copy on a glass plate,<sup>3</sup> but sadly this particular plate was not transferred to the Department of Historical Atlas IH PAN. The sketch demonstrates that this map took into account many objects whose location is currently unknown.

Due to the lack of availability of older cartographic material for the reconstruction of the suburbs of Gniezno, the UMTB map was additionally consulted. The Gniezno sheet was created in 1830, thus unfortunately only after the great fire of 1819. In certain instances, modern maps have also been used.

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<sup>1</sup> Münch, table XI.

<sup>2</sup> *Gniezno, woj. Poznańskie, Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne opracowane na zlecenie PWRN – Wydziału Architektury i Nadzoru Budowlanego w Poznaniu*, [no place] [1946], manuscript in AAG, pp. 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> Idem.

For control purposes, the results were compared with the *Retablissement Plan*, developed after the fire in 1819,<sup>4</sup> the MTB map and a sketch of the Backhoff-Crusius map.<sup>5</sup>

Iconographic sources also proved very valuable. Among these, a hand drawn plan from 1512 should be mentioned. It was created at the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare and it not only depicts the northern part of the Gniezno, but also does so in a very schematic manner, though it includes details other sources fail to mention.<sup>6</sup> Further information about this part of the city can be found in a second plan of the city, which was also hand drawn in the monastery in the seventeenth century. This one, a simplified bird's-eye-view plan,<sup>7</sup> was less schematic and depicted individual buildings and their relative position. The bird's-eye-view plan created by Wojciech Ostafiej in 1687 was particularly important in the reconstruction of Piotrów. It was also kept in AAG.<sup>8</sup>

Cityscapes similarly proved to be of use. The oldest, made in 1661 by Johann Rudolf Storn, shows the city from the south,<sup>9</sup> while the gouache paintings by Karol Alberti from the eighteenth century depict the city from the northwest, west and southwest and include, among others, buildings which were destroyed in the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> These gouache paintings are the only sources permitting the reconstruction of the outline of buildings and are the basis for establishing the way in which the terrain was developed, particularly in the case of buildings, which were not represented on the Kirszenstein map. Unfortunately, another image of the city, dated to the same time period – the background of the painting of St. Lawrence from the church of the same name – did not offer additional information.<sup>11</sup>

## Written Sources

In light of the significant losses in the Gniezno archives, resulting from the fires that occurred in the city, only a very limited number of sources produced by the town was consulted. Among the most notable were the contents of the church archives. The inspection from 1608 conducted by Wincenty de Seve<sup>12</sup> was of particular importance. Records belonging to the Sisters of St. Clare were also used as auxiliary evidence.<sup>13</sup> Files from *jurydyki* (juridical enclaves), kept at the State Archive in Poznań, were utilized in the study of particular *jurydyki*.<sup>14</sup>

## Secondary Sources

The history of Gniezno was already of interest to historians in the nineteenth century. Earliest works about the city's monuments and issues related to its history were published in the 1840s by Karol Ney, mainly in the magazine *Przyjaciół Ludu*.<sup>15</sup> In his work dedicated to the Blessed Jolanta, he outlined the history of the city to the extent that it pertained to history of the monastery of the sisters of St. Clare.<sup>16</sup> Most of the scholars studying the history of Gniezno in the second half of the nineteenth century, including Joachim Lelewel, Ignacy Polkowski, Józef Walkowski, presented a similar approach to the subject and focused on a fairly narrow range of issues, mostly on the history of churches,

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<sup>4</sup> AAG, C 131.

<sup>5</sup> G. Mikołajczyk, *Początki Gniezna*, vol. 1, Poznań 1971–1972, p. 28, fig. 7.

<sup>6</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Zespół klasztorny franciszkanów i klarysek w Gnieźnie*, Gniezno 2005, p. 141, ill. 129.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, *Gniezno. Widoki miasta*, Warsaw–Poznań 1989, p. 82, fig. 58.

<sup>8</sup> Idem, p. 62, fig. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, p. 18, fig. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Idem, fig. III, VI, VIII.

<sup>11</sup> Idem, fig. I.

<sup>12</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609.

<sup>13</sup> AAG, ACap Luzy O 30, ACap Luzy O 31.

<sup>14</sup> Grzybowo Świętojańskie: AmGn, I 155, I 165; Cierpięgi: AmGn, I 132, 133, 134, 135; Wójtostwo: AmGn, I 173.

<sup>15</sup> He usually signed his works with his initials rather than his full name, which makes their identification difficult, e.g. M.K., *Kościół ś. Jana Chrzyciela w Gnieźnie*, "Przyjaciół Ludu", vol. 10, 1843, issue 10, p. 74.

<sup>16</sup> K. Ney, *Żywot bł. Jolanty i kronika klasztoru zakonnicy ś. Klary w Gnieźnie*, Leszno–Gniezno 1843.

especially the cathedral.<sup>17</sup> Research of these topics was made a lot easier with the publication of the work by Jan Korytkowski about the archbishops of Gniezno.<sup>18</sup> The study that stands out against this trend is E.S. Kortowicz's book, devoted to topography of Gniezno.<sup>19</sup> The first monograph about the city by Stanisław Karwowski was published in 1892 in the *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego*, it was also mainly based on Church sources and thus focused on the history of the chapter and churches.<sup>20</sup> The work by Adolf Warschauer from 1918, in which the author took advantage of his excellent knowledge of the resources found in the Poznań archive, presented the history of the city from various perspectives and thus provided a solid basis for further research.<sup>21</sup> During the interwar period, the main focus of research had shifted to archaeological studies, as well as history of art and numismatics. The summary of the work carried out, among others by Joseph Kostrzewski, Konrad Jęzewski, Witold Hensel and Wojciech Kóćka, was presented in a volume edited by Kostrzewski and published in 1939.<sup>22</sup> The post-war historiographic scholarship included several attempts to comprehensively study the history of Gniezno, the most prominent example of which was the collective oeuvre edited by Jerzy Topolski.<sup>23</sup> The twenty-first century saw the creation of the *Encyklopedia Gniezna i Ziemi Gnieźnieńskiej*,<sup>24</sup> which has offered significant additions to the current state of knowledge about the history of the city but unfortunately the individual articles are not marked with the acronyms of the authors. The most recent study of the history of Gniezno was written under the guidance of Józef Dobosz.<sup>25</sup> Due to the destruction of many of the written sources pertaining to the history of the city, archaeological research has played a pivotal role in this field. Important studies include a two-volume monograph by Gabriela Mikołajczyk,<sup>26</sup> four volumes of studies and materials<sup>27</sup> and a collective work edited by Zofia Kurnatowska.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, studies dedicated to the more recent research are scattered and some have yet to be published. A lot of historical and archaeological information about the northern part of the town within the walls is offered by the work of Stanisław Pasiciel, devoted to the monastery complex of the Sisters of St. Clare and the Franciscans.<sup>29</sup> Studies that are not monographic, but nevertheless essential to the research on the history of Gniezno, as well as Münch's study about the layout of the towns and cities of Greater Poland<sup>30</sup> and Hensel's research on the oldest capitals of Poland.<sup>31</sup>

## History

The history of Gniezno, the first capital of Poland, spans over one thousand years. Four monographs have been published on this subject as well as many smaller studies, which is why only the information most relevant to the reconstruction of the plan will be provided here. Many trade and craft settlements developed beside the gord and the outer bailey, including the settlement on the Wzgórze Panieńskie

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<sup>17</sup> J. Lelewel, *Drzwi kościelne płockie i gnieźnieńskie*, Poznań 1857; I. Polkowski, *Katedra Gnieźnieńska*, Gniezno 1874; J. Walkowski, *Wspomnienie o kościele metropolitalnym w Gnieźnie*, Gniezno 1876.

<sup>18</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy: prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821*, vol. 2, Poznań 1888.

<sup>19</sup> E.S. Kortowicz, *Gniezno. Szkic topograficzny*, Gniezno 1887.

<sup>20</sup> S. Karwowski, *Gniezno*, Poznań 1892.

<sup>21</sup> A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, Poznań 1918. The extensive knowledge that A. Warschauer had of the archives of Greater Poland, which was the result of the many years he spent working at the archive of Poznań, was illustrated by his research dedicated to this subject; *ibidem*, *Die Städtischen Archive in der Provinz Posen*, Leipzig 1901.

<sup>22</sup> *Gniezno w zaraniu dziejów (od VIII do XIII wieku) w świetle wykopalisk*, ed. J. Kostrzewski, Poznań 1939.

<sup>23</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, Warsaw 1965.

<sup>24</sup> *Encyklopedia Gniezna i Ziemi Gnieźnieńskiej*, eds. M. Aleksandrowicz, B. Hojdis, A.W. Mikołajczak, Gniezno 2011.

<sup>25</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna – pierwszej stolicy Polski*, ed. J. Dobosz, Gniezno 2016.

<sup>26</sup> G. Mikołajczyk, *Początki Gniezna*.

<sup>27</sup> *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 1–4, ed. J. Topolski *et al.*, Warsaw–Poznań 1984–1995.

<sup>28</sup> *Gniezno w świetle ostatnich badań archeologicznych: nowe fakty, nowe interpretacje*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, Poznań 2001 (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Prace Komisji Archeologicznej, vol. 21).

<sup>29</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Zespół klasztorny*.

<sup>30</sup> Münch.

<sup>31</sup> W. Hensel, *Najdawniejsze stolice Polski*, Warsaw 1960.

(*Maidens' Hill*), which became a town in the 1330s,<sup>32</sup> a settlement called Targowisko (*Marketplace*) at the foot of the hill and a production and trade settlement found on the other side of the lakes, known as Zajezerze (that can be understood as a place behind the lake) or – more commonly – Piotrowo (*St. John settlement*). This settlement complex was heavily damaged during an attack by the Teutonic Knights in 1331. The city, located on an important export route, quickly recuperated and developed. Fairs (initially two, on the day of the feast of St. Adalbertus (Pol. *Wojciech*) and of St. Bartholomew) played a significant role in the growth of the city, eventually becoming the main events of trade, particularly of cattle, which was reflected in the local toponymy.<sup>33</sup> The economic development of the city, especially in regard to the production of beer, brought certain dangers with it, such as fires that engulfed the city or parts of it in the years 1503, 1512, 1538, 1548, 1613. This last one became very important in the process of reconstructing the plan of the city, since it destroyed the entire city along with its suburbs, causing significant changes in its appearance, e.g., encouraging a preference of brick buildings. The last fire, which influenced the reconstruction of the map, was the one from 1819. In its wake, large-scale changes were implemented – the Wzgórze Panińskie within the square was levelled and this surplus was transferred in between Wzgórze Panińskie and Wzgórze Lecha, the course of certain streets (including Tumska Street) was altered, and the reach of the lots was changed. These changes are all the more significant for us, since we only have one plan (1787) and one copy (1797) from before they happened. The basic cartographic source for many of the areas – UMTB – is dated to 1830 for Gniezno. As a result, it represents the state of the city long after these alterations.

## Hydrography

One of the factors influencing the shape of Gniezno was the multitude of lakes and waterways neighbouring the town. Including them in the map was difficult as some of them had already disappeared in Early Modern times. This is especially true of the Święte (*Saint*) Lake and the southern part of Jelonek (*Fawn*) Lake, which are even included in the oldest city maps. At the same time, they were so important to the development of the city in the studied period that an attempt to reconstruct their probable range in 1600 had to be undertaken. Observations by Ferdynand Woliński were particularly useful for this reconstruction.<sup>34</sup> In case of Jelonek Lake, Woliński's notes were corrected on the basis of the topography. In its eastern part, two elongated bays to the south of the town were forgone, and the western shore of the lake was demarked, which had not been included in Woliński's study. The contour line that marked its eastern range was adopted as the basis. To reconstruct the headland, where a stadium was built in the twentieth century, the image of the contour lines from the 1880 map (MTB) was also used. The scope of the northern part of the lake is additionally confirmed by the plan from 1687, which Woliński did not use. Additionally, in order to check the reconstruction LIDAR was used in consultation with cartographers. Święte Lake was also reconstructed with the help of Woliński's observations based on UMTB and corrected based on the LIDAR reading. The reach of Świętokrzyskie (*Holy Cross*) Lake, which was only marginally visible due to merging with Święte Lake, it is based on UMTB. The border between Jelonek and Święte lakes was delineated by a dyke through which the flow was marked in accordance with UMTB.

The course of the Srawa River is primarily based on UMTB, although several sources were utilized to help fill in the gaps. First of all, the western route between Wzgórze Lecha and the located town was drawn on the basis of archaeological findings.<sup>35</sup> The existence of the left tributary of the Srawa ahead of the town with a water reservoir near the Church of St. Michael, known

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<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, neither the location privilege nor the exact date have survived, but it is assumed that the town was located by Władysław Odonic, who died in 1239. The existence of a municipal commune in Gniezno is confirmed by the Powidz location document from 1243.

<sup>33</sup> Names such as *Targowisko Końskie*, *Koński Targ*, *Viehmarkt* were especially frequent in the suburbs.

<sup>34</sup> F. Woliński, *Sieć hydrograficzna regionu gnieźnieńskiego w wiekach średnich*, SMDWP, vol. 14, 1980, no. 1, pp. 137–161; see also: ibidem, *Karty dziejopisarskie Gniezna i ziemi gnieźnieńskiej. Studium historyczno-geograficzne*, Szczecin 2003.

<sup>35</sup> F. Woliński, *Karty dziejopisarskie Gniezna*, pp. 78–79.

as Stawek,<sup>36</sup> from which this tributary started, has been established based on a map from 1787. Furthermore, to the south of the town two watercourses have been drawn, which are not included in UMTB. The first was a ditch, which was well-evidenced in sources and the toponymy; it functioned as an extension of the town moat to the south of the city, which, near the Farna (*Parish church*) Gate, expanded into a small pond, probably facilitating the maintenance of the right amount of water in the moat.<sup>37</sup> The second was a watercourse connecting a small water tank (possibly the source of the water) with the Jelonek Lake. Both watercourses can be found on the plan from 1787 and 1797.

## Located town

### Streets and market square

The topic of the urban layout of Gniezno has been quite well researched; the basic outline of the development of the road network was presented by Münch,<sup>38</sup> essential information was reconstructed by Topolski,<sup>39</sup> and some additional information resulted from the research carried out as part of the *Encyklopedia Gniezna i Ziemi Gnieźnieńskiej*<sup>40</sup> and a new study of the history of the city.<sup>41</sup>

Münch found that, similarly to the case of Dolsk<sup>42</sup> discussed in this volume, Gniezno has a characteristic three-lane plan with a parish church set further away from the market square, which was typical of located towns. At the same time, the influence of the settlement prior to the location on the shape of the town is clearly visible, e.g., in the form of an elongated market, of which the entire southeastern side was devoid of branching streets.<sup>43</sup>

As in many other towns, the main communication axes within the walls were the result of supra-regional communication routes. The road from Poznań ran from the west into the town, connecting right in front of the town walls with the road from Kcynia to the north and the road from Środa and Śrem to the south. It crossed the bridge over the Srawa River and passed the town gate called Tumska (*Cathedral Gate*). It entered the market square through the middle of the western frontage, a little further north than presently.<sup>44</sup> It is marked on the map as Tumska (*Cathedral*) Street. In the tax registers from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, however, it is not called Poznańska (*Poznań*) Street, but Kościelna (Lat. *Ecclesiastica*; *Church*) Street, due to the cathedral located next to it and much closer to the town. From the south, there was a road connecting the routes from Pyzdry, Września, Słupca and Konin to the south of the town. Within the town, its continuation was a street named after the parish church of Holy Trinity, therefore Św. Trójcy (Lat. *S. Trinitatis*; *Holy Trinity*) Street, in later reports also called Farska (*Parish Church*) or Pyzdrska (*Pyzdry*) Street. The road from Toruń, which ran through Trzemeszno, reached the town from the west; the importance of the former for Gniezno was highlighted by the regular use of the name Toruńska (*Toruń*) Street. So far Żydowska (*Jewish*) Street, connecting Tumska Street with the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare, and Szewska (*Cobbler*) Street, parallel to Tumska Street, have also been located within the walls. Solny Targ (*Salt Market*) Street, which was hitherto believed to be within the town walls, was established to have run outside of them, in the vicinity of the church of St. Nicholas.<sup>45</sup> Along this church, there was Św. Mikołaja (*St. Nicholas*) Street, perpendicular to Św. Trójcy Street. Almost parallel to it was Nad Przekopem (*Over the ditch*) Street (currently Rzeźnicka (*Butcher*) Street), which – as the name suggests – led south of the

<sup>36</sup> AmGn, I 155, f. 10 v.

<sup>37</sup> F. Woliński believes that this ditch was reinforced with the water from the Srawa River through a channel running from a tank located north of the church of the Holy Spirit along the cemetery of said church; *ibidem*, *Karty dziejopisarskie Gniezna*, p. 80. The oldest available plans, despite clearly showing the ditch south of the town, do not include this channel.

<sup>38</sup> Münch, pp. 62–63, 141–142, 167, 173.

<sup>39</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, pp. 260–266.

<sup>40</sup> *Encyklopedia Gniezna*, pp. 183–185.

<sup>41</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Dobosz.

<sup>42</sup> See M. Słomski, *Dolsk*, in this edition III.6.7.4.

<sup>43</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 144

<sup>44</sup> The current Tumska Street was moved after the fire of 1819, so that its axis became aligned with the axis of the cathedral, which allowed for a better display of the monument; AAG, C 131, *Retablissement Plan*.

<sup>45</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 512 v.

town along the ditch of the moat. Słomianka Street was almost perpendicular to it, leading to the mill and the settlement of the same name. There are many theories regarding the location and the scope of the Targowisko; they are so diverse that they are even contradictory, sometimes even within the same publication. This is primarily due to the fact that this toponym was used in relation to both the square as well as the entire suburb. Targowisko in the latter context will be discussed further in the section on *jurydyki*. The scope of Targowisko as a square is not precisely delineated in the sources, which has contributed to this misunderstanding. It is certain that the name Targowisko (along with Targ Koński (*Horse Market*)) was used in relation to the square known presently as 21 Stycznia (*21 January*) Square. There are some doubts concerning the use of this name in regard to market square Zielony Targ (*Green Market*), however, it seems that the current clear toponomastic distinction between both squares is the result of the spatial division of part of the first square along with its gradual development. In as late as 1803, Zielony Targ still carried the same name as 21 Stycznia Square – *Viehmarkt* (*Cattle Market*) though accompanied by the predicate *klein* (*small*)), which demonstrates that the two separate squares were initially perceived as one.<sup>46</sup> The trajectory of the Holy Spirit Street was uncertain; therefore, it was not included in the map.

Some streets had no names – this group includes streets by the walls (e.g., the road parallel to Nad Przekopem Street, perfectly visible on the plan from 1787) or the street leading from the Toruńska Gate to the Franciscan monastery.<sup>47</sup>

## Walls

So far, the attempts to reconstruct the trajectory of the town walls have produced varied results. However, since they all include three town gates, although different names have been used to describe them, the gates and their approximate location will be presented first, and subsequently the trajectory of the walls will be discussed.

The names of the gates have been chosen based on the plan from 1512. They are Toruńska Gate, Tumska Gate and Farna Gate. Toruńska Gate faced eastwards and was located on the route from Toruń. Tumska Gate, situated from the west, was frequently referred to as Poznańska Gate, although in other source materials, it also functioned as Żydowska Gate. Finally, the southern gate was Farna Gate, also known as Pyzdrska, Wrześnieńska, Słupecka or Kaliska Gate.

The southeastern section of the walls along with Toruńska and Farna Gates survived until the nineteenth century and was taken apart only after the fire of 1819, which meant that it appeared on the plans from 1787 and 1797, allowing to securely establish its trajectory and the location of both gates. The plan repeats the information found in the cartographic material, not counting a break in the wall (a wicket?), which was found south of Toruńska Gate. It was a later addition, as evidenced by Storn's drawing from 1661 that does not include any sort of opening in the wall between the gates.<sup>48</sup>

The trajectory of the northern section of the walls was not depicted on the maps from this time period; however, the layout of the terrain has made its reconstruction easier. The line of the wall is defined by the edge of the slope on one side, and the church and monastery buildings on the other. The space, limited in such a way, is so narrow that the differences between the individual reconstruction proposals of the trajectory of the wall in this section are minimal and correspond to the proposed plan with an accuracy of a few meters.

The reconstruction of the final, third section, surrounding the town on the west side has posed the greatest difficulty. There are several reasons for this: first of all, the wall on this side was the earliest to disappear and as a result, doubt about its existence has been expressed in some of the scholarship.<sup>49</sup> It is also missing iconographic material, because from this side the town was obscured by Wzgórze Lecha. An important factor was also the intensive leveling works undertaken in this part of the city after the fire of 1819, which significantly changed the topography. The reconstructions so far essentially presented two solutions. In the older ones, the wall departed in a significant arc from the present-day

<sup>46</sup> AP Poznań, Oddział w Gnieźnie, sign. 1187a.

<sup>47</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 263.

<sup>48</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Widoki*, p. 18.

<sup>49</sup> J. Kohte, *Der mittelalterliche Stadtplan von Gnesen*, "Historische Monatsblätter für die Provinz Posen", 1903, issue 4, p. 56.

Św. Wawrzyńca (*St. Lawrence*) Street, forming an empty space of unspecified purpose and with an uncertain number of buildings between it and the wall. The intersection of Św. Wawrzyńca Street and Kaszarska Street was located within the walls. The newer reconstructions depict the wall as located much further to the east, closer to the market square, and leave Św. Wawrzyńca Street outside of the town; while Kaszarska Street becomes a dead end, which reaches the wall at an approximately 45-degree angle, so that the intersection of both streets no longer exists. The change in the trajectory of the wall influenced the location of Tumska Gate, which can be found at the intersection of Tumska Street and Podgórna Street in newer reconstructions, while in the older ones the Gate was situated west of this intersection.

The presented plan proposes yet a different trajectory based predominantly on archeological research. The western boundary of the possible trajectory of the wall was adopted based on the assumption that the mill on the Srawa River was located outside the town wall. The mill was situated on the terrain currently believed to have been the backyard of the lot by 3 Tumska Street, which was connected to Św. Wawrzyńca Street. While maintaining that Św. Wawrzyńca Street ran along the town walls, the existence of a second road by the walls, which would have led to the mill, was suggested.

An issue that has not been included in the publications on the reconstruction of the town walls so far is the problem of the wickets in the walls. On the eastern side, which is depicted in iconography, there was certainly no wicket due, in part, to the short distance between the gates. On the western side, which has been poorly examined, two wickets were most likely present – one from the south, connecting the town with Słomianka<sup>50</sup> – the second one from the north facilitating communication between the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare and Grzybowo. Due to the lack of unambiguous confirmation of their existence in sources, however, they were not included in the presented plan.

### Other buildings

In the northern part of Gniezno's market square stood the town hall; its location is approximate, as after the fires it most likely was not rebuilt in the exact same spot.<sup>51</sup> The location of the weigh house and trading house is also approximate.<sup>52</sup> We know about the location of some of the slaughterhouses from the privilege of the Sisters of St. Clare, according to which they were located in the north part of the square.

A house belonging to the settlement Wójtostwo, in which the land courts were held, was found beside Gniezno's market square, though its exact site is uncertain.<sup>53</sup>

It was also not possible to establish where the public baths were situated, since the town sources do not offer consistent information about this.

### The Jewish district

Until the seventeenth century, the Jewish district was located within the town walls. It was situated north of Tumska Street and west of the market square, neighbouring with the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare, which caused numerous conflicts<sup>54</sup> and resulted in the district being moved beyond the Toruńska Gate, near the church of the Holy Spirit, in the eighteenth century. Due to this move, the eighteenth-century plans of the city do not offer any information about the topography of the district when it was located within the walls. As a result, the reconstruction is based on written sources and on the sketch from 1512. In its original location, the Jewish district occupied both sides of the street leading northwards from Tumska Street, in the direction of the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare, though it must be noted that on its eastern side, the Jewish buildings did not cover the entire block, but rather were grouped in its western section, thus not reaching the market square. A synagogue and school occupied the western section. The site of the synagogue was tentatively marked on the plan; this building had previously been mistakenly located on the corner of Tumska Street and Żydowska

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<sup>50</sup> H. Münch demonstrates, that the connection between the town and Słomianka is rather old; idem, *Historia i rozwój przestrzenny miasta*, [in:] *Gniezno, woj. Poznańskie, Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne*, p. 46.

<sup>51</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 145.

<sup>52</sup> Idem, p. 146.

<sup>53</sup> LWWK 1659, p. 160.

<sup>54</sup> AAG, ACap Luzy O 31.

Street.<sup>55</sup> The new location is not only derived from more recent studies on the traditions and customs of building synagogues in Polish territories, but, more importantly, is the result of a new interpretation of the building contract,<sup>56</sup> which clearly stated that the synagogue of Gniezno was to be modeled after the one in Poznań. The location of the latter was established within the block of buildings.<sup>57</sup> The theory about the synagogue in Gniezno being located within the block of buildings is also supported by the sketched plan of the town from the seventeenth century, which shows the characteristic synagogue building with a stepped hip roof, which stood among other buildings rather than on a street corner. The synagogue building on the plan has dimensions that correspond to those specified in the building contract; it is assumed it was an oriented building.

## Churches and hospitals

### The cathedral

The church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary stands in the place of the chapel located in the settlement outside town walls and was rebuilt many times. In the sixteenth century, it had the form of a Gothic cathedral, the construction of which was initiated in 1342 by Jarosław Bogoria Skotnicki. Numerous extensions were added to the cathedral in the fifteenth century, including chapels by the southern aisle, the treasury and one of the towers, while the second was completed in 1602. The cathedral was damaged during fires in 1613 and 1760. Its first cartographic representation dates back only to 1797, because Wzgórze Lecha has not been included in the map from 1787. However, the cathedral is shown in many iconographic sources, the oldest of which it is dated to 1505,<sup>58</sup> it is also clearly visible in the veduta from 1661<sup>59</sup> and in the cityscape from the eighteenth century.<sup>60</sup> Due to the need for generalization, the plan presents only a general outline of the building, without the detailed image of the range of individual additions. A cathedral school was located by the cathedral.

### Church of St. George

The church of St. George is very old and originated as the castle chapel.<sup>61</sup> As the visitations confirm, in the sixteenth century it was a masonry building,<sup>62</sup> which was restored in 1613 and 1782, but to this day its outline is based on its Romanesque foundations.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, the reconstruction on the plan is certain and is based on modern data.

### Chapel of St. Stanislaus

The chapel of St. Stanislaus was erected and equipped by Jan Łaski. The masonry rotunda was built between the cathedral and the church of St. George. It was surrounded by a graveyard called Boża Rola (*God's Land*). After the fire of 1613, the chapter funded its reconstruction, and in 1680 it was completely restored at the expense of the Metropolitan Canon Stanisław Cieński; it was demolished in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Its location was not marked on plans from the end of the eighteenth century and was reconstructed on the basis of descriptions found in written sources.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> “[Die Synagoge] lag am äussersten Ende der Judenstrasse an der Ecke der Domstrasse”; A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 132.

<sup>56</sup> Cited [in:] idem, pp. 131–132.

<sup>57</sup> Compare with P. Dembiński, *Poznań settlement complex in the sixteenth century*, in this edition III.6.24.4.

<sup>58</sup> Miniature in the initial in Antyfonarz Klemensa z Piotrkowa; S. Pasiciel, *Widoki*, fig. IV.

<sup>59</sup> Idem, p. 18, fig. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Idem, fig. VI.

<sup>61</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 88.

<sup>62</sup> *Wiz. Gnz.* 1608–1609, f. 21v.

<sup>63</sup> J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Posen*, vol. 4: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Regierungsbezirks Bromberg*, Berlin 1897, p. 121.

<sup>64</sup> LBG I, p. 9 (footnote).

<sup>65</sup> *Wiz. Gnz.* 1608–1609, f. 22v–24v.

## Chapel of St. Anne

The chapel of St. Anne was canonically erected and endowed by Casimir IV Jagiellon at the request of the Canon of Gniezno, Władysław Glembocki, as a hospital church in 1497.<sup>66</sup> The building was rebuilt after a fire of 1613, but after another fire in 1760, it was demolished and, as a result, it was not included in Kirszenstein's plan.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, not only its location has not been marked on any of the maps available to modern researchers, but there are also no iconographic representations of its buildings. Information about its location is provided by the visitation from 1608, according to which the church lay between the cathedral cemetery and the town gate.<sup>68</sup> It also confirmed the description of the church as *ad pontem*, i.e., near the bridge on the way to Poznań.<sup>69</sup>

## Church of the Holy Trinity

The first sources about the church of the Holy Trinity, the parish church of the town, date back to the fifteenth century and concern the construction of a masonry church.<sup>70</sup> There is a dispute in the scholarship about the existence of an earlier church and parish. According to Topolski, until 1259, parish services were performed in the cathedral, and later this role was taken over by the Franciscans.<sup>71</sup> Most scholars, however, are of the opinion that when taking into account the specifics of the foundation of parish churches on Polish lands, it can be assumed that since the discussed church was situated on a site typical of located settlements, i.e., on the edge of the town, near the town fortifications, the church must have been founded around the same time the town was.<sup>72</sup> The church, built in the fifteenth century, was significantly damaged by a fire in 1613 and restored and consecrated for a second time in 1632. Thanks to the continuity of its existence, it was possible to securely establish its location. The cemetery around the church is mentioned in the visitations<sup>73</sup> and has been reconstructed on the basis of the plan from 1787. There was a school next to the church, but there was no provost's house.<sup>74</sup>

## Church of the Holy Spirit and the hospital

The date of the foundation and endowment of the church of the Holy Spirit along with the hospital is not certain. Its foundation and endowment are believed to have happened as early as the thirteenth century,<sup>75</sup> but this thesis was built on general arguments, as there is a lack of source information or archaeological sites confirming it.

The church was also damaged during the fire of 1613. It was later rebuilt only to be severely destroyed in the fire of 1760. The ruins were sold to a private owner during an auction in the 1820s. There are no iconographic representations of the church, but it was included in the maps from 1787, 1797 and UMTB.

## Church of St. Nicholas

The church and hospital of St. Nicholas were founded in 1361.<sup>76</sup> In the year 1575 in place of the older wooden building a masonry building was erected by the burgher Feliks Papież.<sup>77</sup> It survived

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<sup>66</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi*, vol. 2, p. 511.

<sup>67</sup> LBG I, p. 9 (footnote); J. Walkowski, *Wspomnienie o kościele metropolitalnym*, pp. 45–46.

<sup>68</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 24r.

<sup>69</sup> A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 34.

<sup>70</sup> J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedralni metropolii gnieźnieńskiej od roku 1000 aż do dni naszych*, vol. 1, Gniezno 1883, p. 102; KDW V, 540.

<sup>71</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 147.

<sup>72</sup> J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler*, vol. 4, p. 121; A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 29; Münch, p. 63.

<sup>73</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 168v.

<sup>74</sup> Idem, f. 169r.

<sup>75</sup> LBG I, p. 9; A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 31; *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 147.

<sup>76</sup> *Gniezno, woj. Poznańskie, Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne*, p. 9.

<sup>77</sup> LBG I, p. 9.

the fire of 1613<sup>78</sup> and endured until the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>79</sup> The building was not depicted in any iconographic sources (due to the lack of a church tower), but the church was marked on the plans from 1787 and 1797, which became the basis for its location on our map. On the other hand, the hospital building was not included in cartographic sources or in the visitation in 1608,<sup>80</sup> thus it was not added to our map. According to the latter source, the church was surrounded by a cemetery, which was reconstructed on the basis of the plan from 1787. The aforementioned numerous foundations by Papież, described in the visitations, made it possible to locate Targ Solny Street next to the church.

### **Church of St. Lawrence**

The church of St. Lawrence was already mentioned in 1255 as being of older genesis.<sup>81</sup> It was damaged during an invasion by the Teutonic Knights in the fourteenth century and rebuilt as a wooden church, which was replaced by a masonry building.<sup>82</sup> Its continued existence has allowed the establishment of a precise location of the building based on modern maps. The characteristic silhouette of the building, which towers over the suburbs, is very visible on the gouaches by Alberti<sup>83</sup> and in the background of the painting of St. Lawrence from the altar of the church.<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, though, the immediate surroundings of the church are not visible on these depictions. Based on the visitation we can establish that the church was surrounded by a graveyard, the area of which was reconstructed based on the plan from 1787. According to this same source, the house of the parson was situated near the church; although its exact location remains uncertain, it most likely stood south of the church and on the same side of the road.

### **Church of St. Michael**

The church of St. Michael was located outside the town walls on the road to Trzemeszno and Toruń. Directly in front of it, there was a square used as a market for the settlement Wójtostwo. The lack of sources makes it impossible to determine not only the founder, but even the approximate date of the church's construction.<sup>85</sup> Due to its nickname "zbarski", its location is attributed to the site of the fortified settlement Zbar.<sup>86</sup> However, this name was a later addition and originated from the association of this church with a part of the territory of the former Zbar deanery.<sup>87</sup> In the sixteenth century, the building had the form of a late Gothic masonry church that has survived to this day.<sup>88</sup> Its durability made it possible to locate it precisely on the plan based on contemporary maps. According to the visitation, there was a cemetery by the church (the scope of which was reconstructed on the basis of correlation with other objects, it is therefore hypothetical), a school and the house of the parish priest, the location of which could not be determined. This church not only served as a parish church for Wójtostwo but was also the seat of the Zbar deanery.

### **Church of St. Anthony of Padua along with the monasteries of the Sisters of St. Clare and the Franciscans**

The church and the monasteries were founded by Bolesław the Pious in the northern part of the located town. In 1279, the church was newly endowed and expanded at the suggestion of Bolesław's widow, Jolanta, by his nephew, Przemysław II. The complex survived more or less untouched by the many fires in Gniezno and remains the best-preserved example of a medieval Franciscan church in

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<sup>78</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 268.

<sup>79</sup> *Gniezno, woj. Poznańskie, Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne*, p. 9.

<sup>80</sup> *Wiz. Gn.* 1608–1609, f. 172r–173r.

<sup>81</sup> *KDW* I, no. 330.

<sup>82</sup> J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler*, vol. 4, p. 129.

<sup>83</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Widoki*, fig. VI, VIII.

<sup>84</sup> *Idem*, fig. I.

<sup>85</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 131.

<sup>86</sup> *LBG* I, p. 13.

<sup>87</sup> Compare with A. Borek, *Church administration borders. A. Gniezno and Włocławek diocese*, in this edition III.2.2a.4.

<sup>88</sup> *LBG* I 13; *Wiz. Gn.* 1608–1609, f. 223r; J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler*, vol. 4, p. 129.

Poland.<sup>89</sup> In the extensive monographs about this complex, Pasiciel presented a reconstruction of the plan of the temple, the oratory of the Sisters of St. Clare and the monastic buildings of both orders in the second half of the fifteenth century,<sup>90</sup> which became the basis of our map. The surroundings of the church and monastery complex were recreated on the basis of the plan from 1512 (western side) and from 1787 (eastern side).

### Church of St. John and the monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre

The church of St. John was built and endowed by the Duke of Greater Poland Przemysł, his brother Bolesław and their mother Jadwiga in 1243 as a hospital with a house for the poor and a monastery.<sup>91</sup> The hospital was run by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, brought to Gniezno for this purpose.<sup>92</sup>

The late Gothic church with a Gothic tower that was added later,<sup>93</sup> still stands. Thus, its location is known and has been established with the help of modern maps. The buildings from the monastic hill were burned in 1512, except for the church and part of the monastery, and underwent further changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their reconstruction on our plan is hypothetical, based on the gouache by Alberti<sup>94</sup> and the plan from 1797. The plan from 1787 only included the church building. The Hospital of St. John was probably not rebuilt in the sixteenth century,<sup>95</sup> which is also tied to Order moving away from these responsibilities at the end of the Middle Ages. Therefore, the hospital will not be found on our map. There may have also been a cemetery, but since its location is unknown, it was not included in the cartographic reconstruction.

### Church of the Holy Cross

The church of the Holy Cross was erected before 1198 on an island in the Lake Świąte by the Canon of Gniezno and later bishop of Lebus, Przeclaw, who also endowed this church with two villages.<sup>96</sup> Primarily it was the main seat of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, which arrived in Gniezno in the twelfth century. It was replaced in this function by the newly constructed Church of St. John probably already in the thirteenth century, becoming its chapel of ease. Until 1834, it was housed in a wooden building of unknown shape,<sup>97</sup> which, unfortunately, was not reflected in any iconographic sources. It was also deprived of a cemetery, which was founded only in 1804. On the plan the church is located in the site of the present-day brick church.

The village, mentioned in scholarship as the location of the church, has not been confirmed by cartographic evidence, thus it was not included in the plan.<sup>98</sup>

Another unanswered question concerns the island where the church was located: when did it become a peninsula as a result of descending water levels of Lake Świąte and whether this process was accelerated by the creation of a dyke? The lake water level, adopted in accordance with Woliński's research, was high enough at the end of the sixteenth century that the area in question was marked as an island on the plan, but it is possible that a more detailed analysis of archival sources will allow the verification of this research.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 233.

<sup>90</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Zespół klasztorny*, p. 134.

<sup>91</sup> LBG I, p. 8.

<sup>92</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>93</sup> J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler*, vol. 4, pp. 126–129.

<sup>94</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Widoki*, fig. III.

<sup>95</sup> S. Karwowski, *Itinerarium Bożogrobca gnieźnieńskiego ks. Jakóba Lanhausa z r. 1768*, Poznań 1890, p. 8.

<sup>96</sup> M. Muraszko, *Wokół początków kościoła pod wezwaniem Krzyża Świętego w Gnieźnie*, "Studia Europae Gnesnensia", vol. 6, 2012, pp. 231–239; LBG I, p. 8; S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Poznań 1934, p. 53.

<sup>97</sup> J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler*, vol. 4, p. 128.

<sup>98</sup> "The church dedicated to the Holy Cross was constructed in a village settlement near the Gniezno gord"; M. Muraszko, *Wokół początków kościoła*, p. 233.

<sup>99</sup> There is confirmation in source materials of the existence of an island in 1467: "super provisione domorum in insula ultra et post locum Swyanthe iacente, et ortorum in eadem insula"; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi*, vol. 2, p. 363.

## Church of St. Peter

The date of the construction of the church is unknown. Its existence has only been confirmed by sources in 1357, but it certainly has much older origins, possibly dating to the twelfth century.<sup>100</sup> It was a wooden structure until 1780.<sup>101</sup> After the fire in 1613, it was rebuilt, and its shape and surroundings are visible on the plan from 1687. It was a parish church and the seat of the deanery.<sup>102</sup>

Churches of St. Agnes, All Saints and St. Lazarus with a hospital<sup>103</sup> as well as a hospital for priests<sup>104</sup> were not added to the plan due to the lack of sources allowing for the reconstruction of their location. The Hospital of St. Martha, sometimes erroneously dated to the sixteenth century, was established only in 1610 and therefore it was not marked on the map.<sup>105</sup>

## Jurydyki

Gniezno was surrounded by a number of *jurydyki* – the settlements owned by Church or private persons that were exclaves of town's jurisdiction.

## Jędrzejewo

In scholarly works, the names Jędrzejewo, Jelenia Głowa and Cierpięgi, as well as Targowisko, are used almost as synonyms,<sup>106</sup> which makes differentiating the settlements from each other much more difficult. Since the year 1600, a spatial or legal separation between the three settlements can be established; they were included in the map as separate entities. Until 1579, only Jelenia Głowa, a village belonging to the Grodziecki and Żydowski families, appeared in the tax registers, where the hereditary windmill, a rental tavern and alcohol sales were taxed, along with a dozen or so farmers and a few (usually three) craftsmen. The name Jędrzejewo appears for the first time in 1580, marked as belonging to both families. In 1581, Jędrzejewo is limited to the Grodziecki family and referred to as *oppidum*, while the section that belongs to Żydowski family is called Jelenia Głowa. In 1582, both sections are listed together again under the name *Iędrzeiow sive Ielienia Głowa*, and in 1583 under the name “Jędrzejow”.<sup>107</sup> This term also appears in 1640 as a self-descriptive name in the council and vogt books of the commune.<sup>108</sup> It was only in 1672 that the name “miasteczko Jędrzejewo alias Cierpięgi” (town of Jędrzejewo or Cierpięgi) was used,<sup>109</sup> with a note that the town is under the jurisdiction of the chapter. These names appearing in the sources of the *jurydyka* are interchangeable, but while Jędrzejewo<sup>110</sup> (also in the variety Andrzejowo<sup>111</sup>) appears on its own, Cierpięgi is always combined with a second name.<sup>112</sup> It can be assumed that in the seventeenth century the town was bought by the chapter and thus connected with Cierpięgi over time, though the name Jędrzejewo remained dominant.

<sup>100</sup> A. Warschauer's assumptions are based on the structure of the document from 1357. H. Münch adds that “the church of St. Peter can at least be attributed to the twelfth century”; A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 20; Münch, pp. 62–63.

<sup>101</sup> J. Kohte, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler*, vol. 4, p. 128.

<sup>102</sup> Wiz. Gn. 1608–1609, f. 27v.

<sup>103</sup> S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm*, p. 53; A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 31.

<sup>104</sup> It was located by Lake Jelonek; *Gniezno, woj. Poznańskie, Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne*, p. 9.

<sup>105</sup> S. Karwowski, *Itinerarium*, p. 10.

<sup>106</sup> “Im Süden dieser Vorstadt [Słomianka] lag die dem Domkapitel gehörige ausgedehnte Vorstadt Cierpięgi, welche auch den Namen Andrzejewo, Jędrzejewo und seltener Jelenia Glowa (-Kalbskopf) führte”; A. Waschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 36. “Cierpięgi [...] also called Andrzejewo, Jędrzejewo or Jelenia Głowa”; *Encyklopedia Gniezna*, p. 105; compare with *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, pp. 905–906.

<sup>107</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1564, nos. 329, 330, 331, 332; RPWK, gzn, 1565, nos. 331, 332, 333; RPWK, gzn, 1576, nos. 494, 495, 496, 497; RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 491; RPWK, gzn, 1579, no. 470; RPWK, gzn, 1580, nos. 623, 624; RPWK, gzn, 1581, nos. 545, 546; RPWK, gzn, 1582, nos. 600, 601; RPWK, gzn, 1583, nos. 607, 608.

<sup>108</sup> AmGn, I 132.

<sup>109</sup> AmGn, I 134.

<sup>110</sup> AmGn, I 140.

<sup>111</sup> AmGn, I 139.

<sup>112</sup> A similar occurrence can be found in the sources reviewed by W. Dworzaczek. Although there the name Cierpięgi appears as an auxiliary name Jędrzejewo much sooner – in 1604 – but it is only one of two, almost simultaneous mentions

The exact reconstruction of the shape of the *jurydyka* in question is made difficult by the lack of any iconographic sources and the late visualization on plans. A precise image of Jędrzejewo is only offered by UMTB. The plan from 1787 covers the *jurydyka* only partially because this area is located on the edge of the plan and was not fully drawn. The plan from 1797 covers the entire area, but it only exists as a copy that is not very accurate in this area. So our proposed map is a compilation of three plans, taking into account the topography and source materials.

### Cierpięgi

Cierpięgi was a village belonging to the chapter. Warschauer claimed that it extended eastward from the current Cierpięgi Street and to the west of the so-called Małe Cierpięgi (*Small Cierpięgi*, currently Łąkowa (*Meadow*) Street),<sup>113</sup> though this should be excluded, after taking into account the reconstructed range of the Jelonek Lake. The analysis of cartographic sources unequivocally shows that Łąkowa Street was marked out in the area from which the lake retreated. Therefore, for the purposes of the map, it was assumed that it was a village that lay along the present-day Cierpięgi Street, and the reconstruction uses plans from 1797 and UMTB. Cierpięgi are unfortunately only partly visible on Alberti's gouache,<sup>114</sup> so this iconographic source was not helpful in the reconstruction.

### Targowisko

Targowisko,<sup>115</sup> later called Przedmieście Pyzdrowskie (*Pyzdry suburb*), is counted among the oldest settlements in the area of present-day Gniezno, which has also been confirmed through archeological excavations. While, despite Münch's suggestion, the name Targowisko did not appear in 1136,<sup>116</sup> both its spatial arrangement along main communication paths and the toponymy deriving from marketplace suggest an old origin. Targowisko was bought by the town in 1487.<sup>117</sup> There are many sources about it from the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, including town tax registers<sup>118</sup> and descriptions of the salaries of city churches.<sup>119</sup> Two churches were included in Targowisko: the parish of St. Lawrence and the chapel of ease of St. Nicholas. There is a lack of iconographic sources depicting this part of the city, but Targowisko is shown in great detail on the plans from 1787 and 1797 and UMTB. The town tax registers show an artisanal suburb with two windmills, numerous malt houses and breweries. It is in this part of the city, in the Grzymisławski brewery, that a fire started in 1613.

### Wójtostwo

Along the road leading to Toruń lay Wójtostwo, known also as Przedmieście Toruńskie (Toruń Suburb). Contrary to its name that usually means the possessions of a vogt, it was not related to the town's foundation; it was created from two villages – Wągielnik and Łagiewnik – given to the vogt Piotr Winiarczyk in 1289.<sup>120</sup> From then onwards, the village remained in the hands of the nobility, many times divided and recombined. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Jerzy Kotwicz owned one half of the settlement, while his heir Mikołaj Kotwicz also bought the second half in the 1520s.<sup>121</sup> In some unexplained way, Wójtostwo passed into the hands of the Mieliński family, from whom it

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(the second is from 1605). On the other hand, Jędrzejewo functions independently as a name 10 times, both earlier (in the years 1599 and 1600, along with Jelenia Głowa in 1595) and much later (in 1613).

<sup>113</sup> A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 36.

<sup>114</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Widoki*, fig. VIII.

<sup>115</sup> There is no substantial evidence for the use of the name Końskie Targowisko during the time period that interests us. In Teki Dworzaczka, there was a mention from 1645 about the gifting of two houses in the suburb Końskie Targowisko. One of these houses was sold in 1663; the location of the house was the Gniezno suburb called "Targowisko"; TD 1864 (no. 337), 1895 (no. 337).

<sup>116</sup> Münch, p. 63.

<sup>117</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 166.

<sup>118</sup> AmGn, I 120.

<sup>119</sup> Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 509r–513v.

<sup>120</sup> KDW II, no. 639.

<sup>121</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, pp. 321–322.

was bought in 1630 with the approval of Sigismund III Vasa by the starosta Krzysztof Gembicki.<sup>122</sup> The settlement only obtained town rights in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>123</sup> It is not known whether the town hall, located by the market square across from the church<sup>124</sup> and mentioned as a characteristic feature of Wójtostwo, is dated to this period, therefore this building was not included in the plan. The parish church of St. Michael was marked on the map, along with the market square in front of it, adjacent to the road, the range of which has been established based on the plans from 1787 and 1797, as well as the church and Hospital of the Holy Spirit. The range of the buildings, gardens and agricultural land, as well as the trajectory of roads, were reconstructed on the basis of the plans from 1787, 1797 and 1830.

The tax registers from 1577 mention four boiling pots and two hereditary taverns, the location of which could not be established. The tax register from 1579 lists 50 *hortulani* (smallholders without land).<sup>125</sup>

### Piotrowo

Piotrowo, the name of which is derived from the parish church,<sup>126</sup> also called Zajezerze due to its location, belonged to the Metropolitan chapter<sup>127</sup> and most likely began developing between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.<sup>128</sup> Its development was analyzed by Münch,<sup>129</sup> who established that the shape of the settlement was something between a circle and an oval. He pointed out the lack of a street-based part of the settlement, which developed entirely around the square by the crossroads. According to Münch, this square played also a role in the trade as a market square. The *Encyklopedia Gniezna i Ziemi Gnieźnieńskiej* draws attention to settlement's production function in the field of metalwork.<sup>130</sup> The reconstruction of this parts of the city is based on a panoramic plan from 1687, which shows both a church with a parish school and a cemetery<sup>131</sup> and the parsonage buildings, as well as houses, fields and gardens of the presbyters and monastic houses and gardens<sup>132</sup> along with the trajectory of roads within the settlement and the windmill on a nearby hill. A detailed description of the roads on the plan and the designation of some of them as *via regia* or *via antiqua et nunc [...] destructa* allowed for an exact reconstruction of their layout on the crossroads of the routes leading to Poznań, Kłecko and Środa, as well as the crossroads with a road leading towards Kiskowo. Additionally, the probable range of the lake waters was also included in the plan.

On the shores of Lake Jelonek, there was a masonry bathhouse in Piotrowo, which was used by the clergy and students at the cathedral school. While it is mentioned for the first time at the beginning fifteenth century,<sup>133</sup> it does not appear on the plan from 1687 and it did not leave any archaeological remains, so it was not possible to determine its location. A temporary pond, present on the plan from 1687, was also not included in the map. Two taverns located near the church<sup>134</sup> and mentioned in the tax registers from 1564 similarly do not appear on the map, as it was impossible to establish their certain location.

In 1620, a demesne called Kleryka was separated from the area of Piotrowo and assigned to the penitentiaries.<sup>135</sup> This part of Piotrowo is marked on the plan as rural buildings.

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<sup>122</sup> Idem, p. 321.

<sup>123</sup> AmGn, I 181, pp. 273–274.

<sup>124</sup> *Encyklopedia Gniezna*, p. 658.

<sup>125</sup> RPWK, gzn, 1577, no. 492; RPWK, gzn, 1579, nos. 471, 473.

<sup>126</sup> “In written sources from 1399 we encounter the name Piotrowo, and seven years later with Zajezerze. [...] It must be assumed that the earlier name is Z[a]jezerze [...] In the Middle Ages, both names were most likely used simultaneously”; *Encyklopedia Gniezna*, p. 672.

<sup>127</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 260.

<sup>128</sup> Idem, p. 91.

<sup>129</sup> Münch, pp. 141–142.

<sup>130</sup> *Encyklopedia Gniezna*, p. 672.

<sup>131</sup> They are also described in the visitations of Wincenty de Seve; Wiz. Gnz. 1608–1609, f. 29r.

<sup>132</sup> The plan does not specify which order is referred to, however, as the plan was commissioned by the Order of the sisters of St. Clare, it is believed that it depicted the sisters' property.

<sup>133</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 158.

<sup>134</sup> “Duo diversoria sub eadem Ecclesia unus Michaelis Popek, et alius Mathias Rzeczyczk”. The surname of the owner must have passed on to the tavern and later to part of the settlement, thus acquiring a toponymic character, since the tax registers mention a place called Rzeczyczko, which later disappears.

<sup>135</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 260.

## Grzybowo

Grzybowo was clearly divided into two parts. The western one belonged to the monastery of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. Due to the dedication of their church to St. John, the place was called Grzybowo Świętojańskie (*St. John Grzybowo*). The eastern part belonged to the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare and was named Grzybowo Panieńskie (*Maiden Grzybowo*). Their development differed; Grzybowo Świętojańskie became urbanized earlier, while Grzybowo Panieńskie had a sparser layout until the nineteenth century. Iconographic and cartographic source materials depicting this area are very rare and date to a later period. The first iconographic sources are dated to the mid-nineteenth century. Grzybowo was not included in the plan from 1787, while on the plan from 1797, gardens and agrarian land were not depicted. The basis for the reconstruction was, therefore, UMTB, while taking into account certain aspects from the older plan and source materials. Grzybowo has a lot of written sources. While the surviving court books are dated to 1661 onwards for Grzybowo Panieńskie (vogt and jury books) and to 1752 for Grzybowo Świętojańskie (council books), but monastic documents were preserved in the cathedral archive, thus providing information about the settlement. Unfortunately, such studies would go far beyond the scope of research that could be carried out as part of this reconstruction of the Gniezno plan. We hope that this research gap will be filled in the future.

Among the terms found in sources in 1613, the term *Villa Grzybowo* appeared in reference to Grzybowo Świętojańskie.<sup>136</sup> Grzybowo was first described as a town in 1675, but the town hall of Grzybowo Świętojańskie was not erected until the eighteenth century.<sup>137</sup> In the inspections from 1576 and 1577, two taverns are described as situated in Grzybowo Świętojańskie, though their location was not established.

## Słomianka

The name of Słomianka, which belonged to the archbishopric, was first mentioned in sources in 1492,<sup>138</sup> but a theory appeared in the scholarship, stating that it must have been the oldest ecclesiastic *jurydyka* in Gniezno, as it is on its terrain that many scholars situate *pomerium iuxta castrum*, which the chapter gave in 1235 to Władysław Odonic for the purpose of constructing a gord there.<sup>139</sup> However, Czesław Sikorski questioned this<sup>140</sup> along with the popular theory, that in the following century, this territory must have belonged to the chapter because a castle was built there already by Bogoria Skotnicki (i.e. in fourteenth century).<sup>141</sup>

However, it is certain that the construction of the castle was initiated by Jan Łaski in the sixteenth century. His successors completed the task.<sup>142</sup> This area was included in the map from 1797, Alberti's gouache was also helpful as it depicted Gniezno from the western bank of Lake Jelonek,<sup>143</sup> as well as Storn's drawing from 1661<sup>144</sup> and UMTB.

## Kustodia

Kustodia was a demesne belonging to the Metropolitan chapter, granted to the college of cathedral vicars in 1621.<sup>145</sup> Not much can be said about its buildings in the sixteenth century; in 1760, there is a note about the destruction of four straw-roof houses as a result of a fire.<sup>146</sup> It is also missing iconographic records (Alberti drew the view of the city from the northwest side from the hill of the Kustodia),

<sup>136</sup> AmGn I 155, p. 9.

<sup>137</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 329.

<sup>138</sup> A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Gnesen*, p. 35.

<sup>139</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 123.

<sup>140</sup> C. Sikorski, *Uwagi o gnieźnieńskim zamku arcybiskupim*, [in:] *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 3, ed. J. Topolski et al., Warsaw–Poznań 1990, pp. 247–266, there pp. 249–250.

<sup>141</sup> *Idem.*, pp. 253–258.

<sup>142</sup> A. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi*, vol. 2, p. 645.

<sup>143</sup> S. Pasiciel, *Widoki*, fig. VIII.

<sup>144</sup> *Idem.*, p. 18, fig. 1.

<sup>145</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 260.

<sup>146</sup> "The intensity of the fire [...] carried the fire behind the Lake 'Święte', where four houses covered in straw burned down"; J. Walkowski, *Wspomnienie o kościele metropolitalnym*, pp. 45–46.

so the basis for the reconstruction is UMTB. Due to Kustodia's lakeside location, the reconstruction of the range of the waters of Lake Święte was equally important in this process.

### **Kawiory**

The suburb, called Kawiory or sometimes Kawiary, reached the southern part of Jędrzejewo and neighboured Wójtostwo from the northwest. They are the least studied *jurydyka* of Gniezno due to very few available sources. The lack of written sources from the time period that interests us has made it difficult to establish the spatial development of this settlement, which was located near the demesne. The issue of ownership is equally uncertain. Scholars, following Münch's research, seem to agree that the suburb most likely belonged to the priests from the college of penitentiaries.<sup>147</sup> The reconstruction is based on the plans from 1787, 1797 and 1830 (UMTB).

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>147</sup> *Dzieje Gniezna*, ed. J. Topolski, p. 160.

### III.6.12.6 INOWROCŁAW

*Marcin Frąś*

This plan depicts Inowrocław in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is a reconstruction plan recreating the layout of this Cuyavian royal town, which was important for voivodeship administration. The plan covers town area within town walls, together with its adjacent suburbs of Staromieście, Nowe Ogrody, Batkówek, Stodoły, and the area referred to as Zofiówka. We also outlined the roads leading from the town to the surrounding villages. Whenever possible, we also marked the elements known from preserved manuscripts on the plan, although their location is hypothetical. The elements not present on the plan include the town's bathhouse, windmills, and some of its cemeteries.

The reconstruction was created using the retrogression method and scaled at 1:10,000, in keeping with the standards applied throughout the AHP series. It is based on cartographic sources from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as mentions and references from written sources from the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. Reports from archaeological works were also used as auxiliary materials. They proved that the spatial layout of the town had survived unchanged until the nineteenth century.

#### Written sources

The bulk of sources concerning Inowrocław's history has been lost in subsequent town fires, which are also to blame for the absence of town books. Consequently, the most significant source of information on the topography of the town and its surroundings are fiscal sources. The available archival documents of this type include tax registers from 1552,<sup>1</sup> 1553,<sup>2</sup> 1564,<sup>3</sup> 1565,<sup>4</sup> 1576,<sup>5</sup> 1577,<sup>6</sup> 1581,<sup>7</sup> 1582,<sup>8</sup> 1583,<sup>9</sup> and 1589.<sup>10</sup> The printed 1510/1511 inspections of Inowrocław Gord Starosty<sup>11</sup> are very useful for conducting research on the Early Modern period of the town's history. Other notable preserved documents of this type include inspections of royal estates from 1564–1565,<sup>12</sup> 1569,<sup>13</sup> 1616–1620,<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ASK I 50, f. 556.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, f. 848.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, ff. 810, 810v.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, f. 792.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, f. 711

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, f. 711.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, f. 686.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, f. 649.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, f. 613r.

<sup>10</sup> ASK I 30, f. 795.

<sup>11</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Rejestr dochodów i rozchodów starostwa inowrocławskiego z 1510/1511 r.*, ZK, vol. 8, 1986, pp. 261–312.

<sup>12</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, pp. 243–256.

<sup>13</sup> ASK I 46, ff. 340r–342; *Lustracja starostwa konińskiego i województw kujawskich 1569*, pub. Z. Górski, A. Mietz, Bydgoszcz–Wierzbinek 2014, pp. 261–312.

<sup>14</sup> LWWK 1616, part 1, pp. 273–277.

1628–1632,<sup>15</sup> as well as later ones, from 1659–1665.<sup>16</sup> Another document which is worth mentioning in this context is the 1552 description of town and village boundaries.<sup>17</sup> All these sources are currently stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD).

The records of canonical visitations of Kruszwica archdeaconry kept in the Archdiocese Archives of Gniezno are useful for the reconstruction of sacral spaces. The 1577 visitation was published as *Monumenta Historica Dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*.<sup>18</sup> The repertories of the post-visitation protocols of 1585,<sup>19</sup> 1596<sup>20</sup> and 1597<sup>21</sup> were published in the journal titled *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*. These documents offer mainly repetitive information on the patronages over Inowrocław churches, and the locations of those temples.

We used the 1450 privilege of Casimir IV Jagiellon, which had several source editions, as a supplementary source. It contains information about the area of the burghers' meadows and pastures. A lot of facts and data were confirmed through the analysis of the documentation of the Franciscan convent – e.g. information concerning the Jewish quarter and the road that led to it, the Old Town and the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Nowe Ogrody Suburb, the suburb outside the castle, the gate and the road towards Toruń, as well as the villages of Jacewo, Wierzbie, Rąbin, Mikorzyn, Szymborz, Kurowo garden (at the eastern moat), and Kozłówka.<sup>22</sup>

What proved invaluable for recognising the remains of structures which are typically located in a town (churches, cemeteries, moats) were reports, together with the plans created for the purposes of the said reports, based on latest archaeological research carried out as part of archaeological supervision over contemporary investments. They are kept in the Archive of the Jan Kasprowicz Museum in Inowrocław.<sup>23</sup>

## Cartographic sources

The 1:25,000 *Urmesstischblätter* (UMTB) of 1861 was used as the basis for reconstructing town topography. The map does not show the town's future expansion towards the north driven by the construction of the railway line, and or its growth towards the south-east, which took place after the opening of the salt mine. Adopting UMTB as a basis for further work turned out to be the right decision, because this map represents the Inowrocław area in the pre-industrial period.

The cadastral map of Inowrocław, which was created in 1908–1909 and had an unknown scale, was used as auxiliary reference material. It shows a fragment of the town, or, to be more precise, its central section, but does not cover the entire area within the town walls. The south-western part of the town was probably presented on a separate, currently unaccounted for sheet. The preserved plan depicts blocks of buildings, divided into land parcels, with each parcel bearing its own registration number. Some buildings, including the monastery's square, are also represented on the plan in a generalised way. The plan was originally drawn up in German, and when the town became part of the Polish State, the street names were overwritten with Polish versions. In fact, it is the oldest, and also the only, source of this type that has survived to this day. It is currently kept by the District Starosta's Office in Inowrocław.<sup>24</sup> Other auxiliary materials referenced for the purpose of reconstructing the town's topography also included the plans of the Inowrocław garrison from 1897<sup>25</sup> and 1910,<sup>26</sup> and the 1881 map which

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<sup>15</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, pp. 122–133.

<sup>16</sup> LWWK 1659, part 2, pp. 307–314.

<sup>17</sup> MK 80, f. 275.

<sup>18</sup> MHDW 17, p. 126.

<sup>19</sup> Repertorium 77, pp. 163–164, 167–168, 169.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 189.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, pp. 175, 182.

<sup>22</sup> AP Bydgoszcz, Franciscan Monastery in Inowrocław, sign. 435, pp. 45–46, 268–269.

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank its director, Marcin Woźniak, MA, for granting me the access to these sources.

<sup>24</sup> Starostwo Powiatowe w Inowrocławiu (District Starosta's Office in Inowrocław), sign. 4/64.

<sup>25</sup> AP Szczecin, Collection of Atlases, sign. A IV 16 K 11, *Garnison Inowroclaw und Umgegend*, H. Susenbeth, 1:2,500, 1897.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, sign. A IV 19 K 11, *Hohensalza*, H. Susenbeth 1:12,500, 1910.

is now kept at the Jan Kasprowicz Museum in Inowrocław.<sup>27</sup> The map was created in connection with the exploitation of salt deposits located outside of the town, and depicts various elements related to the extraction of this raw material. The 1820 enfranchisement and regulatory map of the Franciscan monastery in Inowrocław<sup>28</sup> was also used as an auxiliary material. It is assumed that the land that belonged to the Franciscans is marked on this map. A historically reconstructed map from 1912 was used to identify the names of the old suburbs.<sup>29</sup>

## Studies

The first general publications on Inowrocław – the works of Adolf Warschauer<sup>30</sup> and Heinrich Wuttke<sup>31</sup> – were written in the nineteenth century. Other German-Prussian scholars were mainly interested in the period of Frederick the Great.<sup>32</sup> Polish-language literature on Inowrocław is not extensive. The most notable are two works by Stanisław Waszak and Zygmunt Czapla,<sup>33</sup> as well as a monograph of the town published in 1978,<sup>34</sup> which constitutes the only broader overview of Inowrocław's history. There are also some minor works on the subject, most of them published in *Ziemia Kujawska*, an academic journal. In the context of town plan reconstruction, the most important are: *Inwentarz Starostwa Inowrocławskiego z 1510 Roku*<sup>35</sup> and *Rejestr Dochodów i Rozchodów Starostwa Inowrocławskiego z 1510/1511 r.*<sup>36</sup>

## History

Before Inowrocław was a royal town, it was a ducal town. Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz classified it as a second category town,<sup>37</sup> which was related to, *inter alia*, the fact that Inowrocław sent 20 armed men to the Prussian War in 1458.<sup>38</sup> Throughout its entire existence, the town remained in the hands of the monarch, initially as a trading settlement, later as the seat of the castellan. The town served as the capital of a duchy during the feudal fragmentation period, and later, as the capital of Inowrocław Voivodeship, seat of the gord starosty, as well as gord and land offices.

Inowrocław was chartered under Magdeburg Law.<sup>39</sup> The exact date of the town's foundation is unknown. Presumably it took place between 1237 and 1238, although recently Adam Kosecki has indicated that the foundation document could have been issued a few months after the gathering in Danków (2 July 1238), between the autumn of 1238 and the wedding of Duke Casimir and Constance in 1239.<sup>40</sup> Historians attribute the founding of Inowrocław under Magdeburg Law to Casimir I, Duke

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<sup>27</sup> The Archive of the Jan Kasprowicz Museum, sign. MKI-H-59/K, *Vebersichts-Karte bei Inowrazlaw belegenen Soolquellen-Bergwercken: Soole, SalBesser u. Gertrud und den Steinsalz-Bergwerken: Ost, Bast, Pelke u. Inowrazlaw.*

<sup>28</sup> AP Bydgoszcz, Enfranchisement and Regulatory Maps, sign. 6/2255/0/0/1178.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>30</sup> A. Warschauer, *Die städtischen Archive in der Provinz Posen*, Leipzig 1901, pp. 81–83.

<sup>31</sup> H. Wuttke, *Städtebuch des Landes Posen*, Leipzig 1864, pp. 326–331.

<sup>32</sup> P. Becker, *Inowrozlaw unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, "Historische Monatsblätter für die Provinz Posen", 1901, vol. 2; *idem*, *Die Geschichte, die wirtschaftliche und die kulturelle Entwicklung die Kreises Hohensalza bis zum Jahre 1911*, Hohensalza 1911; E. von Nolten, A. Schreyack, *Geschichte der Stadt Hohensalza und über Umgebung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der preussischen Zeit unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, Hohensalza 1942.

<sup>33</sup> S. Waszak, *Przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach*, Inowrocław 1933; Z. Czapla, *Kujawy. Z historii powiatu Inowrocławskiego*, Inowrocław 1933.

<sup>34</sup> *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1: *Do 1919 r.*, ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń 1978.

<sup>35</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Inwentarz starostwa inowrocławskiego z 1510 roku*, ZK, vol. 3, 1971, pp. 187–214.

<sup>36</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Rejestr dochodów i rozchodów starostwa inowrocławskiego*, pp. 261–312.

<sup>37</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 117.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 110. For comparison, Gniezno delivered the same number of armed men, Brześć – 30, and Poznań – 60.

<sup>39</sup> The system of the town was analysed and described by W. Chorążyczewski (W. Chorążyczewski, *Ustrój Inowrocławia w XVI–XVIII wieku i urzędnicy miejscy*, ZK, vol. 24, 2015, pp. 61–94).

<sup>40</sup> Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 34–39; A. Kosecki, *Lokacje miejskie księcia Kazimierza Konradowicza na Kujawach*, [in:] *Księżę Kazimierz Konradowicz i Kujawy jego czasów*, ed. D. Karczewski, Cracow 2017, pp. 175–178 – this publication contains a thorough overview of this subject. In an intriguing manner, the foundation initiative is dated by M. Bogucka and H. Samsonowicz

of Cuyavia, whose frequent contacts with Henry the Bearded and Henry the Pious and visits to Wrocław shed some light on the Lower Silesian town's development. It is possible that he planned to introduce a similar initiative in Cuyavia. In turn, the law granted to Inowrocław served as a model for other Cuyavian towns.<sup>41</sup> The foundation document was most likely lost in the town fire caused by the Teutonic Knights in 1431. In 1450, King Casimir IV Jagiellon issued another privilege for the town, in which he granted the inhabitants the right to a third of the land belonging to the vogt's office in Inowrocław, two lans of Mikorzyn land, income from bathhouses, meadows and pastures, together with half of Noteć River from Szarlej to Leszczyce, the land and demesnes that had long belonged to the town, and, in the case of Prussian town inhabitants, the right to attend the weekly markets. He allowed the burghers to sell wine, honey and beer, aside from Bydgoszcz beer or the beer imported from other parts of the country, in front of the town hall. This restriction applied to the area within a mile of the market square.<sup>42</sup>

Inowrocław ceased to be a border town after the Second Peace of Toruń.<sup>43</sup> It went through a period of economic development between the Second Peace of Toruń and the Deluge. It was burnt down during the Deluge in 1656, and later, it was damaged in an even more significant way, during the Second Northern War.<sup>44</sup>

Inowrocław was the seat of the castellan.<sup>45</sup> After the town was incorporated into the state of Ladislaus the Short, the actual power in the town was taken over by the starosta of Greater Poland, Wincenty of Szamotuły.<sup>46</sup> The importance of Inowrocław decreased after the Treaty of Kalisz in 1343 with the merger of the former district duchies of Inowrocław and Brześć into one voivodeship with the seat in Brześć Kujawski. The borders of a separate Inowrocław Voivodeship gained their final shape only at the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

The town was an important stop on the trade route connecting Gdańsk Pomerania with the central part of Polish lands. The development of Bydgoszcz and establishment of Nieszawa (until it was moved) meant that the days of Inowrocław's role as the most important town in the voivodeship, and in Cuyavia in general, were slowly ending.<sup>48</sup> However, this did not affect the market, which was maintained in order to continue bringing income to the Duke who collected the toll and market fee. The oldest mentions of the Inowrocław market come from the second half of the twelfth century, and it remained one of the most important markets of the region until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The Duke's customs house was established early in Inowrocław, with its first mention dates to 1252.<sup>50</sup>

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to the post-1267 period; eidem, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 87; C. Sikorski, *Miasto na soli. Zarys historii Inowrocławia do roku 1919*, Warsaw 1988, p. 31; J. Aleksandrowicz, *Inowrocław i okolice: zabytki, uzdrowisko, wybitni ludzie, ciekawe okolice*, Inowrocław 1982, p. 31; K. Kopeć, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach (Kruszwica – Strzelno – Trzemeszno – Mogilno – Pakość)*, Inowrocław 1933, p. 16; B. Majewski, *Inowrocław jaki był*, pub. 2, Inowrocław 2008, p. 5; C. Sikorski, *Dom Wągi Miejskiej w Inowrocławiu*, Inowrocław 1992, *Wstęp* ('Introduction').

<sup>41</sup> Radziejów – 1298, Raciążek – 1317, Solec – 1325; M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu (od końca XII w. do 1466 r.)*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1, p. 141; J. Sikorska, *Zabytkowa architektura Inowrocławia*, part 1, "Goniec Kujawski", 1998, no. 1 (9), p. 3; P. Strachanowski, *Polscy kupcy w Inowrocławiu (od średniowiecza do 1939 r.)*, [in:] *Z dziejów kupiectwa kujawsko-pomorskiego. Na 100-lecie powstania Towarzystwa Kupieckiego w Inowrocławiu*, Bydgoszcz 1992, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, pp. 138–139; M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, F.K. Martynowski, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, geograficznym i statystycznym*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1885, p. 367; *Odnowiony przywilej lokacyjny miasta Inowrocławia z roku 1450*, pub. D. Karczewski, Inowrocław 2000, pp. 8–9; E. Mikołajczak, *Inowrocław w czasach Kazimierza Konradowicza (1230–1267)*, [in:] *Książę Kazimierz Konradowicz i Kujawy jego czasów*, p. 19; D. Karczewski, *W 550. rocznicę odnowienia przywileju lokacyjnego miasta Inowrocławia*, ZK, vol. 14, 2000–2001, pp. 64–65; J. Aleksandrowicz, *Inowrocław i okolice*, p. 38; K. Kopeć, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach*, p. 29; B. Majewski, *Inowrocław jaki był*, p. 9; *Powiat inowrocławski*, ed. i comp. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, Warsaw 1974 (Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, vol. 11: Województwo bydgoskie, no. 8), p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 129.

<sup>44</sup> M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, F.K. Martynowski, *Starożytna Polska*, p. 368.

<sup>45</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 133; A. Wyrwa, *Rozwój sieci klasztornej zakonów mniszych, kanonicznych i zebranych na Kujawach i ziemi dobrzyńskiej w średniowieczu*, ZK, vol. 12, 1997, p. 59.

<sup>46</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 174.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 192.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 223–224.

<sup>49</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 421.

<sup>50</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 152; J. Sikorska, *Zabytkowa architektura Inowrocławia*, part 1, p. 2; P. Strachanowski, *Polscy kupcy w Inowrocławiu*, p. 5.

From the moment of its foundation until the sixteenth century, the town must have had the right to organise two fairs, since the privilege of Sigismund the Old of 7 February 1546 increased their number to three. At that point, the subsequent fair was to take place ‘before the Judica Sunday’, meaning before the fifth Sunday of Lent. Later, in 1555, the privilege was extended to four fairs, which were to be held successively: ‘on the first Tuesday after the Judica Sunday’, in the octave of Corpus Christi, on 25 July (St. James) and 4 October (St. Francis).<sup>51</sup> Merchants of Inowrocław maintained contacts with such large towns as Wrocław, Poznań, Kalisz, and Pyzdry, and most likely also with smaller nearby towns from Inowrocław Voivodeship, or the neighbouring Cuyavian or Greater Poland districts. However, the burghers of Inowrocław maintained the most intense contacts with Toruń, where they sold agricultural products, mainly grain, leather, and wool, and bought Flemish cloths, salt and fish such as herring and sturgeon.<sup>52</sup> It follows that despite its location on a salt dome, salt was not mined in Inowrocław in the Early Modern period. The oldest medieval remnants of salt evaporation were discovered on the south-western slope of the hill near the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>53</sup> The saltworks had to cease to exist or had to be moved when the church was constructed in the twelfth century.<sup>54</sup> These are the only known traces of salt evaporation in this place until the nineteenth century.

## Location

Inowrocław is located at 52°40' N latitude and 18°40' E longitude.<sup>55</sup> The area of the chartered town is estimated to be situated between 100 and 109 m AMSL. On the other hand, the height of the areas outside the town ranges from 85 to 95 m AMSL.<sup>56</sup> Inowrocław is located in Greater Poland Lakeland, once known as Greater Poland-Cuyavia Lakeland.<sup>57</sup> More specifically, it is located on a moraine plateau, on the so-called Cuyavia Upland, within its flat lands. The area around Inowrocław is rich in fertile black earths, hence the Polish name ‘Kujawy Czarne’ (Black Cuyavia, with black referring to black earths, literally, ‘black soil’) used for this part of Cuyavia.<sup>58</sup> The fertility of the soils was noted in mid-eighteenth-century reports of Prussian officials.<sup>59</sup> The area of the moraine plateau is interspersed with ‘wide valleys and transformed channels with smooth bottoms and gently titled slopes’.<sup>60</sup>

Inowrocław was located on a salt dome, which explains its German name – *Hohensalz* – which was used from 1904 to 1918<sup>61</sup> and in the period of 1939–1945. The so-called salt ‘bump of Inowrocław’ has an elongated profile on the north-south axis. Its base is 5-kilometre-long and 2.5-kilometre-wide.

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<sup>51</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej i początkach zaboru pruskiego (1466–1815)*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1, p. 277.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 278.

<sup>53</sup> A. Cofta-Broniewska, *Wczesnośredniowieczna warzelnia soli w Inowrocławiu*, ZK, vol. 4, 1974, p. 8; J. Kozłowski, M. Woźniak, *Trzynastowieczne figury szachowe znalezione w Inowrocławiu*, ZK, vol. 20, 2007, p. 127.

<sup>54</sup> A. Cofta-Broniewska, *Wczesnośredniowieczna warzelnia soli*, p. 13; M. Danielewski, *Grody i miasta w XIII w., czyli elementy starej i nowej rzeczywistości*, [in:] *Grody i miasta. Zbiór wykładów popularnonaukowych wygłoszonych podczas XIII Ogólnopolskiego Festiwalu Kultury Słowiańskiej i Cysterskiej w Łądzie nad Wartą, w dniach 3–4 czerwca 2017 r.*, ed. M. Brzostowicz, M. Przybył, J. Wrzesiński, Poznań–Łądz 2018, p. 92; *Grody i miasta w świetle zachodzących w XIII w. zmian osadniczych na ziemiach polskich*, “Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, vol. 18, 2017, no. 2, p. 49.

<sup>55</sup> J. Aleksandrowicz, *Inowrocław i okolice*, p. 28; K. Kopeć, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach*, p. 47; Z. Churska, *Środowisko geograficzne rejonu Inowrocławia*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1, pp. 16–17.

<sup>56</sup> Z. Churska, *Środowisko geograficzne rejonu Inowrocławia*, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, Warsaw 1998, p. 137; Z. Churska, *Środowisko geograficzne rejonu Inowrocławia*, p. 27.

<sup>58</sup> Kopeć 1933, p. 5; Z. Churska, *Środowisko geograficzne rejonu Inowrocławia*, p. 27; *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1, p. 46.

<sup>59</sup> S. Cackowski, *Pruskie opinie o stanie Kujaw ziemi dobrzyńskiej w końcu XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Kujawy wschodnie i Ziemia Dobrzyńska w okresie przejścia pod zabór pruski w 1793 roku. Materiały sesji naukowej we Włocławku 25 XI 1993 r.*, ed. S. Cackowski, Włocławek 1995, pp. 65–85. Ulryk von Werdum, a Friesian nobleman, travelling in Cuyavia from 1670 to 1672 had a different observation that its soils were not very fertile, A. Kucharski, *Kujawy w relacjach z podróży XVII i XVIII wieku*, ZK, vol. 21, 2008, p.16.

<sup>60</sup> Z. Churska, *Środowisko geograficzne rejonu Inowrocławia*, p. 27.

<sup>61</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, *Kształtowanie się nowoczesnego społeczeństwa miejskiego (1815–1919)*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 1, p. 357.

The southern and northern slopes are 1- to 2-kilometre-long, while the eastern and western slopes are between 100 and 200 m in length.<sup>62</sup>

## Hydrography

Inowrocław was a town located far away from water intakes. There was a considerable distance between the town and the Vistula as it was located between the basins of the Vistula and the Odra.<sup>63</sup> It was just a bit closer to the Noteć. Access to this river was determined by the 1450 privilege of Casimir IV Jagiellon, in which the burghers were granted the right to access meadows and pastures up to the half of the river's length, at the height of the borders of Szarlej – Mątwy, Mątwy – Krusza, Krusza – Piotrkowice, Piotrowice – Leszczyce.<sup>64</sup>

Near the town, there were numerous wetlands whose presence was 'linked to the lowering of the ground moraine and impermeable silt-clay substrate'. These areas were artificially modified and used as agricultural plots of land. As a result, the groundwater level dropped.<sup>65</sup> There were also several ponds in the vicinity of the town that have survived to this day. The first pond was called Rybnik, which gave Rybnicka and Mała Rybnicka Streets their names, and was located about a kilometre away from the southern town walls, present-day Czarlińskiego Street.<sup>66</sup> The second pond lay in Szymborze (present-day Andrzeja Dybalskiego Street).<sup>67</sup> Travelling from Lithuania to Germany and Italy, Michał Butler wrote in his journal that there were streams (*ruczaj*) in the area, located 'two miles from the town'.<sup>68</sup>

There must have been wells in the town as well. Data from archaeological excavations reveal that one of them, 1.5 m in diameter and 3.5 m in depth, was located on the monastery's grounds.<sup>69</sup> The register of Inowrocław Gord Starosty shows that the water source must also have been located on the premises of the castle demesne. This is also confirmed by the 1564–1565 inspection which noted that there was a well in the area behind the castle demesne.<sup>70</sup> It is probably a water intake discovered in Stodoły Suburb, thanks to archaeological excavations carried outside the no-longer-existing town walls. It is assumed that water was taken from this well in the fifteenth century, as it is reported to have stopped working at the turn of the seventeenth centuries.<sup>71</sup> Another water intake was also discovered outside the western line of the town walls. It was the so-called Zbychor's well.<sup>72</sup>

## Topography

The town was located on the foundations of a previously existing settlement. The town's foundation area was located 'at the top of a waterless hill, 300 m from the castellan gord'.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately, there is no evidence of its existence. According to Marian Biskup, the layout of the town was formed at the turn of the fourteenth century, and it has survived almost unchanged until the nineteenth century.

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<sup>62</sup> Z. Churska, *Środowisko geograficzne rejonu Inowrocławia*, p. 29.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 45.

<sup>64</sup> *Odnowiony przywilej lokacyjny miasta Inowrocławia*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>65</sup> Z. Churska, *Środowisko geograficzne rejonu Inowrocławia*, p. 45.

<sup>66</sup> B. Kasińska, E. Mikołajczak, P. Strachanowski, *Po prostu Inowrocław. Ilustrowany przewodnik po ulicach miasta*, Inowrocław 2001, p. 73.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34.

<sup>68</sup> *Butlerio Kelionės į Italiją ir Vokietiją 1779–1780 metais Dienoraštis / Dziennik podróży Butlera do Włoch i Niemiec w latach 1779–1780*, pub. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Pacevičius, A. Rosa, Vilnius 2013, p. 79.

<sup>69</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 159; *Zaplecze gospodarcze konwentu oo. Franciszkanów w Inowrocławiu od połowy XIII w. do połowy XV w.*, ed. A. Cofta-Broniewska, Poznań 1979, pp. 17, 21, 24, 28.

<sup>70</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 118.

<sup>71</sup> The Archive of the Jan Kasproicz Museum in Inowrocław, M. Woźniak, *Sprawozdanie z nadzorów archeologicznych: Inowrocław st. 126 – ul. Biskupa Laubitza* ('Archaeological Supervision Report: Inowrocław Site 126 – ul. Biskupa Laubitza'), manuscript, page without numbering.

<sup>72</sup> E. Mikołajczak, *Inowrocław w czasach Kazimierza Konradowica*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>73</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 143.

The town plan had the shape of an inverted trapezoid with the plan in the north-up orientation, the northern part of which was probably several dozen meters shorter (approx. 300 m) than the southern (approx. 375 m).<sup>74</sup> There were buildings with administrative functions (a ducal/royal castle in the north-west, a hypothetical castellany gord in the south-east<sup>75</sup>) and church buildings (a Franciscan monastery in the north-east and the church of St. Nicholas with a square in the south-west) in all four corners of the newly founded town. In 1583, there were also two windmills which belonged to the town in the area.<sup>76</sup> Other worth-mentioning public buildings included the town's bathhouse, which existed before 1450.<sup>77</sup> The bathhouse's exact location is unknown.

The oldest mention suggesting that the town was fortified comes from 1258,<sup>78</sup> and the fortifications in question were probably made of wood and earth. Until the mid-fourteenth century, the town was surrounded by a 1.8-metre-thick wall which was 1,600 m long in circumference (irregular in the north-eastern part of the town) and had 16 rectangular towers and a castle (in the north-western corner of the above-mentioned walls).<sup>79</sup> A single moat surrounded the defensive walls from the outside. The town's defence line was probably modernised in the 1430s, when the second moat and earth embankments were added. Archaeological research conducted by Marcin Woźniak helped determine the dimensions of the second external moat. The first moat was 11 m wide and 3 m deep. A rampart of up to 8 m in width was built between the moats. The total width of Inowrocław's fortifications was approximately 30 m from the wall to the outer edge of the second moat.<sup>80</sup> There were three gates that led to the town: Żydowska, Bydgoska, and Mątewska.<sup>81</sup> According to the source information from 1510, the condition of the walls left much to be desired.<sup>82</sup> The town fortifications mostly disappeared from urban space in the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, but their remains can still be seen near the town centre.

The castle of Inowrocław was for sure already visible above the walls of the town in 1305.<sup>83</sup> The 1564 inspection mentions that it was used as the seat of the starosta. It was rebuilt in the Renaissance style at nearly the same time.<sup>84</sup> It was still used as the starosta's seat in 1647 until the flood, after which it fell into ruin. It was demolished in the nineteenth century.<sup>85</sup> There was an outer bailey with a stable and a horse mill next to the castle.<sup>86</sup> There was also a demesne near the castle called Kawęczynski.<sup>87</sup> A detailed description of the castle can be found in the inspection from 1564.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>75</sup> M. Danielewski, *Sieć grodowa na Kujawach oraz jej funkcje od połowy X do końca XIII wieku*, Poznań 2016, pp. 163 f., 305 f.

<sup>76</sup> P. Wielkopolska, p. 261.

<sup>77</sup> M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, F.K. Martynowski, *Starożytna Polska*, p. 365; *Odnowiony przywilej lokacyjny miasta Inowrocławia*, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia. Encyklopedia wiedzy o zabytkach Inowrocławia*, comp. and prep. J. Sikorska, Inowrocław 2002, p. 207.

<sup>79</sup> M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, F.K. Martynowski, *Starożytna Polska*, p. 365.

<sup>80</sup> The Archive of the Jan Kasprowicz Museum in Inowrocław, M. Woźniak, *Inowrocław – ul. Św. Ducha 25 sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych prowadzonych w 2012 r.* ('Inowrocław – 25 Św. Ducha Street, a Report on Archaeological Research Conducted in 2012'), manuscript pp. 3–4; Kočański 2003, pp. 252–260.

<sup>81</sup> E. Mikołajczak, *Inowrocław w czasach Kazimierza Konradowica*, p. 21; C. Sikorski, *Miasto na soli*, p. 35; J. Aleksandrowicz, *Inowrocław i okolice*, p. 40; K. Kopeć, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach*, p. 40; K. Kopeć, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach*, p. 31; B. Majewski, *Inowrocław jaki był*, p. 64; *Powiat inowrocławski*, p. 17.

<sup>82</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Inwentarz starostwa inowrocławskiego*, p. 204.

<sup>83</sup> C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia*, p. 517.

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem, p. 534.

<sup>85</sup> J. Frycz, *Architektura i sztuka Inowrocławia*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia*, vol. 2: *Od 1919 r. do końca lat siedemdziesiątych*, ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa–Poznań 1982, p. 486.

<sup>86</sup> R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Inwentarz starostwa inowrocławskiego*, p. 204.

<sup>87</sup> E. Mikołajczak, *Średniowieczna własność ziemska okolic Inowrocławia*, ZK, vol. 8, 1986, p. 99.

<sup>88</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 243–256.

## Roads

In the pre-foundation period, there were about 40 settlements scattered within a radius of several kilometres around the future town.<sup>89</sup> The roads leading from Gdańsk Pomerania through Cuyavia to Greater Poland, which involved the crossing over the Vistula near Toruń, aggregated in the area around Inowrocław. They included a road leading in the south-west direction, *i.e.* the former road to Poznań, which led further to central Germany.<sup>90</sup> In the vicinity of Mątwy, there was once a natural passage through Noteć Valley, which required crossing first a ford, and then a bridge over Noteć River, on the transit road to Gdańsk Pomerania and Cuyavia. It was the most important crossing leading from Greater Poland to Cuyavia towards Bydgoszcz.<sup>91</sup> One of the two roads from Kalisz to Royal Prussia also ran through Inowrocław.<sup>92</sup>

## Market square

The total area of the town within the walls was 16 ha.<sup>93</sup> There was a square market with an area of approximately 1.5 ha (estimated dimensions of approximately 115 x 130 m) in the town centre.<sup>94</sup> This area comprised nearly 310 building plots.<sup>95</sup> There was a municipal scale<sup>96</sup> in the eastern part of the market square. It is estimated that this part of the market was built at the turn of the seventeenth century, although there is no absolute certainty in this regard and the process could have started at the turn of the sixteenth century. The town hall was located in the north-west part of the market square,<sup>97</sup> although some researchers believe that it was located in the middle of the square.<sup>98</sup> The inspection performed after the Deluge noted that the town hall was wooden and included a brick Gothic tower, visible in the drawing from 1734.<sup>99</sup> The exact location of the town hall could be determined thanks to the results of research carried out in 2010 within the market square, Świętego Ducha and Królowej Jadwigi Streets, and Klasztorny Square. As a result, it was established that the town hall was located in the southern part of the north-west quarter of the market square.<sup>100</sup> The building burnt down in a fire in 1775 and had not yet been rebuilt.<sup>101</sup> The inspection noted also that there were market stalls selling food, which were covered with shutters, on the market square.<sup>102</sup> According to the 1564 inspection,

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<sup>89</sup> A. Kosecki's interpretation is a bit different, Kosecki, *Miasta*, p. 34; A. Kosecki, *Lokacje miejskie księcia Kazimierza*, p. 173.

<sup>90</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, pp. 130–131; S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg w Wielkopolsce od X do XVIII wieku*, "Przegląd Zachodni", vol. 9, 1953, no. 6–8, pp. 214, 215, 219, 240.

<sup>91</sup> S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg w Wielkopolsce*, pp. 198, 215; C. Sikorski, *Miasto na soli*, p. 64.

<sup>92</sup> S. Weymann, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem dróg w Wielkopolsce*, p. 242.

<sup>93</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 250.

<sup>94</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 144; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 97; E. Mikołajczak, *Inowrocław w czasach Kazimierza Konradowica*, pp. 20–21; B. Majewski, *Inowrocław jaki był*, p. 64.

<sup>95</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 257; C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia*, p. 217; idem, *Miasto na soli*, p. 18.

<sup>96</sup> C. Sikorski, *Dom Wagi Miejskiej, Wstęp* ('Introduction').

<sup>97</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, pp. 143–145.

<sup>98</sup> M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, F.K. Martynowski, *Starożytna Polska*, p. 368.

<sup>99</sup> M. Woźniak, *Zapomniany widok Inowrocławia z 1734 roku*, [in:] *Z dziejów Kujaw i Pałuk. Studia dedykowane pamięci dr. Czesława Sikorskiego. Materiały z sesji naukowej w Inowrocławiu (22 kwietnia 2005)*, ed. J. Kozłowski, M. Woźniak, Inowrocław 2005.

<sup>100</sup> Report on the results of archaeological research conducted for the investment titled *Przebudowa nawierzchni rynku, ul. Św. Ducha, ul. Królowej Jadwigi oraz Placu Klasztornego w Inowrocławiu, zaprojektowanie i wykonanie fontanny na Rynku w Inowrocławiu oraz wykonanie przyłączy energetycznych i wodno-kanalizacyjnych na terenie Rynku* ('Reconstruction of the Market Square, Św. Ducha Street, Królowej Jadwigi Street, and Klasztorny Square in Inowrocław, Design and Construction of a Fountain in the Market Square in Inowrocław and Installation of Power and Water and Sewage System Utility Connections in the Market Square'), vol. 1: *Opracowanie wyników badań archeologicznych* ('Report on the Results of Archaeological Research'), Toruń 2011; cf. S. Koc, *Zabytki Inowrocławia – archeologiczno-architektoniczne zagadnienia po badaniach w roku 2010*, Inowrocław 2014, pp. 19–20.

<sup>101</sup> M. Woźniak, *Zapomniany widok Inowrocławia*, p. 104.

<sup>102</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 277.

there were 14 of them.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, later 1628–1632 records do not mention their exact number.<sup>104</sup>

In 1510–1511, ‘there were 32 houses in the market square, seven of them at Franciszkanów Street, three at an unidentified *zakątki* (nooks) street, 14 at the street leading to Mątwy, another 14 at the street leading to Holy Spirit Hospital, and 13 at Tkaczy Street – with a total of 83 chimneys.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, between the buildings there were five breweries which belonged to five brewers. On top of that, the starosta also had a brewery of his own. According to the 1564–1565 inspection, the town had about 220 parcels with buildings occupied by burghers.<sup>106</sup> According to the data quoted by Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, in 1616, there were 310 burgher houses within the town walls.<sup>107</sup> Czesław Sikorski stated that residential buildings were mostly made of wood, with half-timbered construction with wattle-and-dab infill, although there were also some examples of log constructions. The height of the preserved structural beams was 1.5 m.<sup>108</sup> Most of these buildings burned down in the great town fire of 1775, and the new ones were built using brick.<sup>109</sup> Gardens and parcels scattered around the town belonged to burgher houses.

## Streets

A total of eight streets led off the corners of the market square. Toruńska Street, also known as Świętego Ducha Street (called Szpitalna Street), crossed the eastern side of the market square and passed through a line of town walls that ended with Żydowska Gate, leading travellers towards Toruń. Another street crossing the town walls was Bydgoska Street (a name which probably replaced its former designation, Tkacka Street), which started within the north-south axis of the town, and then ran along the western frontage of the market square, leading towards Bydgoszcz. It is difficult to determine the location of the street leading from the market square to the south. It cannot be ruled out that this street, originally leading towards Poznań, at that time emerged from the middle of the southern frontage of the market square. The state of research allows us to conclude that Kasztelańska Street crossed the southern side of the walls, going outside the town walls through Mątewska (Strzeleńska) Gate. It was this road which led to the crossing on Noteć River and, further, to Poznań.<sup>110</sup>

**Table 1. Sixteenth-century Inowrocław streets confirmed by sources**

Old Polish street name	Contemporary street name
<i>Platea dicta fratrum</i> (Bracka or Franciszkańska)	Łączna or northern section of present-day Kościuszki Street
<i>Platea versus Manthwi</i> (to Mątwy)	Poznańska or I.J. Paderewskiego
Tkaczy	no information
<i>Platea versus hospitale</i> (Szpitalna)	Świętego Ducha
Zakanthki (Zakątki-Zakątek)	no information
Market Square (Rynek)	Market Square

Source: Kasińska, Mikołajczak, Strachanowski 2001; Wiesiołowski 1986, pp. 267–268.

<sup>103</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 244.

<sup>104</sup> LWWK 1628, part 3, p. 124.

<sup>105</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 251.

<sup>106</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>107</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 372; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 276.

<sup>108</sup> C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia*, pp. 102–103.

<sup>109</sup> *Butlerio Kelionės į Italiją ir Vokietiją 1779–1780 / Dziennik podróży Butlera do Włoch i Niemiec*, p. 80.

<sup>110</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 145.

**Table 2. Sixteenth-century Inowrocław streets of uncertain location, but within town walls**

Contemporary street name	Comments
Farna	led from the market square to Św. Mikołaja Street
Klasztorny Square	exists to date
Św. Mikołaja	no confirmation in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
Kościelna	northern frontage of market square
Kościuszki	eastern frontage of market square
Szeroka	southern frontage of market square
Krótką	near the walls, on the eastern side
Przesmyk ('pass')	common name for a road connecting a castle with a town
Rybnicka	earlier Kramarska (no confirmation in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century)
Rzeźnicka	no confirmation in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
Studienna	no confirmation in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
Wałowa	renamed Żydowska only in the 17 <sup>th</sup> century
Wodna	former road connecting (to date) the Market Square with Św. Mikołaja Square
Bydgoska (no confirmation in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century)	Królowej Jadwigi
Kasztelańska (no confirmation in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century)	Kasztelańska

Source: Kasińska, Mikołajczak, Strachanowski 2001.

## Jewish quarter

The Jewish quarter was established in the south-eastern part of the town in the fifteenth century.<sup>111</sup> According to Zenon Guldon, the oldest mention of Jewish settlers comes from 1453.<sup>112</sup> In 1564, there were 27 houses and four empty parcels in the quarter (which translates into 108–162 people).<sup>113</sup> A year later, the number rose to 168, including 30 poor people and students. In the seventeenth century, the number of Jews declined to 30, according to the poll tax from 1674.<sup>114</sup> It is connected with the repressions introduced after the Deluge, resulting in the expulsion of Jews from the town and probably also destruction of the synagogue. According to information from the end of the seventeenth century, there was already a synagogue in the town,<sup>115</sup> built near (within) the town walls.<sup>116</sup> Right next to it, there was a school financed by the qahal<sup>117</sup> and a Jewish cemetery located outside the walls. Its existence probably dates back to the fourteenth century, and the oldest tombstone dates back to 1591.<sup>118</sup>

## Suburbs

The suburbs were integral areas of the town. The first suburb, Staromieście, surrounded the church of Blessed Virgin Mary – the area of the first Inowrocław settlement. Twenty four people lived there

<sup>111</sup> Ibidem, p. 146.

<sup>112</sup> Z. Guldon, *Żydzi w miastach kujawskich XVI–XVIII wieku*, ZK, vol. 9, 1993, p. 100.

<sup>113</sup> Idem, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 251; Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, p. 66.

<sup>114</sup> Idem, *Żydzi w miastach kujawskich*, p. 103.

<sup>115</sup> Idem, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 274.

<sup>116</sup> T. Łaskiewicz, *Żydzi w Inowrocławiu w okresie międzywojennym (1919–1939)*, Inowrocław 1997, p. 25.

<sup>117</sup> Ibidem, p. 297.

<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, p. 28.

in 1510.<sup>119</sup> Batkówko Suburb covered an area south of the walls, outside Poznańska Gate. The Holy Cross Church stood in the centre. In the sixteenth century, Sigismund the Old granted Batkówko the right to build a windmill in its territory. In the sixteenth century, this area was inhabited by 42 people.<sup>120</sup> Stodoły Suburb stretched to the north of the walls, outside Bydgoska Gate. In 1510, there were 37 farms here; in the sixteenth century, the suburb was granted the right to build a windmill by Sigismund Augustus.<sup>121</sup> Another suburb was located around the Holy Spirit Hospital.<sup>122</sup> Near Staromieście, there was a suburb called Nowe Ogrody, formerly known as Rogów, with the Corpus Christi Church founded in 1480.<sup>123</sup> The area between the moats and Batkowskie (Batkówko) Suburb was called Zofiówka. The name may be associated with Saint Sophia Chapel (Zofia is the Polish term for Sophia), which some assume could have existed there until the end of the seventeenth century.

There were also other suburbs adjacent to the town, the existence of which, however, cannot be confirmed in the sixteenth century. They include: Grodztwo – north-west of the walls (first mention from the period of 1722–1730),<sup>124</sup> Radziejów Suburb outside Toruń (Żydowska) Gate – east of the walls (mentioned in the second half of the eighteenth century),<sup>125</sup> and Kurów Suburb which appeared in sources in 1374 as a garden given to the Franciscans. This area stretched along the walls, from Żydowska Gate to Bydgoszcz road, up to the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>126</sup> There was also Strzelno Suburb, marked on the 1772 town plan outside the south-west line of the town walls.<sup>127</sup>

## Villages

The starosta in charge of the town collected income from nine neighbouring villages belonging to the burghers.<sup>128</sup> They were Jacewo, Turzany, Szymborze, Batkowo, Rąbin, Wierzbie, Marulewy, Miko-rzyn,<sup>129</sup> and Kotwiniec.<sup>130</sup> The village of Michowiec (Miechowice) joined this group in 1540 by way of repurchase.<sup>131</sup> According to Zenon Guldon's findings, in 1583 all these villages had 50 lans of land that lent themselves to cultivation.<sup>132</sup> Citing Marian Biskup, Edmund Mikołajczak indicates that the earliest municipal properties included Jacewo, Wierzbie, Kotwiniec, Rąbin, and Szymborze. Both researchers associate the granting of these villages with the foundation privilege of the town.<sup>133</sup> In turn, Inowrocław Gord Startosty included the following villages: Orłowo (with a demesne), Broniewo, Mischewice (Niszczewice) (with a demesne), Jaksice (with a demesne), half of Mątwy Village, Sławęcinek (with a demesne), Murzynno, Dolsk (Dulsk), Wielowieś, Chrząstawa, Buczkowo, Sowikowa (Sójkowo), and Tuczo (with a demesne).<sup>134</sup> Orłowo, with a demesne, and Murzynno became part of the gord starosty in 1422. Before that, they belonged to the Teutonic Knights.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 264; E. Mikołajczak, *Średniowieczna własność*, p. 96.

<sup>120</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 264; E. Mikołajczak, *Średniowieczna własność*, p. 96; C. Sikorski, *Miasto na soli*, p. 68.

<sup>121</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 263; C. Sikorski, *Miasto na soli*, p. 67.

<sup>122</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 148; M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, F.K. Martynowski, *Starożytna Polska*, p. 367; E. Mikołajczak, *Średniowieczna własność*, p. 96.

<sup>123</sup> C. Sikorski, *Miasto na soli*, p. 67.

<sup>124</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 262.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 267.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>127</sup> M. Farbiszewski, B. Horbaczewski, S. Raszkiewicz, Z. Smoliński, *Studium historyczno-konserwatorskie centrum Inowrocławia wykonane na zlecenie Urzędu Miejskiego w Inowrocławiu oraz Wojewódzkiego Konserwatora Zabytków w Bydgoszczy*, vol. 2: *Kartografia*, Toruń 1985, no. 53.

<sup>128</sup> M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, F.K. Martynowski, *Starożytna Polska*, p. 367.

<sup>129</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 245.

<sup>130</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 267–268; R. Guldon, Z. Guldon, *Inwentarz starostwa inowrocławskiego*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>131</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 268.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>133</sup> E. Mikołajczak, *Średniowieczna własność*, p. 93 – in the quoted article, the author states that there were villages which belonged to burghers of Inowrocław. There is also a map indicating their location around the town.

<sup>134</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 26.

<sup>135</sup> S. Józwiak, *Rola i znaczenie enklaw terytorialnych Zakonu Krzyżackiego na Kujawach w politycznych stosunkach z Polską w XIV–XV wieku*, ZK, vol. 12, 1997, p. 185.

## Churches

One of the oldest religious buildings in the town is the church, which is now a basilica known as the church of Blessed Virgin Mary, located in Staromieście (*extra muros*).<sup>136</sup> Dariusz Karczewski dates the construction of that church to the 1180s.<sup>137</sup> Most likely, its founder was the son of Bolesław IV the Curly, Leszek.<sup>138</sup> The parish included Staromieście, Rąbin, Batkowo, Popowice, Szymborze, Jacewo, Turzany, part of Słońsk Village, Strzemkowo, and Marcinkowo.<sup>139</sup> There were also altarage chapels of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anna in the church.<sup>140</sup>

At the same time, the Franciscans were brought to the town at the time of its foundation. It was clearly modelled on the solutions used in Wrocław, to which the Order of Friars Minor were brought in 1236 by Henry the Pious. In the newly founded town, they found their place near the Duke's castle.<sup>141</sup> According to Marian Biskup, work on the construction of the monastery must have been well underway already in 1238. On the basis of his archaeological research, Czesław Sikorski determined that the church was built first, and the buildings intended for religious houses followed.<sup>142</sup> In 1402, the street next to this church was called *platea dicta fratrum* – Bracka or Franciszkańska.<sup>143</sup> According to Gotfried Dornstein, the church was located 120 feet from the then Bydgoska Street.<sup>144</sup> Stanisław Kozierowski reports that the church and monastery were situated *infra muros*.<sup>145</sup> Before the construction of the St. Nicholas church, the monastery church served as a place of official gatherings. It survived some dramatic moments of town history, *i.e.* the destruction caused by the invasion of Świętopełk, Duke of Pomerania (1239) and Bolesław the Pious, Duke of Greater Poland (1271).<sup>146</sup> Apart from the well, there were barns and two wooden cellars for storing food and cooling alcoholic beverages in Klasztorny Square.<sup>147</sup> In 1607, the Franciscans were the owners of six lans of land.<sup>148</sup> The monastery was demolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the church in the 1870s, and, therefore, its location on the plan is hypothetical.

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<sup>136</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 155; E. Mikołajczak, *Inowrocław w czasach Kazimierza Konradowicza*, p. 29; C. Sikorski, *Miasto na soli*, p. 67; K. Kopeć, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach*, p. 30; *Powiat inowrocławski*, p. 7.

<sup>137</sup> D. Karczewski, *Spór o uposażenie kościoła NMP w Inowrocławiu na marginesie dokumentu lokacyjnego dla wsi Popowice z 1351 roku*, ZK, vol. 12, 1997, p. 155; J. Aleksandrowicz, *Inowrocław i okolice*, p. 29; K. Hewner, *Kim był twórca romańskich rzeźb na murach kościoła Imienia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Inowrocławiu?*, ZK, vol. 13, 1998, p. 151; *Powiat inowrocławski*, p. 13; J. Sikorska, *Zabytkowa architektura Inowrocławia*, part 2, "Goniec Kujawski", 1998, no. 2 (10), p. 4; C. Sikorski, *Reliefy z murów romańskich kościoła Imienia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Inowrocławiu*, ZK, vol. 11, 1995, p. 17.

<sup>138</sup> C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia*, pp. 14, 287; idem, *Kościół p.w. Imienia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Inowrocławiu*, "Rocznik Kasprowiczowski", vol. 9, 2000, pp. 135–136; Sikorska 1998, part 1, p. 2.

<sup>139</sup> Repertorium 77, p. 163; Z. Guldon, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej na Kujawach w II połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1964, pp. 34–35.

<sup>140</sup> S.D. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej*, Poznań 1934, p. 68.

<sup>141</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 138; Kosecki, *Miasta*, pp. 35–36; E. Mikołajczak, *Średniowieczna własność*, p. 100; D. Karczewski, *Konwent franciszkanów inowrocławskich w średniowieczu*, ZK, vol. 10, 1994, pp. 13–14 – in the latter article, the author discusses the circumstances of bringing the monks to the town, challenging the earlier findings of M. Biskup; C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia*, pp. 325–327; *Franciszkanie w monarchii Piastów i Jagiellonów w średniowieczu. Powstanie – rozwój – organizacja wewnętrzna*, Cracow 2012, pp. 155–158; K. Kopeć, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Inowrocławiu i Kujawach*, p. 21; J. Kozłowski, *Średniowieczne monety z klasztoru OO. Franciszkanów w Inowrocławiu*, [in:] *Z dziejów Kujaw i Pałuk*, p. 80; E. Mikołajczak, *Początki inowrocławskiej parafii*, [in:] *Duchowieństwo w dziejach Inowrocławia*, ed. E. Mikołajczak, Bydgoszcz–Inowrocław 1990, p. 5; idem, *Narodziny i upadek konwentu franciszkańskiego*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 60.

<sup>142</sup> C. Sikorski, *Początki zespołu klasztorowego oo. Franciszkanów w Inowrocławiu w świetle archeologiczno-architektonicznych badań ratowniczych*, ZK, vol. 8, 1986, p. 53; J. Aleksandrowicz, *Inowrocław i okolice*, pp. 30–31;

<sup>143</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 147; E. Mikołajczak, *Inowrocław w czasach Kazimierza Konradowicza*, p. 22.

<sup>144</sup> See: J. Frycz, *Architektura i sztuka Inowrocławia*, p. 466.

<sup>145</sup> S.D. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny*, p. 69.

<sup>146</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 147; D. Karczewski, *Konwent franciszkanów inowrocławskich*, p. 17; *Powiat inowrocławski*, p. 7.

<sup>147</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 159; *Zaplecze gospodarcze konwentu oo. Franciszkanów w Inowrocławiu*, pp. 17, 21, 24, 28.

<sup>148</sup> S.D. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny*, p. 69.

The church of St. Nicholas was erected some time later. It originally functioned as a filial church of the church of Blessed Virgin Mary, and starting from as early as the first half of the sixteenth century, as a parish church. It was first mentioned as such in sources on 21 December 1338.<sup>149</sup> The next mention comes from 1321 and is related to the judgement issued by the papal court.<sup>150</sup> A school employing a teacher was established by the church. The church also owned the Corpus Christi chapel, located outside the town walls on the road to Toruń.<sup>151</sup> The church also included the altarge chapels dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, the Holy Cross, St. Sophia, and the Holy Trinity.<sup>152</sup> The importance of the church of St. Nicholas as a parish church grew in the sixteenth century, with the decline of the church of Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>153</sup>

Outside the town, and beyond the gate on the old road to Toruń, there was also the Holy Spirit Hospital, whilst the Corpus Christi chapel stood at the contemporary route to Toruń. Marian Biskup states that its foundation must have taken place before 1268. Its founder was most likely Casimir I of Cuyavia, whose son, Ziemomysł, in 1268 gifted Marulewy, Batkowo, and Śrubska, villages founded under German law, to this institution. At that point it was run by the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star of the rule of St. Augustine, invited to Inowrocław from Wrocław.<sup>154</sup> According to Stanisław Kozierowski, the church was burnt down by the Teutonic Knights in 1331, but, nevertheless, continued to perform its function.<sup>155</sup> The congregation managed these properties until 1592, *i.e.* until they were incorporated into the College of Vicars of Włocławek Cathedral.<sup>156</sup>

The already mentioned Corpus Christi chapel was located outside the town walls, on the eastern side, on the road leading to Toruń. Funded by Jakub Borowicz, a chapel and a hospital dedicated to the Holy Cross<sup>157</sup> were also located outside the town walls. The church was consecrated in 1573 by Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski.<sup>158</sup> The church and the hospital were also depicted in a 1734 view painted by Frederick Bernard Werner.<sup>159</sup> Thanks to this painting, we know that they were located exactly opposite Poznańska Gate. The conducted archaeological research confirmed this, leading to excavation of several church graves and an ossuary.<sup>160</sup>

The 1585 visitation carried out by Kacper Chronovius, Cantor of Kruszwica, on the order of Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski, provides information about six churches:

- 1) St. Nicholas church, inside town walls, with royal patronage;<sup>161</sup>
- 2) BVM church, located outside town walls, formerly serving as a parish church, and at the time of the visitation, as a subsidiary of St. Nicholas church, with the royal right of patronage;<sup>162</sup>
- 3) monastic church of the Franciscans, not included in the visitation;
- 4) St. James church, serving as a provostry and church at the same time, located in the suburbs, outside the town walls,<sup>163</sup> with the royal patronage;

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<sup>149</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 156; C. Sikorski, *Świadkowie 800-lecia*, pp. 303–305; *Powiat inowrocławski*, p. 9; E. Mikołajczak, *Początki inowrocławskiej parafii*, pp. 4–5, 8.

<sup>150</sup> M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 146; *Powiat inowrocławski*, p. 7.

<sup>151</sup> *Repertorium 77*, pp. 154, 182; Kopeć 1933, p. 30.

<sup>152</sup> S.D. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny*, p. 68.

<sup>153</sup> E. Mikołajczak, *Początki inowrocławskiej parafii*, p. 11.

<sup>154</sup> Biskup 197 M. Biskup, *Dzieje miasta w średniowieczu*, p. 158; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą i Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warsaw 2006, pp. 118–127.

<sup>155</sup> S.D. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm historyczny*, p. 69.

<sup>156</sup> Z. Guldon, *W czasach szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 266.

<sup>157</sup> *Repertorium 77*, p. 154.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 168.

<sup>159</sup> M. Woźniak, *Zapomniany widok Inowrocławia*; S. Koc, *Panorama Inowrocławia Fryderyka Bernarda Wenera*, MDKSBR, vol. 11, pp. 73–82.

<sup>160</sup> The Archive of the Jan Kasprzowicz Museum in Inowrocław, M. Woźniak, *Inowrocław st. 155 cmentarzysko wokół nieistniejącego kościoła pw. św. Krzyża sprawozdanie z nadzorów archeologicznych w roku 2009* ('Inowrocław Site 155: Cemetery Around the Non-existent St. Cross Church, a Report from Archaeological Supervisions in 2009'), manuscript pp. 3–4.

<sup>161</sup> *Repertorium 77*, p. 182.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 168.

- 5) Corpus Christi church, also located in the suburbs, far outside the town,<sup>164</sup> with the burghers' patronage. It was funded by a burgher from Włocławek, Henryk Bug, on whose behalf the masses were to be held. There is no information about the church's consecration;<sup>165</sup>
- 6) Holy Spirit church, with a hospital provostry, and the royal patronage.<sup>166</sup>

The visitation carried out in July 1596 confirms the existence of two parishes: St. Nicholas parish in the town and BVM parish outside the town, and two chapels: the Corpus Christi chapel and the Holy Cross chapel. There were also two hospitals – Holy Spirit Hospital and Holy Cross Hospital, and one St. James Prebend.<sup>167</sup> There could be cemeteries located next to all the above-mentioned churches.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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<sup>164</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>165</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>166</sup> Ibidem, p. 163.

<sup>167</sup> Ibidem, p. 189.

### III.6.13.4 KALISZ IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

*Urszula Sowina, Tomasz Związek, Tomasz Panecki*

The map of Kalisz at the middle of the sixteenth century has primarily been reconstructed based on the results of historical, archaeological, and cartographic research published to date, as coupled with the author's own research into written and cartographic records. The most important written sources are the relevant documents published, mainly, in *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, manuscript records in the *Metrica Regni Poloniae*, the registers of Kalisz land, castle, and municipal courts. Sixteenth-century canonical visitation records have also been used, along with data from tax registers or rolls. The adoption of the middle, rather than the end, of the sixteenth century as the chronological caesura basically stems from the fact that a fire consumed the city in the year 1537. The years following the conflagration saw Kalisz being intensely rebuilt and reconstructed – as minutely evidenced by the earliest preserved town court books, dated 1537–47. Detailed source-based analyses of the following decades in the city's history would have exceeded the scope of the present series. Let us add that the existing, highly unsatisfactory, research on the city has not made use of the municipal registers, the history of Kalisz in the latter half of the second century has been shown superfluously and, in many cases, with no reference to source material. Hence, this text seeks to deepen the present knowledge on Kalisz on the verge of the modern era. The present studies will be followed up to produce a history of Kalisz as part of the series entitled *Historical Atlas of Polish Towns* (the outcome of detailed research will be published in the years to come).

Kalisz is situated on the Kalisz Upland, in the southern part of the area of sixteenth-century Voivodeship of Kalisz. The city is located on the floodplain of the meandering Proсна (Przosna) River, which is fed at the Old Town section by the Swędnia (Swędra).<sup>2</sup> The hydrographic and other topographic elements have been reconstructed using the retrogressive method, making use of the plans from the first half of the nineteenth century. Those maps render the status of the hydrography before the regulation of the rivers (after 1842), a project that was devised to ensure the city's flood protection. It can be assumed that the course of the rivers in the earliest cartographic representations ought to correspond with that in the preceding centuries; it is otherwise known that the changing riverbed of the Proсна caused the transferral of the town, in the thirteenth century, to its present place. Floods related to the city's location on a floodplain area used to be characteristic of Kalisz. The first such flood is recorded in 1698,<sup>3</sup> though it was not the first-ever one.

Three plans have been used in our cartographic reconstruction of Kalisz and its closest vicinity – namely, (i) the one by Politalski-Wolle (a redraw from the 1785 map);<sup>4</sup> (ii) the plan

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<sup>1</sup> A vast portion of this text is written by Urszula Sowina. The passages on the Jewish population, city-owned villages, and road network are by Tomasz Związek, the commentary's editor; Tomasz Panecki has authored the environmental and cartographic introduction. In compiling this section, the authors reciprocally exchanged the records they had found, studies, and observations regarding the history of Kalisz.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski* (Warsaw 2002 [3<sup>rd</sup> (complemented) edition]), pp. 157–8.

<sup>3</sup> T. Kałuża, *Analiza zmian układu poziomego koryt rzeki Proсны w Kaliszu w odniesieniu do historycznych zjawisk powodziowych*, [in:] *Dziedzictwo kulturowe miasta Kalisza i regionu południowej Wielkopolski*, vol. 4, ed. S. Kowalska, Poznań–Kalisz 2015, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Collection of the Voivodeship Office for Spatial Planning in Kalisz, inv. no. 2/M–1/185; copies in Münch, Tab. XIX; *Dzieje Kalisza*, ed. W. Rusiński, Poznań 1977, pp. 144–145; *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 2, ed. A. Gieysztor, Poznań 1960, pp. 160–161.

of Kalisz and its surroundings from around 1820;<sup>5</sup> and, (iii) the *Plan des Environs de Kalisz* from c. 1835.<sup>6</sup>

The first was redrawn in 1878 by Ottomar Wolle, from a circa-1800 redraw of the plan by Andrzej Politalski, drawn up in 1785 on commission of the Kalisz Commission of Good Order. The scale, as noted on the map, is approximately 1:3,000 (200 cubits equalling 3.9 cm). The map encompasses a rather small area, of approximately 2.1 km<sup>2</sup>, including Kalisz surrounded by the Prosna; the suburbs: Wrocławskie (Wrocław/*Breslau*), Toruńskie (Toruń/*Thorn*), and Piskorzewskie (Piskorzewo), plus the village of Czaszki. The content primarily consists of the network of roads (with no clear categories specified) and streets (with their names), as well as buildings, structures, and housing developments, classed into wooden and brick, defensive walls, towers/bastilles, and gates. Land plots within the city's area are marked as well. The picture is complemented by the land cover and descriptions of individual (sub)divisions, some having the type of ownership specified. Apart from hills and elevations, quite schematically represented in the neighbourhood of Tyniec and Majków, the plan does not reflect the landforms, and so the Prosna valley is not marked. The content is complemented by forty-one explanatory notes referring to the town's important sites and structures, including churches, monasteries, public buildings, or infrastructure, as of 1785.

The plan in question was used for the drawing of the city of Kalisz inside the walls, owing to its focus on details and enabling analysis of not only the built-up areas and developments but also the deployment of parcels across the town. Its small spatial scope is a disadvantage, though; hence, in our reconstruction of the areas adjacent to the city, we have made use of two maps of Kalisz and its surrounding area, dated around 1820 and 1835.

The first is a black-and-white photographic reconstruction retrieved from Henryk Münch's study on the layouts of Greater Polish towns.<sup>7</sup> It is dated circa 1820, the reproduction scale being approximately 1:16,700, calculated based on the linear scale. The plan, compiled in French (with Polish names of the nearby localities), shows probably but a segment of a larger whole (probably, the south-eastern part between Kościelna Wieś and Rajsków). It spans over a 17 km<sup>2</sup> area encompassing: the city of Kalisz, with no singled-out (described) suburbs; the villages of Majków (description only, no development area featured), Tyniec, Stare Miasto (Old Town), Raysków (Rajsków), Zawodzie, Zagórzyniek, Rypinek, Czaszki, and Ogrody, plus three (unnamed) brickyards and a mill named Korszak (Korczak). The content consists of topographic elements such as road network (two categories, corresponding the road's importance), land cover and use (urban development, peasant homesteads/farmhouses, gardens, woodlots, cemeteries), and topographic features (windmills, mills). The topographical relief, marked with hatchings (probably, using the Lehmann method<sup>8</sup>), vividly shows the terrace and excellently harmonises with the hydrography of the Prosna and its branches. In spite of a smaller amount of detail, compared to the Politalski-Wolle plan, the major city's features are identifiable, including market-square area developments, the churches of St. Nicholas, Our Lady, church-and-convent complexes – Franciscan, Bernardine, Reformati Friars', and former Jesuit; also, the Voivodeship School, and an evangelical cemetery. It is the earliest, and basically the most accurate cartographic image of Kalisz and its surrounding area of such range.<sup>9</sup> It has been used to draw the topographic features – roads and ground cover, and to localise objects or features, pre-eminently outside the city's limits.

Partly useful, particularly for localisation of features outside Kalisz, was another map of the town's neighbourhood, compiled in the scale 1:21,000 and published in 1835 as a manually coloured lithograph.<sup>10</sup> The inscriptions are in two languages, French and Russian, which in some cases leads

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<sup>5</sup> Münch, Tab. XVIII. In the interwar period of 1918–39, the plan was kept at the Central Archives of Historical Records [AGAD].

<sup>6</sup> Münch, 128, Fig. 32; [www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/25273/Plan\\_des\\_Environs\\_de\\_Kalisz\\_levé\\_sous\\_les\\_ordres\\_du\\_Capitaine\\_de\\_lEtat/D'Avignon.html](http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/25273/Plan_des_Environs_de_Kalisz_levé_sous_les_ordres_du_Capitaine_de_lEtat/D'Avignon.html) [accessed 8.03.2017].

<sup>7</sup> Münch, Tab. XVIII. A glass copy of the map, once owned by Henryk Münch, is presently kept at the Research Group of the Historical Atlas, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences [IH PAN] (ZAH), Warsaw.

<sup>8</sup> S. Pietkiewicz, *O sposobach przedstawiania terenu na mapach*, "Biblioteka Służby Geograficznej", vol. 5, Warsaw 1930, pp. 6–8.

<sup>9</sup> Also, cf. *Kalisz, plan sytuacyjny z l. 1800–1802* (in German), in Münch, Tab. XVII, and *ibidem*, p. 144.

<sup>10</sup> *Plan des Environs de Kalisz levé sous les ordres du Capitaine de l'Etat-Major, Bergenstrolé* (a title in Russian is also featured); T. Paćko; W. Trzebiński, *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne ziem polskich 1576–1870*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1983 (Centralny Katalog Zbiorów Kartograficznych w Polsce, vol. 5), p. 50 (item 94).

to distorted toponyms. The map encompasses over 200 km<sup>2</sup> of the vicinity of Kalisz – the city itself, due to the scale, being represented in a much generalised fashion. It only shows a schematic network of streets and simplified development; there are no descriptions of the suburbs. Apart from Kalisz, all the localities, surrounding settlements, sites and structures (such as churches, mills, cemeteries) are specified.<sup>11</sup> The content of this particular cartographic record corresponds with that of large-scale topographic maps.

The chartered town of Kalisz was founded in the place situated higher than the earlier settlement segments within the urban area.<sup>12</sup> Kalisz was not unique in this respect; due to the floods intensifying since the thirteenth century, many towns would be situated on elevated sites, yet close to the river. Kalisz was founded at the narrowest section of the Prosna Valley,<sup>13</sup> which facilitated the crossing. The passage probably functioned as an indispensable element of the so-called new Toruń road<sup>14</sup> linking Silesia, Greater Poland, and the Teutonic Order State. The Silesian-Teutonic route became the axis of the new locality.

As is known, Kalisz was founded under the Środa Law by Duke Boleslaus the Pious (Bolesław Pobożny). The establishment of Kalisz under the German Law took place after 1253, the date the duke took power over the town, and before 1268, being the date of issuance by Boleslaus of a document ‘ad communem civitatis nostre Kalis civiumque omnium ibidem utilitatem’<sup>15</sup> – a formula that indisputably testifies that a reshaped urban commune existed there at the time. Marta Młynarska, who is the first scholar to have presented, in a systematised and well-grounded manner, based upon written and archaeological sources, the evolution of Kalisz toward foundation, believes that this quite long-lasting process was not completed before 1303, with the city’s division into two parishes.<sup>16</sup>

Revising the document issued by Duke Przemysł II in 1282,<sup>17</sup> renewing and confirming the legal foundation of the city, we cannot preclude that the spatial layout of the city had been established before that event. Based on the document, it is clear that Kalisz had a strictly determined inner urban space, close to which a mill had already been functioning. In his analysis of plans of towns, Henryk Münch has noticed that Kalisz underwent a ‘process of formation of an oval shape of the market-place, which proved conclusive for urban settlements’.<sup>18</sup> Should we accept this view, then – still based on the *intra muros* plan of Kalisz – we would find that in the course of the spatial rearrangement the market was marked out at the centre of the square and the oval-shaped space between the market square and each of the later-erected gates were occupied by development blocks. Tadeusz Lalik, opposing Münch’s view on the oval-shaped layout of the town and its pre-foundation origin, gives the urban layout of Kalisz as an example of what he describes as ‘the most frequent type of layout ... in small and medium-sized towns with walls or retrenchments’. According to this scholar, whose view we accept as definitely prevailing over Münch’s concepts (which has been rejected also by other mediaevalists), ‘the transport and traffic was subordinated to the two opposite gates: the streets going out of the market’s corners

<sup>11</sup> This map has enabled to localise Dobrcza Mała and the Jewish cemetery in Czaszki.

<sup>12</sup> For a recent, more detailed discussion, see T. Baranowski, *Kalisia–Kalisz, starożytność a wczesne średniowiecze*, [in:] *Kalisz na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. T. Baranowski, A. Buko, Kalisz 2013, pp. 91–93.

<sup>13</sup> T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Zmiany w topografii osadnictwa wielkich dolin na niżu środkowoeuropejskim w XIII wieku*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1974, p. 67.

<sup>14</sup> A. Wędzki, *Procesy urbanizacyjne pogranicza ziemi kalisko-ostreszowskiej na tle zmian w układzie połączeń komunikacyjnych śląsko-wielkopolsko-kujawskich*, [in:] idem, *Ze studiów nad procesami osadniczymi ziem Polski zachodniej. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1987, pp. 115–116.

<sup>15</sup> Based on the edition in KDW I, no. 389, dated therein at 1260 (as noted in vol. 1’s index, this dating is erroneous; the correct date, as noted in the index, is 1268). M. Młynarska believes that the incorporation was completed before that date (eadem, *Proces lokacji Kalisza*, [in:] *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 1, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kalisz 1960, p. 115; eadem, *W sprawie kościoła Panny Marii w Kaliszu i podziału miasta na dwie parafie w 1303 roku*, [in:] *Kalisz na przestrzeni wieków*, p. 203). The document’s original copy, kept at the AGAD (dok. perg. no. 3371), is dated 1268 – as in J. Senkowski, I. Sułkowska, *Archiwum dokumentowe miasta Kalisza*, [in:] *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 1, p. 300. Ibidem, on p. 295, the author’s refer to the 1869 edition of the document, published in *Kališkija Gubernskija Vědomosti*, vol. 30, 1869, 494–5, no. 1 [*non vidi*], also dated 1268. A. Wędzki, *Lokacja Kalisza*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 70 and, recently, U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę późnośredniowiecznego i wczesnonowożytnego Kalisza*, [in:] *Kalisz na przestrzeni wieków*, p. 214, among other authors, have accepted this very date.

<sup>16</sup> M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, pp. 109 and 112, with reference to the 1303 document, in KDW II, no. 876.

<sup>17</sup> KDW I, no. 511.

<sup>18</sup> Münch, p. 187.

toward the gates converged into curves not far away from them ... and therefore the market and the main traffic route, marked by the two opposite pairs of streets, became oval-shaped.<sup>19</sup>

The regularity of the layout of the chartered town, though enclosed within the oval line of the *intra muros* urban area and additionally limited by the arms of the Prosna, is indicative of a systematic (though not necessarily one-time) measurement of the locality. This is attested, at least, by the shape of all the three market-square blocks: two of them (north-western and south-eastern) echoing the market's rectangle and two (south-western and north-eastern) being almost square-shaped, as well as that of at least three corner land plots with identical width module – i.e. fifty thirteenth-century feet, 1 foot = 0.313 m. Yet, this latter data is preliminary and calls for deeper investigation, including measurement, in feet and ells, of the market square and the market blocks (possibly, using land-survey grids, scale 1:1,000). The existing studies specify the present-day size, in metres: namely, 91 x 113 m for the market, 74 x 74 m – the shorter market sides, 48–50 x 70–75 m – the longer market sides.<sup>20</sup> As noted by M. Młynarska, two ducal documents, dated 1289 and 1291, refer to the development of the market square itself (*circulum fori*) at that time.<sup>21</sup> The 1289 deed by Przemysław II put all the stalls (*omnes apothecas institorias*) inside the market space, which could be built there within (save for the sixth one, to be owned by the vogt), into use by the town.<sup>22</sup> By means of the 1291 deed, the duke granted to the town the already functioning cloth-hall or cloth stalls (the document uses the phrase *venditorii, ubi panni venduntur* alternately with *camerae*) he had hitherto owned, together with all the related income.<sup>23</sup> It was most probably at that time that a drainage channel was dug through the market, referred to in a 1303 document as ‘*fluvium qui currit per medium forum*’.<sup>24</sup> Not only did this facility improve the commercial and stall-related activities in the Kalisz market but also became – along its length, from the market into outside the city – an important section of the border between the two parishes, as drawn in that particular deed. The channel drained off excessive water from the market, starting, in all probability, at the outlet (adjacent to the market) of Toruńska Street, as the parish's border entered the city area with this street. Then, the canal might have been set diagonally across the market, and then went along the street identified herein as the *platea pecorum* (see below), up to the Nad Kanałem (Above the Channel) Gate.<sup>25</sup> No record has been found so far that would confirm that the channel still functioned in the sixteenth century; therefore, it is not plotted on our plan, though the modern-time name of the gate<sup>26</sup> has at least preserved the memory of that watercourse.

In reconstructing the map of Kalisz for the middle of the sixteenth century, it has to be borne in mind that the time was one of a great reconstruction after the entire city area *intra muros* was consumed by fire that broke out on 20 July 1537. The occurrence was described by the councillors in the opening page of the surviving town court book of Kalisz: ‘*civitas ipsa tota, templa omnia, arx, pretorium, torres et domus omnes ad fundum cremate sunt*’.<sup>27</sup>

Before the conflagration, Kalisz was a major urban centre in Greater Poland, second only to Poznań. A 1520 capitation register mentions Kalisz as the major *secundi ordinis* centre, ranked higher than Kościan and Wschowa.<sup>28</sup> The Kalisz town court books from the late 1530s/early 1540s abound

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<sup>19</sup> T. Lalik, *Miasto – układ przestrzenny*, [in:] *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski*, vol. 1, ed. A. Mączak, Warsaw 1981, p. 538. (We are indebted to Henryk Rutkowski for pointing T. Lalik's view to us.)

<sup>20</sup> J. Tomala, *Miasto lokacyjne w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Kalisz 2004, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, p. 119.

<sup>22</sup> KDW II, no. 640.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 665.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 876. That is was an artificial canal, rather than an arm of the Prosna, as it had hitherto been believed, see in U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę*, p. 218.

<sup>25</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 163.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>27</sup> AmK, I/6, 1 (1537). Leaving the Kalisz fires for a separate discussion, it is worth noting that Kalisz was on fire also in 1458; see T. Jurek, *Żydzi w późnośredniowiecznym Kaliszu*, “Rocznik Kaliski”, vol. 24, 1992/1993, p. 44 and footnote 141 on p. 53 (letters burnt in that fire), and a reference source to Kalisz Gr. 26, f. 39v. As we can read in that book: “f. 5 ante f. Penthecosten 1461 (21.05.1461) veniens Slawa Cawyanowa Judea cum Jacobo filio suo legitimo indiviso in Calisch literas et Jura que habuerunt super villam Chelstowo que debuerunt restituere nobili Stachna de ibidem recognoverunt quia eadem iura et munimenta tempore quo civitas Calisch per ignem fuit consumpta. Ideo omnes literas et munimenta seu Jura si que habuerunt illa mortifica(n)t et in nichilum redigus super quo ipsa Stachna adiudicatum solvit”.

<sup>28</sup> VC, vol. 1, part 1, 361.

with mentions of a *aree* – – *pro domo edificanda*, testifying to an animated construction activity that followed the fire. As we can learn from the period's notes, the movement was initiated by the town council of Kalisz, which assigned land allotments owned by it (*aree civiles*) to the burghers, temporarily exempting them from the rent, with the obligation to have them developed within one to three years.<sup>29</sup> In case of failure to meet the deadline, the council would take the plot away and transfer it to someone else. This procedure enforced fast rebuilding of the town. Apart from founding a new house on their burnt parcels, the burghers were obligated to build underground rainwater canals. The almost unanimous warrants of the municipal authorities, those canals were used to provide water for fire-protection purposes.<sup>30</sup>

As determined by Stanisław Herbst, Kalisz was reconstructed after the fire still in a Gothic style; Renaissance-oriented alterations in its architecture were only made by the Italian builders who arrived in Kalisz together with the Jesuits.<sup>31</sup> Although the year 1537 saw the burning down of the city's buildings and houses, arguably the efficient organisation of destruction removal has preserved the mediaeval form of the chartered *intra muros* town, with its limits, road network, and development blocks, as identifiable in the much later maps, beginning with that by Politalski-Wolle. In the opinion of Teresa Zarębska, 'laid out on an isle area, this high mediaeval town [i.e. Kalisz] ranks among the most excellent specimens of Polis town-planning of that era'.<sup>32</sup>

It is the considerably intensified development of empty parcels after the 1537 fire that caused the amassment of data on *intra muros*-Kalisz's streets, specified in the city's register of 1537–47.

There is the market with the town hall and stalls, in the first place. Attested since 1372, the town hall of Kalisz<sup>33</sup> very soon recovered after the fire of 20 July 1537. The earliest surviving town court book covering the first transaction, dated 31 August, the town hall is referred to as the site of such transactions (*actum in pretorio Calisiensi*). This may attest to its expeditious restoration, at least to the condition enabling it to host sessions of the town council at full strength, in presence of the starost.<sup>34</sup> Andrzej Nowak and Władysław Rusiński,<sup>35</sup> drawing on the findings of Kazimierz Stefański,<sup>36</sup> also state that the town hall was rebuilt very quickly, giving as a proof merely the fixing in 1542 of a new clock on the town-hall tower; yet, this fact might have only attested to the completion of the tower itself before the clock was fixed. The town hall building was in fact restored a few weeks after the fire and functioned, probably, until redeveloped in the early seventeenth century when a Renaissance attic was added and the tower crowned with a cupola.<sup>37</sup>

The reconstruction and (re)arrangement of the market area, which holds true as well for the city's other parts, continued for two years after the fire, as is described (for example) in the 1539 town court book, which tells us that brick houses and brick stalls were rebuilt at that time.<sup>38</sup> Kazimierz Stefański notes that it was not before 1549 that the municipality concluded its final (re)construction contract with a certain Jan, a mason from Poznań, who had been hired by the city authorities as a reconstruction worker right after the fire.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> AmK, I/6, 17–22, 25.

<sup>30</sup> U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę*, p. 219.

<sup>31</sup> S. Herbst, *Kalisz renesansowy*, [in:] *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 3, ed. A. Gieysztor, Kalisz 1962, p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> T. Zarębska, *Znaczenie odbudowy Kalisza po zniszczeniach z 1537 r. dla rozwoju urbanistyki polskiej*, "Rocznik Kaliski", vol. 24, 1992/1993, p. 129.

<sup>33</sup> KDW XI, no. 1752. A. Wędzki, *Kalisz w okresie późnego średniowiecza (XIV–XV w.)*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 80, says that the town hall was mentioned since 1426, and quotes reference numbers of five documents collected KDW V. To be precise, the 1426 mention of the town hall is in KDW V, no. 456; also, cf. Kalisz Gr. 26, f. 38, 1461 – a *vadium super Piwonice* submitted at the town hall, under custody of the councillors.

<sup>34</sup> AmK, I/6, 2–3. The site appears in those transactions also as the *locus pretoralis* – as on p. 45 and elsewhere.

<sup>35</sup> A. Nowak, W. Rusiński, *Rozwój przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta. Stosunki sanitarne i zdrowotne*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 145.

<sup>36</sup> K. Stefański, *Mieszczanstwo kaliskie w XVI wieku*, Kalisz 1933, pp. 40–41.

<sup>37</sup> S. Herbst, *Kalisz renesansowy*, p. 100.

<sup>38</sup> AmK, I/6, 65 (1539): permit for the burgomaster to have his parcel (owned by him before the fire as well) developed. Given the lack of written or archaeological sources, we cannot tell the extent to which the fifteenth-century Kalisz market was surrounded with brick houses forming the frontages. To date, a mention on one of them – possessed by Mikołaj, and Old-Town miller – dated 3 February 1463, has been found in a town court book.

<sup>39</sup> K. Stefański, *Mieszczanstwo kaliskie*, p. 40.

Shortly after the fire, the city's two main streets connecting the market with the two main gates, were mentioned in a town court book. The names of these arteries, identical with those of the city's two main gates, suggest that these very two streets formed the intra-town section of the Wrocław–Toruń transport and commercial route. The street Toruńska (*platea Thorunensis*), linking the market with the Toruńska Gate, was mentioned as of 5 September 1537;<sup>40</sup> it was also named 'Długa (Long) or Toruńska' (*platea Longa seu Thorunensis*).<sup>41</sup> The street named Wrocławska (*platea Wratislaviensis*) was mentioned on 28 September 1537<sup>42</sup> and, subsequently, in 1538<sup>43</sup> and 1545, as reaching the city wall and a street by that wall.<sup>44</sup> The first of those references informs on a land plot by the street, adjacent to the rear area of another plot whose front faced the street Mnichów (*platea Monachorum*). This piece of information has enabled us to localise this latter street as forming a curve from the market to the Wrocławska Gate (in the Politalski-Wolle plan, the street is named św. Stanisława (St. Stanislaus)), thus acting as an alternative artery for Wrocławska St., and being part of the city's axial layout.<sup>45</sup> The traffic line further extended toward the Toruńska Gate along Najświętszej Marii Panny (Blessed Virgin Mary) Street (attested, *inter alia*, as of 1440<sup>46</sup>), by which the Blessed Virgin Mary church stood since the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>47</sup> which in light of the aforementioned document from 1303 was the major temple in the chartered town of Kalisz.<sup>48</sup> Ever since, it moreover became the parish church for the north-eastern part of the town and its adjacent areas.<sup>49</sup> Around the middle of the fourteenth century, Archbishop Jarosław Bogoria Skotnicki ordered that an archiepiscopal palace be built near the Collegiate church of Blessed Virgin Mary. Tadeusz Poklewski-Kozieł and Maria Żemigala quote a 1583 description of the palace: this two-storey edifice had, in its 'east-facing gable', a passageway 'to the Collegiate-Church's loft' (i.e., from the upper storey). 'All ramshackle' at that time, it was given to the Jesuits who had arrived in the city as their 'abode'.<sup>50</sup>

The other streets leading out of the market were six routes perpendicular to the city's main axis and to the four arteries described above. In the time concerned, all the six streets reached the city walls line. Sixteenth-century names have been attached to some of those six streets based on the literature and our own archive search.

<sup>40</sup> AmK, I/6, 3; also, see T. Jurek, *Żydzi*, p. 30 and footnote 16, 49, with a reference to AmK, I/53, 108; also, see AmK, I/6, 20.

<sup>41</sup> AmK, I/6, 4–5, 21. The two simultaneously appearing names have enabled to identify Długa St. (*platea Longa*), mentioned as of 1423 and 1443; cf. AGAD, dok. perg. nos. 3449 & 6636 [*non vidi*]; cf. J. Senkowski, I. Sułkowska, *Archiwum dokumentowe miasta Kalisza*, no. 55, p. 317.

<sup>42</sup> AmK, I/6, 5.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, 44.

<sup>44</sup> AmK, I/54, 367: "domum suam sittam in platea Vratislaviensi penes murum civilem ex una et plateam ex altera".

<sup>45</sup> It can be added that the three streets in question (apart from the market and the other four streets – cf. below) are noted in the document issued by Wojciech, Archbishop of Gniezno, dated 1429: KDW V, no. 497. The name '*platea Monachorum*' also appears in a 1470 municipal register – as two houses in that street were owned by the Castellan of Wieluń; see Kalisz Gr. 27, f. 112. The street is mentioned in the city's book since 1538; AmK, I/6, 13.

<sup>46</sup> AGAD, dok. perg. no. 3493.

<sup>47</sup> M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, p. 119.

<sup>48</sup> This is how the church is described, based on a minute primary-source analysis, by I. Skierska, *Konflikty międzyparafialne w późnośredniowiecznym Kaliszu*, RH, vol. 70, 2004, p. 145–166. The annex contains a printed copy of the 1303 document.

<sup>49</sup> The date the church was set up and had the functions of its namesake Old-Town temple transferred thereto is subject to a noteworthy debate initiated by M. Żemigala (earlier supported by T. Poklewski-Kozieł). Based on a penetrating analysis of the archaeological material and of the 1303 document, she believes that the latter refers to the Blessed Virgin Mary church in the Old Town and that the transferral took place "after 1342, rather than before 1303", given the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the brick church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chartered town, on initiative of Archbishop Jarosław Bogoria Skotnicki; cf. M. Żemigala, *Cegła w budownictwie wielkopolskim w średniowieczu*, Łódź 2008, pp. 63–65, and (recently, as a follow-up) M. Młynarska, *W sprawie kościoła Panny Marii w Kaliszu*, pp. 208–209 (changing her previous view). I personally [U.Sowina] opt here for the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, i.e. just before or in 1303 – this being based on analysis of the 1303 document, particularly its two fragments: on the transferral of the temple, following the believers, from the Old Town area to the chartered town (I. Skierska, *Konflikty międzyparafialne*, p. 153, shares this view), and on the processions to go from St. Nicholas's church to the Blessed Virgin Mary's, as mandated by the archbishop, 'at the Great Litany' (25 April) and on the Cross-Days, i.e. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before the moveable feast of the Ascension, forty days after the Easter (cf. *ibidem*, 146). A short procession distance within the chartered town seems easier to cover in springtime than the one of over 1 kilometre, from St. Nicholas's to the Old-Town Blessed Virgin Mary's church, though the wetland by the Proсна.

<sup>50</sup> T. Poklewski-Kozieł, M. Żemigala, *Przestrzeń "niemiejska" w czternastowiecznym Kaliszu w oczach archeologa*, [in:] *Civitas et villa. Miasto i wieś średniowiecznej Europy Środkowej*, ed. C. Buško i in., Wrocław–Prahá 2002, p. 162.

Out of the market's south-western corner, Żydowska (Jewish) Street stretched, of which the earliest mention, dated 1542, has been found by Tomasz Jurek in the earliest preserved town court book.<sup>51</sup> Another mention comes from 1543, part of a description of the terms of extension of a water-supply canal from the public water-supply cistern at the market into the Jewish district.<sup>52</sup> According to Jurek, Kalisz might have been home to the earliest attested group of Jews within Poland.<sup>53</sup>

The actual number of Jews residing in Kalisz in the mid-sixteenth century is unknown. An extant breakdown of the amounts due yet unpaid (so-called *retentas*) in the 1552 extraordinary collection from Kalisz district names nineteen persons who have paid the overdue tax.<sup>54</sup> It is not certain, though, whether the names were those of Jews dwelling in Kalisz itself, as some of them might have been from other urban centres in the county.<sup>55</sup> Twelve men (less the 'old' and widows) multiplied by nine or ten residents (the predictor adopted in the studies on Warsaw, for instance) per Jewish household would make 108–120 persons; using the predictor proposed by Zenon Guldon (twenty persons per house) makes 240. None of these figures contains the indigent (*pauperes*), as such individuals were customarily exempted from paying and therefore now elude historical statistics.<sup>56</sup> Consequently, the list from 1552 could not serve as the basis for calculating the indicative population of Jews dwelling in Kalisz in the period concerned.<sup>57</sup> The demographic estimates have been based on a 1579 tax register which recorded the payment of head tax (*pogłównie*) at 130 florins (3,300 *grosz*) from a total of 170 persons of the 'Mosaic faith', of which forty were described as *pauperes*.<sup>58</sup> As per the tax registers from 1563, the Jewish community paid 3,000 *grosz* and a year later, 3,300 *grosz*, which perhaps attests to an increased Jewish population of Kalisz.<sup>59</sup> Based on the data on the Jewish people and the amount paid by them in 1579, we can estimate, by analogy, in the mid-sixteenth century Kalisz might have been populated by a hundred residents of the Jewish religion, including the poor, who amounted to approximately 25% of the community. It is worthy of noting that according to the visitation record dated 1564, there were eighteen Jewish houses at that time in Kalisz and a synagogue (school);<sup>60</sup> this would mean that the Jewish community in question was one of the smallest average-sized Jewish colonies in the Crown (Kingdom of Poland) at that time.<sup>61</sup> To compare, a definitely larger community within the Voivodeship of Kalisz was the community of Gniezno, with its twenty-two houses occupied by Jews only, plus five other 'hired at Christians'.<sup>62</sup> The communities comparable as to size were, arguably, those of Międzyrzecz, Skwierzyna, and Śrem (eighteen, seventeen, and eighteen houses, respectively).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>51</sup> T. Jurek, *Żydzi*, footnote 11, p. 49, with a reference source to AmK, I/6, 137 (f. 69 in the old pagination).

<sup>52</sup> AmK, I/6, 173. For more on this topic, see U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie w mieście późnośredniowiecznym i wczesnonożytynym. Ziemia polskie z Europą w tle*, Warsaw 2009, p. 332.

<sup>53</sup> T. Jurek, *Żydzi*, p. 29; cf. H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 116–142.

<sup>54</sup> Those enumerated included: Haskiel, Salomon, Józef Koźmin (Kozmyn), Jachny, Michał, Lewek (Lyewek), Izaak the elder, Daniel Sieradzki (Sziraczky), Abraham the elder, Izaak Talha, Józef the rope-maker, Izaak, son-in-law of Michał, Bieniasz, son-in-law of Bieniasz, Izaak, brother of the elder Izaak, and Mojżesz the old, of Nakło. Two widows, Aaron's and Szmaj's, complemented the list; ASK I 12, f. 512v.

<sup>55</sup> Iwanowice was the only locality in Kalisz County which before the mid-sixteenth century, might have been home to Jews; see J. Suproniuk, 'Jews in Greater Poland's towns', [in:] AHP Greater Poland, pp. 155, 165, in this edition III.2.2d.4. The fact that Daniel Sieradzki is also known from the records in the earliest municipal register, might suggest that those Jews actually came from Kalisz; U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie*, p. 332.

<sup>56</sup> H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 254 and 263.

<sup>57</sup> The idea to adopt purely theoretical figures for the predictor 'number of residents per house(hold)' has been quit, since – as demonstrated by M. Wiczerski's (unpublished) studies, in the literature covering the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries' period, the said predictor oscillated between eleven up to one-hundred individuals per house. For more on the relevant predictors, see M. Wiczerski (Poznań), *Demograficzne aspekty osadnictwa żydowskiego w Polsce w XVI i połowie XVII w.*, an unpublished master thesis, kept at Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute [ŻIH], 24–36, esp. Tab. 6 ('Population density per Jewish house, in historians' opinion') and Tab. 9 ('The residential relations in the Jewish district of Poznań, 1619'). We owe the information on this dissertation to Jarosław Suproniuk, MA.

<sup>58</sup> RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 692: "a 130 Iudeis, defalcando 40 pauperes qui a solutione eiusmodi sunt exempti fl. 130".

<sup>59</sup> RPWK, kls, 1563, no. 85; RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 502. In the 1560s, Jews were obligated to pay "each a gold coin, from every head"; VC, vol. 2, fasc. 1, 149.

<sup>60</sup> Inw. Żydów, 272.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 254, 266.

<sup>62</sup> See Inw. Żydów, 272.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, 271–2.

Due to scarcity of precise sociotopographic studies of Kalisz, it is not known what real space in the town's area, within the individual parcels, was occupied by Jews. This is precisely why we have resolved not to mark on our map, by means of singling out, the Jewish district and school. The localisation of the synagogue (as plotted) is based, in turn, on the Politalski-Wolle plan.

The extension of Żydowska St. from the market's south-eastern corner to the city walls was a street identified during our research as *platea pec(c)orum*, that is, Bydlęca (Bovine) St., mentioned a century earlier, in 1442, in one of the castle court books.<sup>64</sup> In the oldest town court book, it is noted, e.g., as of 1539 and then 1540 – the date a water-supply facility was extended to it, and, 1543 – more burghers gradually getting connected to the water-supply system.<sup>65</sup> As it went out of the market, it was one of Kalisz's main streets, at times mistakenly named Szkocka (Scottish) (before the Scots arrived), instead of Skotska.<sup>66</sup> It was this route that the canal draining water from the market went through, up to the Nad Kanałem Gate, in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century. Hence, in 1303, the street functioned as the border between the two parishes of Kalisz. As it seems, the entire development block between this street and the above-identified Mníchów St. was occupied by the monastery of (with St. Stanislaus's church) the Franciscan friars who had arrived in Kalisz at the time of its foundation under the German/Środa Law.<sup>67</sup>

Each of the two subsequent parallel streets crossed halfway through the north-western and south-eastern development block adjacent to the market, respectively. The former was Piskorzewska St., leading to the namesake gate, beyond which the area of Piskorzewie stretched.<sup>68</sup> The street is mentioned in the aforementioned Gniezno Archbishop's document dated 1429,<sup>69</sup> and in the files of the Lands Tribunal of Kalisz – in 1462, when Iwan and Maciej of Czerminek (*de Czermyno*) are reported to have yielded to Iwan of Golina, for 30 marks, a plot of land behind the malt-house of Jan Borkowski and Tomasz Nadolny in *platea Pyskorzeviensi*.<sup>70</sup> The street was mentioned in the city's register since 1538.<sup>71</sup> A house (unlocalised) in this street was bought in 1595 by Jews.<sup>72</sup> The south-eastern block of the Kalisz market was cut across by Piekarska (Bakers') Street (*platea pistorum*), a development plot which was provided by the councillors in 1538.<sup>73</sup> Among the most interesting mentions of this street detected in Kalisz town court books is the one dated 1541, stating that one of Kalisz maltsters yielded a half of his malt land-plot to another maltster. The plot, measured out long before, was located in Piekarska St., between the 'public road' (*via publica*) and a malt-house (*mielcuch*) owned by a certain Trzęsigłówa.<sup>74</sup> Apparently, there was a public road going along the south-eastern frontage of the market, being a section (distinct by its name) of one of the main arteries in Kalisz, connecting the streets Mníchów and Najświętszej Marii Panny, and thus forming part of the Wrocław–Toruń route which cut through the city. It is worth reminding that an analogous situation was found in Sieradz for the 1530s' decade which has allowed for a more precise measurement of the local market.<sup>75</sup> As for Piekarska St., along its section adjacent to the wall another malt plot has been detected, this time belonging to a cloth-cutter who happened to

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<sup>64</sup> Kalisz Gr 20, f. 85: the *honorabilis Martinus Swemicz de Rosozicza*, Notary to the King, had his house there (note found by Tomasz Jurek and shared with U. Sowina, who hereby acknowledges this).

<sup>65</sup> AmK, I/6, 64 (1539 r.), 91 (1540) and 177 (1543).

<sup>66</sup> *Słownik staropolski* [a dictionary of Old Polish], vol. 8, ed. S. Urbańczyk, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1977–1981, p. 248: 'horned cattle, animals, *pecudes, animalia*'; cf., further on, with the entries *skotnia, skotnica, skotnik, skotny*. *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej*, vol. 7, Cracow 1993, cols. 217–18: *pecus, peccus -oris* – 'beast, domestic animal, usually a large and horned one (such as cow or ox)', (a. 1410) "*peccora vulgariter scotha ...*", (a. 1378) "*valva pecorum*" – the Bydlna Gate in Cracow ..., "*via pecorum alias Skotnica ...*" – "common road to the pasture ...". A. Wędzki (*Kalisz gotycki*, p. 78) mentions, among the late mediaeval streets of Kalisz, "the street Bydlęca [Bovine] or Sprzedawców Bydła [Cattle Sellers]", also named "Skoczka" (without specifying its location, though).

<sup>67</sup> M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, p. 117.

<sup>68</sup> AmK, I/54, 381, 1545: "*hortum sittum in piskarzevo ante Civitatem Calisch*".

<sup>69</sup> KDW V, no. 497.

<sup>70</sup> Kalisz Ziem. 12, f. 65.

<sup>71</sup> AmK, I/6, 18, 24.

<sup>72</sup> T. Jurek, *Żydzi*, p. 30 and footnote 16 on p. 49.

<sup>73</sup> AmK, I/6, 32.

<sup>74</sup> AmK, I/54, 4 (1541).

<sup>75</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz. Układ przestrzenny i społeczeństwo miasta w XV–XVI w.*, Warszawa–Sieradz 1991, p. 26 – the *via publica* along one of the market's frontages formed a section of the Poznań–Cracow (Great Poland–Lesser Poland) route.

be the Vogt of Kalisz; the plot was located close to the city stable and the city wall.<sup>76</sup> From the north-western corner of the market, toward the parish church of St. Nicholas's,<sup>77</sup> a so-named street went, attested (*inter alia*) in 1545.<sup>78</sup> As per the Politalski-Wolle plan, a street called Łaziebna led out of the north-eastern corner of the market. The tradition of this name dates back to at least 1598, the year in which a document by King Sigismund III Vasa (Zygmunt III Waza) mentions a street 'commonly named Łaziebna', ending with a city gate<sup>79</sup> (more to be said below). The name suggests that baths functioned nearby, most probably by the river, within the *extra muros* space.<sup>80</sup>

Among the identified side streets, let us point to Grodzka,<sup>81</sup> a street that starts at the foot of the castle and runs along one of its sides and then by St. Nicholas's church, most probably up to Piskorzewska St. In the aforementioned town court book, Grodzka (Castle) St. is mentioned in 1537<sup>82</sup> and two years later as *platea Castrensis*.<sup>83</sup> The latter mention refers to a burgher's house: 'in platea Castrensi penes plateam transversalem Latere ad domum Joannis Kupiecz ['merchant'], civis Calisiensis'. This persuades us to identify the place with the crossing of Grodzka St. and its perpendicular street, called Przekczna,<sup>84</sup> reaching Toruńska St. The name *platea Castri* had appeared in the *Metrica Regni Poloniae* as a house located on this street was sold in 1472, for 40 marks, to the Castellan of Kalisz.<sup>85</sup> The details about Grodzka St. gathered so far show the area's dual sociotopographic character. Closer to the castle, the local nobility associated with the castle owned their houses, the more remote houses being owned by burghers.<sup>86</sup> Around the castle, its appurtenant area stretched, whose size has not been determined yet. As of 1503, this area remained at least partly undeveloped, and could still be split into plots (*aree*). One testifying example is the king's lifetime donation of one such plot 'in civitate Calisiensi, in spatio castrensi immediate sub castro iacentem' for a Gniezno canon.<sup>87</sup> Another side street, being a gate street, most probably diverging from Most Blessed Virgin Mary St. and reaching the eastern gate (unnamed<sup>88</sup>), was Furteczna<sup>89</sup>/Forteczna<sup>90</sup> (Wicket-Gate) St. (*platea fortens[is] [sic]*), which after the 1537 fire was another area busy with construction.<sup>91</sup> Earlier on, in 1519, the street was mentioned in the records of the Kalisz consistory as *platea ffurthska/fforthska (furtska/fortska)*.<sup>92</sup> The street disappeared in the late sixteenth century as the Jesuit convent buildings were

<sup>76</sup> AmK, I/54, 3 (1541).

<sup>77</sup> As per the 1303 document, St. Nicholas's church – one of the two parish churches of Kalisz ever since – was earlier a filial church to the Blessed Virgin Mary's church in (still then) the Old Town. According to the aforementioned analysis by I. Skierska (*Konflikty międzyparafialne*, 147 f.) after 1303 it became inferior in importance and competencies to the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. As to the date of its construction, it might have been older than the latter the in-city Blessed Virgin Mary's church; cf., *inter alia*, M. Żemigąła, *Cegła w budownictwie*, pp. 40–8.

<sup>78</sup> AmK, I/54, 369; earlier on, e.g. in 1429; KDW V, no. 497.

<sup>79</sup> T. Poklewski-Kozieł and M. Żemigąła, *Przestrzeń "niemiejska"*, p. 162.

<sup>80</sup> The city baths is attested as of 1526, the date the city councillors sold the facility to Stanisław, a bath attendant; AGAD, dok. perg. no. 3737.

<sup>81</sup> Named 'Przygrodzka' in Politalski-Wolle's plan.

<sup>82</sup> AmK, I/6, 12 (1537): "Nos consules Civitatis Calisiensis -- dedimus et concessimus aream Civilem ab antique desolatam in platea castrensi sitam penes aream Marcinowa Crawczowa ex una et aream Gregory fabri parte ex altera -- honesto Laurencio sutori civi Calisiensi et suis legitimis successoribus".

<sup>83</sup> AmK, I/6, 63.

<sup>84</sup> Old Polish for 'transversal'; *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* [a dictionary of sixteenth-century Polish], vol. 31, ed. by M.R. Mayenowa, Warsaw 2003, p. 156.

<sup>85</sup> MRPS I, no. 904 (MK 12, f. 105): "Rex Philippum Suchorzewsky Bartholomaeo de Iwanowicze, castellano Calisiensi, domum in Calis, in platea Castri sitam, pro 40 marcis vendidisse testificatur".

<sup>86</sup> Let us add at this point that in the city itself there was a considerable proportion of houses belonging to noblemen. Due to scarcity of municipal registers for the mediaeval period, a number of transactions in the city's real properties were entered in the so-called *starosta*'s resignation registers. A seventeenth-century list of noble-owned houses in Kalisz has moreover been found in AP Poznań; see AP Poznań, Tabele Kalisz 12, f. 244–246 ("Sors a domibus nobilium in Kalisz existentibus").

<sup>87</sup> MRPS III, no. 782, 50; MK 20, f. 63.

<sup>88</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 163.

<sup>89</sup> As in, for instance, A. Wędzki, *Kalisz gotycki*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 100.

<sup>90</sup> The name herein proposed is close to 'Fórtczana' St., used for the same street by J. Widawski, *Miejskie mury obronne*, p. 163.

<sup>91</sup> AmK, I/6, 6, 8, 15, 18.

<sup>92</sup> ADWł, Akta Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej, Konsystorz Kaliski 11, f. 24r–24v. (The mention has been detected and shared with us by A. Borek, MA, for which we owe him gratitude.)

erected.<sup>93</sup> Its disappearance, and the topographic changes in this part of the city related to the settlement of the Jesuits), are referred to in a passage of King Sigismund III Vasa's document from 1598, kept at a Jesuit archive, as published (in the Latin original and a Polish translation) by T. Poklewski-Kozieliński and M. Żemigala: 'so that, in lieu of this street, an alleyway be retained between the church and the brick-house of Mrs. Zaremba, sixty ells wide, with no need for the gate to which such a street is to be conducted, whereas the other city gate, facing the south, at the closest distance to the college from the street commonly called Łaziebna, stands open'.<sup>94</sup>

Not much is known, for the time being, about the topography of the area adjacent of the sixteenth-century city's walls. The town court books and the *Metrica Regni Poloniae* comprise surviving valuable mentions of long-established malt plots related to beer production, in at least some parts of that area. The malt-house (*mielcuch*), at which the first stage of the production was performed – the malt grain, the basic ingredient in the process, was prepared there<sup>95</sup> – was the most important device on each such plot. Another mention, dating to 1539, has enabled us to situate at least three malt-houses (including one belonging to the burgomaster) opposite the entrance to the parish church of St. Nicholas,<sup>96</sup> that is, at the end of the street that linked the market to St. Nicholas's church. Let us point out that the rear sides of the plots neighboured along that street with the rear areas of the plots along Piskorzewska St., at which a malt-house operated in 1462 (as aforementioned). Malt-houses – or, in a broader take, 'malt allotments', were assembled not only in that area adjacent to the wall. The year 1539 saw the sale, for 5 marks of such a plot, whose rear side faced the Gniezno archbishop's palace, beside the road going to the city wall, in the neighbourhood of city allotments; the purchaser was Archbishop Jan.<sup>97</sup> Somewhat further on, near the city stable, between the outlets, adjacent to the wall, of the streets Furteczna/Forteczna (Fortska/Furtska)<sup>98</sup> and Piekarska,<sup>99</sup> two other malt plots were situated, referred to in 1538 as the neighbourhood area of the city stable.<sup>100</sup> In 1550, another malt allotment – located at the wall's foot, close to the baths – was collected due to fire peril, and transferred for use of the municipality.<sup>101</sup> Finally, at least two mutually adjacent malt-houses were located by the city wall, toward the Franciscan monastery (*versus Monachos Santi Stanislai*). So, malt-houses stretched along the city walls, starting at the rear area of the archbishop's palace and ending at the buildings owned by the Franciscans; some of those along Piekarska St. would reach the market.

The location of Kołodziejska Street<sup>102</sup> has not been determined; it is known that in the sixteenth century Jews purchased houses situated on that street.<sup>103</sup> The same is true for the streets Szczudłowska<sup>104</sup> or Rybacka, the latter mentioned in 1479,<sup>105</sup> and for a 'toward the shepherd' street.<sup>106</sup> One of the Kalisz castle registers names twice in 1499 the house called Rycerzewski (Riczerzewski), with the plot in Kalisz,

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<sup>93</sup> A. Wędzki, *Kalisz gotycki*, p. 100. The area occupied in the later period by the Jesuit church and convent is marked on the reconstruction map as no. 9 and ringed black.

<sup>94</sup> T. Poklewski-Kozieliński and M. Żemigala, *Przestrzeń "niemiejska"*, p. 162.

<sup>95</sup> For more on the construction and functions of malt-houses [*mielcuch*s], the facilities of importance in the economic and social space of towns, cf. A. Klonder, *Browarnictwo w Prusach Królewskich (2 poł. XVI–XVIII w.)*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1983, p. 46–54; M. Chorowska, M. Karst, C. Lasota, *Organizacja przestrzenna produkcji i sprzedaży piwa w średniowiecznej Świdnicy*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona", vol. 7, 1998, p. 157–180; U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie*, p. 164–169.

<sup>96</sup> AmK, I/6, 64: "Martinus debet accipere braseatorium cum tota suppellectili – – sit tam ex opposito hostis templi Sancti Nicolai penes Braseatorium famati domini Martini protunc proconsulis Calisien. ex una et Pauli Erazmi parte ex altera".

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, 71.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, 8 (1537).

<sup>99</sup> AmK, I/54, 3.

<sup>100</sup> AmK, I/6, 29.

<sup>101</sup> MRPS V, no. 5067 (MK 79, f. 293–293v): "Donatio areae brasealis sub moenis civitatis Calissiensis in regione balnei sitae Joannis Malgowsky civis Calissiensis propter periculum ignis ex aedificiis eius universae civitati irrogatum et illatum ad dispositionem regiam devolutae civibus Calissiensibus pro usu civitatis".

<sup>102</sup> AmK, I/6, 16, 17, 19 (1538).

<sup>103</sup> T. Jurek, *Żydzi*, p. 31 and footnote 16, quoting 1579 after: AmK, I/80 (no page number). The author presumes that the street was adjacent to the Jewish district. Let us add that a Jew (*perfidus Judeus*; unnamed) has already appeared in AmK, I/6, 19, as of 1538, as a proprietor of one of the houses in that street.

<sup>104</sup> Both streets are mentioned in the 1429 entry (KDW V, no. 497): the former as the *platea currificum*, i.e. Stelmachów [Cartmakers'] St., cartmakers sometimes identified with wheelwrights (*rotifici*); the latter, as the *platea Szczudłowska*.

<sup>105</sup> The *generosus* Dersław Kwiatkowski, Cup-bearer of Kalisz, sells the ground by the Kalisz wall near Rybacka St. for 100 *grzywns* the nob.[leman] Stanisław Sobotski; TD, 8721 (no. 9, gr. 1386), year 1479.

<sup>106</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 58 (1499).

at the street going ‘toward the shepherd’, situated between the houses of the cloth-maker Nyezdrowko and the city shepherd. The house, once belonging, ‘by the Polish Law’, to the *generosus* Jan Rycerz, Castellan of Wieluń, was pawned for 10 Hungarian golden florins by Piotr Jarapka, a nobleman, to the *generosus* Szymon Złotkowski, Sword-bearer and Burgrave of Kalisz, for full use by Szymon until the borrowed capital of the said 10 florins be paid off.<sup>107</sup>

The defensive fortifications, including the Kalisz castle, are exhaustively described in the literature – most minutely by Jarosław Widawski<sup>108</sup> and then Andrzej Wędzki.<sup>109</sup> Reliable findings regarding the castle in the Middle Ages are described by Tadeusz Poklewski-Koziół.<sup>110</sup> The castle’s history and the structure has moreover been covered, *inter alia*, by Marta Młynarska<sup>111</sup> and Janusz Tomala.<sup>112</sup> For our present purpose, it has to be reminded that the fourteenth-century brick structure of the castle probably replaced the burg of Duke Henry the Bearded (Henryk Brodaty) from the preceding century.<sup>113</sup> The castle in its fourteenth-century form became an element of the defensive system of the chartered town of Kalisz, together with the city ramparts built in the same century, albeit Poklewski-Koziół pointed to the overly residence-oriented, rather than defensive function of the castle.<sup>114</sup> Although destroyed by the 1537 fire, the castle’s defensive location was still emphasised in the visitation record of 1564–5: ‘This castle stands at the corner of the town, by the Toruńska Gate, together with the city in a good and defensive place, by the River Przosna, which on both sides of the town and the castle pours [out] broadly’.<sup>115</sup> In fact, only a small part of the castle was raised from ruins at that time, most of it remaining a site of conflagration.<sup>116</sup>

The authors concordantly admit that the ramparts of Kalisz<sup>117</sup> were erected in the fourteenth century, under King Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz III Wielki), and then extended and redeveloped in the time of Władysław II Jagiełło, Casimir IV Jagiellon (Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk), and Sigismund I the Old (Zygmunt I Stary). For the purpose of this study, the ramparts/city walls of Kalisz have been drawn based on the Politalski-Wolle plan.

With regards to the city’s gates, the main two are best perceptible in the records. The northern gate is referred to in the literature as Toruńska, as the far-reaching route toward Toruń went through it from the town. First mentioned in a written record in 1283,<sup>118</sup> and then, for example, in 1471, the Toruńska Gate is each time regarded as a cardinal point for the location of the land belonging to the Holy Spirit hospital and one of the city’s royal mills, but in neither of the two cases is its name mentioned. In 1471, it was merely remarked that the structure was situated ‘sub castro Calisiensi ante walwam eundo in Thynyec’.<sup>119</sup> True, it was called ‘Tyniecka’ earlier on as well, e.g. in 1444.<sup>120</sup> On Friday, 29 March 1538, the fact that the city’s authorities provided the key to the gate, described as located near the mill, in front of the Holy Spirit hospital, to Stanisław Kokoszka (Cocozsca), the hereditary miller of Kalisz, until the arrival of the Castellan of Poznań, was recorded in the town court book as a particularly important event.<sup>121</sup> The city’s southern gate is attested, as Brama Wrocławska,

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem, f. 57v–58. The subsequent transaction of this piece of realty, f. 58.

<sup>108</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 150–167.

<sup>109</sup> A. Wędzki, *Kalisz gotycki*, pp. 98–101.

<sup>110</sup> T. Poklewski-Koziół, *Miejsce zamku w systemie obronnym miasta w Polsce XIV i XV wieku*, [in:] *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnym mieście. Studia ofiarowane Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. A. Wyrobisz, M. Tymowski, Warsaw 1991, pp. 61–72; reprinted in *idem*, *Studia o zamkach średniowiecznych*, comp. J. Maik, M. Żemigąła, ed. A. Janeczek, Warsaw 2012 (Collectio Archaeologica Historia et Ethnologica, vol. 5), pp. 85–89.

<sup>111</sup> M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, pp. 108–109.

<sup>112</sup> J. Tomala, *Kalisz, miasto lokacyjne w XIII–XVIII w. Studium archeologiczno-architektoniczne*, Kalisz 2004, pp. 45–51.

<sup>113</sup> M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, p. 109; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 151, 165; A. Wędzki, *Kalisz gotycki*, p. 99.

<sup>114</sup> Cf., *inter alia*, T. Poklewski-Koziół, *Zamek w systemie obronnym miast królewskich w Wielkopolsce w XIV wieku*, [in:] *idem*, *Studia o zamkach średniowiecznych*, p. 79.

<sup>115</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 1, 33.

<sup>116</sup> T. Poklewski-Koziół, *Miejsce zamku*, p. 91, based on the analysis of LWWK 1564, vol. 1, 31–3.

<sup>117</sup> For the hitherto most detailed account, see Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 150–67; after the former, A. Wędzki, *Kalisz gotycki*, pp. 98–101; also, cf. M. Żemigąła, *Cegła w budownictwie*, pp. 48–60, 65–7 (the dating based on measurements of the castle and rampart bricks).

<sup>118</sup> KDW I, no. 530; also, cf. Widawski, *Mury*, 163.

<sup>119</sup> Kalisz Gr. 27, f. 185.

<sup>120</sup> KDW X, no. 1688 (1444): “[molendinum] foris walwam Thinciensem”.

<sup>121</sup> AmK, I/6, 22.

as of 1361.<sup>122</sup> Widawski and, following him, Wędzki specify other gates that apparently existed in fourteenth/fifteenth-century Kalisz. Apart from the aforementioned eastern one (probably, an unnamed gate-wicket; see above) and the Piskorzewska Gate, they refer to the (abovementioned) ‘Nad Kanałem’ Gate, in the south-eastern part of the town,<sup>123</sup> through which a watercourse – drainage channel, to be more specific – most probably flowed out into behind the walls, as of 1303 (as discussed above). As an element of the city walls, this particular gate survived at least until 1715 – the date it was immortalised on a painting by Bonifacy Jatkowski, a friar of the local Reformati order, portraying Saint Paschalis adoring Our Lady as well as the painter’s contemporary panorama of Kalisz.<sup>124</sup> In spite of a ‘condensed’ picture of the buildings, which, in Teresa Ruszczyńska’s opinion, resulted from his willingness to present all the major intramural buildings within the walls, it can be clearly seen that the gate was situated not far from a street that, for the sixteenth century, has been identified above as Bydlęca St. The scarcity of records prevents one from finding whether the street and the gate were united in the sixteenth century the presumed function reflected in the street’s name – namely, the passageway for the cattle to the commons. The above-quoted 1598 document of Sigismund III Vasa<sup>125</sup> notes one more (the sixth) gate at the outlet of Łaziebna St., as mentioned in the above description of the fading of Furteczna/Forteczna St.

The topographically closest area to the *intra muros* city was Przedmieście Toruńskie (Toruń Suburb), stretching behind the northern gate along the road to Toruń. The *Via Thorunensis* was first named in the already-quoted Boleslaus the Pious’s document of 1268 (once misdated at 1260)<sup>126</sup> as the direct vicinity of the ten *lans* (*decem mansos*) sold by the duke to the town of Kalisz, for use as pastures, for twelve marks in silver. The area sold to the town was situated between the Toruń road and the one heading for Kokanin, reaching the limits of this village and the one of Borków Stary (Borkowo). This example clearly illustrates that together with the founding of Kalisz under the German Law, the duke did not bestow to the town, as a patrimony, the entire area that had thitherto belonged to it, delineated by the villages neighbouring on the area.

A mill described in the records as situated *sub castro Calisiensi*, as it was indeed situated near the castle, was located in close proximity to the Toruń Gate, in the *extra muros* area. It was, therefore, one of the two mills on the Prosna, the construction of which was given by the king to Maciej the miller, a burgher of Kalisz, in 1361.<sup>127</sup> These facilities might have been equipped with altogether six, eight, or more wheels. One of those mills would have been erected by the castle, the other one on the other side of the city by the Wrocławska Gate. Their task was to grind grains and kibble malt. This is suggested by the said document as it informs that the maltsters (*mielczarzs*) and bakers, plus all those who baked or sold breads based in the city, had been imposed the grinding coercion for those mills, the miller Maciej having been exempted from fees for his measure of malt that he could unrestrainedly sell or exchange. The costs of the buildings millstones, and hydraulic installations, such as water dam-up devices (*obstacula*), dykes (*aggeres*), and other – unspecified, were to be distributed between the king (two-thirds) and the miller (one-third). The construction of those royal mills, on both sides of the city, and their strict association with, particularly, the maltsters working thereat possibly testify to a development, in the time concerned, of the malting industry in Kalisz-*intra-muros*, and to the fact that the number of mills at that time must have been unsatisfactory.

The source descriptions of the mill tells us that it functioned between the walls by the castle and the branch of the Prosna right near the Toruńska (Tyniecka) Gate,<sup>128</sup> which leads us to localising the

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<sup>122</sup> KDW IV, no. 2068; also, cf. A. Wędzki, *Kalisz gotycki*, p. 100 (no reference source); U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę*, pp. 216–17.

<sup>123</sup> Widawski, Mury, p. 163, footnote 84; as per J. Raciborski, “Dorotka” w Kaliszu, “Ziemia. Tygodnik Krajoznawczy Ilustrowany”, vol. 1, 1910, no. 27, p. 422, it was him to have used the gate’s name; also, cf. A. Wędzki, *Kalisz gotycki*, p. 100 (no reference source).

<sup>124</sup> T. Ruszczyńska, *Materiały ikonograficzne do historii zabudowy Kalisza*, [in:] *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 2, p. 95, Fig. 3. The authors are greatly indebted to Jerzy Aleksander Splitt, PhD, for sharing the a reproduction of the panorama as well as for all his valuable comments and additions.

<sup>125</sup> T. Poklewski-Kozieł, M. Żemigala, *Przestrzeń “niemiejska”*, p. 162.

<sup>126</sup> AGAD, dok. perg. no. 3371: “nos Boleslaus dei gratia dux poloniae – – pro pascuis decem mansos sitos inter viam Torunensem et eam que ducit in Cokanino protensosque usque ad limites de Cokanin et Borkow, pro XII marcis argenti vendidimus”; cf. KDW I, no. 389.

<sup>127</sup> KDW IV, no. 2068.

<sup>128</sup> KDW X, no. 1688 (1444): “[molendinum] foris walvam Thinciensem”.

facility by the Prosna, on the river's left side. Rather than to the city, it belonged to the king, being part of the *starosta's* district's endowment.<sup>129</sup> As customary in such cases, it was leased out to hereditary millers who were members of the nobility or of Kalisz's burgher elite, according to the records. Who of them, and to what degree, directly took charge of the mill, is hard to establish; most probably, professional millers did, as those who had adequate expert knowledge that was indispensable for handling the technical apparatus. One 1437 castle-register note refers to a 'laboriosus Johannes molendinator castri Kalisiensi',<sup>130</sup> evidently a professional miller of rural background. Among fifteenth-century hereditary millers was one *providus* Mikołaj, 'molendinator molendini sub castro Calisiensi ante walwam eundo in Thyniecz', who in 1471, together with his wife Katarzyna, borrowed ten marks less one *ferto* (one-quarter) from the nobleman Andrzej of Brzezie, on pledge of holding the income from a third of the mill – more specifically, from the *folusz* (fulling mill) wheel used for processing the cloth ('molendini seu rote prefatis textorium dictae folusz').<sup>131</sup> In 1564–9, the mill at the Toruńska Gate was equipped with four undershot wheels grinding the grains and kibbling the malt.<sup>132</sup> In the closest vicinity of the mill and the gate, a bridge linking the two banks of the Prosna must have been in place, as an indispensable element of the northward route.

Behind the bridge, to the left, the Holy Spirit Hospital was situated – also by the Toruń route, alternatively described (at the hospital section) as the road leading to/from Tyniec, which attested to its importance also as a local road.<sup>133</sup> The hospital was, let us remind, generously endowed in 1282, receiving from Przemysław II as many as seven completely free *mansi* (*lans*), adjacent to the hospital complex, so that it might enjoy them for time eternal. The hospital as well as the city of Kalisz and the village of Tyniec were jointly granted the right to use the lumber and pastures. Under the same privilege, the hospital was granted one fisherman to pay service to it.<sup>134</sup> A year later, the duke granted to the Canons Regular of the Holy Spirit (colloquially known as the *duchaks*), possibly on a formal basis, the place, land, and allotment at the entrance to the city, below the gate, to the right, in the part reached by the road from Tyniec, where the poor and the sick would be received.<sup>135</sup> The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century castle and court registers contain mentions of the hospital and the *duchak* provosts representing it.<sup>136</sup>

In the mid-sixteenth century, Bernardine buildings stood along Przedmieście Toruńskie, which included a wooden church of the Visitation and timber-frame construction monastic buildings (so says the literature).<sup>137</sup> It only in 1594–1607 that the church and the monastery were rebuilt in brick. A reference dating to 1544 survives in the town court book stating that a garden was situated 'inter fossata Sancti Spiritus ex una et monasterium Bernardinorum parte ex altera eundo ad civitatem Calisiensem de Thyniecz in manu dextra'.<sup>138</sup> Another note, four years earlier, pointed to a brisk river flowing toward the Bernardines.<sup>139</sup> These two mentions suffice to figure out the river-area space in which the two monastic communities happened to dwell and pursue their activities in the northern suburb of Kalisz.

Apart from the above-described structures and facilities situated in Przedmieście Toruńskie, the city gallows can be localised in the area. Eighteenth-century records say that the north leading northeast behind the Bernardine church was called Ku Szubienicom (Toward the Gallows).<sup>140</sup> The map of Kalisz

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<sup>129</sup> Cf. ASK I 13, f. 390 (1580): "de molendinis regalibus extra muros Calisienses"; ASK I 11, 1539 (1591 r.), gdzie podatek opłacono "de molendinis duobus regalibus extra muros civitatis".

<sup>130</sup> Kalisz Gr. 19, 25.

<sup>131</sup> Kalisz Gr. 27, 185. On a waulk (fulling) mill [*folusz*] operating in the fifteenth century. beside the castle mill, see also U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę*, p. 218.

<sup>132</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 1, 211–12; LWWK 1569, f. 55–55v.

<sup>133</sup> As in, e.g., the 1303 document; cf. M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, p. 112: "limites parochiarum earundem: videlicet per via que ducit de Tyniec circa parietem hospitalis".

<sup>134</sup> KDW I, no. 509; cf. M. Młynarska, *Proces lokacji*, p. 119.

<sup>135</sup> KDW I, no. 530: "locum, fundum et aream in ingressu civitatis nostre Kalisiensis, infra portam ad manum dextram, in ea parte qua intratur de villa Thinecz, pro hospitali sancti Spiritus ad receptionem pauperum et infirmorum damus, tradimus et confirmamus, libere et quiete in perpetuum possidendam".

<sup>136</sup> Cf., *inter alia*, Kalisz Gr. 22, f. 82v (1447).

<sup>137</sup> G. Kucharski, *Początki klasztoru Bernardynów w Kaliszu w wiekach średnich*, ABMK, vol. 75, 2001, pp. 191–238.

<sup>138</sup> AmK, I/6, p. 233.

<sup>139</sup> AmK, I/53, p. 250.

<sup>140</sup> Taryfy 1767, p. 261: "and before this bridge, along Ku Szubienicom Street, beginning at the Toruń highroad, a clayey road [goes] downwards toward the city, all in dreadful bumps and holes".

from around 1820 has the gallows marked near the outlet road from the city toward Warsaw, on the elevation behind the Bernardine cloister. It was the area of Chmielnik where, according to a monographer of Kalisz, the brick gallows was dismantled in 1821.<sup>141</sup> It cannot be told whether the gallows stood there earlier on, including the mid-sixteenth century, and whether it was the site of execution at all.

Behind the Wrocław Gate, the Wrocław Suburb (*Przedmieście Wrocławskie*) stretched along the continuation of the Toruń-Wrocław route cutting through the town. Like *Przedmieście Toruńskie*, in terms of area development, it was a linear (street) village with the suburban dwellers' homesteads. The major structure and industrial mechanism in this area was a watermill<sup>142</sup> erected following the privilege granted by King Casimir III the Great in 1361 for construction of two mills, each at one of the two main city gates (as aforementioned); the mill is attested in fifteenth-century records.<sup>143</sup> The search done for the present purpose has shown that at least since the beginning of the sixteenth century it had more functions compared to the peer facility in *Przedmieście Toruńskie*. The visitation record from 1564–5 states that the mill 'by the Wrocław Gate, which has four undershot wheels for flour [grinding] and the fifth one for the fulling, and for this purpose, a sixth wheel for the two groats-mortars: in one do they shatter the oak, in the second, millets and flax-seeds. Of both of which mills, the miller is Stanisław Kokoszcicz Pawłowski and he takes the third measure, for which he hath produced the right.'<sup>144</sup> Two entries, dated 1534, in *Metrica Regni Poloniae*<sup>145</sup> let us know that it was beside this particular mill that the king permitted Stanisław Kokosicz, the hereditary miller for both Kalisz mills (advised to this end by Łukasz of Górka, Castellan of Poznań and Starosta-General of Greater Poland and Kalisz), to have a grindery erected – between the waulk mill and the city wall, as well as groats mortars for oak bark grinding<sup>146</sup> – between the mill and the turret on the bridge, which was the daytime guardians' watchtower. As is thus apparent, the entire milling enterprise, with its wheels, mortars and pestals, was situated on the right side of the Proсна, which flew behind the Wrocław Gate, and by the bridge, beginning with the city walls and ending with the river. As of 1534, the situation of the mill under discussion was dynamic anyway; the grindery was to replace the worn-and-torn sawmill ('saw'), as another *Metrica Regni Poloniae* entry from the same year tells us, now without specifying which of the mills was concerned.<sup>147</sup> The operation of the sawmill beside that mill might have been

<sup>141</sup> A. Czyżewski, *Rozwój przestrzenny i ludnościowy Kalisza w latach 1815–1914*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 311.

<sup>142</sup> The remnants of, possibly, this particular mill were discovered during the archaeological works in the 1950s; cf. M. Młynarska, *Kalisz w okresie pełnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Kalisz w starożytności i w średniowieczu*, ed. W. Hensel, Warsaw–Wrocław 1956, p. 74; and, after the former author, A. Wędzki, *Życie gospodarcze miasta w późnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 86.

<sup>143</sup> KDW X, no. 1685 (1444 r.): "providus Benedictus molendinator extra muros Calisienses circa valvam eundo de Calis Wratislaviam"; also, cf. ibidem, 1693 (1444): "Benedictus et Mathias fratres germani indivisi, molendinatos extra muros civitatis Calisiensis, circa portam eiusdem civitatis in manu dextra eundo in civitatem Wratislaviensem".

<sup>144</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 1, p. 211; LWWK 1569, f. 55–55v. A. Nowak, *Rozwój gospodarczy miasta w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 180, has an erroneous reading of the 1564–5 visitation record note.

<sup>145</sup> MK 49, f. 129–129v: "Sigismundus dei gratia Rex etc. Significamus tenore presentium quorum interest universis vel interesse poterit universis. Quia nos volentes proventus nostros in Calish augere, Et molendini illic nostri condicionem facere meliorem, de consilio Magnifici Luce Comitis de Gorka Castellani Posnaniensis Maioris Poloniae et Calisiensis Capitanei generalis Nobili Stanislao Kokoszcicz molendinatori nostro Calisiensi ut penes molendinum in quo siligo molitur extra valvam Wratislaviensem eiusdem nostre Civitati Calisz situatum in loco inter rotam torquatilem dictam folusch et murum civilem officinam unam pro acuentis et expoliendis ferramentis et instrumentis artificum Schloffarnia vulgariter nuncupatam. Alteram vero officinam nempe ad demoliendos et in pulverem redigendos cortices quercinos in usum corrigiariorum qui vulgo Stempi nuncupatur. Ex altera eiusdem Molendini in quo siligo molitur parte inter molendinum et turriculam in ponte situatam in qua diurna pontis custodia habetur, erigere aedificare et extruere possit et valeat". Also, cf. (pointing to the mill at Wrocław Gate) MK 80, f. 138–139v; MK 69, f. 147–149.

<sup>146</sup> Minced oak bark was used for vegetable tanning of hides or leathers; for more U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie*, pp. 53 i 60.

<sup>147</sup> MK 49, f. 61 (26 Feb. 1534): "Consensus super extruendo officina schloffarnia et stampii circa molendinum in Calisch. Significamus -- Quia nos valentes proventus nostros in Calish augere et molendini illic nostri conditionem meliorem facere, de consilio Magnifici Luce de Gorka -- Nobili Stanislao Kokoszcicz Molendinatori nostri Calissiensi ut in eo loco ubi prius officina sarre pro incidendis asseribus -- [?] sed vetustate collapsa est aliam officinam pro acuendis et expoliendis ferramentis et instrumentis artificum vulgariter Schloffarnia -- et item torquatiles rotas aut arietes ad demoliendos et in pulverem concutiendos cortices quercinos in usum coriariorum vulgariter Stampy vocatas erigere edificare et extruere possit et valeat consensus et permisimus". Also, cf. MRPS IV/3, no. 17464: "Vilna, 26 februarii 1534, De consilio Lucae de Gorka, castellani Posnaniensis, Stanislao Kokoszcicz, molendinatori Calisiensi, in loco, ubi officina sarre vetustate collapsa est aliam officinam pro acuendis et expoliendis ferramentis et instrumentis artificum alias schloffarnia et torquatiles rotas aut arietes ad demoliendos et in pulverem concutiendos cortices quercinos in usum coriariorum alias stampy aedificare consensus datur,

initiated by a privilege granted by King Władysław Jagiełło in 1402.<sup>148</sup> The distribution of profit from the facility according to the said privilege is worthy of note: retaining two-thirds for himself, the king granted the rest to Kalisz burghers; the sawmill maintenance obligations were assigned according to the same pattern. The operation of a sawmill right outside the city possibly testifies to a considerable demand for construction timber in late mediaeval Kalisz.<sup>149</sup>

Of the industrial facilities and apparatuses functioning in the space of sixteenth-century Kalisz, let us add that among Stanisław Kokosicz's undertakings was the construction of an *officina hamer* ('incus alias nakowadlnia,<sup>150</sup> hamer, folles'), which he leased out late in November 1537 to two Kalisz coppersmiths, for four marks per annum.<sup>151</sup> The facility was, no doubt, a metal processing workshop equipped with an anvil, a mechanical hammer and bellows, using the force of water as the source of power (it was besides equipped with its own wheels and wooden (water-supply and drainage) gutters. The question remains open whether it was part of any of the two milling undertakings run at that time in Kalisz by Stanisław Kokosicz, or was a separate device taking advantage of the Proсна's current. As far as the grindery is concerned, it is hard to state whether it still functioned beside the Wrocławskie Przedmieście mill after 1534; in any case, it is absent in the 1564–5 visitation record.

Kalisz housed also another hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, located in Wrocławskie Przedmieście area. Nowak and Rusiński write of it (referring to no relevant source) that it was founded by Kalisz burghers in 1560, whereas a small wooden church was erected next to it in 1590.<sup>152</sup> The town court book of Kalisz notes for the year 1539 that Maciej, a preacher at Kalisz's Blessed Virgin Mary's, assigned ten marks "ad hospitem sancte Trinitatis extra muros Calisienses" by means of his last will.<sup>153</sup> Hence, the Trinity hospital must have been erected more than twenty years before then.<sup>154</sup> It was eventually dismantled in 1821.<sup>155</sup>

Among the areas adjacent to Przedmieście Wrocławskie, the one named Czaszki (lit., Skulls) should be mentioned, due to its important role for the Kalisz agglomeration not only in the period concerned but at least since the late thirteenth century, up to the Second World War.<sup>156</sup> In 1287, Duke Przemysław II approved the perpetual lease of a mount (elevation) by a knight named Rypin (Rufin), situated on the edge of his demesne farm Podgórze, neighbouring on the ducal fields of Dobrcza Mała.<sup>157</sup> The elders of the Kalisz Jewish community took the mount over in order to set up a cemetery there.<sup>158</sup> In the late

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cum obligatione 3 fl. census annui ad officium capitaneale Calissiense solvendi (deletum)". See, moreover, MK 49, f. 129; also (after LWWK 1564, vol. 2, 285, no. 107): MRPS IV, no. 17617: "Posnania, f. 2 Bartholomei (24 Aug.) Lucas de Gorcka -- nob. Stanislao Cocoscicz, molendinatori Calissiensi, incudem penes officinam, in qua demoliuntur cortices quercinae, in eadem rota, construere admittit pro eodem unico censu, qui in litteris regis super officinam demoliendi quercus expressus est" (MK 49, f. 203, not specifying the mill concerned).

<sup>148</sup> KDW VII, no. 432: "molendinum cum serra seu pila, cum qua asseres scinduntur, decrevimus in flumine Przosna erigendum et locandum, cuius molendini, ut eo melius posset reformari, civibus Kalisiensibus terciam partem damus: et adiungimus perpetuis temporibus duraturis, ita videlicet, quod de eodem molendino terciam partem ipsi cives capient et nobis duas partes assignabunt, pro eius reformacione nos duas partes dare debemus et ipsi terciam partem assignare tenebunt".

<sup>149</sup> Cf. U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę*, p. 218.

<sup>150</sup> *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 15, ed. by M. Karpluk et al. Wrocław 1984, p. 593: "Nakowalnia, nakowadlnia vel ambuszek, Mymer, kowadło, fabrica ferrea [i.e. wheels, bellows, hammers, anvils/stithies, all solidly made ...]".

<sup>151</sup> AmK, I/6, pp. 9–10.

<sup>152</sup> A. Nowak, W. Rusiński, *Rozwój przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, p. 147.

<sup>153</sup> AmK, I/6, pp. 72 and 73: "tutor hospitalis s. Trinitatis" [p. 73].

<sup>154</sup> W. Męczkowski, *Historia szpitali św. Ducha i św. Trójcy w Kaliszu*, Warsaw 1906, p. 87, says that the hospital was set up before 1461 [*non vidimus*]. (We owe this reference to J.A. Splitt, PhD.)

<sup>155</sup> A. Czyżewski, *Rozwój przestrzenny i ludnościowy Kalisza*, p. 311.

<sup>156</sup> T. Jurek, *Żydzi*, p. 31: the area between present-day Zubrzyckiego [most recently, Nowy Świat], Skalmierzycka, and Handlowa Sts.

<sup>157</sup> Since Dobrcza Mała is not an autonomous settlement unit today, the sixteenth-century form is used throughout this commentary, rather than the official modern name of Dobrzec, so that it should not be mistaken for Dobrzec Wielki (in the sixteenth century, Dobrzec). For more on sixteenth-century forms, their declensions, and present-day forms, see List attached to this volume.

<sup>158</sup> KDW I, no. 574: "Nos Premisl secundus, Dei gratia dux Polonie, notum esse volumus universis ad quos presentes pervenerint, quod Rupinius filius Iaschkonis nec non Iudei Calissienses satisfecerunt concordie et in nostra presencia constituti libera et spontanea voluntate recognoverunt, quia Ripinius montem suum hereditarium in fine predii sui hereditatis sue Podgorze, penes agros hereditatum nostrarum minoris Dobrzecze iacentem, Iudeis senioribus Kalissiensibus et toti eorum universitati, pro sepultura ipsorum in vim perpetui census sex talentorum piperis et croci duobus inscripsit. Prefati vero Iudei et alii pro

Middle Ages and early modern period, the mount, called Góra Żydowska (Jewish Mount), was still surrounded by fields, cultivated in the mid-sixteenth century (and before then too) by triple sequential cropping and owned by noblemen and burghers.<sup>159</sup> In 1495, there was a demesne farmstead near the mount, and thus near the Jewish cemetery, belonging to a member of the Calisian elite, and then to an eminent nobleman,<sup>160</sup> who two years later purchased a half of another such farmstead with a manor and seven *hortulaniae* (combined agricultural, horticultural, and animal-breeding farms) within the Podgórze area – adjacently, near the Old-Town mill.<sup>161</sup> The documents settling a shared, triple cultivation of fields in that area include the remark that a part of the field, together with the farm buildings and the garden, was situated by the road that goes from the Old-Town mill and passes the Jewish cemetery.<sup>162</sup> Earlier than the abovementioned notes, in 1422 and 1425, a mill was mentioned as property of the Kalisz burgomaster.<sup>163</sup> Then, it was mentioned 1443 as adjacent to a real estate situated ‘inter Castrum antique civitatis alias grodzyskem et inter molendinum Długosy’.<sup>164</sup> Hence, the mill was at a close distance to Zawodzie. When appearing as the municipality’s property in the sixteenth century, one mention in the municipal register described its location as *circa Antiquam Civitatem*; indicated was also the course of the River Prosna or a river/rivulet being a branch of it, which propelled its main wheel: ‘ac cum fluvio decurrenti a principali rota penes sepes eiusdem molendini usque ad montem’.<sup>165</sup> Again, Podgórze is probably meant in this statement. The present analysis enables us to determine, be it roughly, the location of the hitherto-unlocalised mill in the Old Town area at the latter’s border with Podgórze, not far from Zawodzie. Let us evoke at this point a passage from Przemysław II’s 1285 privilege for a knight named Jaśko, high steward to the duchess, whereby the duke transferred to Jaśko his mill ‘quod fuit antiqua civitatis in flumine Przosna, cum piscina in qua molendinum est constructum’. This meant that the mill was situated in the Old Town, with undershot wheel; rather than on the Prosna, it was built on a fished millrace that was extended from the river precisely for the construction of the mill.<sup>166</sup> As per the tax registers of 1565, the Old-Town mill had two undershot wheels.<sup>167</sup>

In the period under analysis, the Old Town was also referred to as a suburb. The area deserves special attention as a pre-incorporation crafts-and-fair settlement, which together with the adjacent burg in Zawodzie was the centre of Kalisz’s settlement prior to the town’s foundation under the German Law. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Old Town was a rural settlement with a linear layout, stretching along the road toward the passage through the Prosna, with a fairground in its western part.<sup>168</sup> It was mostly composed of *hortulaniae*-type farms. This settlement structure took place before 1294, the year Duke Przemysław II chartered the Old Town under the German Law. He released the smallholders living there from the encumbrances of the Polish Law, established his vogt, and ordered that he, the duke, be paid four scots (*skojecs*) [1 scot = 1/24 mark] per year per farmstead (size: six rods [i.e. 15 ft.] wide and thirty rods long each, as standardised according to the ‘German custom’).<sup>169</sup> As of 1497, the presence in the Old Town of a private demesne farm with a manor and at least seven *hortulaniae* is attested.<sup>170</sup>

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tempore existentes, prefato Ripinio et eiusdem hereditatis possessoribus quolibet festo sancti Martini censum prefatum solvere, sub pignore et pena domini palatini inscripserunt”.

<sup>159</sup> AmK, I/180, 2–7.

<sup>160</sup> Ibidem, 1: “famosus Mathias Erasmi – resignavit predium suum circa montem Judeorum Generoso domino Georgio dicto Hubbatti”. As of 1554, the same municipal register notes a demesne farm called Czaszki in Mały Dobrzec (“predium Czaszki dictum in Dobrca Minori sub iurisdictione civili Calisiensi”); ibidem, 8 (“Ex Actis Advocatialis Calisiensibus descriptum”).

<sup>161</sup> MRPS II, no. 827; MK 16, f. 88.

<sup>162</sup> AmK, I/180, p. 3: “penes viam qua itur ad Molendinum Staromiejsky dictum et penes Cimiterium Judaicum”.

<sup>163</sup> KDW XI, no. 1943 (1422); KDW VIII, no. 1053 (1425).

<sup>164</sup> Kalisz Gr. 20, f. 173. As it can be presumed, Jan Długosy was meant: this ‘citizen of Kalisz’ was noted down six years earlier as the miller with the castle mill, as being in conflict with the aforementioned professional miller, the *laboriosus* Jan. Cf. above, with a reference to Kalisz Gr. 19, 25.

<sup>165</sup> AmK, I/6, 199–200, 222.

<sup>166</sup> KDW I, no. 553; also, cf. U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę*, p. 215 and footnote 9.

<sup>167</sup> ASK I 13, f. 98v. The facility is absent from the other tax registers.

<sup>168</sup> Münch, 144, 149 (footnote 1); consequently, A. Wędzki, *Kalisz w państwie wczesnopiastowskim i w okresie rozbiicia feudalnego*, [in:] *Dzieje Kalisza*, p. 57.

<sup>169</sup> KDW I, no. 723.

<sup>170</sup> MRPS II, no. 827; MK 16, f. 88.

The Old Town is absent from the tax registers of 1507–10.<sup>171</sup> The 1564–5 visitation record remarked that the village Stare Miasto had fifteen *hortulani* paying dues to the castle, three belonging to the Canon of Kalisz, three others to the Kalisz vicars, and one to the municipality.<sup>172</sup> Apart from the latter, Kalisz only had in its Old Town area, in the period under discussion, the above-described mill – not noted in the 1564 tax register but specified in the following year.<sup>173</sup> It reappeared in the subsequent registers under its own name (*Molendinum Staromieyski*). As regards the municipality-owned facilities/structures, a detailed inventory of pieces of estate belonging to Regina, the miller's wife, widow of Błażej, the Old-Town miller, dated 1586 (Inventarium et concordia Bazdo cum Foliuss), has been found. It brings some information on the belongings of the miller's family and, partly, on the equipment and furnishings of the mill.<sup>174</sup>

It can be added, moreover, that the area of Zawodzie was also incorporated under the Środa Law, in 1299, in order to improve the condition of St. Adalbert's church at the old burg; the garden farmsteads marked out locally on this occasion were five rods wide and thirty rods long.<sup>175</sup> It is worth reminding that there is no trace left whatsoever after the Old-Town Blessed Virgin Mary's church, whether in written or archaeological sources; the church probably fell into destruction after its functions were transferred to the namesake church inside the city.

Apart from the two main suburbs situated in the *extra muros* area closest to the chartered town of Kalisz (i.e. in the Toruńskie and Wrocławskie Suburbs), by the mid-sixteenth century did Kalisz possess some of the nearby villages, with which it was strongly associated. Nowak and Rusiński have noticed it, interpreting this fact as 'the emergence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of a countryside zone subordinated to the city'.<sup>176</sup> As of 1434, a Kalisz land register mentioned that the husbandry and management in the hereditary estates of the town of Kalisz, as enumerated ('hereditates civitatis Kalisiensis Dobrzicza, Tynecz, Ostrow, Saczino'), with respect to forests, tree cutting, hunting, and fishing, was to be practiced according to the 'landed custom'.<sup>177</sup> Let us remind that two of these villages, Dobrzec Wielki and Tynec, are specified Przemysł II's privilege of 1282, among the other nearby villages where the landed law was in force.<sup>178</sup> Nowak and Rusiński noticed that the city's strong economic and social relations with its topographically closest urban zone manifested themselves in 'inclusion in the records of the dwellers of some of the villages (for example, Dobrcza Mała) in the suburban residents'.<sup>179</sup> Some records refer to Tynec<sup>180</sup> and, at least partly, Dobrcza Mała,<sup>181</sup> as suburbs of Kalisz.

All the villages composing the urban *dominium* are known, *inter alia*, from a list of cultivated and void *lans* and the total amount of rents paid to Kalisz as of the year 1499.<sup>182</sup> Among the villages fully owned by the city council were definitely Chełmcza,<sup>183</sup> Ostrów Kaliski (Ostrów),<sup>184</sup> Saczyno,<sup>185</sup>

<sup>171</sup> All the tax registers for Voivodeship of Kalisz from the first half of the sixteenth century are kept in ASK I 12.

<sup>172</sup> LWWK 1564, vol. 1, 213.

<sup>173</sup> ASK I 13, f. 181v; *ibidem*, f. 98v.

<sup>174</sup> AmK, I/232, 120–5.

<sup>175</sup> U. Sowina, *Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę*, p. 216, with reference to the document KDW IV, no. 2062.

<sup>176</sup> A. Nowak, W. Rusiński, *Rozwój przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, p. 140.

<sup>177</sup> Kalisz Ziem. 6, f. 208v.

<sup>178</sup> KDW I, no. 511: "Ville vero que in districtu predictae civitatis sunt sitte, videlicet Tlokina, Tynec, Borkowo, Russowo, Kokanino, Maykowo, Piwonice, Dobrzec, et adhuc omnes situande, intererunt provinciali iudicio ter in anno".

<sup>179</sup> A. Nowak, W. Rusiński, *Rozwój przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, p. 140.

<sup>180</sup> For example, Kalisz Gr. 19, f. 178v: "nobilis Andreas de Thinyecz in suburbio civitatis Kalisiensis Thinyecz suburbium civitatis Kalis". (The note has been suggested to U. Sowina by Tomasz Jurek, which the author hereby acknowledges.)

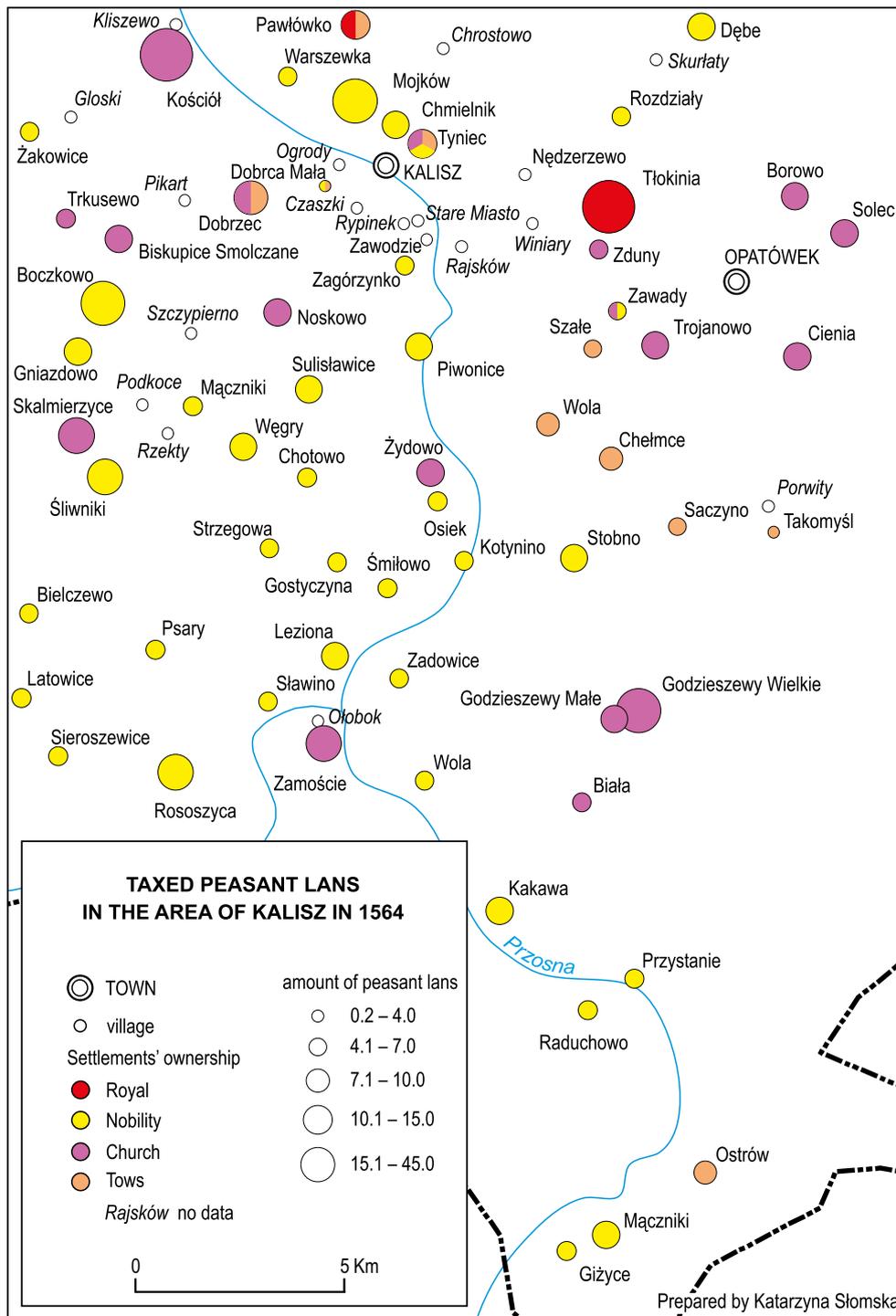
<sup>181</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: "in Minori Dobrcza in suburbio".

<sup>182</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 61v–62r.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 62r: "in Chelmca sunt 11 mansi possessionati, de quibus solvuntur census per mediam marcam. *Ibidem* sunt 5 mansi deserti". The 1507 tax register specified 5.5 serf *lans*, and 0.5 void *lans* (ASK I 12, f. 8); as of 1508 (*ibidem*, f. 68) – 5; the collection of the fourth grosz (also in 1508) is accompanied by the note reading, "Iste ville sunt civitate Calisch de quibus census precipitur et spiritualibus pro eorum beneficiis erogatur in toto" (*ibidem*, f. 38). The list dated 1564 has an annual inn, 8.5 serf *lans*, and 3 smallholders (ASK I 13, f. 179v).

<sup>184</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: "in Ostrow sunt 9 mansi possessionati, de quibus solventur census annus per unam marcam. *Ibidem* nullus mansus est desertus". The 1564 tax register reports the collection of a tax from four 'hereditary wheels' and two 'annual wheels', plus 7.5 serf *lans* (*ibidem*, f. 180v). A year earlier, the collection from an inn was recorded (ASK I 11, f. 763) – a facility that does not appear in any of the subsequent tax rolls.

<sup>185</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: "Item in Sarczino duo mansi sunt possessionati qui solverunt per mediam marcam tres, vero habent libertatem cremati deserti mansi sunt XVI". The 1507 tax register enumerates three serf *lans* and 2 *soltys* (village-ad-



**Map 1. Taxed peasant lans in the area of Kalisz in 1564**

Source: RPWK, kls, 1564, *passim*.

ministrator) *lans* (ASK I 12, f. 8), the registers from the sixties recording six to seven *lans* and a watermill (ASK I 13, f. 89v, 179v). There was a watermill in the village, which in 1542 was sold by the municipal councillors to Michał, nicknamed Chodyła, a miller, with the right for him to buy it out (AGAD, dok. perg. no. 3785; quoted after SHGKart). The miller was obligated to pay to the city an annual rent of 1 mark and 27 grosz and to provide one hog per annum. The one-wheeled mill is mentioned in the 1508 tax register (ASK I 12, f. 68); it appeared also in sixteenth-century tax rolls (ASK I 6, f. 600 – 1552, as a hereditary mill, and then up to 1591, as an hereditary undershot-wheel mill; e.g., ASK I 13, f. 89v – 1565).

Szale (Szale),<sup>186</sup> Takomyśl,<sup>187</sup> and Wolica (Wola).<sup>188</sup> The city moreover held certain partitions in Dobrzec Wielki,<sup>189</sup> Dobrza Mała,<sup>190</sup> and Tyniec.<sup>191</sup> The exact history of the suburban area of Czaszki has not been determined in more detail as yet.<sup>192</sup> In Rajsaków rents from smallholders and fishermen were collected.<sup>193</sup> The question of the watermill in the Old Town (Stare Miasto) is discussed above.<sup>194</sup>

Inhabitants of municipal villages had a number of obligations toward the municipality and thus had to observe certain established rules.<sup>195</sup> For instance, since there was a bridge in the area of Szale<sup>196</sup> that connected the two banks of the Cienia River, all the municipal villages situated in the parish of Chełmce<sup>197</sup> were obligated to mend the bridge under the penalty of ten marks.<sup>198</sup> Each of those settlements was moreover obliged, in line with the ‘old customs’, to provide the city with two barrels of tar per year.<sup>199</sup> Due to the painful fire-related experiences in the city’s history, the dwellers of the nearby Dobrzec Wielki had, under pain of financial penalties, to plant willows near their houses.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: “in Szale sunt 8 mansi possessionati, de quibus solwunt per mediam marcam. Nullus mansus quia desertus [est]”. The 1507 and 1508 tax registers specify three serf *lans* (ASK I 12, f. 8, 68), 4.5 *lans* being mentioned as of 1565 (ASK I 13, f. 179v).

<sup>187</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: “Thakomisl tres possessionati solwunt per mediam marcam deserti sunt quinque”. As per 1507 and 1508 tax register, tax was collected from two serf *lans* (ASK I 12, f. 8, 68); the 1564 roll mentions one ‘hereditary wheel’ and 3.75 serf *lans* (ASK I 13, f. 179v).

<sup>188</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: “in Volicza 10 mansi possessionati, de quibus solwunt per mediam marcam. Tres mansi sunt deserti”.

<sup>189</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62v: “in villa Dobrzeza Maior sunt 36 mansi possessionati de quibus solwunt kmethones per 3 fertones census anno et 6 mansi eciam possessionati, qui habent libertatem, deserti vero ibidem sunt 20 et 1 mansus”. The second half of the sixteenth century saw 41.25–45.25 arable *lans* recorded for the village (see, *inter alia*, ASK I 6, f. 638; ASK I 12, f. 595) and a two-*lan* partition (*sors*) being property of Kalisz Canons, which at the century’s end became part of the Kalisz Jesuits’ endowment (ASK I 11, 1508). The ‘Korczak’ mill operated in the village (ASK I 11, 1508: “de una rota korzeczna molendini Korczak dicti”), which in the mid-sixteenth century was equipped with two annual wheels (ASK I 13, f. 179v), and then with only one (ASK I 12, f. 595).

<sup>190</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: “in Minori Dobrzeza in suburbio recognovit, quia sunt 15 mansi possessionati, de quibus solwunt census per 14 scotos annus”. The 1564 tax register mentions 3.5 *lans* (ASK I 13, f. 179v).

<sup>191</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62r: “Item in Tiniecz XI mansi possessionati solwunt per mediam marcam”. It is known that the village was bestowed to the city by King Casimir III the Great in the fourteenth century (KDW III, no. 1463), in order to contribute to its economic potential (U. Sowina, ‘Ze studiów nad zaopatrzeniem w wodę’, 216–17). In the 1560s, the village was divided into three owners, incl. the provostry of the Holy Spirit (7 serf *lans*), the municipality (5.5 serf *lans* and 6 vogt *lans*), and the noble family Skarszewski (2 serf *lans*); cf. ASK I 13, f. 98v. Also, see AmK, I/6, 310: “proconsuli et consulibus civitatis Calissie laboriosi Nicolaus Jaroszek in uno manso integro, Lazarus Shapyol in medio manso, Valentinus Sczygala in medio manso in villa civili Thinyecz redidentes ex vi concordie occasione census annui ad hospitale Sancti Spiritus facte obligaverunt” (1547 r.).

<sup>192</sup> Until the 1590s, the village was probably noble-owned only; see ASK I 12, f. 698; ASK I 13, f. 390. Czaszki is mentioned as a municipal village in the 1591 tax register, with “famati proconsul cum consulibus civitatis Calissiensis” as the owners; ASK I 11, 1539. Little is known on the settlement’s earliest history; even SHGKart; cf. footnote 119 provides no relevant data.

<sup>193</sup> Kalisz Gr. 30, f. 62: “in Raysko sunt ortulani, piscatores, qui solwunt 8 marcas et 17 grossos cencus anni [annuali?]”. In the late Middle Ages and the modern era, the village included at least three ‘sorts’ (partitions; *sortes*) – one belonging to the city, the other one to a noblewoman ‘Filipowa’ [apparently, wife of a certain Filip], and the third to ‘the noble Rafał’; ASK I 12, f. 15, 48, 75. As of 1509, the village is referred to as royal (“villam Rayskow regalem nostram pertinentem ad opidum Calisch”); MK 24, f. 300v; MRPS IV, no. 9264. In the century’s second half, the village was taken over, in its entirety, by the municipality; the precise date of this transferral is unknown, given the present-day state of research.

<sup>194</sup> See pp. 314, 324–28.

<sup>195</sup> Based on the breakdown found in the vogtship court book for the years 1581–1695 (AmK, I/232, Acta advocatialis Calissiensis annorum 1581 incipiendo ad alios annos continendo villanorum ad civitatem Callisiensem spectantium).

<sup>196</sup> Where exactly the bridge was situated, is not known. Neither the Perthées map nor the printed version of the Gilly’s map directly mark any passage through the Cienia toward Szale. Perthées marks an inn (?Tumiday) parallel to Zawady village, on the road toward Trojanów and the Trojanów Mill (Młyn Trojanowski). As per eighteenth-century cartographic records, passages through the Cienia were located in Trojanów. Only the WIG map reflects a mill built on Trojanów village’s land, parallel to Zawady; by this mill, probably through a weir, one could get to the river’s other side. The bridge named in the sixteenth-century book should perhaps be localised basing on the 20<sup>th</sup>-c. WIG map.

<sup>197</sup> These villages were referred to as ‘zaleskie’ (=‘located behind the forest’; *wsy zaleskie*), which possibly suggests that the area between Wola and Szale villages, toward Kalisz, up to the Cienia estuary – or, perhaps, as far as Rajsaków – was in the sixteenth century covered by a forest.

<sup>198</sup> AmK, I/232, p. 41.

<sup>199</sup> Ibidem, p. 42.

<sup>200</sup> Ibidem, p. 41: “In the moone of Marche, the Dobrzeze-dwellers are to plante willo[w]es each in fronte of theyre house as manie as he canne due to adventurre of fyre and due to other benefittes of theyres under three-scores [*resp.* dozens] of penaltie.”

Such impositions were meant to ensure protection of the countryside buildings and facilities against destructive winds and, in a broader perspective, to prevent potential fire from spreading.<sup>201</sup>

Along with Gniezno and Poznań, Kalisz ranked in the sixteenth century among the major transport centres of Greater Poland at the time, as demonstrated by the studies of Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz and Stefan Weymann.<sup>202</sup> The most important determinant was the fact that Kalisz was the essential place of passage the River Prosna.<sup>203</sup>

The layout of the roadways leading out of Kalisz stemmed from the town-planning layout of the chartered city. It could be reached from the south through the Wrocław Gate, and from the north through the Toruń Gate – and it was along this axis that the city's most important trade and transport traffic occurred. Public roads went out of Kalisz toward Konin<sup>204</sup> and Pzdzry.<sup>205</sup> Certainly, a roadway of high importance went through Tyniec toward Winiary and then toward Koźminek, Dobra, Zamysłów, and Uniejów in Voivodeship of Sieradz. Also the road going through Ołobok in the direction of Silesia must have been of essential importance, including because of collection of customs duty at that place.<sup>206</sup> A road from Kalisz to Pleszew is attested as of 1440, based on historical sources,<sup>207</sup> and it was perhaps this particular road that at the beginning of the sixteenth century was known as the 'Kalisz Road'.<sup>208</sup> Another essential transport and trade centre in the region was Poznań. This city could be reached by travelling, among other places, through Pleszew (Pleszów) and using the network of roads leading towards Wrocław and Głogów, via Sulmierzyce, Jutrosin, and Poniec.<sup>209</sup>

Yet, the most important element that shaped the actual road network around the city was the Prosna; unregulated until the middle of the nineteenth century, the river posed a real threat to the inhabitants of Kalisz since the very beginning of colonisation and settlement in that area.<sup>210</sup> Some of the local rough roads around the city were periodically flooded by the river in the autumn/winter

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<sup>201</sup> Cf. ibidem, pp. 41–2: "... everie husband man [in] the summere and in the automne oughte to banne hys childrene and servantes that nonne goe with fyre to the shrubberie and to the forreste, upon whome this become knowne, he shall bee punyshed with three-scores [resp. dozens] of penaltie."

<sup>202</sup> CMP, no. 136; Weymann, Drogi, p. 241; T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kalisz na tle wczesnośredniowiecznej sieci drogowej*, [in:] eadem, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury*, ed. A. Janeczek, with an afterword by M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Warsaw 2011 (Collectio Archaeologica, Historica et Ethnologica, vol. 4), pp. 77–104; contains a map of the roads (scale 1:500,000).

<sup>203</sup> T. Baranowski, *Komunikacyjna rola Prosny we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *O rzece i wodzie w życiu codziennym człowieka średniowiecza*, ed. S. Możdziej, K. Chrzan, Wrocław 2015 (Spotkania Bytomskie, vol. 8), pp. 83–87. As noticed by T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, in Piwonice, 5 km south of Kalisz, and in Kościelna Wieś, 7 km north of Kalisz, two other crossings through the Prosna must have functioned (eadem, *Kalisz na tle wczesnośredniowiecznej sieci drogowej*, p. 100). They were mainly of local importance and were not used by merchants who in the following centuries would have been obligated to become liable to the staple right and the law of *Straßenzwang* ('road coercion'). Cf. Taryfy 1767, 264, informing that the passage at Ołobok "is not sufficient ... for whenever the stream flows out, it renders the crossing much unlike a bridge, wherefrom several incidents have been memorised by the people".

<sup>204</sup> Akt rew., 140. The Toruń road is known since the early Middle Ages. Its functioning is indirectly confirmed by the road-sign pole erected 1151 in Konin; T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Insrypcja konińska z 1151 roku*, [in:] eadem, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski*, pp. 170–3; cf. KDW I, no. 389; KDW II, nos. 686, 1001, 1289. Casimir III the Great's 1349 document establishing commercial routes for Toruń merchants within the Kingdom of Poland clearly indicated that one of the roads toward Silesia ought to be the one going "per Raczeviam (Radziejów), per Conin, per Kalis et per Schilburg (Ostrzeszów)"; cf. Weymann, Drogi, pp. 242–4.

<sup>205</sup> Akt rew., 142; cf. M. Brzostowicz, *Ląd i ziemia nad Wartą*, [in:] *O rzece i wodzie w życiu codziennym*, ryc. 4 (*Przebieg szlaków lądowych w kontekście lokalizacji późnośredniowiecznych stanowisk archeologicznych na terenie obecnego powiatu wrzesińskiego*), p. 102; also, see AGAD, dok. perg. no. 3529: a parchment document from 1450, mentioning the roads to Kokanin and to the Pawłówko (Pawłówek) village.

<sup>206</sup> Akt rew., 144–5; Taryfy 1767, 264. The Ołobok customs duty was mentioned in as early as 1292; KDW II, no. 686.

<sup>207</sup> KDW V, no. 666.

<sup>208</sup> After SHGKart (BRacz, MS 523, vol. 1, f. 4): "tertiam sortem suam minore borrae in eadem Minori Tursko incipiendo a via, quae se protendit de Biskupice ad Tursko ad sinistram partem, usque ad viam, quae vadit de Minori Tursko a taberna Szopa per eandem borram usque ad viam Kaliska et a via Kaliska usque iuxta viam, quae ducit ad paludem Bucheno".

<sup>209</sup> The intensity of trade between the southern part of Kalisz Voivodeship and Silesia is attested by, *inter alia*, a document describing the recommendations regarding the observance of the trading in oxen in that area, dated at the mid-sixteenth century; Spisanie jarmarków, pp. 158–9. Also, cf. the relevant passages in Weymann, *Drogi*, pp. 245–8, the deployment of customs-houses and toll collection points in the map of the roads.

<sup>210</sup> T. Kałuża, *Analiza zmian układu*, pp. 138–52; E. Stupnicka, *Grodzisko na Zawodziu na tle rozwoju koryta Prosny*, [in:] *Kalisz wczesnośredniowieczny*, ed. T. Baranowski, Kalisz 1998, pp. 29–37; cf. T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kalisz na tle wczesnośredniowiecznej sieci drogowej*, pp. 90–97.

seasons.<sup>211</sup> The quality of the roads was moreover influenced by the local soils. The central part of the chartered town was situated on alluvial soil, its northern suburbs on argillaceous soils.<sup>212</sup> As we can see in an eighteenth-century illustration commissioned for use of the local *Boni Ordinis* Commission, the passage into the city along the routes heading for Kalisz from the north was considerably hindered precisely because of the water lingering on their surfaces.<sup>213</sup>

(2017)

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

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<sup>211</sup> Taryfy 1767, 261: Also, the third bridge on the stream off that same river of Prosna, flowing close to the Reformanti [*sic*] Friars, flooding only in the winter and in the autumn, whilst dry in the summer”.

<sup>212</sup> See the 1:300,000 map of soils published by the Institute of Soil Science and Plant Cultivation [IUNG], Warsaw, 1961.

<sup>213</sup> Taryfy 1767, 261: “and before this bridge, along Ku Szubienicom Street, beginning at the Toruń highroad, a clayey road [goes] downwards toward the city, all in dreadful bumps and holes”.

### III.6.14.4 KOŚCIAN

*Dariusz Kram*

A significant research obstacle in the analysis of the spatial arrangement and appearance of Kościan in the past is the extremely small amount of cartographic or iconographic material. The fact is that no credible image of the city has survived to the present day. The only known depiction of Kościan, dated to 1700, is a painting *The Vision of St. Augustine*, once located in the monastery of the Dominicans in Kościan. Currently, it can be viewed in the parish church dated to the early days of the city, where it hangs over one of the side entrances. Historians studying the city argue to this day whether the painting actually depicts Kościan or not. Furthermore, when it comes to the cartographic material, no plan or map with a medieval or early modern depiction of the city is known until the end of the eighteenth century.

The plan of the royal Kościan presented in this atlas was prepared on the basis of available cartographic records, the oldest of which date back to the end of the eighteenth century. The drawings made by Henryk Münch in the 1930s are most essential to the analysis of the spatial layout of the city in the second half of the sixteenth century. These are Kościan's plans from 1791,<sup>1</sup> 1794<sup>2</sup> and 1803.<sup>3</sup> Later ones, from 1798<sup>4</sup> and 1802–1803,<sup>5</sup> although depicting the city with the surrounding villages, did not present any details of the spatial layout of Kościan itself. Additionally, the Kościan cadaster map from 1863<sup>6</sup> and the plan of the city centre from 1900<sup>7</sup> were consulted. Another particularly valuable source was the print from a glass plate negative found in the collection of the Department of the Historical Atlas of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, which represents Kościan's plan from 1794, on the basis of which Münch made his drawing. The originals of this and the other two monuments were destroyed during the fire of the State Archives in Poznań in 1945.

The research on old Kościan began in the mid-nineteenth century and has lasted until the present day. It has been undertaken by academics as well as researchers studying the region, who have inquired into the city's past. Some of the first to broach this subject have been Józef Łukaszewicz and Klemens Koehler. During the Second Polish Republic and in first years after the Second World war, this topic was further explored by, among others, Father Zygmunt Cieplucha, Władysław Szodrski, Henryk Münch or Antoni Mączak. Following this, the history of Kościan was studied by Henryk Florkowski, Zbigniew Wielgosz, Andrzej Wędzki. The work of these historians concerns only the history of the city, including guilds, monasteries, culture and science, Church, hospitals and other issues related to the old Kościan. A particularly important contribution to the study of the sources concerning the history of the town was offered by the authors of the *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu*, including Krystyna Górską-Gołaską, whose works – devoted to the topography of

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<sup>1</sup> AP Poznań, Sketches and copies of the plans of Greater Polish cities by H. Münch, sign. O.pl.m.41.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem sign. O.pl.m.43.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem sign. O.pl.m.42.

<sup>4</sup> MRK, sign. 126/K, Map of the Kościan district from 1798.

<sup>5</sup> MRK, sign. 130/K, Map of South Prussia by Dawid Gilly 1802–1803.

<sup>6</sup> The Archive of the Department of Geodesy, Cartography, Cadaster and Property Management of the Powiat Starosta's Office in Kościan, sign. 58/10–5/1/63, Cadastral map of Kościan from 1935, copied from the cadastral map from 1863. Kościan district, Kościan precinct no. 87, f. 1 scale 1:5,000.

<sup>7</sup> MRK, sign. 18/K, Plans of Kościan from 1900.

the late medieval Kościan – constitute a sort of foundation for research on spatial layout of the city in the sixteenth century. The inspections of the voivodeships of Greater Poland and Cuyavia from the years 1564–1565 and 1628–1632 were utilized to describe the starosta’s buildings.

The map in the scale 1:10,000, found in this volume, shows the main urban layout of the city and its adjacent suburbs. The plan does not include the villages Naclaw, Czarkowo (Czarnków on the map) and Sierakowo, the bishop’s village Kielczewo, the vogt’s village Kurza Gora with the demesne and the buildings belonging to burghers, including mills, called Nowa Wieś (discussed further in this commentary), however the roads leading to them have been marked on the map. Furthermore, the plan does not encompass the starosta’s demesne of Grodztwo, the burgher demesne Wymykowo, as well as breweries, malt houses and granaries found near the Głogowska Gate. There was not enough information to securely identify their location. Sixteenth-century Kościan included the town surrounded by city walls, located at the fork of the Obra river, as well as unfortified suburbs: Poznańskie Przedmieście (*Poznań suburb*), Głogowskie Przedmieście (*Głogów suburb*) and Stare Miasto (*Old Town*).<sup>8</sup>

Kościan was most likely awarded town privileges at the end of the thirteenth century, under the rule of Przemysł II. The exact date of the location under German town law is unknown.<sup>9</sup> Only documents confirming the restoration of Kościan’s town rights by king Władysław Jagiełło in 1400 have survived until the present day. It was done under the Magdeburg Law and was to be modelled on the law, which was used in Poznań. The villages belonging to Kościan were also to be included under this law.<sup>10</sup>

The city was founded in the narrowing of the Obra Valley, in a place through which, on one side, ran a trade route connecting left-bank Poznań with Silesia, while the other side was inaccessible enough to allow an effective defence against a possible attack if necessary. According to Krystyna Górską-Gołaska, the natural flood areas of the Obra were used for defensive purposes of the future town, which from the east and the northeast was protected by the main riverbed, while from the west and north – by a man-made arm of the river, called *fossatum* in 1544 and *fossata civilis*, *fossa civilis* (ditch) in 1547 and 1549.<sup>11</sup> The earlier market settlement, mentioned in sources, was not located in the vicinity of the water and the marshes, but on a slight elevation north-west of the future town. The crossing of the Obra River, through which a travel and trade route ran, was most likely guarded by a fortified gord, which, in time, was probably transformed into a starosta’s castle made of brick.<sup>12</sup>

According to scholars studying the spatial layout of Kościan, at the time of its location, the town had an oval layout,<sup>13</sup> along which ran the aforementioned travel route. It developed primarily to the sides of the main axis – to the southeast and to the northwest. As a result, the town took on the shape

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<sup>8</sup> A. Wędzki, *Początki Kościana. Powstanie grodu i osady targowej na tle podziałów dzielnicowych południowo-zachodniej Wielkopolski*, [in:] *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, ed. K. Zimmiewicz, Kościan 2000, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> A. Wędzki (ibidem, *Kościan w czasach piastowskich*, “Rocznik Leszczyński”, vol. 8, 1987, p. 18) believed the original location of Kościan happened between 1253 and 1289. The first date is based on the location of the left bank of Poznań and the development of the trade route leading to Silesia, the second is based on a document issued by Przemysł II, in which a witness was a person from Kościan named Jakób. Ks. Z. Cieplucha lists him in his register of parish priests, *Z przeszłości ziemi kościańskiej*, Kościan 1929, p. 195. According to A. Wędzki, the mention of the parish priest cannot be the decisive factor about the nature of the settlement, since at that time there was already a relatively dense network of village parishes. However, given the fact that after 1289, there is an increase of the number of direct and indirect mentions of Kościan as a located town, it can be assumed that this mention already referred to a parish priest of a located town; see ibidem *Kościan w czasach piastowskich*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>10</sup> The original of the document issued by king Władysław Jagiełło for Kościan did not survive. We only know it from two copies dated to 1510 and 1548; the two versions differ from each other, see SHGPoz, part II, issue 3, p. 369; K. Górską-Gołaska, *Ustrój miasta i jego administracja*, [in:] *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> See K. Górską-Gołaska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, vol. 6, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warsaw 1994, p. 228; SHGPoz, part II, p. 344.

<sup>12</sup> The existence of the fortified gord in Kościan is mentioned in Yearbook of Traska (Rocznik Traski) from the fourteenth century.

<sup>13</sup> According to A. Wędzki, the irregular oval shape of Kościan was, on the one hand, was tied to the terrain, since the founded town was limited by the arms of the river, and on the other hand, was the result of the route that split into two streets within the city, which later reconnected by the town’s gates, see idem, *Lokalizacja i powstanie średniowiecznego miasta*, [in:] *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, p. 59; idem, *Kościan w czasach piastowskich*, p. 21. This hypothesis was similarly supported by K. Górską-Gołaska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 226. These authors also point out that an earlier theory, according to which the oval shape of the town was based on the market square of the settlement predating the formal founding of Kościan, can no longer be considered viable.

of a pear, cut across by the travel route running around the oval village.<sup>14</sup> The city with an area of about 10 hectares was surrounded by defensive walls erected at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the length of which reached 1,150 m. The diameter of the city's southeast axis was 300 m, while the northwest one, including the castle, was 450 m.<sup>15</sup> The city walls stood 6–7 m tall.<sup>16</sup> Initially, the town had two gates linked by the road running through it. These were the Poznańska (*Poznań*) and Głogowska (*Głogów*) Gates. The earliest mentions of the Głogowska Gate – *Porta Glogoviensis* are dated to 1396. The sources mention that in the sixteenth century, the gate was also called: *Glogische Thor* (1544), *Valva Glogoviensis* (1545), *Głogowska Brama* (1565), *Porta Glogoviensis* (1594).<sup>17</sup> The Poznańska Gate, on the other hand, was first referenced in 1493 under the name *Pozinsche Thor*. It was later known as: *Valva Poznaniensis* (1510), *Posnische Thor* (1542), *Valva Poznaniensis* (1546, 1550).<sup>18</sup>

It has been hypothesized that this period also saw the emergence of Kościan's coat of arms, as illustrated in the town seals. Historical sources do not reveal who originally designed it. It was probably decided on by the town counsellors and later approved by the royal chancellor. It consisted of a defensive tower, which meant that it belonged to the group of coats of arms with architectural designs.<sup>19</sup> One of the oldest known seals is known from the wax imprints on town documents from 1396, 1397, 1401, 1408. The relatively primitive execution suggests it was made in an earlier period. Other known town seals are dated to 1591, 1622, 1699 and represent the fortress tower with an open gate, often widening to the bottom, over which can be found two open windows. An embrasure supported or unsupported (as exemplified by the seal from 1622), on two abutments and battlements with four or – more often – five merlons has been placed over the windows. The tower is crowned with a triangular roof with a knob or cross.<sup>20</sup> Depending on the seal, the roof is supported on two or three merlons of the battlements.<sup>21</sup> The tower gate from the town's coat of arms was most likely used in the protective sign of the guild of clothiers in Kościan given to them by Casimir IV Jagiellon in 1472 (reconfirmed in 1475, as well as in 1509 by Sigismund I the Old). The lead sign, which was attached to logs of cloth (measurement of fabric), included a tower gate, which widened at the bottom and on which an eagle spreading its wings, with a C or S on its breast, was placed.<sup>22</sup>

In the mid-fifteenth century, another gate called the New Gate in 1510 came into use.<sup>23</sup> This likely happened as a result of the purchase of the village of Sierakowo in 1410 by the town,<sup>24</sup> as well as the founding of the Bernardine Friars' monastery in 1456.<sup>25</sup> No route ran through this gate, which in 1597 became known as the *Porta Antiquae Civitatis* and in 1599 – *Valva Antiquae Civitatis*, Nevertheless, it did shorten the path connecting Kościan with the suburb Old Town. At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the gate became known as Staromiejska (*of the Old Town*).<sup>26</sup>

The final gate, which makes an appearance in the source material, is the Wodna (*Water*) Gate, known also as the *Valva Aquatica* (1549), *Wasser Thor* (1553), *Porta Aquatica* (1597–1598).<sup>27</sup> It was located approximately halfway between Poznańska Gate and the castle and it was not an exit from the town, but rather an entry point in the town walls for the pipes with potable water, which was gathered in the fields of Kielczewo. The first waterworks in Kościan were made operational in the middle of

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<sup>14</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 226.

<sup>15</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 190.

<sup>16</sup> Sources do not describe the top of the wall. The wall was made of bricks in a style reminiscent of the Polish bond.

<sup>17</sup> See: SHGPoz, part II, p. 344; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 227.

<sup>18</sup> See: SHGPoz, part II, p. 344; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 227.

<sup>19</sup> P. Bauer, *Herb miasta Kościana*, Kościan 1987, typescript in the collection MRK, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> An example of a so-called "obesłanie" (plate bearing an emblem of a guild) of the tailor's guild from 1699. The deposit of Kościan's Cech Rzemiosł Różnych (*the Guild of Various Crafts*) at the Kościan Regional Museum.

<sup>21</sup> See: K. Koehler, *Herb miasta Kościana na pieczęciach wyobrażony a znak na plombie ochronnej nadanej sukiennikom tegoż miasta*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne", vol. 10, 1898, no. 2–3 (36–37), pp. 409–415; P. Bauer, *Pieczęcie magistrackie a herb miasta Kościana*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów kościańskiego magistratu*, ed. J. Kubicki, Kościan 2006, pp. 13–16; idem, *Herb miasta Kościana*, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> See K. Górską-Gołąska, *Ludność*, [in:] *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>23</sup> See *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 227.

<sup>24</sup> Ks. Z. Cieplucha, *Z przeszłości ziemi kościańskiej*, p. 193; SHGPoz, part II, issue 3, p. 373.

<sup>25</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 399.

<sup>26</sup> See K. Górską-Gołąska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 227.

<sup>27</sup> See ibidem p. 228.

the sixteenth century. In 1534, Jan Latański, the bishop of Poznań, allowed the town to buy land in the meadows from the peasants from Kielczewo in order to dig the ditches through which water was to be supplied to Kościan. For the right to use the land and to renew the ditches, the city was obliged to pay 6 grosze to the peasants of Kielczewo. Less than 10 years later in 1542, the city made an agreement with master Jan (*cannalium magister*) to build the devices delivering water to Kościan. Master Jan was to be paid 20 grosze per week and to receive workers, wood and other necessary materials needed to complete this undertaking. He was succeeded by Marcin Mielczarek, *aqueductor*, who adopted town law in 1548 and Wojciech Schlosser, *Rormeister*, who had a home on Poznańska Street until 1560.<sup>28</sup> The waterworks functioned all throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and for (at least) the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The maintenance of the waterworks ensured that the inhabitants had clean water, as the water from the marshy Obra was unfit for consumption. Access to water was important when choosing a place for the construction of the so-called malt houses, i.e. malt houses and breweries. Clusters of these buildings were located in the vicinity of the Wodna Gate and Kacza (*Duck*) Street, and also behind the Głogowska Gate by the moat and on Kamienna (*Stone*) Street (*Litostratos*).<sup>30</sup> It is not certain whether the waterworks system was directly connected with the city well, located in the market, and the town bath, which in the sixteenth century could be found on a lot at the crossroad of Sukiennicza (*Cloth*) and Kozia (*Goat*) Streets.<sup>31</sup> The bathhouse was located there at least in the years 1562–1565. Before that, it was situated by a square near Głogowska Gate.<sup>32</sup>

The system of city fortifications, in addition to the abovementioned walls and city gates, also included towers, sometimes called bastions. Sources mention at least two towers; the first, called Strzelnica,<sup>33</sup> could be found near the Głogowska Gate and the second one, called Kabat, to which led the path from Sukiennicza Street. It is mentioned in 1593 in a reference to a burgher who was held in a public prison commonly known as Kabat.<sup>34</sup> Further mentions of towers come from the beginning of the seventeenth century, i.e. from 1604 and 1614.<sup>35</sup>

The starosta's castle located in the southeastern part of the city was an element of the Kościan's defensive system with its own walls, independent of the city's walls.<sup>36</sup> It had a square shape,<sup>37</sup> and the walls protecting it may have been up to 60 m long.<sup>38</sup> Their height may have reached 6–7 m, like the city walls.<sup>39</sup> According to the inspection of the castle from 1565, there were three unfinished buildings with a total length of 87 ells and a stable for 30 horses in the eastern section of the castle courtyard.<sup>40</sup> The entrance to the castle was guarded by a gate. The main castle was located in the southern section

<sup>28</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 375; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Ustrój miasta*, p. 131.

<sup>29</sup> In 1624, in the will of one of Kościan's merchants, 500 guldens were donated to the renewal and laying of pine pipes from the Przysiecki spring to the town; compare with R. Marciniak, *Gospodarka komunalna i wymiar sprawiedliwości*, [in:] *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, p. 243; K. Górską-Gołąska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 228.

<sup>30</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Topografia miasta, układ sieci drożnej, zabudowa*, [in:] *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, p. 78.

<sup>31</sup> From the accounts of employees of municipal waterworks and companies dealing with municipal roads since the 1960s, it seems that during the works conducted in the 1980s and 1990s, wooden pipes and metal clamps most likely belonging to the old waterworks system of Kościan were uncovered from time to time. The pipes were found on Wrocławska Street (1960s), Piłsudski Street and Plac Niezlomnych (1980s) or Wodna Street and Szczepanowski Street (the 1990s). From this last street and Plac Niezlomnych come metal clamps (MRK, reference number 26A) and an approx. 50 cm long fragment of a wooden pipe (MRK, sign. 968 H), currently found in the collection of Kościan Museum.

<sup>32</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 375.

<sup>33</sup> This was the name of the building near the Głogowska Gate, marked on the map of meadows and marshlands near Kościan in 1791; AP Poznań, Sketches and copies of the plans of Greater Polish cities by H. Münch, sign. O.pl.m. 41.

<sup>34</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Ustrój miasta*, p. 124.

<sup>35</sup> See ibidem, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 227.

<sup>36</sup> The castle, or rather the fortified gord, existed already during the conquest of Kościan by Władysław I Łokietek in 1332. This was noted in the Yearbook of Traska in the fourteenth and in Jan Długosz's ninth book of *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*; see also *Kościan: zarys dziejów*, ed. Z. Wielgosz, K. Zimniewicz, Warsaw–Poznań 1985, pp. 7–9.

<sup>37</sup> The rectangular shape of what once was the starosta's castle was clearly marked and described at the end of the eighteenth century on the maps, known from the sketches by H. Münch.

<sup>38</sup> See: LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 10; *Rewizja zamku w Kościanie z dnia 24 stycznia 1565*, [in:] K. Koehler, *Dawne cechy i bractwa strzeleckie. Rzecz osnuta na danych o cechach i o bractwie strzeleckim w Kościanie*, Poznań 1899, pp. 445–449.

<sup>39</sup> See Widawski, *Mury*, p. 190.

<sup>40</sup> If we assume the length of the ell at the time was 57.6–58.6 cm, the total length of the three buildings could be no more than 51 m. If we include the stable for 30 horses, mentioned in the inspection, which may have had a width of at least 5–6 m, it appears that the wall surrounding the starosta's castle could have had up to 60 m.

of the complex. It was most probably one-story building with a basement. It would have had two rooms on the ground floor and on the first floor. In one of the rooms upstairs, the gord court sessions could be held.<sup>41</sup> The castle also contained residential buildings for the servants, as well as the chamber of the deputy starosta, who acted here on behalf of the starostas. Additionally, the complex included a kitchen, a pantry and other utility rooms.<sup>42</sup> The aforementioned inspection also references the fallen castle wall, over 30 m long, found on the northern side of the complex.<sup>43</sup> The state of neglect of Kościan Castle, as described in the inspection, may have been evidence of the fact that the starostas managing the royal property did not pay much attention to the maintenance or repair of the buildings, including the castle walls. Such a state of affair most likely resulted from the nature of the starosta's district as a non-gord centre.<sup>44</sup>

A malt horse mill belonging to the castle, rebuilt by starosta Czarnkowski, was found on the side of the town and a brewery located behind the castle by the pond.<sup>45</sup> Near the brewery, behind the castle buildings by the river, there was a water mill with three general flour wheels and a fulling wheel.<sup>46</sup> The second water mill was located north of the town. Jagielna Street led to it.<sup>47</sup> The estates of the Kościan starosta's district included the village of Bonikowo and a part of the village of Kurza Góra with the vogt and peasants, and the vogt's demesne in the village bought in 1586 by the scribe Gębicki.<sup>48</sup> The buildings of the Kurza Góra demesne consisted of a white chamber with a hall, fenced off barnyard with two barns, a cowshed and a sheepfold.<sup>49</sup> The second demesne, Grodztwo, was located to the south of the town, to the left of the so-called Great Road leading to Wschowa. The property included a white chamber with a hall, a fenced barnyard with two barns and a garner, a shed, a sheepfold and a pigsty.<sup>50</sup> The starosta's estate also included the town's villages of Naclaw, Czarkowo and Sierakowo, which, however, were managed directly by Kościan's authorities.<sup>51</sup>

The centre of the sixteenth-century Kościan was the market square, called *circulus* in 1510 and 1548.<sup>52</sup> It resembled a square in shape, with dimensions of 75 x 80 m. Individual frontages by the market square were divided into nine plots,<sup>53</sup> with a single plot width of up to 6.9 m and length up to 50 m. Plots of land measured in this way favoured the construction of three-bay houses, most likely with arcades, up to 16 m in length.<sup>54</sup> In the middle of the market, which was the heart of the town's economic activity, there were – in addition to the previously mentioned well – butcher shops and city stalls, belonging to various guilds in Kościan.<sup>55</sup> Following the great fire of Kościan, which occurred on 24 July 1503, and destroyed most of the town, King Alexander Jagiellon allowed for the butcher

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<sup>41</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 344.

<sup>42</sup> See: LWWK 1564, pp. 8–10; LWWK 1628, part 1, pp. 64–65. According to the inspection from 1656, parts of the castle were older, while others were constructed or renovated during the times of Wojciech Czarnkowski, starosta of Kościan (in the years 1556–1564). See also other inventories of the Kościan castle: AGAD, group 7, section LVI, K 8 (from the years 1551–1775, mkf 2721).

<sup>43</sup> See LWWK 1564, p. 10.

<sup>44</sup> See K. Górską-Gołaską, *Ośrodek starostwa niegrodowego – domena królewska*, [in:] *Dzieje Kościana*, vol. 1, pp. 143–145.

<sup>45</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 11.

<sup>46</sup> LWWK 1628, p. 66.

<sup>47</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 345.

<sup>48</sup> Ks. Z. Cieplucha, *Z przeszłości ziemi kościańskiej*, p. 14.

<sup>49</sup> LWWK 1564, p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> See: *ibidem*, pp. 8–10; LWWK 1628, p. 69; SHGPoz, part II, pp. 407–408.

<sup>51</sup> The starosta, who was a representative of the king, was the lord and chief of the village Naclaw and Czarkowo, received only 53 fl. and 22 gr of rent annually; see LWWK 1564, p. 160.

<sup>52</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 342.

<sup>53</sup> K. Górską-Gołaską assumes that there were 9 lots in each frontage of the market square at least from the founding of the town to the sixteenth century. This number was most likely reduced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is evidenced by the number of lots on the town's plan from 1794. In *Historia Kościana*, a schematic plan of the square created by K. Górską-Gołaską was included. It contained a division of the frontages and lots, as well as their owners from the mid-sixteenth century until the seventeenth century; see *Historia Kościana*, vol. 1: *Okres staropolski*, ed. K. Zimmiewicz, Kościan 2005, pp. 76–80.

<sup>54</sup> J. Strumiński, *Próba limitacji mierniczej układu przestrzennego średniowiecznego Kościana*, [in:] *Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Miłośników Ziemi Kościańskiej 1979–1980*, ed. H. Florowski, Kościan 1985, pp. 21–22.

<sup>55</sup> The guilds of Kościan in the sixteenth century included: cap makers, potters, wheelmakers, blacksmiths, stallholders, tailors, furriers, bakers, brewers, linen makers, butchers, clothiers, shoemakers. See K. Górską-Gołaską, *Ludność*, pp. 89–114.

shops to be moved in 1504 from the market to the street, which was located behind the market's south-eastern frontage and connected the parochial church with Głogowska Street.<sup>56</sup> For several years after this fire, the townspeople of Kościan strove to reduce taxes and limit church rents.<sup>57</sup> Construction works were carried out as evidenced by, for example, the purchase of the wood for the reconstruction of the Kościan parish church.

Historians do not agree on the location of the late medieval town hall. However, it can be assumed that in the sixteenth century, it was not centrally located in the middle of Kościan's market square. Instead, it would have been situated in a half-timbered burgher house, part of a frontage by the market, near the northern corner of the square. Sixteenth-century sources mention houses located "at" or "behind" the town hall. There are records from the years 1548 and 1593 of a house in the market square near the town hall. In 1561, a house behind the town hall was described; in 1562, the house by the market square, on the way to the bathhouse, behind the town hall was replaced. An entry from 1748 notes that a house on Mnisza (*Monk*) Street, on the corner of the market most likely had a damaged wall, which was facing the town hall ("bad wall").<sup>58</sup>

There was also a weigh house in the market, along with a cloth cropping facility, the management of which was given by royal privilege in 1553 to Mikołaj Broda, also known as Anebus, a cloth shearer. The same privilege allowed him to brew and serve beer. The king awarded Broda all the proceeds from these facilities, while exempting him from paying taxes to the starosta and the town. After his death, Tomasz Wierusz took over, although he did cede the weigh house to the town as collateral for his unpaid debt of 40 florins. Once he passed away, the city took over the house in return for unpaid debts. Moreover, by selling the house in 1598 to Grzegorz Lizewicz, the town council ordered him to keep an inn there, while the weigh house and the shearing room were to be moved elsewhere within six years.<sup>59</sup>

There were eight streets connected to the market square, two per corner. Four of them formed the oval, through which ran the trade route from Poznań to Silesia. These were Głogowska and Kościelna (*Church*) Streets, which connected the market with Głogowska Gate, and Poznańska and Mnisza Streets, which connected the market with Poznańska Gate. Głogowska Street, in 1510 known as *platea Glogoviensis*, and in 1542 and 1544 called *Glogaschegasse* and *Glogischegasse*, led to the western corner of the market square and was part of the so-called Great Road. In 1595, one of the records noted that Głogowska Street is connected to the market.<sup>60</sup> Kościelna Street, called *platea Ecclesie* in 1510 and 1589, *Kirchgasse*, *Kirchengasse* in 1543, 1551 and 1557, and "Kosczyelna" in 1565, was the second street connecting the market with Głogowska Gate.<sup>61</sup> It started in the southern corner of the market and it led to the parish church. These two streets were connected through a passage or a square, to which the butcher shops were brought in 1504 from the market. Poznańska Street was connected to the western corner of the market and led to Poznańska Gate. This street, in 1510 and 1588 called the *platea Posnaniensis* and in 1559 *Posnische Gasse*, was part of the trade route going through Kościan. Another street connecting the market with Poznańska Gate was Mnisza Street, which ran from the northern corner of the market and was called *Münchegasse* in 1543 and "Mnysza ulica" in 1566.<sup>62</sup> What differentiated it was its slightly different shape. Starting in the northern corner of the market, it headed towards the city gate, only to split after several dozen meters into two sections, one of which turned left towards the Dominican monastery, and the other turned right, reaching Poznańska Gate and connecting the town with the Przedmieście Poznańskie. The street's curious shape is attested in the records about the Dominican monastery and houses in its vicinity: in 1605, a house on Mnisza Street beside the monastery, in 1599, the monastery church of St. Nicholas on the same street, in 1601, a house also on this street, adjacent to the city wall near the Poznańska Gate, and in 1560 and 1594 houses on the corner of the market square and Mnisza Street.<sup>63</sup> Among the remaining streets that connected to the

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<sup>56</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 369.

<sup>57</sup> King Alexander Jagiellon exempted the townspeople from paying taxes and church rents for 20 years, see *Kościan: zarys dziejów*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>58</sup> See SHGPoz, part II, p. 342.

<sup>59</sup> K. Górka-Gołaska, *Ustrój miasta*, p. 130.

<sup>60</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 343.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*.

market, which handled local traffic, perpendicular to the route that ran around the oval rundling, only one street had a name.<sup>64</sup> It was Kozia Street, which connected to the northern corner of the market in the direction of Sukiennicza Street, near the church of the Dominicans. Sources from the sixteenth century reveal that it had several names: *platea Caprorum* (1511), *Tzigengasse* (1542), *Czigengasse* (1543), *Czegengasse*, which ran from the market (1553), *Czigengasse*, which ran from the market to the bathhouse (1554), *platea Caprina* (1562), *platea Caprarum*, leading from the market to the bathhouse (1564), the house “w Kozy uliczy” (1565).<sup>65</sup> The remaining three roads running from the market connected to the starosta’s castle and Nowa (New) Gate. They did not have names; in sources, they are presented in a descriptive manner. The streets connecting the castle with the New Gate ran along the south-western frontage of the market. They were described as follows: the street in front of the castle, on the way from the parochial church to castle (1551), the corner of Kościelna Street and the street leading to the castle (1610), the little street (*Gasse*) running from the market to the New Gate (1552), the street leading from the market to the Old Town (1561, 1564), the corner of the Sukiennicza Street and running to Old Town (1565).<sup>66</sup> The lack of names could suggest that they were located along lots with buildings facing the market and Sukiennicza, Głogowska and Kościelna streets. This stretch was probably created later than the other streets near the market square and it may have been the result of the clearing of certain plots located by the market square and the aforementioned streets. The southeastern part of the route could have been built in connection with the construction of the castle in the fourteenth century, and the northwestern section as a result of the creation of the New Gate in the fifteenth century.<sup>67</sup> The final street running from the eastern corner the market square led to the castle and merged with Kacza Street behind the plots located by Poznańska Street.

Kacza Street, called *platea Kacza* in 1510, *Eyntenagasse* in 1537, *platea Anetarum* in 1548,<sup>68</sup> connected the shortest road to the Poznańska Gate with the starosta’s castle. This road could not only be used to reach the malt houses or the horse mill, located near the castle, but also the parochial church or the buildings near it. According to Górska-Gołaska, Kacza (*Duck*) Street was still directly connected to Poznańska Gate in the sixteenth century. For those arriving from Poznań, it would have been the fastest route to the castle. After the Swedes destroyed the castle in 1655–1656, the road became useless, which would explain why by 1794, the extension of the street towards Poznańska Gate no longer existed.<sup>69</sup> A similar function to Kacza Street, which connected the castle with Poznańska Gate, was fulfilled by Kapłańska (*Priest*) Street; it connected the castle to Głogowska Gate. This street ran along lots located by the city walls. In source material, it is called: *Prystergasse* (1542), *Pristergasse* (1543), *platea Sacerdotum* (1562, 1563, 1598), “ulica Kapłańska” (1565).<sup>70</sup> The parish school was located there.<sup>71</sup> The school could be accessed from the parochial church through the cemetery found between Kapłańska and Kościelna Streets. In 1558, a wicket gate (*portula*) led from the cemetery in the direction of Kapłańska Street and the parish school.<sup>72</sup> The cemetery, just as the school, was located there from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The space between these streets was occupied by a complex of buildings belonging to the parish and the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The origins of this sixteenth-century church towering over the town probably date back to the town’s location in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>73</sup> The construction was conducted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>74</sup> The previously mentioned fire, which ravaged the town in 1503, contributed to

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<sup>64</sup> See K. Górska-Gołaska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 231.

<sup>65</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 343.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>67</sup> K. Górska-Gołaska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 232.

<sup>68</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 343.

<sup>69</sup> K. Górska-Gołaska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 233.

<sup>70</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 343.

<sup>71</sup> The foundations of the parish school were discovered during archaeological excavations conducted by the Regional Museum of Kościan in 2004.

<sup>72</sup> SHGPoz, part II, issue 3, p. 343.

<sup>73</sup> According to Z. Cieplucha, the oldest mentions of the parochial church are dated to 1333. A large church seal from 1356 confirms that the church was always dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; see *idem*, *Z przeszłości ziemi kościańskiej*, p. 194.

<sup>74</sup> The three-nave structure was probably erected until the mid-fourteenth century. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, chapels funded by brotherhoods and town’s guilds were added to the body of the church. After the fire, the church

the reconstruction of the church lasting until 1510.<sup>75</sup> In order to rebuild the parochial church, the city authorities and the townspeople of Kościan donated money, evidenced by, among others, testamentary records. Another form of support for the reconstruction were the efforts of the authorities to obtain an exemption from paying taxes and – as was the case in 1505 – the donation of 60 oak trunks to the reconstruction of the church.<sup>76</sup> In 1549, a fire broke out, causing the collapse of the church tower, which was rebuilt before 1594.<sup>77</sup> The tower finally collapsed in 1711. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the church included more than 20 altarage-funded chapels. The church was managed by the Knights Hospitaller, whose commanders performed the function of parish priests of Kościan.<sup>78</sup> According to Zbigniew Wielgosz, the Kościan parish included the town of Kościan and several local villages. The basis of the parochial church's endowment was the beneficial village of Widziszewo, the demesne Pianowo in Kurza Góra and the "rola Szyba", the location of which is uncertain. The documentation of the visitation in 1610 mention that the endowment of the church parson, besides the land fundum, included payments for mass from Kościan villages: Naclaw, Czarków, Ponin, Sieraków, Kokorzyn, Godziszew, Szczodrów, Kurza Góra and Kielczew, and from the demesnes in Ponin, Kokorzyn and Szczodrów. The parish therefore included Kościan and 12 villages.<sup>79</sup>

In the northern part of the town, Sukiennicza Street played a similar role to Kapłańska Street in the southern part. The longest street in town began at Głogowska Gate and ran along the city walls, cutting through the street connecting the market with New Gate, reaching the square, by which the Dominican monastery was located in 1410.<sup>80</sup> Houses on this street, called in 1510 *platea Textorum, platea Pannificium*,<sup>81</sup> stood only on one side. Just as in the case of Kapłańska Street, some lots reached the city walls. At the same time, Sukiennicza Street, which was called "Sukyennicza ulicza" from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, in 1565 formed the back section of the lots by the market and Głogowska Street. In the sixteenth century, the bathhouse was located on this street, which also led to Kabat tower. The name of the street was derived from one of the oldest and largest Kościan guilds, the clothiers, whose houses, workshops, and the first and only known headquarters of the elders of the guild (the so-called *Dom Knapski*) in Kościan – mentioned in the years 1562–1612 – were all located there.<sup>82</sup> As Antoni Mączak established, there were around 27 cloth workshops in Kościan in 1580.<sup>83</sup>

The monastery of the Dominican order could be found at the end of Sukiennicza Street.<sup>84</sup> Having obtained the approval of Władysław Jagiełło, the burghers dedicated parts of the northeast section of the town to the monastery. The lot, which housed the monastery buildings and the church of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Nicholas and St. Valentine, bordered the city wall.<sup>85</sup> This was some of the cheapest land in the town and among the last to be built on; such a location was typical for mendicant convents.<sup>86</sup>

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was rebuilt and the presbytery was expanded to three-naves, a new vault was constructed, at the same time covering the naves and chapels with one roof; see KZS, vol. 5: *Województwo poznańskie*, issue 10: *Powiat kościański*, ed. T. Ruszczyńska, A. Sławska, Warsaw 1980, p. 45.

<sup>75</sup> The responsibility for starting the fire on 24 July 1503, was assigned to Hospitaller Tomasz, a former preacher in Kościan. Due to the anger of Kościan's inhabitants and the desire to retaliate against Tomasz, on 28 July a town councilor named Urban with a writer Stanisław took Tomasz to Poznań and presented the case to the bishop of Poznań, Jan Lubrański, who arrested Thomas and opened an investigation to find the cause of the fire and the guilty parties. On 18 August he ruled the behavior of the Hospitaller to be unfitting of his status, praised the attitude of the townspeople and sentenced Tomasz to be thrown out of the diocese and to undergo canonical purification; see SHGPoz, part II, p. 377.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, p. 376.

<sup>77</sup> See Z. Cieplucha, *Z przeszłości ziemi kościańskiej*, p. 194.

<sup>78</sup> The functioning of the Knights Hospitaller in Kościan and the parochial church from the fifteenth century was discussed by Z. Wielgosz, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, [in:] *Historia Kościana*, vol. 1, pp. 176–211.

<sup>79</sup> Idem, p. 180; SHGPoz, part II, p. 376; J. Nowacki, *Archidiecezja Poznańska w granicach historycznych i jej ustrój*, Poznań 1963, p. 427.

<sup>80</sup> See ŁOp., vol. 2, pp. 172–173.

<sup>81</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 343.

<sup>82</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Ludność*, pp. 108–109.

<sup>83</sup> See A. Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie: XIV–XVII wiek*, Warsaw 1955, p. 263.

<sup>84</sup> The history of the Dominicans' church in Kościan was discussed by Father W. Szoldrski, *Kościół Dominikanów I kaplica P. Jezusa w Kościanie*, Włocławek 1927; see also SHGPoz, part II, pp. 395–399.

<sup>85</sup> A fragment of the fourteenth-century wall appears to currently be located on the estate of the parish of Our Lord Jesus and of the court of Kościan, which previously belonged to the monastery of the Dominican Order.

<sup>86</sup> Z. Wielgosz, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, p. 199.

Mnisza Street led from Poznańska Gate to the monastery. The construction of the monastery was led by the first prior of the facility, Jan Prutheni. It lasted most likely until 1426.<sup>87</sup> The monastery remained unchanged until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was rebuilt after the fire of 1503, in part thanks to the numerous bequests made to the Dominican monks by the inhabitants of Kościan, especially those who lived near the monastery, such as the cobblers, the clothiers, weavers, bathhouse attendants, bakers, furriers and saddlers.<sup>88</sup> One of the most famous foundations for the Dominican monastery came from a native of Kościan, Maciej Kleiber. His donations between 1578–1589 exceeded many times those of the burghers' bequests. Kleiber was a vicar in perpetuity, deputy custodian of the Cracow Cathedral, who donated to the monastery, among others, the rents from the villages of Naclaw, Sieraków and Czarków, rents purchased from the town council and a sum of 500 grzywny, thanks to which gardens and a windmill were bought in the Przedmieście Poznańskie.<sup>89</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the town behind city walls, surrounded by the river and partially by the man-made mote, also included suburbs, the origins of which can be dated to the fourteenth century.<sup>90</sup> The Przedmieście Poznańskie was the oldest. It lay to the east of the city and was called Smoleńsko (Schmolensko) in 1543.<sup>91</sup> This name was most likely tied to the production of tar, which was needed by the shoemakers' guild. Many representatives of this guild inhabited this area. A paved street leading towards Poznań ran along the partially urbanized suburbs.<sup>92</sup> It had several names: *Peitsch* (1465), *Steinweg* (1493), *Picza ante Costan* (1510), *Paytzen* (1542), *Litostratos*, *Pycza* (1546), *Picza sutorum* (1558, 1562), "Smolinsko" (1588), *Platea Sutorum* (1592), *platea Sutorum Pycza dicta* (1594, 1599).<sup>93</sup> This area was separated from the town by the main riverbed of the Obra and its two branches.<sup>94</sup> In order to reach the city from Poznań, three bridges had to be crossed; information about them comes from sources dated to the years 1550, 1560 and 1563.<sup>95</sup> Behind the third bridge, approximately 250 m from the city gates, the townspeople founded and endowed the church and hospital of the Holy Spirit in 1385.<sup>96</sup> The city provided the church and hospital with an annual rent of 28 grzywny, and the townsman Henklin Goelczel granted them 1½ lans of land on Kurza Góra. Queen Hedwig confirmed this donation and freed the hospital grounds from all financial burdens. The sources note that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were many records of rents, as well as larger and smaller sums

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<sup>87</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 395.

<sup>88</sup> According to Z. Wielgosz, the location of the Dominicans in the north-east of the town, within the area of the so-called *platea monachorum* and the road leading to the Przedmieście Poznańskie through Poznańska Gate, which was inhabited by shoemakers, and near Sukiennicza Street (which connected Głogowska Gate and the monastery), where craftsmen and poorer inhabitants from the Przedmieście Poznańskie lived, influenced the reach and the socio-religious influence of the monastery. It is believed that the monks were particularly influential amongst this urban population, see idem, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, p. 204.

<sup>89</sup> Ibidem, p. 205.

<sup>90</sup> The exact date of the founding of the suburbs is unknown. It is, however, believed that the hospital church of the Holy Spirit from the Przedmieście Poznańskie and the one of the Holy Cross from the Przedmieście Głogowskie, which appeared at the end of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, were constructed in an already urbanized space.

<sup>91</sup> See K. Górską-Gołaską, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 235.

<sup>92</sup> According to K. Górską-Gołaską, the exact shape of this suburb in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is unknown. In the eighteenth century, it was partially located on an island (the scholar believes that they were probably two small islets), surrounded by the flood waters of the Obra River; the part closest to the Poznańska Gate was built up on both sides of the road. Across the second bridge, the land on the left side of the street belonged to the village of Kielczewo, and the buildings were located on the right side. The buildings of the church and hospital of the Holy Spirit were situated in close proximity to the third bridge; see ibidem, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, pp. 236–237.

<sup>93</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 344; K. Górską-Gołaską, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 235.

<sup>94</sup> There is evidence of a third channel of the Obra River, visible on the copy of the plan of Kościan from 1791 made by H. Münch. Initially, it may have run by the church of the Holy Spirit, but it appears that the flooding it caused on the church's estate led to burying part of the channel and to the creation of a dyke. The channel itself was redirected north towards the lower terrain, creating a pond known as the *Zły dół* (*Bad Pit*). From there, the channel ran along the street towards the church of the Holy Spirit, crossing the street and flowing into the old prong of the river, only to merge with the main channel of the Obra, north of the city. It is believed that the section from the road to the riverbed dried up or was covered up in the nineteenth century, since the maps from that time period do not show this fragment of the channel. However, a small ditch used to drain these areas, which still existed in the first half of the twentieth century, could have been a remainder of the original channel, which diverged from the river Obra behind the castle and ran northwards to the dyke and the pond.

<sup>95</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 344.

<sup>96</sup> The church and the hospital were also dedicated to the glory of Mary, Mother of God, and to the saints: Catherine, Margaret, Dorothea, Barbara, 11,000 Virgins, Nicholas, Stanislaus, Adalbert, George.

in coin donated to the church and hospital by the inhabitants of the town.<sup>97</sup> The visitation of Kasper Hap, the archdeacon of Śrem, in 1610 contained a description of the hospital, which stood by the road to Poznań. It was a single house, containing a large, heated room and several smaller chambers. The hospital buildings also included cowsheds, stables and barns. Ten poor individuals were residing at the hospital.<sup>98</sup> The church, which originally had been made of wood, was rebuilt in the gothic style before 1620 by Bartłomiej Grzech, who was the church's provost at the time.<sup>99</sup> The demesne Wymkowo, which belonged to the townspeople from Kościan, could be found near the church in 1555. Similarly located was a mill, which stood near the road to Poznań and was mentioned in 1559 and 1560.<sup>100</sup>

From the southwest lay the Przedmieście Głogowskie suburb, located right behind Głogowska Gate. It was most likely founded in the second half of the fourteenth century, about 250 m from the city gates. In 1396,<sup>101</sup> the burghers founded a second hospital church – consecrated to the Holy Cross – in the town. The buildings in the suburb were situated on both sides of the street running through this area. This road, which ran from the town's gates in the direction of the town's villages Naclaw and Czarkowo, was called "stone" (*kamienna*), most likely due to its cobblestone finish. In the sources, the names *platea lapidea*, *platea litostratos*, *Steinweg*, *Steyenwege*, *Lytostratos*, "na Kamienny drogze" are found in the years 1510, 1542, 1547, 1544, 1562 and 1565.<sup>102</sup> The aforementioned church was endowed by the town's authorities with rent in the amount of 7 grzywny, and in 1425, King Władysław Jagiełło gave the hospital the right to collect the tithe from the royal demesne Grodztwo.<sup>103</sup> According to the bishop's decrees from 1565 and 1610, the provost of the church had to be the permanent Polish preacher at the parochial church.<sup>104</sup> From the beginning, it played the role of a hospital-asylum for the mentally ill and leprosarium for the lepers.<sup>105</sup> In this suburb, not far away from Głogowska Gate, on the left side of Kamienna Street the Corpus Christi church was built in the mid-fifteenth century. It was first referenced in 1451.<sup>106</sup> This church was completely destroyed during the Swedish Deluge in 1655.<sup>107</sup> Breweries and most likely the townspeople's granaries, including the one belonging to the town and mentioned in 1561 and 1575, were located by the moat near Głogowska Gate.<sup>108</sup> Behind the buildings of this suburb, following the road towards the town's villages of Naclaw and Czarkowo, a small concentration of buildings and gardens belonging to the townspeople of Kościan, called Nowa Wieś, was formed in the sixteenth century. This suburb, called *Neudorff* (1543), *Nova Villa* (1545), *Newen Dorf* (1550), "na Nowy Wssy" (1565), housed the largest cluster of Kościan's windmills. The tax register from 1530 mentioned that there were as many as 10 of them.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Comparte with SHGPoz, part II, p. 392; Z. Wielgosz, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, pp. 196–197.

<sup>98</sup> See ŁOp., vol. 2, p. 174.

<sup>99</sup> According to the visitation of the bishop of Poznań, Maciej Łubieński: "The hospital church of the Holy Spirit, located in the suburbs of Kościan, which was rebuilt in burnt brick from the foundations up through the efforts of the revered Bartłomiej Grzech, the current parson, presents itself quite splendidly and has been already completed"; see *ibidem*, pp. 170–171.

<sup>100</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 344.

<sup>101</sup> In 1396, the townspeople of Kościan received pope Boniface IX's permission to found the Chapel of the Holy Cross and the saints Fabian, Sebastian, Eustace, Erasmus, Alexius behind Głogowska Gate. Simultaneously, the pope awarded the patronage over the chapel to the authorities of the town, see SHGPoz, part II, p. 393. According to Z. Wielgosz, the exact date of the foundation of the church and hospital remains unknown. Scholars believe that it already functioned around 1420. The year 1412, which J. Łukaszewicz (*idem*, *Krótki opis*, vol. 2, p. 171) suggests as the date of the founding of the church, has not been confirmed; compare with: Z. Wielgosz, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, p. 198; SHGPoz, part II, p. 393.

<sup>102</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 344.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 393.

<sup>104</sup> Z. Cieplucha, *Z przeszłości ziemi kościańskiej*, pp. 198–199.

<sup>105</sup> The leprosarium in Kościan was the second such hospital in Greater Poland (along with the one in Poznań). There are many testamentary bequests of rents and sums of money that Kościan burghers made to this hospital, see *Kościan: zarys dziejów*, p. 41.

<sup>106</sup> In this year, there is a mention of municipal office as having patronage over the All Saints altar; see SHGPoz, part II, p. 393. According to Z. Wielgosz, the chronology of the foundation of this church is difficult to establish. All the information, provided by the available sources, allows for the questioning of earlier assumptions that it also performed the function of a hospital church, and next to it there was a hospice – a shelter for the sick; compare *idem*, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, p. 195.

<sup>107</sup> The visitation of the bishop Gniński from the years 1672–1683 informs us that the church and the hospital were so badly damaged that the inspector was only showed the place where the church once stood.

<sup>108</sup> K. Górka-Gońska, *Topografia miasta, układ sieci drożnej, zabudowa*, p. 80.

<sup>109</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 408; K. Górka-Gońska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, p. 240.

The Przedmieście Głogowskie and Stare Miasto, located to the west and southwest, were connected by a street named Kiernozia. It stretched along the city walls and connected Głogowska Gate and New Gate. In source materials, it figures as: *platea dicta Pewsgasse* (1547, 1549), *Pewsgasse* (1556), *platea Kiernozia* (1552, 1593), *platea Verina* (1558).<sup>110</sup> The suburb Old Town is referred to in scholarship as the site of Kościan in the thirteenth century, before the foundation of the town.<sup>111</sup> In the mid-sixteenth century, it was densely covered with the burgher's gardens, residential buildings and malt houses. In the years 1542, 1546–1547, 1552 and 1565, the suburb was called: *Oldensadt*, *Alte Stadt*, *Antuiqua Civitas*, *Aldte Stadt*, “Sthare Myastho”.<sup>112</sup> It stretched along Sierakowska Street, also called the road to the Bernardine Friars, Discalced Carmelites or Friars Minor. In 1542, the street was called *Schirker Gasse*, in 1544 – *platea Sirakoviensis*, in 1545 – “...Syrałow” and in 1547 – “ulica Sierakowska za Nową Bramą”.<sup>113</sup> Two roads departed from it near the Bernardine Friars' monastery, of which the first ran towards Sierakowo, while the other led to the nearby brickyard, which in 1546 was called *lateraria*, in 1547 – *lateraria alias czegelnicza* or in 1588 – *laterificia*. The beginnings of the brickyard probably date back to the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>114</sup> Behind the Nowa Gate, a road departed right from Sierakowska Street leading to the castle mill, situated by the dike to the north of the town. This street was called Jagielna. In the fourteenth century, it was referred to as: *Hirsze Winkel* (1542), *Hyrze Winkel* (1543) *Hirszen Winckell*, *platea Hirszenwinkel* (1548), *platea Milii alias Yagielna* (1545), *plate Jagielna* (1550).<sup>115</sup>

The Bernardine Friars' monastery was founded by the town's authorities on 3 November 1456. That was when the square behind the city walls was passed on to the monks. Previously, a fortified shooting range used by the local archery brotherhood was located there. The monastery was situated on the road leading to Głogów. The donation to the Friars Minor included two gardens with two houses, which stood opposite to the current shooting range from the eastern side.<sup>116</sup> Originally a monastery and the church of Our Lady of the Angels were built with wood and half-timbered walls; however, according to sources from the beginning of the seventeenth century, due to the risk of collapse, a decision was made to rebuild the church and monastery complex.<sup>117</sup> With the permission of king Sigismund III Vasa's and through the dedications of the townspeople and neighbouring gentry, new brick monastery buildings were constructed in the years 1603–1611. The construction works were carried out by the guardian Leonard Łapczyński and the new church was consecrated on 16 April 1611 by the suffragan bishop of Poznań, Andrzej Rychlicki.<sup>118</sup>

Psia Street, called *Hundesgasse*, *Hundsgasse* in 1542 and *platea Canum* in 1545, 1549, 1553 and 1557, could be found behind the Bernardine Friars' monastery.<sup>119</sup> The monastery of the Bernardine Sisters was located there. The home of the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis (*sorores tertiariae*) by Psia (*Dog*) Street was mentioned in sources dated to, among others, 1557 and 1565.<sup>120</sup> The Sisters of Saint Francis appeared in Kościan soon after the Bernardine Friars in 1472.<sup>121</sup> They did not have their own church in Kościan, instead attending mass in the monastery church of the Friars Minor.

<sup>110</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 345.

<sup>111</sup> The subject of the trade settlement before the foundation of the town was discussed by A. Wędzki, *Początki Kościana. Powstanie grodu i osady targowej*, pp. 46–53.

<sup>112</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 344.

<sup>113</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 344.

<sup>114</sup> The privilege issued by king Władysław Jagiełło in 1409, testifying to the advanced stage of the construction of the city walls, may indirectly indicate a working brickyard, the location of which was confirmed when it was handed over by the townspeople of Kościan the square for the construction of the Bernardine monastery in 1456.

<sup>115</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 345.

<sup>116</sup> See *idem*, p. 399.

<sup>117</sup> See *idem*, p. 407.

<sup>118</sup> See *idem*; Z. Wielgosz, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, pp. 207–208.

<sup>119</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 345.

<sup>120</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>121</sup> Referring to Z. Wielgosz, the formation of the female Bernardine sisters' community can be read as a result of pastoral influences of the Bernardines and the influence of Franciscan spirituality on the religious mentality of the inhabitants Kościan and the surrounding area. The Bernardine Sisters were a non-cloistered community and therefore the nuns were in constant contact with their families. The monastery was closed after opposition to the imposition of an enclosure on nuns at the Council of Trent; see *idem*, *Kościół w dziejach miasta*, pp. 210–211.

Near the Bernardine Friars' monastery, the town lazaretto was built by Piotr Opaliński, the starosta of Kościan. Sigismund I the Old gave permission for the construction of the hospital in 1546. In 1596, the hospital was situated on Sierakowska (*Sierakowo*) Street, in close proximity to the shooting range of Kościan's archers' brotherhood, which had been moved here half a century earlier.<sup>122</sup> According to the sources, the hospital and the range were across from the location, where the two paths diverged from Sierakowska Street, leading to the village of Sierakowo and to the town's brickyard. There was a dispute between the town's authorities and the monks over the relocation of the hospital along with its patients. The final decision in this matter was made in 1605 by king Sigismund III Vasa, who sided with the Bernardine Friars, ordering the lazaretto to be moved within 12 weeks, so that the neighbouring monks would not be putting their health at risk.<sup>123</sup>

The aforementioned travel path connecting Poznań with Głogów and Wrocław ran through Kościan in the sixteenth century. According to Krystyna Górską-Gołaska, this path (from the side of Poznań) ran through the Przedmieście Poznańskie, then it turned left beyond Poznańska Gate and, via Poznańska Street, reached the market square, which it crossed and continued to run through Głogowska Street, all the way to Głogowska Gate. Behind the gate in the Przedmieście Głogowskie, the road in the sixteenth century ran along Kamienna Street, turning right behind the church buildings and the Hospital of the Holy Cross, with a path leading left to the villages Naclaw and Czarkowo, as well as the buildings in Nowa Wieś. After making an arc, this road led to the Bernardine Friars' monastery, with the town's gardens, the burghers' buildings, the Bernardine Sister's monastery and Psia Street (which most likely ran behind this monastery) on its right. By the monastery the road turned left and ran along the Głogów route, attested already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>124</sup> Sources from the sixteenth century name this route "the great road" – *via magna*.<sup>125</sup>

This commentary to the map of Kościan from the second half of the sixteenth century certainly does not exhaust the subject of the spatial arrangement of the town and its suburbs. Instead, it should be seen as an approximation and a possible summary of the current state of knowledge on and scholarship about the royal city Kościan in its time of greatest splendour. Professional archaeological excavations would be needed in order to delve deeper into the town's spatial arrangement. They would help answer many pressing historical questions and confirm or deny the proposed theories, which have been based solely on the currently accessible source material. An example of such theories are the ones concerning the parish school or the castle in Kościan. Archaeological research carried out in 2004 and 2006 confirmed the location of the school in the presumed place, however, they failed to produce the remains of the starosta's castle. A second analysis of the available results of the field studies as well as written and cartographic sources showed the need to search for the remains of the castle in an area located several meters away from the examined site. Hopefully, an explanation for this and many other issues related to the spatial arrangement of Kościan across the centuries will be discovered in the future.

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>122</sup> After the site where the shooting range was located was handed over to the Bernardine monastery in 1456, it was probably moved closer to the city and it was still in operation there in the mid-sixteenth century. This is evidenced by the records from 1549 about the house near the shooting range and from 1550 about the garden belonging to the new hospital, located near the shooting range; see SHGPoz, part II, p. 345.

<sup>123</sup> Idem, pp. 374–375.

<sup>124</sup> The oldest fourteenth-century version of this route, called the *Via lata* behind the Głogów Gate, turned right and the road along the moat and city walls ran to Sierakowska Street, then turn left and head west, having on the left side there is a fortified shooting range for a shooting brotherhood. According to K. Górską-Gołaska, the townspeople, building the Przedmieście Głogowskie and the cobbled street called Kamienna in the fourteenth century, made efforts to mark out a new route.

<sup>125</sup> See K. Górską-Gołaska, *Topografia późnośredniowiecznego Kościana*, pp. 239–240.

### III.6.15a.1 CRACOW AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Jacek Laberschek*

The plan of Cracow and its surroundings was based on cartographic sources, images of the city, and written sources. The sixteenth century Cracow, the place of coronation of the kings of Poland and the main centre of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was described by contemporary writers as ‘the capital of the Sarmatian kings’, ‘the seat of kings’, ‘the home of the kings’, ‘the capital of the Kingdom’, ‘the capital of the Polish Crown’, ‘the metropolis of the entire Kingdom’.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it could easily have had a drawn, detailed plan of the entire city, together with neighbouring towns and suburbs. We cannot reject the possibility that such plans were created in the end of the sixteenth century, if we possess a plan of Cracow from 1594. The so-called ‘Jesuit plan’, shows the city alone, within city walls, and is a proof that cartographic documents were created to specific order.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, apart from this one plan, quite schematic in fact and presenting a distorted image of the buildings, we do not possess any other cartographic source from that period. As a result, researchers have to resort to plans created mostly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which in the first place show towns adjacent to Cracow, suburbs, and suburban villages.

This work uses mainly the so-called Swedish plan from 1702, drawn during the occupation of Cracow by the army of Charles XII, the king of Sweden. The plan was created before the location of the town Podgórze, and shows Cracow and its nearest surroundings, i.e. the towns of Kazimierz and Kleparz, the suburbs Garbary and Stradom, and the villages Grzegórzki and Zabłocie.<sup>3</sup> Józef Kromer’s plan, from 1783, in the copy by Józef Czech from 1792, was equally useful, it covered the territory stretching west from Przegorzały to Dąbie in the east, and from Krzemionki in the south to Prądnik Biały and Prądnik Czerwony in the north.<sup>4</sup> However, the so-called kołłątajowski plan from 1785 proved the most useful. It showed Cracow and its surroundings after the First Partition, that is without territories south of the Vistula, namely: Cracow, Kazimierz, Kleparz, Stradomia (today Stradom), the villages Grzegórzki, Dąbie – partly, Krowodrza, Łobzów, Nowa Wieś, Czarna Wieś, Półwsie Zwierzynieckie and Zwierzyniec.<sup>5</sup> Dominik Puck’s plan from 1744, known from copies, was also valuable.<sup>6</sup> The reconstruction of Cracow’s water network in the sixteenth century was based on the plan of the siege of the city by the Swedish army from 1655 by Eryk Jonson Dahlberg, which shows the arms of the Vistula, numerous arms of the Rudawa, and the old channel of the Prądnik, flowing into Stara Wisła (‘the Old

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<sup>1</sup> E. Buszewicz, *Cracovia in litteris. Obraz Krakowa w piśmiennictwie doby Odrodzenia*, Cracow 1998, pp. 65, 77, 141, 187–189, 226; M. Kromer, *Polska*, Olsztyn 1977, p. 50; S. Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, Cracow 1976, p. 70; K. Pieradzka, *Kraków w relacjach cudzoziemców w X–XVII w.*, RK, vol. 28, 1937, pp. 185–224.

<sup>2</sup> The plan was reproduced and provided with a scholarly commentar by Traczewska-Białek, *Katalog dawnych map wielkoskalowych Krakowa XVI–XIX wieku*, Warsaw–Cracow 1981, pp. 30–31.

<sup>3</sup> AHMP Kraków, no. 1.7; *Katalog dawnych map*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>4</sup> *Atlas Miasta Krakowa*, Warszawa–Wrocław 1988, chart 6 prepared by M. Odlanicki-Poczobutt and Z. Traczewska-Białkowska; *Katalog dawnych map*, pp. 58–59; AHMP Cracow, no. 1.12.

<sup>5</sup> *Plan Kołłątajowski źródłem informacji o Krakowie*, comp. Z. Traczewska-Białek i M. Odlanicki-Poczobutt, RK, 48, 1977; AHMP Cracow, no. 1.13.

<sup>6</sup> The plan reproduced in J. Dzikówna, *Kleparz do 1528 r.*, Cracow 1932, insert; *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, figures, Cracow 2007.

Vistula') near the city's bleachery.<sup>7</sup> The siege plan of Cracow, occupied by the Swedes and the Transylvanians and besieged by the allied Austrian armies in 1657, was also important.<sup>8</sup> The topography of the area south of the Vistula could be reconstructed thanks to, among other things, the map of Galicia, created under the supervision of Friedrich von Mieg in 1779–1783 at a scale of 1:28,800.<sup>9</sup> The plan created by Tadeusz Czort in 1929 also turned out very useful, it shows Cracow during the Great Sejm, and is an appendix to *Mapa województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego 1788–1792*.

These and other plans, usually imperfect in terms of geodesy, do not offer a faithful image of earlier settlement structures, especially of the spatial layout and buildings of the sixteenth century Kazimierz and Kleparz, or contemporary suburbs and jurydyki. The eighteenth and nineteenth century plans register outcomes of catastrophic events in the city itself, and in its vicinity: the Black Death in 1651–1652, which depopulated the city and suburbs to a large degree; the flood from 1652, which affected Płaszów and Zablocie, as well as the grounds between Cracow and Krzemionki; two sieges of Cracow and the Swedish occupation from 1655–1658, which led to the almost complete destruction of suburban buildings and Kleparz and Kazimierz, the complete destruction of utility structures and the city's water supply cistern, and influenced the River Prądnik to change its channel. The water from the river drove the mills Rakowski in Rakowice, Piaseczny in Piaski, the one behind the church of St. Nicholas, and supplied the city's bleachery, situated below the church. The Swedish occupation during the Great Northern War in 1702, 1705 and the epidemic from 1705, when the city and the suburbs were depopulated to such a degree that the ruined and abandoned houses had to be demolished, and the city, according to historians, hit its nadir. Numerous settlement campaigns conducted after the 'flood' and 'the northern war' by the burghers and the owners of jurydyki resulted in the formation of new suburban hamlets and jurydyki, which did not always resemble old settlement structures.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the plans used were analysed retrospectively.

Iconographic sources, namely the surviving images of the city from the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, played an important role, particularly in the localization of distinctive objects in the field.<sup>11</sup> The collection of images used begins with the panorama of Cracow seen from the south, made from Krakus Mound by order of Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich during his journey to Poland in 1536–1537, kept in the collection of images of towns in the University Library in Würzburg, reproduced and analysed by Elżbieta Maria Firlet.<sup>12</sup> The value of the panorama lies in the fact that it depicts certain objects in the town and in the suburbs, which do not always appear in written sources, such as Bochnia gate, or Wieliczka gate in the fortifications of Kazimierz, or the bridges in the arm of Vistula called Zakazimierka, situated exactly in front of the gates. Another sixteenth century panorama of Cracow, made from Krakus Mound by Giles van der Rye, is a testimony of the changes which occurred around Cracow during the following decades. This panorama was included in the 4<sup>th</sup> volume of a monumental work by Jerzy Braun and Franciszek Hogenberg *Civitates orbis terrarum*, published in Cologne in 1617, and does not show the bridge over the Vistula situated in front of Bochnia gate.<sup>13</sup> The same work contains a breath-taking, beautiful and detailed panorama by an unknown author, created in 1603–1605.

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<sup>7</sup> *Katalog dawnych map*, pp. 32–33; J. Bzinkowska, *Najstarsze plany Krakowa w zbiorach Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*, "Krzysztofory", vol. 20, 1998, pp. 7–17; AHMP Kraków, no. 1.3.

<sup>8</sup> *Katalog dawnych map*, pp. 34–35; J. Bzinkowska, *Najstarsze plany Krakowa*, pp. 8–9; AHMP Kraków, no. 1.4.

<sup>9</sup> Photographs from the Interwar period in *Pracownia Słownika historyczno-geograficznego w Cracow*. See above, the chapter on cartographic sources.

<sup>10</sup> J. Bieniarzówna, *Stulecie upadku*, [in:] *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, Cracow 1984, pp. 357–405, 445–457; K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, RK, vol. 5, 1902, pp. 138–172; M. Tobiasz, *Rozwój przestrzenny Prądnika Białego i Czerwonego*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Krakowskiej", vol. 14, Architektura 4, Cracow 1965, pp. 6–18; J. Laberschek, *Prądnik w okresie średniowiecza*, [in:] *Prądnik Biały. Dziedzictwo kulturowe historycznych miejscowości tworzących dzielnicę IV Krakowa*, ed. J. Salwiński, Cracow 2004, pp. 23–31.

<sup>11</sup> The oldest, beautiful image of Cracow, created in 1493 and included in Schedl 1493 was excluded as too schematic. It does, in truth, show the most important and dominant features of the landscape of Cracow in this period, i.e. the castle and the towns of the Cracow agglomeration, their shape and location, but fails to maintain full faithfulness to the details, that is, it does not depict individual details (J. Banach, *Dawne widoki Krakowa*, pub. 2, Cracow 1983, pp. 15–27, 177).

<sup>12</sup> E.M. Firlet, *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa*, Cracow 1998; AHMP Kraków, no. 2.2.

<sup>13</sup> Reproduced and described in J. Banach, *Dawne widoki Krakowa*, pp. 50–58, 178–179; E.M. Firlet, *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa*, pp. 36–37; K. Dąbrowska-Budzińo, *Wśród panoram Krakowa*, Cracow 1990; AHMP Kraków, no. 2.4.

It shows Cracow from the northwest, and provides us with much useful information concerning the location and layout of suburbs, suburban villages, rivers, as well as palace, sacral and utility buildings, and gardens. The panorama became a model for subsequent seventeenth century images, particularly for the engraved panorama by Mateusz Merian from 1619.<sup>14</sup>

Written sources played an important role in the reconstruction of the sixteenth century settlement structures. Inventories and descriptions consisted especially valuable information, they include: *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* by Jan Długosz from 1470–1480, which describes some of the suburbs and suburban villages of Cracow, *Księga dochodów beneficjów diecezji krakowskiej* from 1529, which records churches in Cracow, Kazimierz, and Kleparz, as well as the streets in the cities, the suburbs of Cracow, and burghers' demesnes situated on the fringes of the cities, *Akta wizytacji dekanatu krakowskiego 1599 r. przeprowadzonej z polecenia kardynała Jerzego Radziwiłła*,<sup>15</sup> providing us with a plethora of details about city buildings, the street network, squares, rivers, ponds, suburb register, jurydyki, suburban villages, fortifications, as well as sacral, utilitarian, community, public use and physiographic objects, gardens, and cemeteries. This group of sources also contains inspections, such as: *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego z 1564 r.* or *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego z lat 1659–1664*<sup>16</sup>, which record utility objects in Cracow, adjacent cities, suburbs, suburban villages, as well as objects bringing income to royal estates, namely: burghers' demesnes, gardens, meadows, city meadows, brickyards, mills, malt mills, lumber mills, looms, grinders, bleacheries, taverns, waterworks, i.e. cisterns, fish levy, baths, lakes, ponds, and some topographic objects. The settlement network of Cracow agglomeration from the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century is best documented in *Rejestry poborowe województwa krakowskiego* from 1581, 1593, 1595 and *Rejestry gospód w Krakowie z lat 1632–1649*.<sup>17</sup>

In our presentation of the sources for the sixteenth century Cracow, we cannot forget the diplomatic codes, and the collections of documents of the city of Cracow,<sup>18</sup> the Cracow Cathedral, Lesser Poland, monasteries near Cracow (Mogiła and Tynec), and also register books of the Crown Metrica published in *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*, which contain material documenting the formation and functioning of towns, suburbs, suburban villages, utilitarian objects, as well as information concerning all changes of ownership.

A plethora of information of every kind of object depicted on our plan of the sixteenth century Cracow could be found in the court books (almost complete) of Cracow, Kazimierz, Kleparz<sup>19</sup> and Garbary, as well as in the documents of Cracow jurydyki,<sup>20</sup> books of the High Court of Magdeburg Law, Cracow gord court books, church books, and land court books of Cracow – these were less useful. Unfortunately, few of these sources were published in print, whole or in fragments.<sup>21</sup> As such, our work on the plan required further query in the manuscripts, although selective to a large degree.

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<sup>14</sup> Reproduced from a copperplate kept in the Museum of the Princes Czartoryski in Cracow RK, 13, 1911, and described in J. Banach, *Dawne widoki Krakowa*, pp. 56–82, 179–181; E.M. Firlet, *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa*, pp. 42 f.; AHMP Kraków, no. 2.5.

<sup>15</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599.

<sup>16</sup> LK 1659–1664, pp. 315–432.

<sup>17</sup> P. Małopolska, pp. 3–162; Bibl. Jag., MS 5043 – Rej. pob. 1593; Rej. pob. 1595; *Najdawniejsza taryfa domów miasta Krakowa*, comp. A. Wejnert “Biblioteka Warszawska”, vol. 1, 1868, pp. 289–298; *Rejestry gospód w Krakowie z lat 1632 i 1649*, pub. K. Follprecht, Cracow 2005.

<sup>18</sup> *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa (1507–1795)*, vol. 1: 1507–1586, pub. F. Piekosiński, Cracow 1885, vol. 2: 1587–1696, pub. F. Piekosiński i S. Krzyżanowski, Cracow 1890–1909; *Najstarszy zbiór przywilejów i wilkierzy miasta Krakowa*, pub. S. Estreicher, Cracow 1936; KDMK.

<sup>19</sup> *Inwentarz archiwum miasta Kazimierza pod Krakowem 1335–1802*, comp. M. Friedberg, Warsaw 1966; *Inwentarz archiwum miasta Kleparza pod Krakowem 1366–1794*, comp. Z. Wenzel-Homecka, Z. Wojas, Warsaw 1968.

<sup>20</sup> W. Kolak, *Inwentarz akt jurydyk krakowskich 1412–1809*, Cracow 1968.

<sup>21</sup> KRK; *Księgi lawnicze krakowskie 1365–1376 i 1390–1397*, pub. S. Krzyżanowski, Cracow 1904; *Księga wójtowska krakowska 1442–1443*, pub. M. Niwiński, K. Jelonek-Litewka, A. Litewka, Cracow 1995; *Księga proskrypcji i skarg miasta Krakowa 1360–1422*, pub. B. Wyrozumska, Cracow 2001; *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska*, part 1–4, pub. K. Jelonek-Litewka, A. Litewka, Ł. Walczy, Cracow 1997–2000; Chmiel; KŁK; *Cracovia artificum 1300–1500*, pub. J. Ptaśnik, Cracow 1917; *Cracovia artificum 1501–1550*, no. 1–3, pub. J. Ptaśnik, M. Friedberg, Cracow 1936–1948; *Cracovia artificum 1551–1560*, no. 1: 1551–1552, pub. S. Pańków, Z. Wojas, Wrocław 1966; *Cracovia artificum supplementa*, pub. B. Przybyszewski, [part 1:] *Lata 1410–1412, 1421–1424*, [part 2:] *1433–1440*, [part 3:] *1441–1450*, [part 4:] *1451–1460*, [part 5:] *1462–1475*, [part 6:] *Krakowskie środowisko artystyczne czasów Wita Stwosza*, Wrocław–Kraków 1985–2001; *Najstarsza księga Sądu Najwyższego*

The source material gathered in the form of extracts and registers in the published volumes of *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*<sup>22</sup> and in the files of this *Słownik* kept in the Institute of History PAN in Cracow, proved extremely useful in our work on the plan of Cracow agglomeration. The material, ordered chronologically and thematically, was indexed both under settlement names, that is villages, demesnes, mills, taverns, customs houses, bridges, and physiographic names, that is rivers, ponds, hills, forests, groves, and meadows, which had their own name.

The climate of Medieval and Renaissance Cracow was quite specific, resulting from, among other things, a characteristic localization in the marsh valley of the Vistula and its tributaries. They were reconstructed by Danuta Limanówka, who, apart from other sources, used daily notes on the weather from 1502–1540, recorded by Marcin Biem of Olkusz, a professor of Cracow University.<sup>23</sup>

Before we begin our presentation of the studies on spatial development of Cracow we used our commentary on the works devoted to buildings in towns and suburbs of Cracow agglomeration, as well as nearby villages around 1600. Moreover, before we mention studies on utility and green areas, which functioned at the time, we must note that so far there has not been a modern and complete study on the subject. A collection of studies on the development of the town from the very beginning to modern towns, published in 2007,<sup>24</sup> does indeed fill in the gaps in this field, replaces the existing brief encyclopaedic and atlas syntheses<sup>25</sup> and short analyses included in the published monographs of the city (by Jerzy Wyrozumski, Janina Bieniarzówna, and Jan Małecki), as well as a comparison of Cracow and Prague around 1600, written by Leszek Belzyt,<sup>26</sup> and summarises current knowledge found in earlier works<sup>27</sup> (often broadening and enriching it), it still does not exhaust the entire topic. Of particular towns comprising the agglomeration of Cracow, the spatial structure and the buildings were reconstructed for the city of Cracow within city walls,<sup>28</sup> and for Kazimierz,<sup>29</sup> and Kleparz.<sup>30</sup> The researchers reconstructed

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*Prawa Niemieckiego na Zamku Krakowskim*, pub. A. Kłodziński, Cracow 1936; *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu*, pub. B. Przybyszewski, [part 1:] 1440–1500, [part 2:] 1501–1515, [part 3:] 1516–1525, [part 4:] 1526–1529, [part 5:] 1530–1533, [part 6:] 1534–1535, [part 7:] 1536–1538, [part 8:] 1539–1541, [part 9:] 1542–1545, [part 10:] *Artyści i rzemieślnicy krakowscy w latach 1526–1535*, Cracow 1960–1997.

<sup>22</sup> SHGK.

<sup>23</sup> D. Limanówka, *Rekonstrukcja warunków klimatycznych Krakowa w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Instytut Meteorologii i Gospodarki Wodnej, Materiały Badawcze, Seria: Meteorologia – 33, Warsaw 2001.

<sup>24</sup> *Kraków. Nowe studia*. Treatises included in this book shed much new light on the problem: M. Niezabitowski, *Geografia a historia Krakowa. Warunki naturalne rozwoju Krakowa*, pp. 21–43, K. Radwański, *Kraków przedchrześcijański*, pp. 91–119, J. Wyrozumski, *Lokacja czy lokacje Krakowa na prawie niemieckim*, pp. 123–151, J. Laberschek, *Rozwój przestrzenny krakowskiego zespołu osadniczego extra muros XIII–XVIII wieku*, pp. 297–354.

<sup>25</sup> S. Krzyżanowski, *Kraków i jego rozwój terytorialny za czasów polskich*, [in:] *Kraków. Rozszerzenie granic 1909–1915*, Cracow 1931; M. Tobiasz, *Jak powstały przedmieścia Krakowa*, Cracow 1972; K. Bromek, *Rozwój terytorialny miasta*, [in:] *Kraków – rozwój miasta w Polsce Ludowej*, ed. J. Jasiewicz, Warsaw 1971; idem, *Zarys rozwoju historycznego i terytorialnego Krakowa*, “Folia Geographica”, vol. 8, 1975; *Atlas miasta Krakowa, plansza 8. Granice i podziały administracyjne*, comp. W. Baka, H. Olszewska-Skubisz; J. Bogdanowski, J. Purchla, K. Broński, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, Warsaw–Cracow 2000, pp. 850–854.

<sup>26</sup> J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*, [in:] *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 1, Cracow 1992; J. Bieniarzówna, J.M. Małecki, *Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, [in:] *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 2, Cracow 1984; L. Belzyt, *Kraków i Praga około 1600 roku*, Toruń 1999.

<sup>27</sup> This concerns the studies such as: J. Mitkowski, *Dawne warunki geograficzne jako podłoże, na którym rozwinął się zespół osad krakowskich*, [in:] *Kraków. Studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. Dąbrowski, Cracow 1957; A. Żaki, *Początki Krakowa*, Cracow 1965; R. Jamka, *Początki głównych miast wczesnośredniowiecznych w Polsce Południowej w świetle badań archeologicznych*, part 1, Kraków, Cracow 1971; M. Tobiasz, *Pierwsze wieki Krakowa*, Cracow 1974; K. Radwański, *Kraków przedlokacyjny. Rozwój przestrzenny*, Cracow 1975; J. Rajman, *Kraków – zespół osadniczy, proces lokacji, mieszczanie do roku 1333*, Cracow 2004; J. Laberschek, *Krakowski zespół osadniczy w wiekach XIII–XVI. Rozwój terytorialny*, RK, vol. 71, 2005, pp. 9–30.

<sup>28</sup> A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Floriańska*, part 1–2, Cracow 1917–1920; idem, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica św. Jana*, Cracow 1924; idem, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Sławkowska*, part 1–2, Cracow 1931–1932; idem, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Grodzka*, part 1–2, Cracow 1934–1935; M. Niwiński, *Stanowy podział własności nieruchomości w Krakowie w XVI i XVII stuleciu*, [in:] *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*, vol. 2, Cracow 1938, pp. 549–584; J.S. Jamroz, *Jak powstał średniowieczny układ miasta Krakowa?*, Cracow 1971; M. Borowiejska-Birkenmajerowa, *Kształt średniowiecznego Krakowa*, Cracow 1975; K. Follprecht, W. Komorowski, *Właściciele kamienic Rynku krakowskiego w czasach nowożytnych (do pierwszej okupacji szwedzkiej)*, “*Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*”, vol. 2, 1996, pp. 11–30; vol. 3, 1997, pp. 23–33; vol. 4, 1998, pp. 11–27; vol. 5, 1999, pp. 11–19; vol. 6, 2000, pp. 11–23; vol. 7, 2001, pp. 11–25; vol. 8, 2002, pp. 13–25; vol. 9, 2003, pp. 39–45; vol. 10, 2004, pp. 45–52; vol. 11, 2005, pp. 21–30; vol. 12, 2006, pp. 19–32; vol. 13, 2007, pp. 55–68; W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Zabudowa rezydencjonalna (możnowładcza) dawnego Okołu w XVI wieku*, [in:] *Między gotyką a barokiem*, Cracow 1997,

individual blocks of buildings in towns, the plots and parcels, determined and described ownership, names of the streets, sacral and defensive objects, and in the case of Kazimierz also the borders of the Jewish town. Analyses on the suburbs Garbary, Stradom (the latter was administratively connected with Kazimierz), and other suburbs and jurydyki, are not, unfortunately, so advanced. The study on Garbary – although rich in source data – provides us only with a general description of buildings, and more than once it does not solve many unclear topographic issues.<sup>31</sup> The works on Kazimierz, Stradom, suburbs Wesoła and jurydyki Smoleńsk were created in the Interwar period, and are no longer up to date.<sup>32</sup> Newer publications on the surroundings of the Wawel Hills, Cracow jurydyki, and the entire settlement of Cracow introduce some improvements.<sup>33</sup> Rich literature exists for the Wawel Hill with the Royal Castle, and the sacral and secular buildings.<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that a complete register of all settlements in the agglomeration of Cracow until 1530 is being currently created by the authors of the aforementioned *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*.<sup>35</sup> Several authors took an interest to medieval and later suburban settlement of Cracow.<sup>36</sup> Of suburban settlements shown whole or in part on the plan, detailed studies exist only for Krowodrza

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pp. 167–190; M. Bicz-Suknarowska, W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Zabudowa rezydencjonalna (kanonicza) dawnego Okołu w XVI wieku*, [in:] tamże, pp. 191–219; P. Tyszką, *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa XIV–XV wieku w świadomości jego mieszkańców*, Lublin 2001; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, Cracow 2004, pp. 86–136; idem, *Lokacje i rozwój Krakowa, Kazimierza i Okołu. Problematyka rozwiązań urbanistycznych*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia*, pp. 357–426; idem, *Układ urbanistyczny lokacyjnego Krakowa*, [in:] *Kraków – dziedzictwo lokacji*, Cracow 2008, pp. 7–27; J. Wyrozumski, *Lokacja 1257 roku na tle rozwoju krakowskiego zespołu osadniczego*, [in:] *Kraków europejskie miasto prawa magdeburskiego 1257–1791*, kat. wystawy, ed. nauk. G. Lichończak-Nurek, Cracow 2007, pp. 34–48; W. Bukowski, Z. Noga, *Ustrój miasta Krakowa w XIII–XVIII wieku*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 49–68.

<sup>29</sup> S. Świszczowski, *Miasto Kazimierz pod Krakowem*, Cracow 1981; B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny miasta żydowskiego na krakowskim Kazimierzu*, “Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa”, vol. 15, 1988, pp. 84–98; idem, *Układ przestrzenny krakowskiego Kazimierza w wieku XIV*, RK, vol. 55, 1989, pp. 17–57; idem, *Ulice i place krakowskiego Kazimierza. Z dziejów Chrześcijan i Żydów w Krakowie*, Cracow 1992; idem, *Lokacje i rozwój Krakowa, Kazimierza i Okołu*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia*, pp. 355–426.

<sup>30</sup> J. Dzikówna, *Kleparz do 1528 roku*, Cracow 1932; J. Kwaśniewicz, *Kleparz do 1795 roku*, [in:] *Z dziejów Kleparza*, Cracow 1968; Z. Beiersdorf, *Kleparz*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia*, pp. 429–454.

<sup>31</sup> K. Pieradzka, *Garbary przedmieście Krakowa (1363–1587)*, Cracow 1931.

<sup>32</sup> W. Konieczna, *Początki Kazimierza (do r. 1419)*, [in:] *Studia nad przedmieściami Krakowa*, Cracow 1938, pp. 7–90; M. Mastalerzówna, *Przedmieście Stradom w wiekach średnich*, [in:] tamże, pp. 91–125; H. Świechowska, *Przedmieście Wesoła*, [in:] tamże, pp. 126–174; J. Wojnasówna, *Jurydyka Smoleńsk*, [in:] tamże, pp. 175–199; another valuable paper is A. Chmiela, *Pieczenie m. Krakowa, Kazimierza, Kleparza i jurydyk krakowskich do końca XVIII wieku*, RK, vol. 11, 1909, pp. 163–176.

<sup>33</sup> J. Dobrzycki, *Zarys dziejów otoczenia Wawelu*, [in:] *Przemiany dziejowe otoczenia Wawelu*, kol. ed. S. Banach i in., Cracow 1953, pp. 1–30; W. Kolak, *Jurydyki krakowskie*, “Archeion”, vol. 38, 1962, pp. 219–240; J. Laberschek, *Rozwój przestrzenny krakowskiego zespołu osadniczego*, pp. 297–354.

<sup>34</sup> A. Chmiel, S. Tomkowicz, *Wawel*, “Teki Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej”, vol. 4–5, 1908–1913; J. Firlet, Z. Pianowski, *Wawel do roku 1300*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia*, pp. 47–66; R. Skowron, *Przemiany w zabudowie miasteczka wawelskiego w okresie od XIV do XX wieku*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 69–88.

<sup>35</sup> W. Bukowski, *Kretkowiec karczma, Krowodrza*, [in:] SHGK, part 3, pp. 137, 154–159; J. Laberschek, *Grzegórzki, Hanusbork, Jazowa Rzeka, Łobzów wieś, Łobzów zamek i tenuta*, [in:] SHGK, part 2, pp. 123–125, 140, 285; part 3, pp. 951–957; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Blech, Blechy, Błonie [kazimierskie], Błonie [na wschód od Krakowa], Błonie [na zachód od Krakowa], Błonie [kleparskie], Czarna Ulica, Czarna Wieś, Czudzić młyn, Czyrzyny, Czyżowa struga, Czyżowa, Dubis Querceti las, Folwarki*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 127–128, 133–135, 438–439, 476, 486–489, 625, 683; F. Sikora, *Bawół, Białawieża, Bieniasza Młyn, Biskupie, Bozkert, Chelm, Dąbie las, Dąbie, Dębniaki, Dębny Młyn [przed Bramą Szewską], Góra Lasoty, Granowski Młyn*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 28, 66, 97–99, 125–126, 204–205, 333–338, 506–508, 529–532, 538–539, 826–827; part 2, pp. 44–45; J. Wiśniewski, *Brzeg zw. też Przed Nową Bramą, Fryszbark, Garbary zw. też Przed Bramą Szewską, Gerlacha następnie Kukulowski Młyn*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 228–230, 685–686, 693–706, 721–723. This list encompasses only these units, which were shown (in entirety or in part) on the plan of Cracow, as well as mills operating in the area, which were not marked.

<sup>36</sup> M. Tobiasz, *Pierwsze wieki*; idem, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej i zagospodarowania przestrzennego Krakowa*, Cracow 1977; W. Rączka, *Rozplanowanie wsi przyległych do dawnego miasta Krakowa (ok. 1900)*, “Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa”, vol. 8, 1981, pp. 86–108; Z. Beiersdorf, *Krowodrza, dawna wieś i dzielnica Krakowa*, [in:] *Z dziejów Krowodrzy*, ed. M. Niechaj, Cracow 2000, pp. 41–70; J. Laberschek, *Prądnik w okresie średniowiecza*, pp. 23–31; idem, *Osadnictwo średniowieczne w świetle źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Nauka i kultura w krajobrazie Jury. Pradzieje i średniowiecze*, Cracow 1995, pp. 163–177; Z. Noga, *Osadnictwo i stosunki własnościowe w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Nauka i kultura w krajobrazie Jury. Osadnictwo i krajobraz od schyłku średniowiecza po współczesność*, Cracow 1997, pp. 11–48. From this list I exclude the villages near Cracow, which were not shown on the plan due to the distance between them and the city, e.g: Bibice, Bronowice, Grębałów, Piaski, Prokocim.

and Prądnik.<sup>37</sup> Dictionary entries from many villages around Cracow, written by Stanisław Tomkowicz and included in 'Teki Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej' are still valuable.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, research on architecture is much more advanced. In our work on the plan we used, among other things, studies on defensive architecture,<sup>39</sup> the network of Cracow churches and monasteries in the late Middle Ages and at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,<sup>40</sup> numerous works on individual churches and monasteries,<sup>41</sup> and published volumes of *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, concerning Cracow, Kazimierz, Stradom, Kleparz, Zwierzyniec, Nowy Świat and Półwieś Zwierzyniecki, and the Wawel Hill,<sup>42</sup> as well as a book on Cracow hospitals.<sup>43</sup> The state of the research on utilitarian objects in the agglomeration of Cracow in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries is less satisfactory. Notable are the works on royal mills in the landscape of Cracow, on the waterways of the old Cracow, and on Cracow baths.<sup>44</sup>

The reconstruction of main communication routes running through the agglomeration of Cracow, as well as other roads in this area included on our plan, was done by Bożena Wyrozumska and presented in a separate book; the author used *Lustracja dróg województwa krakowskiego z roku 1570* and other sources.<sup>45</sup> The reconstruction of the sophisticated water network of Cracow and its surroundings was based on the old works of Klemens Bąkowski, and the newer studies by Mieczysław Tobiasz, Kazimierz Trafas, Jerzy Wyrozumski, and Wojciech Przegon.<sup>46</sup>

All objects presented on our plan, that is: cities and towns, suburbs, jurydyki, villages, utilitarian and green areas, rivers, flumes, ponds, as well as important city and suburban buildings, were given their sixteenth century names, which frequently appear in the sources listed above, both printed and manuscripts, which were subject to query. Works by Stanisław Tomkowicz and Elżbieta Supranowicz<sup>47</sup> allowed us to determine the names of the majority of streets and squares in towns and suburbs in the agglomeration of Cracow. Some names, e.g. in Kazimierz, Kleparz, and in Stradom suburbs, were

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<sup>37</sup> M. Tobiasz, *Rozwój przestrzenny Prądnika Białego i Czerwonego*, pp. 3–105; J. Laberschek, *Prądnik w okresie średniowiecza*, pp. 23–31; Z. Beiersdorf, *Krowodrza*, pp. 41–70.

<sup>38</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Powiat krakowski*, "Teki Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej", vol. 2, 1906.

<sup>39</sup> J. Muczowski, *Dawne warownie krakowskie*, RK, vol. 13, 1911, pp. 1–48; J. Dobrzycki, *Dawne warownie Krakowa*, Cracow 1951; M. Tobiasz, *Fortyfikacje dawnego Krakowa*, Cracow 1973; S. Świszczowski, *Krakowski Gródek*, Cracow 1977; J. Bogdanowski, *Warownie i zieleń Twierdzy Kraków*, Cracow 1979; Z. Pianowski, *Z dziejów średniowiecznego Wawelu*, Cracow 1984; idem, *Wawel obronny*, Cracow 1991.

<sup>40</sup> A. Witkowska, *Przestrzeń sakralna późnośredniowiecznego Krakowa*, [in:] *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościoł i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym*, ed. H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warsaw 2002, pp. 37–48; H. Gapski, *Klasztory krakowskie w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w. Analiza przestrzenna środowisk zakonnych*, Lublin 1993; K. Ożóg, *Klasztorna geografia średniowiecznego Krakowa*, [in:] *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Wrocław–Opole 2000, pp. 217–234; Kumor, *Dzieje*; A. Niewiński, *Przestrzeń kościelna w topografii średniowiecznego Krakowa. Próba syntezy*, Lublin 2004.

<sup>41</sup> W. Kolak, *Klasztor Augustianów przy kościele św. Katarzyny w Krakowie*, Cracow 1982; J. Rajman, *Klasztor Norbertanek na Zwierzynku w wiekach średnich*, Cracow 1983; K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu w Krakowie do końca XVI wieku*, Elk 1999; E. Piwowarczyk, *Dzieje Kościoła Mariackiego*, Cracow 2000; M. Wolski, *Nie istniejący kościół pod wezwaniem św. Jakuba Starszego w Kazimierzu*, RK, vol. 61, 1995, pp. 11–25; *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Mikołaja w Krakowie*, ed. Z. Kliś, Cracow 2002. Other, numerous works on this subject were listed in bibliographies included in printed volumes *Dzieje Krakowa*.

<sup>42</sup> *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 1: *Wawel*, 1965; part 2–3: *Kościół i klasztory Śródmieścia*, 1971–1978; part 4–5: *Kazimierz i Stradom. Kościoły i klasztory*, 1987–1993; part 6: *Kazimierz i Stradom. Judaica: bożnice, żydowskie budowle publiczne i cmentarze*, 1995; part 7: *Zwierzyniec, Nowy Świat, Półwieś Zwierzynieckie. Kościoły i klasztory*, 1995; part 8: *Kleparz. Kościoły i klasztory*, 2000.

<sup>43</sup> L. Wachholz, *Szpitala krakowskie 1220–1920*, part 1–2, Cracow 1921–1924.

<sup>44</sup> J.W. Rączka, *Młyny królewskie w krajobrazie Krakowa*, part 1–2, "Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury", vol. 12, 1978, pp. 19–29; vol. 13, 1979, pp. 7–16; J. Chlipalski, *Młyn "Piaseczny" i jego młynówka*, "Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury", vol. 32, 2000, pp. 7–14; E. Ligęza, *Wodociągi dawnego Krakowa do połowy XVII wieku*, Cracow 1971; J. Lachs, *Dawne lazienictwo krakowskie*, Cracow 1919.

<sup>45</sup> LDK; B. Wyrozumska, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1977.

<sup>46</sup> K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*; M. Tobiasz, *Historyczny rozwój sieci wodnej Krakowa i jej wpływ na urbanistykę miasta*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Krakowskiej", *Architektura* 2, 1958; idem, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*; K. Trafas, *Zmiany biegu koryta Wisły na wschód od Krakowa w świetle map archiwalnych i fointerpretacji*, "Zeszyty Naukowe UJ", 400, 1975; J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków do schyłku*, pp. 9–22; W. Przegon, *Sieć hydrograficzna w krajobrazie miasta Podgórze*, "Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury", vol. 35, 2003, pp. 21–38.

<sup>47</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów. Ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, Cracow 1926; E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, Cracow 1995.

difficult to establish, given the diversified and unstable nomenclature of some streets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the existence of unnamed streets, particularly those of less importance. The names of streets in Cracow shown on our plan, and on the more detailed plan of the city in 1598 (by Kamila Follprecht and Zdzisław Noga) were uniformed.

The plan of Cracow and its surroundings was prepared at a scale of 1:10,000, according to the rule of this series of the AHP. Because of this scale, and the size of the agglomeration, the plan we created had to be very big. Despite its large format, we were unable to show Cracow in its full sixteenth century borders. However, the gaps are not significant, as they concern mostly green areas, north and northeast of Kleparz and Cracow, fragments of burghers demesnes: Psarski that is Montelupiewski, Langstanowy that is Celarowski, Zeifrytowski that is Fryzerowski, and Turzonowski that is Olsza. The plan shows the entire hydrographical network, with elements such as: rivers, flumes, and larger village ponds, and the entire settlement network of Cracow and its nearest surroundings in the sixteenth century, including: towns, suburbs, villages, burghers' and church demesnes, connected by streets and roads. The plan differentiates: a) developed areas, different colours for: towns, suburbs, and villages; b) green areas: gardens, meadows, fields; c) town borders and borders of individual villages and demesnes. The following objects were also shown on the plan: castles, city defensive walls, gates, town halls, churches, monasteries, hospitals that is asylums, bridges, moats, scarps, cemeteries, and swamps.

The following settlement units were shown on the plan:

1. Towns: Cracow, Kazimierz, and Kleparz.
2. Castles and royal watchtowers: a) Wawel with hamlets Podzamcze and Rybaki; b) Łobzów; c) watchtower north of Kleparz.
3. Suburbs of Cracow: a) Garbary with hamlets Piasek, Krupniki, Rybitwy [Pobrzeże]; b) Wał Krakowski (Cracow Embankment); c) Przedmieście św. Mikołaja (St. Nicolas Suburbs); d) Brzeg; e) Górka.
4. Suburbs of Kazimierz: Stradomia (today Stradom), Podbrzeże, Przedmieście Szewskie, Przedmieście przy św. Leonardzie (Suburbs by St. Leonard).
5. Jurydyki: Pędzichów, Błonie, and Biskupie.
6. Demesnes situated within city borders: Fryszbark, Psarski, Langstanowy, Zeifrytowski, Turzonowski, Morszytnowski (Piaski), and Langpetrowski.
7. Suburban demesnes: Królowa Wola (Gramatyka), and Błonie.
8. Other utilitarian objects: city bleachery, brickyard, and a harbour on the Vistula.
9. Villages: Krowodrza, Łobzów, Nowa Wieś, Czarna Wieś, Kawiory, Zwierzyniec, Półwsie, Grzegórzki, Rakowice (only green areas), Dąbie, Dębniki, Zakrzów, Zabłocie, Płaszów.
10. Hamlets: Rybaki across from Zwierzyniec, Smoleńsk.
11. Meadows: in Cracow, in Kazimierz, and in Kleparz.
12. Other green areas, which had their own name: Uroczysko Krzemionki, Góra Lasoty, Las Bystrzec.

Naturally, the plan is focused on Cracow, within borders delimited already by the Duke of Cracow and Sandomierz, Bolesław Wstydlivy, in the foundation document from 1257.<sup>48</sup> These borders, with some modifications, survived until the eighteenth century. By order of the duke, Cracow gained then the areas surrounding the town itself, to the River Prądnik, together with the village Rybitwy situated by the Vistula, and its adjoining grounds, as well as the village Krowodrza, but without the estates of the Bishop of Cracow located in the village, and without bishop's mills on the River Prądnik. The city also got the forest called Farcimiech, situated far from Cracow, by the upstream Vistula, and therefore not included in our plan.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the area by the Rudawa, called in the fourteenth century 'przed Bramą Szewską' ('before Szewska gate'), since 1311 attested as property of the burghers of Cracow, was already counted as part of the city's estates. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these areas,

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<sup>48</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Boturzyn, Facimiech*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 202–204, 671. The town was endowed with vast territories to the north, until the River Prądnik. As a result, duke Bolesław was forced to make a separate arrangement with the monastery in Tyniec, which was the owner of the grounds near the church of St. Florian. In the end the church renounced the ownership of this area in exchange for the village Brzostek in Wojnicz castellany and a dam on the Vistula, behind the village Boturzyn (Gosturin); *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego*, no. 21; J. Rajman, *Kraków – zespol osadniczy*, pp. 225–226.

called Piasek at the time, belonged to the suburbs Garbary.<sup>50</sup> A document issued by Casimir the Great in 1358 tell us which suburban areas were under the city's authority, and which belonged to the king. The document decrees all inhabitants of the suburbs under the town law, except for the hamlets: przy św. Florianie (by St. Florian), Czarna Wieś, Czarna Ulica, and along the Vistula towards Zwierzyniec (that is the hamlet Pobrżeże).<sup>51</sup> Cracow decided to gain these attractive – in terms of settlement – areas. In 1363, admittedly, the town successfully bought the jurisdiction over Czarna Wieś, Czarna Ulica, and Pobrżeże for 100 grzywnas from Casimir the Great, but without the ownership rights. Three years later, the city exchanged the house in Floriańska Street with the Norbertine Sisters monastery in Zwierzyniec for the pasturelands between the monastery, the town, and Kawiory, later called Błonie. Constant legal arguments about these pasturelands forced the town authorities to try to obtain new green areas on the eastern side of the town. In 1401, they succeeded thanks to the endowment of king Ladislaus Jagiello, and gained the pasturelands stretching from the new moat running from St. Nicolas gate to Grodzka gate, and to the Vistula. In 1422, the city's estates encircled the city itself, when the same king endowed Cracow with the place called Żabokruk (Żabikruk), situated between the River Rudawa (Niecieczka), the city walls, the royal garden Zwierzyniec, and the new royal pond.<sup>52</sup>

Okół, a small hamlet, lay between Cracow's location in 1257, and the Wawel Hill. In 1304, the hamlet was called a suburb between the church of St. Andrew and the church of St. Martin, in 1321–1334 it was called Nowe Miasto, in 1336–1346 Okół, and in 1338 Nowe Miasto na Okole (Nova Civitas in Okol). This proves that this area underwent the process of location under on Magdeburg law, and was granted town rights probably in 1335, by virtue of the privilege granted by Casimir the Great. After 1338, when Okół was administratively incorporated into Cracow, and into the city walls, this medieval town obtained its distinctive feature, the irregularity of the city plan.<sup>53</sup>

In the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries, intense colonization was conducted in the areas belonging to the town, sometimes in a planned and organized way, and sometimes spontaneously. As a result of Casimir the Great's planned action, legalized by the location document from 1366, the town of Kleparz formed on the site of former hamlet by the church of St. Florian.<sup>54</sup> Traces of the activity of this monarch and his successors can be found in various institutions of the suburb Garbary. The suburb did in fact depend on the town council of Cracow, but before 1412 it was granted the right to have its own court of assessors, and the hereditary and judicial office of a vogt, as well as the possibility of having its own court and vogt books. Another feature distinguishing Garbary from other suburbs was the fact that it had its own craftsmen guild, independent from Cracow, namely potters since 1504, and tanners already before 1532.<sup>55</sup> To the west, Garbary neighboured Pobrżeże, a hamlet recorded in the sources in 1315, 1316 and 1358 as Brzeg Wisły, and in 1363 as Pobrżeże, when it was incorporated into the city's jurisdiction. The name confirms that originally the hamlet lay by one of the arms of the Vistula, which existed in the first half of the sixteenth century, or by a temporarily dug channel of this river, running northeast from Zwierzyniec, through Błonia, then turning southwest before Wiślna gate, and thus

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<sup>50</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Garbary*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 693–706.. According to J. Rajman, *Kraków – zespół osadniczy*, pp. 236–237, this land constituted hereditary estates of the vogt, covering 30 lans, bestowed on the vogts of Cracow by Bolesław the Shy in 1257, which were confiscated by Ladislaus the Elbow-high after the rebellion of the vogt Albert in 1311.

<sup>51</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 32.

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, no. 35, 36, 48, 49, 98, 118; E. Ostrowska, "Dom na Żabikroku". *Historia budynku drukarni Władysława Anczyca i S-ki w Krakowie (1835–1970)*, RK, vol. 68, 2002, pp. 171–172.

<sup>53</sup> KDMłp., vol. 1, no. 134; KRK, 623, 1162, 1200, 1264, 1568; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 20; J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków do schyłku*, pp. 259–260; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, pp. 120–122; J. Rajman, *Kraków – zespół osadniczy* pp. 207–211; *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, pp. 692–693.

<sup>54</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 37. Some scholars believe that the Kazimierz foundation of Kleparz, that is Florencja, was preceded by a foundation of a town on the same location, conducted by Ladislaus the Elbow-high, which would be proved by entries from Cracow town books about 'alta civitas' from 1321, and about a vogt of 'de alta civitate' from 1343, as well as the fact that a burgher Petzold owned two lans, five gardens and a manor in the High City, which was probably a benefice of the locator ('zasadźca') of this town, B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, pp. 116, 124; J. Rajman, *Kraków – zespół osadniczy*, pp. 228–229. It is difficult to say, whether this really was the origin of Kleparz. The aforementioned entries could refer not to the supposed location, but to the artisan nature of the hamlet called the High City ('Wysokie Miasto') J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków do schyłku*, pp. 259–269), the fact that it had a vogt, or to the existence of many large burgher demesnes around the city of Cracow, probably like Petzold's demesne, incorrectly identified with the hereditary estates of the vogt.

<sup>55</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Garbary*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 701–702, 704; W. Kolak, *Jurydyki krakowskie*, pp. 233–235; K. Pieradzka, *Garbary*, pp. 32, 65, 78–96, 137–140.

separating Cracow from Zwierzyniec. Two hamlets formed on the territory of Pobrzeże in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; Rybitwy and Krupniki, which were recorded e.g. in *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz as ‘Piscatores cum pultificibus’. The main occupation of the inhabitants of Rybitwy was breeding and storing fish for the market in the place called Stróża Rybna, i.e. in the royal fish farmstead, leased to the burghers of Cracow, which encompassed numerous nearby ponds, supplied with water from the Nieciecza and the flume Rudawa.<sup>56</sup> Of other smaller hamlets dependent on Cracow, we should mention Brzeg przed Nową Bramą, recorded already from the thirteenth century, but settled only in the fifteenth century,<sup>57</sup> Przedmieście św. Mikołaja, recorded already in 1318 as ‘molendinum et allodium prope Sanctum Nycolaum’, in 1366 as ‘area ante Portam sancti Nicolai’, that is an abode before Mikołajska gate, in 1551 as ‘suburbium retro s. Nicolaum ultra fluvium Prathnik’, and in 1599 as ‘suburbium s. Nicolai’,<sup>58</sup> and the so-called Wał Krakowski (Cracow Embankment), stretching along one of the arms of the River Rudawa, from Grodzka Gate to Kleparz, which was created as a hamlet by virtue of the privilege of king Sigismund I the Old in 1533, and was listed frequently in the sixteenth century sources.<sup>59</sup> The Radziwiłł visitation from 1599 listed also one hamlet called Górka, with buildings, before Nowa Gate.<sup>60</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, three jurydyki existed in grounds belonging to the city: Pędzichów, Błonie, Biskupie, and the estate Smoleńsk. The first, situated north of Kleparz, was originally a property of Świętosław Popek, a burgher of Kleparz, and then fell into the hands of the vicars of Cracow cathedral. In 1434, the starosta of Cracow, Mikołaj of Michałów did in fact confirm that this estate belonged to the vicars, but at the same time he acknowledged administrative and judicial authority of the town council of Cracow in this area, which therefore at that time did not have the status of a jurydyka. Only in 1464, after the location of Pędzichów village by Casimir Jagiellon under Magdeburg law, was it possible to change the legal status.

The document does not mention any form of legal dependency of Prądnik in relation to Cracow. In the sixteenth century this hamlet was called ‘horti Prędzichow’, or ‘horti dicti Popek’.<sup>61</sup> The history of pasturelands and gardens near Kleparz, called Błonie, was similar. They belonged to the monastery of the Holy Spirit in Cracow, and were recorded in 1496, and then in 1528 as a plain, on which the gallows stood. In 1551, the monastery of the Canons Regular of the Holy Spirit located here a hamlet with a status of a jurydyki.<sup>62</sup> The largest amount of source data survived for the hamlet Biskupie, which belonged to Cracow bishopric, and neighboured the town of Kleparz from the west. Originally, only the gardens near Sławkowska Gate, called Biała Wieża (‘the White Tower’) in 1352, belonged to the bishop. Later they appear as Stare Biskupie, but already in 1306 the fields ‘in Dubis Querceti’ were added to the property of the bishopric, they were bought by Jan Muskata from Mirosław Rożen, and adjoined Biała Wieża from the north. In the course of the fourteenth century, these grounds turned into a hamlet named Biskupie, and were described as a suburb of Cracow, or ‘villagium’, or ‘vicus’, and finally in the sixteenth century they became a jurydyka.<sup>63</sup> In 1533–1538, on the western side of the

<sup>56</sup> KRK, part 1, no. 331, 345; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 32, 35; J. Mitkowski, *Dawne warunki*, pp. 41–64; J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków do schyłku*, pp. 14–22; K. Pieradzka, *Garbary*, pp. 56–59; W. Kierst, *Wielkorządy krakowskie w XIV–XVI stulecia*, PH, vol. 10, 1910, p. 166; A. Franaszek, *Działalność wielkorządców krakowskich w XVI wieku*, Cracow 1981 pp. 66–68; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 42–43, 50–53.

<sup>57</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Brzeg*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 228–230.

<sup>58</sup> KRK no. 513, 1702; *Cracovia artificum 1551–1552*, no. 256; Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 124.

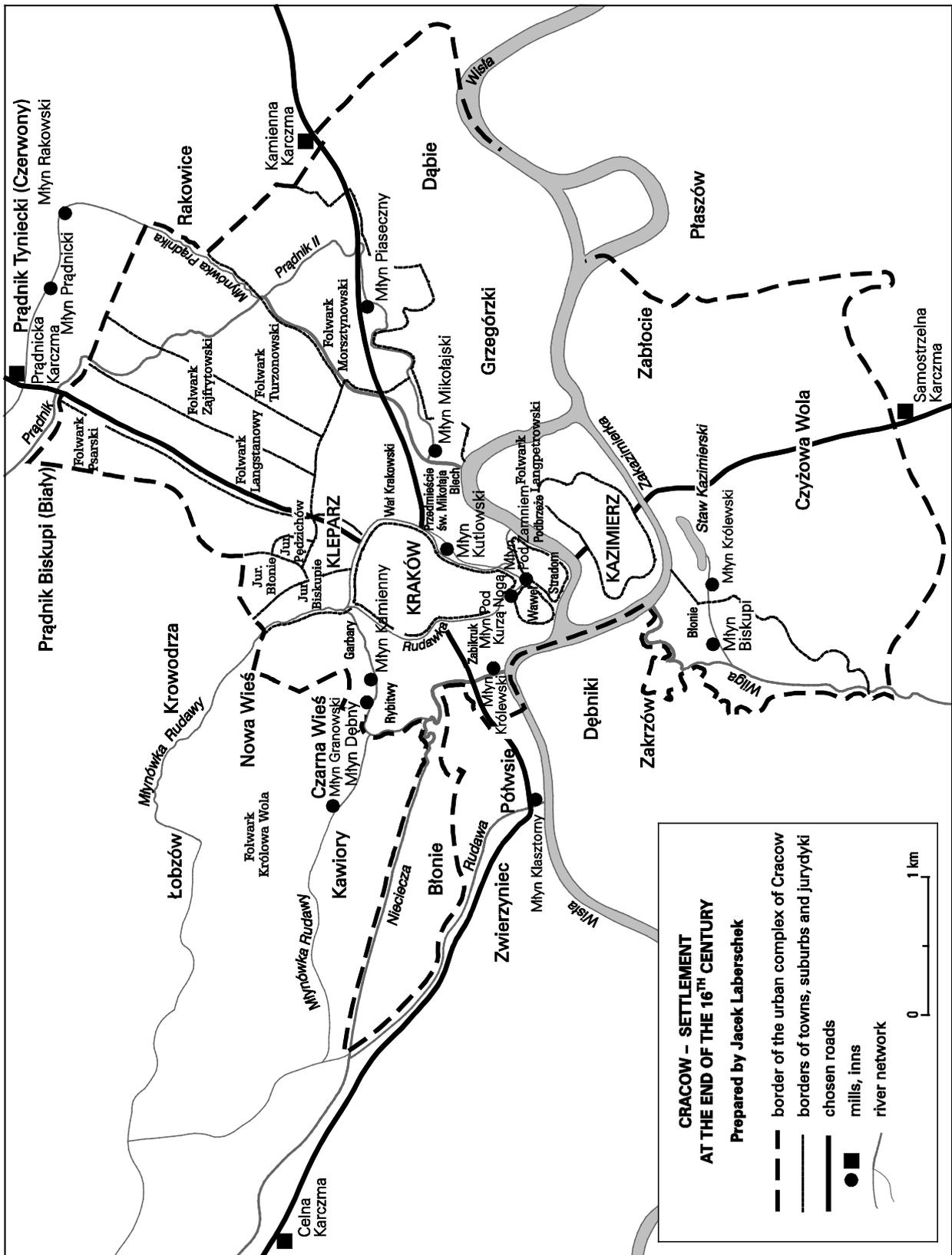
<sup>59</sup> 1533 privilege (LK 1659–1664, p. 317); 1539 ‘area Petri Syraczky fabri..., area Johannis Golumb fabri... et area Mathiae Sczirba fabri ante portam nouam in Vallo super Rudawa fluvio (KDMK 4 p. 742); 1542 ‘domus in vallo a porta s. Nicolai ad novam portam eundo’ (KDMK 4 p. 755); 1564 ‘Kutlowski mill on an embankment before the gate of St. Nicolas on the River Rudawka’ (LK 1564, part 1, p. 9); 1599 ‘domus in vallo usque ad capellam s. Sebastiani’ (Ins. 1599, p. 124); Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 63–64; A surviving entry from 1531 mentions a bricklayer Anna ‘de vallo ante portam Wislna’ (*Wypisy źródłowe... 1530–1533*, no. 660), this proves that some fragments of the embankment on the western part of the city had already been developed before 1533. The street Podwale is a remnant of this embankment, it runs along the Planty in Cracow.

<sup>60</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 123; J. Wiśniewski, *Brzeg*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, p. 230.

<sup>61</sup> S. Kuraś, *Początki krakowskiej jurydyki Pędzichowa*, “Małopolskie Studia Historyczne”, vol. 1, 1958, no. 2, pp. 59–65; Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 119; in 1562 ‘incolas de Pędzichow [...] extra Clepardiam sub iurisdictione communitatis viccariorum arcis Cracoviensis’ (*Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 530; E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, pp. 119–120).

<sup>62</sup> Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Błonie*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, p. 135; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 761; K. Antosiewicz, *Zachowane źródła do dziejów Zakonu Ducha Św. de Saxia w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 20, 1970, p. 103, no. 19; W. Kolak, *Jurydyki krakowskie*, pp. 237–238.

<sup>63</sup> F. Sikora, *Biała Wieża, Biskupie*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 66, 125–126; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Dubis Querceti*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, p. 625; KDKK, vol. 1, 113, 138; *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova 10/2 – Katalogi biskupów krakowskich*,



Map 1. Cracow – settlement at the end of the 16th century

city, some distance from the city walls and Wiślna Gate, Marcin Myszkowski of Mirów built a manor with an unusual name Smoleńsk. In 1543, it became a property of Jan Żukowski of Bystrzyca, who with time assigned it for the construction of a hospital and Church of God's Mercy. At the turn of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, this estate earned the status of a jurydyka.<sup>64</sup>

There was a demesne Piaski, with Piaseczny Mill, situated on the fringes of Cracow. It bordered on Rakowice, Czyżyny, and Dąbie, and was recorded already in 1355. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was called Morsztynowski, from the name of the owners. In the sixteenth century, the following demesnes operated in the territories, which originally belonged to Prądnik Wielki, and later were incorporated into Cracow: 1) Turzonowski (Olsza), recorded for the first time in 1392 with a name 'Alkirhuse'; 2) Zeifrytowski that is Fryzzerowski; 3) Langstanowy that is Celarowski, their recorded origin reaching back to 1367, when they belonged to Mikołaj Wierzynek, and 4) Psarski that is Montelupowski, also documented from 1367. Fryszbark, a demesne belonging to the nobility, operated in the sixteenth century in Garbary suburb. It was excluded from the city's jurisdiction, and recorded in land court books. The first entry comes from 1394.<sup>65</sup>

In 1363, Cracow obtained jurisdiction over Czarna Wieś. This did not mean, however, that the town council had any ownership rights to this hamlet, as the rent still belonged to the monarch. This rather unclear legal situation was the source of conflicts between the burghers of Cracow, who bought land there, and the administrators of the royal estates in Cracow. For instance, around 1366 administrator Bodzęta of Kosowice began to restore the lands in this village to the king, seizing pasturelands and establishing royal gardens there, to the detriment of the city. In later sources, Czarna Wieś is still described as royal property, even though its inhabitants were under the jurisdiction of town courts in Cracow.<sup>66</sup>

The legal status of the villages Grzegórzka and Dąbie also requires some explanation. Although the former was bought by the town council of Cracow in 1388 from Piotr and Jan Borek, and the latter in 1389 from the Cistercian monastery in Mogiła, and since then both villages formally belonged to the council and were put under the jurisdiction of town courts, they still kept some autonomy, and were not fully incorporated into the urban complex, often being the subject of purchase and sale transactions, and leases, between the town council of Cracow and individual burghers.<sup>67</sup>

In 1335, Casimir the Great located a town named after himself (Kazimierz)<sup>68</sup> under Magdeburg law. It was situated on the lands belonging to the king, between the hamlet by the church of St. Nicholas in Skalka, the knights hamlet by the church of St. Jacob, and a village of Cracow chapter called Bawół. The location document mentions the Rivers Vistula and Wilga, but in the first case it means the channel of the Old Vistula ('Stara Wisła'). Additionally, the monarch agreed the area between the royal castle, Wawel, and the River Rudawa and its mouth flowing into the Vistula, later called Stradomia (since 1375), or 'Pons Regalis' (since 1419), to be settled, and legally incorporated into the town of Kazimierz, which indeed happened in 1419 by virtue of Ladislaus Jagiello's decision.<sup>69</sup> The newly located town did not have agricultural, or forest, background. The process of seizing new utilitarian areas by this body occurred in stages. In 1340, Casimir the Great incorporated the aforementioned village Bawół to the town of Kazimierz.<sup>70</sup> In 1357, the town council of Kazimierz bought for 120 grzywnas Zabłocie village from king Casimir the Great. It lay on the right bank of the Vistula and had forests. In 1370, the king endowed a half of this village to the town. Moreover, in the same year the king allowed the village Janowa Wola to be located by the stream Czyżowa, near Lasota hill. The village was put under the jurisdiction of Kazimierz. The location was, however, unsuccessful, and what

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pub. J. Szymański, Warsaw 1974, pp. 185, 305; *Przywileje, prawa i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 530, 635, 646; S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa*, pp. 178–179; J. Dzikówna, *Kleparz*, pp. 41–42, 49–50, 58, 158, 190; W. Kolak, *Jurydyki krakowskie*, pp. 235–237.

<sup>64</sup> J. Laberschek, *Rozwój przestrzenny krakowskiego zespołu osadniczego*, p. 336; Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 39; *Najdawniejsza taryfa domów*, p. 296; *Rejestry gospód w Krakowie z lat 1632 i 1649*, p. 175; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 2, p. 610.

<sup>65</sup> J. Laberschek, *Prądnik w okresie średniowiecza*, pp. 27–28; idem, *Rozwój przestrzenny krakowskiego zespołu osadniczego*, pp. 311–314; J. Wiśniewski, *Fryszbark*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 685–686.

<sup>66</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 35; J. Wyrozumski, *Kraków do schyłku*, pp. 234–235; J. Laberschek, *Łobzów*, [in:] SHGK, part 3, pp. 951–954; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Czarna Wieś*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 439–441.

<sup>67</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 66, 67, 69; *Zbiór dyplomów klasztoru mogińskiego*, comp. E. Janota, Cracow 1867, no. 99; J. Laberschek, *Grzegórzki*, [in:] SHGK, part 2, pp. 123–125; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Dąbie*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 507–508.

<sup>68</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 18.

<sup>69</sup> Chmiel, p. 64; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 113; J. Dobrzycki, *Zarys dziejów*, p. 22.

<sup>70</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 24.

remained were the arable lans and thickets later called Czyżowa, or Czyżowa Wola, the property of the burghers of Kazimierz. Our plan does not show this area, because of its location to the southwest of Lasota hill. In current literature on the subject, this area was localized near the Vistula, across from Kazimierz suburbs by St. Leonard, where today the district Podgórze stands. This was an obvious mistake. The subsequent medieval purchases of Kazimierz, and specifically of the Augustan monastery by the church of St. Catherine, include: a garden in Błonie on the opposite bank of the Vistula, obtained in 1387 thanks to the endowment of Ladislaus Jagiello, and a farmhouse with two lans of field in the same place, obtained from the same monarch in 1394. Current cartography unreasonably calls the pasturelands and Kazimierz demesne on the right bank of the Vistula ‘Ludwinów’ instead of Błonie. The name was first used only in 1726.<sup>71</sup>

Still in the fourteenth century, suburban hamlets began to form on the fringes of Kazimierz. They were economically and administratively related to Kazimierz. Since 1385, the sources frequently mention Kazimierz bleachery, situated by the Vistula, east of Gliniana Gate. Local fishermen (other than the people doing the bleaching) gave rise to the suburb of Kazimierz called Podbrzeże, attested to in 1408, 1470–1480, and later.<sup>72</sup> Just behind the defensive walls of Kazimierz, by Gliniana Gate, Przedmieście Szewskie formed, recorded in the sources already in 1378.<sup>73</sup> On the other side of the town, by the hospital church of St. Leonard, built after 1439 outside the city walls, another suburb formed, called ‘suburbium ad. S. Leonardum’ in 1599.<sup>74</sup> A demesne called Langpetrowski was built probably after 1469, on the eastern side of Kazimierz, on the initiative of Piotr Lang, a burger of Cracow. In 1522 the demesne belonged to another Cracow burgher, Jerzy Brandler, and next to the town council of Kazimierz. In the seventeenth century it became the property of burgher Dajwor. Some researchers believe this demesne was originally called Okop.<sup>75</sup>

The north-eastern part of Kazimierz was occupied by the Jewish city, which existed since 1495, i.e. since John Albert moved some of the Jews from Cracow here, and grouped them with the Jews inhabiting this area since the end of the fourteenth century. In the beginning, the area was limited to the entire Szeroka Street, but in 1533–1608 it was systematically broadened, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the borders of the Jewish town almost reached the church of St. Laurence in the south, and the present day Plac Nowy in the west.<sup>76</sup>

The royal castle occupies the central point of our plan. It is situated on Wawel Hill, and Podzamcze and Rybaki lie at the bottom of the hill. They were a part of the royal estates in Cracow. The former hamlet appears also as ‘Subcastrum’, and is recorded already from 1345, as well as Podgrodzie, attested to in 1531. Often, its inhabitants worked in the castle.<sup>77</sup> Information about Rybaki, still called Rybitwy then, comes from Rejestr gospód w Krakowie from 1632.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Ibidem, vol. 1, no. 30, 40; KDM. 3, 838; 4, 987; Długosz LB, III, p. 472; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Błonie, Czyżowa*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 133–134, 488–489; E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, p. 65.

<sup>72</sup> Gr.Kr., 1a, f. 48r, 50v; Chmiel, pp. 163, 182; KŁK pages according to the index; *Inwentarz archiwum m. Kazimierza*, dok. 37, 89, 153, 156, 157, 194; KDMK, vol. 2, no. 467aa; LK 1564, p. 22; Długosz LB, II, p. 23; III, p. 118; LR 1529, p. 231; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 562; Wiz. Krk. 1599, pp. 148, 156, 159; *Najdawniejsza taryfa domów*, p. 296; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1; S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa*, pp. 32, 126; F. Sikora, *Blechy*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, p. 128; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 41–42.

<sup>73</sup> Chmiel, p. 100; KŁK, pages according to the index; *Inwentarz archiwum m. Kazimierza*, dok. 151; *Najdawniejsza taryfa domów*, p. 295; E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, p. 81.

<sup>74</sup> AP Kraków, Acta Scabinalia Cracoviensia 6, pp. 181, 197; *Inwentarz archiwum m. Kazimierza*, dok. 180, 182; Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 148; L. Wachholz, *Szpitala krakowskie*, pp. 51–52; E.M. Firlet, *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa*, p. 23.

<sup>75</sup> *Inwentarz archiwum m. Kazimierza*, dok. 37, 157; E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, p. 41.

<sup>76</sup> B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój urbanistyczny*, pp. 84–98; *Katalog zabytków*, vol. 4, part 6, *Kazimierz i Stradom. Judaica*, pp. XV–XVIII; B. Wyrozumka, *Czy Jan Olbracht wygnął Żydów z Krakowa*, RK, vol. 59, 1993, pp. 5–11.

<sup>77</sup> A mill ‘ultra castrum’ was attested in 1345, as well as a mill ‘sub nostro castro Cracoviensi’ (ZDM 1, 46; 4, 933). Mikołaj, a scribe ‘de subcastro’ appears in 1439 who sued Mikołaj, the altarist of Cracow cathedra and Clemens the keeper and the gatekeeper of the Cracow castle ‘de subcastro’ (Gr.Kr., 6, pp. 102–103, 115, 143, 145, 152, 211, 233). In 1472 bakers’ stalls were mentioned sub Castro Cracoviensi (*Codex diplomaticus Universitatis [...] Cracoviensis*, vol. 3, Cracow 1880, no. 3, 234). Podgrodzie is attested in 1531, and Podzamcze e.g. in 1553 and 1664 (LK 1564, part 1, pp. 24–25, 29; part 2, p. 157; J. Dobrzycki, *Zarys dziejów*, p. 22).

<sup>78</sup> *Rejestr gospód w Krakowie z lat 1632 i 1649*, p. 174; *Najdawniejsza taryfa domów*, p. 37; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 43–46.

Apart from the above-mentioned castle hamlets, the royal estates comprised numerous royal villages, and parts of villages, situated closer or farther away. Our plan shows: Czarna Wieś, located on the site of Łobzów before 1358; Nowa Wieś – also located under Magdeburg law in 1367 on the site of Łobzów, near the royal demesne – the demesne in Łobzów by the royal castle, under construction since 1357; the castle itself with a garden, depicted on panoramas of Cracow from the beginning of the seventeenth century; Dębniki, attested to already in 1254, comprising a royal part, and a part belonging to the Pauline monastery by the church of St. Nicolas in Skalka, later called Rybaki; and a part of Półwie Zwierzynieckie.<sup>79</sup> A royal village Rakowice bordered city demesnes from the east, its fields are shown on the plan. The first record of this village comes already from 1244.<sup>80</sup> The village Płaszów experienced some ups and downs: between 1254 and 1287 it belonged to the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Zwierzyniec, between 1324 and 1428 to the knights, and finally, in 1428 it was bought by the king and incorporated into royal estates in Cracow.<sup>81</sup>

The plan of Cracow shows Church property, which consists of the aforementioned jurydyki: Biskupie, Błonie in Kleparz, and Pędzichów, suburban villages: Kawiory, Krowodrza, Półwie (Zwierzynieckie), Zakrzówek, Zwierzyniec, Królowa Wola demesne (today Gramatyka), and parts in Błonie in Kazimierz, and Dębniki (Rybaki). The earliest record, from 1220, mentions Krowodrza, and describes it as a property of the monastery of Holy Spirit by endowment of bishop of Cracow Iwo Odrowąż. Zwierzyniec is next, recorded in 1224 as a property of the local monastery of the Norbertine Sisters. The hamlet Kawiory appears in the sources since 1318, sometimes called ‘villagium’, i.e. a demesne in the suburbs of Cracow (1470–1480), and sometimes ‘villa’ (1599), parts of which belonged to various Church institutions: the church of St. Ann in Cracow, the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare by the church of St. Andrew (later University of Cracow), Cracow bishopric, and Cracow chapter. In 1368, smallholders were settled on monastery grounds, under Magdeburg law, by the monastery in Zwierzyniec. This gave rise to the village called Półwie, attested to under this name in 1431, 1449–1450. The first record of the village Zakrzów can be found only in 1464. The village belonged to Cracow chapter and was put under Magdeburg law in that year by king Casimir Jagiellon. Królowa Wola was a demesne situated near the castle at Łobzów. In 1420–1517 the demesne belonged to the burghers of Cracow, and then to the University of Cracow. From the second half of the sixteenth century, this demesne appears under the name Gramatyka, a borrowing from the Grammar (‘Gramatyka’) faculty of the University of Cracow, to which it belonged, and from the inn Gramatyka, attested to in 1553. There were two demesnes in Cracow Błonie, one belonged to the monastery of St. Catherine in Kazimierz, and is recorded since 1387, the other belonged to the bishop of Cracow, and was listed already in 1399; in the seventeenth century it was called Ludwinów.<sup>82</sup>

North of jurydyka Błonie in Kleparz, where the roads to Olkusz and Biały Prądnik met, and where now Nowy Kleparz lies, there was a guard structure of unknown origin and functions, recorded as

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<sup>79</sup> KDP 3, 28; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 32; KDMłp., vol. 1, no. 293; MRPS IV, no. 5371; Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica Polonorum*, Craccouia 1521 [reprint: Cracow 1986], p. 240; *Kronika Polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Joachima Bielskiego, syna jego wydana*, vol. 1, Sanok 1856, p. 414; J. Laberschek, *Łobzów wieś z folwarkiem, Łobzów zamek i tenuta*, [in:] SHGK, part 3, pp. 951–957; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Czarna Wieś*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 439–441; F. Sikora, *Dębniki*, [in:] tamże, pp. 529–532; A. Bartoszewicz, *Księgi sądowe Nowej Wsi (Łobzowskiej) z drugiej połowy XV wieku*, SŻ, vol. 39, 2001, pp. 115–131; J. Bogdanowski, *Królewski ogród na Łobzowie*, Cracow 1997; B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja w Łobzowie*, [in:] *Palace i wille podmiejskie Krakowa*, Cracow 2007, pp. 79–100; a panorama of Cracow from 1603–1605 *Civitates orbis terrarum* (E.M. Firlet, *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa*, pp. 42–43); W. Kierst, *Wielkorządy krakowskie*, pp. 1–33, 137–167, 281–309; A. Franaszek, *Działalność wielkorządców krakowskich*, pp. 33, 78–80, 85–86; F. Sikora, *Wielkorządy krakowskie na przełomie XIV i XV w.*, [in:] *Urzędy dworu monarszego dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i państw ościennych*, Cracow 1996, pp. 101–139; F. Leśniak, *Wielkorządy krakowscy XVI–XVIII wieku*, Cracow 1996, pp. 28–29; W. Neugebauer, *Wielkorządy krakowskie w XIV–XVI wieku*, “Zeszyty Historyczne WSP w Częstochowie”, vol. 6, 2000, pp. 223–234; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 46–47.

<sup>80</sup> *Zbiór dyplomów klasztoru*, no. 20.

<sup>81</sup> KDKK, vol. 1, no. 40; KDP, vol. 3, no. 64; *Zbiór dyplomów klasztoru*, no. 54; ZDM V, no. 1372; LK 1564, part 1, pp. 36–37.

<sup>82</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 96; vol. 2, pp. 13, 15; vol. 3, p. 38; KDKK, vol. 1, no. 15; KDMłp., vol. 1, no. 157; vol. 4, no. 987; Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 57; ZDM I, no. 121; part 3, no. 838, 860; *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis [...] Cracoviensis*, vol. 1, no. 66; vol. 3, no. 239; vol. 4, no. 338; MRPS V, no. 6080; LK 1564, part 1, p. 15; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Błonie*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 133–134; Z. Beiersdorf, *Krowodrza*, pp. 41–70; F. Sikora, *Bieżanów*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 111–113; S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa*, pp. 184–185; Gr.Kr., 4, p. 452.

'custodia' in 1470, 'custodia civitatis' in 1540, 'strzelnica' ('shooting-range') in 1564, and 'saggitaria' in 1594. In 1587, during the preparations to repel the attack of the Archduke Maximilian Habsburg on Cracow, this structure was surrounded by walls and strengthened with earth bastiles by Jan Zamoyski. Perhaps Janina Dzikówna is right in her claims that the burghers of Kleparz guarded over their town from this place, and regularly practiced shooting, just like members of shooting fraternity of Cracow in their shooting-range.<sup>83</sup>

Cracow bleachery was situated by the confluence of the Prądnik and the Vistula, probably on the site of the old Rybitwy, recorded in the location document of Cracow from 1257. The origins of this structure are related to the buyout of Jan Noldenfasser's garden by the town council of Cracow in 1452, and to Casimir Jagiellon's consent from 1458 to direct the water from the Rudawa to open this bleachery.<sup>84</sup> There were many brickyards in suburban areas of Cracow and Kazimierz, the biggest and the most important of which were located in Dębniki, Dąbie, outside the walls of Kazimierz across from Wielicka Gate, in the Błonie of Kazimierz, and across from Zwierzyniec monastery.<sup>85</sup> An image of Cracow from 1603–1605 tells us about the city haven, situated in a bend of the Vistula, between the mouth of the Nieciecza and Stradom. According to Mieczysław Tobiasz, the river port in this place (today it is Plac na Groblach) was built only in the sixteenth century, when the dyke separating royal ponds from the Vistula was built.<sup>86</sup> This place was inhabited by Cracow lightermen, the so-called 'włóczkowie', who floated timber down the Vistula and caught fish.

Recently, an attempt has been made to calculate the entire area of the medieval and sixteenth century agglomeration of Cracow. In 1999, Leszek Belzyt managed to establish the exact area of Cracow within city walls, Kazimierz within its walls, Wawel and the Jewish town in Kazimierz, but his estimated calculations of the entire area of the urban complex, together with suburbs and other objects – between 250 and 300 ha for the second half of the fourteenth century, and 500 ha for the end of the sixteenth – are far from reality, much lowered and misleading.<sup>87</sup> My thorough research conducted in 2005 and 2007 reveals that the general area of the entire Cracow agglomeration, i.e. the three cities with adjoining grounds, equalled 1,760 ha at the end of the sixteenth century, and 1,770 ha with the castle on Wawel, that is over 17 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>88</sup>

Water networks underwent major changes in the period from the end of the sixteenth century and modern times. All rivers were shown on the plan, with their arms and flumes, as well as the more important ponds. The main water channel was the Vistula, which – according to Klemens Bąkowski – flowed in the same channel as today to the Wawel Hill, but after the castle hill it split into two arms, the main one surrounding Kazimierz from the north and northeast, and the other, called Zakazimierka or Nieciecza, surrounded this town from the south and southeast, and then joined the main channel at the exit of the current Ignacy Daszyński Street. The channel of the Zakazimierka was filled with water flowing from the dam on the Vistula, between Skałka and Dębniki, and the water from the Wilga, flowing into the channel above the modern mouth. The plan does not show the old channel of the Vistula, running through Dębniki. From time to time, during the enormous outflows, the waters of the Vistula tried to break through this channel, as in 1570. Another old channel of the Vistula, through Cracow Błonie near Wiślna Gate, was also not marked. The channel of the Zakazimierka was narrower than the main channel of the Vistula, however, in some years, such as 1593 or 1598, it broadened greatly

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<sup>83</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 3, p. 41; LK 1564, part 1, p. 28; AP Kraków, Consularia Cracoviensia 454, p. 37; J. Dzikówna, Kleparz, pp. 53, 82–83; *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, p. 131; L. Ludwikowski, T. Wroński, *Z dziejów Towarzystwa Strzeleckiego w Krakowie*, Warsaw 1979; G Lichończak-Nurek, *Najstarsze krakowskie celestaty*, [in:] *Polska i jej sąsiedzi w późnym średnio-wieczu*, ed. K. Ozóg, S. Szczur, Cracow 2000, pp. 345–362.

<sup>84</sup> KDMK, vol. 1, no. 167; vol. 4, no. 550; F. Sikora, *Blech*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 127–128.

<sup>85</sup> KŁK, no. 294–295, 303, 941, 2667; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 195, p. 277; *Cracovia artificum 1300–1500*, no. 542; *Wypisy źródłowe... 1501–1515*, no. 64; part 3, no. 36; part 3, no. 346; part 5, no. 799; part 6, no. 1143, 1180; part 9, no. 1808 – brickyard in Zwierzyniec; *Rachunki budowy zamku krakowskiego 1535*, pub. O. Łaszczyńska, Cracow 1952, pp. 73, 83–84, 90; LK 1564, part 1, pp. 30–31; AP Kraków, Consularia Cracoviensia 455, p. 101; Scabinalia Cracoviensia 27, p. 619; F. Sikora, *Dębniki*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 529–532; J. Bieniarzówna, J.M. Małecki, *Kraków*, p. 25; Z. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska w XVI wieku*, Cracow 2003, p. 321; J. Salwiński, *Cegielnie*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, pp. 102–103.

<sup>86</sup> M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 23, 31.

<sup>87</sup> L. Belzyt, *Kraków i Praga*, pp. 32, 49–50.

<sup>88</sup> J. Laberschek, *Krakowski zespół osadniczy*, p. 22; idem, *Rozwój przestrzenny krakowskiego zespołu osadniczego*, pp. 307, 317–320 – here the verification of previous findings.

because of the floods.<sup>89</sup> Because of the two arms of the Vistula flowing through the city, an island was formed, near the place where the river split, between Wawel and Skalka. It was called Ostrów, and endowed by Casimir Jagiellon to Mikołaj of Brzezie in 1450. The latter, on the other hand, gave the island to the Augustan monastery by the church of St. Catherine in Kazimierz in 1458. Afterwards the island was used – according to the 1564 inspection – as a burial ground for Tatar prisoners.<sup>90</sup>

In our area, the Vistula had several left tributaries: Rudawa, Prądnik, and Dłubnia, and one right tributary – Drwinia. The right-bank Wilga, on the other hand, flowed into the arm of the Vistula running by the Wawel and Skalka (Zakazimierka). The Rudawa had the highest number of arms, used for many utilitarian and military purposes. The definite majority of utilitarian structures in Cracow suburbs was driven by the energy from the waters of the Rudawa. All arms of the river were shown on the map. These were: a) the main channel, called Nieciecza in its downstream, it flowed from Mydlniki, along Błonie on the northern side, surrounded Półwie Zwierzynieckie, and flowed into the Vistula near the modern Dębnicki bridge;<sup>91</sup> b) a side channel, which separated from the main one before Błonie and ran like the present-day Rudawa, then flowed into the Vistula near the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Zwierzyniec, and drove the monastery's mill; c) the artificial channel, separating from the Rudawa in Mydlniki as the so-called 'Młynówka', which surrounded the gardens of the castle at Łobzów from the south and east, and separated Nowa Wieś from Krowodrza, then flowed between Piasek suburbs and jurydyka Biskupie near Cracow city walls, further towards the southwest, through Garbary, surrounding Krupniki from the west, and finally joining the main channel near Rybitwy; d) another artificial channel beginning at Chełm, flowing near Kawior and through the meadows of Czarna Wieś, flowing into Nieciecza near Rybitwy; e) the fifth, also an artificial arm, which separated from the Młynówka by the town tower Ceklarcz (now this is the area of the monastery of the Franciscans), and then flowed in two arms along the city walls, thus encircling the city, the arms joined in Stradom and flowed into the main channel of the Vistula, near the now non-existent church of St. Sebastian. The majority of these arms of the Rudawa disappeared with time. Only one remained, which once performed auxiliary functions, behind the confluence with the Vistula, near the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters in Zwierzyniec. The few traces of the main channel can still be found, behind the so-called Cichy Kącik, as well as traces of Młynówka in the name of the Street called Dolnych Młynów.<sup>92</sup>

The River Prądnik, now called Białucha at its downstream, was broadly used as a source of energy to drive mills in Zielonki, Biały and Czerwony Prądnik, Rakowice, Piaski demesne, Przedmieście Św. Mikołaja, and the city's bleachery. Its course changed much from the sixteenth century. In the village Prądnik Biskupi, which is Prądnik Biały district today, the river split into two arms:

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<sup>89</sup> K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, pp. 138–157; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 22–30. The southern channel appears under the name of Nieciecza in 1430 (KDMK, vol. 1, no. 127), Zakazimierka, Kazimierka in 1533 and 1564 (*Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 74; LK 1564, part 1, p. 31); *Hydronymia Europaea*, hrsg. von W.P. Schmid, Lfg. 12, *Rechte Zuflüsse zur Weichsel zwischen Sola und Dunajec (Nazwy wodne prawobrzeżnych dopływów Wisły między Solą a Dunajcem)*, bearb. von K. Rymut, Stuttgart 1996; tamże, Lfg. 16, *Gewässernamen im linken Zufluß der Weichsel zwischen Przemsza und Pilica (Nazwy lewobrzeżnych dopływów Wisły od Przemszy do Pilicy)*, bearb. von K. Rymut, Stuttgart 2001.

<sup>90</sup> LK 1564, part 1, p. 27; Bibl. Jag., MS 8059 IV, f. 95; K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, p. 166.

<sup>91</sup> The exact course of Nieciecza on its junction with Młynówka Rudawy, near Rybitwy and Krupniki, is hard to reconstruct. Two seventeenth century plans, created during the Deluge, are exceptionally imprecise and almost fantastical in their presentation of the river, whereas the eighteenth and nineteenth century plans, i.e. the Swedish plan from 1702 reproduced in vol. 5 of 'Roczniki Krakowskie' and the Kołłątajowski plan from 1785 reproduced in vol. 48 of these 'Roczniki', or Teofil Żebrawski's plan from 1836 differ in details. It is interesting that the surviving panoramas of Cracow from the first half of the seventeenth century do not include meanders and broads of this arm by its junction with Młynówka. The River Nieciecza has a rich sixteenth century documentation (e.g. MRPS, vol. IV, no. 9025, 9073, 15049, 23183; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 749; Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 39; LK 1564, part 1, p. 7; LK 1659–1664, pp. 320, 337).

<sup>92</sup> K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, pp. 157–165; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 32–33. Recently K. Krasnowolski took interest in reconstructing particular arms of the River Rudawa and the mill network on this river, B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, pp. 130–136. The Zwierzyniec arm of the Rudawa is attested in, e.g. 1533 (*Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, no. 754), the Kawior arm in 1375, 1438, 1442, 1446, 1512 (KDMK, vol. 1, no. 49; *Dokumenty sądu ziemskiego krakowskiego 1302–1453*, pub. Z. Perzanowski, Wrocław 1971, pp. 187, 192; Gr.Kr., 9, p. 557; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 749), The Garbary flumen of the Rudawa appears in 1564 (LK 1564, part 1, pp. 8, 10, 13–14; LK 1659–1664, f. 353, 406v), the arm, which surrounded the city, called Rudawka, is noted in 1533, 1564 (*Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 751–752; LK 1564, part 1, p. 9; LK 1659–1664, f. 337, 351v–352v, 427).

a) the right one meandered southeast through burgher's demesnes: Psarski called Montelupiewski, and then Szlak, Langstanowy later called Celarowski, Zeifrytowski later called Bosacki or Pryzerowski, and Turzonowski, which was later called Olsza; b) the left arm, surrounding those demesnes from the north, changed its direction afterwards and turned southwest before Rakowice, and flowed into the main channel in Olsza. Next, the Prądnik flowed through Morsztynowski demesne in Piaski, where it drove the mill called Piaseczny (now the area southeast of Mogilskie roundabout), and then along the northern border of Grzegórzki, to the city's Bleachery, where it flowed into the main channel of the Vistula, that is the Old Vistula. The topography of this part of the town, from the present-day Mogilskie roundabout to the crossroads of Św. Łazarza Street and Grzegórzecka Street, characterized by the abrupt depression of the ground, and the distinctive meanders of the roads depicted in the Modern Age maps of the vicinity of Cracow, seem to legitimize the drawing of yet another, alternative channel of the Prądnik, running a bit more to the north from the border of Grzegórzki, almost parallel to the present-day Kopernika Street. The channel of Prądnik by the church of St. Nicolas survived until the Deluge, when the Swedish army besieging Cracow changed the course of the downstream Prądnik and dug its mouth into the Vistula in the village Dąbie. It is worth noting that the River Prądnik had a right tributary Suchydół, later called Sudoł, in Biały Prądnik village, and in Prądnik Tyniecki, that is Czerwony, the river had a left tributary – Suchydół Dominikański.<sup>93</sup>

The River Wilga flowed into the Zakazimierka below Skalka. The contemporary confluence of the river with the Vistula is situated 300 m farther to the east from the original one. Our plan does not show two right tributaries of the Wilga: rivulets Głęboka Debrz (flowing from Piaski Wielkie) and Budnarka. We do not know, how the River Czyżowa flowed, whether it was a tributary of the Wilga, or its flume led under Lasota Mountain and drove a mill there. Friedrich von Mieg's map from 1779–1783 provides no answer on this matter.<sup>94</sup>

Bridges were built over all rivers, at junction points with the more important roads and streets. The largest and the most important bridge over the Vistula, called Wielki ('Great') or Królewski ('Royal'), connected Cracow with Kazimierz, and is attested to already in 1363, and later in 1570, and 1599. Apart from that one, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were three bridges over the Zakazimierka, one called the Bridge of St. Stanislaus, was situated across from Skawińska Gate and is recorded in 1385, the other stood by Wielicka Gate, and the third in front of Bocheńska Gate, as confirmed by an entry from 1475, as well as surviving images of Cracow: from 1537, and from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>95</sup> The bridges were often destroyed in the floods. Not all were rebuilt, like Bocheński bridge after 1537. The sources also mention bridges over various tributaries of the Vistula, namely: a) Sławkowski bridge over the Rudawka, mentioned in 1390; b) a bridge in front of St. Nicolas Gate, over the Rudawka, listed already from 1393; c) a bridge in front of Nowa Gate, over the same river, recorded from 1390 and 1395; d) a bridge in front of Grodzka Gate, over the same river, recorded e.g. in 1564, or e) a bridge over Nieciecza, which appears in 1599.<sup>96</sup>

Numerous ponds, which existed at the end of the sixteenth century in the suburbs and on the fringes of Cracow, were also included in our plan, both those with their own name, as well as unnamed ponds. These objects prove that fish breeding was well developed in the agglomeration of Cracow. The majority of the ponds was supplied by the water from the Rudawa and its arms, and the water from the Wilga and the Prądnik. Of the more important ponds we should mention: a) a large pond in Zwierzyniec, where now Na Stawach Square is; b) a pond on the site of the present-day Na Groblach Square; c) a pond in a place called Żabikruk, by the exit of Wiślina Street; d) a pond situated across

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<sup>93</sup> K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, pp. 168–169; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 12–13. That the River Prądnik flowed behind the church of St. Nicolas is attested in many fourteenth century and later sources, like, for instance, documents from 1360, 1388, 1500, LK 1564 (KDMłp., vol. 1, 259; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 66; LK 1564, part 1, pp. 11, 16; LK 1659–1664, f. 353), or the plan of Cracow besieged by the Swedes in from 1655 (*Katalog dawnych map*, pp. 32–33). The change of the course is shown of the siege plan of the city, occupied by the Swedish and Transylvanian armies in 1657 (*ibidem*, pp. 34–35).

<sup>94</sup> K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, pp. 165–168; F. Sikora, *Budnarka rzeczka*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, p. 282; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Czyżowa struga, Głęboka Debrz potok*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 488, 747.

<sup>95</sup> KDMłp., vol. 1, no. 271; vol. 4, no. 1222; KRK, part 2, p. 7; *Joannie Długosi... Historiae Polonica libri XII*, vol. 5, pub. J.Ż. Pauli, p. 631; LDK, p. 4; *Wiz. Krk. 1599*, p. 17; S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa*, p. 218.

<sup>96</sup> KRK part 2, pp. 132, 139, 291, 293, 305, 309; LK 1564, part 1, p. 26; *Wiz. Krk. 1599*, p. 39.

from Furta Żydowska ('the Jewish Wicket'); e) a pond below the city walls of Cracow, between Grodzka Gate, and Brama Nowa ('the New Wicket'), called Leipniger Pond, and St. Stanislaus Pond from the second half of the sixteenth century; f) a large pond south of the church of St. Nicolas in Wielopole; g) ponds near the city's bleachery; h) Jezierzysko Pond by Kazimierz city walls; i) the pond of St. Stanislaus near Skałka in Kazimierz; j) Kazimierski Pond on the right bank of the Zakazimierka; k) Jelitowy Pond in Dębni; l) two ponds in Czarna Wieś near Rybitwy; ł) ponds in Czarna Ulica and Półwieś Łobzowski.<sup>97</sup>

A definite majority of utilitarian structures in the suburbs and suburban villages of Cracow was driven with energy from the rivers. The most mills were situated on the arms of the swift Prądnik, mostly in villages located north of Cracow, i.e. Zielonki, Biały Prądnik, Czerwony Prądnik, and Rakowice, which are not covered by our plan. Piaseczny mill lay closest to the town (near present-day Mogilskie roundabout), it was recorded e.g. in 1303, and 1355, and the mill below the church of St. Nicolas, called Mikołajski (Nicolas = Mikołaj), recorded in 1318, and later. Both mills belonged to the burghers.<sup>98</sup> An arm of the Rudawa, called Rudawka or Młynówka, recorded already in 1286, also served utilitarian purposes. Royal mills were situated on this river: a) Bieniasza, later called Kamienny, and then Dolny, registered already in 1335; b) Dębny mill recorded from 1396; c) Troczny mill built on Casimir Jagiellon's consent from 1448.<sup>99</sup> The Rudawka separated from the Młynówka. It surrounded the city within city walls and flowed into the Vistula near Leipniger Pond. Sometime before 1327 the miller Gerlach built a mill, at the specific request of Ladislaus I, by the Rudawka just below St. Nicolas Gate. Later the mill was called Gerlach's Mill, or Kutlowski Mill, and belonged to the administrators of Cracow. In the sixteenth century the following workshops operated next to the mill: metalworker, recorded in 1556, 1559, and 1564; loom, recorded in 1564; and a sawmill, that is timber mill, built by virtue of the privilege of Sigismund I from 1533, and attested to in 1539.<sup>100</sup> The Rudawka also flowed through Podzamcze, where the Cracow starosta's mill stood, called 'Młyn pod Kurzą Nogą' ('Mill under Hen's Foot'), recorded in 1345, 1432, 1529, 1564, and was burned down in 1658, as well as the mill by the Bernardine monastery, recorded in 1529, and in 1658 as burned down.<sup>101</sup> In the light of Bogusław Krasnowolski's findings, the artificial arm of the Rudawa, flowing from the Norbertine monastery, and then through the Błonia, and near Kawior, was much older than this flume. There was a mill on this artificial river, which belonged to Zwierzyniec monastery, and was recorded in 1254, 1256, 1286, and 1287. Later – according to the same scholar – the mill frequently changes hands, and belonged either to the burghers, or to the nobles, and was called Granowski.<sup>102</sup> On the arm of Rudawka, there was

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<sup>97</sup> Żabikruk 1419, 1422, 1426, 1468, 1506, 1658 (Gr.Kr., vol. 1 p. 117; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 118; vol. 2, no. 466, 490; LK 1659–1664, f. 337); the pond between Żydowska Wicket and Wiślna Gate 1570, 1573, 1658 (AP Kraków, Acta dominorum provis. 1574, pp. 458–459, 502; LK 1659–1664, f. 337); ponds in Zwierzyniec 1593 (AP Kraków, Acta dominorum provis. 1575, p. 600); Paulkaufmanowska pond in Czarna Wieś 1596 (AP Kraków, Consularia Cracoviensia 454, p. 399); pond by the royal garden in Łobzów 1658 (LK 1659–1664, f. 406v); ponds by the city bleachery 1452, 1564 (KDMK, vol. 2, no. 550; LK 1564, part 1, p. 16); Leipniger pond in front of Nowa Gate 1420, 1437, 1439, 1443, 1517, 1528 (KDMK, vol. 2, no. 407, 418, 531, 540, p. 757; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, pp. 950–951); the royal pond outside the city walls of Kazimierz 1431, 1487, later called Jezierzysko (ZDM 7, 2094; KDMK, vol. 1, p. 277); Pond of St. Stanislaus by the church in Skałka 1599 (Ins. 1599, p. 156); royal pond on the right bank of the Zakazimierka, outside Kazimierz 1334, 1510, 1564, 1658 (MRPS, vol. IV, no. 1033; LK 1564, part 1, p. 19; LK 1659–1664, f. 372v, 427); the great lake in Dębni, called Jelitowe 1254, 1376, 1470–1480, 1558 (KDP 3, 28; KDMłp., vol. 1, 334; Długosz LB, vol. 3, p. 116; *Rachunki wielkorządowe Jana Bonera 1558*, comp. J. Garbacik, Cracow 1974, pp. 21–22); K. Bąkowski, *Dawne kierunki rzek pod Krakowem*, pp. 169–172; S. Tomkiewicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa*, pp. 62–63, 79, 163, 226; M. Tobiasz, *Dziejowe przemiany sieci wodnej*, pp. 30–32; *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, p. 925.

<sup>98</sup> KRK no. 26, 513, 896, 990, 1018, 1350–1351, 1428, 1549; KDMłp., vol. 1, 241, 259; LR 1529, p. 216; J. Rajman, *Kraków – zespół osadniczy*, pp. 221, 223; J. Laberscheck, *Prądnik w okresie średniowiecza*, pp. 27–31.

<sup>99</sup> KDKK, vol. 1, 86; 2, 408; KDMłp., vol. 1, 200; KDMK, vol. 2, no. 430; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, 747; LR 1529, p. 216; F. Sikora, *Bieniasza Młyn, Dębny Młyn*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 97–99, 538–539; J. Wiśniewski, *Garbary*, [in:] tamże, pp. 703–704; J.W. Rączka, *Młyny królewskie w krajobrazie Krakowa*.

<sup>100</sup> KRK 1, 881; LK 1564, part 1, pp. 12, 16; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, 753; KDMK 2 p. 739; J. Wiśniewski, *Brzeg*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, pp. 228–230, 721–723; W. Kierst, *Wielkorządy krakowskie*, p. 292; A. Franaszek, *Działalność wielkorządców krakowskich*, p. 153; J.W. Rączka, *Młyny królewskie w krajobrazie Krakowa*.

<sup>101</sup> ZDM 1, 46; 4, 933; Gr.Kr., 4, pp. 586, 600; LR 1529, p. 237; LK 1564, part 1, p. 25; LK 1659–1664, f. 427.

<sup>102</sup> KDKK, vol. 1, 40; KDP 3, 33, 64; ZDM 1, 11; Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, *Czudzie młyn*, [in:] SHGK, part 1, p. 476; F. Sikora, *Granowski Młyn*, [in:] SHGK, part 2, pp. 44–45; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, pp. 130–136.

a monastery mill, recorded in 1470–1480 in *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz.<sup>103</sup> The arm, which at the time flowed just under the monastery, still exists today. Another mill, called Błonie, was situated by the royal Kazimierski Pond, which was supplied by water from the Wilga, the mill was recorded in 1411, and 1658.<sup>104</sup> Because of the difficulties in localizing the majority of mills, these structures were not shown of the plan of Cracow settlement complex.

The River Rudawa played an important role in Cracow's defensive capability. One of its arms, the Rudawka, already mentioned above, was used to fill the city moat – which ran along the city walls – with water. Only important structures of Cracow defensive system were included in the plan. The system itself was built during the Bohemian reign in Cracow (1292–1306) and comprised the city and castle walls with gates and 39 towers (which were not shown on the plans). The following gates were marked on the plan: Floriańska with Barbican, Sławkowska, Mikołajska, Nowa, Grodzka, and Szewska, and two wickets: Biskupia and Żydowska, situated in the fortifications of Cracow, as well as gates: Gliniana, Bocheńska, Wielicka, and Skawińska in the city walls of Kazimierz, built during the reign of Casimir the Great. Wawel Castle was also a part of the fortifications of Cracow, it was a separate defensive structure.<sup>105</sup>

Important administrative buildings, as well as buildings of public use and utilitarian structures of the city were marked on the map. These were: Cracow town hall, attested to already in 1316, Kazimierz town hall, recorded in 1369 and 1425, Kleparz town hall, mentioned in 1465, and the cloth hall in Cracow, recorded already in 1306.<sup>106</sup> University buildings were also important structures, these were: Collegium Maius, built around a building offered to the University in 1400, and Collegium Minus, created in 1449 at the back of Collegium Maius.<sup>107</sup>

Medieval and Renaissance Cracow took pride in its several dozen sacral buildings. At the end of the sixteenth century, there were 20 temples inside Cracow's city walls, seven churches in Kazimierz, five churches in Kleparz and its vicinity, three churches in Wawel, three in Stradom, three churches on the eastern side of Cracow, and six on the western side. The cathedral of St. Wenceslaus and St. Stanislaus the Martyr was the main temple of Cracow. It stood on Wawel Hill. 11 churches had the status of a parish:<sup>108</sup>

- a) church of St. Ann, its parish encompassed the following streets: Św. Anny, Poprzeczna that is Jagiellońska to Szewska Street, fragment of Szewska Street, Gołębia, and fragment of Wiślna;
- b) church of the Holy Cross, encompassing Prądnik Biały village, and in Cracow the fragment of Św. Ducha Street (Szpitalna) from the church of the Holy Spirit ('Św. Ducha') to the church of St. Roch, and fragment of Floriańska Street;
- c) church of the Virgin Mary (Mariacki Church) on Cracow's market square, encompassing Bronowice Polskie village (now Bronowice Małe), and in Cracow almost entire Floriańska Street, the street Św. Jana, Sławkowska, Rogacka (now Reformacka Street), Żydowska (now Św. Tomasza), Sienna, Mikołajska, fragment of Św. Szczepana Street, fragment of Szewska Street, fragment of Wiślna Street, fragment of Gołębia Street, almost entire Bracka Street, fragment of Grodzka Street, fragment of Stolarska Street, fragment of Św. Ducha Street, and the entire market square.
- d) church of St. Stephen, which encompassed Biskupie, Bronowice Niemieckie (now Bronowice Wielkie), Czarna Ulica, Czarna Wieś, Garbary, Kawiory, Krowodrza, Łobzów, Mydlniki, Nowa Wieś, Półwieś (now Łobzowska Street), Rząska, the streets Garncarska, Krupniki, and Rybitwy

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<sup>103</sup> Długosz LB, part 3, p. 60.

<sup>104</sup> KDKK, vol. 2, 528; LK 1659–1664, f. 427.

<sup>105</sup> M. Tobiasz, *Fortyfikacje dawnego Krakowa*; Z. Pianowski, *Wawel obronny*.

<sup>106</sup> KRK no. 366; KŁK no. 2982; KDMK, vol. 1, no. 155; J. Muczkowski, *Dawny ratusz krakowski*, RK, vol. 8, 1906, pp. 1–50; M. Patkaniowski, *Krakowska rada miejska w wiekach średnich*, Cracow 1934; B. Wyrozumski, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa w średniowieczu*, Cracow 1995, pp. 41–47; S. Świszczowski, *Miasto Kazimierz*, pages according to the index; J. Bieniarzówna, J.M. Małecki, *Kraków*, pages according to the index.

<sup>107</sup> L. Hajdukiewicz, M. Karaś, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Tradycje – współczesność – perspektywy*, pub. 2, Cracow 1977, pp. 14–16; *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, pp. 126–127.

<sup>108</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599, pp. 38, 49, 57, 73, 108, 124, 148–149, 157; A. Witkowska, *Przestrzeń sakralna*, p. 37–48; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 2, pp. 363, 399, 490–491, 569–571, 577–578, 582, 586, 595; vol. 4, pp. 461, 487.

- in the suburbs, and in Cracow fragment of Św. Macieja Street, fragment of Św. Szczepana Street, and fragment of Szewska Street;
- e) church of All Saints encompassing Wawel castle, Podzamcze, Stradomia suburb (now Stradom), Zwierzyniec suburb to the house called Smoleńsk, part of Wał Miejski (City Embankment) from Stradomia to the church of St. Sebastian, and in Cracow fragment of Grodzka Street, fragment of Szeroka Street (now Dominikański Square), Kanoniczna Street, the so-called Psi Rynek, fragment of Bracka Street, fragment of Wiślna Street with the bishop's palace;
  - f) church of St. Florian in Kleparz, encompassing Kleparz;
  - g) church of the Corpus Christi in Kazimierz, which took its parochial district from the church of St. Laurence in Kazimierz, and encompassed part of Kazimierz town;
  - h) church of St. Jacob in Kazimierz, encompassing Borek, Jugowice, Kurdwanów, Łagiewniki, Płaszów, Podborze, Pokrzywnica, Prokocim, Swoszowice, Wola (Duchacka), Wróblowice, Zabłocie, and in Kazimierz: a quarter of the market square, Piekarska Street, a street behind the church of St. Jacob, Podbrzeże suburb, the suburb by the church of St. Leonard;
  - i) the church of St. Michael and St. Stanislaus in Skałka in Kazimierz, encompassing the territory of the old village Bawół, Dębniki, Kobierzyn, Pychowice, Zakrzów, and in Kazimierz: a quarter of the market square and the streets up till Skałka;
  - j) the church of the Holy Saviour (Salvator) in Zwierzyniec, encompassing Bielany, Chełm, Olszanica, Podchełmie, Półwsie (Zwierzynieckie), Przego Street rzały, Wola (Justowska), and Zwierzyniec.

There were 16 religious monastic communities in the agglomeration of Cracow: a) the Benedictines of the Slavic Rite by the Church of the Holy Cross, situated between Kleparz, Biskupie, and Błonie; b) the Carmelites of the Old Observation by the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Piasek; c) Canons Regular of St. Mark by the Church of St. Mark in Cracow; d) Canons Regular of the Holy Spirit by the Church of the Holy Spirit in Cracow; e) Canonesses Regular of the Holy Spirit by the same church; f) the Dominican Sisters in Stolarska Street in Cracow; g) the Dominicans by the Church of the Holy Trinity in Cracow; h) the Franciscans by the Church of St. Francis in Cracow; i) Sisters of St. Clare by the Church of St. Andrew in Cracow; j) the Norbertine Sisters by the Church of St. Augustine in Zwierzyniec; k) the Bernardines by the Church of St. Bernard in Stradomia; l) the Order of the Holy Sepulchre by the Church of St. Hedwig in Stradomia; ł) the Bernardine Sisters of St. Colette by the Church of St. Agnes in Stradomia; m) the Canons Regular by the Church of Corpus Christi in Kazimierz; n) the Augustans by the Church of St. Catherine in Kazimierz; o) Paulines by the Church of St. Michael and Stanislaus in Skałka.<sup>109</sup>

Hospitals cared for the homeless and ill. There were six hospitals in Cracow: a) by the Church of St. Valentine in Błonie in Kleparz; b) by the Church of St. Simon and St. Jude in Kleparz; c) by the Church of the Holy Spirit in Cracow; d) by the Church of St. Sebastian outside the walls of Cracow, by Leipniger pond; e) by the Church of St. Hedwig in Stradomia; f) by the Church of St. Leonard, outside the walls of Kazimierz.<sup>110</sup>

The following churches did not survive to our times: the Church of the Holy Spirit in Cracow, the Church of St. Philip and St. Jacob in Kleparz, the Church of St. Gertrude outside Nowa Gate, the church of St. Hedwig in Stradomia, the Church of St. Jacob the Apostle in Kazimierz, the Church of St. George in Wawel, the Church of St. Leonard outside the walls of Kazimierz, the Chapel of St. Matthias and St. Matthew in Cracow, the Church of St. Mary Magdalene in Okoń, the Church of St. Michael in Wawel, the Chapel of St. Peter in Okoń, the Church of St. Peter in Garbary, the Church of St. Roch in Św. Duchy (Szpitalna) Street in Cracow, the Church of St. Sebastian outside Cracow city walls, the Church of St. Stephen in Cracow, the Church of St. Simon and St. Jude Thaddaeus in Kleparz, the Church of St. Valentine in Błonie in Kleparz, the Church of St. Laurence in Kazimierz, the Church of St. Sophie in Kazimierz, and the Church of All Saints in Cracow.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> H. Gapski, *Klasztory krakowskie*.

<sup>110</sup> L. Wachholz, *Szpitalne krakowskie*.

<sup>111</sup> M. Rożek, *Nie istniejące kościoły Krakowa*, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej", vol. 3, 1983, pp. 95–120; I. i W. Kęderowie, *Kościół nieistniejący*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, pp. 450–451; Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 2, pp. 598–612.

The bishop's palace (*curia*) was situated by the city walls, near Biskupia wicket, close to the Franciscan monastery. It was moved there from Wawel by bishop Jan Radlica before 1384.<sup>112</sup>

An evangelical commune (Calvinist) called Brog functioned since 1571 in Cracow in a house in Św. Jana Street. It was destroyed during the anti-protestant riots in 1591.<sup>113</sup>

In the Jewish city, there were several important places of cult: the Old Synagogue built probably in the end of the fifteenth century, the Remuh Synagogue, which functioned from the second half of the sixteenth century, and the High Synagogue, that is New Synagogue, built before 1563.<sup>114</sup>

In our period the agglomeration of Cracow had a well-developed network of roads, both local and nationwide, as well as international. Moravia and Bohemia could be reached by the road leaving from Skawińska Gate in Kazimierz, and continuing through Zakrzów, Kobierzyn, Skawina to Zator and Oświęcim, or by the road running along the left bank of the Vistula from Wiślna Gate, through Zwierzyniec, Wola Chełmska, Chełm, Liszki, and Kaszów to Oświęcim. The connection with Ruthenia and Lithuania was maintained thanks to the road leaving from Mikołajska Gate, then leading through Piaski, Kamienny Most ('Stone Bridge') in Czyżyny, Mogiła, and further on through Brzesko Nowe, Koszyce, Nowy Korczyn and Sandomierz. There was also another road to Ruthenia, from Wielicka Gate, or Bocheńska Gate in Kazimierz, through Prokocim, Bieżanów, Węgrzyce, Staniątka, Bochnia, Tarnów, Rzeszów and Przemyśl. The road to Silesia left from Sławkowska Gate, down Długa Street, through Kleparz, Krowodrza, Tonie, Biały Kościół, and further on through Olkusz, Sławków, Będzin. The road to Greater Poland originated in the same place, and went through Kleparz, Zielonki, Brzozówka, Skała and Ogrodzieniec. Another road to Greater Poland, and Warsaw, and Prussia, ran from Floriańska Gate, next to the church of St. Florian, and through Prądnik Tyniecki (Czerwony), and then Bosutów, Dziekanowice, Kończyce, Słomniki, and Miechów. Słomniki could also be reached from Sławkowska Gate, down Długa Street, and through Witkowice, Węgrzyce, Michałowice. Traders heading to Subcarpathia and Hungary used the Wieliczka road, through Dobczyce.<sup>115</sup>

Cracow, its adjoining towns and suburbs, had a dense network of streets and squares. The names of the majority of streets in Cracow survive to this day: Floriańska, Św. Jana, Sławkowska, Mikołajska, Sienna, Szczepańska, Szewska, Wiślna, Bracka, Grodzka, Stolarska, Kanoniczna, Legacka that is Poselska. New names were given to the following streets: Św. Ducha (now Szpitalna), Rogacka (now Reformacka), Szrotarska (now Św. Marka), Żydowska (now Św. Tomasza), Świnia (now Św. Tomasza), Tandeta (now Mały Rynek), Gołęgia (now Jagiellońska), Garncarska (now Gołębia), Psi Rynek (now Franciszkańska), Szeroka (now Dominikański Square). Few streets in Kazimierz kept their names, these were: Krakowska, Piekarska, Bożego Ciała, and Św. Wawrzyńca. The names of the remaining streets were changed: Wielicka (now Krakowska), Św. Stanisława (now Skałeczna), Św. Jakuba (now Skawińska), Sukienników (now Józefa), Św. Katarzyny (now Augustiańska). The area around Krowia Street and the cattle market, called Psi Rynek, were developed. The name of the suburb Podbrzeże survived in the name of Podbrzezie Street. Changes in nomenclature occurred also in Kleparz. Długa Street kept its name from the Middle Ages, but Wąska Street is called Zacisze today, Krowia Str. – Św. Filipa, Biskupia – Krowoderska. In the western suburbs of Cracow, the changes in street names were fundamental. Półwie Street is now called Łobzowska, Tasemberg – Garbarska, Szeroka – Karmelicka, Czarna Ulica – Karmelicka, Wąska – Rajska, Garncarska – Krupnicza, Krupniki – Garncarska.<sup>116</sup>

There were many green areas in the sixteenth century Cracow and its surroundings: a) groves, like Bystrzec Forest by the Vistula, near Zabłocie and Płaszów;<sup>117</sup> b) meadows and thickets called 'błonia' then, located on the fringes of Cracow, and near Kazimierz and Kleparz; c) gardens in the

<sup>112</sup> Kumor, *Dzieje*, vol. 1, pp. 444–448.

<sup>113</sup> J. Bieniarzówna, J.M. Małecki, *Kraków*, pp. 137–144.

<sup>114</sup> *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4, part 6: *Kazimierz Stradom. Judaika*, Warsaw 1995, pp. 1–17; M. Rożek, *Żydowskie zabytki krakowskiego Kazimierza*, Cracow 1990, pp. 18–28.

<sup>115</sup> B. Wyrozumka, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej*, pp. 44–83. See above M. Wilska's commentary on the roads, in this edition III.5.1.

<sup>116</sup> Półwie Str. recorded 1432 (Gr.Kr., 4, p. 743); E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*.

<sup>117</sup> LK 1659–1664, f. 361.

suburbs, like the one at the castle in Łobzów;<sup>118</sup> d) cemeteries, like the Remuh Cemetery shown on our plan, situated in the Jewish town of Kazimierz.<sup>119</sup>

Coats of arms of two cities: Cracow and Kazimierz, are an integral part of our plan of Cracow and its surroundings.<sup>120</sup>

A simplified map, at a scale of 1:28,800, was added to this commentary. The map shows the urban complex of Cracow at the end of the sixteenth century, within the boundaries of this agglomeration.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>118</sup> B. Stępniewska, *Ogrody Krakowa*, Cracow 1977; J. Bogdanowski, *Królewski ogród na Łobzowie*, Cracow 2001.

<sup>119</sup> W. Łuszczkiewicz, *Stare cmentarze krakowskie, ich zabytki sztuki i obyczaju kościelnego*, RK, vol. 1, 1898, pp. 9–36; K. Grodziska-Ożóg, *Cmentarz Rakowicki w Krakowie*, pub. 2, Cracow 1987, pp. 13–24; *Katalog zabytków. Judaica*, pp. 45–72; M. Rożek, *Żydowskie zabytki*, pp. 26–28.

<sup>120</sup> Z. Piech, *Herby województwa, ziemi i miast*, in this edition III.7.1.

### III.6.15b.1 CRACOW IN 1598

*Kamila Follprecht, Zdzisław Noga*

At the close of the sixteenth century Cracow was still the capital of the state, even though for a long time the rulers spent more and more time outside the Wawel. The population of Cracow agglomeration (encompassing also the towns Kazimierz, Stradomia, and Kleparz, the Wawel hill, suburbs, and jurydyki) equalled some 33,650–36,700, and the population of Cracow inside city walls was around 14,700–15,900.<sup>1</sup> This was a diversified community. Many dignitaries temporarily resided in the capital, and Cracow was the largest concentration of various institutions of the Catholic Church in the Commonwealth. It is calculated that several hundred clergymen lived in the monasteries situated inside the city and in parochial churches. The University attracted youth, with over 200 students enrolled each year.<sup>2</sup>

The burghers also formed a mixed group, not only in terms of occupation and wealth (from the patricians to people, who lived in the city but did not have the citizenship, earning their livelihood doing odd jobs or begging), but also ethnic background. In the end of the sixteenth century, the Poles dominated in the city. According to estimated data, based on surname criteria, they constituted around 85% of the population. The second largest group were the Germans (10%). There was also a significant number of Italians (3%). Other ethnic groups were small. In total, they equalled 300 people (100 Scots, 50 Hungarians, 50 Frenchmen).<sup>3</sup> The immigration must have been considerable, if in 1598 73 people obtained town rights in Cracow.<sup>4</sup>

At the close of the sixteenth century the urban layout of Cracow was still medieval. The located town was created in a geomorphological unit called Pradolina Wisły ('the Glacial Valley of the Vistula'), in its middle part, that is on a dry outwash fan of the Rudawa and the Prądnik, secured from the east and west by the rivers' broads. Near Barbican it reached 210–210 m above sea level, and gradually descended, reaching around 202 m above sea level near the southern border of the town.<sup>5</sup> The old belief, that Cracow was once well supplied with water, finds no evidence in the newest research. In any case, at the end of the fourteenth century, no river flowed through the city, but the waters of the

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<sup>1</sup> Detailed commentary on the size of Cracow agglomeration in: J. Laberschek, *Cracow i okolice w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, [in:] AHP Kraków, in this edition: III.6.15a.1, also: L. Belzyt, *Kraków i Praga około 1600 roku. Porównanie topograficznych i demograficznych aspektów struktury społecznej i etnicznej dwóch metropolii Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Toruń 1999, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> J. Małecki, *Kiedy i dlaczego Kraków przestał być stolicą Polski?*, RK, vol. 44, 1973, pp. 21–36; H. Gapski, *Klasztory krakowskie w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w. Analiza przestrzenna środowisk zakonnych*, Lublin 1993, p. 14; B. Krasnowolski, *Krakowski ośrodek religijny od X do XX wieku*, [in:] AHMP Kraków, pp. 86–92 and plan no. 4.8, 4.8a; W. Urban, *Akademia Krakowska w latach 1549–1632*, [in:] *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. Lepszy, Cracow 1964, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth adding that the Jews had to leave Cracow at the end of the fifteenth century, and only the names of the street remained (platea Judeorum). L. Belzyt, *Die Deutschen um 1500 in den Metropolen Prag, Ofen und Krakau. Versuch eines Vergleiches*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa Forschung", vol. 46, 1997, no. 1, pp. 45–62; B. Wyrozumska, *Czy Jan Olbracht wygnał Żydów z Krakowa?*, RK, vol. 59, 1993, pp. 5–11; Z. Noga, *Polen, Juden und Deutsche in Krakau zur Zeit der Ersten Rzeczpospolita*, [in:] *Deutsche – Juden – Polen. Festschrift für Hubert Schneider*, hrsg. von A. Löw, K. Robusch, S. Walter, Frankfurt–New York 2004, pp. 19–33.

<sup>4</sup> *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611*, pub. A. Kielbicka, Z. Wojas, Cracow 1994, pp. 196–205.

<sup>5</sup> J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 1: *Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*, Cracow 1992, pp. 12–13.

Rudawa were regulated, so as to surround Cracow from 1506, provide energy for the city's mills, and fill the moat.<sup>6</sup>

The plan of Cracow inside city walls was prepared at a scale of 1:2,000. It shows the spatial layout and ownership relations in 1598. The urban layout of the city, both blocks of buildings, and the street network, formed in the process of evolution. Of the important stages of the city's development, we could distinguish here the first location (around 1220), then the so-called great location (1257), the broadening of the urban layout as a result of the construction of the fortifications at the end of the thirteenth century respectively, and finally, the changes after the rebellion of vogt Albert (the vogt's keep and Okoł were incorporated into the city), and connecting Cracow with the Wawel with the defensive system.<sup>7</sup>

Since the great location of the city, the market square (in shape of a regular square with sides 200 m long) was the centre of the city. Our plan shows the main buildings built on the Market Square: the town hall, the cloth hall, the great weigh house and the small weigh house, and then the location of market stalls and markets. Residential plots, in general, are irregular in shape, as the buildings had to fit the pre-locational structures, and they underwent some later changes. The literature on this subject distinguishes three main types of plots: those situated by the market square, those between two streets, and those on the corners of the market square. Most of the urban layout of Cracow survives to this day, making our work on the plan much easier. However, the reconstruction of the area distorted after 1598 was partially caused by wearisome, long architectural and urbanism research conducted by Miejskie Biuro Projektów and Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków.<sup>8</sup> Even despite such thorough research, the area reshaped in the later redevelopment has not, unfortunately, been entirely studied by architects and archaeologists yet. That is why, the plan of redeveloped and still unsatisfactorily studied fragments of the town was based on the so-called Senate plan from the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Earlier cartographic and iconographic sources fail to reach a necessary degree of accuracy.<sup>10</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, the economic situation in Cracow was still favourable, even though the best period for the city was already over. Buildings stood in almost every plot. The parcels maintained their characteristic, prolonged shape, despite the fact that neighbouring plots had frequently been merged, or divided, over the centuries. Our knowledge of these changes still remains incomplete.<sup>11</sup> Tenement houses with narrow facades stretched far into the back.<sup>12</sup> Often, another house stood at the rear of the parcel. Usually, the buildings which stood in the main streets of Cracow were

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<sup>6</sup> K. Pieradzka, *Rozkwit średniowiecznego Krakowa*, [in:] *Kraków. Studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. Dąbrowski, Cracow 1957, pp. 144–145; J. Mitkowski, *Dawne warunki geograficzne jako podłoże, na którym rozwinął się zespół osad krakowskich*, [in:] tamże, pp. 52–55; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, part 1: *Miasta ziemi krakowskiej, chronologia procesów osadniczych i typologia układów urbanistycznych*, Cracow 2004, pp. 29–37, 130–136; J. Laberschek, *Warunki topograficzne, sieć wodna, sieć drożna*, [in:] AHMP Kraków, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Recently, the stages of the city's urban development have been described in details B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy*, pp. 86–122 i il. II.3. (s. 136); idem, *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim*, [in:] AHMP Kraków, pp. 9–11 i plan no. 4.4; zob. też J. Rajman, *Kraków. Zespół osadniczy, proces lokacji, mieszczanie do roku 1333*, Cracow 2004, pp. 190–193, 205–211; J. Wyrozumski, *Lokacja czy lokacje Krakowa na prawie niemieckim?*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, BK, vol. 150, 2007, pp. 121–150.

<sup>8</sup> The historical and urban study on Cracow was created in 1992–1998. It was ran by members of Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków w Krakowie (in 1995 converted into Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków 'Arcona'), who also used earlier architectural research. The researchers include: Urszula Borkowska, Danuta Chlebińska, Danuta Czapczyńska, Maria Filipowicz, Joanna Hiżycka, Andrzej Karbowski, Irena Konopka, Waldemar Komorowski, Bogusław Krasnowolski, Aleksander Kudera, Anna Kupczyńska, Marek Łukacz, Waldemar Niewalda, Krystyna Nowacka, Halina Rojkowska, Stanisław Sławiński, Mirosław Sulma and Andrzej Swaryczewski. Zob.: K. Follprecht, *Właściciele nieruchomości w Krakowie w 1655 roku*, BK, vol. 142, 2001, pp. 11–12.

<sup>9</sup> *Plan miasta Krakowa Ignacego Enderle z lat (1802–1805) 1807–1808 tak zwany Senacki wraz z wykazem realności z początku XIX wieku*, pub. H. Münch, Cracow 1959.

<sup>10</sup> Z. Traczewska-Białek, *Katalog dawnych map wielkoskalowych Krakowa XVI–XIX wieku*, Warsaw 1981; J. Stoksik, *Dawne plany i widoki Krakowa*, [in:] AHMP Kraków, pp. 36–37.

<sup>11</sup> We know the original size of a residential plot ('curial'). It was a rectangle 36 Cracow ells wide and 72 Cracow ells long (1 ell = 0, 586 m). A block comprised of eight plots; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>12</sup> About plots in Cracow see: H. Jasiński, *Dawna kamienica krakowska, jej układ i wnętrze*, BK, vol. 83, 1934, pp. 18–88; J.T. Frazik, *Kamienice mieszczańskie w Małopolsce do połowy XVII w.*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 30, 1985, no. 2, pp. 153–179; J.S. Jamroz, *Układ przestrzenny Krakowa przed i po lokacji 1257 r.*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 12, 1967, no. 1, pp. 17–49; cf. M. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, Wrocław 1997, pp. 19–22; W. Komorowski, *Kamienice i palace Rynku krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, RK, vol. 68, 2002, pp. 56–60.

made of stone (*kamienice, lapidea*), but wood was common farther from the Market Square.<sup>13</sup> The authors marked only the parcels on the plan, and decided not to show building contours, as this would require long research, and would have a negative effect on the clarity of the plan. The only exception was made for important sacral buildings, which also serve as orientation points.<sup>14</sup>

The plan shows the sixteenth century names of streets and squares. When two names were used alternatively (e.g. Tworzańska = Floriańska, Szpitalna = Św. Ducha, Szewska = Świecka), only one was chosen. The nomenclature of streets and squares did not change much over the centuries. Differences were presented in Table 1.<sup>15</sup>

**Table 1. Different names of streets and squares in Cracow (inside city walls)**

Contemporary name of a street (square)	Sixteenth century name of a street (square)
Mały Rynek	Wendeta (Tandeta).
Dominikański Sq.	Szeroka Str.
Ducha Świętego Sq.	Developed area, the square was created, after the demolition of buildings in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.
Mariacki Square	Cemetery of Mariacki church.
Szczepański Square	Developed area between the contemporary Św. Szczepana and Żydowska streets, the square was created after the demolition of buildings early in the nineteenth century.
Wszystkich Świętych Sq.	Psi Rynek, in the sixteenth century developed area, the square was created later, after the buildings were demolished.
Dominikańska Str.	Cemetery of the church of the Holy Trinity.
Floriańska Str.	Tworzańska (Floriańska) Str.
Franciszkańska Str.	A part of Psi Rynek.
Jagiellońska Str.	Cross street of Szewska and Św. Anny streets.
Pijarska Str.	Not considered a street in the sixteenth century, parcels situated at the end of the streets: Rogacka, Sławkowska, Św. Jana, Floriańska, and Szpitalna, by the gates and city wall.
Poselska Str.	Legacka Str. (also called cross street of St. Michael Str., or the street behind 'Piotr Mały.'
Reformacka Str.	Rogacka Str.
Senacka Str.	Cross street of Grodzka Str.
Szczepańska Str.	Eastern part of Św. Szczepana Str.
Szewska Str.	Szewska (Świecka) Str.
Szpitalna Str.	Ducha Świętego (Szpitalna) Str.
Św. Krzyża Str.	A fragment north of Mikołajska Str. was called Świnia Str., fragment to the south was a cross street Ku Nowej Bramie.
Św. Marka Str.	Western fragment was called Rogacka Str., the middle fragment was called a cross street, the fragment between Szpitalna and Św. Krzyża streets was called Szrotarska Str., the fragment between Św. Krzyża Str. and the city wall was probably called Świnia Str.
Św. Tomasza Str.	The western fragment was called Żydowska Str., the eastern – Świnia or Różana Str., and the middle fragment was considered a cross street.

<sup>13</sup> Compare: M. Friedberg, *Kraków w dobie Odrodzenia*, [in:] *Kraków. Studia nad rozwojem miasta*, p. 210; W. Komorowski, W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Kraków – rozwój zabudowy murowanej do połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] AHMP Kraków, plan no. 4.5; W. Komorowski, K. Follprecht, *Rozwój urbanistyczno-architektoniczny Krakowa w obrębie murów od połowy XIV do końca XVIII wieku*, ibidem, pp. 13–14.

<sup>14</sup> Locating the churches and monasteries was easier thanks to the works of Henryk Gapski, Jerzy Paszenda and other authors; H. Gapski, *Klasztory krakowskie*; J. Paszenda, *Kościół św. Barbary w Krakowie z domem zakonnym księży Jezuitów. Historia i architektura*, BK, vol. 125, 1985; *Katalog zabytków 1971* (zob. wykaz skrótów w aneksie); B. Krasnowolski, *Krakowski ośrodek religijny*, pp. 86–92 and plan no. 4.8, 4.8a.

<sup>15</sup> Unlike the plan, the list of owners shows current names of streets and squares, because it uses the current numbering. The sixteenth century names were given in brackets. The source records were compared with the studies by S. Tomkowicz and E. Supranowicz; S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów. Ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, BK, vol. 63–64, 1926; E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, Cracow 1995.

The plan presents the layout of city walls, gates, and towers. According to a list made in 1575, there were seven gates in the city's fortifications (Grodzka, Wiślna, Szewska, Sławkowska, Floriańska, Mikołajska, Nowa), and one gate already closed then – Rzeźnicza. Three wickets were also marked: Poboczna, Biskupia, and Żydowska, as well as towers, each defended when necessary by merchants and burghers from one particular artisan guild, and usually called after their trade.<sup>16</sup> The city walls were actually demolished in the nineteenth century (except for a short fragment near Floriańska Street), but they were properly reconstructed. On the other hand, the houses built near the walls were marked only hypothetically. Their existence is, in fact, confirmed by various sources, but precise localization is not possible in the light of present state of research.

Borders of blocks and parishes were also marked on the plan. The division of Cracow into four blocks of flats functioned since the Middle Ages, these were: Grodzki, Garncarski, Sławkowski, and Rzeźniczy, which constituted the basic units of the city (with fiscal and defensive functions). The division was marked on the basis of records from town tax registers.<sup>17</sup> The borderline of Garncarski block, encompassing the western part of the city, ran from the city walls along Franciszkańska Street, then along Bracka Street to the market square, and crossed the square between the cloth hall, and the Great Weigh House and St. Adalbert. It encircled the cloth hall, the town hall, and other buildings on the main square, and led further north along Szewska street, until it reached the city walls. Sławkowski block encompassed the north-western part of the city. Its border ran from the city wall by the northern frontage of Szewska street, then along the houses in the market square standing between Szewska and Św. Jana streets, next along Św. Jana Street, until it came to the city walls. Rzeźniczy block stretched east from Sławkowski block. Its border ran along the eastern frontage of Św. Jana Street, then in front of the houses in the market square, between Św. Jana Street and Floriańska Street, then along Mikołajska Street, on the western side of Wendeta (Mały Rynek), and along Sienna Street to the city walls. The remaining part of the city belonged to Grodzki block. Its borderline led from the city walls, along Sienna Street, and then turned north and ran along the western frontage of the Wendeta. From the north-western corner of this square, the border of the block ran west along Mikołajska Street, and reached the market square. It crossed the main square of the city between the cloth hall on the one side, and Mariacki church, church of St. Adalbert, and the Great Weigh House on the other. Then it ran along Bracka and Franciszkańska Street, and came to the city walls.

There were five parishes in the city at the end of the sixteenth century. Their borderlines were marked according to the inspection of Cracow deanery conducted in 1599.<sup>18</sup> The largest Mariacka parish, with the Assumption of Mary Church was situated in the centre. It encompassed all houses in the market square, and the streets: Floriańska (entire left side, i.e. even numbers today, and the right side from the market square to the next cross street, which was Szrotarska Street), Św. Jana, Sławkowska, Rogacka to the bathhouse (which belonged to St. Stephen parish), and then entire Żydowska Street and its cross street leading to St. Stephen school, as well as houses in a fragment of Św. Szczepana Street (from the market square, to the school); Szewska (Świecka) Street on both sides of the market square to the first cross street (now Jagiellońska Street); buildings on the left side of Wiślna Street to the market square, to the intersection of the street with Gołębia Street, then both sides of the fragment of Gołębia Street between Bracka and Wiślna Streets; Bracka Street except for two houses by its exit near the Franciscan church; Grodzka Street from the market square to the intersection with Szeroka Street, then the part of Stolarska Street closer to the market square, and the entire Sienna Street, the entire Św. Mikołaja Street with Wendeta, finally: both sides of Szpitalna Street (Św. Ducha) to the hospital of Scholars, that is to Szrotarska Street.

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<sup>16</sup> *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa (1507–1795)*, vol. 1: (1507–1586), no. 1, pub. F. Piekosiński, Cracow 1885, no. 249; K. Pieradzka, *Rozkwit średniowiecznego Krakowa*, pp. 172–173; Z. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska w XVI wieku. Studium o elicie władzy*, Cracow 2003, pp. 42–43; J. Bogdanowski, *Baszty*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, Warsaw–Cracow 2000, pp. 48–49; idem, *Bramy miejskie*, [in:] tamże, p. 83; W. Komorowski, W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Kraków – rozwój zabudowy murowanej do połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] AHMP Kraków, plan no. 4.5; H. Rojkowska, W. Niewalda, *Mury obronne Krakowa do czasu ich wyburzenia*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, pp. 493–524.

<sup>17</sup> See M. Niwiński, *Stanowy podział własności nieruchomości w Krakowie XVI i XVII stulecia*, [in:] *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*, vol. 2, Cracow 1938, attached map.

<sup>18</sup> AV Cap. 3, f. 111; Wiz. Krk. 1599, pp. 38, 57, 63, 73.

The second largest All Saints parish ('Wszystkich Świętych') occupied the southern part of the city. It encompassed houses in Szeroka Street (on the one side to the estate of the provost of Miechów monastery inclusive, and to the brewery of the Dominicans on the other), the cemetery by the Dominican church, then the estates on both sides of Grodzka Street (from its intersection with Szeroka Street to Grodzka gate), Kanoniczna Street, and cross streets. The borders of the parish reached beyond the city walls.<sup>19</sup>

The other parishes were small. The parish of St. Ann encompassed the houses on one (closer to the parochial church) side of Szewska Street, from Szewska Gate to the intersection with a cross street (now Jagiellońska), then houses on both sides of this cross street (between the streets Szewska and Św. Anny), as well as all buildings in Św. Anny and Gołębia Street (from the city walls to the intersection of this street with Wiślna Street). The parish also encompassed the buildings on the right (western) side of Wiślna Street, from the market square to the city walls.<sup>20</sup>

St. Stephen parish neighbored St. Ann parish from the north. The borderline between these parishes ran along Szewska Street, from the city walls to the cross street (now Jagiellońska Street), but the houses on the right side (looking from the market square) belonged to St. Stephen parish, which also encompassed the estates on the side of the cross street (connecting Szewska Street with Św. Szczepana Street) situated farther from the market square, as well as the estates on both sides of St. Stephen Street, but not the entire street, only the half farther from the market square, from the city walls to the intersection with the cross street (now Jagiellońska) and Św. Macieja Street. Houses in the latter (on the side farther from the market square) also belonged to St. Stephen parish. The borders of the parish reached beyond the city walls.<sup>21</sup>

The fifth parish in Cracow, the parish of the Holy Cross, occupied the north-eastern part of the town. The borderline of the parish ran along the right side of a fragment of Floriańska Street (from Floriańska gate to Szrotarska Street), and then along Szrotarska Street to the city walls.

The plan shows ownership categories in Cracow in 1598. Ownership relations were reconstructed on the basis of old documents of the city of Cracow kept in the State Archive in Cracow. This excellent source basis even convinced the authors to present the ownership relations at a precise moment, in 1598. All most important sources for this type of research from 1598 survived almost intact, namely: town tax registers from three blocks – Grodzki, Garncarski, and Sławkowski. The register for Rzeźnicki block did not survive, and for this part of town one later (1593) and one earlier (1607) register were used.<sup>22</sup>

The information from town tax registers does not provide us with a complete picture of ownership relations in Cracow. The registers list the houses excluded from the city's jurisdiction only fragmentarily.<sup>23</sup> Source query of the basic series of town books was conducted in order to reconstruct the groups of estate owners, and determine their occupation and social class. Court books provided the most useful data, as they usually recorded house purchase transactions. The authors studied *acta scabinalia* from 1590–1602.<sup>24</sup> The query also covered council books from 1590–1602,<sup>25</sup> *vogt* books from 1592–1601,<sup>26</sup> testaments of the burghers,<sup>27</sup> and books of the High Court of Magdeburg Law at the castle in Cracow.<sup>28</sup> Recently published surveyors' books, which contain details on buildings and the names of estate owners, proved particularly valuable, yet the information concerns only houses and parcels entangled in a dispute, where the council sent sworn surveyors to assess damages, or the distribution of the estate.<sup>29</sup> Manuscripts consulted often during the identification of the owners came

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<sup>19</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 73.

<sup>21</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> AP Kraków, MS 2561–2564 and 2559, 2573. Fewer town tax registers survive for other years at the close of the sixteenth century. For instance, there are no registers for 1596–1597, 1599 and 1600, see also: *Katalog Archiwum aktów dawnych miasta Krakowa*, vol. 2, Cracow 1915, pp. 334–335.

<sup>23</sup> M. Niwiński, *Stanowy podział własności*, p. 553.

<sup>24</sup> AP Kraków, MS 26–28.

<sup>25</sup> AP Kraków, MS 452–456.

<sup>26</sup> AP Kraków, MS 214–222.

<sup>27</sup> AP Kraków, MS 772.

<sup>28</sup> AP Kraków, MS SWPM I – 12 – SWPM I – 14.

<sup>29</sup> *Księga wiertelnicza krakowska*, part 1–4, (1568–1606), pub. K. Jelonek-Litewka, A. Litewka, Ł. Walczy, Cracow 1997–2000.

from a less limited scope of time. Inscriptions from Mariacki church, published by Zenon Piech, were also used.<sup>30</sup> The printed collection of documents of the city of Cracow proved less useful.<sup>31</sup>

Of the literature on the subject, in the first place we must mention lists of house owners in some streets in Cracow, prepared by Adam Chmiel. The lists, despite many gaps, still offer valuable hints to those studying the estates in the city, and as they cover a broad chronological range, they could also help verify the source material.<sup>32</sup> Similar lists of owners of houses in the market square in Cracow in 1655, recently published by Waldemar Komorowski and Kamila Follprecht,<sup>33</sup> were also useful, as well as the volume of *Atlas historyczny miast polskich* dedicated to Cracow, and the jubilee edition of *Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*.<sup>34</sup>

The identification of the owners was based on numerous biographies from *Polski słownik biograficzny* in the first place, the monograph of the city in the Modern Age by Janina Bieniarzówna and Jan M. Małecki, as well as studies on the sixteenth century city council, or goldsmiths, printers, doctors, apothecaries, merchants, and other.<sup>35</sup> The identification of noble owners of estates was done mostly on the basis of armorials and lists of central and land officials.<sup>36</sup>

The annex also contains a list of parcel owners, which served as a base for marking different types of ownership on the plan. The estates were put in alphabetical order, according to present-day names of streets and squares. Houses were ordered according to frontage (odd and even numbers), and in the cases of squares and market squares the numbering is continuous. Obviously, in 1598 houses did not have numbers, as numbering was introduced in the eighteenth century. The authors use contemporary numbering for technical reasons: to precisely and accurately signify a given, described real estate in the urban layout, and to make it easier for the readers to identify the estate on their own.<sup>37</sup>

Contemporary house numbers were given in the first column. If there is a letter (A, B, C, etc.), it means that at the end of the sixteenth century this was a separate estate. The lack of a contemporary number means that a given structure no longer exists, and it was impossible to find its exact location.

The second column provides information about the owner of the estate: his name and surname, occupation, office or function (in case of burghers, only the most important ones: councillors, aldermen, member of a high court at Cracow castle), and in the case of the nobility, also the coat of arms. It was assumed, that the person recorded in town tax register was the owner of a given estate. Pledges and rents were excluded. Sometimes widows appeared as owners. It also happened that the inheritance

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<sup>30</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Poloniae*, vol 8: *Województwo krakowskie*, ed. Z. Perzanowski, no. 2: *Bazylika Mariacka w Krakowie*, pub. Z. Piech, Cracow 1987.

<sup>31</sup> *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, 2.

<sup>32</sup> A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie, ul. Floriańska*, part 1–2, BK, vol. 54, 57–58: 1917–1920; idem, *Domy krakowskie, ul. Grodzka*, part 1–2, BK, vol. 81, 85: 1934–1935; idem, *Domy krakowskie, ul. Św. Jana*, part 1–2, BK, vol. 61–62: 1924; idem, *Domy krakowskie, ul. Sławkowska*, part 1–2, BK, vol. 73, 75: 1931–1932.

<sup>33</sup> W. Komorowski, K. Follprecht, *Właściciele kamienic Rynku krakowskiego w czasach nowożytnych (do pierwszej okupacji szwedzkiej)*, “*Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*”, vol. 2, pp. 11–30; vol. 3, pp. 23–33; vol. 4, pp. 11–27; vol. 5, pp. 11–19; vol. 6, pp. 11–22; vol. 7, pp. 11–25; vol. 8, pp. 13–24; vol. 9, pp. 39–43; vol. 10, pp. 45–50; vol. 11, pp. 21–28; vol. 12, pp. 19–30; vol. 13, pp. 55–68.

<sup>34</sup> K. Follprecht, *Właściciele*; AHMP Kraków; *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*.

<sup>35</sup> Bieniarzówna, Małecki 1984; Noga 2003; Ciechanowski 1974; Pietrusiński 2000; *Drukarze XV–XVIII*; Lachs 1910.

<sup>36</sup> J. Bieniarzówna, J.M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 2: *Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, Cracow 1984; Z. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska*; A. Ciechanowiecki, *Złotnicy czynni w Krakowie w latach 1600–1700*, [in:] *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. 6, Buenos Aires–Paryż 1974, pp. 13–142; J. Pietrusiński, *Złotnicy krakowscy XIV–XVI wieku i ich cech*, Warsaw 2000; *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 1: *Małopolska*, part 1: *Wiek XV–XVI*, ed. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1983; J. Lachs, *Kronika lekarzy krakowskich XVI wieku*, “*Archiwum Do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*”, vol. 12, 1910.

A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 1–16, Warsaw 1901–1913; K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1–10, pub. J.N. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1839–1846; B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, pub. K. Turowski, Cracow 1858; S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 1–15, Warsaw 1904–1931; *Urzednicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. K. Chłapowski i in., ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1992. Of all lists of land officials, we most often resorted to the lists concerning Lesser Poland and Ruthenia: *Urzednicy województwa krakowskiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. S. Cynarski, A. Falniowska-Gradowska, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1990; *Urzednicy województwa lubelskiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. W. Kłaczewski, W. Urban, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1991; *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. K. Przyboś, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Wrocław 1987; *Urzednicy województwa sandomierskiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. K. Chłapowski, A. Falniowska-Gradowska, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1993.

<sup>37</sup> See: J.S. Jamroz, *Mieszkańska kamienica krakowska*, Cracow 1983, p. 160.

proceedings were not over, and the owner's heirs were listed as owners in the table. The authors did not go into details of later divisions. Inheritance proceedings were long, sometimes took years to finish, and could take an unexpected course.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, in case of purchases and sales completed in 1598 the name of the new owner was provided.<sup>39</sup> It should be made clear at this point that the footnote by the name of each owner included only basic source information, which allow for an unanimous confirmation of the information recorded in the table. Naturally, this does not mean that the footnote contains all source data, confirming the ownership of the estate, the occupation of the owner, or his office.

The third column shows the ownership category of a given piece of real estate: royal, Church, University, nobility, burghers, and town. This classification describes the situation well, as it distinguishes University buildings from Church property.<sup>40</sup> We failed to determine ownership categories for only four estates located in the streets: Floriańska (no number), Floriańska (now no. 32B), Gołębia (now no. 3), and Szpitalna (now no. 16C).

## Royal property

Only two buildings belonged to this category – the arsenal, built next to Grodzka Gate by King Sigismund I, and the nearby foundry.<sup>41</sup>

## Church property

Already at the end of the sixteenth century, the estates of the Church in Cracow were numerous and large. Church property comprised of sacral structures, monastery seats, various institutions of the Church (schools, hospitals), and residential buildings, and tenement houses.

The sacral space of sixteenth century Cracow was diversified. Apart from the five parochial churches (of the Holy Virgin, St. Ann, Holy Cross, St. Stephen, and All Saints), at the end of the sixteenth century, temples were also situated in monasteries. They could be found in male orders, which resided in the city for a long time: the Dominicans (of the Holy Trinity), the Canons Regular of the Holy Spirit (the Conventual Franciscans (of St. Francis of Assisi), and the Order of St. Marc (of St. Mark the Evangelist). In 1583 the Jesuits, recently invited to the city, took over the church of St. Barbara, and two years later also the chapel of St. Matthias and St. Matthew, located once on the current Szczepański Square. In 1597 they commenced the construction of a monumental temple of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was finished in 1619.<sup>42</sup> Of the three female orders (Order of the Holy Sepulchre, the Dominican Sisters, and the Sisters of St. Clare), only the latter had its own temple of St. Andrew in Grodzka Street.<sup>43</sup>

Apart from parochial and monastery churches, seats of monastic orders, other sacral objects were shown on the plan: the temple of St. Giles and the chapels of: St. Martin, St. Mary Magdalene, St. John the Baptist, St. Roch, St. Peter the Apostle, and St. Adalbert.<sup>44</sup> Chapels, which did not constitute separate objects, were excluded.

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<sup>38</sup> See: Z. Noga, *Kamienica pod Modrym Lwem i jej właściciele w XVI wieku*, [in:] *Dom w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. B. Gediga, Wrocław 2004, pp. 176–181.

<sup>39</sup> For instance, in 1598 the successors of the dead counsellor Jan Zutter: citizen of Prague Mateusz Zutter and his sisters – Anna (wife of Jan Alantsee), Małgorzata (wife of Bartłomiej Chodowicz), Justyna (wife of Jana Liskowicz), and Jan Radwan, the widower of Zuzanna Zutterówna (with whom he had two sons, Jan and Piotr) and Anna, widow of Hieronim Zutter (had a son named Andrzej with him) sold their father's house (in Floriańska Str. between the house of the late counsellor Baptysta Fontana and the house of Andrzej Netinger, now no. 25) to their relative Jan Łyszkowicz for 3000 złp. (AP Kraków, MS 455, p. 37).

<sup>40</sup> See: M. Niwiński, *Stanowy podział własności*.

<sup>41</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place*, p. 70.

<sup>42</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599, pp. 47, 63; J. Paszcenda, *Kościół św. Barbary*, pp. 41, 71.

<sup>43</sup> Wiz. Krk. 1599, p. 44.

<sup>44</sup> Division into chapels and churches was taken from: Wiz. Krk. 1599, pp. 19, 23, 42, 45, 49, 81.

The Church also owned buildings of Jesuit colleges, and schools organized by parochial churches (Mariacki, St. Stephen, St. Ann, All Saints), and other (of the Holy Spirit, St. John), as well as hospital estates (of the Holy Spirit, St. Stephen, St. Sebastian, and scholars). The Fraternity of Mercy, founded in 1584 by Piotr Skarga, owned a house in Sienna Street, which – together with the house of the literary confraternity of St. Barbara in Sławkowska Street – was treated as Church property.<sup>45</sup>

Cemeteries were also marked. They functioned by the churches: of the Holy Virgin Mary, of St. Ann, of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Spirit, of the Holy Cross, of St. Stephen, and of All Saints. Also Protestant communes were considered Church property: the Calvinist (Św. Jana Street), and Arian (Szpitalna Street), which were already in ruin in 1598.<sup>46</sup>

A significant proportion of ecclesiastical properties were residential buildings. Among them stood the stately palace of the Bishops of Cracow, with its vast landholdings. Parishes and monasteries also owned estates (the Dominican monastery owned the highest number of houses). Clergymen connected to the cathedral owned houses in the city. The cathedral chapter was the largest owner, it had 21 houses in Kanoniczna Street, and houses in Grodzka Street. Houses belonging to lower clergy from the cathedral and the royal castle also stood in Grodzka Street.

Several pieces of real estate belonged to clergy from outside Cracow. The archbishop of Gniezno had a residence in Cracow, just like Gniezno chapter and the abbots from the Cistercian abbeys in Jędrzejów, Mogiła, and Koprzywnica, as well as: the abbot of the Norbertine monastery in Hebdów, the abbot of the Benedictines from Tyniec, and the Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki. Priests from the church of St. Florian in Kleparz, and even the parson of the collegiate in Wojnicz, also owned houses in Cracow.<sup>47</sup>

## University property

University estates were isolated from the property usually attributed to the Church by the literature. This way the influence of the Academy on the urban space was made clearer, and at the same time size of Church estates was presented in a more precise manner.<sup>48</sup> The University owned 14 pieces of real estate, concentrated around the streets: Św. Anny, Gołębia, Wiślna, Grodzka, and Bracka. The number includes mostly colleges (*Maius*, *Minus*, *Iuridicum*), and boarding houses: Węgieńska, Jeruzalem, Filozofów, Nowa, Prawników (*Juristarum*, *Iurisperitorum*), Ubogich (*Pauperum*).

## Property of the nobility

We know that 73 pieces of real estate belonged to the nobility. They were situated mostly in the southern part of the city, near Wawel, usually in Grodzka and Poselska Streets. Few houses of the nobles stood in the market square and in the Mały Rynek ('Little Market Square'). They belonged mainly to families somehow connected to Lesser Poland, and occupying important land offices in the province. Several houses were obtained as a result of a marriage with a burgher. The share of estates belonging to the nobility did not exceed 10% back then, but it grew systematically.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> AP Kraków, parchment 690; Also see: P. Skarga, *Bractwo Miłosierdzia w Krakowie u Św. Barbary*, Cracow 1598; *Książka pamiątkowa Arcybractwa Miłosierdzia i Banku Pobożnego w Krakowie od roku 1584 do 1884*, Cracow 1884; por. H. Zaremska, *Bractwa w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 44–45.

<sup>46</sup> *Materiały do dziejów reformacji w Krakowie. Zaburzenia wyznaniowe w latach 1551–1598*, comp. R. Żelewski, Wrocław 1962, pp. 164–187.

<sup>47</sup> Probably Andrzej Chruściński, the provost of Wojnicz 1576–1609; J. Szymański, *Kapituła kolegiacka w Wojniczu 1465–1786*, Lublin 1962, pp. 154–155.

<sup>48</sup> See M. Niwiński, *Stanowy podział własności*, map.

<sup>49</sup> Fifty years later the nobility owned already 105 parcels, K. Follprecht, *Właściciele*, p. 13.

## Town property

Town property was included in a separate category. These were public buildings (town hall, bathhouse, kitchen), merchant structures (cloth hall, market stalls), town infrastructure (cistern, arsenal built in 1565 between Ciesielska and Stolarska tower<sup>50</sup>) and several residential houses, owned by the town commune, and administered by the council.

## Property of burghers

The burghers owned the highest number of units of real estate in Cracow at the end of the sixteenth century: 471.<sup>51</sup> Several patrician families (Cyrus, Czeczotka, Pernus, Zalaszowski, del Pac) and some of the counsellors (Marcin Urbanowicz, Joachim Ciepeliowski) did in fact own a few houses, but no person, or family, owned a concentrated property group. Although the information about the occupation of the burghers is incomplete (we failed to determine the occupation of 48 people). Table 2 offers an interesting image of occupational structure of house owners at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

**Table 2. Occupational structure of burghers, who owned property in Cracow at the close of the sixteenth century**

Occupation of the owner	Number of houses	Occupation of the owner	Number of houses
Merchant	104	Locksmith	8
Innkeeper	57	Salt merchant	6
Furrier	32	Saddler	6
Goldsmith	23	Surgeon (barber-surgeon)	6
Baker	20	Coppersmith	6
Shoemaker	20	Printer	5
Tailor	16	Musician	5
Butcher	16	Lawyer	5
Clerk	14	Bookbinder	4
Apothecary	11	Confectioner	4
Soapmaker	10	Mason	4
Doctor	9	Peddler	4
Lawyer	9	Other	83

Remember:

1. When the widow (in 65 instances), or the heirs (77 estates) appeared as an owner, the occupation of the deceased husband, or bequeather was listed.
2. 'Other' means the owners of estates, whose occupation could not be determined, and the 35 artisans of the following trade: pewterers (three), smiths (three), coopers (two), painters (two), swordmakers (two), feeders (two), brewers (two), saddlers (two), malters (two), joiners (two), clothiers (two), barber-surgeon (one), carpenter (one), hatmaker (one), seller (one), krupnik (a person who prepares barley malt extract) (one), pursemaker (one), armourer (one), śledziownik (sens not sure, concern herrings) (one).

<sup>50</sup> M. Friedberg, *Kraków*, p. 208; K. Pieradzka, *Rozkwit*, pp. 172–173.

<sup>51</sup> By 1650 the number of burgher estates fell to 386; K. Follprecht, *Właściciele*, pp. 13–14; por. M. Niwiński, *Stanowy podział własności*, p. 573.

<sup>52</sup> However, only house owners were included in the attached table, which therefore does not present a complete image of the spatial layout of different occupations in the city, as many craftsmen rented rooms for workshop and living. This also refers to merchants and sellers.

Table 2 proves that merchants dominated among burgher owners of real estate. The significant number of innkeepers probably resulted from the fact that Cracow was the capital city, constantly visited by many people. The same is true of bakers, situated just after prestigious occupations: furriers and goldsmiths.

The 'intelligentsia' was also visibly present. Apart from the 18 doctors and lawyers listed in the table (who often were also counsellors and University professors), we can also count officials here – the owners of 14 other houses (three houses of royal secretaries of burgher origin, one of the administrator's scribe, then three of city scribe, and houses of: receiver, fiscal scribe, customs scribe, and the scribe of the high court, bailiff, and the scribe of Garbary).

Merchants dominated among owners not only in numbers. Their houses were situated in prestigious spots, in the market square (34 in all 55 houses), and in the streets: Floriańska (15), Św. Jana (14), Szczepańska and Szczepański Square (nine). Houses of innkeepers, the second largest group, could be found almost in every street, but mostly in the streets leaving the city: Szewska, Mikołajska, and Sławkowska. Members of three other groups also owned houses in places related to their occupation. The butchers owned plots and buildings located mostly in Szpitalna and Świnia streets, all houses belonging to bookbinders stood near the University, in Gołębia Street, half of the houses of goldsmiths were located in Grodzka Street, an attractive spot for tradesmen. On the other hand, furriers owned houses scattered in the entire city (mostly in Grodzka and Mikołajska Street).

It was quite difficult to interpret the group of owners, who were ennobled. This mostly concerns patrician families. In such cases, if the owners had town citizenship, or were even counsellors or assessors, they were treated as burghers,<sup>53</sup> especially as their estates were subject to city law.<sup>54</sup> Information about ennoblement of the owners was placed in the footnotes to the main table.

Let us also add that in order to avoid any lack of clarity of the plan and unnecessary accumulation of details, the authors decided not to distinguish another group of property – property of guilds, which was treated as town property.<sup>55</sup>

The footnotes also contain cultural names of houses that could be found in the sources. There were only 23 of them, and the list is certainly incomplete. The authors decided not to include possessive names, formed from names of current owners of the houses, as their duration was usually short (they disappeared when the owner changed).

Both, the plan and the table, are obviously static in nature. They are only 'photographs' of the space and citizens of Cracow at the end of the sixteenth century. The authors hope that the image they presented will become an impulse to research on the sociotopography of the city, conducted on a much broader chronological scale, which would show the dynamics of changes.

## ANNEX

### LIST OF REAL ESTATE OWNERS IN CRACOW IN 1598

Content-related abbreviations used in the LIST:

AP Kraków – Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (State Archive in Cracow)

Bąk-Koczarska 1999 – C. Bąk-Koczarska, *Mieszkańcy pałacu "pod Krzysztofory" w Krakowie. Właściciele i lokatorzy od XIV do XX wieku*, Kraków 1999

Bibl. Jag. – Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie (the Jagiellon Library in Cracow)

Bieniarzówna 1969 – J. Bieniarzówna, *Mieszkaństwo krakowskie XVII w. Z badań nad strukturą społeczną miasta*, Kraków 1969

BK – "Biblioteka Krakowska"

Bocheński 1937 – Z. Bocheński, *Krakowski cech mieczników*, BK, vol. 92, 1937

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<sup>53</sup> Jan Kirstein Cerasimus, the king's secretary ennobled in 1578, was exceptionally treated as a nobleman, even though he came from a burgher family.

<sup>54</sup> There were burgher houses in Cracow freed from the city's jurisdiction by individual royal privileges. However, this was abolished by king Sigismund August on 26 May 1576. The document lists almost 50 burghers, who lost their status; *Prawa, przywileje i statuta*, vol. 1, no. 1, no. 232; Z. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska*, p. 35.

<sup>55</sup> The following guild owned houses: goldsmiths (Bracka Str.), tailors (Grodzka and Szpitalna Str.) and bakers (Krzyża Św. Str.).

- Boniecki 1901-1913 – A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 1–16, Warszawa 1901–1913
- Chmiel 1917 – A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Floriańska*, part 1, BK, vol. 54, 1917
- Chmiel 1920 – A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Floriańska*, part 2, BK, vol. 57–58, 1920
- Chmiel 1924 – A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica św. Jana*, part 1–2, BK, vol. 61–62, 1924
- Chmiel 1931 – A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Sławkowska*, part 1, BK, vol. 73, 1931
- Chmiel 1932 – A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Sławkowska*, part 2, BK, vol. 75, 1932
- Chmiel 1934 – A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Grodzka*, part 1, BK, vol. 81, 1934
- Chmiel 1935 – A. Chmiel, *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Grodzka*, part 2, BK, vol. 85, 1935
- Ciechanowiecki 1974 – A. Ciechanowiecki, *Złotnicy czynni w Krakowie w latach 1600–1700, Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. 6, Buenos Aires–Paryż 1974
- Drukarze XV–XVIII – *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 1: *Małopolska*, part 1: *Wiek XV–XVI*, ed. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1983
- Gapski 1993 – H. Gapski, *Klasztory krakowskie w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w. Analiza przestrzenna środowisk zakonnych*, Lublin 1993
- Katalog zabytków 1971 – *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 2: *Kościół i klasztory Śródmieścia. Tekst*, part 1, ed. A. Bochnak, J. Samek, Warszawa 1971
- Katalog zabytków 1978 – *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 3: *Kościół i klasztory Śródmieścia. Tekst*, part 2, ed. A. Bochnak, J. Samek, Warszawa 1978
- Kiełbicka, Wojas 1993 – *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1507–1572. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis*, pub. A. Kiełbicka, Z. Wojas, Kraków 1993 (Fontes Cracovienses, vol. 1)
- Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994 – *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis*, pub. A. Kiełbicka, Z. Wojas, Kraków 1994 (Fontes Cracovienses, vol. 2)
- Komorowski, Follprecht – W. Komorowski, K. Follprecht, *Właściciele kamienic Rynku krakowskiego w czasach nowożytnych (do pierwszej okupacji szwedzkiej)*, part 1–9, “*Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*”, vol. 2–10, 1996–2004
- KRA – “*Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*”
- Lachs 1909 – J. Lachs, *Kronika lekarzy krakowskich do końca XVI wieku. Przyczynki archiwalne*, Kraków 1909
- Lachs 1919 – J. Lachs, *Dawne laziennictwo krakowskie*, BK, vol. 55, 1919
- Lachs 1929 – J. Lachs, *Kronika lekarzy krakowskich XVII wieku*, Poznań 1929
- Lachs 1933 – J. Lachs, *Dawne aptekarstwo krakowskie*, Warszawa 1933
- Lachs 1936 – J. Lachs, *Krakowski cech chirurgów (cyrulików) r. 1477–1874*, Lwów 1936
- Lepszy – L. Lepszy, *Przemysł złotniczy w Polsce*, Kraków 1933
- Louis – J. Wawel-Louis, *Przechadzka kronikarza po Rynku krakowskim*, Kraków 1890
- Łętowski 1852–1853 – L. Łętowski, *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich*, vol. 2–4, Kraków 1852–1853
- Muczkowski 1935 – J. Muczkowski, *Krwawy burmistrz*, BK, vol. 86, 1935
- Niesiecki 1839–1846 – K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1–10, pub. J.N. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1839–1846
- Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997 – W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Zabudowa rezydencjonalna (możnowładcza) dawnego Okołu w XVI wieku*, [in:] *Między gotykiem a barokiem. Sztuka Krakowa XVI i XVII wieku*, ed. E. Fiałek, BK, vol. 136, 1997
- Noga 2003 – Z. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska w XVI wieku. Studium o elicie władzy*, Kraków 2003
- Paszenda 1985 – J. Paszenda, *Kościół św. Barbary w Krakowie z domem zakonnym księży Jezuitów. Historia i architektura*, BK, vol. 125, 1985
- CIP, vol. 8, 2 – *Corpus inscriptionum Poloniae*, vol. 8: *Województwo krakowskie*, ed. Z. Perzanowski, no. 2: *Bazylika Mariacka w Krakowie*, comp. Z. Piech, Kraków 1987
- Pieradzka 1935 – K. Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI wieku*, BK, vol. 87, 1935
- Pietrusiński 2000 – J. Pietrusiński, *Złotnicy krakowscy XIV–XVI wieku i ich cech*, Warszawa 2000
- PSB – *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1–45, Kraków i in. 1935–2008
- Richter 1862 – Kadaster miasta Krakowa z wieku XIX, XVIII, XVII zebrał i napisał Karol Richter 1862, Muzeum Historyczne m. Krakowa, MS 1507
- RK – “*Rocznik Krakowski*”
- Rożek 1977 – M. Rożek, *Mecenat artystyczny mieszczaństwa krakowskiego w XVII wieku*, BK, vol. 118, 1977
- Supranowicz 1995 – E. Supranowicz, *Nazwy ulic Krakowa*, Kraków 1995
- Tomkowicz 1912 – S. Tomkowicz, *Przyczynki do historii kultury Krakowa w pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, Lwów 1912
- Tomkowicz 1926 – S. Tomkowicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejów. Ich nazwy i zmiany postaci*, BK, vol. 63–64, 1926
- Trelińska 2001 – *Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w. Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec.*, comp. B. Trelińska, Lublin 2001

- Uruski 1904–1931 – S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 1–15, Warszawa 1904–1931
- UrzCentr – *Urzednicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. K. Chłapowski, S. Ciara, Ł. Kądziała, T. Nowakowski, E. Opaliński, G. Rutkowska, T. Zielińska, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1992
- UrzKraK – *Urzednicy województwa krakowskiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, comp. S. Cynarski, A. Falniowska-Gradowska, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1990
- Wachholz 1921 – L. Wachholz, *Szpitala krakowskie 1220–1920*, vol. 1, BK, vol. 59, 1921
- Wachholz 1924 – L. Wachholz, *Szpitala krakowskie 1220–1920*, vol. 2, BK, vol. 60, 1924
- Wanat 1979 – B.J. Wanat, *Zakon karmelitów bosych w Polsce. Klasztory karmelitów i karmelitanek bosych 1605–1975*, Kraków 1979
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- Wn – without number
- Ch. – Church (property)
- Ca. – coat of arms
- R. – royal (property)
- Cr. – Cracow
- T. – town (property)
- Br. – burgher (property)
- Mnsc – manuscript
- N. – nobility (property)
- Univ. – University (property)

#### MAŁY RYNEK (Wendeta, Tandeta)<sup>1</sup>

1A	Heirs of Walenty Dembiński (Dębieński), ca. Rawicz, the castellan of Cracow, died in 1584 <sup>2</sup>	N.
1B	Heirs of Jan Lang, the vogt of Cracow, died in 1588 <sup>3</sup>	Br.
2	Piotr Trawicki, lawyer <sup>4</sup>	Br.
3	Heirs of Walenty Konrad, merchant, assessor in the court of high law, died in 1595 <sup>5</sup>	Br.
4A	Heirs of Marcin Piaskowski, goldsmith, died before 1593 <sup>6</sup>	Br.
4B	Mansionaries of the church of St. Barbara <sup>7</sup>	C.
5	Heirs of Joachim Zimmerman (Czymerman), doctor, died around 1597 <sup>8</sup>	Br.
6	Krzysztof Szober, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>9</sup>	Br.
7	Altarists from Mariacki church <sup>10</sup>	C.
8	See 8, Sienna Str.	
	Butcher stalls <sup>11</sup>	T.
	City kitchen <sup>12</sup>	T.

<sup>1</sup> Paszenda 1986, p. 291; Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 123–124; Supranowicz 1995, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 67; mnsc 2574, p. 86; Ks. Wiert., no. 686, 698, 710; Richter 1862, p. 87; CIP, vol. 8, 2, p. 108; UrzKraK, pp. 221–222; Tomczak 1963, pp. 141–142.

<sup>3</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 67; mnsc 2574, p. 86; Ks. Wiert., no. 345, 686; Paszenda 1986, p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 67; mnsc 2574, p. 85; mnsc 761, p. 309; mnsc 763, p. 64; Ks. Wiert., no. 639, 686, 708, 710; Richter 1862, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 67; mnsc 2574, p. 85; mnsc SWPM I–14, p. 240, 752; Ks. Wiert., no. 686; Noga 2003, p. 200, 317.

<sup>6</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 67; mnsc 2574, p. 85; Ks. Wiert., no. 486, 639, 708; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1455; Lepczy 1933, p. 158.

<sup>7</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 66; mnsc 2574, p. 85; mnsc 27, p. 278; mnsc 455, p. 14, 165, 340–341; Ks. Wiert., no. 112, 486; Paszenda 1986, p. 292.

<sup>8</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 66; mnsc 2574, p. 85; mnsc 455, p. 14; Ks. Wiert., no. 368, 697; Lachs 1909, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> AP Kraków, mnsc 2559, p. 66; mnsc 2574, p. 84; mnsc 26, p. 94, 418; mnsc 455, p. 14, 165; Ks. Wiert., no. 697; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 169; Noga 2003, p. 346.

<sup>10</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 66; mnc 26, p. 94, 418; Paszenda 1986, p. 292.

<sup>11</sup> The building does not exist now. Friedberg 1957, p. 209; Tomkowicz 1912, p. 13; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 124–125; Paszenda 1986, p. 292.

<sup>12</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 72; mnc 2574, p. 90; Paszenda 1986, p. 294.

### DOMINIKAŃSKI SQUARE (Szeroka Str.)<sup>13</sup>

1	See 22, Grodzka Str.	
2A	Heirs of Jan Burst, painter, died around 1597 <sup>14</sup>	Br.
2B	Sebastian Przybytek, goldsmith, counsellor of Cracow <sup>15</sup>	Br.
2C	Jakub Hort (Hurt), surgeon (barber-surgeon) <sup>16</sup>	Br.
4–6	Town Council <sup>17</sup>	T.
	The Dominicans <sup>18</sup>	C.
	The Dominican monastery, and the church of the Holy Trinity, with cemetery <sup>19</sup>	C.

<sup>13</sup> Tomkowicz 1926, p. 128; Supranowicz 1995, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 454, p. 693, 701; mnc 455, p. 42, 44; Ks. Wiert., no. 641, 657; Tomkowicz 1912, p. 150.

<sup>15</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 55; Ks. Wiert., no. 641, 657, 662; Lepszy 1933, p. 159; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 166; Noga 2003, p. 331.

<sup>16</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 51; mnc 454, p. 660; Ks. Wiert., no. 571, 625; Lachs 1936, p. 198; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1410.

<sup>17</sup> 8 houses stood here. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 3–4; mnc 454, p. 45, 554; Ks. Wiert., no. 536.

<sup>18</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Katalog zabytków, vol. 4, part 3/2, p. 114.

### ŚW. DUCHA SQUARE<sup>20</sup>

	The monastery of the Sisters of the Holy Spirit <sup>21</sup>	C.
	The church of the Holy Spirit, with cemetery <sup>22</sup>	C.
	The monastery of the Canons Regular of the Holy Spirit <sup>23</sup>	C.
	The hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>24</sup>	C.
	The church of the Holy Cross, with cemetery <sup>25</sup>	C.

<sup>20</sup> Developed area, the square was created after the demolition of buildings in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Tomkowicz 1926, p. 112; Supranowicz 1995, p. 170.

<sup>21</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 43, 49; mnc 2574, p. 57, 66; Tomkowicz 1892, p. 53.

<sup>22</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 43; mnc 2574, p. 57; Tomkowicz 1892, p. 48–51; Wachholz 1921, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup> Tomkowicz 1892, pp. 54–58; Antosiewicz 1996, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Tomkowicz 1892; Wachholz 1921, pp. 54–104.

<sup>25</sup> Tomkowicz 1912, p. 19; Katalog zabytków, 1978, p. 17.

### MARIACKI SQUARE<sup>26</sup>

1	See 1, Floriańska Str.	
2	Jan Ryniowicz, tailor <sup>27</sup>	Br.
3	Anna Leśniowolska, ca. Kolumna, widow of Marcin, castellan of Podlasie, died in 1593 <sup>28</sup>	N.
4	Priests from Mariacki church – presbytery <sup>29</sup>	C.
5	Priests from Mariacki church – sakristy <sup>30</sup>	C.
	Church of St. Barbara <sup>31</sup>	C.

<sup>26</sup> Cemetery of Mariacki church. Tomkowicz 1926, p. 44; Supranowicz 1995, p. 99.

<sup>27</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 39; mnc 26, p. 73, 323; Ks. Wiert., no. 691; Richter 1862, p. 76.

<sup>28</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 37; mnc 2574, p. 50; mnc 26, p. 73, 323; Ks. Wiert., no. 145, 517; Buczkowski 1929, p. 111; UrzPodol, no. 1185.

<sup>29</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 37; mncs 2574, p. 49; Richter 1862, p. 76; Tomkowicz 1898; Paszenda 1986, p. 292.

<sup>30</sup> Bibl. Jag., mncs 5354, p. 13v; Paszenda 1986, p. 294.

<sup>31</sup> Katalog zabytków, 1973, pp. 94–95.

### SZCZEPAŃSKI SQUARE (Św. Stefana Str., Żydowska Str.)<sup>32</sup>

1A	Cecylia Lanina (Lana), widow of Andrzej, merchant, died before 1583 <sup>33</sup>	Br.
1B	Piotr Chruślicki Gędzic, peddler <sup>34</sup>	Br.
1C	Priests from the church of St. Stephen presbytery <sup>35</sup>	C.
2A	Anna Baiół, widow of Mateusz (Maciej), innkeeper, died before 1595 <sup>36</sup>	Br.
2B	Stanisław Kuczkowski, ca. Jastrzębiec, salt mine administrator <sup>37</sup>	N.
3	Merchants' hospital, called the hospital of the Fraternity of the Virgin Mary, or the hospital of St. Stephen <sup>38</sup>	C.
439	Stanisław Skalski, shoemaker <sup>40</sup> Paweł Basiczcz <sup>41</sup>	Br.
5A	Stanisław Przybył, baker <sup>42</sup>	Br.
5B	Jan Smosarski, merchant, surveyor <sup>43</sup>	Br.
6A	Janusz Kalay, goldsmith <sup>44</sup>	Br.
6B	Janusz Kalay, goldsmith <sup>45</sup>	Br.
7A	Wilhelm Patyczen, tanner <sup>46</sup>	Br.
7B	Heirs of Stanisław, pipemaster, died after 1566 <sup>47</sup>	Br.
8	See 1, Św. Tomasza Str.	
9	See 11, Szczepańska Str.	
	Church of St. Stephen, with cemetery <sup>48</sup>	C.
	The school of the church of St. Stephen <sup>49</sup>	C.
	Chapel of St. Matthias and St. Matthew <sup>50</sup>	C.
	The Jesuit College <sup>51</sup>	C.
	Stanisław Breychowski Tarafa, innkeeper <sup>52</sup>	Br.
	Szymon Sypniowski, peddler <sup>53</sup>	Br.
	Marcin Zieleński <sup>54</sup>	Br.

<sup>32</sup> Area between contemporary streets Św. Szczepana and Żydowska (today Św. Tomasza Str.) was developed, the square was created in the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the buildings had been demolished. Tomkowicz 1926, p. 98; Pasiecznik 1978, p. 43; Supranowicz 1995, p. 164.

<sup>33</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 8; mncs 2563, p. 14; mncs 454, p. 511; mncs 1088, p. 515; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 798.

<sup>34</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 14; mncs 26, p. 758; mncs 27, p. 702; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1812.

<sup>35</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 14; mncs 26, pp. 564, 574, 758; mncs 27, pp. 674, 702; Richter 1862, p. 48.

<sup>36</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 15; mncs 26, p. 579; mncs 27, p. 674.

<sup>37</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 15; mncs 26, pp. 471, 579; mncs 27, p. 674; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 13, p. 105; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 5, p. 436; CIP, vol. 8, 2, p. 113.

<sup>38</sup> Wachholz 1921, pp. 45–46.

<sup>39</sup> Several houses stood on the site of current parcel no. 4.

<sup>40</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 23.

<sup>41</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 23.

<sup>42</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 23; mncs 454, p. 531.

<sup>43</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 23; Ks. Wiert., no. 574, 576, 578, 583, 689; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 18.

<sup>44</sup> Called 'Stara Mennica'. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 22; mncs 27, p. 582; mncs 454, p. 531; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5349, vol. 1, p. 205; Ks. Wiert., no. 689; Lepszy 1933, p. 152; Ciechanowiecki 1974, p. 60; Pieradzka 1935, pp. 250–252.

<sup>45</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 22; Ks. Wiert., no. 673; mncs 27, p. 582; Lepszy 1933, p. 152; Ciechanowiecki 1974, p. 60.

<sup>46</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 22; mncs 26, p. 309; mncs 27, p. 679, 683; Ks. Wiert., no. 576, 578.

- <sup>47</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2626, p. 120; mncs 1379, p. 365; mncs 26, p. 309; mncs 453, p. 487; mncs 455, p. 312–314; Ks. Wiert., no. 396; Ligeża 1971, p. 54, 58.
- <sup>48</sup> The building does not exist now. Tomkowicz 1926, p. 98.
- <sup>49</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 11; Richter 1862, p. 50; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 98.
- <sup>50</sup> The building does not exist now. Tomkowicz 1926, p. 98; Rożek 1983, p. 105.
- <sup>51</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 16; Ks. Wiert., no. 87, 241, 428; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 98; Gapski, p. 90.
- <sup>52</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 16; mncs 2572, p. 16.
- <sup>53</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 16; mncs 454, p. 515; Ks. Wiert., no. 428.
- <sup>54</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 10; mncs 2563, p. 16; mncs 454, p. 515; mncs 27, p. 367, 815; Ks. Wiert., no. 87, 241, 428.

## WSZYSTKICH ŚWIĘTYCH SQUARE (Psi Rynek)<sup>55</sup>

3/4	Janusz Ostrogski, ca. his own, castellan of Cracow <sup>56</sup>	N
6	See 12, Bracka Str.	
7	Hieronim Maze (Mazza), merchant <sup>57</sup>	Br.
8A	Priests from the church of All Saints – deanery <sup>58</sup>	C.
8B	Priests from the church of All Saints <sup>59</sup>	C.
9A	Ludwik Topff (Top), goldsmith <sup>60</sup>	Br.
9B	Jan Krosner alias Bobak, shoemaker <sup>61</sup>	Br.
10A	Paweł Raczkowski, furrier <sup>62</sup>	Br.
10B	Sebastian Kownacki, furrier <sup>63</sup>	Br.
11	See 17, Grodzka Str.	
	Jan Szot, seller <sup>64</sup>	Br.
	Grzegorz Oczecz, shoemaker <sup>65</sup>	Br.
	Błażej, feeder <sup>66</sup>	Br.
	Priests from the church of All Saints – presbytery <sup>67</sup>	C.
	Priests from the church of All Saints – vicar house <sup>68</sup>	C.
	Church of All Saints, with cemetery <sup>69</sup>	C.
	The school of the church of All Saints <sup>70</sup>	C.
	Church of St. Francis and the Franciscan monastery <sup>71</sup>	C.

<sup>55</sup> Developed area, the square was created after the demolition of the buildings. Tomkowicz 1926, p. 132.

<sup>56</sup> Ks. Wiert., no. 76–78; Ostrowski 1973, p. 38; Chynczewska-Hennel 1979, pp. 481–486; UrzKrak, no. 119; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, pp. 170, 176.

<sup>57</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 32; mncs 454, p. 537; mncs 27, p. 716; Tomkowicz 1912, p. 122–123; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 383, 557, 1476.

<sup>58</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 32; mncs 26, p. 543; mncs 27, p. 716; Ks. Wiert., no. 431; Richter 1862, p. 31.

<sup>59</sup> Ks. Wiert., no. 215, 252, 792.

<sup>60</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 30; mncs 26, p. 543; Ks. Wiert., no. 636, 792; Lepszy 1933, p. 162; Ciechanowiecki 1974, p. 124.

<sup>61</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 31; mncs 454, p. 544; Ks. Wiert., no. 636, 792; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1578.

<sup>62</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 31; mncs 454, p. 544; Ks. Wiert., no. 148–151, 477, 538, 636, 817.

<sup>63</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 31; mncs 454, p. 544; Ks. Wiert., no. 538, 680.

<sup>64</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 31.

<sup>65</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 31.

<sup>66</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 31.

<sup>67</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 30; Richter 1862, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 30; Richter 1862, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup> The building does not exist now. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 30. Tomkowicz 1912, p. 26; Tomkowicz 1918, pp. 6–7.

<sup>70</sup> The building does not exist now. Bibl. Jag., mncs 5354, p. 45v; Richter 1862, p. 30.

<sup>71</sup> Bibl. Jag., mncs 5354, p. 45v, 47v; Tomkowicz 1912, p. 17; Katalog zabytków, 1973, p. 108, 116; Samek 1985, pp. 66–67.

## MARKET SQUARE (Rynek)

	Mariacki church, with cemetery <sup>72</sup>	C.
4	Juliusz Delpace, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>73</sup>	Br.
5	Stanisław Szembek, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>74</sup>	Br.
6	Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, ca. Radwan, the Great Marshall of the Crown <sup>75</sup>	N.
7	Sebastian Montelupi, merchant <sup>76</sup>	Br.
8	Abraham Ronenberg, apothecary and heirs of Jana Baptysta Revexle, apothecary, died in 1593 <sup>77</sup>	Br.
9	Mikołaj Firlej, ca. Lewart, the voivode of Cracow <sup>78</sup>	N.
10	Paweł Bruzik Sternacki, merchant, assessor of Cracow <sup>79</sup>	Br.
11	Heirs of Mikołaj Alantsee, apothecary, counsellor of Cracow, died around 1579 <sup>80</sup>	Br.
12A	Heirs of Jan Baptysta Fontanini, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1596 r. <sup>81</sup>	Br.
12B	Kasper Gutteter, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>82</sup>	Br.
13A	Wawrzyniec Lencz, merchant <sup>83</sup>	Br.
13B	Jan Pipan, apothecary, assessor of the court of high law <sup>84</sup>	Br.
14	Łukasz Delpace, merchant <sup>85</sup>	Br.
15	Melchior Rezler, merchant, assessor of Cracow <sup>86</sup>	Br.
16	Hieronim Orlemes, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>87</sup>	Br.
17	Heirs of Karol Soderini, merchant, died around 1584; Augustyn Gutteter, merchant; Jan Baptysta Czeki, merchant <sup>88</sup>	Br.
18	Stanisław Kaczycki, furrier <sup>89</sup>	Br.
19	Andrzej Cellary, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>90</sup>	Br.
20	Heirs of Spytka Jordana, ca. Trąby, the castellan of Cracow, died in 1568 <sup>91</sup>	N.
21	Jan Waxman, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>92</sup>	Br.
22	Heirs of Jan Morsztyn, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1581 <sup>93</sup>	Br.
23	Ludwik Kromer, city scribe <sup>94</sup>	Br.
24	Heirs of Stanisław Czeczotka, assessor of Cracow, died in 1585 <sup>95</sup>	Br.
25A	Jan Nonnart, merchant <sup>96</sup>	Br.
25B	Jan Myszkowski, ca. Jastrzębiec, the <i>wojski</i> of Oświęcim <sup>97</sup>	N.
26	Mikołaj Samborzecki, ca. Rawicz <sup>98</sup>	N.
27A	Heirs of Kasper Bekiesz, the starosta of Lanckorona, died in 1579 <sup>99</sup>	N.
27B	Andrzej Cellary, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>100</sup>	Br.
28	Marcin Fihouser (Fiehauser), merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>101</sup>	Br.
29	Heirs of Jerzego Schilkry, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1585 <sup>102</sup>	Br.
30A	Heirs of Sebastiana Cyglera (Zieglera), counsellor of Cracow, died in 1569 <sup>103</sup>	Br.
30B	Jakub Kliś, merchant, assessor of Cracow <sup>104</sup>	Br.
30C	Jan Szekinger, merchant <sup>105</sup>	Br.
31	Felicja Włochowicz, widow of Tomasz, tailor, died around 1571 <sup>106</sup>	Br.
32A	Heirs of Wolf Klein, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1588 <sup>107</sup>	Br.
32B	Helena Cyrus, widow of Jani, furrieru, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1597 <sup>108</sup>	Br.
33	Anna Miączyńska, widow of Andrzeju, apothecaryu, died around 1585 r. <sup>109</sup>	Br.
34A	Heirs of Franciszek Wesselin, ca. his own, died in 1594 <sup>110</sup>	N.

34B	Jakub Zimmerman (Czymerman), merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>111</sup>	Br.
35	Jan Iwan, merchant <sup>112</sup>	Br.
36A	Jakub Ludwig, assessor of the court of high law <sup>113</sup>	Br.
36B	Paczkowa, widow of Jani, merchant, assessor of Cracow, died before 1564 <sup>114</sup>	Br.
37	Wojciech Padniewski, ca. Nowina, the starosta of Dybów, the castellan of Oświęcim <sup>115</sup>	N.
38	Heirs of Andrzej Fogelweder, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1581 <sup>116</sup>	Br.
39	Andrzej Leber, merchant, assessor of Cracow <sup>117</sup>	Br.
40	Elżbieta Schilling, widow of Jerzym, kupcu, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1568 <sup>118</sup>	Br.
41A	Heirs of Jerzy Trybel (Tribel), merchant, died after 1595 <sup>119</sup>	Br.
41B	Fryderyk Szmalc, merchant, assessor of the court of high law <sup>120</sup>	Br.
42	Mateusz Misiowski, ca. Jelita, the burgrave of Cracow <sup>121</sup>	N.
43	Joachim Ciepiewski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>122</sup>	Br.
44A	Antoni Frączkiewicz, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>123</sup>	Br.
44B	Stanisław Rottermund, merchant <sup>124</sup>	Br.
45	Heirs of Lenart Boruta, ca. unknown, scribe in the royal chancellery, died before 1584 r. <sup>125</sup>	N.
46	Heirs of Mikołaj Wisenberg, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1598 <sup>126</sup>	Br.
47	Piotr Myszkowski, ca. Jastrzębiec, the voivode of Rawa <sup>127</sup>	N.
	Town hall, cloth hall, wealthy stalls, cropping room <sup>128</sup>	T.
	Small weigh house, great weigh house, covered market <sup>129</sup>	T.
	Chapel (church) of St. Adalbert <sup>130</sup>	C.

<sup>72</sup> Katalog zabytków, 1973, pp. 1–2.

<sup>73</sup> Komorowski, Follprecht, part 1, KRA, 2, p. 24; Noga 2003, p. 304.

<sup>74</sup> Komorowski, Follprecht, part 1, KRA, 2, p. 28; Noga 2003, p. 345.

<sup>75</sup> Ks. Wiert., no. 489; UrzCentr, no. 411; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 2, pp. 30–31.

<sup>76</sup> Komorowski, Follprecht, part 3, p. 18.

<sup>77</sup> Called 'Pod Jaszczurką'. Ks. Wiert., no. 57–59, 469, 470, 489, 515, 633, 737; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 3, p. 25.

<sup>78</sup> Komorowski, Follprecht, part 4, p. 15.

<sup>79</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, p. 75; mncs 27, p. 549; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 4, p. 18.

<sup>80</sup> Ks. Wiert., no. 711; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 5, p. 13; Noga 2003, p. 293.

<sup>81</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 26, p. 612; Ks. Wiert., no. 711; Pańków 1948–1958, p. 61; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 5, pp. 17–18; Noga 2003, p. 307.

<sup>82</sup> In 1543 r. (confirmed in 1580 r.) the Gutteter family was ennobled. AP Kraków, mncs 27, p. 336; Ks. Wiert., no. 711; Chmiel 1898, p. 270; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 160; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 5, p. 21; Trelińska 2001, no. 164–167; Noga 2003, p. 311.

<sup>83</sup> Komorowski, Follprecht, part 6, p. 14.

<sup>84</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, p. 336; Lachs 1933, p. 102; Bieniarzówna 1981, p. 526; Follprecht, Komorowski, part 6, p. 16.

<sup>85</sup> Komorowski, Follprecht, part 6, p. 21; Noga 2003, p. 304.

<sup>86</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 36; mncs 27, p. 571; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 7, p. 16.

<sup>87</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 36. Komorowski, Follprecht, part 7, p. 19.

<sup>88</sup> Called 'Mennica'. Jan Baptysta Czeki was ennobled in 1590. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 36; Ks. Wiert., no. 5, 54, 62; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 7, p. 22–23; Trelińska 2001, no. 504.

<sup>89</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 35; mncs 26, p. 449, 502–510; mncs 27, p. 242; Ks. Wiert., no. 654; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1848; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 8, p. 42.

<sup>90</sup> Called 'Pod Modrym LEwm'. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 35; mncs 454, p. 396; mncs 27, pp. 242, 301, 430, 642, 651, 682; Ks. Wiert., no. 654; Follprecht 1999, p. 79; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 9, p. 49; Noga 2004a, pp. 176–181.

<sup>91</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 35; mncs 27, p. 301; Ks. Wiert., no. 40; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1854; Louis, p. 212; UrzKraK, p. 230; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 10, p. 26.

<sup>92</sup> Ennobled in 1589 r. AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 26; mncs 26, p. 634; mncs 27, p. 204; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 170; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1993, no. 3675; Trelińska 2001, no. 499; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 11, pp. 21–22.

<sup>93</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 26; mncs 27, pp. 76, 122, 159; Noga 2003, p. 326; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 12, pp. 26–28.

- <sup>94</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 26; Ks. Wiert., no. 590; Richter 1862, p. 6; Wawel-Louis 1890, pp. 123–124; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 162; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 12, p. 58.
- <sup>95</sup> Ennobled in 1589 r. AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 26; Ks. Wiert., no. 28, 590; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 213; Muczkowski 1935, pp. 9–11; Trelińska 2001, no. 498; Noga 2003, pp. 221, 222; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 12, pp. 62–63.
- <sup>96</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 26; mncs 454, pp. 347–349; mncs 27, pp. 630, 631, 713; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1855; Follprecht, Komorowski, part 13, [in print].
- <sup>97</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 26; mncs 27, pp. 630, 631, 713; mncs 455, pp. 272–273; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 214; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 13, [in print].
- <sup>98</sup> Called 'Podparta'. AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 27; mncs 455, 1599, pp. 272–273; Ks. Wiert., no. 28, 764; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5349, vol. 1, p. 204; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 8, p. 231; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 214; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 14, [in preparation].
- <sup>99</sup> Called 'Pod Barany'. Potomkowie Kaspra Bekiesza uzyskali indygenat w 1593 r. AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 39; mncs 455, p. 5; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5349, vol 1, p. 181; Richter 1862, p. 7; Grabowski 1852, p. 67; Wawel-Louis 1890, pp. 133–134; Kutrzeba, Ptaśnik 1912, p. 93; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 1, p. 149; Pieradzka 1935, p. 266; Trelińska 2001, no. 569, 570.
- <sup>100</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 40; mncs 26, p. 818; mncs 455, p. 210; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 141; Follprecht 1999, p. 79.
- <sup>101</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2569, p. 11; mncs 27, p. 323, 707; mncs 455, p. 210; Richter 1862, p. 7; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 144; Pieradzka 1935, p. 124; Noga 2003, p. 305.
- <sup>102</sup> Called 'Pod Miedzią', 'Pod Blachą'. AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 40; mncs 27, pp. 126, 707; mncs 455, p. 210; Richter 1862, p. 7; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 144; Noga 2003, p. 337.
- <sup>103</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 40; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 145; Noga 2003, p. 133.
- <sup>104</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 40; mncs 26, p. 336; Ks. Wiert., no. 685.
- <sup>105</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 41; mncs 26, pp. 336, 442; mncs 27, p. 444; Ks. Wiert., no. 685.
- <sup>106</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 10; Ks. Wiert., no. 52, 88, 89, 147.
- <sup>107</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 11; Noga 2003, p. 315.
- <sup>108</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 11; mncs 455, p. 1; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 49; Noga 2003, p. 302.
- <sup>109</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 11; mncs 455, p. 1; Lachs 1933, p. 93.
- <sup>110</sup> Obtained citizenship in 1590. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 11; mncs 26, p. 158; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5349, vol. 1, p. 192; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 9, p. 280; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 159; Bąk-Koczarska 1999, pp. 30, 33; Trelińska 2001, no. 527.
- <sup>111</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 12; mncs 26, p. 777; mncs 27, p. 823; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 158; Bąk-Koczarska 1999, p. 30; Noga 2003, p. 353.
- <sup>112</sup> Called 'Pod Krzysztoforą'. AP Kraków, mncs 453, p. 224; Ks. Wiert., no. 596; Richter 1862, p. 8; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 167; Bąk-Koczarska 1999, p. 32.
- <sup>113</sup> Called 'Pod Jeleniem'. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 39; mncs 26, pp. 266, 310; mncs 27, p. 774; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 174.
- <sup>114</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 39; mncs 26, pp. 266, 310, 496; mncs 27, p. 774; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5346, vol. 2, p. 363; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 176; Pieradzka 1935, p. 233.
- <sup>115</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 40; mncs 26, pp. 170, 202, 496; mncs 27, p. 774; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 177; UrzKraK, p. 249.
- <sup>116</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 40; mncs 26, pp. 170, 202; mncs 454, p. 720; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 176; Noga 2003, p. 306.
- <sup>117</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 40; mncs 27, p. 685; mncs 454, p. 720; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1215.
- <sup>118</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 40; mncs 27, p. 685; mncs 454, p. 720; Ks. Wiert., no. 272; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 182; Noga 2003, p. 339.
- <sup>119</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 40; mncs 26, p. 212; mncs 27, p. 685; Pieradzka 1935, p. 85.
- <sup>120</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 41; Ks. Wiert., no. 272, 734; Chmiel 1924, p. 123; Pieradzka 1935, p. 192.
- <sup>121</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 4; mncs 26, p. 44; mncs 27, p. 161; mncs 454, p. 68; Ks. Wiert., no. 146, 181, 296, 438, 526, 534; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 186; Chmiel 1924, p. 2.
- <sup>122</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 4; mncs 27, p. 568; mncs 454, pp. 39–40; Ks. Wiert., no. 814; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 157; Noga 2003, p. 301.
- <sup>123</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 4; mncs 26, p. 192; mncs 27, p. 568; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 191; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 159; Noga 2003, p. 307.
- <sup>124</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 4; mncs 2574, p. 3; mncs 26, p. 192; mncs 27, pp. 235, 364, 703, 761; mncs 454, pp. 39–40; Ks. Wiert., no. 688; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 192; Bednarz 2002, pp. 105–119.
- <sup>125</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 3; mncs 2574, p. 3; mncs 27, pp. 364, 703; Ks. Wiert., no. 333, 688; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 2, p. 253; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 194.
- <sup>126</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 3; mncs 2574, p. 3; mncs 26, p. 754; mncs 27, pp. 703, 761; mncs 454, pp. 454, 502; Ks. Wiert., no. 688; Richter 1862, p. 11; Wawel-Louis 1890, pp. 195–196; Noga 2003, p. 350.
- <sup>127</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 3; mncs 2574, p. 3; mncs 455, pp. 296, 418; Richter 1862, p. 11; Wawel-Louis 1890, p. 198; UrzKraK, p. 245; Żelewski 1977, pp. 392–393.
- <sup>128</sup> Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 21, 23, 38.
- <sup>129</sup> Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 27–34.
- <sup>130</sup> Tomkowicz 1926, p. 21; Katalog zabytków, 1978, p. 202.

## ŚW. ANNY STREET

1	See 27, Market Square	
3	Jan Goryszowski, innkeeper <sup>131</sup>	Br.
5	Andrzej Gliński <sup>132</sup>	Br.
7	Franciszek Kliś, merchant and Cherubin Grab, musician <sup>133</sup>	Br.
9	Jan Różyc, surgeon (barber-surgeon) <sup>134</sup>	Br.
11A	Priests from the church of St. Ann – vicar house <sup>135</sup>	C.
11B	Priests from the church of St. Ann – presbytery <sup>136</sup>	C.
	Church of St. Ann, with cemetery <sup>137</sup>	C.
	School of the church of St. Ann <sup>138</sup>	C.
	Widow of Stanisław Górecki, innkeeper, died before 1598 <sup>139</sup>	Br.
2	See 1, Wiślna Str.	
4	Kasper Trusardi, merchant <sup>140</sup>	Br.
6A	Heirs of Hieronim Behm, died before 1573 <sup>141</sup>	Br.
6B	Heirs of Jan Ull, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1563 <sup>142</sup>	Br.
6C	Anna Szarfenberg, widow of Stanisławi, printer, died in 1584 <sup>143</sup>	Br.
8	Cracow Academy – Collegium Maius <sup>144</sup>	Univ.
10	Cracow Academy <sup>145</sup>	Univ.
12	Maciej Mirosz, feeder <sup>146</sup> Kasper Gęśliczka, innkeeper <sup>147</sup>	Br.
	Town Council <sup>148</sup>	T.

<sup>131</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 39; mncs 454, p. 474; Ks. Wiert., no. 546.

<sup>132</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 38; mncs 454, p. 474; Ks. Wiert., no. 444, 546; Lachs 1909, p. 57.

<sup>133</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 38; mncs 2569, p. 35; mncs 26, p. 178; mncs 762, p. 351; Ks. Wiert., no. 279, 444.

<sup>134</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 37; mncs 26, p. 625; mncs 27, p. 497; Richter 1862, p. 42; Lachs 1936, p. 198; Kiełbicka, *Wojas* 1994, no. 1311.

<sup>135</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 454, p. 630; Ks. Wiert., no. 33, 629; Richter 1862, p. 42.

<sup>136</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 37; Richter 1862, p. 42.

<sup>137</sup> Church destroyed 1689, AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 37; Ks. Wiert., no. 33, 873; *Bibl. Jag.*, mncs 5354, p. 68v; Klein 2005, p. 53; Tomkowicz 1912, p. 14; *Katalog zabytków*, 1973, p. 75.

<sup>138</sup> *Bibl. Jag.*, mncs 5354, p. 68v; Ks. Wiert., no. 107, 246, 873; Richter 1862, p. 42; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 83.

<sup>139</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 36; Ks. Wiert., no. 873.

<sup>140</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 35; mncs 449, p. 677; Ks. Wiert., no. 500, 502.

<sup>141</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2550, p. 15; mncs 2562, p. 35; mncs 26, p. 576; Ks. Wiert., no. 105, 878.

<sup>142</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 35; mncs 26, p. 613, mncs 1094, p. 548; Ks. Wiert., no. 105; Noga 2003, p. 347.

<sup>143</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 36; mncs 26, p. 613; Ks. Wiert., no. 16; *Drukarze XV–XVIII*, pp. 284–285.

<sup>144</sup> Richter 1862, p. 41; Estreicher 1968, *passim*; *Włodarek* 2000, p. 83.

<sup>145</sup> Square called Huta. Estreicher 1968, p. 156–157; *Włodarek* 2000, pp. 137–138.

<sup>146</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 36; mncs 26, p. 561; mncs 27, p. 735; Ks. Wiert., no. 39, 678; Tomkowicz 1901, p. 125; Kiełbicka, *Wojas* 1994, no. 1439.

<sup>147</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 36.

<sup>148</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2550, p. 15; mncs 2569, p. 30; Richter 1862, p. 40.

## BRACKA STREET

1	See 21, Market Square	
3	Cracow Academy – ‘Węgierska’ Boarding House <sup>149</sup>	Univ.
5	Cracow Academy <sup>150</sup>	Univ.

7	Daniel Chroborski, goldsmith, counsellor of Cracow <sup>151</sup>	Br.
9	Piotr Szolcz, fiscal scribe <sup>152</sup>	Br.
11A	Jakub Rommelmán, goldsmith <sup>153</sup>	Br.
11B	Barbara Góra, widow of Jan, Cracow receiver, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1597 <sup>154</sup>	Br.
13	Stanisław Picus Zawadzki, doctor, counsellor of Cracow <sup>155</sup>	Br.
15	Jan Pieniążek, ca. Odrowąż, the subcamerarius of Cracow, the starosta of Nowy Targ <sup>156</sup>	N.
17A	Jacek Młodziejowski, ca. Ślepowron, the Court Treasurer <sup>157</sup>	N.
17B	Aleksander Koniecpolski, ca. Pobóg, the voivode of Sieradz <sup>158</sup>	N.
2	See 20, Market Square	
4	At the back of 17, Market Square <sup>159</sup>	
6A	Sebastian Boduchowicz, tailor <sup>160</sup>	Br.
6B	Jan Cyrus the younger, merchant <sup>161</sup>	Br.
8	Goldsmiths' guild <sup>162</sup>	Br.
10	Mikołaj Witkowski, lawyer, administrator's scribe, counsellor of Cracow <sup>163</sup>	Br.
12A	Zygmunt Lenczowski, ca. Strzeмиę <sup>164</sup>	N.
12B	Jan Gelazyn, merchant; Matys Godowicz, furrier, Barbara Fetrowa, widow, goldsmith <sup>165</sup>	Br.
12C	Jan Schilling, city scribe <sup>166</sup>	Br.
12D	The Franciscans <sup>167</sup>	C.
12E	Hieronim Czechowicz, cloth merchant <sup>168</sup>	Br.
12F	At the back of 12C, Bracka Str. <sup>169</sup>	

<sup>149</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 25; Ks. Wiert., no. 843; Richter 1862, p. 31.

<sup>150</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 25; Richter 1862, p. 33.

<sup>151</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 25; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1301; Lepczy 1933, p. 147; Pietrusiński 2000, pp. 218–221; Noga 2003, p. 300.

<sup>152</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 23; mnc 455, pp. 229–231.

<sup>153</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 23; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1582; Lepczy 1933, p. 159; Ciechanowiecki 1974, p. 106.

<sup>154</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 23; Ks. Wiert., no. 402, 434; Noga 2003, p. 309.

<sup>155</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 23; Ks. Wiert., no. 402, 434; Lachs 1909, pp. 62–63; Noga 2003, p. 352.

<sup>156</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 23; mnc 26, p. 330; Ks. Wiert., no. 687; UrzKrak, no. 209, p. 250.

<sup>157</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 23; mnc 26, p. 330; mnc 454, p. 14; UrzCentr, p. 186.

<sup>158</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 22; Richter 1862, p. 34; Kotarski 1967–1968, pp. 511–512.

<sup>159</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 263, p. 25; mnc 26, p. 46; mnc 27, pp. 10, 669; Bibl. Jag., mnc 5354, p. 53v; Richter 1862, p. 32.

<sup>160</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 35; mnc 26, p. 46; mnc 27, pp. 10, 669; mnc 454, p. 78.

<sup>161</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 34; Chmiel 1898, p. 281; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 158.

<sup>162</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 34; mnc 26, pp. 40, 68, 327; mnc 27, p. 220; Ks. Wiert., no. 116; Richter 1862, p. 32; Lepczy 1898, p. 35.

<sup>163</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 33; mnc 27, pp. 220, 491; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 170; Noga 2003, p. 350.

<sup>164</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 33; mnc 26, pp. 40, 68, 78, 484; mnc 27, p. 220; Ks. Wiert., no. 563; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 14, p. 81.

<sup>165</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 34; mnc 26, p. 484; mnc 27, p. 511; Ks. Wiert., no. 273, 563, 653; Lepczy 1933, p. 149.

<sup>166</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 33; Ks. Wiert., no. 563, 653.

<sup>167</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 33; mnc 26, p. 456; mnc 27, pp. 325, 326; mnc 454, p. 537; Ks. Wiert., no. 532; Janczykowski 1981, p. 62.

<sup>168</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 32; mnc 27, pp. 325, 326; mnc 454, p. 537.

<sup>169</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 32; mnc 27, pp. 325, 326, 716; Ks. Wiert., no. 532.

**DOMINIKAŃSKA STREET<sup>170</sup>**

1-5	the Dominicans <sup>171</sup>	C.
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<sup>170</sup> Cemetery of the Church of the Holy Trinity. Tomkowicz 1926, p. 131; Supranowicz 1995, p. 45.

<sup>171</sup> There were seven tenement houses there. AP Kraków, mnsc 2561, pp. 9-11.

**FLORIAŃSKA STREET (Tworzańska, św. Floriana)**

1	Anna Jodłowska, widow of Szymon, apothecary, died before 1593 <sup>172</sup>	Br.
3	Jan Zeman, apothecary <sup>173</sup>	Br.
5	Jan Jeleń, furrier <sup>174</sup>	Br.
7	Jan Polanowski, ca. Starykoń, bailiff of Cracow <sup>175</sup>	N.
9	Adam Nagoth, furrier, counsellor of Cracow <sup>176</sup>	Br.
11	Heirs of Walerian Pernus, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1569 <sup>177</sup>	Br.
13	Dorota Barzi, ca. Korczak, widow of Stanisławi, the voivode of Cracow, died in 1571 <sup>178</sup>	N.
15	Joachim Ciepielowski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>179</sup>	Br.
17	Anna Trecy, widow of Krzysztof, royal secretary, died after 1596 <sup>180</sup>	Br.
19	Heirs of Sebastian Bąk, died around 1595 <sup>181</sup>	Br.
21	Jerzy Wieczorkowicz <sup>182</sup>	Br.
23	Magdalena Netinger, widow of Andrzej, merchant, died around 1598 <sup>183</sup>	Br.
25	Jan Łyszkowicz, furrier <sup>184</sup>	Br.
27	Heirs of Jana Baptisty Fontanini, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1596 r. <sup>185</sup>	Br.
29	Widow of Marcini Zamanek, armourer, died before 1597 <sup>186</sup>	Br.
31	Augustyn Halicz, merchant <sup>187</sup>	Br.
33	Jakub Wysocki, innkeeper <sup>188</sup>	Br.
35	Jan Kaźmierczyk, surgeon (barber-surgeon) <sup>189</sup>	Br.
37	Michał Domżał, coppersmith, surveyor. <sup>190</sup>	Br.
39	Heirs of Stanisław Litwinek, coppersmith, died around 1595 <sup>191</sup>	Br.
41	Widow of Adam, smith, died around 1593 <sup>192</sup>	Br.
43	Grzegorz, locksmith or Jan, coppersmith <sup>193</sup>	Br.
45	Michał, coppersmith <sup>194</sup>	Br.
47	Heirs of Krzysztof Bełza, furrier, died before 1589 <sup>195</sup>	Br.
49	Wawrzyniec Ardenty, merchant <sup>196</sup>	Br.
51	Bartłomiej Groicki, scribe of the court of high law and the Cracow customs house <sup>197</sup>	Br.
53A	Heirs of Stanisław Sadowski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1576 <sup>198</sup>	Br.
53B	Heirs of Hieronim Zalasowski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died around 1594/1596 <sup>199</sup>	Br.
55A	Anna Cianowska (Cieniowska), widow of Stanisław, died before 1593 <sup>200</sup>	Br.
55B	Matys Białek, innkeeper <sup>201</sup>	Br.
57	Andrzej Kmita, innkeeper <sup>202</sup>	Br.
2	See 47, Market Square	
4	Andrzej Rey, ca. Oksza, judge of the Interregnum court of Cracow <sup>203</sup>	N.
6	Maciej Jaszczurkowicz, furrier <sup>204</sup>	Br.

8	Heirs of Hieronim Zalasowski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died around 1594/1595 <sup>205</sup>	Br.
10	Jan Hedlowski, merchant <sup>206</sup>	Br.
12	Sebastian Cyrus, merchant, vogt of the court of high law <sup>207</sup>	Br.
14	Andrzej Samuel Dembiński (Dębiński), ca. Rawicz <sup>208</sup>	N.
16	Aleksander Gallus Węgrzynowicz (Vegrinius), doctor <sup>209</sup>	Br.
18A	Heirs of Paweł Krzywokolsk, furrier, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1591 <sup>210</sup>	Br.
18B	Stanisław Gostkowicz, smith <sup>211</sup>	Br.
20	Heirs of Wojciech Wałaszek, tailou, died around 1593 <sup>212</sup>	Br.
22	Widow of Maciej Świetlik, smith, died around 1594 <sup>213</sup>	Br.
24	Wojciech Mogiłański alias Placek, locksmith <sup>214</sup>	Br.
26	Jan Narbut, ca. Trąby or Zadora <sup>215</sup>	N.
bn	Tomasz Wesołowski, smith <sup>216</sup>	Br.
28A	(Regina) Gierczycka, widow of Mikołaj, baker, died after 1594 <sup>217</sup>	Br.
28B	Heirs of Maciej Dyrda, baker, died after 1592 <sup>218</sup>	Br.
30	Stanisław Piesek, salt merchant <sup>219</sup>	Br.
32A	Heirs of Marcin Iwan, merchant, counsellor of Olkusz, died after 1596 <sup>220</sup>	Br.
32B	Unknown owner <sup>221</sup>	–
34	Stanisław Gośliński, tailor <sup>222</sup>	Br.
36	Marcin Fihauser (Fichauser), merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>223</sup>	Br.
38	Heirs of Feliks Sałata, merchant <sup>224</sup>	Br.
40	Priest from the church of St. Florian – vicar house <sup>225</sup>	C.
42	Jakub Korzeński <sup>226</sup>	Br.
44	Jan Secymiński, ca. Dąbrowa <sup>227</sup>	N.

<sup>172</sup> Zwana ‘Pod Murzyny’. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 20; mncs 2574, p. 24; mncs 27, p. 567; Ks. Wiert., no. 85, 517, 520; Chmiel 1917, p. 11; Lachs 1933, p. 80.

<sup>173</sup> Zwana ‘pod Kozłem’. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 20; mncs 2574, p. 24; mncs 26, p. 746, 808; mncs 27, pp. 5, 7; mncs SWPN I–14, p. 827; Ks. Wiert., no. 691; Richter 1862, p. 71; Chmiel 1917, p. 23; Lachs 1933, p. 116.

<sup>174</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 20; mncs 2574, p. 25; mncs 26, pp. 746, 808; mncs 27, pp. 7, 702; Ks. Wiert., no. 691; Chmiel 1917, p. 36.

<sup>175</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 20; mncs 2574, p. 25; mncs 26, pp. 746, 808; mncs 27, p. 7; mncs 455, p. 208; Ks. Wiert., nr 695; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 7, pp. 359–360; Chmiel 1917, p. 40.

<sup>176</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 21; mncs 2574, p. 25; mncs 26, pp. 222, 619; mncs 27, p. 702; Ks. Wiert., no. 600; Chmiel 1917, p. 47; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 164; Noga 2003, p. 327.

<sup>177</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 21; mncs 2574, p. 26; mncs 26, pp. 222, 619; Ks. Wiert., no. 575, 600; Chmiel 1917, p. 53; Pieradzka 1935, p. 192; Noga 2003, p. 329.

<sup>178</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 21; mncs 2574, p. 26; mncs 27, p. 823; Ks. Wiert., no. 471, 472, 575; Richter 1862, p. 72; Chmiel 1917, p. 57; UrzKrak, no. 407.

<sup>179</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 21; mncs 2574, p. 26; mncs 27, pp. 102, 325, 823; Ks. Wiert., no. 472, 575; Chmiel 1917, p. 61; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 157; Noga 2003, p. 301.

<sup>180</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 22; mncs 2574, p. 27; mncs 26, p. 588; Chmiel 1917, p. 68; Bieniarzówna 1958, p. 14; Noga 2003, pp. 183–185, 219, 237.

<sup>181</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 22; mncs 2574, p. 27; mncs 26, pp. 435, 546; Ks. Wiert., no. 217; Chmiel 1917, p. 72.

<sup>182</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 23; mncs 2574, p. 28; mncs 26, pp. 435, 546; mncs 27, pp. 137, 244; Ks. Wiert., no. 819; Chmiel 1917, p. 81.

<sup>183</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 23; mncs 2574, p. 28; mncs 26, pp. 435, 546; mncs 27, pp. 137, 244; mncs 455, pp. 37–38; Ks. Wiert., no. 819; Chmiel 1917, p. 88.

<sup>184</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 23; mncs 2574, p. 28; mncs 27, pp. 95, 137, 151, 244; mncs 455, pp. 37–38; Chmiel 1917, p. 89.

<sup>185</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 23; mncs 2574, p. 29; mncs 26, p. 667; mncs 27, pp. 151, 685; mncs 455, pp. 37–38; Chmiel 1917, p. 94; Pańków 1948–1958, p. 61; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 5, pp. 17–18; Noga 2003, p. 307.

- <sup>186</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 24; mncs 2574, p. 29; mncs 27, pp. 72, 426; Chmiel 1917, p. 101; Swaryczewski 1987, p. 123.
- <sup>187</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 24; mncs 2574, p. 29; mncs 27, p. 177; Ks. Wiert., no. 474; Chmiel 1917, p. 110.
- <sup>188</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 24; mncs 2574, p. 30; Ks. Wiert., no. 436, 474; Chmiel 1917, p. 115.
- <sup>189</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 24; mncs 2574, p. 30; mncs 26, pp. 59–61, 155; mncs 27, p. 678; Ks. Wiert., no. 24, 187, 694, 735; Chmiel 1917, p. 121; Lachs 1936, p. 198.
- <sup>190</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 25; mncs 2574, p. 31; mncs 454, pp. 369–370; Ks. Wiert., no. 570, 694, 735; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1734; Chmiel 1917, p. 128.
- <sup>191</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 25; mncs 2574, p. 31; Ks. Wiert., no. 132, 694, 735; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1277; Chmiel 1917, p. 134.
- <sup>192</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 25; mncs 2574, p. 32; mncs 454, pp. 369–370; Ks. Wiert., no. 570; Chmiel 1917, p. 139.
- <sup>193</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 26; mncs 2574, p. 32; Chmiel 1917, p. 148.
- <sup>194</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 26; mncs 2574, p. 33.
- <sup>195</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 26; mncs 2574, p. 33; mncs 454, pp. 376–377; mncs 455, p. 370; Chmiel 1917, p. 153; Noga 2003, p. 60.
- <sup>196</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 27; mncs 2574, p. 33; mncs 454, pp. 376–377; mncs 455, p. 370; mncs 762, p. 471; Chmiel 1917, p. 165.
- <sup>197</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 27; mncs 2574, p. 34; mncs 27, p. 671; mncs 454, pp. 376–377; Chmiel 1917, p. 174; Koranyi, Patkaniowski 1959–1960, pp. 628–629.
- <sup>198</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 27; mncs 2574, p. 34; mncs 27, p. 671; mncs 454, p. 425; Ks. Wiert., no. 448; Chmiel 1917, p. 177; Noga 2003, p. 336.
- <sup>199</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 27; mncs 2574, p. 35; mncs 454, p. 425; mncs 27, p. 246; Ks. Wiert., no. 448; Chmiel 1917, p. 179; Noga 2003, p. 350.
- <sup>200</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 28; mncs 2574, p. 35; mncs 27, p. 246; mncs 454, p. 425; Ks. Wiert., no. 317, 318; Chmiel 1917, p. 182.
- <sup>201</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 28; mncs 2574, p. 35; mncs 27, p. 246; Chmiel 1917, p. 185.
- <sup>202</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 28; mncs 2558, p. 18; mncs 2574, p. 36; Chmiel 1917, p. 185.
- <sup>203</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 19; mncs 2574, p. 23; mncs 455, p. 296; Ks. Wiert., no. 223, 416, 507; Chmiel 1920, p. 8; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 8, p. 110.
- <sup>204</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 19; mncs 2574, p. 23; mncs 26, p. 159; mncs 454, pp. 24, 66; mncs 455, p. 418; Chmiel 1920, p. 18.
- <sup>205</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 18; mncs 2574, p. 22; mncs 27, p. 26; mncs 454, p. 425; Ks. Wiert., no. 507; Chmiel 1920, p. 23; Noga 2003, p. 351.
- <sup>206</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 18; mncs 2574, p. 22; mncs 27, pp. 26, 87; mncs 454, p. 425; Ks. Wiert., no. 627, 671; Chmiel 1920, p. 33.
- <sup>207</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 18; mncs 2574, p. 22; Chmiel 1920, p. 40; Pieradzka 1935, p. 192; Łysiak 1990, p. 184.
- <sup>208</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 18; mncs 2574, p. 21; mncs 1378, p. 313; mncs 454, pp. 354–355; Chmiel 1920, p. 50; UrzKraK, p. 220.
- <sup>209</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 18; mncs 2574, p. 21; mncs 27, p. 402; mncs 454, pp. 354–355; Ks. Wiert., no. 750; Chmiel 1920, p. 66; Lachs 1909, p. 71.
- <sup>210</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 17; mncs 2574, p. 21; mncs 24, p. 636; mncs 26, p. 539; Chmiel 1920, p. 72; Noga 2003, p. 321.
- <sup>211</sup> Called 'Pod Konie'm'. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 17; mncs 2574, p. 20; mncs 26, p. 539; Ks. Wiert., no. 208, 782, 798, 801; Chmiel 1920, p. 7.
- <sup>212</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 16; mncs 2574, p. 20; mncs 26, p. 539; mncs 27, p. 606; Ks. Wiert., no. 492, 749; Chmiel 1920, p. 84.
- <sup>213</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 16; mncs 2574, p. 19; Ks. Wiert., no. 549, 782; Chmiel 1920, p. 92.
- <sup>214</sup> Called 'Pode dzwony'. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 16; mncs 2574, p. 19; Ks. Wiert., no. 549, 748, 749; Chmiel 1920, p. 101.
- <sup>215</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 15; mncs 2574, p. 18; Ks. Wiert., no. 756; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 6, pp. 319–321; Chmiel 1920, p. 111.
- <sup>216</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 15; mncs 2574, p. 18; mncs 26, p. 113; Ks. Wiert., no. 719, 790; Chmiel 1920, p. 119.
- <sup>217</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 15; mncs 2574, p. 18; mncs 26, 113; Ks. Wiert., no. 821; Chmiel 1920, p. 121.
- <sup>218</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 14; mncs 2574, p. 17; Ks. Wiert., no. 461, 821; Chmiel 1920, p. 121.
- <sup>219</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 14; mncs 2574, p. 17; mncs 26, p. 123; Ks. Wiert., no. 461, 821; Chmiel 1920, p. 133.
- <sup>220</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 14; mncs 2574, p. 17; mncs 26, pp. 123, 586; Chmiel 1920, p. 140; Bąk-Koczarska 1999, p. 32.
- <sup>221</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 14; mncs 2574, p. 16; Chmiel 1920, p. 140.
- <sup>222</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 13; mncs 2574, p. 16; mncs 27, p. 168; Chmiel 1920, p. 144.
- <sup>223</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 13; mncs 2574, p. 15; mncs 27, p. 542; Ks. Wiert., no. 440, 441; Chmiel 1920, p. 149; Pieradzka 1935, p. 124; Noga 2003, p. 305.
- <sup>224</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 13; mncs 2574, p. 15; mncs 26, pp. 265, 282, 712; mncs 27, p. 542; mncs 1624, p. 98; Ks. Wiert., no. 440; Chmiel 1920, p. 154; Kielbicka, Wojas 1993, no. 2580.
- <sup>225</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 12; mncs 2574, p. 15; mncs 26, pp. 282, 712; mncs 27, p. 542; Ks. Wiert., no. 440; Chmiel 1920, p. 159.
- <sup>226</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 12; mncs 2574, p. 14; mncs 26, p. 265; mncs 27, p. 671; Chmiel 1920, p. 165.

<sup>227</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 12; mncs 2574, p. 14; mncs 27, p. 671; Ks. Wiert., no. 423; Chmiel 1920, p. 170; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 8, p. 323.

### FRANCISZKAŃSKA STREET<sup>228</sup>

1	See 17, Bracka Str.	
3	The bishop of Cracow <sup>229</sup>	C.
	The Franciscans <sup>230</sup>	C.
	Jan Trepka, ca. Topór, judge of the land court of Cracow <sup>231</sup>	N.
	Unknown owner <sup>232</sup>	–
	Łyczko (Łyczek), ca. Sulima <sup>233</sup>	N.
	Gołuchowski, ca. Leliwa <sup>234</sup>	N.

<sup>228</sup> Part of Psi Rynek, which is now All Saints Square (Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 134–138; Supranowicz 1995, p. 51).

<sup>229</sup> Bibl. Jag., mncs 5354, p. 59v; Ks. Wiert., no. 687; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 137; Rożek 1974.

<sup>230</sup> There were two or three tenement houses there. AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 32; mncs 2562, p. 22; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5354, p. 47v; Tomkowicz 1918, p. 6.

<sup>231</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2569, p. 46; UrzKrak, no. 313.

<sup>232</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2569, p. 46.

<sup>233</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2569, p. 47; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 6, p. 294.

<sup>234</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2557, p. 5; mncs 2569, p. 47; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 4, p. 175; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 6, p. 213; Uruski 1904–1931, vol. 4, p. 252.

### GOŁĘBIA STREET<sup>235</sup>

1	See 7, Bracka Str.	
3	Unknown owner <sup>236</sup>	–
5	See 6, Wiślna Str.	
7	See 7. Wiślna Str.	
9	Jan Piotraszowski, ca. Abdank, the vice-starosta of Oświęcim <sup>237</sup>	N.
11	Cracow Academy – Collegium Minus <sup>238</sup>	Univ.
13	Cracow Academy <sup>239</sup>	Univ.
2	See 9, Bracka Str.	
4	Zofia Ligęza, ca. Półkozic, widow of Jan, the <i>wojski</i> of Sanok, died around 1598 <sup>240</sup>	N.
6	Ludwik Kromer, city scribe <sup>241</sup>	Br.
8	Marcin Dobroszowski (Dobriszowski) Łysik, ca. Półkozic, the burgrave of Cracow <sup>242</sup>	N.
10	See 8, Wiślna Str.	
12	Barbara Gilowicz, widow of Wojciech, baker, died after 1588 <sup>243</sup>	Br.
14	Barbara Gilowicz, widow of Wojciech, baker, died after 1588 <sup>244</sup>	Br.
16A	Jakub von Enden Niederland, musician <sup>245</sup>	Br.
16B	Heirs of Maciej Kopa, soap maker, died around 1597 <sup>246</sup>	Br.
18A	Walenty Wiśniowski Bigos, soap maker <sup>247</sup>	Br.
18B	Heirs of Marcin Radota, died before 1597 <sup>248</sup>	Br.
20A	Matys Gniezno, bookbinder <sup>249</sup>	Br.
20B	Heirs of Maciej Gruszczyński, soap maker, died around 1596 r. <sup>250</sup>	Br.
20C	Jan Januszewski, printer <sup>251</sup>	Br.

22A	Cracow Academy – ‘Jeruzalem’ boarding house <sup>252</sup>	Univ.
22B	Cracow Academy – ‘Filozofów’ boarding house <sup>253</sup>	Univ.
22C	Cracow Academy – ‘Nowa’ boarding house (Classes) <sup>254</sup>	Univ.
22D	Stanisław Słoninka, bookbinder <sup>255</sup>	Br.
22E	Mikołaj, bookbinder <sup>256</sup>	Br.
22F	Maciej Kikuła (Kiekula), bookbinder, śledziownik <sup>257</sup>	Br.
22G	Melcher, musician <sup>258</sup>	Br.

<sup>235</sup> The eastern part was called the cross street between Bracka and Wiślna streets (Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 138–142; Supranowicz 1995, p. 56).

<sup>236</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 24.

<sup>237</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2568, p. 58; mncs 762, p. 17; Ks. Wiert., no. 105, 878, 903.

<sup>238</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2550, p. 13; Włodarek 2000, p. 253; Estreicher 1968, pp. 158–160.

<sup>239</sup> University garden, stables and three houses leased by the Academy to: Piotr, a mason; Kandyd, a bookbinder, and Matys Mgay, a shoemaker. AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 33; Richter 1862, p. 41; Estreicher 1968, pp. 158–160.

<sup>240</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 24; mncs 27, p. 358; mncs 455, pp. 139, 229–231; Ks. Wiert., no. 309, 660; UrzRus, no. 2637.

<sup>241</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 24; mncs 27, pp. 330, 358; mncs 455, p. 139; Ks. Wiert., no. 309, 660; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 162.

<sup>242</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 24; mncs 27, pp. 330, 358; mncs 455, p. 139; Ks. Wiert., no. 660; Richter 1862, p. 35; UrzKraK, p. 222.

<sup>243</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 30; mncs 761, pp. 104, 423; Ks. Wiert., no. 67, 386, 457, 552, 553, 901.

<sup>244</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, p. 262; Ks. Wiert., no. 43, 67, 179, 386, 901.

<sup>245</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 30; mncs 27, pp. 262, 502, 641; mncs 454, p. 503; Ks. Wiert., no. 901; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1547; Tomkowicz 1907, p. 11.

<sup>246</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, pp. 262, 502, 641; mncs 454, p. 503; Ks. Wiert., no. 210, 331, 386, 458, 459, 535.

<sup>247</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 30; mncs 26, p. 190; mncs 27, pp. 502, 641; Ks. Wiert., no. 331, 332, 458, 459, 535.

<sup>248</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 30; mncs 2557, p. 10; mncs 26, pp. 623, 699; Ks. Wiert., no. 331, 332, 357, 403, 458, 459, 535; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1704.

<sup>249</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 31; mncs 26, pp. 623, 699; mncs 454, p. 97; Ks. Wiert., no. 581, 856.

<sup>250</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 31; mncs 2550, p. 12; mncs 26, pp. 623, 699; mncs 27, p. 217; Ks. Wiert., no. 581.

<sup>251</sup> Ennobled in 1588 r. AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 31; mncs 26, p. 629; mncs 27, p. 217; mncs 454, p. 97; Ks. Wiert., no. 403, 581, 856; Drukarze XV–XVIII, pp. 70–71; Trelińska 2001, no. 473.

<sup>252</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2550, p. 12; mncs 26, p. 629; mncs 27, pp. 217; Ks. Wiert., no. 260; Richter 1862, p. 38.

<sup>253</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 31; Richter 1862, p. 38.

<sup>254</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 32; Richter 1862, p. 38; Barycz 1939–1947, p. 34.

<sup>255</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 32; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1614.

<sup>256</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 32.

<sup>257</sup> Sens not sure, concern herrings; AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 32; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1311.

<sup>258</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 32.

## GRODZKA STREET

1	Walenty Rymer, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>259</sup>	Br.
3	Mikołaj Szarfenberger, printer <sup>260</sup>	Br.
5	Anna Olszowska, widow of Stanisław, died around 1598 <sup>261</sup>	Br.
7	Jakub Siebeneicher, printer, counsellor of Cracow <sup>262</sup>	Br.
9A	Grzegorz Blank, goldsmith <sup>263</sup>	Br.
9B	Wincenty Łyskowiec, furrier <sup>264</sup>	Br.
11	Jan Noszkowicz Grządziel, saddler <sup>265</sup>	Br.
13A	Tomasz Gawronek, innkeeper, peddler <sup>266</sup>	Br.
13B	(Regina) Pilecka, widow of Stanisławi, locksmith, died before 1597 <sup>267</sup>	Br.
13C	Walenty Opczyński, saddler <sup>268</sup>	Br.
15A	Grzegorz Blank, goldsmith <sup>269</sup>	Br.

15B	Maciej Kwieciński, locksmith, and widow of Marcin Popiel, goldsmith, died after 1591 <sup>270</sup>	Br.
17	Wojciech Kurowski, saddler <sup>271</sup>	Br.
[19]	Maciej Zasański, goldsmith <sup>272</sup>	Br.
21	Barbara Bilińska, widow of Jan, locksmith, died before 1597 <sup>273</sup>	Br.
23	Grzegorz Skrobkovic, lawyer, counsellor of Cracow <sup>274</sup>	Br.
25	Katarzyna Litwinkowa, widow of Jan, painter, died in 1597 <sup>275</sup>	Br.
27	Jan Zasański, goldsmith <sup>276</sup>	Br.
29	Maniecki, ca. Łódzia <sup>277</sup>	N.
31	Maciej Kanczycki Włoszek, shoemaker <sup>278</sup>	Br.
33	Walenty Krupka, shoemaker <sup>279</sup>	Br.
35	Szymon Zagrzebski, goldsmith <sup>280</sup>	Br.
37	Zofia Kropidłowa, widow of Mateusz, innkeeper, died around 1597 <sup>281</sup>	Br.
39	Marcin Międzyński, apothecary <sup>282</sup>	Br.
41	Krzysztof Zagrodzki, surgeon (barber-surgeon) <sup>283</sup>	Br.
43A	Jan Mogiłański, coppersmith <sup>284</sup>	Br.
43B	Paweł Kostan, pewterer <sup>285</sup>	Br.
45	Jan Brzechwa, ca. Jastrzębiec <sup>286</sup>	N.
47	Magdalena Glacz, widow of Seweryn, furrier, died in 1589 and Krzysztof Zelner, priest, mansionary of Mariacki church <sup>287</sup>	Br.
49	Castle vicars <sup>288</sup>	C.
51	Dorota Cielecka, ca. Zaręba, widow of Jerzy, died in 1598 <sup>289</sup>	N.
53	Cracow Academy – Collegium Iuridicum <sup>290</sup>	Univ.
55	Cracow Academy <sup>291</sup>	Univ.
	Chapel (church) of St. Mary Magdalene <sup>292</sup>	C.
57A	At the back of 12, Kanoniczna Str. <sup>293</sup>	
57B	Abbot of Jędrzejów monastery (the Cistercians) <sup>294</sup>	C.
59A	Konieczpolski, ca. Pobóg <sup>295</sup>	N.
59B	Pukarzewski, ca. Średniawa <sup>296</sup>	N.
61	Męciński (Męczyński), ca. Poraj <sup>297</sup>	N.
63	At the back of 18–20, Kanoniczna Str.	
65	The archbishop of Gniezno <sup>298</sup>	C.
	Church of St. Giles <sup>299</sup>	C.
	The Dominicans <sup>300</sup>	C.
	Foundry <sup>301</sup>	R.
	Cracow chapter – Jan Krasieński, canon priest of Cracow <sup>302</sup>	C.
2A	Bernard Gallaradi (Galaretho), merchant <sup>303</sup>	Br.
2B	Stanisław Paczoska, merchant, assessor of Cracow and Adam Czarny, merchant, mining businessmand, councillor of Olkusz <sup>304</sup>	Br.
4A	Anna Boczkowska, widow of Wojciech, innkeeper, died after 1595 <sup>305</sup>	Br.
4B	Szymon Muty Francuz, tailor <sup>306</sup>	Br.
6	Leonard Genepri (Genefrid), shoemaker <sup>307</sup>	Br.

8	Mazurkowa, widow of saddler, died around 1584 <sup>308</sup>	Br.
10	Wojciech Kaczorek, saddler <sup>309</sup>	Br.
12	Jan Pusz, merchant <sup>310</sup>	Br.
14	Jakub Żorawski, locksmith and Sebastian Malcherowicz, shoemaker <sup>311</sup>	Br.
16	Jan Dziurka, saddler <sup>312</sup>	Br.
18A	Balcer Bruzik, swordmaker <sup>313</sup>	Br.
18B	Tailors guild <sup>314</sup>	Br.
20	Widow of Melchior Wolfram, purse-maker, died before 1595 and Andrzej Gecz, saddler <sup>315</sup>	Br.
22A	Stanisław Konopnic, furrier <sup>316</sup>	Br.
22B	Piotr Oślizło, tailor <sup>317</sup>	Br.
22C	Marcin Plichta, shoemaker <sup>318</sup>	Br.
22D	Magdalena Paczoska, widow of Anton, goldsmith, counsellor of Cracow, died around 1596/1597 r. <sup>319</sup>	Br.
26	See 4–6, Dominikański Square	
28	Zofia Łąbędzka, widow of Sebastian, scribe of Garbary, died before 1594 and Daniel Łąbędzki, goldsmith <sup>320</sup>	Br.
30	Wojciech Suchocki, swordmaker <sup>321</sup>	Br.
32A	Town Council <sup>322</sup>	T.
32B	Jan Pograniczny, innkeeper <sup>323</sup>	Br.
34	Marcin Kozik, innkeeper <sup>324</sup>	Br.
36	Mikołaj Cebrowski, apothecary and Stanisław Genzlowicz <sup>325</sup>	Br.
38A	Jan Szekinger, merchant <sup>326</sup>	Br.
38B	Piotr Włodarz, tailor <sup>327</sup>	Br.
	Chapel of St. Peter the Apostle <sup>328</sup>	C.
40A	Józef Latoszyński, ca. Gryf, the vice-starosta of Cracow <sup>329</sup>	N.
40B	Donat Knipper, goldsmith <sup>330</sup>	Br.
40C	Jan Pernus, pewterer <sup>331</sup>	Br.
42	Zuzanna Jaślikowska, widow of Ambroż, furrier, died in 1595 <sup>332</sup>	Br.
44	Castle vicars <sup>333</sup>	C.
46	Fabian Cema (von Zehman), ca. his own, the voivode of Malbork <sup>334</sup>	N.
48	Barbara Powsińska, widow of Walenty, goldsmith, died before 1598 <sup>335</sup>	Br.
50	Abraham Szczepanowski, ca. unknown <sup>336</sup>	N.
52	Ciekliński, ca. Abdank <sup>337</sup>	N.
54	Cracow Academy – Juristarum boarding house ( <i>Jurisperitorum</i> ) <sup>338</sup>	Univ.
	Church of St. Peter and St. Paul <sup>339</sup>	C.
56	Church of St. Andrew, and the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare <sup>340</sup>	C.
58	Chapel (church) of St. Martin <sup>341</sup>	C.
60A	Canon priests of Gniezno <sup>342</sup>	C.
60B	Ostrogski, ca. his own <sup>343</sup>	N.
62	Jan Pieniążek, ca. Odrowąż, deputy cup-bearer of Cracow and the starosta of Nowy Targ <sup>344</sup>	N.
64	Arsenal <sup>345</sup>	R.

- <sup>259</sup> Ennobled in 1590 r. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 36; mnc 27, p. 380; Chmiel 1934, p. 8; Komorowski, Follprecht, part 6, p. 18; Trelińska 2001, no. 517.
- <sup>260</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 37; mnc 26, p. 432; mnc 27, pp. 68, 380; Ks. Wiert., no. 51, 72, 75, 239, 242; Chmiel 1934, pp. 22–23; Drukarze XV–XVIII, p. 265.
- <sup>261</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 37; mnc 26, p. 529; mnc 27, p. 68; Ks. Wiert., no. 653, 713, 714, 715; Chmiel 1934, p. 35.
- <sup>262</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 37; mnc 27, p. 68; mnc 455, pp. 32, 439; Ks. Wiert., no. 713–715, 717; Chmiel 1934, p. 52–54; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 168; Drukarze XV–XVIII, p. 191; Noga 2003, p. 341.
- <sup>263</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 37; mnc 26, p. 529; mnc 27, p. 449, 613; mnc 455, p. 32; Ks. Wiert., no. 713–715, 773; Lepszy 1933, p. 145; Chmiel 1934, p. 68.
- <sup>264</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 38; mnc 26, pp. 313, 730; mnc 27, pp. 449, 613; mnc 455, p. 32; Ks. Wiert., no. 103, 329, 635, 807, 809; Chmiel 1934, p. 79.
- <sup>265</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 38; mnc 26, pp. 313, 730; Ks. Wiert., no. 630, 807, 809; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1441; Chmiel 1934, p. 86.
- <sup>266</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 39; Ks. Wiert., no. 630; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1553; Chmiel 1934, p. 101.
- <sup>267</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 39; mnc 27, p. 223; Ks. Wiert., no. 177, 214, 247, 680, 763.
- <sup>268</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 39; mnc 26, p. 804; mnc 27, pp. 223, 265, 611, 722; mnc 455, pp. 258–262; Ks. Wiert., nr 533, 680; Richter 1862, p. 19; Chmiel 1934, pp. 109, 117.
- <sup>269</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 40; mnc 26, p. 804; mnc 27, pp. 265, 449, 611; mnc 455, pp. 258–262; Ks. Wiert., no. 395, 398, 450, 680, 882, 884; Lepszy 1933, p. 145; Chmiel 1934, p. 117.
- <sup>270</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 40; mnc 26, p. 106; mnc 27, pp. 414, 449, 611; Ks. Wiert., no. 326, 327, 450; Lepszy 1933, p. 158; Chmiel 1934, p. 125.
- <sup>271</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 40; Ks. Wiert., no. 45, 326, 327, 347, 450, 514; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1265; Chmiel 1934, p. 134.
- <sup>272</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 30; mnc 26, p. 70; Lepszy 1933, p. 164; Chmiel 1935, p. 5.
- <sup>273</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 29; mnc 26, pp. 210, 691; Ks. Wiert., no. 645, 860; Chmiel 1935, p. 10.
- <sup>274</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 29; mnc 26, pp. 210, 691; Ks. Wiert., no. 645, 860; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1842; Chmiel 1935, p. 16; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 168; Noga 1997–1998, p. 389; Noga 2003, p. 341.
- <sup>275</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 29; mnc 26, pp. 210, 691; mnc 27, p. 8, 9; mnc 454, p. 728; mnc 455, pp. 135, 410; Ks. Wiert., no. 645, 646, 649, 656, 692, 860; Chmiel 1935, p. 27.
- <sup>276</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 29; mnc 27, pp. 8, 9; mnc 454, p. 728; mnc 455, p. 135, 410; Ks. Wiert., no. 646, 649, 656, 692; Lepszy 1933, p. 192; Chmiel 1935, p. 32.
- <sup>277</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 28; mnc 27, pp. 8, 9; mnc 455, pp. 135, 410; Ks. Wiert., no. 646; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 6, p. 339; Chmiel 1935 p. 41.
- <sup>278</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 28; mnc 2567, p. 50; mnc 1378, p. 13; mnc 27, p. 516; Chmiel 1935, p. 54.
- <sup>279</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 28; mnc 27, pp. 516, 751; mnc 454, p. 741; Ks. Wiert., no. 650; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, nr 1574 Chmiel 1935, p. 68.
- <sup>280</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 28; mnc 27, pp. 516, 751; mnc 454, pp. 657, 741; Ks. Wiert., no. 650, 780; Lepszy 1933, p. 164; Chmiel 1935, p. 80.
- <sup>281</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 27; mnc 27, p. 751; mnc 454, p. 657; mnc 762, pp. 464–465; Ks. Wiert., no. 780; Chmiel 1935 p. 98.
- <sup>282</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 25; Ks. Wiert., no. 112, 152, 154, 155, 159, 162, 164, 168, 169, 245, 274, 752; Lachs 1933, pp. 93–94; Stabrawa 2006, p. 47.
- <sup>283</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 24; mnc 454, p. 387; Ks. Wiert., no. 481, 752.
- <sup>284</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 24; mnc 454, p. 387; mnc 455, p. 385; Ks. Wiert., no. 481, 699.
- <sup>285</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 24; mnc 455, p. 385; Ks. Wiert., no. 539, 699; Stabrawa 2006, pp. 41–42.
- <sup>286</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 22; mnc 454, pp. 520, 600; mnc 455, pp. 245, 462; Ks. Wiert., no. 808; Richter 1862, p. 22; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 2, p. 163; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 2, p. 324; Uruski 1904–1931, vol. 2, p. 21.
- <sup>287</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 22; mnc 454, p. 651; Ks. Wiert., no. 142, 508, 661; Kronika mans. 1835, pp. 2, 13.
- <sup>288</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 21; mnc 26, p. 560; mnc 454, p. 651; mnc 455, pp. 245, 462; Ks. Wiert., no. 142, 508, 661; Richter 1862, p. 22.
- <sup>289</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 21; mnc 26, p. 560; mnc 27, pp. 743–744; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 3, p. 114.
- <sup>290</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 21; Richter 1862, p. 22; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 170.
- <sup>291</sup> Conclusiones 1441–1589, p. 16.
- <sup>292</sup> Now non-existent. Richter 1862, p. 22; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 149; Rożek 1983, p. 100; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 170.
- <sup>293</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 21.
- <sup>294</sup> Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 195.
- <sup>295</sup> Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 11, pp. 81–82; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 5, pp. 191–199; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 172.
- <sup>296</sup> Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 7, p. 577; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 172.
- <sup>297</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 20; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 6, pp. 359–368; Uruski 1904–1931, vol. 10, p. 322; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 172.
- <sup>298</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 20; Richter 1862, p. 23; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 170.
- <sup>299</sup> Katalog zabytków, 1973, p. 140.
- <sup>300</sup> Richter 1862, p. 23.

- <sup>301</sup> Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 70–71.
- <sup>302</sup> Called 'Dębno'. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 20; Richter 1862, p. 24; Łętowski 1852–1853, vol. 3, pp. 170–174.
- <sup>303</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 45; mnc 27, p. 760; Bibl. Jag., mnc 5349, vol. 1, p. 206; Ks. Wiert., no. 319, 544, 757.
- <sup>304</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 44; mnc 453, p. 103; Ks. Wiert., no. 124, 544, 757; Molenda 1978, p. 248.
- <sup>305</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 44; Ks. Wiert., no. 124, 408, 413, 558, 786.
- <sup>306</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 44; mnc 26, p. 653; mnc 27, p. 597; Ks. Wiert., no. 786.
- <sup>307</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 44; mnc 26, p. 30; mnc 27, pp. 33, 424, 591.
- <sup>308</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 43; Ks. Wiert., no. 343, 343a.
- <sup>309</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 43; mnc 27, pp. 296, 817; Ks. Wiert., no. 202, 343.
- <sup>310</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 43; mnc 26, p. 356; mnc 27, pp. 296, 408, 469, 660, 817; Ks. Wiert., no. 202, 449, 456, 464, 850, 851, 864, 870.
- <sup>311</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 43; mnc 26, p. 356; mnc 27, pp. 296, 469; Ks. Wiert., no. 449, 456, 464.
- <sup>312</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 42; mnc 26, pp. 574, 586; mnc 27, pp. 408, 469, 660; Ks. Wiert., no. 379, 456, 562, 701, 747, 840, 854.
- <sup>313</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 42; mnc 26, pp. 574, 586; Ks. Wiert., no. 562, 701, 747; Bocheński 1937, pp. 81, 84.
- <sup>314</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 42; mnc 26, pp. 14, 55, 586; mnc 27, p. 227; Ks. Wiert., no. 63, 280, 324, 562; Richter 1862, p. 14.
- <sup>315</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 41; mnc 26, pp. 14, 304, 618; mnc 27, pp. 82, 227, 563; Ks. Wiert., no. 616.
- <sup>316</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 41; mnc 26, pp. 303, 618; mnc 27, pp. 82, 563; mnc 455, p. 307.
- <sup>317</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 56; mnc 26, pp. 304, 618, 818; mnc 27, pp. 82, 349; mnc 455, p. 307; Ks. Wiert., no. 616.
- <sup>318</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 55; mnc 26, p. 818; mnc 27, p. 349; mnc 454, pp. 503, 748; Ks. Wiert., no. 166, 207, 618; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1686.
- <sup>319</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 55; mnc 26, p. 818; mnc 454, pp. 503, 748; Ks. Wiert., no. 606, 618, 657, 804, 824, 825, 840; Lepszy 1933, p. 157; Noga 2003, p. 328.
- <sup>320</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 5; mnc 454, pp. 45, 417, 554; Ks. Wiert., no. 536, 594, 595; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1454; Lepszy 1933, p. 179.
- <sup>321</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 5; mnc 27, pp. 447, 453; mnc 454, pp. 45, 554, 631; Ks. Wiert., no. 536, 742; Bocheński 1937, p. 84.
- <sup>322</sup> Called 'Podelwie'. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 6; mnc 26, pp. 124, 544; mnc 27, pp. 447, 453; mnc 454, p. 631; Ks. Wiert., no. 742; Richter 1862, p. 15.
- <sup>323</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 6.
- <sup>324</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 7; mnc 26, p. 790; mnc 454, pp. 611–614; Ks. Wiert., no. 617; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1914.
- <sup>325</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 7; mnc 26, p. 790; mnc 27, p. 487; mnc 454, pp. 611–614; Ks. Wiert., no. 617; Lachs 1933, p. 66; Stabrawa 2004, p. 62.
- <sup>326</sup> Called 'Pod Elefanty'. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 7; mnc 26, pp. 522, 579, 790; mnc 27, pp. 232, 253; compare footnote 105.
- <sup>327</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 8; mnc 26, p. 579; Ks. Wiert., no. 858.
- <sup>328</sup> Ks. Wiert., no. 525, 573, 593; Richter 1862, p. 16.
- <sup>329</sup> Called 'Pod Kozłem'. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 13; mnc 27, p. 180; Ks. Wiert., no. 593, 599; UrzKraK, p. 236.
- <sup>330</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 13; mnc 27, p. 180; Ks. Wiert., no. 521, 525; Lepszy 1933, p. 153; Ciecchanowiecki 1974, pp. 64–65.
- <sup>331</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 13; mnc 27, p. 180; Ks. Wiert., no. 521, 580, 623, 642.
- <sup>332</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2560 p. 8; mnc 2561, p. 13; mnc 26, p. 226; Ks. Wiert., no. 234, 385, 580, 623, 642.
- <sup>333</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 14; mnc 26, p. 226; Ks. Wiert., no. 234, 580, 623, 642; Richter 1862, p. 16.
- <sup>334</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2560, p. 9; mnc 2561, p. 14; mnc 455, p. 781; Ks. Wiert., no. 130, 131, 134, 677, 700; Bibl. Jag., mnc 5349, vol. 1, p. 194; Czaplewski 1938, p. 328; UrzPrus, no. 422.
- <sup>335</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 14; mnc 455, p. 166; Ks. Wiert., no. 130, 131, 677, 700; Lepszy 1933, p. 158; Michalewiczowie 1999, no. 287.
- <sup>336</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 15; mnc 455, p. 166; Ks. Wiert., no. 677; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1691; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 8, pp. 312–313.
- <sup>337</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 15; mnc 455, p. 166; UrzKraK, p. 217.
- <sup>338</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 15; mnc 26, p. 586; Ks. Wiert., no. 316, 683; Richter 1862, p. 17; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 170.
- <sup>339</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 15; Klein 1910, pp. 24–33.
- <sup>340</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 15; Ks. Wiert., no. 631; Katalog zabytków, 1973, pp. 55, 61.
- <sup>341</sup> Katalog zabytków, 1978, p. 29.
- <sup>342</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 16; Karmelitanki 1904, p. 18; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 172.
- <sup>343</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 16; Bibl. Jag., mnc 5349, vol. 1, p. 195; Karmelitanki 1904, p. 18; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 172.
- <sup>344</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 16; Bibl. Jag., mnc 5349, vol. 1, p. 195; Karmelitanki 1904, p. 18; UrzKraK, no. 209, p. 250; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 172.
- <sup>345</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 16; Richter 1862, p. 18; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 70; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 170.

## JAGIELLOŃSKA STREET<sup>346</sup>

1	See 1, Szczepański Square	
3–5	See 13, Szewska Str.	
7	See 10, Szewska Str.	
9	Wawrzyniec Justymonti, merchant <sup>347</sup>	Br.
11	Marcin Gawronek, barley malt extract maker, innkeeper <sup>348</sup>	Br.
13	See 9, Św. Anny Str.	
15	See 8, Św. Anny Str.	
17	See 11, Gołębia Str.	
19	See 22, Gołębia Str.	
2	See 4, Szczepańska Str.	
4	Town council <sup>349</sup>	T.
6	See 11, Szewska Str.	
8	See 8, Szewska Str.	
10	At the back of 3, Św. Anny Str. <sup>350</sup>	
12	Małgorzata Zawadzka, widow of Stanisław, merchant, died around 1595 <sup>351</sup>	Br.
14	See 7, Św. Anny Str.	
16A	See 6, Św. Anny Str.	
16B	At the back of 6A, Św. Anny Str. <sup>352</sup>	
18	See 9, Gołębia Str.	
20	See 20, Gołębia Str.	

<sup>346</sup> Described as a cross street of Szewska and Św. Anny streets (Tomkowicz 1926, p. 142; Supranowicz 1995, p. 63).

<sup>347</sup> Ennobled in 1589. AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 38; mnc 26, pp. 176, 625; mnc 27, p. 497; Ks. Wiert., no. 522, 629; Bieniarzówna, Małnecki 1984, p. 283; Pańków 1964–1965, pp. 348–349; Trelińska 2001, no. 493.

<sup>348</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 37; mnc 26, p. 625; mnc 27, p. 497; Ks. Wiert., no. 629, 822.

<sup>349</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 13; Richter 1862, p. 45.

<sup>350</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 1379, p. 149.

<sup>351</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 38; mnc 26, p. 371; mnc 761, p. 554; Ks. Wiert., no. 192, 380.

<sup>352</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2626, p. 84.

## ŚW. JANA STREET

1	See 42, Market Square	
3A	Paweł Pernus, the vogt of Cracow <sup>353</sup>	Br.
3B	Stanisław Sołtysek <sup>354</sup>	Br.
5	Jan Nonhart, merchant, assessor of Cracow and Barbara Fox, widow of Tobiasz, goldsmith, died after 1591 <sup>355</sup>	Br.
	Chapel (church) of St. John <sup>356</sup>	C.
	School of the church of St. John <sup>357</sup>	C.
7A	Juliusz Baldi, merchant <sup>358</sup>	Br.
7B	Juliusz Baldi, merchant <sup>359</sup>	Br.
7C	Jan Płaza, ca. Topór, the starosta of Lubaczów <sup>360</sup>	N.
7D	Anna Wałaszkowa, widow of Piotr, furrier, died around 1596 <sup>361</sup>	Br.
9	Heirs of Erazm Strus, merchant, died around 1591 <sup>362</sup>	Br.

11A	Andrzej Barszcz, merchant, assessor of Cracow <sup>363</sup>	Br.
11B	Zygmunt Rosołek Gędzic (Genz, Gendzicz), innkeeper <sup>364</sup>	Br.
13A	Jan Łoputowicz, innkeeper <sup>365</sup>	Br.
13B	Walenty Wiśniowski Bigos, soap maker <sup>366</sup>	Br.
13C	Jan Lembartosz Kral, merchant <sup>367</sup>	Br.
13D	Heirs of Sebastian Pawlikowicz Noska (Nóżka), butcher, died around 1598 <sup>368</sup>	Br.
15A	Sebastian Cyrus, merchant, the vogt of the court of high law <sup>369</sup>	Br.
15B	Walenty Wiśniowski Bigos, soap maker <sup>370</sup>	Br.
15C	Heirs of Stanisław Mały (Mały), baker, died around 1598 <sup>371</sup>	Br.
17/19A	Wojciech Porzucipeług, baker <sup>372</sup>	Br.
17/19B	Heirs of Jan Bogacz, baker, died after 1585 <sup>373</sup>	Br.
17/19C	Hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>374</sup>	C.
2	See 41, Market Square	
4	At the back of 41B, Market Square	
6A	Calvinist commune <sup>375</sup>	C.
6B	Heirs of Andrzej Kiernsztok, merchant, died before 1590 <sup>376</sup>	Br.
6C	Piotr Puget (Puzet), tailor <sup>377</sup>	Br.
6D	Stanisław <i>Picus</i> Zawadzki, doctor, counsellor of Cracow <sup>378</sup>	Br.
8	Kasper Chodowicz, furrier, counsellor of Cracow <sup>379</sup>	Br.
10	Krzysztof Słowikowski, soap maker <sup>380</sup>	Br.
12	Zygmunt Alantsee, apothecary, assessor of the court of high law <sup>381</sup>	Br.
14	Oktawian Rivendalo, merchant <sup>382</sup>	Br.
16	Anna Szneeberger (Sznebergier), widow of Antoni, doctor, died around 1581 <sup>383</sup>	Br.
18	Heirs of Maciej Czeczotka, merchant, assessor of the court of high law, died in 1588 <sup>384</sup>	Br.
20A	Heirs of Marcin Fox, doctor, died in 1588 <sup>385</sup>	Br.
20B	Heirs of Brykcze Wężyk, ca. Wąż, royal secretary, died before 1593 <sup>386</sup>	N.
22A	Walerian Montelupi, merchant <sup>387</sup>	Br.
22B	Octawian Rivendalo, merchant <sup>388</sup>	Br.
22C	Marcin Mazowiecki, ca. unknown <sup>389</sup>	N.
22D	Heirs of Stanisława Cyrusa, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1574 <sup>390</sup>	Br.
24	Marcin Urbankowicz, merchant, counsellor of Cracow and heirs of Wojciech Gortacki, merchant, assessor of Cracow, died in 1598 <sup>391</sup>	Br.
26	Marcin Urbankowicz, counsellor of Cracow and heirs of Wojciech Gortacki, merchant, assessor of Cracow, died in 1598 r. <sup>392</sup>	Br.
28	Heirs of Antoni Paczoski, goldsmith, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1596/1597 <sup>393</sup>	Br.
30	Town Council <sup>394</sup>	T.
32	Seweryn, malter <sup>395</sup>	Br.

<sup>353</sup> Ennobled in 1589 r. AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 4; mnc 23, p. 673; mnc 26, pp. 44, 569; mnc 27, p. 161; Ks. Wiert., nr 526, 534; Chmiel 1924, p. 18; Bieniarzówna 1980, pp. 635–636; Trelińska 2001, no. 495; Noga 2003, p. 233.

<sup>354</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 5; mnc 26, pp. 44, 232, 569; mnc 27, p. 161; mnc 454, p. 68; Ks. Wiert., no. 364, 401, 405, 406, 438, 453, 526, 534, 724; Chmiel 1924, p. 21.

<sup>355</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 5; Ks. Wiert., no. 42, 364, 401, 405, 406, 453, 724, 725; Chmiel 1900, p. 175; Chmiel 1924, p. 23; Lepczy 1933, p. 150.

- <sup>356</sup> Chmiel 1924, p. 32; Katalog zabytków, 1973, p. 144.
- <sup>357</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2574, p. 4; Ks. Wiert., no. 867; Chmiel 1924, p. 34.
- <sup>358</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 5; mncs 2574, p. 4; mncs 27, p. 723; mncs 763, p. 73; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 873, 1478; Chmiel 1924, p. 41; Pieradzka 1935, p. 136.
- <sup>359</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 6; mncs 2574, p. 4; mncs 27, p. 723; mncs 763, p. 73; Ks. Wiert., no. 750; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 873, 1478; Chmiel 1924, p. 40.
- <sup>360</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 6; mncs 2574, p. 4; Ks. Wiert., no. 342, 750, 750a; Chmiel 1924, p. 38.
- <sup>361</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 6; mncs 2574, p. 7; mncs 26, pp. 634, 732; Ks. Wiert., no. 446, 750, 750a; Chmiel 1924, p. 35.
- <sup>362</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 6; mncs 2574, p. 7; mncs 26, pp. 634, 732; mncs 27, pp. 19, 120, 176, 667; mncs 454, pp. 466, 514; Ks. Wiert., no. 114, 446; Chmiel 1924, p. 45.
- <sup>363</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 6; mncs 2574, p. 7; mncs 27, pp. 19, 120, 176, 520, 667; mncs 454, pp. 466, 514; Ks. Wiert., no. 56; Chmiel 1924, p. 55; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 155.
- <sup>364</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 7; mncs 2574, p. 8; mncs 27, pp. 19, 120, 176, 520, 667; mncs 454, pp. 466, 514; mncs 760, p. 917; mncs 761, p. 309; Ks. Wiert., no. 640; Richter 1862, p. 64; Chmiel 1924, p. 57.
- <sup>365</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 7; mncs 2574, p. 8; mncs 26, pp. 87, 567; mncs 454, p. 544; Ks. Wiert., no. 494, 503, 614, 664, 719; Chmiel 1924, p. 73.
- <sup>366</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 7; mncs 2574, p. 9; mncs 26, p. 87; mncs 454, p. 544; Ks. Wiert., no. 494, 495, 503, 614; Chmiel 1924, p. 73.
- <sup>367</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 8; mncs 2574, p. 9; Ks. Wiert., no. 160, 495, 503, 614; Chmiel 1924, p. 73.
- <sup>368</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 7; mncs 2574, p. 8; Ks. Wiert., no. 664, 719.
- <sup>369</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 8; mncs 2574, p. 10; mncs 27, pp. 341, 359, 360, 366; mncs 454, p. 34; Ks. Wiert., no. 160, 495, 684; Chmiel 1924, p. 84; Pieradzka 1935, p. 192; *comprare* footnote 207.
- <sup>370</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 8; mncs 2574, p. 10; mncs 26, p. 567; mncs 27, pp. 360, 366; mncs 454, p. 34; Ks. Wiert., nr 480, 684; Chmiel 1924, p. 81.
- <sup>371</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 8; mncs 2574, p. 10; mncs 27, pp. 341, 358, 360, 366; mncs 454, pp. 34, 634; mncs 455, p. 365; Ks. Wiert., no. 315, 480, 684; Chmiel 1924, p. 78.
- <sup>372</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 9; mncs 2574, p. 11; Chmiel 1924, p. 104.
- <sup>373</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 9; mncs 2574, p. 11; Ks. Wiert., no. 133, 315, 363; Chmiel 1924, p. 97.
- <sup>374</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 9; mncs 2574, p. 12; Richter 1862, p. 65; Chmiel 1924, p. 92.
- <sup>375</sup> Called 'Bróg', demolished in 1591 r. AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 31; Ks. Wiert., no. 125, 390, 433, 435; Richter 1862, p. 61; Chmiel 1924, pp. 127–130; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 96; Sokołowski 1949, p. 4; Bieniarzówna 1958, p. 14; Reformacja 1962, pp. 178–186; Gapski 1993, p. 97.
- <sup>376</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 41; mncs 26, p. 653; mncs 27, pp. 224, 629; Ks. Wiert., no. 390, 435, 591, 592; Chmiel 1924, p. 136.
- <sup>377</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 41; mncs 26, p. 653; mncs 27, pp. 224, 592, 629; Ks. Wiert., no. 591, 592; Chmiel 1924, p. 140.
- <sup>378</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, pp. 592, 629, 827; Ks. Wiert., no. 128, 433; Lachs 1909, pp. 62–63; Chmiel 1924, p. 142; Noga 2003, p. 352.
- <sup>379</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 42; Ks. Wiert., no. 861; Chmiel 1924, pp. 153–154; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 49; Noga 2003, p. 300.
- <sup>380</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 42; mncs 27, p. 641; mncs 454, p. 425; mncs 455, pp. 276–277; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 932; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1881; Chmiel 1924, p. 160.
- <sup>381</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 42; mncs 27, pp. 500, 527, 546, 560, 581, 641; mncs 454, p. 425; mncs 455, pp. 276–277; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 932; Chmiel 1924, p. 165; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 155; Noga 2003, p. 134.
- <sup>382</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 42; mncs 27, pp. 500, 538, 546, 560, 581, 653; mncs 455, pp. 276–277; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 932; Chmiel 1924, p. 178.
- <sup>383</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 43; mncs 27, pp. 500, 527, 546, 560, 581; Lachs 1909, p. 63; Chmiel 1924, p. 190.
- <sup>384</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 43; mncs 27, p. 49; mncs 454, pp. 78, 83; Ks. Wiert., no. 340, 543; Chmiel 1924, p. 199; Muczkowski 1935, p. 45; Pieradzka 1935, p. 219.
- <sup>385</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 43; mncs 27, p. 49; mncs 454, pp. 78, 83; Ks. Wiert., no. 543, 732, 781; Lachs 1909, pp. 64–65; Chmiel 1924, p. 211.
- <sup>386</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 43; mncs 27, p. 49; mncs 760, pp. 429, 858, 866; Ks. Wiert., no. 732, 781; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 9, pp. 284–289; Chmiel 1924, p. 211.
- <sup>387</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, pp. 1, 3, 15; Richter 1862, p. 62; Chmiel 1924, p. 227; Wachholz 1924, pp. 5–6; Gapski 1993, p. 94.
- <sup>388</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 44; mncs 27, pp. 1, 3, 15, 653; Ks. Wiert., no. 340; Chmiel 1924, p. 226.
- <sup>389</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 44; mncs 27, p. 653.
- <sup>390</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, pp. 27, 39, 435, 550; Ks. Wiert., no. 238, 338 1584; Lepsi 1933, p. 168; Chmiel 1924, p. 222; Lachs 1929, p. 18; Pieradzka 1935, p. 220; Rożek 1977, p. 183; Noga 2003, p. 302.
- <sup>391</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 45; mncs 26, p. 401; mncs 27, pp. 27, 39, 435, 550; Kiełbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1337.
- <sup>392</sup> Słodownia (Malt House). AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 45; mncs 26, p. 127; mncs 27, pp. 27, 39; Ks. Wiert., no. 338, 788; Chmiel 1924, p. 252.
- <sup>393</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 45; mncs 26, pp. 127, 128, 566; mncs 27, pp. 550, 832; Ks. Wiert., no. 338, 788; Chmiel 1924, p. 254; Lepsi 1933, p. 157; Noga 2003, p. 328.

<sup>394</sup> Called 'Pod Pawiem'. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 45; mncs 26, pp. 127, 566; mncs 27, p. 832; Richter 1862, p. 63; Chmiel 1924, p. 268.

<sup>395</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 45; Chmiel 1924, p. 278.

## KANONICZA STREET

1	Cracow chapter	C.
3	Cracow chapter	C.
5	Cracow chapter	C.
7	Cracow chapter	C.
9	Cracow chapter	C.
11	Cracow chapter	C.
13	Cracow chapter	C.
15	Cracow chapter	C.
17	Cracow chapter	C.
19	Cracow chapter	C.
21	Cracow chapter	C.
23	Cracow chapter	C.
25	Cracow chapter	C.
2	At the back of 47, Grodzka Str.	
4	At the back of 49, Grodzka Str.	
6	Cracow chapter	C.
8	See 53, Grodzka Str.	
12	Cracow chapter	C.
14	Cracow chapter	C.
16	Cracow chapter	C.
18	Cracow chapter	C.
20	Cracow chapter	C.
22	Cracow chapter	C.
24	Cracow chapter	C.

## ŚW. KRZYŻA STREET<sup>396</sup>

1A	Maciej Ptaszyński <sup>397</sup>	Br.
1B	Jakub Chmielarz <sup>398</sup>	Br.
3A	Regina Skoda, widow of Tomasz, confectioner, died before 1598 <sup>399</sup>	Br.
3B	Bakers guild <sup>400</sup>	Br.z.
5A	Kasper Sraga, baker <sup>401</sup>	Br.
5B	Dembiński, ca. Rawicz <sup>402</sup>	N.
7A	Heirs of Koczymski, innkeeper, died around 1593 <sup>403</sup>	Br.
7B	Andrzej Pradkowicz (Bratkowicz), furrier <sup>404</sup>	Br.
9	See 20, Mikołajska Str.	
11	At the back of 22, Mikołajska Str. <sup>405</sup>	

13	See 35, Św. Tomasza Str.	
15–21	The abbot of Mogiła monastery (the Cistercians) <sup>406</sup>	C.
	Dorota Barzi, ca. Korczak, widow of Stanisław, the voivode of Cracow, died in 1571 <sup>407</sup>	N.
	Cracow chapter – Wincenty Romiszowski, canon priest of Cracow <sup>408</sup>	C.
	The abbot of Koprzywnica monastery (the Cistercians) <sup>409</sup>	C.
	The abbot of Hebdów monastery (the Norbertans) <sup>410</sup>	C.
23–25	The Benedictine Sisters from Staniątki <sup>411</sup>	C.
2	At the back of 6–7, Mały Rynek <sup>412</sup>	
4	At the back of 3, Mikołajska Str. <sup>413</sup>	
6	See 5, Mikołajska Str.	
8	See 18, Mikołajska Str.	
10	Zofia Szmelczewicz, wife of Krzysztof, innkeeper <sup>414</sup>	Br.
12	See 33, Św. Tomasza Str.	
14	See 28, Św. Tomasza Str.	
16	See 31, Św. Marka Str.	

<sup>396</sup> Fragment north of Mikołajska Str. was called Świnia Str., the southern fragment was the cross street ‘ku Nowej Bramie’ (Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 121–122; Supranowicz 1995, p. 174).

<sup>397</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 60; mncs 2574, p. 79; mncs 26, pp. 767, 775.

<sup>398</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 60; mncs 2574, p. 79; Ks. Wiert., no. 346, 669, 818, 865.

<sup>399</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 59; mncs 2574, p. 78; Ks. Wiert., no. 171, 346, 669, 865.

<sup>400</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 59; mncs 2574, p. 79; Ks. Wiert., no. 171, 346.

<sup>401</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 59; mncs 2574, p. 78; Ks. Wiert., no. 669; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1729.

<sup>402</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 59; mncs 2574, p. 78.

<sup>403</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 59; mncs 2574, p. 78; Ks. Wiert., no. 432, 513, 516.

<sup>404</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 58; mncs 2574, p. 78; mncs 27, p. 603; Ks. Wiert., no. 432, 513, 516.

<sup>405</sup> AP Kraków, mncs CC Rel. 84, p. 757.

<sup>406</sup> The block between the streets: Św. Marka, Św. Krzyża and św. Tomasza belonged to the Cistercians from Mogiła – there were two granaries, three malting plants, two manors and eight houses here. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, pp. 45, 46–48; mncs 2574, pp. 60, 61, 64–66; Ks. Wiert., no. 172; Hiżycka, Sławiński 1998, pp. 39–40.

<sup>407</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 47; mncs 2574, p. 64; UrzKrak, no. 407.

<sup>408</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 44; mncs 2574, p. 58; Łętowski 1852–1853, vol. 4, p. 8.

<sup>409</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 44; mncs 2574, p. 58.

<sup>410</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 44; mncs 2574, p. 59.

<sup>411</sup> There was a manor and a house here. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 43; mncs 2574, p. 58; Hiżycka, Sławiński 1998, pp. 36–37; Gapski 1993, p. 105.

<sup>412</sup> Komorowski, Krasnowolski 1996.

<sup>413</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>414</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 51; mncs 2574, p. 71; mncs 26, p. 733; mncs 454, p. 545; Ks. Wiert., no. 504, 505, 506, 566, 627, 642, 791.

## ŚW. MARKA STREET<sup>415</sup>

5	Belcer (Baltazar) Ginter Niemiec, baker <sup>416</sup>	Br.
7A	Andrzej Jezierski, shoemaker <sup>417</sup>	Br.
7B	Jan Stefanek, baker <sup>418</sup>	Br.
9A	Jakub Wiczorek, fruiter <sup>419</sup>	Br.
9B	Heirs of Jakua Żaczek, innkeeper, died before 1594 <sup>420</sup>	Br.
11	See 22, Sławkowska Str.	
13	See 15, Sławkowska Str.	

15	See 20, Św. Jana Str.	
17	See 11, Św. Jana Str.	
19	See 26, Floriańska Str.	
21	See 33, Floriańska Str.	
23	See 28, Szpitalna Str.	
25	See 19, Szpitalna Str.	
27	At the back of 17, Szpitalna Str. <sup>421</sup>	
29	At the back of 15, Szpitalna Str. <sup>422</sup>	
31A	Widow of Paweł, mason <sup>423</sup>	Br.
31B	Szymon Ogórek (Draż), brewer <sup>424</sup>	Br.
31C	Sulkowski <sup>425</sup>	Br.
33–37	See 15–21 Św. Krzyża Str.	
2–4	Jakub Zaleski, brewer <sup>426</sup>	Br.
2–4	Wojciech, cook <sup>427</sup>	Br.
2–4	Heirs of Maciej Miłoch, died before 1596 <sup>428</sup>	Br.
2–4	Widow of Stanisław Mnich (Jadamowicz), died before 1598 <sup>429</sup>	Br.
2–4	Widow of Gabriel Sługocki, salt seller, died before 1598 <sup>430</sup>	Br.
6A	Franciszek Korniewicz, confectioner <sup>431</sup>	Br.
6B	Franciszek Kobyłka, baker <sup>432</sup>	Br.
8	Priests from the church of St. Mark <sup>433</sup>	C.
10	See 24, Sławkowska Str.	
12	See 17, Sławkowska Str.	
14	See 22, Św. Jana Str.	
16	See 13, Św. Jana Str.	
18	See 28, Floriańska Str., BN	
20	See 35, Floriańska Str.	
22	See 30, Szpitalna Str.	
24	See 21, Szpitalna Str.	
	Szrotarz <sup>434</sup>	Br.

<sup>415</sup> The western fragment was called Rogacka Street, the middle fragment was described as a cross street, the fragment between Szpitalna and Św. Krzyża street was called Szrotarska Street, and the fragment between Św. Krzyża Street and the city wall was probably called Śtwinia Street (Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 107–109; Supranowicz 1995, p. 176).

<sup>416</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 27; mnc 27, p. 269; Ks. Wiert., no. 497, 568, 634, 789.

<sup>417</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 28; mnc 26, p. 50; mnc 27, pp. 197, 269; Ks. Wiert., no. 634; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1578.

<sup>418</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 28; mnc 26, pp. 495, 814; mnc 27, p. 269.

<sup>419</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 28; mnc 26, pp. 116–117, 495, 814; Ks. Wiert., no. 568, 658.

<sup>420</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 28; mnc 26, pp. 116, 495, 814; mnc 27, p. 299; Ks. Wiert., no. 568, 658.

<sup>421</sup> Hiżycka, Kwaśniewicz, Sławiński 1998.

<sup>422</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>423</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 49; mnc 2574, p. 67; Ks. Wiert., no. 847.

<sup>424</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 48; mnc 2574, p. 66; Ks. Wiert., no. 847; Richter 1862, p. 84.

<sup>425</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 43; mnc 2574, p. 57.

<sup>426</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 25.

<sup>427</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 26; mnc 26, p. 595.

<sup>428</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2563, p. 26; mnc 26, p. 595; mnc 761, p. 318.

<sup>429</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 26.

<sup>430</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 26; mncs 27, p. 719; Ks. Wiert., no. 176, 266–269.

<sup>431</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 26; mncs 27, p. 719; Ks. Wiert., no. 176, 267–269, 569, 703, 707.

<sup>432</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 27; mncs 27, p. 719; Ks. Wiert., no. 176, 267–269, 569, 703, 707; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1459.

<sup>433</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 27.

<sup>434</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 49; mncs 2574, p. 67; Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 107–108.

## MIKOŁAJSKA STREET (św. Mikołaja)

1	See 1, Mały Rynek	
3	Piotr Świechowicz, innkeeper <sup>435</sup>	Br.
5A	Siedmiracka, innkeeper (a woman) <sup>436</sup>	Br.
5B	Andrzej Pratkowicz (Bratkowicz), furrier <sup>437</sup>	Br.
7	Walenty Szeląg, apothecary <sup>438</sup>	Br.
9	Castle mansionaries <sup>439</sup>	C.
11	Stanisław Pudełko, furrier <sup>440</sup>	Br.
13	Jan Sowicz, innkeeper <sup>441</sup>	Br.
15	Andrzej Ząbek Maxula, innkeeper <sup>442</sup>	Br.
17	Stanisław Paczek (Puczek), furrier <sup>443</sup>	Br.
19	Stanisław Sednicki, innkeeper <sup>444</sup>	Br.
21	Stanisław Tarnowski, ca. Leliwa, the castellan of Sandomierz <sup>445</sup>	C.
2A	Elżbieta Flakowa, widow of Stanisław, mason, died before 1594 <sup>446</sup>	Br.
2B	Wacław Szabel (Szabla) <sup>447</sup>	Br.
2C	Franciszek Gottard, furrier <sup>448</sup>	Br.
4	Baltazar Gierstman, merchant <sup>449</sup>	Br.
6	Marcin Urbankowicz, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>450</sup>	Br.
8	Dominik de Blensz, merchant <sup>451</sup>	Br.
10	Paweł Sternacki Bruzik, merchant, assessor of Cracow <sup>452</sup>	Br.
12	Stanisław Jałbrzykowski, soap maker <sup>453</sup>	Br.
14	Hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>454</sup>	C.
16	Heirs of Walenty Dembinski (Dębińskiego, Dębieńskiego), ca. Rawicz, the castellan of Cracow, died in 1584 <sup>455</sup>	N.
18	Maciej Samotulczyk, innkeeper, salt seller <sup>456</sup>	Br.
20	Wojciech Kempka <sup>457</sup>	Br.
22	Heirs of Sebastian Naborowski, apothecary, died before 1592 <sup>458</sup>	Br.
24	Andrzej Grzebień, shoemaker <sup>459</sup>	Br.
26	Jezusek <sup>460</sup>	Br.
28	Kula <sup>461</sup>	Br.
30	Maciej Błos Bruzi, innkeeper <sup>462</sup>	Br.
32A	Jan Pochyły, innkeeper <sup>463</sup>	Br.
32B	Jan Gwóźdź, innkeeper <sup>464</sup>	Br.z.

<sup>435</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 68; mncs 2574, p. 86; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 818; Ks. Wiert., no. 710.

<sup>436</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 68; mncs 2574, p. 87; mncs 27, p. 71; Ks. Wiert., no. 710; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1687.

<sup>437</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 68; mncs 2574, p. 87; mncs 27, p. 603; mncs 454, p. 618.

<sup>438</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 58; mncs 2574, p. 77; mncs 27, pp. 88, 111; mncs 454, pp. 425, 591, 618; mncs 455, p. 122; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 818; Ks. Wiert., no. 185, 195, 513; Lachs 1933, p. 120.

- <sup>439</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 57; mnc 2574, p. 77; mnc 27, pp. 230, 247; mnc SWPM I–14, p. 818; Ks. Wiert., no. 799.
- <sup>440</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 57; mnc 2574, p. 77; mnc 27, pp. 230, 247; mnc SWPM I–14, p. 818; Ks. Wiert., no. 655, 718, 726, 799.
- <sup>441</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 57; mnc 2574, p. 77; mnc 27, pp. 230, 247; Ks. Wiert., no. 425, 655, 718, 726, 799.
- <sup>442</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 57; mnc 2574, p. 76; mnc 26, p. 463; mnc 27, p. 393; Ks. Wiert., no. 425.
- <sup>443</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 57; mnc 2574, p. 76; mnc 26, p. 463; mnc 27, p. 393; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1797.
- <sup>444</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 56; mnc 2574, p. 76; mnc 26, p. 463; mnc 27, p. 393; Ks. Wiert., no. 370, 455, 604.
- <sup>445</sup> Called 'Gródek'. AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 56; mnc 2574, p. 75; Ks. Wiert., no. 604; Świszczowski 1950, p. 24; UrzKrak, no. 638.
- <sup>446</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 39; mnc 2574, p. 51; mnc 454, 72, 396, 432.
- <sup>447</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 71; mnc 2574, p. 90; mnc 26, pp. 347, 467; mnc 454, pp. 72, 432.
- <sup>448</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 71; mnc 2574, p. 89; mnc 26, pp. 347, 467; mnc 27, p. 678; mnc 454, pp. 432, 452.
- <sup>449</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 71; mnc 2574, p. 89; mnc 27, p. 678; mnc 454, pp. 525, 527, 533–535; Ks. Wiert., no. 276, 399, 439, 881.
- <sup>450</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 71; mnc 2574, p. 89; mnc 454, pp. 452, 527; Ks. Wiert., no. 439, 881; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 170; Noga 2003, p. 348.
- <sup>451</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 70; mnc 2574, p. 89; mnc 27, pp. 105, 548; mnc 762, p. 281; Ks. Wiert., no. 276, 439; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 415, 1185.
- <sup>452</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 70; mnc 2574, p. 88; mnc 26, pp. 478, 493; mnc 27, pp. 105, 135, 548.
- <sup>453</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 70; mnc 2574, p. 88; mnc 26, pp. 478, 493; mnc 27, p. 105; mnc 454, p. 56; Ks. Wiert., no. 504, 505.
- <sup>454</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 69; mnc 2574, p. 88; mnc 26, pp. 478, 493, 801; mnc 27, p. 190; mnc 454, p. 56; Ks. Wiert., no. 504; Richter 1862, p. 90.
- <sup>455</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 69; mnc 2574, p. 87; mnc 26, p. 801; mnc 27, p. 190; Ks. Wiert., no. 286, 288; UrzKrak, no. 117.
- <sup>456</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 69; mnc 2574, p. 87; mnc 27, pp. 96, 190; mnc 454, p. 530; Ks. Wiert., no. 286–289, 504–506, 628; Richter 1862, p. 90; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1693.
- <sup>457</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 53; mnc 2574, p. 72; mnc 26, p. 374.
- <sup>458</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 53; mnc 2574, p. 72; mnc 26, pp. 81, 374; mnc 27, p. 286; Ks. Wiert., no. 377, 437, 475, 476, 529, 859; Lachs 1933, p. 98.
- <sup>459</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 54; mnc 2574, p. 73; mnc 26, p. 81; mnc 27, p. 286; Ks. Wiert., no. 529.
- <sup>460</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 54; mnc 2574, p. 73; mnc 26, p. 81; mnc 27, p. 286; Ks. Wiert., no. 529.
- <sup>461</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 54; mnc 2574, p. 73; mnc 26, p. 453.
- <sup>462</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 55; mnc 2574, p. 74; mnc 27, pp. 583, 646, 705; mnc 454, p. 694; mnc 455, p. 41; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1076, 1418.
- <sup>463</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 55; mnc 2574, p. 74; mnc 26, p. 269; mnc 27, pp. 583, 646, 705; mnc 454, p. 694; mnc 455, pp. 41, 461.
- <sup>464</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2559, p. 55; mnc 2574, p. 74; mnc 26, p. 269; mnc 27, pp. 583, 646, 705; mnc 455, p. 461.

#### PIJARSKA STREET<sup>465</sup>

1–3/5	See 2, Św. Marka Str.	
7	See 32, Sławkowska Str.	
9–11	See 25, Sławkowska Str.	
13	See 32, Św. Jana Str.	
15	See 17/19 Św. Jana Str.	
17	See 44, Floriańska Str.	
19–21	See 57, Floriańska Str.	
23	See 40, Szpitalna Str.	
	Town Council – water supply system <sup>466</sup>	T.
	Heirs of Andrzej Rottermund, merchant, died in 1593 <sup>467</sup>	Br.
	Jan Rap (Rapp), merchant, assessor of the court of high law <sup>468</sup>	Br.
	Heirs of Stanisław Dembiński, ca. Rawicz, the starosta of Chęciny, died in 1586 <sup>469</sup>	N.
	Town council – arsenal <sup>470</sup>	T.

<sup>465</sup> It was not considered a street, buildings standing here were thought of as standing at the end of the streets: Rogacka, Sławkowska, Św. Jana, Floriańska and Szpitalna, by the gates and the city wall.

<sup>466</sup> Richter 1862, p. 52; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 91.

<sup>467</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 10; mncs 2566, p. 71; mncs 2574, p. 12; Kielbicka, Wojas 1993, no. 2658.

<sup>468</sup> Called 'Pod Bażanty'. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 11; mncs 2566, p. 71; Richter 1862, p. 65; Bednarz 2002, pp. 107, 109, 113.

<sup>469</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 45; mncs 2566, p. 71; Budka 1939–1946, pp. 74–75; UrzSand, no. 63.

<sup>470</sup> Richter 1862, p. 66.

### POSELSKA STREET (Legacka)<sup>471</sup>

1–5	See 1–5, Senacka Str.	
7	Cracow chapter – Krzysztof Karśnicki, canon priest of Cracow <sup>472</sup>	C.
9A	Piotr Oraczowski, ca. Szreniawa with a cross, land scribe of Cracow <sup>473</sup>	N.
9B	Cieszkowsey, ca. unknown <sup>474</sup>	N.
11	See 39, Grodzka Str.	
13	See 40, Grodzka Str.	
15	Castle mansionaries <sup>475</sup>	C.
17	Castle vicars <sup>476</sup>	C.
	Szczęśny Kula, furrier <sup>477</sup>	Br.
19A	Heirs of Sobek, barber-surgeon, died before 1598 <sup>478</sup>	Br.
19B	Morski, ca. Topór <sup>479</sup>	N.
21	The family Tęczyński, ca. Topór <sup>480</sup>	N.
23	The family Pieniążek, ca. Odrowąż <sup>481</sup>	N.
23	Stanisław Cikowski, ca. Radwan, the subcamerarius of Cracow <sup>482</sup>	N.
23	Konieczpolski, ca. Pobóg <sup>483</sup>	N.
23	The family Bogusz, ca. Półkoźic <sup>484</sup>	N.
23	Koryciński, ca. Topór <sup>485</sup>	N.
23	Minocki, ca. Nowina <sup>486</sup>	N.
	Augustyn, mason <sup>487</sup>	Br.
2–6	Garden of the Franciscan monastery <sup>488</sup>	
8	Cracow chapter – Adrian Skaszewski, canon priest of Cracow <sup>489</sup>	C.
	Stanisław Rożen, ca. Gryf <sup>490</sup>	N.
10A	Cracow chapter – referendary priests <sup>491</sup>	C.
10B	Parson of Wojnicz <sup>492</sup>	C.
12	At the back of 3/5, All Saints Square <sup>493</sup>	
14	Jerzy Maisner, tailor <sup>494</sup>	Br.
16	See 37, Grodzka Str.	
18	See 38, Grodzka Str.	
20	Cracow chapter <sup>495</sup>	C.
22–24	Stanisław Cikowski, ca. Radwan, the subcamerarius of Cracow <sup>496</sup>	N.

<sup>471</sup> Also called a cross street of Św. Michała Str. or the street behind 'the Small Peter'. AP Kraków, mncs CC Rel. 84, pp. 742, 752, 763, 771; Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 144–148.

<sup>472</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 25; Ks. Wiert., no. 551; Łętowski 1852–1853, vol. 3, pp. 124–125.

<sup>473</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 25; mncs 30, pp. 222, 546–554; Ks. Wiert., no. 539, 540; UrzKrak, no. 193; Stabrawa 2006, p. 47.

<sup>474</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 25; Ks. Wiert., no. 540; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 3, pp. 123–133.

<sup>475</sup> Ks. Wiert., no. 385; Richter 1862, p. 101.

<sup>476</sup> Ks. Wiert., no. 385, 525, 778; Richter 1862, p. 101.

- <sup>477</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 12; mncs 2565, p. 17; mncs 26, p. 58.
- <sup>478</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 12; mncs 2565, p. 17.
- <sup>479</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 12; mncs 2565, p. 17; mncs 26, p. 584; Ks. Wiert., no. 778; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 6, p. 464; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, pp. 173, 174.
- <sup>480</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 12; mncs 2565, p. 17; mncs 26, p. 584; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 174; Kurtyka 1999, pp. 222–224.
- <sup>481</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 11; mncs 2565, p. 16; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 7, pp. 289–293; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 174.
- <sup>482</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 11; mncs 2565, p. 17.
- <sup>483</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 11; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 11, pp. 81–82; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 5, pp. 191–199; Tomkowicz 1925, p. 611.
- <sup>484</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 11; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 2, pp. 202–205.
- <sup>485</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 11; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 11, pp. 197–203; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 5, pp. 248–255; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 174.
- <sup>486</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 11; mncs 2565, p. 17; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 6, p. 416.
- <sup>487</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 26.
- <sup>488</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 26; Tomkowicz 1912, p. 17; Samek 1985, pp. 66–67; Katalog zabytków, 1973, pp. 108, 116.
- <sup>489</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 27; Richter 1862, p. 29; Hoszowski 1884, p. 17.
- <sup>490</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 27; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, pp. 170, 176.
- <sup>491</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 27; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5354, pp. 40v, 42v; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 8, p. 153; Bicz-Suknarowska, Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 194.
- <sup>492</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 27.
- <sup>493</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 27.
- <sup>494</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 27.
- <sup>495</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 8.
- <sup>496</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 8; UrzKraK, no. 236; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 174.

## REFORMACKA STREET (Rogacka)<sup>497</sup>

1	See 5, Szczepański Sq.	
3–5	See 6–7, Szczepański Sq.	
7	Jan Darmochwał, baker <sup>498</sup>	Br.
	Sebastian Sak, shoemaker <sup>499</sup>	Br.
	Katarzyna Biesaga, baker (a woman) <sup>500</sup>	Br.
	Szymon, cooper <sup>501</sup>	Br.
	Walenty Krupka, shoemaker <sup>502</sup>	Br.
	Maciej Wilk, shipmaster (salt seller) <sup>503</sup>	Br.
	Jarosz Kucharz, shoemaker <sup>504</sup>	Br.
	Andrzej, bathhouse worker <sup>505</sup>	Br.
	Jadwiga, widow of Michał Jałmużny, malter, died before 1579 <sup>506</sup>	Br.
	Krzysztof Prorok, confectioner <sup>507</sup>	Br.
	Bathhouse <sup>508</sup>	T.

<sup>497</sup> Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 109–110; Supranowicz 1995, p. 136.

<sup>498</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 27; Ks. Wiert., no. 531, 789.

<sup>499</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 16; mncs 2563, p. 23.

<sup>500</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 17; mncs 2563, p. 24.

<sup>501</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 24; Ks. Wiert., no. 564.

<sup>502</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 24; Ks. Wiert., no. 564, 674, 754.

<sup>503</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 17; mncs 2563, p. 24; mncs 2566, p. 30; Ks. Wiert., no. 473, 564, 673, 674, 754.

<sup>504</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 24; mncs 2566, p. 30; Ks. Wiert., no. 473, 564, 674.

<sup>505</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 25; Ks. Wiert., no. 473.

<sup>506</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 25; Ks. Wiert., no. 248.

<sup>507</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 18; mncs 2563, p. 25; mncs 2566, p. 32; Ks. Wiert., no. 248, 794.

<sup>508</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2552, p. 18; mncs 2563, p. 25; mncs 2566, p. 32; Ks. Wiert., no. 248, 794; Lachs 1919, pp. 3–4.

**SENACKA STREET<sup>509</sup>**

1–5	Andrzej Tęczyński, ca. Topór <sup>510</sup>	N.
	The abbot of Tyniec monastery (the Benedictines) <sup>511</sup>	C.
	Bathhouse <sup>512</sup>	T.
7	See 2, Kanonicza Str.	
9	See 45, Grodzka Str.	
11	See 46, Grodzka Str.	
4	See 7, Poselska Str.	
6	Franciszek Maisner, innkeeper <sup>513</sup>	Br.
8	See 43, Grodzka Str.	
10	See 44, Grodzka Str.	
	Sebastian Lubomirski, ca. Szreniawa, the castellan of Małogoszcz and Biecz <sup>514</sup>	N.

<sup>509</sup> Described as a cross street of Grodzka Str. (Tomkowicz 1926, p. 149).

<sup>510</sup> Called 'Małowany Dwór'. AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 22; Wanat, p. 190; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 172; Kusrzyka 1997, pp. 20, 531; Kurtyka 1999, pp. 225–226.

<sup>511</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 25; mnc 2565, p. 45; Wanat, pp. 190–191.

<sup>512</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 26; mnc 2565, p. 45; Lachs 1919, p. 5; Wanat, p. 191.

<sup>513</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 12; Ks. Wiert., no. 539, 540, 551.

<sup>514</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2561, p. 14; Bibl. Jag., mnc 5349, vol. 1, p. 198; Ks. Wiert., no. 677, 700, 778; Niewalda, Rojkowska 1997, p. 173.

**SIENNA STREET**

1	See 6, Market Square	
3	Kasper Bendoński, surgeon (barber-surgeon) <sup>515</sup>	Br.
5	The Fraternity of Mercy <sup>516</sup>	C.
	The school of Mariacki church <sup>517</sup>	C.
	Heirs of Baltazar Wunzam, died before 1593 <sup>518</sup>	Br.
	Wawrzyniec Janaszek, shoemaker <sup>519</sup> Wilk, baker Stanisław Grubarczyk (Grabarczyk) Krystyna Baran, daughter of Jakub, shoemaker, died around 1597 r. Augustyn Halicz Krzysztof Siennik Marcin Ładzik Heirs of Marcin Żak Jan Klocek	Br.
	Hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>520</sup> Hospital of St. Sebastian	C.
2	See 5, Market Square	
4	Heirs of Jakub Kraina, doctor, died around 1581 <sup>521</sup>	Br.
6	Mansionaries of Mariacki church <sup>522</sup>	C.
8A	Andrzej Kułakowski (Kołakowski), musician (trumpeter) <sup>523</sup>	Br.
8B	Heirs of Anna Rolanka, died around 1568 <sup>524</sup>	Br.
8C	The Jesuits <sup>525</sup>	C.
10–12	See 7, Mały Rynek	
14–16	See 2, Św. Krzyża	

- <sup>515</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 47; mncs 454, p. 681; Ks. Wiert., no. 108, 109, 212, 312, 313, 382; Lachs 1936, p. 198.
- <sup>516</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 48; mncs 454, p. 681; mncs SWPM I-14, p. 641; Ks. Wiert., no. 312; Richter 1862, p. 95.
- <sup>517</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 48; Bibl. Jag., mncs 5354, pp. 13v, 15; Ks. Wiert., no. 312; Richter 1862, p. 96; Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 48, 51.
- <sup>518</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 65; mncs 2574, p. 84.
- <sup>519</sup> These houses stood by the city wall, near Nowa Gate. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, pp. 60–65; mncs 2574, pp. 79–83; mncs 26, pp. 767, 775; mncs 27, pp. 43, 47, 711.
- <sup>520</sup> These houses stood by the city wall, near Nowa Gate. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, pp. 61–62; mncs 2574, pp. 80–81.
- <sup>521</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 74; mncs 2574, p. 92; mncs 26, pp. 180, 281, 282; mncs 454, pp. 62–63; Ks. Wiert., no. 275, 419, 613; Richter 1862, p. 95; Lachs 1909, p. 39; Paszenda 1986, p. 295.
- <sup>522</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 74; mncs 2574, p. 91; mncs 26, pp. 180, 281; mncs 454, pp. 62–63, 588; Ks. Wiert., no. 194, 419; Richter 1862, p. 95; Paszenda 1986, p. 295.
- <sup>523</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 73; mncs 2574, p. 91; mncs 454, pp. 50, 570, 588; Ks. Wiert., no. 21, 194, 250, 588; Paszenda 1986, pp. 265–266.
- <sup>524</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 73; mncs 2574, p. 91; mncs 454, pp. 50, 588; Ks. Wiert., no. 21, 194, 250, 306, 588, 589; Paszenda 1986, p. 265.
- <sup>525</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 73; mncs 2574, p. 91; mncs 454, p. 50; Ks. Wiert., no. 588, 589; Richter 1862, p. 89; Paszenda 1986, pp. 264–265.

## ŚLAWKOWSKA STREET

1	See 36, Market Square	
3A	Jerzy Szulc (Schultz, Scholtz), merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>526</sup>	Br.
3B	Heirs of Krzysztof Remer, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1597 <sup>527</sup>	Br.
3C	Ludwik Skalski <sup>528</sup>	Br.
5	Heirs of Brykze Wężyk, ca. Wąż, royal secretary, died before 1593 <sup>529</sup>	N.
7	Maciej Wirzbięta (Wierzbięta), printer, assessor of the court of high law <sup>530</sup>	Br.
9	Krzysztof Łasiczka, soap maker <sup>531</sup>	Br.
11A	Stanisław Węgrzynek, bailiff <sup>532</sup>	Br.
11B	The Literary Confraternity of St. Barbara <sup>533</sup>	C.
13	Heirs of Erazm Czeczotka, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1587 <sup>534</sup>	Br.
15A	Heirs of Jan Noszka Broda, soapmaker, died after 1594 <sup>535</sup>	Br.
15B	Adam Nagoth, furrier, counsellor of Cracow <sup>536</sup>	Br.
15C	Jan (Urban) Chłopek, innkeeper <sup>537</sup>	Br.
17A	Józef Pielisz, salt seller <sup>538</sup>	Br.
17B	Jan Radwan, ca. Radwan <sup>539</sup>	N.
17C	Heirs of Maciej, soap maker, died before 1598 <sup>540</sup>	Br.
17D	Walenty Szczygieł, shoemaker <sup>541</sup>	Br.
17E	Andrzej Koryciński, ca. Topór <sup>542</sup>	N.
19	Heirs of Jana Sierszenia, innkeeper, died before 1595 <sup>543</sup>	Br.
21	Heirs of Stanisław Czernek (Czyrnek), innkeeper, died before 1595 <sup>544</sup>	Br.
23	Urszula, widow of Grzegorz Godecki Strojny, innkeeper, died before 1594 <sup>545</sup>	Br.
25A	Stanisław Piguła Duka, innkeeper <sup>546</sup>	Br.
25B	Heirs of Jan Kluczowski (Kleczowski), salt seller, died before 1595 <sup>547</sup>	Br.
25C	Bartłomiej Sławęcki, innkeeper <sup>548</sup>	Br.
25D	Wacław, coppersmith <sup>549</sup>	Br.
2	See 1, Szczepańska Str.	
4	Jan Gedke, surgeon (barber-surgeon) <sup>550</sup>	Br.

6A	Stefan Bauman, musician <sup>551</sup>	Br.
6B	Heirs of Tomasz Sławek, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1591 <sup>552</sup>	Br.
8	Jan Frankstein (Frankstijn), mason <sup>553</sup>	Br.
10A	Mikołaj Ligęza, ca. Półkocz, the castellan of Wiślica <sup>554</sup>	N.
10B	Anna Rezler, widow of Kasper, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1594 <sup>555</sup>	Br.
12	Jan Krupka <sup>556</sup>	Br.
14	Heirs of Jan Zaborowski, innkeeper, died before 1594 <sup>557</sup>	Br.
16	Heirs of Maciej Poznańczyk Cudzejelito, baker, died before 1597 <sup>558</sup>	Br.
18	Stanisław Warszawczyk, shoemaker <sup>559</sup>	Br.
20	Urbanowa, goldsmith (a woman) <sup>560</sup>	Br.
22	Piotr Hanuszowicz, saltseller <sup>561</sup>	Br.
24–24a	The church and monastery of St. Mark <sup>562</sup>	C.
	Marcin Kaleta, innkeeper <sup>563</sup>	Br.
26	Andrzej Gołdynowski (Bruczki), furrier <sup>564</sup>	Br.
28	Paweł Okrasa, shoemaker <sup>565</sup>	Br.
30	Stanisław Lorek (Długi) <sup>566</sup>	Br.
32A	Dorota, widow of Wojciech, confectioner, died before 1598 <sup>567</sup>	Br.
32B	Jan Głowacki, innkeeper <sup>568</sup>	Br.

<sup>526</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 39; mncs 26, p. 573; Chmiel 1931, p. 16; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 168; Noga 2003, p. 340.

<sup>527</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 39; mncs 26, p. 573; Ks. Wiert., no. 198, 240, 339, 341, 356; Chmiel 1931, p. 15; Noga 2003, p. 334.

<sup>528</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 39; mncs 26, p. 573; Richter 1862, p. 57; Chmiel 1931, p. 8.

<sup>529</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 38; mncs 26, p. 498; mncs 27, p. 513; mncs 760, pp. 429, 858, 866; Ks. Wiert., no. 118, 259, 263, 524, 731, 861, 877; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 9, pp. 284–289; Chmiel 1931, p. 30.

<sup>530</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 38; mncs 26, pp. 498, 513; Ks. Wiert., no. 259, 263, 524, 527, 731, 829, 877; Chmiel 1931, p. 45; Drukarze XV–XVIII, pp. 358–359.

<sup>531</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 38; mncs 26, p. 498; Ks. Wiert., no. 468, 523, 524, 527, 528, 597, 829, 877; Chmiel 1931, p. 55.

<sup>532</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 38; mncs 454, p. 666; Ks. Wiert., no. 468, 523, 528; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1531; Chmiel 1931, p. 68.

<sup>533</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 38; Ks. Wiert., no. 523; Richter 1862, p. 58; Chmiel 1931, p. 76.

<sup>534</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 37; mncs 26, p. 574; mncs 27, p. 562; mncs 454, pp. 20, 666, 669; Muczowski 1935, pp. 13, 45; Chmiel 1931, p. 81.

<sup>535</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 37; mncs 26, pp. 37, 574, 666; mncs 454, p. 20; Ks. Wiert., no. 601; Chmiel 1931, p. 86.

<sup>536</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 37; mncs 26, pp. 37, 574; mncs 27, p. 562; mncs 454, p. 20; Ks. Wiert., no. 601; Chmiel 1931, p. 87; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 164; Noga 2003, p. 327.

<sup>537</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563 p. 36; Chmiel 1931, p. 95.

<sup>538</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 36; Chmiel 1931, p. 100.

<sup>539</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 36; mncs 455, p. 426; mncs 762, p. 240; Ks. Wiert., no. 704; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 8, p. 29.

<sup>540</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 36.

<sup>541</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 36; mncs 455, p. 426; Ks. Wiert., no. 488, 582, 682, 704, 810, 816.

<sup>542</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 44; mncs 26, pp. 21–23, 256; mncs 27, p. 273; mncs 454, p. 568; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 11, pp. 197–203; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 5, pp. 248–255.

<sup>543</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 35; mncs 26, pp. 374, 511; Ks. Wiert., no. 488, 582, 682, 816.

<sup>544</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 35; mncs 26, pp. 511, 607; mncs 27, pp. 312, 398, 489, 527; Ks. Wiert., no. 407, 488, 582, 682, 816.

<sup>545</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 35; mncs 26, pp. 511, 607; mncs 27, pp. 312, 398, 489, 527; Ks. Wiert., no. 407, 545.

<sup>546</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 35; mncs 26, p. 607; mncs 27, pp. 312, 398, 489, 527; Ks. Wiert., no. 407, 545, 555.

<sup>547</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 35; mncs 26, pp. 374, 674, 756; mncs 27, pp. 144, 524; Ks. Wiert., no. 299, 407, 545, 555.

<sup>548</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 34; mncs 26, pp. 674, 756; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1785.

<sup>549</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 34.

<sup>550</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 29; mncs 26, p. 447; mncs 27, pp. 373, 595; mncs 455, pp. 201, 209; Lachs 1909, p. 53; Chmiel 1932, p. 7.

- <sup>551</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 29; mncs 26, p. 447; mncs 27, pp. 373, 595, 647, 683, 692; mncs 455, pp. 201, 209; Ks. Wiert., no. 668, 833, 845; Chmiel 1932, p. 33.
- <sup>552</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 29; mncs 26, pp. 447, 587; Ks. Wiert., no. 779, 833; Chmiel 1932, p. 34; Noga 2003, p. 342.
- <sup>553</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 30; mncs 26, pp. 587, 683; mncs 27, pp. 624, 647, 683, 692, 753; Chmiel 1932, p. 54; Rożek 1977, p. 294.
- <sup>554</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 30; mncs 27, p. 38; Chmiel 1932, p. 59; Kowalska 1972, pp. 318–319.
- <sup>555</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 30; mncs 26, pp. 682, 683; mncs 27, p. 38; mncs 455, p. 168; Chmiel 1932, p. 60; Noga 2003, p. 334.
- <sup>556</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 30; mncs 2566, p. 45; mncs 26, pp. 682, 683; mncs 27, p. 38; mncs 455, p. 168; Ks. Wiert., no. 233.
- <sup>557</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 30; mncs 26, p. 96; Ks. Wiert., no. 652.
- <sup>558</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 31; mncs 26, p. 96; Ks. Wiert., no. 233, 652; Chmiel 1932, p. 74.
- <sup>559</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 31; mncs 26, p. 4; Chmiel 1932, p. 83.
- <sup>560</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 31; Chmiel 1932, p. 95; Lepczyński 1933, p. 163.
- <sup>561</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 31; mncs 26, pp. 116–117; Ks. Wiert., no. 79, 568; Chmiel 1932, p. 101.
- <sup>562</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 32; mncs 2624, p. 24; Tomkiewicz 1926, pp. 90, 109; Chmiel 1932, pp. 108, 110–111.
- <sup>563</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 32; Chmiel 1932, p. 110.
- <sup>564</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 32; mncs 26, p. 10; Chmiel 1932, p. 124.
- <sup>565</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 33; mncs 26, p. 10; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1686; Chmiel 1932, p. 138.
- <sup>566</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 33; mncs 26, p. 10; mncs 27, p. 462; Chmiel 1932, p. 145.
- <sup>567</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 33; mncs 27, p. 462; Ks. Wiert., no. 483.
- <sup>568</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, pp. 33,34; mncs 27, p. 462; Ks. Wiert., no. 417, 418, 483.

## STOLARSKA STREET

1	See 5, Sienna Str.	
3	Jakub Łoy, merchant <sup>569</sup>	Br.
5A	At the back of 9, Market Square <sup>570</sup>	
5B	Stanisław Zelner, furrier <sup>571</sup>	Br.
7A	Andrzej Fladrowic, merchant <sup>572</sup>	Br.
7B	The Dominican Sisters <sup>573</sup>	C.
9	At the back of 12B, Market Square <sup>574</sup>	
11A	Monastery of the Dominican Sisters (smaller one) <sup>575</sup>	C.
11B	Cracow Academy <sup>576</sup>	Univ.
13A	Widow of Marcini Zygmuntowicz, locksmith, died around 1597 <sup>577</sup>	Br.
13B	Monastery of the Dominican Sisters (larger one) <sup>578</sup>	C.
13C	Krzysztof Przemowa, carpenter <sup>579</sup>	Br.
15A	Jan Pusz, merchant <sup>580</sup>	Br.
15B	Walenty Jaślikowski, furrier <sup>581</sup>	Br.
17	See 2, Dominikański Sq.	
2	Psalm singers in Mariacki church <sup>582</sup>	C.
4–12	The Dominicans <sup>583</sup>	C.

<sup>569</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 53; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1328.

<sup>570</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 53.

<sup>571</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2560, p. 31; mncs 2561, p. 53.

<sup>572</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2560, p. 31; mncs 2561, p. 53.

<sup>573</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 53.

<sup>574</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 53; Ks. Wiert., no. 443.

<sup>575</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 53; Ks. Wiert., no. 443; Richter 1862, p. 98; Świszczowski 1950, p. 23.

<sup>576</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2560, p. 32; mncs 2561, p. 52; mncs 2560, p. 32; Ks. Wiert., no. 443, 757.

<sup>577</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2560, p. 32; mncs 2561, p. 52; mncs 27, pp. 49, 267; Ks. Wiert., no. 376, 757.

<sup>578</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 52; mncs 27, p. 49; Ks. Wiert., no. 376, 757; Richter 1862, p. 98; Świszczowski 1950, p. 23.

<sup>579</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2560, p. 32; mncs 2561, p. 52; mncs 26, p. 697; mncs 27, pp. 267, 738; mncs 455, pp. 374–375.

<sup>580</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 52; mncs 27, pp. 267, 738; mncs 454, p. 655; mncs 455, pp. 374–375; Ks. Wiert., no. 462, 571, 626.

<sup>581</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2561, p. 52; mncs 27, pp. 267, 655, 738; mncs 454, pp. 532, 540; mncs 455, pp. 374–375; Ks. Wiert., no. 381, 462, 463, 479, 571, 836.

<sup>582</sup> Called 'Turcja'. AP Kraków, mncs 2560, p. 30; mncs 2561, p. 48; Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 50–51.

<sup>583</sup> This was seven houses. AP Kraków, mncs 2560, p. 31; mncs 2561, pp. 48–50; Richter 1862, p. 97; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 52.

### SZCZEPAŃSKA STREET (św. Stefana)

1	Jan Rap (Rapp), merchant, assessor of the court of high law <sup>584</sup>	Br.
3	Jan Rotermund, merchant <sup>585</sup>	Br.
5	Marcin Hass (Haza) <sup>586</sup>	Br.
7	Heirs of Wawrzyniec Rambieski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1570 <sup>587</sup>	Br.
9	Heirs of Hieronim Zalasowski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died around 1594/1595 <sup>588</sup>	Br.
11	Franciszek Czarnota (Czorn), merchant <sup>589</sup>	Br.
2	Antoni de Stezy, merchant <sup>590</sup>	Br.
4	Mikołaj Koryciński, ca. Topór <sup>591</sup>	N.

<sup>584</sup> Called 'Pod Gruszką'. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 18; mncs 26, p. 779; mncs 27, pp. 373, 595; mncs 455, pp. 201, 209; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 811; Ks. Wiert., no. 668; Bednarz 2002, p. 109.

<sup>585</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 17; mncs 26, p. 779; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 811; Richter 1862, p. 48; M. Bednarz 2002, p. 109.

<sup>586</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 17; mncs 26, p. 779; mncs 27, pp. 319, 374; mncs 455, pp. 58, 164; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 811.

<sup>587</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 17; mncs 27, pp. 290, 319, 374; mncs 454, p. 425; mncs 455, pp. 58, 164; Pieradzka 1935, p. 147; Noga 2003, p. 331.

<sup>588</sup> In 1555, brothers Hieronim, Jerzy and Stanisław Zalasowski (sons of Jan) were ennobled. AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 17; mncs 26, pp. 294, 484; mncs 27, pp. 290, 319, 374; mncs 454, pp. 408, 425; mncs 455, pp. 58, 164; Ks. Wiert., no. 638; Trelińska 2001, pp. 249–250; Noga 2003, p. 351.

<sup>589</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 16; mncs 26, pp. 294, 492; mncs 27, p. 290; mncs 454, p. 425; Ks. Wiert., no. 638.

<sup>590</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 13; mncs 454, pp. 510, 542; Ks. Wiert., no. 294, 297, 596, 675, 696; Bąk-Koczarska 1999, p. 26.

<sup>591</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 13; Ks. Wiert., no. 596, 675, 696, 797; Bąk-Koczarska 1999, p. 30.

### SZEWSKA STREET (Świecka)

1	See 31, Market Square	
3	At the back of 32A, Market Square <sup>592</sup>	
5A	Heirs of Wojciech Raczkowski Pizdziorny, goldsmith, died before 1571 <sup>593</sup>	Br.
5B	At the back of 34A, Market Square <sup>594</sup>	
7	Heirs of Stanisław Dresner, merchant, died before 1583 <sup>595</sup>	Br.
9A	Anna Temberk (Tennenberg), widow of Stanisław, furrier, died before 1593 <sup>596</sup>	Br.
9B	Heirs of Paweł Czarny, lawyer, died before 1593 <sup>597</sup>	Br.
11	Jan Latosz, doctor <sup>598</sup>	Br.
13A	Stanisław Kozak <sup>599</sup>	Br.
13B	Seweryn Płaza, ca. Topór <sup>600</sup>	N.
15	Heirs of Jan Kowalowski, died before 1577 <sup>601</sup>	Br.
17	Jan Leszczyński <sup>602</sup>	Br.
19	Szymon Wołowiec, innkeeper <sup>603</sup>	Br.
21A	Juliusz Delpace, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>604</sup>	Br.
21B	Walenty Burkat, innkeeper <sup>605</sup>	Br.
23	Heirs of Walenty Latosz, innkeeper, died before 1593 <sup>606</sup>	Br.

25	Aleksy Taczyk, innkeeper <sup>607</sup>	Br.
27	Jadwiga Nycz, widow of Stanisław, innkeeper, died after 1596 <sup>608</sup>	Br.
2	See 30, Market Square	
4A	Marcin Lutosławski, ca. Jelita, tax collector of Cracow Voivodeship <sup>609</sup>	N.
4B	Magdalena Bąkowa, widow of Jan, cloth merchant, died before 1598 and Bartłomiej Kieszkowski, carpenter <sup>610</sup>	Br.
6	Jan Wróblewski (Wróblewski), ca. unknowns, a Jewish judge <sup>611</sup>	N.
8	Mikołaj Włochowicz, innkeeper <sup>612</sup>	Br.
10	Stanisław Kozak <sup>613</sup>	Br.
12	Wojciech Chmielarz, innkeeper <sup>614</sup>	Br.
14	Kasper Sasin (Saszyn), bishop's administrator <sup>615</sup>	Br.
16	Andrzej Zaleski, innkeeper <sup>616</sup>	Br.
18	Anna Masłowska, widow of Baltazar, innkeeper, died around 1593 <sup>617</sup>	Br.
20A	Stanisław Kormanek, innkeeper <sup>618</sup>	Br.
20B	Stanisław Sławęcki Bednarz, innkeeper <sup>619</sup>	Br.
22A	Jan Grusz, innkeeper <sup>620</sup>	Br.
22B	Jan Zaydlik (Zydlik), innkeeper <sup>621</sup>	Br.
24	Melchior Przybyłowicz, innkeeper <sup>622</sup>	Br.

<sup>592</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 1379, pp. 61, 96; mncs 26, p. 158; mncs 27, p. 776; Ks. Wiert., no. 52, 92, 722, 723.

<sup>593</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 10; mncs 26, p. 158; mncs 27, p. 776; Ks. Wiert., no. 52, 92, 94, 722, 723; Lepesz 1933, p. 159; Pietrusiński 2000, pp. 747–749.

<sup>594</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 10; mncs 26, p. 158; mncs 27, p. 776; Ks. Wiert., no. 92, 94, 320, 722, 723.

<sup>595</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 9; Ks. Wiert., no. 92, 161, 320, 496; Noga 2003, p. 42.

<sup>596</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 9; mncs 26, p. 85; mncs 27, p. 395; Ks. Wiert., no. 496.

<sup>597</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 9; mncs 2566, p. 7; Ks. Wiert., no. 496.

<sup>598</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 8; mncs 2566, p. 5; mncs 26, pp. 85, 205; mncs 27, p. 395; Ks. Wiert., no. 609; Lachs 1909, p. 70.

<sup>599</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 8; mncs 27, p. 370; Ks. Wiert., no. 445, 567, 746, 762.

<sup>600</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 7; mncs 27, p. 370; Ks. Wiert., no. 445, 567, 741, 746, 852.

<sup>601</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 7; mncs 27, pp. 23, 32, 370; Ks. Wiert., no. 213, 567, 741, 813, 899.

<sup>602</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 7; mncs 27, pp. 23, 32, 363, 379, 540; mncs 455, p. 199; Ks. Wiert., no. 741.

<sup>603</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 7; mncs 27, pp. 23, 32, 379, 363, 540; mncs 455, p. 199; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1475.

<sup>604</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 7; mncs 27, pp. 379, 363, 540; mncs 455, p. 199; Ks. Wiert., no. 813, 899; Noga 2003, p. 304.

<sup>605</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 6; mncs 26, pp. 662, 718; Ks. Wiert., no. 511.

<sup>606</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 6; mncs 26, pp. 662, 718; Ks. Wiert., no. 509–512.

<sup>607</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 6; mncs 26, pp. 662, 718; Ks. Wiert., no. 509, 512, 620.

<sup>608</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 5; Ks. Wiert., no. 137, 139, 620.

<sup>609</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 41; mncs 2569, p. 15; Boniecki 1901–1913, vol. 15, p. 125.

<sup>610</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 42; mncs 27, p. 384; mncs 448, p. 172; Ks. Wiert., no. 498a, b, 290, 498, 598, 619, 758; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1517.

<sup>611</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 42; mncs 26, p. 98; mncs 27, pp. 384, 779; mncs 448, p. 171; Ks. Wiert., no. 290, 598, 619, 758.

<sup>612</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 42.

<sup>613</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 42; mncs 26, pp. 71, 176; mncs 27, pp. 297, 441, 803; Ks. Wiert., no. 522.

<sup>614</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 43; mncs 26, p. 71; mncs 27, p. 441.

<sup>615</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 43; Ks. Wiert., no. 577; Noga 2003, p. 221; Liber chamorum 1963, no. 1796.

<sup>616</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 43; mncs 27, pp. 696, 803; Ks. Wiert., no. 577.

<sup>617</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 27, p. 696; Ks. Wiert., no. 501, 739, 744.

<sup>618</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 44; mncs 27, p. 726; Ks. Wiert., no. 351, 501, 739, 820; Richter 1862, p. 45.

<sup>619</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 44; mncs 27, p. 726; Ks. Wiert., no. 802.

<sup>620</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 44; mncs 27, p. 726; Ks. Wiert., no. 802, 811.

<sup>621</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 45; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1291.

<sup>622</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2562, p. 45; mncs 27, p. 79; mncs 454, pp. 571–574; Ks. Wiert., no. 537, 690, 705.

**SZPITALNA STREET (Świętego Ducha)<sup>623</sup>**

1	See 2, Mikołajska Str.	
3	Widow of Kleczowski, died around 1596 <sup>624</sup>	Br.
5	Jan Schreiber Kral, innkeeper <sup>625</sup>	Br.
7A	Kasper Polner, butcher <sup>626</sup>	Br.z.
7B	Elżbieta Koniecpolska, ca. Pobóg, widow of Stanisław, the castellan of Sieradz, died in 1587 <sup>627</sup>	N.
7C	Zofia Goryszowska, widow of Wojciech, furrier, died before 1597 <sup>628</sup>	Br.
9	Jan Gronkowski (Gronkowicz) Płaczek, baker <sup>629</sup>	Br.
11	Heirs of Anna Jedwat, died before 1594 <sup>630</sup>	Br.
13	Feliks Wysota, peddler <sup>631</sup>	Br.
15A	Heirs of Wawrzyniec Biskupek, innkeeper, died in 1594 <sup>632</sup>	Br.
15B	Walenty Cegiełka, butcher <sup>633</sup>	Br.
15C	Bartłomiej Groicki (Bobrowski), lawyer, customs scribe of Cracow <sup>634</sup>	Br.
15D	Heirs of Jan Kluczowski, confectioner, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1557 <sup>635</sup>	Br.
17	Grzegorz Jasiowicz, butcher <sup>636</sup>	Br.
19	Jadwiga Lipowska, widow of Urban, butcher, died before 1597 <sup>637</sup>	Br.
21	Chapel (church) of St. Roch and the hospital of the scholars <sup>638</sup>	C.
	Jakub Raczek, butcher <sup>639</sup>	Br.
	Błażej Zatorski Pielgrzym, woodworker <sup>640</sup>	Br.
	Hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>641</sup>	C.
	School of the hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>642</sup>	C.
2	See 4, Mariacki Sq.	
4	Marcin Urbankowicz, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>643</sup>	Br.
6	Walenty Gutteter, merchant, assessor of Cracow and Seweryn Pernus, merchant <sup>644</sup>	Br.
8	Paweł Hipolit, merchant <sup>645</sup>	Br.
10A	Joachim Ciepielowski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow <sup>646</sup>	Br.
10B	Urszula Feliksowa, widow <sup>647</sup>	Br.
12–14	Arian commune <sup>648</sup>	C.
16AB	Tailors guild <sup>649</sup>	Br.
16C	Unknown owner <sup>650</sup>	–
18A	Florian Podoski, ca. Junosza <sup>651</sup>	N.
18B	Marcin Koliński <sup>652</sup>	Br.
20	Heirs of Jan Biały, furriera, died before 1569 <sup>653</sup>	Br.
22	Jan Celesta, merchant <sup>654</sup>	Br.
24	Jan Kirstein (Cerasinus), ca. his own, royal secretary <sup>655</sup>	N.
26	Katarzyna Polak, widow of Piotr, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1572 <sup>656</sup>	Br.
28	Stanisław Ślęzak, baker <sup>657</sup>	Br.
30A	Jerzy Chmielik <sup>658</sup>	Br.
30B	Katarzyna Kruszyna Ferens, widow of Franciszek, tailor, died around 1593 <sup>659</sup>	Br.
32	Hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>660</sup>	C.

34	Jan Wolff, butcher <sup>661</sup>	Br.
36	Andrzej Węgrzyn, butcher <sup>662</sup>	Br.
38	Heirs of Stanisław Wałaski, butcher, died around 1593 <sup>663</sup>	Br.
40A	Paweł Stępkowski, tailor <sup>664</sup>	Br.
40B	Hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>665</sup>	C.
40C	Hospital of the Holy Spirit <sup>666</sup>	C.

- <sup>623</sup> Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 112–114; Supranowicz 1995, p. 167.
- <sup>624</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 39; mncs 2574, p. 51; mncs 26, p. 69; mncs 454, pp. 72, 396.
- <sup>625</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 39; mncs 2574, p. 51; mncs 26, pp. 69, 364; mncs 27, p. 468; mncs 454, p. 396.
- <sup>626</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 39; mncs 2574, p. 52; mncs 26, pp. 69, 663; mncs 27, p. 468.
- <sup>627</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 39; mncs 2574, p. 52; mncs 26, pp. 356, 663; mncs 27, pp. 257, 468; Libiszowska 1967–1968, p. 522; UrzŁęczSier, p. 263.
- <sup>628</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 40; mncs 2574, p. 52; mncs 26, pp. 602, 663; mncs 27, pp. 257, 263; Ks. Wiert., no. 467.
- <sup>629</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 40; mncs 2574, p. 52; mncs 26, p. 602; mncs 27, pp. 257, 263, 439; mncs 455, pp. 455–458; Ks. Wiert., no. 467.
- <sup>630</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 40; mncs 2574, p. 53; mncs 26, pp. 138, 200, 800; mncs 453, p. 652.
- <sup>631</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 40; mncs 2574, p. 53; mncs 26, pp. 138, 204, 800; Ks. Wiert., no. 530, 832.
- <sup>632</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 40; mncs 2574, p. 54; mncs 26, pp. 138, 204; mncs 27, p. 476; Ks. Wiert., no. 530, 832.
- <sup>633</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 41; mncs 2574, p. 54; mncs 26, p. 105; mncs 27, pp. 276, 476, 698; mncs 454, p. 688; mncs 455, pp. 396–401; Ks. Wiert., no. 530, 541, 585, 759.
- <sup>634</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 41; mncs 2574, p. 54; mncs 26, p. 105; mncs 27, p. 476; mncs 454, p. 688; mncs 455, pp. 396–401; Ks. Wiert., no. 46, 371, 541, 759; Koranyi, Patkaniowski 1959–1960, pp. 628–629.
- <sup>635</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 41; mncs 2574, p. 55; mncs 27, pp. 276, 476; mncs 454, p. 688; mncs 455, pp. 396–401; Ks. Wiert., no. 371, 541; Noga 2003, p. 315.
- <sup>636</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 41; mncs 2574, p. 55; mncs 26, p. 570; mncs 27, pp. 67, 743; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1780.
- <sup>637</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 42; mncs 2574, p. 55; mncs 27, pp. 67, 270; Ks. Wiert., no. 278, 847.
- <sup>638</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 42; mncs 2574, p. 56; mncs 27, p. 270; Tomkowicz 1926, p. 112; Bąk, Sitko, Waszkiewicz 1959, p. 17.
- <sup>639</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 42; mncs 2574, p. 56.
- <sup>640</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 42; mncs 2574, p. 56; mncs 26, p. 432.
- <sup>641</sup> There were seven houses, a malting plant, and a granary here. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, pp. 29–30, 43; mncs 2574, pp. 38–39, 41, 57; Hiżycka, Sławiński 1998, pp. 27–29.
- <sup>642</sup> Tomkowicz 1892, pp. 51–52; Hiżycka, Sławiński 1998, p. 25.
- <sup>643</sup> Called ‘Łażnia’. AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 37; mncs 2574, p. 49; mncs 26, p. 582; mncs 454, p. 399; mncs 455, p. 208; Ks. Wiert., no. 138, 344, 490, 695; Noga 2003, p. 348.
- <sup>644</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 37; mncs 2574, p. 48; mncs 26, pp. 582, 751; mncs 454, pp. 395, 519; mncs 455, pp. 271–273; Ks. Wiert., no. 600, 607.
- <sup>645</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2574, p. 47; mncs 26, p. 751; mncs 27, p. 741; mncs 454, pp. 395, 519, 554; mncs 455, pp. 271–273, 447–448; Ks. Wiert., no. 471, 607; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1469; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 160.
- <sup>646</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 36; mncs 2574, p. 48; mncs 26, p. 551; mncs 27, p. 741; mncs 454, pp. 395, 541; Ks. Wiert., no. 471, 607, 783; Bieniarzówna 1969, p. 157; Noga 2003, p. 301.
- <sup>647</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 36; mncs 2574, p. 47; mncs 26, pp. 179, 551; mncs 27, p. 741; mncs 454, pp. 94, 541, 563; Ks. Wiert., no. 471, 783, 866.
- <sup>648</sup> Demolished in 1591. AP Kraków, mncs 2574, p. 47; mncs 26, pp. 179, 551; mncs 454, pp. 94, 541; Ks. Wiert., no. 783, 866; Richter 1862, p. 78; Reformacja 1962, pp. 178–186.
- <sup>649</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 36; mncs 2574, p. 46; mncs 26, p. 20; mncs 27, pp. 11, 12, 583.
- <sup>650</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 36; mncs 2574, p. 47.
- <sup>651</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 35; mncs 2574, p. 46; mncs 26, pp. 20, 188, 610; mncs 27, pp. 11, 12, 583; Ks. Wiert., no. 430, 615; Niesiecki 1839–1846, vol. 7, pp. 350–351.
- <sup>652</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2574, p. 46; mncs 26, p. 610; Ks. Wiert., no. 615, 730, 751.
- <sup>653</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 35; mncs 2574, p. 45; mncs 26, pp. 288, 610; mncs 27, p. 241; mncs 455, p. 217; Ks. Wiert., no. 34, 96, 354, 430, 452, 615, 730, 751, 772.
- <sup>654</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 34; mncs 2574, p. 45; mncs 26, p. 288; mncs 27, p. 241; Ks. Wiert., no. 730, 751.
- <sup>655</sup> Ennobled in 1578; AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 34; mncs 2574, p. 45; mncs SWPM I–14, p. 628; Ogrodziński 1937, p. 231; Trelińska 2001, no. 411.
- <sup>656</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 34; mncs 2574, p. 45; mncs 455, p. 310; Noga 2003, p. 330.
- <sup>657</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 33; mncs 2574, p. 44.

<sup>658</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 33; mncs 2574, p. 44; mncs 26, p. 155; mncs 27, p. 678.

<sup>659</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 24; mncs 2574, p. 44; mncs 26, p. 155; Ks. Wiert., no. 556; mncs 27, p. 678.

<sup>660</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 33; mncs 2574, p. 43; Ks. Wiert., no. 222.

<sup>661</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 33; mncs 2574, p. 43; Ks. Wiert., no. 50, 222, 358; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1812.

<sup>662</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 33; mncs 2574, p. 43; Ks. Wiert., no. 358, 519, 787; mncs 27, p. 624; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1780.

<sup>663</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 32; mncs 2574, p. 42; Ks. Wiert., no. 50, 358, 519, 787; mncs 27, pp. 273, 455, 624; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1642.

<sup>664</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 32; mncs 2574, p. 42; Ks. Wiert., no. 519, 787; mncs 27, pp. 273, 455, 624; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1644.

<sup>665</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 32; mncs 2574, p. 42; mncs 27, pp. 273, 455.

<sup>666</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 31; mncs 2574, p. 41.

## ŚW. TOMASZA STREET<sup>667</sup>

1A	Kasper Sasin (Saszyn), bishop's administrator <sup>668</sup>	Br.
1B	Stanisław Mloszowski, furrier <sup>669</sup>	Br.
3	Heirs of Paweł Klocek, shoemaker, died before 1598 <sup>670</sup>	Br.
5	Maciej Bodziszowski, cooper <sup>671</sup>	Br.
7	Shoemakers guild <sup>672</sup>	Br.
9	See 8, Sławkowska Str.	
11–11a	See 3, Sławkowska Str.; 6, Św. Jana Str.	
13	See 5, Św. Jana Str.	
15	Priests from the chapel (church) of St. John <sup>673</sup>	C.
17/19	See 12, Floriańska Str.	
21	See 15, Floriańska Str.	
23	See 12–14, Szpitalna Str.	
25	See 9, Szpitalna Str.	
27	Kasper Sołtys (Sołtysowicz, Kryncz), butcher <sup>674</sup>	Br.
29	Wacław Polikowski <sup>675</sup>	Br.
31	Marcin Mogilec (Jemiołkowicz), butcher <sup>676</sup>	Br.
33	Mikołaja Jaskółka <sup>677</sup>	Br.
35	Wojciech Jendrak, innkeeper <sup>678</sup>	Br.
37	Heirs of Erazm Czeczotka, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1587 <sup>679</sup>	Br.
39	At the back of 28, Mikołajska Str. <sup>680</sup>	
41	See 30, Mikołajska Str.	
43	See 32, Mikołajska Str.	
2	Andrzej Hardak, baker <sup>681</sup>	Br.
4	Heirs of Anna Maszowska, died before 1593 r., widow of Jerzy Maszowski, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1586 <sup>682</sup>	Br.
6	Kasper Sraga, baker <sup>683</sup>	Br.
8A	Heirs of Andrzej Kornus, lawyer, died before 1596 <sup>684</sup>	Br.
8B	Heirs of Roszko, shoemaker, died after 1596 <sup>685</sup>	Br.
8C	Heirs of Krzysztof Remer, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1597 <sup>686</sup>	Br.
10	See 10, Sławkowska Str.	
12	See 5, Sławkowska Str.	

14	See 8, Św. Jana Str.	
16	See 14, Floriańska Str.	
18	See 17, Floriańska Str.	
20	See 16, Szpitalna Str.	
22–24	See 11, Szpitalna Str.	
26A	At the back of 15B, Szpitalna Str. <sup>687</sup>	
26B	Kasper Wałaski, butcher <sup>688</sup>	Br.
26C	Regina Trzczińska, widow of Tomasz, butcher, died before 1595 <sup>689</sup>	Br.
28A	Jan Lupezcyc, butcher <sup>690</sup>	Br.
28B	Marek Malinowski, butcher <sup>691</sup>	Br.
28C	Paweł Pawlikowicz Noska, butcher <sup>692</sup>	Br.
30	See 15–21, Św. Krzyża Str.	

<sup>667</sup> The western fragment was called Żydowska Str, the eastern – Świnia (*Platea Scropharum*) or Różana Str., and the middle fragment was described as a cross street (Tomkowicz 1926, pp. 100–107; Supranowicz 1995, pp. 178–179).

<sup>668</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 18; mncs 26, p. 714; Noga 2003, p. 221; See footnote 615.

<sup>669</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 18; mncs 26, p. 714.

<sup>670</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 19.

<sup>671</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 19; mncs 27, p. 753; Ks. Wiert., no. 6.

<sup>672</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 19; mncs 27, p. 753; Richter 1862, p. 51.

<sup>673</sup> Richter 1862, p. 67; Chmiel 1924, p. 34.

<sup>674</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 52; mncs 2574, p. 69; mncs 26, pp. 547, 717, 718, 768; mncs 454, pp. 372, 481–482; mncs 455, pp. 455–458.

<sup>675</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 51; mncs 2574, p. 69; mncs 26, pp. 547, 715, 717, 718, 768; mncs 27, p. 439; mncs 454, pp. 372, 481–482; mncs 455, pp. 455–458; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1020.

<sup>676</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 51; mncs 2574, p. 70; mncs 27, p. 69; mncs 454, pp. 372, 481–482; Ks. Wiert., no. 566, 643; mncs 26, pp. 547, 715, 717, 718, 735, 768, 784.

<sup>677</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 51; mncs 2574, p. 70; mncs 26, pp. 735, 784; mncs 27, p. 69; Ks. Wiert., no. 505, 566, 643.

<sup>678</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 50; mncs 2574, p. 71; mncs 27, p. 69; mncs 454, p. 26; Ks. Wiert., no. 377, 437, 476, 642.

<sup>679</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 50; mncs 2574, p. 71; Ks. Wiert., no. 437, 475, 476; Muczkowski 1935, p. 13; Noga 2003, p. 303.

<sup>680</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 50; mncs 2574, p. 72.

<sup>681</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 21; mncs 26, pp. 121, 342; mncs 27, p. 123; Ks. Wiert., no. 460, 487, 499, 565, 634.

<sup>682</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 21; mncs 26, pp. 121, 342; Ks. Wiert., no. 7, 10, 460, 499, 565, 906; Noga 2003, p. 324.

<sup>683</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 21; mncs 26, pp. 121, 342; mncs 27, p. 123; Ks. Wiert., no. 499, 603, 634.

<sup>684</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 20; mncs 762, pp. 39, 89, 122, 135, 163; Ks. Wiert., no. 603, 906; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1993.

<sup>685</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 20; Ks. Wiert., no. 603.

<sup>686</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2563, p. 20; Ks. Wiert., no. 101; Noga 2003, p. 334.

<sup>687</sup> Hiżycka, Kwaśniewicz, Sławiński 1998.

<sup>688</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 52; mncs 2574, p. 69; mncs 27, p. 492; Ks. Wiert., no. 157, 158, 585, 612, 830; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1642.

<sup>689</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 52; mncs 2574, p. 69; mncs 26, p. 557; mncs 27, pp. 92, 461, 492; Ks. Wiert., no. 330, 383, 612.

<sup>690</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 52; mncs 2574, p. 68; mncs 26, pp. 303, 368, 557; mncs 27, pp. 92, 461, 492, 696; Ks. Wiert., no. 330, 383, 663, 830; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1628.

<sup>691</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 53; mncs 2574, p. 68; mncs 26, pp. 303, 368, 557; mncs 27, pp. 92, 461, 696; Ks. Wiert., nr 330, 383, 602, 663, 664, 719, 740, 830; Kielbicka, Wojas 1994, no. 1628.

<sup>692</sup> AP Kraków, mncs 2559, p. 53; mncs 2574, p. 68; mncs 26, pp. 303, 368; Ks. Wiert., no. 172, 602, 663, 664, 719, 740.

## WIŚLNA STREET

1A	Heirs of Erazm Czczotka, merchant, counsellor of Cracow, died in 1587 <sup>693</sup>	Br.
1B	Widow of Stanisławi Szeffler, died before 1582 <sup>694</sup>	Br.
3	Maciej Samotulczyk, innkeeper <sup>695</sup>	Br.
5	Paweł Szczerbic, ca. Jelita, writer of king's decrees <sup>696</sup>	N.

7	Cracow Academy – Bursa Pauperum <sup>697</sup>	Univ.
9	See 12, Gołębia Str.	
11A	Wojciech Orłowicz, innkeeper <sup>698</sup>	Br.
11B	Maciej Krasnostawczyk, saddler <sup>699</sup>	Br.
11C	Szymon Lisowicz, innkeeper <sup>700</sup>	Br.
11D	Kasper Gostyński, hat maker <sup>701</sup>	Br.
11E	Heirs of Mikołaj Hussman (Grosmana), doctor, alchemist <sup>702</sup>	Br.
2	See 26, Market Square	
4	Cracow Academy <sup>703</sup>	Univ.
6A	Jan Święcicki, tailor <sup>704</sup>	Br.
6B	Heirs of Jan Moszmer, died before 1596 <sup>705</sup>	Br.
8A	Heirs of Stanisław Kotlicki, bailiff, died before 1591 <sup>706</sup>	Br.
8B	Paweł Bruzi, furrier, assessor of Cracow <sup>707</sup>	Br.
8C	Marcin Przybyło, tailor <sup>708</sup>	Br.
10A	Jakub Kanka (Klaryk) <sup>709</sup>	Br.
10B	Adam Płaczek (Parzygieł) <sup>710</sup>	Br.
12	See 3, Franciszkańska Str.	

<sup>693</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 34; mnc 2550, p. 14; Ks. Wiert., no. 500, 502; Richter 1862, p. 40; Muczkowski 1935, p. 12; Noga 2003, p. 303.

<sup>694</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 34; mnc 2550, p. 14.

<sup>695</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 34.

<sup>696</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 33; Trelińska 2001, no. 470.

<sup>697</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 33; Ks. Wiert., no. 179, 485, 500, 827, 902, 908; Richter 1862, p. 36.

<sup>698</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2526, p. 30.

<sup>699</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 29; mnc 26, pp. 97, 267; mnc 454, p. 413; Ks. Wiert., no. 334, 426, 427, 429, 442, 457.

<sup>700</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 29.

<sup>701</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2625, p. 29; Ks. Wiert., no. 427, 429, 442.

<sup>702</sup> AP Kraków, mnc 2562, p. 29; mnc 26, pp. 97, 267; Ks. Wiert., no. 260, 331, 357, 403, 426, 427, 429, 442, 457, 552, 553; Lachs 1909, pp. 59–60.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.6.15c.1 WAWEL HILL IN THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*Ryszard Skowron*

The fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries had a decisive role in the development of Wawel hill. Between 1320 and 1370 various monumental buildings were being either built, or rebuilt in the Gothic style: the cathedral (consecrated in 1364), the castle, the church of St. George (consecrated in 1347), the church of St. Michael (consecrated in 1355). From the 1350s, **Wawel Hill** was becoming more and more compactly developed, and as a result, at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the formation of the so-called 'Wawel town' was almost complete. It survived until the end of the First Republic.<sup>1</sup>

Characteristic features of the late-medieval urban layout of Wawel hill include:

- the buildings along the north defensive wall – from the castle's Dolna Gate, to Złodziejska tower ('Thieves tower');
- the buildings facing the western and southern elevation of the cathedral, along the road leading from Dolna Gate to the entrance gate of the royal castle;
- scattered buildings in the south-western part of the hill, enclosed within a quadrangle formed by the manor of the family Tęczyński (by the west defensive wall), the vicar house called Wspólny ('Common'; situated across from the southern elevation of the cathedral, the later Gród), Złodziejska tower, and Sandomierska Tower. There are no buildings adjacent to defensive walls between Złodziejska tower and the Tęczyński manor. Two building groups are clearly visible in this area: the eastern one, situated east of the castle, dominated by knights' manors (sparse source data), and the western one, dominated by Church property;
- rebuilt and expanded fortifications of the hill, namely the stone-brick walls, fortified with towers: of the Dolna Gate, Złodziejska, Sandomierska, Szlachecka, Panińska, Tęczyńska, and Lubranka (Senatorska).

In this period, ownership changes accompanied architectural and urban processes. Royal property decreased significantly with numerous endowments and sales of parcels and plots to the cathedral chapter, or nobility and aristocracy.

In the fourteenth century the expansion of the royal residence on Wawel hill, and the finishing of the cathedral, resulted in the intensification of secular settlement on the hill. During Casimir the Great's reign, the reorganization of the State and the stabilization of the capital character of Cracow made Wawel the centre of State administration and the seat for many State, court, and provincial institutions, of which the most important were: the royal chancellery, the royal archive and treasury, the great royal estates of Cracow, the burgraviat, the gord with the starosta and the land courts, and the high court of Magdeburg law. As such, having a house on the hill became very popular among the dignitaries of the State and the court. It must be remembered, however, that certain processes, which had a negative effect on the attractiveness of Wawel as an area for development, occurred at

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<sup>1</sup> S. Tomkowicz *Wawel*, vol. 1: *Zabudowania Wawelu i ich dzieje*, "Teki Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej", vol. 4, 1908; *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 1: *Wawel*, Warsaw 1965; Z. Pianowski, *Z dziejów średniowiecznego Wawelu*, Cracow 1984; idem, *Wawel obronny. Zarys przemian fortyfikacji grodu i zamku krakowskiego*, Cracow 1991; A. Majewski, *Wawel, dzieje i konserwacja*, Warsaw 1993; R. Skowron, *Wawel. Kronika dziejów*, vol. 1: *Od pradziejów do roku 1918*, Cracow 2001; idem, *Przemiany w zabudowie miasteczka wawelskiego w okresie od XIV do XX wieku*, [in:] *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, Cracow 2007, pp. 67–88.

the same time. The hill was too small to be developed, to build manors and tenement houses, which would fulfil the requirements of the era. On the other hand, the intensely expanding Cracow offered much better conditions. At the same time, the number of royal and bishop's foundations for the cathedral grew, new colleges of the priests were being created, resulting in a fast increase in the number of clergymen, for whom houses were being built in Wawel, e.g. Lipowiec and psalter house. In the ninth decade of this century, the development stopped. The Renaissance castle, built in the first half of the sixteenth century by Sigismund I the Old, did not change the urban layout of the hill. The monumental, two-storey building with a high, pitched roof dominated over other buildings. Borek's house was also built in this period.

Already towards the end of the fourteenth century, the aristocracy – following in the footsteps of the bishops of Cracow and the royal family – began to build chapels and altars in the Gothic cathedral. As a result, the aristocracy had to provide living space for the clergymen, who administered chapels and altars. In turn, the nobles built new houses in Wawel, or offered the existing ones to the clergy. In the first place, we should mention here the families Kurozwęcki, Szafraniec, Rogowski-Hincz, Oleśnicki, Konięcpolski, and Lanckoroński. Finally, at the end of the fifteenth century, almost no house on the hill belonged to the nobility, or aristocracy. A group of buildings situated north of the royal kitchens was an exception. It consisted of the houses of the families Tęczyński and Szydłowiecki, and of the noble Jan Tarnowski, Jan Filipowski, Mężyk, which were partially damaged in the fire of 1549.

Both processes ended around the middle of the sixteenth century, and created new ownership structures on Wawel Hill, which survived almost unchanged until the end of the First Republic. Its characteristic feature was almost complete elimination of buildings, which would belong to private individuals. Church property became dominant on 'Wawel Hill', and royal property (property of the State) was limited to the castle, fortifications, the Gord, two houses of burgraves, and two houses called Rabsztyn.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

### III.6.16.3 LUBLIN

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

The plan at a scale of 1:10,000 shows Lublin around 1570. It shows the streets, squares and suburban roads, the defensive wall surrounding the city, the important buildings and other elements. The probable range of meadows was marked with a different colour than abodes and arable fields.

The plan was prepared on the basis of the inspections conducted in 1565 and 1570, A. Hogenberg's drawing<sup>1</sup> and plans published in H. Gawarecki and Cz. Gawdzik's work.<sup>2</sup>

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>1</sup> Included in J. Braun's work, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 6, Cologne 1618. Fascimiles published by H. Łopaciński, *Najdawniejszy widok Lublina wyjęty z dzieła Jerzego Brauna p.n. Theatrum praecipuarum totius mundi urbium, z rolcu 1618*, Warsaw 1901.

<sup>2</sup> H. Gawarecki, C. Gawdzik, *Lublin*, Warsaw 1959, drawing 5 and 14.

### III.6.17.5 ŁĘCZYCA

*Małgorzata Wilska*

Cartographical sources from the last decade of the eighteenth century constitute the basis for the reconstruction of the plan of Łęczyca. Unfortunately, there are no plans from the period before the Partitions of Poland, and the earlier plans are Prussian and come from 1793 and 1795. Both were created before the commencement of fortification works that turned Łęczyca into a Prussian stronghold. Cartographical sources for the city and its nearest vicinity were studied and published by A. Tomczak.<sup>1</sup>

The 1793 plan was prepared by Schmiedeke on a scale of 1:5,000. It covers the city and the area in the range of the villages: Tum, Dzierzbietów, Borki, Leszcze, Topola, Zabrodzie and Kozuby.<sup>2</sup> The 1795 plan, created by E. Goepfner, covers only the area of the city inside its medieval defensive walls, the castle premises were not prepared. However, the streets, building plots and the city hall were marked on this plan.<sup>3</sup> Apart from these two, we have five other plans from 1795–98 covering the area of the city and its nearest vicinity.<sup>4</sup> All of them are kept in the National Library in Berlin and constitute a good basis for retrospective reconstruction of the city plan of Łęczyca from the end of the sixteenth century. The defensive walls with towers and gates, moats and suburbs were reconstructed on the basis of these plans.

The plan prepared by the geometrician Grabowski in 1820, now kept in AGAD,<sup>5</sup> is one of later cartographic sources that provide valuable foundation.

We have used cartographical material from detailed plans from the first half of the nineteenth century, that show the castle premises and north-eastern area of the city, occupied by a Dominican monastery.<sup>6</sup>

We do not possess views of Łęczyca that would help us reconstruct its spatial arrangement.<sup>7</sup> Written sources were, however, extremely important. Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum* must be noted here, along with inspections, which contain detailed data, useful in reconstructing the sixteenth century plan.<sup>8</sup> For instance, on the basis of the 1564 inspection we know about rebuilding and repair works on the castle walls supervised by the *starosta* Jan Lutomierski. The third gate called Wodna ('of water') was built at that time.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Tomczak, *Katalog planów miasta Łęczycy*, [in:] *Ilustrowany katalog źródeł kartograficznych do historii budowy miast polskich*, no. 7, Warsaw 1962; A. Tomczak, *Źródła kartograficzne do dziejów Łęczycy średniowiecznej*, [in:] *Łęczyca średniowieczna*, Warsaw 1966.

<sup>2</sup> *Situations – plan von Lenczyc*, 1793 on a scale of 1:5,000 by Schmiedeke, published by A. Tomczak, *Katalog planów*, pp. 15, 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Copia der Zeichnung von der Stadt Lenczic, 1780/1795*, on scale 1:1,200, by E. Goepfner, published by: A. Tomczak, *Katalog planów*, p. 15 and pos. 2; *Plany miast*, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> A. Tomczak, *Katalog planów*, p. 15 n., and pos. 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup> AGAD, Akta Komisji Województwa Kaliskiego, vol. 2, no. 2224, published by W. Puget, *Przemiany urbanistyczne centrum miasta i rozwój infrastruktury od końca XVIII w.*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 35, 1990, no. 1–2, pp. 27–64.

<sup>6</sup> A. Tomczak, *Katalog planów*, p. 25, pos. 51,52; AGAD, Dział Kartografii, sign. 24–3.

<sup>7</sup> Stronczyński's drawings from 1844–46 show fortifications, about which we know from other sources; K. Stronczyński's files in Gabinet Rycin UW, Atlas 3, *Widoki zabytków starożytności w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1844 i 1846 zebrane*, 1851, no. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 169, 348–353, 388, 414, 416, 432,454; LWWK 1616, p. 194.

<sup>9</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 89.

A. Tomczak's studies provided most of the information, J. Widawski's – concerning walls and castle in Łęczyca.<sup>10</sup> Many important details can be found in T. Lalik's article about the Old Town in Łęczyca and in the nineteenth century monograph on Łęczyca by M. Rawita-Witanowski.<sup>11</sup>

The city plan was prepared according to the assumptions of the city plans on a scale of 1:10,000 contained in the previously published volumes of this series of AHP. The plan shows Łęczyca within the city walls with its three closest suburbs: Cracow suburb in the south, Poznań and Ostój in the west. The latter formed at the end of the sixteenth century.

The city occupied a large area, bordering Topola and Kozuby in the north, an archbishopric village Tum in the east, a royal village Wilczkowice in the west, reaching Leszcze village. From the south the borders reached royal villages Dzierżbiewów and Lubień. Waliszew – a small hamlet marked on the map, belonged to the city, and was situated on the site of the former Old Town. The name Waliszew appears in the middle of the sixteenth century and was used interchangeably with Old Town (Stare Miasto).<sup>12</sup> Later this area becomes one of the suburbs of Łęczyca. We know from the 1556 privilege of Sigismund II Augustus that the city also owned Golutów, and Łaski informs us about the ownership of Wójciki demesne, situated near a mill on the Bzura River.<sup>13</sup> In total, the city owned 21 lans in the sixteenth century, stretching in long strips from the border with Topola to Golutów and Kozuby, and two lans of Ostój west of town.

Topographical conditions influenced the placement and direction of the growth of the city and settlement in the vicinity of Łęczyca. There were swamps and water-meadows to the north, south and east that were unsuitable for settlement. The River Bzura turned from the south to the east close to the medieval city. The range of Łęczyca swamps was reconstructed from the cartographic sources from the eighteenth century, mainly on the basis of the plan of Łęczyca mayor district, known from the 1790 copy.<sup>14</sup>

In the sixteenth century, the road through the eastern gate was probably led on a dyke. The Bzura swamps, bordering the city from the east, provided natural defence and were connected with the valley of the rivulet Wróblinka, a tributary of the Bzura surrounding the city from the south, whose name was mentioned already in 1527.<sup>15</sup> Arms of the Bzura were used to irrigate castle and city moats. The city was situated on a small islet, on a passage through a narrowing in the Vistula glacial valley.

Łęczyca was located shortly before 1268 by Duke Kazimierz, son of Konrad of Mazovia, on the same area on which it was situated in the sixteenth century. The former centre of the dense settlement layout of Łęczyca, stretching from Dzierżbiewów to the collegiate church in Tum, was situated in present-day Tum, and then next to the future St. Cross Church.<sup>16</sup> At first, all settlements in this group were called by a common name: Łęczyca. In the sixteenth century this term began to denote only the city located under German law, and the area near the St. Cross Church appears in the sources as 'Antiqua Civitas', i.e. the Old Town. The place where the collegiate church stands (ecclesia maior) is then 'Lancicia Maior', and the village situated nearby was called Tum or Kościół.<sup>17</sup> The term 'Tum' appears for the first time in 1354, but the name 'Ecclesia', that is: Church, still functions in numerous records in Łęczyca gord court books.<sup>18</sup> The name Tum, used instead of Kościół, was accepted at the end of the sixteenth century.

Since the middle of the sixteenth century Łęczyca was surrounded by walls, built during the reign of Casimir III the Great. From the north the city was entered through the Poznań gate, sometimes

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<sup>10</sup> A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju przestrzennego Łęczycy od XIII i do XIX w.*, [in:] *Ziemia Łęczycka*, Łódź 1964, pp. 67 ff.; cf. also footnote 1 and Widawski, *Mury*, p. 285.

<sup>11</sup> T. Lalik, *Stare Miasto w Łęczycy*, KHKM, 1956, no. 4, pp. 631 ff.; M. Rawita-Witanowski, *Monografia Łęczycy*, Cracow 1898; A. Tomczak, *Stare Miasto w Łęczycy*, "Studia Wczesnośredniowieczne", vol. 3, 1955, pp. 279 ff.; *Między Północą a Południem*, p. 76; A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju*, p. 78.

<sup>12</sup> AGAD, Ks. Łęczyckie, 25 a, f. 221 – after A. Tomczak, *Stare Miasto*, p. 279.

<sup>13</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 349 ff.

<sup>14</sup> A. Tomczak, *Katalog planów*, pos. 4.

<sup>15</sup> AGAD, Ks. grodzkie łeczyckie, 16a, f. 267 – after M. Rawita-Witanowski, *Monografia Łęczycy*, pp. 26, 111–115.

<sup>16</sup> J. Dylik, *Położenie geograficzne Tumu i Łęczycy*, "Rocznik Oddziału Łódzkiego Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego", vol. 3, 1939, pp. 122, 126 and AGAD, Ks. ziemskie łeczyckie, no. 4030, p. 374.

<sup>17</sup> A. Tomczak, *Stare Miasto*, p. 283 f., footnote 36, ref. to Teki Pawińskiego, vol. 3, no. 6275 and T. Lalik, *Stare Miasto w Łęczycy*, pp. 648, 652 ff.

<sup>18</sup> A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju*, p. 82.

called Toruń gate in the sources. In the south there was the Cracow gate. The placement of the gates was a result of the course of the road functioning in the times before the location of the city, one of oldest in this territory, of nation-wide importance. It ran from Cracow in the south to Płock and Włocławek in the north.

There were nine towers on the walls surrounding the city (including two gate towers), placed in the north, west and south.<sup>19</sup> In the east, the Bzura and its floodplains provided Łęczyca with natural protection.

The city space, enclosed within fortifications, created a regular quadrangle with partly chamfered corners. It was planned during the location, when the walls had not yet been built. The regularity of the plan lay on dividing the entire area – as presented by A. Tomczak<sup>20</sup> – into nine squares of nearly even sides. The middle part was intended for the market square. The regularity was disturbed by three large, stone buildings. In the south-western part of the city it was the parochial church of St. Andrew, with a school. The north-eastern part of the city was occupied by the Dominicans, that arrived at Łęczyca in 1270s. The eastern wall of the presbytery of the Dominican church of St. Dominic and St. Hyacinth directly adjoined the defensive wall.<sup>21</sup> The longer wall of the monastery building was attached to the city walls next to the corner tower. The Dominican buildings strengthened the defence of the entire corner of the city walls. On the other hand, the area occupied by the monks hampered the possible development of this part of the city.

The south-eastern part of the city was occupied by the castle, built during the reign of Casimir the Great.<sup>22</sup> It was included in the city walls network, but was a fortification on its own as well. It was built on an artificial mound, on a quadrangle plan with a slightly bent southern wall. It occupied an area of around 2,800 m<sup>2</sup>. The road to the castle led through the city, and then to a drawbridge and a gate located in the western part of perimeter walls. The entire castle was surrounded by a moat, filled with water from the River Bzura. It can be seen on the 1793 plan. There was a square tower of side length approximately 10 m, with octagonal upper stories in the south-western corner. The main residential building was a three-storey brick tower, situated in the eastern part of the castle. This was the ‘old castle’. Next to it, there was a building, called the ‘great hallway’ in the sixteenth century inspection. There was a two-storey house, called the ‘great chamber’ in the north-western corner. This is where gatherings took place.<sup>23</sup>

During the great rebuilding and expansion of Łęczyca between 1563 and 1565, supervised by the *starosta* Jan Lutomierski, a new building was raised in the north-eastern corner and also a new gate, called the Water Gate, was built. In the 1564 inspection we read that: ‘following the order of HRH he allowed to be built a gate from the courtyard toward the river, so that they bring water through this gate and the *starosta* could ride from the castle through this gate and not through the city, as it was before, and tell the mayor to open the gate when the *starosta* had to arrive early or leave late, because the castle was within the mayor’s authority’.<sup>24</sup> The castle, along with the courtyard where the outbuildings, e.g. stables, occupied the entire south-eastern corner of the city. It strengthened the defensiveness of this part of Łęczyca, but at the same time prevented any development of the city or the area between the castle and the market square. We do not possess any detailed source specifying the size of this utilitarian part of the castle, we must treat the state presented according to eighteenth–nineteenth century plans as hypothetical.

The area of the city within the city walls covered around 9 ha. Two main gates leading to the city were situated on the axis of the market square. The Poznań and the Cracow gate were located in square gate tower buildings, accessed by drawbridges over the moat. Inside, a street ran along the walls, interrupted in the north-western part by the Dominican buildings, and by the castle complex in

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<sup>19</sup> Widawski, Mury, p. 287.

<sup>20</sup> A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju*, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>21</sup> AGAD, Dział Kartografii, sign. 24–3.

<sup>22</sup> A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju*, p. 78; idem, *Katalog planów*, pos. 51–52; M. Rawita-Witanowski, *Monografia Łęczycy*, p. 24.

<sup>23</sup> B. Guerquin, *Zamki w Polsce*, Warsaw 1974, p. 189 f.; also W. Tomicka (Puget), *Zamek w Łęczycy. Studium historyczno-architektoniczne*, Warsaw 1961, Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków, TS; W. Puget, *Dzieje zamku w Łęczycy w XIV–XVIII w.*, BHS, 1965, no 1, pp. 74–77.

<sup>24</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, p. 89 f.

the south west. There was a city hall – probably made of brick – on the market square, attested to in the fifteenth century, with a pillory next to it and a dungeon in the cellars. The prisoners sentenced to beheading were executed by the executioner of Łęczycza outside the city, in a village Topola Katowa (today: Topola Kątowa).

Some of the buildings around the market square were partly brick.<sup>25</sup> Already in the fifteenth century the mayor of Łęczycza had a stone house in the city. The 1578 registers mention that there were two apothecaries, three goldsmiths, eleven tailors, eight furriers, twenty nine shoemakers, thirteen fishermen, seventeen potters, twelve salt traders and four butchers in Łęczycza.<sup>26</sup>

According to the 1564 inspection there were 183 plots altogether inside Łęczycza; the original number of plots was probably close to this number.

From 1569 inspection we know that nineteen houses were inhabited by the Jews. The sources say, that in 1576 there were 115 Jews in Łęczycza, of whom fifty paid poll tax.

At the end of the eighteenth century there were more Jews than Christians in Łęczycza. Probably already in the sixteenth century the synagogue was situated by the walls, in the north-western corner of the city.

We know the names of some of the streets from the sixteenth century. From the Poznań gate three streets ran: Dominikańska (towards the Dominican church and monastery), Żydowska, also called Sukienna (towards the market square from the west), and Kowalska. Kaliska street left the market square to the west, and Rzeźnicza to the east, both these streets are known from later sources. Two streets ran from the southern part of the square: Kościelna, also called Farna, leading to the church of St. Andrew, and Wodna, towards the new Water gate. From later sources we know, that the street leading to the castle was called Zamkowa, although it seems that this name was commonly used much earlier, as already in the fifteenth century it was said, that the mayor has his house in the city ‘going towards the castle’.<sup>27</sup> The streets Kowalska, Kościelna and Zamkowa have kept their names to this day.

Outside the city walls, on the suburbs surrounding Łęczycza from the north, west and south, there were 134 plot-gardens, a little fewer than the number of plots within the city. In the Cracow suburb there was a wooden Church of the Holy Ghost, mentioned in 1521, and a hospital, that is an almshouse for poor burghers, next to it. In 1569 the king assigned a permanent donation from Ostoja demesne to the hospital.<sup>28</sup> The church was pulled down in 1825, but the hospital remained until the end of the nineteenth century.

Outside the city walls there were also various farm establishments, such as mills and breweries. One of the watermills stood in Stare Miasto, where the Łęczycza–Tum road crossed the Bzura, and another one stood by the castle. Next to it, there was also a horse mill. As there was also another mill in Tum village, in the sixteenth century a special dike across the valley turned the river back from Tum to the mill in Stare Miasto. There were also damming devices near both mills. In the sixteenth century breweries were situated on the banks of Bzura, near the Dominican monastery and the Water gate. From the middle of the sixteenth century until the seventeenth century the city’s butchery operated on the riverside. In the sixteenth century there was also a shooting range, placed by A. Tomczak in the Ostoja suburb.<sup>29</sup> In the sixteenth century the importance of Łęczycza decreased, despite *starosta* Lutomierski’s efforts. Since the end of the twelfth century province synods gathered in Łęczycza. In 1527, in the times of archbishop Maciej Drzewiecki, it was decided, that the synods would no longer be called to Łęczycza, but moved to Piotrków ‘for the lack of rooms and comfort of the participants’.<sup>30</sup> Only in 1547, during the plague, the synod gathered not in Piotrków, but in Łęczycza.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>25</sup> A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju*, p. 81.

<sup>26</sup> M. Rawita-Witanowski, *Monografia Łęczycy*, p. 24; see also file in AHP study in IH PAN created by Dunin-Wąsowiczowa.

<sup>27</sup> A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju*, p. 81.

<sup>28</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 353; LWWK 1654, part 1, p. 81 and part 2, p. 130.

<sup>29</sup> A. Tomczak, *Zarys rozwoju*, p. 83.

<sup>30</sup> M. Rawita-Witanowski, *Monografia Łęczycy*, pp. 63 ff.

### III.6.18.9b MALBORK

*Wiesław Sieradzan*

The fate of the town of Malbork<sup>1</sup> and the Teutonic Order were connected not only by the location document from 1286 under Chełmno law,<sup>2</sup> but also by the integration with the castle complex situated north of the town.<sup>3</sup> The complex consisted of the High Castle, the Middle Castle and the Outer Castle, also called the Low Castle. The town's placement on an upland by the Nogat River and next to the capital of the Teutonic Order's state, had positive economic effects, particularly in the fourteenth century. However, during the armed conflicts as the events of the next century have shown, such a location became an obstacle, threatening the life and interests of the town's inhabitants. The close economic and political ties between the town and the Order lasted virtually until the end of the Thirteen Years' War, despite the takeover of Malbork Castle from the Teutonic Knights' mercenaries in 1457. Meanwhile, the status of the town, and, primarily, the castle, as a residence of the kings and Polish starosts at that time started to be emphasised by the Polish researchers as early as in the 1950s and 60s. Additionally, they stressed the improving state of town and castle economy in the sixteenth century, as well as the increase of the internal autonomy of the town which was of great importance. The latter was corroborated by a leading role played by Malbork, alongside Grudziądz, among the so-called 'small towns' at the assemblies of the Estates of Royal Prussia.<sup>4</sup> The rapid development of Protestantism and religious education was emphasised as well.<sup>5</sup>

Nonetheless, the issue of the reconstruction of the space of the town of Malbork for the mid-sixteenth century encounters considerable difficulties connected with sources, as no plans of that period, or even iconography, were preserved. There is a commonly known painting of considerable size (274 x 195 cm), probably created by a Rhineland painter around 1485, which features the castle and the town from the east in the period of the battles for the town in 1460.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, it was lost at the end of World War II. Slightly closer chronologically is the view of the castle and the town from

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<sup>1</sup> The Polish name "Malbork" appeared for the first time in the mid-sixteenth century. Before that, the German name "Marienburg" was used.

<sup>2</sup> The town's origins date back a little. Santyr, the town and the seat of the Prussian Bishop Chrystian, was a centre from which at the beginning of the 1280s the population came to the place where Malbork was to be established. In 1284, the parish priest and the sołtys *Civitatis Sance Marie* appeared in a centre emerging near the commandery castle. The initiation of the located town construction should be attributed to Provincial Master in Prussia, Konrad von Thierberg the Younger (1284–1287). See W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia i rozwój przestrzenny*, [in:] AHMP Malbork, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The connection between the town and the Order is also indicated by a coat of arms from medieval times placed on seals (the oldest on a document from 1399). Likewise, it can be observed on fourteenth century benches in the church of St. John the Baptist, which feature a gate and three brick towers topped with blue roofs and yellow spheres. The central, largest tower contains an image of a Teutonic Knights' shield (black cross on white background).

<sup>4</sup> J. Gerlach, *Grudziądz miejscem obrad Sejmiku Generalnego Prus Królewskich*, "Rocznik Grudziądzki", vol. 3, 1963, pp. 12–19; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 406; W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> W. Sieradzan, *Zamek i miasto Malbork po 1466 r. w świetle badań prof. Karola Górskiego. Szanse i bariery w nowych uwarunkowaniach*, [in:] *Polska i ziemie pruskie po Pokoju Toruńskim (1466 r.). Skutki i znaczenie dla ziem pruskich. Pamięci Profesorów Karola Górskiego i Mariana Biskupa*, ed. D. Makiła, Warsaw 2017, pp. 29–41.

<sup>6</sup> AHMP Malbork, no. 19 (bibliography therein); A.R. Chodyński, *Zamek malborski w obrazach i kartografii*, Warsaw 1988, p. 90.

the west, probably by the royal engraver Casper Felbinger before 1595.<sup>7</sup> Both views are of great historical and iconographic value, but at the same time, they provide only an approximate indication of the locations of individual buildings in the urban space. As far as the first one is concerned, the credibility of the presented contents was disputed among historians because the founders of the painting were the wealthier inhabitants of Gdańsk, who wanted to emphasize their participation in the fights for the city in 1460.<sup>8</sup> The two vedutas are complemented by the 1587 view of the castle from the east by A. Möller.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the inspections and inventories of the Malbork royal estate, written since the end of the sixteenth century in relation to its creation in 1590, when the Malbork castle properties were transferred to the Crown, are a very good source of information about the economic activities and functions of this institution and the castle area. Earlier descriptions of the Malbork royal estates in Żuławy are part of the inspections of the Malbork Voivodeship from 1565 and 1570. Both the first one from 1565,<sup>10</sup> preserved in a copy by J. Sembrzycki, and the subsequent ones from the seventeenth century and eighteenth century, often complemented by cartographic depictions provide insight primarily into the development of the castle space, less so the area of the town. With regard to the occupational and national structure in the middle of the sixteenth century, valuable data can be found in materials from the interrogation of 650 witnesses in relation to the riots that took place in Malbork on 9 July 1570.<sup>11</sup>

Despite continuous studies of the history of Malbork, the town has not yet been given an exhaustive scientific monograph, and the research into many aspects of the history of Malbork can hardly be called advanced. This concerns Polish rather than German literature, but the latter likewise did not provide a comprehensive account of the town's history either before 1945 or later.<sup>12</sup> Cartographic and iconographic sources, which are particularly useful for the reconstruction of the spatial layout of Malbork in the middle of the sixteenth century, have been studied in greater detail.<sup>13</sup> It is apparent, however, that the authors were usually primarily concerned with the castle rather than the town, even though the two settlements were well integrated. A few remarks should be devoted to the contents of Malbork cartographic sources, including those from the subsequent centuries, especially in the context of their value for the reconstruction. The first period in Malbork cartography is related to the Polish-Swedish wars of the seventeenth century. The Swedish occupation imposed some onerous obligations on the Malbork burghers: to pay continuous contributions and to participate in the construction of new fortifications around the town. The fortifications formed a large encampment of a kind, surrounding the town and partially the castle from the east and south. They consisted of eleven bastions connected by earthen ramparts with a total length of 2,500 m.<sup>14</sup> On the opposite side of the Nogat River at the level of the bridge towers, only a defensive structure called *Vogelsank* was built, which in a different form

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<sup>7</sup> AHMP Malbork, no. 20.

<sup>8</sup> M. Dygo, *O kulcie maryjnym w Prusach Krzyżackich w XIV–XV wieku*, ZH, vol. 52, 1987, no. 2, pp. 28–32; M. Mierziński, *Wieża Klesza w świetle źródeł ikonograficznych*, [in:] *Wieża Klesza i Domek Dzwonnika na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku*, ed. J. Hochleitner, M. Mierziński, Malbork 2016, p. 25; [review] W. Sieradzan, ZH, vol. 81, 2016, no. 3, pp. 180–186.

<sup>9</sup> M. Kilarski, *Odbudowa i konserwacja zespołu zamkowego w Malborku w latach 1945–2000*, Malbork 2007, p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> LKMC 1565; *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii malborskiej*, vol. 1–5, publ. W. Hejnosz, Toruń 1959–1971 (Fontes – Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, vol. 45, 48, 52, 58, 62).

<sup>11</sup> A. Mączak, *Mieszkańcy Malborka w r. 1570*, ZH, vol. 25, 1960, no. 3–4, pp. 9–40.

<sup>12</sup> Relevant literature is presented in: AHMP Malbork, pp. 26 ff. (bibliographical notes on the history of the town of Malbork). Unfortunately, the town's spatial development plan (no. 2) included in this atlas omits the early modern period, assuming four chronological sections (up to 1346, 1346–1380, the second half of the eighteenth-nineteenth century, and the twentieth century). Thus, a certain time gap was created, as a consequence of a conjecture that no major spatial transformations took place in the first century after the end of the Teutonic Order's rule.

<sup>13</sup> See *Verzeichniss der ost-und westpreußischen Stadtpläne*, ed. E. Keyser, Königsberg 1929, pp. 136–143 and supplements in "Altpreußische Forschungen", vol. 8, 1931, no. 1, p. 117 and vol. 10, 1933, no. 1, pp. 127 ff.; A.R. Chodyński, *Das Marienburger Schloss in der Kartographie*, "Burgen und Schlösser", vol. 26, 1985, no. 2, pp. 74–76; idem, *Zamek malborski; Historische Pläne und Grundrisse von Städten und Ortschaften in Polen. Dawne plany i rzuty poziome miast i innych miejscowości w Polsce. Ein deutsch-polischer Katalog*, ed. A. Jammers, publ. E. Klemp, Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 258–265; H. Lingenberg, *Die schwedische Besetzung des Weichsel-Nogat-Deltas und ihr kartographisches Abbild*, "Westpreußen Jahrbuch", vol. 22, 1972 (1971), pp. 47–59; J. Szeliga, *Rozwój kartografii Wybrzeża Gdańskiego do roku 1772*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk–Łódź 1982.

<sup>14</sup> R. Woźniak, *Fortyfikacje w dawnych Prusach Królewskich w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1974, pp. 103–104, 107; H. Knapp, *Das Schloss Marienburg in Preussen. Quellen und Materialien zur Baugeschichte nach 1456*, Lüneburg 1990, p. 26.

had already existed in medieval times. During the Polish-Swedish wars in the seventeenth century, with control over the Baltic Sea at stake, the town suffered heavy losses. From this period, more than 20 plans have been preserved, not only showing the location of troops during the siege of the town but also providing data on the size of fortifications. These plans, mostly of Swedish origin, are currently stored in Kunglige Kriegsarkivet in Stockholm.<sup>15</sup> Most of them have been repeatedly reproduced and used for historical research, also employing the retrogressive method.<sup>16</sup> Among other sources, the plan from 1629 by the cartographer Olaf Hanson Swart (1600–1644) is undoubtedly the most valuable. It was made to the scale of 1:3,000 and its dimensions are considerably large (123.5 cm x 53.4 cm). The high accuracy of this plan makes it possible, consulting the legend, to reconstruct the buildings in the town area and the elements of the fortifications. The highly valuable plan by Friedrich Getkant from 1639 belongs more to the category of fortification plans than typical town plans. However, this plan does not depict the internal development of the town.<sup>17</sup> Four less known plans of Malbork fortifications date from 1626 to 1629. They were included in the “History of the First Swedish-Polish War” published in 1640 by the Elbląg historiographer and mayor Israel Hoppe (1601–1679).<sup>18</sup>

Drawings by the Swedish engineer and politician in the service of the Polish king, Erik Jönson Dahlberg (1625–1703), dating from 1656 and 1659, which were engraved as copperplates in 1699 by F. De la Pointe, are despite similar scale, characterised by a considerably greater accuracy. Both of Dahlberg’s plans contain valuable information on the history of fortifications and the art of siege in the seventeenth century. The first one provides less insight into the topography of Malbork than, which is perhaps more important, into the structure of the suburbs, broadly delineated in the east and south of the town, within the outer lines of the fortifications. A comparison of the two plans shows that the second one offers a better representation of the water conditions around the town and the castle complex.

The eighteenth century was not a heyday of the cartography of the town, not only in terms of the total number of plans but also their historical significance. Only 10 plans remain from this period. One of them dates to 1704, and it was probably created by Major L. Wisoky-Hochmuth, killed in 1709 at Poltava. It later came into the possession of King Charles XIII and has been kept in the Royal Library in Stockholm since 1873. It has no scale, yet the streets, the system of fortifications, and the castle with the fortifications on the opposite bank of the Nogat River are easily recognisable. Individual buildings within the town area can be identified using the attached legend.<sup>19</sup> The important point for our considerations is that this plan provides an excellent, previously neglected, depiction of the development of the eastern and southern suburbs in comparison to the plans from the seventeenth century. Further research opportunities may arise particularly from the analysis of a small (23.3 cm x 15.5 cm) plan to the scale of 1:4,000, elaborated by G. Bodenehr ca. 1725. Already known to the Gdańsk historian Erich Keyser, it is currently housed in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBPK) in Berlin and the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. Two plans from 1745 and 1765, drawn as part of an inspection of the Malbork estate carried out at that time, enabled us to reconstruct the topography of Malbork in the eighteenth century. The first one is the work of an unknown cartographer, whereas the other was prepared by the royal surveyor J.K.F. Müller. Overall, it can be concluded that these detailed inspection plans to the scale of approx. 1:1,127 provide a good insight into the topography of the areas outside the castle walls, particularly the lands by the Nogat River which belonged to the *starosta*’s district. On the other hand, the plans can be used for reconstruction of the scope of the town premises in the Outer Bailey, including the brewery, distilleries, tavern, granaries and barns. They also provide excellent insight into the sociotopography of the town. The two representations are

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<sup>15</sup> B. Gäfvert, *Seventeenth and eighteenth century manuscript maps of Poland in the Swedish Military Archives*, [in:] *Kartografia wojskowa krajów strefy bałtyckiej XVI–XX w. Materiały konferencji naukowej, Toruń, 20–22 października 1994 r.*, ed. S. Alexandrowicz, Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1996, p. 8; U. Ehrensward, *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930. Katalog źródeł rękopiśmiennych do historii ziem polskich w zbiorach szwedzkich*, Warsaw–Sztokholm 2008, passim.

<sup>16</sup> J. Szeliga, *Rozwój kartografii*, p. 148–150. See description of the all the preserved plans of Malbork: W. Sieradzan, *Kartographische und ikonographische Bilder der Stadt Marienburg vom 15. bis. 20. Jh. Ein Quellenüberblick auf der Grundlage der Editionsarbeiten am Historischen Atlas der Stadt Marienburg*, “Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission”, vol. 2, 2004, pp. 107–117, 261–273.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. H. Lingenberg, *Die schwedische Besetzung*, pp. 47–59.

<sup>18</sup> A.R. Chodyński, *Das Marienburger Schloss in der Kartographie*, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm, Manuscript D 817.

supplemented by a colour plan from ca. 1775, the work of J.C.F. Müller and J.K. Friedrich, drawn at a large scale of 1:750. At present, alongside a description of the castle buildings, it can be found in the collection of the SBPK in Berlin.<sup>20</sup>

In the context of the issue in question, we cannot ignore the cartographical representations from the first half of the nineteenth century, which for the town of Malbork was a period of accelerated growth, and, most of all, of increasing efforts leading to the restoration of the castle. Over 25 plans of the town come from this period, valuable particularly for the depiction of the topography of Malbork and the defensive structures. The plans are directly related to the intention to rebuild the castle, primarily those elaborated by C.A. Gersdorf (1787–1850). A graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Gdańsk, Gersdorf supervised the construction works of the so-called “romantic restoration” of the Malbork castle in the years 1819–1850. His plans provide an insight into the consequences of the spatial changes, which had occurred particularly in the expanding suburbs of Malbork.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ineffectiveness of the defence structures from medieval and modern times was pointed out. In 1807, it motivated the French authorities to order the demolition of the ruins of St. Mary’s Chapel, serving as an external entrance gate to the town from the direction of Sztum. In 1839, major spatial changes were initiated as a consequence of the removal of the outer defensive fortifications.

The cartography of Malbork from the years 1850–1914, when around 30 plans are known to have been elaborated, constitute a particularly valuable source base.<sup>21</sup> It illustrates the dynamic development of the city from an industrial, demographic and spatial perspective, particularly in the years 1871–1914.<sup>22</sup> Among the plans of the town and the former Teutonic castle from the 1850s, the most noteworthy are the coloured drawings by R. v. Gayl (1821–1871), an engineer, captain and cartographer. This military man born in Szczecin was a son of Friedrich Georg Ludwig Freiherr v. Gayl (born on 4 February 1776 in Malbork, died in Berlin on 12 January 1853).<sup>23</sup> Robert v. Gayl, before he started working on the plans of the new fortifications, taking into account the existence of the railway line and the bridge over the Nogat River, had been interested in the medieval and modern fortifications. Between 1854 and 1860 he did not only develop new plans of the Malbork fortifications but also supervised their actual rebuilding.<sup>24</sup> Gathering a series of plans under the title “Zur Festungsgeschichte Marienburgs” in 1855, he prepared a coloured situational reconstruction plan of Malbork during the reign of the Teutonic Order, i.e. until the middle of the fifteenth century. In the centre of this paper plan made at a scale of 1:5,100 are, naturally, the castle complex and the bridge bastion called *Vogelsank*, but also the developments in the Sztum suburb and in the area called *Geistlichkeit* (Malbork parson’s *jurydyka*, *juridical enclave*). It also includes the water conditions around the town and the castle. This plan is the most significant source for reconstructing the landscape of the town in the mid-sixteenth century. Using the progressive method (a snapshot approx. 80–90 years earlier) does not only provide a closer look at the spatial layout of the town and its suburbs at that time, especially their eastern and southern parts, but also includes a catalogue of important objects within the castle area belonging to the town, Teutonic Knights’ and, later, Polish authorities. Therefore, this plan is of fundamental importance for our research, although the question arises whether in the middle of the nineteenth century during the period of the romantic restoration of the castle, the aforementioned R. v. Gayl accurately portrayed the town at the end of the Teutonic Order’s rule. Leaving aside some minor imperfections, the answer to this question must be affirmative. At present, it can be stated without a doubt that the first stage of the castle’s restoration was, to a considerable extent, interdisciplinary in character, and included the involvement of historians. Among them, we should mention the Königsberg professor and archivist Johannes Voigt (1786–1863), and the Malbork pastor and doctor Wilhelm Ludwig Häbler (1768–1841).<sup>25</sup> Both provided valuable information and extracts from Teutonic and municipal sources, which were

<sup>20</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, SX 29874.

<sup>21</sup> See *Allgemeine Kartensammlung Provinz Westpreußen*, publ. W. Bliss, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2000, Ortsverzeichnis.

<sup>22</sup> H. Matzerath, *Urbanisierung in Preussen 1815–1914*, Stuttgart 1985.

<sup>23</sup> W. Sierdzan, *Kartografia wojskowa Malborka od XVII do początku XX wieku*, [in:] *Dawne mapy historyczne i wojskowe*, ed. B. Konopska, J. Ostrowski, P.E. Wespiański, Warsaw 2018 (*Z Dziejów Kartografii*, vol. 22), pp. 217 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See A.R. Chodyński, *Zamek malborski*, p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> A. Dobry, *Romantyczna restauracja kaplicy domowej wielkich mistrzów na zamku w Malborku*, “Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” 2004, no. 3, pp. 351–360.

primarily held in the archives of Königsberg. Before 1831, the latter wrote (in manuscript) a two-volume work titled “Über das Ordensschloß Marienburg”. It contained plans of the castle church before restoration, as well as drawings of bas-reliefs and paintings from St. Anne’s Chapel. W.L. Häbler’s text corroborated Johannes Voigt’s findings on the subject.<sup>26</sup> This plan is supplemented by a valuable and very carefully prepared drawing by Werner Dobisch from 1924, featuring the town of Malbork and its fortification system in the fifteenth century.<sup>27</sup> From an iconographic standpoint, the castle, and to a lesser extent the town, were also of interest to the architect Conrad Steinbrecht (1849–1923), who for 40 years supervised the works at the High Castle, and after 1902 at the Middle Castle. From 1923, his work was taken over by the district master builder and an exceptional conservator, Bernhard Schmid (1872–1947). He, as well, enriched our knowledge of medieval Malbork, by publishing an article on the Malbork town hall in the “Denkmalpflege” magazine. It was supplemented by a plan of the town of his creation, featuring the town’s division into quarters and the most prominent buildings and benches.<sup>28</sup> The plan reflects the spatial relations within the town walls in seventeenth century and eighteenth century.

Under the Second Toruń Peace Treaty in 1466, the town was incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland. Malbork became the capital of the voivodeship, the seat of the land court and other successively established institutions. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in terms of population the town was a significant centre in the Republic of Poland, but within the Malbork Voivodeship it was clearly inferior to Elbląg. We should also note that the other towns of this Voivodeship, such as Dzierzgoń (the seat of the voivode), Nowy Staw, Sztum, and Tolkmicko were much less populated (up to 1,500 inhabitants). The average number of people admitted to the municipal law in Malbork, according to surviving sources from the years 1398–1769, was 17.2.<sup>29</sup> The inflow of population to the town in that period was decreasing, and there were no more exceptions in the number of new residents, such as 80 people in 1447 or 75 people in 1606. The Malbork castle acquired the status of a royal residence during the periods of both short and several months-long visits of Polish monarchs in Royal Prussia. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a special official called ‘the castle constructor’ (*praefecto aedificiorum castris Marienburgensis*) was taking care of the technical maintenance of the building.<sup>30</sup> Were there more such officials in this century? Unfortunately, the sources fail to provide information on that matter.

In the second half of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, despite the loss of its status as a regional capital, Malbork gained favourable conditions for further development through the control over the countryside. At the beginning of the modern era, considerable sources of income for the population of about 3,000 (4,500 together with the suburbs) were crafts and trade, especially in grain, which was not the domain of merchants, but that of the bakers.<sup>31</sup> During this period, a number of crafts developed in the town, particularly cloth making, brewing, and butchery. The wealthier citizens, living in selected plots of land (137), held a monopoly on beer brewing, which was generating considerable income for the royal treasury. In the sixteenth century, some burghers already owned

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<sup>26</sup> In Toruń, Karol Górski had at his disposal a copy of the monograph of this Königsberg historian, archivist and source publisher: *Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des deutsche Ritter-Ordens in Preußen*, Königsberg 1824. Unfortunately, in this location the monograph was lost.

<sup>27</sup> W. Dobisch, *Die mittelalterliche Befestigung der Stadt Marienburg*, “Ostdeutsche Monatshefte”, vol. 7, 1926, no. 2, p. 127.

<sup>28</sup> B. Schmid, *Das Rathaus in Marienburg in Westpreußen*, “Die Denkmalpflege”, vol. 4, 1902, no. 11, pp. 82 ff.; W. Sieradzan, *Zainteresowania dawna kartografią miejską Bernharda Schmida (1872–1947) – ostatniego niemieckiego konserwatora zabytków w Malborku*, [in:] *Dawna kartografia miast*, ed. J. Ostrowski, P.E. Wieszpiński, Warsaw 2011, (Z Dziejów Kartografii, vol. 15), pp. 421–428; idem, *Początki warsztatu naukowo-konserwatorskiego Bernharda Schmida (1872–1947). Uwagi na marginesie albumu “Rathaus in Marienburg*, [in:] *W służbie zabytków*, ed. J. Hochleitner, K. Polejowski, Malbork 2017, pp. 217–230.

<sup>29</sup> M. Toeppen, *Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte des Rats und Gerichts der Stadt Marienburg*, “Altpreussische Monatschrift”, vol. 38, 1901, pp. 195–214; S. Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast Polski przedrozbiorowej. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Warsaw 1973, p. 118.

<sup>30</sup> AGAD, MK, 0025 (1511), 0035 (1521). The person in question is Melchior Głaubicz, the later Vogt (mayor) of Malbork.

<sup>31</sup> K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka*, Gdańsk 1973, p. 147; W. Sieradzan, *Uwagi o rozwoju przestrzennym miasta Malborka od drugiej połowy XV do końca XIX w. z uwzględnieniem źródeł kartograficznych*, [in:] *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w Europie Środkowowschodniej do połowy XIX wieku*, ed. D. Michaluk, K. Mikulski, Toruń 2003, p. 154.

inns within the territory of the Malbork royal estate in Żuławy Malborskie. A strong position in the town was also held by the bakers' guild, which owned benches by the parish church of St. John the Baptist.<sup>32</sup> Butchers from Malbork, apart from the so-called *Fleischerfeld* located to the south of the town walls, made good use of the pastures in Żuławy and on the banks of the Vistula. In total, at the turn of the sixteenth century and seventeenth century, 11 guilds operated in the town: barbers, coopers, blacksmiths, tailors, furriers, leatherworkers, hatters, bakers, butchers, cloth merchants and shoemakers.<sup>33</sup> We should also note that the town of Malbork was a major centre of printing. In 1492, goldsmith Jakub Karweyse (*Karwiese*) founded the first printing house in Prussia, and in 1577 a second one was opened by Mikołaj Scharfenberg.<sup>34</sup> The former published a biography of Blessed Dorothea of Mąków, written in German.

The favourable location of the town at the intersection of trade routes, one running along the Vistula (*via mercatorum*), and the other leading from the Margraviate of Brandenburg through Człuchów, Chojnice, Tuchola and Świecie to Chełmno, with branches from Tuchola towards Elbląg, Malbork and to the Duchy of Prussia (*via marchionis*), contributed to the development of trade and craft in Malbork. In the mid-sixteenth century, Malbork merchants, who despite constituting a fairly insignificant percentage of the population (ca. 5%), were often, as mentioned above, representatives of various guilds, and were active on the grain, wood, and beer markets of Royal Prussia.

The town entered the early modern period with its area defined mainly by the aforementioned town privilege of 1286.<sup>35</sup> The spatial layout of the capital of the Teutonic Knights' state, created in medieval times, showed many similarities with layouts of other Prussian towns (coastal ones),<sup>36</sup> both large, such as Elbląg, the Main Town of Gdańsk, the Old Town of Königsberg, Knipawa, and small, such as Pasłek, or the New Town of Braniewo. The area delimited by the town walls was a consequence of the location privilege stipulations and the extension of the urban territory to the east in 1380. Gradually, four blocks of buildings were erected there on the eastern side of the streets *Kratzhammer* (*Katzerhayn*) and *Neustadt* (*Nowe Miasto*).<sup>37</sup> On the north-south axis, the central space in Malbork was a wide street with the dimensions 32 x 300 m., serving as a market square (*Markt*). On each side of the street, four residential quarters (*Viertel*) of unequal size were located, with the larger ones on the eastern side. The Gothic town hall, probably erected at the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century, served as the seat of the town council and town court (*ława miejska*), as well as the venue of the sessions (alternating with other towns) of the Teutonic Prussian, and later Royal Prussian *Sejmik* (*Dietine*).<sup>38</sup> It was located between quarters two and three on the eastern side of the market square. Four mayors with different competencies were elected from among the town councillors. In addition, there were two *kamlars* (*treasurers*), taking care of the town treasury.<sup>39</sup> Below the western façade of the town hall, there was the so-called *Laubengang*, or arcade, which was a fragment of the Lower Arcades.<sup>40</sup> However, there is no reason to assume that they were already entirely finished in the middle of the sixteenth century. Their design may have been introduced by German settlers from Silesia. On the ground floor inside the town hall, bread benches were laid out (30 in the fifteenth century). Butcher's benches (36 in medieval times) were located to the south of the town hall. In all probability, the booths for vendors and winemakers were not built until the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> After approximately one century since the foundation of the town and its substantial extension to the east, the whole settlement became somewhat closer to the shape of a square, 240 x 300 m. in size. Notably, from the fifteenth century onwards, an inn *Karczma Kamienna* (*Steinhaus/Steinkrug*) operated at the corner of *Schmiedegasse* and *Kratzhammer* streets.

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<sup>32</sup> K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka*, p. 147.

<sup>33</sup> APGd, sign. 509–517.

<sup>34</sup> H.J. Borchert, *Marienburger Geschichtsbuch. Daten, Ereignisse und Namen*, Frankfurt/Main 2006, p. 133.

<sup>35</sup> The town owned 8 lans in the upland and 40 lans in Wielkie Żuławy.

<sup>36</sup> H. Bonk, *Die Städte und Burgen in Altpreussen*, Königsberg 1895, p. 80.

<sup>37</sup> W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> B. Schmid, *Das Rathaus*, p. 82. It is also possible that the proceedings of the Royal Prussia Estates were taking place in the castle church. This may be particularly true about the upper house – the Prussian Council.

<sup>39</sup> K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka*, p. 148.

<sup>40</sup> B. Schmid, *Das Rathaus*, p. 83.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 82.

The largest Gothic building in the town was the parish church of St. John the Baptist,<sup>42</sup> built on a quasi-rectangular plan. The original structure, first mentioned in 1319, was destroyed during the Thirteen Years' War. Shortly afterwards, a new three-nave Gothic church was built, and the work continued until the beginning of the Reformation, i.e., for over 50 years.<sup>43</sup> In 1534 the vaults collapsed, prompting further renovation work. In the sixteenth century, the church was already under the royal patronage, and before that under the Teutonic Knights' and the town's.<sup>44</sup> At first, it belonged to the Pomesanian diocese with a seat in Kwidzyń, and, after its discontinuance in the Protestant era, it became a part of the bishopric of Chełmno in 1577. The church was of the hall type, without a distinguished chancel, and it was situated in the north-western part of the town, adjacent to the market square from the east, to *Fischergasse* (*Rybacka*) from the south, and *Fleischergasse* (*Rzeźnicka*) from the west. On the northern side of the church, by the walls of the castle moat, a parish cemetery was located. Probably, as it can be gathered from the R. v. Gayl's plan, its narrower part encircled the church from the eastern side as well.

On the western corner of the street called *Gildegasse* or by the Nogat River, since 1440, in a brick building, there was the court of King Artus (*Konigartushof*), mentioned in the town's rule (*wilkierz*). According to K. Górski, the building disappeared from the urban space after the Thirteen Years' War. The location by the Nogat River was associated with a building emerging from the line of fortifications. Th. Breiter believed that, initially, the building was only defensive in function, and it became the residence of the Latin School as late as the second half of the fifteenth century; in all probability, his argument holds true.<sup>45</sup> Supposedly, the school had been previously located by the parish church.<sup>46</sup> Its origins can be traced to the foundation of the Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1351–1382), but the patronage over its activities was left in the competence of the town council, and it probably remained to be so in the sixteenth century. The school, about which we have extensive knowledge thanks to numerous preserved mentions, and particularly the unique bill from fourteenth century published in print by Th. Breiter, had as many as four teachers at the end of that century. It was attended not only by the children of the wealthier burghers from Malbork and beyond, but also by the so-called "other students".<sup>47</sup>

To the north of this building, along *Fleischergasse*, near the Szpitalna Gate (mentioned in 1410 and 1508), a hospital named "Divine Cellar" (*Gotteskeller*) was located. It was probably not yet established at the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>48</sup> but as late as 1540. Originally, the site was occupied by a house for the vicars of St. John the Baptist church built in 1499. The founder of the hospital in 1540 was the supervisor of the town court, Johann Kaphardt.<sup>49</sup> During the Old Polish period, a tower and a bridge leading to the town were located further eastwards to the northern exit of Upper Arcades, by the southern moat of the High Castle, between the former conventual castle and the parish church of St. John the Baptist. On R. v. Gayl's plan, this bridge was already included in the Teutonic Knights' period, but in all likelihood, it was not built until after 1466. From the inspections of the Malbork and Chełmno Voivodeships in 1565, we know it was called "Furta" (*die Pforte*).<sup>50</sup>

The town of Malbork had a double line of walls to the south, which was unique in the Teutonic Order state. Cartographic sources from the period of the Swedish wars allow us to determine the arrangement of buildings, especially between the inner and outer line of the southern fortifications.

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<sup>42</sup> W. Rozykowski, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006, p. 94. It also sometimes appears as the church of St. John the Evangelist (about 1500).

<sup>43</sup> *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 2, publ. M. Hein, E. Maschke, Königsberg 1932, no. 257, p. 165; J. Voigt, *Geschichte Marienburgs*, no. XXXV; *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, ed. A. Włodarek, Warsaw 1995, pp. 156, 464; W. Jedliński, *Malbork, dzieje miasta na fotografię*, Malbork 2001, p. 107; W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> A. Kopiczko, *Die religiöse Leben in Marienburg (Malbork) in den Jahren 1525–1772*, [in:] *Die Marienburg. Vom Machtzentrum des Deutschen Ordens zum Mitteleuropäischen Erinnerungsort*, ed. B.U. Hucker, E. Kotte, Ch. Vogel, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich 2013, p. 54.

<sup>45</sup> W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> H.J. Borchert, *Marienburger Geschichtsbuch*, p. 128, assumes that until 1598 the school was located by the parish church of St. John the Baptist at *Schuhgasse*.

<sup>47</sup> W. Sieradzan, *Oblicza kultury intelektualnej*, [in:] *Zakon krzyżacki i jego państwo w Prusach. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. A. Radziwiński, Toruń 2005, p. 91.

<sup>48</sup> AHMP Malbork, plan no. 2.

<sup>49</sup> H.J. Borchert, *Marienburger Geschichtsbuch*, p. 127.

<sup>50</sup> AHMP Malbork, plan no. 3.

Upon crossing the inner moat on the right, there was a gate leading to the bank of Nogat River, called “*Tranckthor*” since 1529. Next to it, in the middle of the seventeenth century or maybe even earlier, a bathhouse was situated.

In the sixteenth century, on the right side of the road to the outer Przewozowa Gate, a town hospital was located, while on the left side from the inner gate, the malt house, the armoury, and the town manor operated since the fourteenth century. In front of the line of the wooden-earthen bulwark (*Bollwerk*) with two towers, there was the so-called ‘outer Przewozowa Gate’ (*Mariacka Gate*). Two towers were adjacent to it on the inner side. Later, in the mid-seventeenth century, the one situated on the side of Nogat River, was called Gunpowder Tower (*Pulverthurm*). Supposedly, both towers housed prisons.<sup>51</sup> The gate was supported by two wide arches standing across the moat. From the outside, it was decorated with two slender turrets with high spires. Above the gate was a chapel with a painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with stairs leading to it from both sides of the walls. The vicarage, located there since 1448, was under the patronage of the town council.<sup>52</sup> One of the defensive structures of the town was a moat, which surrounded it, as it is presented in the reconstruction by W. Dobisch, from the south and east. In the latter section, it merged with the castle moat. The water came through the Mynówka Canal (*Mühlen Graben*) which was dug from Lake Piekarskie (*Bäcker See*, currently Dąbrówka), situated to the south of the town. The watering of the moats was enabled by the upland’s gentle decline towards the north.

The developments of the southern and eastern suburbs continued throughout the medieval period, accelerating in the sixteenth century as the number of inhabitants steadily increased. In the southern suburb, along the route to Sztum (between the later *Ziegelgasse* (*Ceglana*) and *Fleischergasse*), south of the Przewozowa Gate (*Mariacka Gate*) there was a small, two-nave half-timbered church and St. George’s Hospital, mentioned in the sources as early as 1402. A certain distance from the town was caused by the fact that it was originally a leprosarium, which is also evident from its patron. Around the church, the deceased were buried.<sup>53</sup> In 1471, at the request of the town council, the Pomesanian Bishop Wincenty Kiełbasa integrated the St. George’s church, rebuilt after the destruction caused by the Thirteen Years’ War, with the nearby hospital, and granted the rights of its patronage to the council.<sup>54</sup>

The Jerusalem Hospital, which was merged with the St. George’s Hospital in the 1620s and the building of which is still standing today, was constructed in the early sixteenth century. However, according to R. v. Gayl’s plan, it was already in operation during Teutonic times. In 1527 and 1528, a new hospital located “*bey Sant Jorgen*” is mentioned and listed next to the St. George’s establishment.<sup>55</sup> In the 1520s, when the Reformation tendencies spread to Malbork, in St. George’s chapel, which remained under the patronage of the town council, Martin Luther’s doctrine was preached by a citizen of Gdańsk, a former Dominican Jakub Knade (Knothe). A moderate Lutheran orientation was also supported by the Pomesanian bishop Erhard von Queiss, a former clergyman, who dissolved his Catholic bishopric during the secularisation of Prussia in 1525. Religious innovations quickly found new followers among the burghers, despite the formal prohibition by King Sigismund I the Old. In 1569, Sigismund II Augustus granted a series of permits which extended the scope of religious freedom for Protestants in the town council and among the townsfolk.<sup>56</sup> Catholics had become a minority in Malbork, yet they still owned the church of St. John the Baptist. Since the Protestants’ access to this church was very limited, in 1598 they moved their religious services to St. George’s church.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Z.H. Nowak, A. Tomczak, *Plan okolicy Bramy Mariackiej w Malborku z roku 1650*, “Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia XX – Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne”, (1985), no. 158, pp. 31–36.

<sup>52</sup> N.N., *Kirchliche Altertümer von Marienburg*, “Pastoralblatt für Diöcese Ermland”, vol. 38, 1906, pp. 5–7, 13–17; S. Kwiatkowski, *Klimat religijny w diecezji pomezjańskiej u schyłku XIV i w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XV wieku*, Toruń 1990, pp. 89–91.

<sup>53</sup> M. Horanin, *Sieć leprozoriów w państwie zakonnym w Prusach*, “Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, 2005, no. 2, p. 147. The churchyard surrounding the church was closed only in the beginning of 1980s.

<sup>54</sup> W. Długokęcki, *Z dziejów opieki społecznej w Malborku w XIV – początkach XVI wieku*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa jubileuszu ks. Infułata Mieczysława Józefczyka*, ed. J. Hochleitner, ks. A. Kilanowski, “Zarządzanie i Edukacja”, special number, vol. 2, 2000, pp. 158–161.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 161.

<sup>56</sup> W. Jedliński, *Dzieje kościoła i parafii Matki Boskiej Nieustającej Pomocy w Malborku*, Malbork 1996, p. 27.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 28; A. Kopiczko, *Die religiöse Leben in Marienburg*, p. 54. See also: B. Schmid, *Die evangelische Pfarikirche St. Georgen zu Marienburg*, Marienburg 1932.

We should note, however, that among the patricians Calvinism spread, and their representatives argued with the Lutherans about the presence of altars in St. George's church. The conflict was not only of a religious, but also social and economic nature.<sup>58</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits came to the town and established a school by the parish church of St. John.<sup>59</sup> They were involved in a prolonged dispute with the town council, *inter alia* over the Blessed Virgin Mary's chapel with the painting, built over the Sztumska Gate. The southern suburb was already heavily built-up in Teutonic times, especially along the above-mentioned streets. The remaining part of it consisted mainly of the homestead village *Hopfenbruch* (*Chmielniki*). Despite its name, the latest findings suggest that in the 1520s its inhabitants did not cultivate hops, but cabbage, and they kept livestock.<sup>60</sup> On the border with the village of Wielbark (*Willenberg*), to the east, a place was provided for storing manure, and the field on the right was owned by the hospital.<sup>61</sup> The land on the eastern and western side of the Jerusalem Hospital also belonged to that institution. It should be added that the eastern part of the area, that was then called *Marienvorstadt*, was occupied by fields used for slaughtering animals.

In the mid-seventeenth century, in the southern suburb of Malbork beyond the line of fortifications, two west-east oriented streets existed: *Tischlergasse* (*Stolarska*, currently *M. Kopernika*) and *Mühlengasse* (*Żeromskiego*).<sup>62</sup> The latter was mentioned in 1493 and led from the southern suburb to the Middle Mill (*Średni Młyn*). On the reconstruction plan of R. v. Gayl, this street is marked, but not yet named.

The second suburb of Malbork, already in existence in medieval times, was the area east of the then Middle Gate (*Mitteltor*) mentioned in 1380, leading to a church and a hospital dedicated to the Holy Spirit. For this reason, the gate was called the Gate of the Holy Spirit (1442, *Brama św. Duchy*) and later, in the modern period, the Pottery Gate (*Töpfertor*).<sup>63</sup> Before 1460, the hospital belonged to the Order and they appointed a hospitaller for it. Since 1460, the care of the hospital was taken over by the parish priest of the church of St. John the Baptist. From this period, the area opposite to the church (developed with timber-framed brickwork buildings) and the hospital was also at the parish priest's disposal, and came to be known as *Grosse Geistlichkeit* (the left side of the current Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego Street) and *Kleine Geistlichkeit* (*Sierakowskich*). In the seventeenth century, a *jurydyka* belonging to the clergy functioned in this area creating significant competition for the town's economy, if only due to the right to brew beer free of municipal tax. Its independence is evidenced by the fact that it had its own *softys* with first instance judicial competencies, and its inhabitants were not subject to municipal law. According to W. Długokęcki, the existence of a second gate in the eastern line of the town walls is disputable.<sup>64</sup> It seems that this view is valid for the earlier medieval centuries of the history of Malbork. This is because we have to take into account not so much because at the end of the fifteenth century an unknown artist from Gdańsk painted a second gate in this line of walls, placing it to the north of the Gate of the Holy Spirit, but rather the 1454 reference to the Piaskowa Gate (*Sandtor*) in the chronicle "Geschichte von wegen eines Bundes".<sup>65</sup> Accepting these two premises allows us to assume that the Piaskowa Gate existed in the mid-sixteenth century. Secondly, south of the hospital area, a street called *Gerbergasse* (*Garbarska*) existed already in 1420 as the tanners were

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<sup>58</sup> A. Mączak, *Rozwój społeczno-gospodarczy Prus Królewskich: miasto i handel*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, ed. G. Labuda, vol. 2: *Do roku 1815*, part 1 (1464/44–1648/57), Poznań 1976, p. 268.

<sup>59</sup> A different opinion is presented by H.J. Borchert (*Marienburger Geschichtsbuch*, p. 136), who surmises that the Jesuits arrived in Malbork as early as 1593, the same year King Sigismund III Vasa visited the Malbork castle. The matter was settled by Mieczysław Józefczyk, according to whom in 1618 the Bishop of Chełmno and Pomesania Jan Kuczborski brought the Jesuits (two) to Malbork with the permission of King Sigismund III. See Ks. M. Józefczyk, *Kościół malborskie w I połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Jezuici w Malborku a życie religijne na terytorium diecezji pomezaniańskiej w okresie nowożytnym*, ed. J. Hochleitner, Malbork 2014, p. 57.

<sup>60</sup> W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>62</sup> Z.H. Nowak, A. Tomczak, *Plan okolicy Bramy Mariackiej*, p. 36. See W. Sieradzan, *Henryk Thomme i jego plany miasta Malborka (Heinrich Thomme und seiner Pläne von Marienburg)*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie", 2003, no. 4(242), pp. 443–449.

<sup>63</sup> A wide street, described in seventeenth century sources as *platea* (*platea S. Spiritus* and *platea figulina vulgo Tepfergas*), started at the Pottery Gate. N.N., *Kirchliche Altertümer von Marienburg*, "Pastoralblatt für Diözese Ermland", 1937, p. 124.

<sup>64</sup> W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> *Geschichte von wegen eines Bundes*, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 4, ed. M. Töppen, Leipzig 1870, p. 124. The name is undoubtedly related to the road leading to the village Piaski (*Sandhof*).

settling there during the sixteenth century and earlier. In Teutonic times, a tannery mill moved by water from the Młynówka Canal was noted there.<sup>66</sup>

On the basis of the so-called “first drawing” by E.J. Dahlberg from 1656, it can be argued that there was a bridge connecting the High Castle and the northern part of the town.<sup>67</sup>

There is not much information about the western suburb of Malbork. On the R. v. Gayl’s plan, it does not appear at all. However, we do know that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the area between the town walls and the Nogat River belonged to the Order, but the town paid rent for the lease because a river harbour was located there.<sup>68</sup>

Malbork played a significant role after the end of the Thirteen Years’ War, when the issue of the Polish King’s and the Prussian Estates relationship arose. Malbork and Grudziądz, similar in size and both under the influence of Gdańsk, hosted relatively frequently assemblies of those estates. In the years 1466–1492, Malbork is mentioned as the venue 32 times, and Grudziądz 25 times.<sup>69</sup> In 1521, King Sigismund the Old in the statutes for Prussia introduced assemblies in Malbork on St. Stanislaus’ Day and Grudziądz on the day after St. Michael’s Day.<sup>70</sup> According to S. Achremczyk, in the second half of the sixteenth century the assemblies of estates in Malbork were not questioned, unlike the earlier period.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, Malbork was the more important of the two, not only because of its administrative rank and the location by the important fortress as well as a royal residence, but also because of the greater wealth of its inhabitants. Indeed, the town paid taxes four times higher than Grudziądz, as evidenced by the tax register from 1580.<sup>72</sup> Consequently, it was ranked first among the so-called ‘small Prussian towns’. In the sixteenth – seventeenth century, Malbork was an example of a town situated near a fortress, i.e., a point of strategic importance and an area of storage, which could secure and maintain dominion over a part of the country. The issue of the income gained by the burghers of Malbork due to the organisation and management of those assemblies is debatable. After all, 120–150 deputies had to find a place to lodge and eat, usually in the town inns. This gave the town’s permanent residents potential opportunities to sell their products and services.

The issue of the nationality of Malbork’s inhabitants in the mid-sixteenth century is still open to discussion. The question of the geographical origin and social mobility of the ruling elite of medieval Malbork has already been raised by W. Długokęcki.<sup>73</sup> With regard to the early modern period, virtually the only sources which allow us to address this issue, albeit imperfectly, are the materials from the interrogation of 650 witnesses concerning the riots which took place in Malbork on 9 July 1570, when Polish gentry and their servants clashed with a group of Malbork shoemakers’ and bakers’ apprentices. Considering this source, A. Mączak’s estimates are perhaps a bit too optimistic, as they indicate that at that time around 16% of all inhabitants had Polish surnames, with Germans clearly dominating within the town walls. Polish surnames, usually belonging to farmhands and landless peasants, were more common in the southern and eastern suburbs, and above all in the Outer Castle (so-called *zamkowi*).<sup>74</sup> In this area, not only the servants and the army were Polish, but even the officials. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, more and more Scots and Mennonites were noted near the town and in the castle premises. Some Germans, looking for economic prosperity and religious freedom, came to Malbork from Silesia. Most of them were members of the Protestant faith.<sup>75</sup>

In the sixteenth – seventeenth century, craftsmanship was the main source of livelihood for the inhabitants of Malbork. Among the craftsmen, the most numerous were bakers, shoemakers, butchers, brewers and representatives of metal crafts.<sup>76</sup> In addition, a hundred and several dozen workshops

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<sup>66</sup> W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> A.R. Chodyński, *Zamek malborski*, p. 65.

<sup>68</sup> W. Długokęcki, W. Sieradzan, *Malbork. Historia*, p. 7.

<sup>69</sup> I. Janosz-Biskupowa, *Chronologia zjazdów Stanów Prus Królewskich w latach 1466–1492*, “Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici, Historia IX – Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne”, 1973, no. 58, pp. 116–131.

<sup>70</sup> J. Gerlach, *Grudziądz miejscem obrad Sejmiku Generalnego*, p. 20; S. Achremczyk, *Malbork miastem obrad Sejmików Generalnych Prus Królewskich*, [in:] *Jezuici w Malborku*, p. 61.

<sup>71</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Malbork miastem obrad*, p. 63.

<sup>72</sup> K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka*, p. 143.

<sup>73</sup> W. Długokęcki, *Elita władzy miasta Malborka w średniowieczu*, Malbork 2004, pp. 49–76.

<sup>74</sup> A. Mączak, *Mieszkańcy Malborka*, p. 27.

<sup>75</sup> K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka*, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>76</sup> A. Mączak, *Mieszkańcy Malborka*, table 1.

operated in the town, including over 50 in the cloth industry, which continued to produce both inferior (grey) and superior quality cloth. However, a serious impediment to the development of certain crafts was slowly being created by *jurydykas* emerging in the suburbs, such as the one belonging to the clergy (the so-called *Geistlichkeit* at Sienkiewicza Street). Lower prices of goods produced and sold there, in particular beer and vodka, undermined the production of guilds run by the town's citizens, and thus, their source of income. Later on, similar issues were related to the *jurydyka* organised on the premises of the Low Castle, under the rule and with the consent of Malbork treasurer Jan Franciszek Bieliński (1667–1674).

As already mentioned, the town of Malbork is an example of a town by a fortress. The castle complex, even after the period of Teutonic rule, maintained its importance as the residence of Polish kings. Judging by a number of visits by the Polish rulers from 1457 until the end of the sixteenth century, Malbork castle cannot be regarded as their favourite place of residence. Undoubtedly, it only gained greater significance in this regard in the subsequent century. King Casimir Jagiellon visited the castle four times (1457, 1472, 1476 and 1485), John I Albert only twice, King Alexander once in 1504,<sup>77</sup> Sigismund I the Old once in 1526, same as his son Sigismund Augustus (once, in 1552). Stefan Batory spent more time at the castle because of the war with Gdańsk (in the years 1577–1578). The last to visit the castle in the sixteenth century was King Sigismund III Vasa. Considering the above, it can be concluded that Malbork served Polish rulers quite sporadically, mainly on occasion of some important events taking place in the northern borderlands of Poland. The housing conditions of the former Teutonic Order complex were not favoured by the Renaissance Polish rulers, nor by the officials of that complex.<sup>78</sup> The status of a “royal edifice”, i.e., the residence of the Polish king during his stay in Malbork, was acquired by the Middle Castle and the Grand Masters' Palace. The ownership profile of the castle as a royal residence prompted a concern for its technical condition, and necessary renovations or adaptations were carried out on a day-to-day basis. In the sixteenth century, the castle was occupied and governed by the following Malbork *starosts*: Piotr Szafraniec (1501–1504), and Ambroży Pampowski (*starost* general of Prussia, d. in 1510),<sup>79</sup> and later by somewhat inferior officials, the Malbork treasurers: Tarant (1511–1512), Melchior Glaubicz (1519), Jan Kostka (1569–1581), Jan Dulski (1581–1590) and Stanisław Kostka (1590–1602).<sup>80</sup>

The second conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of the spatial changes in the vast castle space is that they do not drastically change in time, as evidenced by the lack of major alterations to the High Castle, the Middle Castle and the Outer Castle. The layout of the castle space has already been presented several times. At this point, we need only recall the most important stages of spatial development and the location of the most important buildings of administrative, residential, defensive and economic character, as well as, if possible, their functions in the sixteenth century. The entire defensive structure, covering almost 21 hectares and closely integrated with the town space in the south, was not built in a short period, but evolved between the end of the thirteenth century and mid-fifteenth century.<sup>81</sup> Originally, it was a conventual castle erected in a suitable defensive location on the high bank of the Nogat River, by the route from Elbląg to Gdańsk. It was protected by marshlands to the east and north. After the northern and, later, the western wing was built, the construction of the remaining wings began, forming a quadrangle with dimensions of 51.6 x 60.7 m. The conventual castle was encircled by a moat. Its first floor housed a chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, chapter house, infirmary and dormitory. In the western wing, there was a refectory and commander's apartment. By the end of the

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<sup>77</sup> K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka*, p. 128.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 130. The author refers in this context to the permission of King Sigismund the Old for the Malbork treasurer Jan Kostka (1531–1555) to build a wooden manor house in the courtyard of the Middle Castle.

<sup>79</sup> K. Górski, *Starostowie malborscy w latach 1457–1510. Pierwsze półwiecze polskiego Malborka*, Toruń 1960.

<sup>80</sup> K. Górski, *Dzieje Malborka*, annex IV, V, VI.

<sup>81</sup> See synthetic remarks by M. Mierzwiński in: AHMP Malbork, pp. 22–23. Selected literature is listed *ibid.* p. 26. Noteworthy recent literature includes: T. Torbus, *The architecture of the castles in the Prussian State of the Teutonic Order*, [in:] *Archeology and the architecture of the military orders. New studies*, ed. M. Piana, Ch. Carlson, Farnham–Burlington 2014, pp. 219–249; *idem*, *Zamki krzyżackie. Deutschordensburgen*, Wrocław 2010; see discussion: S. Józwiak, J. Trupinda, *Krzyżackie zamki komture w Prusach. Topografia i układ przestrzenny na podstawie średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych*, Toruń 2012; T. Torbus, *Interdyscyplinarność w badaniach nad zamkami krzyżackimi – uwagi na marginesie książki Sławomira Józwiaka i Janusza Trupindy “Krzyżackie zamki konwentualne w Prusach. Topografia i układ przestrzenny na podstawie źródeł pisanych”*, ZH, vol. 79, 2014, no. 4, pp.197–215.

thirteenth century, the whole complex was surrounded by a defensive wall. It was complemented by a tower called 'gdanisko' in the south-western corner, serving both as a latrine and defensive structure. Starting by bridge towers, a pile bridge led across the Nogat River since the fourteenth century, and it survived until 1743. These bridge towers were probably not in a good state of repair already at the turn of the sixteenth century and seventeenth century. The maintenance of the bridge itself was the responsibility of the burghers.<sup>82</sup> Next to the bridge towers, towards the north, houses adjacent to the castle walls were erected. Beyond the Kornuska Gate (*Brama Kornuska*), leading to the grain storehouse called *Kornhaus* (part of which was also used as a stable in the modern period), a bathhouse was located in the modern period.<sup>83</sup>

Due to the castle's location close to the town and the Nogat River, the Outer Castle could only be planned on the northern side. The changes were introduced after the Order decided to move their capital from Venice to Malbork.<sup>84</sup> The existing conventual castle was insufficient for new purposes, hence the necessity to extend the monastery segment in the southern and eastern wings. In the years 1330–1344, the chapel underwent more substantial reconstruction and was extended towards the east to form a considerably large church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the central church of the Order, expressing its spirituality and demonstrating its authority.<sup>85</sup> Underneath the church, there was St. Anne's Chapel where the Grand Masters were later buried.<sup>86</sup> Meanwhile, in the mid-fourteenth century, a decision was made to transform the former Outer Castle into the Middle Castle, which was to become the residence of the Grand Masters and the seat of the administration of the Teutonic Order's state. The residential function was performed mainly by the Palace of the Grand Masters built as early as the end of the fourteenth century. With the use of designs from Italy and masons who were in the service of the Order (particularly Nicklos Fellenstein from Koblenz<sup>87</sup>), the most architecturally sophisticated building in the entire Teutonic state, and this part of Europe at that time, was created. The palace was located on the first floor and consisted of the Summer Refectory, the Winter Refectory and the High Hall, as well as the Grand Master's private chambers and St. Catherine's Chapel. The chancellery and the Grand Treasurer's office were located on the ground floor. Furthermore, in the western wing of the Middle Castle, there was the Grand Refectory, i.e., a great hall intended for feasts of the Order's dignitaries with knights, mainly from Western Europe, who were coming to join the anti-pagan campaigns. In the sixteenth century, it served as a royal banquet room, adjoined by the royal kitchen. The Grand Refectory was admired, not only in medieval times, for its architectural features and wall paintings. Centuries later, at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the paintings of this hall, among others, caused a shift in the mindset of the ruling elites of the Prussian state, and they decided to save this monument after years of neglect.<sup>88</sup> The northern wing of the Middle Castle, which was occupied by the Grand Commander, was used for administrative purposes. The remaining part housed an infirmary.

The third part of the castle complex, the Outer Biley (*Przedzamcze*), had a different character. Situated north of the Middle Castle, it is the most recent part, developed throughout the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth century. This area, of a size altogether larger than the High Castle and the Middle Castle together, fulfilled technical and economic needs. Because it served the complex occupied by the Grand Master and the Order's administration, as well as the incoming guests, it housed numerous workshops, storehouses, stables, barns and living quarters. In addition, there were breweries,

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<sup>82</sup> *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii malborskiej*, vol. 1, p. 80.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 84. Kornhaus was mentioned already in 1378. Nearby, there was a room for the *Kornmeister*, a Teutonic Knights' official responsible for the storage of grain.

<sup>84</sup> K. Militzer, *Die Marienburg als Zentrale des Ordens im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die Marienburg. Vom Machtzentrum*, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Noteworthy recent literature: R. Zacharias, *Die St. Marien-Burgkirche. Zentralort für Spiritualität und Demonstration*, [in:] *Spotkania malborskie im. Macieja Kilarskiego*, part 2, ed. A. Dobry, Malbork 2010, pp. 67–80; *Kościół Najświętszej Marii Panny na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku. Dzieje – wystrój – konserwacja*, ed. J. Hochleitner, M. Mierzwiński, Malbork 2016.

<sup>86</sup> *Kaplica św. Anny na Zamku Wysokim w Malborku. Dzieje, wystrój, konserwacja*, ed. J. Hochleitner, M. Mierzwiński, Malbork 2016.

<sup>87</sup> B. Schmid, *Nicolaus Fellenstein, Baumeister des Deutschen Ordens*, [in:] *Bericht 1934–35 des Vereins für die Wiederherstellung und Ausschmückung der Marienburg*, Marienburg 1936.

<sup>88</sup> Recent literature: E. Kotte, *Die Marienburg in der Historiographie und Belletristik des 19. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die Marienburg. Vom Machtzentrum*, pp. 125 ff.; *W przededniu wielkiej odbudowy. Zamek malborski na kartach berlińskiego albumu Johanna Friedricha Fricka z przełomu XVIII i XIX wieku*, Malbork 2019.

malt houses, bakeries and smithies. Special attention should be drawn to the largest buildings on the opposite sides of the Outer Castle (*Podzamcze*): *Kornhaus* and *Zeughaus*. The former, which was not preserved to the present day, has already been mentioned as having a dual purpose (as a stable and a warehouse), and, on the eastern side, there was a warehouse for firearms and a former Teutonic carriage house (*Karwan*). In the sixteenth century, about 30 cannons were stored there, as well as numerous mortars, arquebuses, matchlock rifles and various kinds of bullets, and other equipment intended for war.<sup>89</sup> The Outer Castle served also as an accommodation for soldiers, the so-called Malbork *drabs*, up to 200 of them in peacetime. From 1358, under Teutonic rule, the Gothic church of St. Lawrence was intended for the castle servants. It was located in the southern corner of the development on the eastern side of the area. The parish priest of this church was subordinated to the Malbork parish of St. John the Baptist. Near the church there was a cemetery, used to bury, i.a., the convicts (there were prisons located in various areas of the whole castle complex) and the castle *drabs*.

In the eastern part of the walls, most probably in the fourteenth century, a Gunpowder Tower was built. As its name suggests, in the Polish times, it was used to store barrels of gunpowder. The defence system was supplemented from the east by the Snycerska Gate (*Brama Snycerska*), and from the south by the New Gate (*Brama Nowa*). The former stretched from the Malbork Vogt's house in the Outer Castle to the so-called Henry von Plauen's Ramparts, which surrounded the castle complex from the east and north with a wall 1 m thick. This defensive line was completed in 1414. Its purpose was to keep potential enemies and their artillery away from the castle. The most north-western tower in the Outer Castle was the *Buttermilchturm* (*Baszta Maślankowa*), also called *Modra* under the Polish rule.<sup>90</sup> Erected in the fourteenth century (1335–1340), it was almost 30 metres high and served as a guard tower. The whole defensive system was strengthened by internal and external walls, between which the aforementioned moat flowed. The water from the Malbork Flume Canal, probably dug in the first half of the fourteenth century, flowed from the south to the south-east corner of the fortifications. There, it divided in such a way that one branch ran towards the north along the eastern wall of the Outer Castle, and the other towards the west, where it forked to encircle the Middle and High Castle.<sup>91</sup>

In the light of the above remarks, we have to agree with M. Mierzwiński's view that during the entire period of Polish rule the medieval silhouette of the castle and its internal buildings underwent only minor transformations, noticeably adaptations of the rooms to new functions and changes needed to maintain the castle complex in good condition.<sup>92</sup>

The sixteenth century, in contrast to the subsequent one, was therefore a period of relative peace and economic development for the town and the castle. The major administrative role of the castle for this part of Royal Prussia was coupled with its significance as a venue for assemblies of the province's estates. Although the castle lost its position as the centre of the Teutonic state, it largely maintained its military and residential importance, as well as its status as a significant centre of crafts.

(2021)

Translated by Paulina Wacławik

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<sup>89</sup> *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii*, vol. 1, pp. 90 ff.; AGAD, MK, 0035.

<sup>90</sup> *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii*, vol. 1, p. 85.

<sup>91</sup> M. Mierzwiński, *Zamek w Malborku*, [in:] AHMP Malbork, p. 23.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibidem*.

### III.6.19.8 MIELNIK

*Andrzej Buczyło*

Mielnik, at present a village lying on the Bug River, has a rich historical tradition. Once it enjoyed town status being simultaneously the capital of one of the three lands within the boundaries of the pre-partition Podlasie Voivodeship as well as the seat of the district court. The origins of Mielnik go back to the early Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> The first references to the settlement in written sources are to appear in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, where the Princes Daniel and Wasylko were to have stayed in the castle here.<sup>2</sup> This event was connected with the Tatar incursion into Lithuanian, to where the Ruthenian princes advanced as their allies. To date this reference in literature has been dated as the year 1260. However, recently Adrian Jusupović has shown that it follows to move it somewhat to the year 1258.<sup>3</sup>

Following the death of Bolesław Jerzy II, the last ruler of the Galician-Volhynian Principality, control over Mielnik became the subject of rivalry between Poland and Mazovia on the one hand and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the other. Between the years 1351 and 1355 Mielnik was to find itself within the borders of Lithuania.<sup>4</sup> From that moment onwards besides short periods of rule by Mazovia (1382/1383, 1390-before 1405 and 1440–1444), right up until the concluding of the Union of Lublin, Mielnik found itself within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After 1569, together with the entire Podlasie Voivodeship, it became part of the Polish Crown. For the entirety of this period the town remained royal property.

The town's location was played out in two stages. Initially, following the taking of the land by the Mazovian Prince Bolesław IV, a charter was issued on the 22 September 1440 granting Mielnik Kulm Law rights.<sup>5</sup> It has not been completely established as to where the town had its initial location. In the subject literature most often its positioning is shown as possibly being at the so-called Przedmieście Krzywczyckie, placed to the south-east of the settlement's current centre.<sup>6</sup> However, recently conducted archaeological research has shown that the area of the later market square was already intensively utilised in the second half of the fifteenth century and visible were traces of widespread levelling works (in places the layers of sand, stone and clay are a metre in depth).<sup>7</sup> This matter is undoubtedly in need

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<sup>1</sup> Ł. Rejniewicz, *Mielnik, woj. białostockie*, "Informator Archeologiczny. Badania", vol. 22, 1988, pp. 148–149 date the remains of the castle found to be the eleventh-fifteenth centuries. A. and A. Andrzejewski have established the twelfth-thirteenth centuries for the oldest evidence of habitation on castle hill, pointing to the rather unintensive indications of exploitation – *idem*, *Mielnik nad Bugiem – miasto z przeszłością*, [in:] *Sic errat in votis. Studia i szkice poświęcone Profesorowi Zbigniewowi Anusiowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin. Rzeczpospolita w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. M. Karkocha, P. Robak, Łódź 2017, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów)*, ed., intro. and footnotes D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, with the coop. of I. Juriewa, A. Majorow, T. Wikuł, Cracow–Warsaw 2017 (Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, ser. 2 vol. 16), p. 406. For a Polish translation of the aforementioned source see: *Kronika halicko-wołyńska. Kronika Romanowiczów*, translation, intro. and commentary D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, Cracow–Warsaw 2017, pp. 207–209.

<sup>3</sup> The author also points out the possibility of the date 1259 although the year 1258 is far more probable – A. Jusupović, *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów) w latopisarstwie kolekcji historycznej*, Cracow–Warsaw 2019, pp. 110–111, 166.

<sup>4</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Województwo podlaskie w latach 1513–1795*, [in:] M. Kietliński, B. Samarski, J. Danieluk, T. Jaszczółt, *500 lat województwa podlaskiego. Historia w dokumentach*, Białystok 2013, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym opisana*, vol. 3, ed. F.K. Martynowski, ed. 2 corrected and supplemented, Warsaw 1886, p. 426.

<sup>6</sup> D. Michaluk, *Mielnik: stolica ziemi mielnickiej na Podlasiu*, Mielnik 1999, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> M. Dzik, G. Śnieżko, *Archeologia odsłania tajemnice rynku miejskiego Mielnika*, Warsaw–Rzeszów 2016, p. 6; G. Śnieżko, *Archeologia odsłania tajemnice rynku miejskiego Mielnika*, part 2, Warsaw 2018, p. 4.

of further research (including archaeological excavations within the area of the former Przedmieście Krzywczyckie), but in the light of this data, the view as to an initial other location for the town more than likely will have to be revised.

The next stage in the town's development was to be the renewal of municipal rights, this time on the basis of Magdeburg Rights. This was carried out by the Grand Duke Aleksander Jagiellończyk on the 1 October 1501. Subsequently on the 26 October 1501 he confirmed the bestowing of the rank of vogt (*advocatus*) on the local burgher Mikołaj Rychlik.<sup>8</sup> Mielnik was to remain a town until 1934, when it had its municipal rights revoked.<sup>9</sup>

Sources for the reconstruction of the town plan of Mielnik may be divided into the cartographic, the textual and the archaeological. The oldest cartographic source whose existence we know about was a town plan compiled in 1620 by the Gniezno canon Jan Drzewicki. The original itself is unknown, but nevertheless a coloured copy of it compiled in 1827 has survived. At present this is kept in the State Archives in Radom.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately as far as the layout and appearance of the town then the said is of more artistic value than it is topographic. However, its invaluable worth is the exact mapping of the changes in the hydrographic network that occurred in the mid sixteenth century. It was indeed as a result of incorporating the changes in the current and flow of the Bug that the first plan under the authorship of J. Drzewicki was drawn up.<sup>11</sup> Its much simpler drawn copy is equally a map compiled by the Prussian authorities in 1799 and preserved at the State Archive in Białystok.<sup>12</sup> In this self same archive are to be found a Prussian map of the centre of the town of 1804<sup>13</sup> and a copy of a map of municipal grounds of 1803 (the author of which was lieutenant Łuske<sup>14</sup>) and produced by Kazimierz Iwazkiewicz, a surveyor of the Bielsk powiat in 1822. Mielnik is also visible on the maps of von Stein and Textor, as a result of its position on the border of the Austrian partition. It is also found on the map by Heldensfeld of 1804.

However, exceptionally valuable for research into the topography of pre-partition Mielnik was to turn out to be a map of 1819 coming from the collections of the Lithuanian State Historical Archive in Wilno.<sup>15</sup> This had been hitherto unknown to researchers and as a result of its high degree of accuracy (the inclusion of buildings and the boundaries of the municipal lots), allowed for the inclusion of several changes in relation to those hitherto existing in the subject literature on the map herein presented.

The Mielnik municipal ledgers from the period up to the end of the sixteenth century have not been preserved, with the oldest surviving fragment being from only the years 1631–1698.<sup>16</sup> Given this state of affairs, of immense importance has been the recourse made to sources compiled for the needs of the royal chancellery. For Mielnik inventories have been preserved for the years 1545 and 1551<sup>17</sup> as well as one undated inventory (all are referred to in the source as military rolls).<sup>18</sup> Thanks to the efforts of Tomasz Jaszczółt, the latter may be dated at around 1535, and so is the oldest. Unfortunately in relation to usefulness with regard to compiling the presented map of Mielnik they have not turned out to be overly helpful and here as a result of their form. Those who compiled the military rolls entries concentrated on listing the surnames of the inhabitants and their villeinage, yet completely failing to take into consideration the town's topography and division into streets. Only the inventory of 1551 notes, for example, the existence of churches in the town. The most valuable source is the

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<sup>8</sup> The texts of both documents were published in *Акты Литовской Метрики*, vol. 1, part 2: 1499–1507, ed. Ф. И. Леонтовичемъ, Варшава 1897, pp. 93–95.

<sup>9</sup> Dz. U. 1934 no. 48 position 420.

<sup>10</sup> State Archive in Radom, Zarząd Rolnictwa i Dóbr Państwowych Guberni Radomskiej, Kieleckiej, Lubelskiej, Siedleckiej, sign. 12874.

<sup>11</sup> The circumstances of the debate which resulted in the creation of his plan are presented in detail by D. Michaluk, *Mapa gruntów miasta Mielnika z 1620 roku*, KHKM, vol. 40, 2002, no. 2, pp. 185–194.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 186. In the aforementioned text is to be found a copy of the plan.

<sup>13</sup> APB, Kamera Wojny i Domen, sign. 3361, f. 23.

<sup>14</sup> APB, Cartographic collection, sign. 1/1/2012.

<sup>15</sup> LVIA, f. 526-7-4776.

<sup>16</sup> APB, Akta miasta Mielnika, sign. 1.

<sup>17</sup> ASK LVI 171, ff. 2-86 (Popis 1551) and 87-119v (Popis 1545). In the literature these military rolls still appear under an old sign. ASK LVI M.2.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, ff. 297–352.

Mielnik register of the Volok Reform of 1560,<sup>19</sup> providing most detailed data on the town's topography including the street network. For the second half of the sixteenth century and beginnings of the seventeenth century there have not been found any other materials of an inventory or inspection character that would allow for our state of knowledge on the town's appearance at the time to be broadened.<sup>20</sup>

In connection with the extremely limited archive material that has survived on the pre-partition history of the town, a most significant role is being played by archaeological work. Research was conducted in the years 1959–1961 (Irena Górska, Urszula Perlikowska-Puszkarska) and in the 1970s (Łukasz Rejniewicz),<sup>21</sup> while in recent years this has taken on a visible acceleration producing many exceptionally interesting findings. The excavations on the grounds of Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) and at the ruins of the church have been conducted by Aldona and Aleksander Andrzejewski,<sup>22</sup> and recently digs in the market square and on the terrain of the present-day Orthodox cemetery have been carried out by Grzegorz Śnieżko and Michał Dzik.<sup>23</sup>

It follows to point out first and foremost that from amongst the subject literature devoted to Mielnik the works of Dorota Michaluk hold prevalence. This author has devoted a separate book publication to the question of the town<sup>24</sup> along with several articles.<sup>25</sup> A small study on Mielnik has also been produced by Ryszard Celeda.<sup>26</sup> Both of these authors have included maps in their works, with reconstructions of the appearance of the town in the light of the inventory of 1560. In turn, Leonarda Dacewicz has analysed the micro-topography of Mielnik.<sup>27</sup>

Mielnik is situated on the high right bank of the River Bug at the place where the Podlaski Gorge of the River Bug and the Drohiczyn Heights meet. It is worth adding that within the boundaries of the settlement, to the north of the built-up areas is to be found Góra Uszeście (two peaks 204 m and 172 m respectively above sea level), the highest peak of the Drohiczyn Heights. This specific geographic location (noticeable height differences, peaks and gorges, a large river with a changeable and unregulated current) has left an extremely noticeable mark on the structure and layout of the settlement. The buildings are clearly stretched along the river; and this is most visible on the presented map.

Ostrów situated on the left bank of the Bug also belonged to the town. Initially it was an extensive isle lying opposite the town itself, while the main flow of the river washed it from the south. Between 1552 and 1560 changes occurred and the main channel was to become the northern branch, flowing directly along the town.<sup>28</sup> At the beginning of the 1620s this resulted in a conflict between the inhabitants and the Mielnik starost Wojciech Niemira over the property rights to the meadows on Ostrów itself. The starost claimed that all the land located on the left bank of the Bug belonged to the starosty. The townsfolk rejected these assumptions, showing that though indeed this was the case prior to the change in the flow of the river these had been in fact municipal lands and consequently ought

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<sup>19</sup> ASK, LVI 171, ff. 121–228.

<sup>20</sup> In the inspection preserved for 1602 there is no data about Mielnik. The inspection of 1616 in turn provides most laconic information, not at all helpful in any reconstruction.

<sup>21</sup> The results of this research has not been published in a printed form and is held at the Archive of Archiwum MPwB. Only Ł. Rejniewicz has published a short piece of information, idem, *Mielnik, woj. białostockie*, pp. 148–149.

<sup>22</sup> A. Andrzejewska, *Góra zamkowa w Mielniku w świetle ostatnich badań terenowych*, "Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne", vol. 4, 2008, pp. 223–247; A. Andrzejewska, A. Andrzejewski, *Mielnik nad Bugiem*, pp. 37–55.

<sup>23</sup> M. Dzik, G. Śnieżko, *Archeologia odsłania*; G. Śnieżko, *Archeologia odsłania*.

<sup>24</sup> D. Michaluk, *Mielnik: stolica ziemi*.

<sup>25</sup> Eadem, *Rezydencja gospodarska w Mielniku w XIV–XVI wieku*, "Białostoczczyzna", 1991, no. 3 (23), pp. 1–4; eadem, *Rozwój układu przestrzennego Mielnika w XIII–XVIII w.*, SP, vol. 4, 1993, pp. 25–50; eadem, *Mapa gruntów*, pp. 185–194; eadem, *Góra Zamkowa w Mielniku siedziba wielkksiążęcego zamku*, [in:] *Stan i zmiany środowiska geograficznego wybranych regionów wschodniej Polski*, ed. R. Dobrowolski, S. Terpiłowski. Lublin 2004, pp. 299–304; eadem, *Mielnik na mapach delimitacji państwowych w dobie formowania się nowych granic Europy u schyłku I wojny światowej*, [in:] *497. rocznica urodzin województwa podlaskiego. Referaty z sesji historycznej, Mielnik, 29 sierpnia 2010 r.*, ed. A. Tobota, Białystok, 2010, pp. 181–201.

<sup>26</sup> R. Celeda, *Mielnik: dzieje miasta i okolic*, Warsaw 2007.

<sup>27</sup> L. Dacewicz, *Mikrotoponimia miejscowości Mielnik w województwie białostockim*, "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio FF, Philologiae", vol. 14/15, 1996/1997, pp. 355–365.

<sup>28</sup> For it to occur between 1552 and 1560 is the fact that during the conflict the burghers informed that the town's boundaries had been demarcated in 1551. They also presented the inspection of 1552, which confirmed their rights. However they did not make recourse to the inspection of 1560.

to belong to them.<sup>29</sup> Another subject of dispute was also the Grabowiec forest situated to the north of the town. These conflicts started more than likely during the time Wojciech Niemira was starost. This allows one to conjecture that in the second half of the sixteenth century Ostrów, despite changes in the flow of the River Bug, was still considered to be municipal property.

In relation to layout Mielnik was, during the pre-partition period, a typical Podlasie small town; it was never walled nor possessed town fortifications. It was constructed almost exclusively of wood. In the second half of the sixteenth century the only mentioned stone buildings were the castle tower, the castle church and two buildings on the surrounding castle courtyard (*podzamcze*). Even though here there is no certainty it is possible the Orthodox church of the Resurrection was also of stone.<sup>30</sup> This wooden style of building, although highly typical for the Podlasie region, resulted in the settlement not resembling in appearance a typical townscape. It was rather more in keeping with corresponding suburban architecture, with large gardens and agricultural outbuildings.

The town according to the data of 1560 possessed 122 voloks of endowment, of which three voloks, exempt from payment, were bequeathed to the Mielnik Orthodox churches.<sup>31</sup> The Roman Catholic Church, besides lots and municipal gardens, did not hold any voloks. This was connected with the fact that the village of Wajków was Church property.<sup>32</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century it was agricultural work that constituted the main source of income for the townsfolk. This is confirmed by the register of 1560, in which it is clearly stated that: ‘And therefore for this town a lot of voloks remain (*ostawiono*) for the inhabitants have nothing else to feed themselves with, the road has been turned towards Turna and Siemieszyce. Fairs and good markets you have nowhere, while the people are impoverished they still don’t go to the port to trade at all trying instead to eke out a living from the land.’<sup>33</sup>

In the inventory of 1551 the exact number of houses was given – 4 *kopa* (i.e., a unit here of 65) and 4 houses,<sup>34</sup> making for 244 houses. In the tax register of 1588 284 houses are shown (16 market square town houses, 243 ‘street’ and 25 impoverished cottages).<sup>35</sup> Stanisław Alexandrowicz estimated the number of Mielnik inhabitants to be 1,524 persons for the year 1580.<sup>36</sup> This would mean that despite the severe crisis brought about by the change in the trade route and general poverty the number of inhabitants maintained itself at a stable level.

The main base source employed in compiling the map of Mielnik for the second half of the sixteenth century has been the VoloK Reform register of 1560, as well as retrospectively the map of the town of 1819. Helpful has also been the map by von Stein; even though its scale did not allow for an exact reflection of the town’s layout, marked on it was a precise patterning of the division into urban and suburban lots.

One should clearly emphasise that the lack of sources as signalled earlier has meant that the map is in large part hypothetical. The preserved register of 1560 is the solitary source describing the town in the second half of the sixteenth century, there is, consequently, no way of verifying the exactness of its entries. Additionally, a part of the information is far from sufficient and causes localisation problems for example ‘farmlands on the Hill’ or ‘farmlands on the Hill under the Lime.’<sup>37</sup> Preserved is an exact plan of the Mielnik lands of 1822 (a copy of the map of 1803), nonetheless the question arises as to how faithfully and accurately it reflects the state of land usage in the second half of the sixteenth century. It also follows to remember that following the third partition Mielnik found itself on the border of the Prussian and Austrian partitions and, for example, the municipal meadows were

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<sup>29</sup> D. Michaluk, *Mapa gruntów miasta Mielnika*, pp. 188–189.

<sup>30</sup> In the inspection document of 1759 for the Orthodox church preserved is the inspector’s note: “...on a knoll, on which the great remains of ancient walls we observed the stones, placed under that which was once a stone Orthodox church”. However this is the only source that recalls matters thus; LMAVB, ff. 41–321, p. 693.

<sup>31</sup> ASK LVI 171, ff. 150–150v.

<sup>32</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo Podlasia nadbużańskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku*, [in:] *Podlasie nadbużańskie. 500 lecie województwa podlaskiego*, ed. O. Łatyszonek, Ciechanowiec-Białystok 2013, p. 166.

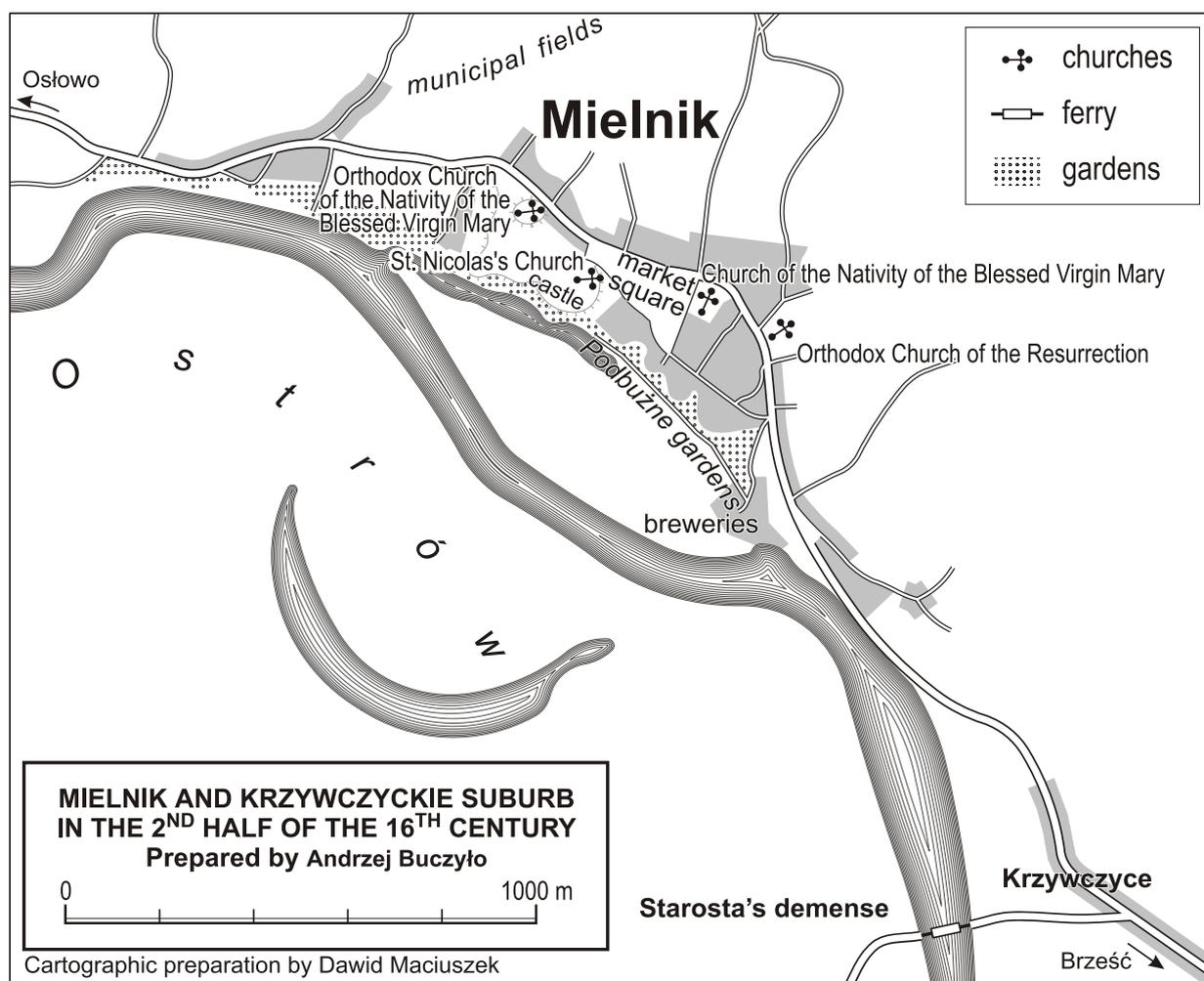
<sup>33</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 151.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 12.

<sup>35</sup> ASK I 47, f. 760v.

<sup>36</sup> See P. Guzowski, *Size of settlements* in this edition; S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV – I połowa XVII w.)*, “Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, p. 151.

<sup>37</sup> ASK LVI 171 f. 134v.



**Map 1. Mielnik and Krzywczyckie Suburb in the second half of the 16th century**

situated already on the other side of the border, in a similar way to the majority of the Mielnik *starosty* lands. In addition, to the north of the town the terrains were clearly undulating in nature and sometimes with marked differences in height (cf. the recalled Góra Uszeście). Consequently, there is no certainty that even if a given piece of terrain was referred to as cultivated the land use was in fact this. As a consequence there is no attempt at marking on the map the division of urban lots according to land use or type. The category ‘garden-field lands’ (yellow on the map) are marked only in those places where no doubts whatsoever are aroused. All remaining grounds have been marked as belonging to the category ‘agricultural’ (light green in colour).

To be found to the south east of the strict centre of Mielnik itself is a suburb visible if only on the map by Textor. This was the so-called Przedmieście Krzywczyckie or as it was deemed in 1560 ‘the Town on Krzywczyce.’<sup>38</sup> This lay around 1.6 km to the south-east of the market square, on the road leading to Brześć Litewski. This relatively large distance has meant that on the Mielnik scale map of 1:10,000 the suburb is situated beyond the scope of the cartographic area. Hence the decision here to include a separate schematic map. Almost nothing was known about the ‘Town on Krzywczyce’ in the second half of the sixteenth century. It results from the register of 1560 that in nature it was a classic linear village running out along the main road. On its terrain was to be found a branch, leading to the south to the bridge on the River Bug.

The main square in the town was the market square (present-day T. Kościuszko Square). This does not have a regular rectangular layout. Most probably this is not a matter of any violation of

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, ff. 143v–144.

former layout lines but rather the shaping of the terrain (neighbouring from the south-west with Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) and the course of the road routes (from the north the road leads from Drohiczyn in the direction of Brześć Litewski). The register of 1560 enumerates nine streets in Mielnik: Drohicka (at present a part of Brzeska Street to the west of T. Kościuszko Square), Szykałowicza (in 1819 Blachowska Street, at present Sadowa Street), Bielska (at present Królewska Street), Wysocka (identical with Stary Trakt), W tyle Kościoła ('To the rear of the Church') (in 1819 Błotna Street, at present Strażacka Street), Milejczycka and W tyle Rynku ('From the rear of the Market Square') (both probably nonexistent at present), Woskreszeńska vel Woskriesieńska (at present Bugowa Street), Browarna (at present Ogrodowa Street).

It follows to note that several significant corrections in the street layout have been introduced in relation to the maps of Mielnik existing in the subject literature. The main and the most visible is the change in the course of the Szykałowicza Street.<sup>39</sup> On hitherto maps it was curved in shape, both ends of which emanated from Drohicka Street. According to the subject literature it was also to have been built-up only on the one side, while the other frontage bordered at the rear with the lots of Drohicka Street. However the Volok Reform register of 1560 states that on the right hand side of the street buildings also stood, belonging to three households. What is more, on the map of 1819, on the right hand side of the street, are still marked three plots on which buildings stand. Equally the entry from the register of 1560 speaks of the street running 'at *przeg* from Drogicka Street,'<sup>40</sup> which might as equally mean 'across/ crosswise, perpendicular/ at right angles to.' This questions rather the version hitherto adopted, hence on the map it has been placed as if at right-angles leading out of Drohicka Street. In this version its course is in agreement with Blachowska Street as visible on the map of 1819.

Changed has also been the course of the W tyle Rynku Street. It ran parallel to the façade of the Market Square and combined within it the two streets of Bielska and Milejczycka running to the north. On hitherto existing maps it was placed more or less in the middle of these streets. However, from an analysis of the register of 1560 it results that it commenced between the houses of Waško Doroszewicz and Hryń Kurcewicz. Both townsmen occupied the first two plots starting from the Market Square, from the left-hand side of Milejczycka Street.<sup>41</sup> This would have meant that this street was separated from the market by a solitary plot.

Mielnik lay in a place that saw the convergence of several trade routes. One of these ran along the Bug and linked Drohiczyn and Brześć Litewski. This was to have the greatest influence on the shape of the town, for it was along the river itself that the buildings of the town were to be constructed. From the west the road to Drohiczyn bore the name 'Drohiczyn way'.<sup>42</sup> From the south-east it led to Przedmieście Krzywczykie. And it was here that it crossed over, with the road leading to the bridge on the River Bug and further onto Łosice itself. An important role was also played by the town roads heading north. Counting from the the west these were respectively the roads to Milejczyce, Bielsk and Wysokie Litewskie.<sup>43</sup> The route heading to Bielsk bore the name the 'Bielsk way' and along its course the municipal gardens (allotments) were to be found.<sup>44</sup> Similarly the road to Wysokie was known as the 'Wysokie way'.<sup>45</sup>

An important element in the road infrastructure was the bridge on the Bug. As is noted in the register of 1560 this was the only bridge across the river in the whole of the Mielnik powiat. It is worth emphasising that the existing bridge in Mielnik was damaged at the beginning of the 1550s and for several years the town did not have a permanent river crossing. This was to have far reaching consequences; for in 1554 Stanisław Tęczyński gained permission from the king to build a bridge

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<sup>39</sup> The name of this street undoubtedly comes from the surname of the relevant burgher families. In the Volok Reform register there appears a Jacko Szykałowicz owning lots on both sides of the street – Ibidem, f. 125v.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, ff. 126–126v.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, f. 132.

<sup>43</sup> In the case of the Bielsk road it follows to remember that in the demarcation carried out in 1532 and here between two estates Boćki and Lewki, mentioned is the Mielnik road heading from Bielsk – *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 17 (1530–1536)* ed. L. Karalius, D. Antanavičius, Vilnius 2015, p. 293.

<sup>44</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 136.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, f. 131v.

across the Bug near Turna on the Siemiatycze estates.<sup>46</sup> This was to result in an immediate change in the course of long-distance movement. The bridge at Mielnik was to be soon rebuilt (there is already a mention in 1560), nonetheless this did not result in the town regaining its former position. The losses as a consequence of aforesaid were so large that it was quite simply underlined in the register of 1560.<sup>47</sup> The bridge was described as ‘new across the Bug well repaired,’ though one cannot exclude the possibility that this new crossing was not situated somewhere else than had been the previous one. This would be borne out by the enigmatic note about the Starościnski gardens (gardens that belong to the Mielnik starosta) being located ‘at the folwark [that is across the River Bug – A.B.] on the old road.’<sup>48</sup>

Initially there existed a fort on the territory of Mielnik, one mentioned in Ruthenian times. For a long time its location remained unknown for the digs conducted on Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) failed to reveal any remains of the said.<sup>49</sup> This resulted in the advancement of a thesis that it could have been located somewhere else. The most often mentioned as a potential location was a site situated next to the Orthodox cemetery, where visible are traces of earth embankments. This was to be only confirmed through the subsequent archaeological research conducted after 2011. Additionally there were found in this place burials (the oldest through C14 radiocarbon dating reveals finds from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century) which show that this site in the late Middle Ages did not perform its original defensive function but that it had been readapted to act as a cemetery.<sup>50</sup>

This was presumably connected to the raising of a new castle on the place referred to this day as Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill). The first mention being in 1379.<sup>51</sup> However, a broader description is only to be found in the inventories of 1545 and 1551.<sup>52</sup> It results from these that it was comprised of two parts: an upper castle and a lower castle as well as a cutting with a draw bridge that divided the castle heights from the town.<sup>53</sup> A part of the castle’s working buildings: for example the kitchens and stables, were found ‘before the castle beyond the cutting.’<sup>54</sup> The object under consideration was shortly to be completely destroyed by fire. In 1560 mentioned is the existence of only the entrance tower ‘with an unrepaired gate’ and a church along with several buildings in the outer bailey (‘the manor house before the castle,’ ‘a second small house,’ stables, larder and kitchen).<sup>55</sup> The castle was presumably quickly rebuilt but unfortunately there are no sources allowing one to become acquainted with its layout and appearance. For this reason no attempt has been made to present it in an exact location on the map, marking merely the place where it was roughly situated. As an actual construction only the castle church has been presented.

In the second half of the sixteenth century there were four Christian temples in Mielnik: two Roman Catholic churches and two Orthodox churches. All of these have been marked on the presented map. The first Roman Catholic church of Corpus Christi, of the Assumption, of St. Nicholas and All Saints was founded by the Grand Duke Witold in 1420.<sup>56</sup> It was situated on the castle hill in the vicinity of the lower castle.<sup>57</sup> In the light of the latest research it follows to note that the present-day ruins of the temple are not to be identified as traces of the first church itself. During the archaeological research it was discovered that certain fragments of the eastern section of the church lay beyond the area of the

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<sup>46</sup> AGAD, Collection of parchment documents, sign. 6890.

<sup>47</sup> ASK LVI 171, k. 151.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, f. 186.

<sup>49</sup> This problem has drawn the attention of, among others, A. Andrzejewska, A. Andrzejewski, *Mielnik nad Bugiem*, p. 40.

<sup>50</sup> M. Dzik, G. Śnieżko, *Mielnik, woj. podlaskie. Badania w roku 2012*, “Światowit. Rocznik Instytutu Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego”, vol. 10 (51), (2012), 2016, p. 293.

<sup>51</sup> Wigand of Marburg recalls the Teutonic foray in that year under the command of Dytryk von Elner, the commander of Balga. Even though they did reach Mielnik they are unable to take it; idem, *Nowa kronika pruska*, ed. S. Zonenberg, K. Kwiatkowski, Toruń 2017, p. 426.

<sup>52</sup> ASK LVI 171, ff. 89–91v.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, f. 3.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, f. 91.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, f. 184.

<sup>56</sup> ADS, sign. D 22, ff. 50–51. The aforementioned document was ratified on the 15 August 1513 by Sigismund I The Old; ADS, sign. D 16, ff. 18v–20; ADS, sign. D 151, ff. 67–69; APB, Kamera Wojny i Domen, sign. 3356, ff. 33–34.

<sup>57</sup> At a later date it bore the designation of The Holy Trinity; KSZ, new series, vol. 12: *Województwo podlaskie (białostockie)*, no. 1 – *Siemiatycze, Drohiczyn i okolice*, ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed, intro. and inventory I. Galicka, H. Sygietyńska, Warsaw 1996, pp. 34–35.

former defence perimeter of the castle. In the inventories for 1545 and 1551 it is stated that the church was dedicated to St. Nicholas.<sup>58</sup> It is not known whether this was the result of a change in dedication or simply that St. Nicholas was decreed to be the main designation.

The second Mielnik church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary was founded by Sigismund I the Old in 1513 and here already within the town boundaries.<sup>59</sup> It quickly took on the function of being the main parish church (the castle church being deemed a branch of it).

As far as the Orthodox churches are concerned, the earliest is the Orthodox church of the Nativity of Our Lady. Mention is made of the temple in 1258 or 1259, when Daniel Romanowicz was to have prayed at the icon of Christ the Saviour found in the church.<sup>60</sup> The second Orthodox church of the Resurrection (*Woskresenskaya*) appears in the sources only in 1551 and here with the notation that the plot had been bestowed of old.<sup>61</sup> It is important to here note that the Uniate church founded in 1596 did not impact on the denominational affiliation of the two Orthodox churches right up until 1646, only after this date were they to find themselves in the hands of the Uniates.<sup>62</sup>

The location of the castle gardens (allotments) and 'Bug-side' gardens also requires broader treatment. Their exact localisation is unknown though there are certain pieces of circumstantial evidence that allow one to conjecture with a large degree of probability that they lay in the place indicated on the map. The register of 1560 states that the Bug-side gardens (allotments) ran from the castle gardens to the town breweries. In the inspection of the Uniate church of the Nativity of Our Lady of 1759 is to be found a note that the parish cemetery 'is bound on the one side by gardens (allotments), while on the other by a fence.'<sup>63</sup> This cemetery was situated on the terrain of the old Ruthenian fort in the vicinity of Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill)<sup>64</sup> which allows one to approximately locate the castle gardens (allotments). To the east of these the Bug-side gardens begin, so as the very name suggests they must have had partial access to the bank of the River Bug. The adoption of just such an interpretation allows one to connect a street found on the 1819 map and that ran from Góra Zamkowa (Castle Hill) along the bank of the Bug in an easterly direction of the Bug as being Browarna Street and also mentioned in 1560, and which on hitherto maps had not been marked and here because of problems in providing it with an exact location.

Mills have also been marked on the map. Their location is hypothetical, nonetheless according to the register of 1560 there is found in a description of Drohicka Street a note that says that to the rear of this street were plots onto the Bug. Two of these have been established as belonging to mills and were exempt from taxation (their proprietors were the millers Adam and Sidor).<sup>65</sup> On the map of 1819 there is indeed a small side street that leads from Drohicka Street and of the name Młynowa (Mill Lane) leading to the bank of the Bug, where a few buildings appear. This is most probably therefore the place mentioned in the register of 1560, hence equally it was decided to locate the aforementioned mills here as with the marking of the course of the street. Formally Młynowa Street does not appear in the register of 1560, nevertheless some road to these lots 'to the rear of the street' must have existed. However, for obvious reasons no name has been marked as a result of its lack of source confirmation. These are for certain not all the mills that were situated in the Mielnik of the time. It is not possible to establish the position of the castle mills for they were located 'on boats' – one beyond the town above the bridge and three lower down from this crossing.<sup>66</sup>

The question of Zabuże also requires some expansion. At present it constitutes a separate village situated on the other bank of the River Bug opposite the former Przedmieście Krzywezyckie. In this

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<sup>58</sup> ASK LVI 171, ff. 5, 90.

<sup>59</sup> Mention of its construction is found in the repeat of the castle church charter issued by Sigismund I the Old (see above footnote 56).

<sup>60</sup> *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów)*, p. 406.

<sup>61</sup> "three voloks of land bestowed on these Orthodox churches of old"; ASK LVI 171, f. 12v.

<sup>62</sup> AWAK, 33, pp. 358–359.

<sup>63</sup> LMAVB, ff. 41–319, p. 686.

<sup>64</sup> It is worth emphasising here that the cemetery lay at a certain distance from the Orthodox church itself. The research carried out on the territory of the present-day Orthodox church garden has not revealed any signs of graves; M. Dzik, G. Śnieżko, *Sprawozdanie z archeologicznych badań wykopaliskowych w Mielniku, woj. podlaskie, stan. "Cmentarz Prawosławny" i "Sad Cerkiewny" w 2013 r.*, Rzeszów–Warsaw 2014, pp. 10–13 (the research reports are held in the WUOZwB archive).

<sup>65</sup> ASK LVI 171, f. 125.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 185.

region have been found traces of a settlement from the early Middle Ages and in the subject literature it has been presented as a settlement securing the Bug crossing. Then in this exact same spot a Starościński folwark came into being.<sup>67</sup> On the maps that exist in the literature Zabuże is also marked. However, none of the preserved inventories, inspections or tax registers of the sixteenth century actually give this very name. Obviously one cannot not rule out the fact that it was already in use in colloquial language in the second half of the sixteenth century if only as a result of its genesis ('territory beyond the Bug'), nevertheless due to the fact that no references for the name have been discovered in source material it has not been included on the map; with the place being marked merely with the location of the Starościński folwark.

It follows once more to emphasise that the picture of Mielnik in the second half of the sixteenth century as presented on the map is highly hypothetical in character. As a result of the dearth of sources, a complete and reliable recreation of many aspects of the urban infrastructure has been impossible. It has not been possible to establish, among other things, the position of the brickworks mentioned as being located around the Krzywczyckie plots (*morga* – a part/division of a volok: 1 volok = 30 *morga*) in the direction of Wajków, or the folwarks and several town gardens (allotments). For certain the conducting of research, particularly archaeological digs and excavations, will bring about many more findings; ones that will undoubtedly change the current state of knowledge on the layout of Mielnik in the second half of the sixteenth century.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>67</sup> D. Michaluk, *Mielnik: stolica ziemi*, pp. 21, 24.

### III.6.20.1 NOWY SĄCZ

*Marta Piber-Zbieranowska*

The plan of Nowy Sącz<sup>1</sup> in the sixteenth century was reconstructed by means of retrogression based on the oldest cartographic sources, supplemented with data provided by written sources. However, it should be emphasized that the presented plan is a hypothesis, in which some elements are certain (as, for example, the location of monumental buildings), and others only probable, to varying degrees.

The earliest plan available to us comes from 1783. It is a schematic presentation of the city walls and the most important buildings: the castle, the town hall, the gates, wickets, and sacral buildings.<sup>2</sup> The author also provided a simplified draft of the hydrographic and road network around the city, and of the scarp, on which the city was situated. The description mentions the situation and ownership of fields north of the city, over the River Kamienica, and the location of a crossing over the Dunajec. Because of its schematic character, the plan played only a supporting role.

The plan made by Filip Antoni Moscherosch in 1804 was crucial in our reconstruction of the plan of Nowy Sącz at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> It shows the city inside the city walls, without suburbs, but marking the scarp and its range. The layout of the plots and the buildings is very clear, as is the course of the defensive wall with its towers. The walls were almost completely demolished soon after the plan was drawn, and it is the only remaining cartographic projection of the walls. The legend of the plan focuses on the main buildings and roads running from the city. Street names were shown on the plan. Some of them have not changed since the Modern Era, and that made our identification easier.

Another cartographic source was the 1831 plan of Nowy Sącz by Maschk and Podgórski.<sup>4</sup> It presents, though in a more schematic way, the layout of parcels in the city, and the division of grounds outside the old walls in the south. This plan already depicts serious gaps in the fortifications. Ownership and street names (in German) were described in the key to the plan.

Cadastral plans from the nineteenth century were necessary for the reconstruction of the plan of the old city. The plans used came from 1846, around 1850, and 1878, which played a supporting role. All plans were made at a scale of 1:2,880, and clearly showed the layout of city and suburban plots.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The order of words in the name of this city changes frequently in the sixteenth century. For practical reasons our plan and the commentary use the current version of the name. On the other hand, the main map and other maps show 'Sądecz Nowy', as this was the most common version at the time.

<sup>2</sup> This plan by an unknown author was published several times: J. Sygański (overdrawn), [in:] *Analekta Sandeckie do XVI i XVII wieku z planem miasta*, ed. J. Sygański, Lwów 1905, p. 111, explications pp. 112–113; R. Kesslerling, *Neu Sandecz und das Neu Sandezer Land*, Cracow 1941; K. Dziwik, *Rozwój przestrzenny miasta Nowego Sącza od XIII–XIX w. na tle stosunków gospodarczych*, "Rocznik Sądecki", vol. 5, 1962, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> The plan known from a copy made in 1812 by J. Schwartz (1:1,476); the copy made in 1933 by Bohdan Guerquin is kept in the collection of the Faculty of the History of the Construction of Cities at Warsaw Technical University, sign. U I–130, (street names in German), see *Ilustrowany katalog źródeł kartograficznych do historii budowy miast polskich*, no. 6: A. Liczbiński, B. Ufnalewski, *Katalog planów miast polskich w zbiorach Zakładu Architektury Polskiej Politechniki Warszawskiej*, Warszawa 1962, no. 60, p. 21. Plans were published by: T. Tołwiński, *Urbanistyka*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1939, p. 151 oraz K. Dziwik, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, p. 222 (with a scale in Austrian fathoms and metres). Polish names were provided in both cases.

<sup>4</sup> Plan entitled "Grundriss der Kreisstadt Neusandec"; its photocopy can be found in the Institute of Arts PAN [hereinafter: IS PAN], sign. 2831; published by R. Kesslerling, *Neu Sandecz*.

<sup>5</sup> Plan from 1846: District Museum in Nowy Sącz, sign. MNS 16 390/1 H/3850, sheet I–IX; plans from around 1850 and 1878: AP Kraków, sign. K.N.S 367 and 347.

The reconstruction of the areas situated on the other bank of the River Kamienica was based additionally on the land cadastre from 1897, covering the village Załubińcze (to the stream Łubinka) with the area called Piekło. The southern part of Piekło is the former Przedmieście Mniejsze (Zakamienica).<sup>6</sup> The reconstruction of the suburbs and the road network was possible to a large degree thanks to Fryderyk von Mieg's map of Galicia from 1780.<sup>7</sup> The following sources were also consulted: the plan of the conversion of the old Franciscan complex in Nowy Sącz by F.A. Moschenrosch from 1789;<sup>8</sup> the project of the conversion of the old Piarist monastery from 1818;<sup>9</sup> the plan of the city after the fire from 1890;<sup>10</sup> the undated 'Plan Królewskiego Wolnego Miasta Nowego Sącza: miejska sieć rur' ('The Plan of the Royal City of Nowy Sącz: the city pipe network', because of the hydrographic network).<sup>11</sup>

All images known to us of the city come from the first half of the nineteenth century. Of these, the ones showing Nowy Sącz from the north, from the right bank of the River Kamienica, were particularly useful. They helped us reconstruct the course and layout of the fortifications and the plan of the area before the city, at the foot of the castle, where the Rivers Dunajec and Kamienica met. These were: two lithographs by Emanuel Kronbach from 1820, and a lithograph based on Antoni Lange's drawing published in 1823.<sup>12</sup> The arrangement of the castle buildings was reconstructed on the basis of the images of the castle from the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Of written sources, we should mention court books (*acta scabinalia*) of Nowy Sącz from 1550–1600<sup>14</sup> in the first place, also city bills,<sup>15</sup> and the inspections and inventories of Nowy Sącz starosta's district;<sup>16</sup> of Church sources – the visitations of Cracow diocese from 1597 and 1608.<sup>17</sup> The tax register from the stationing of the army in 1652 was also helpful.<sup>18</sup>

There are several important monographs on Nowy Sącz. In the first place, we should mention the work by a long-term researcher of the city and its region, Rev. Jan Stygański, particularly his three-volume *Historia Nowego Sącza*, frequently quoted by later historians.<sup>19</sup> K. Dziwik, F. Kiryk, and B. Krasnowolski<sup>20</sup> elaborated on the urban layout of the city, and I. Kwieciński and J. Widawski<sup>21</sup> focused on the city walls and the castle. The new monograph of the city gathers and verifies the current state of knowledge.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>6</sup> State Archive in Nowy Sącz [hereinafter: AP Nowy Sącz], sign. Zb. Kart. 168.

<sup>7</sup> See the chapter *Cartographic sources* in AHP Cracow volume and in the chapter II.2.12357 in this edition. Nowy Sącz is at the sheet no. 50 of Mieg map.

<sup>8</sup> IS PAN, photo 10596; publ.: W. Łuszczkiewicz, *Architektura najdawniejszych kościołów franciszkańskich w Polsce*, "Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce", vol. 4, 1891, tabl. XXVI.

<sup>9</sup> IS PAN, org. no. 2832; 121725 and 121726.

<sup>10</sup> AP Kraków, Zb. Kart., R.M. Nowy Sącz 4. The plan shows the northern part of the city, layout of parcels, no scale.

<sup>11</sup> AP Nowy Sącz, Zb. Kart., sign. 198.

<sup>12</sup> Published by A. Zaborowski in the appendix to his article *Niektóre widoki Nowego Sącza w grafice XIX wieku*, "Rocznik Sądecki", vol. 8, 1967, pp. 403–417.

<sup>13</sup> See below.

<sup>14</sup> AP Kraków, AD 58–72. Some of the entries were provided by dr Anna Dunin-Wąsowicz, for which I thank her. The court book from 1488–1505 (AD 49) was also consulted.

<sup>15</sup> AP Kraków, AD 149, account books from: 1551–1580 and AD 150 from 1601–1612.

<sup>16</sup> LK 1564, part 1, pp. 153–158. Unpublished materials used: LK 1569, ff. 234–242; LK 1616, ff. 53v–62, 83–84; Inspection of Cracow Voivodship 1628–1632, MK, LXVIII, sign. 22 [hereinafter: LK 1628–1632], ff. 141–160, 184–210; ASK LIV 24, ff. 14–20 (Inventory of the starosta's district of Nowy Sącz 1540). Customs inspection 1564/65 was used in localizing bridges, ff. 215–217 as well as road inspection: LDK, pp. 36–37.

<sup>17</sup> AV Cap. sign. 9 and 25. Information from LR 1529 and Długosz LB, vol. 1, pp. 544 ff is also used.

<sup>18</sup> AP Kraków, AD 554: "The register of three collections for the stationing of soldiers of the Hetman...". "The town register of the wintering from houses" did not contain any information, which would prove useful to us (ibidem, sign. AD 556).

<sup>19</sup> J. Sygański, *Historia Nowego Sącza od wstąpienia dynastii Wazów do pierwszego rozbioru Polski*, vol. 1–3, Lwów 1901–1902; idem, *Zabytki dziejów i sztuki w Nowym Sączu*, Lwów 1912; idem, *Z życia domowego szlachty sandeckiej w epoce dynastii Wazów*, Lwów 1910; idem, *Analekta Sandeckie*; idem, *Nowy Sącz, jego dzieje i pamiątki dziejowe. Szkic historyczny na pamiątkę sześćsetnej rocznicy założenia tegoż miasta*, Nowy Sącz 1892.

<sup>20</sup> K. Dziwik, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, pp. 153–223; F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji Małopolski XIII–XVI w. Województwo krakowskie (powiaty południowe)*, Cracow 1985, pp. 142–157; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, part 2: *Katalog układów urbanistycznych*, Cracow 2004, no. 35, pp. 154–161.

<sup>21</sup> I. Kwieciński, *Zamek królewski w Nowym Sączu*, Nowy Sącz 1927; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 303–318. See also *Nowy Sącz* entry by S. Kołodziejcki [in:] L. Kajzer, S. Kołodziejcki, J. Salm, *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, Warsaw 2003, p. 329. Literature on this subject was also compiled by Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, ed. F. Kiryk, Warsaw–Cracow 1992, p. 239, footnote 93.

<sup>22</sup> *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1; vol. 2, ed. F. Kiryk, S. Płaza, Cracow 1993.

The plan of Nowy Sącz was prepared in accordance with the rules applied for the already published city plans of this series of AHP, at a scale of 1:10,000. It shows the city within the city walls, along with two suburbs: Węgierskie (called Większe or Wielkie) in the south, and Zakamienica (called Mniejsze) in the east, on the right bank of Kamienica.

The city was located on a headland in the fork of the Rivers Dunajec and its right tributary Kamienica. The northernmost point of the city was situated some 300 m from the mouth of the river. The rivers surrounded the city from three sides, providing free access only from the south. The city lay on a hill, well defined by steep scarps, over a dozen metres high.<sup>23</sup> Dunajec reached the city near the Franciscan monastery. Here the stream Żeglarka (recorded already in 1412<sup>24</sup>), flowed into the river. Earlier it encircled the city walls at the foot of the scarp. The stream bed lay in the valley of the Dunajec, and the edge of the scarp ran along the valley's meridian line. The area around the southern course of the Żeglarka was waterlogged and unfit for settlement, their range was reconstructed on the basis of the nineteenth century cartographic records. The River Kamienica flowed from the southeast and reached the city south of Młyńska Gate, then assumed almost meridian direction. The stream Łącznik (recorded in 1584<sup>25</sup>) flowed into the river by the mild meander shown on the plan. The topography influenced the shape of the city (which resembled a triangle) and later development of suburbs, mainly towards the south. It also defined the prolonged shape of Wielkie suburb, situated between the two streams.

A cutting (later called Młynówka) was made along the River Kamienica). It ran on the eastern side of the city, and ended at the point of junction of Dunajec and Kamienica.<sup>26</sup> It supplied two royal mills with water. A little to the east of the place where the stream Łącznik flowed into the Kamienica, another canal was dug (later also called Młynówka, this name was marked on the plan), which brought water to the ironworks and mills situated north of the River Kamienica.<sup>27</sup>

In 1292 Nowy Sącz was located by Wenceslaus II on the grounds of the old village Kamienica, which belonged to the bishop of Cracow. The parochial church of St. Adalbert, erected most likely in the twelfth century, probably stood in the centre of Kamienica. The city developed some 1,5 km north of the village, on the site of the old bishop's manor and the subsidiary church of St. Margaret.<sup>28</sup>

The newly located city obtained 72 lan of land for use.<sup>29</sup> Researchers claim that the future buildings occupied some 10 Frankish lans. The remaining grounds were meant for cultivation.<sup>30</sup> Later, suburbs developed in this area, mainly Węgierskie suburb, which seized the grounds of the old village Kamienica with the church of St. Adalbert. 22 lans of arable land stretched near this church.<sup>31</sup> Nowy Sącz also owned areas north of the city. Right outside Krakowska Gate there was a vogt's lan, with a pasture and manorial gardens, and earlier two ponds (1509). This was an unfortunate location, as numerous overflows of the Rivers Dunajec and Kamienica reduced the amount of land that was available.<sup>32</sup> The city also owned the areas north of the mouth of the Kamienica into the Dunajec, to the

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<sup>23</sup> Jan Długosz and Szymon Starowolski provide old descriptions of the town's location; cf. J. Flis, *Środowisko geograficzne*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> ZDM, vol. 5, no. 1242 ("flumen Seglarca"); vol. 6, no. 1858 ("fluvium Zeglarka").

<sup>25</sup> AP Kraków, AD 65, f. 610 ("fluvius Lancznik"), f. 637; AP Kraków, AD 72, f. 811 (1600) ("torres vulgo dicta Lancznik").

<sup>26</sup> LK 1564, vol. 1, p. 156; AP Kraków, AD 65, f. 30.

<sup>27</sup> Called "aquaeductus molendini" in the sources, AP Kraków, AD 66, ff. 553, 640; AD 68, f. 157; AD 71, f. 628; AD 72, ff. 80, 361; MRPS, vol. V, part 1, no. 384. The course of this flumen was reconstructed on the basis of Mieg's map, sheet 50 and the 1846 cadastre.

<sup>28</sup> A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Sądeckczyzna w XIII i XVI w. Przemiany gospodarcze i społeczne*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 126–129; F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji*, pp. 142–143; idem, *Początki miasta*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, p. 87; J. Rajman, *Osadnictwo okolic Nowego Sącza i kształtowanie się strefy podmiejskiej (XIII–XV w.)*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 59–60.

<sup>29</sup> KDP, vol. 3, no. 67 ("civitate[m] [...] Sandecz ad illum locum, in quo nunc villa Sandecz sita est..."). The town was founded on a field, which belonged to the village; KKK, vol. 1, no. 111, as quoted in J. Rajman, *Osadnictwo okolic*, p. 60.

<sup>30</sup> J. Rajman, *Osadnictwo okolic*, pp. 61–63; K. Dziwik, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, p. 174. It is confirmed by royal inspections. The burghers paid here the rent from 62 lans (LK 1564, part 1, p. 153), and 10 lans belonged "ad communem civium utilitatem" (LK 1569, f. 235).

<sup>31</sup> Doc. Diec. Krak. 1973, part 2, vol. 4, no. 526 (document of Cracow bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki erecting the collegiate church in Nowy Sącz); Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 547.

<sup>32</sup> LK 1564, part 1, p. 154; LK 1569, ff. 60–60v, here also the house of the starosta's keeper and of the fishermen.

village Zabełcze, as confirmed by a document issued in 1299.<sup>33</sup> Later, the city's village Roszkowice developed here.<sup>34</sup> Before 1616/1617, city gardens were located over the River Kamienica, from the side of Krakowska Gate, but they were also destroyed by the overflows of the Dunajec, the Kamienica and the Łubinka.<sup>35</sup> Six lans were to be used as pastureland and meadows.<sup>36</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, Nowy Sącz had only 4,5 such lans. They lay by the Dunajec, and were constantly threatened with floods and damages caused by the river.<sup>37</sup> The situation of the city gardens was quite similar, and in 1569 they covered only 1,5 lans, as the rest was 'taken by the Dunajec'.<sup>38</sup>

City hamlets Gorzków and Gołąbkowice were also probably located on these 72 lans meant for development and cultivation.<sup>39</sup> Gorzków's character in our period cannot be identified precisely, as the sources describe it either as a village, or a suburb. The term *villa* appears, for instance, in a document from 1448, in *Liber beneficiorum*, on the other hand, Gorzków is called *suburbium*. Town books from the second half of the sixteenth century again call it a village.<sup>40</sup> It seems fair to share Anna Dunin-Wąsowicz's opinion that Gorzków was 'a transitional form between a suburb and a village' at the time, that is how it is described in *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny*.<sup>41</sup> This appears to confirm the term *antesuburbium*, found in some sources, which should be translated as 'pre-suburb'. As such, Gorzków should be treated as a farther suburb, not included in our plan. It was consistently omitted in tax registers, just like Gołąbkowice, which was consistently called a village. They lay by the River Łubinka, and occupied the area of 12 lans. In the first half of the sixteenth century, there were 14 demesnes belonging to the burghers here,<sup>42</sup> and a brickyard.

At the moment of the location, the city was also endowed with 100 lans of forests. This area was meant for the location of villages. Two such villages were founded here until the end of the sixteenth century: Paszyn and Piątkowa. In 1564, the forests owned by the city were large enough 'for two villages to be located'.<sup>43</sup>

It is obvious that at the end of the sixteenth century the area owned by the city was quite large. From the north the territory bordered on the village Roszkowice (the border ran along the River Łubinka),<sup>44</sup> and from the east with Gołąbkowice, reaching Falkowa village, which was partially owned by the city, and partially by the king. From the southeast Większe suburb neighbored on Gorzków, and then with Zawada, a village belonging to the nobility. From the south the urban area bordered on the grounds of the village Dąbrowa, a property of the Norbertines from Nowy Sącz. In the west the border of the city grounds was set on the River Dunajec. On its left bank lay the grounds of villages belonging to the monastery of the Sisters of St. Clare in Stary Sącz: Chełmiec,<sup>45</sup> Strugi, and Świniarsko Małe (Mała Wieś), and Świniarsko Większe, a village belonging to the bishop of Cracow.

The city was enclosed within a line of fortifications, and its shape was enforced by topographic conditions. It was extended to the south, and twice as wide here, than in the north. The layout was typical to located cities (chessboard pattern), with a market and a network of perpendicular streets, which divided the city into blocks of parcels.<sup>46</sup> The shape of the market square was determined by

<sup>33</sup> KDM, vol. 1, no. 132, p. 159.

<sup>34</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, p. 561 (according to Długosz, there were two serf lans here at the time); J. Rajman, *Osadnictwo okolic*, pp. 65–66, earlier literature included.

<sup>35</sup> LK 1616, f. 54.

<sup>36</sup> KDP, vol. 3, 67.

<sup>37</sup> LK 1564, part 1, f. 154: "every year the water destroys some of the meadows".

<sup>38</sup> LK 1569, ff. 236–237.

<sup>39</sup> J. Rajman, *Osadnictwo okolic*, p. 67.

<sup>40</sup> "Gorzkw villa civilis", AP Kraków, AD 69, f. 500 (1591); also: AD 62, f. 260 (1571).

<sup>41</sup> A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kapitał mieszczański Nowego Sącza na przełomie XVI/XVII wieku: wpływ na ekonomikę miasta i zaplecza*, Warszawa 1967, p. 124; SHGK, part 1, no. 4, p. 804.

<sup>42</sup> Łaski LB, vol. 1, p. 560; LR 1529, p. 43.

<sup>43</sup> LK 1564, part 1, p. 154.

<sup>44</sup> Later a village Załubińcze was founded between Nowy Sącz and Roszkowice. It was noted in the end of the eighteenth century (Mieg) for the first time. The border with this village ran on the River Kamienica and did not cover Przedmieście Zakamienica or the fields stretching to the northeast, see cadastral plan from 1897.

<sup>45</sup> AP Kraków, AD 62, f. 204.

<sup>46</sup> The regular layout was partially distorted, because it had to fit the specific terrain. The blocks were organized in five rows. Rhein measurements (in Poland called also Chełmno measurements) were used during the foundation. The basic unit was the small rope, some 125 feet long (10 rods), i.e. 39,25 m. The city with the walls can be fit into a rectangle 15 × 10 ropes

the road Cracow–Hungary, which ran along the eastern frontage. The market square was 4 ropes long and 3 ropes wide, which gives us 18,487 m<sup>2</sup>. Market squares in Stary Sącz and Kazimierz (in Cracow) have same proportions 4:3.<sup>47</sup>

Building plots, marked by the streets, were 1,5 ropes deep (around 59 m). However, due to specific terrain conditions regular depths of plots could be found only by the market square and in rows running parallel from the western and eastern block by the market square. In the remaining parts of the city, the plots were around 1 rope deep.<sup>48</sup> Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the blocks situated on the fringes of the city were not, it seems, densely developed, just like it would appear on the 1804 plan. That is why in ‘uncertain’ places we refrained from marking with black contours. This mostly concerns the northern part of the city near the castle, and the southern area, in the vicinity of Węgierska Gate. Residential areas measured within the blocks varied in size. The broadest plots were situated by the market square, narrower ones were by the streets.<sup>49</sup> The breadth of plots by the market square is confirmed by original divisions in the southern part of the western frontage of the market square, which survives to this day, and are clearly visible also on the 1804 plan. Only these divisions were marked on our plan. Reliable reconstruction of the layout of the sixteenth century parcels was impossible, due to changes caused by numerous floods and damages of the Swedish Deluge.

The street network remained almost unchanged. Moscherosch’s plan served as a basis for the reconstruction of the sixteenth century state.<sup>50</sup> In turn, no contemporary street name survived: Drwalska (or Drzewna), Młyńska, Polska, Szpitalna (called ‘Szpitalska’ in the sources), Różana, Węgierska, Zaszpitalna, Biskupia, and Balwierska. Some of these names were listed on Moscherosch’s plan, and on the plan by Maschk and Podgórski from 1831. These plans allow us to conclude that: Drwalska Street is the current Jagiellońska Street (the fragment from Wałowa Str.), Młyńska Str., which led to the gate sharing the name, is now Lwowska Str., and Szpitalna Str., one of the main streets in the sixteenth century, a prolongation of the western frontage of the market square, is the current Piotra Skargi Str. The name of the present-day Św. Ducha Str. appears to be the oldest one. It was used already in the seventeenth century, originally as *Za Świętym Duchem*.<sup>51</sup> The name was not recorded in the sixteenth century sources, but we have a *retro Hospitale*<sup>52</sup> street, which should be translated as ‘behind the hospital’, or Zaszpitalna Str. (this name appears on our plan). The hospital of Nowy Sącz, situated by the monastery and the church of the Norbertines, was dedicated to the Holy Spirit (‘Św. Duch’).<sup>53</sup>

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long (i.e. 588,75 × 392,5 m), so the sides were like 3:2 in proportions, Beiersdorf, Krasnowolski 1992a, p. 101. The distance between Krakowska and Węgierska Gate was 15 ropes, and between the city wall in the west and the surviving fragment of the wall behind the collegiate of St. Margaret in the east – 10 ropes. The difference between the width of the city in its broadest and narrowest place (i.e. between the western wall and Młyńska Gate) was some 220 m. See also the calculations of the settlement area of Nowy Sącz in various units: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, Kraków 2004, part 1, tab. 6, p. 151. Krasnowolski gives exact measurement of rows and stripes of buildings. It was 9 ropes along the east-west row (353,25 m), and 14,5 rope from the north to the east (569,12 m), B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 2, p. 155, table 6.1 and il. 110, p. 158. The city walls were some 1700 m long, and the area covered 19 ha (Widawski, Mury, p. 312). The rectangular market square, situated in the southern part of the city in the middle row of blocks, prolonged along the north-south axis “to fit the general disposition of the layout”, B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, p. 187.

<sup>47</sup> B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, pp. 187–188 (tab. 10, “Rozmiary i proporcje rynków”).

<sup>48</sup> Z. Bieiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, pp. 105–106.

<sup>49</sup> The parcels in Nowy Sącz were measured by B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, p. 184, tab. 9. The parcels by the market square were 4 rod wide, and by the streets 2,5 rod. However, the latter differed in terms of their depth: those in the blocks which ran from the western and eastern row by the market were 1,5 rope deep, others were 1 rope deep.

<sup>50</sup> The width of streets in this period can only be calculated in estimation. We know they differed according to the function of a street. Main transit streets running north-south, which divided the town into strip, and Młyńska Str. were around 3 rods wide; streets reaching the bishop’s manor and the Franciscan monastery, west from the market square, probably some 3,5 rod; streets between blocks of buildings, which only facilitated the communication (the so-called *miedzuchy*), as well as street running along the city walls – 1 to 2,5 rod, B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 2, p. 155.

<sup>51</sup> AP Kraków, AD 554, f. 7. Listed here between Szpitalna and Młyńska Str. The name Św. Ducha Str. is listed on all plans from the nineteenth century.

<sup>52</sup> AP Kraków, AD 65, ff. 399–400; AD 66, ff. 191, 192, 229, 330, 439, 656.

<sup>53</sup> The same identification (without any explanation) in A. Żaboklicka (Dunin-Wąsowicz), *Zadłużenie hipoteczne domów w Nowym Sączu w końcu XVI w.*, PH, vol. 53, 1962, no. 4, pp. 784, 786 and 798. About streets see F. Leśniak, *Obszar miasta, zasiedlenie i stosunki własnościowe*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, pp. 316–317. Different identification of Szpitalna and Zaszpitalna Streets in J. Rajman, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic w Nowym Sączu*, “Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 20, 1992, pp. 68, 74–75.

On the plan from 1804 the street running through the entire city at the back of the western block by the market square is divided into two fragments, which bear different names: the one from the castle to a small street leaving from the north-eastern corner of the market square is Franciszkańska Str., and then from this place to the city walls in the south – Różana Str. It seems fair to relate the name Różana to a large fragment of this street, i.e. the street, which left from the south-western corner of the market square and ran west (today it is part of Pijarska Str.). The name ‘Franciszkańska Street’ does not appear in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, it must have been created later then, perhaps already after the liquidation of the Franciscan monastery situated in the northern part of this street. The name ‘Różana’ should be associated with the monastery gardens located in this street, still visible on the 1804 plan.<sup>54</sup> The sixteenth century Węgierska Street is now certainly A. Dunajewskiego Street.<sup>55</sup> Moscherosch’s plan shows us Furmańska street here. This name is well-attested for the seventeenth century. It was listed e.g. in the register of the stationing of soldiers from 1652 (*platea Vectoralis*) in the list of streets in Nowy Sącz.<sup>56</sup> According to J. Sygański, a similar list from 1651 records a compound name: *Vectoralis seu Hungaricalis*.<sup>57</sup> The sixteenth century court book confirms that Węgierska Street was later called Furmańska (since the first half of the seventeenth century). In 1584, Stanisław Bartusz handed his house (called *Lithwinowski*) situated on the corner of Węgierska Street, near a house called *Dudlawinski*, to his son-in-law, a bathhouse worker named Wojciech. Another entry concerning this transaction, it was noted that the said house stood *in platea dicta furmanska*.<sup>58</sup> The present-day Kazimierza Wielkiego Street was called Polska Street in the sixteenth century (*platea Polonialis*). On Moscherosch’s plan this street is called Krakowska. Written sources allowed us to identify Polska Street. We know that: 1) Polska Str. reached the market square;<sup>59</sup> 2) houses in Polska Str. reached the buildings of the royal manor;<sup>60</sup> 3) a nook leading to the Franciscan Monastery of the Holy Virgin left from Polska Str.;<sup>61</sup> 4) a cross street (*platea transversalis*) connected Szpitalna Str. with Polska Str.,<sup>62</sup> so these streets were parallel.

Two sixteenth century streets, Biskupia (*Episcopalis*) and Balwierska (*Capillationis*), which appear in the town books frequently were identified only hypothetically.<sup>63</sup> The problem of their identification has so far been neglected by the literature.<sup>64</sup> The course of Biskupia and Balwierska streets should be connected with the location of the manor of the bishop of Cracow and the city bathhouse. The exact location of the bishop’s manor is uncertain, as no remains of the building survive and no field research was ever conducted. The building was erected at the beginning of the sixteenth century, although the original residence of the bishops of Cracow in Nowy Sącz probably dates back to the city’s

<sup>54</sup> The name “Różana” was also used for another street, which ran from the north-eastern corner of the market square to the city wall. On the plan from 1804 it was called “Side Różana”. Entries in town books mention “a corner house on the market square between the house of Barbara Sołtysówna and Różana Street” (AP Kraków, AD 52, f. 120), “a house in Różana Str., between another house and the city wall” (AD 60, ff. 13, 367; AD 66, f. 647), “house in Różana Str. by the city walls” (AD 66, f. 569). In other place the street was simply called a cross street (of Różana Str.) running to the city walls (AD 68, f. 134), see J. Rajman, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, p. 73.

<sup>55</sup> The name of the street alone (Węgierska means “Hungarian”) suggest this street was situated in the southern part of the city, near the gate, which lead to the road to Hungary, and probably led directly to the road. Węgierska Str. is well-attested in the sources from the sixteenth century: AP Kraków, AD 60, ff. 3, 254, 460, 518; AD 61, ff. 466, 662; AD 65, ff. 111, 574; AD 66, ff. 143, 201–203, 216, 317, 397.

<sup>56</sup> AP Kraków, AD 554, f. 7.

<sup>57</sup> J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> AP Kraków, AD 66, ff. 201–203, 673, 685. See A. Żaboklicka, *Zadłużenie hipoteczne domów*, plan, p. 784. On the 1804 plan the name Furmańska Str. denotes also the fragment along the old city walls between Węgierska Str. and Drwalska Str. (today part of Szwedzka Str.). It seems unjustified to call this fragment Węgierska Str. in the sixteenth century, though. (See J. Rajman, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, pp. 68, 72, 74). The sources call it simply “vicus civilis”; AP Kraków, AD 60, f. 254.

<sup>59</sup> AP Kraków, AD 60, f. 568 (1567). The entry mentions a corner house on the market square, between Polska Str. and Anna Gardoniowa’s house.

<sup>60</sup> AP Kraków, AD 54, f. 4.

<sup>61</sup> AP Kraków, AD 66, f. 231.

<sup>62</sup> AP Kraków, AD 66, f. 654; AD 70, f. 123. From “The register of three...” (AD 554, ff. 3–5) we know that Polska Str. was quite long, and the number of houses and plots was more or less the same as in Szpitalna Str., listed next. We cannot agree with J. Rajman’s identification (idem, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, pp. 68, 72–73).

<sup>63</sup> Balwierska Str.: AP Kraków, AD 49, f. 319; AD 52, f. 4; AD 60, ff. 214, 215, 248, 263, 340, 380; AD 62, f. 247; AD 149, f. 192. Biskupia Str.: AD 62, ff. 412, 419, 309. See also footnote 74.

<sup>64</sup> Only J. Rajman made an attempt at localization; idem, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, pp. 68, 71, 72, See below.

location.<sup>65</sup> The manor sustained significant damage during the great fire of the city in 1522, but it was rebuilt thanks to the efforts of bishop Piotr Tomicki, the Vice-Chancellor of the Crown.<sup>66</sup> Still in 1540 the bishop's *pallatium* was considered large, but already 29 years later the city inspector recorded that: 'through the manor of the bishop of Cracow there is quite a large gate to the city, where the wall collapsed', which was probably caused by an overflow of Dunajec.<sup>67</sup> The rebuilding was considered during the visitation of bishop Jerzy Radziwiłł in 1597, but it was never done. In 1608, the building was in ruin (only foundations remained, and one room with cellars, and the gate), but the inspector again ordered the manor to be rebuilt. Again, the plan was abandoned, and the fires from 1611 and 1637 completed the destruction. In 1652 only an empty square with a garden called 'Biskupie' remained in this place. They belonged to the Sisters of St. Clare from Stary Sącz.<sup>68</sup> Sometime before 1655, the sisters ordered a church and a monastery to be built in 'Biskupie', but still in 1670 the work was not finished. In 1732 the entire area was seized from the Sisters of St. Clare by the Piarists. They finished the church (its outline is clearly visible on the 1804 plan), and built their monastery in the northern part of the square, adjacent to the city walls. Parts of the monastery survive to this day inside the current prison.<sup>69</sup> The 1608 visitation tells us that the manor was connected with the city walls, and one could see the River Dunajec from above. The bishop's manor must have been situated in the southern corner of the city then, adjacent to the western city wall, probably north of the tower, thus fulfilling the defensive functions of the city.<sup>70</sup>

Sources inform us that the city's bathhouse was located near the bishop's manor, and the road leading there left from one of the corners of the market square.<sup>71</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century the bathhouse was destroyed in a fire.<sup>72</sup> From then on it probably fell into ruin and was demolished. Before 1659 the grounds where the bathhouse used to stand were added to the square 'where the Sisters of St. Clare built'.<sup>73</sup> The bathhouse must have been situated near a watercourse. The stream Żeglarka flowed under the scarp near the western fragment of the city walls, and that is why the bathhouse probably stood just by the walls. Houses in Biskupia Street stood across from (*ex opposito*) the bathhouse.<sup>74</sup> The sources tell us that in our period there were at least several houses in this street. It appears it would be the most justified to identify this street with the southern fragment of the current Pijarska Str., i.e. between Hoffmanowej Str. and Szwedzka Str.<sup>75</sup> The location of

<sup>65</sup> The 1608 visitations mentions a date 1515 above the gate (AV Cap. 25, f. 76). See Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka renesansu i manieryzmu*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, pp. 485–486.

<sup>66</sup> J. Sygański, *Zabytki dziejów*, p. 28.

<sup>67</sup> LK 1569, f. 269. The renovation works of the wall "behind the bishop's" were underway in 1601; AP Kraków, AD 150, f. 62; J. Sygański, *Zabytki dziejów*, p. 28–32.

<sup>68</sup> AV Cap. 25, f. 76; AP Kraków, AD 554, f. 9.

<sup>69</sup> J. Sygański, *Wyroki ławicy sądeckiej 1652–1684*, Lwów 1818, no. 23, 55; idem, *Zabytki dziejów*, p. 13; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka renesansu*, p. 485; idem, *Urbanistyka i sztuka baroku*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, pp. 688–691.

<sup>70</sup> This location of the bishop's manor is known also from other towns (e.g. Nysa), Z. Beiersdorf and B. Krasnowolski assume on the basis of the surviving projects of the conversion of the Piarist monastery from 1818 that the single-storeyed building adjoining the main wing of the monastery from the north could be the remains of the bishop's old manor. The 1608 visitation, however, mentions that only foundations remained from the manor and one room with cellars, so perhaps the building should rather be connected with the construction works conducted by the Sisters of St. Clare.

<sup>71</sup> ASK LIV 24, f. 16v; AGZ, vol. 9, no. 75; AP Kraków, AD 61, ff. 640, 700; AD 71, f. 136; AD 72, f. 534.

<sup>72</sup> LK 1628–1632, f. 152. This occurred after 1617, because the inspection from that year does not mention any damages to the bathhouse, LK 1617–1620, f. 55.

<sup>73</sup> LK 1659–1664, p. 544.

<sup>74</sup> AP Kraków, AD 54, f. 10; AD 61, ff. 640, 700; AD 65, ff. 208–209, 318; AD 66, ff. 355–356; AD 71, f. 236; AD 72, f. 534; AD 150, ff. 336, 341; ASK LIV, 24, f. 16v. That the bathhouse stood by the city wall is confirmed by the entries in city bills: "sudden wind stole the roof from the new wall behind the bathhouse" (AP Kraków, AD 150, f. 336); "the carpenter repaired behind the bathhouse, on the new wall" (ibidem, f. 341).

<sup>75</sup> The Biskupia Str. would then be a continuation of Różana Str. This seems to be indirectly indicated by A. Dunin-Wąsowicz (Żaboklicka), in her description of Biskupia Str. together with Różana. She does not, however, mark Biskupia on her plan, eadem, *Zadłużenie hipoteczne domów*, p. 795. The linked location of the streets could be suggested by an entry, in which the name Różana was crossed over, and "Episcopalis" was written, AP Kraków, AD 60, f. 396. The name probably disappeared when the bishop's manor ceased to function: the name Różana was probably extended. The tax register from 1652 seems to confirm this theory (AP Kraków, AD 554, f. 9), it notes three plots "on bishop's grounds" in Różana Str. J. Rajman identifies Biskupia Str. with present-day Hoffmanowa Str. (idem, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, p. 73).

Balwierska Street has so far usually been omitted in the literature on the subject, perhaps because the sources provide us with very few hints here.<sup>76</sup> We must agree that the fifteenth century name *platea Depilationis* should be identified with the sixteenth century *platea Capillationis*.<sup>77</sup> A document from 1432 tells us about a square situated *in acie in platea depilationis versus balneam*.<sup>78</sup> The name of the street also seems to imply its location, though indirectly. Barber-surgeons ('balwierze') offered their services in the bathhouse. The 1616 inspection mentions that 'barber-surgeons add to the rent' from the bathhouse, which belonged to the king.<sup>79</sup> The name Balwierska was assumed for the street, which ran from the south-western corner of the market square and led to the bathhouse, which now constitutes a fragment of Hoffmanowej Street.<sup>80</sup>

Streets, whose names appear in the sources only once, were not included in our plan, as there were no clues about their location. These were the streets: Krakowska (perhaps this was the name used for a fragment of Szpitalna Street, near Krakowska Gate) and Stary Sącz (this is undoubtedly the same street, which was called *platea Antique Civitatis* in the fifteenth century sources).<sup>81</sup> Blocks of buildings were separated by narrow, boundary streets. These streets, which now have their own names, were called *vicus* (a nook, a cross street), or *platea (via) transversalis* in the sources, along with the name of the main street, or the place to which they led. They are well-attested to on the 1804 plan.<sup>82</sup> These streets were mostly used for communication, but there were houses in some of them (e.g. in a cross street of Młyńska Str., now the fragment of Jana Sobieskiego Str. from Wałowa Str.).<sup>83</sup> As in other cities, narrow roads could also be found by city walls.<sup>84</sup>

According to A. Dunin-Źaboklicka's calculations, there were 248 houses inside the walls of Nowy Sącz in the second half of the sixteenth century. The numbers run as follows: Market Square – 39, Drwalska Str. – 23, Młyńska Str. – 20, Węgierska Str. – 19, Polska Str. – 67, Szpitalna Str. – 40, Różana Str. – 21, Zaszpitalna Str. – 19.<sup>85</sup> Wooden buildings dominated in the city. Brick houses stood mostly in the market square, or on the main streets (Polska, Szpitalna, Młyńska, Drwalska, and Węgierska) from the side of the market square (usually on the corners).<sup>86</sup>

The construction of the city fortifications probably began soon after the location document was issued, at the turn of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The origins of this undertaking are attributed to the founder of the city – Wenceslaus II. The construction lasted probably till the

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<sup>76</sup> We believe the location suggested by J. Rajman (as Fryzjerów Str.) to be incorrect, he also seems to unnecessarily treat Łażni Str. separately.

<sup>77</sup> AP Kraków, AD 49, f. 97; F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji*, p. 153; J. Rajman, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, p. 72.

<sup>78</sup> AGZ, vol. 9, no. 25.

<sup>79</sup> LK 1616, f. 55. Melchior, the bathhouse worker, owned a house in Balwierska Str. (AP Kraków, AD 63, f. 228).

<sup>80</sup> It seems that the name Łażni Str. ("platea balnei") found in the sources denoted Balwierska Str. (AP Kraków, AD 52, f. 63, year 1535). J. Rajman suggest that Fryzjerów Str. is the current Tymowskiego Str., and Łażni – the junction of the current Pijarska and Szwedzka streets (idem, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, pp. 72–73), this however seems unjustified.

<sup>81</sup> MRPS, vol. II, no. 1255; vol. V, part 1, no. 3485; AP Kraków, AD 53, f. 102. J. Rajman identifies Krakowska Str. with the street known from the 1804 plan, idem, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, pp. 68, 72; about Starosądecka Str., ibidem, p. 74.

<sup>82</sup> The cross streets were 1 to 2,5 rods wide (B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, vol. 2, p. 155). The sources tell us about: a nook running to the collegiate church of St. Margaret (AP Kraków, AD 65, f. 753; AD 66, f. 199); from Polska Str. to the Franciscan monastery (AD 60, f. 534; AD 65, f. 229; AD 66, f. 231); crossing Różana Str. (AD 61, f. 67; AD 66, f. 344), running from Różana Str. to the town walls (AD 60, ff. 13, 367; AD 66, ff. 569, 647; AD 68, f. 134); connecting Polska Str. with Szpitalna Str. (AD 66, f. 654; AD 70, f. 123); crossing Młyńska Str. and running to the town walls (AD 65, f. 716; AD 68, f. 141; AD 72, f. 823). About the term *vicus* see P. Tyszka, *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa XIV–XV wieku w świadomości jego mieszkańców*, Lublin 2001, pp. 141–147.

<sup>83</sup> AP Kraków, AD 72, f. 823.

<sup>84</sup> Especially along the southern and western (partially) fragment of the walls. The house in Różana Str. situated "ex una vie publice circa murum civilem"; AP Kraków, AD 71, f. 594; see also ibidem, AD 60, ff. 246, 254.

<sup>85</sup> A. Źaboklicka, *Zadłużenie hipoteczne domów*, p. 786. In her commentary on the prices of towns, the author treated Różana and Biskupia Str. together (p. 795). However, only Różana Str. appears in her list of the number of houses, without any information, whether the houses in Biskupia Str. were included. Balwierska Str. does not appear in the list at all. The numbers can be compared with the data from the middle of the seventeenth century' there were 224 houses in the city then (J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 158; vol. 2, pp. 1–2, here numbers of houses in particular streets).

<sup>86</sup> A. Źaboklicka, *Zadłużenie hipoteczne domów*, pp. 790–792, 795–799. Some of the houses were part brick and part wooden. The author also gives prices of houses in individual streets (see the plan of Nowy Sącz ibidem, p. 784) and compiles information about the social structure of the inhabitants of individuals streets; on this subject see F. Leśniak, *Obszar miasta*, p. 318–320.

beginning of Casimir the Great's reign, when it was finished.<sup>87</sup> Later (from the second half of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century) the walls were often fortified and repaired. Due to the strategic location of the city, near the border with Hungary, the succeeding monarchs paid for the repairs. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the modernization of the fortifications began, so they could withstand firearms. Most of the works focused on the gates and towers. The construction of the outer wall began in the same period. The sources call this wall 'mały' ('little'), 'niżni' ('lower'), 'przymurek', or 'parakan'. At first it protected the city only from the south, but later also from the west, near the castle.<sup>88</sup> The works were still underway in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>89</sup> Only small fragments of the wall survived to our times. However, they helped us determine the course of the fortifications on our plan.

The city's fortifications comprised of: the wall with the gates and towers (probably double wall in the south and west), and a dry moat and an earth embankment from the south.

Entering the city was possible through the fortified gates. Krakowska Gate was situated in the north, and Węgierska gate in the south, on the same axis. The location of the gates is a result of the course of an old communication route, leading from the north to the south, in the valley of the Dunajec.<sup>90</sup> It functioned probably long before the location of the city. The route crossed the city along the eastern frontage of the market square. It ran from Gdańsk and Cracow (through Bochnia) to Nowy Sącz, and from here through Stary Sącz, Piwniczna and Lubowla to Koszyce. In Węgierskie suburb the road to Zawada and Nawojowa left the road, and later went through Tylicz to Bardiów.<sup>91</sup> Młyńska Gate was situated in the south-western corner of the city, at the exit of a street leaving from the market square. A highway ran from the gate, over the River Kamienica, and further on to Grybów, then through Gorlice to Biecz, and then to Jasło.<sup>92</sup> The location of the gates was schematically presented on the 1783 plan. Soon afterwards the gates were destroyed, but the beginnings of main roads leaving from the city can be seen on the 1804 plan. The location of the gates in Nowy Sącz and the course of outgoing roads was reconstructed on this basis. The original layout of outgoing roads cannot be determined from later cadastral plans: the roads were broadened and regulated, especially in the northern part of the city, where (more or less on the site of the old Krakowska Gate) a junction was built, from which roads leading to Tarnów, Limanowa and Bochnia led. Młyńska Street (later Lwowska Str.) was also straightened and broadened, which was probably related to the regulation of the River Kamienica, these changes can be seen on the cadastral plan from 1846. The city bills from the end of the sixteenth century tell us, there was a fourth gate, Polska Gate, in the city.<sup>93</sup> However, we decided not to place it on our plan. The name suggests the gate was situated at the exit of Polska Street, so to the right from Kowalska tower. An entry in the 1564 inspection seems to confirm there were two towers in the northern part of the city, it mentions 'Dolny mill, situated in front of the gates, on a channel running from the River Kamienica'.<sup>94</sup> The 1804 plan shows us the beginning of the road leading over the Dunajec, to Limanowa. At the same time, it can be seen that the wall on the right side of the city was already partially destroyed, so we cannot reject the possibility that the road was built shortly before.

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<sup>87</sup> Earlier literature ascribes the construction of the walls to Casimir the Great, see: Widawski, Mury, pp. 309–310, with literature. The review of the sources and research on the city walls of Nowy Sącz also in: Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, pp. 226–229. These researchers quote the records hitherto overlooked, according to this Wenceslaus of Bohemia freed the city from tributes and customs and the money was used to pay for the repairs of the walls (ibidem, p. 228).

<sup>88</sup> AP Kraków, AD 149, ff. 708, 731; AD 150, ff. 84, 113 ("a painter was hired to paint the small wall from Węgierska gate to Młyńska Gate"), 120, 202, 203, 388; AD 151, ff. 301, 368, 378. The great wall: AD 150, ff. 145 ("money for shingle and nails used on the wall from Krakowska Gate to Młyńska Gate"), 319, 320, 325, 336, 347, 353, 368. According to J. Sygański, the wall was over 7 m tall and 1,5 m wide; idem, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 5. See also: Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, pp. 235–236.

<sup>89</sup> There are entries mentioning "works at the wall" in the own bills from the beginning of the seventeenth century, also in other parts of the city, near Krakowska and Młyńska Gate; AP Kraków, AD 150, ff. 59, 84 (also see above); Widawski, Mury, 1973, p. 311; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, p. 229.

<sup>90</sup> Both gates mentioned in the inspection of roads from 1570. The inspectors entered the city through Krakowska Gate, and left through Węgierska Gate; LDK, p. 36; see also AP Kraków, AD 149, ff. 621, 629; cf. F. Kiryk, *Początki miasta*, p. 94–95.

<sup>91</sup> See M. Wilska's chapter about the roads in AHP Cracow volume and chapter III.5.1 in this volume.

<sup>92</sup> Młyńska Gate: AP Kraków, AD 65, f. 30; AD 150, ff. 97, 112, 224, 245, 353; J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 204; vol. 2, p. 8.

<sup>93</sup> AP Kraków, AD 149, ff. 612 (1578), 619, 621, 640 (1579).

<sup>94</sup> LK 1564, part 1, p. 156; cf. J. Rajman, *Osadnictwo okolic*, p. 64.

It seems justifiable to assume that Polska gate was rather a wicket meant for pedestrians, as would appear from the lay of the land: the scarp was several metres high here. Also, later city bills list only three gates next to the amounts paid on entering the city: Krakowska, Młyńska, and Węgierska.<sup>95</sup>

The River Dunajec protected the city from the northwest and partially from the west, the Rivers Kamienica and Młynówka fulfilled the same role in the northeast and east. From the south the city was separated by a moat.<sup>96</sup> The defence ability of the southern fragment was additionally strengthened by a broad and high earth embankment, recorded in 1532, but probably created already in the fifteenth century.<sup>97</sup> The western fragment of the embankment (4 m high) survives to this day near the city's market.

There were 15 towers in the defensive wall of Nowy Sącz. Three of them were built as an extension of the gates, and three constituted parts of the castle. The remaining gates were located along the wall, according to their defensive conditions. Węgierska Gate was the most fortified: it had circle towers on both sides, Krawiecka on the right, and Tkaczy on the left. Bednarska tower was built above the gate.<sup>98</sup> Kuśnierska tower was situated over Młyńska Gate, and Szewska over Krakowska Gate.<sup>99</sup> The south-western corner of the city was well fortified: Kramarska tower stood on the side of the moat, and in the west there was a square tower of unknown name, perhaps connected with the bishop's manor.<sup>100</sup> Rzeźnicza tower stood behind the Franciscan monastery. There were three towers at the castle, of which two had names: Szlachecka and Kowalska.<sup>101</sup> From the northeast the city was defended by three towers: Garncarska, Piwowarska, and Sukiennicza.<sup>102</sup> The obligation to defend and care for the towers fell on the members of particular guilds. The towers were either semicircular, or quadrangular, which can still be discerned on the 1804 plan. The rectangular tower left of Młyńska Gate was found during excavations in 1961.<sup>103</sup>

The castle in Nowy Sącz was built in the north-western corner of the city, in the highest place on the hill, which was some 15 m above the River Dunajec here.<sup>104</sup> We do not know the exact time of the construction, it is assumed that it occurred at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>105</sup> The castle was incorporated into the existing defence system, probably by adding the buildings to the defensive walls. The reconstruction of the urban layout was impeded by the lack of sufficient written sources and thorough field research of the sixteenth century castle, especially as it sustained severe

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<sup>95</sup> AP Kraków, AD 150, ff. 14–16, 19–21: “Foralia ex porta Cracoviensi, Hungaricali, Molendinali”. Sygański writes about grodzka gate, situated between the castle and Krakowska Gate, but inconsistently, because in some other place he located the gate inside castle grounds; idem, *Historia*, vol. 2, pp. 4, 8. The images of the castle and the tower from the second half of the nineteenth century prove that this place was quite steep and there was a path there.

<sup>96</sup> AP Kraków, AD 62, ff. 174, 265, 436; AD 66, f. 3. J. Sygański (idem, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 5) believed the moat was filled with water; J. Widawski (Widawski, *Mury*) and Z. Beiersdorf and B. Krasnowolski (idem, *Sztuka gotycka*, p. 234) claim there was a significant difference in levels, which made it impossible to fill the moat with water (the so-called dry moat).

<sup>97</sup> AP Kraków, AD 51, f. 132. The response of Sigismund I form 1543 concerning the complaints of the starosta and the town commune about the counsellors of Nowy Sącz; the charges include: bad management of town money, when the walls and towers were badly repaired and covered, and the the embankments suffer because they serve as pastureland (J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 204).

<sup>98</sup> Fortification works of Węgierska Gate (1555–1557): AP Kraków, AD 149, ff. 1–17, 615, 708. Numerous records from the beginning of the seventeenth century: AD 150, ff. 93 (“shingle and nails for Krawiecka tower”), 100, 357, 365, 403; AD 151, ff. 195, 276, 308, 315. There probably was a drawbridge by at Węgierska Gate, “the pipe master worked by the drawbridge in Węgierska Gate”; AD 150, ff. 191; “a the wheel and axle in Węgierska Gate fell down”, ibidem, f. 346; similarly ff. 91, 201. Names of the majority of towers are attested for the beginning of the seventeenth century, but their origins date back to the late medieval period, or early modern era; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, p. 236; see also Widawski, *Mury*, p. 313 and *Aneks. Zestawianie baszt i bram Nowego Sącza wg stanu z XVII w.*, p. 318.

<sup>99</sup> AP Kraków, AD 150, ff. 376, 406; J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 8.

<sup>100</sup> Some repair and construction works were being conducted at Kramarska Gate in the beginning of the seventeenth century; AP Kraków, AD 150, ff. 94, 410, 413, 414, 437; AD 151, ff. 193, 239, 241 (“a pillar under the round merchants’ tower”), 242, 270. The renovation of the tower “on the wall in Biskupie” is mentioned in 1610; AD 150, f. 340.

<sup>101</sup> About Rzeźnicza tower see: Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, p. 238, footnote 91. Kowalska tower: AP Kraków, AD 150, ff. 93, 101, 114, 345, 406; AD 151, ff. 20, 222; J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 8. Also see below.

<sup>102</sup> AP Kraków, AD 151, ff. 308–309.

<sup>103</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 307.

<sup>104</sup> The castle suffered much during the Partitions and the two World Wars. Now only Kowalska tower, partially reconstructed after 1945, can be admired.

<sup>105</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 316. Recently Kołodziejski supports the theory concerning the earlier origins of the castle, according to him built probably at the same time as the walls: S. Kołodziejski, *Nowy Sącz*, p. 329; see also Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, pp. 239–240.

damage from the fire in 1611, and was renewed and rebuilt afterwards.<sup>106</sup> Therefore our presentation should be treated as approximate. The inventory of the starosta's district of Nowy Sącz from 1540 tells us that at the time the castle comprised two main buildings and several smaller utility buildings, the granary and stables among others, and there was a stone well in the courtyard. A storeyed residential part probably stretched for some 100 metres along the fortifications. There were two square towers on this fragment. Most likely, this was the building called *domus maior* in the inventory, in order to distinguish it from the newly-built 'new house'. The larger building, slightly bent in the middle, was fortified in the bend with a quadrangular tower, called *turris prior* by the said source. This tower was meant for a prison.<sup>107</sup> A tower was also built shortly before 1540 in the western corner of this building. The court's prison (*carceres curie*) was situated on the ground floor, and a room with windows on the second floor. This tower, called Szlachecka, stood close to the city gate (*porta civitatis*).<sup>108</sup> This could mean the wicket in the western part of the walls, between the castle and the Franciscan monastery.<sup>109</sup> It was shown on the 1783 plan, which says that the contemporary wicket (*ianua*), destroyed because of its old age, had once been called a gate (*porta*). Another castle building, the aforementioned new house, was probably situated south of the larger house, its short wall likely touching the city walls. The building stretched to the exit of Polska Street, as confirmed by an entry in the court books, which mentions a house in Polska Street between the house of Jan Woźnica and a corner house of the royal court.<sup>110</sup> A wall with a gate separated castle grounds from the city.<sup>111</sup> The wall was fortified, and probably also heightened, by starosta Stanisław Lubomirski after a fire in 1611. Grodzka Gate, leading from the city directly to the castle courtyard, was probably built during the same work.<sup>112</sup>

The town hall stood at the centre of the city, in the Market Square. The 1804 city plan shows us the exact location of the town hall, situated closer to the northern frontage. The building burned down in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the current town hall was built in the middle of the square. The town hall, which functioned at the end of the sixteenth century, was built in the second half of the fifteenth century, or at the beginning of the sixteenth.<sup>113</sup> We know it suffered in the fire of 1522. Apparently, for a long time the city could not afford the renovations, as in 1562 the town hall was still in danger of collapse. Between 1562 and 1564 the town hall in Nowy Sącz was renovated

<sup>106</sup> Our knowledge about the castle comes mainly from the inventory of the starosta's district of Nowy Sącz from 1540 (see footnote 16) and the entries in town books. More elaborate sources come from the seventeenth century. The inspection conducted in 1616–1617 tells us the castle had recently been renovated and probably expanded (LK 1616, ff. 83–84). The works began shortly after the fire in 1611 they lasted until 1616, and were commenced by the starosta of Nowy Sącz, Stanisław Lubomirski, and continued by his cousin Sebastian Lubomirski (the starosta of Nowy Sącz since 1613). Further information about the contemporary state of the castle can be found in the 1628 inspection (LK 1628–1632, ff. 184–185v). The Lubomirski family probably wanted to Lubomirscy make the castle more like a residence, see Z. Beiersdorf i B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka renesansu*, pp. 505–509. About the fire see also J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 3, pp. 3–4. The reconstruction of the castle from before the fire in 1789 published by I. Kwieciński was also helpful (idem, *Zamek królewski*).

<sup>107</sup> Inventory of the starosta's district from 1540, ff. 14–14v.

<sup>108</sup> "Turris nova in acie prope portam civitatis in qua sunt carceres curie [...] et super [...] camera cum fenestris", ibidem, f. 15v. This can only mean the western corner of the larger house, because there was not tower in the eastern part of the castle. The inventory clearly mentions only two towers at the castle. There was another tower in the castle complex, in the east, but is stood several metres from the larger house and was probably built during the fortification works in the city. It was called Kowalska tower and was defended by the smiths (smith = kowal), what probably proves our assumptions; J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 3; Widawski, Mury, p. 316. The name Szlachecka Tower is recorded in the 1616 inspection, f. 84, it does not, however, tell us, which tower this was. I. Kwieciński believed it was the middle tower (idem, *Zamek królewski*, pp. 27, 35). J. Widawski (Widawski, Mury, p. 316) does not solve this question, but also quotes Kwieciński. We believe that it was the western tower, which was called Szlachecka, because of the dungeon situated there, where nobles were probably imprisoned. There was another prison, the "main one" in the central tower, but only burghers and peasants were thrown there.

<sup>109</sup> J. Sygański calls it Grodzka or Miejska; idem, *Historia*, t. 1, vol. 1, pp. 4, 8. Cf. J. Rajman, who claims that there were two gates in the north: Krakowska and Grodzka (idem, *Osadnictwo okolic*, p. 64).

<sup>110</sup> AP Kraków, AD 54, f. 4 (1535); AD 68, f. 147 (1588 r.).

<sup>111</sup> Inventory of the starosta's district 1540, f. 14.

<sup>112</sup> LK 1616, f. 83. Here also a detailed description of the castle; cf. J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 2, s. 4. Kołodziejcki and Widawski believe, that the castle was separated from the city also by a moat. Also Beiersdorf and Krasnowolski, basing on the layer plan of the area from 1896, believe there was a moat there (idem, *Sztuka gotycka*, p. 329), also: B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne*, part 1, p. 213. The lack of sources prevents us from verifying this belief. The ditch seen on the layer plan can be related to the foundations of the wall, rebuilt after the destructions of 1611.

<sup>113</sup> Initially the town hall was not isolated and was probably situated in an ordinary house, bought by Oleśnicki for the mansionaries when the collegiate in Nowy Sącz was erected; J. Sygański, *Zabytki dziejów*, p. 22.

and rebuilt 'in Italian fashion'.<sup>114</sup> The 1804 plan shows also the location of the city's well (at the centre of the market square), which existed already in our period.<sup>115</sup> Butchers' stalls and other booths stood next to the town hall, arranged in a way known also from other cities, Cracow in the first place. The measures and weights stood outside the building.<sup>116</sup>

At the close of the sixteenth century there were three sacral buildings inside the city walls in Nowy Sącz, they were shown on our plan: the collegiate church of St. Margaret (parochial church); the church and monastery of the Holy Spirit, which belonged to the Norbertines, and the church and monastery of the Holy Virgin Mary – a property of the Franciscans. The outline of the collegiate church of St. Margaret was depicted on the basis of the reconstruction of the blueprints of this church made by S. Świszczowski according to the 1608 visitation.<sup>117</sup> In the direct surroundings of the collegiate, there was a complex of canon buildings described by Jan Długosz, and then mentioned in the visitations from 1597 and 1608 (with a cemetery). The house, which now stands at the junction of the streets Św. Duchy and Lwowska, called 'Gothic', was probably the dean's residence; from the north it touches another building, most likely an old college of the vicars. The remaining buildings in this complex: the house of the poor matrons of Nowy Sącz, the house of the altarists and the curator, and the archdeacon's house were situated east of the aforementioned buildings, and south of the church cemetery. The parson's garden was probably located east of the collegiate, behind the cemetery. The collegiate school and the house of the provost (former parish), which stood adjacent to the city wall, stood in the garden. The buildings were shown in this arrangement of Moscherosch's plan, and then on our plan.<sup>118</sup> On the opposite side of the city, in the western building block, there was a church and a monastery dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary. Both buildings belonged to the Franciscans, and were founded by Wenceslaus II at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>119</sup> This complex was demolished at the end of the eighteenth century, and the remnants were then incorporated into the Protestant church, which now occupies the old chapel of Transfiguration of Christ. The reconstruction of the layout of the Franciscan complex at the end of the sixteenth century was possible thanks to the records of the visitation and Moscherosch's plan of the rebuilding of the old complex from 1789.<sup>120</sup> Its church, which had a much prolonged body and a short, three-sided chancel, adjoined the monastery quadrangle. Three chapels were added to the church: the original chapel of the Transfiguration of Christ (mentioned in the 1597 visitation, the exact date of building is unknown) in the south, the original chapel of St. Bernard was built west of it, and the chapel of St. Katherine – also recorded in the Radziwiłł visitation – in the north.<sup>121</sup> The new, three-span chapel of the Transfiguration of Christ was founded by Konstancy Lubomirski and built in 1663–1672, the former chapel was probably adapted.<sup>122</sup> The church

<sup>114</sup> AP Kraków, AD 149, ff. 157–159, 185, 187, 189, 192, 233. The town hall had a clocktower AD 149, f. 157 (expenses for the clock: AD 149, ff. 63, 100, 149, 177, 622, 641); J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 3, pp. 22–26; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka renesansu*, pp. 496–502. The trumpeter's post was situated in the tower of the church of St. Margaret, which was taller; F. Leśniak, *Obszar miasta*, p. 312, footnote 11.

<sup>115</sup> AP Kraków, AD 150, f. 56 (1602).

<sup>116</sup> AP Kraków, AD 65, f. 669; AD 66, ff. 253, 407; AD 150, f. 87; LK 1659–1664, part 2, p. 545 quoting the document of king Bathory issued in 1578 for the shoemakers guild he mentions that "the square on which butchers' stalls are located is very cramped". About the location of the butchers' stalls in Cracow market square see P. Tyszka, *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa*, p. 91–130.

<sup>117</sup> S. Świszczowski, *Materiały do dziejów kolegiaty św. Małgorzaty w Nowym Sączu*, "Rocznik Sądecki", vol. 3, 1957, print 23. See also comments of Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>118</sup> Długosz LB, vol. 1, pp. 549–553; AV Cap. 9, f. 122v; 1608 AV Cap. 25, pp. 178–180, 191–197; AP Kraków, AD 150, p. 357: "the mason is filling the holes in the wall near the school", f. 410: "the pipemaster worked 4 days near the school"; K. Golachowski, *Inwentarz archiwum miasta Nowego Sącza z lat 1292–1772 (inwentarz idealny)*, "Rocznik Sądecki", vol. 3, 1957, no. 90, p. 245. See J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 58; vol. 2, p. 106 and Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, pp. 220–223.

<sup>119</sup> About the date and the reasons behind the foundation of the church and monastery of the Franciscans see Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, pp. 202–210, there summary of the newest research.

<sup>120</sup> AV Cap. 9, f. 163.

<sup>121</sup> The original chapel of St. Bernard is listed in the Franciscan visitation from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century: "capella in fine ecclesiae" (Archiwum Prowincji Franciszkanów w Warszawie, Quatro visitationis sign. B–4, quoted in Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka renesansu*, p. 514, footnote 58). In 1622 Jan Dobek re-founded the chapel of St. Bernard in thanks for his lucky return from Chocim. According to this visitation, the chapel of St. Catherine stood near the monastery cloister. Basing on Moscherosch's plan, Beiersdorf and Krasnowolski assume that the chapel formed a part of the western wing of the monastery (ibidem, p. 515).

<sup>122</sup> J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 3, pp. 46–47; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 677, 681–685.

of the Holy Spirit had only one nave. The building was long, with a three-sided chancel. The abbot's house adjoined the church from the west, and the monastery, which had three wings and a courtyard separated from the street by a wall – stood on the northern side. The cemetery was situated south of the church and the abbot's house. It separated the monastery complex from the hospital and the bathhouse located behind it. At the back of the monastery buildings, there was a garden by the walls, which could be found still on the 1804 plan.<sup>123</sup>

The reconstruction of the areas situated outside the city walls is hypothetical to a large degree. For several centuries these grounds were subject to many changes caused by human activity.

A suburb called Większe or Węgierskie lay south of the city, behind Węgierska Gate. This name can still be found on the nineteenth century cadastres. The range of buildings presented on our plan is only a proposition. The arrangement of houses in Większe suburb was shown on Mieg's map, but in a schematic way. It could be assumed in approximation that the buildings in the suburbs stretched along the current Jagiellońska and Grodzka Street. The range of buildings was probably defined by the churches: of St. Valentine (with hospital), St. Nicolas and the original parochial church of St. Adalbert.<sup>124</sup>

The visitation conducted in 1608 mentions that the church and hospital of St. Valentine were located in Węgierskie suburb.<sup>125</sup> The church was burned down during the Swedish Deluge in 1655, but it was rebuilt in 1678.<sup>126</sup> It still existed at the end of the eighteenth century (it is shown also on Mieg's map), but later was demolished. Its location was marked in estimation. J. Sygański, who wrote at the beginning of the twentieth century, placed the church near the contemporary city park. We decided to accept this localization in our work, using the cadastres from the nineteenth century.<sup>127</sup> According to contemporary sources, the city garden was located right behind the hospital of St. Valentine.<sup>128</sup>

A small, brick church dedicated to St. Nicolas was usually called chapel in the sources.<sup>129</sup> It was surrounded by a cemetery and burned down in 1742. It probably stood on the site of the current church of the same denomination.<sup>130</sup>

The old parochial church of Nowy Sącz (until 1448) was situated some distance from the city. It was dedicated to St. Adalbert and does not exist now. The small building was wooden and surrounded by a cemetery. There was a house by the church which was once a presbytery, and in our period it belonged to the vicars of the collegiate church of St. Margaret.<sup>131</sup> The literature on the subject places it at the junction of current Grodzka and Nawojowska streets.<sup>132</sup>

Behind Młyńska Gate, on the other bank of the River Kamienica, along the road to Grybów, there was another suburb of Nowy Sącz, called Zakamienica.<sup>133</sup> In this suburb there was a church

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<sup>123</sup> AV Cap. 9, ff. 140 ff.; 25, ff. 207–210; AP Kraków, AD 149, ff. 599, 692; AD 150, f. 353; J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 3, p. 68; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, p. 218 oraz fig. 63–67; eidem, *Sztuka renesansu*, pp. 511–513.

<sup>124</sup> The sources record also "Przedmieście Wielkie" and "Przedmieście do Św. Wojciecha"; AP Kraków, AD 62, 339; AD 68, f. 126; J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 8.

<sup>125</sup> "Domus cum horto in suburbio maiori sandecensi inter sacellum s. Nicolai et fundum abbatis sandecensi"; AP Kraków, AD 65, p. 579.

<sup>126</sup> There is a garden with a bathhouse, and a cemetery and provost's house next to the church and the castle. The record does not precise, which hospital this was, and says only that there were 40 patients there; AV Cap. 25, ff. 3–4, 191, 199. The entries in town books tell us this was a hospital for the leprous; AP Kraków, AD 60, f. 72; AD 66, ff. 69, 249. The 1597 inspection records that the church was wooden and required repairs; AV Cap. 9, f. 168v. See B. Kumor, *Archidiaconat sądecki. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do Atlasu historycznego Kościoła w Polsce*, ABMK, vol. 8–9, 1964, pp. 51–52.

<sup>127</sup> J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 103–104; vol. 3, pp. 162 ff.; idem, *Nowy Sącz*, p. 58; see also Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Sztuka gotycka*, p. 225; eidem, *Urbanistyka*, s. 693.

<sup>128</sup> Acta consularia 53, f. 184, as quoted in J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 132.

<sup>129</sup> "Capella s. Nicolai est antiqua et obsoleta in suburbio Ungaricalis", AV Cap. 9, f. 169; AV Cap. 25, f. 185; AP Kraków, AD 65, f. 279; AD 69, f. 18; B. Kumor, *Archidiaconat sądecki*, p. 50.

<sup>130</sup> The later church of St. Nicolas can be seen on Mieg's map and (with churchyard) on cadastral plans. The dead were buried on the churchyard until 1781; J. Sygański, *Zabytki dziejów*, p. 161; idem, *Historia*, vol. 3, s. 161; Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, p. 115.

<sup>131</sup> "In campo a civitate remotius templum est tituli sancti Adalberti et Georgii, cimeterium non omnino malum," AV Cap. 9, f. 169v; AV Cap. 25, f. 177.

<sup>132</sup> Church of St. Adalbert still appears on Mieg's map. It disappears in the eighteenth century. About its location see Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, pp. 97–99.

<sup>133</sup> "Suburbium retro fluvium Kamienicza," AP Kraków, AD 62, ff. 222, 410, 420; AD 66, ff. 470, 612. Sygański calls this suburb "little suburb" (idem, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 8). The range of the suburb was shown on Mieg's map.

dedicated to the Holy Cross, and a cemetery,<sup>134</sup> the church was demolished in 1830.<sup>135</sup> Its approximate location can be read from the 1783 plan, the building is also shown on Mieg's map. The square where the church used to stand is recorded on the cadastral plans.<sup>136</sup> An Arian temple stood probably not far from the church of the Holy Cross. Its location shown on our plan is a hypothesis. J. Sygański (basing on an unknown source) noted that in 1568 the Arian commune, together with a school, stood 'where now the inn called Piekło ('hell') stands'.<sup>137</sup> The name Piekło can be found still on the 1897 plan, and this was the basis for our localization.<sup>138</sup>

The location of the church of St. Helen raises much doubt. Around 1597, the whole church was taken by an overflow of the Rivers Dunajec and Kamienica. It was rebuilt prior to 1608, but moved somewhere else, to the other bank of the Dunajec.<sup>139</sup> The researchers of Nowy Sącz place the church of St. Helen by the castle, near the road leading to the bridge on the Dunajec.<sup>140</sup> However, we believe the location on the other bank of the River Kamienica, by the road to Zabełcze village, is more appropriate. Numerous entries in town books mention gardens or demesnes situated over the River Kamienica (*retro* or *trans fluvium Kamienica*) near this church.<sup>141</sup>

The sixteenth century town books of Nowy Sącz record various names of streets situated outside the city walls: Św. Wojciecha, Św. Mikołaja, and Św. Heleny, which should naturally be connected with sacral structures of respective denominations.<sup>142</sup> Yet it seems these were not official names, but abbreviated transcripts, created by omission of two words in the middle, for instance from: 'a street leading to St. Adalbert (Św. Wojciech)'. The identification of these streets is very difficult, as the records are imprecise. The situation of the street called Pośrednia in the sources is quite similar.<sup>143</sup> We know this street led to the church of St. Adalbert, but at this stage of research we cannot distinguish it from the aforementioned Św. Wojciecha Street. As such, we decided to exclude this street from our plan.

The visitation of roads conducted in 1570 mentions two permanent bridges in the vicinity of Nowy Sącz. The one over the River Dunajec, just by the castle, was the most important for the city. It is called 'great bridge' in the sources.<sup>144</sup> The 1783 plan calls it a city bridge. The other bridge was

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<sup>134</sup> "Capella sancti Crucis ultra fluvium Camienicza", AV Cap. 9, f. 169v; AV Cap. 25, f. 182; AP Kraków, AD 62, f. 412; AD 66, f. 487. In 1597 the church was not inspected inside because of the overflow of the River Kamienica; see also B. Kumor, *Archidiakonat sądecki*, p. 50.

<sup>135</sup> J. Sygański, *Zabytki dziejów*, p. 162; idem, *Historia*, vol. 3, p. 161.

<sup>136</sup> Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, p. 118.

<sup>137</sup> J. Sygański, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 142. Initially the Arians, because of the starosta of Nowy Sącz, Stanisław Mężyk, held their masses at the castle chapel. Then the starosta built a temple for them over the River Kamienica. The temple operated in Nowy Sącz until 1608; J. Tazbir, *Arianizm w ziemi sądeckiej*, "Rocznik Sądecki", vol. 8, 1967, pp. 313–316; J. Kracik, *Kontrreformacja i katolicka reforma*, [in:] *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza*, vol. 1, pp. 411–412; see also E. Pawłowski, *Nazwy miejscowości Sądeckizny*, part 1: *Nazwy miast, wsi, przysiółków oraz dzielnic miejskich i wiejskich*, Wrocław 1971, entry: *Piekło*.

<sup>138</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>139</sup> AV Cap. 9, f. 169v. The church was founded by innkeeper Szymon of Świniarsko. The church was built "in fundo moderno Monialium antiquam Sandecz," ibidem, 25, f. 213. The new church of St. Helen was destroyed during the Swedish invasion, and in 1686 the new church was built, thanks to the effort of the abbess of the Sisters of St. Clare from Stary Sącz.

<sup>140</sup> Z. Beiersdorf and B. Krasnowolski are basing on an entry from the 1608 invasion, which says the church of St. Helen originally stood "in fundo civili fluvium versus Kamienica" (idem, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, p. 118). Similarly J. Rajman, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, pp. 68, 70–71. By the castle, behind Krakowska gate, there probably was a small suburb, visible still on the plan from 1783 and Mieg's map.

<sup>141</sup> The demesne was situated over the River Kamienica, between the chapel of St. Helen and the field belonging to Jan called Tatar, the town miller; AP Kraków, AD 68, ff. 153, 154, 170; "Hortum post ecclesiam S. Helene, trans fluvium Kamienica", AD 71, f. 597; "praedium cum horto retro ecclesiae s. Helenae ex una horti Lazaris sutoris parte ex altera viae communis situm", AD 60, f. 497; "hortus retro fluvium Camienicza post ecclesiam s. Helenae penes hortos curie civitatis sandecensis", AD 61, f. 650. The source mentions also a house with a garden, situated in Sącz suburbs over the River Kamienica "towards the church of St. Helen" (AD 65, f. 730) and a demesne in the suburbs behind the St. Helen, near the garden of harnessmaker Wojciech (AD 65, f. 707). Perhaps this was the suburb, which was called "Krakowskie" in another entry, situated *trans fluvium Kamienicza* near the gardens of Wojciech Rymarz and Andrzej Budowniczy on both sides and towards the River Dunajec (AD 68, f. 122). However, this was a floodplain, so it was unlikely that there would be any buildings in the area; cf. A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kapitał mieszczański*, p. 123, footnote 18.

<sup>142</sup> AP Kraków, AD 50, f. 872; AD 52, f. 50; AD 56, ff. 292–293; AD 60, f. 506; AD 62, ff. 240, 296, 336; AD 65, f. 755; AD 66, f. 123.

<sup>143</sup> "Domus extra moenia civitatis sand. in intermedia platea eundo ad sacellum s. Adalberti", AP Kraków, AD 65, f. 229; AD 66, f. 231; "platea intermedia qua itur sacellum versus divi Adalberti", AD 66, f. 564; also AD 66, ff. 231 and 664.

<sup>144</sup> LDK, p. 36; MRPS, vol. IV, part 1, no. 6931; AP Kraków, AD 149, f. 708; AD 151, f. 53. The town was granted the privilege to build this bridge in 1453, AGZ, vol. 9, no. 57.

situated over the River Kamienica, probably near its confluence with the Dunajec, north of Krakowska Gate, on a road running in the valley of the Dunajec from Cracow and Bochnia through Nowy Sącz to Hungary.<sup>145</sup> This bridge can be seen on Mieg's map. Both bridges were depicted on an image of the city from the north, drawn in 1840. One could reach Zakamienica suburb from the city on the so-called 'ławy' ('boards'). The current of the river, quite strong in this place, often took and destroyed the boards. Numerous entries from the beginning of the seventeenth century record the expenses of repairs done by a carpenter.<sup>146</sup> These boards over the River Kamienica were shown on the 1783 plan.

Two mills were marked on the plan. The Dolny and Górny mills belonged to the starosta's district of Nowy Sącz and were situated at the foot of the scarp, on the eastern side of the city, on a special channel dug from the River Kamienica. The location of Dolny mill is better attested to in the sources. We know it was located near the castle.<sup>147</sup> We place Górny mill near Młyńska Gate, where the water flowed into the channel.<sup>148</sup> The third mill, recorded in the sources, stood close to the church of St. Adalbert. Its approximate localization can perhaps be seen on one of the cadastral plans, which shows us remnants of the old mill pond, between the stream Łącznik and the current Nawojowska Street.<sup>149</sup> Still, this is only an assumption and the mill was not marked on our plan.

Finally, we should say something about these objects, which were not included in our plan. The four steel mills ('hamer'), which operated in the vicinity of Nowy Sącz in the second half of the sixteenth century were not shown, as the sources fail to provide their precise location. We know only they were situated on the channel draining water from the River Kamienica. The mills shown on Mieg's map cannot be used as a clue, because the steel mills ceased to exist sometime before 1659, probably taken by the water.<sup>150</sup> Similarly, as it was impossible to find the exact location of other utilitarian devices and structures operating in the city at the time: the bleachery,<sup>151</sup> the brickyard,<sup>152</sup> or the city stables,<sup>153</sup> as well as numerous demesnes in the suburbs, we decided not to mark them on our plan.<sup>154</sup>

(2008)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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<sup>145</sup> "There were many gardens behind Krakowska Gate on the other side of the bridge, and they were destroyed by the Rivers Dunajec, Kamienica and the third one – Łubinia", LK 1616, f. 54. About communication routes in Nowy Sącz see above.

<sup>146</sup> AP Kraków, AD 150, ff. 213, 338; AD 360, 366; The pipemaster made rafts on the River Kamienica, on which the people walked, AD 151, f. 50.

<sup>147</sup> LK 1564, part 1, pp. 156–157. Vogt's house and a saw mill were situated by the lower mill, LK 1569, f. 54; see also LK 1628–1632, ff. 156v–157; K. Gołachowski, *Inwentarz archiwum*, no. 101. Since 1521, i.e. from the moment of the buyout of one third of mills, the mills were under town's administration; F. Leśniak, *Obszar miasta*, p. 312.

<sup>148</sup> Like that also F. Leśniak, *Obszar miasta*, p. 313. Beiersdorf and Krasnowolski situate the mills Dolny and Górny between Węgierskie suburb and the River Kamienica, by the flumen; eidem, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, p. 116.

<sup>149</sup> Z. Beiersdorf, B. Krasnowolski, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, pp. 98, 116.

<sup>150</sup> "Aquaeductum ad malleos eundo in suburbia Sandecz", AP Kraków, AD 72, f. 361; "predium inter rippam sive aquae ductum ad malleum deducentem", AD 71, f. 628; AD 72, f. 80; "officinam cultorum faciendorum, vulgariter slofarnya seu hamri nuncupatam, in torrente seu ripa illius, qui defluite fluvio Camienicza circa civitatem Sandecensem, erigere", MRPS, vol. V, part 1, no. 384; LK 1569, f. 240; LK 1659–1664, p. 545: steel mills "were long gone, and the water took the land". About the location and the functioning see A. Żaboklicka, *Hamry nowosądeckie. Z zagadnień produkcji sierpów na przełomie XVI–XVII wieku*, KHKM, vol. 12, 1964, no. 1, pp. 3–17, especially p. 7.

<sup>151</sup> The inspection tells us the bleachery was located on town grounds, LK 1564, part 1, p. 155. J. Sygański placed it "behind the church of the Holy Cross, over the River Kamienica, right by the road to Gołąbkowice, near the big ponds" (idem, *Historia*, vol. 2, p. 69). F. Leśniak assumes the bleachery was situated by the Kamienica, near Młyńska Gate (idem, *Obszar miasta*, p. 313), similarly J. Rajman (idem, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic* 1992a, pp. 68, 70). Different locations probably result from the fact that in the beginning of the seventeenth century there were two bleacheries, the only one – partially taken by the water, and the new one – built in another place; LK 1616, f. 57v; LK 1628–1632, f. 153.

<sup>152</sup> The location of the brickyard also causes some doubts. F. Leśniak places it in Przedmieście Większe (idem, *Obszar miasta*, p. 314); Beiersdorf and Krasnowolski place it over the Kamienica, basing on the records from the middle of the seventeenth century (eidem, *Rozwój przestrzenny*, p. 118), similarly J. Rajman (idem, *Najdawniejsze nazwy ulic*, p. 71).

<sup>153</sup> AP Kraków, AD 60, f. 147; AD 62, f. 268.

<sup>154</sup> The sources offer numerous records of demesnes in the suburbs: along the road from the church of St. Adalbert and near the church (LK 1564, part 1, p. 153; LK 1569, f. 236; LK 1616, f. 53v; AP Kraków, AD 56, f. 36; AD 60, f. 345; AD 62, ff. 227, 296, 339; AD 65, f. 510), between the stream Łącznik and Młynówka (AD 72, ff. 361, 811, 819), between the River Kamienica and the moat (AD 62, f. 265), by the church of St. Nicolas (AD 62, f. 98), in the suburbs over the River Kamienica behind the church of the Holy Spirit: LR 1529, p. 43 (20 demesnes belonging to the nobility noted here); AD 62, ff. 337–338, 428; AD 65, f. 469; AD 66, ff. 171, 305, 469, 487).

### III.6.21.5 PIOTRKÓW TRYBUNALSKI

*Henryk Rutkowski*

Piotrków – the largest urban area in the territory of Sieradz and Łęczycza Voivodeships – was one of the most important political centres in sixteenth century Poland. Before 1569 it was the usual place for the gatherings of the *Sejm Walny* (General Diet), and from the 1578 the Crown Tribunal for Greater Poland (in the broadest meaning of this province) was situated there.<sup>1</sup> The settlement complex in Piotrków consisted of two main parts: Piotrków and Wielka Wieś integrated with the city (the name of the village was Wielka Wieś).<sup>2</sup> The border between the city area and the grounds belonging to Wielka Wieś ran along the River Strawa, considered to be a tributary of Koprzywnica, that is present-day Wierzejka, also called Rakówka or Skawa (today it is assumed otherwise – that the Wierzejka flows into Strawa, which again flows into Luciąża). Strawa marked the border for many centuries, in the thirteenth century it was probably called Pirsna and separated Rozprza and Wolbórz castellanies.<sup>3</sup>

The reconstruction of the plan of Piotrków in the sixteenth century was based on later cartographical sources. They were broadly used by Kazimierz Głowacki, who included numerous reproductions of old plans and maps in his study.<sup>4</sup> For our study, two sources were especially important, one of which was the oldest plan drawn after the fire that on 8 November 1786 destroyed a large part of Piotrków. The plan on a scale of 1:2,000 covers the city, part of the suburbs and a fragment of Wielka Wieś.<sup>5</sup> The source has no title, and no name of its author is given, we know, however, that it is connected to Dominic Merlini, the architect of the king and the Commonwealth. He was in Piotrków on 13 September and assessed the size of the reconstruction needed after the fire, and also designed a partial regulation of the city.<sup>6</sup> Merlini therefore should be considered either the author of the plan, or the person who ordered it to be made. For the first time the plan was published by Wojciech Kalinowski and Henryk Rutkowski.<sup>7</sup>

The other cartographic source is ‘Plan sytuacyjny miasta obwodowego Piotrkowa wraz z Jurydyką, Wielką Wsią i Żydowskim Miastem’ (‘The Situational plan of the district city Piotrków, together with

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<sup>1</sup> The Greater Poland province comprised then the following Voivodeships: Poznań, Kalisz, Sieradz with Wieluń land, Łęczycza, Brześć Kujawski, Inowrocław, Dobrzyń land, Mazovia, Płock, Rawa, Pomorania, Chełmno, Malbork and Warmia; H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków Trybunalski w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku jako miejsce zjazdów szlacheckich*, [in:] *750 lat Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego*, ed. R. Rosin, Piotrków 1967, pp. 43–74.

<sup>2</sup> Town plan analysis of Piotrków is included in: W. Kalinowski, H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków Trybunalski*, “Ochrona Zabytków”, vol. 7, 1954, no. 2, pp. 77–93; K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego*, Piotrków–Kielce 1984, pp. 18–23, 30–34, 36 (here cartographic reconstruction of own plan from the mid-sixteenth century is included); W. Glinowski, *Układ przestrzenny, obwarowania i zabudowa miasta w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego*, ed. B. Baranowski, Łódź 1989, pp. 43–72.

<sup>3</sup> Rosin, Wolbórz, pp. 15–17 and map.

<sup>4</sup> K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, passim. New archive signatures of town plans are included in: *Plany miast*, pp. 268–271.

<sup>5</sup> AGAD, Zbiór Popielów, no. 204, f. 582.

<sup>6</sup> AGAD, Zbiór Popielów, ff. 574, 579–580; K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 53–55.

<sup>7</sup> W. Kalinowski, H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków*, p. 78 (fig. 76), see also pp. 84, 89; K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, p. 7 inaccurately ascribed the discovery of this plan to Kalinowski. The plan was shown to H. Rutkowski by Ryszard Cieśla. H. Żerek-Kleszcz informs about another, draft plan of the burned Piotrków from 1786, kept in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow (H. Żerek-Kleszcz, *Klęski elementarne w dziejach miasta w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Piotrkowa*, pp. 161 ff.). If a detailed list of damages was created by Piotrków garrison, as claimed by the author, then they also probably made a detailed cartographic sketch.

the Juridic, Wielga Wieś and the Jewish town'), created by Wilhelm Bergemann in 1824. The plan on a scale of 1:1,500 contains the project of the regulation designed in 1825 and confirmed in 1827.<sup>8</sup> Our study was based on the copy of Bergemann's plan published in 1950 and 1954.<sup>9</sup> Also, 'Mappa brouillon gruntów miasta obwodowego Piotrkowa' ('Draft map of the grounds of the district city Piotrków') on a scale of 1:4,000 was used, mainly to prepare an additional map of broader range, created in 1824 by W. Bergemann as well.<sup>10</sup> Gilly's and Brodowski's earlier maps served the same purpose.

The layout of Piotrków was adjusted to the topographic conditions. The city, surrounded by defensive walls, lay on a flat cape, heightened above the waterlogged river valleys, from which the Strawa flowed around the city in the north and east, and its tributary Strawka – in the south. The line of the city walls formed the shape of an irregular circle around 1,050 m long. Its meridian axis was 320 m long, and its parallel axis – 300 m, and the area of the city was 8 ha. Piotrków was fortified with a wall by the order of Casimir the Great. This investment was at least partially accomplished during his reign. There were three gates in the high wall: the Sieradz gate in the west, the Cracow gate in the south and the Wolbórz gate in the east (the distance between the two latter gates was especially short).<sup>11</sup> Contrary to Jarosław Widawski's opinion, the Piotrków wall was strengthened only by two towers from the west.<sup>12</sup> As we agree with all other findings of Widawski, we would like to refer to a later hypothesis by K. Głowacki. It probably resulted from a continuation of a careful statement of Kalinowski, who under the influence of the name Nowe Miasto ('the New City') pointed to the possibility that in the fourteenth century the located city was smaller.<sup>13</sup> Following this thought, Głowacki concluded that in the times of Casimir the Great the city wall probably enclosed an area smaller than the later area in the west and north, and the placement of the gates was different then, even where the fortified district was not moved in the fifteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Assuming that in the fifteenth century almost half of the fourteenth century walls were demolished, only to be replaced by new walls elsewhere would be a completely unconvincing hypothesis. The author did not take into consideration the fact that the costs of building new walls were huge and we do not know a single example where such city walls, of brick or stone, were moved in Middle Age Poland.<sup>15</sup>

The layout of the city was presented according to Merlini's plan, from which we also took the names of the streets. Four of these names to this day remain the same as in the eighteenth century: Grodzka, Łazienna Mokra, Sieradzka and Rwańska. Of the remaining streets: Łazienna Sucha (the name from Bergemann's plan) is today Konarskiego Street, Dominikańska – Wojska Polskiego, Kościelna – Farna. The street that was called Rycerska in 1786 is today called Szewska, and two old streets – Nowe Miasto and Szewska – constitute Rycerska street today (the 1824 plan shows that this change was made gradually). The street Krótka marked by us falls along the southern frontage of the present-day Czarniecki square. We have omitted the name of Żydowska Street on our plan, as it is dubious that it already existed in the sixteenth century (it would run along the western frontage of Czarniecki square), the names of the streets running by the walls were also omitted, they were called Podmurze ('By the wall area') on Merlini's plan.

The internal division of building blocks into plots, drawn on the basis of the plans from 1786 and 1824 is, naturally, only a hypothesis of the state from the end of the sixteenth century, possible to varying degrees in various places. In the area occupied in the seventeenth century by the monasteries of the Dominican Sisters, the Piarists and the Jesuits the changes were so big, that we made no

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<sup>8</sup> Original in State Archive in Piotrków, Zbiór kartograficzny no. 23, 24, 25. There are copies and remakes of this plan. W. Kalinowski, *Rozwój przestrzenny Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, [in:] *750 lat*, pp. 187 ff., 191–193; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 335; M. Koter, *Układ przestrzenny*, [in:] *Dzieje Piotrkowa*, pp. 214–216.

<sup>9</sup> *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce. Inwentarz topograficzny*, vol. 4: *Powiat piotrkowski*, Warsaw 1950, pp. 155 ff., fig. 128, 129; W. Kalinowski, H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków*, p. 79.

<sup>10</sup> Original in State Archive in Piotrków, Zbiór Kartograficzny no. 26. We used a reproduction from K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, p. 15 (fig. 11).

<sup>11</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 334 (fig. 42), 338–342.

<sup>12</sup> Mentioned in 1629 inspection, presented on Merlini's plan; LWWK 1628, part 2, pp. 8 f. Datation of the description of Sieradz Voivodeship to 1629; *ibidem*, part 1, p. XIV.

<sup>13</sup> W. Kalinowski, H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków*, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup> K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 23–25, 28.

<sup>15</sup> See Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 20–29, 38 f.

attempt at even trying to reconstruct the earlier burgher plots. In 1565 and 1629 around 190 houses were counted in the city and the majority of them were of wood.<sup>16</sup>

The brick town hall (non-existent today) stood on the small market square (50 × 65 m), that served as the seat for the Crown Tribunal. The city authorities, perhaps, used the Vogt's house ('kamienica Wójtowska') then. The house was situated on the plot in the eastern frontage of the market square, on the corner of Grodzka Str. There were two brick temples from the fourteenth or the fifteenth century in the city: the parochial church (*farny*) of St. Jacob and St. Stanislaus and St. Dorothy (today St. Hyacinth's church) by the Dominican monastery. The parson's manor (in the south) and the parochial school (next to Wolbórz gate) stood by the city wall next to the parochial church and its graveyard.<sup>17</sup> To the west of the Cracow gate there was a bath house by the wall.<sup>18</sup>

The layout outside the fortified city was reconstructed mainly on the basis of Bergemann's plan from 1824. The course of main roads in the suburbs can be considered almost certain for the sixteenth century, the same for the range of the waterlogged area. Other markings show a much more hypothetical state, that is – in other words – indicate one of the possibilities. It is especially true for the suburban buildings, usually consisting of loosely scattered buildings in the farms of the suburban dwellers, in demesnes belonging to burghers or in the manors of the nobility. The borderline between the suburbs and what was called garden and arable grounds (where also barns or sheds could be situated) was not so definite in reality, as our markings would suggest.

The suburbs and city fields stretched in three directions from the city: to the south-east, to the south and to the west.<sup>19</sup> The names of the suburbs are known from later sources, although some of them could be found already in the description of Piotrków parish from the beginnings of the sixteenth century (e.g. demesnes of Rokszycze).<sup>20</sup> The Cracow suburb is attested to in the 1629 inspection.<sup>21</sup> The small brick Church of the Visitation to the Blessed Virgin Mary stands since 1373 in the spot where the Cracow suburbs divided into three arms.<sup>22</sup> It was built on the grounds belonging to the reeve of Piotrków, that according to a document from 1397 covered the fields called Obrytka and Zdzienitka and more.<sup>23</sup> The former name survived to this day, the name Wójtostwo is also known, which allows us to assume that the reeve owned the area stretching in a broad belt from the city to the borders of Piotrków. A name Dziedziczka appears in this area in the nineteenth century, which probably derived from the medieval name Zdzienitka.<sup>24</sup> At the beginning of the Cracow suburb, on the bank of Strawka, there was a wooden hospital (almshouse) with the Holy Trinity chapel<sup>25</sup> (marked with a special sign on our map).

In the 1661 inspection, apart from the Cracow suburbs, two other suburbs were mentioned, lying to the west of the city walls: Sieradz and Rokszycze suburbs.<sup>26</sup> The first one appears on Merlini's plan, it is the present-day Narutowicza street. Rokszycze suburb was later called Bełzatka suburb (as in Merlini), it corresponds to the present-day Słowacki street, and further on: Bełzacka. Otherwise it is known, that in the middle of the seventeenth century there was also Byki suburb, that was called Toruń suburb in the eighteenth century (now these are Toruńska and Wojska Polskiego streets). It must be assumed that it was treated as a part of Rokszycze suburb, and that is why it was omitted

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<sup>16</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków*, pp. 44 f., 63 f., 68 (here about the date of Piotrków description at 1565 in first inspection).

<sup>17</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 222.

<sup>18</sup> LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 9. Cf. Łaski LB, II, p. 226: "platea a balneo civili ad ecclesiam".

<sup>19</sup> The division of town fields based on the tithe is provided by Łaski LB, II, p. 223; cf. R. Rosin, *Dzieje Piotrkowa do przelomu XV i XVI w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Piotrkowa*, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 226.

<sup>21</sup> LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> *Catalogus ecclesiarum et utriusque cleri [...] dioecesis Vladislaviensis seu Calissiensis pro A.D. 1878*, p. 109; *Zabytki sztuki*, p. 193; H. Rutkowski, *Pomnik wypadku Kazimierza Wielkiego*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", vol. 34, no. 2, 1986 (1993), p. 415.

<sup>23</sup> R. Rosin, *Piotrków Trybunalski w średniowieczu*, [in:] *750 lat*, p. 26; idem, *Dzieje Piotrkowa*, p. 16; K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> See the names on the fields plan from 1824 and the plan presenting the layout of old names: K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 6 (fig. 1), 15 (fig. 11).

<sup>25</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 225, 227.

<sup>26</sup> AGAD, ASK, XLVI, no. 106, p. 173; LWWK 1659, pp. 12 f. (the publishers inaccurately read it as: "przedmieście Rożyckie").

in the 1661 inspection; contrary to what was done in the *list of smokes* (i.e. the list of houses) from 1789, where Toruń suburb is listed, and Bełzátka (Rokszyce) suburb is omitted.<sup>27</sup> The case of the late appearance of two southern suburbs – Przebórz and Wrocław – in the sources is a similar situation. In 1789 the first one was probably included in the Cracow suburb, and the other one called Wójtostwo. Now Przedborska street corresponds to Przedbórz suburb, and Jagiellońska and Reymonta streets correspond to Wrocław suburb.

The smallest suburb of Piotrków was the one lying east of the city, between the Wolbórz gate and the bridge over the border River Strawa, the one which was called the Warsaw suburb by Merlini. The earlier name was carried by the 1629 inspection, but it is connected with a street, not the suburb: ‘the street called Kramnice’.<sup>28</sup> Now it constitutes a part of Starowarszawska street.

Finishing the description of this part of the plan, covering Piotrków, we provide the numbers concerning the property of the nobility, according to the data (not very precise) from the inspection. In 1565 17 units of real estate belonging to the nobility (one in the city, 16 in the suburbs) were listed. There were eight senators among the owners. After 1569, when Warsaw became the seat for the *Sejm* (Diet), the houses in Piotrków became redundant for the senators and even though the property of the nobility on city grounds grew, the magnate property was replaced by gentry property. In 1629 there were 14 or 15 houses of the nobility in the city, and 20 or more of such estates in the suburbs.<sup>29</sup>

In Wielka Wieś, the royal castle was marked as the only object of certain locality. It was a brick palace in the form of a tower, built for Sigismund I the Old between 1512–1519. This building that still exists to this day, surrounded by a moat, the sixteenth century sources call a castle or a tower.<sup>30</sup> The castle was the centre for the royal court, i.e. the group of residential, utility and administrative (storeyed senators’ house, single-storeyed house for the envoys) buildings, that – except for the castle – were made of wood. After 1569 this court emptied, became neglected and gradually fell into ruin. Only the castle found itself in a better situation, and in 1569, when the gord *starosta’s* district was created, it became the seat for the court of law and the gord office.<sup>31</sup>

During the *Sejm* (Diet) period in the history of Piotrków, a district of manors developed around the royal court. The manors were used, under the king’s grant, by secular and spiritual senators or other high clerks. In 1568 there were 38 such manors in Wielka Wieś. Soon afterwards the magnates lost their interest in these buildings, which were given to other users or started to fall into ruin.<sup>32</sup> The fate of the property of the archbishops of Gniezno is exceptional. The property was a 1503 bestowal, situated on a quite large area in the south-western part of Wielka Wieś (between the Strawa and the present-day streets Starowarszawska and Jerolimska) there was, among others, a manor or a palace of the archbishop. It was used by primates during the *Sejms* (Diets) and synods of Church province in the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, that mostly gathered in Piotrków. However, later this Church property was organized into a jurisdiction with settlers who did urban jobs. In the eighteenth century Jurydyka (jurisdiction) – as the only settlement of this character near Piotrków, it did not need another name – it was subject to the Gniezno chapter.<sup>33</sup> Then there was already Miasto Żydowskie (the Jewish town), subject to the *starosta* of Piotrków, on the site of the old royal court and senators’ manors.

The northern part of Wielka Wieś had an agricultural character. In 1565 there were 42 serf farmsteads there and three *hortulani* farmsteads.<sup>34</sup> The location of the buildings of the *starosta’s*

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<sup>27</sup> *Catalogus ecclesiarum*, p. 106; K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, p. 56.

<sup>28</sup> LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków*, pp. 45, 49, 59.

<sup>30</sup> Idem, *Zamek w Piotrkowie*, “Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 3, 1958, no. 2, pp. 155–177; T. Jakimowicz, *Turris Pyotrzkoviensis – pałac króla Zygmunta I*, “Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, vol. 17, 1972, no. 1, pp. 21–40; eadem, *Dwór murowany w Polsce w wieku XVI (wieża – kamienica – kasztel)*, Warsaw 1979, index.

<sup>31</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków*, pp. 45, 47, 58.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, pp. 47, 59.

<sup>33</sup> I. Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich*, Warsaw 1971, pp. 20 f., 111; K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 29 f., 42, 46, 56 f.; W. Glinkowski, *Układ przestrzenny*, pp. 49–51; B. Baranowski, *Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Piotrkowa*, pp. 84–87.

<sup>34</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków*, p. 45.

demesne is known, its grounds were distinguished by a borderline. All buildings in Wielka Wieś were marked as rural due to the legal situation of this area, but in terms of buildings it was the same as in the suburbs, only more concentrated (especially the manors).

The layout of Wielka Wieś was prepared on the basis of Bergemann's plan, and presents the state from 1824, with only small corrections. Earlier this settlement had been destroyed several times, and the lack of clear property divisions on the *starosta's* grounds and the population changes fostered chaotic spatial transformations. As such, it is difficult to say, what parts of the presented layout could correspond to the end of the sixteenth century. This part of the plan of Piotrków should be treated as a cartographical substitute.

**Piotrków, Wielka Wieś and Bugaj.** This additional map was prepared to present the estimated localization of the court of Sigismund Augustus on Lake Bugaj. Bugaj is a lake through which the River Wierzejka, former Koprzywnica, flows. This natural body of water is quite small, but since at least the sixteenth century the water in it has been artificially dammed and as a result the term 'pond' was used. According to the 1565 inspection, the length of the pond was 11 furlongs, that is around 1,500 m, and the width near the dyke – 2,5 furlongs, namely around 350 m. Such is the size of Lake Bugaj nowadays, when the water is dammed, and exactly this is the size shown on our map. The second body of water on the same river was the pond Wierzeje, already non-existent in the eighteenth century. The inspection provided its potential length (6 furlongs) and width (3 furlongs). It also emphasizes that the pond was not stocked. Taking into account the fact that the pond was added to Łaski's *Liber beneficiorum* some time after the completion of the text, it could be assumed that in 1565 it was relatively new.<sup>35</sup> Our reconstruction of this pond on the map is rather schematic, our priority was its proper localization. The cartographical sources allow us to place the crossing of the road from Piotrków through Wierzejka with precision – it is the spot in which Wierzejska street crosses the rivulet now. It must be assumed that this road marked the southern bank of the pond. The described crossing was called Wierzeje ford, the name that was distorted on Perthées map of Sandomierz Voivodeship: Brod Wierzec. Our placement could be supported by the layout of old local names (Wierzeje, Ku Wierzejom – 'Toward Wierzeje').

Alexander Gwagnin included the following information in his description of Piotrków (given after the 1611 translation): 'Outside the city there is also a wooden manor, very expensively built by a delightful grove called Bugaj, where he king [...] lives during the *Sejm* (Diet) or gathering of any sort, for healthier air'.<sup>36</sup> This spacious manor was built around 1560 by Piotr Żochowski, vice-*starosta* of Piotrków. The building and finishing works extended well into the 1560s, but already in 1562 the king lived in Bugaj. As is described in the 1568 inventory the manor by the Bugaj pond (also called by this name) was surrounded with a sheet pile fence, in which there were two gate towers, partly brick. One of them was situated in the west ('from the city'), and had a clock, and the other stood in the east ('from the pond'). Apart from that there was a 'third gate to the field in the south'. There were many wooden buildings on the manor grounds, a one-storey 'great house' and a storeyed house for the king's guards. There were two stables for 50 horses in the manor, and three new stables, not yet finished, behind the pond, each for 240 horses.<sup>37</sup>

The matter of the localization of Bugaj manor was taken up by Głowacki, but the results he obtained were appallingly wrong. He disregarded the conclusion, published along with source information already in 1958, that the placement of the manor in the vicinity of Wielka Wieś is a mistake.<sup>38</sup> Głowacki returned to this old idea and declared, that Sigismund Augustus's manor was situated just outside the border of the archbishop's Jurydyka, in the area of the present-day roundabout of the streets: Jerozolimska, Sulejowska and Śląska. In order to avoid the inconsistency with the fact that the royal house was situated by the pond, he decided that in the sixteenth century Lake Bugaj was

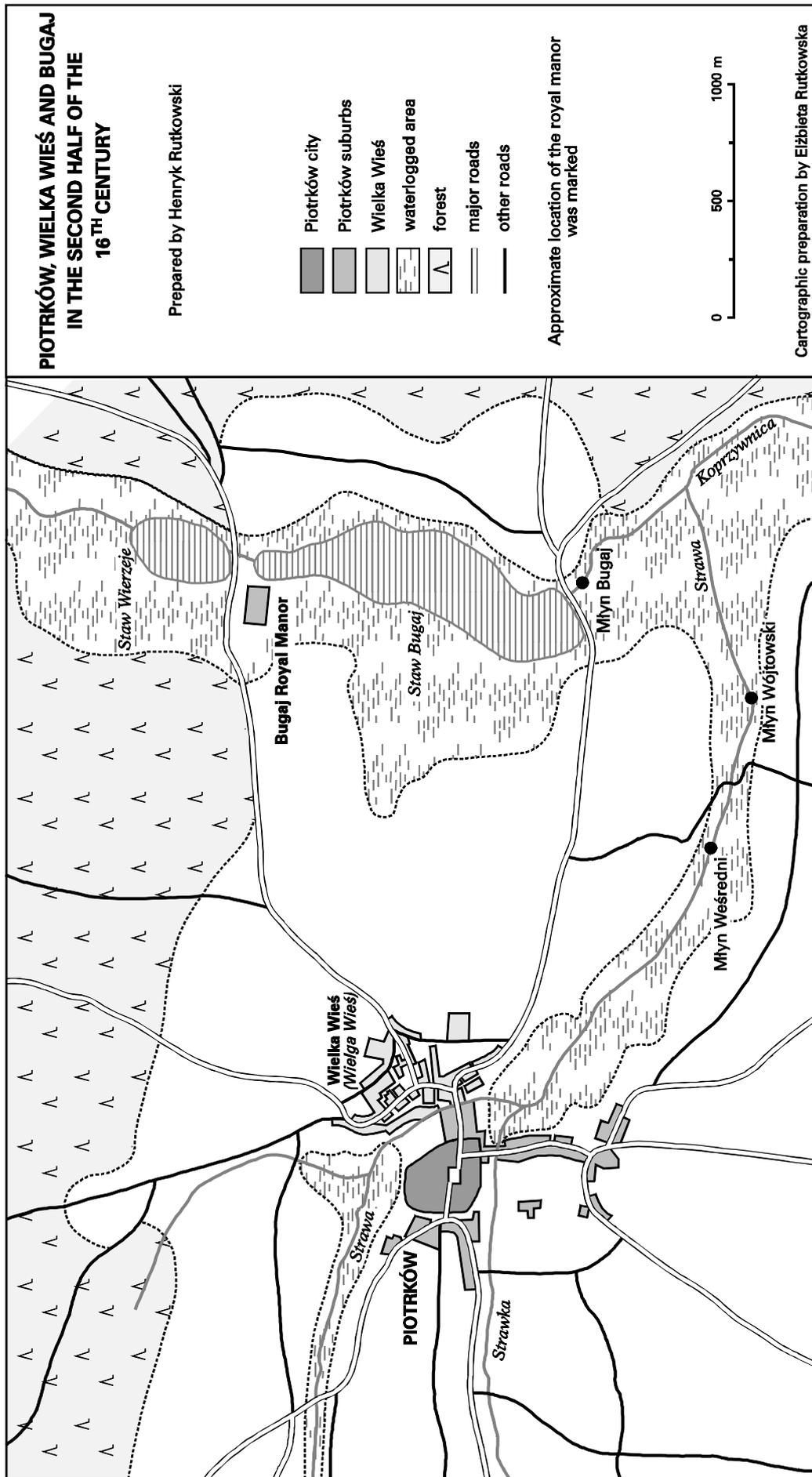
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<sup>35</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 223; LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 40; *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1981, p. 334.

<sup>36</sup> A. Gwagnin, *Kronika Sarmacji europejskiej*, [in:] *Zbiór dziejopisów polskich*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1768.

<sup>37</sup> AGAD, ASK, LVI, no. S. 2. III, ff. 33v–35 (1568 inventory); AGAD, Rachunki królewskie, no. 219, f. 59; LWWK 1564, part 1, p. XL; H. Rutkowski, *Zamek*, pp. 162 f.; idem, *Piotrków*, pp. 45, 47; T. Jakimowicz, *Dwór*, p. 167; A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Zygmunt August, król polski i wielki książę litewski 1520–1562*, Warsaw 1996, p. 415.

<sup>38</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Zamek*, p. 162, footnote 28.



Map 1. Piotrków, Wielka Wieś and Bugaj in the second half of the 16th century

called Wierzeje, and the Bugaj pond stretched along the course of the River Strawa.<sup>39</sup> This ignores the clear statement of the inspection that the pond Bugaj is ‘on the same bent and source’ as the Wierzeje pond.<sup>40</sup>

The estimated location of the manor on our map is based on two premises: 1) the manor was situated on the western bank of the Bugaj pond, 2) it was situated near the Wierzeje pond, that took its name from the manor. It is an exceptional name in hydronymy, that cannot be found anywhere else in the drainage basin of the Warta or the Oder. The noun ‘wierzeje’ or ‘wierzeja’ meant gate, door.<sup>41</sup> For outside observers, the prominent elements of the royal seat were the gate towers, the rest was hidden by the fence. The location near the road made the communication with e.g. manorial buildings on the other side of the pond easy. It could be added, that the 1824 plan places the name ‘Łąki Królówki’ (‘Royal Meadows’) nearby.

The splendid manor on the Bugaj did not survive long, already in 1588 it was destroyed to a large degree.<sup>42</sup> In the middle of the next century Andreas Cellarius observed its downfall.<sup>43</sup>

Mills were marked on the additional map – apart from Bugaj that appears on the main map, there were also two other mills: Wójtowski and Weśredni. The latter was also called Poznański, and was hypothetically placed where the Farny mill is located on the maps from the end of the eighteenth century. Two other mills near Piotrków, that is near Wielka Wieś, could not be located.<sup>44</sup>

This map offers a more detailed picture of the communication network in the close vicinity of Piotrków, supplementing the roads from the main map with other chosen roads. Of the latter two connections could have greater importance in the sixteenth century, which were so led from Wielka Wieś (and so, from the royal castle), that they by-passed the city. The first road connected the track leaving to the north with the continuation of the Byki suburb – in the place where is split (the trace of the greater part of this road today are the streets Spacerowa and Partyzantów, until the crossing with Mickiewicza street). The second connection functioned between the road leaving Wielka Wieś to the south-east (now the streets Jeruzolimska and Sulejowska) and the continuation of the Przedbórz suburb (Zalesicka street); the map shows only a part of this connection.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>39</sup> K. Głowacki, *Urbanistyka*, pp. 10 f., 34 f., 40.

<sup>40</sup> LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 40.

<sup>41</sup> See, among other things, S. Reczek, *Podręczny słownik dawnej polszczyzny*, Wrocław 1968.

<sup>42</sup> AGAD, ASK, LVI, no. S. 2. IV, ff. 127–127v (inventory).

<sup>43</sup> “[...] palatium regium extra urbem in paludoso loco situm [...] collapsum est”, A. Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae Magnique Ducatus Lithuaniae [...] descriptio (1659)*, [in:] L. (W.) Mitzler de Kolof, *Historiarum Poloniae [...] collectio magna*, vol. 1, Varsoviae 1761, p. 559.

<sup>44</sup> AGAD, ASK, I, no. 25, f. 253v (1577); P. Wielkopolska, II, pp. 195, 251; LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 31; LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 24.

### III.6.22.4 PLESZEW

*Milena Stępnia, Michał Gochna*<sup>1</sup>

Among the city maps included in this volume of AHP, Pleszew (known as Pleszów in the sixteenth century) represents a private town owned by noble families. In order to reconstruct the spatial layout of the town in the sixteenth century, we used the retrogressive approach, supplementing data from later cartographic sources with information from written source material dated to the time period we were studying.

The basis of our research was the map of Pleszew created after the fire of 1806, which is currently kept in the State Archive in Poznań.<sup>2</sup> It is a copy in the scale 1:1,000 created in 1827. The original is unknown. Plots of the town's buildings are drawn on the plan with a division into those that burned down in 1806 and those that survived. The map reveals that most of the central part of Pleszew was destroyed (in our reconstruction, this section corresponds to the range of the town during the sixteenth century). The boundaries of the plots of land and the streets were drawn in two ways: their actual layout from before the fire was delineated and the new ones, which ran very similarly to the old ones, were marked down in an attempt to regulate the town layout. These changes were not significant and usually involved straightening or widening parts of city streets, lengthening some of them, aligning the boundaries of town quarters in such a way that their boundaries became straight and intersected at an angle of 90 degrees or close to this. This regulation turned out to be permanent – the current layout of the streets and the boundaries of the town quarters largely correspond to the plans adopted at the time. In our reconstruction, we decided that the starting point were the boundaries of plots and streets marked on the map in the older version, before the fire.

Besides the boundaries of plots and streets, the plan also marked areas adjacent to three churches in Pleszew: the church of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the hospital church of the Holy Spirit and church of St. Florian. However, the church buildings themselves were not drawn. Four figures were marked on the market square: Mary, Mother of God, along with Saint John, Lawrence and Florian. In their vicinity, four unspecified buildings appear in two blocks of buildings that could correspond to the town hall and merchant stalls. Some streets have names and some of them are in German.

Apart from the aforementioned map of Pleszew from the first half of the nineteenth century, we also made use of other cartographic source material: a handwritten version from 1793 of David Gilly's map and its printed version from 1802–1803, *Urmesstischblätter*, *Messtischblatt*, and WIG.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Authors thanks to Grzegorz Gmyrek, who wanted to read this paper and who shared valuable information about archaeology of Pleszew.

<sup>2</sup> AP Poznań, District Office in Pleszew, L. Pleszew 49. This map is titled: *Plan von den Plätzen der abgebrannten Stadt Pleschen vermessen im Monat Juli 1806 durch den Bauminspector Grapow, copirt im Juli 1827 durch Kaeufer Feldwebel*; see *Katalog planów miast i wsi wielkopolskich, no. 2: Plany przechowywane w archiwach państwowych w Poznaniu i w Bydgoszczy z terenu powiatów (według stanu z roku 1918): Jarocin, Pleszew, Śrem, Środa, Września*, ed. K. Górska-Gołaska, Warsaw 1968, p. 60, image 23. This map was discussed by A. Gulczyński, *Spółeczeństwo w przestrzeni miejskiej*, Roczn. Plesz., vol. 11, 2011, pp. 155–164; E. Linette, *Pleszew, województwo poznańskie. Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne*, Poznań 1966 (P.P. Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków i Pracownia Dokumentacji Naukowo-Historycznej w Poznaniu).

<sup>3</sup> Gilly 1802; Gilly-Cron; UMTB, sheet 2347 (1829); MTB, Topographische Karte, 1:25,000, sheet 4172 (Pleschen, 1889); WIG.

However, written sources, such as town books of council and jury offices, play the main role in our reconstruction of the plan of Pleszew in the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Most of the cases brought before the town's court concerned predominantly the inheritance of property, settling of the dowries and purchase and sale transactions or real estate exchange. A characteristic feature of these notes was the detailed description of the location of settlements, which were the subject of the transaction through the listing of the names of streets, neighbours and nearby facilities. Therefore, this information served as a supplement to the existing verified findings, in an attempt to reconstruct the spatial arrangement of Pleszew and its suburbs. In turn, the economic potential of the town was demonstrated through the tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

The history of Pleszew has been the subject of many studies. These include the works of Maria Majczakówna<sup>6</sup> and Franciszek Kryszak,<sup>7</sup> although some of the conclusions contained therein are already outdated and require verification. The first of these publications is a summary of a study by Majczakówna, which does not contain any footnotes and bibliography and the work remains unknown. The same is true of Władysław Zientarski's *Zarys dziejów parafii i pod wezwaniem Ścięcia św. Jana Chrzciciela w Pleszewie*.<sup>8</sup> The pivotal study of the history of Pleszew is the monograph of the town from 1989, written under the direction of Marian Drozdowski, and the schematic plans of medieval Pleszew.<sup>9</sup> Among the more recent works, articles published in "Rocznik Pleszewski" must be mentioned, among others those published in the course of work on the new monograph of Pleszew,<sup>10</sup> editorial works by Tomasz Jurek<sup>11</sup> and Adam Kozak<sup>12</sup> and others.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, the reconstruction of the changes in the spatial arrangement of the town have not attracted greater interest of scholars researching the history of Pleszew.<sup>14</sup> In the studies cited, this topic appeared sporadically. The limited archaeological excavations also provide some interesting findings.<sup>15</sup>

Topographic conditions were one of the most important factors influencing the location and development of Pleszew. The town is situated on a moraine plane called Kaliska Hügellands and part

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<sup>4</sup> We used the notes from Pleszew's town records gathered in the State Archive in Poznań, in the collection of the Records of the town of Pleszew (AmPl), among which there were council books from 1428–1563, 1564–1640, 1570–1572 (fragments) and juror books from the years 1494–1554, 1558–1569, 1569–1584, 1584–1597, 1598–1636.

<sup>5</sup> RPWK, kls, 1552, no. 727, 742; RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 287, 489; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 440, 672, 673; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 306, 464, 479; RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 459, 460, 695; RPWK, kls, 1580, no. 450, 451, 690; RPWK, kls, 1581, no. 460, 697; RPWK, kls, 1591, no. 441, 662; Parczewski.

<sup>6</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew w wiekach średnich*, Pleszew 1925.

<sup>7</sup> F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa na podstawie źródeł historycznych*, Pleszew 1938.

<sup>8</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów parafii pod wezwaniem Ścięcia św. Jana Chrzciciela w Pleszewie*, Pleszew 1994. This study was written in 1935. In the introduction to the publication, it was noted that the author used the collection of AAG, but he was unable to add the back matter. The publisher, Pleszewskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, decided to publish the work of W. Zientarski in its original version.

<sup>9</sup> *Dzieje Pleszewa*, ed. M. Drozdowski, Kalisz 1989, plans on pp. 41, 49.

<sup>10</sup> S. Małyszko, *Zabytkowy kościół pw. św. Floriana w Pleszewie*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 5, 2005, pp. 54–71; T. Jurek, *Wokół najdawniejszych dziejów Pleszewa – pytania, problemy, perspektywy*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 8, 2008, pp. 152–157; idem, *Ze źródeł do średniowiecznej historii Pleszewa*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 8, 2008, pp. 177–188; M. Zwierzykowski, *Pleszew w dobie nowożytnej od końca XV w. do 1793 r. Perspektywy badawcze*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 8, 2008, pp. 158–163; S. Małyszko, *Dziedzice miasta Pleszewa*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 7, 2007, pp. 61–68; A. Kozak, *Burmistrzowie i rajcowie późnośredniowiecznego Pleszewa (1428–1519)*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 11, 2011, pp. 174–192; idem, *Wójtowie i lawnicy późnośredniowiecznego Pleszewa (1494–1519)*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 12, 2012, pp. 197–213; idem, *Testamenty mieszczan pleszewskich w późnym średniowieczu*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 13, 2013, pp. 155–163; idem, *Kilka scen z życia późnośredniowiecznego miasta. Pleszewianie przed sądem konsystorza kaliskiego w latach 1480–1486*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 14, 2014, pp. 234–255; M. Stępiak, *Anna Tęczyńska i mieszkańcy Pleszewa w latach 1520–1550*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 13, 2013, pp. 164–183; eadem, *Pleszew i jego mieszkańcy w latach 1531–1563*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 14, 2014, pp. 256–284; P. Dembiński, *Prepozyt uniejowski Stanisław Pleszewski i "wykaz" posiadaczy nieruchomości w Pleszewie z 1476 roku*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 14, 2014, pp. 222–233.

<sup>11</sup> T. Jurek, *Najdawniejsze zapiski z księgi miejskiej Pleszewa (1428–1444)*, Poznań 2011.

<sup>12</sup> *Najstarsza pleszewska księga radziecka. Zapiski z lat 1485–1519*, ed. A. Kozak, Poznań 2014.

<sup>13</sup> E. Linette, *Pleszew*; P. Dembiński, *Stanisław Pleszewski*, [in:] PSB, vol. 42, pp. 13–14. Some older works include: A. Gąsiorowski, *Mikołaj z Pleszewa*, [in:] PSB, vol. 21, p. 132; W. Maisel, *Prawo magdeburskie miasta Pleszewa*, SMDWP, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 67–82.

<sup>14</sup> This was already noticed by G. Gmyrek, *Z prac archeologicznych na terenie miasta lokacyjnego Pleszewa w latach 2005–2009*, *Rocz. Plesz.*, vol. 10, 2010, pp. 72–76.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem; E. Pudełko, *Prace archeologiczne Muzeum Okręgowego Ziemi Kaliskiej w latach 1981–1984*, "Rocznik Kaliski", vol. 19, 1986, pp. 265–282.

of the Greater Poland Lowlands. The height differences in individual parts of the town are minor. The height of the position of the market is 129.9 m above sea level, reaching 130.9 m above sea level in the east side of the sixteenth-century town (near the intersection of today's Kaliska and Wodna Streets), 129.9–130.1 m above sea level on the northern side (near Haller Street) and 127.5–130.5 m above sea level west of the church of St. Florian (near Copernicus Street). To the south, we observe the biggest slope of the terrain, which reaches around 118.9 m above sea level near the River Ner.<sup>16</sup>

Several watercourses flow around the town. The aforementioned Ner (Radobycz in the sixteenth century) flows into Prosna east of Pleszew. In turn, the Pleszewski Potok begins to the north of the town, (at the beginning of the twentieth century and earlier, one of its sources was located near today's Glinki Street).<sup>17</sup> At a slightly greater distance, approximately 9 km, to the west of Pleszew lies Lutynia, which is the left tributary of the Warta.<sup>18</sup> The climate and soil conditions favored agriculture, especially rye cultivation, and cattle and pig husbandry.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, the location in the vicinity of Kalisz and Jarocin was decisive in the expansion of the town along the trade route connecting Poznań with Cracow.

The date of the location of Pleszew remains unknown. The oldest mention in the sources about the town comes from 1283. In the diploma issued by Przemysław II, the Duke of Poznań and Kalisz, Pleszew is mentioned along other towns under Kalisz's jurisdiction. The term *civitas Plessow*<sup>20</sup> was used, evidencing that the town already had town rights. It was privately owned. Its founder is unknown. The first information about its owners is dated to the late fourteenth century. In the years 1391–1400, the town was owned by Wawrzyniec of Kępa, also known as Rozdrażew, who was the son of Wincenty of Kępa, voivode of Poznań, from the house Doliwa. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, he sold the town to Sędziwój of Szubin, voivode of Kalisz, thus passing it to the Pałuki family. Pleszew often changed hands in the fifteenth century. As a result of frequent arguments, the town was even divided between the Trzielski family and the Zaremba family of Cielcza. Finally, in 1443, the town was bought as a whole by Mikołaj Cielecki.<sup>21</sup> During this time, Pleszew was an average sized town, since from 1458, it sent 12 infantrymen with the Malbork expedition.<sup>22</sup> This places it in the II category of centres.<sup>23</sup>

After the death of Mikołaj Cielecki in 1465, the town was divided among his sons Stanisław, Jan, Wojciech and Mikołaj. Pleszew was divided once again in 1467 after the death of Jan Cielecki. The document concerning the division contains interesting information about the court residence in Pleszew, which will be further explored in this chapter. Based on this source, Paweł Dembiński estimates that the population of the town at the time, along with the residents of the court and the servants, was 337–450 people.<sup>24</sup>

The unification of the town happened thanks to the effort of Mikołaj Cielecki, who was able to pay off the claims of the remaining heirs.<sup>25</sup> This owner also cared about local churches; in particular, he was a driving force in the restoration of the parish church of St. John the Baptist and to the founding of mansionaries in the town in 1447.

The second half of the fifteenth and sixteenth century also saw many changes in ownership of the town. During this period, Pleszew belonged to the Tęczyński family, the dukes of Racibórz from the Přemyslid, Kościelecki and Zborowski dynasties.<sup>26</sup> Anna Tęczyńska, daughter of Zbigniew Tęczyński, is remembered in the history of Pleszew as a generous benefactress who cared about the cultural development of the urban center. She was the founder of the church of the Holy Spirit along with

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<sup>16</sup> Orthophotomap, [www.geoportal.gov.pl](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl) (accessed: 27.02.2017); Topographic map, *ibidem* (accessed: 27.02.2017); Raster map, *ibidem* (accessed: 27.02.2017).

<sup>17</sup> Orthophoto; Raster map; Topographic map; WIG; MTB.

<sup>18</sup> J. Jaskulski, *Najdawniejsza przeszłość (do końca XV w.)*, [in:] *Dzieje Pleszewa*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> KDW I, no. 528.

<sup>21</sup> T. Jurek, *Najdawniejsze zapiski*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>22</sup> E. Callier, *Powiat kaliski w XVI stuleciu. Szkic geograficzno-historyczny*, Poznań 1887, p. 21. It is not completely clear, if Pleszew actually did send so many infantrymen or if that simply was its obligation.

<sup>23</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, table 5, p. 110.

<sup>24</sup> AP Poznań, Poznań Gr. 7, pp. 444–449; P. Dembiński, *Prepozyt uniejowski*, p. 231. We would like to thank Dr. Paweł Dembiński for informing us about this document.

<sup>25</sup> T. Jurek, *Najdawniejsze zapiski*, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> M. Zwierzykowski, *Pleszew*, p. 159.

a hospital for the poor.<sup>27</sup> Around 1504, she married Mikołaj III, the duke of Racibórz from the Přemyslid dynasty, who in 1506 bought Pleszew and several other villages from his wife through a repurchase agreement (Pol. *wyderkaf*). However, after the death of Mikołaj, his brother Walenty, duke of Racibórz, waived the entries and so Pleszew returned to the widow.<sup>28</sup> In 1531, Anna Raciborska resold the town of Pleszew along with the manor and villages to her future husband, the *subcamerarius* of Dobrzyń, Jan Kościelecki of the Ogończyk coat of arms, who expanded the Pleszew lands through the purchase of the village Malinie, formerly belonging to Andrzej Maliński.<sup>29</sup> Anna Tęczyńska died around 1552 and Jan Kościelecki married Katarzyna of Górk. After his death in 1553, the town was governed by Katarzyna until her marriage to Rafał Działyński, castellan of Brześć Kujawski, in 1555.<sup>30</sup> Later the Pleszew estates fell to Jan Kościelecki's sisters, Jadwiga and Zofia.<sup>31</sup> From 1569, sources testify the next owner of the town was Jan Zborowski of the Jastrzębiec coat of arms, the castellan of Gniezno and the starost of Odolanów.<sup>32</sup> He died in 1604, and the management of the property fell to his wife, Katarzyna Zborowska of Konary, daughter of Jan Konarski from Kobylin.<sup>33</sup>

Information from tax registers can testify to the position of Pleszew in the second half of the sixteenth century. Depending on the year of collection, the town paid a tax on five or six mills, a fulling mill, kasha mortar (from 8 to 10 wheels in total), 10 boiling pots and 9 town *lans*. At that time in Pleszew, there were over 80 craftsmen.<sup>34</sup>

The current topography of the town allows, to some extent, to recreate its possible layout in the sixteenth century, including its range, thanks to the streets running around the center to the north (Tyniec and Panieńska), to the east (Kiliński) and to the south (Garncarska). Their trajectory was most likely dictated by the existing fortifications and/or the moat. The extension of the center along the exit road to Poznań and its subsequent reconstruction caused its medieval outline from the west to be blurred, but the town plan from 1806/1827 allows for the reconstruction of this part of the border of Pleszew.<sup>35</sup> It seems that the town limits outlined in this way correspond to its presumed size in the sixteenth century, which is indicated by the abovementioned data from tax registers.

Already in the Middle Ages, Pleszew was surrounded by some sort of fortifications. We do not know their nature, but they were certainly not made of masonry.<sup>36</sup> In 1558, they were called

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<sup>27</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>28</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 816 (no. 863) 1508: “III. Walenty, by the grace of God the Duke of Śląsk, Opawa and Racibórz relinquishes his inherited lands, that is the town of Pleszew and its surrounding villages, along with his rights and records to these lands, most importantly the record of 10,000, from which his deceased brother, Mikołaj, Duke of Śląsk, Opawa and Racibórz, through his wife Anna he had the right to repurchase the town and its surrounding for the aforementioned Anna, his sister-in-law”; cf. S. Małyżko, *Dziedzice miasta Pleszewa*, p. 64.

<sup>29</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 2726 (no. 4 terrestris insriptiones et resignationes) 1531: “obl. 1531. Anna of Tenczyn, heir in Pleszew, widow of deceased Miklasz Duke of Racibórz, forever relinquishes her inherited domain castle and town Pleszew along with the surrounding villages Baranowo Wielkie and Baranowo Małe, Piekarzewo, and ½ of Zawidowice, Radzim, Lassowo, Lapkowo, Czasnijno, Wolija, Zlijebicz, Piwonice, Gostyczyna, Zagorzyno, the town of Raszkowo and the villages Raszkowno, Gorzno, in Malinice 4 *lans*, Zirniki, Wyganki, the town of Potarzyca with the village Potarzycka in the Kalisz district to Jan of Kościelec, *subcamerarius* of Dobrzyń, son of Mikołaj Kościelecki platinus of Kalisz and starost of Brześć Voivodeship and Dobrzyń land forever relinquishes; Andrzej Zakrzewski *wojski* of Poznań Voivodeship and starosta of Rogoźno, Jan Pruszk cupbearer of Kalisz Voivodeship”.

<sup>30</sup> AmPl, I. 3, pp. 205, 209, 210. Notes from 26 October 1554, 9 and 16 May 1555: “magistra domina Catherina de Gorka palatina Lanciencensis et domina in Pleshow”; M. Stępiak, *Pleszew i jego mieszkańcy*, pp. 257–258.

<sup>31</sup> Teki Dworzaczka, 2047 (no. 22) 1557: “Jan, Marchin and Stanisław Lisiecki, inducted to the part of the town of Pleszów, to Zofia wife of Sebastjan Mielecki, castellan of Wiślica and Jadwiga widow after deceased Seweryn Bonara of Balice, castellan of Sądecz Stary, sisters by birth from Kościelec, heirs to dead Jan Kościelecki, the voivode of Łęczycza [...] heir in Pl[eszew] to 1 ½ *lan* and a quarter of settled farm in 17 marcas” (f. 519); AmPl, I. 2, pp. 213, 222–223, 223–224; AmPl, I. 3, pp. 9–11.

<sup>32</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 3, 5–7; AmPl, I. 13, pp. 1, 21.

<sup>33</sup> AmPl, I. 14, pp. 134, 168.

<sup>34</sup> RPWK, kls, 1552, no. 727, 742; RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 287, 489; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 440, 672, 673; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 306, 464, 479; RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 459, 460, 695; RPWK, kls, 1580, no. 450, 451, 690; RPWK, kls, 1581, no. 460, no. 697; RPWK, kls, 1591, no. 441, 662.

<sup>35</sup> J. Jaskulski, *Najdawniejsza przeszłość*, p. 29.

<sup>36</sup> G. Gmyrek, *Z prac archeologicznych*, pp. 72–76; E. Pudelko, *Prace archeologiczne*, p. 271. The image of a masonry tower, either on the present-day coat of arms or on the one from the sixteenth century, must be treated as a symbolic manifestation of the power of the town rather than evidence of existing masonry fortifications; cf. M. Gochna's chapter *Coats of arms* in AHP Greater Poland volume and chapter no. III.7.4. in this volume.

*val[[]uas*.<sup>37</sup> The town was likely surrounded by a fence, but the final confirmation of the nature of these fortifications requires further research.<sup>38</sup> Their probable location is now marked by the trajectory of Garncarska (*Potter*) and Tyniecka (*Tyniec*) Streets, to which leads Bramkowa (*Gate*) Street, suggesting its connection to the town gate or wicket.<sup>39</sup> The name of Tyniecka Street, meaning “railing” or “wooden fence”, would confirm the thesis that there was a fence in its vicinity.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, we know that a gate led to the town near Stokowa Street,<sup>41</sup> though its location was unknown. The possible fence surrounding Pleszew gradually disappeared. At the end of the eighteenth century, it was no longer there.<sup>42</sup> Since the nature and exact trajectory of the town fortifications is unknown, we did not mark them on our map.

The town was partially surrounded by a moat. It was mentioned in the entry from the town registers in 1531, when the Pleszew authorities divided the property between the brothers, Jan the parish priest from Wilkowyja and Marcin, who was to keep 2 empty *lans*, a slaughterhouse, a garden and a house to the west of the moat (*extra* indicates that these properties lay outside the city).<sup>43</sup> Part of the moat still existed in 1793, and a small bridge ran across it at that time.<sup>44</sup> This is evidenced by the fact that in the case of the other exit roads from the town, bridges were not needed, so there was probably no moat during that period. This thesis is to some extent confirmed by the town plan from 1806/1827, which shows a fragment of the watercourse, which we treated as the remains of the former moat, only on the western border of the sixteenth-century Pleszew. Moreover, archeological survey research carried out in the 1980s at the intersection of Kaliska (*Kalisz*) and Garncarska Streets, i.e., at the eastern border of the sixteenth-century city ruled out the existence of both a moat and town walls in this location. It was then that waste pits were discovered containing a significant number of fragments of derived ceramics most likely from a nearby pottery workshop.<sup>45</sup> Keeping this in mind, we have decided that only part of the moat that appeared on the plan from 1806/1827 will be marked on our plan, taking into account the archaeological research, in the light of which the buried moat forms the present-day Łąkowa (*Field*) Street.<sup>46</sup> However, it should be noted that the matter of the fortifications of Pleszew (palisade, moat) requires further, in-depth study, especially archaeological research.<sup>47</sup>

Moving on to the description of Pleszew inside the town limits, we start with the presentation of the street layout. The oldest of them were the following streets: Kaliska,<sup>48</sup> Glińska<sup>49</sup> (*Clay*), Kozia<sup>50</sup> (*Goat*) and Stokowa<sup>51</sup> (*Hillside*). Already at the beginning the fifteenth century, they were partially paved.<sup>52</sup> In the council book from 1428–1563 in 1485, an entry was made in which Ful the shoemaker, Piotr, brother of the shoemaker Stefan, and Piotr Piórko were supposed to build a “wall on the ground”, that is, a stone road also referred to as a pavement. In the next entry, the townspeople with the following

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<sup>37</sup> AmPl, I. 11, pp. 1–2.

<sup>38</sup> Oral information from G. Gmyrek, based on his many years of experience of excavations in Pleszew, during which no traces of earth fortifications or palisades were found.

<sup>39</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew*, p. 10.

<sup>40</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 7, ed. J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiedzki, Warsaw 1919, p. 189; A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Cracow 1927, p. 589; *Tyn*, [in:] *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, ed. Z. Gloger, vol. 4, Warsaw 1903.

<sup>41</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 158. The note from 28 October 1543 concerns the sale of the house by Anna of Tęczyn to Zofia, widow of Zygmunt the locksmith. According to the information about the location of the property, the house was on Stokowa Street by the gate. Perhaps this was the gate to the town: “hoc iacentem domum **penes portam in platea alias Stokowa**”.

<sup>42</sup> A. Szymański, *Pleszew w XVIII wieku w świetle spisów pruskich*, Pleszew 1996, p. 9; J. Jaskulski, *Najdawniejsza przeszłość*, pp. 19–50.

<sup>43</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 8: [14 March 1531] “Martinus predictus ipsius frater iunior duos mansos liberos, maccellum eciam liberum carnifi cum, ortum et domum in orto eodem, prout ex antiquo ibidem est sita, scilicet **extra fossatum** versus occidentem, ex opposito alodii advocati, pro sua totali porcione retinebit”.

<sup>44</sup> A. Szymański, *Pleszew w XVIII wieku*, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> E. Pudelko, *Prace archeologiczne*, p. 271.

<sup>46</sup> Oral information from G. Gmyrek.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Tomala Kal., p. 37.

<sup>48</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 80.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 25, 38.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 40, 61, 62, 77.

<sup>52</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew*, p. 10.

nicknames, Siadło, Uszko and Miedźwiedz with Ryba, were to each build one measure, that is, a rod of pavement, on the mayor's orders.<sup>53</sup> The busiest and oldest trade routes were Krakowska (*Cracow*) and Wrocławska (*Wroclaw*) Streets, and in the case of rural ones – Lenartowicka Street.<sup>54</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the following street names have been confirmed: Ciasna ((*Tight*) called as a *uliczka*, as indicated by its name), Glińska, Jarocka, Kaliska, Kościelna (*Church*), Kozia, Lenartowska, Łazienna (*Bathhouse*), Malińska (*Malinie*), Młyńska (*Mill*), Pleszewska (“going towards Kalisz”), Poboczna ((*Side street*) behind the houses), Poznańska (*Poznań*), Stokowa, Grodzka (*Gord*), Zduńska (*Potter*), “the road to Chodecz” (modern Chocz; there, to the north of the town, the inhabitants of Pleszew had gardens<sup>55</sup> and granaries;<sup>56</sup> other terms for this street: “the road to the Borkowski mill”, “the road leading to Choczewo”, “the street going towards Chorzew or Młyn Borowy”), “the road leading to St. Florian” (the townspeople had gardens in its vicinity<sup>57</sup>), “street leading to the potters”, “street to the church of John the Baptist”, “street on Przedmieście Wielkie (*Greater Suburb*)”, “street leading from Malińska Street towards the castle”, “street leading to the market in the suburbs”, “street in Waliszewo”, “the street they used to walk to the town hall”, “street, which led towards Zduńska Street” and “the street along which they were walking towards the horse mill”. Some of these street names which we have securely identified, have been marked in our reconstruction on the basis of the plan of the town from 1806/1827. Perhaps *Toepfer Strasse* (currently Krzyżowa Street), also marked on that plan, was Zduńska Street, which is mentioned in other sixteenth century sources, but we were unsure of this and therefore left it out of our map.

According to Maria Majczakówna, townhouses in Pleszew were made of wood. Most of them only had a ground floor, less often a first floor. They consisted of several rooms with or without stoves. In addition, they had food storage chambers and kitchens, and in the homes of wealthier residents, there were also servants' chambers.<sup>58</sup> Every wealthier townspeople from Pleszew owned a house with a field or a garden, a stall or a slaughterhouse,<sup>59</sup> and many of them also owned a brewery (although it could mean only beer weighing equipment). Traces of wooden residential buildings have been discovered during the archaeological excavations carried out in Pleszew.<sup>60</sup> In 1793, all town houses were described as wooden.<sup>61</sup>

Individual houses had access to water from the water supply system. Entries from the town books testify to the existence of several baths in the city. In the suburbs of Pleszew called Waliszew,<sup>62</sup> the location of which is not exactly known, there was a public bathhouse. A note from 8 February 1591 concerns the purchase by Frącek Raczek and his wife Jadwiga of the house located near the property of Paweł the tailor, by the road leading to the corner of the market to the public bath.<sup>63</sup> The entries

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<sup>53</sup> T. Jurek, *Najdawniejsze zapiski*, pp. 82–83; compare with AmPl, I, 2, Księga radziecka 1428–1563, p. 268: “Item Fulo sutor pro pena tenetur {quatuor} <duas> virgas **litostrati alias brukv** labora[re]. Item Petrus frater Stephani suttoris duas virgas **litostrati** facere pro pena debet. Petrus Pyorko sex virgas litostrati tenetur pecunniis propriis. Item Voltowa solvit pro sepultura eclesie pro sua ancilla Barbara dive memorie viginti grossos. Item pro sepultura dive memorie Szwra [?] dederunt dimidiam 2am marcam. Item Boemus iuvenis tres fertones persolvit. Item anno Domini 1485 feria tertia ante Hedvigis [11 October 1485] fecimus rationem totalem toti communitati. Item de summa, que est posita in cisterna, quatuor marcas sine sex grossis et duos florenos. Eodem anno fecimus rationem communitati de pecunia eclesiastica de centum et triginta florenorum [!].” Ibidem, p. 269: «Item nominantur, qui debent **murum terre wlgariter brug** reformare. Et primo Item Syadlo tenetur unam mensuram wlgariter prant. Item Husko prant. Item Myeczwyecz cum Pisce unum [...] wlgariter prand debent murare tunc, quando eis per preconsulem precip[er]tur”.

<sup>54</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew*, p. 10.

<sup>55</sup> AmPl, I, 2, p. 136.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, p. 157.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 180.

<sup>58</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, p. 24.

<sup>60</sup> G. Gmyrek, *Z prac archeologicznych*, p. 74.

<sup>61</sup> A. Szymański, *Pleszew w XVIII wieku*, p. 9. “Massive individual querns, all wooden. Covered with shingles and 20 with hay”.

<sup>62</sup> AmPl, I, 12, pp. 277–278: [30 September 1575] “the sale of the house with the garden behind the bathhouse in Waliszewo, that is behind it and beside the road between Wojciech Pieruski and Paweł the carpenter, by the famous Wojciech Orszualnca for 14 *grzywnas*”.

<sup>63</sup> AmPl, I, 13, pp. 262–263: [8 February 1591] The note concerns “the sale made to the famous Frącek Raczek and Jadwiga, his wife, of the house by the famous Jakub Szyda, located near Paweł the tailor and the road to the town bath for 28 *grzywnas*”; ibidem, pp. 291–292: [5 June 1592] “The sale of the house on the corner of the market square, near the road to the bathhouse and to the house of Jan Gomółka, with the cattle, *gierada* and all needed to make beer by the famous Walenty

from 1564 contain interesting information. The pages of this book were seriously damaged, though we are still able to learn that the owner of the town at the time, Jadwiga z Kościelca, ordered her steward, Wojciech Pruskowski, to buy the bath from honest Anna, wife of Paweł the bath attendant.<sup>64</sup> After his death, the building became run down, probably as a result of neglect; eventually, Anna relinquished the bath to the community of the town.<sup>65</sup> Another interesting piece of information is contained in the note from 1570, confirming that the water for the bath was drawn from the well. Honest Dorota Wiórkowa, together with her guardian, the famous Wawrzyniec Kostrzewa, renounced part of the square for development of the well “for the needs of a bathhouse” and for the benefit of the inhabitants of Pleszew. In return, she was free to draw water for domestic needs.<sup>66</sup>

The inhabitants of Pleszew could also draw water from the town well, which was located in the market square.<sup>67</sup> We do not know its exact location, so we did not mark it on our plan.<sup>68</sup>

Town books also contain information about wells shared by neighbours. An interesting record comes from 1537 and confirms the existence of a well between the brewery of provident Elżbieta Janeczkowa and the house of Mikołaj Lisk. They reached a settlement regarding its joint use. Mikołaj sold his part to Elizabeth for 1 grosz, reserving the right to leave from his house towards the swamp, or “to the clay”, without deviating with the cart or horses towards the right side of Elżbieta’s malt house.<sup>69</sup> In 1588, the famous Mikołaj Bąba allowed the famous Tomasz Róziński to use the well freely,<sup>70</sup> and in 1590, Maciej a tailor from Karminiek sold the house with free passage through the back of Frącek Raczek’s property and free water use from the well (as he himself had the right from Andrzej the miller and Katarzyna Sędzianka) to the famous Jakub Szyda, a burgher from Pleszew, and his wife of Jadwiga, for 6 *grzywnas*. The house was adjacent to the town bathhouse and the house of Paweł the tailor from the back.<sup>71</sup> In turn, the entry from 1576 concerns the exchange of property between the townspeople and a joint permit to collectively use the well and drain the water from the malt house through the gutters embedded in the ground.<sup>72</sup>

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Bieńczyk and Anna, his wife, to the famous Walenty Widelczyk and Łucja, his wife, for 150 *grzywnas*. Additionally, Walenty Widelczyk has no property to this *gierada* or any obligation according to the contract between them, only Łucja, his wife”.

<sup>64</sup> AmPl, I. 3, pp. 2–3; AmPl, I. 10, pp. 337–339; [24 February 1552] “Testament of the deceased Paweł the barber. *Famati* Grzegorz Szczurek and Błażej Kruz, townspeople of Pleszew, the executors of the will of *providi* Paweł the barber from Pleszew and Anna his wife appeared in court and requested that the inscribed testament be legally recognized. On 24 February 1552, in the bathhouse, *providi* Paweł the barber in Waliszewo of the town Pleszew, weak of body, but sound of mind, wrote the testament at noon: to Anna and their children, he left the house with all its appliances, and all its goods. Anna promises to give 2 *grzywnas* to Szymon her servant. To her brother she relinquished the goods, he wrote it down and established guardians and executors of the will, *famatos* Grzegorz Szczurek and Błażej Kruz, townspeople of Pleszew”.

<sup>65</sup> AmPl, I. 3, pp. 3–4.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, pp. 36–37.

<sup>67</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 268–270, 356–357.

<sup>68</sup> Information about the location of the well in the market square is found in the note from 1579; see AmPl, I. 3, pp. 62–64; [11 September 1579] “The sale and exchange of the stall for 18 *grzywnas* by the famous Marcin Szczernika and Anna, his sister by birth, as the heirs to the famous Stefan the furrier and Anna. The stall was built between town stalls and the town well, and the stall of Grzegorz Choropchalik, beside the ‘passage’ between the stalls going towards the town hall”; AmPl, I. 12, pp. 268–270; [10 June 1575] “Sale of house or stall by the famous Jakub the baker to the famous Szymon Sobota for 17 *grzywnas*. This stall was near the town well and the stall of Jędrzej Niziołek”.

<sup>69</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 141: “Vendicio ac resignacio fontis per Nicolaum providum cognomine Lyssek honesta Elizabet Janeczkowa. In nomine Domini amen. Anno Virginei partus 1537, veniens personaliter providus concivis Nicolaus Lyssek in presenciam proconsule Jozeph Frimek, tociusque consulatus videlicet Alberti Nadmyszek, Nicolai Camlys, Martini Malyk, Petri Piicha, Joannis Domarath, et ceterorum, Inter quam rem precipus de fonte isto facta est concordia cum honesta Elizabet Janeczkowa, et predicti Nicolai Lyssek, qui arbitros, qui fons est inter brasorium honeste Elizabet Janeczkowa, et inter domum vel edificia Nicolai Lyssek, Cuius fontis pars media quam habebat supredictus Nicolaus Lyssek, qui concordiam arbitrorum vendidit hanc partem suam sue fontis honeste Elizabet Janeczkowa pro sexagena peccunie, polonicalis monete, numeri quia consueti, sexaginta grossos. Vendidit et resignavit coram nobis supra descriptis, habendum perpetue possidendum tenendum ac in usus suos beneplacitos convertendum, tenendum tam late, tam longe: ut solus predictus concivis Nicolaus Lyssek tenuit <post edificia sua> Excepcio, tantum ut is predictus Nicolaus Lyssek habeat exequitacionem e suis peccuariis vel e domo sua alias: z *dworu*. Versus partem levam alias versus paludum, alias *na glynky*, non se deflectens cum curru suo vel equis in partem dextram brasorii huius honeste Elizabet Janeczkowa”.

<sup>70</sup> AmPl, I. 13, pp. 174–175.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem, pp. 251–253.

<sup>72</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 312–314; [22 June 1576] “Exchange of property or demesne by the noble Jędrzej Bedoński and Pitor Chocki with his wife Elżbieta. Jędrzej gave his demesne by the Kruz and malt house of Orszulanka with the free use of the

The market in Pleszew is square in shape, and the streets running from its centre did not cross each other in the corners and so created the shape of a cross. This is a so-called “turbine” layout of streets, which also appears in Krobia and Koło in Greater Poland.<sup>73</sup> Such a layout of the town was determined by the placing of the buildings, which created two clusters one following the other on each side of the market.<sup>74</sup> The most important buildings were erected in the town centre and nearby streets. The houses by the market square were inhabited by wealthy townspeople, often sitting on the council. A note from the town books from 3 July 1592 contains the information about the famous Marcin Wołek, the mayor of Pleszew, who, through an agreement with his nephews, kept a house by the market square, inherited after his father Piotr Wołek.<sup>75</sup>

There was a town hall in the market square, which was probably built here only in the sixteenth century. Before that, the council gathered in the house of the mayor or one of the councillors.<sup>76</sup> There are three entries in the oldest book of the town council from 1501 and 1555 that seem to confirm this thesis. These are sales transactions and the division of property, which concerned real estate in the form of slaughterhouses, also known as “bread sheds”, that stood in the market square, next to the town hall.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, after 1551, there is no information that the council gathered in the mayor’s house, hence it can be assumed that it already had a permanent seat. Franciszek Kryszak believes that, originally, there were cloth halls in the market square, later turned into a town hall, next to where slaughterhouses were erected.<sup>78</sup> The existence of slaughterhouses and stalls in the market was confirmed by archaeological research.<sup>79</sup>

The aforementioned information is the only known one about the location of the sixteenth-century town hall. It is not quite certain exactly in which part of the market it was located. A little more can be said about this by analysing the plan from 1806/1827. We can see on it two burnt building blocks placed in the market: one smaller (approximately 10 x 15 m) and the other much larger (20 x 40 m), divided additionally into three parts of a similar size (approximately 13 x 20 m each). The latter was drawn a dashed line 2 to 3 m wide, adjacent to the western end and south-western corner of the building. Perhaps this was done to mark the adjacent slaughterhouses or their parts. It can therefore be presumed that one of these blocks referred to the town hall. In the eighteenth century, there was probably a clock on the building. In 1761, because of the terrible state of the town hall, it was briefly moved to the tower of the parish church. After the renovation of the seat of the town authorities, it returned to its original location.<sup>80</sup> The existence of the town hall was confirmed in 1774<sup>81</sup> and 1793.<sup>82</sup> It finally burned down in the fire of the town in 1806. The present town hall, built in 1835<sup>83</sup> is located in the southern part of the market square and does not include any part of the aforementioned two building blocks drawn on the plan from 1806/1827 within the market square.

In our reconstruction, we decided to designate the smaller blocks of the two (10 x 15 m) of market buildings drawn on the plan from 1806/1827 as the town hall. This is due to the fact that

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well for the malt house to Piotr and his wife and their descendants, this property stretches from the street of the suburb to the malt house of Wojciech Orszulanka. Jędrzej Bedoński has allowed for the free flushing of water from the malt house through his land through gutters, with no harm to put the gutters in the ground, and allowed for the use of the well in perpetuum. Piotr Chocki with his wife gave to Jędrzej Bedoński through trade their demesne by the street running through the suburb and by the malt house of Jędrzej to the street running to the Przedmieście Wielkie Pleszewskie”.

<sup>73</sup> Münch, p. 153.

<sup>74</sup> J. Jaskulski, *Najdawniejsza przeszłość*, p. 29.

<sup>75</sup> AmPl, I. 3, pp. 84–85.

<sup>76</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew*, p. 10; cf. F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa*, p. 10.

<sup>77</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 50: [12 March 1501] “constituta personaliter honesta Helizabeth dicta Parteczyna recognovit se vendidisse **domum alias dictam buda sitam in media civitate penes pretorium**, venerabili domino Nicolao Ostrowszky curato in Pleszew”; ibidem, p. 52: “[14 April 1501] [...] constitutus personaliter venerabilis dominus Nicolaus Ostrowszky recognovit se vendidisse **domum alias dictam buda sitam in medio civitatis penes pretorium**, nobili Johanni Chrzypszky sartori”; ibidem, pp. 207–208 “[17 April 1555] [...] *macellum* czyli *budę chlebową in foro oppidi Pleshow penes pretorium sittum*”; see also *Najstarsza pleszewska księga radziecka*, pp. 96–98, 100.

<sup>78</sup> F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa*, p. 10.

<sup>79</sup> G. Gmyrek, *Z prac archeologicznych*, p. 73.

<sup>80</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>81</sup> A. Szymański, *Pleszew w dobie szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Dzieje Pleszewa*, pp. 51–91, 62.

<sup>82</sup> Idem, *Pleszew w XVIII wieku*, p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> KZS, vol. 5: *Województwo poznańskie*, no. 19: *Powiat pleszewski*, ed. A. Kodurowa et al., Warsaw 1959, p. 19.

Pleszew as a medium-sized city, it could not afford to build a town hall as large as would suggest the second block (approximately 20 x 40 m). This block probably included commercial buildings and stalls. Putting up a town hall with dimensions corresponding to a smaller block from the city plan was already possible in Pleszew. We can find a certain analogy in Sulmierzyce (in the sixteenth century Sulimierzyce), where a preserved wooden town hall from 1743 still stands. Its dimensions are similar to the alleged town hall in Pleszew. It has a tower with a clock (removed in 1879, then the tower was slightly lowered), so it is a situation analogous to the town hall in Pleszew, which in the second half of the eighteenth century, as noted above, also had a clock.<sup>84</sup> It is likely that the town hall in Pleszew at the time stood in the same place as its sixteenth-century predecessor. It is possible that the bigger block was composed of slaughterhouses and stalls, though we decided against marking it as such on our map, since this interpretation is uncertain. The history and location of the town hall of Pleszew requires further study. Based on archaeological excavations, we marked the slaughterhouses as located in the south-eastern part of the market square.<sup>85</sup>

There were three churches in the town. The parish church of St. John the Baptist in the first half of the fifteenth century is described as “long-established”.<sup>86</sup> Unfortunately, the foundation document of this parish did not survive. In the mid-fifteenth century, four mansionaries were supposed to reside here.<sup>87</sup> In the early period of its existence, it could have been a church with a different *patrocinium*, and probably only at the beginning of the fifteenth century a new church was built, dedicated to the Beheading of St. John the Baptist.<sup>88</sup> Interestingly, in the times of Anna Raciborska it was already most likely a brick building.<sup>89</sup> In 1515, the heiress of Pleszew founded a chapel at the parish church dedicated to its patron, St. Anne, and also offered 3 *grzywnas* for the maintenance of the altarist.

In Jan Łaski’s *Liber beneficiorum* from 1521, the first description of the property of the Pleszew parish was listed. There are mentions of a “beautiful and wonderfully built with masonry” church and its property, which included parish buildings, a house for two vicars, a school and seven houses for mansionaries. At that time, the local parish priest, Grzegorz Bieruński, was helped by two vicars, who were dependent on the parish priest, and seven who were dependent on the foundation. Such a number of clergy and wealth of property ranked Pleszew’s parish as wealthy in the sixteenth century.<sup>90</sup>

The building of the parish church was partially destroyed during the fire of the town in 1606. During its reconstruction in the years 1616–1618, a wooden tower was added.<sup>91</sup> The church was destroyed a second time in a fire in Pleszew in 1715, when the top of the wooden tower collapsed on the main nave.<sup>92</sup> Eventually, the church was almost completely burned down during the great town fire in 1806. It was restored in 1816, most probably with the use of the walls that had not been damaged by the fire, and in 1873, when a neo-gothic chapel was added.<sup>93</sup> Assuming that the present-day shape

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<sup>84</sup> KZS, vol. 5, no. 11: *Powiat krotoszyński*, ed. Z. and J. Kęłowski, Warsaw 1973, p. 57. According to the tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century, Sulmierzyce was a town slightly smaller in terms of economic potential than Pleszew. At that time, the town was paying a tax on 14 town *lans* (at that time Pleszew was paying for 9 *lans*; the following figures in parentheses correspond to the situation in Pleszew), 2 mill wheels (8–10 wheels), one boiling pot (10 pots), 14–16 craftsmen (over 80), 8–12 cotters (30). However, in 1563 we have a record that it there was a fire in Sulmierzyce at some point, the town was probably going through a crisis. Already in the register of 1618/1620 its situation is better, 34 craftsmen and 29 female cotters were recorded. According to the head tax from 1673, the towns were similar in population numbers. There were 640 people in Sulmierzyce, and 702 people in Pleszew, and apart from the townspeople of Pleszew, also manor servants and town owner with his wife were also included. The poll tax from 1674 lists 245 people for Sulmierzyce and 510 for Pleszew, though for Pleszew, it was added that this number also included the population of the nearby mills; RPWP, kls, 1552, no. 372, 735, 747; RPWP, kls, 1563, no. 89, 182, 372; RPWP, kls, 1564, no. 495; RPWP, kls, 1565, no. 573, 685; RPWP, kls, 1576, no. 384, 470, 485; RPWP, kls, 1579, no. 593, 708; RPWP, kls, 1580, no. 588, 702; RPWP, kls, 1581, no. 87, 705; RPWP, kls, 1591, no. 572; Parczewski, pp. 90, 94–96; Toll tax kal. 1673, k. 24; Toll tax kal. 1674, k. 150.

<sup>85</sup> Based on the suggestion of G. Gmyrek.

<sup>86</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 31. S. Kozierowski believes that it was erected in the twelfth or thirteenth century, which is tied to its first mention in the town in 1283; idem, *Szematyzm historyczny ustrojów parafjalnych dzisiejszej archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Poznań 1934, p. 161.

<sup>87</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 5.

<sup>88</sup> F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa*, p. 34; cf. T. Jurek, *Wokół najdawniejszych dziejów Pleszewa*, pp. 152–157.

<sup>89</sup> F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa*, p. 13.

<sup>90</sup> Łaski LB, II, p. 31.

<sup>91</sup> F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa*, p. 37.

<sup>92</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 9.

<sup>93</sup> KZS, vol. 5, no. 19, p. 18.

of the church building was very similar to the shape of a sixteenth-century church (without the added chapel), we treated the present outline of the church as the basis for marking it on our plan.

The church of St. Florian was probably the oldest existing church in the town, which already existed in the pre-location period.<sup>94</sup> The first mention of it comes from 1444.<sup>95</sup> It was a chapel located outside the town, by the trade road towards Jarocin.<sup>96</sup> It may have served as a cemetery chapel.<sup>97</sup> A gate led to it.<sup>98</sup>

In her study, Maria Majczakówna included an erroneous piece of information about the foundation of the temple by Protestants during the Reformation.<sup>99</sup> The owners of the town at the time, the Kościelecki family, converted to Protestantism around 1560 and brought a Lutheran preacher to the parish church. It would belong to the dissenting group for 60 years. On the other hand, the Catholic bourgeoisie congregated at the chapel of St. Florian, or in the hospital church of the Holy Spirit. The church of St. John the Baptist was restored to Catholics by the later owner of the Pleszew estate, Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski, voivode of Łęczyca, in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>100</sup>

The church of St. Florian had a masonry presbytery and sacristy, which were added a little later according to Stanisław Małyszko – it was supposed to serve the Protestant inhabitants of Pleszew. In 1635, the church was expanded, possibly with the addition of a chapel. It is possible that the wooden part of the church was constructed then, which is evidenced in 1719. It was severely damaged by a storm in 1745 and rebuilt shortly thereafter.<sup>101</sup> The church currently exists in this form.<sup>102</sup>

On 16 June 1518, king Sigismund I the Old approved a new foundation for Anna Raciborska. It was the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, built outside the town “for the greater glory of God and for help to the poor”.<sup>103</sup> The complex of buildings consisted of a wooden shelter, a hospital church and an apartment for provost.<sup>104</sup> There was a cemetery around the church.<sup>105</sup> The church burned down in 1695, but it was quickly rebuilt.<sup>106</sup> According to the inspection from 1719, it was then a wooden building, which had an entrance with a tower with a bell. The hospital building consisted of two rooms. The church and hospital burnt down on 25 May 1854<sup>107</sup> and were not rebuilt. The location of this church in the sixteenth century is uncertain. We know that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it was located near the Holy Spirit and Poznańska Streets. According to some scholarly works, the hospital church of the Holy Spirit was built there at the time of its foundation.<sup>108</sup> Others point to it being relocated there only in 1616.<sup>109</sup> Since we cannot securely establish this, we decided to mark the church of the Holy Spirit as situated near Święty Duch (*Holy Spirit*) and Poznańska Streets on our plan.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> T. Jurek, *Wokół najdawniejszych dziejów Pleszewa*, p. 156.

<sup>95</sup> S. Małyszko, *Zabytkowy kościół pw. św. Florianiana*, p. 54.

<sup>96</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 5.

<sup>97</sup> F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa*, p. 40.

<sup>98</sup> AmPl, I. 2, pp. 201–202.

<sup>99</sup> M. Majczakówna, *Pleszew*, p. 14.

<sup>100</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 6.

<sup>101</sup> S. Małyszko, *Zabytkowy kościół pw. św. Florianiana*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>102</sup> KZS, vol. 5, no. 19, pp. 18–19.

<sup>103</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 6. The author does not provide the source of this information.

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>105</sup> G. Gmyrek, *Z prac archeologicznych*, pp. 72–76.

<sup>106</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 8.

<sup>107</sup> F. Kryszak, *Dzieje miasta Pleszewa*, p. 40.

<sup>108</sup> S. Bródka, *Pod zaborem pruskim (1793–1918)*, [in:] *Dzieje Pleszewa*, pp. 91–211; A. Szymański, *Pleszew w dobie szlacheckiej*, pp. 51–91, this author mistakes the information from the editor found in the footnote with the text Łaski's writing. W. Zientarski (idem, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 6) states that already in 1518, the church was founded “by the ‘jarocka’ road”; however, on p. 8 he writes that the church was moved to a new location in 1616. Unfortunately, the lack of footnotes does not allow us to check the source of this information.

<sup>109</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 31–32, footnote 5, contains information based on a visitation at the church in 1811 that the church was moved to its current location after the fire of 1616, when it was rebuilt by Adam Mikołaj Załuski from Otok. Similarly in E. Linette, *Pleszew*, p. 7, based on S. Kozierowski (idem, *Szematyzm*, p. 162), who does not provide the source.

<sup>110</sup> The visitation from 1811, referred to by the aforementioned authors, does not provide a precise answer. It states that “the hospital church of the Holy Spirit in the town of Pleszew in the Kalisz department, in the Odolanów district was founded by His Highness Adam Mikołaj Załuski from Otok in 1616 by the public road near Jarocka Street. After burning down, it was moved near the town houses by Anna Racyborowska, the heir of the Pleszew estates, for a general visit according to the document from 1811”; AAG, ACons. E 32, f. 453. The chronology presented in this text is disordered – Anna Raciborska was

We based its location on the plan of the town from 1806/1827, scholarship and archeological excavations.<sup>111</sup>

Locating the castle, or rather the Pleszew manor, the residence of the heirs to the town, also caused a few problems. Until presently, no material traces of this structure have survived. We learn about what the Pleszew manor house looked like from the extensive description of the property included in the copy of a document establishing another division of the town, which was carried out after the death of Jan Cielecki in 1467<sup>112</sup> among his brothers Mikołaj, Stanisław and Wojciech. Mikołaj received the part of the town without the manor. Stanisław was allocated half of the structure, which most likely formed its main section, along with the palisade on the left side, a bridge, a defense tower (so-called *samborza*) and the basement. The inside of the castle included representative rooms – a large white chamber, to which the hall doors led. Above it, on the first floor, there was the bedroom, the chapel and the so-called “summer sitting room”, which was divided between Stanisław and Wojciech. Stairs led to the chambers upstairs. Furthermore, the part that belonged to Stanisław included a so-called clay hut with a hall, two other houses, a stable, a garden and a larger orchard that stretched from the stable to the Ner River and trench post, as well as a dike and the area up to the fence situated between the orchard and the meadow, including a pond next to this ditch.<sup>113</sup>

In turn, Wojciech received half of the manor behind the door, which led to the chamber located on the opposite side of the white room belonging to Stanisław. Above this room, there was another chamber, located opposite the to the room and chapel belonging to Stanisław. He also acquired all the property extending up to the church of St. Florian, two smaller orchards, the first of which extended from the trench post to the dyke of Stanisław’s Pond, while the other orchard lay next to the brewery, which also became his property. In addition, in Wojciech’s section, there were outbuildings: the so-called white and black house and a kitchen with a chamber next to the chamber belonging to Wojciech and located on the opposite side of the hall, behind the door leading towards Radobycze.<sup>114</sup>

In 1465, the manor house was surrounded by a trench (with a bridge), also mentioned in 1752.<sup>115</sup> The existence of the manor house in the sixteenth century is confirmed by multiple sources from that period, which also mentioned the castle garden at Grodzka Street,<sup>116</sup> leading to this residence. The horse mill near the manor house is mentioned many times, but we were unable to pinpoint its exact location.<sup>117</sup> The scholarship usually advocated locating the manor in the southwest part of the town, already outside its medieval section.<sup>118</sup> We consider this assumption to be correct. This is indicated by many factors. In the local tradition, it has been accepted that evidence of the manor is the street that once led to it, the aforementioned Grodzka Street, which currently connects to Ogrodowa (*Garden*) Street. The park on the latter street was called the “castle garden”.<sup>119</sup> An inventory from 1781 described the manor as standing “in front of the mound, or the Lord’s orchard, which is located towards Malenie [Malinie – M.G., M.S.]”, so in the part of the town from the side of Malinie.<sup>120</sup> In turn, on the town map from 1806/1827, it can be clearly seen that the town developed in almost all directions except to the southwest. This confirms the location of the manor house in this place, which resulted it being impossible to build new houses in this area.<sup>121</sup> The location of the object in question is confirmed by

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the owner of the town a lot earlier than Załuski (see above). The location of the church during the times of the abovementioned owners remains uncertain.

<sup>111</sup> W. Zientarski, *Zarys dziejów Parafii*, p. 8; G. Gmyrek, *Z prac archeologicznych*, p. 74. Oral information from G. Gmyrek.

<sup>112</sup> P. Dembiński, *Prepozyt uniejowski*, pp. 228–229.

<sup>113</sup> AP Poznań, Poznań Gr. 7, p. 445.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 448.

<sup>115</sup> Tomala Kal., p. 130, a fragment of the description of the surroundings of the manor from 1465; *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich powiatu kaliskiego*, vol. 2: *Z lat 1751–1775*, ed. W. Rusiński, Wrocław 1959, p. 59.

<sup>116</sup> AmPl, I. 14, pp. 442–443.

<sup>117</sup> T. Jurek, *Ze źródeł do średniowiecznej historii Pleszewa*, p. 186; W. Rusiński, *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich dawnego powiatu kaliskiego z lat 1776–1792*, vol. 2: *Inwentarze z lat 1780–1784*, Poznań 1982, pp. 193–194 (1781): “The Lord’s mill made of wood, beside the manor, empty, to which there are no doors. Inside this mill a damaged horse wheel, bent beams, bad roof. This mill stands in the Lord’s orchard, which is also desolate”.

<sup>118</sup> Mainly E. Linette, *Pleszew*, maps and plans added to this text.

<sup>119</sup> S. Małyszko, *Dziedzice miasta Pleszewa*, pp. 61–68.

<sup>120</sup> *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich dawnego powiatu kaliskiego*, vol. 2, pp. 193–194 (1781).

<sup>121</sup> This was first noted by A. Gulczyński, *Spółceństwo w przestrzeni miejskiej*, pp. 160–161.

the UMTB map, which shows the manor house with the roads leading to it and with a garden. We based our reconstruction of the manor and gardens in this area on this map, amended with the results of archaeological research.<sup>122</sup> It is a location similar to the one Janusz Tomala established.<sup>123</sup> The existence of gardens (orchards) with ponds around the manor house in the eighteenth century is confirmed in turn by Pleszew's inventories, indicating the poor condition of the manor house during that time.<sup>124</sup>

Various equipment was located outside the town limits. Tax registers from the second half of the sixteenth century record the existence of five (1565) or even six (1579 and later) mills in the vicinity of Pleszew. The names of some of them are known: Podborny (also called Borkowski; two water wheels), Maliński (one water wheel), Labkowski (one water wheel), Gajda (two water wheels), Wyszota (one water wheel), Laszowski (one water wheel).<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, a cloth mill (two water wheels)<sup>126</sup> and a kasha mortar (one wheel).<sup>127</sup> In the town books, we also find information about mills such as Koński,<sup>128</sup> Kaldoszewski<sup>129</sup> or an unknown water mill with water damming devices on the special dike next to Pleszew.<sup>130</sup> The location of most of these mills remains unknown, possibly the names can refer to the same aforementioned structures, as was the case with the Podborny mill, also called Borkowski. In this case, we know its location – it stood on the Radobycz River by the southeast road to Chorzew; it belonged to Grzegorz the miller.<sup>131</sup> In his will, written on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1558, we read that he distributed his property, i.e., a house, a mill and the pool, among his sons; he donated 10 *grzywnas* for the tower of the parish church, and 2 *grzywnas* for the building of the church of St. Florian, which lay “outside” Pleszew, and to the hospital of the Holy Spirit outside the town.<sup>132</sup> Młyn Podborny/Borkowski was located beyond the reach of our plan.

Many of the townspeople of Pleszew brewed beer and hard liquor; some had breweries near their houses. For example, in 1540, Jan the bathhouse attendant sold his brewery near Glinki at the end of Waliszewo to Wojciech the hatmaker.<sup>133</sup> From 1479 onwards, the tax registers consistently name 10 boiling pots, which were taxed in the town.<sup>134</sup>

At the present stage of research, it is difficult to clearly define how many suburbs there were in Pleszew. Entries from the town books indicate that they developed along the main trade routes, and one of the held a market.<sup>135</sup> The well-known names of the suburbs are: Waliszewo, Przedmieście Pleszewskie (*Plesze Suburb*) in Glinki, Przedmieście Wielkie (*Greater Suburb*; its other name is “towards Lenartowice”), Kaliskie and Koszutowo or Koszuty, also referred to as the Przedmieście Mniejsze (*Smaller Suburb*).<sup>136</sup> In one of the suburbs, named Pleszewski, there was a municipal school.<sup>137</sup> There is a mention in the note from 28 November 1597, about the sale of a house on Kaliska Street, next to Maciej Wilczek's house and the transverse road, and Jakub Domagała's house, in the back of the

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<sup>122</sup> Oral information from G. Gmyrek.

<sup>123</sup> Tomala Kal., il. 44: Pleszew, location of object.

<sup>124</sup> *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich dawnego powiatu kaliskiego*, vol. 2, pp. 193–194 (1781). “The manor in the town [Pleszew] across from the hill, that is the Lord's orchard towards Malenie, which was not complete, through doors, ceiling, floors, chimneys, fireplaces and windows etc. Under which the oak beams were damaged in places, and the roof was bad”.

<sup>125</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 72–73, 298–300, 381–382, 395–398, 452–453; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 440; RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 459; RPWK, kls, 1580, no. 450; RPWK, kls, 1581, no. 460.

<sup>126</sup> AmPl, I. 13, p. 398v.

<sup>127</sup> RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 459; RPWK, kls, 1580, no. 450; RPWK, kls, 1581, no. 460.

<sup>128</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 504–505.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 485–486, 506–507.

<sup>130</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 124. Note from 4 February 1532: the mill on Grobla beside Pleszewo belonged to Jan the miller and his wife Helena.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 162; AmPl, I. 11, pp. 65–68: “the garden in Pleszew by Radobycza across the Borowy mill or of Grzegorz the miller”.

<sup>132</sup> AmPl, I. 11, pp. 3–7.

<sup>133</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 150.

<sup>134</sup> RPWK, kls, 1552, no. 727; RPWK, kls, 1552, no. 742; RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 287; RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 489; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 673; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 672; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 440; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 479; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 306; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 464; RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 460; RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 695; RPWK, kls, 1579, no. 459; RPWK, kls, 1580, no. 451; RPWK, kls, 1580, no. 450; RPWK, kls, 1580, no. 690; RPWK, kls, 1581, no. 460; RPWK, kls, 1581, no. 697; RPWK, kls, 1591, no. 441; RPWK, kls, 1591, no. 662.

<sup>135</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 117–118, 377–379, 463–465, 519.

<sup>136</sup> AmPl, I. 11, p. 172.

<sup>137</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 216–218.

square and garden belonging to the Pleszew school,<sup>138</sup> which suggests that it was the Kaliskie Suburb, often also called Pleszewskie, and also Greater. It developed along Kaliska Street.<sup>139</sup> In turn, in the suburbs towards Lenartowice, the townspeople owned numerous arable lands.<sup>140</sup> Waliszewo was probably located north of Pleszew, near Glinki, and the entry from 30 September 1575 confirms the existence of a bathhouse in this area.<sup>141</sup> The town also developed towards the church of St. Florian, where the inhabitants owned farms and arable land. For example, in a note from 30 May 1575, the famous Łukasz Waży mięso settled the dowry of his wife Małgorzata and secured it on his own estate – on 1.5 quart of arable land and on *przydziałki* and *blewizgi* and on the demesne located in Pleszew's suburb "towards St. Florian".<sup>142</sup> Malinie, which was a deserted village in the sixteenth century, was also called a suburb.<sup>143</sup>

There is also a mention from 1537 of a swamp in Glinki, a suburb located to the north of Pleszew.<sup>144</sup> In this area there was also a pond called Stoki.<sup>145</sup>

(2017)

*Translated by Karolina Frank*

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<sup>138</sup> AmPl, I. 13, pp. 463–464.

<sup>139</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 43–44; AmPl, I. 11, pp. 264–265: "The sale of a construction lot in the Przedmieście Większe Pleszewskie, across from Brzezie, by *famatorum* Briky Kruka to *famoto* Andrzej Krupka and his wife Zofia [22 February 1566]".

<sup>140</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 181.

<sup>141</sup> AmPl, I. 12, pp. 280–281: "The exchange and the trade of the houses between the famous Wojciech Orszulanka and the famous Marusza Kobeliocha with her guardian, the famous Jędrzej Kopcioch. Wojciech Orszulanka gave his house in Waliszew, a suburb of Pleszew behind the public bathhouse, according to Wojciech Pieruski and Paweł the carpenter, while Marusza Kobeliocha with her guardian gave her house located behind Jan Przyłył and the house of Wojciech".

<sup>142</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 265–266.

<sup>143</sup> In the gord and land books from the sixteenth century, it was treated as a village, afterwards there is no information about it; Teki Dworzaczka, 466 (no. 6) 1508, 3855 (no. 1392) 1516, 3964 (no. 1392) 1517. It is empty also in the first half of the sixteenth century according to the visitation of Łaski; Łaski LB, II, p. 46. The following tax registers also note it was empty: RPWK, kls, 1564, no. 31; RPWK, kls, 1565, no. 36; RPWK, kls, 1576, no. 33; RPWK, kls, 1591, no. 35; Parczewski, p. 63.

<sup>144</sup> AmPl, I. 2, p. 141.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 124–125.

### III.6.23.7 PŁOCK

*Kazimierz Pacuski*

The plan of Płock at the close of the sixteenth century was based on the previous reconstruction prepared for the map of Płock Voivodeship around 1578 by R. Cieśla.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of achieving a fuller presentation of the suburbs we decided to change the previous range, broadening it in the south and east, and narrowing in the west.

The source basis consisted of the oldest plans of the city from: 1793 – by Göppner, 1798 – by Schonwald and 1803 – by Schmid, as well as later cartographic records.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to S.M. Szacherska's help, we were able to reach and use written sources, unknown to R. Cieśla.<sup>3</sup> The source data were interpreted and marked on the modern city plan at a scale of 1:5,000, which was accepted at the cartographic base of our work. Unlike R. Cieśla's plan, we refrained from a simplified version of ingoing roads, the shape of the interchanges, and the exaggerated presentation of city walls. Additionally, as with the plans of Warsaw and Rawa, we decided to exclude certain details, e.g. the approximate localization of the bathhouse, cropping house and the mills on the Vistula.<sup>4</sup>

Borders of ownership divisions shown on the map usually overlap with those presented by R. Cieśla and depict the reality of the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Fragmentary entries found in the sources confirm the stability of such divisions, therefore we can refer this state to the end of the sixteenth century, especially in the case of Płock suburbs. It was assumed that the plots inside the city walls were divided regularly around the market square, and the division was schematically projected. 16 building plots were located along the longer frontage of the market square, and eight along the shorter one, each was 8 m wide and 34 m long on average.<sup>5</sup> The wider plots situated next to the city walls probably contained utilitarian and residential buildings in the sixteenth century, just as they did in the eighteenth. Large utilitarian facilities were situated in these plots. We refrained from showing the dense parcelling of the Jewish district near Żydowska and Jerolimaska Street, known from detailed divisions from 1803, considering the cartographic depiction of the dense ownership later than the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The reconstruction of the layout of the vicinity of the Canonry Markey Square was based on the oldest plans of the city. The different arrangement of this part of the city is a result of a different arrangement structure. This area remained in the hands of the Church probably since the twelfth century. The bishops manor was situated here, along with utilitarian buildings and the houses of canons and church servants. The Chapel of St. Peter was connected with the bishop's manor at the

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<sup>1</sup> R. Cieśla, *Plan miasta Płocka* in WP commentary, pp. 48–51; main map, *Miasto Płock około 1578 r.*, at a scale 1:10,000.

<sup>2</sup> These plans were described and published in diminution in: Nowowiejski, p. 139 f.; K. Staszewski, *Plany i pomiary miasta Płocica oraz gruntów podmiejskich od roku 1793 do lat ostatnich*, Płock 1938, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> S. M. Szacherska is currently working on *Zbiór dokumentów i listów miasta Płocka* [Szacherska 1975–1987]. She is the author of the chapter on Płock in the sixteenth century, eadem, *Złoty wiek 1495–1580*, [in:] *Dzieje Płocka* [in print].

<sup>4</sup> Two cropping houses were situated – according to S.M. Szacherska – on the Market Square and near Bielska Gate. The bathhouses stood in Sukiennicza Street and by the Vistula near the castle. The horse mill used for milling malt stood in by the Dunajek (which flowed in the moat) next to the castle wall. Water mills operated on the Brzeźnica and the Vistula. There are numerous records about granaries, especially by the Vistula.

<sup>5</sup> The measures can be read from the oldest plans of the town; they were determined by R. Cieśla, *Plan miasta Płocka*.

<sup>6</sup> In 1616, there were only 25 Jewish houses in Płock and a synagogue, whereas in 1803–77 Jewish properties; Nowowiejski, pp. 133, 143 and LP, p. 58 (1616).

time. It was located over the bricked gate leading to the manor from the castle. R. Cieśla localized the chapel roughly in the bricked gothic building, which now houses the Scientific Society of Płock (Towarzystwo Naukowe Płockie), making it clear in the commentary that the building probably served as a chancellery and court of the bishop, and the chapel was situated between the castle and the palace.<sup>7</sup> This localization was rejected. The bishop's manor was identified with the middle part of the palace, built at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably on the site of the earlier structure, often mentioned by the sources.<sup>8</sup> The gothic house 'Pod Trzema Trębami' ('Under the Three Trumpets') was built in this part of the city, next to the Grodzka Gate, most likely at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The house belonged to the provost of the cathedral.<sup>9</sup>

The town hall, recorded already in the fifteenth century, was marked in the market square on the basis of the oldest city plans. The parochial church of St. Bartholomew, built probably in the middle of the fourteenth century, was marked in the north-western corner of the market square, together with the parochial school, a hospital for the poor, and a free-standing corner belfry. The church was oriented then and its façade faced the west.<sup>10</sup>

The collegiate church of St. Michael was the oldest church in the area, founded in the twelfth century by the duke. At some time prior to the middle of the fourteenth century it became a parochial church.<sup>11</sup> The collegiate school functioning by the church has a long tradition over several centuries. At the beginning of the fifteenth century a second monastery, of the Dominican Friars, was built near the collegiate church. There was a church by the monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity.<sup>12</sup> The bricked church of the Holy Ghost with a hospital of St. Valentine was built in the sixteenth century near the Bielska Gate, on the site of an earlier temple,<sup>13</sup> probably of wood. A synagogue was located in its vicinity, undoubtedly already in the sixteenth century. The building, closely connected with the life of the Jewish population, residing in Płock since the early Middle Ages, was replaced by a bricked structure at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Buildings constructed of wood dominated all over the city, while inside the walls the streets were paved.

The city was surrounded by a defensive wall from the fourteenth century. There were three gates in the walls, bay windows and a moat. On the side of the Vistula the fortifications were not recorded in cartography, except for some fragments of the northern part near the parochial church.<sup>15</sup> This fragment of the city wall with brick towers was reconstructed on the plan in a manner as close to reality as possible.

The cathedral was marked on the castle hill and the cathedral school stood nearby.<sup>16</sup> The Benedictine Abbey with the church of St. Adalbert was also marked. The mistaken localization of castle buildings shown on R. Cieśla's plan was corrected – R. Cieśla marked them on the site of the old ducal gord, a location which was already invalid in the sixteenth century. R. Cieśla rejected the reconstruction of the hill buildings at the end of the sixteenth century conducted by an architect S. Szyller on the basis of written sources.<sup>17</sup> Two reconstructed lines of the castle walls were marked. Also, the

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<sup>7</sup> See Nowowiejski, pp. 609 f.; R. Cieśla, *Plan miasta Płocka*, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> The bishop's palace built in the beginning of the seventeenth century was relatively large, probably larger than the previous structure. The parcel was probably not so regular before the eighteenth century, as it appears on the oldest plans.

<sup>9</sup> T. Żebrowski quite justly links this investment with the provosts of the Płock chapter, and especially duke Henryk around 1390; T. Żebrowski, *Płock w latach 1138–1495*, [in:] *Dzieje Płocka* [in print].

<sup>10</sup> Nowowiejski, pp. 492 f. (study by rev. W. Mąkowski).

<sup>11</sup> *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, vol. 1, ed. 2, 1890, p. 78 (year 1338).

<sup>12</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy w XIII i XIV w. na Śląsku*, Lublin 1956, p. 311. Previous hypotheses, which moved the origin of this monastery back in time, were wrong.

<sup>13</sup> Nowowiejski, pp. 601 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 134.

<sup>15</sup> According to T. Żebrowski, *Płock w latach 1138–1495*, the sources mention three wickets in the walls from the Vistula. A piece of information about one of them survived in the Teki Naruszewicza ("the Files of Naruszewicz"), MS in the Library of the Princes Czartoryski in Cracow, vol. 30, f. 26 (year 1513). In the eighteenth century a stone tower was attested near the hospital of the Holy Trinity "vigore privilegii ducum Masoviae kapitule darowana" (Documents of the bishop's inspection from 1775, quoted by Nowowiejski, p. 350). In 1550 King Sigismund August gave that tower, from the direction of the Vistula River, to his medic. After the death of the medic, he gave it to the Płock chapter, MRPS, vol. V, no. 879.

<sup>16</sup> Nowowiejski, pp. 31, 33. The school actually functioned in the town, opposite to the castle, perhaps on the site of the current bishop's house, according to T. Żebrowski.

<sup>17</sup> Nowowiejski, pp. 108, 111, 113. The description from the 1572 inventory is particularly valuable; LP, pp. 162–170.

gate and entrance to the castle, earlier incorrectly presented by R. Cieśla, were localized. The castle held a customs house, among others. The customs official had a wicket at his disposal, allowing for an exit from the castle towards the river. Many houses stood here, they belonged to the vicars of the cathedral and the servants of the castle and church. There were also some utilitarian buildings.

The plan shows also the crossing through the Vistula and the roads connecting it with the city, due to the importance of this facility in the city's economy. The crossing was localized in estimation next to the present-day end of the bridge, in the area called 'Przedmieście' ('Suburb') or 'Stara Przysiań' ('The Old Haven') in the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The ford, the crossing, and the driveway on the scarp, possible here thanks to the lay of the land and controlled by the castle (earlier: the gord), played an important role in the development of Płock already at the time of its growth in the ninth–tenth centuries. Fishermen and ferrymen inhabited this area and the Rybaki, situated below.<sup>19</sup> The chapel of the Holy Cross and an active cemetery administered by the Dominicans were also located here.<sup>20</sup> The New Haven lay most likely next to the Old Haven, perhaps near the monastery of the Norbertine Sisters, where there were also some convenient roads leading to the top of the scarp.

Three monasteries were situated on the scarp, in the suburbs later called Wyszogrodzkie: that of the Norbertine Sisters (since the twelfth century), that of the Dominican Friars (since the first half of the thirteenth century), and that of the Dominican Sisters (probably since 1531).<sup>21</sup> The Norbertine Sisters brought the name of St. Mary Magdalene to the street, which constituted a part of the Wyszogród route. The monastery's *hortulani* lived next to the Dominican monastery, a little closer to the city, and the castle's *hortulani* inhabited the area in the vicinity of the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene on the scarp. The seat of the Norbertine Sisters probably did not change its location in the first half of the sixteenth century, as could be assumed from the writings of Rev. W. Mąkowski; the 1593 inspection clearly informs us there was a newly-renovated brick church there, as well as a brick monastery, brick parson's house and numerous utilitarian buildings. However, the property of the Norbertine Sisters certainly expanded during this period, and the monastery was further developed.<sup>22</sup>

In this suburb – aptly called *suburbium magnum* in the source – there was a small church, built in 1465 and dedicated to St. Leonard and St. Catherine (later only to St. Catherine) with a hospital for the clergy.<sup>23</sup>

In the suburbs, next to the Bielska Gate (in the eighteenth century: the Bielskie Suburb) there was a chapel dedicated to St. Giles, built probably during the reign of Władysław Herman. In 1419 a garden was attested to here, reaching the road to Płońsk.<sup>24</sup>

The Jeruzalem suburb lay near the Dobrzyńska Gate. In the eighteenth century it was called 'Dobrzyńskie suburb'. A chapel dedicated to St. Phillip and St. Jacob stood here. It was mentioned in the 1320s along with a square and a garden.<sup>25</sup>

The streets and interchanges in these suburbs were marked according to the oldest plans of the city. The names of the streets were taken from the fifteenth–sixteenth century written sources and the said plans. In fact, almost all names denoted streets inside city walls.<sup>26</sup> We refrained from using the conventional name 'przymurna', which referred to the street running along the city walls. Localization difficulties prevented us from marking Wąska or Św. Łukasza Street, which led to through the Grodzka Gate to Cegielna Street, named after the city's brickyard, and then along Św. Idziego Street to the chapel of St. Giles (Św. Idzi).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> LP, p. 16 (year 1565); MRPS, vol. IV, no. 23327 (year 1534). Cf. also K. Pacuski, W. Szafranski, *Płock*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 4, Wrocław 1970, pp. 152–157.

<sup>19</sup> LP, pp. 5, 16 (year 1565), 37 (year 1570).

<sup>20</sup> Nowowiejski, p. 609; rev. Bryczyński, *Cmentarz płocki*, "Korespondent Płocki" 1877, no. 53.

<sup>21</sup> Nowowiejski, p. 581.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 590 ff. T. Żebrowski, *Płock w latach 1138–1495*, was also critical towards this information provided by rev. W. Mąkowski.

<sup>23</sup> Nowowiejski, pp. 596 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, pp. 606–608; MRPS, vol. IV, suppl. no. 544 (year 1419), no. 8061 (year 1547).

<sup>25</sup> Nowowiejski, pp. 608–609; KDMaz., no. 57 (year 1322). About the name "Jeruzalem" see AGAD, Akta wójtowskie m. Płocka, no. 3 (1522–1539), f. 34v. (information provided by S.M. Szacherska).

<sup>26</sup> Nowowiejski, p. 134.

<sup>27</sup> AGAD, Akta wójtowskie, no. 3, ff. 12 f., 15v.

The graphic presentation of the residential area and utilitarian/garden parcels is a generalization based on the corrected state from the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. It is largely hypothetical due to the fragmentary nature of the data. The sandy banks of the Vistula, marked according to the oldest city plans, were considered barren areas. The lack of detailed data did not allow us to mark the city's pasturelands and meadows.<sup>28</sup> The outline of the Vistula's scarp was based on the oldest plans, with certain corrections caused by landslides, e.g. along the castle hill, where the scarp was washed away by the Vistula and part of the castle walls was destroyed.

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>28</sup> Probably since 1435, the town pasturelands covered six lans from prince Władysław's bestowal near the Kostrogaj, north of the city. See T. Żebrowski, *Płock w latach 1138–1495*; idem, *Z dokumentów plockich*, [in:] *Dziesięć wieków Płocka*, ed. 3, Płock 1969, p. 47.

### III.6.24.4 POZNAŃ SETTLEMENT COMPLEX

*Paweł Dembiński*

The map shows the left-bank Poznań within the ramparts (after the city's incorporation and chartering in 1253) and its closest suburbs – namely, Święty Marcin, Nowe Ogrody, Wymykowo, Święty Wojciech, Garbary, Nowa Grobla, Gaska (the street otherwise called *Za Bramką*), Piaski, Stelmachy, Rybaki, and Czapniki, Półwsie, and the juridical enclave (*jurydyka*) of Wenetowo. The map also shows the small town of Chwaliszewo; the other featured places include Summum (Ostrów Tumski) and Zagórze, the small towns of Ostrów, Śródka, and Stanisławowo (Łacina), the municipal villages of Kundorf, Winiary, and Bonin, the Church-owned village of Zawady and the settlement of Święty Jan (Komandoria), the municipal (later on, Chapter-owned) village of Pietrowo, and the royal village of Rataje. Outside the map, some important settlement facilities associated economically with Poznań are depicted. These included the municipal village of Wierzbica (south of Poznań), in whose area a demesne farmstead of the Wilda family was developed in the fifteenth century, which with time turned into a separate village named Wilda. Moving westwards, the municipal villages of Gaj and Jeżyce were situated, along with Sołacz, being a combined noble- and city-owned property. These four settlements are plotted in the main map.

Our attempt to create a map of the Poznań settlement complex in the sixteenth century has been based upon Old Polish maps and plans of Poznań and its surrounding areas, views of the city, as well as written sources. Among the few maps available worthy of attention is the map by the Swedish army officer, engineer and cartographer Erik Dahlbergh, compiled around 1655, printed 1697 in Nuremberg by Samuel von Pufendorf and published in 1696.<sup>1</sup> Compiled in the scale of approx. 1:6,000, the map was meant primarily to render the qualities of Poznań as a stronghold, hence the primary focus on the facilities and structures of military importance (fortifications, retrenchments, gates, wicket doors and entrances, waters in the city's direct neighbourhood, churches situated outside the city – not far from its walls), the other items neglected. Apart from Garbary, the Dahlbergh map showed virtually no suburbs or nearby small towns forming the conurbation.

Thus, we have no map dating to the period preceding the 'Deluge' of 1655–60 (i.e. Swedish invasion and occupation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as part of the Second Northern War) campaigns that would depict the location of the settlements outside the city's walls. This observation is quite essential as, despite the vast devastations caused by the war against the Swedes with the said suburbs destroyed, any map of sixteenth-century suburban settlements in the area of Poznań is but a reconstruction, largely drawing upon sources other than cartographic or iconographic records. The other existing maps dating to the eighteenth century, through valuable indeed, do not reflect the city in its heyday during the Jagiellonian age.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ichnographia [Iconographia] Posnaniae, Metropolis Poloniae Maioris...*, monochromatic copperplate engraving, 1655, drawn by Erik Dahlberg, engraved by [François] Lapointe], 31.4 x 25.1 cm, collection of the Poznań University Library, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, city maps described and ed. D. Książkiewicz-Bartkowiak, Poznań 2010, no. 2. This map of Poznań is discussed in: H. Münch, *Plany Poznania z przed roku 1793 i ich wartość dla badań nad topografią miasta*, KMP, 1937, pp. 1–48, with a discussion of the other Old Polish maps of Poznań; J. Młodziejowski, *Plan Poznania z czasów wojen szwedzkich*, KMP, 1947, pp. 55–63; *ŻK*, no. 1, pointing to the map's scale of 1:6,000; cf. also W. Czarniecki, *Plany historyczne miasta Poznania*, Poznań 1961, describing the historical maps of Poznań and its surrounding area destroyed during the Second World War occupation; S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii ziem polskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2017, p. 196.

Among these maps or plans, the one coming to the fore is a 1704 map (scale 1:5,600) drawn during the siege of Poznań – seized in those days by the Swedish troops – by the joint Polish-Saxon-Russian army, known as the Samuel Faber map.<sup>2</sup> It does feature the suburbs and reflect, at least indicatively, the change in the ground surface as well as, not quite precisely, the hydrographic network and wetlands.<sup>3</sup> Whether the depression visible west of the ramparts was natural,<sup>4</sup> given the eighteenth-century project of upgrading of the city's fortifications and their alignment to the then-modern warfare methods with use of artillery, is difficult to say.<sup>5</sup> Made in 1728, in the scale of 1:5,500, the city plan by the municipal assessor Jan Rzepecki shows Poznań the city and its adjacent areas, including suburban: Garbary, the suburb before the Wrocław Gate (Brama Wrocławska), Nowa Grobla, Święty Marcin, Święty Wojciech, the villages of Kundorf and Winiary, as well as Ostrów Tumski; the small towns of Chwaliszewo, Ostrów, and Śródka, Zawady village, Święty Jan (Komandoria) settlement, and St. Roch's church. Rzepecki marked the surface features of Wzgórze Winiarskie hill, the courses of the waters, and (in rough terms) types of farmland, i.e. 'cornfields' and 'pastures'. He used diverse colours to mark the type of land ownership, and precisely drew the individual land plots within the city's walls.<sup>6</sup>

As remarked by Renata Graf and Alfred Kaniecki, the first precise map of Poznań is the so-called Prussian plan, scale 1:5,000, made by unknown cartographer.<sup>7</sup> It shows Poznań on the left bank of the Warta, together with its suburbs, Kundorf village, and the towns of Chwaliszewo, Ostrów, Śródka, and Wyspa Tumska isle. The area's features are rendered and the courses of the period's arms of the Warta River and its tributaries Bogdanka, Wierzbak, and Cybina are precisely shown, as is the road network, bridges, and fords. Within the ramparts and the newly-erected fortifications, churches, public edifices and city blocks are depicted. As opposed to any of the earlier maps of Poznań, the so-called Złota Góra (Golden Hill) was marked within the ramparts (specifically, within the open ground southwest of the Dominican monastery). Graf and Kaniecki identify the feature as a 'two-level outlier of the higher terrace level'. Based on the inspections carried out in 1728 and 1740, it can be inferred that it was actually an elevation formed by the waste and refuse stocked at that place.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Belagerung der Stadt Posen*, monochromatic copperplate engraving, 1704, by P.S. Faber, 38.4 x 27.9 cm, collection of the Poznań University Library, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 3; according to ŻK, no. 3, the map was originally published in S. Faber, *Ausführliche Lebens-Beschreibung Carls XII., Königs in Schweden*, vol. 4, Frankfurt und Leipzig 1705. (in ŻK, nos. 4 and 5, discussed also the other city maps, from 1709 and 1721, referring to the Faber map). The manuscript map by Peter Sigfried Tabbert, portraying the city during its siege by the Saxon-Russian troops in October 1704, is unclearly related to this map; cf. S. Alexandrowicz, J. Łuczyński, R. Skrycki, *Historia kartografii*, 196, esp. *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930. Katalog źródeł rękopiśmiennych do historii ziem polskich w zbiorach szwedzkich*, comp. U. Ehrensward, Warsaw-Stockholm 2008, p. 161, no. 871, p. 351, Fig. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See also R. Graf, A. Kaniecki, *Sposoby przedstawiania elementów środowiskowych na XVII- i XVIII-wiecznych planach Poznania i ich wiarygodność*, "Przegląd Geograficzny", vol. 80, 2008, no. 3, pp. 334–360; here, pp. 351–352.

<sup>4</sup> A photograph of a copy of the Peter Sigfrid Tabbert map, shown by R. Graf, A. Kaniecki (idem, *Sposoby przedstawiania*, p. 352; the map's author being referred to as 'P.S. Fabbert') features no (cross)hatching that would suggest a land depression (for more on P. S. Tabbert's, see footnote 2).

<sup>5</sup> For the modernisation of the Poznań fortifications in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Z. Pilarczyk, *Obronność Poznania w latach 1253–1793*, Warsaw-Poznań 1988, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Jurisdictionum Posnaniensium Remonstratio...*, hand-coloured copperplate engraving, 1728, by Jan Rzepecki, engraved by 'Moises in Poznań', 67 x 104 cm, collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 4. For more on this plan, see ŻK, no. 8; M. Warkoczewska, *Jak zrujnowany Poznań o przychylność starosty generalnego Jana Jerzego Przebendowskiego zabiegał*, KMP, 2004, no. 4, pp. 261–267.

<sup>7</sup> R. Graf, A. Kaniecki, *Sposoby przedstawiania*, pp. 352–354 – which included a photograph of that plan; ŻK, no. 9, in which black and white copy of very low quality.

<sup>8</sup> R. Graf, A. Kaniecki, *Sposoby przedstawiania*, pp. 352–354. In 1728, the structure was described as "a mount elevated by dung and manure, called Żydowska ['Jewish']"; M.J. Mika, *Opis Poznania z roku 1728*, KMP, 1950, p. 254. The inspection record of 1740 reads, "to a dozen cubits in height, from one end to the other, is the Żydowska Góra ['Jewish Mount'] encumbered with manures, the carrying away of which would require several thousand to be collected, for those manures and rabble, without becoming aware of the size"; *Opisy i lustracje Poznania z XVI i XVII wieku*, ed. by M.J. Mika, Poznań 1960, p. 203. It cannot be established whether the waste was piled up at that place due to its specific terrain conditions—a slightly elevated ground—preventing the construction of buildings or use for commercial purposes, or the dump site was formed on an empty ground formed resulting from a fire or warfare damage; the latter option seems more plausible. A developed space in this part of the city is featured in the map of fifteenth-century Poznań as reconstructed in Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, Fig. 9 (for more on how valuable this study is for the recognition of the city's image within the ramparts, see below). The elevation is not featured, let us add, on the 1771–1773 Geyer map, which otherwise renders the land relief much in detail (cf. below). Given the information quoted after the inspection record, the name 'Złota Góra' vel Goldberg assumes an unambiguously derisory purport.

The 1761 plan by I.G. Daumann, of approximately 1:3,600, shows the city itself, its major features and blocks within the fortifications, including the closest foregrounds and the developments of Wzgórze Świętego Wojciecha hill.<sup>9</sup> The watercourse flowing within the walls, between the Bogdanka Mill near the Dominican nunnery and the city's moat, close to the Wronki Gate (Brama Wroniecka), is shown as well.

Highly valuable is the map made in 1771–3, scale approximately 1:6,100, attributed to S.F. Geyer.<sup>10</sup> The map renders the city's developments within the fortifications (incl. the eighteenth-century walls in Wroniecka, Mokra, and Żydowska (marked as 'Sukiennicza' in our map) Streets, obstructing the entry to the Jewish Quarter), the towns of Chwaliszewo, Śródka, and Ostrów, and the suburban villages – Kundorf, Winiary, Bonin, Zawady, Święty Jan, Łacina, and Wilda. The map is of importance for identification of the landform, the course of the waters<sup>11</sup> and the road network around Poznań in the second half of the eighteenth century.

A much larger area is presented in the map by Karol Grund,<sup>12</sup> prepared in 1780, at the scale of 1:6,830. Villages and settlements situated further away from Poznań are plotted on it, including Sytkowo, Sołacz, Winiary, Jeżyce, Kundorf, Bonin, Zawady, Komandoria (i.e. Święty Jan), Pietrowo, Łacinę, Rataje, Żegrze (herein, as 'Zegrz'), Luboń, Wilda, and Górczyn ('Górczyno'), many of them together with the ranges of their related fields. The map features cultivated land (ownerships indicated), pastures, meadows, and forests of Dębina, the course of roads and the landform. The map has proved particularly useful in determining the position of the *jurydyka* of Wenetowo and the range of the suburban village of Wierzbica. The latter perished by the eighteenth century, and Wilda village emerged on the ground formerly occupied by it.

The reconstruction of the Poznań settlement area herein proposed has moreover drawn from the *Planta M. Poznania 1784*, the map by Jan Bończa Krzewski, dated 1785 (its 1926 copy has been used), Prussian maps from 1795 (featuring Poznań and its nearby villages), 1803–4, and 1841.<sup>13</sup>

As far as the useful iconography featuring the old Poznań is concerned,<sup>14</sup> of primary importance is the city's northern-view panorama, published in 1618 by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, in Cologne,<sup>15</sup> in volume six of their work *Civitates orbis terrarum*. The view is probably from Wzgórze Świętego Wojciecha (St. Adalbert Hill). It is the earliest view we are aware of, a sort of city plan with considerable amounts of detail regarding the layout of the urban area, the city's major buildings – the castle, the town hall, the marketplace with (selected) stalls, walls, and gates, the Red Tower (Wieża

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<sup>9</sup> *Plan de La Ville de Posen dans L'Etat ou elle consiste L'année MDCCLXI*, manuscript, in colours, 1761, by I.G. Daumann, 25.5 x 21.3 cm, collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 5; ŻK, no. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Plan von der Stadt Posen*, manuscript, in colours, c. 1771–3, author unknown (probably, S.F. Geyer), 43.0 x 66.9 cm, collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 6; ŻK, no. 11. According to the *Historische Pläne und Grundrisse von Städten und Ortschaften in Polen. Ein deutsch-polnischer Katalog*, ed. A. Jammers, with contributions from E. Kemp, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 319, the map was made c. 1775 (the editors do not specify its author's name).

<sup>11</sup> About this map, see R. Graf, A. Kaniecki, *Sposoby przedstawiania*, pp. 355–356.

<sup>12</sup> *Mappa generalna Miasta JKM Poznania i Przedmieściów do niego należących tudzież Miasteczków i Jurisdycyów Jemu przyległych iako też wsiów Miasta tego Dziedzicznych...*, 1780, by K. Grund, 105 x 135 cm, collection of the Museum of the History of Poznań [reprinted from a 1933 copy of the 1780 map], [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 7; ŻK, no. 12. For more on this map, also cf. W. Czarnecki, *Plany*, pp. 7–10.

<sup>13</sup> *Planta M. Poznania 1784*, manuscript, in colours, 1784, author unknown, 44 x 31.8 cm, collection of the Museum of the History of Poznań, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 8 (also, ŻK, no. 13); *Mappa ad rationem illustrissimi et reverendissimi capituli cath. Posn. territorium cum anexis partibus per me infrascriptum anno 1785 ... delineata. Jan Bończa Krzewski S. R. M. Geometra Juratus et privilegiatus*, by J. Bończa Krzewski, in ŻK, no. 14; *Plan von der Gegend um Posen*, multicolour copperplate engraving, 1795, engraved by 'C. Jäck in Berlin', 26.2 x 18.1 cm, collection of the Kórnik Library, Polish Academy of Sciences [Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN], [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 9 (also, ŻK, no. 17); *Situations Plan von der Königl. Südprenss. Immediatstadt Posen wie nach dem in Jahre 1803...*, manuscript, in colours, 1803, author unknown, 73.1 x 54.2 cm, collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 10 (also, ŻK, no. 18); *Plan ulicy Chwaliszewo z 1804 roku*, ed. by W. Karolczak, KMP, 1995, no. 1, pp. 97–99; *Plan von der Stadt und Festung Posen*, multicolour ms, 1841, 1871, by von Saenger, completed by Sandau, 75.7 x 77.5 cm, collection of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 18 (also, ŻK, no. 25).

<sup>14</sup> The views and other iconographic material related to old Poznań are discussed in A. Brosig, *Poznań i miasta Polski zachodniej w grafice*, Poznań 1929; M. Warkoczewska, *Widoki starego Poznania. Źródła ikonograficzne do zabudowy miasta z wieków XVIII–XIX*, Poznań 1960; eadem, *Portret miasta. Poznań w malarstwie i grafice*, Poznań 2000.

<sup>15</sup> *Posnania elegans Poloniae in finibus Silesiae Civitas*, coloured copperplate engraving, undated, unsigned, 46.3 x 20.7 cm, collection of the Poznań University Library, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 1.

Czerwona), the Górk Palace, St. Mary Magdalene's Collegiate church, the churches of the Dominican friars and Dominican nuns, the Holy Spirit church, the Observant Franciscan and the Carmelite churches), suburbs, Chwaliszewo town (incl. its town hall and St. Barbara's church), and the cathedral island (shown partly with the fortifications, the Cathedral, Our Lady's and St. Nicholas's Collegiate churches), and Łacina. The panorama moreover renders (albeit in a deformed way) the course of the waters close to the city (the Warta's branches and the moat), and the bridges. In spite of its somewhat formulaic form, with drawings of small, almost identical houses marking the development lines, the image renders the extensiveness of the city's entire settlement complex before the Swedish invasion. No such value is represented by the city's schematic view drawn around 1631.<sup>16</sup> The subsequent such views date to the eighteenth century, the time Poznań severely suffered during the Great Northern War. The city is shown on these views from the south (the 1704 view, documenting the siege by Augustus II's army<sup>17</sup>) or south-east (views from 1728<sup>18</sup> and 1734). Especially the latter one made by Friedrich Bernhard Werner and showing probably a view from St. Roch's church tower, is of high documentary quality.<sup>19</sup> The other one is the south-eastern view from ca. 1793 r.<sup>20</sup> As a useful source, no less important are the numerous gouaches by Karol Alberti, evidencing the apparition of a number of buildings – many of them no more existing, demolished under the Prussian Partition as part of the city's redevelopment project.<sup>21</sup>

The written sources related to Poznań and the juridical enclaves and small towns forming the Poznań conurbation, in spite of the damages inflicted during the repeated wars, have survived quite abundantly; most of them are stored today at the State Archives and the Archdiocesan Archive in Archive in Poznań. These records have been discussed by Irena Radtke, Antoni Gąsiorowski, Stanisław Nawrocki, Marian Banaszak and Feliks Lenort.<sup>22</sup> Of significance for the proposed map were primarily the files generated by supreme secular (kings, dukes and their officials) and ecclesiastical authorities (bishops, their vicars and the local Chapter) as well as the municipal authorities (city council and municipal tribunal/magistrates' court). For the Middle Ages, many of them have been published in print, particularly in the *Greater Poland's Diplomatic Code (Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski)*.<sup>23</sup> The mediaeval town council files and some of the municipal tribunal's files have been edited by Adolf Warschauer and Kazimierz Kaczmarczyk.<sup>24</sup> Editions dedicated to the privileges obtained by Poznań and a number of files (deeds, acts) from the Old Polish period related to this city (illustrations, municipal statutes (so-called *wilkierzs*) have been prepared by Feliks Pohorecki, Witold Maisel, Marian J. Mika, and other authors.<sup>25</sup> Of paramount importance in view of recognition of the city's topography, the suburbs included, are especially the registers of the municipal tribunal preserved since 1430. They recorded the trade in real properties and in the rents allotted to them, specifying the position of houses

<sup>16</sup> M. Warkoczevska, *Widoki starego Poznania*, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> *Poznań ściśle oblężony Roku Pańskiego 1704 ...*, copperplate engraving 18.5 x 31.3 cm; this view is discussed in M. Warkoczevska, *Widoki starego Poznania*, pp. 33–34, Fig. 6; eadem, *Portret miasta*, pp. 11–13.

<sup>18</sup> It is a panorama featured within the city's plan by Poznań's assessor J. Rzepecki; M. Warkoczevska, *Widoki starego Poznania*, pp. 34–35, Fig. 7; *ŻK*, no. 8; *Plany Poznania*, no. 4.

<sup>19</sup> For more on this view, see M. Warkoczevska, *Widoki starego Poznania*, pp. 36–7, and, esp., eadem, *Portret miasta*, pp. 18–21, giving the precise date of its making.

<sup>20</sup> Eadem, *Widoki starego Poznania*, p. 38.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 18–19, 38–43.

<sup>22</sup> I. Radtke, *Kancelaria miasta Poznania do roku 1570*, Warszawa 1967, p. 84 ff.; A. Gąsiorowski, *Źródła do dziejów Poznania XIV–XV wieku*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta w Poznaniu w świetle badań archeologicznych i urbanistyczno-architektonicznych. Materiały z ogólnopolskiego sympozjum 18–19 października 1973*, ed. W. Błaszczak, Warsaw-Poznań 1977, pp. 67–84; S. Nawrocki, *Źródła do dziejów Poznania (do 1793 roku)*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1–2, ed. J. Topolski, Warsaw-Poznań 1988, here part 1, pp. 17–29; M. Banaszak, F. Lenort, *Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania i Województwa Poznańskiego (w granicach z 1974)*. *Informator o materiałach archiwalnych*, vol. 2, C. Skopowski (ed.), Warsaw 1982, pp. 237–487.

<sup>23</sup> KDW I–XI.

<sup>24</sup> *Stadtbuch von Posen. Acten des städtischen Rathes 1398–1433*, ed. A. Warschauer, Posen 1892; *Akta radzieckie poznańskie*, vol. 1: 1434–1470, vol. 2: 1471–1501, vol. 3: 1502–1506, ed. K. Kaczmarczyk, Poznań 1925–1948.

<sup>25</sup> F. Pohorecki, *Opis Poznania z roku 1787. (Wraz z planem m. Poznania z końca XVIII wieku)*, KMP, 1932, pp. 42–58; *Wilkierze poznańskie*, vol. 1–3, ed. W. Maisel, Wrocław 1966–1969; *Przywileje miasta Poznania XIII–XVIII wieku*, ed. W. Maisel, Poznań 1994; M.J. Mika, *Opis murów i budynków miejskich z r. 1654*, KMP, 1948, pp. 209–214; idem, *Opis Poznania z roku 1728*, KMP, 1950, pp. 229–278; *Opisy i ilustracje Poznania*; LWWK 1564.

and parcels by street and name (plus nickname) of the owners of adjacent properties. Similarly for the municipal villages, however without giving a street name since a village would normally have one road. For the fifteenth century, those registers (nine altogether, totalling approximately 15,000 entries) have been used by Jacek Wiesiołowski in his studies on the city's late mediaeval sociotopography<sup>26</sup> – and, in compiling a map of Poznań within the ramparts, with all the pieces of real estate plotted.<sup>27</sup>

The modern research into the history of Poznań dates back to the nineteenth century; these studies were commenced by Edward Raczyński and Józef Łukaszewicz, two amateur enthusiasts cooperating with each other. Łukaszewicz, a librarian at the Raczyński Library, published *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny miasta Poznania*,<sup>28</sup> a study on Poznań in historical and statistic terms. Raczyński, bibliophile and collector, founding father of a public library, was primarily active as a patron. His passion as a research scholar led him to the publishing of the *Diplomatic Code of Greater Poland (Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkiej Polski)*, a collection of diplomas related to the province, or the *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski*, a book on the history of the region and Poznań.<sup>29</sup> The initiator of the German Historisches Gesellschaft für Provinz Posen (1885), Poznań-based archivist Adolf Warschauer, has considerable merits in discovering the city's history – both as the editor/publisher of historical records and populariser.<sup>30</sup> The growing interest in the past of Poznań after Poland regained independence in 1918 translated into a series of non-institutional publications on its history and numerous articles published in the *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, some of them covering Poznań's institutions, families, buildings or objects related to the city and its dwellers.<sup>31</sup> Among the publication worth one's attention are certainly the studies by Mika and Maisel, referred to above, and the work by the Rev. Józef Nowacki exploring the history of Poznań archdiocese – *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, with the first volume dealing with the Poznań Cathedral and the second with the diocese and largely covering Poznań's Church institutions such as St. Mary Magdalene's parish, the adjacent parishes of St. Martin and St. Adalbert St. Margaret and St. John, convents and hospitals (hospices), as well as ecclesiastical institutions in small towns outside Poznań.<sup>32</sup> The sacral buildings originally used by many of those institutions were described in *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*,<sup>33</sup> a catalogue of art monuments in Poland. The agglomeration's legal structure has been depicted by Zofia Kulejewska-Topolska.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1960s, the work on a historical-geographical dictionary of Polish Lands in the Middle Ages' (*Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*) was initiated. As part of this long-term research project, fascicles under its aegis were published in print since the 1980s, comprising entries related to the once-Voivodship of Poznań, including the villages and towns situated outside Poznań, such as: Bonin, Chwaliszewo, Czapniki, Jeżyce, Ostrów, Pietrowo, Stanisławowo, Summum,

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<sup>26</sup> AP Poznań, Akta miasta Poznania, sign. I 291–I 299. J. Wiesiołowski's *regests* are kept at the Library of the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences [PTPN], MS 1545. Let us emphasise that the analogous archival resource available for the sixteenth century is even larger, consisting of eight volumes of seconds of City Council resignation registers (AP Poznań, Akta miasta Poznania, sign. I 300–I 307), and nine Magistrates' Court resignation registers (ibidem, sign. I 309–I 317).

<sup>27</sup> Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia, Figs. 9–12.

<sup>28</sup> J. Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny miasta Poznania w dawniejszych czasach*, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1838 (ed. 2, with a discussion by J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 1998).

<sup>29</sup> CMP; E. Raczyński, *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski, to jest województw poznańskiego, kaliskiego i gnieźnieńskiego*, vol. 1, Poznań 1842, vol. 2, Poznań 1843, with a portrayal of Poznań on pp. 124–253.

<sup>30</sup> *Stadtbuch von Posen; Die Chronik der Stadtschreiber von Posen*, ed. A. Warschauer, Posen 1888; A. Warschauer, *Geschichte der Provinz Posen in polnischer Zeit*, Posen 1914. A. Warschauer was the publisher of the "Historische Monatsblätter für die Provinz Posen" in 1900–1918.

<sup>31</sup> For example, H. Likowski, *Miasto książęce Śródka. Kartka z dziejów Poznania w latach 1231–1253*, Poznań 1922; M. ze Sławskich Wicherkiewiczowa, *Rynek poznański i jego patrycjat*, ed. 1, Poznań 1925; ed. 2, Poznań 1998 [with an afterword by J. Wiesiołowski]; S. Paternowski, *Finanse miasta Poznania w wiekach średnich*, Poznań 1937; M.J. Mika, *Studia nad patrycjatem poznańskim w wiekach średnich*, ed. 1, Poznań 1937 (ed. 2, Poznań 2006); on the articles contained in KMP, cf. D. Balcerek, J. Bagińska-Mlecza, *Bibliografia zawartości "Kroniki Miasta Poznania", 1923–1997*, [Poznań 1997].

<sup>32</sup> Now1, Now2. On the parishes of Poznań settlement complex, cf. also E. Wiśniowski, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w średniowiecznym Poznaniu*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, pp. 390–404 f.

<sup>33</sup> KZS sn, vol. 7: *Miasto Poznań*, part 1: *Ostrów Tumski i Śródka z Komandorią*, comp. B. Dolczewska et al., ed. E. Linette, Z. Kurzawa, Warsaw 1983, part 2/1–2/2: *Śródmieście – kościoły i klasztory*, ed. Z. Kurzawa, A. Kuszelski, Warsaw 1998–200).

<sup>34</sup> Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji osadniczej Poznania od XV do końca XVIII wieku*, Poznań 1969; Z. Kulejewska, *Rozwój zabudowy miejskiej poza murami. Powstawanie jurydyk*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 398–404; eadem, *Ustrój prawny jurydyk*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 404–409.

Śródka, Święty Gotard, Święty Jan (also, Święty Jan – House of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem), Święty Łazarz, Święty Marcin, Święty Wojciech, Wenetowo, Wierzbica, Wierzbny Młyn, and Wilda. Their names used here follow those most frequently used in the mediaeval period, as identified for the dictionary's purposes.<sup>35</sup>

The anniversaries of the foundation and incorporation of Poznań repeatedly provided the opportunity to recall the city's old glory; conferences and publications summarising the knowledge of Poznań lent splendour to the celebrations.<sup>36</sup> Poznań saw a modern synthetic study on its history, up to the Second Partition of Poland (1793), published in as late as 1988.<sup>37</sup> Among the rich literature on Poznań, special attention is deserved by the already-quoted study penned by Jacek Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Poznania*, summarising the knowledge on the colonisation and settlement within the city's its ramparts and the agglomeration's social change in the late Middle Ages.<sup>38</sup> Given the scarcity of analogous research for the sixteenth century,<sup>39</sup> maps or plans from the period, with only a few maps produced before the mid-seventeenth-century 'Deluge', the Wiesiołowski study has offered the basis for making up a plan of the city within its walls. As regards our proposed map of the settlement complex, the maps compiled by Adolf Warschauer, Zbigniew Zieliński, Anna Rogalanka, and Stefan Abt<sup>40</sup> have proved quite useful.

A system of roads going out of Poznań has primarily been presented by Stefan Weymann<sup>41</sup>. Fifteenth-century traffic routes within the city and in its closest neighbourhood are discussed by Jacek Wiesiołowski, in the above-quoted study.<sup>42</sup> The use of water within the city's limits has been addressed by Urszula Sowina; the historical physiographic conditions and the hydrographic system within the conurbation of Poznań are shown, based on geological analysis and historical research, by Alfred Kaniecki.<sup>43</sup> This author has also presented the locations of Poznań watermills. For a more precise identification of the deployment of these mills, the material from the files of the Section for the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of Greater Poland, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN), has proved useful.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> SHGPoz, part I, pp. 89–90, 235–242, 281; SHGPoz, part II, pp. 84–95; SHGPoz, part III, pp. 515–518, 659; SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 634, 745–749; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 134–253, 542–544, 608–611, 616–617, 657. For the demesne farms and municipal villages, cf. also J. Majewski, *Gospodarstwo folwarczne we wsiach miasta Poznania w latach 1582–1644*, Poznań 1957. As regards the reference of names to physiographic objects, the recently published monograph *Nazewnictwo geograficzne Poznania. Zbiór studiów*, ed. Z. Zagórski, Poznań 2008 does not seem quite reliable: for example, the name "Noteć" is referred to an arm of the Warta outside Poznań and the river's right tributary (p. 314); the name "Rudnik" is erroneously referred to Wierzbak (p. 314); also, see SHGPoz, part IV, p. 215; SHGPoz, part V, p. 525, footnote 4.

<sup>36</sup> *Studia poznańskie*, PZ, vol. 9, 1953, no. 6–8; *Dziesięć wieków Poznania*, vols. 1–3, ed. K. Malinowski et al., Poznań 1956; *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, T. Jurek, Poznań 2005; recently *Archeologia o przeszłości Poznania i jego zaplecza. Stan i potrzeby badań*, ed. J. Kaczmarek, H. Kaczmarek, Poznań 2013.

<sup>37</sup> *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1–2, containing a bibliography on the history of Poznań.

<sup>38</sup> Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*.

<sup>39</sup> Cf., however, M. Wojciechowski, *Struktura społeczno-gospodarcza Poznania w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku*, PZ, vol. 7, 1951, no. 12, pp. 341–395; Z. Zieliński, *Rozwój terytorialny miasta oraz zabudowy Starego Rynku w Poznaniu*, PZ, vol. 9, 1953, no. 6–8, pp. 254–274; S. Waszak, *Ludność i zabudowa mieszkaniowa Poznania w XVI i XVII wieku*, PZ, vol. 9/3, 1953, no. 9–12, pp. 64–136; idem, *Dzietność rodziny mieszczańskiej i ruch naturalny ludności miasta Poznania w końcu XVI i XVII wieku*, RDSG, vol. 16, 1954, pp. 316–384; S. Abt, *Ludność Poznania w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 424–454.

<sup>40</sup> *Plan der Stadt Posen im XV. Jahrhundert* (scale 1:5,000), map attached to *Stadtbuch von Posen*; S. Waszak, *Dzietność rodziny mieszczańskiej*, Fig. 1, containing a plan compiled by Z. Zieliński; *Poznań w pierwszej połowie XVI w.*, attachment to *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1; cf. S. Abt, *Struktura społeczna i rozmieszczenie przestrzenne mieszkańców*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 434–437, containing a map of Poznań's late sixteenth-century population (p. 435).

<sup>41</sup> Weymann, *Drogi*; but cf. also S. Weymann, *Ćla i drogi handlowe w Polsce piastowskiej*, Poznań 1938 (Prace Komisji Historycznej PTPN, vol. 13), pp. 105–108; L. Koczy, *Handel Poznania do połowy wieku XVI*, Poznań 1930, pp. 193–206; M. Przybył, *Poznań na tle szlaków komunikacyjnych od X do XIII wieku*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 112–129. About road system in sixteenth century Greater Poland also cf. T. Związek, *Drogi*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland volume and in chapter III.5.4 in this volume.

<sup>42</sup> Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*; also, cf. J. Wiesiołowski, *Sieć miejska w Wielkopolsce w XIII–XVI wieku. Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, pp. 385–399.

<sup>43</sup> A. Kaniecki, *Poznań. Dzieje miasta wodą pisane*, Poznań 2004; idem, *Źródła winiarskie i wykorzystanie ich wód*, KMP, 2011, no. 4, pp. 25–35; U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie w mieście późnośredniowiecznym i wczesnonowoczesnym. Ziemia polskie z Europą w tle*, Warsaw 2009.

<sup>44</sup> For the locations of watermills in the vicinity of Poznań, cf. also J. Gołaski, *Atlas rozmieszczenia młynów wodnych w dorzeczu Warty, Brdy i części Baryczy w okresie 1790–1960*, part 1: *Środkowa Warta, Proсна i Barycz*, Poznań 1980.

The above-enumerated material (together with the maps, surviving mainly for the Old Polish age) proved supportive in determining of the locations of the bridges.<sup>45</sup>

To summarise the above argument on the condition of the surviving sources, particularly the cartographic and iconographic records, let us emphasise that the proposed map of the Poznań settlement complex is a reconstruction based on historical records whose chronology deviates, at several points, from the *terminus* adopted for the AHP series as at the end of the sixteenth century. Hence, the proposed map of Poznań is but a firm version of the status that calls for a finer elaboration, in a number of essential details, by way of laborious archival search, research, and investigation. Consequently, certain items whose location could not be precisely defined have been omitted.<sup>46</sup>

Poznań is situated within the longitudinally oriented, broad valley of the Warta River. The major tributaries in the area are Cybina and Główna (right-bank), Bogdanka (alias Rudnik, Flisa) and Wierzbak (left-bank). The Warta would overflow broadly in that area into several branches, some of which have perished, forming natural fords that facilitated transport and offered conditions that welcomed settlement. The valley is composed in that area of seven terrace levels, the lowest of which – terrace (river floodplain) I – is approximately 800 wide and ca. 53 m AMSL high (in absolute height terms) and appears on both banks.<sup>47</sup> The second terrace, 55 to 57 m AMSL high., appears ‘in a small fragment’ on the left side of the Warta which is adjacent in the south to the Bogdanka valley. It was thereon that the town of Poznań was located in the thirteenth century. Terraces IV (62.5–66.5 m AMSL) and VI (70 m AMSL), situated higher, became the sites at which the suburban villages, presently integrated into the city, were founded.<sup>48</sup> Each of the highest terrace levels, some of them isolated, was named a ‘mount’ (*góra*): hence, the Zamkowa, Świętego Wojciecha, Czerwowa (Łysa), and Muszyńska Mounts. The hydrographic network shown in the map is a reconstruction of the Poznań settlement area at the end of the sixteenth century, compiled on the basis of later maps and the findings of A. Kaniecki.<sup>49</sup>

The favourable natural conditions, among which the convenient crossing of the numerous arms of the slow-flowing Warta seems to have excelled, fostered the development of colonisation and settlement, which initially spread in the area of floodplain I. It was right there, in the area of Ostrów Tumski (Summum) and Zagórze, that the early Piast stronghold (burg-city) was erected, along with the cathedral and outer baileys.<sup>50</sup> Around this centre, other settlements developed by the middle of the thirteenth century which later on formed the extensive settlement area of Poznań.<sup>51</sup> On the right bank of the Warta, those included the ducal settlement of Śródka, with a market,<sup>52</sup> and the settlement that emerged by St. Michael’s (St. John’s) church, which was thereafter, at the end of the twelfth

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<sup>45</sup> For more on the bridges, see *Opisy i ilustracje Poznania*, pp. 72 (Wielki Bridge), 89 (Łacina), 123 (Wielki and Łacina), 193 (Łacina), 194, 195 (Wielki), 204 (Wielki), 221, 225–9, 240, 300 (Wielki); *Warta*, [in:] SHGPoz, part V, pp. 518–23, footnote 5. Our map does not feature the bridge located between Nowa Grobla and Chwaliszewo (which functioned while the Wielki Bridge was destroyed), as marked on J. Rzepecki’s map (*Plany Poznania*, no. 4); also, cf. J. Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny*, pp. 71–73; A. Chybiński, *Most Chwaliszewski*, KMP, 1924, pp. 49–56; Z. Karolczak, *Tajemnice mostu św. Rocha*, KMP, 1995, no. 3, pp. 295–301; W. Karolczak, *Mosty w dawnym Poznaniu (do 1939 roku)* [exhibition catalogue], Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, Poznań 1996; A. Ryżyński, *750 lat poznańskich mostów*, Poznań 2003, pp. 5–39; idem, *Most Cybiński*, KMP, 2003, no. 1, pp. 430–440; idem, *Kiedy wybudowano pierwszy most przez Wartę w Poznaniu*, KMP, 2014, no. 1, pp. 245–256; J. Borwiński, *Most św. Rocha. Odkrycie dokumentów z aktem erekcyjnym. Dzieje największej przeprawy mostowej dawnego Poznania*, KMP, 2014, no. 1, pp. 267–282.

<sup>46</sup> This is true for, e.g., the city’s brickyards (cf. footnote 80). The remark is also applicable to the old Jewish cemetery, whose exact location is shown in the eighteenth-century maps, at the earliest. Also the localisation of the city towers, known by their names proper of names of their proprietors, also raises doubt (see below for more).

<sup>47</sup> A. Kaniecki, *Poznań*, pp. 14–16.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 119; A. Kaniecki, *Zmiany stosunków wodnych w dolinie Warty na terenie aglomeracji poznańskiej w ciągu ostatniego tysiąclecia. Stan i perspektywy badawcze*, [in:] *Archeologia o przeszłości Poznania*, pp. 39–49.

<sup>50</sup> H. Kóčka-Krenz, *Najstarszy Poznań*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 27–42; eadem, *Dzieje Ostrowa Tumskiego w Poznaniu przed lokacją miasta*, KMP, 2003, no. 1, pp. 7–26; eadem, *Stan i potrzeby badań Ostrowa Tumskiego w Poznaniu*, [in:] *Archeologia o przeszłości Poznania*, pp. 134–141.

<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of the archaeological research done hitherto on the numerous settlements outside Poznań, cf. M. Kara, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad zapleczem grodu poznańskiego w X – I połowie XIII wieku. Zestawienie ważniejszych ustaleń*, [in:] *Archeologia o przeszłości Poznania*, pp. 142–150; J. Kaczmarek, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad średniowiecznym i nowożytnym Poznaniem i jego zapleczem*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 151–167.

<sup>52</sup> W. Schulte, *Die Schrodka. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Posen*, “Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen”, vol. 22, 1907, pp. 237–276; H. Likowski, *Miasto książęce Śródka*; Münch (as per Index);

century, bestowed to the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (Knights of St. John of Jerusalem).<sup>53</sup> On the left bank of the river, terrace II area, right by the river passage, a commercial settlement developed since the eleventh century. The beginning of the following century saw the appearance of a nearby St. Gotthard's church: originally situated probably in the north-eastern part of the later city, within its ramparts, the church disappeared by the late mediaeval period. It was most probably designed for the foreign merchants participating in the far-reaching trade between Rhineland and Rus'.<sup>54</sup> The possible appearance at so early a stage of a settlement by what is St. Martin's church today is a debatable matter.<sup>55</sup> Otherwise, there is no doubt that a settlement developed since the twelfth century by St. Adalbert's (*św. Wojciecha*) church.<sup>56</sup>

A breakthrough moment in the history of Poznań settlement complex was the incorporation of the municipal commune at the left bank of the river, as formally approved by the ducal document dated 1253.<sup>57</sup> As the recent research by Tomasz Jasiński has demonstrated, this act was probably strictly related to the intensified flows of commodities (chiefly, salt and cloth) from Saxony to Prussia and the movement of Saxon (and Silesian) settlers into the territory of the state constructed at that time by the Teutonic Order.<sup>58</sup> It however seems obvious that, regardless of the above-specified premises, the duke's striving for benefits from the progressing commercialisation was among the reasons behind the incorporation.<sup>59</sup> The course of the foundation/incorporation was a long-lasting process. Leaving aside the complicated political situation, in the specific case of Poznań it was conditioned by the need to settle the ownership relations: in particular, the area where the new commune was to emerge had to be obtained from the Church, in exchange for economic concessions – an idea that aroused social resistance.<sup>60</sup> The difficulties obstructing the bringing about of the objective in question were indubitably contributed to also by the natural conditions. The ducal locality of Śródka, which in the 1230s was intended to become a centre of the new municipal commune, did not have access to a resource of

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A. Rogalanka, *Poznań u progu lokacji*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 148–162; P. Pawlak, *Cmentarzyska przedlokacyjnego Poznania*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 59–109; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 89–104.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. A. Gąsiorowski, *Najstarsze dokumenty poznańskiego domu joannitów*, *SŻ*, vol. 8, 1963, pp. 83–95, vol. 9, 1964, pp. 47–60; T. Ginter, *Działalność fundacyjna księcia Mieszka III Starego*, Cracow 2008; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 138, 141–2; Münch (as per Index).

<sup>54</sup> W. Błaszczyk, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych w strefie osady Św. Gotarda na Starym Mieście w Poznaniu*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, 165–181; W. Fritze, *Hildesheim – Brandenburg – Posen. Godehard-Kult und Fernhandelsverkehr im 12. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Beiträge zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der Stadt Brandenburg im Mittelalter*, Berlin-New York 1993, pp. 103–130; M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *O kulcie św. Gotarda w Polsce XII i XIII wieku*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, vol. 6, ed S.K. Kuczyński, Warsaw 1994, pp. 75–91; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 134–135. On the said commercial route which arguably functioned between, approx., 1135 and 1159, cf. T. Jasiński, *Uwarunkowania lokacji Poznania*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 162–167.

<sup>55</sup> I. Skierska remarks that no unambiguous identification of the time and place of the founding of the settlement is possible (SHGPoz, part V, pp. 160–162, discussing the arguments on the location of the original Święty Marcin settlement). Earlier on, it was accepted that the settlement emerged in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Przywilej lokacyjny dla Poznania z r. 1253*, *PZ*, vol. 9, 1953, no. 6–8, p. 155), developing along the route leading to Buk (A. Rogalanka, *Poznań u progu lokacji*, p. 167). That the settlement situated by the present-day St. Martin's Church appeared so early has been denied by archaeological research, which dates it instead at as late as the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century. Presently, archaeologists believe that the original centre of the village was located at Góra Przemysła (Góra Zamkowa), in the area of the present National Museum edifice; J. Kaczmarek, *Między grodem a miastem. Przemiany osadnicze na terenie aglomeracji poznańskiej w X–XII wieku*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 47–48; eadem, *Archeologia miasta Poznania. Stan badań i materiały*, vol. 1, part 1–2, Poznań 2008, here part 1, pp. 322–324, 326; P. Pawlak, *Cmentarzyska przedlokacyjnego Poznania*, pp. 77–78; M. Przybył, *Poznań na tle szlaków komunikacyjnych*, p. 120. There is no doubt, however, that in the late mediaeval period the settlement stretched along the road to Buk, near its crossing with the highroad to Wrocław; SHGPoz, part V, p. 162.

<sup>56</sup> The settlement is believed to originally develop not at Wzgórze Świętego Wojciecha (no traces of it have been found there) but more southwards, on the bank of the Bogdanka, by the Lubusz road that ran along the rivulet's northern bank; J. Kaczmarek, *Między grodem a miastem*, p. 46; SHGPoz, part V, p. 196–254, lists the relevant literature; cf., esp., an extensive comment by G. Rutkowska on p. 196. For the settlement's location in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, see A. Rogalanka, *Poznań u progu lokacji*, p. 168.

<sup>57</sup> *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 3.

<sup>58</sup> T. Jasiński, *Uwarunkowania lokacji Poznania*, pp. 167–172.

<sup>59</sup> For a detailed discussion on the issue, see S. Gawlas, *Przełom lokacyjny w dziejach miast środkowoeuropejskich*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 133–162.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. T. Jurek, *Przebieg lokacji Poznania*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 173–191, specifying the reference literature on Poznań's incorporation.

flowing waters comparable to that of Saint Gotthard settlement. The numerous watercourses – Bogdanka, Wierzbak, and the side riverbeds of the Warta – were capable of providing vast amounts of running water indispensable in the processing of cloths and hides, and favoured the setting up of facilities such as mills and waulk (fulling) mills. Moreover, they formed a natural defensive barrier.<sup>61</sup> It has to be noted, though, that the close distance to the Warta and the potential flooding of the swollen river posed quite a considerable threat to the dwellers; they faced a flood in as early as 1253.<sup>62</sup>

The death of Duke Przemysł I in 1257 deprived Poznań of its guardian; his successor Boleslaus the Pious (Bolesław Pobożny) preferred Kalisz and Gniezno instead. The commune developed rather slowly: its parish (with St. Mary Magdalene's church), necessary for a newly incorporated centre, was set up only in 1263 (extending solely to the town within its fortifications),<sup>63</sup> as was the local hospital. Soon afterwards, in 1274, Poznań was burnt down in a Brandenburg invasion,<sup>64</sup> but gained a good master and landlord in Duke, and later King, Przemysł II.

In association with the founding and incorporation procedure, the thread of seventeen villages 'bestowed' on the city by the duke in 1253 remains unclear.<sup>65</sup> The view has been accepted that the said villages (of which some, irrefutably, did not belong to the city at the moment of its incorporation)<sup>66</sup> were only subjected to the German Law enforced by the vogt of Poznań. Within their limits, the vogt had a monopoly on settling the settlers, founding mills and hunting; he could also measure out thirty *lans* for his own purposes, and another twenty for pastures of the burghers. This was, arguably, the actual land bestowal granted by the duke.<sup>67</sup> Still, the city's landed property expanded with time. In the late years of the Middle Ages, Poznań possessed the villages of Kundorf, Winiary, Bonin, Jeżyce, Gaj, Luboń, Wierzbica and, partly, Górczyn (AHP: Górczyno).<sup>68</sup> Pietrowo, which initially belonged to the city, was property of the Poznań Cathedral Chapter already as of 1584.<sup>69</sup> At the beginning of the

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<sup>61</sup> On the role of natural conditions, cf. A. Kaniecki, *Poznań*, pp. 124 ff.; "it was more advantageous to have mills constructed on smaller watercourses or on the arms of the Warta: it was easier then to build dams, thereby avoiding the effects of high-water stages and hummocks" (p. 129). Also, see M. Słoń, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne w średniowiecznej Europie*, Wrocław 2010, p. 355.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. T. Jurek, *Przebieg lokacji Poznania*, p. 183.

<sup>63</sup> On St. Mary Magdalene's (since 1471, Collegiate Church) cf. Now2, pp. 607–611; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce dawnego Poznania do końca epoki baroku*, Poznań 2001, pp. 74–75, 107–109, 122–123, 132–134, 215, 239; a separate KMP volume deals with this particular church: no 3, 2003. According to S. Skibiński, the Poznań parish church was initially housed at the Dominican Sisters' Church, but this view is indefensible; idem, *Gotycka architektura kościoła farnego pod wezwaniem Marii Magdaleny w Poznaniu*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, pp. 422 ff.; contributory opinions by E. Linette and A. Gąsiorowski are also reported therein, pp. 470, 475–7. On the church's foundation date, T. Jurek, *Wokół zagadek najdawniejszych dziejów poznańskiej fary*, KMP, 2003, no. 3, pp. 46–62, with reference literature specified; idem, *Przebieg lokacji Poznania*, p. 187. In the opinion of M. Słoń, the origins of the Poznań parish date back to 1253; M. Słoń, *Fundatio civitatis. Program fundacyjny procesu lokacyjnego na przykładzie Wrocławia, Krakowa i Poznania*, [in:] *Procesy lokacyjne miast w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Materiały z konferencji międzynarodowej w Łądku Zdroju, 28–29 października 2002 roku*, ed. C. Buško, M. Goliński, and B. Krukiewicz, Wrocław 2006, pp. 227–245; idem, *Fundacja Poznania. Dominikanie, fara, szpital i lokacja miasta*, [in:] *Ambona. Teksty o kulturze średniowiecza ofiarowane Stanisławowi Bylinie*, ed. K. Bracha and W. Brojer, Warszawa 2016, pp. 81–106.

<sup>64</sup> *Monumenta Poloniae historica. Series nova*, vol. 6, Warszawa 1962, p. 125 [Spominki poznańskie].

<sup>65</sup> I.e., Rataje, Pietrowo, Żegrze (AHP: Żegrz), Starołęka (AHP: Starołęka Wielka), Ninkowo (today, Minikowo), Spytkowo, both villages named Wierzbica, Jeżyce, Pęcław, Niestachowo (AHP: Niestachów), Piątkowo, Szydłowo, both villages named Winiary, *Boguthe villa*, Unoltowo (AHP: Noltowo); *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 3; SHGPoz, part I, p. 83; SHGPoz, part II, pp. 84–95; SHGPoz, part III, pp. 278, 290–292, 630 (on Pęcław village, not identical with Kundorf that was later the town's property), pp. 644–645, 659; SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 45–46, 623, 645–650, 859–860; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 448–450, 608–611.

<sup>66</sup> For instance, Ninikowo and Wierzbica belonged in the thirteenth century to the Cathedral Chapter; Spytkowo, Piątkowo, Jeżyce, and Winiary were owned in the thirteenth century by the duke; Starołęka (AHP: Starołęka Wielka) was noble-owned in the fourteenth century; T. Jurek, *Przebieg lokacji Poznania*, p. 188.

<sup>67</sup> Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Przywilej lokacyjny*, pp. 142–166; M. Szymańska, *Wójtostwo poznańskie 1253–1386. Od lokacji miasta do wykupu wójtostwa przez miasto*, PZ, vol. 9, 1953, no. 6–8, pp. 167–193; A. Gąsiorowski, a contribution to the debate, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, p. 139, with remarks on the legal association with the town of the villages named in the incorporation deed (rather than their having been "bestowed" to the municipality); Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Ustrój miasta lokacyjnego*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 183–193; T. Jurek, *Przebieg lokacji Poznania*, p. 188, specifying the references.

<sup>68</sup> On Gaj, Górczyn (AHP: Górczyno), Kundorf, and Luboń, cf. SHGPoz, part I, p. 457, 614–618; SHGPoz, part II, p. 239–248, 662–665.

<sup>69</sup> SHGPoz, part III, p. 659; K. Lutyński, *Kapituła katedralna w Poznaniu w XVI wieku. Organizacja i majątek*, Poznań 2000, p. 158.

fifteenth century, the burghers temporarily held land partitions in the noble-owned village of Sołacz, situated not far from the city; Poznań finally bought Sołacz out at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>70</sup>

In spite of the difficulties summarised above, the construction of the new city progressed with astonishing consistency. This is attested by the mostly preserved regular, chessboard layout of streets (whose historical names are marked on the map<sup>71</sup>) and city blocks adjacent to the large square-shaped market, with sides of approximately 140 m).<sup>72</sup> The layout is visible in the earliest maps/plans and in the city's panorama dated 1618. In the midst of the market square, wooden (and then, possibly since the end of the fourteenth century, brick) developments – stalls, including butcher stalls<sup>73</sup> (marked (a) to (e)). The city hall, whose origins possibly date back the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, was built in the north-eastern part of the market. A weigh-house stood nearby, along with a cloth cropping house (west of the weigh-house; not marked in the map).<sup>74</sup> Among the public edifices within the ramparts, the parish (later, collegiate) church of St. Mary Magdalene should be mentioned, along with the monastic churches of the Dominican monks (St. Dominic's; the community was resettled into the Saint Gotthard settlement in 1244) and Dominican nuns (SS. John and Paul; later on, St. Catherine's)<sup>75</sup> and St. Stanislaus's church, built at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The latter was bestowed to the Jesuits, who were brought into Poznań in 1570 (the other bestowal was St. Gertrude's chapel, adjacent to the namesake hospital).<sup>76</sup> The map furthermore features the Górká Palace, which was formed of joint tenement houses occupying a block area along one of the market's sides. In the first years of the seventeenth century, the edifice became property of the Benedictine nuns' convent; the cloistresses had it redeveloped into a monastery.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> SHGPoz, part IV, p. 598–601; for the acquisition of the village by the municipality at the end of the sixteenth century, see Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji*, p. 162.

<sup>71</sup> For names of the streets, see A. Gąsiorowski, *Nazwy poznańskich ulic. Przemiany i trwanie: wieki XIV–XX*, annex: “Pomyłkowi” patroni poznańskich ulic. Zmiany w nazewnictwie ulic Poznania w latach 1981–1983”, KMP, 1984, no. 3–4, pp. 23–64; idem, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja poznańska*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 221–222.

<sup>72</sup> A. Rogalanka, *O układzie i wielkości parcel w średniowiecznym Poznaniu (Próba rozpoznania problemu)*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, pp. 323–376; eadem, *Wytyczenie miasta lewobrzeżnego*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 193–208; A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, pp. 219–226; M. Chorowska, *Rozplanowanie średniowiecznego Poznania na tle miast śląskich*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 207–233, with specification of relevant literature; also, cf. A. Kąsinowski, *Rozplanowanie średniowiecznego Poznania na tle miast hanzeatyckich*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 225–242.

<sup>73</sup> KDW III, no. 1847; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 23; cf. W. Maisel, *Zabudowa wewnętrzna rynku poznańskiego w wieku XVI*, PZ, vol. 9, 1953, no. 11–12, pp. 687–713; A. Rogalanka, *Wytyczenie miasta lewobrzeżnego*, p. 206; A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, p. 223; primarily, however, Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, Fig. 9: the mid-market-square building cluster is featured after this author. The ‘New Butcher Stalls’, which according to J. Wiesiołowski's findings were situated at the cut-through linking Wrocławska and Świętosławska Sts. (a backstreet of the market-square tenement block), is not shown in this map, though.

<sup>74</sup> W. Bettenstaedt, *Das Rathaus in Posen und seine Herstellung in der Jahre 1910–1913*, Posen 1913; idem, *Ratusz w Poznaniu i jego przebudowa w latach 1910–1913*, transl. M. Mikołajczak, intro. J. Skuratowicz (reprint of the study's fragments), KMP, 2004, no. 2, pp. 265–286; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 74, 83–85, 128–129, 156, 163–183, 236–237; T. Jakimowicz, *Ratusz poznański. Przewodnik*, Poznań 1967; Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 142–143; J. Skuratowicz, *Ratusz poznański*, Poznań 2003; E. Leszczyńska, *Waga miejska czy ratusz?*, KMP, 2003, no. 2, pp. 61–86, and J. Skuratowicz's critical remarks: idem, *Ratusz gotycki*, KMP, 2004, no. 2, pp. 7–25. The Poznań city hall is discussed in a dedicated KMP volume, no. 2, 2004; also, see above, footnote 73.

<sup>75</sup> Now2, pp. 762–763, 776; J. Wiesiołowski, *Klasztory średniowiecznego Poznania*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, pp. 405–419; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/2, pp. 20–48; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 50–60, 71–74, 125, 127, 138, 146–149, 209–215, 298; J. Kowalski, *Gotyki wielkopolski. Architektura sakralna XIII–XVI wieku*, with photographs by M. Potocki, Poznań 2010, pp. 26–31, 38, 47–48, 53–54, 348, 355. The literature and sources related to the Dominican friars' monastery are discussed in K. Kaczmarek, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad klasztorami męskimi średniowiecznej diecezji poznańskiej*, [in:] *Historia życia konsekrowanego w archidiecezji poznańskiej*, ed. L. Wilczyński, Poznań 2010, pp. 12, 17, 25, 28–29; A. Skorupińska, *Klasztory żeńskie w średniowiecznej diecezji poznańskiej*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 36–39. The Dominicans of Poznań are dealt with in a separate KMP volume, no. 3, 2004. On St. Mary Magdalene's parish church, cf. footnote 63.

<sup>76</sup> In 1521, the Poznań judicial vicar [officialis] integrated with the hospital the adjacent bankrupt foundation of St. Gertrude's hospital and chapel (neither is shown on the map); on the St. Stanislaus Church and hospital bestowed to the Jesuits, cf. Now2, pp. 652–653, 738, 769; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/1, pp. 1–50; SHGKart; also, see W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 262–298; *Kronika Jezuitów poznańskich (młodsza)*, vol. 1: 1570–1563, ed. L. Grzebień, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2004. A separate KMP volume is devoted to the Jesuits of Poznań, no. 4, 1997.

<sup>77</sup> The building, inherited from the Górká family by Piotr Czarnowski, was sold in 1595 to the Lutheran community for the enormous amount of 20,000 fl.; a year later, after the protests related to the planned construction of a Protestant church, it was given up by the Lutherans to Czarnkowski for the same amount. The palace was eventually bought out by the municipality,

We have not reconstructed the range of Poznań's Jewish Quarter, as it cannot be delineated precisely. Jews inhabited the city's northern part, limited, roughly, by the streets Wroniecka and Żydowską (called 'Sukiennicza' in our map) and what is today Mokra St. A synagogue was most probably located in the middle of that quarter.<sup>78</sup> Jewish houses were moreover situated in close proximity to the Dominican Friars' monastery, along Przed Mnichy and Mała Żydowska Streets.<sup>79</sup> No public facilities such as the baths (in Woźna and Kozia (here: 'Świętosławska') Sts.), brickyards,<sup>80</sup> or the city's *marształ* (i.e. stable) are plotted. Located in Kozia (Świętosławska) St.), the stable ceased to exist in the 1460s. The other structures/facilities not marked on the map include the brothel and the latrines in Woźna St.<sup>81</sup>

The fortifications of the left-bank town (now residually preserved) become emerging – initially, probably wooden ones – from the moment of incorporation. Their integral part was the ducal castle erected on the hill towering over the newly founded town. The castle was redeveloped gradually during the second half of the thirteenth century, starting with a massive tower. The archaeological and historical studies carried out have produced no concordant opinion as to the stages of its construction.<sup>82</sup> The panache of the complex's concept makes its completion by Przemysław II open to doubt; in

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which thereafter, in 1605, resold it to Magdalena Mortęska, abbess of the Benedictine nuns of Chełmno. In 1607, the Benedictine Sisters' convent was brought from Chełmno to Poznań, and the former palace became a nunnery; T. Jakimowicz, *Pałac Górków w Poznaniu*, ed. 1, Poznań 1971, pp. 21, 71 f. (ed. 2, Poznań 1998, pp. 30–31); Now2, p. 775; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 159–164, 208; J. Skuratowicz, *Pałac Górków w Poznaniu*, Poznań 2008.

<sup>78</sup> This is how the location of the 'Old' Synagogue can be determined, based on the records from Poznań magistrates registers from 1491, 1497–8 (AP Poznań, Akta miasta Poznania, sign. I 298, ff. 140v, 216v, 225v; the records have been used thanks to the *regests* of J. Wiesiołowski, PTPN Library, MS No. 1545; for the location of this synagogue, arguably Poznań's oldest, cf. also *Stadtbuch von Posen*, pp. 65\*–66\*; *Opisy i lustracje Poznania*, pp. 64, 259; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/2, p. 116; R. Witkowski, *Żydzi w Poznaniu. Krótki przewodnik po historii i zabytkach*, Poznań 2012). The synagogue's location is so marked on the Prussian plan of Poznań from 1841 and 1871 (*Plan von der Stadt und Festung Posen*, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 18; also, cf. *Neuester Plan der Stadt Posen*, multicolour lithograph, 1890, ed. by 'E. Rehfeld in Poznań, 72.9 x 37.1 cm, collection of the PTPN Library, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 19). LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 271, informs that there were two synagogues in Poznań as of 1565 (the other one is not plotted). According to J. Witkowski (idem, *Żydzi w Poznaniu*, p. 80), the 'New' Synagogue was most probably built after the city's fire of 1590, right next to the Old one. According to J. Wiesiołowski, the Jewish school/synagogue was located in Sukiennicza St. (Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, p. 181), which is not contrary to the above statement as long as it was situated at the back of the buildings standing along the said street, to the left when going from the market toward the walls. The Jewish baths were probably located near the synagogue (*Akta radzieckie poznańskie*, vol. 1, no. 1002; on the baths, cf. J. Rudzińska, *Żydzi w późnośredniowiecznym Poznaniu*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis*, pp. 345–360, esp. 358; U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie*, pp. 222–224). Contrary to E. Leszczyńska's statements (eadem, *Przyczynek do dziejów funkcjonowania poznańskiej dzielnicy żydowskiej w sąsiedztwie średniowiecznych murów obronnych*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 138–139), the Jewish cemetery was not situated within, but rather outside, the city walls—*ex opposito castris*, "in close proximity to Dorota Paczkowa's garden" (outside the urban development area), as is attested by a 1442 record (AP Poznań, Akta miasta Poznania, sign. I 291, k. 90; the record has been used thanks to J. Wiesiołowski's *regests*, PTPN Library, MS 1545). Our map does not render the cemetery's location (cf. footnote 46). On Poznań Jews, cf. L. Koczy, *Studia nad dziejami gospodarczymi Żydów poznańskich przed połową wieku XVII*, KMP, vol. 12, 1934, no. 3, pp. 257–299, 333–362, KMP, vol. 13, 1935, pp. 47–63, 171–231; and, the article by T. Nożyński, *Żydzi poznańscy w XV w. (1379–1502)*, KMP, vol. 10, 1932, pp. 86–99, 249–263—of a lower scholarly quality and affected by anti-Semitic views. Separate KMP volumes, no. 3, 2006, and no. 1, 2009 are devoted to local Jewry; also, cf. A. Teller, *Warunki życia i obyczajowość w żydowskiej dzielnicy Poznania w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Żydzi w Wielkopolsce na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. J. Topolski, K. Modelski, Poznań 1995, pp. 57–70; J. Suproniuk, *Jews in the towns of Greater Poland* in AHP Greater Poland volume and chapter III.2.2d.4 in this volume, specifying the literature on Jewish settlement in Greater Poland.

<sup>79</sup> Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 177–181; also, cf. J. Rudzińska, *Żydzi w późnośredniowiecznym Poznaniu*, pp. 345–360.

<sup>80</sup> To precisely identify the brickyards' locations is difficult. J. Łukaszewicz (idem, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny*, p. 191) finds that one of them was in the vicinity of the theatre, i.e. the former Musza Góra; similarly in A. Gąsiorowski (idem, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, p. 228). Another brickyard, according to J. Wiesiołowski (in his commentary to J. Łukaszewicz, *Obraz historyczno-statystyczny*, p. 205) stood in the area of the municipal court; in our map, this location is identifiable with the vicinity of the pond on the Bogdanka river, north of the castle.

<sup>81</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, p. 222; Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 156–157, 166.

<sup>82</sup> A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Znaczenie ideowe poznańskich fundacji Przemysła II*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, pp. 380–383; *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, ed. L. Kajzer, Warsaw 2001, p. 397; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 62–65, 68; Z. Dolczewski, *Krótką historią Zamku królewskiego w Poznaniu*, [in:] *Zamek królewski w Poznaniu. Zarys historii. Badania archeologiczne. Działania na rzecz restytucji*, H. Kondziela, Poznań 2004, pp. 10–25; Z. Karolczak, *Badania archeologiczne zamku królewskiego w Poznaniu*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 29–43; M. Chorowska, *Zamek królewski w Poznaniu na tle architektury zamków śląskich z okresu średniowiecza*, KMP, 2004, no. 4, pp. 7–26; H. Ziółkowska, *Czas powstania i osoba fundatora tzw. Zamku Przemysława w Poznaniu*, KMP, 2004, no. 4, pp. 27–38 (reprinted from the 1955 monument restoration documentation

all probability, the project was accomplished by his successors. In Władysław II Jagiełło's time, the multilateral structure was composed of the tower and a large rectangular (17.6 x 58 m) house situated north of it, whose longer side was integrated into the city fortifications. The other massive tower (12.7 x 15 m; possibly, a keep) adjacent to the castle in the north probably already stood at that time. The castle hosted the monarchs paying visits to Poznań; otherwise, it was the residence of Greater Poland's *Starostas* General and their burgraves.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the castle was redeveloped by *Starosta* Łukasz Górka. His son and successor in office (1536–51), Andrzej, had it rebuilt after the 1536 fire; the reconstruction made no major change to the castle's outward appearance. The main three-storey building was redeveloped to become adjacent to the great tower. No superstructure was added to the northern-end two cellars.<sup>83</sup> The gate was set apart from the great tower as a new brick entrance from the town (south) was erected. The thus redeveloped castle is featured on the Braun engraving from 1618; its projection is marked on the 1655 Dahlbergh plan.<sup>84</sup>

The aforementioned map by Swedish officer Erik Dahlbergh shows possibly the most plausible shape of the town's fortifications constructed in the Middle Ages, as preserved until the end of the sixteenth century (except for the earthworks marked in that map). Since our map, due to its too-small scale and amassed items with explanatory notes, does not render the inner wall's outline, the walls as they are depicted in Dahlbergh's map need to be described here in some detail. The map shows a contour of the inner wall together with the towers/bastilles as well as the outer wall with its less numerous towers. The map features an outline of the castle's rampart, four city gates – Wroniecka (Wronki), Wielka (Great), Wodna (Water), and Wrocławska (Wrocław) as well as wicket-gates within the walls – Ciemna (Dark) (not featured in the Dahlbergh map's legend), Dominikańska (Dominican), Żydowska (Jewish) (Dahlbergh has 'Śmierdząca' (*Odoriferous*)), and Zamkowa (Castle).<sup>85</sup> The Dahlbergh map features the main public edifices (city hall, weigh-house, stalls, St. Mary Magdalene and Dominican churches) as well as churches and mills in direct neighbourhood of the walls – hence, of military significance.

As it seems, Dahlbergh, a military engineer, who was incidentally seconded by Swedish king Charles X Gustav to evaluate the military usefulness of Polish castles and towns, accurately rendered the Poznań fortifications. However, his drawing seems not to show all the 32 bays and overhangs (bastilles) in the inner wall, otherwise known from the written records.<sup>86</sup> Regardless of his failing to mark the bays' rear walls (facing the city and developed in the sixteenth century), let us emphasise that particularly in the south-eastern section of the rampart (between the Wrocławska and Woda Gates), many of those buildings or structures have been adapted into apartments and merged with the other buildings annexed

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kept at the archive of the Historic Preservation Officer of the City of Poznań); J. Skuratowicz, *Jak wyglądał zamek Przemysłów*, KMP, 2004, no. 4, pp. 39–46; T. Ratajczak, *Medieval Architecture of the Royal Castle in Poznań*, "Questiones Medii Aevi Novae", vol. 13, 2008, pp. 219–242; idem, *Bohemi munitiones in Polonia moraverunt. Zamki Przemysłidów w największych miastach odrodzonego Królestwa Polskiego*, [in:] *Katedra, ratusz, dwór. Wielkie miasta a władza świecka i kościelna w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy. Materiały XXXIII Seminarium Mediewistycznego im. Alicji Karłowskiej-Kamzowej, 29 listopada – 1 grudnia 2012 w Poznaniu*, ed. J. Kowalski, T. Ratajczak, Poznań 2014, pp. 165–177; also, recently, Z. Pilarczyk, M. Danielewski, K. Kościelniak, *Wojenny Poznań. Fortyfikacje i walki o miasto do XVIII wieku*, Poznań 2017, pp. 96–104.

<sup>83</sup> W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 157–159; J. Skuratowicz, *Zamek starostów generalnych Wielkopolski*, KMP, 2004, no. 4, pp. 162–172.

<sup>84</sup> *Ichnographia [Iconographia] Posnaniae*, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 2.

<sup>85</sup> M.J. Mika, *Opis murów i budynków miejskich*, p. 21, mentions the Jewish Wicket-Gate (Furta Żydowska); Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 357–376 and as per Index; Z. Pilarczyk, *Obronność Poznania*; Z. Karolczak, *Średniowieczne i nowożytnie urzędnictwo obronne Poznania – stan obecny, problematyka badawcza i konserwatorska*, [in:] *Poznańskie fortyfikacje*, ed. B. Polak, Poznań 1988, pp. 227–271; idem, *Średniowieczna Brama Wodna w Poznaniu – wyniki badań archeologicznych*, KMP, 1993, no. 3–4, pp. 351–361; idem, *Brama Wroniecka w systemie fortyfikacyjnym Poznania (XIII–XVIII w.). Geneza – rozwój – zmierzch*, KMP, 1995, no. 3, pp. 256–294; *Podzamcze*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 96–99; Z. Pilarczyk, *Brama Wielka*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 160–162; *Furta Dominikańska*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, p. 159; Z. Pilarczyk, Z. Karolczak, *Brama Wodna*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 180–187; *Budynek z Ciemną Bramką*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 208–210; H. Sommer, *O dziejach "Ciemnej Bramki"*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 211–214; P. Wawrzyniak, *Średniowieczna Brama Wrocławska w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych – doniesienie*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 234–242; Z. Pilarczyk, *Brama Wrocławska*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 243–246; for more on the walls/ramparts, see W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 66–68; and, recently, Z. Pilarczyk, M. Danielewski, K. Kościelniak, *Wojenny Poznań*, pp. 40–96.

<sup>86</sup> J. Wiesiołowski, *Wykazy i wizje murów, wykusy i baszt miejskich*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 44–59, esp. 48–50.

later on to the city wall.<sup>87</sup> Given the Dahlbergh's assumptions, it hampers identification of the towers/bastilles.<sup>88</sup> This is particularly true for the Zegarna (Clock) (also called Czerwona (Red)) dominant in the walls' line (apart from the gate towers and the castle), situated at the outlet of today's Kozia St. (marked here as 'Ku Wieży Zegarnej St.').<sup>89</sup> It was a tall structure (approximately 20 m in height) with massive walls, as clearly portrayed in Braun's 1618 etching; apart from its military function, it was a city prison. A clock face was fixed on its top, facing the city.<sup>90</sup> Identification is problematic also with the old passage in the city walls, called Bramka Glinna (Clay Wicket): not in use anymore in the sixteenth century, it was once located between the Zegarna Gate and the castle, probably along the axis of the present-day Paderewskiego St. ('Podgórcze St.' in our map).<sup>91</sup> The Baszta Biała (White Tower), located in this very section of the walls, cannot be recognised, either.<sup>92</sup> This holds true for the so-called Baszta Mennicza (Coinage Tower), which was part of the inner wall line, between the castle and Wroniecka Gate.<sup>93</sup> Albeit Dahlbergh's map basically shows no suburbs, one interesting detail can be identified on it all the same – a tower in Garbary area, right before the former Wielki (Big) (later on called Chwaliszewski) Bridge.<sup>94</sup> The tower is also shown on the Braun etching of 1618.

Intensely developing since Władysław Jagiełło came to the throne, Poznań was soon surrounded by suburbs. As aforesaid, some of them (Święty Marcin, Święty Wojciech, and, in the right bank of the Warta, Święty Jan) were quite old. The most considerable among them, in Antoni Gąsiorowski's opinion,<sup>95</sup> was Piaski, located south-east of the city walls. A branch of the Warta, called Kamionka in the eighteenth century, and later Struga Karmelicka, flowed around the area in the east; in the west, there flew another arm of the Warta, forking off from the Kamionka, called Noteć; it supplied water to the city's moat near the southern section of the walls.<sup>96</sup> Since the prices of real properties in Piaski were much lower than those charged within the walls, less affluent burghers tended to settle down there, to dwell in their own modest houses or in houses rented from rich burghers who bought ought land in Piaski. Also noblemen purchased realties in Piaski, at times, in the sixteenth century.<sup>97</sup> The city *kutlof*, i.e. slaughterhouse, was situated in that suburb.<sup>98</sup> Piaski was composed of two separate settlements that were initially 'profession-related': Rybaki (the name denotes a fishery area; fishermen were subjected to the jurisdiction of the *starosta* general) and Czapniki (cap-makers/hatters), which were essentially the suburb's streets at which craftsmen of other professions, such as shoemakers or weavers, settled as well.<sup>99</sup> Gaska (from the German *Gasse* – 'laneway') was another local street,<sup>100</sup> leading from Ciemna Bramka (Dark Wicket) in the city walls toward All Saints' church, founded in the 1420s (and made a collegiate church at the beginning of the seventeenth century) and the related hospice for indigent priests, situated within the parish New Cemetery (Nowy Cmentarz),<sup>101</sup> and further

<sup>87</sup> H. Münch, *Plany Poznania*, p. 28.

<sup>88</sup> Quite much is known about some of them though; for instance, Baszta Katowska [Executioner's Tower] near the outlet of Woźna (Butelska) St. housed the municipal whorehouse, cf. J. Wiesiołowski, *Baszta katowska, jej lokatorzy i sąsiedzi. Opowieści z wykusza katowskiego na Woźnej*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 163–179.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *Wieża Zegarna, czyli Czerwona*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 264–268; Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, Fig. 9.

<sup>90</sup> Z. Dolczewski, "Wieża Zegarna", *czyli o najstarszym zegarze miejskim w Poznaniu*, KMP, 1993, no. 1–2, pp. 326–331.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *Glinne Wrota*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 269–270.

<sup>92</sup> Z. Pilarczyk identifies it with the Zegarna Gate; idem, *Obronność Poznania*, pp. 102–103.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. S. Gibasiewicz, *Zarys dziejów mennicy poznańskiej w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta*, 2, p. 88; *Baszta mennicza*, KMP, 1996, no. 1, pp. 94–95.

<sup>94</sup> For more on this tower, see Z. Pilarczyk, *Obronność Poznania*, p. 134.

<sup>95</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, pp. 227–228.

<sup>96</sup> A. Kaniecki, *Poznań*, p. 107. The names "Kamionka" and "Struga Karmelicka" are not specified on the map, due to their late dates of appearance; *Nazewnictwo geograficzne Poznania*, p. 307.

<sup>97</sup> Cf., for example, SHGPoz, part II, pp. 421, 556; SHGPoz, part III, p. 433; SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 36, 479.

<sup>98</sup> SHGPoz, part I, p. 281; cf. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, Fig. 9.

<sup>99</sup> *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 84; cf. Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji*, pp. 155–156, covering the disputes between the *starostas* and the municipality over the jurisdiction over fishermen and gradual building of the *starostas'* juridical enclave in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, pp. 227–228; Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 206–22; SHGPoz, part I, p. 281.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 213–216.

<sup>101</sup> The All Saints' Church was destroyed during the 'Deluge'. For more on this church, the related foundations for indigent priests and (in the fifteenth century) the Holy Saviour's hospice for arrivals, cf. Now2, pp. 618–620, 653. By the New Cemetery and by the alley deviating from Gaska in the opposite direction, along the city moat, clergymen holding benefices

on toward the Assumption, St. Bernardine of Siena, and St. Francis church, and the Franciscan Observant (Bernardine) monastery founded in 1455,<sup>102</sup> which had its St. Anne's chapel (1480).<sup>103</sup> Associated with the monastery was a convent of Bernardine Tertiary Sisters, who around 1464 inhabited a small house in Wodna St., within the walls, and then the house in the parish New Cemetery;<sup>104</sup> none of those houses are shown in our map. Another ecclesiastical institution in Piaski was St. Valentine's hospital, established in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>105</sup> A road went through Piaski leading to the Calced Carmelite convent's Corpus Christi church, located in the common, more southward of Piaski, founded at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Slightly southwards, an aggregation of scarce houses called Nowa Troska, existed at the end of the sixteenth century; south-west of the said church, on the bank of an arm of the Warta, Stosy was situated – a small settlement that emerged by the piles of timber which was floated down the Warta. Save for the parish New Cemetery and the All Saints' church, the entire area belonged to St. Martin's parish.<sup>107</sup>

Before the Wrocław Gate and along the road leading from Poznań to Kościan (and then, to Wrocław), other suburban settlements spread. One such suburb was Stelmachy,<sup>108</sup> with a Holy Cross church and hospital, founded in the fifteenth century.<sup>109</sup> Further southwards, the settlements were increasingly rural; hence, the suburb's name of Półwsie ('half-a-village'). The houses erected there, with their adjacent pens and, in the area's southern park, demesne farmsteads, were owned by well-off inhabitants of the town within the walls – merchants, stall-keepers, brewers, butchers, and other representatives of the city's most affluent crafts.<sup>110</sup> Along the Wrocław road's arm bending south-west (toward Buk, and Głogów too), a settlement called Nowe Ogrody was situated. The village emerged in the fourteenth century, had its own administrator (*sołtys*) and a partial serf-government; in the middle of the fifteenth century, when its lands were gradually taken over by Poznań burghers and noblemen (the Ostroróg family), the village turned into a suburb.<sup>111</sup> Between Półwsie and Nowe Ogrody, a juridical enclave of Wenetowo was located. Initially owned by nobles, later on by St. Lazarus's municipal

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at St. Mary Magdalene's Collegiate Church had their houses there in the fifteenth century; see Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 216–217.

<sup>102</sup> Now2, p. 765; J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu*, "Studia Franciszkańskie", vol. 4, 1991, pp. 245–288. On the location of the first brick Bernardine monastery, destroyed during the 'Deluge' and rebuilt slightly southwards, cf. A. Kuztelski, *Pierwszy klasztor bernardynów w Poznaniu (z prac nad katalogiem zabytków Poznania)*, KMP, 1991, no. 1–2, pp. 180–184; also, cf. KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/1, pp. 97–110. The reference literature is listed in K. Kaczmarek, *Stan i potrzeby nad klasztorami męskimi*, pp. 13, 17, 20.

<sup>103</sup> Now2, pp. 749, 765; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/1, pp. 97–98. On St. Anne's Fraternity and Chapel, cf. J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu*, pp. 276–279.

<sup>104</sup> AP Poznań, Akta miasta Poznania, sign. I 296, f. 31v (record dated 1464[?]), f. 92, with a mention of the nuns' undeveloped real property in Garbary suburb; *ibidem*, sign. I 297, f. 15v, with a mention dated 1476 on the purchase of the house in the parish New Cemetery (records used thanks to J. Wiesiołowski's *regests*, Biblioteka PTPN, MS 1545). It was probably after the burning of those buildings in mid-sixteenth century, that the nuns received a permission for constructing a brick house, which in A. Kuztelski's opinion was situated at what is today Bernardyński Sq., somewhat south-west of the Bernardine monastery buildings. The enclosure for the tertiary nuns was imposed only in 1595, as construction of the new church was commenced; the church was consecrated in 1603 as dedicated to Most Holy Saviour (today, the Transfiguration Church; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/1, pp. 62 ff.). On the tertiary nuns, cf. also Now2, pp. 777–778.

<sup>105</sup> On the hospital, cf. Now2, pp. 653–654.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 767–768; T.M. Trajdos, *Legenda Bożego Ciała u poznańskich karmelitów i działalność kultowa klasztoru w I poł. XV w.*, KMP, 1992, no. 3–4, pp. 27–44; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 110–116, 123–124, 225–228, 250, 322–327, 333–336; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/1, pp. 73–94; J. Kowalski, *Gotyk wielkopolski*, pp. 230–240; T. Ratajczak, *Kościół Bożego Ciała w Poznaniu*, Poznań 2014. The literature on the Carmelites is listed in K. Kaczmarek, *Stan i potrzeby nad klasztorami męskimi*, p. 13. A separate KMP volume deals with the Carmelites (among others), no. 3–4, 1992.

<sup>107</sup> Z. Zieliński, *Rozwój terytorialny miasta*, p. 258; S. Waszak, *Ludność i zabudowa*, p. 88; on parish affiliations, cf. Now2, pp. 354–355, 618–620.

<sup>108</sup> Situated near an important junction, Stelmachy was mainly inhabited, in the fifteenth century, by blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and carriage-builders—all related to transport services; cf. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, 198–200.

<sup>109</sup> It was a leprosy hospital (run by provisors [administrators] of the municipality's Holy Spirit hospital), which existed already at the beginning of the fifteenth century; in 1420, a provostry under the patronage of Poznań burgher family of Peszel was founded at the hospital; cf. F. Pohorecki, *O dawnym szpitalu i kościółku Św. Krzyża w Poznaniu*, KMP, 1931, pp. 336–363, reprinted in KMP, 1990, no. 3–4, pp. 69–88; Now2, p. 652.

<sup>110</sup> On Półwieś/Półwsie, cf. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 202–208; J. Wiesiołowski, *Półwieś – Rybaki i ich mieszkańcy w XV i XVI wieku*, KMP, 2007, no. 3, pp. 7–19.

<sup>111</sup> On Nowe Ogrody, cf. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, p. 201.

hospital and the Benedictine nunnery.<sup>112</sup> Wenetowo had partly been established on the lands of the aforementioned suburbs and of the municipal village of Wierzbica.<sup>113</sup>

The suburb of Święty Marcin stretched west of the namesake (St. Martin's) parish church (redeveloped early in the sixteenth century),<sup>114</sup> along the road leading to Buk, and, further on, to Gubin.<sup>115</sup> The area consisted of three parts: the one located north of the aforementioned road was owned by the Poznań Cathedral Chapter; the other one, situated on the southern side of the road, was the municipality's property; the third encompassed the arable land around St. Martin's church at the Wzgórze Świętomarcińskie (St. Martin's Hill), located on both sides of the road, which was the endowment of the church's parson, administered by himself.<sup>116</sup> Two cemeteries were situated within the settlement, one by the church and the other west of it, north of the Buk highroad.<sup>117</sup> A settlement emerged in the sixteenth century in that area – north of the road, not far from the cemetery and a Jewish cemetery arguably located close by – that was called Muszyńska or Musza Mount, which was originally property of Kundorf village.<sup>118</sup> It was populated in the century's latter half by smallholders (*hortulani*) and was the city's property.<sup>119</sup> The sixteenth century saw the emergence of a new suburb west of Święty Marcin – Wymykowo, whose developments were founded near the junction of the Buk highroad and the road diverting south-east toward Nowe Ogrody, and along that particular local road. Wymykowo was initially owned by noble proprietors, the families Kokalewski and, subsequently, Szamotulski, who collected levies from the numerous smallholders settled in the area. Before 1570, the suburb was acquired by the municipality of Poznań.<sup>120</sup> The parish of St. Martin was extensive in itself, covering – apart from the aforementioned Piaski area – the areas of Nowa Grobla, Garbary, Rybaki, Stelmachy, Nowe Ogrody, Półwsie, Wenetowo, Wierzbica, Wymykowo and, in the sixteenth century, Musza Góra and other localities situated further away from Poznań.<sup>121</sup> The village of Kundorf, on the southern side of the Bogdanka (Flisa), north-west of the walls, was the city's property, though in the middle of the fifteenth century certain forensic rights in it were held by the provost of the Holy Spirit Hospital outside Poznań.<sup>122</sup> An important route to Frankfurt (and to Szczecin) went through the settlement.<sup>123</sup> The village was part of St. Adalbert (*św. Wojciech*) parish.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> On the Benedictine nuns, cf. footnote 77. On the St. Lazarus hospital, cf. M.J. Mika, *O dawnym szpitalu św. Łazarza w Poznaniu*, KMP, 1948, no. 2, pp. 103–119; Now2, p. 654; J. Wiesiołowski, *Poznańskie szpitale i ich kaplice w świetle wizytacji Rogalińskiego*, KMP, 2007, no. 4, pp. 13–18; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 160 and (for further findings) 543.

<sup>113</sup> On Wenetowo, cf. SHGPoz, part V, pp. 542–524; on Wierzbica, cf. *ibidem*, pp. 606–611.

<sup>114</sup> KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/2, pp. 1–9; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 33, 37, 48, 61, 109, 110, 124–126; J. Kowalski, *Gotyk wielkopolski*, pp. 285–289; A. Kuztelski, *Kościół św. Marcina w Poznaniu*, Poznań 2015.

<sup>115</sup> On the location of Święty Marcin suburb by the road to Buk in the fifteenth century, see KDW V, no. 393; also, see Weymann, Drogi, p. 231, discussing the road's variants; SHGPoz, part V, p. 162; M. Przybył, *Poznań na tle szlaków komunikacyjnych*, p. 119; also, cf. footnote 55.

<sup>116</sup> SHGPoz, part V, pp. 160–196, esp. the commentary on p. 163.

<sup>117</sup> On the cemetery, *ibidem*, p. 193. The latter cemetery (established in the sixteenth century) was situated between today's Kantaka and Ratajczaka Sts., according to I. Skierska; *ibidem*, p. 162.

<sup>118</sup> SHGPoz, part III, pp. 220–221; SHGPoz, part V, p. 163. For the Jewish cemetery, cf. footnote 78.

<sup>119</sup> SHGPoz, part II, pp. 239–248.

<sup>120</sup> Kokalewscy are attested as the owners of Wymykowo suburb for 1554–61; in 1561, Wymykowo was sold by them to Jan Świdwa of Szamotuły, Castellan of Biechowo (AP Poznań, Poznań Gr. 98, f. 521; *ibidem*, Poznań Gr. 20, f. 76v; *ibidem*, Poznań Gr. 106, f. 29v). Jan Świdwa, son of his namesake father, held Wymykowo still in 1566 (*ibidem*, Poznań Gr. 20, f. 507). A part of Wymykowo lands was purchased in 1567 by the municipality from Elżbieta Świdwa, the castellan's widow; as of 1569, residents of Wymykowo are listed in tax registers; the suburb is subsequently recorded as property of Poznań (J. Wiesiołowski, *Kościół i osada Święty Marcin w średniowieczu i w okresie staropolskim*, KMP, 2006, no. 1, pp. 41–42; cf. *Opisy i lustracje Poznania*, pp. 30, 65, 101, 107; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji*, p. 162). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, certain lands in Wymykowo were purchased by the Benedictine Sisters of Poznań. The nuns formed thereafter a juridical enclave of their estates near Poznań (incl. in Wenetowo), and were later on involved for a number of years with a dispute over this *jurydyka* against the city of Poznań (*eadem*, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji*, pp. 46, 109, 110, 170–171, 176. This author mistakes Wymykowo for Wenetowo, though; cf. SHGPoz, part V, p. 544).

<sup>121</sup> Now2, pp. 354–355.

<sup>122</sup> SHGPoz, part II, pp. 239–248.

<sup>123</sup> This is how a 1374 record on a “great road” passing by Kundorf village to Kaźmierz (AHP: “Kazimierz”) can be understood; SHGPoz, part II, p. 240; cf. Weymann, Drogi, pp. 232–233, with a description of the course of the road to Frankfurt.

<sup>124</sup> SHGPoz, part II, p. 240.

North of the city, behind the moat and the Wroniecka Gate, the area of Święty Wojciech suburb stretched.<sup>125</sup> The suburban developments extended from the Holy Spirit hospital, situated in close proximity to the gate,<sup>126</sup> westwards along the city moat, up to Glinki, situated west of the ramparts, where in the fifteenth century two modest-sized demesne farms owned by a nobleman and a burgher were located; small tenement houses were erected there in the sixteenth century.<sup>127</sup> The suburb's developments were however mainly situated along the road starting from the abovementioned gate and leading through Wzgórze Świętego Wojciecha (St. Adalbert's Hill) to St. Adalbert's parish church situated there,<sup>128</sup> and then on to Szamotuły and, much further on, to Szczecin.<sup>129</sup> Similarly to St. Martin suburb (more colloquially termed *świętomarcińskie*) the ownership of the area under discussion was split into the municipality and the parson at St. Adalbert's church, whose authority in his allotted part was that of a *soltys* (village headman).<sup>130</sup> The vineyard at the foot of Łysa Góra hill, being a part of the suburb, was exempted from the city's jurisdiction, by the king's *libertation* (specific exemption), at the end of the fifteenth century (without its own administration or court); following a series of owners, it belonged in the mid-sixteenth century Stanisław Kokoszka Pawłowski, the landlord of Bonin. The mighty family of Ostroróg also had their *jurydyka* within the suburb;<sup>131</sup> a Bohemian Brethren's community church (*zbór*) and hospital was set up in the second half of the sixteenth century in that very area.<sup>132</sup> It was not the only Reformed Church institution in that suburb. Since 1592, based on a settlement with the St. Adalbert church's parson, Fr. Jan Mrowiński, the Lutherans had their cemetery at Łysa Góra, and had established a *zbór*, a school, and a hospital for the poor next to it.<sup>133</sup> The Catholic parish of St. Adalbert covered a vast territory, encompassing Kundorf, Glinki, and the suburban areas north of the Bogdanka (possibly including the mill named Bogdanka within the city walls), north of the ramparts and Wielki Bridge on the Warta, whereas the river stood for the eastern frontier of the parish district that stretched across Bonin, Szeląg (AHP: 'Szyling'), Winiary, Jeżyce, and Sołacz far north-westwards, covering Strzeszyn (AHP: 'Strzeszyno'), Piątkowo, and numerous other villages.<sup>134</sup>

North of the hill called Czerwowa (Łysa) Góra, behind Wierzbak, the Wzgórze Winiarskie highland stretched. Its southern slope was home to the buildings of Winiary municipal village. West of Winiary, in the area on the Warta that belonged in the first years of the fifteenth century to the village authority of Winiary, a separate demesne farm, and then village, of Bonin emerged.<sup>135</sup> The area between Wierzbak, Święty Wojciech, the city moat, and the Warta was occupied by pastures belonging to Poznań burghers, and called Groffowe – later, distorted as Grochowe – Łąki (Groff's/Pea Meadows).

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<sup>125</sup> For more on this suburb, cf. Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 191–198; SHGPoz, Part V, 196–253, with reference literature; G. Rutkowska, *Przedmieście Święty Wojciech w średniowiecznym Poznaniu*, KMP, 2012, no. 4 (volume on Wzgórze Świętego Wojciecha [St. Adalbert Hill]), pp. 29–52; also, cf. footnote 56.

<sup>126</sup> For more on this earliest hospital in the chartered town, cf. Now2, p. 651, specifying 1254 as the incorporation date; according to T. Jurek, similarly to the town's parish church, the hospital was founded only ten years later; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 247–248; cf. above footnote 63.

<sup>127</sup> Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, pp. 200–201; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 163, 196.

<sup>128</sup> Various authors (e.g., Now2, pp. 355, 643–644; Wiesiołowski, *Socjotopografia*, p. 192) often erroneously argue that one more church, St. George's [św. Jerzego], was erected on the hill. G. Rutkowska disposes of this erroneous view in her remarks to the "Święty Wojciech" entry (SHGPoz, part V, p. 198; G. Rutkowska, *Kościół świętych Jerzego i Wojciecha*, KMP, 2012, no. 4, pp. 53–62), arguing that there was only one church in that hill in the Middle Ages which bore a double dedication of SS. George and Adalbert. On the St. Adalbert temple, cf. KZS sn, vol. 7, part 2/2, pp. 72–93; J. Kowalski, *Gotyki wielkopolski*, pp. 282–285; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 39, 48, 109, 110, 124, 125, 132, 209, 221, 223, 232, 250; *ibidem*, the map of Poznań on p. 48 has an erroneously marked St. George's Church; A. Kuztelski, *O architekturze kościoła św. Wojciecha raz jeszcze*, KMP, 2012, no. 4, pp. 63–75.

<sup>129</sup> Weymann, *Drogi*, pp. 234–235.

<sup>130</sup> SHGPoz, part V, pp. 201 ff.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 242; G. Rutkowska, *Przedmieście Święty Wojciech*, pp. 38, 47–48.

<sup>132</sup> M.D. Łabędzka-Topolska, *Wzrost wpływów reformacji około połowy XVI wieku (bracia czescy, kalwinizm). Opieka szlachty. Tendencje do zjednoczenia wyznań*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 496–499; SHGPoz, part V, p. 248; J. Wiesiołowski, *Różnowiercy na Wzgórzach Świętego Wojciecha. Z Łukaszewicza i kronik staropolskich*, KMP, 2012, no. 4, pp. 76–90.

<sup>133</sup> SHGPoz, part V, p. 248.

<sup>134</sup> Including, in the sixteenth century: Naramowice, Gonięcino (today, Gołęcín), Unoltowo (AHP: Noltowo; today, Umultowo), and Nowa Wieś; Now2, p. 355; SHGPoz, part V, p. 246.

<sup>135</sup> On Bonin SHGPoz, part I, pp. 89–90; on Winiary, cf. A. Kaniecki, *Źródła winiarskie*; J. Wiesiołowski, *Dawne dzieje mieszkańców Wzgórza Winiarskiego*, KMP, 2011, no. 4, pp. 36–46.

East of the city, between its moat and the Warta riverbed, the suburb of Garbary stretched, an area under the city's jurisdiction, affiliated to St. Martin's parish. The settlement, essentially a densely developed street, was populated by artisans processing hides and manufacturing leather products.<sup>136</sup> A *kutlof* (slaughterhouse) was situated in the settlement's southern part.<sup>137</sup> Two important roads out of Poznań led via Garbary: one went through the Wielka Gate, Międzymoście,<sup>138</sup> Wielki Bridge, Chwaliszewo, to Ostrów Tumski, and then on, via Ostrów, to the small town of Śródka, where the routes split.<sup>139</sup> The road through the Wodna Gate would traverse the area of Garbary and went further on through Nowa Grobla, Łacina Bridge, to Stanisławowo, and then, along the transit route, to Kalisz or Warsaw, circumventing the aforementioned church towns (more on them follows below).<sup>140</sup>

South-east of the Wodna Gate, an isle on the Warta called Nowa Grobla was encountered. In line with the 1424 court verdict concluding the municipality's dispute with Bishop Andrzej Łaskarz and the Chapter, approved by Władysław Jagiełło, the isle belonged to the city. Yet, the commune was barred from developing its area.<sup>141</sup> Poznań burghers endeavoured to settle the isle's status and to be allowed to develop the area, for which King Władysław III finally consented in 1443.<sup>142</sup> In 1447, King Casimir IV Jagiellon (Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk) confirmed the permission and granted his consent for bank reinforcement works.<sup>143</sup> In the fifteenth century, the settlement was inhabited by non-guild craftsmen; half of the houses were owned by burghers settled down within the walls, which means that the house were inhabited by cotters (wage-workers).<sup>144</sup> Nowa Grobla belonged to St. Martin's parish.<sup>145</sup>

The aforementioned small town of Chwaliszewo was located on the other large isle situated in the middle of the Warta's arms, east of the Wielka Gate and the Garbary area.<sup>146</sup> The Chapter had the right to the isle confirmed by King Władysław Jagiełło, by means of the said 1424 document; the corporation was moreover permitted to have the isle area developed.<sup>147</sup> Soon, in 1427, Chwaliszewo was named a town (*oppidum*), as the local vogt received from the Chapter the stalls and butcher stalls as the endowment.<sup>148</sup> However, the area's status as a settlement was formally ratified only in 1444, with King Władysław III's consent given to the prelates and canons for the town's incorporation.<sup>149</sup> In 1475, Chwaliszewo, along with Ostrów and Śródka, were granted the right to trade in salt by King Casimir

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<sup>136</sup> Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia, pp. 223–228; Garbary is dealt with in a dedicated KMP volume, no. 3, 2017.

<sup>137</sup> Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia, pp. 227. The other *kutlof* was located in Piaski; cf. footnote 98.

<sup>138</sup> Meant here is the part of Garbary between the bridge over the city moat (behind Wielka Gate) and the Wielki Bridge (Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia, p. 223). The name, literary meaning "Inter-bridge", is not marked on our map.

<sup>139</sup> Leading through the village of Główna was a route toward Toruń (Thorn) or Warsaw, as well as toward Lublin, Cracow, and Lwów. The road turning from Śródka toward Święty Jan settlement led further on to the village of Żegrze (AHP: 'Zegrz'), Środa, Kalisz, and then on to Cracow; Weymann, Drogi, pp. 221, 222–223, for the options of the road to Lublin; pp. 224–225: the described variant of the Cracow road goes round Kalisz (where the staple right was in force), pp. 226–227, 240.

<sup>140</sup> Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia, p. 229.

<sup>141</sup> KDW V, no. 393, 395. The verdicts related to, inter alia, the disputes between Poznań Bishop Andrzej Łaskarz and the Cathedral Chapter, on the one hand, and the Poznań municipality, on the other, over the right to collect fees for crossing the Warta and the obligation to maintain the passage (by constructing bridges). In the course of the dispute, the king confirmed the Chapter's ownership of the dike leading from Wielka Gate to Summum (i.e., the so-called Grobla Kapitulna [Capitulary Dike], on which Chwaliszewo later emerged), and bound the bishop and the Chapter to reinforce its banks and maintain the bridge on the Cybina as well as the one between Grobla Kapitulna and Ostrów Tumski; KDW V, no. 393, 395 (containing a mistaken *regest*; cf. SHGPoz, part I, p. 235).

<sup>142</sup> KDW V, no. 705, for the *regest*'s content; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 43, where the editor misidentifies the common *post Cerdones* (i.e. behind Garbary) mentioned in the document with the one of Wilda village.

<sup>143</sup> *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 50; Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia, p. 229; A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, p. 232.

<sup>144</sup> Wiesiołowski, Socjotopografia, p. 229.

<sup>145</sup> Now2, p. 355.

<sup>146</sup> On Chwaliszewo, cf. SHGPoz, part I, pp. 239–242; J. Kaczmarek, *Chwaliszewo (szkic monograficzny)*, KMP, 1981, no. 3, pp. 43–56 (containing misstatements); K. Lutyński, *Kapitulne Chwaliszewo w XVI w.*, KMP, 1995, no. 1, pp. 11–16; W. Karolczak, *O pieczęciach chwaliszewskich z XVI–XVIII wieku*, KMP, 1995, no. 1, pp. 18–20; Z. Zaleski, *Bractwo krawieckie chwaliszewskie*, KMP, 1997, no. 1, pp. 21–48 (reprinted from: idem, *Wolny cech krawiecki w Poznaniu. Monografia historyczna*, Poznań 1927); idem, *Cech szewski chwaliszewski*, KMP, 1997, no. 1, pp. 49–50 (reprinted from: idem, *Cech szewski w Poznaniu*, Poznań 1932); M. Słoń, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne*, pp. 126–127, 141–142; SHGPoz, part I, pp. 235–242. Chwaliszewo is separately dealt with in a KMP volume, no. 1, 1995.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. footnote 141.

<sup>148</sup> KDW V, no. 473; KDW IX, no. 1142; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 35.

<sup>149</sup> KDW V, no. 733; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 46.

Jagiellon.<sup>150</sup> The town developed well, to the extent that at the end of the fifteenth century the built-up area extended along the road linking the Wielki Bridge and Summum.<sup>151</sup> It is hard to determine the actual position of the town hall at the time. The surviving seventeenth- and eighteenth-century views and the early nineteenth-century development plan suggest that the building was located in the centre, aligned with the row of houses, on the northern side of the road to Ostrów Tumski.<sup>152</sup> Chwaliszewo originally belonged to St. Nicholas's parish in Zagórze (i.e. southern part of Ostrów Tumski). In the years 1455–77/84, after Nicholas's church burnt down, the parochial rights were transferred on the hospital church of St. Barbara, erected in the fifteenth century in the isle's eastern part.<sup>153</sup> Opposite the church, St. Laurence's hospital was built at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>154</sup> At that same time, Chwaliszewo received from the Chapter the jurisdiction on the secular residents of Zagórze.<sup>155</sup> Ever since its appearance, Chwaliszewo repeatedly entered into conflicts with the city within the walls.<sup>156</sup>

East of Chwaliszewo, Summum (i.e., a mount) was situated (called 'Dom' in German, 'Tum' or 'Ostrów' in Polish), with SS. Peter and Paul Cathedral church, the collegiate churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas's.<sup>157</sup> The area was mainly populated by the clergy – perpetual vicars of the Cathedral, canons and prelates of the Cathedral (and the Collegiate Churches), and the bishop ordinary, who in the sixteenth century would visit Poznań less and less frequently.<sup>158</sup> These clergymen had their residences around the Cathedral; as it seems the area's initially chaotic development was rearranged by the end of the fifteenth century, especially with the Summum rampart built by Bishop Jan Lubrański. The houses stood by the road leading from Chwaliszewo toward Śródka (extending north and south from today's cathedral square, where a cemetery was situated in the fifteenth century) and by the smaller alleys splitting off it (present-day Posadzego, Lubrańskiego, and Dziekańska Sts.).<sup>159</sup> Some of those homesteads were located also in the southern part of Wyspa Tumska, in the area called Zagórze. The most magnificent of the residences was the bishop's residence, a palace standing south of the Cathedral and connected with it by a porch.<sup>160</sup> Other grand houses, situated closer to the Cathedral, were used by the canons, who occupied them together with their *familiares*; the smaller houses were the abode of the vicars (mainly in the isle's western part and in the periphery of the built-up area); the psalterists dwelled in a common house called the *psalteria*.<sup>161</sup> Given the mobility of the bishops who constantly travelled across the diocese or sojourned at the royal court – in any case, oftentimes taking active part

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<sup>150</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, p. 231; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 69.

<sup>151</sup> A. Gąsiorowski, *Późnośredniowieczna konurbacja*, p. 231.

<sup>152</sup> *Plan ulicy Chwaliszewo z 1804 roku*, pp. 97–99. The Chwaliszewo town hall is visible on G. Braun and F. Hogenberg's 1618 view; *Posnania elegans*, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 1; also, cf. M. Warkoczewska, *Portret miasta*, pp. 18–21, discussing the view of Poznań from the south-east, by F.B. Werner, 1734.

<sup>153</sup> Now2, pp. 354, 652, 596, 611; primarily, however, SHGPoz, part I, pp. 240–241, footnotes 5, 6.

<sup>154</sup> It was a hospital/hospice for indigent priests; cf. Now2, pp. 276, 652, 735; SHGPoz, part I, pp. 240–242.

<sup>155</sup> SHGPoz, part I, p. 239.

<sup>156</sup> For example, in 1430, requested by burghers from Poznań, the king banned trading activity in Chwaliszewo; KDW IX, no. 1240; for more on those conflicts, cf. also SHGPoz, part I, pp. 236–237.

<sup>157</sup> On the churches, cf. Now1, *passim* (Cathedral); Now2, pp. 590–597 (Our Lady's Collegiate Church), 354, 611–613 (St. Nicholas's Collegiate Church); KZS sn, vol. 7, part 1, pp. 1–61 (Cathedral), 62–66 (Our Lady's Collegiate Church); W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 9–12 (Our Lady's Collegiate Church), 13–21, 23 ff. (Cathedral), 33–34 (St. Nicholas's Collegiate Church), 40–44, 88–103 (Cathedral), 116–121 (Our Lady's Collegiate Church), 139–146, 193–205, 240–242, 244–245, 336–337 (Cathedral) and other, as per Index; J. Kowalski, *Gotyki wielkopolski*, pp. 18–24, 94–97, 141–157 (Cathedral), 179–194 (Our Lady's Collegiate Church); A. Bukowska, *Najstarsza katedra w Poznaniu. Problem formy i jej genezy w kontekście architektury około roku 1000*, Kraków 2013. For more on the two collegiate churches, see M. Tycówna, *Kościół św. Mikołaja w Poznaniu*, KMP, 1926, pp. 249–254; J. Nowacki, *Kolegiata N. Maryi Panny w Poznaniu*, "Miesięcznik Kościelny Archidiecezji Poznańskiej", vol. 6, 1951, no. 11–12, 314–341.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. J. Wiesiołowski, *Kapitulny krąg kościelny*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, 320–326. For more on the Summum, cf. also SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 745–749. A separate KMP volume deals with the Cathedral and Ostrów Tumski isle, no. 1, 2003.

<sup>159</sup> SHGPoz, part IV, p. 746.

<sup>160</sup> KZS sn, vol. 7, part 1, p. 67–73; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 327–328; R. Linette, *Pałac arcybiskupi na Ostrowie Tumskim. Szkic do dziejów rezydencji*, KMP, 2003, no. 1, pp. 389–411.

<sup>161</sup> SHGPoz, part IV, p. 746; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 1, pp. 108 (sixteenth-century canonries), 102 (*psalteria*); W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 155–156; M. Wieczorek, *Inicjatywy budowlane biskupa Jana Lubrańskiego na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, [in:] *Poznań we wczesnym średniowieczu*, vol. 7, ed. H. Kóčka-Krenz, Poznań 2012, pp. 35–36.

in the political life of the country – their forensic and administrative duties were partly taken over in the area of their residence by vicars general and *officials*, who usually resided in Ostrów Tumski on a perpetual basis, managing their respective offices from their homes (and, from the latter half of the fifteenth century onwards, most probably from their rooms at the bishop's palace).<sup>162</sup> Among the Summum's major buildings, the Lubrański Academy edifice from the first half of the sixteenth century deserves a mention.<sup>163</sup> There was a Cathedral school at the island as well.<sup>164</sup> Jurisdiction in that area was directly exercised by the Cathedral Chapter and the bishop. The laypeople residing in this enclave of the clergy, mostly servants to high-level clergymen, had the St. Nicholas Collegiate church assigned as their parish; its parochial rights extended to Chwaliszewo as well.<sup>165</sup>

Reconstruction of the modern-era fortifications of Wyspa Tumska, built in 1504–12 and finally completed in 1549, on order of Bishop Jan Lubrański<sup>166</sup> is a difficult task. The Lubrański wall is shown (from the north) on Braun's engraving from 1618, fragments of it are also visible on the 1704 perspective view of Poznań from the south (*Stragona albo stołeczne miasto Poznań...*) and on a detail of Werner's panorama dated 1734.<sup>167</sup> Remnants of the wall from the west are visible on the plan drawn in 1772–3, attributed to Geyer.<sup>168</sup> In light of the survey archaeological research, it can be inferred that the rampart was probably erected along the outer edges of the embankment that had once surrounded Ostrów Tumski, and had been destroyed by then.<sup>169</sup> The outline shown on the map is our reconstruction which is based on the assumption that all the major Summum buildings were located within the walls. The number of bastilles/towers erected along those fortifications is difficult to determine. There were towers, most probably at the entrances from the direction of Ostrów and Chwaliszewo,<sup>170</sup> and both are shown on Braun's 1618 engraving. The gate from the Chwaliszewo direction is features on the aforementioned views from 1704 and 1734. The gate tower from the same direction is shown in Rzepecki's plan from 1728<sup>171</sup> as well as in the one attributed to Geyer.<sup>172</sup>

Our map tries to differentiate between the two church towns of Ostrów and Śródka, situated next to each other (in reality, possibly forming one row of development). The former was property of

<sup>162</sup> Now2, p. 205.

<sup>163</sup> Ibidem, pp. 678–702; KZS sn, vol. 7, part 1, pp. 77–101; R. Linette, *Z dziejów budynku dawnej Akademii Lubrańskiego*, KMP, 1999, no. 2, pp. 181–212; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 154–156; J. Skuratowicz, *Akademia Lubrańskiego. Pomnik wielkopolskiej kultury i nauki*, Poznań 2007; M. Wiczorek, *Inicjatywy budowlane*, pp. 29–35.

<sup>164</sup> On the school: Now2, pp. 672–678; SHGPoz, part IV, p. 746; K. Stopka, *Szkoły katedralne metropolii gnieźnieńskiej w średniowieczu. Studia nad kształceniem kleru polskiego w wiekach średnich*, Kraków 1994, as per Index (for the school's location, see pp. 20–21); also, cf. J. Wiesiołowski, *Szkolnictwo*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 331–338.

<sup>165</sup> Now2, p. 354. Albeit Fr. Nowacki (ibidem) states that Ostrów the town also belonged to St. Nicholas's parish, this opinion is not convincing. This small town was probably affiliated to the parish of St. Margaret in the neighbouring Śródka; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 99, 103, footnote 20. J. Nowacki's information (Now2, p. 324) whereby Pietrowo village belonged to St. Nicholas's parish is likewise unconvincing. According to S. Karwowski (idem, *Komandoria i kościoł św. Jana Jerozolimskiego w Poznaniu*, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego", vol. 36, 1911, p. 51 [referring to no underlying source]), Pietrowo was excluded in 1586 from St. John's parish and attached to that of St. Margaret in Śródka, to which it irrefutably belonged in the nineteenth century; cf. SHGPoz, part III, p. 659. Let us add that a 1580 tax register does not feature Pietrowo among the villages of St. John's parish; ASK I 6, f. 164.

<sup>166</sup> Now1, p. 117; SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 747–748.

<sup>167</sup> *Stragona albo stołeczne miasto Poznań ...* and the Werner view are discussed in M. Warkoczewska, *Widoki starego Poznania*, pp. 33–34, no. 17, pp. 36–37, no. 23; cf. eadem, *Ostrów Tumski na dawnych widokach i fotografiach*, KMP, 2003, no. 1, pp. 105–125.

<sup>168</sup> *Plan von der Stadt Posen*, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 6.

<sup>169</sup> After P. Pawlak, A. Sikorski, P. Wawrzyniak, *Mury obronne biskupa Jana Lubrańskiego*, KMP, 2003, no. 1, pp. 86–104; here, 102; also, cf. J. Skuratowicz, *Akademia Lubrańskiego*, pp. 14–17 (chapter on archaeology by H. Kóčka-Krenz); M. Wiczorek, *Inicjatywy budowlane*, pp. 23–39, esp. 29–31, on the discovery in the Lubrański Academy area of a defensive structure from (probably) fifteenth century. This, among other things, has inspired the suggestion made by Z. Pilarczyk, M. Danielewski, K. Kościelniak (idem, *Wojenny Poznań*, pp. 110–113) that Ostrów Tumski's rampart were built in the fifteenth century. This conclusion is additionally based on the dating, with use of the dendrochronological analysis (specified as 1476), of the timber from the canonry's roof truss; the canonry was located at today's 11 Ostrów Tumski St., forming part of the fortifications. However, this argument is doubtful as a record is known from Poznań Chapter's metrics suggesting that old oak logs were meant to be used. The Chapter provided such old oak logs to Przedwój of Grądy from the curia of the deceased provost Wojciech Jastrzębiec (AAP, sign. CP 28, f. 70), possibly for construction-related purposes.

<sup>170</sup> Now1, p. 117; SHGPoz, part III, p. 515.

<sup>171</sup> *Jurisdictionum Posnaniensium Remonstratio...*, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 4.

<sup>172</sup> On Summum's gate towers, cf. P. Pawlak, A. Sikorski, P. Wawrzyniak, *Mury obronne*, pp. 86–104, esp. 91–96.

Poznań Cathedral Chapter.<sup>173</sup> Ostrów originated in the fourteenth century, but it was only in 1435 that the Chapter made the first attempt at chartering it, and eventually gained the foundation privilege from King Władysław III in 1444.<sup>174</sup> The locality included in fact several houses situated by the street leading from Summum toward the market in the town of Śródka (presently, Ostrówek St.), right behind the bridge on the Cybina. Ostrów was only of the tiniest towns in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>175</sup>

Śródka was originally a ducal trading settlement that functioned near the burg-city at Ostrów Tumski. It bears traces of colonisation reaching as far back as the ninth century.<sup>176</sup> Duke Władysław Odonic (d. 1239 r.) took efforts to have the locality chartered, yet to no avail.<sup>177</sup> Since the foundation of the town on the left bank of the Warta and the related rearrangement of land utilisation, Śródka began to lose in importance.<sup>178</sup> In 1288, Duke Przemysław II granted Śródka to Poznań bishops. He permitted artisans to settle in Śródka and pursue their work there, allowing small-scale trading as well; yet, he would not permit to hold markets or fairs, and banned to the locals the trade in cut cloth. The duke re-established the ban in 1293, making the residents' rights more precise.<sup>179</sup> In the fourteenth century, Śródka undeniably held the complete municipal rights, once there is a 1328 mention of a vogt.<sup>180</sup> The town was a road junction outside Poznań: it was there that highroads leading to Toruń (Thorn), Mazovia, and Cracow split up.<sup>181</sup> It received in 1425 from King Władysław Jagiełło the right to fairs; 1475 marked the granting by Casimir Jagiellon, Władysław's son, of the right to sale fine salt.<sup>182</sup> The ploughland held by burghers was situated north-east of the city, on both sides on the road to Kostrzyn, on the original land of the village of Główna (outside the map's range), which was partly bestowed in 1442 by Bishop Andrzej Bniński to the burghers of Śródka.<sup>183</sup> In the middle of the sixteenth century, the town included eighty-five homesteads located by the market and in the alleys reaching it.<sup>184</sup> A hospital

<sup>173</sup> On Ostrów, cf. SHGPoz, part III, pp. 515–518. A separate KMP volume deals, *inter alia*, with this town; no. 1, 1997.

<sup>174</sup> In 1335, reference was made to burghers *de Insula* (most probably, from Ostrów; KDW II, no. 1153). In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the fourteenth century, Trojan (1349–90), provost of the Poznań Cathedral Chapter, issued to Mikołaj, son of Mikołaj nicknamed Kicino, the vogt of Ostrów, a new privilege for the vogtship (KDW III, no. 1810). M. Słoń (idem, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne*, pp. 126 f.) believes that this would “by no means indicate that the settlement was urban” (also, cf. SHGPoz, part III, pp. 515–517; on the document dated 1435, see KDW X, no. 1391; on the 1444 document, cf. *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 47; KDW V, no. 736). The name “Insula”/“Ostrów” apparently stands for an insular location. A. Rogalanka (eadem, *Poznań u progu lokacji*, p. 156) maintains that the settlement was situated “on a small island between Śródka and the cathedral isle”, connected “by the bridges with both neighbouring centres”. As emphasised by this author, “none of the preserved maps bears but a trace of that island”. King Władysław III's 1444 document for Śródka (quoted above) does however mention a stream (*amnīs*), arguably flowing on the right bank of the Cybina; its course remains unknown, though. Given all the above remarks, let us note that settlement in that area was probably of a much earlier date. Archaeological research done in the border area between Śródka and Ostrów point to its tenth-century origins; see footnote 176 (below).

<sup>175</sup> For example, as of 1563, the levy collected from ten local artisans was paid; in 1570, received from Ostrów was the collection from the local inn whereat vodka was dispensed from merely four artisans and four cotters; ASK I 5, ff. 244, 413, the piece of information owed to RPWP; also, cf. [J. Wiesiołowski], *Najmniejsze miasto Korony Polskiej. Ostrówek, jego lokalizacja i trwanie*, KMP, 1997, no. 1, pp. 210–215.

<sup>176</sup> W. Hensel, Z. Hilczer-Kurnatowska, *Studia i materiały do osadnictwa Wielkopolski wczesnohistorycznej*, vol. 5, Wrocław 1980, pp. 195–196; J. Kaczmarek, *Archeologia miasta Poznania*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 302, 310–313.

<sup>177</sup> On Śródka, see W. Schulte, *Die Schrodka*, pp. 237–76; H. Likowski, *Miasto książęce Śródka*; Z. Kaczmarczyk, *Przywilej lokacyjny*, pp. 148–154. The latter author denied the attempts to incorporate Śródka in the 1230s; A. Rogalanka, *Poznań u progu lokacji*, pp. 148–162, successfully opposed his argument. On the chartering of Śródka after the war lost by Duke Władysław Odonic to Henry I the Bearded (Henryk I Brodaty) in 1234, and the loss from a portion of Greater Poland, settlements on the left bank of the Warta included, see: T. Jurek, *Przebieg lokacji Poznania*, pp. 173–191; also, cf. M. Słoń, *Fundatio civitatis*, pp. 227–245; idem, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne*, pp. 124–126, 137, 350 (remarks on the loss by Śródka of custody from Władysław Odonic after the war lost to Henry the Bearded and the settlement's gradual vegetation), 353, 357, 472; SHGPoz, part V, pp. 89–104, esp. 102–3; M. Słoń, *Fundacja Poznania*, pp. 82–84, 87–97; also, see above and footnote 61.

<sup>178</sup> In 1245, the residents of Śródka lost the lawsuit against the Poznań bishop over the land situated south of the settlement; *Monumenta Poloniae historica. Nova series*, vol. 6, ed. B. Kürbis et al., Warszawa 1962, p. 8 [Annals of the Gniezno Chapter].

<sup>179</sup> KDW II, no. 625, 694; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 8, 9.

<sup>180</sup> KDW II, no. 1089; M. Słoń, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne*, pp. 124–126.

<sup>181</sup> See above; also, footnote 139.

<sup>182</sup> KDW V, no. 412, vol. 8, no. 1032; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 34, 69.

<sup>183</sup> The land probably stretched between the so-called Łączny Młyn, (a mill settlement, outside the map's limits) situated on the Cybina and the farmland of Zawady village; SHGPoz, part V, p. 97; *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 40.

<sup>184</sup> The figure comes from a 1564 list of dues collected for the Bishop of Poznań; SHGPoz, part V, p. 96; Inw. bp. poz. 1564, pp. 274–275.

founded in 1596 functioned at the parish church of St. Margaret (whose rights extended to Zawady village).<sup>185</sup>

Among the other villages and small towns featured in the map, the village of Święty Jan was the oldest and, possibly, strictly associated with the burg-city centre at Wyspa Tumska and with the fair settlement in Śródka; it was situated somewhat east of the Śródka road junction. The archaeologically evidenced traces of mediaeval settlement in that area date back to the ninth century.<sup>186</sup> The significance of this settlement seemingly increased after the foundation by Duke Mieszko III, around 1170, of a hospital at the local St. Michael's church.<sup>187</sup> The hospice was designed not quite for the sick or poor, but rather for the purpose of handling the mercantile traffic in the area of the nearby Śródka and on the Ostrów Tumski isle.<sup>188</sup> In 1187, the hospital was transferred to the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (most probably, together with St. Michael's church), who moreover received from the bishop of Poznań, in 1201, a canonry at the Cathedral Chapter.<sup>189</sup> The settlement and the convent thereby became a centre of the Order's extensive complex of estates,<sup>190</sup> hence, the village's name (meaning 'Saint John'), established with time. The name of the modest convent, with apparently a small number of friars dwelling in it,<sup>191</sup> influenced the renaming of the *patrocinium* of the parish church – St. Michael's turned into St. John the Baptist, the latter name being featured on our map.<sup>192</sup> Apart from Święty Jan the settlement, the parish of St. John<sup>193</sup> extended in the sixteenth century to the episcopal village of Główna and the royal villages of Żegrze (AHP: 'Zegrz') and Rataje, and, until the 1580s, the village of Pietrowo.<sup>194</sup> A school associated with the parish (not marked in the map) was active between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>195</sup> Based on the tax registers, the settlement of Święty Jan was, in the sixteenth century, a small village consisting of a few *lans*.<sup>196</sup>

North of Śródka, situated was a prestimonial village owned by the Cathedral Chapter of Poznań, called Zawady. This medium-sized settlement was inhabited as of 1521 by eighteen or nineteen smallholders (*hortulani*).<sup>197</sup> A transit road from Poznań went through the village and then, behind it, split into

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<sup>185</sup> Now2, pp. 353–354, 652; SHGPoz, part V, p. 103. On the St. Margaret parish church, cf. also KZS sn, vol. 7, part 1, pp. 129–134; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 36–37, 109–110, 125, 333. In the 1230s, the time Śródka was to be chartered, the St. Michael (St. John) hospital held by the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem might have acted as the hospital for that settlement; cf. M. Słoń, *Fundatio civitatis*, p. 239.

<sup>186</sup> J. Kaczmarek, A. Gałęzowska, *Gdzie massa węgla, z drzewa palonych [...] między skorupami się znajduje*, KMP, 2010, no. 4, p. 7–27; J. Kaczmarek, *Archeologia miasta Poznania*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 94–113.

<sup>187</sup> The information on Duke Mieszko III's foundation comes from the annalist Jan Długosz, who however erroneously refers the fact to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, whose Knights had not arrived in Poznań by then; *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 5–6, Warsaw 1973, p. 94; also, cf. *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej*, vol. 1: *Do końca wieku XII*, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Cracow 1937, no. 115; A. Gąsiorowski, *Najstarsze dokumenty*, SŻ, vol. 8, pp. 94–95; vol. 9, pp. 56–57.

<sup>188</sup> T. Ginter, *Działalność fundacyjna*, pp. 86–87, 92–93; also, cf. the above remarks on the twelfth-century commercial route between Rhineland and Rus', plus footnote 54.

<sup>189</sup> KDW I, no. 29, 37; *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 1, ed. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, Roma 1982, no. 44; *Repertorium polskich dokumentów*, no. 115, 126; A. Gąsiorowski, *Najstarsze dokumenty*, SŻ, vol. 8, p. 89, vol. 9, pp. 55–56.

<sup>190</sup> The historical documents and the literature concerning Święty Jan settlement, bestowals for the house of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the commanders known to us and the convent's affairs are specified in SHGPoz, part V, pp. 135–140 (entry 'Święty Jan'), 140–60 (entry 'Święty Jan – dom joannitów').

<sup>191</sup> Cf. SHGPoz, part V, pp. 157–158.

<sup>192</sup> The church is incorrectly named today as the 'St. John of Jerusalem Church' (there was no such saint), arguably in reference to the St. John Hospital in Jerusalem. On the altered dedication, cf. SHGPoz, part V, p. 139.

<sup>193</sup> For more on the disputable issue of the date as of which the St. Michael Church obtained its parochial rights, see SHGPoz, part V, p. 139, with the literature listed. On the surviving Gothic, originally Romanesque, temple (today, SS. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist's), cf. KZS sn, vol. 7, part 1, pp. 116–121; W. Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce*, pp. 34–36, 38–39, 48, 125, 134–136; J. Kowalski, *Gotyk wielkopolski*, pp. 57, 293, 351; B. Krzyślak, Z. Kurzawa, *Kościół św. Jana Jerolimskiego za Murami na poznańskiej Komandorii*, Poznań 2011.

<sup>194</sup> For Pietrowo village, cf. footnote 165.

<sup>195</sup> SHGPoz, cz. V, pp. 137–138.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 136.

<sup>197</sup> AAP, CP 111, ff. 19, 106. Artisans appeared in the village in the sixteenth century; M. Michalski, R. Witkowski, *Średniowieczne i staropolskie wsie Główna i Zawady*, KMP, 2002, no. 2, pp. 34–67. From 1521 on, the village was excluded from the group of prestimonials and was included in the corporation's "table" (supply) estates, administered by the procurator; cf. K. Lutyński, *Kapituła katedralna w Poznaniu*, p. 160. Zawady village (among others) is dealt with in a dedicated KMP volume, no. 2, 2002.

two routes – one leading northward, to Rogoźno (and then to Ujście or toward Bydgoszcz), the other one heading eastwards, via Główna village, toward Gniezno.<sup>198</sup> The village of Pietrowo, located south of Śródka, on the right bank of the Warta, initially belonged to the duke, who bestowed it to Poznań; before 1585, the Poznań Cathedral Chapter purchased it from the municipality and set up a small town there on the verge of the seventeenth century; a succursal church dedicated to St. Sebastian existed there in that century.<sup>199</sup> Stanisławowo, the neighbouring town, situated slightly south of Pietrowo, emerged right on the right bank of the Warta, at the local bridge's outlet. It was incorporated in 1562 by Greater Polish magnate Stanisław Górka,<sup>200</sup> then the tenetary (estate tenant) of the nearby village of Rataje.<sup>201</sup> This triggered a fierce dispute with Poznań, whose authorities claimed that an incorporation on the city's land was illegal, whilst a competitive centre would be detrimental to the city. In spite of a series of verdicts passed (beginning with 1571) in favour of Poznań, their enforcement became possible after Górka's death in 1592.<sup>202</sup> Finally, in 1599 Stanisławowo lost its urban status and turned into a suburb (called Łacina ('Latin') and, later on, Miasteczko ('Small Town')), as approved by King Sigismund III Vasa (Zygmunt III Waza) in 1601.<sup>203</sup> The seventeenth century saw the construction of a St. Roch Church and the founding of a local parish, with the resulting exclusion of Łacina's residents from the jurisdiction of St. John's parish.<sup>204</sup>

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The map published herein, in the scale 1:10,000, featuring the settlement units (sites and locations), has been prepared and drawn by Elżbieta Rutkowska of the Department of Historical Atlas at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN), in collaboration with the undersigned.

(2017)

*Translated by Tristan Korecki*

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<sup>198</sup> Weymann, *Drogi*, pp. 237–238, 240; also, cf. *Plan von der Gegend um Posen*, [in:] *Plany Poznania*, no. 9.

<sup>199</sup> Now2, pp. 643–644, writes of a wooden St. Sebastian's Church that existed already in the sixteenth century, without referring to the source (the endnote actually refers to nineteenth-century documents related to the church's demolition). Z. Zieliński (idem, *Rozwój miasta Poznania od końca X do XVIII wieku*, KMP, 1949, no. 4, p. 257) informs that the church existed in 1544, giving no source reference (the statement is repeated in K. Lutyński, *Kapituła katedralna w Poznaniu*, p. 158). The editor [J. Wiesiołowski] of the eighteenth-century inspection record by J. Rogaliński remarks that the earliest note about the St. Sebastian Church is only from the seventeenth century; J. Rogaliński, *Wizytacja kościoła filialnego św. Sebastiana w mieście Piotrowie, należącego do kościoła macierzystego kolegiackiego i parafialnego św. Mikołaja w Poznaniu, roku 1779, dnia 27 maja sporządzona*, KMP, 1997, no. 1, pp. 244–248. The church is not featured on our map.

<sup>200</sup> *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 152.

<sup>201</sup> On Rataje, see SHGPoz, part IV, pp. 45–46. In Górka's intention, the town was to become a market for the village's produce, whilst also handling the traffic at the local section of the transit route from Poznań; *Lokacja i likwidacja Stanisławowa*, KMP, 1997, no. 1, pp. 227–236. In the course of the disputes between the city of Poznań and Stanisław Górka (lasting in 1571–92; see footnote 203), some of the demesne farmsteads in Rataje and in the neighbouring village of Żegrze (outside the map; AHP: "Zegrz") were bought out by Poznań burghers; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji*, p. 162. Rataje and Żegrze are addressed in a separate volume of the KMP, no. 1, 2001.

<sup>202</sup> SHGPoz, part IV, p. 634; Z. Kulejewska-Topolska, *Struktura prawna aglomeracji*, pp. 155–158; eadem, *Nowe lokacje miejskie w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII wieku. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Poznań 1964, pp. 72–73; eadem, *Ustrój prawny jurydyk*, pp. 408–409.

<sup>203</sup> *Przywileje miasta Poznania*, no. 174.

<sup>204</sup> Now2, p. 578; J. Wiesiołowski, *Z dawnych dziejów kościoła św. Rocha na Łacinie*, KMP, 1997, no. 1, pp. 249–280.

### III.6.25.7 RAWA

*Wojciech Kalinowski*

The city plan of Rawa Mazowiecka in the second half of the sixteenth century was based on a modern geodetic base-map at a scale of 1:5,000 and the following historical plans: the plan of the starosta's demesne and the Jewish town from 1799,<sup>1</sup> the plan of the town's residences from 1817<sup>2</sup> and the plan of the city grounds from 1823.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the scattered studies on Rawa's history,<sup>4</sup> we resorted to inspections from 1564, 1570, 1616, 1630, 1661, and 1789,<sup>5</sup> the documents of the Committee of Mazovian Voivodeship from the nineteenth century<sup>6</sup> and the documents of the Government Committee of Internal Affairs and the Police from the same century.<sup>7</sup> The cartographic sources and written materials allowed us to localize the fields belonging to the city, the Church and the starosta, as well as some already non-existing structures.

Still, the reconstruction of the sixteenth century city plan of Rawa encountered severe obstacles. At the time Rawa was considered a large city, with 441 houses according to the inspections, so it was inhabited by some 3,000–5,000 dwellers.<sup>8</sup> The layout was probably regular in general, with a small rectangular market square in the centre, i.e. in accordance with the widely-accepted pattern of located medieval towns. The number of houses allows us to believe that in the sixteenth the city must have had suburbs, especially in the so-called Nowy Świat (Koński Rynek), by the road to Piotrków. The burgher buildings of Rawa were probably entirely, or almost entirely, made of wood, just as at the close of the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

The Swedish Deluge in the middle of the seventeenth century was particularly disastrous for the city. The inspection conducted in 1661, so several years after the catastrophe, lists only 32 houses and 400 empty plots in Rawa.<sup>10</sup> For a long time the city could not recover from the calamity, and at the

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<sup>1</sup> "Plan von den zwischen der Starstey und der Stadt Rawa streitigen Ländereyen welche nach kulimischen Mass vermessen worden. Ist fervertiget den 4-ten Jan. 1799 –", by a Prussia geometrist F. Schweitzer. AGAD, Zb. kart. sign. li-80. The plan was published by J. Kazimierski, D. Warecka, *Katalog planów miast w zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*, part 1: *Ilustrowany katalog źródeł kartograficznych*, no. 2, Warsaw 1953, Fig. 16.

<sup>2</sup> A copy made in 1909 from the plan entitled "Plan miasta Rawy podług oryginału z roku 1817 z wszelkimi szczegółami oznaczony i narysowany w 1829 przez S. Smolikowskiego, elewa KRPWiP". The original from 1817 was made by Saltzer at a scale 1:1,000. Original plans from 1817 and 1829 were lost, and the said copy from 1909 can be found in the collection of the Department of Polish Architecture at the Warsaw University of Technology, sign. U. III. 4. See the reproduction by W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Przebudowa Rawy Mazowieckiej w okresie konstytucyjnym Królestwa Polskiego*, "Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury", vol. 5, 1955, no. 1/14: *Studia z historii budowy miast*, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> The undated and unfinished copy (probably from the first half of the nineteenth century) of the plan entitled "Broullion mappy territorium miasta Rawy", made in 1823 by geometrist S. Radecki. Scale: 1:10,000. Copy in the collection of the Dep. of Pol. Arch. at the War. Univ. of Tech., sign U. III. 1. Prior to 1952 in PMRN in Rawa Mazowiecka.

<sup>4</sup> The list of older literature in: *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce. Inwentarz topograficzny*, vol. 1, no. 1: *Powiat rawsko-mazowiecki*, comp. W. Kieszkowski, Warsaw 1939, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> LR XVI; LR XVII; LR 1789.

<sup>6</sup> AGAD, akta Komisji Województwa Mazowieckiego no. 1079, 1080, 1081, 1090, 1092.

<sup>7</sup> AGAD, akta Komisji Rząd. Spraw Wewn. i Policji (hereinafter KRSWiP) no. 33, 395, 459, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 6469.

<sup>8</sup> LR XVI, pp. 4, 153.

<sup>9</sup> LR 1789, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> LR XVII, p. 121.

close of the eighteenth century it had only 175 houses.<sup>11</sup> The 1817 plan proves that the damage must have distorted the original arrangement severely. Irregular shortcuts between various points in the city (e.g. between the entrance from Piotrków to the entrance from Warsaw) must have formed in place of the paths trodden through the ruins or empty squares. The new layout of the city was partially established, and partially regulated by the plans from 1817 and 1825.<sup>12</sup> These large transformations of the spatial arrangement of Rawa from the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries make our reconstruction of the plan of the founded city (particularly in the south-eastern corner) hypothetical.

This also applies to medieval fortifications. If the gothic castle – preserved in artifacts and partially examined during the conservation works – raises no doubts, then the case of the city fortifications remains unsolved due to the lack of archaeological research.

Certainly, there was no brick or stone wall; this issue was clearly settled by J. Świącicki at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>13</sup> In Central Poland only 13–15% of medieval towns had brick fortifications.<sup>14</sup> Usually these were cities situated higher in the settlement hierarchy, just like Rawa.<sup>15</sup> It seems there must have been some sort of fortifications, perhaps an embankment or a palisade, because the plan shows visible squares before the gates and lines limiting the city's development.<sup>16</sup> To the north-west and east the city was protected by watercourses, which could be crossed on bridges confirmed in 1506 (over the River Ryłka – the Warsaw Bridge, and over the River Rawka – Łowicz Bridge).<sup>17</sup>

The outline of the market square and the location of the town hall were confirmed by the 1817 plan.<sup>18</sup> The church and college of the Jesuits, built in 1613, were marked west of the market square. These structures go slightly beyond our time frame, but it seemed more justifiable to include the Jesuit complex than to reconstruct the earlier layout of this part of town, for which we had no source basis. It could be assumed, by the example of other towns, that the plots for the buildings were repurchased from the burghers by the Jesuits.

The location of the remaining monumental buildings is unquestionable. The surviving relics of the castle and its plan drawn in the 1920s<sup>19</sup> allowed us to outline the general form of the structure. There are still fragments of the gothic walls in the Hospital Church of the Holy Spirit and the post-Augustan Church of the Assumption of Mary, confirming their historical location.<sup>20</sup> The parochial church (*farny*), now non-existing, must have been a gothic structure,<sup>21</sup> as proven by the outline of the presbytery

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<sup>11</sup> Pazyra, pp. 403–404.

<sup>12</sup> See footnote 2 and “Plan osady sukienniczej w Mieście Rawie z częścią miasta przyległo tejże Osadzie” made in 1825 by geometrist Jan Leśniewski. Scale 1:1,500. Original in the collection of the Dep. of Pol. Arch. of the War. Univ. of Tech., sign. U. III. 17. Another copy in WAP in Łódź, cartographic collection.

<sup>13</sup> Świącicki, p. 104.

<sup>14</sup> J. Widawski, *Średniowieczne fortyfikacje miejskie w Polsce Centralnej*, TS of PhD Thesis, Wydział Architektury Politechniki Warszawskiej.

<sup>15</sup> Some nineteenth century authors (e.g. M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1843, p. 563) mention the city walls. They are quoted by W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Przebudowa Rawy Mazowieckiej*, p. 183, who also base on the great amount of debris (6000 carts) driven out of the town in the beginning of the nineteenth century for the construction of an embankment by the River Rawka (AGAD, akta KWMaz. No. 1079 – the protocol of regulation works from 1825). Possible doubts could only be solved by archaeological research, but these usually focused on the castle and the gord “Anielska Góra” (*Informator Archeologiczny. Badania 1968, ZMiOZ, IHKM PAN, PTA, Warszawa 1969, s. 363–364, pp. 363–364*).

<sup>16</sup> The centre of the neighbouring land, Sochaczew, was in the sixteenth century surrounded by a wooden palisade; H. Rutkowski, *Rozwój przestrzenny Sochaczewa od XIII do XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje Sochaczewa i Ziemi Sochaczewskiej*, Warsaw 1970, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> These bridges were listed in the privilege of Alexander Jagiellon in 1506, which granted the town the income from the bridges (AGAD, akta KRSwiP no. 459 – historical and statistical description of the town from 1822).

<sup>18</sup> In the beginning of the nineteenth century there was an inn called “Ratusz” (“Town hall”), which confirms the location of the old town hall. In the western frontage there was still another block then, which was liquidated during the expansion works on the market square in the 1920s; cf. W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Przebudowa Rawy Mazowieckiej*, pp. 181 ff., and J. Kubiak, *Studium urbanistyczno-historyczne m. Rawy Mazowieckiej*, Warsaw 1965, TS PP PKZ.

<sup>19</sup> The plan made by constructor Karol Trautsolt prior to 1830 (when he stopped being the district constructor in Rawa – see S. Łoza, *Architekci i budowniczowie w Polsce*, Warsaw 1954, p. 314), AGAD, Zb. Kart. Present research conducted at the castle by PP PKZ will probably allow to determine the more precise layout.

<sup>20</sup> W. Kieszkowski (*Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce. Inwentarz topograficzny*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 143–148), in his description of the both churches failed to notice the surviving gothic presbytery of the church of the Augustans or the fragments of the gothic brickwork visible on the walls of the church of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Łaski LB, II, p. 292; LR XVI, p. 6; LR 1789, p. 4.

shown on the 1817 city plan (the remaining part of the church did not exist back then) and an entry mentioning that it was built of gothic brick.<sup>22</sup> Our plan of Rawa shows a probable projection of the entire church based on the said outline of the presbytery.

Three demesnes marked on our plan (belonging to the starosta, the hospital and the city) were localized on the basis of the 1817 plan. The same plan helped us determine the course of outgoing roads, which were regulated only in the nineteenth century. Only the road leading to Warsaw was marked according to its route shown on the plan from 1799 ('alter Warschauer Weg'), as it was moved already in the middle of the eighteenth century. Ownership division of fields and gardens were usually shown in accordance with the 1817 plan, with some modifications: the number of plots to the south of city buildings in Koński Rynek ('The Horse Market') was increased.

The channels of the Rivers Rawka and Rylka (old names: Rawa, Rylska), as well as canals and pond, were marked according to the state recorded at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which probably resembled the earlier hydrography, and was not changed before 1820.<sup>23</sup> There may be some doubts concerning the course of the canal which connected the Rawka with the Rylka to the northeast of the castle hill, as the canal was illegible on the 1799 plan and could be just an old watercourse regulated in the eighteenth century.

The names of the rivers were given in their sixteenth century form, whereas the names of several streets and the Koński Rynek square were confirmed only at the turn of the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup>

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>22</sup> *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce. Inwentarz topograficzny*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 130.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Przebudowa Rawy Mazowieckiej*.

<sup>24</sup> In 1616 only Grodzka Street was mentioned; LR XVII, p. 38.

### III.6.26.2 SANDOMIERZ

*Kazimierz Pacuski*

The reconstruction of the plan of Sandomierz at the end of the sixteenth century was based on the oldest plans of the city, i.e. the plan from the eighteenth century (which shows the city within city walls),<sup>1</sup> the plan of the city and its surroundings from 1809,<sup>2</sup> three marginally different topographical plans of the city's military situation from the 1809 campaign (suburbs also shown here),<sup>3</sup> F. Reinstein's regulation plans from 1820,<sup>4</sup> and Jarocki's plan from 1826,<sup>5</sup> as well as later plans and views. Mayer von Heldensfeld's detailed field picture from 1801–1804 played an auxiliary role, important especially in the case of the road network outside the city walls.<sup>6</sup> These plans were analysed retrospectively.

General views of Sandomierz proved very useful. The first, published by G. Braun and F. Hogenberg in 1618, presents the panorama of the city seen from the south at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so in the period for which our reconstruction was made.<sup>7</sup> The second, more precious as a source, was made by E. Dahlbergh in 1656. It shows Sandomierz from the south east.<sup>8</sup> Of written sources *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz was especially useful, as well as *Liber retaxationum* from 1529, the inspections and inventories of royal property from between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, and B. Maciejowski's inspection from 1604.<sup>9</sup> The studies used were: the nineteenth century monograph of Sandomierz by M. Buliński based on rich source material, the newer draft on urbanization of Sandomierz by W. Kalinowski, T. Lalik, T. Przykowski, H. Rutkowski and S. Trawkowski, the collection entitled *Studia Sandomierskie* from 1967 (especially articles by A. Miłobędzki

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<sup>1</sup> Plan from the second half of the eighteenth century (uncertain date: 1760), Polish description. Original (at a scale around 1:3,333) in the collection of Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, sign. X/49903; photo, among other things, in the collection of ZAH IH PAN, is published in reduction e.g. in: W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, Warsaw 1956, p. 61; Widawski, Mury, Fig. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Plan from 1809, Russian description. Original in the cartographic collection of AGAD in Warsaw, sign. 86-2, Published reduced: W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Plan of military situation in Sandomierz 18/19 May and 15 June 1809 – The collection of the plans of Polish campaign 1809, the cartographic collection of AGAD, file 523, no. 9, 14, 15. Another copy in Muzeum Wojska Polskiego in Warsaw. Photo in the collection of ZAH IH PAN (among others).

<sup>4</sup> Regulation city plan from 1820, made by F. Reinstein. Original in the cartographic collection of the Diocese Archive in Sandomierz. Published reduced: W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Plan from 1826. Original does not exist. Copy in the State Archive in Sandomierz. Published reduced: W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Karte von Westgalizien*, in 1:28,800 scale, sheet 119, orig. in Kriegsarchiv in Venna, sign. B.XI a, 100. Microfilm and photography in ZAH IH PAN collection, newer plans were described by J. Kwiatkowski, *O planach Sandomierza*, "Ziemia Sandomierska", 1932, no. 40–41.

<sup>7</sup> G. Braun, F. Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum...* (vol. 1–3, lib. 1–6), Cologne 1597–1618, reprint Amsterdam 1965, vol. 6, Fig. 50, repeatedly reproduced; cf. Widawski, Mury, p. 404.

<sup>8</sup> Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sveciae Rege gestis commentariorum libri septem...*, Nürnberg 1696, drawing after p. 142 (by Eryk Dahlberg), reproduced e.g. in: B. Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*, Wrocław 1971, drawings 82 and 83, 84 (fragments enlarged); cf. also fragment of Dahlberg journal from his stay in Poland, 1656–1657.

<sup>9</sup> See the description of written sources by K. Chłapowski in AHP Sandomierz volume, pp. 57–58 and in chapter II.1.2 in this volume; unpublished inspections used: 1569/70, AGAD Dz. XVIII, 29, ff. 4–10, 78 f., and illustrations and inventories of Sandomierz starosta's lease from the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, AGAD, Dz. XVIII, 69, ff. 69 f., 125, 171 f., 219–223; Dz. XVIII, 31, ff. 2 f.

and H. Rutkowski) and J. Widawski's work dedicated to city defensive walls in medieval Poland.<sup>10</sup> The unpublished reconstruction of the division of parcels of the location layout north and south of the Market Square, kindly provided by its author Prof. Dr. W. Kalinowski, was also used.<sup>11</sup>

The plan of the city was prepared according to the rules assumed for the already published plans of voivodeship cities (Lublin, Płock, Warsaw and Rawa Mazowiecka) of this series of AHP at a scale of 1:10,000. It shows the city inside and outside city walls, within the range of 1 km, that is, the closer suburbs: Cracow suburbs, the Old Town, Opatów suburbs, Zawichost suburbs, and Rybitwy. Sandomierz also had farther suburbs, with many demesnes belonging to burghers and churchmen: Chwałki, Gierlachów, Gołębice, Kobierniki, Nabrzezie, Rzeczyca Sucha, Strochcice, Suchorzów, and three vogt villages: Ocinek, Radoszki and Wysiadłów.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the royal demesne Mąkoszyn – also inhabited by *hortulani* – was situated on city grounds. All these settlements located farther from the city were presented on the main map.

The layout of Sandomierz, located in 1286, was marked out again in 1349 during the reign of Casimir the Great, when the area of city buildings was expanded. At this time the city was given its large marker square, 120 × 100 m, with two streets running from each corner; some 40 parcels were planned around the market square, 10 m wide and 40–50 m long on the average.<sup>13</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century the embankments were replaced with defensive walls around 1,700 m long, with at least 16 towers. The course of the walls and the placement of towers were reconstructed on the basis of oldest plans and iconographic sources. J. Widawski's hypothesis, marking as many as four towers in the wall south from the Dominican Gate, was rejected;<sup>14</sup> this wall was flanked by castle towers, providing enough defence.

There were three gates in the city walls in the sixteenth century: Cracow gate in the south near the Castle, Opatów and Zawichost gates in the north; the latter was created probably later than Opatów gate, but not later than the sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> M. Buliński did, in fact, include undocumented information about a fourth gate in his work, 'Lublin or fishermen gate', which was 'destroyed already in the seventeenth century because of the silt and drop of the hill, and we do not know how big it was'. This gate (*Porta piscatorum*) led to Rybitwy.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, it was not marked on the plan from the second half of the eighteenth century, it is also not mentioned in the detailed 1789 inspection. However, earlier pictures of Sandomierz fail to show it as well. The first of them, from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – shows a gate in the wall and stairs leading to the Vistula; the second – from 1656 – does not show stairs in this place.<sup>17</sup> Probably, the gate mentioned by Buliński should be identified with the sixteenth century gate to Rybitwy. However, it never had any important communication value, and certainly was used only by pedestrians. The area of a busy harbour on the Vistula near Sandomierz is attested to several kilometres from the city, between Kamień village belonging to Wąchock abbey (Kamień Łukawski) and Gorzyce. This crossing was situated on an important old road leading along

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<sup>10</sup> M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta Sandomierza*, Warszawa 1879, pp. XXIV, 448; W. Kalinowski i in., *Sandomierz*, p. 171, on p. 25: Reconstruction of the plan of the chartered town at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, scale 1:5,000; *Studia sandomierskie*, pp. 367 (including: A. Miłobędzki, *Zamek sandomierski*, pp. 243–282; H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza w okresie Odrodzenia*, pp. 287–338; drawing 3 after p. 224: Sandomierz in the Middle Ages, scale around 1:9,000); Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 400–417, Fig. no. 201–210.

<sup>11</sup> My sincere thanks to Him for this, as well as for providing access to enlarged plans of Sandomierz, and for the consultations.

<sup>12</sup> Data concerning demesnes situated in the suburbs, and ownership changes in this area were described by M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, p. 120–127, see also H. Rutkowski's remarks (idem, *Z dziejów Sandomierza*, pp. 291–294), who introduced a useful division of suburban settlements into closer and farther. Suburban settlements were not listed in tax registers from the sixteenth century, we know them from Długosz LB, and from LR 1529, and the seventeenth century tax registers.

<sup>13</sup> W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, pp. 20–26; cf. also S. Lazar, *Rozwój przestrzenny Sandomierza X–XIII w.*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", vol. 6, 1958, no. 5, pp. 5–85.

<sup>14</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 412 f. and Fig. 51.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, pp. 414 f.

<sup>16</sup> M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, pp. 14, 95. The gate called Lwowska, situated in the "winter" east is mentioned by J.N. Chałczyński, *Historyczno-statystyczne opisy miast starożytnych w Polsce*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1856, p. 81. This probably concerns later period.

<sup>17</sup> Plan from the second half of the eighteenth century (see footnote 1). LS 1789, part I, pp. 8 f. lists the gate called Zamojska, perhaps identical with the gate to Rybitwy ("Furta na Rybitwy"). For the view from the middle of the seventeenth century see especially B. Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*, drawing 84 (enlarged).

the left bank of the San through Leżajsk and Jarosław to Przemyśl, and then to Lwów, it would be difficult to assign any importance in contacts with Lublin to this road.<sup>18</sup> Travellers to Lublin used the convenient crossing in Zawichost, and then the road through Urzędów, or Kraśnik.<sup>19</sup> Zawichost Gate was certainly used by travellers leaving the city in this direction (perhaps the name Lublin Gate refers to this gate), not the nearby Opatów Gate. This road was probably also used when one wanted to reach the crossing in Kamień, and avoid the waterlogged valley of the Vistula. All this leads us to the conclusion, that M. Buliński's interpretation of the role of 'Brama Rybacka' ('Fishermen Gate') is not precise, and theses created on this basis by the authors of the collective study from 1956, and then by J. Widawski,<sup>20</sup> lack necessary justification.

The reconstruction of the division of blocks into parcels within city walls is only an approximation, because in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the number of houses and plots, especially in side streets, decreased significantly.<sup>21</sup> Wood was the most popular building material in the city, which – given the concentration of the buildings – increased the risk of fire spreading.<sup>22</sup> Only in the western frontage of the Market square in the second half of the sixteenth century were there only stone buildings, other frontages were mixed: stone and wood.<sup>23</sup>

The reconstruction of the street network was based on the oldest plans of Sandomierz, and supplemented with data from town tax register from 1563 gathered by H. Rutkowski (eight streets inside the walls),<sup>24</sup> as well as with information provided by Długosz about the fifteenth century and source materials included by M. Buliński in his monograph, and numerous other sources. It was assumed that the street name of Św. Maria Magdalena only denoted the upper part of the street which connected the Market Square with Cracow Gate, near the monastery church of St. Mary Magdalene, and the remaining part of the street was called Zamkowa or Grodzka.<sup>25</sup> The name of the Podole street – situated next to Św. Piotra street – was omitted, because it was difficult to identify.<sup>26</sup> According to the data found in the 1789 inspection,<sup>27</sup> it was assumed that Żydowska street reached Dominikańska Gate also at the end of the sixteenth century.

Only monumental buildings were marked on the map: the castle, churches and monasteries, the town hall and the so-called House of Długosz – the seat of the college of mansionaries of Sandomierz chapter founded by Długosz. The medieval castle was rebuilt in the sixteenth century into a Renaissance castle, with three residential wings around a courtyard closed with a wall and a gate from the north or north – east. The entrance to the castle from the city led over a wooden bridge built over a ravine, there was also another bridge here from the area of the collegiate.<sup>28</sup> All churches shown on the plan were brick, except for the Church of St. John the Baptist in the Old Town (rebuilt and consecrated in 1585; pulled down in the middle of the eighteenth century) and the Church of St. Adalbert in Opatów suburbs (burned in 1809).<sup>29</sup> There were schools by three churches (not marked on our plan): collegiate

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<sup>18</sup> T. Wąsowicz, *Sandomierska sieć drożna w wiekach średnich*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, pp. 113–130, as well as the precious maps after p. 128. It is worth adding that Eryk Dahlbergh found a ford over the Vistula, useful for mounted travellers, in the area of Sandomierz in April 1656; see B. Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*, p. 65.

<sup>19</sup> See LS 1564/5, p. 155, as well as the information from Dahlbergh's journal; B. Heyduk, *Dahlbergh w Polsce*, p. 65.

<sup>20</sup> W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, p. 26; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 414 f.

<sup>21</sup> About see especially M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, pp. 92–94.

<sup>22</sup> About fires in Sandomierz – *ibidem*, pp. 73, 89–91.

<sup>23</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza*, pp. 293 f.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 294.

<sup>25</sup> As suggestes by, e.g., information provided by Długosz (Długosz LB, I, pp. 398, 400–402) concerning the houses in Św. Mary Magdalene Str. Certainly farther from the church of St. Mary Magdalene, but in the same street line, there was an abode situated "in platea castrensi penes area dominorum de Mielecz", described in the document of the exchange from 1540; the Archive of the Princes Sanguszko, vol. V, p. 300.

<sup>26</sup> About this street: M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, pp. 94–96. Perhaps it was identical with the street Podwale, shown on the fragment of the plan from 1826 near Rybitwy suburbs.

<sup>27</sup> LS 1789, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> A. Miłobędzki, *Zamek sandomierski*, pp. 258–266; Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 261.

<sup>29</sup> M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, pp. 391–394; W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, p. 56. Długosz does not give the entire name of the church of St. John in the Old Town, M. Buliński did not know it as well. The name of St. John the Baptist was recorded in the document of Maciej Wielicki, the bishop suffragan of Włocławek, from 1585, which confirmed the consecration of this church, the document was quoted by S. Lazar (idem, *Rozwój przestrzenny Sandomierza*, pp. 69 f.), also the visitation from 1604 – AV Cap. 65, f. 526.

school, maintained by the scholastic of Sandomierz chapter, and parochial schools in the city (school of St. Peter) and in the Old Town (school of St. Paul).<sup>30</sup> In 1570 there was a protestant church, probably organized ad hoc in one of the houses during the gathering of the Protestant denominations.<sup>31</sup>

Large parts of the area within city walls did not belong to burghers. Church institutions owned the area near the collegiate of the Holy Virgin (houses of prelates and canons, lower clergy and church servants were situated here) as well as the churches: parochial of St. Peter (given to the Jesuits in the beginning of the seventeenth century), of St. Mary Magdalene with a Dominican monastery, of the Holy Spirit with the hospital of the Regular Canons de Saxia ('*duchacy*'). Individual houses belonged to churchmen and magnates. In the sixteenth century, the number of noblemen's houses grew, and burgher houses decreased, and the magnates won relief from town jurisdiction for their estates in Sandomierz.<sup>32</sup> The Jewish population lived north west from the Market Square, near the wall, in Żydowska street ('*Jewish Street*'); there were not many Jewish houses in the second half of the sixteenth century. A synagogue, known already in the Middle Ages, operated here.<sup>33</sup>

Within city walls the dominating type was the dense residential-economic development, outside – larger garden-utilitarian parcels, and the settlement was the most dense on the Old Town hill near the churches of St. Paul (parochial church for the majority of suburbs), St. Jacob (by the Dominican monastery) and St. John the Baptist. According to the town tax register from 1563, there were 110 houses in the Old Town and Cracow suburbs, later – especially after the destructions of the Swedish Invasion the Old Town depopulated, and lost the position of the most important settlement of Sandomierz city outside the walls; other suburbs were much smaller.<sup>34</sup>

Bigger and more bothersome utilitarian facilities operated in the suburbs, for instance: the tannery, mills – on the Vistula near the castle, on the '*cutting*' from Pokrzywnica (Koprzywnica), the town's brickyard (near Koćmierzów). Numerous granaries were built by the Vistula near the harbour (also in the sixteenth century), because Sandomierz was one of the major centres of crop distribution in Lesser Poland, crops were floated on the Vistula to Gdańsk.<sup>35</sup> Public institutions – public baths, operated by the Vistula outside the city walls.<sup>36</sup>

Vineyards were being built already in the Middle Ages on the high scarp of Sandomierz, and thanks to strong sun exposure of the southern slopes, and especially the favourable microclimate of the upper parts of the slopes<sup>37</sup> they provided not insignificant amounts of wine. Some of the vineyards, belonging to Church institutions, are better known.<sup>38</sup> The vineyards were not marked with separate signs, but shown as gardens. Similarly – the royal hop-field, situated near the castle in Cracow suburbs.<sup>39</sup>

The reconstruction of the lay of the land was based on the nineteenth and twentieth century plans, yet we tried to present an earlier state. It must be remembered that between the sixteenth century and modern times the lay, not only of the loess Sandomierz scarp, but also of other territories, e.g. the valley of the Vistula, underwent various, often significant changes. The processes of natural erosion of the surface combined with intense activity of man; source data implies that due to the intense use

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<sup>30</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza*, pp. 299–306.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 307 and footnote 123.

<sup>32</sup> See especially M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, pp. 107–111. We know e.g. about the tenement house of Wiktoryn on Sienno, the castellan of Małogoszcz, situated in Opatowska Str. (year 1519, MRPS, vol. IV, no. 2904) or about the residence of the family Mielecki (see footnote 25).

<sup>33</sup> M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, pp. 139 f. In 1570 there were eight Jewish houses. According to LS 1564/5, p. 86 twelve Jewish paid here. H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza*, p. 292, calculated the number of Jews on 150. We know about a Jewish cemetery in the fifteenth century, which was situated near the vineyard of the curator; Długosz LB, I, p. 387; see also W. Wójcik, *Miasto i kościół w Sandomierzu w XVI–XVIII w.*, CPH, vol. 14, 1962, no. 2, pp. 101 f.

<sup>34</sup> Data compared by H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza*, p. 294.

<sup>35</sup> W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, pp. 38–41; H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza*, p. 297. Sandomierz granaries are well-attested in the iconography of the oldest views of the town, however, they usually did not survive to this day.

<sup>36</sup> W. Wójcik, *Miasto i kościół*, p. 120 n.; H. Rutkowski, *Z dziejów Sandomierza*, p. 301. In 1612 the town's bathhouse was taken by flood.

<sup>37</sup> J. Paszyński, *Klimat Sandomierza*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, pp. 165–178. The cold air from the uplands came down, into the valley of the Vistula, so the hills were not prone to sudden drops of temperature and ground frosts.

<sup>38</sup> See M. Buliński, *Monografia miasta*, p. 127–129. Also see the remarks about vineyards and numerous orchards around Sandomierz in the description of Poland by Stanisław Sarnicki from the sixteenth century; W. Kalinowski et al., *Sandomierz*, p. 47 (Polish translation).

<sup>39</sup> This hop-field is mentioned in LS 1564/5, p. 86; LS 1789, part I, pp. 24 f.

of the unfortified surface of the road network new ravines outside the city walls were created and the existing ravines became deeper. Also, inside city walls the streets running downhill changed into ravines, difficult to cross (streets: Tkacka, Zamkowa that is Św. Marii Magdaleny, and others). Vast changes occurred also in the valley of the Vistula, also due to the change of the current.<sup>40</sup> The reconstruction of the shoreline of the Vistula was based mainly on the plans from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the picture obtained was modified thanks to the oldest pictures of the city from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and from 1656.

All sixteenth century names shown on the plan were reconstructed – not always precisely, perhaps – because we know them mostly in their Latin form.

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>40</sup> About the lay of the city grounds and the changes in the valley of the Vistula see U. Karaszewska, *Warunki naturalne rozwoju Sandomierza*, [in:] *Studia sandomierskie*, pp. 133 ff., ibidem hypsometric draft (p. 139) and bibliography (pp. 156–158). The consequences of the usage of the roads near the scarp are vividly described in LS 1789, part I, pp. 9 f.

### III.6.27.5 SIERADZ

*Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa*<sup>1</sup>

**Sources.** Two books of the town council have been used, from 1561–1595 and 1596–1609,<sup>2</sup> the court book has also been surveyed.<sup>3</sup> The inspections and inventories of the city have been used as well.<sup>4</sup>

In the case of cartographic sources, the most important were the plans of the city, or part of it, from 1795, 1803, 1821, 1823 and 1848; what is more, later plans of Sieradz have been inspected, and Gilly's map has also been used.<sup>5</sup>

The latest surviving plan of Sieradz is Strasbourg's manuscript on a scale of 1:2,900 entitled: *Situations-Plan von der Stadt Sieradz und wo daselbst nach lit. A ein grosses konigliches Getreide-Friedens-Magazin erbauet werden kann.*<sup>6</sup> It covers the area within the walls, the suburbs and the castle grounds, schematically showing building segments and individual buildings in some places. The descriptive elements relate to the roads running from the city, hydrography, the parochial church, the Dominican monastery and the castle buildings (*Das zerfallenes Schloss-Hoff*). The relief, along with the height on which the city is located, was marked by hatching, the inundation line of the Warta was drawn (*inundationis Linie*). The plan was created in 1795 as an appendix to Boethecke's report from 4 August 1795 (it was hitherto dated 1796).<sup>7</sup>

Another cartographic source used was Hoffman's plan on a scale of 1:1,250 created in 1803 (on the basis of measurements taken in 1802), showing the city walls and the plots for lease (*Plan von den zu vererbpachtenden Stadtwallen zu Sieradz aufgenommen im Monat September 1802 und copirt durch Hoffman*).<sup>8</sup> The borders of particular plots and the buildings are visible, the key gives the area of seventeen plots in square rods.

*Mappa posiadłości rządowych Poświętnej Górki, Jurydyki Dominikańskiej (z przyległościami w mieście Sieradzu Województwie Kaliskim sytuowanych, do Ek(ono)miey (Męc)kiey należący(ch)*, is a manuscript plan made in 1821 by Ignacy Szeffer (scale around 1:5,000).<sup>9</sup> It is a plan of nationalized former Church property with outlines of all plots with buildings, both in the city and in the suburbs, so the localization of church buildings can be found (however, the chapel of St. Nicolas, pulled down at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is absent from the plan). There are no street names and

<sup>1</sup> See foreword to english edition.

<sup>2</sup> AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz no. 9 (1561–1595) and 14 (1596–1609).

<sup>3</sup> Contrary to council books, the reeves's (court's) books contain few descriptions of estates; the survey was limited to the book from 1557–1563, AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 6.

<sup>4</sup> LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 54 f.; part 2, pp. 1–4; LWWK 1628, part 2, pp. 76–84. The unpublished materials used were AGAD, ASK, LIV, 9, ff. 488v–489 (Sieradz starosta's district inventory 1507 r.); ASK, LVI, S 2 IV, f. 8v (income bills of Sieradz starosta's district 1568); ASK, LVI, S 2/III, ff. 3–12 (Sieradz castle construction 1568); Lustracje XVIII, no. 6a (1569 inventory); ASK, XLVI, 106, ff. 379, 383, 384–386 (1661 inspection); Inwentarz miasta JKM Sieradza... 1789 (ASK, XLVI, 110, pp. 49–55, 61).

<sup>5</sup> Gilly-Cron, section 64 (photocopy from the collection of IH PAN). See the chapter on cartographic sources in AHP Sieradz volume and chapter II.2.5 in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart. 48-4.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. U. Sowina, *Sieradz. Układ przestrzenny i społeczeństwo miasta w XV–XVI w.*, Warsaw 1991, where aforementioned plan is reproduced twice smaller (appendix). 1795 date is mentioned not until: *Plany miast*, no. 3964.

<sup>8</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart. 371/373-21.

<sup>9</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart. K 486-18.

the relief was not marked, Poświętne and Wójtostwo were signed. City plots and land constituting former property of the Dominicans were marked with numbers (probably related to the measurement register), at times areas or parts of land were given in morgen or square rods.

The above-mentioned plan became the basis of the later reduction together with the actualization of the state of the property. This is *Plan posiadłości rządowych w terytorium miasta Sieradza znajdujących się, w Guber(ni) Warszawskiej P(owie)cie Sieradzkim Ekonomii Męka położonych, Zrysowany w roku 1848 z planu oryginalnego Ignacego Szeffer z roku 1821 przez Lasta 1:20 000* (The plan of the state property within the territory of the city of Sieradz in Warsaw Province Sieradz District Męka land. Drawn in the year 1848 from the original plan by Ignacy Szeffer from 1821 by Last, 1:20,000). This record contains a table giving the area of state property (together 302 morgen 212 rods) and calculations concerning the state in 1823/4 and the 1847 changes.<sup>10</sup>

The 1823 plan of Sieradz, destroyed during the Second World War was used on the basis of the copy entitled *Plan miasta Sieradza w guberni Warszawskiej w powiecie Sieradzkim położonego, dzielany w 1823, W. Ziółkowski mier(niczny) przy(sięgły)* (The city plan of Sieradz in Warsaw Province, Sieradz district, done in 1823 by W. Ziółkowski, sworn surveyor) made in 1859 by A.Z. Gustowski.<sup>11</sup> The colours explained in the key marked: 1. Buildings according to ownership (houses belonging to the state, church, burghers, army and the Jews) and building material (brick, wood and timber framing); 2. Gardens; 3. Fields; 4. Various places. For the first time the names of major streets were marked. The plan contains elements of hypsometry (relief shown by hatching) and hydrography (oxbow lakes of the Warta and the River Żeglina).

Apart from the already mentioned cartographical sources, the following plans were used: situational and meliorative plan of Sieradz from 1864, consisting of three sheets,<sup>12</sup> situational and architectonic plan of the Dominican monastery from 1865 by Chwastkiewicz and Łochowski,<sup>13</sup> the plan of the border territory between Sieradz and Monice village from 1844 by Dworzaczek,<sup>14</sup> the plan of the Warta between Siedlątkowice and Sieradz from the nineteenth century (undated) by Moldenhawer.<sup>15</sup>

**Sieradz territory.** In the sixteenth century Sieradz territory consisted of several parts. The located city lay on the left bank of the Warta, and also on the left bank of the rivulet Żeglina, on a terrace 7–9 m high above the oxbow lake (143–149 AMSL).<sup>16</sup> East of the city, beyond the Żeglina, there was the castle complex, connected to the fortified city with a road built on a dike through the flood plains, with a bridge over the rivulet. Outside the city ramparts there was an area occupied by suburban buildings, demesnes, gardens, fields and pastures belonging to the city. The entire territory under city jurisdiction stretched over 2,5–3 km to the north, north-east and south, where it bordered on villages belonging to Sieradz *starosta's* district (Dzigorzew, Męka, Woźniki, Monice, Jeziora and Kłock).<sup>17</sup> In the west, however, where it neighbored on villages belonging to the nobility (Rakowice, Smardzew and Charłupia Mała), the borderlines of the city grounds were around 3,5–5 km from the Sieradz centre. A fifteenth century *jurydyka* of the nobility was situated there (north-west of the city), in 1537 it was taken over by the Pstrokońscy and it was called Pstrokońszczyzna until the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The area under Sieradz jurisdiction covered around 30 km<sup>2</sup> in the sixteenth century, whereas the city and suburban buildings occupied the area not much bigger than 1 km<sup>2</sup>, and the rest constituted the agricultural facilities of the city, arable or uncultivated.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>10</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart., 352-114.

<sup>11</sup> The plan can be found in Sieradz City Museum, a photographic copy in the Institute of Fine Arts PAN, neg. 920–922. The measurement register of Sieradz in Warsaw district, Sieradz district from 1823 is related to this plan (AGAD, Komisja Województwa Sieradzkiego, 430a, ff. 1-42).

<sup>12</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart. 622/28–8.

<sup>13</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart. 431/21–4, sh. 1–6.

<sup>14</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart. 57/293–6.

<sup>15</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart. 4.18.

<sup>16</sup> A. Sadłowska, *Położenie geograficzne Sieradza, [in:] Sieradz w średniowieczu. Prace i materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Łódź 1962* (Seria Archeologiczna, vol. 7), p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> LWWK 1564, part. II, pp. 7–18. Cf. the main map.

<sup>18</sup> W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Studium historyczne do planu zagospodarowania przestrzennego miasta Sieradza*, Warsaw 1956, TS in collection of Information Office PKZ in Warsaw, pp. 27 ff.; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, p. 169.

<sup>19</sup> Measurements taken in 1823 allow to determine the range of the city grounds as 171 ha, together with fields belonging to the burghers.

**City fortifications.**<sup>20</sup> So far it has been assumed that Sieradz was surrounded by a defensive wall.<sup>21</sup> This opinion must be considered wrong. The sources attest to the wall only in the southern part of the fortifications, near the Cracow gate, closing the exit of the Wszystkich Świętych street (today Kolegiacka).<sup>22</sup> The term ‘extra muros Siradienses’,<sup>23</sup> appearing in the fifteenth century, conveys general information about the location of an object outside Sieradz fortifications and does not prove that the entire city was surrounded by defensive wall. The Cracow gate was the only gate made of brick, because it often appears in the sources as ‘the brick gate’ and this name is enough to distinguish it.<sup>24</sup>

The argument that the walls constituted only a part of the fortifications finds evidence in 1628–1632 inspections. The inspectors that dealt with the walls of Piotrków, Wieluń and Łęczycza<sup>25</sup> did not mention Sieradz walls at all. Calling upon the obligation to check whether ‘the walls around the cities are not damaged’ they described only the ramparts.<sup>26</sup> We can therefore assume that the partial walls were not so important to the defensive capability of Sieradz, that their good state would be cared for or marked in the inspection as satisfying. It should be noted, that when the Cracow gate and the adjoining wall was under construction, the fortification of the entire city in this way was certainly scheduled, but the plans were not realized.<sup>27</sup> Sieradz was fortified with earthen ramparts, that during the inspection were ‘partly touched by old age, partly by the roads running on them, and partly also by the houses built on them’.<sup>28</sup> For that reason the inspectors ordered the walls to be repaired (strengthened with sand) and determined the way of conducting these works.

Two ramparts, separated by the moat (or one rampart, the moat and its wall from the side of the city), defended Sieradz from three sides, from the south, west and north. The moat was dry or waterlogged, but not watered.<sup>29</sup> It was 14 m broad and 5 m deep.<sup>30</sup> On the eastern side there were no fortifications of this kind, there the defence was granted by the natural slope.<sup>31</sup> It is probable, however, that the slope was also artificially fortified in some places. The inspectors measured the length of the wall and obtained 2,563 ells.<sup>32</sup> This equals around 1,500 m, and means that the entire circumference of the city was measured.

The Prussian executor of the city walls plan from 1803 acted differently – he excluded the slope. In the eighteenth century the fortifications no longer fulfilled their original role, the ramparts were divided into plots and developed, the walls fell into ruin and were demolished during the Prussian reign. The Cracow gate was still marked on the 1795 city plan, in 1800 only half of it still existed, and it does not appear on the plan of the ramparts from 1803.<sup>33</sup> Although the first of the above-mentioned plans shows significant inaccuracies, the locality of this gate raises no doubts as it is consistent with the course of the rampart to the west from the gate and the lay of the slope in the east.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Prepared by Henryk Rutkowski. Records from town books gathered by Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa.

<sup>21</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 420–424 (earlier works are cited here); R. Rosin, *Miasta do 1572 r.*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Sieradzkiego*, Łódź 1977, p. 79; J. Milczarek, *Sieradz w końcu XVIII i na początku XIX wieku*, “Sieradzki Rocznik Muzealny”, vol. 1, 1985, pp. 37 f.; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, p. 40; A. Kufel-Dzierzowska, *Sieradz w świetle badań wykopaliskowych*, [in:] *Między Północą a Południem*, pp. 190 f.

<sup>22</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 34, 36, 40.

<sup>23</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 421; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 40, 48.

<sup>24</sup> For example in 1573: “porta murata” and “porta de lateribus”, AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, f. 14v; in 1606: “certam particulam fundi valli penes portam muratam [...] et murum civilem”, *ibidem*, no. 14, f. 288. Earlier examples: U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 34, 183.

<sup>25</sup> LWWK 1628, part II, pp. 8–10, 182, part III, p. 5; cf. part I, p. XIII.

<sup>26</sup> LWWK 1628, part II, pp. 83 f.

<sup>27</sup> Sieradz was not an exception, also in Konin and Żnin the circuit of the walls was not closed; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 28, 184, 520 f.

<sup>28</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the town leased rampart plots to the burghers, on the condition that the walls would not be damaged, e.g. in 1591: “partem valli desertati [...] sine [...] dissipatione valli”, AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no 9, f. 410.

<sup>29</sup> “Locum paludinosum sub vallo” (1583), “fosa alias rynstok” (1586), *ibidem*, f. 304, 338.

<sup>30</sup> A. Kufel-Dzierzowska, *Sieradz*, p. 190.

<sup>31</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 424; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 35 f., 41.

<sup>32</sup> LWWK 1628, part II, p. 84.

<sup>33</sup> Plans from 1795 and 1803; SGKP, vol. 10, pp. 573, 575; J. Kobierzycki, *Przyczynki do dziejów ziemi sieradzkiej*, part 2, Warsaw 1918, p. 48; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 423; J. Milczarek, *Sieradz*, p. 38.

<sup>34</sup> From the 1803 it could be assumed that fragments of the gate and the walls were hidden in the building in 15 Kolegiacka Str.; cf. *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 2: *Woj. łódzkie*, Warsaw 1954, pp. 308 f.

The defensive wall, adjoining the Cracow gate on both sides, was short in the east, probably reaching the edge of the slope. It was much longer in the west. The placement of the Cracow gate and the wall based on cartographical sources differs from what was shown by Urszula Sowina of the plans of Sieradz from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. She moved the line of the fortifications too far from the parochial church. As such, her reconstructions of the plots in Wszystkich Świętych street, on the southern border of the city, is unacceptable.<sup>35</sup> The problem of the course of Podmurna street is related to this inaccuracy (or two streets of similar names, one inside the walls, and the other – outside)<sup>36</sup>

Following Jarosław Widawski's example, we take the south-western part of the wall from the 1803 plan (with a small break near the still existent T-shaped house in 2 Ogrodowa Str.). In the spot farthest from the gate, just behind the end of the wall, one can see a narrow road, leading from the city, through the ramparts, to the Kalisz road. The plans from 1795, 1821 and 1823 attest that it was a passage of secondary meaning, but functioning for a long time, since it created a shortcut to the market square, reaching the Gołębia street (today Krótka) diagonally. This shortcut does not exist today (its traces remained in the borders of some of the estates) and we have only approximate knowledge of the planning of this place. Sowina did not see this communication route, that she did not find in the town books. She assumed the division of the western block in Gołębia street only into plots perpendicular to this street.<sup>37</sup> Here it must be said that the best place to cross the line of the fortification for the street leading south-west from the market square was precisely the point where the defensive wall met the earthen rampant.<sup>38</sup> A lane from the Wszystkich Świętych street, on the back of the southern market square block ran towards the same passage (today Ogrodowa street).

A tower, connected with the wall, stood nearby. Its lease was mentioned in 1580.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps the remnants of this tower are in the foundations of the above-mentioned house in 2 Ogrodowa street.<sup>40</sup>

The wooden Warcka gate, situated on the ramparts, closed the exit of the Warcka street, here you could leave the city in a north-westerly direction.<sup>41</sup> In 1599 or 1600 part of this gate was leased.<sup>42</sup>

A third gate in the Sieradz fortifications is also mentioned in the literature on the subject – the Grodzka gate, but the fifteenth and sixteenth century sources fail to mention it. It would be standing in Grodzka street – or on the edge of the slope, or somewhere else.<sup>43</sup>

**The city within the fortifications.** The plans from 1795, 1821 and 1823 formed the basis for the reconstruction of the city layout in the second half of the sixteenth century. The plans were compared with the results of Sowina's studies. The records in the town registers, made during real estate transactions, as well as inspections, played an auxiliary role.

The area within the fortifications did not exceed 14 ha, so it was slightly bigger than 0,5 of Teutonic lan, or 0,75 of Chełmno lan. In the northern edge of the city, on a hill, there was a brick church of St. Stanislaus with a Dominican monastery (founded in the second half of the thirteenth century).<sup>44</sup> The parochial (*fara*) church of All Saints stood on the southern edge (it was built of wood

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<sup>35</sup> The author expresses doubts concerning her reconstruction in various places in her book; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 34, 37, 39, 106–108, 111 f., 114 f., and appendix maps.

<sup>36</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 36 f., 108, 111 f., 117, 180, 183. Podmurna street is mentioned in the second half of the sixteenth century, see: AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 6, f. 70 (1559), no. 9, f. 154v (1574) and other.

<sup>37</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 34, 121 f., and appendix map.

<sup>38</sup> This place is mentioned in the 1569 document, mentioning: "particulam certam valli civilis penes murum et angiportum tenden[tem] ad forum septimale, e regione Val. Wędzich telletextoris long[itudine] ad propugnaculum lat[itudine]", AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 14, f. 9v.

<sup>39</sup> "propugnaculum alias baszthę, in vallo situm domui Stanislai Pieczka contiguo, [...] ea tum conditione, ut murum non dissipet et via publica ibidem salva maneat", AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, f. 400.

<sup>40</sup> W. Pogorzelski, *Sieradz*, Włocławek 1927, pp. 73, 75, 93 f., 139 f.

<sup>41</sup> Gate mentioned e.g. in 1563, 1575, 1585. AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, ff. 18, 173v, 336. See also: Widawski, Mury, p. 423; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 32 f.

<sup>42</sup> "certam partem, id est medium portae Wartensis hon. Joanni Swiebodka [?]", AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 14, f. 150.

<sup>43</sup> SGKP, vol. 10, p. 575; W. Pogorzelski, *Sieradz*, p. 76; Widawski, Mury, p. 424; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 41, 148, 151 f.

<sup>44</sup> A. Grzybkowski, *Wczesnotycki kościół i klasztor dominikański w Sieradzu*, Warszawa 1979.

during the location of the city in the thirteenth century, later it was rebuilt in brick after the fire of 1447; the gothic tower was finished only in 1585).<sup>45</sup>

The Sieradz market square is based on a rectangular plan, the longer sides are 120,5 each, and the shorter sides – 69 and 67,5 m. Taking into consideration the supposed distortion of the original size, it is assumed that during the location the market square was meant as two squares, each with sides equal to 100 ells (an ell being 62,6 cm).<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the longer frontages consisted of two building blocks (four plots each), separated by narrow streets;<sup>47</sup> our plan does not show that. There was a wooden, at least one-storey, city hall on the market square, with a tower and arcades on three sides. It was situated closer to the centre of the square than the next city hall, that appears on plans of Sieradz.<sup>48</sup> Butcheries and shoemaker's storehouse were adjacent to the seat of the city authorities.<sup>49</sup>

Mnichowska (or Mniska, Mnisza; today Dominikańska) street led from the north-eastern corner of the market square north, towards the Dominican monastery, reaching the borders of the monastery's graveyard.<sup>50</sup> The street parallel to Mnichowska, leaving from the north-western corner of the market square, was called Błotna.<sup>51</sup> Two streets ran from the market square in an easterly direction: Grodzka from the north (now Zamkowa),<sup>52</sup> and Czapnicza from the south.<sup>53</sup> They were connected by Sukiennicza street, also called Tkaczy, running on the back of the eastern market square block and Wszystkich Świętych street.<sup>54</sup> Two streets leaving the market square to the south have already been mentioned: Wszystkich Świętych street going towards the Cracow gate and Gołębia street. Warcka street, already-mentioned as well, went west from the monastery, towards Warcka gate.<sup>55</sup>

There was another market square, other than the main one, within the city in the sixteenth century, called Tatarczy Rynek (circulus cicerinus). It was situated in the north-eastern part of town, in a hollow between the city hill and the Dominican hill. Its shape was irregular (today it is the area between Szewska street in the south and the continuation of Warcka street near the Dominican monastery).<sup>56</sup>

The sixteenth century inspections and inventories did not specify the size of Sieradz buildings.<sup>57</sup> According to the 1628–1632 inspection, there were 262 houses in the city, belonging to the burghers,

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<sup>45</sup> Katalog zabytków, vol. 2, p. 302; cf. U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, p. 20 (author dates foundation of church to the early thirteenth century and joins that fact with prechartered settlement).

<sup>46</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, p. 25.

<sup>47</sup> W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Studium*, p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> A. Kufel-Dzierzowska, *Sieradz*, pp. 190 f.

<sup>49</sup> “domus in circulo penes emporium sutorum ex una et pretorium siradien. ac macellis laniorum” (1581), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, f. 262. Also see Wyrozumski's remarks in his review of Sowina's study, KHKM, vol. 41, 1993, no 2, p. 331.

<sup>50</sup> “domum sitam...penes plateam Mnichowska dicta” (1559), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 6, f. 131 (101?) (erroneous numeration after f. 108v); “domum... acialem in platea monachorum penes vicum monachalis cimiterii”, no. 9m f. 89v; “vicus alias opłotki” (1591), f. 430; cf. W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Studium*, p. 22; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 32 f., 40.

<sup>51</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 32 f., 93–103.

<sup>52</sup> “in platea Castrensi”, AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, ff. 135, 147v; “exustio plateae Castrensis” (1581–33 houses in this street burned then), ibidem, f. 263; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 35, 39, 137–155.

<sup>53</sup> “curiam... inter plateam pileatorum et domunculum advocatiale in platea pannificum” (1589), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, f. 390. Identified according to W. Kalinowski, S. Trawkowski, *Studium* (Sieradz town plan in Middle Ages in 1:5,000 scale). In 1534 noted as Wodna street (Sowina, *Sieradz*, p. 36).

<sup>54</sup> “in platea pannificum penes domum advocatiae Siradensis” (1588), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, f. 350v; “in platea pannificum inter domum Martini Baliczki et plateolam publicam iacentem” (1589), ibidem, f. 366; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 35, 37 f., 128.

<sup>55</sup> “platea Wartensis” (1559), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 6, f. 164; (1575), no. 9, ff. 144, 159v; (1587), f. 357v. According to U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 33, 104 in the fifteenth century a part of what was later Warcka street was called Żydowska street, cf. W. Pogorzelski, *Sieradz*, p. 103. The street running from the south-western corner of the market square to the place where the wall joined the rampart was probably called Murowa. This information from 1599 was given by W.H. Gawarecki, *Wiadomość statystyczno-historyczna o mieście Sieradzu*, “Przegląd Warszawski Literatury, Historii, Statystyki i Rozmaitości”, vol. 1, part 2, 1840, p. 323.

<sup>56</sup> “in domo... in circulo cicerino alias na tatarczim rinku” (1591), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, f. 439; according to Kalinowski and Trawkowski this name appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century, ibidem, *Studium*, s. 23. This market square certainly took its name from the tataraka (kind of buckwheat) market. The localization based on Sieradz inventory data from 1789, AGAD, ASK, XLVI, no. 110, pp. 49–61, where Tatarczy Rynek was situated between Dominikańska Str. and Zamkowa Str.

<sup>57</sup> The sixteenth century inspection gives the price of the rent on houses, that appeared in the same form in seventeenth century, LWWK 1564, part II, p. 1.

21 belonging to the nobility, 40 to the churchmen and 13 houses were abandoned. In total, 323 houses were inhabited, and together with the abandoned ones, there were 336 houses in the city.<sup>58</sup> After the Swedish wars (the Swedish Deluge), according to the 1661 inspection, there were 364 houses then.<sup>59</sup> The inspectors' information in the seventeenth century was related to the houses within the entire city fundum, with suburbs. Almost all houses were of wood.

U. Sowina established that the number of plots within the city fortifications in the first half of the sixteenth century was less than 200. The number of built-up plots, marked on Sieradz plan from 1821 in the same area slightly exceeds 200, according to our calculations. It could also be added that the area within the ramparts could be divided (without isolating the market square and the streets) into roughly 150 regular city plots, 2,500 ells<sup>2</sup> each (the size read from the plan by U. Sowina – 25 ells × 100 ells),<sup>60</sup> or into around 200 plots of 1,800 ells each (the plot visible in the western frontage of the market square – 18 ells × 100 ells).<sup>61</sup> The plots represented on our plan are a hypothesis, in various places close in varying degrees to the state from the sixteenth century. We did not make an attempt at reconstruction where it would be particularly difficult.

**Suburbs.** The suburb along the road leaving the city through the Cracow gate to the south was called St. Nicolas suburb, or the Cracow suburb. The first name was related to the chapel (church) of St. Nicolas standing by the road in the place where the name Poświętne appears.<sup>62</sup> This wooden chapel, remaining till 1812 was located on the basis of the plan of Sieradz from 1795.<sup>63</sup> The suburb name 'Cracow', even though it appears already in the fifteenth century, was accepted no sooner than in the eighteenth century. This suburb neighbored on Błonie, close to the fields of St. Nicolas chapel and city meadows called Chabie.<sup>64</sup> Porzecze, situated south-east of the city, whose lands reached Żeglina, in the sixteenth century constituted a separate suburb of Sieradz. In the south-west of St. Nicholas suburb there was a place (locus) Krasawa, called from a stream of the same name, whose traces can still be found in present-day toponyms.<sup>65</sup>

City fields lay to the west of the city. They reached the borders of the royal village of Kłocko and the city's enclosure (indago civilis alias zapusta). In the latter area the city council began to measure new fields, divided into furlongs and sold to the burghers. As a result, two town villages of Sieradz were created on the cleared thickets: Zapusta Mała and Zapusta Wielka.<sup>66</sup>

The Holy Ghost suburb lay to the north-west of the city, by the road which was a continuation of Warcka street. It was called after the church and hospital of the Holy Ghost situated in this area, attested to at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Part of this suburb was called Nowe Przedmieście Sieradzkie (Sieradz New Suburb), Nowe Miasto Sieradzkie (Sieradz New City) or Nowe Miasto Przedmieście Św. Ducha (New City Suburb of the Holy Ghost) in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>68</sup> At the foot of the Dominican hill stretched the village of Rybaki. Its inhabitants were fishermen, catching fish in the Warta.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>58</sup> LWWK 1628, part. II, p. 78.

<sup>59</sup> AGAD, ASK, LVI, S 2/IV, f. 273.

<sup>60</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 26 f.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Wspólna formuła pomiaru łana frankońskiego i włóki chełmińskiej w średniowieczu na podstawie źródeł z XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 5, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warsaw 1992, pp. 299–311.

<sup>62</sup> "Partem areae... w Łęgu... post suburbium Sancti Nicolai" (1589), AGAD Księgi Miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, k 405; "alodium Koziczyńska in suburbio Sancti Nicolai" (1591), ibidem, f. 428v. Cf. U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 21, 43.

<sup>63</sup> See W. Pogorzelski, *Sieradz*, pp. 59 f.

<sup>64</sup> "In aprico campo S. Nicolai" (1569), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9., f. 7; "pratun civile dictum Chabye" (1571), ibidem, f. 85v; "in planicie Siradiensi alias na Błoniu e regione Nicolai Sancti templi" (1579), ibidem, f. 235; "hortum penes hortum Kaplunowski ex una et planicie civilis alias Błonie" (1580), ibidem, f. 258v; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 44 f.

<sup>65</sup> "a loco Krasawy dicte" (1561) AGAD Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 6, f. 236 v; "rivum Krassawa" (1587), ibidem, no. 9, f. 356.

<sup>66</sup> AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz no. 9, ff. 42, 85, 205, 268 and other (1566–1581).

<sup>67</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 47 f.; J. Szymczak's review of U. Sowina work: PH, vol. 85, 1994, no 1–2, p. 164.

<sup>68</sup> "in suburbio novo Siradensi" (1583), AGAD, Księgi miejskie, Sieradz, no. 9, f. 296; "in Nova Civitate Siradiae" (1589), ibidem, f. 379; "in Nova Civitate anteurbii Siradien. Sancti Spiritus" (1588), ibidem, f. 353; "in suburbio S. Spritus in Nova Civitate antiquitus dicta situm" (1608). Ibidem, no. 14, f. 303.

<sup>69</sup> U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, p. 47.

Sieradz castle, situated among waterlogged meadows on the eastern bank of Żeglina caught fire in 1588, and was still not fully rebuilt in at the time of the 1628–1632 inspection.<sup>70</sup> There was a royal chapel of the Holy Trinity by the castle, fulfilling a collegiate function.<sup>71</sup>

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>70</sup> LWWK 1628, part II, pp. 76–78; L. Kajzer, J. Augustyniak, *Wstęp do studiów nad świeckim budownictwem obronnym Sieradzkiego w XIII–XVII/XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1986, pp. 189–192; T.J. Horbacz, L. Kajzer, *Zamki Sieradzkiego i Wieluńskiego w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, [w:] *Między Północą a Południem*, pp. 98 n., 101 (plan).

<sup>71</sup> Łaski LB, I, p. 432; Librowski, *Repertorium*, p. 140; U. Sowina, *Sieradz*, pp. 18–20.

### III.6.28.1 SIEWIERZ

*Małgorzata Wilska*

Siewierz was the city of the Duchy of Siewierz, which belonged to the bishops of Cracow since 1443. The name 'Siewierz' was spelled 'Siewior', 'Syewyor', or 'Siever' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1554, the version 'Syewyerz' appears, although the old form 'Siewior' was still used sporadically until the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The reconstruction of the urban layout of Siewierz in the sixteenth century was based mainly on the colour plan from 1786 at a scale of 1:4,500, now kept in the National Library,<sup>2</sup> and on the cadastral plan from 1872 at a scale of 1:2,500.<sup>3</sup> Both plans offer a clear image of the spatial arrangement of Siewierz, which generally survived to our times. Major changes occurred in the vicinity of the castle, as a result of changes in the geographical environment. In the sixteenth century, the pond, created on the marshes of the River Czarna Przemsza, encircled the castle and joined the moat. In the nineteenth century the pond disappeared and waterlogged meadows emerged in its place, some of which still exist today.

The visitation of Cardinal Radziwiłł from 1598 and the seventeenth century inventories of the key of Siewierz were our most important archival sources. The first place among studies is occupied by a collective publication edited by Feliks Kiryk entitled *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy. Studia z dziejów księstwa siewierskiego*. It consists of articles by M. Antoniewicz, F. Kiryk, J. Laberschek, Z. Noga, A. Nowakowski, and J. Rajman,<sup>4</sup> and others.

The beginnings of Siewierz remain unknown, and the scholarly debate concerning the original location of the city has yet to end. One of the hypotheses suggests that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the first castellan gord was situated to the southwest of the current city, on a low elevation, around a Romanesque Church of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, in which the synod of the Polish bishops gathered in 1233.<sup>5</sup> A. Tomaszewski spoke against this belief, because the excavations conducted around the church of St. John did not find any remains of a gord.<sup>6</sup> With time, the hamlet was moved into the valley of the River Czarna Przemsza and that is where the town was founded. It obtained town rights in the thirteenth century. The date of founding: 1276, is not certain, as the document of location did not survive.

According to J. Laberschek, the existence of Siewierz is attested to from 1304.<sup>7</sup> The term 'Duchy of Siewierz' was first used in 1341. In the fourteenth century, Siewierz with surrounding territories belonged to the dukes of Bytom, and then to the dukes of Cieszyn.

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<sup>1</sup> See K. Rymut, *Nazwy wsi i miast dawnego księstwa siewierskiego*, [in:] *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy. Studia i materiały z dziejów Siewierza i księstwa siewierskiego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Katowice 1994, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> BN, Zakł. Zb. Kart., sign. 24344.

<sup>3</sup> Stoksik 1994, p. 597–599.

<sup>4</sup> J. Laberschek, *Z dziejów Siewierza i ziemi siewierskiej do końca XIII w.*, [in:] *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy*; M. Antoniewicz, *Terytorium siewierskie w XIV i pierwszej połowie XV w.*, [in:] *ibidem*; Z. Noga, *Osadnictwo i stosunki własnościowe w księstwie siewierskim do 1790 roku*, [in:] *ibidem*; F. Kiryk, J. Rajman, *Miasta ziemi siewierskiej*, [in:] *ibidem*; see also Noga, Słownik and A. Nowakowski, *Dzieje ustroju i prawa księstwa siewierskiego*, Białystok 1991.

<sup>5</sup> J. Laberschek, *Z dziejów Siewierza*, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> A. Tomaszewski, *Romańskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi na obszarze Polski, Czech i Węgier*, Wrocław–Warsaw 1974, pp. 18, 61, 91, 175.

<sup>7</sup> J. Laberschek, *Z dziejów Siewierza*, p. 134.

The year 1443 was a turning point in the history of the city. That year Wenceslaus, the Duke of Cieszyn, sold Siewierz to Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Bishop of Cracow.<sup>8</sup> The purchase contract lists three towns (Siewierz, Czeladź, and Kozięgłowy), and 20 villages. It also concerned the rights of authority over the entire territory of Siewierz, which covered three towns and 60 villages altogether. The land of Siewierz, some 679 km<sup>2</sup>, became in fact a sovereign duchy belonging to the bishops of Cracow, who started to use the title of a duke in 1486. The title survived until 1800.

The bishops of Cracow had legislative and judicial power, granted privileges, and had their own army. In 1519 the complex of Kozięgłowy, bought from Krystyn of Kozięgłowy, became part of the bishop's estates. From then on, the property of the bishops was divided into two keys: the key of Kozięgłowy, and the key of Siewierz. Other villages in the duchy belonged to the nobility, which was dependent on the bishops and did not possess the rights of the nobles from Poland. The gord starosta and the land court resided at the castle in Siewierz.<sup>9</sup>

The city developed around an irregular, rectangular market square. Its eastern side was the longest and slightly bent.

Three exit streets ran from the market square: Bytomska Str. led to the west, Kozięgłowska Str. – north, and Krakowska – south. A two-storeyed brick town hall stood in the market square, it was rebuilt after the fire in 1580. Butchers' stalls were located next to the town hall. The market square was encircled by wooden houses on wall base, or stone houses. The 1668 inventory tells us that there were 33 houses around the Great Market, of which six were uninhabited. At the same time, there were 25 houses in Bytomska Str., 15 in Kozięgłowska Str., and 36 in Krakowska Str., of which four were uninhabited. A marketplace called 'Świńskie targowisko' ('Pig market') was situated in the north-western part of Siewierz, later it was renamed 'Wołowe Targowisko' ('Oxen market'). The inventory from 1668 lists 25 houses there. The south-western side of this square bordered on sand dunes called 'Wielkie Piaski' ('Great Sands'), which can be seen on the plan from 1786. Often, the houses on this side of the market square were being buried under the sand, as confirmed by many entries from the seventeenth century inventories, which mention 'sand-covered' houses in the square.

The burghers of Siewierz were obliged to repair Krakowska Street, which left the market square in the south. A document issued in 1567 emphasized it was 'according to the old custom'.<sup>10</sup>

A hospital and chapel of St. Valentine stood in Krakowska Street in the sixteenth century. A small square, which belonged to the hospital, was situated nearby and from it ran a street called Podrzeczna in the seventeenth century, which led to the parochial Church of St. Matthias the Apostle. The hospital chapel of St. Valentine was made of wood, and bricked only in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1598 there were three altars in the chapel, and the right of patronage belonged to the members of the town council of Siewierz.

The hospital owned three gardens in Siewierz: one situated near the chapel of St. Valentine, one by the chapel of St. Leonard,<sup>11</sup> and one behind the chapel of St. John<sup>12</sup> between gardens of the burghers. Additionally, the hospital had four meadows, three in Piwonia and the so-called Bacholin meadow, as well as two squares right by the chapel. Hospital buildings were to be built there. In 1503 Maciej Wilk, a burgher of Siewierz, had a garden by the River Czarna Przemsza. The garden stretched towards Stary Siewierz ('the Old Siewierz'), i.e. the area of the chapel of St. John. In 1552 bishop Jan Konarski presented the city with fields, a pond, and the confirmation of the right to use the bishop's forest called Piwonie. We know the burghers tried to clear the forest and the thickets to gain additional land for cultivation. In the end of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth Siewierz had 30 lans of town fields and gardens, not including the fields and gardens of the local parson, or castle grounds.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Z. Noga, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>9</sup> A. Nowakowski, *Sądy i prawo w dawnym Siewierzu*, [in:] *Siewierz, Czeladź, Kozięgłowy*, pp. 280–283; see also idem, *Dzieje ustroju*, p. 43.

<sup>10</sup> Noga, *Słownik*, p. 130–131.

<sup>11</sup> The wooden church of St. Leonard stood by the road to Cynków, and for the first time it was mentioned in 1503. There are no cartographic grounds to put it on our plan.

<sup>12</sup> The garden next to the chapel of St. John lay on the grounds of the current village Kuźnica Świętojańska.

<sup>13</sup> F. Kiryk, J. Rajman, *Miasta*, p. 338–339. We could not locate the majority of gardens and fields.

The Church of St. Matthias the Apostle was probably originally a subsidiary of the Church of St. John. After the foundation of the city, it became a parochial church. In the fifteenth century it was wooden, only the chancel was made of stone. It was rebuilt in 1598, and was entirely bricked then. The following villages belonged to the parish in Siewierz: Dziewki, Gołuchowice, Łagisza, Sulików, Trzebieszawice, Warężyn, Wojkowice Komorne, Żelisławice, as well as ironworks established near the city in the sixteenth century (Piwonia, Sulikowska, Czekanka).<sup>14</sup>

There was a school by the parish in Siewierz, it appears in the sources in 1521.<sup>15</sup> The first provost of the school, Stanisław Prandota, was mentioned in 1545.<sup>16</sup> A garden was situated near the church of St. Matthias, it adjoined the castle garden. Also, at the times of Długosz the endowments of the parsons of Siewierz consisted of two ponds, and in the course of the sixteenth century, the number of fish farming ponds increased to six.<sup>17</sup>

A road led from the church square to the castle. The nineteenth century plan calls it Kościelna Street. Another road led from Krakowska Street behind the church, and reached the mill situated on one of arms of the River Czarna Przemsza, below the castle pond. This mill, established at the end of the fifteenth century, was marked on the basis of the 1786 plan. The bishop's privilege from 1567 obliged the city to maintain a public road, which ran from Stary Młyn ('the Old Mill') in Krakowska Street, and the toll (3 dinars from a cart) was to be collected by the town council. In 1574 bishop Franciszek Krasiński established a bridge toll on the River Przemsza in Siewierz, and allowed 3 dinars to be collected from each ox and horse, and 2 dinars from a sheep.<sup>18</sup>

Favourable natural conditions, rapid current of the river, as well as its numerous arms, allowed for eight mills to operate in Siewierz in the sixteenth century, as confirmed by written sources. However, we were unable to localize the mills.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps we should look for them on the ponds and marshes north of the city.

The castle of Siewierz, attested to in the sources in 1337, was probably built already at the beginning of the fourteenth century, among the marshes and swamps of Czarna Przemsza, which gave it natural protection. The castle underwent general conversion in the first half of the sixteenth century, by order of Bishop Piotr Tomicki, and later at the time of Bishop Franciszek Krasiński. Around 1530 the northern wing was converted, along with the tower. Further changes occurred between 1533 and 1574. The entire Renaissance layout of the castle and the fence comes from this period. The burghers of Siewierz were obliged to repair the castle fence, as well as to break the ice on the castle moat in winter, as stated in the 1523 document. In 1574 Bishop Krasiński transferred the costs of maintaining the castle to the nobility and burghers of Siewierz.

B. Guerquin believes<sup>20</sup> the original brick castle was built on an irregular plan, which could be suggested by the shape of the eastern part, residential area with a single row of rooms. Other parts of the castle, together with the tall gate tower with a double entrance from the north, come from the sixteenth century. A two-storeyed gatehouse on a rectangular plan, with a semi-circle wall on the outside, was added to the gate tower in the sixteenth century. The entry and the wicket for the pedestrians were located on the upper floor. Loopholes fit for firearms were situated on both levels. A wooden drawbridge was located before the barbican.<sup>21</sup> It was thrown over the moat, which was connected to the large pond encircling the bishop's residence from the south and east. Large parts of the sixteenth century Renaissance building survived to this day, even though the castle was abandoned at the end of the eighteenth century.

The grounds of the castle demesne and the gardens adjoining the waterlogged meadows lay north of the castle. These parts of the landscape also survived intact to modern times.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 322.

<sup>15</sup> J. Krukowski, *Oświata i szkolnictwo*, [in:] *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy*, p. 554–555.

<sup>16</sup> F. Kiryk, J. Rajman, *Miasta*, p. 325.

<sup>17</sup> One of the ponds belonging to the parson provided fish worth 20 florens in the fifteenth century; see Z. Noga, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 253–254.

<sup>18</sup> Noga, *Słownik*, p. 127.

<sup>19</sup> Z. Noga, *Osadnictwo*, p. 247.

<sup>20</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, pp. 266 f.

<sup>21</sup> W. Błaszczuk, *W starożytności i średniowieczu*, [in:] *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy*, pp. 114–115.

The hereditary office of the vogt is mentioned in Siewierz since the second half of the fourteenth century. It is impossible to determine the endowments of the vogts of Siewierz unambiguously. In the fifteenth century they consisted of 2 lans of arable land, situated near the chapel of St. John. We know that in the sixteenth century the vogt also owned a garden by the River Czarna Przemsza, next to the fish pond, as well as three meadows, a mill by the castle, and a bathhouse.<sup>22</sup>

In the 1530s a fire broke out in the city and destroyed many buildings. Afterwards, in 1535 Bishop Piotr Tomicki freed the city for 10 years from payments. In 1570s fire consumed the buildings by the market square, as well as the town hall in which town books were kept. In 1578 Bishop Piotr Myszkowski allowed the burghers to settle again in the destroyed part of Siewierz, and in 1589 established a rent from the newly-built houses, the money was used for town need. This means that despite the cataclysms the city could blossom in the sixteenth century under the care of the bishops of Cracow. It was a centre of craftsmanship. In 1567 the artisans from Siewierz were freed from castle works. Guilds in Siewierz were granted various privileges, for instance from Bishop Jerzy Radziwiłł, at the close of the sixteenth century. In 1593 the bishop granted a charter to the guilds of tailors and shoemakers. In the following year the same bishop gave a charter to the guild of furriers, and in 1596 granted a common privilege to the guilds of locksmiths, coopers, coppersmiths, harness makers, carpenters, malt makers, and feeders.

In the sixteenth century 12 fairs were organized in Siewierz every year. In 1567 Bishop Filip Padniewski allowed an oxen market to be held every Monday, and freed the city from market fees for five years. Next year the same bishop imposed a rent from wine on the city. In 1580 Bishop Piotr Myszkowski freed the burghers from tolls on iron, salt, cattle and sheep in the entire duchy. These reliefs were probably caused by the difficult situation of burghers after the fire in the city, and the Bishop of Cracow wanted Siewierz to prosper.

Many important routes led through Siewierz and the entire duchy. The customs house in Siewierz appears for the first time in a document issued in 1223. The road Cracow–Wrocław, running through Będzin, Sławków, Olkusz, as well as its branch Siewierz–Czeladź, crossed the city. Siewierz lay on the tract of routes running from Cracow and Lesser Poland to Greater Poland (through Koziegłowy), and of international routes to Bavaria through Bohemia to Ruthenia.<sup>23</sup>

This important location of the Duchy of Siewierz, also in terms of trade, between Silesia and the Crown, greatly increased the value of every piece of land. This was the result of numerous border conflicts with Silesia and the Crown, from the sixteenth century until the eighteenth. The Duchy of Siewierz ceased to exist in 1790, when it was incorporated into the Crown.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>22</sup> Noga, Słownik, p. 130.

<sup>23</sup> See the commentary on the road map in AHP Cracow volume, and chapter III.5.1 in this volume.

### III.6.29.7 WARSAW

*Wanda Szaniawska*

The reconstructed plan of Warsaw shows the entire agglomeration at the close of the sixteenth century. At the time, the agglomeration had two centres: Old Warsaw (Stara Warszawa) founded at the turn of the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries, and the hundred years younger New Town of Warsaw (Nowe Miasto warszawskie). The suburbs, densely developing along the main tracts and field roads, were under the jurisdiction of both towns. Some of the fields belonging to both towns and a part of the demesne of the starosta's district of Warsaw were divided into plots. The northern and southern suburbs, built along the most important, old route from Czersk to Zakroczym (forming the axis of the settlement of the towns) reached the borders of suburban villages already in 1530: Kałużyn (Folwarki) and Solec in the south, and Polków in the north. In the west, the suburbs were much smaller. The fields – of the town and the demesnes – remained outside the area of urban development. The plan shows only a part of the fields, which stretched further on to the borders of the village Wielka Wola. To the east, the River Vistula defined the border of Warsaw's urban complex. Old Warsaw had access to the sandbanks of the Vistula, including the largest Kępa Solecka (Kawcza, Holenderska and later Saska). The plan shows also some of the settlements on the right bank of the Vistula, where the urbanization process began to develop with the construction of a permanent bridge over the river (1568–1573).

It should be added that up to now research on the urbanization and development of Warsaw failed to recreate the state of the development of the entire city complex at the close of the sixteenth century. Studies focus on individual units of the complex, principally on Old and New Warsaw. However, the diversity of the available source basis, chronological framework and different methods of cartographic presentation prohibit the automatic combination of published reconstructions without further supplementary research.

The plan of Old Warsaw around 1600 reconstructed by St. Żaryn, based mainly on the results of architectural research, provides us with the division of building plots into parcels and shows gothic brick buildings.<sup>1</sup> The plan of the New Town in the fifteenth century, prepared by A. Berdecka on the basis of other plans and written sources, contains only the street network and plots, without ownership division and buildings.<sup>2</sup> Various studies on the development of particular streets and town districts offer valuable help in drawing a detailed plan of the town. These studies describe the history of the old town buildings of the Warsaw chapter,<sup>3</sup> the eastern side of Bernardyńska Street ('przedzamcze', i.e. 'the area before the castle'),<sup>4</sup> as well as an attempt at reconstructing the development of Krakowskie Przedmieście between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> D. Kosacka in her work on the arrangement and nature of the development of the northern suburb in the eighteenth century devoted

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<sup>1</sup> *Rekonstrukcja planu Starego Miasta z ok. 1600 r.*, "Teki Konserwatorska", no. 4; T. Mischał, S. Żaryn, *Najstarsza kamienica warszawska*, Warsaw 1956, drawing 23 on p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Plan Nowego Miasta w XVI w., próba rekonstrukcji*, comp. A. Berdecka, [in:] *Szkice Nowomiejskie*, Warsaw 1961, drawing 7 after p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> A. Berdecka, *Kanonie warszawskie*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 9, 1964, no. 3, pp. 217–232.

<sup>4</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *Z dziejów przedzamcza warszawskiego*, KHKM, vol. 19, 1971, no. 3, plan on p. 334, drawing 6: The supposed arrangement of parcels before the castle in the middle of the sixteenth century (comp. W. Szaniawska).

<sup>5</sup> W. Szaniawska, *Zmiany w rozplanowaniu i zabudowie Krakowskiego Przedmieścia do 1733 r.*, BHS, vol. 29, 1967, no. 3, pp. 285–316, Fig. 6: Krakowskie Przedmieście at the close of the sixteenth century. An attempt at reconstructing the spatial layout and administrative division (factual comp. W. Szaniawska).

the first chapter to the history of the area also in the fifteenth – seventeenth centuries, but without cartographic representation of the changes occurring.<sup>6</sup>

The lack of any detailed studies on the spatial arrangement of western suburbs, which developed on the grounds of the demesne of Warsaw starosta's district and city fields, impedes our efforts at reconstructing the entire urban complex in the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The published plans of these areas show the development in the first and second quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup> Only some information concerning the street network and location of several properties could be referred to the end of the sixteenth century. We also lack work on the spatial development of the eastern suburbs, stretching in a narrow belt on the slopes of the scarp of the Vistula and the river's bank.

Z. Biernacki's<sup>9</sup> and T. Wyderkova's<sup>10</sup> describe changes in the Vistula's channel and the character of the right-bank settlement, important for the urban complex of Warsaw.

The first attempt at a detailed reconstruction of the entire Warsaw urban complex around 1600, showing general development of parcels, was made for the purposes of the exposition at the Muzeum Historyczne M. St. Warszawy ('The Historical Museum of Warsaw').<sup>11</sup> This commentary refers to this reconstructions and the publications mentioned, and introduces some supplementing information and possible corrections thanks to an expansion of the research basis, both in terms of written sources and cartographic records.

The geographical environment and road network were prepared – apart from the aforesaid publications – on the basis of written sources and plans of the city and its vicinity from the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> The oldest, detailed delineations of Warsaw from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries are only known from various records, as they were lost.<sup>13</sup> Still, the three surviving fragmentary plans from the first half of the seventeenth century lack geographical elements. Only one

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<sup>6</sup> D. Kosacka, *Północna Warszawa w XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 1970, chapter 1: *Dzieje północnej Warszawy do końca XVII wieku*, pp. 9–38. Reproduced plans concern the seventeenth–eighteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> Fragmentary data for the sixteenth century about some of the properties in the western part of suburbs can be found in the works of A. Kraushar, F. M. Sobieszczański, Zb. Rewski devoted to the castle layout and in W. Małcużyński, *Rozwój terytorialny Warszawy*, Warsaw 1900.

<sup>8</sup> A. Miłobędzki, *Nowo odkryte warsawiana w Archiwum Tylmana z Gameren*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 6, 1961, no. 1, pp. 55–60. Two plans based on the urban layout showing the project of bastion fortifications in 1621: a) a drawing by an unknown author with the outline of the fortifications on a quite detailed urban plan of the north-western suburbs of Old Warsaw. Original in Biblioteka Uniwersyteku Warszawskiego ('the Library of Warsaw University', hereinafter BUW), Gabinet Rycin ('Department of Drawings'), no. 693. T. Zarębska, *Plan Warszawy z pierwszej połowy XVII w.*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", 1964, no. 3, pp. 233–254. Drawing on p. 234, no. 1. The plan of Warsaw from around 1641 inside the embankments from 1621. Shows Warsaw and Praga, the streets, division of property, location of buildings, scale around 1:7,500. Original: Gdańsk, Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe ('Voivodeship State Archive', hereinafter WAP), III 255/652, p. 529, in I. Hoppe, *Ordentliche Beschreibung historische Erzählung aller fürnehmsten Begebenheiten, so sich in dem vierjährigen Kriege...*

<sup>9</sup> The reconstruction of the channel of the Vistula in the fourteenth–eighteenth century in Z. Biernacki's work for the Historical Museum of Warsaw, scale 1:10,000, coloured ink drawing. Copy on permanent exposition. The Plan of the development of Warsaw in the thirteenth–fourteenth century, room 1.

<sup>10</sup> T. Wyderkova, *Z dziejów Pragi do 1656 roku*, "Rocznik Warszawski", vol. 5, 1964, Warsaw 1966, pp. 5–26, see p. 6, Fig. 1: Schemat układu własnościowego na Pradze w połowie XVII w. wg planu M. Deutscha z r. 1765; eadem, *Urbanizacja i zagospodarowanie prawobrzeżnej Warszawy w okresie od XVI do początków XIX w.*, [in:] *Dzieje Pragi*, Warsaw 1970, pp. 137–152, on p. 138 copy of the above plan.

<sup>11</sup> Warsaw around 1600 by Anna Berdecka, Wanda Szaniawska, plan at a scale 1:1,000, displayed on the exposition "Siedem wieków Warszawy" ("Seven Centuries of Warsaw") in the Historical Museum of Warsaw, room 7. Published as a folder *Rozwój układu przestrzennego i zabudowy Warszawy w latach 1300–1655* [no date]. Reproduced in I. Gieysztorowa's version [in:] *Atlas historyczny Polski*, ed. W. Czapliński, T. Ładogórski, Warsaw–Wrocław 1967, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Recently, several valuable historical catalogues containing plans of Warsaw have been published. These are: *Varsaviana w zbiorach drezdeńskich. Katalog planów i widoków Warszawy oraz rysunków architektonicznych budowli warszawskich okresu saskiego*, Warszawa 1965. Joint work of the Historical Museum of Warsaw. It encompasses part of the Dresden collection (348 pieces) in Saxon State Archives in Dresden. The catalogue of the entire collection is being prepared (1000 pieces). *Katalog rysunków z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, part 1: *Varsaviana. Rysunki architektoniczne, dekoracyjne, plany i widoki z XVIII–XIX wieku*, comp.. T. Sulerzyska, S. Sawicka, Warsaw 1967; D. Kosacka, *Plany Warszawy XVII i XVIII w. w zbiorach polskich. Katalog*, Warsaw 1970.

<sup>13</sup> See D. Kosacka, *Plany Warszawy* (no. 1) "Varsavia nobile in Polonia oppidum ad Vistulam positum accuratissima delineatio". The end of the sixteenth century; (no. 3) "Abrys Starego miasta w Warszawie", 1651. Marcin Łukaszewicz, a receiver and notary of Warsaw; (no. 5) "Delineacja miasta Starej i Nowej Warszawy oraz cyrcumferencja pryncypalniejszyk jurydyk". Augustyn Locci, the Court Constructor of King John III from around 1686.

of the plans includes the road network, up-to-date also at the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>14</sup> The following eighteenth century plans of Warsaw contain valuable information about the hydrography, roads, forestation and the range of fields: by C. Albrecht from 1705, by C.F. Hübner from 1733, by P.R. de Tirregaille from 1762 and by M. Deutsch from 1777.<sup>15</sup> Also helpful were the cartographic drawings of individual town districts, streets and plots.<sup>16</sup> The most complete characteristic of the right-bank grounds was shown by F. C. Schmidt in his drawings from 1733 and 1739, and by M. Deutsch on his plans.<sup>17</sup> Images of Warsaw from the end of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth provide us with supplementary details.<sup>18</sup> The images show mostly the topography of river-side areas and the location of the sandbars of the Vistula.

The characteristic feature of all the plans mentioned is the fact that they portray only the most important elements of the geographic environment, which was much more diversified outside the urban complex. In this respect, the northern suburbs of the left-bank Warsaw and the areas situated on the right bank of the Vistula are better documented. The main element of the lay of the land of the left-bank Warsaw is the scarp, cut by the ravines of the old streams. Until the end of the seventeenth century, the scarp determined the direction in which the city developed. The main hydrographic element presented on our map was naturally the Vistula, but other important watercourses were also included. These were the rivulets Belcząca and Nalewka, flowing towards the Vistula through the north-western suburban grounds. Their course was based on the plans published in D. Kosacka's work.<sup>19</sup> Smaller streams, roughly localized on the basis of various source entries and absent from the old plans, flowed through southern suburbs, namely: the Kamionka, between the estates ('jurydyka') of the Franciscan Sisters and the castle, and the Jordan near Gnojna Street (Bednarska).<sup>20</sup> The presented course of the streams is only a hypothesis, it refers to the canals, which existed there later and were recorded on the delineations of A. Hiż, and to the ravines shown on the panoramas of the town. The following watercourses from the Middle Ages were excluded from our plan: the Dunaj, which supplied the moat surrounding the old town's defensive wall, and an unknown canal mentioned in a document from 1413, which flowed 'ex opposito' of the church of St. John.<sup>21</sup> Probably it was canalized already at the close of the fifteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Waterlogged areas and ponds at the foot of the scarp, between Gnojna Street and the ravine of the later Oboźna Street, were marked on the basis of the eighteenth century situational plan of the Kazimierzowski Palace<sup>23</sup> and Hübner's plan of Warsaw from 1733.

Small meadows survived as town pasturelands in this densely developed area. They lay near the rivulet Nalewka. Larger thickets grew on the sandbanks of the Vistula and waterlogged riverside grounds. Forested areas lay beyond the northern suburbs.<sup>24</sup>

The nomenclature reflected the diversity of the substratum. The undeveloped sandbar in the southern suburb was called 'Piaski' ('sands'),<sup>25</sup> and the 'Glinki'<sup>26</sup> ('clays') located to the north referred

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<sup>14</sup> See footnote 8, item a.

<sup>15</sup> See D. Kosacka, *Plany Warszawy*, no. 23, 25, 54.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 35–167.

<sup>17</sup> *Varsaviana w zbiorach drezdeńskich*, no. 7, 8; see also D. Kosacka, *Plany Warszawy*, no. 25, 362.

<sup>18</sup> These are the following views: wood engraving [in:] *Coństitutie seymu walnego...*, Cracow 1581; from around 1590 copperplate by J. Brau, F. Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 6, Cologne 1618, table after p. 47; from around 1627 ink drawing, original in Gdańsk, WAP, sign. 1/63 no. 503, A. Boot's relation; from around 1630 oil on canvas, original in Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Bavarian Administration of the State Collection of Art; copy in the Historical Museum of Warsaw, sign. 291; from 1656 copperplate by S. Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Regis... gestis Commentariorum Libri Septem...*, Nürnberg 1696, table 54.

<sup>19</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>20</sup> "[...] rivulus Camyonka prope turrin ducalis curiae" 1485, AGAD, MK 9, f. 171v; "super aquam dictam Jordan", AGAD, Grodzkie Warszawskie dissoluta, 26, f. 112.

<sup>21</sup> T. Wierzbowski, *Przywileje królewskiego miasta stołecznego Warszawy 1376–1772*, Warsaw 1913, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> This stream is mentioned in 1526 near the Mansjonaria (property on the corner of Grodzka Street) as a canal: "ad fossatae seu canalis ripam", AGAD, MK, 41, f. 88.

<sup>23</sup> *Varsaviana w zbiorach drezdeńskich*, situational plans of the Kazimierzowski Palace, no. 235–252.

<sup>24</sup> LM 1565, vol. 1, p. 15: Forest near Polków "there is good timber for building there, quite a lot of oak".

<sup>25</sup> AGAD, the collection of the National Museum, not foiled. Entry about the setting of the king's camp "in loco dictum Piaski", 1620.

<sup>26</sup> The name often appears in the town books of New Warsaw, e.g. AGAD, Nowa Warszawa, no. 4, f. 47, *ibidem* no. 134, f. 132.

to the clay bed situated on the edges of the scarp, particularly in the area of Nowe Miasto and below the Bernardines' estates, and exploited by the city's potters and brick makers.

The spatial layout of the city was centred around the old route between Czersk and Zakroczym, parallel to the River Vistula near the edge of the scarp, and two streets, running at right angles from the Czersk–Zakroczym road. One of these roads led through the suburban villages to Tarczyn and then to Wrocław, the other – through Wielka Wola, Błonie and Sochaczew to Poznań. The local road layout and the street networks of both cities and the suburbs were based on these routes and connected them with the rural background, the Vistula and the long-distance tracts. Fragments of these roads appear on the oldest surviving plan from 1621 and partially also on the plan of the town Leszno from 1654.<sup>27</sup> Later, some fragments of the western ingoing roads to Krakowskie Przedmieście and a fragment of the Poznań highway (the end of Długa Street) were regulated and moved due to the construction of the bastion embankments (1621–1624), the foundation of a magnate town of Leszno and the realization of the Saxon Axis.<sup>28</sup>

Our detailed reconstruction of the spatial layout of the urban complex focused on the two cities and their suburbs. The main task – the reconstruction of the street layout and building plots with their division into parcels and the character of the development around 1600. The abundant supply of historical plans was not enough to fulfil our assumptions, as the earliest plans come from the seventeenth century, and despite some interesting details, they present a different picture of the development, and the much-changed spatial layout of the city. Therefore it was necessary to compare the cartographic data with the written sources.

The valuable existing source publications on this issue<sup>29</sup> and the rich collection of surviving archival records fail to provide the satisfactory documentation required for a precise reconstruction, devoid of hypothetical localization of some of the plots and backstreets. Further problems were caused by the lack of a uniform source basis for the entire city complex. The most valuable information came from the lists of names of the payers of the *szos* tax, ordered by streets and plots. This type of material survived only for the Old Warsaw and its suburbs.<sup>30</sup> Still, not every property was included in these lists, which usually ignored the estates exempted from the town's jurisdiction, which belonged to the king, the clergy, churches and monasteries. That is why in order to determine the possibly most precise number of parcels at the close of the sixteenth century, we included, apart from the lists of the town tax, all surviving inspections and other tax records from 1565–1655.<sup>31</sup> These were used in a retrogressive way to correct the localization and number of parcels recorded in the most useful town tax record from 1594–1620.<sup>32</sup> In the cases of properties, which were not subject to town law, various data obtained from real estate transactions helped us to complement the missing information.<sup>33</sup> The street network and the lists of properties around 1600 were prepared on the basis of the gathered materials.

The general urban arrangement of Old Warsaw survived without major changes, thanks to gothic brick buildings. However, in several places it differed from what was depicted on St. Żaryn's plan. Various changes occurred in the sixteenth century in the gothic arrangement. The growing population seized those pieces of town grounds which still remained unoccupied. Streets along the city walls were built over (at the back of the block by the market square from the Vistula, in Krzywe Koło Street,

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<sup>27</sup> D. Kosacka, *Plany Warszawy*, no 92: "Delineatio Novae Leschnae cum partibus adiacentibus" (known from a reproduction), 1654. The junction of Długa Street with Droga ku Św. Trójcy, before the jurydyka was established. The delineation of Leszno Street forced the continuation of Długa Street be moved.

<sup>28</sup> The realization of the Saxon Axis pushed the road to the starosta's demesne (Królewska) and forced the regulation of the road to Rakowiec.

<sup>29</sup> *Źródła do dziejów Warszawy. Rejestry podatkowe i taryfy nieruchomości 1510–1770*, ed. A. Berdecka, J. Rutkowska, A. Sucheni-Grabowska, H. Szwanowska, Warsaw 1963; LM 1565.

<sup>30</sup> AGAD, Stara Warszawa (hereinafter: SW) 534; town tax from 1579–1593 (ff. 92–133) from 1598–1606 (ff. 164–168v), from 1594–1620 (ff. 191–234), AGAD, Warszawa Ekonomiczne, 697, town tax from 1620–1668.

<sup>31</sup> See footnote 29 and AGAD, Warszawa Ekonomiczne, sign. 1431 "Comput osiadłości miasta Starej Warszawy y circumferentey jego... 1655...", published in parts in: *Źródła do dziejów Warszawy*, pp. 127–131, entitled "Deskripcyja albo komput kamienic, dworów, domów...".

<sup>32</sup> AGAD, SW 534, ff. 191–234.

<sup>33</sup> We used the collection of town books of Old Warsaw: AGAD, SW no. 2–7, 535–544; the town book of New Warsaw: AGAD, NW, no. 1–4, no. 133–134 and fragments from the Warsaw court books.

near Krakowska Gate), such as the ingoing streets and backstreets, which divided the block (e.g. on the western side of Świętojańska Street, in the northern block by the market square, in the southern frontage of Piekarska Street). After 1579, four small parcels situated by the city walls were isolated from a square in Szeroki Dunaj Street. The town's chandlery was located there.<sup>34</sup> In the middle of the fifteenth century, the Jews were evicted from the town. Since then, the parcels in the Jewish district situated at the back of Piwna Street, between the streets Piekarska and Dunaj, were gradually taken over by the burghers. The old horse mill, situated by the city walls near the old ghetto, was also removed in the middle of the sixteenth century, and ten small parcels were marked out in its place, on which small wooden servant houses were built.<sup>35</sup> The development of the city buildings was accompanied by the growth of church and monastery complexes. The Augustans gained several properties inside the walls, purchased or endowed. As a result, Cudna Street, recorded still in the middle of the sixteenth century, ceased to exist.<sup>36</sup>

As a residence of the subsequent *sejms* and the monarch, Warsaw gained political importance and the castle complex was expanded, resulting in several changes on the eastern side of Bednarska Street. Still in 1568, four properties in this street belonged to various noblemen and there was the office of the gord court of Warsaw land situated resting on the axis of Grodzka Street. The development of the royal castle initiated by Sigismund August (1568–1572) required that three plots be liquidated, and only cellars remained of the old court building.<sup>37</sup> The new arrangement of the area before the castle from around 1600 – when the castle was in the process of general reconstruction ordered by Sigismund III – was best shown on the plan from the beginning of the seventeenth century, which included the draft drawings showing the floor of the western part of the castle and the adjacent areas.<sup>38</sup> The plan depicts a plot situated by the city walls, the location of Krakowska Gate and the direction in which one entered the castle, probably already in the fifteenth century. The arrangement presented on the plan, except for the planned elements, was confirmed by the written sources.

It should be noted here that the number of parcels presented on the reconstructed plan does not equal the number of properties listed in some streets in the town tax registers. The parcels were often divided and consisted of two residential/utilitarian buildings. Such a situation was particularly common on the western side of Grodzka Street and the northern frontage of the market square. However, given the scale of our plan, we decided not to mark these parcels and only include them in the list provided below.

The formation of suburbs, in their sixteenth century shape, ended in the 1530s, encompassing the area of some 100 ha (without city fields), so almost four times more than the area of both towns.<sup>39</sup> Fifteen streets comprised the communication network. On the western side they formed a functional arrangement connected with the main roads and field roads, crystallized in the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the road running between the city fields and developed suburban fields gained in importance. It was called 'okolna' ('encircling') or 'droga ku św. Trójcy' ('the road to the Holy Trinity'), that is leading to the chapel of this denomination founded in 1544. The road connected the northern and southern suburbs, and also met other roads leading to suburban villages. Several small side and back alleys were created apart from main streets with front buildings. The alleys divided large parcel complexes on the Rynek Przedmiejski ('Suburban Market Square') and by the road to the Holy Cross. On the eastern side of the suburbs, the ravines on the scarp were turned into streets.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> AGAD, SW 534, f. 210.

<sup>35</sup> AGAD, SW 534, ff. 101, 132.

<sup>36</sup> *Szkice staromiejskie*, Warsaw, pp. 69–70.

<sup>37</sup> AGAD, ASK, I, no. 217, f. 53, expenses to demolish the "barn" to the ground level.

<sup>38</sup> A. Miłobędzki, *Projekty zamków Zygmunta III w Archiwum Tylniana van Gameren*, BHS, vol. 22, 1960, no. 4, p. 368.

<sup>39</sup> The area of Old Warsaw is now 10 ha, together with the defensive walls, New Warsaw around 13 ha, the entire urban complex at the close of the sixteenth century 125 ha.

<sup>40</sup> "Platea Vistulam versus" – that is what the ravine of the present-day Bednarska Street was called, and sometimes also the road and alley running along the southern edge of the Bernardines' property.

**Table 1. The number of parcels and properties in Old Warsaw around 1600**

Name of the street	Number of properties		Number of plots reconstructed by the author	Remarks on the number of properties based on the town tax register according to St. Żaryn (hereinafter <i>Ż.</i> ) – see footnote 1
	In 1565 according to the inspection	In 1600 according to the town tax register		
Rynek (Market Square)	40	40	40	Without the town hall
Św. Jana (Jezuicka)	6	8	8	<i>Ż.</i> marked three parcels in the western frontage of the street, while there were only two at the time
Grodzka (Świętojańska)	23	28	29	Without the church of St. John. <i>Ż.</i> marks two streets in the western frontage. One of them had already been developed at the time
Bernardyńska	9	10	10	<i>Ż.</i> does not mark all parcels on the western side. Wrong hypothesis concerning the arrangement of the parcels on the side of the castle
Św. Marcina (Piwna)	15	17	10	Without the church and monastery of the Augustans. In 1600 there were five properties at the back of Grodzka Street. <i>Ż.</i> gives a different division of the western frontage
Piekarska	17	22	15	In 1600 the properties in Żydowska Street and those created on the location of the old mill were included
Piwna	15	17	15	In 1600 properties on the side of Piwna and Dunaj streets were listed under Piekarska Street. <i>Ż.</i> marks 14 parcels
Dunaj	12	20	20	<i>Ż.</i> does not mark parcels by the city walls on the northern side
Żydowska	5	does not appear	–	In 1600 the parcels were ascribed to Piekarska Street and Dunaj Street. In the reconstruction – to Dunaj Street
Nowomiejska	12	15	15	In 1600 the corner property in Krzywe Koło was included, as well as two side properties of the block by the market square
Krzywe Koło	18	23	18	In 1600 five properties at the back of the market square block were included
Kanonie	not listed	not listed	14	Properties excluded from the city's jurisdiction
Dziekania	not listed	not listed	3	Properties excluded from the city's jurisdiction
In total	172	200	197	Without the town hall, two churches and a monastery

The reconstruction of the spatial arrangement of the suburbs of Old Warsaw was prepared on the basis of a plan created by an unknown author in 1621<sup>41</sup> and Hoppe's plan from around 1641. The arrangement of blocks and streets in the south-western part of the suburbs towards the end of the sixteenth century was shown on the first of the quoted plans, whereas the plan by I. Hoppe, despite having many valuable details, contains numerous errors and gaps. For instance, it fails to show Dziekańska – a small alley listed in town tax registers, or Łaza-rzowska Street. On the other hand, there is a street marked on this plan, which was a continuation of Kozia Street in the south-western direction separating peripheral burgher properties from the estates of the nobility. Perhaps this street

<sup>41</sup> See footnote 8, no. a.

appeared in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. It was not included in our plan, which presents the situation at the close of the sixteenth century.

Ownership division was prepared and depicted in detail based on the registers of the taxpayers of the town tax from 1579–1594. Table 2 shows the suburban street network and the number of properties.

Table 2 proves that the tax registers from different years show a different number of recorded streets and properties. The most complete list of streets was included in the town tax register from 1579, whereas the next register – from 1594 – leaves out several of the streets, in which there were properties, whose owners were excluded from town jurisdiction. These were the streets on the eastern side of Krakowskie Przedmieście, running down towards the Vistula *Vicus stricta* and *Vicus post Moniales*, with residences of the nobility and clergy, and Dziekańska Street (*Decanatus*) located on the grounds belonging to the chapter of St. John.

The table reveals some significant divergences between the numbers of parcels in one street. In certain cases it was a reflection of ownership changes due to dividing or combining several parcels in the hands of one owner, as in Długa Street and Krakowskie Przedmieście. Yet the differences in Freta and Rybitwy streets are the result of a clerk's error, who either overlooked properties, or recorded properties in two neighbouring streets under one name.

Ownership division recorded in town tax registers was reconstructed after the seventeenth and eighteenth century plans were compared with source records on individual properties arranged in chronological order. Still, we failed to determine even hypothetical localization of many parcels.

In the light of the reconstructed suburban layout we can see clusters of short, narrow parcels with dense residential and utilitarian development (Rynek Przedmiejski, Freta Street, Mostowa Street) and rows of spacious garden plots with houses, manors and various type of utilitarian buildings (Łazarzowska Street, Przeczna Street, Droga ku św. Krzyżowi).

The sources mention also several demesnes situated at the exits of suburban streets.<sup>42</sup> Larger parcels, especially on the eastern side of Droga ku św. Krzyżowi, contained several properties belonging to different owners.<sup>43</sup> Yet these secondary ownership divisions inside larger parcels were not included in the reconstruction, hence the differences in the numbers between the division marked on the plan and the number of properties in Table 2.

In the case of New Town, the possibilities of determining the number of plots and ownership divisions look much worse. Apart from the entries mentioning the general number of properties found in the inspections, only one list of possessors from 1510 survived for the whole sixteenth century<sup>44</sup> and several for the second half of the seventeenth.<sup>45</sup> Therefore we decided to base our reconstruction on all available sources, correcting them with data from the town books of New Warsaw from 1477–1598.<sup>46</sup> Still, we failed to depict the complete development, ownership relations or the character of parcel development, particularly of backstreets, parcels located by the Vistula and by the outgoing roads to the north and west towards the suburbs of New Town.

The dense urban complex was limited to Freta Street<sup>47</sup> and the blocks around the market square. In other areas, along the streets Zakroczymska, Morgowska and the roads leading down towards the Vistula the plots were occupied by scattered buildings and gardens. Throughout the sixteenth century the formation of the streets in Now Town continued (Garncarska Str., Szewcka Str., Tylna Str.). In the middle of the sixteenth century, a fragment of Świętojska Street marked the border between the jurisdiction of Old and New Warsaw.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Town tax register from 1594–1620 mentions an apothecary's demesne by Krakowskie Przedmieście and three demesnes in Długa Street: Bolkowski, Płochiński, Półtoraków.

<sup>43</sup> This mostly concerns the parcels bestowed to the mansionaries and vicars. The parcels were leased on emphyteutic law to the burghers of Warsaw.

<sup>44</sup> See *Źródła do dziejów Warszawy*, footnote 29.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*; Spis Obywatelów Miasta Nowej Warszawy 1655, Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Extranea IX 82.

<sup>46</sup> AGAD, Nowa Warszawa, no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 133, 134, 135.

<sup>47</sup> Part of Freta Street from Świętojska Str. to Rynek Nowego Miasta was considered part of the New Town. This fragment of Freta Street was also called "the street to New Town" or "Freta Novae Civitatis".

<sup>48</sup> AGAD, SW 4, f. 16v, (year 1553).

**Table 2. Names and number of properties according to tax registers from 1565–1594**

1565 inspection		1579 town tax register		1594 town tax register		Remarks
Name of the Street	Number of properties	Name of the street	Number of properties	Name of the street	Number of properties	
<b>Southern suburbs</b>						
Rynek Przed- miejski	40	Subur- bium Bernardi- norum	42	Subur- bium Craco- viense	74	Originally called Freta Czimensis, Suburbium Czimense, since the wane of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century - Suburbium Bernardinorum (after the church and monastery of St. Bernard). In the last quarter of the 16 <sup>th</sup> century two fragments of the street were differentiated: Rynek Przedmiejski and Droga ku Św. Krzyżowi (a chapel founded prior to 1508)
Świę- tokrzyska	27	Platea S. Crucia	27			
Bykowiec	24	Bykowiec	12	Bykowiec	12	Bykowiec was the name denoting part of the area on the eastern side of Droga ku Św. Krzyżowi. Hence it was often identified: "Platea s. Crucia Bykowiec dicta", "in platea Bykowiec ad s. Crucem", "in Sub-urbio Cracoviensi vulgo Krakowskie sive etiam Bykowiec"
		Vicus Strictum	14			
Za Mnisz- kami	20	Vicus post Moniales	20			The road behind the monastery of the Sisters of St. Francis leading towards the Vistula. Properties situated here were not localized
		Platea Vistulam versus	17	Platea Vistulam versus	17	Droga ku Wiśle - the road leading to the Vistula (later Bednarska Street), properties listed under this name were not localized
		Decanatus	22			Dzickańska Street (now Trębacka) located on the grounds belonging to Warsaw chapter, so the properties leased by the burghers were excluded from town jurisdiction
Laza- rowska	8	Laza- rowska	11	Laza- rowska	11	Sometimes called Kozia Street. In the beginning of the 17 <sup>th</sup> century the new name - Senatorska - becomes popular, as this road was used by the delegates and senators to reach the election grounds in Wola
Przečna	7	Przečna	5	Przečna	5	In the beginning of the 17 <sup>th</sup> century the other name - Miodownicza (later Miodowa) - gains in popularity. Tax registers fail to show the total number of properties
		Post muros	18			Parcels situated outside the city walls, localized in various places, partly in what later became Podwale

1565 inspection		1579 town tax register		1594 town tax register		Remarks
Name of the Street	Number of properties	Name of the street	Number of properties	Name of the street	Number of properties	
<b>Northern suburbs</b>						
Długa	26	Longa	45	Longa	90	The growing number of properties in this street is the result of the division of old demesnes and large garden plots
Freta	25	Freta	30	Freta*	74	Information about the number of properties only relate to Freta Street in Old Town (the border ran along Swietojska Street)
Waliszewo	34	Waliszewo	35	Waliszewo	38	The road to the crossing over the Vistula. After the bridge was constructed (1568-1573) it was called Mostowa
		Post Pontem	4			
Rybitwa	36	Piscatoria	85	Rybitwia	3	Localization of properties in this street was not determined

\* Including properties in Rybitwia.

It was difficult to reconstruct the buildings occupying the Rynek Nowomiejski (the Market Square of New Town, 140 × 120 m), which was almost twice as large as the Rynek Starej Warszawy (the Market Square of Old Warsaw, 70 × 93 m). The town hall stood at the centre of the market square. Plots containing residential houses, market stalls and butchers' stalls were located on both sides of the town hall.<sup>49</sup> Sources suggest there existed two narrow blocks divided by an alley leading to the town hall, situated on the southern edge of the eastern block. The plan of New Town from 1667 confirms this arrangement.<sup>50</sup> However, the inner market block depicted on the plan is shaped like an irregular quadrangle, with a truncated northern frontage, better connected with the communication route towards Zakroczymska Street,<sup>51</sup> and this was the shape presented on our reconstructed plan.

The division of grounds belonging to the Świętojska *jurydyka* of the Canons Regular was the source of many problems. Already in the middle of the sixteenth century there were 29 habitations here, and some gardens with breweries and granaries.<sup>52</sup> These were leased by Warsaw burghers by virtue of the law of emphyteusis. Yet there are no data concerning their size and arrangement, so we were unable to introduce even a hypothetical division of these grounds at the close of the sixteenth century. Precise division of the parcels in this block appears only on the plans from the eighteenth century, which are roughly similar to the divisions marked on the plan of New Town from 1667. On the other hand, Hoppe's plan from around 1643 shows a different depth and width of the parcels in this *jurydyka*. No plan shows the number of properties listed in the register of leaseholders from 1543–1575.<sup>53</sup> We were also unable to determine the ownership division of the riverside area, as we failed to establish the localization and number of properties at the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>54</sup> However, the source documentation allowed us to draw a quite probable division of blocks in Szewska,

<sup>49</sup> The list of properties based on entries from New Warsaw town books; AGAD, Nowa Warszawa, no. 3, 4, 134.

<sup>50</sup> The plan of the part of the city from Długa Street to Franciszkańska Street and from Rynek Nowego Miasta to Nalewki Street. Lithography by J. Herkner, scale around 1:11,000; see D. Kosacka, *Plany Warszawy*, no. 124.

<sup>51</sup> On Hoppe's plan of Warsaw from around 1641 the buildings inside the market square were marked as a rectangular. The reconstruction of A. Berdecka (footnote 2) for the sixteenth century marks two rectangular market square blocks.

<sup>52</sup> Mentioned in "Resignationes et cessiones ortorum et bonorum et arearum Sancti Georgii Warschowiensis...", MS in BJ, no. 5189, f. 327.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, ff. 11–167.

<sup>54</sup> Basing on fragmentary entries and the number of properties listed in the register of the town rents from 1510, we could assume that also at the close of the sixteenth century there were more than 50 properties here.

Garncarska, Zakroczymska and Morgowska Street. The fullest source records concerned the market square properties and those located in Freta Street. Given the difficulties in localizing some of the streets and properties, we provide a list of all materials on the development of New Town in the table.

**Table 3. Names of streets and the number of properties in New Warsaw**

Street	Number of properties		The file of the properties in the second half of the sixteenth century	
	In 1510	In 1544		
Circulus	57	59	59	Rynek (Market Square)
Pl. Fretensis	15	17	17	Freta
Pl. Zacrocimensis	25	35	36	Zakroczymska
Buildings at the back of Zakroczymska Str.	–	12	25	‘‘
Pl. Collateralis Zacrocimensis	13	= Piekarska? 14	14	?
Pl. Textorum	4	= Tylna? 6	8	Tkaczy
Pl. Rybicka	11	12	12	
Tylna Str., behind the Market Sq., from the Vistula	–	8	15	
Pl. Sutorum	–	13	13	Szewcka
Pl. Figulorum	–	6	13	Garncarska (Zduńska)
Pl. Morgowska	–	26	30	
Pl. Vistulam versus	–	4	8	Ku Wiśle
Pl. Przeczna	–	4	12	
Houses in the Market Sq. next to the town hall	–	8	12	
In total	125	224	274	
Rybaki	47	80	86	

Our plan shows parts of right-bank villages: Praga and Kamion, where the urbanization process began at the close of the sixteenth century. The villages, situated favourably along the Vistula, in the closest vicinity of Warsaw and connected with it by a bridge, turned into town settlements in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The literature on the subject claims that already at the close of the sixteenth century the chapter of Płock exploited the opportunity to develop these areas economically and founded the town of Skaryszew in 1590 on some of the grounds of the chapter's village Kamion.<sup>55</sup> However, this belief lacks necessary source confirmation. The documents of the Płock chapter prove that Skaryszew was created in the seventeenth century, probably prior to 1625. It burned down in 1638 and was located again in 1641.

In the seventeenth century Praga became a town settlement. For years this village was a centre of the wood and grain trades. Jan Zamoyski, the Great Chancellor of the Crown often came to Warsaw and appreciated the economic values of Praga. In 1583 he bought it from Jan Praski and in the same year sold it to Marcin Białobrzski, the bishop of Kamieniec, in exchange for six villages. During

<sup>55</sup> T. Wyderkowa, *Dzieje Pragi*, p. 139, the author cited W. Trojanowski, *Kamionek i Praga*, Warsaw 1920, p. 11. Trojanowski based on the inventory of the chapter from 1694 and the documents of the bishop of Płock, but did not provide precise references to the sources. It must be stated that the files of the Płock chapter from 1578–1656 (microfilms in the National Library in Warsaw) oppidum Skaryszew appears only in 1630, whereas still in 1600 we find records of Kamion. Archive of the Chapter of Płock, no. 8, p. 203, microfilm 12340.

Białobrzęski's time Praga became a settlement. In 1620 it was mentioned as 'oppidum'. Still, it was located under Chełmno law only in 1648.<sup>56</sup>

J. Humnicki devised a probable cartographic depiction of the development of this area at the close of the sixteenth century, based on the analysis of the eighteenth-century plans and iconographic records from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the new structure of ownership became established, in response to the fact that Warsaw became the seat of the central authority of the State. The number of estates owned by the nobility, earlier insignificant, increased several times as burgher parcels were being bought by the nobles and magnates related to the royal court and the current machinery of the State, who travelled to Warsaw during the *Sejms* and the king's visits. At the time this group consisted mostly of Mazovian secular and spiritual dignitaries. Mostly, they bought larger suburban properties from the burghers, situated in the southern suburbs along the ingoing roads leading to the castle and the election field in Wola. Ownership changes influenced the transformation of the spatial arrangement of plots and their development. The new, large property of Jerzy Mniszech, the starosta of Łuków, could be a good example here. It was created between 1593 and 1605 from eleven old gardens and burgher habitations.<sup>57</sup>

Except for Miodowa Street, burgher property in the southern suburb was becoming more and more limited to small plots, forming narrow blocks of densely situated residential houses and utilitarian buildings on the fringes of Krakowskie Przedmieście. This type of property was still dominant in the northern suburbs, where only a dozen plots or so, located in the streets Długa, Zakroczyńska, Morgowska and along the roads leading to the Vistula, came into the possession of the nobles. The nobility owned few estates inside both towns.

The assets of the heirs of the Duchy of Mazovia did not change much. Within the city, the old estates of Mazovian dukes became royal property in 1526. The estates consisted of the castle complex, the demesne and the garden in Krakowskie Przedmieście. The great royal stables were built on the edges of the garden, and ten plots were delineated, starting from its southern side, which in 1573 were bestowed upon the artisans and royal servants.<sup>58</sup> Royal property was expanded by the three estates of the nobility situated in front of the castle and bought by Sigismund Augustus.<sup>59</sup> Additionally, in 1603 the royal salt works were established on three plots in Krakowskie Przedmieście, which were also purchased from the burghers. The salt works operated until 1655.<sup>60</sup>

Several burgher plots located at the exit of the street Do Przewozu (later Mostowa Street) were liquidated due to the construction of the first permanent bridge over the Vistula. The Mostowa Tower was built in their place in 1582.

Already in the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries, a significant share of city grounds was given to six churches, three monasteries and the clergy. The majority of the estates belonged to the chapter of St. John, which owned a dense complex in Kanonia and Dziekania, and several large parcels in Krakowskie Przedmieście bestowed upon the chapter, the dean, the mansionaries and the vicars. The endowments of the Canons Regular were quite large (the Świętojerska *jurydyka*), as well as those of the Augustans (the complex consisting of a church, a monastery, a hospital and a cemetery in Piwna Street and a demesne on the scarp near Krakowskie Przedmieście). In the sixteenth century the assets of the Church grow at the cost of burgher property. Several suburban parcels were given to the chapel of the Holy Cross, founded before 1508. In 1544, part of the demesne in Długa Street was bestowed upon the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, founded by one of the burghers from the Old Town. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century the *jurydyka* of the Sisters of St. Francis and the *jurydyka* of the Devout Maidens and Widows situated next to it were finally formed (the process began at the close of the fifteenth century). At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the purchase

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<sup>56</sup> T. Wyderkowa, *Dzieje Pragi*, p. 139.

<sup>57</sup> AGAD, MK 534, f. 112.

<sup>58</sup> AGAD, MK 119, ff. 395–405. See also the study mentioned in footnote 5.

<sup>59</sup> AGAD, Księgi grodzkie ziemi warszawskiej 73, f. 203v; 74, f. 958. In 1568 Sigismund August bought out the properties of A. Uchański and St. Wolski. The date of the purchase of the third property, of the family Pogroszewski, was not determined.

<sup>60</sup> In 1588, Jan Falkowicz, a burgher from the Old Town, scribe at the Warsaw salt works, bought a parcel with three houses from the medic Piotr Gmercius (AGAD, SW 538, f. 103), and then bought a salt storage. In 1603, Hieronim Reth, the vice-administrator of the royal salt chambers, bought these salt works on behalf of king Sigismund III, see footnote 5.

of properties in Grodzka and Św. Jana Streets began in order to make room for the foundation of the college and church of the Jesuits. The plots in Freta Street area were also being purchased, for the construction of the church and monastery of the Dominicans.<sup>61</sup> Some 50 plots constituted a private property of various clergymen. The most impressive one was the Renaissance residence of the Bishop of Poznań, situated in Old Town in Św. Jana Street (Jezuicka Street), and the residence of Wojciech Baranowski, the Bishop of Płock (in Senatorska Street). The latter was one of the first palace and garden layouts in Warsaw, realized at the close of the sixteenth century on the grounds of several repurchased burgher properties.<sup>62</sup>

Constant ownership changes and the difficulties in localizing all estates prevented us from preparing a topographic presentation of the ownership structure. As such, only important estates were marked on the map.

Unfortunately, town tax registers – our main source for the plan – fail to provide consistent data on the development of individual plots, and the descriptions they contain are even insufficient to determine a detailed image of the development of the city. The analysis of the town tax rate allows us only to establish the arrangement of residential houses, wooden and brick. The lowest rate from brick buildings was 30 *groszy* (1 florin).<sup>63</sup> The owners of wooden buildings paid a lower tax. The rate depended on the location of the buildings. Inside the city wall the rate varied from 12 to 7½ gr., and in the suburbs from 15 to 3 gr. The conformity of St. Żaryn's findings based on architectural research with the source records were cross-checked proved for the Old Town.<sup>64</sup>

Brick buildings dominated near the main communication and trade routes: in the Market Square, in Grodzka, Nowomiejska, Berdnaprdyńska street, as well as in the streets Krzywe Koło, Św. Jana, Św. Marcina and Piwna. Wooden buildings could still be found in Piekarska and Dunaj streets.

Unlike the bricked Old Warsaw, the suburbs and New Town were almost exclusively of wood. There were only two bricked tenement houses in Freta Street, belonging to a wealthy coppersmith from the Old Town, and a bricked building of the 'bourse' of the family Baryczko at the corner of the streets Długa and Freta.<sup>65</sup>

Of all six churches marked on the plan five were bricked, only the church of the Holy Spirit in Długa Street remained of wood. Of wood construction were also three chapels: dedicated to the Holy Cross, the Holy Trinity and the chapel, or rather a small church by the monastery of the Franciscan Sisters.

Of the several dozens of manors, which existed at the time, the one of the family Mniszech and the palace of Bishop of Płock Wojciech Baranowski were certainly made of brick.

Our reconstructed plan shows only monumental buildings (the castle, the churches and the monasteries), as well as manors and some utilitarian buildings. Due to the fragmentary nature of the utilized sources, not all public buildings – typical to a city – could be marked. For instance, apart from the town halls of Old and New Warsaw, there must have been some buildings of the suburban authorities, as Przedmieście Krakowskie and Freta had a separate mayor, council and court. The houses of both vogts fulfilled not only residential functions, but also served as public buildings. They were situated along the main communication routes, in the western frontages of both market squares. We found no records mentioning the location of guild inns. Of some 20 guilds operating in Old Warsaw we know only two houses: that of the tailors in Piwna street, and that of the shoemakers in Dunaj Street.<sup>66</sup> We also know about the house of the Brotherhood of Mercy in Krakowskie Przedmieście and about the shooting range of the militia located on the grounds between the city walls.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Town tax from 1594–1620 does not list any burgher parcels in 7, Freta Str. The parcels were liquidated, so that the Dominican complex could be built on the site.

<sup>62</sup> AGAD, SW 538, f. 173 (year 1591); MK 138, f. 85, (year 1593) purchased by Wojciech Baranowski, the bishop of Płock. In 1613, Wojciech Baranowski, already the archbishop of Gniezno, gave the "palatium seu domum lapideam..." to the cathedral chapter of Gniezno (MK 155, ff. 289v–292, 292v–293v, 295v–296).

<sup>63</sup> The payment rate was determined on the basis of town tax rate listed by houses and tenement houses, AGAD, SW 534, town tax from 1579–1593 and 1594–1620. In one case the town tax was raised from 18 gr to 30 gr because the house was bricked.

<sup>64</sup> See footnote 1.

<sup>65</sup> AGAD, SW 534; see Freta Street, f. 228, Długa Street, f. 224.

<sup>66</sup> AGAD, SW 534, see Piwna Street and Donay, ff. 208–209.

<sup>67</sup> Shooting range was situated between the two city walls, probably near Krakowska Gate, on its western side.

Schools, cemeteries and hospitals were located near churches. There was also a hospital for the war-crippled founded in 1578 by Stephen Báthory in the vicinity of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity.

At the time Warsaw was the centre of contemporary territorial, State and Church organization and all related buildings were situated in the city centre, near the castle, the temporary residence of the king and the location for the *sejms*. The building occupied by the gord court in Podzamcze since 1568 was demolished during the expansion of the castle in the times of Sigismund August, and the court was given several rooms inside the castle complex. Buildings of Church authorities comprised a separate complex located on the grounds allotted to the chapter of Warsaw and the dean. 'Custodia' was situated in the old defensive tower, and the dean's bricked manor stood by the college.

Following our rules, the plan does not distinguish utilitarian buildings or the catchment areas of particular artisan workshops and other trade/production devices, which were only discussed. The fragmentary information concerning the type of utilitarian buildings found in town tax registers refer only to 30% of properties. We noted two kinds of definitions used: general ones like *area*, *praedium*, or detailed ones, denoting buildings – *lapidea*, *domus*, *curia*, *braseatorium*, *promptuarium*. However, having compared these definitions from town tax registers with the data from property tax rates, inventories, wills or documents of purchase and sale, we had to admit that the town tax registers were almost useless in determining the nature and location of utilitarian buildings. The registers fail to mention the numerous stables, barns, pigsties, cowhouses, various sheds and bathhouses. Entries mentioning breweries and granaries are rare.

Random query and our knowledge of the source material allow us to determine that the utilitarian parcels were dominated by breweries and malthouses located in Freta Street, Rynek Nowomiejski (the New Town Market Square), Zakroczymska Street, Rynek Przedmiejski (the Suburban Market Square), and in other streets to a lesser degree. The sources from the end of the sixteenth century do not mention any breweries in the Old Town. Granaries, which appear in the sources quite often, were linked with the grain trade and farming activity of the dwellers. These structures were situated in residential parcels, gardens or stood on the scarp near the Vistula. Some of them were of brick. The majority of granaries were located in Długa Street, in the New Town, by the Road to the Holy Cross, and also in some suburban streets.

At the close of the sixteenth century, artisan workshops were scattered over various streets and their location was related to the wealth of the artisan. Larger clusters of workshops of the same type and traditional location belonged to the fishermen (Rybitwia Street), shoemakers (Szewcka Street in the New Town, Mostowa Str., Dunaj Str.), wheelwrights and harness-makers (Freta Street), bakers (Piekarska Street), butchers (Dunaj Str., the Rynek Nowomiejski, the Rynek Przedmiejski), locksmiths and sword makers (Krzywe Koło Str., Nowomiejska Str.), goldsmiths, pewterers, and clockmakers (Grodzka Str., Nowomiejska Str.). Potter and stove-fitter workshops were located in Zakroczymska Street, Poboczna Garncarska Street, and by the Road to the Holy Cross. Smithies were usually built at the ends of suburban blocks in outgoing streets. We found no records of tanneries, which must have existed because tanning was one of the most developed branches of Warsaw craftsmanship.

Of the buildings situated on separate plots, we know about the city chandlery in Dunaj Street by the defensive wall, a cropping house at the corner of Nowomiejska Street, an outbuilding of the copper-smiths in Freta Street (on the site of the future church and monastery of the Dominicans), a pewterer's shed near the Świętojański cemetery, and about the city's brickyards in the New Town, behind the Church of the Holy Virgin, and in the southern suburb below the property of the Bernardine Friars.

Large production facilities of Warsaw were located outside the area shown on the reconstructed plan, in an industrial area dating back to the Middle Ages. Corn mills were situated in Polkowo by the River Drna, except for two ship mills on the Vistula and two city mills in Solec. Other facilities were also located in Polków: the fullery, the bleachery, the polishing workshop and the paper mill bestowed upon the dean of Warsaw.

Trade facilities concentrated along the main communication route from Zakroczymska Street to the Rynek Przedmiejski. Weigh houses (in Old Warsaw probably located in a separate building near the town hall<sup>68</sup>), market stalls, butchers stalls and various booths could be found in both market squares.

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<sup>68</sup> As suggested by an entry concerning the expenses for the "redevelopment of the weight house", AGAD, Warszawa Ekonomiczna, f. 38 (year 1585).

The main gates to the city, especially Nowomiejska Gate, were also surrounded by merchant stalls. Fish, meat and wax were sold in a small square in Dunaj Street, and cattle was sold in Bykowiec.

Grain was traded on the riverside, under the scarp on which the Old Town was located, near the granaries of Old Warsaw patriciate. Building materials were stored in Solec, probably on the site mentioned in the sources from the first half of the seventeenth century. The salt trade required a place to store salt. Sources from the second half of the sixteenth century mention three salt works: somewhere in the New Town, by the Vistula behind the demesne of the Augustians (belonging to a merchant called Umięcki) and the aforesaid royal salt works in Krakowskie Przedmieście. Its spatial arrangement was recorded on the 1621 plan. Various wares were stored in the Giełda ('Guild') of the family Baryczko in Długa Street, which was also a place for business meetings.

To finish our characterization of various economic facilities, we should mention the city bath-houses and waterworks, which brought the water from the sumps in the Nalewki and Długa Streets to the well in the Old Town Market Square.<sup>69</sup> Toll points were established to collect payments from goods driven to Warsaw, especially from beer and for the 'paving' toll. At the close of the sixteenth century they were situated at the exit of Dziekańska Street, near the chapel of the Holy Cross, by the chapel of the Holy Trinity and next to the church of the Holy Spirit in Długa Street. In this areas of intensified traffic barriers were built, to allow a better control, particularly during the plague.

The permanent wooden bridge over the River Vistula aroused much admiration. Its construction lasted almost six years (1568–1573). The bridge was located on the old crossing, it stretched from the exit of the street called Wieliszewo (later Mostowa Street) and probably reached the crossroads in Praga village near the later Ratuszowa Street. The bridge was made of 22 spans supported by pillars and was around 500 m long and 6 m wide. In 1603 it succumbed to the spring ice.<sup>70</sup>

Only few of the described utilitarian buildings were marked on the plan, those whose localization could be determined.

The reconstructed picture of the layout and buildings of the Warsaw city complex was based on a measurement plan at a scale of 1:6,000 prepared by J. Humnicki.<sup>71</sup> The entire plan is an attempt at reconstruction, so we decided not to mark hypothetical course of streets, or division of blocks into parcels, with dashed lines, and instead marked everything with continuous lines. In case the source basis was insufficient to reconstruct the spatial layout of plots, only the supposed outline of the block was shown.

The scarp was copied from the measurement plan and its course was corrected on the basis of cartographic sources. In order to highlight the lay of the land, the scarp was shaded with lines. The sixteenth century course of the Vistula was based on its modern course.

The main body of the plan – the nature of urban development – was depicted by colours. The two town centres and suburbs were distinguished. Fragments of city fields, the demesne of the starosta's district, and neighbouring villages shown on the plan were marked with a different colour, to highlight the urban complex.

The character of the buildings, without distinction of brick and wooden structures, was limited to a general division into dense city development and scattered suburban buildings. In the case of the latter, residential-utilitarian parcels and utilitarian-residential parcel with gardens were marked in a different manner. The castle, all sacral structures (those localized, and the supposed location of the chapels of the Holy Trinity and the Holy Cross), and the more important public buildings were highlighted, as well as some utilitarian facilities localized hypothetically on the basis of source data. Manors were marked on the properties of the nobles, secular and Church dignitaries according to source records, so as to present the ownership structure typical to Warsaw at the close of the sixteenth century.

Names of streets were given according to the most common form found in the sources in their Polish wording – copied directly from the sources or translated from Latin.

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>69</sup> H. Szwanowska, *O wodociągach Starego i Nowego Miasta*, "Ochrona Zabytków", vol. 6, 1953, no. 2–3, pp. 128–131.

<sup>70</sup> W. Sterner, *Mosty Warszawy*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 23–33.

<sup>71</sup> J. Humnicki scaled fragments of historic plans and localized the sandbanks of the Vistula, prepared the development of the right-bank side and the reconstruction of the Vistula's channel (on the basis of Z. Biernacki's work in the Historical Museum of Warsaw).

### III.6.30.8 WĘGRÓW

*Michał Gochna*

From amongst the town plans reconstructed in the current volume of the AHP that for Węgrów presents it as a private town. In a similar way to the other constructions of urban settlements in this series here also employed have been first and foremost the retrogressive method, relying on later cartographic representations and verifying them on the basis of preserved sources and the literature available.<sup>1</sup>

The fundamental cartographic source used to sketch the present map is the Austrian topographic map for the years 1801–1804 of a scale of 1:28,800, which was directed by Colonel Anton Mayer von Heldensfeld (further referred to as the Heldensfeld Map). This is the earliest known image of the town presented in such detail together with buildings and diversity in land use in the town itself and its environs, including fields, meadows, cultivated fields, wetlands and forests. A later map from 1822 has been used as a supplement; it was compiled by Adolf Mateusz Dowkontt, the constructor of the Siedlce district, because of the need to reorganise the Jewish settlements in Węgrów.<sup>2</sup> On this map visible is only the south-west part of the town – the Jewish district and the New Town – together with the buildings around the Old Town market square. This map is exceptionally detailed, while Henryk Bartoszewicz considers its scale to be around 1:2,000.<sup>3</sup> Drawn on it are individual buildings with the annotation as to their ownership divided into municipal (Christian), Jewish, nobility and Church. Marked are also streets together with their names, squares, gardens, meadows, waterways as well as the Jewish cemetery. On the sketched content representing the then urban expanse there has been superimposed a layer of draft building quarters and districts and the proposed new street names.<sup>4</sup> After a comparison with the map by Dowkontt with a generalised visualisation of the town shown on Heldensfeld's map, it follows that the Austrian cartographer has faithfully etched the building quarters in the south-west part of the town. Equally the merchant stalls on the market place of the Old Town possess a similar structure on both maps. Greater distortions have occurred in the area of the plot belonging to the Węgrów priests to the south of the principal church. There occurred a distortion of the picture in a south-east direction, although in comparing this fragment of the map with the land plan of the Węgrów parish of 1867 one may note that on the Austrian map marked is the shape of the College of the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests and the four-sided blocks of gardens similarly to those of the 1867 map.<sup>5</sup> Another mistake can be seen in the course of the current street ul. Piwna, which on Heldensfeld's map is placed too far to the west. Yet despite these inaccuracies one should positively appraise the usefulness of Heldensfeld's map in the reconstruction of a Węgrów street plan.

To a lesser degree earlier and later plans and sketches of Węgrów or its parts have been of help. From the beginning of the eighteenth century comes a sketch of the principal parish church together

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Roman Postek, the director of the Armoury Museum at Liw Castle for the consultation on the plan of the town and its commentary.

<sup>2</sup> AGAD, Kartografia z innych oddziałów AGAD z lat 1654–1911, no. 82 (former sign. KRSW 4125, f. 206).

<sup>3</sup> H. Bartoszewicz, *Topografia Węgrowa i okolic w drugiej połowie XVIII i XIX wieku*, [in:] *Węgrów: Dzieje, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. F. Midura, A. Chmiel, Węgrów 2011, pp. 91–93.

<sup>4</sup> The project for redevelopment was ultimately not to gain the permission of the authorities and therefore was never realised.

<sup>5</sup> AGAD, Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe, sign. 711, f. 378.

with the building of the seminary for the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests.<sup>6</sup> The network of streets together with the marking of the building quarters is also presented on the Quartermaster's Map. The entirety of the town is visible on the map of 1893 on which can be already seen a certain transformation in the town including building on the market square of the New Town.<sup>7</sup> Fragments of the town have also been captured on the mentioned map of the grounds of the Węgrów parish of 1867, a sketch presenting the layout of planned trading halls on the market square of the Old Town of 1873<sup>8</sup> as well as on the situational plans for a proposed gaol conducted between 1902 and 1913.<sup>9</sup>

The main problem in the reconstruction of the urban layout of sixteenth-century Węgrów is the lack of sources that are inventory in nature and originating from this very century. The greatest amount of information as to the town's economic situation is provided by the tax register of 1580, in which the number of houses is mentioned (with a division into town houses, street tenements and impoverished dwellings), voloks, economic units as well as the number of artisans with specific division into particular occupations, yet this is information too scant to allow one to reconstruct the then urban expanse.<sup>10</sup> Consequently the main source for the development of the present plan was served by the inventories of Węgrów estates (also called the Stara Wieś estates) for the years 1619 and 1621.<sup>11</sup> Additionally recourse was made to the inventory of the mid seventeenth century,<sup>12</sup> of the privileges bestowed on the town by its owners<sup>13</sup> as well as from other sources including the poll tax registers of the seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup> Of help were also the results of archaeological digs and research conducted in Węgrów during the renovation work being carried out on the market square.<sup>15</sup>

The matter of reconstructing the spatial layout of Węgrów has already been looked at several times. One of the first pieces of research are the works of Tadeusz Wyszomirski and Anna Czapska.<sup>16</sup> Others that need to be included are the publications of Józef Kazimierski, "A Catalogue of Art Monuments. The Warsaw Voivodeship. Węgrów Powiat", and the monograph on the town's history edited

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<sup>6</sup> The Diocesan Archives in Drohiczyn, Zespół Akt Parafii Wniebowzięcia NMP w Węgrowie, sign. III/Q/1, p. 36; AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, sign. 3009, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> APL, Zbiór planów różnych urzędów, sign. 574.

<sup>8</sup> APL, Rząd Gubernialny Siedlecki, sign. 49, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> APL, sign. 1547, unnumbered unit.

<sup>10</sup> ASK I 47, ff. 499v, 558v; see later.

<sup>11</sup> AGAD, AR XXV, 4549g, "The inventory of Węgrów property by me Jakub Nurzyński, in the service of his Most Enlightened Duke at Birze, Dubinki, Słuck and Kopyl, the Wilno castellan conducted in the year 1619 on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December", pp. 1–166; Inw. 1621.

<sup>12</sup> AR XXV, 4549h, Inventory of the Stara Wieś estate of 1656, pp. 1a–82. For its dates see M. Gochna, "Porządku jako największe i najlepsze". Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrowa – rola magnata w funkcjonowaniu miasta prywatnego, Węgrów 2016, p. 19; AR XXV, 4549i, A list of the live inventory of stock at the Stara Wieś estate circa. 1663, pp. 1–20.

<sup>13</sup> AGAD, dok. perg., sign. 2298, Bogusław Radziwiłł's charter for Węgrów of 14 April 1650, copy KRSW, sign. 3195a, pp. 215–238; AGAD, dok. perg., sign. 887, Bogusław Radziwiłł's charter privilege of the 14 April 1650 for foreigners residing or wishing to settle in Węgrów; AGAD, dok. pap., sign. 603, the privilege granted to Węgrów by King Jan II Kazimierz of the 14 April 1651, copy KRSW, sign. 3195a, pp. 187–197; KRSW sign. 185, Jan Kazimierz Krasiński's privilege for the Węgrów Jews of 20 November 1665, pp. 84–85v, edited [in:] *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth: Charters of Rights granted to Jewish Communities in Poland-Lithuania in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries*, ed. J. Goldberg, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 351–355; KRSW, sign. 3195a, the Privilege of Bogusław Radziwiłł for Węgrów of the 12 July 1658, pp. 198–203; BJ, Zb. dok. pergaminowych, sign. 418, the Privilege of Bogusław Radziwiłł for Węgrów of 14 August 1650, copy: KRSW, sign. 3195e, pp. 204–211; BJ, Zb. dok. pergaminowych, no. 419, Statute of the brewing guild issued by Bogusław Radziwiłł on 14 June 1650, copy: KRSW, sign. 3195e, pp. 239–248; AGAD, Zbór Ewangelicko-Augsburski w Warszawie, sign. 6, the Privilege of Bogusław Radziwiłł of 25 June 1650, in which the duke gave 300 guildens for the maintenance of the Lutheran clergy in Węgrów.

<sup>14</sup> ASK, I, 70, f. 28v, the Drohiczyn land poll tax register of 1662; ibidem, pp. 227–227v, the Drohiczyn land poll tax register of 1674; BCzart., Łoyka Collection, MS 1099 IV, the Drohiczyn land poll tax register of 1676, pp. 296–297.

<sup>15</sup> J. Zaslona, B. Polit, *Nadzór archeologiczny na Rynku w Węgrowie (powiat węgrowski, województwo mazowieckie) – wstępny raport*, "Rocznik Liwski", vol. 5, 2010/2011, pp. 155–158; M. Derecka, *Zapomniany ratusz na Rynku Mariackim w Węgrowie*, [in:] *Małe Miasta. Perspektywa archeologiczna*, ed. M. Zalewski, M. Zemło, Lublin-Supraśl 2014, pp. 133–145; J. Borowska, *Badania archeologiczne cmentarza pod ulicą Kościelną w Węgrowie*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 147–156; W. Bis, W. Więckowski, *Cmentarz żydowski w Węgrowie w świetle sondażowych badań archeologicznych*, "Rocznik Liwski", vol. 9, 2016/2017, pp. 109–129.

<sup>16</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości Węgrowa*, [Węgrów, no date], TS, Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna, Węgrów; A. Czapska, *Węgrów. Monografia historyczno-architektoniczna*, Warsaw 1959; eadem, *Zasady sytuowania założeń barokowych w miasteczkach podlaskich od połowy wieku XVII po wiek XVIII*, "Rocznik Białostocki", vol. 9, 1970, pp. 85–145.

by Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk.<sup>17</sup> In recent years some time has been devoted to the matter by Aneta Średzińska and Michał Gochna.<sup>18</sup> Mariusz Karpowicz and Wojciech Jerzy Górczyk have also written on the transformation of the space around the parish church after its rebuilding at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The majority of the reconstruction has been based on the aforementioned inventories of the Węgrów estate from the first half of the seventeenth century, as well as the town's development as depicted in later centuries. For the sixteenth century the research was conducted to a limited degree as a result of the small number of preserved sources. The matter of a reconstruction of the urban layout of Węgrów rather constituted in these works a part of a broader understanding of the town's more general history. A text by Cezary Ostas devoted to this very matter has been used only as an additional source in the present work and here because of the lack of footnotes.<sup>20</sup> In turn Henryk Bartoszewicz has written about the topography of Węgrów and environs as well as about the various cartographic sources.<sup>21</sup>

In moving on to a description of the present map it follows to start from the town's geographic location. Węgrów is situated on the Southern Podlasie Lowlands (a sub-province of the Central Polish Lowlands), in the mesoregion of the Węgrów Depression.<sup>22</sup> The territory upon which the town is situated becomes lower in a westerly direction i.e., in the direction of the River Liwiec. On the eastern boundaries of Węgrów the height reaches from 125.8 to 126.6 m above sea level (AMSL) (the environs of the present-day cemetery at Kościuszki street), within the area of the Market Square around 124.68 m. above sea level, further 123.3 m (the neighbourhood of the streets Rzemieślnicza and Narutowicza) to 119.93 m AMSL close to the area of the River Czerwonka's inflow into the Liwiec.<sup>23</sup>

The main waterway in the environs of the town is the Liwiec, the left bank inflow to the Bug. Its course has changed over the course of the centuries, with these changes being both the result of natural factors and man's intervention. This was possible at the height of the town as a result of a fairly broad, in the sixteenth century marshy,<sup>24</sup> plain (approximately 120 m AMSL), situated between Węgrów and Krypy. The present-day fragment of the river at the height of the weir on the stretch of Żeromskiego Street was regulated and straightened following the end of the Second World War. Before the war the river had run a course more or less in the stretch of the current channels that supplied the local power station (blown up in August 1944 by the Germans).<sup>25</sup> In turn, and already shown on the WIG map of 1933, there is represented the stream flowing in the environs of Krypy, coming from the main course of the Liwiec, combining with it at the height of Popielów (Popowo).<sup>26</sup> A similar state of affairs is presented by earlier maps from the beginning of the twentieth century,<sup>27</sup> while the Quatermaster's map of 1843 shows the situation to be opposite where the main course of the Liwiec runs just next to Krypy while

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<sup>17</sup> J. Kazimierski, *Z dziejów Węgrowa w XVI i XVII wieku*, "Rocznik Mazowiecki", vol. 3, 1970, pp. 267–282; KZS, vol. 10: *Województwo warszawskie*, no. 26: *Powiat węgrowski*, comp. I. Galicka, H. Sygietyńska, D. Kaczmarzyk, Warsaw 1964; *Węgrów – dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1441–1944*, ed. A. Kołodziejczyk, T. Swat, Węgrów 1991; *Węgrów – dzieje miasta i okolic 1944–2005*, ed. A. Kołodziejczyk, T. Swat, M. Szczupak, Węgrów 2006.

<sup>18</sup> A. Średzińska, *Dzieje miasta od uzyskania praw miejskich do upadku Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Węgrów: dzieje, społeczeństwo, kultura*, pp. 33–49; M. Gochna, "Porządki jako największe i najlepsze". *Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrowa*.

<sup>19</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Cuda Węgrowa*, Węgrów 2009; W.J. Górczyk, *Kościół i prepozytura bartolomitów w Węgrowie fundacji Jana Dobrogosta Krasieńskiego, wojewody płockiego, w świetle materiałów z Archiwum Diecezjalnego w Drohiczyźnie*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego", vol. 11, 2019, pp. 69–90.

<sup>20</sup> C. Ostas, *Rozwój przestrzenny Węgrowa*, [in:] *Węgrów – dzieje miasta i okolic 1944–2005*, ed. A. Kołodziejczyk, T. Swat, M. Szczupak, Węgrów 2006, pp. 349–362.

<sup>21</sup> H. Bartoszewicz, *Źródła kartograficzne do dziejów Węgrowa do końca XIX wieku*, [in:] *Węgrów i ziemia liwska. Perły kultury i atrakcyjność turystyczna*, ed. W. Kaprowski, F. Midura, J.W. Sienkiewicz, Warsaw 2009, pp. 29–49; H. Bartoszewicz, *Topografia Węgrowa i okolic*, pp. 77–97.

<sup>22</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 195–196, 203–205.

<sup>23</sup> Geoportal, Skany map geograficznych 1:10,000, [www.geoportal.gov.pl](http://www.geoportal.gov.pl) (access 25.08.2020).

<sup>24</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Granica pomiędzy ziemią drohiczką i liwską w świetle protokołów komisji z 1546 roku*, "Rocznik Liwski", vol. 6, 2012/2013, p. 49., where talk is of the crossings built across the bogs ("levees (*gaczi*) on mud") with the aim of allowing border commissioners to make local visits.

<sup>25</sup> K. Czarkowski, *Z dziejów parafii węgrowskiej od 1939 do 1955 r.*, [in:] *Ksiądz kanonik Kazimierz Czarkowski. Życie i działalność*, comp. E. Kozłowska, Warsaw 2007, p. 25; A. Majewski, *Węgrów (NIE)wyzwolony*, "Głos Węgrowa i Okolic", 19 July 2016, p. 8 (the recollections of Danuta Kołodziej, maiden name Okulus).

<sup>26</sup> WIG, 1:100,000, 1933, Latitudinal band 39 Longitudinal band 34, (K32) Węgrów.

<sup>27</sup> KdWR; Trójwiorstówka; Dwuwiorstówka; *Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa*, 1:200,000, 1887–1960 (Siedlce sheet); *Spezialkarte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 1:7,500, 1911 (Węgrów sheet).

in the vicinity of Węgrów the course of the stream is annotated *R[zeka] Kopanka* (R[iver] Kopanka). Exactly the same name is given it on the aforementioned plan by Dowkontt of 1822, which may point to the activities of man with the aim of returning running water in the town environs following the change in the course of the main current. Finally, for the oldest topographic map of these environs, that is Heldensfeld's map, the main course is situated at Węgrów. It is not known precisely how the course of the river in the seventeenth and eighteenth century took shape, although there are strong references to the floods that hit the town during this period.<sup>28</sup>

Information on the changes in the course of the river for the period of interest to us comes from the border drawn up in 1546 between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>29</sup> Disputes over the change in the river course were conducted in this area between, among others, the Papliński Family of the Drohiczyń land and the Górski Family of the Liw land, as equally Mikołaj Wrzelowski of Mokobody and the Żukowski family of Żuków. In the case of the Węgrów estate, to which was included at the time besides Węgrów equally Stara Wieś and Borzychy, the dispute raged over a section to the south of Borzychy, at the height of Turna (Liw land). Tomasz Gałązka, a clerk to the owner of the Węgrów estate Stanisław Kiszka, accused the then Turna nobility and starosts of Nur and Liw lands that they had dug up the dam on the Liwiec and consequently diverted the course of the river towards the Lithuanian side, flooding in the process the Szeszuł Mill on the Węgrów property and taking away a part of the terrains belonging to these properties. The Liw land starost replied that the Szeszuł Mill had stood at the Mazovia branch of the Liwiec, to which the Węgrów governor replied that this was untrue as the mill had been built on the River Telówka, into which flowed other streams from the east: the Zalesie, Miedzna (presently the Miedzanka),<sup>30</sup> Brodnia, Połazie, Krupka, Jaśniki, Czerwonka,<sup>31</sup> Hada (at present the Ada),<sup>32</sup> Kobyłka and Ruchenka.<sup>33</sup> The subsequent disputed stretch already concerned the course of the river in Węgrów itself. The Węgrów governor accused the Liw land starost of constructing a dam that diverted the course of the river to the Mazovia side for purpose of powering mills in Liwiec, which presumably included Krypski Mill. The dam was located on a high section of town, but before the bridge, along the road which ran from Węgrów to Liw.<sup>34</sup>

In summing up the above disputes and attempting on their basis to chart the course of the Liwiec in the environs of Węgrów at this time, it follows to note two main changes in the river channel. The first concerned the directing of the flow to the Liwiec side here at the now nonexistent Szeszuł Mill, which was situated somewhere at the height of Turna.<sup>35</sup> The second referred to the diverting of the main course of the Liwiec at the height of Węgrów with the aim of powering the mills in the Liw land. In as far as the first change does not raise any noticeable doubts then the second matter is complicated by the fact that in the eastern part of the valley was to have flowed the River Telówka, into which was to have flowed streams from an eastern direction. Although in the demarcation of 1546 the Telówka was referred to as a river (*na rzece Thelyowce*) it was in fact more a branch of the Liwiec than a separate stream itself. This is noted on the Quartermaster's map of the aforementioned River Kopanka, and to which – one may conjecture, it flowed more or less as did the Telówka. For the Kopanka according to the aforementioned map derived from the Liwiec at a height of roughly the Jewish cemetery and joined up with the main flow of the Liwiec in the environs of Ludwinów. So given that at the height of Węgrów the course of the Liwiec was directed towards the west, while along the eastern side ran a branch of its own name, then it follows to suppose that prior to the intervention of the Liw land starost the main course of the Liwiec did not flow through Węgrów itself as has been noted by Heldensfeld,

<sup>28</sup> S. Kosiński, T. Swat, *Rozwój i upadek*, [in:] *Węgrów – dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1441–1944*, p. 56.

<sup>29</sup> AGAD, Varia oddziału I, sign. 55, f. 45–48v; M. Dogiel, *Limites Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae*, Wilno 1758, p. 22. A fragment on the demarcation with an extensive commentary has been published by T. Jaszczolt. idem, *Granica pomiędzy ziemią drohiczką i liwską*.

<sup>30</sup> PRNG, no. 79620.

<sup>31</sup> PRNG, no. 20513.

<sup>32</sup> BDOT10k, no. 71409444.

<sup>33</sup> BDOT10k, no. 71409512.

<sup>34</sup> T. Jaszczolt, *Granica pomiędzy ziemią drohiczką i liwską*, pp. 47–54; AHP Mazovia, main map.

<sup>35</sup> The name “Sessul” appears also in the inventories for 1619 and 1621 where mentioned are “meadows on the Sessul”. AR XXV, 4549g, p. 151; Inw. 1621, p. 132. On Heldensfeld's map there can be seen on this stretch two mills: the one without any denotation is somewhat to the north of Popów while the Starowiejski (“Starawies Mühle”) is at the height of Ludwinów. On the branch of the river at Turna, another mill was to be found (“Turner Mühle”).

but rather along the centre of the valley. Such a speculation is borne out indirectly by the maps of Perthées, Heldensfeld and that of the Quartermaster; on which at the height of Krypy one may see three branches of the river, wherein on the first of the maps the main course flows along the centre, on the second as the eastern branch, while on the third as the western. Two of the branches – the western and the central – join, according to Heldensfeld and the Quartermaster's, just beyond Krypy, carrying on to Krypski Młyn. However, it cannot be excluded that in the very village of Krypy or in its immediate environs there existed more mills, given that in the delimitation of 1546 they are referred to in the plural ('Mazovian mills').<sup>36</sup> Although it does follow to remember that between 1546 and the time when the recalled maps were created, there could have occurred in this area hydrological changes of such a magnitude that their listing with each other could have a weak basis; and yet we have decided to provide the course of the rivers and their branches as presented on the recalled sixteenth-century source and to mark the name Telówka to designate the branch of the River Liwiec running through the town.

Besides the Liwiec there flowed through Węgrów and its environs a series of other already mentioned streams. Through the town itself and its immediate environs there flowed, and here enumerating from the north, the Ada (beyond the map's scope), the Czerwonka and the Ruchenka (at present a stream flowing in the northern part of the town, having its source in the environs of Ruchna and flowing into the Liwiec at the height of the municipal reservoir). Between the Czerwonka and the Ruchenka the delimitation also mentioned the River Kobyłka – reflecting at present a stream partially built on, whose open fragment runs along the current Żeromskiego Street and flows into the channels at the Liwiec.<sup>37</sup> In the inventories of 1619 and 1621 it bore the name Kobyлина.<sup>38</sup> This brook, visible on among others the map by Dowkontt, was to mark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the northern boundary of the New Town and the southern of the Old Town.

Węgrów was founded at the place where two trade routes joined – from Warsaw (earlier from Czersk) through Liw, Węgrów, Krzemień and Granne (or through Drohiczyn) to Wilno (this route was to be later known as the Great Lithuanian Road) as well as from Gdansk to Łuków, further linking up with the routes to Lublin and Lvov.<sup>39</sup> The town took its name from the nearby brook known as the Węgiel (possibly this was another name for the River Ruchenka<sup>40</sup>), about which Elżbieta Kowalczyk-Heyman has recently written.<sup>41</sup> In Ruthenian it was known as Uhrów, while the owners of the town of the Węgrowski family were known as Uhrowski.<sup>42</sup>

In written sources Węgrów makes its initial appearance in 1414 when the owner of the town was Piotr Pilik, the Mazovian voivode, who also founded the parish church.<sup>43</sup> Following Pilik's death around 1435, Węgrów could have returned, as supposes Tomasz Jaszczółt, to being under the authority of the Lithuanian dukes while the owner of the settlement could have been Jan Nasuta, the Drohiczyn starost, as in 1475 he was nominated to be the Węgrów starost.<sup>44</sup> In the years 1440–1444 the Drohiczyn land was ruled over by the Mazovian duke Bolesław IV. Subsequent known owners of the town, and here just after the transfer of Węgrów to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, were Stanisław of Olomouc (authenticated in 1451), an unknown by their first name Węgrowska (possibly the wife of Stanisław, appearing in the sources of 1471–1479) together with a son Wawrzyniec and a daughter called

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<sup>36</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Granica pomiędzy ziemią drohiczką i liwską*, p. 50. The inspection for the Mazovia Voivodeship of 1565 enumerates amongst the mills lying on the Liwiec and being on the payroll of the Liw starosty besides the Krypski Mill also the Zamiejski Mill. On the Korytnica River mentioned are three mills; LM 1565, part 2, pp. 178, 187.

<sup>37</sup> BDOT10k, no. 71407690.

<sup>38</sup> AR XXV 4549g, p. 111: "beyond Kobyлина"; Inw. 1621, p. 114: "beyond Kobyлина".

<sup>39</sup> Podlasie III, p. 185; see M. Sierba, *Roads* in AHP Podlasie volume and chapter III.5.8. tej edycji.

<sup>40</sup> Oral information from the inhabitants of Węgrów.

<sup>41</sup> E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, *Węgrów. W sprawie genezy nazwy*, "Onomastica", vol. 60, 2016, pp. 233–249.

<sup>42</sup> Podlasie III, p. 51.

<sup>43</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Dokument Piotra Pilika, wojewody czerskiego, z 1414 r. dla kościoła w Węgrowie, najstarsza fundacja szlachecka na Podlasiu*, "Rocznik Liwski", vol. 4, 2008/2009, pp. 71–80; Jaszczółt, *Fundacje kościelne*, p. 39; M. Wilska, *Pilik (Pilikowic) Piotr ze Skul h. Rogala (zm. po 1435)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 26, p. 279; a copy of the parish act of erection: AR VIII, 601, pp. 1–2.

<sup>44</sup> Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohiccka i bielska*, pp. 333–335. On Jan Nasuta, son of Mikołaj, see T. Jaszczółt, *Jan Nasuta z Międzyrzecza (zm. po 29 XI 1484) – starosta (namiestnik kamieniecki, drohiccki, brzeski i grodzieński), marszałek gospodarski, herbu Rogala*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny białostocko-lomżyńsko-suwański*, vol. 3, ed. A. Dobroński, Białystok 2005, pp. 111–113.

Bogdańska).<sup>45</sup> In 1496 Paweł Węgrowski, the son of Wawrzyniec, was designated the town's owner. Following his death the properties passed into the hands of his sister Małgorzata (Maryna). She, prior to 1506, married to one Janusz Kostewicz, a subsequent Podlasie voivode, who betrothed the Węgrów estates in 1509.<sup>46</sup> After his death in 1527, Węgrów was to again become the property of Maryna right up until 1536, when her daughter Anna brought the town in dowry to Jan Radziwiłł, at the time a grand Lithuanian deputy cup-bearer.<sup>47</sup> Radziwiłł's death in 1542 led to the division of his property between his three daughters: Petronela, Elżbieta and Anna. As a result of the second division carried out in 1545 the Węgrów estate fell to the eldest of them – Anna, from 1544 the wife of Stanisław Kiszka, the owner of the estate at Sokołów situated near to Węgrów.<sup>48</sup> This marriage did not last long for in 1554 Stanisław died, leaving governance over all the properties to his spouse. He left fatherless three children: two sons – Jan and the death mute Stanisław – as well as a daughter, Anna.

Anna Kiszczyna as an efficient organiser was to successively increase the size of her holdings, becoming within the course of a dozen or so years one of the richest heiresses in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>49</sup> She was to introduce a series of reforms on her estates, including the Volok Reform (and according to Jarosław Zawadzki especially within her Podlasie properties). In how far these affected Węgrów and the Stara Wieś estate is not known. In 1569 she transferred these estates to her son, Jan, upon him turning of age, but he was to renounce the rights to them in favour of his mother in the very same year.<sup>50</sup>

In 1574 a conflict arose between Jan and his mother, the cause of which being her marriage to Krzysztof Andrzejowicz Sadowski. Jan carried out a foray onto those estates belonging to Anna situated in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with Anna herself taking refuge at the manor in Stara Wieś, lying nearby Węgrów. She was to be imprisoned by her son on this estate for many months, with him demanding she transfer the rights to her lands to him. Finally Anna succumbed and undertook this property division, bestowing Węgrów on Jan, who was to be in possession of the town until his death in 1592. From then the heiress to the Węgrów estates was to be his wife, Elżbieta Ostrogska, although doubts as to the authenticity of Jan Kiszka's will were raised by his mother claiming that it was she who should have inherited the properties. Despite the dispute Anna was not to regain Węgrów, with Elżbieta remaining its owner.<sup>51</sup> In 1593 she married Krzysztof 'the Lightning Bolt' Radziwiłł, the Great Wilno Hetman and voivode of the Wilno province, whereby she continued to manage her Węgrów estates.<sup>52</sup> Following Elżbieta's death in 1599 a dispute over her estates began, including the estate of Węgrów, and this between her brothers Janusz and Aleksander Ostrogski as well as the son of Krzysztof Radziwiłł – Janusz. The Węgrów and Sokołów properties were finally to fall to Janusz Radziwiłł at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>53</sup>

Although the generally sketched above course of elements with regard to changes in ownership of Węgrów is fairly well known in the existing subject literature, a question still not fully answered is the dating of one of the most important events in the history of any town and that being the acquisition of its charter rights. Almost the entirety of the literature concerning the history of Węgrów points to these rights being bestowed by the Mazovian prince Bolesław IV and here in 1441.<sup>54</sup> There

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<sup>45</sup> Idem, *Własność możnowładcza, średnio- i drobnoszlachecka na obszarze tzw. "podlaskiej" części powiatu węgrowskiego do poł. XVI wieku*, "Rocznik Liwski", vol. 5, 2010/2011, pp. 11–12.

<sup>46</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, pp. 120–121.

<sup>47</sup> Idem, pp. 121–122; J. Wiśniewski, *Kostewicz (Kościewicz, Kościejewicz, Uhrowski, Węgrowski) Janusz Stankowicz (Stanisławowicz) h. nieznanego (zm. 1527)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 14, 1968–1969, pp. 343–344. In the light of T. Jaszczółt's research Janusz Kostewicz died in 1528; idem, *Rozgraniczenie dóbr węgrowskich od Jarnic w 1528 r.*, "Rocznik Liwski", vol. 9, 2016/2017, p. 17.

<sup>48</sup> J. Zawadzki, *Anna z Radziwiłłów Kiszczyna, 2o voto Sadowska - burzliwe losy dziedziczki fortuny*, [in:] *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Urwanowicz, with the cooperation of E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski, Białystok 2003, pp. 381–382; G. Ryżewski, *Pod panowaniem możnych rodów*, [in:] *Sokołów Podlaski: dzieje miasta i okolic*, ed. G. Ryżewski, Białystok-Sokołów Podlaski 2006, p. 248.

<sup>49</sup> J. Zawadzki, *Anna z Radziwiłłów Kiszczyna*, p. 384.

<sup>50</sup> Idem, p. 385.

<sup>51</sup> Idem, pp. 387–389; J. Tazbir, *Kiszka Jan h. Dąbrowa (zm. 1592)* [in:] PSB, vol. 12, pp. 507–508.

<sup>52</sup> H. Lulewicz, *Radziwiłł Krzysztof zwany Piorunem h. Trąby (1547-1603)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 30, p. 275.

<sup>53</sup> G. Ryżewski, *Pod panowaniem możnych rodów*, pp. 254–255.

<sup>54</sup> From amongst the most important items see A. Czapska, *Węgrów: monografia*, p. 6; KZS, vol. 10, no. 26, p. 22, J. Kazimierski gives the same date for this publication; idem, *Z dziejów Węgrowa*, p. 269; S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój*

is, however, an absence of sources as such, ones that could actually confirm this date – the founding document was to have been burnt during the town hall fire in the seventeenth century.<sup>55</sup> Yet this date cannot be excluded for the aforementioned prince did for the period 1440–1444 rule the Drohiczyń land, displaying notable activity in bestowing on the Mazovian nobility the settlements herein to be found. He also gave municipal Kulm Law rights to the two settlements of Tykocin and Mielnik.<sup>56</sup> What is more, possibly the founding of Nowy Liw in 1453, situated on the left bank of the Liwiec, was an attempt at strengthening the capital of the Liw land particularly after the granting of town rights to Węgrów.<sup>57</sup> However, Węgrów received chartered rights somewhat earlier, between the year 1414 i.e., the first mention of the place name and here in the character of a village, and 1436, when it appears in the court book of the Drohiczyń land of the Węgrów councillor (Mikołaj) and burghers (Jan Przedbor, Jakub, Jan called *Maliay*).<sup>58</sup> Similarly from the Warsaw land court book of 1437 comes a mention of another Węgrów inhabitant (Paweł).<sup>59</sup> Tomasz Jaszczółt conjectures that an attempt at being granted a town charter could have been pushed for amongst the Mazovian princes by Piotr Pilik. This would have been the second initiative of this nature on the part of the Mazovia voivode within the realm of the Mazovia-Podlasie borderlands. For in 1425 he obtained permission from the Mazovian prince Janusz I The Elder to found a settlement on the ground of the village of Rażny – admittedly lying in the district of Kamieniec of the Nur land but on the southern side of the Bug (the founding was not to happen).<sup>60</sup>

In analysing the most likely date for when Węgrów was granted municipal rights it follows to take into consideration one additional motif, and namely the matter of the town's coat of arms. Towards the end of the sixteenth century it was charged with a bear facing the sinister (left) heraldic side, and above the bear the Columns of Gediminas.<sup>61</sup> Tomasz Jaszczółt has shown that a bear is visible in the coat of arms of Niedźwiada, which served the Ołdak family and from them came the family that ruled the town – the Węgrów family.<sup>62</sup> This would indicate that the giving of the aforementioned coat of arms happened following the re-inclusion of Węgrów to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania after 1444 and possibly with this confirmed was the giving of town rights to Węgrów on the part of the Lithuanian rulers. The appearance in the emblem of the Columns of Gediminas might in turn show that the coat of arms, and possibly here equally municipal rights, were gained by Węgrów at the beginning of the rule of the Lithuanian duke Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz, that is between the years 1432 and 1440.<sup>63</sup>

Regardless of from whom and when Węgrów received municipal rights it is known that in the year 1486 the town was administered under Kulm Law. This information is confirmed by the privilege for

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*miast województwa podlaskiego (XV – I połowa XVII w.)*, “Acta Baltico-Slavica”, vol. 1, 1964, p. 139, and on the basis of this article equally in: idem, *Powstanie sieci miejskiej Podlasia na tle wczesnych procesów urbanistycznych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, KHKM, vol. 28, 1980, no. 3, p. 423; J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia nad produkcją rzemieślniczą w Polsce (XIV–XVIII w.)*, ed. M. Kwapień, J. Maroszek, A. Wyrobisz, Wrocław 1976, p. 97; S. Kosiński, *W mrokach historii*, [in:] *Węgrów: dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1441–1944*, p. 15. Aneta Średzińska in writing about the bestowing of municipal rights on Węgrów in 1441 makes recourse to Teki Glinki, however the cited piece does not contain such information. There are also various excerpts of Jan Glinka from parish acts as well as his notes on the history of the town and Węgrów churches along with photographs; A. Średzińska, *Dzieje miasta*, p. 35; National Institute of Cultural Heritage in Warsaw, Teki Glinki, vol. 435, pp. 1–12.

<sup>55</sup> S. Kosiński, *W mrokach historii*, p. 16, footnote 24.

<sup>56</sup> Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, pp. 350–351; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia nad dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytucją i genealogią książąt*, Warsaw–Cracow 2012, pp. 164–165.

<sup>57</sup> A hypothesis of Prof. Marek Słoń, shared in conversation. *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi liwskiej w średnio-wieczu*, comp. M. Piber-Zbieranowska, A. Salina, with the cooperation of E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, ed. T. Jurek, Warsaw 2017, p. 86.

<sup>58</sup> Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, p. 351.

<sup>59</sup> AGAD, *Warszawskie ziemskie grodzkie*, no. 2, f. 532 v. (I would like to thank Dr. M. Piber-Zbieranowska for pointing out this entry).

<sup>60</sup> Jaszczółt, *Ziemia drohicka i bielska*, p. 351; M. Wilska, *Pilik (Pilikowic) Piotr*, p. 279; eadem, *Mazowieckie środowisko dworskie Janusza Starszego. Studium społeczne*, Warsaw 2012, pp. 114–115.

<sup>61</sup> See M. Gochna, *Coats of Arms* in AHP Podlasie volume, in this volume III.7.8. and the appearance of the coat of arms on the map of the town.

<sup>62</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Osadnictwo*, p. 121.

<sup>63</sup> A hypothesis of Dr. T. Jaszczółt's, which he shared in comments regarding the present volume. The self same columns were visible on the Brześć Litewski coat of arms of the sixteenth-century; see E. Rimša, *Pieczenie*, pp. 338–339.

town rights granted in the self same year to the settlement of Mordy lying within the Drohiczyn land. In this charter it is written that Mordy was to receive Kulm Law in the very same form bestowed on Węgrów.<sup>64</sup> Possibly this charter or charters did not apply to the whole of Węgrów but merely to one of its composite parts – the Old, the New, or the Ruthenian Town. Węgrów was divided into these parts in the first half of the seventeenth century although most probably this division already reflected the settlement's development in earlier centuries.

The earlier mentioned possession of Węgrów by the Mazovian voivode Piotr Pilik at the time when the Drohiczyn land were controlled by Lithuanian dukes, as well as the appearance within the sources of the Węgrów starost, forces the question as to the state affiliation of this area in the first half of the fifteenth century. Aleksander Jabłonowski writes that at this time there existed the district of Węgrów. The links between Węgrów and Mazovia are also shown by the fact that one of the conditions for the taking over by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk of the Drohiczyn land in 1444 was to have been that Węgrów remained, together with its environs, within Mazovia. This condition was not to be met and the town became a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>65</sup> Mention of this matter was recalled in later years; in 1459 the parliamentary deputy Jan Rytwiński, the Sandomierz starost, demanded from the king, while at a congress in Piotrków, the completion of the agreement and the inclusion of the Węgrów district (*districtus Wangrowyecz*) within Mazovia.<sup>66</sup> Possibly the distinctiveness of the territory was the outcome of its border situation from an earlier period, when the boundary between Mazovia and Podlasie ran by means of the water divisions that constituted the Liwiec and the Bug, in part possibly along the length of the River Cetynia.<sup>67</sup> One may conjecture, not determining the actual state affiliation of the Węgrów district in the first half of the fifteenth century, that the area for a certain time displayed presumably an identity separate from the Drohiczyn land. Regardless of whether it was an entity fully autonomic within the structure of these land or not, after its inclusion within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1444 there is an absence of traces as to the territory's identity.<sup>68</sup>

The changed and as one can see not totally specified state affiliation of Węgrów was to have had an impact also on its ethnic structure. The characteristic mixing of Polish and Ruthenian ethnicity across the Drohiczyn land resulted in the creation of identical settlements being defined as *Lackie* (Polish) or *Ruskie* (Ruthenian) (e.g., Kosów, Jabłonna). In Podlasie towns this revealed itself in the practice of naming specific parts of settlements in this very same way.<sup>69</sup> And so it was in Węgrów. In the light of the inventories for the years 1619 and 1621 the settlement was divided into three towns: the Old, the New, and the Ruthenian. Although the oldest mentions as to such a division are known from these very sources, they most likely document a state of affairs in existence earlier, in the sixteenth and possibly even in the fifteenth century. The influx of Ruthenian settlers to Węgrów should be tied to those centuries, while the settlement process could have been initiated by the Lithuanian dukes, who in supporting the Ruthenians in the town and giving them a coat of arms with the emblem of Lithuania attempted to erase the earlier links of Węgrów with Mazovia. If this was the case then the creation of the Ruthenian Town should be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century. An additional element that could confirm this is the fact that the then town owners – the Węgrowski family – quite likely used

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<sup>64</sup> W. Jarmolik, *Rozwój niemieckiego prawa miejskiego na Podlasiu do Unii Lubelskiej 1569 roku*, PH, vol. 73, 1982, no. 1–2, p. 27; J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach*, p. 97.

<sup>65</sup> Podlasie II, pp. 6, 22; Podlasie III, p. 78.; *Urzednicy podlascy*, p. 7; *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana*, Cracow 1597, p. 376: "This was the agreement by which Boleslaw gave Kazimierz the Drohiczyn land, with the exception of the Węgrów land, while Kazimierz gave him twelve thousands zloty in Prague groshes. But this agreement was not to last long for Kazimierz was also to take the Węgrów land"; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, pp. 163–168.

<sup>66</sup> *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Lib. 12, 1445–1461, Cracoviae 2003, p. 330. Besides Węgrów, Rytwiński equally demanded at the same time the return of the Goniądz district.

<sup>67</sup> E. Kowalczyk, *Włość katuska w średniowieczu. Z dziejów osadnictwa na wschodnim Mazowszu*, [in:] *Civitas et villa. Miasto i wieś w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, Praha-Wrocław 2002, p. 385; K. Pacuski, *Wschodnia granica Mazowsza w średniowieczu w świetle danych historycznych (X–XV w.)*, [in:] *Początki chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu mazowiecko-ruskim w świetle wyników badań wybranych cmentarzyisk*, ed. A. Buko, Warsaw 2019, pp. 27, 30 (map); T. Jaszczółt, *Granica pomiędzy ziemiami drohiczką i liwską*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>68</sup> *Urzednicy podlascy*, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> See: M. Sierba, *Bielsk Podlaski* in AHP Podlasie, in this volume III.6.2.8.; T. Jaszczółt, *Drohiczyn* in AHP Podlasie, in this volume III.6.8.8.

the Niedźwiad coat of arms, whose emblem can be seen in the Węgrów coat of arms together with the Columns of Gediminas. However, from an analysis of the urban layout it results that the Ruthenian Town was the part to come into being the latest. This is borne out by its location in the south-eastern part of the town, set apart from the main trade routes. In such a state of affairs the supposed charter granted by Bolesław IV of 1441 could have referred to the founding of the New Town which in turn could be treated as an attempt at cementing the authority of the Mazovians in this area. The question that is unexplained is the matter of the actual identity of the three parts of the town in relation to the law and finances. Evidence of a difference in jurisdiction could be content of the privileges bestowed by Bogusław Radziwiłł on the 14 April 1650, which, among other things, were to abolish it and to standardise legislation in the town.<sup>70</sup>

So let us move onto a spatial description of Węgrów. The central point was represented by the rectangular 'square' of the Old Town with dimensions of 100 by 160 metres. Anna Czapska supposes that initially the market square was triangular in shape reflecting the trading square that had developed on the edge of the two main arteries running through the town.<sup>71</sup> Confirmation of her suppositions are borne out by the remains of a wall by the church, running at an diagonal in the direction of the market square, along the diagonal of the market square in a continuum of the route from Sokołów through Węgrów to Liw.<sup>72</sup> However, this thesis, uncritically accepted within the subject literature, has been devised on a flawed basis. The present-day wall was built at the beginning of the eighteenth century while the diagonal course of its northern section is the result of the then constructed wall together with belltowers, which was to have created a symmetrical composition around the church in relation to the market square itself. Consequently, on this basis one is unable to conjecture as to the initial layout of the market square. The recalled section of wall was later to be transformed into its eastern part, which was to be cut through to allow access to the continuation of Kościuszko Street.<sup>73</sup> However, it seems as if the market square, initially a trading area for the local peasantry, at the early stages of settlement formation was of a somewhat different shape than at present. This is borne out by two pieces of evidence.

Firstly, both on Dowkontt's plans as on those for Węgrów of 1893 one can see that the present-day Kościuszki Street at the junction with Mickiewicz Street is fairly wide, entering as if into the area of the church. Heldensfeld's map shows in turn that this street widens as it gets closer to the centre of the town, although it follows to remember about possible cartographic misrepresentations.

Equally the present-day street Kościuszki Street, on the section that runs along the church wall, widens out in the direction of the market square: with the difference in its width being approximately 18 metres in the eastern part and around 26 metres in the western part, counting from the border of the contemporary plots.

Secondly, it follows to look at the layout of plots within the town limits. Those situated at the northern frontage of Kościuszki Street from the market square side in an easterly direction run obliquely in relation to this street more or less from the north east to the south west. The plots situated within the limits of the present-day streets of Piwna, Przechodna, Szamoty, Broniewskiego as well as those situated to the west of the present-day town park, as equally the park itself and the plot on which the former cloister and reformist church stood, have a similar layout. Equally the recalled streets possess such a course. Only with the plots in the quarter bordered by the streets of Gdańska, Piwna (on the section of it running latitudinally), Staszica and the northern frontage of the market square are directed at right angles to the expanse of the market square, where in the western part of this quarter the plots have preserved their slanting course.<sup>74</sup> In turn the plots along the southern frontage of Kościuszki Street

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<sup>70</sup> A certain separateness of the Ruthenian Town was manifest in the different taxation employed when compared to the other parts of the town, about which the said privilege recalls. This part of the town was exempt from the overall sum of 2,500 zł, which the town was to pay the owner, but instead had imposed on it a duty of 25 zł a volok. AGAD, dok. perg., no. 2298.

<sup>71</sup> Czapska, *Węgrów: monografia*, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>73</sup> Fragments of the original wall were discovered during works on renovating the Mariacki Market Square in 2010–2011; J. Zasłona, B. Plit, *Nadzór archeologiczny na Rynku w Węgrowie*, p. 158. (I would like to thank Mr. R. Postek for his consultation on the matter).

<sup>74</sup> Geoportalski, *Ewidencja gruntów i budynków*, [https://mapy.geoportal.gov.pl/imap/Imgp\\_2.html?gmap=gp0](https://mapy.geoportal.gov.pl/imap/Imgp_2.html?gmap=gp0) (access 01.09.2020).

on the section from the present-day street of Kilińskiego Street in an eastern direction run from the south-east to the north-west. The above layout leads to the supposition that initially the present-day Kościuszki Street broadened in a westerly direction and here a lot earlier than can be seen on Heldensfeld's map, and more or less from the current bend/turn at the height of Kowalska Street, creating a broadening trading square on which the church was built, dividing the expanse here into two parts: a western, from which the town's market square arose, and an eastern which was gradually built on. This hypothesis may be confirmed by the mention of the agreement between Bogusław Radziwiłł and the priest Marcin Zaliwski of 1641, during which as Tadeusz Wyszomirski writes, '[...] Duke Bogusław bequeathed to the Węgrów church two plots/squares adjoining the church cemetery to the rear of the church: opposite the horse market: once a hospital was there, and then fire destroyed it; while the second square had an adjacent garden with it'.<sup>75</sup> This proves firstly that in this part of the town was situated a market known as the horse market, and secondly that both plots behind the church were the property of town residents: on one was founded a hospital (in 1622 Elżbieta Zofia granted a privilege for the said),<sup>76</sup> and that the second was a plot with a garden. One may consequently draw the conclusion that to the east of the church was an expanse of less building density which could have been the remains of the initial elongated trading market. For the quarter mentioned at the northern frontage of the market square was more than likely transformed during the changes occurring to the town market square.

So there arises the question as to when this alteration to the urban structure of Węgrów took place? Was this when town rights were bestowed or maybe at a later period? The town inventories from the first half of the seventeenth century already mention a market square of four frontages, and so any changes to the town's layout must have occurred before the year 1619. Then the number of houses were presented thus:

**Table 1. The number of houses in particular frontages of the Market Square at Węgrów in the light of inventories for the years 1619 and 1620**

Frontage \ year	1619	1621
First	9	9
Second	3	2
Third	29	29
Fourth	9 + 2 empty plots,	9 + 2 empty plots
Total number	50 + 2 empty plots	49 + 2 empty plots

Startling is the number of houses in the third frontage – a whole 29 (in the first, parallel, merely 9). Such a significant difference raises the question as to whether these are in fact numbers signifying individual households. However, what we probably do have is a list of the owners or rather co-owners of the properties. This may be pointed to through the differentiation in the taxation rates (from 5 to 24 grosze) as well as by the fact that in two cases the dues were paid by individuals who more than likely were related to each other.<sup>77</sup> A similar situation occurs in the case of the remaining frontages.<sup>78</sup> In connection with which one cannot treat the above cited figures as the full list of market-square houses. If we were to compare this data with the tax register of 1580, which mentions only 20 market-square houses, as well as with the register of 1588 – 19 houses – it might turn out that over the course of thirty years there did not occur a significant proliferation in buildings at the market square, as might have been judged on an initial comparison of the data from the registers with that derived from the inventories. It obviously follows to remember that the tax registers reflect not an actual state of affairs but only the subject of taxation. It is known that in 1580 20 market-square houses were subject to taxation while in 1588 – 19; however, unknown remains the number of houses that were exempt from

<sup>75</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości Węgrowa*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>77</sup> Inw. 1621, p. 107: “Jan Ratyński Borzyk and Stanisław Ratyński Borzyk’ – each at 7 gr; note of “Jan Skalik[,] Mikołaj Skalik these both receive” – twice 10.5 gr.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 106–107, in the initial frontage: “Abram Gnojeński 4.5 gr[,] Bartosz Gnojeński, cartwright 4.5 gr”.

the payment of taxation. Assuming that the number of houses in the registers is lowered, while that data from the inventories have a tendency to increase matters, it would follow to adopt as the minimal and maximum number to be presented in these sources as from 20 to 50.

Interesting is the modest number of houses within the second frontage of the market square. This must have been the eastern frontage, at which stood the parish church. Though the question arises as to why there were there properties belonging to citizens when more than likely the whole length of the frontage was taken up by a church with cemetery? It is known that on the territory of the church and cemetery there was directly attached to the south the grounds of the presbytery, so the location of this property on the southern side of the church is highly unlikely.<sup>79</sup> Yet it would follow to locate it on the north side of the church. Helpful in resolving this question is the plan by Dowkontt. Marked on it is that the quarter of buildings at the corner of the present-day streets of Kościuszki and Staszica had the successive street number 28, as buildings in the northern frontage (from 21 to 28 counting from the eastern side), and so in terms of records it is included within the then market-square plots. Additionally it has been moved somewhat to the south in relation to the line of the market-square frontage (and so is the case at present). In connection with this the houses mentioned in the seventeenth-century inventories I have located exactly here.

So taking into consideration the above described fate of the town following the death of Jan Kiszka in 1592 to the completely legal taking over of the town by Janusz Radziwiłł in 1614 (he had partly taken control of the town somewhat earlier)<sup>80</sup> and the turbulence caused by the unclear property situation in relation to ownership in this period, one may suppose that any action to reorganise the layout of the town would have been taken earlier, when such property relations had been regulated. It is indeed highly likely that after such a regulatory act was when the wooden revetment of the road in the current course of the Piłsudskiego Street and the western frontage of the market was created, excavated in the years 2017–2018.<sup>81</sup>

Streets ran off from the market square although not all are identifiable or can be linked to the cartographic evidence available. It is known that from the north-east corner in an easterly direction ran Wileńska (Długa) Street, from the south-east corner Podłęzna Street departed in a westerly direction, while the Żydowska Street went in a southerly direction.

Anna Czapska shows that in addition another two streets ran off from the market square, one each from the centre of the northern and southern frontages. Confirmation of this thesis is to be the course of the present-day Rynkowa Street and on the opposite side the route taken by Piwna Street and the layout of the plot found in this section.<sup>82</sup> Looking at Dowkontt's plan one can admittedly see breaks in the buildings, however these are the widest in the eastern part of both frontages, while Heldensfeld depicts a break only in the southern frontage where he has not marked the course of any streets. None of these cartographic representations show the course of the street described by Czapska – in the market square frontages at the height of the present-day streets of Rynkowa and Piwna drawn in are buildings (only behind these has Dowkontt located Przyrynek Street, the present-day Rynkowa Street). Given that the matter is uncertain, it has been decided to present the look of the frontages on the basis of the plots as marked by Dowkontt.

An extension of Żydowska Street was New Town (Nowe Miasto), having the shape of a widened street, as is borne out by both inventories for the years 1619 and 1621. These enumerate not four frontages, as was the case for the Old Town, but two sides of the street (28 houses on the one side and 30

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<sup>79</sup> This is borne out by the inventory of the Węgrów presbytery of 1619; T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości Węgrowa*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>80</sup> G. Ryżewski, *Pod panowaniem możnych rodów*, pp. 254–255; E. Bagińska, *Działalność religijna Radziwiłłów birzańskich w dobrach podlaskich w XVII wieku*, SP, vol. 12, 2002, pp. 205–228.

<sup>81</sup> M. and M. Bienia, *Miasto Węgrów, woj. mazowieckie. Wstępne sprawozdanie prac archeologicznych przeprowadzonych w formie nadzoru oraz ratowniczych badań wykopaliskowych na terenie zachodniej części Rynku Mariackiego wraz z ulicami przyległymi: Piłsudskiego, Żeromskiego, Rzemieślniczą, Gdańską i Zwycięstwa w trakcie przebudowy ulic*, June–October 2017, Mazovia Province Monument Conservation Department, Siedlce branch, TS; *idem*, *Węgrów miasto historyczne: Rynek Mariacki, ul. Gdańska. Opracowanie naukowe prac archeologicznych przeprowadzonych w formie nadzoru oraz ratowniczych badań wykopaliskowych na terenie zachodniej części Rynku Mariackiego wraz z ulicami przyległymi w trakcie przebudowy ulic (etap III, część I)*, June–October 2018, Mazovia Province Monument Conservation Department, Siedlce branch, TS.

<sup>82</sup> A. Czapska, *Węgrów: monografia*, pp. 15–16.

on the other, known as *od Liwa* (from Liw) that is western). On Dowkontt's plan one can see that the road running from Liw to the New Town widens, though the Town itself takes the shape of a rectangle. Maybe this constitutes the remains of an attempt to regulate the market square. The inventories also mention four houses 'beyond the Kobylina' that is situated here on the River Kobylina. Depending on the perspective, the said 'beyond' could indicate the buildings on the southern or the northern side of the river. Taking into consideration the order that the sides of the street were enumerated in the inventories i.e., the 'New Town' – 'beyond the Kobylina' – 'the other side from Liw' one may conjecture that the description is one leading from the southern side, which would locate the buildings 'beyond the Kobylina' on the northern side of the River Kobylina.<sup>83</sup>

The locating of the third 'town' – the Ruthenian – is what raises the greatest doubts. In a similar way to the New Town, it also did not have a four-sided market square in the middle but rather a single main street, possibly widened. On both sides there were situated 39 properties, while the landless tenants resident there were referred to as residing 'in Ruthenia' (1619) or 'in the Ruthenian Town' (1621).<sup>84</sup> The location of this district in the south-eastern part of the town is borne out by first and foremost the name, in existence to this day, of Ruthenian (*Ruszczyzna*) to designate this terrain.<sup>85</sup> In addition there were to be found in these vicinities small voloks belonging to the Ruthenian priest (*agris poponis Ruthenorum*), mentioned in 1540.<sup>86</sup> In comparing these entries with Heldensfeld's map we can in fact find on them a fairly dense concentration of buildings assembled along a single street. In conclusion, we have placed there the Ruthenian Town.<sup>87</sup> That said unknown remains the localisation of the so-called Ruthenian Settlements mentioned in the inventories immediately after the Ruthenian Town.<sup>88</sup> Also the poll tax of 1662 also mentions amongst the inhabitants of Węgrów adherents of the 'Greek [...] religion.'<sup>89</sup>

There also appear in the mentioned inventories the names of two other streets. In as far as in the case of the already discussed streets of Wileńska (Długa), Podłużna, Żydowska, Kozia or the New Town, I have based myself on Dowkontt's plan, which locates them precisely, though in the case of the remainder their identification causes certain problems. One of these is the Rucheńska Street. Józef Kazimierski as well as Wiesław Ratajski place it where at present is the Zwycięstwa Street.<sup>90</sup> On the town plan of 1893 we can see there the street Ruska (*Ruskaja*),<sup>91</sup> while Dowkontt's plan does not cover this area. Taking into consideration its name it shows that it ran in the direction of Ruchna, as well as the fact that the inventories have mentioned 19 properties on one side of the street and 21 on the other side, it follows to identify it as has been presented by the aforementioned authors with the present-day Zwycięstwa Street, along the length of which Heldensfeld placed buildings on both sides.

Two streets bearing the name Kozia have been noted in the inventories. Only one of them has been found on the plan. The first Kozia Street is mentioned as being between Rucheńska (the one

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<sup>83</sup> AR XXV 4549g, pp. 110–112; Inw. 1621, pp. 113–115.

<sup>84</sup> AR XXV 4549g, pp. 113–118, 128; Inw. 1621, pp. 115–117, 122.

<sup>85</sup> PRNG, no. 118643.

<sup>86</sup> NGAB Minsk, f. 1759-2-24, f. 59.

<sup>87</sup> The location is different from the one suggested by J. Kazimierski, who situated the Ruthenian Town in the form of a four-sided market square in the place of those grounds belonging to the Catholic presbytery from at least the end of the seventeenth century and presumably and earlier (as is borne out by the plans of Church territory from the beginning of the seventeenth century and 1867); idem, *Z dziejów Węgrowa*, pp. 272–273, "Plan Węgrowa 1620 r.". The Diocesan Archives in Drohiczyn, Zespół Akt Parafii Wniebowzięcia NMP w Węgrowie, sign. III/Q/1, p. 36; AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, sign. 3009, p. 53; AGAD, Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe, sign. 711, f. 378. Equally, in writing these words and here following on from Kazimierski, M. Gochna has mistakenly marked the Ruthenian Town in an earlier reconstruction of the town, idem, "Porządki jako największe i najlepsze". *Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrowa*, "Węgrów ok. 1620 r. – plan miasta (rekonstrukcja)". These divisions are mentioned already in the nineteenth century by Józef Grajner in his diary of his travels around Podlasie in 1856 with his description of Węgrów seeing him recall: "The townfolk of Węgrów are always up for discourse, retreating in their thoughts to their golden age when [...] there were clearly two distinct towns: a Polish and a Ruthenian, and which now only exists in the title"; idem, *Wycieczka na Podlasie*, "Biblioteka Warszawska. Nowa Serya", vol. 4, 1857, p. 81.

<sup>88</sup> AR XXV 4549g, pp. 116–117: "Ruskie Gródki tylne"; Inw. 1621, p. 117: "Ruskie Gródki tylne".

<sup>89</sup> ASK I 70, f. 28v.

<sup>90</sup> J. Kazimierski, *Z dziejów Węgrowa*, "Plan Węgrowa 1620 r."; W. Ratajski, *Węgrów – plan miasta (okres międzywojenny)*, [in:] A. Kołodziejczyk, *Problemy gospodarcze Węgrowa i powiatu*, [in:] *Węgrów: dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1441–1944*, pp. 277–294.

<sup>91</sup> APL, Zbiór planów różnych urzędów, sign. 574.

immediately after Wileńska) and Podłęzna. This was most certainly not a long street (on one side 10, on the other nine houses) and judging by the first names, surnames and nicknames of the inhabitants, the street was inhabited by a Christian population. I have identified it, following on from Józef Kazimierski, with the later Koźła Street, a fragment of which can be seen on Dowkontt's plan (to the rear of the parish church), while on the plan I have retained the name given in the inventory.<sup>92</sup> The second street to bear the name Kožia mentioned in the inventories was inhabited in its entirety by Jews, judging by the names of the property owners, which numbered seven.<sup>93</sup> It was mentioned after Żydowska street, as the last in the inventory. Józef Kazimierski localises it (as 'Kožia or Jatkowa') in the place of Przyrynek street visible on Dowkontt's plan (at present Rynkowa Street). However, it cannot be excluded that the matter refers to the pre-war Tylna Street (at present Nowa).<sup>94</sup> Given the above outlined doubts, this name does not appear on the plan.

The building structure of the town shown on Heldensfeld's map and Dowkontt's plan indirectly reflects the professional activity of the town's inhabitants. Loose forms of building prevail, where on urban plots besides houses are to be found outhouses enabling agricultural work to be undertaken. In the Jewish district where the population was chiefly employed in crafts and trade, the buildings are relatively dense, while the houses either have no gardens whatsoever or have merely scraps of land.

The chief Christian church in Węgrów was to be found on the eastern frontage of the market square. The church was founded in 1414 by Piotr Pilik and carried the name of the Virgin Mary, of St. Peter, Paul and Andrew the Apostles as well as of St. Catherine the Martyr and Virgin.<sup>95</sup> In 1451 the owner of Węgrów, Stanisław of Olomouc, increased the bequest to the Węgrów church by one volok of land for the altar funded by him. He also bequeathed three voloks to the Węgrów parish priest and his ministers, while to the teacher at the local school he presented one volok – all with the rights to free milling and net fishing. In turn, in 1507, Janusz Kostewicz bequeathed to the church three *grzywnas* (a money denomination) annually from the town and to this numerous rents. He was to increase his endowment in 1509 by thirty two homesteads with gardens in the direction of Liw.<sup>96</sup> In 1558 the church together with the presbytery and incomes was confiscated from the Catholics and given to the Reformist Evangelists by the then owner of the town Anna Kiszczyna. Soon the Protestant community transformed itself into a Polish Brethren congregation, and as such was already functioning in 1563, when at its head stood Marcin Krowicki.<sup>97</sup> With the town being taken over by Elżbieta Ostrogska and Krzysztof 'The Thunderbolt' Radziwiłł, the church was returned to the Calvinists and the Polish Brethren preachers expelled. The exact date for these changes is unknown.<sup>98</sup> It is known that in 1596 the church was closed, something confirmed by a letter from the Węgrów burghers to Radziwiłł of that very year. In this letter the inhabitants of Węgrów describe the two-fold intrusion on the part of the Catholic priest from nearby Sokołów Podlaski (Sokołów), who tried together with his helpers to conduct a Mass there.<sup>99</sup> In that same year an agreement was concluded between Elżbieta and Krzysztof and Bernard Maciejowski, the bishop of Łuck, on the strength of which the Catholic priest had all his properties and incomes returned to him.<sup>100</sup> The church itself was returned to the Catholics in 1630, while in 1634 the construction of a new wooden Evangelist church (it burnt down in 1678) was completed.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> On the town plan of 1893 this street is described as Ogrodowa with only the subsequent street in an easterly direction bearing the name Kožia.

<sup>93</sup> On the denominational criterion see J. Gardzińska, *Sposoby identyfikowania Żydów w inwentarzach: Siedlec, Sokółowa i Węgrów z XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Żydzi na Podlasiu*, ed. Z. Chyra-Rolicz, R. Tarasiuk, E. Kopówka, Siedlce 2010, pp. 145–155.

<sup>94</sup> W. Ratajski, *Węgrów – town plan (inter-war period)*.

<sup>95</sup> T. Jaszczółt, *Dokument Piotra Pilika*, p. 79.

<sup>96</sup> Podlasie II, pp. 214–215.

<sup>97</sup> S. Postek, *Węgrów jako ośrodek reformacji w Polsce*, [in:] *Węgrów: dzieje, społeczeństwo, kultura*, pp. 60–61; H. Barycz, *Krowicki Marcin (zm. 1573)*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 15, 1970, p. 353.

<sup>98</sup> M. Gochna, "Porządki jako największe i najlepsze". *Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrów*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>99</sup> AR V 17214, p. 1.

<sup>100</sup> *Collection of monuments on the reformation of the Polish and Lithuanian Church. Monuments from the 16<sup>th</sup> century*, Wilno 1911, pp. 34–35.

<sup>101</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrówie w XVII i XVIII wieku*, *OiRwP*, vol. 4, 1959, pp. 139, 147.

The date for the erection of the stone parish church remains unknown. The present-day baroque church was built in the years 1703–1706 (it was consecrated in 1711) in place of the previous temple, burnt down by the Swedes in 1703.<sup>102</sup> In the light of the existing subject literature this was to have been a Gothic construct dating back more than likely to the sixteenth century. Although Anna Kiszczyna funded the congregation at Iwie,<sup>103</sup> she was rather not the sponsor of the stone church in the case of Węgrów. For more probable is that in 1558, when she bequeathed the church to the Protestants, it had already been rebuilt. It is doubtful that it was the Evangelists who build a stone church in place of the wooden one. Given the above it follows to presume that the church came into being either in the first half of the sixteenth century or still in the fifteenth century. It is known in turn that Jan Kiszka was buried at the Węgrów church on the 5 September 1592.<sup>104</sup> Taking into consideration that towards the end of his life he possessed many properties in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>105</sup> one may presume that he was buried at one of the more significant churches, which would be evidenced by the existence of a stone building at this time. According to Izabela Galicka, Hanna Sygietyńska and Dariusz Kaczmarzyk the church was built in the sixteenth century, while the remains of this temple are the buttress walls of the nave with corner turrets in the façade (from the western side) as well as the presbytery and vestry. In turn, according to the authors of the above publication, ‘in the attic above the vestry visible [are] the upper sections of the s[outhern] wall of the presbytery with three ogival windows and buttresses.’<sup>106</sup> Paweł Tołstoj, travelling through Węgrów in 1696, was to thus describe the local parish church: ‘в том местечке ест костел римской великой, каменной, многим болше московской соборной цэркви строение. тот костел древней, убор в том костеле богатой’ [In this small town there stands a large Roman-Catholic church, stone in build, much larger than the Moscow cathedral church. This church is older, with in the church rich ornamentation].<sup>107</sup> As a result of the above accounts we have located the church in the place of the present-day basilica. Around the church we have drawn in the cemetery, whose remains were uncovered in 2010.<sup>108</sup> The wall encircling the church has been placed as it is with the present-day one. Between the southern part of the wall and the areas belonging to the presbytery there was at this time no street as such (at present Kościelna Street), which is shown by the Węgrów presbytery inventory of 1619.<sup>109</sup> This street was marked out during the construction of the Baroque church.

Contrary to the hitherto assumptions and local tradition the founding of the church of St. Barbara did not see realisation and most probably this church was never actually built.<sup>110</sup> In turn the church of the Presentation of the Blessed Holy Mary, located on the spot of the Łubiński chapel in the present-day cemetery (beyond the scope of the present plan) is an eighteenth-century foundation.<sup>111</sup>

The Jewish synagogue has been marked on the plan. Jews appeared in Węgrów at the beginning of the sixteenth century, constituting at the beginning of the next century around 20% of the town’s

<sup>102</sup> S. Kosiński, T. Swat, *Rozwój i upadek*, pp. 44–50.

<sup>103</sup> J. Zawadzki, *Anna z Radziwiłłów Kiszczyna*, p. 390.

<sup>104</sup> AR X 435, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup> J. Tazbir, *Kiszka Jan h. Dąbrowa (zm. 1592)*, p. 507.

<sup>106</sup> KZS vol. 10, no. 26, p. 24.

<sup>107</sup> *Путешествие стольника П. А. Толстого по Европе (1697—1699)*, ed. Л.А. Ольшевская, С.Н. Травников, Москва 1992, p. 23.

<sup>108</sup> J. Zastona, B. Polit, *Nadzór archeologiczny na Rynku w Węgrowie*, pp. 155–158; J. Borowska, *Badania archeologiczne cmentarza*, pp. 147–156.

<sup>109</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości Węgrowa*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>110</sup> AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, sign. 3009, p. 6. In changing all hitherto bequests to the church noted was: “Nec noc Joannis Hosiewicz et Margarethae Haeredum Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo Septimo ad vitae tantum tempora sui capellani duravisse, tum eorundem fundatorum sub anno millesimo quingentesimo nono pro ecclesia Sanctae Barbarae non esse effectuates”. This church was to have occupied the place of the present-day cross at the junction of Piłsudskiego Str. and Stadionowa Str. The church was allegedly burned down in 1703 by the Swedes. This cross with the church of St. Barbara is equated in, for example, the card index of the Polish Institute of National Heritage, where it is noted that an original Rubens hangs there (burnt) and in the environs were to be scattered the ashes of insurgents from the January Uprising. National Institute of Cultural Heritage in Warsaw, kartoteka, woj. mazowieckie, Węgrów, Kościół św. Barbary – spalony. During construction work round the cross, carried out in the second half of the twentieth century, human remains were uncovered (information from R. Postek).

<sup>111</sup> B. Szady, *Geografia struktur religijnych i wyznaniowych w Koronie w II połowie XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2010, p. 694.

inhabitants.<sup>112</sup> Information as to the existence of the synagogue and a Jewish school comes from both Radziwiłł inventories.<sup>113</sup> Possibly it already existed in 1596, from which are derived a medical tract written down in Węgrów in both Hebrew and Yiddish.<sup>114</sup> We have marked the synagogue on the plan in the location of the later, nineteenth-century synagogue. Similarly, the inventories note the Jewish cemetery which we have included as it appears on Dowkontt's plan.<sup>115</sup>

The building standing near the market square, the so-called *Dom Lipki* (Lipka House) has been referred to in local tradition as the Polish Brethren printing house, which would point to its sixteenth-century origin. It was the authors of the 'Catalogue of Monuments of Art' that designated its construction – and here in the seventeenth-century – as alleged, pointing to its fundamental reconstruction in the nineteenth century.<sup>116</sup> For there are no bases whatsoever to connect the activities of the Polish Brethren printing house (whose activity in the second half of the sixteenth century raises no doubts whatsoever<sup>117</sup>) with this building and its location on the present plan.

Nothing is known about the Węgrów town hall in the sixteenth century. In 1643 an administrator of Bogusław Radziwiłł, Jan Pękalski, drew up an administrative design for the town including the planned construction of a town hall but here matters concerned the next century. It is known that the town hall burnt down in 1650, yet it is unknown as to whether the building existed before 1643 and whether it was functional, or possibly after 1643 and the fire broke out before the year 1650 itself.<sup>118</sup>

We have also marked on the plan the pond situated close to the crossing of the present-day streets Strażacka and Zwycięstwa. The Węgrów presbytery inventory of 1619 informed of its existence for that self same year.<sup>119</sup> Its localisation (together with a fragment of the stream that feeds it) we have adopted on the basis of Dowkontt's plan. This pond is visible on the plan of the presbytery plot drawn by Reisner at the beginning of the eighteenth century as well as on the map by Heldensfeld. One can see on the plan of the presbytery lands of 1867 that it had already then been moved and shaped into a trapezium placed at the present-day streets of Zwycięstwa between the streets Strażacka and Mickiewiczza. It also appears on the town plan of 1893. At present this is a strip of greenery, a trapezium in form, with a bus stop.

The Węgrów estate inventories provide many place names functioning within the town and its environs to designate meadows, fields, enclosed areas and mills. Given that their inclusion within the actual town area as such, and here given the current state of research, is only possible to a highly hypothetical degree we have consequently decided not to locate them on the plan. Possibly detailed research into the nineteenth and twentieth century will enable a more comprehensive application of the retrogressive method and result in the identification of concrete names, particularly of those for the mills.

We know that Węgrów had a customs house (similarly to that at Liw in neighbouring Mazovia).<sup>120</sup> Anna Kiszczyna viewed unfavourably the activities on her lands of this and other customs houses, who hampered the work of toll collectors, something that resulted in a reprimand on the part of the king,

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<sup>112</sup> A. Boniecki, *Poczet Rodów w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem w XV i XVI wieku*, Warsaw 1887, p. 360; Inw. 1621, pp. 66–68.

<sup>113</sup> AR XXV 4549g, p. 119; Inw. 1621, p. 118.

<sup>114</sup> A description of this manuscript, at present in private hands, may be found on the website of the Les Eluminers auction house (<https://www.textmanuscripts.com/medieval/yiddish-medical-illuminated-60490>, access 01.09.2020): "The manuscript is dated and localized by colophon on f. 16v to Wengrov or Wengrow, as it is called in Polish, one of the oldest communities in Poland: >>in the words of the scribe Uri son of R. Eliezer, long life to him, who is called Leibman Ashkenazi who writes here in the holy community of Wengrow in the year 1596.<< The greater part of the MS was thus copied by Uri b.Eliezer, also called Leibelman Ashkenazi in Wengrow, and it was completed in the week the pericope Netzavim was read in the synagogue, 5356=September 1596". The author of the work claimed several times that he had employed the advice therein contained on the inhabitants of Węgrów.

<sup>115</sup> AR XXV 4549g, p. 131; Inw. 1621, p. 123; W. Bis, W. Więckowski, *Cmentarz żydowski* pp. 109–129.

<sup>116</sup> KZS, vol. 10, no. 26, p. 38.

<sup>117</sup> M. Piórkowska, *Źródła do historii Węgrowa w zbiorach Miejskiej Biblioteki Publicznej im. Augusta Cieszkowskiego w Węgrowie*, [in:] *Węgrów: dzieje, społeczeństwo, kultura*, p. 174; T. Swat, *Węgrów za Kiszaków 1545–1592*, [in:] *Węgrów – dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1441–1944*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>118</sup> For more on the Węgrów town hall see M. Gochna, "Porządki jako największe i najlepsze". *Bogusław Radziwiłł w dziejach Węgrowa*, pp. 83–85; M. Derecka, *Zapomniany ratusz na Rynku Mariackim*, pp. 133–145.

<sup>119</sup> T. Wyszomirski, *Z przeszłości Węgrowa*, p. 37.

<sup>120</sup> Podlasie III, p. 192.

Sigismund August.<sup>121</sup> ‘Common’ payments were also collected by Janusz Kostewicz, which met with the opposition of the Mazovian princess.<sup>122</sup>

Finally it follows to mention the economic potential of Węgrów in the sixteenth century. This is reflected in the tax registers for this century. The most information is provided by the register of 1580. Mention has already been made of the 20 properties located at the Market Square. Besides this tax was paid also on 148 street houses as well as 115 poor cottages and three burnt down street houses. To which added must be 55.5 settled voloks, two wojt voloks as well as 31 gardens, while two and a half ‘fire ravaged’ voloks were exempt from taxation. The town also had mills, which comprised six mill roller wheels as well as three annual wheels. Unfortunately, the register does not provide information as to whether each of the wheels were housed in separate mills or equally whether the mills were equipped with more than one wheel (or if the situation was a mix). The register also enumerates Węgrów craftsmen: 10 bakers, six stove-fitters (of which four were impoverished), five salt traders, four wheelwrights, three cobblers, three smiths, three butchers (of which one was impoverished), three tailors (of which one was impoverished), two furriers, two locksmiths, two carpenters, two cartwrights, two leatherworkers, one saddler and one impoverished sword maker. Besides this tax was levied on nine landless tenants and three stills. The amount of taxation brought was 126 zł and 24 gr.<sup>123</sup> 100 zł of excise tax was paid.<sup>124</sup>

The register of 1588 notes in Węgrów: 58 municipal voloks, 19 market square houses, 148 street houses, 115 poor cottages, 31 ‘attached’ gardens (presumably at homesteads), three stills, 47 craftsmen, nine landless tenants, six inherited mill wheels, three annual mill wheels, and three vacant voloks (fallow).<sup>125</sup>

According to Stanisław Alexandrowicz, who has based his calculations on the register of 1580, Węgrów in the second half of the sixteenth century had approximately 1,698 inhabitants.<sup>126</sup>

In relation to its size and economic potential Węgrów was third amongst the towns of the Drohiczyn land, and here after royal Drohiczyn and the privately held town of Ciechanowiec. This is shown by the number of houses in 1580 (Drohiczyn 328, Ciechanowiec 336, Węgrów 283) as well as also the amount of excise paid for 1578 (Drohiczyn 452 zł 22 gr, Ciechanowiec 107 zł 22 gr, Węgrów – according to Jabłonowski 97 zł 18 gr, according to the manuscript 100 zł). With regard to the number of voloks, in 1580 Węgrów (60 voloks) gave way to Siemiatycze (147), Sokołów (87), Drohiczyn (83), Wysokie Mazowieckie (78) and Ciechanowiec (75).<sup>127</sup>

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>121</sup> Podlasie II, p. 239; Podlasie III, p. 195.

<sup>122</sup> Podlasie III, pp. 195–196.

<sup>123</sup> Podlasie I, p. 239; ASK I 47, ff. 499v, 558 v. (first pagination).

<sup>124</sup> ASK I 47, f. 558 (double pagination).

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 759. Taxation was then paid on the whole of the Węgrów estate, in which noted was: 64 settled voloks, 4.5 empty (fallow) voloks, two annual mills, 20 landless gentry, eight voloks of bad ground; ASK I 40, f. 752v. The Węgrów estate at the beginning of the seventeenth century comprised besides Węgrów also the villages of Stara Wieś with its manor house (later palace), Tończa, Borzychy, Zuzułka, Jarty-pory, Ruchna as well as the folwarks at Stara Wieś, Ruchna and Jarty-pory; Inw. 1621, *passim*.

<sup>126</sup> S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 150–151; cf. P. Guzowski, *Settlement size in AHP Podlasie* volume and in III.3.2b.8 in this volume.

<sup>127</sup> Podlasie II, pp. 66, 69.

### III.6.31.1 WIELICZKA

*Michał Zbieranowski*

The plans of Wieliczka and the Wieliczka mine luckily survived, and could be used as a basis for our reconstruction of the late sixteenth century plan of the city. They were made by Marcin German, surveyor and foreman of the 'Regis' shaft.<sup>1</sup> He arrived in Wieliczka probably in the 1620s. His plans for the town and the mine were created between 1631 and 1638, on the basis of German's own measurements. The plans comprised of four maps at a scale of around 1:1,260, the first of which showed the town, and three other showed the precise layout and range of successive levels of the mine. Despite significant difficulties, and the imperfect measurement techniques of the age, German's plans are very accurate. They show town buildings (sometimes with details, as in the case of the Church of St. Clement), the streets (unfortunately without their names), salt mine facilities (shafts with buildings upon them (kleta), saltworks, mine castle), the course of preserved city walls with towers, sacral objects (churches of St. Clement, St. Sebastian, hospital of the Holy Spirit), town facilities (vogt's office, butchers' stalls, town hall). Ownership divisions were also presented with much detail. Plot borders were also presented on German's plan, both inside the town, and in the suburbs, the majority of them as marked with their name, or the name of their owner.<sup>2</sup>

In 1645 Adam Kazanowski, the żupnik (zupparius salis, administrator of the salt mine), published Marcin German's maps of Wieliczka by order of king Ladislaus IV. The plans were published in Gdańsk as intaglios at a scale of around 1:3,800, made by a well-known Dutch engraver Wilhelm Hondius (Willem de Hondt). Illustrations showing work in the mines and on the surface (saltworks, transportation, etc.), and a detailed list of pits, galleries, shafts and chambers for each level of the mine<sup>3</sup> were added to the plans. Unfortunately, in comparison to German's maps from the 1630s, Hondius's intaglios of the town have fewer details, and sometimes even have small mistakes. The town buildings were simplified. Some of the structures, which were presented on German's plan quite precisely, were shown in an almost symbolic way (e.g. Kłosowska Gate, church of St. Clement) or incorrectly (the rectangular Church of St. Sebastian was presented as a rotunda). Also, almost all descriptions of property were removed. However, in one case Hondius's engravings are complementary to German's plans: they include a description of saltworks in the northern part of the town ('Kerbaria'), which were not shown on the earlier plan.

J.E. Nilson's intaglios from the middle of the eighteenth century, as well as a cadastral plan of Wieliczka from 1847, played an auxiliary role in the preparation of our plan.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> S. Gawęda, *Marcin German – geometra wielicki*, "Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Żup Solnych w Polsce" (hereinafter: SMDŻ), vol. 12, 1983, pp. 109–115.

<sup>2</sup> M. Odlanicki-Poczobutt, M. Milewski, *Najdawniejsze plany kopalni wielickiej*, "Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki", vol. 3, 1958, no. 4, pp. 565–587; M. Milewski, M. Odlanicki-Poczobutt, *Rozwój kartografii górniczej w Polsce na przykładzie kopalni soli w Wieliczce*, [in:] *Z dziejów kartografii*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1980, pp. 39–60.

<sup>3</sup> A. Jodłowski, Ł. Walczy, W. Gawroński, *Obraz Żupy Wielickiej i miasta Wieliczki na mapach Wilhelma Hondiusa z 1645 roku*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 15 f., the reproduction of Hondius's engravings with a commentary and a photo of a model of Wieliczka at a scale 1:100 based on German's plans in the Museum of Cracow Salt Mines (Muzeum Żup Krakowskich) in Wieliczka.

<sup>4</sup> M. Milewski, M. Odlanicki-Poczobutt, *Opis inwentaryzacyjny i analiza geodezyjno-kartograficzna XVIII-wiecznych planów kopalni wielickiej*, "Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki", vol. 8, 1963, no. 4; R. Kurowski, *Katalog map górniczych Muzeum Żup Krakowskich Wieliczka*, Wieliczka 1982; cadastral plan of Wieliczka from 1847, AP Kraków, sign. K. Krak. 658.

The first entries mentioning Wieliczka come from the beginning of the twelfth century. Archaeological research confirms that Wieliczka was a centre of salt making, as well as a centre of trade, already at that time.<sup>5</sup> The foundation of the town was connected with the large-scale, systematic rock salt production in the second half of the thirteenth century. In 1290 Przemysław II confirmed the founding document issued probably by Henry IV Probus. Wieliczka was originally located under Frankish law,<sup>6</sup> in 1336 Casimir the Great transferred the town to Magdeburg law, in the imitation of Cracow.<sup>7</sup>

The urban layout of the town developed in two stages. First, as a result of the foundation under Frankish law in 1290, then during Casimir the Great's reign, after the transfer to Magdeburg law and the building of the city walls. The base layout was not changed until the end of the sixteenth century (and can partially still be seen in the current plan of the town). In the sixteenth century the classic foundation layout underwent partial changes due to frequent fires and mining. The Market Square is situated in the central part of the town (Upper Market Square – Rynek Górny<sup>8</sup>), and streets leave from the corners – two perpendicular streets from each. Butchers' stalls, other merchants' booths, and the pillory stood in the middle of the square. Salt stalls of retail sellers were probably situated in the western corner of the northern frontage of the Market Square. The town hall was built in the southern frontage, probably at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The first building burned down during a fire in 1556.<sup>9</sup>

The parochial church in the town was dedicated to St. Clement. Originally wooden (from the thirteenth century) it was rebuilt in the fourteenth century (probably prior to 1354) as a three-nave hall Gothic temple. Two chapels were added on the northern side: of the Name of Jesus (for preaching) and a domed chapel of St. Stanislaus and St. Barbara (founded by the family Gawroński).<sup>10</sup> Already in the second half of the seventeenth century the church sustained significant damage as a result of a mine collapse, and was demolished after 1786.<sup>11</sup> Between 1804 and 1816 the church was rebuilt in its current, Classicistic form.<sup>12</sup> The presbytery and parochial school stood south of the church.<sup>13</sup>

There was also another one, small wooden church in Wieliczka, dedicated to St. Sebastian. It stood outside the city walls, to the southeast of the town, and was founded by Sebastian Lubomirski, to whom his family owned its power. The church was consecrated on 29 June 1598 by Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, the bishop of Cracow, and luckily survived to this day.<sup>14</sup>

The last of sacral institutions in Wieliczka at the close of the sixteenth century, the Hospital of the Holy Spirit with a chapel, was situated north of the mine castle. The hospital was built after 1363 at the request of the town counsellors, the mine administrator and the fraternity of porters, it was meant to care for the poorest and crippled workers of the salt mine.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> A. Jodłowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie Wieliczki*, [in:] *Wieliczka. Dzieje miasta (do roku 1980)*, Cracow 1990, pp. 39–59.

<sup>6</sup> See F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji Małopolski XIII–XVI w.*, Cracow 1985 (Prace Monograficzne Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Krakowie, vol. 70), p. 258–265.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 259; S. Świszczowski, *Urbanistyczny rozwój miasta Wieliczki w czasach Kazimierza Wielkiego*, SMDŻ, vol. 3, 1974; on the year 1361 moves this event J. Piotrowicz, *Dzieje miasta Wieliczki w wiekach średnich*, [in:] *Wieliczka. Dzieje miasta*, p. 78; see also *Wieliczka (Magnum Sal)*, [in:] B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku*, part 2: *Katalog lokacyjnych układów urbanistycznych*, Cracow 2004, p. 260–270 and bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> The so-called Lower Market Square was situated north of the church of St. Clement and in fact this was a square used to trade salt and load carts.

<sup>9</sup> J. Piotrowicz, *Dzieje miasta*, pp. 101–102, 132, 148.

<sup>10</sup> Ł. Walczy, *Dzieje kościoła parafialnego św. Klemensa w Wieliczce do 1785 roku*, SMDŻ, vol. 21, 2001, pp. 7–27; A. Jodłowski, Ł. Walczy, W. Gawroński, *Obraz Żupy Wielickiej*, p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> Only foundations of chancel, and the seventeenth century chapel of the Morstins were left; Ł. Walczy, *Dzieje kościoła*, pp. 25–27.

<sup>12</sup> J. Piotrowicz, *Dzieje miasta*, p. 85; S. Świszczowski, *Urbanistyczny rozwój*, pp. 28–29.

<sup>13</sup> According to S. Gawęda, the location of the school is uncertain and the 1597 visitation fails to describe it in a certain manner. It was said to stand in the suburbs, near the priest's house; idem, *Szkolnictwo w Wieliczce w okresie przedrozbiorowym (do 1772 roku)*, SMDŻ, vol. 14, 1985, pp. 125–139, especially p. 130.

<sup>14</sup> A. Gaczol, *Zabytki sztuki w Wieliczce*, [in:] *Wieliczka. Dzieje miasta*, pp. 340–341.

<sup>15</sup> J. Piotrowicz, *Dzieje miasta*, p. 86.

The Wieliczka Salt Mine Castle stood in the north-western part of the town.<sup>16</sup> It dated back to before the foundation of the town, i.e. prior to 1290. Its construction was initiated by Duke Henryk Probus, who needed a residence for the administrator (żupnik) of the salt mine, but also for the mine's administration. Originally, the building comprised a quadrangular wall, some 60 × 57 m, with a storeyed rectangular house, 16 m × 10 m. During Casimir the Great's reign the castle was expanded, the wooden floor of the residential building was bricked. A one-storey wing with a basement, in the form of a square with sides 13 m long, was added on the western side. In the 1360s the structure – described as 'a house amidst the mine' in the sources – was modernized, another floor was built over the western wing, and the so-called gord room ('izba grodzka') was arranged on the ground floor. The entire structure was connected with town fortifications built at the time, which comprised town walls 1 km long, defended by (probably) 21 towers. In 1473 and 1475 the castle had to be rebuilt again due to fires, which broke out in the town.<sup>17</sup> The northern wing, the so-called 'Mine House' was built then. A prison called 'Groch' was set in the basement. Between 1552 and 1553 a catwalk was built over the courtyard, on second floor level, connecting the Mine House with the House amidst the Mine'; another floor was also added to the western wing, and the royal chamber was built there. The building was decorated in the Renaissance style at the same time. The third building of the castle, situated north of the House amidst the Mine, housed the mine's kitchen, which served meals to the workers and carters. Various utilitarian facilities occupied the southern part of the castle grounds, these included: wood storage sheds, a small bathhouse, stables and the entrance to the so-called mine orchard, created on the side of the old mine subsidence.<sup>18</sup>

Since the second foundation in the fourteenth century, the town was surrounded by walls, which also encircled the castle. Initially, there were two gates: Kłosowska in the south, and Krakowska in the north. Kłosowska Gate can be found still on German's plans from 1638 and 1645, Krakowska Gate was already gone at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We do not know, when it was demolished or destroyed. Its exact location also remains uncertain. The gate was probably situated at the exit of the street running longitudinal from Kłosowska Gate, along the western frontage of the Market Square, between the Salt Mine Castle, and the wall encircling the church of St. Clement.<sup>19</sup> According to tradition, there were meant to be 21 towers on the walls of Wieliczka (19 regular and two gate towers). However, the city walls were destroyed as a result of mine operations (both from production needs and collapse). Only nine towers on the southern and western side, and small fragments of curtain walls by the castle and both sides of Kłosowska Gate can be found on German's plan. Perhaps there is another tower on this plan, near 'Regis' shaft. In the east the liquidation of the walls was certainly hastened by the construction of 'Seraf' shaft in 1442. In the north-eastern part the destruction of the town's fortification was probably caused by the intense exploitation of 'Regis' and 'Wodna Góra' shafts.<sup>20</sup>

The sixteenth century names of streets in Wieliczka are known from the sources, but we cannot be sure of the exact location of the streets. The only street marked on the manuscript of German's plan from 1638 is Św. Jadwigi Street, which ran from the south-western corner of the market square, heading west.<sup>21</sup> Kłosowska Street probably ran from Kłosowska Gate, and Krakowska Street – from the north-western corner of the town walls due north, between the hospital of the Holy Spirit and

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<sup>16</sup> S. Świszczowski, *Średniowieczne założenia Zamku Żupnego w Wieliczce i ich rozwój*, SMDŻ, vol. 2, 1968, pp. 152–170; K. Kubik, *Dzieje rozbudowy zamku żupnego w Wieliczce (XIII–XX w.)*, SMDŻ, vol. 6, 1977, pp. 77–95.

<sup>17</sup> Wieliczka was a wooden town, because of the mine underneath and as such it was prone to fire. The greatest fires occurred in 1473, 1475, 1535, 1549, 1556, 1591; F. Kiryk, *Rozwój urbanizacji*, p. 263.

<sup>18</sup> J. Piotrowicz, *Dole i niedole Wieliczki za panowania ostatnich Jagiellonów i królów elekcyjnych (do "potopu" szwedzkiego)*, [in:] *Wieliczka. Dzieje miasta*, pp. 144–145; S. Świszczowski, *Urbanistyczny rozwój*, p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> S. Świszczowski, *Urbanistyczny rozwój*, p. 29. Although J. Widawski places Krakowska Gate at the exit of the street running from the north-eastern corner of the market square, more or less between the shafts "Regis" and "Wodna Góra"; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 479; similarly J. Piotrowicz, *Dole i niedole*, the little plan after p. 144.

<sup>20</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 477; S. Świszczowski assumes that the construction of the fortifications could have not been finished due to the mine activity; idem, *Urbanistyczny rozwój*, p. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Also in this case we are not completely sure, whether this name was in use. The remaining street names known to us are: Żebracka, Warzycka (probably by the saltworks), Kowalska, Ślusarska, Szewska, Podszkolna, Świętokrzyska (perhaps near the old church of the Holy Cross, which had already ceased to exist in the sixteenth century), Wójtowska, Przedmiejska, Krowia, Piekarska, Wąska, Wieżna, Furmańska, Tworkowska; J. Piotrowicz, *Dzieje miasta*, p. 101; idem, *Dole i niedole*, p. 144.

saltworks. Krzyszkowska Streets was marked on the cadastral plan of Wieliczka from 1847, it ran east-west from the lower market square.<sup>22</sup>

The mine under the town and the mine facilities on the surface influenced the urban layout of Wieliczka. Apart from the aforementioned buildings of the Salt Mine Castle, there were five shafts in Wieliczka in the second half of the sixteenth century. The oldest was 'Regis' shaft, situated northeast of the church of St. Clement, dug in the fourteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The next was 'Seraf', dug in 1442, which became the most important shaft in Wieliczka for the next two centuries. It was opened in order to allow for further mining of salt from the deposits reached by the 'Seraf' shaft. It was located in the eastern part of the town, at the level of the Upper Market Square ('Rynek Górny'). Its construction required the eastern part of town walls be demolished.<sup>24</sup> The remaining three shafts were created in the sixteenth century.<sup>25</sup> 'Boner', built in 1532 and 1533 was first of them. It was opened in order to allow for further mining of salt from the deposits reached by the 'seraf' shaft. It was dug east of 'Seraf' shaft, roughly at the level of the Upper Market Square. The shaft 'Bużenin' was dug in 1564–1565, even more to the east of 'Boner' shaft, already on the grounds of Mierzączka suburb – first it was meant as an air duct, which later became a regular, mining shaft. Until the end of the sixteenth century this was the easternmost shaft in Wieliczka. The last of the newly-dug shafts was 'Loiss' (Loyss), built by the family Loiss, burghers from Toruń, between 1577 and 1579.<sup>26</sup> The family owned saltworks in Toruń, to which rock salt was floated on the Vistula.<sup>27</sup>

The so-called Wodna Góra ('Water Mountain', also called 'Góra Surownicza', 'Raw Salt Mountain') was the sixth, additional shaft, dug sometime before 1381 to remove water from the mine. It was situated north of the church of St. Clement, and northeast of 'Regis' shaft.<sup>28</sup>

Saltworks, called 'karbaria' ('kerbaria' on Hondius's engravings), lay outside the city walls, west of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, and north of the Salt Mine Castle. Its origins date back to pre-foundation times. In the end of the sixteenth century it had six towers with salt pans. Since 1577 it was aided by the so-called 'upper' saltworks, built by 'Bużenin' shaft, which had one tower.<sup>29</sup>

Wieliczka is a particular town, even among other Polish mining towns. This is because the town was founded and developed on the mine, which had its consequences in the urban layout and buildings. Due to the possibility of collapse, the houses were built mostly from wood (even the town hall was wooden).<sup>30</sup> As a result, any fire was particularly dangerous, and caused much destruction.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the increasingly intense salt prospecting required new shafts be dug (for instance 'Seraf'), and more place for storerooms, artisan workshops, or stables for merchants. The town buildings suffered. Perhaps we could risk a statement that (at least in the second half of the sixteenth century), Wieliczka was a town added to a mine, not a mine in a town.

(2008)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>22</sup> See *Instrukcja Jana Gotfryda Borlacha z 1747 roku o zabezpieczeniu żupy i miasta Wieliczki przed pożarem*, ed. H. Walczak, SMDŻ, vol. 10, 1981, pp. 205–228; cadastral plan of Wieliczka from 1847, AP Kraków, sign. K. Krak. 658.

<sup>23</sup> "Regis" shaft was probably created around 1334; I. Markowski, *Zarys rozwoju przestrzennego kopalni wielickiej*, SMDŻ, vol. 7, 1978, p. 13; J. Piotrowicz, *Żupy krakowskie w pierwszych wiekach rozwoju od połowy XIII do początków XVI wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje żup krakowskich*, Wieliczka 1988, p. 124.

<sup>24</sup> The shaft was built thanks to the efforts of the contemporary administrator (żupnik) Mikołaj Serafin, hence its name; S. Świszczowski, *Urbanistyczny rozwój*, p. 29; J. Piotrowicz moves the construction of the shaft to 1440; idem, *Dzieje miasta*, p. 101.

<sup>25</sup> A. Keckowa, *Żupy krakowskie w XVI–XVIII w. (do 1772 r.)*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow 1969, p. 33; eadem, *Żupy krakowskie w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Dzieje żup krakowskich*, p. 163.

<sup>26</sup> I. Markowski, *Zarys rozwoju przestrzennego kopalni*, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> J. Piotrowicz, *Dole i niedole*, p. 141.

<sup>28</sup> I. Markowski, *Zarys rozwoju przestrzennego kopalni*, p. 13; J. Piotrowicz, *Żupy krakowskie*, p. 124.

<sup>29</sup> Several dozen metres northeast from the shafts "Regis" and "Wodna Góra" there were the salt cisterns, but they are absent from German's plans. So we have no certainty that they were still in use in the end of the sixteenth century; J. Piotrowicz, *Dole i niedole*, pp. 101, 142.

<sup>30</sup> There were not stone buildings in Wieliczka apart from the Salt Mine Castle, the city walls, the gates and towers, and the church of St. Clement.

<sup>31</sup> See footnote 18.

### III.6.32.5 WIELUŃ

*Małgorzata Wilska*

The sixteenth century layout of Wieluń was reconstructed in the same way as the layouts of other cities in AHP.<sup>1</sup> The oldest cartographic records were analysed retrospectively. The 1702 plan, the so-called ‘Swedish plan’, shows the location of Wieluń, the circumference of the city walls, the castle, two gates, the moats and the outline of the closest suburb – the Cracow suburb.<sup>2</sup> The second plan comes from the end of the eighteenth century and was kept in the Czartoryscy Museum in Cracow.<sup>3</sup> It shows the walls with the gates, the water network and the gardens between the walls and the buildings. Both plans are quite primitive and cannot form the basis for reconstruction.

The basic cartographic record, on which our study was based, is the detailed plan of Wieluń from 1799, prepared by Grappow on a scale of 1:4,000, presenting the street network, the plots, brick buildings, gardens, ramparts, defensive walls with the gates and towers, the castle, the castle square and pond, and the moats. This plan is known from the 1879 copy on scale of 1:1,500 by Ottoman Wolle.<sup>4</sup> Another cartographic source is the 1823 plan, created by F. Bergemann, on which the ponds and the stream, the remnants of the moat, the defensive walls, the gates, the towers, streets and plots, the buildings and churches, and the suburbs are presented.<sup>5</sup> We know a draft plan of the city, from the middle of the nineteenth century, on which the rivulet Wielunka and the nearby roads are marked.<sup>6</sup>

Łaski’s *Liber beneficiorum* and the inspections of royal property from the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries were some of the written sources used.<sup>7</sup>

In terms of older studies, valuable information could be found in Cz. Rokicki’s and W. Przygodzki’s works. In newer works: numerous publications of R. Rosin, J. Widawski’s book on defensive walls in the Middle Age Poland, and the publication containing materials from the session about Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships that took place in 1993.<sup>8</sup> Valuable detailed studies could be found in Conservation of Monuments Workshops and Warsaw University of Technology, where the documentation on the works carried out in Wieluń was gathered.<sup>9</sup> Well-preserved city documentation, e.g. the list of the

<sup>1</sup> See W. Szaniawska, *Warsaw*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this volume III.6.29.7; K. Pacuski, *Plan Sandomierza*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this volume III.6.26.2.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest situational plan of Wieluń from 1702 – original in Krigarchivet in Stockholm, photography in IH PAN (AGAD deposit), negative in Conservation of Monuments Workshops (hereinafter: CMW), no. 55039.

<sup>3</sup> Original in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, Pstrokoński’s Files, no. 3315; photography CMW, negative 61819.

<sup>4</sup> A. Liczbiński, B. Ufnalewski, *Katalog planów miast polskich w zbiorach Zakładu Architektury Polskiej Politechniki Warszawskiej (Ilustrowany Katalog źródeł kartograficznych do historii budowy miast polskich, VI)*, Warsaw 1962, no. 27; cf. also Widawski, *Mury*, p. 483, footnote 15.

<sup>5</sup> A plan from 1822 survived, but it is not very precise, photography in CMW, negative no. 61818. 1823 plan, made by Bergemann, see: A. Liczbiński, B. Ufnalewski, *Katalog planów*, no.28 also: Widawski, *Mury*, p. 483, footnote 16.

<sup>6</sup> Original in AGAD, Zb. Kart., sign. 493-158, photographs CMW, negative no. 55037-8.

<sup>7</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 93–100; LWWK 1564, part 1, pp. 71 f., part 2, p. 84; LWWK 1616, part 1, p. 120, part 2, p. 180; LWWK 1628, part 2, pp. 177 f.

<sup>8</sup> C. Rokicki, *Wieluń*, “Ziemia”, 1920, no. 5–6, pp. 155 f.; W. Przygodzki, *Z przeszłości Wielunia*, “Niedziela”, 1928, no. 26, p. 305; Rosin, *Ziemia wieluńska*, passim; Rosin, *Słownik*, pp. 169 f.; *Siedem wieków Wielunia. Studia i materiały*, ed. R. Rosin, Łódź 1987, pp. 33–35; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 481–495; *Między Północą a Południem*, pp. 207–226.

<sup>9</sup> M. Schatz, M. Witwicki, R. Kaczmarek, *Wieluń. Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne*, TS, Zakład Historii Budowy Miast Politechniki Warszawskiej, pp. 2–3; W. Puget-Tomicka, *Mury obronne Wielunia. Studium historyczno-architektoniczne*, TS, PKZ, Warszawa 1961.

streets from 1790, as well as numerous registers of Wieluń documents from 1509–1792 were used by R. Rosin, as can be seen in his studies.<sup>10</sup>

Wieluń, situated in a basin on the water divide of the Prosna and the Warta, lay on the crossing of important roads, e.g. from Lesser Poland to Greater Poland, and from Lesser Poland, Ruthenia and Lithuania to Silesia. In the thirteenth century Wieluń was the seat of castellany, moved from the nearby Ruda. The location of the city occurred before 1283, as in that year Wieluń is mentioned as a city. After the fire in 1335 the city was rebuilt during Casimir the Great's reign, around 1350.<sup>11</sup> Then the shape of the city formed, which survived for many centuries, and the construction of the walls and the castle began (Wieluń was incorporated into the defensive system of the castles on the border with Silesia). The rectangular market square, with streets running symmetrically in twos from the corners, was planned in the centre of the city. The city hall stood on the market square already at the end of the fourteenth century.

The walls surrounding the city, included in our plan, were built in several stages. In the fourteenth century, during the reign of Casimir the Great, their length equalled, as later on, 1,300 m, but there were no towers. The two gates – the eastern one was called Rudzka, or later the Cracow gate, and the western one – Dąbrowska or Kaliska, were situated in rectangular gate towers.<sup>12</sup> The walls were 1,80 m thick and 8–8,5 m high, probably with a crenellation on top. The entire city was surrounded by a moat, created by joining the many ponds and watercourses,<sup>13</sup> visible even on the plans from the eighteenth century. The castle was built in the south-eastern part of the city already in the fourteenth century.

In the fifteenth century a tower was added to the south-eastern part of the walls. It was called Katownia ('torture chamber'), Męczarnia ('torment'), or the Red Tower – it was probably the executioner's residence.<sup>14</sup> At the same time both of the gates were being expanded, the gatehouse of Dąbrowska gate was prolonged and another tower was added<sup>15</sup>. In the sixteenth century two new towers were built: Swawolna, and the second one in the south-western part, also Rudzka gate was expanded, and a large building, shown on our plan, was added – the gunpowder magazine.<sup>16</sup> It touched the wall from the north and this was the building raised in the sixteenth century. Much about the expansion near Rudzka gate is known from written sources. In 1593 the works were supervised by Melchior, a bricklayer from Brzeg, who built the tower and the building that was later called Prochownia ('gunpowder magazine'), as well as the city baths, situated near the gate. The information about the building of an earlier bath house comes from 1571.

In the sixteenth century a third gate was built in the southern part of the city walls, it was called Brama Nowa ('the New Gate'), or later: Gaszyńska. This new passage was made on the east side and fortified with a tower.<sup>17</sup>

The castle was situated within the walls, in the south-eastern part of the town.<sup>18</sup> It was surrounded by water – also on the side of the city. Only in the east there was an entrance, through the castle outbuildings. The 1628 inspection states: 'entering from the city to the castle, the wooden gate with double doors, on wooden axes. Right next to it a wicket, on iron hinges'.<sup>19</sup> The castle buildings were

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<sup>10</sup> See footnote 8 and R. Rosin, *Wieluńskie w okresie staropolskim. O stanie i potrzebach badań*, [in:] *Między Północą a Południem*, pp. 49–63.

<sup>11</sup> *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1961, pp. 625–627.

<sup>12</sup> E. Łopaciński, *Materiały do artystów Płocka, Sieradza i Wielunia z XVI i początku XVII w.*, BHS, 1953, n. 3–4, pp. 113 f.; W. Puget-Tomicka, *Mury obronne*, passim; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 493; in the sixteenth century the gates were called Rudzka and Dąbrowska.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. A. Liczbiński, B. Ufnalewski, *Katalog planów*, no. 122 and 123 and footnotes 2–6.

<sup>14</sup> For various names of the towers attested in the sources from the end of the sixteenth century see E. Łopaciński, *Materiały*, pp. 114 f.; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 492, footnote 59. Names Męczarnia, Katownia, or Czerwona Baszta probably denote one object, as they rely strictly to the job of the town executioner. It could be assumed that the Wieluń executioner lived in this tower, like it was in other Polish cities; cf. also H. Zaremska, *Niegodne rzemiosło. Kat w społeczeństwie polskim XIV–XV w.*, Warsaw 1986, p. 107.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 12.

<sup>16</sup> W. Puget-Tomicka, *Mury obronne*, pp. 13 f.; E. Łopaciński, *Materiały*, p. 114.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> Guerquin, *Zamki*, p. 303; *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 2: *Woj. Łódzkie*, no. 12, Warsaw 1953, p. 19; cf. also: Widawski, *Mury*, p. 494.

<sup>19</sup> LWWK 1628, part 2, p. 177.

brick, storeyed and there was a chapel in one of the towers on the eastern side. In the seventeenth century some of the stoves required repair, as was noted in the inspection. The period of prosperity of the city was already over by then. Several decades earlier, between 1552 and 1559, Queen Isabella Jagiellon – at that time widow of John Zapoyla's, the late king of Hungary, lived in the castle. Thanks to her support, Sigismund Augustus in the 1557 privilege returned Wieluń reeve's district, with its entire income, to the city. Several years later, in 1565, a fair was set for the day of the Holy Trinity. The 1564 inspection informs, that Wieluń *starosta's* district consisted of the cities Wieluń and Kamion, and villages: Bobrowniki, Wierzbie, Pątnów, Krzyworzeka, Mokrsko with a demesne, Wróblów, Pichlice, Sokolniki with a demesne, Czastary, Osiek, Kiełczygłów, empty Kniatowa, two leased villages Bieniec and Biała, Skomlin and Toplin. In the sixteenth century the city owned the villages: Kurów, Turów and part of Niedzielisk.<sup>20</sup>

The parochial church of the Holy Virgin (at first – St. Michael Church) was situated at the intersection of the streets Żołnierska and Grodzka, on the south-eastern corner of the market square.<sup>21</sup> In 1413 archbishop Mikołaj Trąba moved the collegiate from Ruda to this church, and granted benefices to it at the same time. It related to the development of the city in the fifteenth century. On the plan, to the west from Nowa gate, we can see the archbishop's palace, built in the middle of the fourteenth century by Jarosław Bogoria from Skotniki. The area occupied by the archbishop's manor was large, there were utility buildings and a garden. The palace building was situated near the wall. It functioned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and is mentioned for the last time in 1613.<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, along with the entire archbishopric area it was bought by the foundress of the monastery and church of the Bernardine sisters, Anna Konicpolska, and given to this foundation. Since then the order of the Bernardine sisters took over the entire former territory of the archbishop. In the sixteenth century, during the fortification of the city walls, a tower shown on our plan was built 'behind the archbishop's manor'.<sup>23</sup>

The oldest church in Wieluń – the Corpus Christi Church, belonging to the Augustinians – was located in the north-western part of the city. The friars were invited to Wieluń probably in the thirteenth century. When the church burned in the fourteenth century, the monastery and the church were rebuilt by Casimir the Great. The longer side of the church stood along Szewska street, behind it were the monastery building, the garden and some wooden utility buildings.

The city buildings, partly brick, occupied the blocks around the market square.<sup>24</sup> The plots, equally divided on both sides of the market square, faced the square. A garden belt, visible still on eighteenth century plans, stretched along the walls in the northern part of the city. Some confirmation of the existence of these gardens could be seen in the name of Różana street, running north from the north-western corner of the market square.

The names of the streets in Wieluń survived in quite early records.<sup>25</sup> In written sources they appear already in the fifteenth century, on plans – from the eighteenth century. Żołnierska street, leaving the market square south from the south-western frontage is mentioned from 1441 on (1441, 1510, 1549, 1661, 1790). On the 1821 plan it is called Augustiańska. In the list of the streets from 1661 the following streets are mentioned: Barycz, Grodzka, Błotna, Piekarska – called Gaszyńska later. Other streets appear in the eighteenth century. These are: Mnisia, mentioned in 1790 (in 1799 the same street is called Wielka Panieńska); Mała Panieńska between Żołnierska and the Bernardine sisters' monastery; Mularska along the south-western wall; Różana mentioned in 1790 and 1799 (the same street appear as Reformacka on the 1821 plan, and then again as Różana); Palestrancka mentioned in 1790 and 1799 and on the 1821 plan.

Outside city walls, to the south-east of the city, there were the monastery and the church of the Paulines, dedicated to St. Nicolas. It was founded before 1380 as a hospital church, and in 1388 it was taken over by the Pauline Fathers. The eastern suburb, situated near Rudzka gate – also called the

<sup>20</sup> LWWK 1564, pp. 86–102.

<sup>21</sup> Łaski LB, II, pp. 93–109.

<sup>22</sup> W. Puget-Tomicka, *Kościół i klasztor panien bernardynek w Wieluniu*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", vol. 8, 1963, no. 1, p. 47.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 47.

<sup>24</sup> *Siedem wieków Wielunia*, pp. 32–49.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, pp. 35 f.

Cracow gate – was called Ruda suburb at the end of the sixteenth century, then the Cracow suburb. The suburb that formed in the west was called Kalisz suburb at the turn of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The Hospital of the Holy Ghost was situated there.<sup>26</sup> A large part of Wieluń city walls in the east, as well as Ruda gate, survived until the twentieth century. Only during conservatory works conducted in 1966 did the major part of this gate collapse. Considerable remnants of the city moats can still be seen today.

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, p. 36 The first mention about the Hospital of the Holy Ghost outside the city walls comes from 1445. The inspections list a royal stable by the Pauline Fathers' monastery, and three mills; e.g. LWWK 1564, part 2, p. 84.

### III.6.33.6 WŁOCLÁWEK

*Tomasz Michalski, Andrzej Kwiatkowski*

Sixteenth-century Włocławek (Włocław) was the diocese capital, the centre of the Włocławek cluster of estates, one of the largest ports on the Vistula, and a significant grain trading centre. As such it performed a significant function among all towns of Cuyavia and Dobrzyń land. Held by Włocławek bishops, the town represents Church property in this volume of the AHP series. Let us emphasise one vital piece of information at the very start – the presented plan is partially hypothetical. The identified information on the location of some elements, especially suburbs and town gates, which are known only from written records, was not completely precise.

Due to the scarcity of archival materials, reconstruction of the urban space of Włocławek in the second half of the sixteenth century was not an easy task. Due to the absence of surviving council, bench and vogt records, which contain invaluable information on the organisation and functioning of towns, the source base consisted primarily of inventories of supply estates of Włocławek Bishopric.<sup>1</sup> There are three inventories from 1534, 1582, and 1598 that correspond to our period of interest. They were issued in print by Bolesław Ulanowski and Leonid Żytkowicz.<sup>2</sup> They include such information as lists of streets, name lists of the heads of town-dwelling families or the number of households. Nevertheless, the preserved material is not complete in this case also, because the document from 1534 does not contain a sheet with a description of Włocławek.

The privilege of Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski from 1577 (preserved in bishop cartularies), included in a translation from Latin in the work of Maksymilian Borucki, was an equally important source for the reconstruction of the spatial layout of the town in the second half of the sixteenth century. The text of the regulation of the Commission of Good Order, established in 1787 by Bishop Józef Ignacy Rybiński in connection with the need to rebuild and improve the internal order of Włocławek's urban space, was also used for comparative purposes.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Chapter's copy was published with commentary by Stanisław Chodyński, while the town hall's copy is currently kept in the State Archives in Toruń, in the Włocławek Branch.<sup>4</sup> The real inventories of the documents of the Diocesan Archives in Włocławek, compiled and published in 1994–2002 by Stanisław Librowski also provided valuable, albeit scarce information.<sup>5</sup>

The basic cartographic source for the reconstruction of the presented plan is *Mapa geometryczna oznaczająca grunta miasta Włocławka w Województwie Kujawskim*, prepared at the request of the

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on this subject, see: M. Gruszczyńska, *Dzieje najstarszych dokumentów władz miejskich Włocławka*, "Zeszyty Naukowe WTN. Sekcja Historii Kultury Materialnej i Zbiorów Historycznych", 1998, no 1, pp. 81–106; S. Krzewski, *Skrzynia przywilejów m. Włocławka*, "Życie Włocławka i Okolicy", 1926, no 2, pp. 13–18; P. Czarnecki, *Przywileje m. Włocławka i inne dokumenty*, "Życie Włocławka i Okolicy", 1930, no. 2, p. 12 and no. 3–4, pp. 10–11.

<sup>2</sup> Inw. 1534, pp. 4–6; Inw. 1582, pp. 1–7; Inw. 1598, pp. 1–3.

<sup>3</sup> M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska pod względem historycznym, geograficznym, archeologicznym, ekonomicznym i statystycznym*, Włocławek 1882, pp. 299–304.

<sup>4</sup> AP Toruń, Branch in Włocławek, Town Records of Włocławek from 1787–1944 [1961], sign. 1, ff. 1–153; *Rozządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku w mieście Włocławku roku 1787 uczynione*, ed. S. Chodyński, Włocławek 1913, p. V; see: J. Hofman-Kupisz, *Włocławek w 1787 roku. Zabudowa miasta i struktura majątkowo-społeczna mieszkańców*, Włocławek 2001, pp. 21–32.

<sup>5</sup> Between 1994 and 2002, a total of 7 volumes of inventories were published as part of the *Dokumenty samoistne* ("Independent Documents") series, and 11 volumes in the *Dokumenty w kopiańcach* ("Cartulary Documents") series. The last, 12th volume, was published after the author's death, with supplementation provided by Witold Kujawski (2015).

Commission of Good Order by Marcin Sitz, a surveyor, in 1787 (scale approx. 1:6,500, dimensions: 124 x 67 cm). It is the oldest known town plan, and it had been considered lost for years. It was found and is now stored at the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD).<sup>6</sup> *Kopia planu siedzib miasta obwodowego i narodowego Włocławka sytuowanego w Województwie Mazowieckim* created by Józef Maliszewski in 1824 (scaled at ca. 1:1,000, dimensions 142 x 102 cm), was also referenced as an auxiliary material.<sup>7</sup> Reproductions of both these files have been published twice in the publications of the employees of the Museum of the Cuyavia and Dobrzyń Lands in Włocławek and the Laboratory for the Historical Atlas of Towns at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.<sup>8</sup> There are no other pre-nineteenth-century iconographic materials that could be used as a reference aside from Abraham Boot's drawing of the bishop's castle and cathedral, dating to 1627–1628, and the painting of the Annunciation of Blessed Virgin Mary by Jakub Charzyński from 1629.<sup>9</sup>

It may seem that the town plans from later eras do not represent any great value in the context of research focusing on sixteenth-century Włocławek. However, once the transformations related to the spatial development of the town in subsequent centuries were removed, it turned out that the medieval spatial layout of Włocławek did not change much in later centuries. The tracing of the above-mentioned changes was possible mainly due to the extensive literature on the subject. So far, there have been four monographs devoted to the history of Włocławek and numerous articles which contributed to the knowledge of the subject. Their authors faced the same source limitations, which resulted in them putting forward different hypotheses. Due to the nature of this text, the works of Romualda Hankowska which focused on the town's spatial layout and its buildings from the town's beginnings to 1918,<sup>10</sup> were of greatest help. Other particularly significant works included publications of Bogdan Zgłobicki,<sup>11</sup> Janusz Bieniak<sup>12</sup> and Jan Pakulski,<sup>13</sup> as well as those of the team composed of Roman Czaja, Anna Marynowska, and Tomasz Wąsik, who recently prepared a commentary on Włocławek's atlas in the Historical Atlas of Polish Towns series.<sup>14</sup> The findings of Michał Morawski remain of the fundamental importance for the subject in question, despite the fact that some of the author's too optimistic assumptions were, after many years, proved wrong in the course of archaeological research,<sup>15</sup> just as in the case of Adam Ginsbert. The results of the research were discussed, for example, in the publications of Jan Grześkowiak,<sup>16</sup> Leszek Wojda,<sup>17</sup> and Krystyna Nadolska,<sup>18</sup> and in more recent works by Krystian Łuczak and Alicja Drozd-Lipińska.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>6</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart., sign. 48–11; see: M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka (Włocławia)*, Włocławek 1933, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> The plan is included in the above-cited collection, under reference number 356-41.

<sup>8</sup> M. Cieślak, T. Wąsik, *Oblicza miasta Włocławka w kartografii i ikonografii na przestrzeni XIX i XX wieku. Katalog wystawy*, Włocławek 2007, pp. 12–13; *Włocławek*, comp. hist. R. Czaja, A. Marynowska, T. Wąsik, comp. cartogr. R. Golba, Z. Kozieł, A. Pilarzka, Toruń 2016 (Atlas Historyczny Miast Polskich, vol. 2: Kujawy, no. 4), tables no. 5–6.

<sup>9</sup> K. Kotula, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Włocławek. Widoki miasta do 1918 r. Katalog wystawy*, ed. P. Bokota, P. Nowakowski, Włocławek 1997, pp. 5–6; L. Potykanowicz-Suda, *Wisła w dokumencie archiwalnym. Katalog wystawy*, Gdańsk 2017, p. 110; W. Sowa, W. Rozyński, *Kościół św. Jadwigi Śląskiej w Nieszawie. Przewodnik, katalog zabytków*, Nieszawa 1999, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> R. Hankowska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1: *Od początków do 1918 roku*, ed. J. Staszewski, Włocławek 1999, pp. 200–216; eadem, *Rozwój przestrzenny Włocławka od połowy XV wieku do 1793 roku*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 316–355; *taż*, *Rozwój układu przestrzennego Włocławka od 1793 do 1918 roku*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 488–548.

<sup>11</sup> B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, [in:] *Pogranicze polsko-pruskie i krzyżackie (II)*, ed. K. Grążawski, Włocławek–Brodnica 2007, pp. 287–352.

<sup>12</sup> J. Bieniak, *Powstanie miasta samorządowego – najstarsze lokacje miejskie*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1, pp. 87–117.

<sup>13</sup> J. Pakulski, *Władze Włocławka w świetle przywileju lokacyjnego z 1339 r.*, [in:] *Stolica i region. Włocławek i jego dzieje na tle przemian Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*, ed. O. Krut-Horonziak, L. Kajzer, Włocławek 1995, pp. 91–96; *idem*, *Władze i społeczność miejska w dobie polokacyjnej (XIV–XV w.)*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1, pp. 118–138.

<sup>14</sup> R. Czaja, A. Marynowska, T. Wąsik, *Włocławek. Historia i rozwój przestrzenny miasta*, [w:] *Włocławek*, pp. 9–39.

<sup>15</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 27–52, 63–79; A. Ginsbert, *Włocławek. Studium monograficzne*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 50–55.

<sup>16</sup> J. Grześkowiak, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Włocławek w świetle badań archeologicznych z lat 1957–1961*, ZK, vol. 1, 1963, pp. 7–23.

<sup>17</sup> L. Wojda, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych we Włocławku z lat 1976–1980*, ZK, vol. 7, 1985, pp. 179–200; *idem*, *Zamek we Włocławku na tle średniowiecznego miasta*, [in:] *Stolica i region*, pp. 123–135.

<sup>18</sup> K. Nadolska, L. Wojda, *Średniowieczny ośrodek miejski we Włocławku w świetle nowszych badań*, "Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego w Łodzi", vol. 34, 1987, pp. 193–206.

<sup>19</sup> K. Łuczak, A. Drozd-Lipińska, *Cmentarzyska Starego Miasta we Włocławku w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych*, "Rocznik Muzealny", vol. 15, 2014, pp. 79–120.

In geographical terms, Włocławek is located in Płock Basin, which constitutes part of the Toruń-Eberswalde Glacial Valley. The area occupied by the town is located at the height of 58–59 AMSL, gently sloping towards the Vistula River (the terrace on the opposite bank is much higher – up to approximately 90 m), which, together with Zgłowiączka River, had been determining the direction of Włocławek's spatial development for centuries.<sup>20</sup> Both rivers sheltered the then town centre from the north and west, while the area of former marshes called Królewiec protected it from the south and east. Unfortunately, the smaller watercourses remain difficult to represent and take into account. Once numerous, their courses were later interrupted or the watercourses themselves often disappeared completely in early modern times. The plan from 1787 still shows Sadzawka Pond with supply ditches, a channel called Młynówka and a *cierniowy* (thorny) ditch. The town was surrounded on three sides by woodlands. As in the entire area of Płock Basin, most of the land around Włocławek was covered with mixed forests and dry pine forests (growing on sandy soils), and, to a lesser extent, with willow and poplar, as well as alder forests, and alder carrs (in wet, often marshy depressions). Forest cover structure most likely started to change in the eighteenth century in connection with drainage works. Multi-species deciduous and mixed forests began to be replaced with pine monoculture, and natural plant habitats on organic soils were turned into permanent grasslands.<sup>21</sup>

The earliest history of Włocławek is linked to the establishment of an open settlement in the bifurcation of Vistula and Zgłowiączka Rivers, which dates back to the turn of the tenth century. Over time, it transformed into a ducal gord. In the times of Boleslaus I the Brave, Włocławek was one of the most important military and administrative centres in the country, as evidenced by the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus which mentions Włocławek with such large towns as Gniezno, Poznań, and Giecz.<sup>22</sup> In the twelfth century, Włocławek was the seat of the castellany, and hosted a port, a mint, and a customs house, which significantly influenced its development. The town was also affected by the establishment of the Włocławek Bishopric in 1123/1124 and the canonical erection of the first Romanesque cathedral in the outer bailey. This particular duality of power quickly began to be reflected in the spatial layout of the town. In the mid-thirteenth century, there were already two comparable early-city centres in Włocławek, *i.e.* the cathedral town (*civitas cathedralis*), under the bishop's jurisdiction, and the 'German' town (*civitas theutonicalis*), ruled by the Duke.<sup>23</sup> The Sieradz document of 1250 of Casimir I of Cuyavia indicates that the cathedral town was becoming stronger on the Vistula, in the area of the former outer bailey. It mentioned a trading settlement on Zgłowiączka River is associated with the later 'German' town, founded in its place in order to strengthen the Duke's rule. Casimir handed the town over to the Bishop as early as in 1255 by means of a document issued in Kramsk.<sup>24</sup> The time between the legal action of both documents, *i.e.* 6 October 1250 and 8 May 1255, is considered to be the approximate date of the first foundation of Włocławek (under the Magdeburg Law). The competition for supremacy over the developing town was finally ended with the demolition of the gord and transferring the castellany to Brześć Kujawski, and with Casimir I of Cuyavia reaching an agreement of with Bishop Wolimir in 1266. The agreement transferred the ownership of the rest of the duke's lands

<sup>20</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia Polski. Mezoregiony fizyczno-geograficzne*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 81–83.

<sup>21</sup> A. Bartzak, *Wieloletnia zmienność odpływu rzeczny z dorzecza Zgłowiączki*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 57–58.

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that scholars are not unanimous about not only the role and position of the Włocławek gord, but also its location on the left bank; for more information, see: K. Jażdżewski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne osadnictwo miasta Włocławka i jego najbliższej okolicy*, "Materiały Wczesnośredniowieczne", vol. 4, 1956, pp. 110, 134–137; K. Żurowski, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych we Włocławku w 1957 roku*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne", vol. 12, 1961, pp. 49–58; J. Grześkowiak, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Włocławek*, pp. 9–17, 23–24; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 42; J. Powierski, *Miejsce Włocławka w strukturze administracyjno-terytorialnej monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej*, [in:] *Stolica i region*, pp. 69–89; R. Hankowska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, p. 204; A. Andrzejewska, *Grodzisko w Zarzeczu*, "Wieś Kujawsko-Pomorska", 2008, no. 88, pp. 21–22; W. Chudziak, *Osadnictwo grodowe na Kujawach i ziemi chełmińskiej w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza w świetle tradycji miejsca centralnego*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona", vol. 24, 2016, pp. 50, 53.

<sup>23</sup> J. Bieniak, *Powstanie miasta samorządowego*, pp. 115–117.

<sup>24</sup> A. Kosecki, *Lokacje miejskie księcia Kazimierza Konradowicza na Kujawach*, [in:] *Książę Kazimierz Konradowicz i Kujawy jego czasów*, ed. D. Karczewski, Kraków 2017, pp. 179–181; B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, pp. 289–292, 341; J. Bieniak, *Powstanie miasta samorządowego*, p. 101.

located near the cathedral to the bishop, which made Włocławek into a bishop's town. The earliest mentions of the town's name can be found in the twelfth-century sources which are Wladislau (Gallus Anonymus), Wlodislaw (Mogilno Falsification) and Vladizlau (the Bull of Gniezno).<sup>25</sup>

The takeover of the entire town by the bishops of Włocławek did not affect its shape or spatial development. The division into the former cathedral settlement and the chartered town remained unchanged until the devastating invasion of the Teutonic Order in 1329, which resulted in the cathedral being burnt down completely and part of the town's population slaughtered.<sup>26</sup> In the literature on the subject, it is commonly assumed that Włocławek was quickly conquered because the plans to build stone or brick defensive walls had not been implemented, even though their construction was allowed, as per the agreement of 1266. The scale of the destruction made it necessary to bring new settlers to the area, so on 8 September 1339, Bishop Maciej of Gołańcza and two vogts, Mikołaj and Burchard, entered into an agreement, also known as the Second Foundation Act, on chartering the town with Chełmno law. The document defined the town's institutional framework, benefits and relations between the burghers and the town owner.<sup>27</sup> The spatial layout of the ruined Włocławek also underwent significant changes. The construction work on a new cathedral began almost immediately in 1340. It was moved from the square by Vistula River to the hill which had been previously occupied by the chartered town. A bishop's castle was to be constructed at the site of the former gord at the mouth of Zgłowiączka River. The town itself was translocated to the area by Vistula River, east of the destroyed Romanesque cathedral, which strongly linked its spatial structure with the river.<sup>28</sup> The urban layouts planned at that time survived in their basic outline to this date.

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Moving on to later periods, it should be stated that the sixteenth century was undoubtedly a period of economic development and relative social stability for Włocławek. Admittedly, prosperity was disturbed by numerous fires and epidemics (in the years: 1511, 1515–1516, 1541, 1550, 1552, 1555, 1567–1569, 1572, 1579, 1581, 1585), but the period remained relatively peaceful in comparison with the fifteenth and seventeenth century which were plagued by such significant events as the Teutonic Knights' invasion of 1431, the epidemic of 1483, which killed two thirds of the town's inhabitants, the great fire of 1620, the plague of 1625–1626, which resulted in the town being abandoned even by the Chapter, the Cathedral's treasury being hidden, and the village serving as a shelter surrounded by a dug-out ditch, or, finally, the destruction of the town (at that time still in the process of being rebuilt) by the Swedes in 1657.<sup>29</sup> That last event, in particular, is responsible for the fact that – apart from a few sacred buildings – almost no material traces of buildings from bygone eras have been preserved to this day.

Włocławek was founded on the area corresponding to 42 Chełmno włóki in size, with the Bishop additionally granting the town 12 włóki of grazing pastures next to the brickworks on Zgłowiączka River. Michał Morawski suggests an alternative location – the area stretching, in the form of a wide strip, from Kapitułka Village to Lake Grzywno, yet this could not have been possible, as this area, referred to as Królewiec, was covered with forests and marshes. There were also seven włóki of land which belonged to the vogt's office (six in Papieżka Suburb, and one in Korabniki in the so-called Olędry Zazameckie).<sup>30</sup> According to the calculations of Bogdan Zgłobicki, the size of the above-mentioned area was approximately 1,025 ha in total, of which the urban built-up area was 6.7 ha, meaning

<sup>25</sup> R. Czaja, A. Marynowska, T. Wąsik, *Włocławek. Historia i rozwój przestrzenny miasta*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>26</sup> J. Bieniak, *List kanclerza kujawskiego do rady Starego Miasta Torunia ze stycznia 1331 r.*, ZK-D, seria A: *Historia*, 1978, pp. 103–106; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 201–202.

<sup>27</sup> J. Pakulski, *Władze i społeczność miejska*, pp. 118–126; Guldon, *Lokacje*, pp. 38–40; J. Pakulski, *Władze Włocławka*, p. 94.

<sup>28</sup> L. Wojda, *Zamek we Włocławku*, p. 125; R. Czaja, A. Marynowska, T. Wąsik, *Włocławek. Historia i rozwój przestrzenny miasta*, p. 12; B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, p. 288.

<sup>29</sup> S. Chodyński, *Zbiór wiadomości dziejów medycyny dotyczących / Analecta medico-historica. Z akt kapituły włocławskiej*, Włocławek 1912, pp. 46–50, 55–57; P. Bokota, *Podstawy gospodarcze i struktura zawodowa miasta (połowa XIV – początek XVI w.)*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1, pp. 192–193; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 389, 391–392.

<sup>30</sup> J. Bieniak, *Powstanie miasta samorządowego*, pp. 88–89, 93; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 16, 27, 87, 177; J. Pakulski, *Władze Włocławka*, p. 94; idem, *Władze i społeczność miejska*, p. 125.

that it represented 0.6% of the entire territory.<sup>31</sup> Confirmed by archaeological research, the layout of the town foundation system showed a regular complex in the shape of a rectangle with dimensions of 300 x 250 m. Its western side was marked by Matebudy Street, its eastern edge reached up to the vicinity of Rybacka Street by the Vistula, while the southern border was marked by parcels located at Tumska and Łęgska Streets.<sup>32</sup> Two centuries later, the eastern border shifted slightly, reaching Koniec and Kowalska Streets. On the western side, the situation was similar, so it is worth reiterating the reasons which, according to Zgłobicki, prevented the town from expanding westwards. The original border between the two parts of the town, separating church territories and the municipal commune, probably ran along Matebudy Street.<sup>33</sup> The division is still visible on the 1787 map, where ecclesiastical territory is presented less precisely than the zone belonging to the town. No area within it was named, even though there were at least three medieval streets within the territory – Bednarska, Gdańska and Jurska (known from the 1824 plan). The land occupied by cathedral clergy houses undoubtedly reached Zgłowiączka River in the sixteenth century, as evidenced by Bishop Mikołaj Dzierzgowski's granting 'a square and a house by Zgłowiączka River in Włocławek to canon Feliks Relski'<sup>34</sup> in 1544.

The chartered town began to develop naturally towards the south. Starting from 1517, documents note the existence of Cyganka / Czigany Street. The street ran along the parcel occupied by the church of St. Vitalis, located past town limits (*extra civitatem*).<sup>35</sup> Presumably, in the middle of the century, this area was intensively developed, mainly with houses of canons and vicars. In 1578, they owned 20 properties within the area, and by 1587, this figure went up to 23.<sup>36</sup> Sources report that during the construction of a bakery (1559–1561), Włocławek Chapter allowed to burn bricks for a new building of the cathedral school, transferred in the time of Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski to Cyganka Street, 'to a house with a spacious yard'.<sup>37</sup> Somewhere nearby, there was also the first seat of the theological seminary, canonically erected in 1569, in an old hospital of unknown dedication.<sup>38</sup> Importantly, Cyganka Street not only connected two transport routes, it also had a narrow connection with the market square *via* Wójtowska Street, which most likely developed from the so-called *miedzucha* (internal crossing along the border of parcels). Wójtowska Street, mentioned in the 1591 privilege, was characterized as 'old'.<sup>39</sup>

The main part of sixteenth-century Włocławek was the market, which had the form of a square with the dimensions of approx. 75 x 75 m, placed in the central position in relation to the parallel town limits. Six streets used to start their course at the corners of the square. There were two short streets leading to the Vistula and the parish church – Świętojańska (now known as Św. Jana Street) and Szeroka (now Maślana Street). The square was connected with the bishop's castle by Zamcza Street, and with the cathedral by Tumska Street. Szpichlerna Street, which run parallel to the river, was also significant. Together they formed a town plan based on the central square, which was typical for the Middle Ages. The characteristic features of this version of spatial layout included the way the streets were connected, the small chequerboard pattern they formed, and the fact that they were located at some distance from the parish church. Wójtowska Street was established at the turn of the sixteenth century. Its creation began the process of opening the market to the south, which, in turn, changed the organisation of the urban space. Until the eighteenth century, Wójtowska Street was not connected with any supra-local road, and it was only in the nineteenth century that it gave rise to the most important communication artery in Włocławek, namely Nowa/3 Maja Street. Together with 19 (probable) parcels located around the market square, the square itself initially occupied as much as 34% of the town's

<sup>31</sup> B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, p. 315.

<sup>32</sup> L. Wojda, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych we Włocławku*, pp. 181–183, 185, 187; R. Hankowska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, pp. 210–211; K. Nadolska, L. Wojda, *Średniowieczny ośrodek miejski we Włocławku*, pp. 196, 199, 202.

<sup>33</sup> B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, pp. 294, 294–298, 316–316.

<sup>34</sup> S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział II, Dokumenty w kopiariuszach*, vol. 3: *Kopiarusz i częściowo formularz wikariuszy gen. i oficjalów włocławskich przeważnie z drugiej ćwierci XVI wieku*, Włocławek 2000, p. 54, doc. 208.

<sup>35</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 37.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 40.

<sup>37</sup> S. Chodyński, *Szkoła Katedralna Włocławska. Szkic historyczny na podstawie akt kapitulnych skreślony*, Włocławek 1900, pp. 12–13.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem*, *Seminarium włocławskie. Szkic historyczny na podstawie akt i dokumentów miejscowych*, Włocławek 1904, p. 239.

<sup>39</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 37; *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, p. 16.

overall area. Individual parcels could have had depth of even 60–80 m, which is basically confirmed by the size of the eastern and western market blocks, where the closing streets, the so-called *zatylnie* streets (Browarna and Wiślana) have been preserved to this day.<sup>40</sup> Areas of scattered housing development—so-called *budy*, which were divided into parcels over the years, as the number of the town's inhabitants increased – formed on the outskirts of the town.<sup>41</sup>

Włocławek did not have any defensive walls, neither in the Middle Ages, nor in the modern era.<sup>42</sup> Adam Ginsbert's assumptions concerning their existence and probable location, which the scholar formulated in the 1960s, were not confirmed by archaeological research or 1979–1985 cursory field research. It was rightly decided that it would be impossible for the town walls not to leave any traces or residual remains, not even within the external walls of the cellars of Old Town houses.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that there existed town gates located along the main road routes. Two were erected at the end of Tumaska and Łęgska Streets, while the third one, Kowalska Gate, mentioned in 1582, was most likely located near the intersection of Cyganki and Kowalska Streets.<sup>44</sup> They were used to control supra-local traffic and collect tolls from people coming to markets and fairs, in other words, they served representative and fiscal purposes. The limits of the built-up area were not defined by fortifications – which are not only defensive, but also symbolic in nature, as they separate two legal realities. In the case of Włocławek, the analysis has to include alternative structures that could function as substitutes of the town walls. The 1787 plan still depicts a ditch located at the back of Tumaska Street, although it is uncertain whether we can treat it as a remnant of a medieval border. In the sixteenth century, it was connected with the water supply system that used wooden pipes to distribute water to individual streets, and was handed over to the local government community in 1577 on the basis of a privilege issued by Bishop Karnkowski. The same privilege incorporated Nowe Miasto Suburb into Włocławek, which defined the southern borders of the town until the end of the here-analysed period.<sup>45</sup>

The dominant building material used in Włocławek was wood, which was sourced from the forests surrounding the town. The vast majority of secular buildings employed timber-framing constructions. If elements of log construction were introduced, then it was only on the ground floors; unfortunately, burgher houses from that period have not survived to our times.<sup>46</sup> Considering the length of the plots located near the market square, their spatial development could not deviate much from the patterns noted in other towns. A building was located in the front section of the plot, facing the square, with utility area and workshops, and, finally, barns and gardens. Easy access to groundwater made it possible to equip the courtyards with wells. Wood was commonly used in the construction of streets in Włocławek (beams were covered with layers of fascine, and reinforced with vertically impaled stakes), which were paved and repaired from the funds of town inhabitants.<sup>47</sup> For example, in 1597, the council brought ten boats of stones for paving, compensating the bishop for the violation of a ban on opening inns with live music and taverns selling alcohol.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, the claim that brick houses were not constructed in Włocławek in bigger numbers, which appears in literature devoted to the town, is too exaggerated by far. The sources confirm the existence of an active *strzecha budowlana* (building lodge) related to a bricklayer by the name of Kokoszka. For obvious reasons, we only have information on work performed in existing sacred buildings. There were also two brickyards in Włocławek – one belonging to the bishop and the town's brickyard.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the fact that in 1583 only one bricklayer was listed in residual sources, and in 1598, just two of them, does not confirm the

<sup>40</sup> B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, pp. 326, 334–335.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, pp. 329–330. For more on the disproportions and divisions of plots, see: ibidem, p. 333.

<sup>42</sup> L. Wojda, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych we Włocławku*, pp. 185–187; R. Hankowska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, pp. 211–213; see A. Ginsbert, *Włocławek*, p. 52; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 63–64.

<sup>43</sup> R. Hankowska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, p. 212.

<sup>44</sup> Inw. 1582, p. 3; B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, pp. 317, 319.

<sup>45</sup> M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, p. 300; S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział II. Dokumenty w kopiających*, vol. 9: *Kopiarz gospodarczy z przełomu XVI–XVII wieku* (“An Economic Chartulary from the Turn of the 16th and 17th Centuries”), Włocławek 2001, p. 52, doc. 132.

<sup>46</sup> L. Wojda, *Zamek we Włocławku*, p. 128; K. Łuczak, A. Drozd-Lipińska, *Cmentarzyska Starego Miasta*, p. 96.

<sup>47</sup> L. Wojda, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych we Włocławku*, p. 181.

<sup>48</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 79.

<sup>49</sup> *Włocławek i okolice*, ed. and comp. W. Puget, M. Paździor, T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, Warsaw 1988 (Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, vol. 11: Województwo bydgoskie, no. 18), pp. 10, 17–18, 62, 76.

above-mentioned thesis, all the more so since carpenters or woodcutters are not mentioned in the inventories at all.<sup>50</sup>

The oldest trace of a brick house in Włocławek comes from the second half of the sixteenth century and points to a tenement house on the eastern frontage of the Old Market Square at today's number 14, which, together with the adjacent building, has been adapted for the needs of the Museum of the History of Włocławek. Currently, the façades of the tenement houses are topped with gables typical for the Baroque period. Conservation and renovation work carried out on the front façade of the first one, however, exposed a brick wall fragment with a Gothic bond.<sup>51</sup> No other relics of sixteenth-century secular architecture have been found to this day, so the most important objects used by the town's community can only be listed on the basis of a modest source stock, which does not contain detailed information on their locations. There was a town hall in the centre of the market square about which we only know that it was already in the state of complete ruin and 'was deserted because of old age' in the years of the Prussian Partition (1793–1806).<sup>52</sup> There were cloth, butchers', shoemakers' and bread stalls and, from 1577, fishing stalls, as well as a tavern. The trading part of the market was concentrated in its southern section.<sup>53</sup> In 1569, a new hospital building dedicated to St. Vitalis, two bathhouses (the second one was built at the Chapter's expense in 1544) and two municipal apothecaries.<sup>54</sup> Multi-storey granaries built near the Vistula were an important element of Włocławek's landscape. In 1598, there were 27 granaries in the town, 12 of which were made of brick.<sup>55</sup>

In the church part of the town, the bishop's castle loomed large over the houses of canons and vicars. It was funded by Bishops Maciej and Zbylut of Gołańcz, and rebuilt in the sixteenth century by Bishops Stanisław Karnkowski and Hieronim Rozdrażewski.<sup>56</sup> The castle complex, transformed into a safe and comfortable residence, surrounded by a circumferential wall, included two residential houses, a servants' building, a brewery, a bakery, a stable, a tower topped with a cupola in the south-east corner, and a gate tower on the south side. Outside the walls, on the left bank of Zgłowiączka River, there were other outbuildings, including a granary and a malt house. A bridge on stone pillars led to the castle, and from the south and east, it was surrounded by a moat which was 5 m deep.<sup>57</sup> The remains of this structure have been incorporated into the walls of the bishop's castle.<sup>58</sup>

The most important sacred building was and still remains the Gothic Cathedral of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary. Moved onto the hill in the time of Bishop Maciej of Gołańcz, it occupied one of the Old Town quarters. Although the consecration of the church took place in 1411, its construction and expansion lingered over the next centuries. The work conducted in the sixteenth century included: construction of the chapel of the Virgin Mary (started in 1503), covering the northern and southern towers with a roof (finished in 1526), construction of the sacristy on the north side (1516), and the chapel of St. Martin and the Chapter house at the southern tower (1527) and the Cibavit chapel (1541), as well as the mid-century extension of the southern sacristy.<sup>59</sup> The history of the cathedral is closely related to the history of a nearby church of St. Vitalis, which substituted for the cathedral after the Teutonic invasion. The (founding) date 1330 does not have to refer to its actual construction, as is sometimes assumed, but rather to the reconstruction of a pre-existing and previously destroyed church, pre-dating the invasion.<sup>60</sup> Commonly referred to as a 'hospital' church, because of its proximity to the nearby

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<sup>50</sup> Inw. 1598, p. 3; R. Hankowska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Włocławka*, p. 317; P. Bokota, *Cechy rzemieślnicze we Włocławku w okresie przedrozbiorowym (XVI–XVIII w.)*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1, p. 290.

<sup>51</sup> R. Hankowska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Włocławka*, p. 352.

<sup>52</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 48.

<sup>53</sup> M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, pp. 300–301; L. Wojda, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych we Włocławku*, p. 182.

<sup>54</sup> W. Kujawski, *Włocławek w czasach nowożytnych i jego dzieje kościelne*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1, pp. 241–242; P. Bokota, *Cechy rzemieślnicze*, p. 289.

<sup>55</sup> Inw. 1598, pp. 2–3; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 123.

<sup>56</sup> L. Wojda, *Zamek we Włocławku*, p. 129; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 43.

<sup>57</sup> MHDW 13, pp. 3–9; Inw. XVII, pp. 82–85; L. Wojda, *Zamek we Włocławku*, pp. 131–132; R. Hankowska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Włocławka*, p. 345; L. Potykanowicz-Suda, *Wisła w dokumencie archiwalnym*, p. 110.

<sup>58</sup> L. Wojda, *Zamek we Włocławku*, pp. 131–134.

<sup>59</sup> R. Hankowska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Włocławka*, pp. 319, 322; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 204, 211, 214, 226.

<sup>60</sup> J. Bieniak, *Powstanie miasta samorządowego*, pp. 110, 116; B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, p. 310.

St. Vitalis Hospital and a poorhouse, the church was thoroughly renovated in the sixteenth century. Brick vaults were constructed in 1535 and in 1569, it was also used by students of the theological seminary.<sup>61</sup>

The most important church of the new town was the parochial church of St. John the Baptist, situated on Vistula River outside the northern frontage of the market square. Its consecration, a culmination of a very long construction period, came late – in 1538. It also did not mean that all construction work had ended by that time, as the chapel of Eleven Thousand Virgins was built on the north side of the church in 1565, and, in 1580, a tower was added on the western side of the church.<sup>62</sup> The earlier location of the church is unknown. It was referenced in Mogilno Falsification; thus, it must have existed already in the twelfth century, and was moved to a new place around mid-fifteenth century. A fragment of the brick wall, uncovered in 2012 at the level of the presbytery, may be a clue of its original location.<sup>63</sup> It is worth noting that a hollow in the floor of the parochial church, when compared to the level of the boulevard, allows to observe clearly how the areas of the Vistula bank were gradually elevated. The need to regulate the riverbank and protect the buildings against flooding was already recognised by the Commission of Good Order, which called for fulfilment of the duty to block the banks with fascines. These works were probably abandoned during the stagnation of Włocławek's growth at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but these phenomena cannot be fully analysed due to the lack of relevant sources. The area was finally elevated with the construction of the first boulevards (1844–1846). The opposite happened to the cathedral hill.<sup>64</sup> In the past, it was much higher, but its height was lost over time.<sup>65</sup>

The church of St. Stanislaus, a half-timbered construction with brick infill, which was consecrated in 1474, still existed in the sixteenth century. Located on the site of the first Romanesque cathedral (the area of today's Gdańska, Bednarska and Zamcza Streets), it was probably destroyed by a fire after several decades of operation; in 1524, it was rebuilt and consecrated once more.<sup>66</sup> The buildings located near to the temple were long occupied by cathedral psalm singers. The year 1818 would have marked the end of the church's history (demolition), had it not been for an interesting discovery made at the beginning of the twentieth century. During the construction of Edward Brech's tenement house, the workers came across vaulted granite cellars.<sup>67</sup> This discovery, confirmed by later archaeological research, made it possible to determine the location of both buildings quite accurately.

Cemeteries are inseparable components of churchyards. Burial places of deceased townspeople existed near all Włocławek churches, including the cathedral, but there is no information that would allow us to precisely define their scope.<sup>68</sup>

Włocławek experienced economic growth in the sixteenth century. The 1520 establishment of a water toll customs house acted as a catalyst for the town's more dynamic development and gave it a boost as a commercial centre.<sup>69</sup> From then on, all ships carrying goods had to stop here. The customs house registered increased traffic, which in the 1560s and 1570s reached 1,300 ships per year (and this counting only ships going downstream).<sup>70</sup> The town was connected with Vistula River, its natural

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<sup>61</sup> R. Hankowska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, p. 216; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 277, 279; S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział II. Dokumenty w kopiażach*, vol. 6: *Kopiarz ogólny, wykonany w trzecim ćwierćwieczu XVI wieku* ("A General Cartulary from the Third Quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century"), Włocławek 2000, p. 116, doc. 393; idem, *Włocławskie Seminarium Duchowne na przestrzeni czterech stuleci*, ABMK, vol. 20, 1970, p. 203.

<sup>62</sup> R. Hankowska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Włocławka*, p. 337; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 257.

<sup>63</sup> K. Łuczak, A. Drozd-Lipińska, *Cmentarzyska Starego Miasta*, p. 111; see: B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średnio-wiecznym Włocławku*, pp. 311, 339; L. Wojda, *W kwestii wcześniejszych założeń kościoła św. Jana we Włocławku*, "Acta Universitatis Lodzianae. Folia Archaeologica", vol. 3, 1983, pp. 135–144.

<sup>64</sup> R. Hankowska, *Rozwój układu przestrzennego Włocławka*, pp. 495, 509; K. Łuczak, A. Drozd-Lipińska, *Cmentarzyska Starego Miasta*, p. 108; S. Narębski, *Katedra biskupa Michała Godziemby i jej ślady*, "Życie Włocławka i Okolicy", 1927, no. 5, p. 1; Z. Arentowicz, *Z dawnego Włocławka*, Włocławek 1928, p. 107; *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, pp. 106–107.

<sup>65</sup> S. Narębski, *Katedra*, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny*, vol. 9, p. 28, doc. 50; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 288–89; W. Kujawski, *Włocławek w czasach nowożytnych*, pp. 237–238; A. Ginsbert, *Włocławek*, p. 54; S. Narębski, *Katedra*, pp. 1–3.

<sup>67</sup> K. Jażdżewski, *Wczesnośredniowieczne osadnictwo*, pp. 111–112; K. Łuczak, A. Drozd-Lipińska, *Cmentarzyska Starego Miasta*, pp. 90–98; R. Hankowska, *Układ przestrzenny i zabudowa miasta*, p. 207.

<sup>68</sup> K. Łuczak, A. Drozd-Lipińska, *Cmentarzyska Starego Miasta*, p. 98.

<sup>69</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, p. 414.

<sup>70</sup> *Przedmowa*, [in:] *Regesta thelonei aquatici Wladislaviensis saeculi XVI*, pub. S. Kutrzeba, F. Duda, Kraków 1915, pp. XL–XLI.

northern border, through six streets and a half-kilometre-long bank. Numerous grain merchants, trading nobles, port service and granary workers became common components of Włocławek's landscape. The town's inhabitants also specialised in river transport and boat-building services.<sup>71</sup> This roll-out of the town's transport routes inevitably accelerated the development of municipal institutions, which is clearly noticeable when it comes to craftsmen. For decades, Włocławek had only one guild—the shoemakers' – established in 1452. In the sixteenth century, as many as four new craft guilds appeared: in 1542 – a tailors' guild, in 1544 – a bakers' guild, in 1577 – a fishermen's guild, and after 1581 – a furriers' guild. The town's system of professional corporations seemed modest in scope, but it should be noted that most specialist services were concentrated past town limits, and from 1619, partly in a common tavern keepers' guild.<sup>72</sup> There are also privileges which provide information about the resumption of particular organisations' activities, without providing specific data concerning their initial establishment (e.g. brewers and potters guilds).<sup>73</sup> Włocławek lost its agricultural character in the sixteenth century; for the town's residents, agricultural work was merely an additional activity (in 1582, only 45 people worked in agriculture), as beer brewing, oil-making, and milling began to be more and more important. The breweries of Włocławek were not limited to the vogt's and the castle breweries, there were many active brewers (eight burghers' breweries were recorded in 1582) at the end of the century, which spurred poet Sebastian KlonoŹwic to describe the town as being 'famous for its priests, tolls, and beer'.<sup>74</sup>

There is no sufficient basis to calculate the exact number of houses or their inhabitants. The main source for such calculations are the lists of rents paid by burghers to the bishop, but they do not take into account whole groups, such as: clergymen, people serving in the Bishop's manor support services, leaseholders, tax exempted residents, etc. It is estimated that the numbers in question looked as follows: 1534 – 144 houses and 879 inhabitants, 1582 – 217 houses, 1598 – 255 houses and 1785 inhabitants.<sup>75</sup>

The biggest problem with the reconstruction of the plan of Włocławek in the second half of the sixteenth century was the fact that its suburbs (Kokoszka, Nowe Miasto, PapieŹzka, and Strycharskie) remained widely undocumented, so the outline of their built-up areas is an estimate. As mentioned, the chartered town developed by expanding towards the south. The lack of sources does not allow to determine the beginnings of the expansion and urbanisation of Nowe Miasto Suburb, however, in 1534, 26 houses were recorded at Piekarska Street (*platea Pistorum*), which suggests that first residents had to appear in the area at the start of the century at the latest.<sup>76</sup> Its continuous growth is indirectly confirmed by the 1582 data which indicate that there were already 40 houses on Piekarska Street. This development must have been influenced by undoubtedly favourable location, *i.e.* the proximity of the town and two main transport routes – Kowalski and Brzeski tracts<sup>77</sup> – on both sides of the suburbs. The diagonal Zapiecek Street marked the border of the suburb. Today, the street itself is much shorter, but it still connected both above-mentioned tracts on the 1787 plan (Kowalska and Brzesko-Kowalska / Brzeska Streets). The change was finally introduced in the nineteenth century when regulatory work resulted in renaming the eastern section of Zapiecek Street as Źabia Street. Źabia Street itself was marked on the 1787 map only on the side of Brzeska Street, reaching Sadzawka Pond. Several dozen years later, it was connected with a 'new' fragment and formed a straight section of the road. We believe this area, between the outskirts of two urban centres (Cyganka and Zapiecek Streets), was not inhabited in the sixteenth century. There were land boundaries here, and according to the available sources, the area must have included gardens near the pond.<sup>78</sup> What remains unknown is the size of the area they occupied. The first rationale that could be seen as a confirmation of the assumed lack of buildings in this area may be the ease with which the area was developed in the nineteenth century. The still almost

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<sup>71</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaŹstwa*, p. 402; M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, p. 301.

<sup>72</sup> P. Bokota, *Cechy rzemieŹnicze*, pp. 286–287.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 292, 298.

<sup>74</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 103; P. Bokota, *Cechy rzemieŹnicze*, p. 295; S. Kunikowski, *Źycie gospodarze Włocławka w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Włocławek. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1, pp. 266–284.

<sup>75</sup> Inw. 1534, pp. 5–6; Inw. 1598, p. 1; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaŹstwa*, p. 372; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 40; S. Inglot, *Stosunki społeczno-gospodarcze ludnoŹci w dobrach biskupstwa włocławskiego w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Lwów 1927, pp. 78–87; Guldon, *Zaludnienie*, pp. 64–65.

<sup>76</sup> Inw. 1534, pp. 5–6.

<sup>77</sup> Inw. 1582, pp. 1–2.

<sup>78</sup> MHDW 12, p. 37; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 67.

empty squares located on the side of Brzeska Street were designated for Jewish settlement (clearly visible on the plan from 1824), and, in 1851, a building of the office of the district governor was built on the site of the reduced Sadzawka Pond. In 1861, the pond was finally filled in completely.<sup>79</sup> The second rationale may be the fact that Strycharskie Suburb, mentioned for the first time in 1564 as located near Kowalski tract, grew steadily in line with the economic development of Włocławek.<sup>80</sup> It seems this was the only possible direction for the expansion of the suburbs in the vicinity of Cyganka Street. The area located to the east of Kowalska Street, also called ‘the one near the Kowalska Gate’ in the 1582 inventory, was inhabited neither in the Middle Ages nor in the modern era. The area was covered in wetlands which ‘stretch to the Królewiec marshes’. Even in the interwar period of the twentieth century it was still impossible to ‘build cellars [there], and the abundant groundwater, badly contaminated, seeped into the walls of the houses’.<sup>81</sup> The ‘fatal contamination’ had its origin in a cellulose factory opened in 1899. The construction of the collector connected to the factory resulted also in the disappearance of the springs at Łęgska Street (on the corner with today’s Towarowa Street), which used to provide water to the local community.<sup>82</sup>

The toponyms seem to hint at the nature of the suburbs. There was a road which went through the forest and connected Strycharskie Suburb, which derives its name from the Polish word ‘strycharz’ denoting ‘brickmaker’, with a brickyard located at Grzywno Lake.<sup>83</sup> Nowe Miasto Suburb included streets whose names referred to cooking, such as Piekarska, Zapiecek, and Pieczyrogowska. The latter street, unidentified and mentioned only in the inventory from 1582, probably connected the corner of Piekarska Street with Kowalska Street.<sup>84</sup> The names of these streets, referring to, among others, baking and blacksmithing, clearly indicate that local residents conducted non-agricultural activities. The area of Nowe Miasto became the subject of a dispute between the town authorities and the bishop, which finally ended with a privilege granted in 1577, which incorporated the suburb into the town.<sup>85</sup> The statement claiming that ‘development of suburban settlement was not triggered by urban space build-up or groups and industrial facilities being pushed out of the town as there was no space for them or they became too burdensome’ ought to be considered somewhat unfortunate. Contrary to the claim that ‘the suburbs were horticultural and agricultural settlements operating some distance away from the town limits’,<sup>86</sup> there’s only one suburb which undoubtedly fits this description – Papieżka – which is not covered by the reconstructed plan and where the land of the vogt’s office was located. In the sixteenth century, the land became the property of the town.

Tradition identifies the last suburb with the burgher Kokoszka, probably the progenitor of the Włocławek family which rose to recognition in the sixteenth century. Its representatives were, among others, councillors, customs collectors, bricklayers, and mill leaseholders.<sup>87</sup> According to the preserved record, the area of this suburb was ‘partially built-up and inhabited’ as early as in 1430.<sup>88</sup> The existence of the suburb located at a considerable distance from the central centre should be associated with the nearby water mills and bridges, *i.e.* Słodowo, Lisek, Poraza, Świech.<sup>89</sup> They were connected with the town by Młyńska road, which changed into St. Vitalis Street within church territory.<sup>90</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>79</sup> T. Dziki, *W czasach zaborów (1793–1918)*, [in:] *Monografia powiatu włocławskiego*, ed. K. Mikulski, T. Dziki, Włocławek 2018, pp. 151, 153.

<sup>80</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 37.

<sup>81</sup> S. Narębski, *Uwagi nad rozwojem planu i nad regulacją Włocławka*, “*Życie Włocławka i Okolicy*”, 1927, no. 1, p. 12; see *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, pp. 36–37, 52.

<sup>82</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 65, 67; *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, p. 45.

<sup>83</sup> *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, pp. 54, 109, 127; R. Hankowska, *Rozwój układu przestrzennego Włocławka*, p. 524.

<sup>84</sup> Inw. 1582, p. 2.

<sup>85</sup> M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, p. 300; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 37; S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny dokumentów Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku. Dział II. Dokumenty w kopiaruszach*, vol. 8: *Kopiarusze gospodarcze z XVI–XVII wieku* (“Economic Cartularies from the Turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries”), Włocławek 2000, p. 36, doc. 94.

<sup>86</sup> R. Czaja, A. Marynowska, T. Wąsik, *Włocławek. Historia i rozwój przestrzenny miasta*, p. 14.

<sup>87</sup> Inw. 1534, p. 4; *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, p. 11; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 94–95, 98; S. Librowski, *Inwentarz realny*, vol. 9, p. 52, doc. 132; P. Bokota, *Cechy rzemieślnicze*, p. 195; W. Kujawski, *Włocławek w czasach nowożytnych*, p. 263.

<sup>88</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 37; R. Hankowska, *Rozwój przestrzenny Włocławka*, p. 317.

<sup>89</sup> Inw. 1582, p. 7; Inw. 1598, p. 3; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 95, 97, 101.

<sup>90</sup> M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 37.

the road connected the town with the areas located on the right bank of Zgłowiączka River, which were clearly used for commercial purposes. The records confirm that there existed a brickyard, a brewery, Ciemięga Mill (Cziemiega; in the vicinity of the channel), two vineyards, as well as bishop's and town's pastures.<sup>91</sup> It has been established that the municipal gardens were situated in Kokoszka. The Bratkowszczyzna gardens were located next to the same tract, behind the church of St. Vitalis.<sup>92</sup>

Out of all land roads passing through Włocławek, the following two tracts played the most significant role – Kowalski and Brzeski. They both led to the towns of Kowal and Brześć Kujawski, respectively. In historical terms, the old road to the bishop-held Łęg was equally important, since it was treated as the main axis for planning the chartered town in 1339, and, in the sixteenth century, it ran along important gate streets. On the other hand, locally, the most important transport route was Młyńska road, which led towards the 'industrial' part of the town (probably repaired several times at the cost of the Chapter), and Zamcza Street which connected the town with the bishop's castle.<sup>93</sup> The area of the castle could not have provided a way of crossing Zgłowiączka River in the sixteenth century, which can be seen on the 1787 plan. At that point, the castle was surrounded by a moat and was used for defensive and residential purposes. The burghers used an unspecified bridge over the Zgłowiączka, which they maintained at their own expense. The sources indicate that the crossing was located near the brewery.<sup>94</sup> Of course, on a general scale, the Vistula played the leading role in the area's transport network, serving as the most significant trade and transport route.

(2021)

*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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<sup>91</sup> Inw. XVII, p. 86; *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, pp. 46–47; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 28, 87, 100–101; M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, p. 300; B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, pp. 306–307.

<sup>92</sup> M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, p. 300; *Rozrządzenie Komisji Dobrego Porządku*, pp. 36–37, 43; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, p. 29.

<sup>93</sup> B. Zgłobicki, *Miasta lokacyjne w średniowiecznym Włocławku*, pp. 305–306; M. Morawski, *Monografia Włocławka*, pp. 82–83.

<sup>94</sup> M. Borucki, *Ziemia kujawska*, p. 301.

### III.6.34.4 WSCHOWA

*Arkadiusz Borek*

In the sixteenth century, Wschowa (Fraustadt, in German) was the central town of the land of Wschowa, which in turn was the southernmost part of Poznań Voivodeship. Wschowa is one of the towns whose map we have prepared as part of this AHP volume because of the two factors. First, at the end of the sixteenth century Wschowa was one of the major Greater Polish towns, second only to Poznań;<sup>1</sup> the border town of Wschowa owed this position to its economic importance as a manufacture (cloth) and transit trade (Greater Poland–Silesia) centre. Second, the town was a cross-border one; at its origins, it prevalently stemmed from the Silesian, rather than Greater Polish, tradition. Hence, the town was German-speaking (the preserved municipal registers were all kept in German, ever since 1501) and Wschowa land, as a whole had its peculiarity.

The basic cartographic source of use in our reconstruction of the plan of Wschowa in the second half of the sixteenth century are two fairly precise cadastral maps, compiled probably at the end the eighteenth/early nineteenth century, in association with Prussia's taking over Greater Polish towns.<sup>2</sup> The maps were arguably made based on a lost map drawn as part of the activities of the local Commission of Good Order (*Boni Ordinis*) which operated in Wschowa<sup>3</sup> in 1780–3 and 1788; the initial map was drafted in the former period.<sup>4</sup> That the two maps used for our purpose were based on the *Boni Ordinis* Commission's map excerpt (arguably, on a mutually independent basis) is suggested by the use of the letter marking of the streets. These same markings are seen in *Inwentarz miasta J.K.M. Starej Wschowey*, which was produced in association with the activities of the aforesaid Commission.<sup>5</sup> A concordant rendering is likewise identifiable in the division into land plots on both maps. Regrettably, neither of the

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<sup>1</sup> M. Słoń, *Miasta prywatne w sieci miejskiej Wielkopolski XV–XVI wieku*, RDSG, vol. 77, 2016, Annex 1.

<sup>2</sup> K. Górską-Gołąska, *Pomiary gruntowe w Wielkopolsce: 1793–1861. Studia nad źródłami kartograficznymi Wielkopolski z epoki reform agrarnych*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Poznań 1965, pp. 32–36; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> J. Sobczak, *Działalność Komisji Dobrego Porządku we Wschowie*, "Rocznik Leszczyński", vol. 7, 1985, pp. 113–153.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 117, 121–122, 124–125.

<sup>5</sup> *Stan Miasta J.K.Mci. Wschowy Pod Słodkim Panowaniem Nayiasniejszego Stanisława Augusta Krola Miłościwego Na Kommissyi Dobrego Porządku Za Zdaniem Przewietney Rady Przy Boku J.K.Mci. Nieustaiący Podług Praw Koronnych Wyznaczoney Pod Prezydencyą J.W. Jozefa Z Brudzewa Mielzynskiego*, Leszno 1783. This printed document is composed of the following sections: (i) *Stan Miasta* [The Condition of the Town], comprising *regests* of documents from the municipal archives of the Old and New Wschowa, collected by the Commission of Good Order; (ii) *Inwentarz miasta J. K. M. Starej Wschowey* [An Inventory of the City of H.R.M.'s Old Wschowa], being a list of plots within Wschowa, by street, as well as in Przechylna Górna and Dolna; (iii) *Opis budynków publicznych i folwarcznych* [A description of public and demesne-farm buildings] (content as per the title); (iv) *Inwentarz Miasta J. K. M. Nowey Wschowy, czyli Miasta Starościńskiego* [An Inventory of the City of H.R.M.'s New Wschowa, that is, the *Starosta*'s Town] (content as in the Old Wschowa section, covering New Wschowa all the *starosta*'s estates); (v) *Pakt między sławetnym magistratem y porządkami miasta J. K. Mci Nowey Wschowy z jedney, a niewiernemi Żydami w tymże Nowym Mieście Mieszkalnemi z drugiej strony* [A pact between the glorious municipality and the orders of the H.R.M.'s town of New Wschowa, on the one, and the infidel Jews Domicyled in that same New Town, on the other hand] (content as per the title); (vi) *Inwentarz juryzdykcyi duchowney czyli proboszczowskiej wschowskiej* [An inventory of the clerical, that is, pasonic jurizdictyon of Wschowa] (content as in the other inventories with regards to the parson's estates). The sections have their own page numberings (or no such numbering at all). The publication will be referred to herein below as follows: (i) *Stan Miasta* [Town Condition]; 2. *Inwentarz Starej Wschowy* [Old Wschowa Inventory]; (iii) *Opis budynków* [Description of buildings]; (iv) *Inwentarz Nowey Wschowy* [New Wschowa Inventory] (no other sections are quoted or referred to).

two underlying cartographic representations has survived in a satisfactory condition. A copy of earliest was kept before the Second World War at the State Archives in Poznań and has been reproduced by Henryk Münch,<sup>6</sup> who dated it at 1794. Its original copy has unfortunately not survived the Second World War. More fortunately, the Historical Atlas Department (ZAH) at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN) has preserved glass clichés of the maps once used by Münch, among them the Wschowa plan in question.<sup>7</sup> However, a cliché cannot render its full range. The other map is kept at the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD)<sup>8</sup> – again, not in extant form as its eastern section is now lost, losses at edge bends and smudges are visible. The available copy is incomplete content-wise as the author has not completed the drawing of the monastery, the moat, and areas north of the town. Grażyna Wróblewska dates the map between 1794–1812.<sup>9</sup> For brevity, the source plans kept at the ZAH and AGAD will hereinafter be respectively referred to as the ‘ZAH plan’ and ‘AGAD plan’. The map of Wschowa proposed in this volume will be referred to as the ‘reconstruction plan’. It is worth remarking that other plans of Wschowa from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth were available still before the Second World War. As is indicated by certain German studies, they differed to an extent from those surviving till our day, as far as the content is concerned.<sup>10</sup> Among them was, presumably, the original copy, or some of the later copies, of the *Boni Ordinis* Commission plan.

In spite of these scarcities, the use of both above-described plans enables one to cognise the town’s space at the end of the eighteenth century. This being the case, the basic problem in the compilation of a reconstruction plan was to remove the alterations occurring with the town’s development between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>11</sup> Use has been made of the fairly rich literature dealing with Wschowa/Fraustadt. Most of the basic findings regarding the town’s history and condition in the sixteenth century are owed to German historians who published their studies in, inter alia, the historical regional periodical *Das Fraustädter Ländchen*, issued from 1922 to 1941; particular mention is deserved by the scholars Hugo Moritz,<sup>12</sup> Werner Grosmann,<sup>13</sup> Franz Pfützenreiter,<sup>14</sup> and Willi Schober.<sup>15</sup> More publications came out in post-war Poland, oftentimes repeating the pre-war findings expanding the issues of Wschowa’s town planning and defensive capability.<sup>16</sup> These days there is another revival in the interest in the town’s and region’s history, animated by local circles and yielding more and more books on these topics.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Münch, Fig. LXIII; also, see Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 439.

<sup>7</sup> Münch, ZAH, Wschowa.

<sup>8</sup> AGAD, Zb. Kart., sign. 175–176.

<sup>9</sup> Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 435–436, footnote 2.

<sup>10</sup> Schober, Ring, p. 17; Schober, Straßennamen, pp. 18, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Major changes in Wschowa’s urban space were seemingly seen since the nineteenth century, of which the most apparent was the destruction of the city market’s eastern frontage during the Second World War; see Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 462–463; Małkus, Budowle, pp. 75–76; Czwojdrak, Ulice, passim.

<sup>12</sup> H. Moritz, *Die älteste jüdische Niederlassung in Fraustadt*, “Historische Monatsblätter für die Provinz Posen”, 1901, no. 12, pp. 179–184; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 195–244; Moritz, RuG 1; Moritz, RuG 2.

<sup>13</sup> Grosmann, WuW; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*. While both texts abound in interesting information, the author has provided no source-related notes, though his use of historical records is evident.

<sup>14</sup> F. Pfützenreiter, *Erinnerung aus der Kellergasse*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 8, 1929, no. 6/7, pp. 23–25; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*; F. Pfützenreiter, *Zur Geschichte der Roten Kirche in Oberpřitschen*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 9, 1930, no. 1, pp. 1–2; idem, *Heimatgeschichtliche Notizen aus einer alten Familienchronik*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 11, 1932, no. 4/5, pp. 13–15; idem, *Königbesuche und Hofstage in Fraustadt zur Zeit der sächslisch-polnischen Könige*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 18, 1939, no. 1/2, pp. 1–2.

<sup>15</sup> W. Schober, *Der Fraustädter Stadtbrand vor 400 Jahren*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 8, 1929, no. 5, pp. 19–20; idem, *Die Fraustädter Stadtbrand von 10. Mai 1685*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 9, 1930, no. 7, pp. 25–27; idem, *Der Fraustädter Stadtbrand von 1435*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 10, 1931, no. 7, p. 25; idem, *Die Fraustädter Stadtbrand vom 6. Dezember 1598*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 11, 1932, no. 9, pp. 25–26; idem, *Die “Hölle” in Fraustadt. Ein merkwürdiger Flurname*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 12, 1933, no. 3, p. 16; Schober, Ring; Schober, *Straßennamen*; W. Schober, *Die Fraustädter Schützenkönige des 16. Jahrhunderts*, “Das Fraustädter Ländchen”, vol. 18, 1939, no. 3, pp. 7–8.

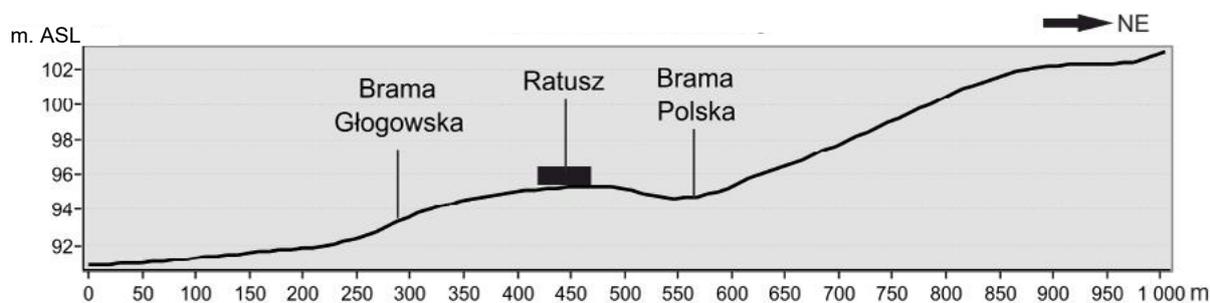
<sup>16</sup> Wróblewska, Mury, 583–99; G. Wróblewska, *Ukształtowanie przestrzenne nowożytnych miast Wielkopolski od roku 1500 do rozbiorów*, “Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki. Teoria i Historia”, vol. 10, 1965, no. 2, pp. 87–98; E. Heczko, *Uwagi o tzw. miejskich planach owalnicowych*, “Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury”, vol. 3, 1969; Wróblewska, Wschowa; Widawski, Mury; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie nowożytnych miast w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Warsaw–Poznań 1977.

<sup>17</sup> *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, ed. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa–Leszno 2009; *Kościół imienia Żłóbka Chrystusa (Kripplein Christi) we Wschowie na tle procesu konfesjonalizacji w krajach Europy Środkowej*, ed. P. Klint, M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa 2012; *Reformacja i tolerancja: jedność w różnorodności?*

These publications enable one to elaborate on the subject-matter in a pretty comprehensive and reliable manner. Hence, save for exceptional cases, the hitherto intensely used sources such as the chronicles by Caspar Hoffmann (late sixteenth/early seventeenth centuries)<sup>18</sup> or Samuel Friedrich Lauterbach (1710),<sup>19</sup> and the aforementioned *Stan Miasta*, have not been referred to directly. The most important gap is the still far-from-satisfactory exploration of Wschowa's municipal registers, which were used by German scholars before the Second World War and today are kept at the State Archives in Zielona Góra (APZG) (fond 'Akta Miasta Wschowy', no. 363).<sup>20</sup> As part of our work on the reconstruction plan, only a random search through Register no. 99 was carried out, for toponymy;<sup>21</sup> this query has mostly confirmed the previous findings. Wschowa's resource of eighteenth-century iconographic records (views of the city)<sup>22</sup> has proved not quite important for our present purpose.

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Wschowa was established on the edge of the Leszno Upland (*Wysoczyzna Leszczyńska*) and Baruth-Głogów Ice-Marginal Valley (*Dolina Barucko-Głogowska*). This peripheral location is visible in the area of the city itself. The area within the walls and the southern suburb are situated in an originally marshy basin, and the northern suburb on an elevation.<sup>23</sup> The difference in the height is noticeable, ranging up to a dozen metres at a distance of approx. 1 km (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1. Elevation profile of Wschowa's Old Town area**  
(compiled by A. Borek, based on [www.codgik.gov.pl/index.php/darmowe-dane/nmt-100.html](http://www.codgik.gov.pl/index.php/darmowe-dane/nmt-100.html)  
[accessed 23.01.2017])

These conditions and determinants informed the town's spatial development. Due to the terrain's humidity, its southern part did not expand over the ages, as opposed to the northern part.<sup>24</sup> The elevation enabled the erection of windmills; the presence of many such facilities in Wschowa is attested by the tax registers<sup>25</sup>

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*Współistnienie różnych wyznań na ziemi wschowskiej i pograniczu wielkopolsko-śląskim*, ed. M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa–Leszno 2015; *Conjux, mater, filia, soror propinqua, civis. Kobieta na ziemi wschowskiej i pograniczu wielkopolsko-śląskim*, ed. M. Małkus, K. Szymańska, Wschowa–Leszno 2016; Czwojdrak, Ulice. I am indebted to Dariusz Czwojdrak and Marta Małkus of the Museum of the Land of Wschowa for their help in getting access to the materials and consultation provided with respect to this text.

<sup>18</sup> Biblioteka PAN w Gdańsku [Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Gdańsk], MS 1645.

<sup>19</sup> S. Lauterbach, *Fraustaedisches Zion. Das ist historische Erzählung, was sich von An. 1500–1700 im Kirch-Wesen zu Fraustadt zuegetragen. Haben so wohl fernerer Bericht vom Kripplein Christi und den anderen lutherischen Kirchen, die Lebens-Beschreibungen aller evangelischen Prediger samt denen Schul-Bedienten und was inzwischen den- und merkwuerdiges vorgefallen*, Leipzig 1710.

<sup>20</sup> One contributory linguistic study is unique in this context: I.T. Piirainen, *Stadtbücher von Fraustadt/Wschowa. Ein Beitrag zum Frühneuhochdeutschen in Polen*, [in:] *Vielfalt des Deutschen. Festschrift für Werner Besch*, ed. K. Mattheier, Frankfurt am Main 1993, pp. 253–260.

<sup>21</sup> Hereinafter, APZG 363, sign. 99.

<sup>22</sup> Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 435–436, footnote 2; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, pp. 23–27.

<sup>23</sup> Wróblewska, Mury, pp. 583, 587; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 437, 444; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 452; Małkus, Budowle, p. 68; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> RPWP, wch, 1563, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1567, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1577, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1579, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1581, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1582, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1583, no. 1.

and the later iconographic and cartographic representations.<sup>26</sup> The areas east of Polish Suburb (*Przedmieście Polskie*), and then of the New Town (*Nowe Miasto*), belonging to Przyczyna Dolna, were also wetlands. Due to scarcity of larger watercourses, Wschowa's supply with water was based on the shallow groundwater and a water supply system. Source plans show a large number of water intakes in the Old Town and suburban areas. Excavations in the Old Town area attested to such facilities once operating on burgher-owned land parcels.<sup>27</sup> It can be presumed that due to an easy access to the groundwater, wells were a commonplace feature in the urban area's yards.<sup>28</sup> A pond area stretched north-west (Ceglany Square), directly north and, probably, north-east (the area of today's Lwia Street, formerly *Teichstraße* (Pond St.) of the *Brama Polska* (Polish Gate)). A small fish-breeding pond was situated also in the vicinity of the castle.<sup>29</sup> The city's major reservoir of water was the ponds in Przyczyna Górna (where fishing was done as well<sup>30</sup>). The one closest to the town (*Niederteich*) is first attested in 1571; the mentions of another two are of a later date, but the ponds' origin can be traced down to the mediaeval period.<sup>31</sup> It was from Przyczyna that water-supply appliances (built in 1532<sup>32</sup>) fed water into the city's water tanks, whilst the moat was supplied by a channel.<sup>33</sup> It is impossible to reconstruct the canal network, though. The watercourses visible in AGAD maps are broken and indistinct, possibly because the drawing was left unfinished; consequently, our reconstruction plan has no canals plotted.

In the Wschowa settlement complex area, the village of Przyczyna (Górna) is attested in 1210 – earlier than Wschowa itself. The view is popular among historiographers whereby prior to its foundation, a defensive burg-city existed at the present-day Wschowa castle, on an artificial height situated on the boggy area near Przyczyna. Its functioning was related to the region's border-area location and the need to guard the commercial route linking Lusatia and Saxony, via Głogów (*Glogau*) and Święciechowa (*Schwetzkau*), with Poznań and Gniezno.<sup>34</sup> Archaeological research has not confirmed this view; the earliest datable finds from the castle area come from the middle of the thirteenth century – paralleling Wschowa's appearance in written records. No earlier finds have been come across inside the ramparts/walls, either.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, there is no proof of any early settlement in Wschowa's Old Town area; the regular development inside the walls unanimously indicates that the settlement unit was chartered

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<sup>26</sup> M. Merian, J. Abelinus, H. Oraeus, *Abriss der Battaile bei Fraustadt Alwo der Königliche Schweds Feldmarchal Graff Reihnschild die Sächsische Armee Totaliter Schlug / Anno 1706, 13. Febr.*, [in:] *Theatrum Europaeum: mit vieler fürnehmer Herrn und Potentaten Contrafacturen, wie auch berühmter Städten, Vestungen, Pässen, Schlachten und Belägerungen eygentlichen Delineationen und Abrissen gezieret.* 17, 17, Franckfurt am Mayn 1718, Tab. 46; Gilly 1802; UMTB, sheet 2338 (1824).

<sup>27</sup> B. Wyrwińska, *Ratownicze badania wykopaliskowe we Wschowie przy ulicy Łaziennej*, "Wielkopolskie Sprawozdanie Archeologiczne", vol. 5, 2000, pp. 99–100; P. Dziedzic, *Późnośredniowieczne zabytki z badań archeologicznych na terenie miasta Wschowy*, "Archeologia Środkowego Nadodrza", vol. 5, 2007, pp. 243, 261.

<sup>28</sup> U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie w mieście późnośredniowiecznym i wczesnonowożytnym. Ziemia polskie z Europą w tle*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 171–173, 177–178.

<sup>29</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, pp. 18, 21; G. Wróblewska, *Ukształtowanie przestrzenne*, p. 90; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 440; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 505; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 123, footnote 139; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 57.

<sup>31</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 24.

<sup>32</sup> Schober, *Ring*. Fragments of wooden water-supply pipes have been discovered during excavations in Wschowa; P. Dziedzic, *Późnośredniowieczne zabytki*, p. 253. At the end of the sixteenth century, water-supply systems were transacted; Nowakowski, Wschowa, pp. 97–98.

<sup>33</sup> *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, "Das Fraustädter Ländchen", vol. 2, 1923, no. 9, p. 20; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 57; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 24; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 505; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 70–71; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, p. 294; Braune, *Geschichte*, p. 7; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 51; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 33; Münch, pp. 125, 190; Wróblewska, *Mury*, p. 584; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 438, 441–443; J. Muszyński, *Rozwój przestrzenny Wschowy w świetle dotychczasowych badań*, [in:] *Wschowa. Miasto i powiat*, vol. 13, Zielona Góra 1973, pp. 44–45; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 504–505; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 65; B. Ratajewska, *Zarys dziejów parafii Ducha Świętego w Przyczynie Górnej*, [w:] *Kościół imienia Żłóbka Chrystusa (Kripplein Christi) we Wschowie na tle procesu konfesjonalizacji*, p. 375; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, p. 12. E. Heczko investigated into potential earlier settlements in the north-western Przedmieście Polskie area and thus suggested a different course of the original roads around Wschowa; eadem, *Uwagi o tzw. miejskich planach owalnicowych*, 33–5, 41; eadem, *Uwagi na temat rozwoju przestrzennego Wschowy*, [no place of publication] 1965, MS: collection of APZG, Lubuskie Towarzystwo Naukowe w Zielonej Górze, no. 837, sign. 1, pp. 9–17. G. Wróblewska rightly polemicalises against this view in Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 442 (footnote 20), 447 (footnote 33).

<sup>35</sup> B. Wyrwińska, *Ratownicze badania wykopaliskowe*, p. 108; Ratajewska, *Nowe Miasto*, p. 153; Ł. Lisiecki, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych przeprowadzonych przy budynku dawnego kolegium jezuickiego i w jego otoczeniu we Wschowie pl. Farny 3*, [in:] *Silesia Jesuitica. Kultura i sztuka zakonu jezuitów na Śląsku i w hrabstwie kłodzkim 1580–1776*, ed. D. Galewski, A. Jezierska, Wrocław 2012, p. 159; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, pp. 50, 52–53, 77–78, 81.

*in cruda radice*.<sup>36</sup> Regarded as the first certain mention of the locality is the document by Dukes Boleslaus (Bolesław) and Henry (Henryk), sons of Duke Henry the Pious (Henryk Pobożny), issued in 1248 at *Veschov* (Wschowa). As of 1273, Wschowa was referred to as a town; its German name, as *Frowenstat*, is first recorded in 1290. The city rights were apparently granted to Wschowa between 1248 and 1273, the advanced town-planning concept indicates the closeness to the latter date.<sup>37</sup> The impulse for establishment of an urban settlement the economic development of the neighbouring area and thus the need to establish a conveniently situated site of trade and commerce.<sup>38</sup> After the period of Poland's fragmentation into provinces, Wschowa oscillated between Silesian and Greater Polish dukes; in 1343, King Casimiar III the Great (Kazimierz III Wielki) finally annexed the town, together with the entire Wschowa land, to the Kingdom of Poland. In 1349, the town was granted a confirmation of the German Law. From 1422 on, the Polish Law, in its Greater Polish version, extended to the whole land of Wschowa and its nobility, with a separate land court established. The land of Wschowa had its own 'castle *starosta*', independent of the *starosta* general of Greater Poland.<sup>39</sup>

After its incorporation, Wschowa began to develop economically, which was apparently fostered by the political situation, stabilised after the integration with the Crown, the border-area location and the transport routes going through the town and making it a transit centre.<sup>40</sup> By 1310, Wschowa must have become one of region's major centres, as it entered with several towns in the Silesian-Lubusz border area into an order-keeping treaty<sup>41</sup> – a successfully procured exemption from customs duties, the right granted to sell salt, organise fairs, mint own currency, and acquisition of two suburban villages.<sup>42</sup> As it seems, Wschowa owed its economic position to its own manufacturing output, most of all. Cloth-making was the town's most important craft – an essential source of the city's income already in the fifteenth century, this particular industry played an ever-growing role in the following decades. According to Antoni Mączak, Wschowa was the most important drapery centre in early modern Poland; the local clothiers' guild had a prevalent influence on the town in the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup> Clothiers definitely formed the largest professional group in Wschowa. Though the tax registers give a general number of artisans (i.e., 370),<sup>44</sup> the 1628 tax register notes as many as 204 clothiers; there were 230 as of 1635.<sup>45</sup> Milling and operation of windmills was the second most important profession (with 107 millers recorded as of 1628);<sup>46</sup> windmills were an essential feature of the landscape around the town. Apart

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<sup>36</sup> E. Heczko, *Uwagi na temat rozwoju przestrzennego Wschowy*.

<sup>37</sup> Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 198–200; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 51; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 33; Wróblewska, *Mury*, p. 583; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 437, 446–447; Korcz, *Zarys*, p. 9–10; J. Muszyński, *Rozwój przestrzenny Wschowy*, p. 46; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 504; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 120; Nowakowski, *Wschowa*, p. 77; Ratajewska, *Nowe Miasto*, pp. 153–154; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 66–67; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, p. 12. The former mention is at times referred to the Gniezno Bull and re-dated as 1136 (esp. by German historiographers), which is an evident error, not to be confirmed against this record (see the above-enumerated items).

<sup>38</sup> Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 444.

<sup>39</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 294–295; Braune, *Geschichte*, pp. 7–10; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 203–207, 213, 222; Grosmann, *WuW*, pp. 50–51; Wróblewska, *Mury*, p. 583; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 437; Korcz, *Zarys*, pp. 9–12; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 505; A. Nowakowski, *Prawne aspekty inkorporacji ziemi wschowskiej do Polski*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne", vol. 43, 1991, no. 1–2, pp. 115–124; A. Gąsiorowski, *O inkorporacji ziemi wschowskiej do Polski*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne", vol. 44, 1992, no. 1–2, pp. 159–167; Nowakowski, *Wschowa*, pp. 28–39; M. Adamczewski, *Pieczenie, herb i inne znaki Wschowy (około 1290–1793)*, [in:] *Ludzie i herby w dawnej Polsce*, ed. P. Dymmel, Lublin 1995, p. 225; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, pp. 12–13; A. Borek, *Ziemia wschowska w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, [in:] RPWP.

<sup>40</sup> Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 226–227; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 451; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 261, 264.

<sup>41</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, p. 295; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, p. 210.

<sup>42</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 295–297; Braune, *Geschichte*, pp. 8–12; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 209–212, 216–217; S. Tymieniecki, *Jakiem prawem mennica miejska wschowska w 1608 i 1609 r. wybijała denary jednostronne?*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne", vol. 24, 1914, no. 6, pp. 94–96; Grosmann, *WuW*, pp. 53, 59; S. Gibasiewicz, *Mennica wschowska*, [in:] *Wschowa. Miasto i powiat*, vol. 13, p. 73; Wróblewska, *Mury*, p. 588; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 451, 456; Korcz, *Zarys*, pp. 10, 13; Nowakowski, *Wschowa*, pp. 95–96; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 262; Czwojdrak, *Ulice*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>43</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, p. 297; Braune, *Geschichte*, pp. 15–16; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 227–228, 232–233; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 54; A. Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie: XIV–XVII wiek* (Warszawa 1955), pp. 54, 56, 129, 224, 267; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 452, 455; Korcz, *Zarys*, pp. 12–13; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, p. 79; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 65.

<sup>44</sup> RPWP, wch, 1579, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1581, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1582, no. 1; RPWP, wch, 1583, no. 1.

<sup>45</sup> W. Schober, *Eine Fraustädter Steuerliste aus dem Jahre 1628*, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Heimatkunde des Fraustädter Ländchens", vol. 3, 1938, p. 105; Dworzaczkowa, *Kontreformacja*, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> W. Schober, *Eine Fraustädter Steuerliste*, p. 105; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 452.

from those, Wschowa was home to other craftsmen, organising themselves in the fifteenth century into guilds.<sup>47</sup>

The occurrence that has impacted sixteenth-century Wschowa the most severely was the fire of 7 June 1529, which consumed the then wooden town completely, with only a few houses in Głogów Suburb (*Przedmieście Głogowskie*) and the Bernardine monastery saved.<sup>48</sup> The destruction was so thorough that the reconstruction of the town, including the church and the town hall, took years, in spite of tax exemptions obtained by the municipality from the king and from the Church authorities.<sup>49</sup> Mateusz Lamprecht, a Wschowa-born Canon of Wrocław had a great role in the process; by means of foundations and donations, he endeavoured to encourage the burghers to erect brick buildings within the city walls. Yet, lumber remained popular as a construction material nevertheless;<sup>50</sup> this changed only after another great fire that broke out in 1685.<sup>51</sup>

Wschowa appeared to be a welcoming soil for the Reformation. After the local parson died in 1552, his office remained vacant; the municipality, initially supported with the local *starosta*, brought in a preacher who offered teachings in a Protestant spirit. By the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church became virtually absent from Wschowa. The churches marked on the reconstruction plan were either taken over by Protestants or desecrated and turned into utility buildings. All the same, the Catholic Church launched a years-long campaign for retrieval of its possessions, mostly with a good result. The year 1604 saw the return to the Catholic community of their parish church and 1629, the return of the Bernardines. The municipality litigated the parson until 1631, and with the Bernardine Friars until 1637; this was followed by a normalisation of the mutual relations, with Wschowa remaining a Protestant town and the Catholics amounting to a small part of its population until the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>52</sup>

An essential impulse for the town's development was provided by the inflow of people from Silesia on their escape from religious persecution and the Thirty Years' War.<sup>53</sup> This inflow of settlers resulted in the establishment by *Starosta* Hieronim Radomicki of a New Town, on the *starosta's* district lands, under the king's privilege of 1633, as a separate urban unit.<sup>54</sup> Alongside Protestants, Jews also settled in the area.<sup>55</sup> The following stage in Wschowa's spatial development was the colonisation, commenced in 1641, of an area described as a *Scheibe* (*Krag*), situated west of the Bernardine cloister, on the meadows and pastures owned by the municipality.<sup>56</sup> Scholars tend to accept that the so-called Upper New Town was set up before 1685, west of the Old Town and around the Green Market (*Zielony*

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<sup>47</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, pp. 298–299; Braune, Geschichte, pp. 15–17; H. Moritz, *Die älteste jüdische Niederlassung*, pp. 231–233; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 452; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, p. 265.

<sup>48</sup> W. Schober, *Der Fraustädter Stadtbrand vor 400 Jahren*; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, p. 263; Małkus, Budowle, p. 68–69.

<sup>49</sup> Dworzaczkowa, Kontrreformacja, pp. 6–7.

<sup>50</sup> Korbe, *Dr. Matthäus Lamprecht und die Familie Lamprecht*, "Das Fraustädter Ländchen", vol. 3, 1924, no. 12, p. 80; Grosman, WuW, pp. 55–56; Małkus, Budowle, pp. 69–71.

<sup>51</sup> Grosman, WuW, pp. 62–63; Małkus, Budowle, p. 74.

<sup>52</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, pp. 301–303; Braune, Geschichte, pp. 23–33; Moritz, RuG 1; Moritz, RuG 2; Grosman, WuW, pp. 58–60; Dworzaczkowa, Kontrreformacja, pp. 1–42; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 460; Korcz, Zarys, pp. 16–21; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, pp. 263–266; Wiczorkowski, "Boża Rola", pp. 225–7; A. Pańczak, *Działalność rekatalizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, [in:] *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, pp. 317–20; Pałowska, Bernardyni, pp. 363–364; Małkus, Budowle, p. 73; Czwojdrak, Kopaczyński, pp. 46–49.

<sup>53</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, pp. 303–304; Grosman, WuW, pp. 61–62; Grosman, Stadtplan, p. 35; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 455; Korcz, Zarys, pp. 21–22; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, pp. 262–263, 264–5; Małkus, Budowle, p. 73.

<sup>54</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, pp. 304–305; Grosman, WuW, pp. 56–57, 62; G. Wróblewska, *Ukształtowanie przestrzenne*, p. 90; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 458–459; Grosman, WuW, p. 56; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, pp. 121–124; Sobczak, Żydzi, p. 79; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, pp. 266–267; D. Czwojdrak, *Żydowskie osadnictwo ziemi wschowskiej od XV do XVIII w.*, [in:] *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, p. 88; Ratajewska, Nowe Miasto, pp. 153–161; Małkus, Budowle, pp. 73–74; M. Suszczewicz, *Proces tworzenia miast podwójnych w południowo-zachodniej Wielkopolsce w XVII wieku jako przykład aktywnej polityki ekonomicznej i osadniczej szlachty w czasach tolerancji religijnej*, [in:] *Reformacja i tolerancja*, pp. 126–127.

<sup>55</sup> Braune, Geschichte, p. 43; Grosman, WuW, p. 62; Sobczak, Żydzi, pp. 80–81; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, p. 270; D. Czwojdrak, *Żydowskie osadnictwo*, pp. 88.

<sup>56</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, p. 304; Grosman, WuW, p. 62; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 22; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 458; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 121; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, p. 268; Ratajewska, Nowe Miasto, p. 160; Małkus, Budowle, p. 73.

*Rynek*), thus suggesting that its incorporation was independent of the Lower New Town, north-east of the Old Town.<sup>57</sup> However, as per the *regest* of a 1636 document,<sup>58</sup> the Jewish Meadows (*Łąki Żydowskie*) (the later Upper New Town) were meant already then to become a chartered town area. The last to appear was a provost's juridical enclave called *Freiheit* (Wolnica), where residents were settled at the beginning of the eighteenth century; the area occupied a small space in what is today the corner of Wolsztyńska St. and Grunwaldzki Sq.<sup>59</sup> Since around the second half of the seventeenth century, Wschowa lost its previous dynamism of economic development, as a result of the general economic conditions and competition from the resiliently developing Leszno and other newly-chartered urban centres – though its importance had not been denied.<sup>60</sup> Wschowa gained new importance under the rule of the monarchs of the Saxon house of Wettin, becoming the place of the king's meetings with the Senate and foreign diplomats.<sup>61</sup> The history of Wschowa as a Polish Kingdom's town comes to an end with its seizure by Prussia in 1793.

Another important element of the history of modern-era Wschowa was the conflicts between the municipality and the local *starosta*, which often led to riots. Put at stake were, repeatedly, the *starosta*'s rights with respect to election of the city authorities, the juridical competencies, and the *starosta*'s strife to leverage his own economic position, which was quite obviously opposed by the burghers who tried, on their part, to reinforce their own self-governing structures. One of those conflicts was the *starosta*'s attempt to have a group of Jews settled down in the town in 1593<sup>62</sup> (see pp. J. Suproniuk, *Jews in the towns of Greater Poland* in this volume).

Wschowa was frequently consumed by fires that encompassed its urban area to a larger or smaller extent (in the years 1431, 1435, 1469, 1474, 1512, 1522, 1529, 1545, 1567, 1598, 1634, 1641, 1644, 1685).<sup>63</sup> Plagues were no less frequent (1464, 1542, 1568, 1592, 1599, 1601, 1613, 1633, 1656, 1709/1710, 1726),<sup>64</sup> as were social riots (1518/1519, 1523, 1593, 1598, 1607, 1677, and 1680).<sup>65</sup> Since its incorporation in the state ruled by King Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz III Wielki), the town fell prey to external attacks several times, though the damages were not overly serious. The year 1383 saw an inefficient siege by Henryk VII, Duke of Żagań and Głogów; in 1474, Duke John II of Żagań, nicknamed 'the Mad', destroyed the Polish Suburb (*Przedmieście Polskie*); the area was affected again in 1665 by the invasion of the seditionaries led by J.S. Lubomirski, and in 1716 by the Tarnogród

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<sup>57</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 22; G. Wróblewska, *Ukształtowanie przestrzenne*, p. 87, footnote 2; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 459; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 124; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 268; Ratajewska, *Nowe Miasto*, p. 160. Grosman did not differentiate between the chronologies of these foundations; see Grosman, *WuW*, p. 62; Grosman, *Stadtplan*, p. 35.

<sup>58</sup> *Stan Miasta* [Town Condition], p. 74.

<sup>59</sup> Grosman, *WuW*, p. 63; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 460; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 121; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, p. 79; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 268–269; Ratajewska, *Nowe Miasto*, p. 160.

<sup>60</sup> Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 456; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, pp. 123 (footnote 141), 124; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, pp. 79–80; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, pp. 261–262, 269.

<sup>61</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 307–308; *Zur Baugeschichte des fraustädter Rathauses*, "Das Fraustädter Ländchen", vol. 2, 1923, no. 11, pp. 25–26; Grosman, *WuW*, pp. 63–64; F. Pfützenreiter, *Königbesuche und Hoftage*; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, p. 79; I. Kubistalowa, B. Zabawa, *Wschowa, "Civitas Secundi Ordinis". Mecenat artystyczny mieszczaństwa od XVI do XVIII w.*, [in:] *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa XV–XVIII wieku w Europie Środkowowschodniej*, ed. J. Harasimowicz, Warszawa 1990, p. 408; Nowakowski, Wschowa, pp. 47–48; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 79; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, p. 14.

<sup>62</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 297–298, 302–303, 306–307; Braune, *Geschichte*, pp. 12–15, 51; H. Moritz, *Die älteste jüdische Niederlassung*; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 195–244; Dworzaczkowa, *Kontreformacja*, pp. 4–5, 15–20; Korcz, *Zarys*, pp. 16, 18, 22; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, pp. 75–77; Nowakowski, Wschowa, pp. 46–47; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, pp. 268, 270; D. Czwojdrak, *Żydowskie osadnictwo*, pp. 82–85.

<sup>63</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 297, 299, 302; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 238–239; Grosman, *WuW*, pp. 54–56, 59, 62; W. Schober, *Der Fraustädter Stadtbrand vor 400 Jahren*; idem, *Die Fraustädter Stadtbrand von 10. Mai 1685*; idem, *Der Fraustädter Stadtbrand von 1435*; idem, *Die Fraustädter Stadtbrand vom 6. Dezember 1598*; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 452, 456; Korcz, *Zarys*, pp. 13–14, 18; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, pp. 263, 267; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 68, 70 (footnote 39), 73, 74–75, 78.

<sup>64</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 302, 304; F. Pfützenreiter, *Pestepidemien in Fraustadt*, "Das Fraustädter Ländchen", vol. 6, 1927, no. 6/7, pp. 22–24; Grosman, *WuW*, pp. 59, 61; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 452, 456; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 267; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 70 (footnote 39), 73, 74.

<sup>65</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, pp. 297–298; Moritz, *RuG* 2, pp. 31, 33; Grosman, *WuW*, p. 61; A. Jaehn, *Der Bürgeraufstand in Fraustadt im Jahre 1680*, "Das Fraustädter Ländchen", vol. 6, 1927, no. 6/7, pp. 21–22; Korcz, *Zarys*, pp. 16, 24; Dworzaczkowa, *Kontreformacja*, pp. 3–4; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 456; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, p. 77; Nowakowski, Wschowa, pp. 101–103.

confederates. In contrast to Leszno, Wschowa suffered no direct damage during the Swedish ‘Deluge’ invasion.<sup>66</sup>

Strictly associated with Wschowa were the two adjacent villages of Przyczyna Górna and Przyczyna Dolna (i.e. the ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ one, resp.).<sup>67</sup> As aforesaid, the former is the earliest-attested settlement in the Wschowa settlement complex. First mentioned in 1210, it was chartered under the German Law in 1273; a local church is referred to as of 1345.<sup>68</sup> Together with Wschowa, both villages formed a compact settlement area stretching east to west. The cartographic sources since the end of the eighteenth century basically reflect a continuous built-up area between the three settlements; earlier on, the situation was probably similar. The aforementioned privilege chartering Przyczyna under the German Law points to its land as adjacent to the town (*civitate adiacente*).<sup>69</sup> Both Przyczyna villages belonged to Wschowa. Przyczyna Górna was bestowed to the town by Casimir the Great in 1345.<sup>70</sup> The local parish church, similarly to the churches of Wschowa, was occupied by the Protestants since 1578, then retrieved by the Catholics in 1642, and affiliated to the Wschowa parish in 1677.<sup>71</sup> Przyczyna Dolna (the ‘lower’) was first mentioned in 1290, on the occasion of bestowal of its 15 *lans* to Wschowa; the subsequent mention comes from 1345, the date Wschowa received 50 *lans* in this village from Casimir the Great. The town of Wschowa took over the entire village as its property at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Both villages had a large area of arable land in the sixteenth century, based on which taxes were paid. With its 50 *lans*, Przyczyna Górna was one of the largest villages in Greater Poland; Przyczyna Dolna, having 17 *lans*, was high above the average in this respect.<sup>73</sup> Based on mentions scattered in the literature and municipal registers, Wschowa burghers were often the proprietors. The villages were sites of urban demesne farmsteads and industrial facilities (breweries, mills, fulling mills).<sup>74</sup> The role of the ponds in Przyczyna Górna has already been remarked upon.

The area north of the town was occupied by windmills. Tax registers refer to sixty-four windmills for Wschowa, this being Greater Poland’s largest figure. Although windmills was a typical feature in the landscape of the southern part of the Voivodeship of Poznań at the time, Wschowa clearly prevailed as regards the windmill statistics: Świąciechowa, boasting the second highest number, had a half of Wschowa’s figure.<sup>75</sup> Windmills are reported to have surrounded Wschowa already at the beginning of the sixteenth century; they appeared in increasingly larger number, with eighty-six *Windtmüllern* noted as of 1628 and as many as 101 in the early years of the eighteenth century.<sup>76</sup> It is impossible to determine their exact sixteenth-century localisations; to indicate this essential element of space development around Wschowa, a few windmills are featured on the reconstruction plan in their nineteenth-century sites.

Among the roads surrounding and traversing Wschowa, the one handling Poznań-to-Głogów/Głogów-to-Poznań transports was the major one, for quite obvious reasons. Moving from Poznań, the road offered two options: either directly from Śmigiel or via Śmigiel and Świąciechowa (Świąciechów). Passing through Świąciechowa was also a road from Wschowa toward Leszno and, further on, Kalisz, along which traffic was generated by a dense network of fairs.<sup>77</sup> It would enter into Wschowa probably

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<sup>66</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, pp. 296, 267, 304, 306; Moritz, Mittelalter, pp. 238–239; Grosmann, WuW, pp. 51, 55, 62; Korcz, Zarys, p. 13; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowe, pp. 261, 267; Małkus, Budowle, pp. 68, 74; B. Ratajewska, *Materiały archiwalne do dziejów Wschowy*, Leszno 2013, p. 21; Czwojdrak, Ulice, pp. 7, 9, 49.

<sup>67</sup> A. Wędzki (idem, *Rola przejść przez środkową Obrę w kształtowaniu sieci miejskiej południowo-zachodniej Wielkopolski*, [in:] idem, *Ze studiów nad procesami osadniczymi ziem Polski zachodniej*, Wrocław 1987, p. 49) supposes that both Przyczyna units formed village, and only the incorporation of Wschowa was to disrupt this unity. As it seems, this view is not profoundly based on the surviving sources; see T. Jurek, *Przyczyna Dolna*, [in:] SHGPoz, part III, p. 888; idem, *Przyczyna Górna*, [in:] ibidem, pp. 888–889.

<sup>68</sup> Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 208; Grosmann, WuW, p. 52; B. Ratajewska, *Zarys dziejów parafii Ducha Świętego*, p. 375.

<sup>69</sup> KDW I, no. 453.

<sup>70</sup> Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 212; B. Ratajewska, *Zarys dziejów parafii Ducha Świętego*, p. 375.

<sup>71</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, p. 301; Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 234; F. Pfützenreiter, *Zur Geschichte der Roten Kirche*; B. Ratajewska, *Zarys dziejów parafii Ducha Świętego*, pp. 376, 380; Czwojdrak, Kopaczyński, p. 49.

<sup>72</sup> Moritz, Mittelalter, pp. 207, 216, 220; Grosmann, WuW, p. 52; T. Jurek, *Przyczyna Dolna*.

<sup>73</sup> RPWP, wch, 1563, no. 2, 3; RPWP, wch, 1565, no. 2, 3; RPWP, wch, 1567, no. 52, 53; RPWP, wch, 1577, no. 2, 3; RPWP, wch, 1579, no. 2, 3; RPWP, wch, 1581, no. 2, 3; RPWP, wch, 1582, no. 2, 3; RPWP, wch, 1583, no. 4, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Schober, Straßennamen, pp. 23–24; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 440–441.

<sup>75</sup> See footnote 25.

<sup>76</sup> Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 231; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 22; W. Schober, *Eine Fraustädter Steuerliste*, pp. 146–150.

<sup>77</sup> See the map of roads in Greater Poland.

through what is Staroleszczyńska St. today,<sup>78</sup> but its final section was probably altered by the incorporation of the New Town; hence, our reconstruction plan shows its course slightly modified. There were two routes leading to Głogów, one via Konradowo (*Kunersdorf*) and the other via Jędrzychowice. The road connecting Wschowa and Wolsztyn, along the line of the present-day Wolsztyńska St., was probably of a regional importance. The road course crossing both Przyczyna villages, traversing both the southern and northern suburbs, had both a regional and a local function. The routes toward Sława and Góra were its extension.

The town's border-area location left a quite significant imprint on its spatial development concept, rendering the urban space military-oriented; the Old Town area was clearly marked out by ramparts and external fortifications. These structures were a focus of particular interest of the rulers, who, since the emergence of the town up to the seventeenth century, granted the Wschowa with privileges and requiring, in exchange, that its defensive facilities be improved on.<sup>79</sup> Owing to its economic success and endeavours of the monarchs, Wschowa had an impressive defensive at its disposal. It is accepted that initially the fortifications were wooden-and-earth and the town used the natural protection of its marshy environment.<sup>80</sup> As aforementioned, the results of the archaeological research indicate that the first fortification in the present-day castle area might have emerged a little earlier than the town itself. The earliest discovered layers of the castle wall's foundations are dated at the former half of the fourteenth century, between the incorporation and Casimir the Great's subjugation. The castle walls were erected in parallel with the earliest section of the town's ramparts.<sup>81</sup> No precise information on the development of the castle area's buildings is available; some is provided by the visitation records from the early seventeenth century, as confirmed by archaeological research and the castle's depiction in the AGAD plan.<sup>82</sup> The wooden-and-brick buildings included the main building with the tower at the south-eastern corner; a porch along the southern wall; and, a building at the north-western corner, on whose upper storey the chancellery was situated. Although an integrated defensive system together with the town, the castle was predominant over the other surrounding buildings. A circle-like projection of the ramparts was dragged eastward by the castle, which was otherwise separate from the urban built-up area by a ground, a wicket-gate, a bridge (with a dry moat underneath it), and the gate proper. The castle as such had a wicket-gate on its eastern side, leading to the embankments (as visible on the AGAD plan).<sup>83</sup>

The city's defensive ramparts (partly surviving to date) with which the castle was connected, emerged in stages. Before Casimir the Great's conquest, the section between the castle and the Polish Gate was built; after 1343, the fragment between the Polish Gate and the parish church, and between the castle and the present-day southern frontage of Zamkowy Sq., was built. The fortifications were completed after 1409, closing up the right on the south, with the Głogów Gate at the centre. In the middle of the fifteenth century, the entire complex was completed by adding a parallel band of the walls on the eastern side of the Polish Gate, thus delineating the course of the later Katowska St. (whose name refers to 'executioners'; the hangman's abode was situated 'between the walls of the city' until the end of the eighteenth century<sup>84</sup>). The latter half of the fifteenth century, or the former of the sixteenth, saw the construction of a second wall by the parish church.<sup>85</sup> In spite of differing views offered by authors as to detailed findings, it has to be accepted that by the end of the period covered by the AHP scheme, the outline of the walls was complete; finally, in 1587–8, they were elevated.<sup>86</sup> The building material was stones and bricks. The walls' upper surface was topped by battlements and

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<sup>78</sup> G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 123, footnote 138.

<sup>79</sup> Wróblewska, *Mury*, pp. 594–595; Korcz, *Zarys*, p. 14; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 505; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, pp. 13, 17–19.

<sup>80</sup> Moritz, *Mittelalter*, p. 212; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 52; Wróblewska, *Mury*, pp. 583, 586; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 454; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 505, 509; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, pp. 17, 49–50, 56–57, 74, 82.

<sup>81</sup> Widawski, *Mury*, p. 514; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, pp. 52, 78.

<sup>82</sup> LWWK 1616, pp. 23–24; LWWK 1628, pp. 28–29; Wróblewska, *Mury*, p. 586; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 514–515; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*.

<sup>83</sup> Wróblewska, *Mury*, p. 586; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 450; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 514–515.

<sup>84</sup> *Opis budynków* [Description of buildings], p. 9.

<sup>85</sup> Wróblewska, *Mury*, pp. 587–592; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 454; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 507, 509–12; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 66; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, pp. 3, 57–63, 82.

<sup>86</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 19; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, p. 18; Czwojdrak, *Ulice*, pp. 7–8.

wooden turrets.<sup>87</sup> An internal wall by the parish church is not clearly attested for the period concerned. The aforesaid eighteenth-century mention of the internal wall by the Polish Gate, and of the cemetery where burials took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which did not cross the inner wall line, suggests that until the construction of the Jesuit school upon its foundations in 1751,<sup>88</sup> the inner wall still existed. Fragments of the fortifications survive today.

In the sixteenth century, three passages led to the city: the *Brama Polska* (Polish Gate) in the north, *Brama Głogowska* (Głogów Gate) in the south, and *Furta Kościelna/Furta Polska* (Church/Polish Wicket-Gate<sup>89</sup>) by the parish church, all quite architecturally developed in the sixteenth century (turrets, small barbicans, necks).<sup>90</sup> The other two modest wicket-gates are problematic as we know nothing of their potential existence in the sixteenth century. One was situated by the castle, at the outlet of present-day southern frontage of Zamkowy Sq. (*Brama Błędna/Kacza* (Errant/Ducks' Gate); attested 1680 r.), and the other in Rzeźnicka St. (probably built in the eighteenth century).<sup>91</sup> Due to no clear confirmation available, the reconstruction plan has neglected them. The walls were accompanied by external entrenchments in the form of a double moat<sup>92</sup> and a bank. It can be presumed that Wschowa had two moats already in the fifteenth century, rather than only in since the sixteenth.<sup>93</sup> Fifteenth-century documents quite consistently use the plural when referring to the Wschowa moat; similarly in the *Metrica Regni Poloniae* entry dated 1553.<sup>94</sup> The presence of two moats or a very marshy area in the earlier period is also indicated by a considerable distance between the suburbs and the city walls (approximately 50 m). Hence, there is no ground for exclusion of an early chronology of both moats in question. They are first mentioned in 1409. The outer moat was situated right by the ramparts, at a 2–5 m distance, and was 11–13 m wide. As is testified by the buttresses found during the archaeological investigation underneath the Protestant Christ's Manger (*Kripplein Christi*) church and the former Jesuit school, the moat flew underneath the later-constructed buildings. The other moat was approximately 20 m off the ramparts and was approximately 20 to 50 m wide (at the castle's southern wall). As part of archaeological works, accumulated deposits of both moats and levelling strata were found.<sup>95</sup> A regeneration of the outer moat was carried out in the sixteenth century by enabling the supply waters from Przyczyna Górna, for which the city was granted permit from the king in 1532; the project was completed by 1571.<sup>96</sup> At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the inner moat had probably become neglected, as may be inferred from the fact that the baths located underneath it to 1529 were removed due to scarcity of water.<sup>97</sup> Our reconstruction plan shows it as a dry moat. The first visitation records mention just one moat (partly bogged); remains of the outer moat survived around the castle until the eighteenth century.<sup>98</sup> The date the bank was laid out between the two moats

<sup>87</sup> Wróblewska, Mury, p. 592; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, pp. 18, 63–64.

<sup>88</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 63; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 460; Ł. Lisiecki, *Wyniki badań*, pp. 152–154, 159; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, pp. 43–46.

<sup>89</sup> *Opis budynków* [Description of buildings], p. 9.

<sup>90</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 54; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; Wróblewska, Mury, pp. 595–598; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 454; Widawski, Mury, pp. 506, 511, 513–14; J. Romanow, *Elementy fortyfikacji miejskich, wyposażenia łaźni oraz piwnice dwóch domów mieszczkańskich w zabudowie budynku zboru ewangelickiego we Wschowie*, [in:] *Kościół imienia Żłóbka Chrystusa (Kripplein Christi) we Wschowie na tle procesu konfesjonalizacji*, p. 244; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, pp. 34–40, 68–74, 82.

<sup>91</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 54; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; Wróblewska, Mury, p. 598; Widawski, Mury, pp. 506, 514; Małkus, Budowle, p. 71; Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 8.

<sup>92</sup> So enormous a water defence zone was, obviously, hard to maintain. Cracow represented another such solution; U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie*, pp. 87–91. The hydrographic (and economic) situation of these two towns was quite different, though. The Cracow moat was fed by the waters of the Rudawa, whereas Wschowa used the waters of Przyczyna Górna and the terrain's natural humidity. The attempt at examining the outer moat at the western section made as recently as in 2000 failed owing to the presence of groundwater; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, p. 50. That the grounds around the city must have been well hydrated is suggested also by a mention of a pond situated between the castle and the embankment; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 18.

<sup>93</sup> Drgas, Fortyfikacje, pp. 74–75.

<sup>94</sup> KDW V, no. 143, 448, 729; MK 83, f. 361r; Widawski, Mury, p. 515.

<sup>95</sup> J. Romanow, *Elementy fortyfikacji miejskich*, pp. 243–244; Ł. Lisiecki, *Wyniki badań*, pp. 156–157; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, pp. 35–38, 46, 48–50, 69, 74–75.

<sup>96</sup> MK 47, f. 358; *Stan Miasta* [Town Condition], pp. 24–25; Grosmann, WuW, p. 57; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; Korcz, Zarys, p. 14.

<sup>97</sup> Schober, Straßennamen, p. 18; J. Romanow, *Elementy fortyfikacji miejskich*, p. 244.

<sup>98</sup> *Opis budynków* [Description of buildings], p. 2; Wróblewska, Mury, p. 586; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 450; Widawski, Mury, p. 514; Drgas, Fortyfikacje, pp. 19, 76–78.

is unknown; given the extension of Wschowa fortifications in the sixteenth century, it seems that the moats and the embankment could exist at that time.<sup>99</sup> This is confirmed by the attested fact that a pond was underneath the castle, located between the walls and the embankment.<sup>100</sup> Another bank existed right by the walls' face.<sup>101</sup> A note from the 1628–32 visitation record pointing to the need for laying out the embankments seems to refer to the suburban areas;<sup>102</sup> remains of those external retrenchments are still quite well visible in the field.

The town proper, understood here as the area surrounded by the moat, was set up on a rather small area (approximately 250 m along the north-south axis and approx. 350 m east-west; roughly 5.5 ha in total), in a depression below the elevation, adjacent from the west to the castle. Its layout was parallel to the depression and perpendicular to the main road. These small dimensions tend to be explained by the locality's initially small economic importance.<sup>103</sup>

Authors point to the high standard of the urban area's layout as far as the town-planning concept is concerned, probably developed by a Silesian metrological team. One proof is, potentially, the deviation of the Polska and Głogowska Gates' axis by 35 degrees off the north-south axis, in order to ensure optimum use of the solar heat, as well as the clear and harmonious arrangement of the whole complex, possibly based on the nine squares. The town was erected on a roughly circular base, with grounds at the eastern and western ends and the built-up area arranged into nine blocks. There was a rectangular market at the centre (initially, 66 x 80 m, later, with the arcade erected, 58 x 75 m), two streets coming out of each of its corners<sup>104</sup>. A characteristic feature of the Wschowa market was its arcades, constructed long after the 1529 fire and built-up in the nineteenth century, on initiative of the Prussian authorities.<sup>105</sup> The north-south line was marked out by the Gates Polska and Głogowska; the east-west line was set by the parish church surrounded by a square and the castle preceded by a small-sized ground. The ground in front of the castle seems to have remained undeveloped.<sup>106</sup> In light of the 1606 documentation of a dispute between the municipality and the Rev. Jan Krzycki, parson of Wschowa, it seems that the parish-church square was fairly densely built-up<sup>107</sup> – even more so, perhaps, than as shown on the reconstruction plan. The development area was restricted by the city walls, separated from the land plots by a narrow alleyway<sup>108</sup> (still marked in the AGAD plan).

The details as to the initial division of the urban area inside the walls into parcels of land are unknown; their exact reconstruction for the sixteenth century is impossible. It is accepted that the first extant plans, dating to the late eighteenth century, enable us to recognise their general layout, particularly around the market. At the same time, a considerable amount of irregularities is clearly indicative of changes in ownership.<sup>109</sup> Following the cartographic pieces from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries, the reconstruction plan shows an outline of the indicative arrangement of plots in built-up blocks.

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<sup>99</sup> J. Romanow, *Elementy fortyfikacji miejskich*, p. 243.

<sup>100</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18.

<sup>101</sup> Wróblewska, *Mury*, pp. 592–594; Widawski, *Mury*, pp. 513, 515; Drgas, *Fortyfikacje*, pp. 50, 74, 76.

<sup>102</sup> LWVK 1628, p. 30.

<sup>103</sup> Wróblewska, *Mury*, p. 583; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 444, 446.

<sup>104</sup> Münch, pp. 184–185; E. Heczko, *Uwagi o tzw. miejskich planach owalnicowych*, pp. 32–33, 40; eadem, *Uwagi na temat rozwoju przestrzennego Wschowy*; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 444–446, 448–449; J. Muszyński, *Rozwój przestrzenny Wschowy*, pp. 46–48; Ratajewska, *Nowe Miasto*, p. 155; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>105</sup> Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 55; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 446, 450; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 75, 79.

<sup>106</sup> Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 444–445. The two structures featured in the AGAD plan on the ground outside the castle are, according to the *Inwentarz Nowej Wschowy* [New Wschowa Inventory], a horse-drawn mill and a malt-house [*mielcuch*]. Since they are not attested for the sixteenth century, nor are they mentioned in the first visitation records, they are absent from the reconstruction map. In the ground's southern part, at the outlet of Kaznodziejska St., another building is visible on the AGAD map, not mentioned in *Inwentarz Starej Wschowy*. Given the fact that in the sixteenth century, when the walls still had a defensive function, the said building would have obstructed the access to them, whereas there is no information as to the date of its construction or its function(s) (as opposed to the school in the opposite part of the city), it is absent from our reconstruction map.

<sup>107</sup> See AP Poznań, *Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego we Wschowie*, sign. 29, ff. 191r–222v.

<sup>108</sup> Moritz, *Mittelalter*, p. 215; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 19; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 445–446; Widawski, *Mury*, p. 512.

<sup>109</sup> E. Heczko, *Uwagi o tzw. miejskich planach owalnicowych*, p. 32; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 447; Czwojdrak, *Ulice*, pp. 14, 17.

The walls were not a strict border of the main town, and burghers made use of the area between them and the moat. Behind what was later the *Kripplein Christi* church was a shooting range (so-called *Zielstatt* or *Zieglitz*), an area used by the local Brotherhood of the Rooster, established in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>110</sup> The southern antemural was used, in turn, by the clothiers' guild, whose members would put out frames with cloth to be bleached; hence, that side of the antemural was nicknamed a '*blech*' (*Bleichen*). In more modern time, the name was only referred to the area east of the Głógów Gate, but a mention of the clothiers' frames *hinter der Bader* (at the rear end of the baths, behind Łazienna St.) indicates that it can be referred to the entire southern bulwark.<sup>111</sup>

Owing to a limited development potential inside the walls, the town would expand in the suburban areas, primarily in Przedmieście Polskie, due to its convenient location. Situated on a wetland, Przedmieście Głogowskie developed to a limited degree.<sup>112</sup> Clothiers found a working place for themselves there.<sup>113</sup> The municipality was granted consent from the king to expand outside the walls in 1548;<sup>114</sup> this document does not mark the beginning of colonisation of the suburban areas – its role was basically to settle the process (by setting a certain number of allotments and extending the city's jurisdiction on the area).<sup>115</sup> Przedmieście Polskie appears in the records since the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>116</sup> Colonisation in that area concentrated along the road to Poznań, which went toward the Polish Gate (then, *Steinweg*) and to the two routes perpendicular to it – the present-day streets Pocztowa and Garbarska, and, Niepodległości and Księża Kostki, then the main arteries of the suburb.<sup>117</sup> Przedmieście Głogowskie was developed at a later date, in any case prior to the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>118</sup> The area's layout was similar to that of Przedmieście Polskie, the main axes being the outlet road from the Głógów Gate and the one linking the two Przyczyna villages.<sup>119</sup>

The reach of the suburban areas appears as one of the major problems when it comes to reconstructing the map or layout of sixteenth-century Wschowa. Whereas the built-up area inside the walls as per the plans from the end of the eighteenth century can be regarded as reflecting the earlier situation, the suburban areas incessantly developed and were urbanised, particularly in the seventeenth century. The foundation of the New Town and Wolnica is quite well documented, as is the colonisation of more and more areas, the AGAD and ZAH plans marking their respective ranges (using colour distinctions and numbering of the plots). Based on these data, the suburban areas have been delineated in our plan. The area of the later New Town (the Lower and the Upper one) are marked as a garden/farming area belonging to the *starosta*. The 1636 document's *regest*<sup>120</sup> has it that *Łąki Żydowskie* (Jewish Meadows; *prata judeorum*) was meant to be the site of an urban centre, along with the Shepherd's Gardens (*Ogrody Owczarskie; horti pecorarii*). The former name certainly referred to the area of what was to become the Upper New Town (*Górne Nowe Miasto*). The Shepherd's Gardens, in this particular case, was probably where the Lower New Town (*Dolne Nowe Miasto*) emerged: the area, namely, of the *starosta*'s demesne farmstead, from which the street *Folwarczna* (Farmstead St.) has derived its name, according to some scholars. While nothing is known of the buildings in that area, it does not imply that there were no buildings present; some farm facilities/outbuildings must have been there. Residential houses stretched along Rybacka St., near *Łąki Żydowskie*; colonisation in that area is confirmed for the sixteenth century, whilst the meadows were named after the Jews whom the *starosta* tried to

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<sup>110</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 19; W. Schober, *Die Fraustädter Schützenkönige des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 7. The facility stood there until the end of the eighteenth century; AGAD map; *Opis budynków* [Description of buildings], p. 7.

<sup>111</sup> Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 34; Schober, *Straßennamen*, pp. 18, 19, 23.

<sup>112</sup> Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 54; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 34; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 452; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 120; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 68.

<sup>113</sup> Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 68.

<sup>114</sup> Wuttke, *Städtebuch*, p. 300; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 34; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 436; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 120; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 263.

<sup>115</sup> Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 452, 458; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 71.

<sup>116</sup> Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 230, 238.

<sup>117</sup> Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 54; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 34; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 450; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, pp. 120–121; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 68.

<sup>118</sup> Moritz, *Mittelalter*, p. 230; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 23.

<sup>119</sup> Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 452; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 120.

<sup>120</sup> *Stan Miasta* [Town Condition], p. 74; G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie*, p. 123.

have settled there in the late sixteenth century; yet, the municipality had them displaced in 1595.<sup>121</sup> Also the eighteenth-century area of the provost's juridical enclave is marked as a garden/farming area.

The area bordering in the north-west on the Bernardine monastery's area housed the so-called 'brick barn' (*Ziegelscheune; horreum laterale*), which gave the name to the whole area, called Ceglany (Brick) Square (*Ziegelplan*, or, later, *Ziegelhof*). A pond and one or more brickyards were situated there; the chapels of Our Lady and St. Valentine were located nearby. The name probably encompassed the area – at least, partly – of what later became the Bovine Market (*Vieh Markt*). On the AGAD plan, the *Ziegelhof* extends south of the said market; the ZAH plan identifies the entire area as the Bovine Market. Since the latter name is known only since the yearly eighteenth century, the entire area in question is marked in our plan as Ceglany Sq.<sup>122</sup>

Ponds, waterholes, and the so-called porcine pools (*Schwemme/Sauschwemme*), still visible on the source plans, were the important points in the suburban areas. There is a sixteenth-century mention of at least two such pools – one by the crossing of the *main Przedmieście Polskie* arteries and the other situated opposite the Bernardine cloister, with Our Lady's chapel located near it.<sup>123</sup> The AGAD plan shows two water reservoirs in this area, which are featured also in our reconstruction plan.

West of present-day Daszyńskiego St., behind St. Laurent's hospital, the city's clay ditch was located (appearing in the sixteenth century as the *Leimgrube*). A recess in its former site is visible to date on maps based on a numerical model of the terrain;<sup>124</sup> its approximate reach has been drawn on their basis.

The suburban built-up area is indicatively shown in our map based on the literature. According to Grosman, the sixteenth-century development of *Przedmieście Polskie* encompassed the area along the main road, in front of the Polish Gate (up to the area parallel to present-day *Strażacka St.*), and the streets *Pocztowa* and *Garbarska, Niepodległości* (up to the monastery's buildings) and *Księdza Kostki* (up to *Przyczyna Dolna*; rather irregularly); also, partly, today's streets *Zielona* and *Lipowa*. *Przedmieście Głogowskie* was only developed up to the crossing with the road linking the *Przyczyna* villages. The area between *Garbarska Street* and the road toward *Głogów* was covered by meadows and gardens.<sup>125</sup> As the basis for his considerations, Grosman apparently adopted the surviving sixteenth-century hodonomatic material, roughly encompassing the area concerned. Based on the mentions scattered in the literature with respect to the reach of the fires, one may presume that the area around the pond in front of the Polish Gate was also developed<sup>126</sup>, as was present-day *Daszyńskiego St.*<sup>127</sup> and the area of *Wolsztyńska St.*<sup>128</sup> The sixteenth-century built-up area probably did not reach as far as the meadows or pastures west of the Bernardine cloister – that is, the seventeenth-century Circle.

*Schuhmachergasse* (Shoemakers' St., today the section of *Kilińskiego St.* between the market and the *Kripplein Christi* church) is believed to be the oldest among the names of *Wschowa* streets, dating back to mediaeval times.<sup>129</sup> *Zwei Eimergasse* (Two Pails, presently *Powstańców Wielkopolskich St.*), named after the two wells situated in that area, is first attested in 1679, which leads one to presuming

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<sup>121</sup> H. Moritz, *Die älteste jüdische Niederlassung*, pp. 180, 183; Grosman, *Stadtplan*, pp. 24, 35; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 22; Sobczak, *Żydzi*, p. 77. See the remarks on *Rybacka St.*

<sup>122</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, pp. 501, 509; Moritz, *RuG 1*, pp. 7, 39; Grosman, *WuW*, p. 54; Grosman, *Stadtplan*, p. 35; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 22.

<sup>123</sup> Grosman, *WuW*, p. 54.

<sup>124</sup> APZG, 363, sign. 92, p. 25; APZG, 363, sign. 99, pp. 249, 729; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21; [mapy.geoportal.gov.pl/imap/?gmap=gp0](http://mapy.geoportal.gov.pl/imap/?gmap=gp0) (access 1.02.2017).

<sup>125</sup> Grosman, *Stadtplan*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>126</sup> Grosman, *WuW*, pp. 56, 62; W. Schober, *Der Fraustädter Stadtbrand vor 400 Jahren*, p. 19; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21.

<sup>127</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 23.

<sup>128</sup> Ceglany Square, in the time concerned. As of 1630, the area is reported to have had ninety-five houses (Braune, *Geschichte*, p. 35); houses are also mentioned at the end of the sixteenth century (APZG 363, sign. 99, pp. 501, 509).

<sup>129</sup> *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18. For names of the streets, the basic linguistic forms adopted herein are their German names. The first municipal registers, from 1501 onwards, were kept in German, for which the local burghers obtained consent from the monarch in 1523; see Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 263. Our map marks the *Wschowa* streets with abbreviations based on their German names, the legend gives the German names along their Polish equivalents. The form *-gasse* is used consistently for the names of streets, as its use is confirmed in the town books.

that the name was not the earliest one.<sup>130</sup> Today's Kościelna (Church) St., going from the market to the parish church, was named *Unter der Kirchlauben* or, briefly, *Kirchlauben* (Under the Church's Arcades/Church Arcades), owing to the arcades built along it.<sup>131</sup> The authors commonly accept that the name of present-day Rzeźnicka (Butchers) St., attested since 1556 as *Fleischergasse* or *Kuttelhofgasse*, comes from the local butcheries and slaughterhouses; it had become common by the sixteenth century, having ousted the earlier names of (*Heilige*)*Leichnamsgasse* or *Fronleichnamsgasse* (Corpus Christi).<sup>132</sup> The records from the second half of the sixteenth century still use the name *Leichnamsgasse*, though;<sup>133</sup> thus, it is this latter form that we have regarded as basic.<sup>134</sup> The name *Badergasse* (Łazienna (Baths)) St., same as today. As per *Inwentarz Starej Wschowy*, p. 8, 'Cyrulika (Barber's) St.' comes from the sixteenth century, possibly in use since 1529 – the date the baths were erected there after a fire.<sup>135</sup> Parallel to it was *Lanegasse* (Long, presently Ratuszowa, St.).<sup>136</sup> The southern frontage of Zamkowy Sq. was called *Wetschengasse/Wezengasse* in the sixteenth century; the name's most popular equivalent was Kacza (Ducks) St. (*Entengasse*), referring to ducks being driven out along that street into the moat's marsh. Schober was sceptical about this explanation, believing that there was yet no wicket-date in the street's wall in the sixteenth century and that the name was derived from the distorted word *Wetschker/Watschker*, denoting a sack or bag. Due to the aforementioned late sixteenth-century forms, it however seems that the most adequate equivalent would be Workowa (Bag), rather than Kacza Street. The street started to be named *Predigergasse* (Preachers' St.) in the seventeenth century.<sup>137</sup> The square's northern frontage was named, in turn, *Schlossgasse* (Castle St.).<sup>138</sup> Right in front of the castle (today, the eastern frontage of Zamkowy Sq.), *Weingasse*, *Weinlaube*, or *bei der Weinhütte* (Wine St.) was located, whose name came from a *starosta*-owned taproom.<sup>139</sup> The area behind Kilińskiego St., built up today, is the former *Schindergasse* (Executioner's St.), later *Kellergasse* (Keller Alley); the time of appearance of the latter name is unknown, certainly not the sixteenth century or thereabouts.<sup>140</sup>

The toponymic material concerning the Polish Suburb (*Przedmieście Polskie*) is quite abundant. The street leading out of the Polish Gate (*Brama Polska*) and extending to the pond at the suburb's centre was called *Steinweg* (Stone Road/*Kamienna Droga*, so named because of the cobbling, today a fragment of Bohaterów Westerplatte St.).<sup>141</sup> Its first cut-through was *Nonnengasse* (Nuns' St./*Zakonnicek St.*, presently Pocztowa St.)<sup>142</sup> and its extension called *Mälzergasse* (Malt St./*Słodowa St.*, later on *Gerbergasse* – Tannery St., presently Garbarska St., meaning the same thing).<sup>143</sup> *Breitegasse* (Wide

<sup>130</sup> *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 27; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; Małkus, Budowle, pp. 65–81. In spite of the late attestation, we have decided to show the street on the map. It does not seem quite probable that the street was the only unnamed one within the city walls.

<sup>131</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; Małkus, Budowle, p. 70.

<sup>132</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 54; *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 260; Schober, Ring; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; Drozdowski, *Czynnik wyznaniowy*, p. 263.

<sup>133</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, pp. 76, 404, 710; W. Schober, *Die Fraustädter Stadtbrand vom 6. Dezember 1598*, p. 25; idem, *Die "Hölle" in Fraustadt*.

<sup>134</sup> Some of the witnesses testifying in the case of Wschowa municipality v. Wschowa parson, answering the question regarding the Holy Cross chapel, said that they had heard nothing of such a church but did know the street named after it; this, however, stemmed from mistaking the said chapel with the Corpus Christi one (see below).

<sup>135</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 57; *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18.

<sup>136</sup> Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 27; Schober, Ring, p. 17; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18.

<sup>137</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, pp. 9, 402; Grosmann, WuW, p. 58; *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; P. Gürtler, *Erste geschichtlicher Versuch über die Predigerstraße zu Fraustadt*, "Heimat-Kalender für den Kreis Fraustadt", 1925, pp. 43–44; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; Małkus, Budowle, p. 71; Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 46.

<sup>138</sup> Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18.

<sup>139</sup> *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 46.

<sup>140</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 62; *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; F. Pfützenreiter, *Erinnerung aus der Kellergasse*, p. 18; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; Wróblewska, Mury, p. 590; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 446.

<sup>141</sup> *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 27; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21; Małkus, Budowle, p. 68.

<sup>142</sup> Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21; Małkus, Budowle, p. 68.

<sup>143</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 54; *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21; Małkus, Budowle, pp. 68, 74.

St./Szeroka St., presently Niepodległości St.), in which fairs were reportedly held,<sup>144</sup> and *Forbrigesgasse/Fürbrigesgasse/Vorbrigesgasse* (today's Księżka Kostki), formed a parallel artery in the north. The name's origin remains obscure (though Schober found it obvious enough not to need explaining); in as early as 1611, the street was referred to as *Vorwerksgasse* (Farmstead St.), which name is believed to have come from the adjacent *starosta's* demesne farm or the fact that the road led to a municipal demesne farmstead in Przyczyna Dolna. Let us remark that already in 1543 did the street appear as *Gasse nach dem Vorwerk des Starosten*.<sup>145</sup> In the western part of the suburb, the streets *Breitegasse* and *Nonnengasse* were connected by the street *Mönchsgasse* or *Brüdergasse* (Monks' St./Mnisia St., presently Klasztorna (Monastic) St.), which reached the Church's Wicket-Gate (*Furta Kościelna*).<sup>146</sup> *Nonnengasse* extended southward as *Fischergasse* (Rybacka (Fishermen's) St., also called *Fischerei*, presently Zielona (Green) St.), rarely appearing as *Färbergasse* (Dyers'/Farbiarska St.). It was partly occupied by the settlement subordinated to the *starosta*; it is there that Jews would settle down in the late sixteenth century, hence the popular name *Iuderei* (later on, Jewish Meadows).<sup>147</sup> Opposite the south-western section of the walls, the street stretched which was named *Auf dem Graben* (Above the Moat; presently, Lipowa (Linden) St.).<sup>148</sup> *Töpfergrasse* (Potters'/Garncarska St., presently Daszyńskiego St.) was an extension of *Steinweg* and a part of the Poznań/Głogów road; the name first appears only in 1646, while its neighbourhood was basically described in the context of its location by the clay pit<sup>149</sup> (after which the street was named). All the same, we have resolved to have the name shown for the sixteenth century XVI, as it seems that it became common in the first half of the following century.<sup>150</sup> There is no certain information available as to the naming of present-day Strażacka St. In the eighteenth century, its northern part was named *Malzgasse* or *Bei der Roßmühle* (Malt/Słodowa St., By the Horse-drawn Mill), and later, *Alte Post Straße* (Old Post/Staropocztowa St.), the small square at its southern end as *Steinring* (Stone Square). It is unclear whether the name *Hirsewinkel* (Millet Alley), mentioned at the end of the sixteenth century, can be related to the latter.<sup>151</sup> No other street names that can be found within Przedmieście Polskie in the latter period, can possibly be referred to the sixteenth century.<sup>152</sup>

The toponymic material for the much more sparsely urbanised suburban area of Przedmieście Głogowskie is much poorer. As indicated by references in the town books, the outward street from the Głogów Gate was simply called in the sixteenth century *vor dem Glogischen Thor* (In Front of the Głogów Gate; today's Głogowska St.).<sup>153</sup> Since the name was in use at least until the end of the eighteenth century (cf. AGAD plan), it can be regarded as the name proper. Nothing certain can be said about the street's two further forks. Since both led toward Głogów, the name *Glogischegasse* cannot actually be referred to any of them.<sup>154</sup> The name of the road that linked the two Przyczyna villages in the sixteenth century remains anonymous to us. The names *Tuchbereitergasse* (Clothiers'/Sukiennicza St., presently Obrońców Warszawy St.), *Hinter den Bleichen* (later on, *Garten Straße*; presently, Moniuszki St.) came out at a later date.<sup>155</sup> *Tuchbereitergasse* can be directly associated with the descriptive name *Steinweg nach der neuen Mühle*, which however is not the name proper.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>144</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, p. 517; *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 27; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 34; Schober, *Straßennamen*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>145</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, pp. 416, 501, 517, 542, 611; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 56; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 74.

<sup>146</sup> Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 22.

<sup>147</sup> H. Moritz, *Die älteste jüdische Niederlassung*, pp. 180, 183; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 22.

<sup>148</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 19; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, pp. 26–27.

<sup>149</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, pp. 249, 729.

<sup>150</sup> *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; F. Pfützenreiter, *Heimatgeschichtliche Notizen*, p. 13; Schober, *Straßennamen*, pp. 21, 23; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 65–81.

<sup>151</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, p. 154; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 22.

<sup>152</sup> *Die Fraustädter Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, pp. 25–27.

<sup>153</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, pp. 37, 117, 176, 191, 261, 335, 336, 350, 401, 502, 590, 591, 603, 686.

<sup>154</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 23.

<sup>155</sup> *Stan Miasta: Inwentarz* [Town Condition: Inventory], p. 16; AGAD map; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 56; *Straßennamen*, p. 20; Pfützenreiter, *Straßennamen*, p. 26; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 23.

<sup>156</sup> Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 23. The *Steinweg* going out of the Polish Gate is a different story as this common name has established itself in the toponymy and became a name proper.

At the centre of Wschowa, the rectangular marketplace was situated, with the town hall in the middle of its area. The town hall is first attested in 1435, the date it reportedly survived a fire (it is therefore presumed that the building was brick-built at that time). Burnt down in 1529, it was gradually reconstructed between 1556 and 1612.<sup>157</sup> 1580 saw a pharmacy installed inside its tower.<sup>158</sup> Its ground floor, apart from the functions related to the exercise of authority, was of public use as it housed the weigh-house and a taproom.<sup>159</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century, located by the town hall were two reservoirs of water from the water-supply system (*Röhrkasten/Röhrbrunnen*; tank sumps), the elder one to the east and the younger to the west. The latter was built in 1590 near the pharmacy and fed with water with use of pipes stretching from Przyczyna Górna. In 1592, the earlier one was firmly founded in the ground and the younger, perhaps, improved on. The year 1614 saw the erection of a fountain on the town hall's eastern side;<sup>160</sup> it is not certain whether it was founded upon an earlier reservoir or tank. Deeming this option plausible, I have decided to mark the latter, based on the ZAH map. The younger tank was situated west of the town-hall tower.<sup>161</sup> Merchants' stalls were situated in the marketplace; we are aware of the location of two such structures; clothier stalls were situated on the eastern part of the southern frontage,<sup>162</sup> while fishermen's benches stood by the old reservoir, which definitely means, at the market's eastern frontage.<sup>163</sup>

Butcheries and a slaughterhouse were situated inside the city walls; the former were initially located at the marketplace. The fire of 1529 devoured the Corpus Christi (*Bożego Ciała*) church, which was never rebuilt. What we know is that it stood in the neighbourhood of the parish church, in the street named after the Corpus Christi church (see above). A more precise location is given in a 1545 note which states that the so-called *Piekło* (Hell) building was located opposite the ground where the church had once stood. This means that it occupied a part of the area of today's park adjacent to the church; in the sixteenth century, it might have been situated within the cemetery by the parish church.<sup>164</sup> The butcheries were relocated on that site in 1556; the facility remained there until 1606, the year the Catholic Church regained the area.<sup>165</sup> Not far from there, between the wall lines, a brick slaughterhouse was erected in 1577.<sup>166</sup>

Among the sixteenth-century buildings, the aforesaid *Piekło* (*Hölle*) in Rzeźnicka St. has to be mentioned. Since the third quarter of the sixteenth century, it functioned as the seat of the municipal services.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Moritz, *Mittelalter*, p. 238; Grosman, *WuW*, pp. 54–55; Schober, Ring; J. Muszyński, *Rozwój przestrzenny Wschowy*, p. 49; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 449–450, 453, 460; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>158</sup> *Zur Baugeschichte des fraustädter Rathauses*; Grosman, *WuW*, p. 59; Schober, Ring; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 72.

<sup>159</sup> Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 450; Małkus, *Budowle*, pp. 67, 69; Czwojdrak, *Ulice*, p. 33–34.

<sup>160</sup> Braune, *Geschichte*, p. 20; Grosman, *WuW*, p. 59; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 72. The relevant note in Hofmann (Biblioteka PAN w Gdańsku, MS 1645, entry dated 30 June 1592 [no page numbering]) is not quite clear; Grosman had doubts as to its interpretation. We finally have accepted, following this scholar, that Hofmann referred to reservoirs on both sides of the town hall.

<sup>161</sup> Still in the Saxon time (under the Wettin monarchs' rule), a fountain is said to have been situated in front of the royal residence (today, 2 Kościelna St.), which should be associated with the reservoir; Czwojdrak, *Ulice*, p. 69.

<sup>162</sup> W. Schober, *Die Fraustädter Stadtbrand vom 6. Dezember 1598*, p. 25, footnote 10; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, p. 450.

<sup>163</sup> Biblioteka PAN w Gdańsku, MS 1645, entry dated 30 June 1592.

<sup>164</sup> See AP Poznań, *Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego we Wschowie*, sign. 29, f. 193v.

<sup>165</sup> *Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów, czyli we Wschowie 1455–1808*, transl. Fr. P.A. Turbański, *Wschowa* 1971, TS at the Franciscan Friars' monastery library in Wschowa, p. 16; Moritz, *RuG* 1, pp. 6, 8, 18, 39; Moritz, *RuG* 2, p. 27; Grosman, *WuW*, pp. 54, 58, 61; W. Schober, *Die "Hölle" in Fraustadt*, p. 18; Dworzaczkowa, *Kontrreformacja*, p. 26–27; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 450, 455. Since the butcheries were removed early in the seventeenth century, there is no trace surviving of them in the background maps. Instead, two burgher-owned developed plots are visible, featuring a rather specific, elongated shape and arrangement not corresponding with the rest of the buildings, grouped into blocks. Since these plots must have coincided with the sixteenth-century butcheries' area, it has been resolved to mark the latter in those two plots' area.

<sup>166</sup> It is possible to localise the slaughterhouse by comparing the description in *Inwentarz Starej Wschowy* [Old Wschowa Inventory], pp. 8–9, with the AGAD map. Grosman, *WuW*, p. 57; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; A. Koerth, *Um ein neues Schlachthaus in Fraustadt zu Beginnen des 19. Jahrhunderts in südpreußischer Zeit*, "Das Fraustädter Ländchen", vol. 18, 1939, no. 10/11, pp. 31–32. Hence, the view proposed by G. Wróblewska (Wrólewska, *Mury*, p. 592), identifying the butcheries with the slaughterhouse and localising the Corpus Christi church outside the city walls, is misconceived. This author simply followed the a LBP heading (p. 194), which referred to the church as *extra (muros*, implicitly), whereas its *intra muros* location is attested already in 1489; AAP, AE III, f. 155v.

<sup>167</sup> The building can be localised by comparing the *Inwentarz Starej Wschowy* description against the *Stan Miasta: Inwentarz* [Town Condition: Inventory], pp. 8–9 and AGAD map. Grosman, *WuW*, p. 59; W. Schober, *Die "Hölle" in Fraustadt*; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 72.

It is not known where the *Tanzhaus* (House of Dance), attested as of 1579 where social and other meetings or reunions were held, was actually situated.<sup>168</sup> The baths were, expectedly, situated on Łazienna St./*Badergasse*, at the street's very end, according to Schober.<sup>169</sup> Somewhere not far from that place, the city stable was located (no precise location is identifiable).<sup>170</sup>

As Wschowa had the right to mint its own currency (coin), there was a city mint functioning in its urban area. It operated in the northern wing of the later Jesuit school (today, the building houses the Museum of the Land of Wschowa). After the 1529 fire, licensed beer was sold at that building; coins were minted again from 1588 to 1612; then, wine was sold under licence; finally, taken over by a Catholic parson, it became part of the Jesuit school.<sup>171</sup> Apart from the city mint, the royal mint functioned in Wschowa since the late sixteenth century in Przedmieście Polskie.<sup>172</sup> An inn of the clothiers' guild was located in the same area, in Mnisza St.<sup>173</sup> (its exact location is unknown<sup>174</sup>). According to Grosmann, at the site of plot no. 5 in Staroleszczyńska St., the butchers' inn was situated.<sup>175</sup> Due to frequent alterations in the numbering of the plots since Grosmann's time, however, its location cannot be determined precisely.<sup>176</sup> After Wschowa conclusively acquired the vogt's district in 1532,<sup>177</sup> a municipal demesne farm (so-called *Mittelvorwerk*) was built on the former vogt's land.<sup>178</sup> In Przedmieście Głogowskie, not far from St. Nicholas's hospital, a laundry of the clothiers' guild (*Waschhoff/Waschmühle*) was situated<sup>179</sup> – presumably, roughly in the area of the later dye-house (which also belonged to the clothiers<sup>180</sup>), and so it is marked at that place. Somewhat further up, behind the hospital, the furriers' guild building stood and pitches used by the guild to soak hides<sup>181</sup> were situated (*Küschnerhaus, Küschnerspüle*),<sup>182</sup> still visible in the AGAD plan. During the sixteenth century, the town was twice granted consent for construction of a watermill at the moat,<sup>183</sup> but nothing is known about putting the project into practice.

Prior to the Reformation, Wschowa abounded in religious buildings. Most of them were turned during the Reformation into farm or utility facilities, some fell into ruin, others were retrieved in the course of the Counterreformation. Almost none survives to date.<sup>184</sup> The most important among them was the parish church dedicated to the Most Blessed Virgin Mary (Our Lady) and St. Stanislaus,<sup>185</sup> probably founded upon the establishment of the town.<sup>186</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century, it was used by the Protestant community. The church was mentioned in 1345, on the occasion of the fire.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 59; Małkus, Budowle, p. 72.

<sup>169</sup> W. Schober, *Die Fraustädter Stadtbrand vom 6. Dezember 1598*, p. 26; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 18.

<sup>170</sup> Schober, Straßennamen, p. 18.

<sup>171</sup> *Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów*, p. 17; Braune, Geschichte, p. 57; Grosmann, WuW, pp. 59, 63; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; S. Gibasiewicz, *Mennica wschowska*, pp. 72–77; Małkus, Budowle, p. 72; Ł. Lisiecki, *Wyniki badań*, p. 159; Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 85. The mint building was erected also on the brewer's plot and two empty plots adjacent from the south and purchased for the purpose.

<sup>172</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, p. 298; Grosmann, WuW, p. 59; Grosmann, Stadtplan, p. 35; S. Gibasiewicz, *Mennica wschowska*, pp. 77–80; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; Małkus, Budowle, p. 72.

<sup>173</sup> APZG 363, sign. 99, p. 9.

<sup>174</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 59. W. Grosmann thought that the inn might have stood at the monastic church's site, which however seems not quite plausible.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 57.

<sup>176</sup> Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 18.

<sup>177</sup> MK 47, ff. 358v–361v; Wuttke, Städtebuch, pp. 297, 299; Moritz, Mittelalter, pp. 209–210, 214–215, 228–230; Grosmann, WuW, pp. 53–54; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 450; Nowakowski, Wschowa, p. 97.

<sup>178</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 56; Grosmann, Stadtplan, p. 35; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 22. *Ober-* and *Nidervorwerk* were located in the Przychyna villages; *ibidem*, p. 24.

<sup>179</sup> Schober, Straßennamen, p. 23.

<sup>180</sup> *Inwentarz Starej Wschowy*, p. 16.

<sup>181</sup> U. Sowina, *Woda i ludzie*, p. 82, footnote 189.

<sup>182</sup> Grosmann, WuW, p. 56; Grosmann, Stadtplan, p. 34.

<sup>183</sup> MK 47, ff. 358r–358v; MK 83, ff. 360v–361v.

<sup>184</sup> Pawłowska, Bernardyni, pp. 363, 365; Czwojdrak, Kopaczyński, pp. 41–42.

<sup>185</sup> Now2, p. 443. As the German name of the town and the effigy in the earliest seal, the initial dedication was Our Lady's only; M. Adamczewski, *Pieczczęcie, herb i inne znaki Wschowy*, pp. 221–224.

<sup>186</sup> Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 234.

<sup>187</sup> Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 453.

Earlier on, in 1326, the parson of Wschowa is noted (*Iordano plebano in Frovenstadt*).<sup>188</sup> During its history, the parish church was repeatedly affected by fires (in 1435, 1529, and 1685); its present-day appearance results from a reconstruction at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its impressive tower was erected in 1580–2; with its height of 72 metres, it was apparently the tallest structure in the whole of Greater Poland.<sup>189</sup> After the seizure by the Protestants in 1565, a new school building was erected opposite to it, by the Church's Wicket-Gate;<sup>190</sup> a year later, a clock was built right beside it; a new pastor's house (rectory) was set up in 1591.<sup>191</sup> The rooms above the Church's Wicket-Gate were occupied by lower-ranking clergymen.<sup>192</sup> All those buildings were taken over by the Catholic Church at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Apart from the parish church and the Corpus Christi church, of which the latter was destroyed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were other churches, situated behind the city walls. The All Saints' cemetery chapel is attested in as early as 1429. Dismantled in 1663 or 1708, it was situated in the cemetery opposite the Church's Wicket-Gate, on the left, probably in the area of today's nunnery of the Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Elisabeth – and so it is marked on the plan. The chapel remained deserted during the Reformation.<sup>193</sup> In the town's north part, opposite the Bernardine monastery in the area of the later cattle fair, the chapels of St. Valentine and Our Lady were situated. The former, situated closest to the site of executions, which was located further northwards (and visible in the UMTB, outside our reconstruction plan), was called *Köpfkirchlein* or *Ziegelkirchlein*. In the Reformation years, a dog-catcher's establishment was arranged inside it. The chapel was not far from Our Lady's chapel, which is reported to have been situated opposite the monastery and close to the brickyard. During the Reformation, it was apparently turned into a stable.<sup>194</sup> The details regarding the chapels' locations (close distance to the brickyard and a water reservoir, bovine market neighbourhood, opposite the monastery, not far from the execution site) suggest that they were possibly situated not far from the eighteenth-century provost's juridical enclave (the area is partly beyond the scope of the reconstruction plan). The direct association of those chapels with that area is purely hypothetical, yet there is no doubt that they were located in that very neighbourhood, which has been reflected on the reconstruction plan.

Before the Reformation, Wschowa was home to three hospitals with chapels, namely: St. Nicholas's – in front of the Głogów Gate (clothiers' hospital); its location is known only in approximation, based on the tradition referred to by Grosmann;<sup>195</sup> St. George's – in front of the Polish Gate, at the junction of Szeroka St. and *Kamienna Droga*;<sup>196</sup> and, St. Laurent's – on Garncarska St.<sup>197</sup> The hospital chapels of St. Nicholas's and St. Laurent's are reported to have been turned into cowsheds during the Reformation.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> KDW II, no. 1062; H. Moritz, *Die älteste jüdische Niederlassung*, p. 233; Wróblewska, Mury, p. 591; Widawski, Mury, p. 505.

<sup>189</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, p. 299; Moritz, RuG 1, pp. 5–6, 8; Grosmann, WuW, pp. 55, 66; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 18; Wróblewska, Mury, p. 591; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 449–450, 453, 460; Małkus, Budowle, p. 69; M. Małkus, *Kościół imienia Żłóbka Chrystusowego (Kripplein Christi) we Wschowie. Miejsce tożsamości i pamięci wschowskich luteran*, [in:] *Kościół imienia Żłóbka Chrystusa (Kripplein Christi) we Wschowie na tle procesu konfesjonalizacji*, pp. 172–173; Czwojdrak, Ulice, pp. 79–81.

<sup>190</sup> The school in Wschowa was first mentioned in 1404. Its elder building was probably situated not far from the new one, at the square in front of the church; Wuttke, Städtebuch, p. 301; Braune, Geschichte, pp. 53–55; Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 236; Moritz, RuG 2, pp. 16, 27; Grosmann, WuW, pp. 59, 61; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; Dworzaczkowa, Kontreformacja, p. 27; Małkus, Budowle, pp. 67, 71; Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 83.

<sup>191</sup> Moritz, RuG 2, p. 27; Grosmann, WuW, p. 59; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; Małkus, Budowle, p. 71.

<sup>192</sup> Moritz, RuG 1, p. 39; Moritz, RuG 2, p. 27; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19.

<sup>193</sup> Now2, p. 443; Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 234; Moritz, RuG 1, p. 6; Grosmann, WuW, pp. 54, 58; Wróblewska, Mury, p. 598; Wróblewska, Wschowa, pp. 454–455; Wieczorkowski, "Boża rola", pp. 231–232; Czwojdrak, Kopaczyński, pp. 46–48; Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 78.

<sup>194</sup> Moritz, RuG 1, pp. 6–7, 18, 39; Grosmann, WuW, p. 58; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 22; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 455; A. Pańczak, *Bernardynki we Wschowie*, [in:] *Conjux, mater, filia, soror propinqua, civis*, p. 323.

<sup>195</sup> Moritz, RuG 1, p. 6; Moritz, RuG 2, p. 16; Grosmann, WuW, pp. 54, 56, 58; Grosmann, Stadtplan, p. 34; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 455; Małkus, Budowle, p. 68; Czwojdrak, Kopaczyński, p. 42.

<sup>196</sup> Moritz, Mittelalter, p. 6; Grosmann, WuW, p. 56; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 21; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 455.

<sup>197</sup> Moritz, RuG 1, p. 6; Grosmann, WuW, p. 56; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 21; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 455.

<sup>198</sup> Moritz, RuG 1, p. 18; Grosmann, WuW, p. 58.

There was yet another chapel, in the Bernardine nunnery area; it was attested at a later date, and its dedication is unknown.<sup>199</sup>

The Bernardine cloister was set up in the year 1456, in the town's gardens within the Przedmieście Polskie area. The congregation's nunnery appeared in 1505. The monks' cloister was entirely consumed by fire in 1558; its residents eventually left the town, overwhelmed at that point by Protestants. Also the nunnery became deserted some time afterwards (it was still in use in 1566), its buildings becoming property of the town. The monks returned in 1629; by 1644, their new residence was completed.<sup>200</sup> The monastery's property was sold in 1564, with the consent from King Sigismund II Augustus (Zygmunt II August); the own bought it back in 1577. The monastic buildings at the middle of the sixteenth century cannot be reconstructed owing to the fire and the later reconstruction. What is known is that after the church's fire, a cemetery and St. Anne's church survived in the monastery's area, possibly with some remnants of farms. With the retrieval of the lands in 1629, also gardens, farm buildings/outbuildings and burghers' houses were mentioned in the records.<sup>201</sup> Likewise, the area occupied by the monastery in the seventeenth century was not identical with the previous one. In 1638, the Bernardine Friars agreed to have the land of the former Bernardine nunnery, which a year earlier were provided to them as municipal allotments situated beside their cloister, exchanged.<sup>202</sup> The pre-Reformation monastery complex was, therefore, smaller and encompassed the cloister, a yard, a garden, and a cemetery with St. Anne's chapel.<sup>203</sup> This being the case, the reconstruction plan features an informatively marked area smaller than the monastery as per the AGAD and ZAH plans, which is meant to merely indicate the location, rather than the exact reach, of the pre-Reformation cloister.<sup>204</sup> The localisation of the nunnery is likewise indicative. According to the later information regarding the construction of a new buildings in 1530, the monastery's area was situated by the Church's Wicket-Gate, right by the moat. This prompts one to identify the area with the westernmost plots on the southern side of Zakonniczek St.<sup>205</sup> As with the friary, the marking is approximate only.

Sixteenth-century Wschowa had three cemeteries. The (most probably) earliest one surrounded the parish church. In spite of the doubts expressed by some authors as to its use in the sixteenth century, archaeological discoveries have confirmed that it was in use then.<sup>206</sup> Another cemetery was located before the Polish Wicket-Gate, together with All Saints' chapel; mentioned in as early as 1526 (according to Schober), it is visible on the AGAD plan.<sup>207</sup> Yet another one surrounded the chapel of

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<sup>199</sup> A. Pańczak, *Bernardynki we Wschowie*, pp. 313, 323. The author approaches a 1592 note about a "small brick-built church" as one of the mentions of the chapel in the former Bernardine nunnery area. As the literature tells us, though, the "brick church" was St. Valentine's chapel.

<sup>200</sup> MK 96, ff. 344v–345r, 443r–44v; *Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów*, pp. 11–14; Moritz, *Mittelalter*, pp. 230, 234–236; Moritz, *RuG 1*, pp. 7–8, 15–17; Moritz, *RuG 2*, pp. 36–37; Grosmann, *WuW*, pp. 54, 58, 61; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 34; Korcz, *Zarys*, p. 21; Wróblewska, *Wschowa*, pp. 455, 461; A. Pańczak, *Działalność rekatolizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, pp. 315, 317 (footnote 6), 319; Pawłowska, *Bernardyni*, pp. 365–369; K. Lutowski, *Bernardyński kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, [in:] *Ziemia wschowska w czasach starosty Hieronima Radomickiego*, pp. 371–372; M. Wróbel, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych prowadzonych podczas budowy "małej kaplicy papieskiej" w zespole klasztorowym franciszkanów we Wschowie w 2005 r.*, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 395–396; Małkus, *Budowle*, p. 68; A. Pańczak, *Wschowscy luteranie wobec miejscowych klasztorów w okresie zaprowadzenia reformacji (1552–1558)*, [in:] *Reformacja i tolerancja*, 87–118; eadem, *Bernardynki we Wschowie*.

<sup>201</sup> MK 96, f. 345r; *Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów*, pp. 16, 25–26, 28, 31; Teki Dworzaczka, *Regesty*, 109 (no. 202): 1577; Moritz, *RuG 1*, p. 17; Grosmann, *WuW*, pp. 58–59; Dworzaczka, *Kontrreformacja*, pp. 9–10; Pawłowska, *Bernardyni*, pp. 366, 368; M. Wróbel, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych*, p. 395; A. Pańczak, *Wschowscy luteranie wobec miejscowych klasztorów*, p. 114; K. Lutowski, *Bernardyński kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, p. 372.

<sup>202</sup> Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 23; A. Pańczak, *Działalność rekatolizacyjna wschowskich bernardynów*, pp. 319–20; Pawłowska, *Bernardyni*, pp. 368–369; A. Pańczak, *Bernardynki we Wschowie*, p. 308.

<sup>203</sup> Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 58; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 35.

<sup>204</sup> W. Grosmann stated that the monastery's land stretched up to the Church's Wicket-Gate. The later annexation of the burgher-owned area to the monastery, as reported in the records, seems to preclude this option; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 34.

<sup>205</sup> Moritz, *RuG 1*, p. 8; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 21; A. Pańczak, *Wschowscy luteranie wobec miejscowych klasztorów*, p. 115; A. Pańczak, *Bernardynki we Wschowie*, p. 307.

<sup>206</sup> *Kronika klasztoru Braci Mniejszych Obserwantów*, p. 16; Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 58; Schober, *Straßennamen*, p. 18; Dworzaczka, *Kontrreformacja*, p. 23; Wiczorkowski, "Boża rola", p. 232; Ł. Lisiecki, *Wyniki badań*, pp. 154, 159.

<sup>207</sup> Grosmann, *WuW*, p. 58; Grosmann, *Stadtplan*, p. 35; Schober, *Straßennamen*, pp. 18–19; Wiczorkowski, "Boża rola", p. 232. Both cemeteries are repeatedly mentioned in the documents of the dispute between the Wschowa parson and the municipality; see AP Poznań, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego we Wschowie, sign. 29, ff. 191r–222v.

St. Anne<sup>208</sup> at the site of the former (burnt down) Bernardine convent; no clues are available so that its range could be marked out.<sup>209</sup>

The literature mentions other religious buildings prior to the Reformation – among them, the chapels of Holy Trinity, St. Barbara, Holy Spirit (with a hospital),<sup>210</sup> Sts. Jacob and Felix,<sup>211</sup> and Holy Cross.<sup>212</sup> Nothing is known for certain about those churches, save for the content of those notes. Moritz supposed that the latter might have referred to the chapels inside the other churches – possibly, altarage-funded chapels.<sup>213</sup> The Holy Cross chapel is worthy of a comment, as regards its existence. It appears among the lost churches in the lawsuits of the Rev. Jan Krzycki, parson of Wschowa, in his dispute against the municipality (see fn. 107). The references in the 1606 documentation of the royal commission's proceedings in this respect imply that it was situated near the Corpus Christi church; however, the commission could not resolve the question of its existence. The testimonies of the witnesses appear very interesting. The first six interrogated persons were uncertain of such a church or could not remember it, but they knew that a street was named after it. The seventh, Franciszek Tischler, who was a commendary of Wschowa in 1577, testified that he knew nothing of such a church in the town's area, whereas the street took its name from the Corpus Christi church. The ninth witness confirmed this statement. None of the subsequent witnesses mentioned the street or the chapel.<sup>214</sup> These circumstances make one sceptical as to the existence of the chapel in question.

An important point on the map of Wschowa was the Protestant *Kripplein Christi* church by the Polish Gate. It was erected in 1604, when the town was forced to return the parish church to the Catholic Church.<sup>215</sup> Hence its absence from the reconstruction plan; instead, private buildings – two cottages and the former baths, formerly part of the defensive complex<sup>216</sup> – adjacent to the Polish Gate, redeveloped into the said church,<sup>217</sup> have been made distinctive. Another noted historic monument that is not marked on the map is the Evangelical cemetery set up in 1609 in Przedmieście Polskie, and extended in 1630. It was established on a land that was formerly burgher-owned:<sup>218</sup> it was a horticultural-and-farming area with outbuildings.<sup>219</sup>

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It is difficult to specify the number of houses and inhabitants of Wschowa in the sixteenth century. A point-of-departure is the data contained in tax registers from the century's second half, which usually refer to 370 artisans and sixty-four windmills (the latter should be treated as separate production plants).

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<sup>208</sup> This chapel was perhaps dedicated to St. Martin as well; AP Poznań, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego we Wschowie, sign. 29, f. 199v.

<sup>209</sup> MK 96, f. 345r; Moritz, RuG 2, p. 16; Czwojdrak, Kopaczyński, pp. 42, 48. The literature creates some confusion regarding Wschowa's cemeteries. Following Hofmann's statements, Schober writes as follows: "Dieser [i.e. the cemetery in front of Church's Wicket-Gate] wird dann als »alter Kirchof« dem im Jahre 1567 auf dem Grundstück des Bernhardinerkloster eingerichteten »Neuen« entgegengestellt"; Schober, Straßennamen, pp. 18–19; also, see Wieczorkowski, "Boża rola", pp. 231–233. It does not however seem probable that there might have been a fourth cemetery in the town, and second in the former Bernardine area (the first being the one around St. Anne's chapel, which had existed earlier on), established in 1567 – all the more that we do not come across it anymore. As D. Czwojdrak points out, it was rather about broadening of the already-existing cemetery outside the All Saints chapel, rather than a completely new development; Czwojdrak, Ulice, p. 78. Another solution to this problem is to accept that this is the first mention of a cemetery in front of the Furta Kościelna; this cannot be excluded, for when giving the 1526 date did not evidence it based on records.

<sup>210</sup> Now2, p. 443.

<sup>211</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, p. 300.

<sup>212</sup> Grosman, WuW, p. 58.

<sup>213</sup> Moritz, RuG 1, p. 7.

<sup>214</sup> AP Poznań, Księgi sądu i urzędu grodzkiego we Wschowie, sign. 29, ff. 191r–222v (esp. ff. 201r–206r).

<sup>215</sup> Wuttke, Städtebuch, p. 303; Moritz, RuG 2, pp. 18–22; Grosman, WuW, p. 60; Dworzaczkowa, Kontrereformacja, pp. 1–42; K. Lutowski, *Bernardyński kościół pw. św. Józefa Oblubieńca we Wschowie*, p. 23; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 460; J. Romanow, *Elementy fortyfikacji miejskich*, p. 241; Małkus, Budowle, p. 73; M. Małkus, *Kościół imienia Żłóbka Chrystusowego (Kripplein Christi) we Wschowie*.

<sup>216</sup> Grosman, WuW, p. 57; Schober, Straßennamen, p. 19; J. Romanow, *Elementy fortyfikacji miejskich*.

<sup>217</sup> Widawski, Mury, p. 511; Małkus, Budowle, p. 73.

<sup>218</sup> Moritz, RuG 2, p. 34; Wieczorkowski, "Boża rola", pp. 225–262.

<sup>219</sup> Moritz, RuG 2, p. 34; Grosman, WuW, p. 61; Wieczorkowski, "Boża rola", p. 238.

Assuming that five persons would be the multiplier for one artisan payer<sup>220</sup>, we arrive at a population of 2,170; this ought to be regarded as an absolute minimum. Some authors would speak of the population of Wschowa of approximately 6,000 at the end of the sixteenth century; the first to have given this figure was A. Springborn, based on his own calculation (without specifying the methodology) from the register of the *Kripplein Christi* church.<sup>221</sup> The register covers the years 1582–95, recording births, marriages, and deaths. The register is now regrettably lost, so verifying these data is impossible. The figure of 6,000 seems inflated; it is probably inclusive of both Przyczyna villages. In the later years, with the immigrants from Silesia, Wschowa might have attained a population of this size. The hearth tax (*podymne*) register for the Voivodeship of Poznań from 1631 (before the incorporation of the new towns but in the midst of the migration process) gives the total of 675 houses.<sup>222</sup> Applying the multiplier of six,<sup>223</sup> we arrive at 4,050 residents; with nine,<sup>224</sup> the result is 6,075. At the end of the eighteenth century, Wschowa's population oscillated around 5,000.<sup>225</sup> Taking these data into account,<sup>226</sup> it seems that at the end of the sixteenth century, Wschowa's population was in the range of 3,000–5,000, basically not exceeding the very latter figure.

(2017)

Translated by Tristan Korecki

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<sup>220</sup> P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, PDP, vol. 37, no 2, 2015, p. 92.

<sup>221</sup> A. Springborn, *Mitteilungen aus einem alten Kirchenbuche der evangelischen Gemeinde zu Fraustadt*, "Zeitschrift der historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen", vol. 2, 1886, pp. 426–429; Dworzaczkowa, Kontreformacja, p. 14; Korcz, Zarys, pp. 17–18.

<sup>222</sup> *Podymne* 1631, f. 33v.

<sup>223</sup> P. Guzowski, R. Poniak, *Przeliczniki demograficzne*, pp. 90–91. Let us remark that this study refers the conversion factor to small towns (categories III & IV; Wschowa belonged to category II).

<sup>224</sup> See J. Suproniuk, *Character and size of settlements: Cities and towns in Greater Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century* in AHP Greater Poland volume and chapter III.3.2b.4 in this volume.

<sup>225</sup> Nowakowski, Wschowa, p. 73.

<sup>226</sup> Several authors (Grosman, WuW, pp. 61–62; Wróblewska, Wschowa, p. 458; Drozdowski, Czynniki wyznaniowy, p. 266; Małkus, Budowle, p. 73) offer us information on the number of houses in 1630 (146 inside the walls, 335 in the suburbs) and in 1635 (160 and 423, respectively); based on S. Lauterbach's chronicle (idem, *Fraustaedtisches Zion*, p. 496) and on the confrontation against the "chimney tax" data, the latter took prevalence. We are moreover aware of victims of several plagues at the beginning of the seventeenth century, hard to assess for credibility; see F. Pfützenreiter, *Pestepidemien in Fraustadt*, p. 22. The figures are in the range of 1,000–2,000 deceased, which seems to correspond with the estimates presented here.

## III.7 COATS OF ARMS

### III.7.1 CRACOW VOIVODESHIP

*Zenon Piech*

#### Coat of arms of the Voivodeship of Cracow

The coat of arms of the voivodeship has its origins in the coat of arms of the dukes and duchy of Cracow. It was formed in the fourteenth century. During Casimir the Great's reign, when the land coats of arms were finally created, the coat of arms of Cracow Voivodeship was granted the first place. It showed a crowned white Eagle on a red background.<sup>1</sup> The artistic style of the voivodeship's coat of arms was the same as in the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland, and the Eagle of the Kingdom often served as the coat of arms of the voivodeship. However, when both coats of arms appeared separately, in order to distinguish then the head of the eagle of Cracow Voivodeship was turned heraldic left, and often bore a band ended with a trefoil on his wings. The colours of the coat of arms of Cracow Voivodeship were the same as those of the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland: white Eagle in a golden crown, with a golden beak, claws and a band on the wings on a red background. The coat of arms of Cracow Voivodeship printed on the main map was prepared on the basis of source records from the sixteenth century, from the reign of Sigismund August. This coat of arms now belongs to Lesser Poland Voivodeship.<sup>2</sup> The coat of arms was placed on a cartouche from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.

#### Coat of arms of the land of Nowy Sącz

The first entry concerning the coat of arms of the land of Nowy Sącz comes from Marcin Bielski's *Kronika* ('Chronicle'), and the depiction was included in the armorial of Erazm Kamień and in *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* by Bartosz Paprocki. The coat of arms shows party per pale three red and three golden strips on the right heraldic field, and nine golden stars on the left red heraldic field.<sup>3</sup> In *Korona polska* by Kasper Nasiecki the sides of the coat of arms are reversed.<sup>4</sup> The coat of arms of the land of Nowy Sącz is a coloured variation of the coat of arms of Sandomierz Voivodeship, which bordered this land inside the Lesser Poland province. It is known only from information found in the armorials listed, there is no seal with this coat of arms, or any other source record.<sup>5</sup> The coat of arms printed in this publication was taken from Bartosz Paprocki's *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, and placed on the cartouche from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje*, Warsaw 1993, pp. 13 f. See also W. Drelicharz, Z. Piech, *Dawne i nowe herby Małopolski*, Cracow 2004, pp. 59–78.

<sup>2</sup> W. Drelicharz, Z. Piech, *Dawne i nowe herby Małopolski*, pp. 77–78.

<sup>3</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, pp. 69, 71, 100, 102, there references to other sources.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 87, il. 85.

<sup>5</sup> See H. Rutkowski, *Coats of arms*, [in:] AHP Sandomierz, in this edition III.7.2. About the land of Nowy Sącz see H. Rutkowski, *Borders of state territorial units*, [in:] AHP Cracow, in this edition III.2.1.1.

<sup>6</sup> B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, pub. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1858, p. 916.

## Coat of arms of Cracow

The coat of arms of Cracow formed gradually, and reached its final shape around the middle of the seventeenth century. The oldest entry concerning the coat of arms of the city comes from 1370 and appears in the Chronicle of Janko of Czarnków. The author mentions a coat of arms on a standard carried by the burghers, who welcomed King Louis of Hungary on his arrival at Cracow, but tells us nothing about the features of the coat of arms. The oldest image of the coat of arms survived on the bell from the Mariacki church from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century. It shows a city wall with a battlement, three towers of equal height, and an open gate with bars lowered to two-thirds.<sup>7</sup>

The original version of the coat of arms is somehow related to the oldest vogt seal of Cracow, which was then made the counsel seal. This seal also shows a building with three towers and an open gate. The architectural motives were accompanied by additional features: an uncrowned Eagle on a shield over the middle tower, higher than the rest, the patrons of Cracow cathedral and the city were placed over two lower towers: St. Wenceslaus and St. Stanislaus, and the coat of arms of the dukes of Cuyavia was placed twice, with a crown on the sides of towers. There was also a man kneeling under the open gate, probably the vogt of the city.<sup>8</sup> The Eagle, which appeared already on the oldest seal, will be introduced to the coat of arms of Cracow only in the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century, and placed under an open gate.

Numerous artefacts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (seals, illuminations, graphics, architectonic sculpture) confirm the initial form of the coat of arms. There are some differences in the height of the towers, which are sometimes equal, and sometimes the middle tower is higher.

There were no further changes in the coat of arms until the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century. The, an uncrowned Eagle began to appear sporadically inside the open gate. At the same time, a seal with the traditional coat of arms was introduced, without the Eagle inside the gate, but on a characteristic, Renaissance shield, with a rounded head and concave sides, with a closed crown. The crown emphasized the fact that Cracow was the capital city. Finally, all elements of the current coat of arms were united in 1661, when two city seals were made at the expense of Krzysztof Kranz, a counsellor of Cracow. An uncrowned Eagle was placed inside an open gate.<sup>9</sup> This version of the coat of arms put on the official city seals marked the end of the formation of the city's coat of arms. However, the original version – without the eagle, or the crown – remained in use until the end of the eighteenth century. It was usually placed on small city seals.

The colours on the coat of arms of Cracow appear in two variants: white wall and towers on a blue background, or red wall and towers on a golden background.<sup>10</sup> The current coat of arms of the city, reconstructed on the basis of thorough historical and heraldic studies was published next to the Cracow city plan.<sup>11</sup> It is the coat of arms from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century. A red wall with three towers, of which the one in the middle is taller, on a blue background. There is a golden gate in the wall, with raised golden bars. A crowned white Eagle with a golden beak and claws was placed inside the gate. The coat of arms has a Renaissance shape, characteristic to Cracow, and there is a closed crown on top.

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<sup>7</sup> M. Friedberg, *Herb miasta Krakowa*, RK, vol. 28, 1937, pp. 5–43, there references to other sources (pages quoted from the photocopy of the article).

<sup>8</sup> A. Chmiel, *Piecczęcie miasta Krakowa, Kazimierza, Kleparza i jurydyk krakowskich do końca XVIII wieku*, RK, vol. 11, 1909, pp. 79–95; M. Friedberg, *Herb miasta Krakowa*, pp. 9–10 f.

<sup>9</sup> Z. Piech, *Skąd się wziął i co oznacza Orzeł w herbie Krakowa? Ze studiów nad genezą, etapami rozwoju i treściami ideowymi herbu miasta*, [in:] *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. A. Radzimiński, A. Supruniak, J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1997, pp. 369–388; H. Seroka, *Herby miast małopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2002, pp. 138–140 and numerous remarks from the entire book, see according to the index.

<sup>10</sup> W. Budka, *Barwy herbu miasta Krakowa*, „Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, vol. 14, 1935, pp. 8–11, 21–24; M. Friedberg, *Herb miasta Krakowa*, pp. 25–38.

<sup>11</sup> W. Drelicharz, Z. Piech, *Dawne i nowe herby Małopolski*, pp. 233–264, especially 244–249.

## Coat of arms of Kazimierz

The sources fail to provide an unambiguous description of the coat of arms of Kazimierz. The oldest data come from the fourteenth century assessor's seal, made shortly after the foundation of the city (1335). It shows a crowned monogram K, and two small crowned royal heads on the sides.<sup>12</sup> The coat of arms refers to the founder of the city, king Casimir the Great, who gave the city his name. This coat of arms was very popular in the sigillography of Kazimierz, and was a dominant version from the end of the sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth. It did not appear on an escutcheon on seals, but in other places (prints, super ex libri, illuminations in town books) it was placed on the shield. A document issued in 1566 by Sigismund August confirmed that it could be used as the coat of arms of the town only by the town council and the town court. Also, the Old Polish poems on the coat of arms of Kazimierz describe this coat of arms.

At the same time there was another version of the coat of arms, known already in the fifteenth century, which showed a crowned monogram K, or rarely: without the crown. It appears for the first time in the fifteenth century on an antependium of the altar in the church of Corpus Christi in Kazimierz, placed on an escutcheon. In the sixteenth century, the monogram K appears on the seals of Kazimierz. It was systematically placed on a heraldic shield, so it must have been treated as the coat of arms of the town.<sup>13</sup> This role of the monogram is confirmed by the illuminations from the town books, super ex libri, Old Polish images of Cracow, Kazimierz and Kleparz, as well as the standard of the town shown on the so-called 'Stockholm roll'. In conclusion, it must be said that the coat of arms of Kazimierz was not settled, and two variations were used. As such, it is difficult to determine, which one was dominant.<sup>14</sup> We publish one of the versions, showing the crowned monogram and two royal heads on the sides. However, it must be remembered it would be equally eligible to publish the crowned monogram. The colours of the coat of arms were reconstructed on the basis of source records: a golden monogram K, crowned with a golden crown, on a red background. The golden royal torsos are a suggestion of the author of this work. The coat of arms was printed on the cartouche from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.

## Coat of arms of Biecz

The sources fail to provide an unambiguous description of the coat of arms of Biecz. The oldest seal, from the fifteenth century, shows standing figures of the patrons – St. Peter and St. Paul, with their attributes, the key and the sword, and a letter B (the monogram of the town) at their feet.<sup>15</sup> City seals from the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries prove that this coat of arms was stable, but it always appears without escutcheon. Only on the fifteenth century court seal does the shield appear, with the torso of St. Peter and the key on it. Numerous records from the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries show the monogram of the city, the letter B, on an escutcheon. This version was very popular and appears on the parochial church, on the sixteenth century city seal, the super ex libri, and on an image from the town books, and on a sgraffito on the belfry.<sup>16</sup> Despite that, there is a common belief in the current heraldic literature that the coat of arms of Biecz showed St. Peter and St. Paul and the monogram B.<sup>17</sup> This version of the coat of arms is also now used by the city. This publication contains the coat of arms used in the Old Polish period: a golden monogram B on a red background. The style of the

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<sup>12</sup> A. Chmiel, *Pieczenie miasta Krakowa*, pp. 130–131 f.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, pp. 133–134, 136–139, 141–142.

<sup>14</sup> The complicated case of the heraldry of Kazimierz I myself describe in: Z. Piech, *Herb miasta Kazimierza pod Krakowem*, [in:] *Miasta, ludzie, instytucje, znaki*, ed. Z. Piech [in print]; See also H. Seroka's comments, *Herby miast malopolskich*, pp. 112–114 and according to the index.

<sup>15</sup> W. Wittig, *Pieczenie miast dawnej Polski*, Cracow–Warsaw 1905, pp. 15–16.

<sup>16</sup> T. Ślawnski, *Herb i pieczenie miasta Biecza na przestrzeni dziejów*, [in:] idem, *Ratusz królewskiego miasta Biecza siedziba władz samorządowych na przestrzeni dziejów*, Biecz 2000, pp. 128–148 and coloured illustrations at the end of the book.

<sup>17</sup> M. Gumowski, *Herby miast polskich*, Warsaw 1960, p. 130; A. Plewko, J. Wanag, *Herbarz miast polskich*, Warsaw 1994, p. 10; *Miasta polskie*, vol. 2, tabl. XCI; H. Seroka, *Herby miast malopolskich*, pp. 93–94.

monogram was copied from a tile dating back to the beginnings of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The coat of arms was placed on a cartouche from the fourth quarter of that century.

## Coat of arms of Nowy Sącz

The coat of arms of Nowy Sącz has its origins in the seals showing the patroness of the parochial church, St. Margaret. The oldest seal of the town Kamienica (future Nowy Sącz), probably from the end of the thirteenth century, shows St. Margaret standing next to a dragon, and holding him on a rope. Another seal, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, shows St. Margaret on a throne, with a dragon at her feet, St. Margaret holding a cross on a long shaft with a banner in one hand, and a model of the church in the other.<sup>19</sup> The image of St. Margaret known later as a coat of arms appears only on a fourteenth century city seal. The saint is standing on a dragon and is holding in her right hand a cross on a long shaft, with which she pierces the dragon's throat, in her left hand she is holding a palm branch, she has a crown on her head, and a halo.<sup>20</sup> The oldest confirmation of this presentation of St. Margaret as a coat of arms appears on the seal of the court of six towns from 1544–1545.<sup>21</sup> The only difference is the dragon lying on his back, and St. Margaret has no halo. The city seals from the Middle Ages and the Modern Age confirm that the coat of arms stabilize. We do not know the colours of the coat of arms of Nowy Sącz in the Old Polish period, so we accept the colours used now.<sup>22</sup> The background is blue, St. Margaret is wearing a white gown, a red coat, and a golden crown, and has a golden halo around her head. The figure is holding a golden cross on a long shaft in her right hand, and a palm branch in her left hand. She is standing on a green dragon. This composition does not conform to the rule of alteration. The artistic style of the coat of arms was copied from *Miasta Polskie w Tysiącleciu*, which was based on the Old Polish sources.<sup>23</sup> In order to refer to the end of the sixteenth century, the coat of arms was placed on a cartouche from the fourth quarter of that century.

## Coat of Arms of Wieliczka

The fully-formed version of the coat of arms of Wieliczka appears already on the oldest city seal from the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup> It shows mining tools: a mattock between two pickaxes. City seals from later period, from the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, confirm that this version of the coat of arms was stable. It is assumed that the tools were golden, on a red background. The style of the coat of arms was copied from *Miasta Polskie w Tysiącleciu*, based on the Old Polish sources.<sup>25</sup> The coat of arms was placed on a cartouche from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.

## Coat of arms of Częstochowa

The coat of arms of Częstochowa comes from the oldest fourteenth century city seal. It shows the city wall with an open gate and lowered bars, and three towers, of which the one in the middle is

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<sup>18</sup> T. Ślowski, *Herb i pieczęcie miasta Biecz*, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup> F. Piekosiński, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich*, Cracow 1899, no. 239, pp. 155–156; no. 335, pp. 196–198; M. Gumowski, *Najstarsze pieczęcie miast polskich XIII i XIV wieku*, Toruń 1960, pp. 104–105, tabl. XIV, no. 175; pp. 156–157, tabl. XXIII, no. 298, 299.

<sup>20</sup> M. Gumowski, *Herb i pieczęcie Nowego Sącza*, „Rocznik Sądecki”, vol. 4, 1960, p. 75, il. 3; H. Seroka, *Herby miast małopolskich*, pp. 31–32, 98–99 and according to the index.

<sup>21</sup> A. Chmiel, *Pieczęć sądu komisarzkiego sześciu miast*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne”, vol. 3, 1897, no. 4 (the entire collection – no. 34), c. 337–347.

<sup>22</sup> M. Gumowski, *Herby miast*, p. 251; A. Plewko, J. Wanag, *Herbarz miast polskich*, p. 144.

<sup>23</sup> *Miasta polskie*, vol. 1, tabl. XLIV.

<sup>24</sup> H. Seroka, *Herby miast małopolskich*, pp. 150–151 and according to the index.

<sup>25</sup> *Miasta polskie*, vol. 1, tabl. XLVI.

lower than the two on the sides. On the heraldic right tower there is a lion sejant erect facing left, and an eagle with a golden crown, beak and claws facing right.<sup>26</sup> The lion and the eagle refer to Władysław Opolczyk, the founder of the city. The stability of this coat of arms is confirmed by two sixteenth century seals (great and small), and a seal from the second half of the eighteenth century. This coat of arms appears for the first time on a cartouche only in the end of the eighteenth century, however, we can presume that it was treated as a coat of arms of the city already in the Middle Ages, or in the sixteenth century at the latest.<sup>27</sup> We do not know the colours of the coat of arms of Częstochowa in the Old Polish period, so we accept the colours used now, as historically and heraldically justified. The shield is blue, the wall and the towers white, the bars black, the lion and the eagle golden. The artistic style of the coat of arms was taken from *Miasta Polskie w Tysiącleciu*, based on the Old Polish sources.<sup>28</sup> In order to refer to the end of the sixteenth century, the coat of arms was placed on a cartouche from the fourth quarter of that century.

## Coat of arms of Siewierz

The first information concerning the signs of the city of Siewierz comes from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1782 two seals were made, for the mayor and for the vogt, showing scales. The mayor's seal has a crescent between the scales, the vogt's seal – a six-pointed star.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the fact that the same image appeared on both seals is proof that it had a long tradition and was well-known to the authorities and inhabitants, even serving as a coat of arms. However, this is not certain. In 1792 King Stanisław August Poniatowski conferred the coat of arms on Siewierz: 'a black eagle without a crown, girdled with a letter S, holding scales in one leg, which means justice, and an olive branch in the other'.<sup>30</sup> This is the first known coat of arms of Siewierz. In the current heraldry the coat of arms of Siewierz shows a white Eagle,<sup>31</sup> but to faithfully refer to the Old Polish heraldic tradition, we publish a black Eagle with a golden monogram S on his breast, a golden olive branch, and golden scales in his claws. To maintain the style of other city coats of arms, the coat of arms of Siewierz was placed on a cartouche from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.

(2008)

Translated by Agata Staszewska

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<sup>26</sup> W. Wittig, *Pieczenie miast*, p. 47; M. Gumowski, *Najstarsze pieczenie*, p. 58–59, tabl. VI, no. 66; M. Haisig, *Herb miasta Częstochowy. Jego geneza i symbolika*, „Ziemia Częstochowska”, vol. 6/7, 1967, pp. 182 f.

<sup>27</sup> M. Antoniewicz, *Heraldyka Częstochowy w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, [in:] *Częstochowa. Dzieje miasta i Klasztoru Jasnogórskiego. Okres staropolski*, vol. 1, ed. F. Kiryk, Częstochowa 2002, pp. 537–556, about the heraldry of the coat of arms on the seals: p. 555, there also older literature; H. Seroka, *Herby miast małopolskich*, pp. 133–135.

<sup>28</sup> *Miasta polskie*, vol. 1, tabl. XXII. See also the commentary on the colours by M. Antoniewicz, *Heraldyka Częstochowy*, pp. 555–556.

<sup>29</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczenie i herb Siewierza*, [in:] *Siewierz, Czeladź, Koziegłowy. Studia i materiały z dziejów Siewierza i księstwa siewierskiego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Katowice 1994, pp. 391–409, especially pp. 392–400.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 397.

<sup>31</sup> A. Plewko, J. Wanag, *Herbarz miast polskich*, p. 197; M. Kaganiec, *Herby miast województwa śląskiego*, Katowice 2007, pp. 202–204.

### III.7.2 SANDOMIERZ VOIVODESHIP

#### Coats of arms of Sandomierz Voivodeship and Sandomierz city

*Henryk Rutkowski*

The coat of arms of Sandomierz Voivodeship consisted of two parts, created by dividing the escutcheon in length: on the heraldic right field there were six crosswise stripes, and on the left field – stars. The number of the stars and the colours of the coat of arms settled around the middle of the sixteenth century. In the copy of Jan Długosz's armorial from 1575 (the so-called Kamyn manuscript) and in Bartosz Paprocki's armorial from 1584, the coat of arms of Sandomierz Voivodeship looks as follows: there are three red stripes and three white on the right field, and on the left blue field there are nine yellow (golden) stars, three in each of the three rows.<sup>1</sup> In this form the coat of arms of Sandomierz Voivodeship was used also in the following centuries.<sup>2</sup> In the copy of Długosz's armorial from the middle of the sixteenth century (the so-called arsenal manuscript) one can see, on the other hand, an even older form: there are twelve stars, and the stripes are red and yellow (golden).<sup>3</sup> The banner of Sandomierz Voivodeship, carried during the funeral of Sigismundus the Old in 1548 had, according to a contemporary report, stripes in these colours, but there were only nine stars, just as in the later period.<sup>4</sup> The same banner was described differently, probably incorrectly, by Marcin Bielski, who mentioned red and white stripes, not red and yellow.<sup>5</sup> Finally, it could be added that according to Długosz's description of the banner during the battle of Grunwald, there were only seven stars on the coat of arms of Sandomierz land.<sup>6</sup>

In order to present the coat of arms in the form which was used in the sixteenth century on our map, we could not have based it solely on the drawing from the arsenal manuscript, which formed the basis for the drawings of coats of arms in previous works.<sup>7</sup> The number and layout of the stars, as well as the colours of the coat of arms, was presented in accordance with the later sources mentioned, and the drawing from the arsenal manuscript served as a pattern for the layout of the stripes and the shape of the stars. The assumed shape of the shield of the coat of arms of the voivodeship was the same as on the map of Mazovia.

The coat of arms of the city of Sandomierz in the second half of the sixteenth century was a crowned eagle, and before there were other images presented on the city's seals – half of an eagle, king on a throne, defensive wall, the Annunciation.<sup>8</sup> The image of the coat of arms and of the shield were prepared based on the seal, whose print survived on a document of the town council from

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<sup>1</sup> *Klejnoty Długoszowe*, comp. M. Friedberg, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego”, vol. 10, 1930 (1931), p. 96; B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, Cracow 1858, p. 902.

<sup>2</sup> K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1, Lipsk 1846, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Stemmata Polonica, rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenalu w Paryżu*, pub. H. Polackówna (Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Tow. Naukowego we Lwowie), Lwów 1926, p. 30; cf. *Klejnoty Długoszowe*, pp. 29, 40, 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Obrządek pogrzebu króla Zygmunta I*, [in:] *Ojczyste spominki w pismach do dziejów dawnej Polski*, pub. A. Grabowski, vol. 1, Cracow 1845, p. 7. This translation from German incorrectly calls Sandomierz land ‚sandecka‘.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bielski, *Kronika tho iesth historia świata...* [Cracow] 1564, (photo offset reprint), f. 425.

<sup>6</sup> Długosz, *Hist. Pol.*, vol. 4, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> H. Rutkowski, *Coats of arms*, [in:] AHP Mazovia, in this edition III.7.7.

<sup>8</sup> B. Paprocki, *Herby*, pp. 902 f.; M. Haisig, *Nieznana średniowieczna pieczęć miasta Sandomierza*, „Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, vol. 17, 1938, pp. 134 f.; M. Gumowski, *Najstarsze pieczęcie miast polskich XIII i XIV w.*, Toruń 1960 (RTNT, vol. 62, no. 2), pp. 192–194 and tabl. XXX; idem, *Herby miast polskich*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 44, 292.

1563.<sup>9</sup> Published reproductions of seals and drawings of the coat of arms of Sandomierz played an auxiliary role.<sup>10</sup> The following colours were accepted: white eagle (silver), beak, claws and crown yellow (golden), field red.

(1993)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>9</sup> Paper document in the National Museum in Cracow, the Library of the Princes Czartoryski, BCzart, MS MNK 563/55 (photography used).

<sup>10</sup> F. Piekosiński, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich*, Cracow 1899, il. 655, 730, 736; M. Gumowski, *Herby miast polskich*, Warsaw 1960, p. 292; *Miasta polskie*, vol. 1, tabl. XXXIII.

### III.7.3 LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

The coat of arms of Lublin Voivodeship was a white deer rampant on red background, with yellow (golden) antlers, and a crown on the neck.<sup>1</sup>

The coat of arms of Lublin was a goat rampant climbing a grape vine.<sup>2</sup>

(1966)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>1</sup> *Stemmata Polonica, rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenalu w Paryżu*, pub. H. Polackówna, „Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Tow. Naukowego we Lwowie”, vol. 1, 1927, no. 2, pp. 163, 172–5, 191. This study contains a drawing from the so-called ‘arsenal armorial’ made in the middle of the sixteenth century; the coat of arms show on the map was based on this drawing. See also B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, pub. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1858, p. 909; *Klejnoty Długoszowe*, comp. M. Friedberg, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego”, vol. 10, 1930 (1931), pp. 54, 96.

<sup>2</sup> The coat of arms was presented on the basis of the seal of the Council of Lublin on the document from 1535 (The City Archive of Lublin); the copy of the seal in the cover of *Rocznik Lubelski*. Cf. M. Gumowski, *Pieczenie i herby miejscowości województwa lubelskiego*, Lublin 1959, pp. 56–60.

## III.7.4 GREATER POLAND

### Coats of Arms

*Michał Gochna*

We have published the coats of arms of both Greater Poland voivodeships on the main map.

The coat of arms of the **Poznań Voivodeship** was a white eagle without a crown and a band on the wings, facing right, on a red background. This image was developed based on source records from the sixteenth century, mainly by Bartosz Paprocki, who in both of his main works presented drawings of the coats of arms accompanied with descriptions of the coat of arms and their colours.<sup>1</sup> I placed the coat of arms on the shield in the cartouche from second half of the sixteenth century.

I recreated the coat of arms of the **Kalisz Voivodeship** in a similar manner as I did with the coat of arms of the Poznań Voivodeship. It depicts the head of a crowned buffalo (aurochs) head with a golden ring in its nostrils, placed on a checkered background.<sup>2</sup>

The only known image of the coat of arms of the Wschowa land – the Jagiellonian cross – is provided by Zygmunt Słupski.<sup>3</sup> This motif appears in the coat of arms of Wschowa (see below), with the difference that there are two rings between the beams of the cross in the town's coat of arms. The town's coat of arms during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski was limited only to the aforementioned cross with rings (both figures present on the coat of arms previously were removed).<sup>4</sup> It can, therefore, be hypothesized that Słupski presented the town's coat of arms as the one for the entire Wschowa land (the disappearance of both rings from the regional coat of arms remains a mystery), while a coat of arms of the Wschowa land probably did not exist at all (we do not have any sources confirming its existence the sixteenth century). Therefore, we are not publishing it in this volume of the AHP. It should be noted that in the sixteenth century, the status of the Wschowa territory – whether it was only a district or also land – was not specified.<sup>5</sup>

Moving on to the description of the coats of arms of the towns, a little more space should be devoted to the coats of arms of two towns in particular – Kalisz and Pleszew – which raised the greatest concerns.

The coat of arms of the city of Kalisz from the sixteenth century<sup>6</sup> was reconstructed based on a red seal attached to a document from 21 March 1565, issued by the mayor Jan Gumowski and the town councilors to the butchers' guild in Kalisz.<sup>7</sup> A copy of this seal, which was also an important

<sup>1</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje*, Warsaw 1993, pp. 80–81.

<sup>2</sup> Idem; R. Marciniak, *O rzekomym herbie Wielkopolski XIV i XV wieku*, RH, vol. 65, 1999, pp. 53–72.

<sup>3</sup> Z. Słupski, *Atlas ziem polskich*, vol. 1, part 1: *Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie: 45 map i planów*, Poznań [1912]; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 68, 463.

<sup>4</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Pieczerce, herb i inne znaki Wschowy (około 1290–1793)*, [in:] *Ludzie i herby w dawnej Polsce*, ed. P. Dymmel, Lublin 1995, pp. 231–232.

<sup>5</sup> See section about the Wschowa land in M. Gochna's *Borders of the state territorial units* [in:] AHP Greater Poland in this edition III.2.1.4.

<sup>6</sup> T. Związek is the author of the section about the coat of arms of Kalisz.

<sup>7</sup> AP Poznań, Cechy miasta Kalisz, sign. 27. For more on the sigillography of Kalisz, see M. Haisig, *Sfragistyka Kalisza*, [in:] *Osiemnaście wieków Kalisza*, vol. 1, ed. A. Gieysztor, Kalisz 1960, pp. 218–220. See footnotes for further literature on the subject. Unfortunately, the sixteenth century town documents stored in AGAD before the war were taken to Poznań in the 1940s, from where they did not return. Negative copies of these documents were made during that time period; the preserved town seals were x-rayed and, therefore, remain illegible. Parchment manuscript. no. 3737 (1526) and 3991 (1584) have no seals; on parchment manuscripts. no. 3785 (1542) the seal is damaged; on no. 3807 (1547), no. 3917 (1565) seals are present.

source of inspiration in these works, was published by Kazimierz Stefański before World War II.<sup>8</sup> The seal has a diameter of 40 mm and hangs on a green and brown rope. The inscription on its rim reads: SIGILLVM CIVITATIS CALIS, with vegetative ornaments between the individual words. The imprint shows a trumpeter dressed in protective gear, standing on the city walls at night and facing to the right.<sup>9</sup> He is winding a horn, which has a six-pointed star above it. The trumpeter is surrounded by two towers, each with two pairs of vertical windows. The roofs of the towers are crowned with battlements and semi-circular domes with spheres at the top. In the centre of the town walls there is an open gate with a portcullis raised to one third of its height. Above the town gate, there is a shape at the top of the walls that can be interpreted as a cartouche of the coat of arms – the trumpeter is partially hidden behind it.

The colours of the town's coat of arms are unknown,<sup>10</sup> which is why they have been reconstructed in accordance to the general rules of heraldry, as suggested by Jan Marczyński.<sup>11</sup>

The first known image of the Pleszew coat of arms is a drawing from its town book from 1583. It shows a tower with a pointed roof with three spheres, at its foot there is a structure, most likely a fence, on the sides of which feathers or mantlings protrude; below the fence, at the very bottom of the coat of arms, there is also a floral motif.<sup>12</sup> Another well-known image of the coat of arms comes from the seal of the Pleszew court of the jury and vogt. It is described by Marek Adamczewski: 'In the field of the seal, a tower, standing on a narrowing base, with battlements, covered by a pointed roof'.<sup>13</sup> The narrowed base mentioned in the description can be equated with the fence from the image of the coat of arms from 1583. Both representations confirm that the tower had a pointed roof. Therefore, the description of the image of the coat of arms from 1630 confirms the use of the above-mentioned coat of arms from 1583 in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of seventeenth century in Pleszew.

On the other hand, the modern version of the coat of arms – containing a roofless tower with battlements, mounted on four spheres – can be dated no earlier than the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Its seal imprint is dated to 1782. Its lower part is distorted; therefore, it cannot be assessed whether at the base of the tower there is a fence or balls.<sup>15</sup> According to Marian Gumowski, the eighteenth-century image was adopted as the prevalent one in the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup> This view has been confirmed, among others, by town seal from 1811.<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not possess information about the colours of Pleszew's coat of arms from 1583, which is why the colour scheme of the modern coat of arms has been used: a blue field and a white tower. I chose red for the roof based on analogous coats of arms of other towns in Greater Poland, which also share a blue field.<sup>18</sup> The colour of the fence under the tower caused the biggest issues. Since I was unable to find any similar elements in other coats of arms of towns in Greater Poland, I decided that white (the colour of the tower) would be most appropriate.

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<sup>8</sup> K. Stefański, *Herb i pieczęcie m. Kalisza*, Kalisz 1927, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> This is a significant change from the medieval seal, where the trumpeter turned heraldic left. This change might be related to the attempted forgery of the town seal from 1511; see: M. Haisig, *Sfragistyka*, pp. 218–219; K. Stefański, *Herb i pieczęcie*, pp. 20–26. For the erroneous interpretation of documents linked to the forgery of seals in the late nineteenth century see A. Chmiel, *Materiały sfragistyczne. Pieczęcie miejskie*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne”, vol. 4, 1899, no. 1, pp. 15–18.

<sup>10</sup> B. Paprocki only stated that the portcullis is black (idem, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, pub. K.J. Turowski, Cracow 1889, p. 900: 'The town of Kalisz uses the following coat of arms: a black portcullis in the walls, two towers, between which a man is blowing a trumpet; the town is in a secluded and defensible place, by the river Przosna on a great plain'); see also M. Haisig, *Sfragistyka*, p. 230.

<sup>11</sup> J. Marczyński, *W sprawie herbu i innych znaków miasta Kalisza. Władzom i samorządowcom miasta pod rozważę*, „Zeszyty Kaliskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego. Kalisia”, vol. 4, 2015, pp. 79–98.

<sup>12</sup> AmPl, I, 13, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka*, p. 399; for the original seal, see ADWł, Dokumenty, sign. 1321.

<sup>14</sup> According to M. Adamczewski (idem, *Heraldyka*, pp. 398–399) this image appeared in the years 1777–1784. However, M. Gumowski (idem., *Pieczęcie i herby miast wielkopolskich*, Poznań 1932, p. 246) dates it to 1777–1799.

<sup>15</sup> National Museum in Warsaw, Cabinet of Coins and Medals, inventory no. 49722, [cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/dmuseion/docmetadata?id=24521](http://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/dmuseion/docmetadata?id=24521) (access: 22.03.2017).

<sup>16</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 246–249.

<sup>17</sup> AAG, ACons. E 32, k. 457.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the coats of arms of Trzciel and Żnin (M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 351–352, 402–405) and modern iterations of the coats of arms.

Less controversial is the coat of arms of **Poznań**. It developed gradually. In the sixteenth century, many types of the town's coat of arms were in use. Since it is impossible to establish which one was the legitimate one, I used the image from the oldest great seal, used in the town chancellery until 1637, as my basis. This image, with minor alterations, was also used in other town seals during the sixteenth century. It consists of a brick wall with three towers, of which the middle one – with battlements – is the tallest. In the opening of the gate, there are two crossed keys with a cross above them. Over the middle tower hangs a gothic shield with an eagle. On the tower, to the right, there is St. Paul with a sword leaning on his right shoulder; on the left side, there is St. Peter with a key on his left shoulder. Crescents can be found beside the figures of the saints, while six-pointed stars appear above them. The colours of the coat of arms were drawn from the polychrome decoration in the Great Hall of the Poznań Town Hall, dated to 1555. Thus, the wall, towers, saints and eagle are white, the keys, cross, crescents, six-pointed stars, St. Paul's sword, St. Peter's key, halos of the saints, the beak and talons of the eagle – gold, the background of the smaller shield – red, the field – blue.<sup>19</sup>

In the case of the remaining coats of arms, I referenced primarily Mark Adamczewski's work. The coat of arms of **Gniezno** – with an uncrowned white eagle turned right on a red field with a crown placed over the upper edge of the escutcheon – was found on the town seal from the years 1533–1653.<sup>20</sup> The coat of arms of **Kościan** – a tower with an open gate and two windows, with a battlemented gallery placed on supports – is based on the town seal dated to 1579–1597.<sup>21</sup> During this period, there also may have been a coat of arms with a slightly different emblem: a tower with open doors, two windows, battlements, but without the roof and supports.<sup>22</sup> Since it was impossible to establish which version was the dominant one, I decided on the more elaborate variation. I chose the colours suggested by Marian Gumowski: white field, red walls, blue roof.<sup>23</sup> The **Wschowa** coat of arms has been recreated based on the image from the town seal from the years 1606–1801.<sup>24</sup> It shows the Virgin Mary wearing a crown and with a raised hand facing left. Beside her stands Jesus Christ, also crowned, turned towards Mary with a raised right hand, in his left hand holding a sphere. Beneath them is located an escutcheon (in a cartouche), in which a double (Jagiellonian) cross can be found, with two rings between the arms of the cross.

The coat of arms of the bishopric town **Śródka** – a figure in a crown and coat, with a raised right hand holding a lily – was based on the seal from 1585.<sup>25</sup> The coats of arms of **Chwaliszew** and **Ostrów**, as was concluded by Marek Adamczewski, were identical. Their images – two crossed keys and a vertical sword (cleaver) – are known from a seal dated to 1571 and 1620.<sup>26</sup> The colours of the coat of arms are a red field and a golden emblem.<sup>27</sup> The coat of arms of the bishopric **Dolsk** is derived from seals dated to 1572 and to the seventeenth century. They represent the Archangel Michael who is trampling a dragon, with spear shafts crossed at the top. The two images can be differentiated by the hand in which the spears are held: in this reconstruction, the figure is holding them in his right hand. The colours are the following: the field is blue, the dragon is red, and the Archangel is white in a golden armour.<sup>28</sup>

(2017)

Translated by Karolina Frank

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<sup>19</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka*, pp. 402–409; P. Stróżyk, *Najstarszy herb Poznania*, [in:] *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, T. Jurek, Poznań 2005, pp. 275–293; idem, *Systematyka średniowiecznych i nowożytnych pieczęci miejskich Poznania. Status causae et controversiae*, „Roczniki Historyczne”, vol. 72, 2006, pp. 137–152.

<sup>20</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka*, pp. 48–49, 335.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, pp. 78–79, 358; K. Koehler, *Herb miasta Kościana na pieczęciach wyobrażony a znak na plombie ochronnej nadanej sukiennikom tegoż miasta*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne”, 10, vol. 3, 1898, no. 2–3 (36–37), pp. 409–415.

<sup>22</sup> These images are dated to c. 1538 (a stone plaque on one of the buildings near the market square in Kościan), c. 1580 (renaissance plaque in the parish church in Kościan) and 1622 (city seal). For noticing these images, I would like to thank Dariusz Kram, the director of the Regional Museum in Kościan. See also, in this volume, the chapter about the city plan (D. Kram, *Kościan* [in:] *AHP Greater Poland* in this edition III.6.14.4).

<sup>23</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 134.

<sup>24</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka*, p. 68, 463; idem, *Pieczęcie*, pp. 221–245.

<sup>25</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka*, pp. 122–123, 444.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, pp. 112–114, 324, 389–390.

<sup>27</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>28</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka*, p. 122, 330; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 58.

### III.7.5 SIERADZ AND ŁĘCZYCA VOIVODESHIPS

*Stefan K. Kuczyński*

Land and city coats of arms were presented on the main map according to the sixteenth century sources.

The images of the coats of arms of Sieradz and Łęczyca Voivodeships and Wieluń land were based on the manuscript roll of arms ‘Stemmata Polonica’ from before 1569, which was an illustrated and completed copy of ‘Klejnoty’ attributed to Jan Długosz, kept in the Library of the Arsenal in Paris.<sup>1</sup> The emblems were taken from this roll, and their stylization was slightly changed, the shield patterns were also modified a bit. The colours of the coats of arms were copied from the source. Gold and silver were presented as yellow and white. The coats look as follows:

Coat of arms of Łęczyca Voivodeship – parted per pale, red half-lion in golden crown on the right silver, silver half-eagle in golden crown with such beak and legs on the left red field.

Coat of arms of Sieradz Voivodeship (Sieradz land) – parted per pale, black half-eagle in golden crown with such beak and legs on the right golden field, silver half-lion in golden crown on the left red field.<sup>2</sup>

Coat of arms of Wieluń land – Divine Lamb of God in golden cross nimbus, with a white flag, on which a red cross, on green grass.

The presentations of the coats of arms of the cities Łęczyca, Sieradz, Piotrków, and Wieluń were made on the basis of the sixteenth century seals of these cities and other source records from that period. The shape of the escutcheons was assumed in relation to the coats of arms of lands from the ‘Stemmata Polonica’. The colours of the coats of arms were taken from later sources.

The coat of arms of Łęczyca is based on the emblem appearing on the seal of the city, known from impressions found on documents from 1534–1544. The seal was probably made in the fifteenth century (here without the trumpeter on the middle tower, appearing on the oldest seal of the city from the fourteenth century).<sup>3</sup>

The city seal served as a base for the coat of arms of Sieradz. The seal is known from the impression from 1565, it was still used in the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The coat of arms of Piotrków refers to the image of the city’s coat of arms in the print of Fabian Myśliński from 1646, in which this coat of arms is presented in the fourteenth century stylization.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Stemmata Polonica. Rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenalu w Paryżu*, pub. H. Polackówna, „Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie”, vol. 1, 1929, pp. 161–288; also: T. Olejnik, *Pieczenie i herby miast ziemi wieluńskiej*, Łódź 1971; S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczenie i herby miasta Łęczycy oraz ziemi łeczyckiej*, Łęczyca 1985; idem, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje*, Warsaw 1993.

<sup>2</sup> The colours of this coat of arms, especially in the fields, and the arrangement of emblems underwent changes in the sixteenth–eighteenth century. See: S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, pp. 46, 75, 115.

<sup>3</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczenie i herby miasta Łęczycy*, pp. 66–68; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1977, MS, PhD thesis, Instytut Historyczny UŁ, Katalog pieczęci i herbów, pp. 64, B 358.

<sup>4</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 111, B 597. Seal reproduction in: M. Gumowski, *Herby miast polskich*, Warsaw 1960, p. 6, il. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Przemowa w kościele Farskim Piotrkowskim przy Ofierze Przenajświętszej, z ustanowienia publicznego nabożeństwa za dobre zdrowie y szczęśliwe panowanie Nayaśniejszego K. I. M. z krolową Iey Mścią wespół, podczas przejazdu mimo Piotrków, die 5 Iulij 1646...*, w Krakowie, w drukarni wdowy y dziedziców Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka Typog. J. K. M. 1646; the image of the coat of arms was accompanied by the words ‘Na Klejnot herbowy miasta I. K. Mści Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego’

The coat of arms of Wieluń is based on the emblem appearing on the city seal, known from impressions from 1532–1538.<sup>6</sup>

(1998)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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by Jacek Dyndowicz; see also: M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 86, C 29 (coat of arms) and pp. 85 f., B 480–482 (seals).

<sup>6</sup> T. Olejnik, *Pieczenie i herby miast ziemi wieluńskiej*, pp. 25–27, il. 8; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 137, B 757.

### III.7.6 CUYAVIA AND DOBRZYŃ LAND

#### Coats of arms of voivodeships and towns

*Marcin Hlebionek*

##### **Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships (Cuyavia)**

The Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships derive their coats of arms from the Cuyavian line of the Piast dynasty. This heraldic design was formed in the second half of the thirteenth century, and when this branch of the Piasts died out in the second half of the fourteenth century, it was adopted by the territory which was previously held by the descendants of Duke Casimir I Konradowic of Cuyavia. As a land coat of arms, the Cuyavian hybrid is unique, both in terms of its colours and the arrangement of emblem elements. The coats of arms of the voivodeships concerned are not mentioned in the armorials of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, and heraldists only referred to the coat of arms of Cuyavia, as common to both voivodeships. The image of the Cuyavian coat of arms placed in the heraldic frieze located in Sandomierz Cathedral, dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, shows a red half-lion and a white crowned half-eagle on a blue field.<sup>1</sup> However, according to the description of the Cuyavia banner as used during the Battle of Grunwald from Długosz's *Roczniki*, the field of the coat of arms was supposed to be parted per pale, with a black crowned half-eagle on a golden field on the *dexter* (right) side and a white crowned half-lion on the red field on the *sinister* (left) side.<sup>2</sup> In turn, according to *Klejnoty*, a work which is also attributed to Długosz, the coat of arms was supposed to represent 'pars una medietatem aquile rubee coronate in campo glauco et pro altera medietate medietatem leonis nigri coronati eciam in campo glauco'.<sup>3</sup> Different arrangements of both components of the emblem and the tinctures used are noted in fifteenth-century foreign armorials. According to the Lynceni's armorial and Codex Bergshammur, on a shield parted per pale, there was a silver half-lion on the red right side, and a red half-lion on the golden left side. According to the *Złote Runo* armorial ('Armorial Toison d'Or'), the coat of arms represented a black half-lion on the golden right side and a red half-eagle on the silver left side on a shield parted per pale.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps these discrepancies illustrate the successive stages of the formation of the coat of arms of this territory, especially the introduction of gold, which later filled the entire field. The shape of the Cuyavian coat of arms stabilised in the sixteenth century. The coat of arms with a black half-lion and a white half-eagle under a common crown on a golden field was used to represent Cuyavia already on the coloured Sejm woodcut from Łaski's Statutes,<sup>5</sup> although in *Mszał Jasnogórski*, the Cuyavia coat of arms has a silver half-lion on the right red side, and a black half-eagle on the left golden side, under a common crown.<sup>6</sup> Separate descriptions of the coats of arms of the Cuyavian voivodeships date back to the sixteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> T. Giergiel, J. Ptak, *Fryz heraldyczny odkryty w katedrze sandomierskiej*, „Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego”, vol. 10, 2011, pp. 15–16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, book 11, pub. M. Plezia et al., Warsaw 1997, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Klejnoty Długosze*, pub. M. Friedberg, „Rocznik Heraldyczny”, vol. 10, 1931, p. 55; S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje*, Warsaw 1993, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Information on coat of arms of lands listed in these armorials was compiled in S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 55 (which also includes information on earlier literature of the subject).

<sup>5</sup> B. Miodońska, *Przedstawienie państwa polskiego w Statucie Łaskiego z r. 1506*, „Folia Historiae Artium”, vol. 5, 1968, pp. 19–69; see: colour reproduction of woodcut in K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, flyleaf.

<sup>6</sup> *Orzeł Biały – 700 lat herbu Państwa Polskiego [wystawa]*, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie 26 czerwca – 15 października 1995, Warsaw 1995, pp. 101, 233.

In *Gniazdo Cnoty*, Bartłomiej Paprocki distinguishes between the two coats of arms, although he describes only the coat of arms of Brześć Voivodeship (red half-eagle and black half-lion on the golden field), as the coat of arms of Inowrocław Voivodeship was not known to him.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, in his work *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*, he states that both Cuyavian voivodeships used one coat of arms, derived from the Cuyavia coat of arms, in which both elements of the hybrid were supposed to be black and the field – golden.<sup>8</sup> Joachim Bielski and Aleksander Gwagnin, describing the coats of arms of Brześć and Inowrocław Voivodeships separately, also reduce them to a common pattern, but with the colours corresponding to the image of the coat of arms as depicted in Łaski's Statute.<sup>9</sup> Kasper Niesiecki also assigns such colours to the coat of arms, although with the reverse configuration of their elements (a white half-eagle and a black half-lion on a golden field under a common crown).<sup>10</sup> One has to agree with the opinion of Stefan K. Kuczyński, who believed that the colours of the coat of arms of the Cuyavian voivodeships were not entirely fixed at the end of the sixteenth century and even in the following centuries.<sup>11</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on a model coat of arms published by Paprocki in *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*, assuming that the half-lion was black, the half-eagle was white (silver), and the field of the shield was golden, as depicted in Łaski's Statute.

### Dobrzyń land

The coat of arms of Dobrzyń land is one of the oldest Polish land coats of arms. Its creation is connected with the return of that territory to the Crown in the mid-fourteenth century. The existence of this coat of arms even in the times of Casimir the Great is confirmed by numerous monuments of architectural sculpture. At that time, the emblem of the coat of arms depicted a crowned, bearded male head, often with horns, usually in a collar resembling a crown.<sup>12</sup> It appeared in a similar form in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the sources show evidence that this image was undergoing graphic evolution: with increasing frequency, the collar around the neck of the head was presented as a second, inverted crown. This is how the coat of arms of Dobrzyń land is depicted by Jan Długosz when he describes the land banner in his *Roczniki*, and a similar description can be found in *Klejnoty*, which are also commonly believed to be authored by Długosz.<sup>13</sup> The fifteenth century also brings the first record of the tinctures of the coat of arms. According to Długosz's description of the Grunwald banners, the crowned horned head was placed on a yellow (golden) field. On the heraldic frieze from Sandomierz Cathedral, the emblem was placed on a blue field.<sup>14</sup> Długosz states that the field of the coat of arms was supposed to be red; the Lynceni's Armorial, the Bergshammar Codex, and *Złote Runo* describe the field of the shield as black.<sup>15</sup> At the turn of the sixteenth century, the shape of the coat of arms became more stable. On a coloured woodcut from Łaski's Statute, the coat of arms depicts a bearded male head with a golden crown with three fleurons on a red field. Horns grew out of the head, and at the bottom of the shield there was a second golden crown with three reverse fleurons. The coat of arms from the mid-sixteenth century is described in an analogous manner by the Arsenal manuscript of

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<sup>7</sup> B. Paprocki, *Gniazdo Cnoty, zjazd Herby Rycerstwa sławnego Krolestwa Polskiego, Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Ruskiego, Pruskiego, Mazowieckiego, Zmudzkiego y innych Państw do tego Krolestwa należących Książąt, y Panow, początek swoy maią*, Cracow 1578, p. 1221.

<sup>8</sup> Idem, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, pub. J. Turowski, Cracow 1858, p. 905.

<sup>9</sup> J. Bielski, *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez syna jego Joachima Bielskiego wydana*, Cracow 1597, p. 6; A. Gwagnin, *Kronika Sarmacyey Europejskiej [...] przez Marcina Paszkowskiego [...] przełożona*, [no place] 1611, pp. 202–203.

<sup>10</sup> *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych*, vol. 1, pub. J. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1839, pp. 161, 168.

<sup>11</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 115. For example, the Arsenal manuscript of *Klejnoty* describes Cuyavia's coat of arms as a red half-eagle in a golden crown and a black half-lion in a golden crown on a golden field; *Stemmata Polonica, rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenalu w Paryżu*, pub. H. Polackówna, „Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Tow. Naukowego we Lwowie”, vol. 1, 1927, no. 2, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Zagadka herbu ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, [in:] *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. D. Gawinowa et al., Warsaw 1991, pp. 279–289; S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, pp. 16–20.

<sup>13</sup> *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*, p. 90; *Klejnoty Długosze*, p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> T. Giergiel, J. Ptak, *Fryz heraldyczny*, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, pp. 45–56 (earlier literature included).

*Klejnoty*,<sup>16</sup> the armorial of Marek Ambroży from Nysa,<sup>17</sup> and Bartłomiej Paprocki, although the latter does not mention its colours.<sup>18</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on its model version published by Paprocki in *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*, and the colours specified in historical sources – natural skin colour for the head, golden for the crown, black for the horns, and red for the field of the shield, as depicted in Łaski's Statute.

### Brześć Kujawski

The coat of arms of Brześć Kujawski is derived from the seal images that appear even on the oldest, fourteenth-century seals of the town. It depicts a brick, embattled town wall with a closed gate, with three embattled towers above it. The middle one was the highest and featured a coat of arms with the emblem of the Cuyavia Piast line (a half-eagle and a half-lion). The standing figures of patrons are shown in the spaces between the towers: on the dexter side – St. Stanislaus *in pontificalibus*, with a crosier in his left hand, and, on the sinister side, St. Peter with two keys.<sup>19</sup> A seal dating back to the fifteenth century contains the same image.<sup>20</sup> The design depicted on a sixteenth-century seal includes minor modifications: the central tower has a gable roof finished with a ball. On its right side, there is a kneeling figure, and on the left side, a standing figure representing St. Stanislaus.<sup>21</sup> The coat of arms of the town appears in a different form in Paprocki's *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*. The illustration in this armorial shows a brick battlement in a cartouche, with three embattled towers, the middle of which is the tallest. In the wall there is a gate with open doors, and an uncrowned eagle facing left standing in the gateway. According to the description accompanying the image, Brześć had 'three towers for the coat of arms, the eagle as in Cracow'.<sup>22</sup> Since the colours of the coat of arms in Old Poland are unknown, it was assumed that they corresponded with the heraldically and historically justified colours used in the town's contemporary coat of arms. The artistic stylization of the emblem was also taken from the contemporary version of the coat of arms.

### Inowrocław

The image constituting the model representation of the old Polish coat of arms of Inowrocław appears on the town seal which dates back to the turn of the fifteenth century. The seal's field shows a coat of arms with an eagle between two battlemented towers connected through bases at the bottom, and a floral ornament above the shield.<sup>23</sup> The image of a shield with an eagle replaced the image from the fourteenth-century town seal which depicted a façade of a temple with two rosettes and a gable roof topped with a cross with a two-coloured flag.<sup>24</sup> This emblem, in the form developed at the turn of the fifteenth century, was still used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with just slight changes in the style of the image. At that time, the bases of the towers were reshaped to take the form of corners which bent towards each other, and the floral ornaments, originally located above the shield, were replaced by a heraldic lily. The lily first appeared on a mid-seventeenth century seal. Subsequent changes in the image of the town emblem took place in the eighteenth century, when the shield of the coat of arms disappeared and the eagle itself was depicted between the towers.<sup>25</sup> Bartłomiej Paprocki describes and illustrates the coat of arms of Inowrocław in a manner which does not take the local

<sup>16</sup> *Stemmata Polonica*, p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> J. Szymański, *Nieznane źródło heraldyki polskiej z XVI wieku*, *SŻ*, vol. 32–33, 1990, p. 138.

<sup>18</sup> B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, p. 912.

<sup>19</sup> M. Gumowski, *Najstarsze pieczęcie miast polskich XIII i XIV wieku*, Toruń 1960, pp. 42–44, no. 27–30; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 316–317, no. B. 48–B. 51.

<sup>20</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 317, no. B. 52.

<sup>21</sup> W. Wittey, *Pieczęcie miast dawnej Polski*, no. 1, Cracow–Warsaw 1905, p. 30; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 317, no. B. 53.

<sup>22</sup> B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, p. 906.

<sup>23</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 340, no. B. 189.

<sup>24</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Nieznana najstarsza pieczęć Inowrocławia*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, vol. 12, 1968, no. 1, pp. 20–21; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 340, no. B. 188.

<sup>25</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, pp. 340–341, no. B. 190–B. 195.

tradition into account, presenting it as a brick battlement with three embattled towers and an open gate with an eagle in the gateway. According to his description, the town was to have ‘three towers for its coat of arms, the eagle as in Cracow’.<sup>26</sup>

We do not know the exact colours of the coat of arms in the times of Old Poland, and the significant changes that took place in the heraldry of the town in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries make it even more difficult to determine. The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image placed in the field of the town seal used in the sixteenth century. The solutions proposed by Marian Gumowski were adopted for the tincture: white (silver) for the shield’s field, red for the towers and their bases, green for the ornament, red for the inner shield’s field, and white (silver) for the eagle.<sup>27</sup>

### Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula

The only source of information about the shape of the coat of arms of Dobrzyń-upon-Vistula in the times of Old Poland are sphragistic monuments. Two town seals from the fourteenth century have been preserved to this day. Unfortunately, the image and legend on the first one, known to Marian Gumowski, were worn out and illegible.<sup>28</sup> The second, secret seal has an image of a two-storey tower between the capital letters D/B, with an open gate, topped with a hipped roof, with embattled long galleries at the height of the first and second floors, and two windows on the second floor.<sup>29</sup> This image, with slight corrections, repeats the representation depicted on the seal used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The difference between this version and the previous one is the fact that the tower has a gable, not hipped roof.<sup>30</sup> The ephemeral change of the seal’s image took place in the eighteenth century, when the emblem of the coat of arms of Dobrzyń land appeared in the field of the town’s seal.<sup>31</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image placed in the field of the town seal used in the sixteenth century. As the colours of the Dobrzyń’s coat of arms from the times of Old Poland remain unknown, we decided to adopt heraldically and historically justified colours used in the modern coat of arms of the town: the tower is white, the roof is green, the sigla are golden, and the field of the shield is red.

### Włocławek

The only records of the coat of arms of Włocławek, used by the town in the sixteenth century, can be found in sphragistic materials. The coat of arms depicted on old Polish town seals probably comes from the Middle Ages. It appeared for the first time probably in the fourteenth century, after the renewed foundation of the town as was Piotr Bokota’s hypothesis, after the town was re-incorporated into the Crown under the Treaty of Kalisz (1343).<sup>32</sup> The fourteenth-century seal, which has not been preserved to this day, showed the image of the town wall, with an open gate and three towers, the middle and highest of which was covered with a gable roof, and the two side ones were embattled. A shield with the Cuyavian hybrid was placed on the middle tower.<sup>33</sup> In the fifteenth century, the town simplified the seal image opting for three towers with gable roofs. There is a gate with a wicket in the middle, highest tower, and its roof is topped with a flag.<sup>34</sup> The town returned to the design known

<sup>26</sup> B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, p. 906.

<sup>27</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczone i herby miast wielkopolskich*, Poznań 1932, p. 98.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie miast polskich*, p. 65, no. 78; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 329, no. B. 120.

<sup>29</sup> B. Engel, *Die mittelalterlichen Siegel des Thorner Rathsarchivs, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Ordenslandes*, t. 1: *Ordensbeamte und Städte*, Thorn 1894, p. 10, Taf. V, no. 91; M. Gumowski, *Najstarsze pieczęcie miast polskich*, p. 65, no. 79; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 329, no. B. 121.

<sup>30</sup> W. Wittey, *Pieczone miast dawnej Polski*, p. 55; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 329, no. B. 122.

<sup>31</sup> M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 330, no. B. 124.

<sup>32</sup> P. Bokota, *Uwagi o pieczęciach i herbie Włocławka w średniowieczu i okresie nowożytnym*, „Rocznik Muzealny”, vol. 5, 1994, pp. 24–28.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, p. 32, no. 1; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 457, no. B. 768.

<sup>34</sup> P. Bokota, *Uwagi o pieczęciach i herbie Włocławka*, p. 32, no. 2; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, pp. 457–458, no. B. 769.

from the fourteenth-century seal on another seal that was introduced in the sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Judging by the chronological element in the legend, the later seal of the town made in 1641 contains slight modifications: the shield with the emblem placed on the middle tower disappears from the coat of arms, and the gabled roof takes the shape resembling a bishop's mitre. Two side towers are topped with battlements.<sup>36</sup> The sixteenth-century seal of the Włocławek town court contains a slightly different image: a brick town wall with battlements and an open gate, and two towers above it: one embattled, the other slanted. In the eighteenth century, the emblem placed on the seals of the vogt's office was similar to the emblem of the general town seal.<sup>37</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image placed in the field of the town seal used in the sixteenth century. Since the colours of the coat of arms in Old Poland are unknown, the heraldically and historically justified colours used in the contemporary coat of arms of the town were adopted, assuming white (silver) for the walls, and red for the shield field. The black colour of the cupola on the top of the central tower is consistent with the image of the emblem published in the work titled *Miasta Polskie w Tysiącleciu*.<sup>38</sup> According to Piotr Bokota, since the coat of arms on the middle tower of the emblem constitutes a reference to the Cuyavian branch of the Piast dynasty (probably to King Casimir the Great), and not the Cuyavian land itself,<sup>39</sup> the layout of the emblem and its colours were different than those of the territorial coat of arms. They correspond to the reconstruction of the coat of arms of the Cuyavian Piasts made by Stefan K. Kuczyński, according to which, the coat of arms consisted of a white half-eagle and a yellow (golden) half-lion on a red field.<sup>40</sup>

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*Translated by Katarzyna Bartkowiak*

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<sup>35</sup> P. Bokota, *Uwagi o pieczęciach i herbie Włocławka*, pp. 32–33, no. 4; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 458, no. B. 770.

<sup>36</sup> P. Bokota, *Uwagi o pieczęciach i herbie Włocławka*, p. 33, no. 5; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 458, no. B. 771.

<sup>37</sup> P. Bokota, *Uwagi o pieczęciach i herbie Włocławka*, p. 33, no. 6; M. Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich*, p. 458, no. B. 771a, no. 772.

<sup>38</sup> *Miasta polskie*, vol. 1, tabl. XV.

<sup>39</sup> P. Bokota, *Uwagi o pieczęciach i herbie Włocławka*, pp. 24–29.

<sup>40</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie i herby miasta Łęczycy oraz ziemi łeczyckiej*, Łęczycza 1985, p. 30.

### III.7.7 MAZOVIA

*Henryk Rutkowski*

The coats of arms of the three Mazovian Voivodeships became established in the sixteenth century after this province was incorporated into the Crown.<sup>1</sup> The coat of arms of **Mazovian Voivodeship**, still sometimes called Mazovian Duchy after the incorporation, was the silver eagle (white) with spread wings on red background. This was an old symbol of the Piast dynasty, since the fourteenth century used as the coat of arms of the entire ducal Mazovia.<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, the coats of arms of the two remaining voivodeships were created on the basis of this symbol. **Płock Voivodeship** adopted a black eagle with a golden (yellow) letter P on its breast as the coat of arms, and **Rawa Voivodeship** assumed the same eagle with the letter R.<sup>3</sup>

Just as on the map of Płock Voivodeship,<sup>4</sup> the coats of arms of the voivodeships were based on a drawing from the armorial by Jan Długosz, made in the middle of the sixteenth century. The drawing shows the coat of arms of the Duchy of Mazovia, so also of the voivodeship of the same name: a white eagle (silver) with yellow beak and claws (golden) on a red background.<sup>5</sup> In order to eliminate random mistakes of this drawing, the image of the eagle was slightly corrected, achieving a full symmetry of wings, legs and tail. The shape of the escutcheon was also modified. The same drawing, but with black eagle and added appropriate letters shows the coats of arms of Płock and Rawa Voivodeships.

The coat of arms of Old Warsaw was the mermaid, whose upper part was a woman wielding a sword and a shield, and lower part a bird-dragon. The drawing of the coat of arms of Warsaw was prepared on the basis of the city seal from the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The coat of arms of Płock shows a gable and two church (cathedral) towers, with a defensive wall and an open gate below. The drawing was based on a fourteenth century seal.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stefan K. Kuczyński advised us on the matter of coats of arms.

<sup>2</sup> Whereas the coat of arms of the Czersk-Warsaw province between the end of the fourteenth century and 1526 looked quite different: on shield party per cross, eagle and winged dragon interchangeably (former coat of arms of Czersk province); cf. K. Stronczyński, *Pomniki książęce Piastów, lenników dawnej Polski...*, Piotrków 1888, p. 121 and other; M. Gumowski, M. Haisig, S. Mikucki, *Sfragistyka*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 194–195.

<sup>3</sup> The oldest description of the coats of arms of the three Mazovia Voivodeships in: M. Bielski, *Kronika wszytkiego świata...*, Cracow 1551, ff. 294–294v.

<sup>4</sup> WP, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Stemmata Polonica, rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenalu w Paryżu*, pub. H. Polackówna, „Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Tow. Naukowego we Lwowie”, vol. 1, 1927, no. 2, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> We used a photograph from the collection of the Historical Museum of Warsaw. The reproduction of this seal in: L. Marcinkowski, *Godło miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, [in:] *Kalendarzyk polityczno-historyczny m. st. Warszawy na rok 1916 wydany staraniem Komitetu Obywatelskiego m. st. Warszawy*, il. 4; cf. S.K. Kuczyński, *Herb miasta Warszawy*, „Kronika Warszawy”, 1970, no. 2, pp. 45–47.

<sup>7</sup> Reproductions of the seal: Nowowiejski 1931, p. 172; M. Gumowski, *Najstarsze pieczęcie miast polskich XIII i XIV wieku*, Toruń 1960 (RTNT, vol. 62, no. 2), p. 173 and tabl. XXVI. Compare with the drawings showing the coat of arms: WP – main map; M. Gumowski, *Herby miast polskich*, Warsaw 1960, p. 270; *Miasta polskie*, vol. 2, tabl. CX.

The coat of arms of Rawa shows a defensive wall with an open gate and three towers. The drawing was based on the stamp of the city seal from 1552, which survived on a document from 1591.<sup>8</sup>

(1973)

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

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<sup>8</sup> The seal in the National Museum in Cracow, the collection of Wittyg (photograph was used); cf. M. Gumowski, *Herby miast województwa warszawskiego*, „Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, 1937, p. 163; idem, *Herby miast polskich*, p. 286; *Miasta polskie*, vol. 2, tabl. LXII.

### III.7.8 PODLASIE VOIVODESHIP

#### Coats of arms of the Voivodeship and towns

*Michał Gochna*

The main map features a sixteenth-century coat of arms of the Podlasie Voivodeship, while the heraldic emblems of selected towns have been included on their corresponding town plans.

The Podlasie Voivodeship coat of arms was officially established during the creation of the Constitution on the 5 March 1569, which was a document pertaining specifically to the ‘reassimilation of the Podlasie lands into The [Polish] Crown’. In the document King Sigmund August decreed that the ‘military banners be adorned with the eagle, the symbol of the Polish Crown’.<sup>1</sup> This rule was not totally abided to by everyone. The knight on horseback emblem given to the Podlasie Voivodeship, in a similar way as it was to other Lithuanian provinces, at the diet of 1566 was used interchangeably.<sup>2</sup> This chapter, in accordance with Stefan Krzysztof Kuczyński’s conjectures accepts the split coat of arms, that is the crowned white eagle and Lithuanian *Pogoń* (Vytis) on a *gules*, or red background that is divided in two down the vertical axis.<sup>3</sup> The coat of arms featured on the map was based on its likenesses as found in the constitutional inventories of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and here created by Maciej Marcjan Ładowski as well as the ‘Polonia’ map, one charted by Karol Perthées.<sup>4</sup> In both these depictions the eagle, when featured on the crest of Podlasie, is without a crown.<sup>5</sup> These emblems were surrounded by a bordure borrowed from the *Pogoń* (Vytis) crest that featured in the works of Bartosz Paprocki.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VC, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 219; VL, vol. 2, p. 79 (750).

<sup>2</sup> Although the crest was given to the Podlasie Voivodeship, it is noted that the matter concerned the standard for the Drohiczyn and Mielnik lands, with there being no mention of Bielsk. One may conjecture, however, that the coat-of-arms covered the voivodeship in its entirety. At this time a most similar image was bestowed on many a Lithuanian province, with variations being only in their colouration. The Podlasie standard was to have been yellow with the crest depicted against a white background; M.K. Любавский, *Литовско-русский Сейм. Опыт по истории учреждения в связи с внутренним строем и внешней жизнью государства*, Москва 1900, p. 230 (тиложеня): ‘хоругвь Дорогицкая и Мельницкая жолто-горачая, въ беломъ пою гербъ’. According to M. Bielski the Podlasie standard was to have had on the one side the Eagle with the Knight on horseback on the other, which could have resulted at the close of the sixteenth century in the portrayal of both emblems together on a shield; idem, *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach[ima] Bielskiego syna iego wydana*, Cracow 1597, p. 9; K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych i wydany przez Jana Nep. Bobrowicza*, vol. 1, Lipsk 1839, pp. 204–207; B. Paprocki, *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego Na pięciuro Xiąg rozdzielone*, Cracow 1584, p. 719; Gołaszewski, Zakrzewski, Ustrój, pp. 202–203.

<sup>3</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie: geneza, treści, funkcje*, Warsaw 1993, pp. 95, 107, 183–184.

<sup>4</sup> M.M. Ładowski, *Inwentarz Konstytucy Koronnych Y W[ielkiego] X[ięstwa] Litewskiego Przez Macieia Marcjana Ładowskiego od Roku Pańskiego 1550 do R[oku] 1683 Krotko Zebrany*, Lipsk 1733, p. 1 (Konstytucye Koronne y W[ielkiego] X[ięstwa] L[itewskiego]); K. Perthées, *Polonia secundum legitimas projectionis stereographicae regulas et iuxta recentissimas observationes adhibitis MDCCLXX*, a copy of the map in the collections of ZAH. On Perthées’s map of Podlasie of 1795 we see only the Knight (*Pogoń*) in the Podlasie coat of arms.

<sup>5</sup> On the strength of the aforementioned Constitution the image of the royal eagle was to have served in the depiction of all of the three Podlasie lands: Drohiczyn, Mielnik and Bielsk. Seal presses were even minted for each of them. We can see the Drohiczyn land seal with the emblem of the Eagle though without a crown in a document of 1590. One may therefore conjecture that the seals employed by the lands of Mielnik and Bielsk were similar in appearance. The Drohiczyn land were from 1516 to have employed seals with the Knight emblem in the coat of arms along with the letter ‘S’ and so it is not to be excluded that at a later time there was a fusion of both coats of arms as was the case with the emblem depicting the voivodeship itself. S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, pp. 183–184; M.K. Любавский, *Очерк истории Литовско-Русского государства до Люблинской унии включительно*, Москва 1915, p. 375; А.И. Шаланда, *Символы і гербы зямель Беларусі ў X–XVIII ст. геральдычна-сфрагістычныя нарысы*, Мінск 2012, pp. 96–97 (there the image of the seal for the Drohiczyn land of 1590).

<sup>6</sup> B. Paprocki, *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*, p. 719.

The coat of arms representing the town of Drohiczyń was reconstructed on the basis of a municipal seal that dates back to 1581, and presented the head of an ox. It is presumed that this seal first started to be used regularly around the mid-sixteenth century. Sigillographic data from the eighteenth century indicates that the municipal authorities then employed a different crest, one featuring an oxen facing to the right, standing on a strip of land (with its right front leg raised or not, depending on the version in which it was depicted). The colours for the sixteenth century coat of arms were chosen in accordance with Marian Gumowski's depiction – a *sable* (black) ox on an *or*, or yellow shield.<sup>7</sup> The *bordure* for this crest was borrowed from the aforementioned seal of 1581.

The reconstruction of the Bielsk town crest was aided by two municipal seals that date back to 1577 and 1616 respectively. They depict an aurochs facing the *dexter*, or left hand side of the shield. Over time the coat of arms evolved – seals from the eighteenth century depict the aurochs facing to the right, being heraldically the accurate side of the depiction. Here we have adopted the likeness that appears on the city seals, that is to say the left-facing version. The crest was coloured in accordance with Marian Gumowski, with *argent*, or a white background and red aurochs with gilded horns.<sup>8</sup> The *bordure* was drawn on the basis of the seal of 1577.

Out of all of the municipal crests and coats of arms featured in this volume it is only the emblem for Mielnik that lacks visual indicators; ones that would categorically point to what it indeed looked like during the period of the sixteenth century. The crest first appears on an eighteenth century municipal seal, imprinted in two copies for the years 1777–1778. Here the depiction is of the pastoral Lamb of God in a field, surrounded by a halo and bearing a banner embellished with a cross. The top of the shield features a five-pointed crown, framed on both sides by palm branches which join together beneath the shield. The top also features two likenesses of the letter 'M'.<sup>9</sup> This visualisation was utilized in the process of reconstructing the Mielnik coat of arms, although the recreation itself was limited to the items featured on the shield, with the palms, crown and letters being treated as seventeenth-century or eighteenth-century additions.<sup>10</sup> The colouration was chosen on the example and model of a most similar crest from the Wieluń land featuring a silver lamb with a golden cross and halo along with a silver banner with red markings, with all this placed against green pasture and red background.<sup>11</sup> The aforementioned seal was also used as the basis for the crest's *bordure*.

The Węgrów crest was reconstructed on the basis of a municipal seal from 1596. It depicts a bear facing the *dexter* (left) side of the shield with the Columns of Giediminas<sup>12</sup> hovering above it. The colours, a red background with silver columns, are based on the description of the coat of arms found in a copy of a heraldry book compiled by Jan Długosz.<sup>13</sup> The brown tint of the bear was ascertained on the basis of the Węgrów Privilege (charter) of 1651, in which King Jan Kazimierz grants the town, amongst other things, the rights to a new crest and municipal coat-of-arms. It features a bear **of natural colouration**, facing the sinister, or right side of the shield with its front right paw outstretched and the emblem of the Radziwiłł Bugles embellished.<sup>14</sup> The crest is surrounded by the same *bordure* that features on the seal of 1596.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

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<sup>7</sup> M. Gumowski, *Herby miast polskich*, Warsaw 1960, p. 163; Rimša, *Pieczęć*, pp. 365–370; W. Wittyg, *Pieczęć miast dawnej Polski*, Cracow 1905, pp. 56–57.

<sup>8</sup> Rimša, *Pieczęć*, pp. 305–312; Bukowski, Michaluk, *Przywileje*, pp. 58–60; W. Wittyg, *Pieczęć*, p. 16–17. M. Gumowski, *Herby*, p. 131 adds to the coat of arms equally a green glade on which there stands an aurochs – but this was to appear on seals only with the advent of the eighteenth century.

<sup>9</sup> Rimša, *Pieczęć*, p. 640.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 640–641.

<sup>11</sup> *Stemmata Polonica, rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenalu w Paryżu*, pub. H. Polackówna, „Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Tow. Naukowego we Lwowie”, vol. 1, 1927, no. 2, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> Rimša, *Pieczęć*, pp. 945–950; AR V, no. 17214, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Stemmata Polonica*, p. 28.

<sup>14</sup> KRSW, sign. 3195e, p. 192; AGAD, Zb. dok. papierowych, no. 603. The background (backcloth) of the coat of arms was gold, and it cannot be excluded that this colour was witnessed on the sixteenth-century coat of arms itself. Cf. Rimša, *Pieczęć*, p. 949, where the author places an image of an eighteenth-century seal with the coat of arms bestowed in 1651.

### III.7.9b ROYAL PRUSSIA

#### Coats of arms of the province, voivodeships and towns

*Marcin Hlebionek*

The coat of arms of Royal Prussia was included in the set of Polish land coats of arms in the second half of the fifteenth century upon the incorporation of the Prussian lands into the Crown in 1454. In the same year, the first image of the escutcheon of this territory – eagle with a crown on its neck – appeared on the pennies minted in the Toruń mint. Differing from the version known from years to come, it illustrates the evolution of this coat of arms.<sup>1</sup> Already in 1456, another version appeared on the seal of the governor of this territory, as well as the slightly later (1457) issue of Toruń coins. It depicted an eagle with a crown around its neck, with an arm holding a sword rising from the heraldic right of the eagle's torso (Sword Eagle). The sign appears in a similar form on the seal of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, in which the vambraced arm grows not from the eagle's body, but its right wing. In this form, the shield of the Royal Prussia coat of arms was preserved and used in modern times, as attested by subsequent national seals of Royal Prussia, but also numerous monuments of architectural sculpture.<sup>2</sup> It was also referred to in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the coats of arms of the provinces into which Prussian territory was divided (see below). Information about its tinctures comes from *Klejnoty [Jewels]* presumably by Jan Długosz: the field of the shield was to be argent (silver), the eagle was sable, the crown – ore and the armed arm was the colour of nature.<sup>3</sup> Such tinctures of the coat of arms were confirmed by its depiction in multiple sources: the painting *Okręt Kościoła* [Ship of the Church] (from around 1500), once located in the Artus Court in Gdańsk, stained copies of the coat of arms from Jan Łaski's *Statuty* [Statutes], and the armorials by Marek Ambroży of Nysa or Bartłomiej Paprocki.<sup>4</sup> It was only in Joachim Bielski's *Chronicle* that a mention of different tinctures of the coat of arms appeared. According to Bielski, the coat of arms of Royal Prussia was supposed to represent the white eagle in the red (gules) field, with a golden (or) crown around its neck and an armed arm growing out of its wing.<sup>5</sup> Although this information was repeated in subsequent armorials (e.g., by K. Niesiecki<sup>6</sup>), such tinctures of the coat of arms were rather not used publicly, as evidenced by the set of Old Polish flags of Prussian voivodeships described by Stefan Krzysztof Kuczyński.<sup>7</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image placed on the first national seal of Royal Prussia, also used in the sixteenth century, with the following tinctures: sable (black) for the Eagle, or (gold) for the crown, proper for the armed arm and argent for the shield field.

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<sup>1</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje*, Warsaw 1993, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 203; B. Śliwiński, *Herb województwa pomorskiego*, [in:] *Współczesna heraldyka samorządowa i jej problemy. I Krakowskie Kolokwium Heraldyczne*, ed. W. Drelicharz, Z. Piech, Cracow 2000, pp. 154–155.

<sup>3</sup> *Klejnoty Długoszowe*, pub. M. Friedberg, „Rocznik Heraldyczny”, vol. 10, 1931, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> B. Paprocki, *Gniazdo Cnoty, zkąd Herby Rycerstwa sławnego Krolestwa Polskiego, Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Ruskiego, Pruskiego, Mazowieckiego, Żmudzkiego, y inszych Państw do tego Krolestwa należących Książąt, y Panow, początek swoy maią*, Cracow 1578, p. 1230; idem, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, pub. J. Turowski, Cracow 1858 p. 921; S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 203; J. Szymański, *Nieznane źródło heraldyki polskiej z XVI wieku*, *SŻ*, vol. 32–33, 1990, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bielski, *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez syna jego Joachima Bielskiego wydana*, Cracow 1597, p. 8; see also B. Śliwiński, *Herb województwa pomorskiego*, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych*, vol. 1, pub. J. Bobrowicz, Lipsk 1839, p. 213; see also S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, pp. 204–205.

<sup>7</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 204.

## Chełmno Voivodeship

As we have already mentioned, the coat of arms of the Chełmno Voivodeship in the sixteenth century referred to that of the province. As in the coat of arms of Royal Prussia, also in the provincial coat of arms, there was a black (sable) eagle in a silver (argent) field, with a golden (or) crown around its neck and an armed hand rising from its right wing or body. This shape of the provincial coat of arms is described by Długosz's *Klejnoty*, and in the seventeenth century it was placed on the land seal of this province, from which it disappeared in the next century and was replaced by the crowned Eagle.<sup>8</sup> According to some nineteenth-century researchers, the tinctures of the coat of arms of Chełmno Voivodeship corresponded to those assigned to Royal Prussia by Joachim Bielski, as described above.<sup>9</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image from the first country seal of Royal Prussia, also used in the sixteenth century, with the following tinctures black (sable) for the Eagle, gold (or) for the crown, natural for the hand of the armed arm and white (silver, argent) for the shield field.

## Malbork Voivodeship

Similarly to the Chełmno Voivodeship, the Malbork Voivodeship in the sixteenth century also referred in its coat of arms to that of the Royal Prussia, which represented a black eagle in a silver field with a crown on its neck and a vambraced arm rising on the heraldic right side of its body.<sup>10</sup> The later tradition assigned some different tinctures to the coat of arms of Malbork Voivodeship: silver field, within a red (gules) eagle with a crown around its neck and a vambraced hand rising from its right wing or its right side of the body.<sup>11</sup>

Again, the reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on its shape presented on the first national seal of Royal Prussia, also used in the sixteenth century, with the following tinctures: sable (black) for the Eagle, or (gold) for the crown, natural for the hand of the armed arm and argent for the shield field.

## Pomeranian Voivodeship

After the Second Toruń Peace, all three Prussian voivodeships, Pomeranian included, used the provincial symbol (a black eagle with a crown around its neck and a vambraced arm rising from the right wing) as their coat of arms. This is how the coats of arms of the lands of Royal Prussia are described by Długosz's *Klejnoty*.<sup>12</sup> However, in the course of the sixteenth century, profound changes took place in the heraldry of the Pomeranian Voivodeship. The coat of arms initially used there (the Sword Eagle) was gradually being replaced by the Griffin, previously associated with the heraldry of Western Pomerania in general, and the Duchy of Słupsk in particular.<sup>13</sup> The red griffin in the silver field was still only attributed to the Duchy of Słupsk by Bartłomiej Paprocki in his *Gniazdo Cnoty [The Nest of Virtue]*,<sup>14</sup> but on the pages of slightly later *Herby rycerstwa polskiego [Coats of Arms of the Polish knights]* he already associates it with the Pomeranian Voivodeship.<sup>15</sup> Griffin as the charge in the coat of arms of the Pomeranian Voivodeship is mentioned in the chronicle of Joachim Bielski ('in the silver field, the black Griffin')<sup>16</sup> and later rolls of arms.<sup>17</sup> From Błażej Śliwiński's research, we gather that the belief that it was the Griffin that was the proper coat of arms of Gdańsk Pomerania (and thus the Pomeranian Voivodeship) began to gain its strength at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That was also a result of assuming the Griffin as a charge of the dukes of Gdańsk,

<sup>8</sup> *Klejnoty Długoszowe*, p. 55; S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 202.

<sup>9</sup> Z. Gloger, *Geografia historyczna ziem dawnej Polski*, Cracow 1900, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 46.

<sup>11</sup> Z. Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 156.

<sup>12</sup> *Klejnoty Długoszowe*, p. 55; S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 66, footnote no. 183.

<sup>13</sup> B. Śliwiński, *Herb województwa pomorskiego*, pp. 154–155.

<sup>14</sup> B. Paprocki, *Gniazdo cnoty*, p. 1231.

<sup>15</sup> B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, p. 922.

<sup>16</sup> J. Bielski, *Kronika polska*, p. 8. Supposedly, contrary to the Paprockis' findings, the Griffin's colours may be connected with that of the Royal Prussia coat of arms.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g., *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego*, p. 222; S.K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 202; Błażej Śliwiński dates the common conjecture that the Griffin was the oldest coat of arms of the Pomeranian Voivodeship to the turn of the sixteenth century and seventeenth century. B. Śliwiński, *Herb województwa pomorskiego*, p. 155.

as evidenced by the placement of this coat of arms on the ducal tomb in Oliwa from 1615.<sup>18</sup> In the seventeenth century, despite some turbulences, the Pomeranian Voivodeship's symbolic representation was dominated by the image of the Griffin.<sup>19</sup>

The reconstruction of this coat of arms was based on the image placed on the first national seal of Royal Prussia, also used in the sixteenth century, with the following tinctures black (sable) for the Eagle, gold (or) for the crown, natural beige for the armed arm and white (argent) for the shield field.

## Chelmino

The medieval seals of the town of Chelmino depicted a Teutonic Knight rider holding a spear with a banner with waves on it.<sup>20</sup> The early modern coat of arms of the town, however, derives from the image placed in the medieval privy (*sigillum secretum*) and signet seals of the town and depicts three or four wavy stripes per fess, usually with a cross pattée (*Krzyż kawalerski*) between them.<sup>21</sup> Genetically, it can be associated with the coat of arms known from the seal of the Teutonic Vogts of Lipienek.<sup>22</sup> Based on the description of the Chelmino banner from Grunwald given by Długosz, the sixteenth-century town's coat of arms can be reconstructed as follows: red (gules) field, within two wavy stripes with three bends per fess, with a cross pattée sable above.<sup>23</sup> The understanding of its symbology changed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is documented by the image of the Chelmino coat of arms published in the work of Paweł Kuszewicz from 1623<sup>24</sup> There, instead of wavy stripes (rivers), nine hills topped with a Knight's Cross were featured. A similar shape of the coat of arms appears on the town map from the Steiner album (1750, without the cross pattée though) and the front description of Jakub Czechowicz's *Praktyka Kriminalna [Criminology in practice]* from 1769.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, rivers still appeared on the town seals as long as until the partitions.<sup>26</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image from the sixteenth-century town seal depicting three wavy stripes per fess with a Knight's Cross over the middle one, assuming the following tinctures: white (argent) for the stripes, black (sable) for the cross, and red (gules) for the shield field.

## Malbork

The imagery of the seals of Malbork had already been established in the Middle Ages. The great seal of the town of Malbork depicted a battlement with a closed gate, above which there were three towers, two smaller ones the sides with a gable roof and two windows, and a higher tower in the centre, also with a gable roof and a shield on which a monastic cross was featured. The image on the

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<sup>18</sup> B. Śliwiński, *Herb województwa pomorskiego*, p. 155.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> F. A. Vossberg, *Geschichte der preussischen Münzen und Siegel von frühester Zeit bis zum Ende der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Berlin 1843, p. 30, Taf. XIII, no. 1–2; B. Engel, *Die mittelalterlichen Siegel des Thorner Rathsarchivs, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Ordenslandes, Erste Theil: Ordensbeamte und Städte*, Thorn 1894, p. 9; O. Hupp, *Die Wappen und Siegel der deutschen Städte, Flecken und Dörfer*, vol. 1, *Ostpreußen, Westpreußen und Brandenburg*, Frankfurt am Main 1896, p. 23; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby miast pomorskich*, Toruń 1939, p. 19; *idem*, *Najstarsze pieczęcie miast polskich z XIII–XIV wieku*, Toruń 1960, pp. 50–51, no. 43–44; H.G. Boehm, *Siegel des Deutschen Ordens*, Bad Mergentheim 1993 (no pagination); *Pieczęcie przy dokumentach Związku Pruskiego. Akt erekcyjny i dokumenty akcesyjne*, pub. M. Hlebionek, Toruń 2017, p. 352, no. 128\*.

<sup>21</sup> B. Engel, *Die mittelalterlichen Siegel*, p. 9, Taf. IV, no. 71–83; O. Hupp, *Die Wappen*, p. 19; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>22</sup> M. Hlebionek, *Miasto na pieczęci. Wokół wizualności pieczęci miejskich z terenu Prus*, ZH, vol. 84, 2019, no. 1, pp. 108–109.

<sup>23</sup> *Ioannis Długosii annales seu cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, liber XI, pub. M. Plezia et al., Warsaw 1997, p. 94; *Jana Długosza Banderia Prutenorum*, pub. K. Górski, Warsaw 1958, pp. 82–84; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> S. Sondel, *Paweł Kuszewicz i jego tłumaczenie rewizji nowomiejskiej prawa chełmińskiego*, [in:] *Historia prawa – historia kultury. Liber memorialis Vitoldo Maisel dedicatus*, ed. E. Borkowska-Bagieńska, H. Olszewski, Poznań 1994, p. 266; see also: *Prawa chełmińskiego poprawionego y z łacińskiego języka na polski przetłumaczonego xiąg pięciąro, ku pospolitemu użytkowi przez Pawła Kuszewica z Chelmina*, Poznań 1697, p. 2, where the shield with the coat of arms with a hill with a Knight's Cross in the centre was placed on a banner held by a rider, which refers to the imagery of the Chelmino great seals.

<sup>25</sup> For the depiction of the two coats of arms, see: *Dzieje Chelmina. Zarys monograficzny*, ed. M. Biskup, Warsaw 1987, pp. 107, 119.

<sup>26</sup> W. Wittyg, *Pieczęcie miast dawnej Polski*, Cracow–Warsaw 1905, p. 36; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 20–21.

oldest privy seal differed from the grand seal in that the town wall was rounded, and the monastic coat of arms was not placed on the central tower.<sup>27</sup> As far as the modern era seals are concerned, they refer to the images known from the medieval privy seal of the town described above.<sup>28</sup> It seems that the image known from these seals corresponded to that depicted on the town's coats of arms. The tinctures from Old Polish times, however, are unknown.<sup>29</sup> According to M. Gumowski the coat of arms had the following tinctures: in a silver (argent) field, a red (gules) battlement with a closed golden (or) gate, over which three towers with blue (azure) gabled roofs topped with knobs, flanked with two side towers with two windows.<sup>30</sup> Such a shield of the coat of arms of the Teutonic Order does not appear in modern sigillography.

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image from the sixteenth-century seal of the city, adopting the tinctures proposed by M. Gumowski: red (gules) for the building, gold (or) for the gate, blue (azure) for the helmets crowning the towers and white (argent) for the shield field.

## Elbląg

Until 1478, there were two towns of Elbląg, using different coats of arms. On the great seals of the Old Town of Elbląg there was an image of a cog with a helmsman, with a flag on its mast, on the flag there was a cross below in the seal field. The town seal made around the mid-fourteenth century featured on the ship's stern castle there was a banner parted per fess, cross pattée within each field.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile, the cross in the seal field disappeared. The coat of arms featured on the banner was featured on a privy seal used since 1357. It depicts a shield parted per fess, first cross pattée field flanked by two mullets, second: lozenged field, within cross pattée.<sup>32</sup> Such an emblem, however, sans mullets, appears consistently on the later seals of the Old Town.<sup>33</sup> The lozenged pattern of the second field of the coat of arms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is not used consistently. This may have been a form of a hachure which is supposed to indicate the colour differentiation of both fields, impossible to achieve in the monochromatic design of the seal.<sup>34</sup> The New Town of Elbląg, located in the mid-fourteenth century had a completely different coat of arms, which first appears on the oldest town seal: the shield parted per pale, within dexter – three roses per pale, sinister – a cross.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The great seal: F.A. Vossberg, *Geschichte*, p. 30, Taf V, no. 1; C. Beckherrn, *Die Wappen der Städte Alt-Preussens*, Königsberg 1892, p. 44; O. Hupp, *Die Wappen*, p. 19; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 116; idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie*, pp. 143–144, no. 265, tabl. XXI, no. 265; The privy seal: F.A. Vossberg, *Geschichte*, p. 35, Taf. XIV, no. 20; C. Beckherrn, *Die Wappen*, p. 44; O. Hupp, *Die Wappen*, p. 19; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 116–117; idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie*, p. 144, no. 266; H.G. Boehm, *Siegel des Deutschen Ordens*, (no pagination; copy by F.A. Vossberg); idem, *Siegel des Deutschen Ordens von Akkon bis Mergentheim*, Bad Mergentheim 2002 (Schriftenreihe der Wissenschaftlichen Vereinigung für den Deutschen Orden 21–22) (no pagination).

<sup>28</sup> O. Hupp, *Die Wappen*, p. 19; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 117.

<sup>29</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 118, mentions tinctures of Malbork coat of arms, which was depicted in the armoria of Konrad Grünenberg. In fact, what was there depicted was the coat of arms of a settlement called *Maryenburg in Bolland* (see *Des Conrad Grünenberg Ritters und Burgers zu Costenz Wappenbuch*, ed. R. Stillfried-Alcantara, A.M. Hildebrandt, Görlitz 1875, p. 44; Lief. 12, XVI). Even if, as the publishers claim (the page title suggests that the coats of arms of the four castles of the Holy Roman Empire) it really refers to Malbork, Grünenberg still used an imaginary coat of arms with a red (gules) cross with white (argent) border in the black (sable) field. The architecture depicted in the shield was deemed by Gumowski a background of a sort, or a supporter indicating its owner.

<sup>30</sup> M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 118.

<sup>31</sup> F.A. Vossberg, *Münzen und Siegel der preussischen Städte Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, so wie der Herzöge der Pommerellen in Mittelalter*, Berlin 1841, Taf. IV, A, B, C; H. Kownatzki, *Siegel, Wappen und Fahnen von Elbing*. „Elbinger Jahrbuch”, vol. 9, 1931, pp. 116–119, no. 1, 3–4; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 36–38; idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie*, pp. 68–70, no. 87–89; J. Tandecki, *Pieczęcie i herby Starego i Nowego miasta Elbląga*, [in:] *Historia Elbląga*, vol. 1: *Do 1466 r.*, ed. S. Gierszewski, A. Groth, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 144–145; B. Możejko, *Najdawniejsze pieczęcie i herb miasta Elbląga*, [in:] *Z przeszłości Elbląga*, ed. A. Groth, Koszalin 1999, pp. 55–62, il. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7.

<sup>32</sup> H. Kownatzki, *Siegel*, p. 117, no. 2; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 37–38; idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie*, p. 70, no. 90; J. Tandecki, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 145; B. Możejko, *Najdawniejsze pieczęcie*, p. 60.

<sup>33</sup> F.A. Vossberg, *Münzen und Siegel*, Taf. IV, no. D, E; H. Kownatzki, *Siegel*, pp. 120–125, no. 5–13; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 38–42.

<sup>34</sup> H. Kownatzki, *Siegel*, pp. 135–136; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 41–42.

<sup>35</sup> F.A. Vossberg, *Münzen und Siegel*, Taf. IV, H, J; H. Kownatzki, *Siegel*, pp. 128–131, no. 14–19; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 42–44; idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie*, pp. 71–72, no. 92–94; J. Tandecki, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 146; B. Możejko, *Najdawniejsze pieczęcie*, pp. 59–60.

After the formal merger of the two towns in the second half of the fifteenth century, the New Town of Elbląg still had its own seal, although the scope of its use was strictly limited only to court and internal documents.<sup>36</sup> The sixteenth-century seals of the New Town of Elbląg presented the town's coat of arms as it had been shaped in the Middle Ages.<sup>37</sup> The restrictions on the usage of the New Town seals and the coat of arms resulted in the coat of arms of the Old Town coming to the fore in the system of municipal symbols of power. With time, it became a symbol for the entire town. In the sixteenth century, the coat of arms of Elbląg featured the field parted per pale cross within each field. Information on the tinctures of the Elbląg coat of arms can be found in the description of the town and the Elbląg commandry flags captured by Poles at Grunwald written by Jan Długosz. The field was divided per fess counterchanged, first: white (argent) field, within – a cross gules, second field: gules, within – cross argent.<sup>38</sup> Such established tinctures were used by the town in the early modern period. In the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a belief, perhaps inspired by the town's oldest privy seals, that the lower field of the coat of arms should be obliquely counter checked with gold (or). The description of the coat of arms with a checkered bottom field can be found in the poem devoted to the coat of arms of the city by Frederick Zameli,<sup>39</sup> although it does not appear in the town's view painted in the mid-sixteenth century by Kaspar Henneberg.<sup>40</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms was based on the image of the fifteenth-century signet seal depicting the Angel of the Holder as a supporter, red (gules) for the cross and white (argent) for the first field, white (argent) for the cross and red (gules) for the second, bottom field. The tinctures appropriate for the shield supported, not attested by the sources, were blue (azure) for the robes, black (sable) for the hair, and a natural complexion.

## Gdańsk

Until at least the middle of the fifteenth century, the town Gdańsk consisted of three parts: the Main, the Old and the Young. Both the great and the privy seals of the Young City of Gdańsk depicted the standing figure of St. Bartholomew with a sword raised in his right hand and his own torn skin in the left, flanked by two eagles.<sup>41</sup> Its matrix was taken by the last mayor, Mikołaj Stoltzfuss, who escaped from the town in 1455.<sup>42</sup> The history of the seal of the Old Town of Gdańsk is slightly more complex. Both the greater seal and the privy seal of the town contained the images of St. Catherine of Alexandria with her attributes (a sword in her right hand, the left holding a wheel) and the Emperor Maxymius huddling at her feet.<sup>43</sup> Formally, the Old Town of Gdańsk was merged with the Main Town in 1457. The actual date of the merger of both centres is, however, debatable. To such conclusions may point the fact that both matrices of the Old Town were beyond the control of the Main Town authorities in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was only in 1593 that they ordered the search for the Old Town typars (matrices), which led to the discovery of one of them in 1594. The second, made in silver, was found only in the eighteenth century and was donated to the collection of the Gdańsk court.<sup>44</sup> The merger of the two formerly independent towns into one organism prompted them to adopt the system of signs previously used by the Main Town of Gdańsk. The grand seals of the Main Town, drawing on

<sup>36</sup> H. Kownatzki, *Siegel*, p. 128.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 130–131.

<sup>38</sup> *Ioannis Dlugosii annales*, p. 95; *Jana Długosza Banderia Prutenorum*, pp. 234–236.

<sup>39</sup> H. Kownatzki, *Siegel*, p. 135; M. Gumowski, *Pieczenie i herby*, p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> H. Kownatzki, *Siegel*, p. 135; A reproduction of a veduta with the coat of arms, e.g. AHMP Elbląg, map no. 7.

<sup>41</sup> C. Knetsch, *Die Siegel der Stadt Danzig bis zum Untergange ihrer Selbstständigkeit*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins”, vol. 47, 1904, p. 102, Taf. II, no. 1; M. Gumowski, *Herb i pieczenie*, [in:] *Gdańsk. Przeszłość i terażniejszość*, ed. S. Kutrzeba, Lwów 1928, p. 335; *idem*, *Pieczenie i herby*, p. 54; B. Śliwiński, *Symbolika i dzieje pieczęci oraz herbów miasta Gdańska*, [in:] *Rządzący i rządzieni. Władza i społeczeństwo Gdańska od średniowiecza po współczesność*, ed. S. Bykowska, E. Kizik, E. Paluchowski, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 162–163.

<sup>42</sup> B. Śliwiński, *Symbolika i dzieje pieczęci*, p. 163

<sup>43</sup> *Caspar Weinreich's Danziger Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polens, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, pub. T. Hirsch, F.A. Vossberg, Danzig 1855, the table following p. 132; C. Knetsch, *Die Siegel der Stadt Danzig*, pp. 101–102, Taf. II, no. 2; O. Hupp, *Die Wappen*, p. 18; M. Gumowski, *Herb i pieczenie*, p. 334; *idem*, *Pieczenie i herby*, p. 52; *idem*, *Najstarsze pieczenie*, p. 76, no. 102, 103; B. Śliwiński, *Symbolika i dzieje pieczęci*, pp. 162–163, fig. 18.

<sup>44</sup> B. Śliwiński, *Symbolika i dzieje pieczęci*, p. 163.

the sigillography of Lübeck, depicted a ship (cog, later a hulk) with a star (mullet) at the height of the stork's nest.<sup>45</sup> However, this image was not turned into the town's coat of arms proper. As in the case of other large Prussian towns (Elbląg, Toruń, Chełmno), the modern coat of arms of Gdańsk stemmed from the sign appearing on privy seals of the town. It first appeared on a privy seal, probably from the fourteenth century, as evidenced by the sealed documents from the first years of the fifteenth century. It depicted a shield with a double cross.<sup>46</sup> However, on the joint seal of Toruń and Gdańsk, also from the fourteenth century, the emblem of the latter takes a different form: instead of a double cross, in the heraldic left pale (*pobocznicą*) two crosses pattee in pale (within dexter pale: a coat of arms of the town of Toruń).<sup>47</sup> The escutcheon was preserved in such in both on town seals and the banner captured by Poles in the Battle of Grunwald.<sup>48</sup> By the privilege of 25 May 1457, King Casimir IV Jagiellon added an honorary crown emblem to the Gdańsk's coat of arms.<sup>49</sup> On the Gothic privy seal of the town from that time, the shield of the new coat of arms was supported by two lions salient.<sup>50</sup> In this form, the coat of arms was preserved and used in the centuries to come. Nevertheless, in the second half of the sixteenth century, there were some slight graphic corrections introduced changing its symbolic meaning. The upper arm of the cross above was moved away from the inner rim of the crown, which it overlapped with before. Supposedly, according to some researchers, it was aimed at manifesting the stronger position of the town with relation to the Crown.<sup>51</sup> Information about the tinctures of the coat of arms can already be found in the description of the Gdańsk flag captured by Poles at Grunwald, which mentions two silver (argent) crosses within the red (gules) field.<sup>52</sup> The tinctures of the crown can be determined drawing on the privilege by King Casimir, where it was indicated to be golden (or).<sup>53</sup>

The reconstruction of the coat of arms is based on the image on the reverse of the Gdańsk thaler from 1577, also called "a siege thaler" (*talar obłęźniczy*). The tinctures of the coat of arms are well-grounded and attested by the sources: white (argent) for the crosses, gold (or) for the crown, red (gules) field of the coat of arms, supporters – beige.

(2021)

Translated by Paulina Wactawik

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<sup>45</sup> C. Knetsch, *Die Siegel der Stadt Danzig*, pp. 100–101, 102–105; M. Gumowski, *Herb i pieczęcie*, pp. 334–335; idem, *Pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 50, 55, 57; idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie*, pp. 74–75, no. 100–101; B. Śliwiński, *Herb Gdańska w XIV–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Aurea porta Rzeczypospolitej. Sztuka Gdańska od połowy XV do końca XVII wieku*, vol. 1: *Eseje*, ed. T. Grzybkowska, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 133–135; idem, *Najdawniejsze pieczęcie i herb miasta Gdańska – nowe propozycje i interpretacje*, [in:] *Gdańsk średniowieczny w świetle badań archeologicznych i historycznych*, ed. H. Paner, Gdańsk 1998, pp. 209–218; idem, *Symbolika i dzieje pieczęci*, pp. 147–152.

<sup>46</sup> A. Warschauer, *Das Wappen und das Banner von Danzig*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins”, vol. 56, 1916, p. 157; M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie i herby*, p. 55; idem, *Najstarsze pieczęcie*, p. 76, no. 104; B. Śliwiński, *Herb Gdańska*, p. 135; idem, *Najdawniejsze pieczęcie*, p. 216; idem, *Symbolika i dzieje pieczęci*, p. 152.

<sup>47</sup> M. Grulkowski, *Cło funtowe a działalność kancelarii Głównego Miasta Gdańska w XIV–XV wieku*, RDSG, vol. 70, 2010, p. 164 (earlier literature there).

<sup>48</sup> *Ioannis Dlugosii annales*, p. 95; *Jana Długosza Banderia Prutenorum*, pp. 234–236.

<sup>49</sup> More: B. Możejko, *Przywileje Kazimierza Jagiellończyka z 1457 r. dla Gdańska a zmiany heraldycznego wizerunku miasta*, [in:] *Okręt Kościola z gdańskiego Dworu Artusa*, ed. E. Śledź, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 15–37.

<sup>50</sup> P. Stróżyk, *Lwy-trzymacze w herbie Gdańska – geneza motywu*, [in:] *Lwy w heraldyce i sztuce europejskiej*, ed. T. Maćkowski, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 34–45; B. Śliwiński, *Symbolika i dzieje pieczęci*, p. 164.

<sup>51</sup> B. Śliwiński, *Herb Gdańska*, p. 138.

<sup>52</sup> *Ioannis Dlugosii annales*, p. 95; *Jana Długosza Banderia Prutenorum*, pp. 234–236.

<sup>53</sup> B. Możejko, *Przywileje Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, pp. 15f.

## IV. CONCLUSION

### IV.1.3 CONCLUSION – LUBLIN VOIVODESHIP

*Stefan Wojciechowski*

Lublin Voivodeship in the second half of the sixteenth century was presented on a detailed map showing all settlements which existed at the time and were known to us and were possible to localize. Our aim was to present the complete settlement network and to place each settlement in its exact location, yet unfortunately we were unable to avoid minor flaws. This commentary offers a general description of our source basis and method of work and could only substantiate a small part of the facts shown on the map.

The map presents the Voivodeship of Lublin in the sixteenth century depending on the degree to which it was possible to reconstruct the settlement with its administrative divisions, roads and landscape with hydrography and forestation. As such it could be used in further historical research, and help – together with other similar studies – to create a complete picture of the old Republic in its greatest period.

*(1966)*

*Translated by Agata Staszewska*

## IV.2.8 AFTERWORD

*Marek Słoń*

The programme for the Historical Atlas of Poland. Detailed maps of the sixteenth-century was presented in the preface to the Lublin volume published in 1966 and written by the first series editor, Władysław Pałucki.<sup>1</sup> It was then to have covered the 13 voivodeships of Crown Polish lands, and to be issued in eight publications. The then adopted numeration of the volumes from the inception did not reflect the order in which they were published: the earliest issue bore the number 3, after which appeared number 7, while the volume designated as being no. 1 – the Cracow Voivodeship, was only to appear in the subsequent century:

Volume no.	Year of publication	Shortened title	Volume editor	Series editor
1	2008	<i>Województwo krakowskie</i>	Henryk Rutkowski	Stanisław Trawkowski, Małgorzata Wilska
2	1993	<i>Województwo sandomierskie</i>	Władysław Pałucki	Stanisław Trawkowski
3	1966	<i>Województwo lubelskie</i>	Władysław Pałucki, collaborated on by Stefan Wojciechowski	
4	2017	<i>Wielkopolska</i>	Krzysztof Chłapowski, Marek Słoń	Henryk Rutkowski, Marek Słoń
5	1998	<i>Województwo sieradzkie i województwo łęczyckie</i>	Henryk Rutkowski	Stanisław Trawkowski
6	2021	<i>Kujawy i ziemia dobrzyńska</i>	Wiesława Duży with the cooperation of Arkadiusz Borek, Michał Słomski	Henryk Rutkowski, Marek Słoń
7	1973	<i>Mazowsze</i>	Władysław Pałucki	
8	2021	<i>Województwo podlaskie</i>	Bogumił Szady, Michał Gochna	Henryk Rutkowski, Marek Słoń

With this publication we are presenting the reader with the last of the planned volumes. This year there will also appear an atlas of Royal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century. This will constitute a supplement to the work by Marian Biskup published in 1961 as part 1 of series B – Overview maps<sup>2</sup> –which allows for this province equally to be included within the cartographic reconstruction of the Crown at a detailed scale and with an appropriate explanatory commentary. However, this will merely constitute a supplement to the series as such which will see closure with the present volume.

The foundation for the entire undertaking is the creation of two mutually connected elements of the historical landscape – the settlement network and the territorial structures with taxation *powiats*

<sup>1</sup> W. Pałucki, *Foreword*, [in:] AHP Lublin, in this edition I.1.3.

<sup>2</sup> MRP.

(districts) and Catholic parishes at the fore. On the basis of the hitherto state of research adopted has been the premise that for the Crown Polish lands in the second half of the sixteenth-century it is possible to show points of settlement and their affiliation to the lowest ranking units of the country's spatial division.

Here lie hidden several specific conditions. The first being the actual existence of a settlement; for example, the possibility to establish what constitutes a village and what does not or would not constitute the said. This is far from obvious, for the inhabitation and settlement of a terrain in no way has to involve the concentration of domiciliary seats or economic objects in relatively close-knit units of a stable localisation and name, beyond which extends an uninhabited expanse. Most probably such a situation did not take place on the Polish lands prior to the process of colonisation on the basis of quit-rent, and for certain today this is not the state of affairs. At present every point on the territory of the country belongs administratively to some settlement, while the indication of the boundary of built-up terrain usually causes difficulties – the existence of such a clear demarcation is an increasingly rare exception.

The second condition is the affiliation of such settlements to definite and defined spatial structures. The lowest tier of Church unit, one used however also by state administration, was that of the Catholic parish. This was able to arise and maintain itself where there were believers of this denomination. In turn the state division was based on the judicial court districts which almost always corresponded territorially with taxation districts and divisions. The jurisdiction of the land and castle courts extended only to gentry estates, and consequently did not formally encompass or cover the whole settlement network. In addition the work of such offices was never documented in such a way that there was a systematic listing of all the villages under their jurisdiction. However, the taxation apparatus did conduct such documentation. Taxation registers were not only a reflection – ones obviously incomplete and distorted – of the actual state of affairs but equally they formed the said. The very fact of recording a given village within a taxation statement included it within the sphere of a given unit. In the eighteenth-century verified was the extent of a district, checking whether a given village was included within it in the taxation registers for the previous two centuries.

And here we touch on the third condition, of a source nature. The premise for the creation of detailed maps of the sixteenth-century was that for every area several taxation registers had been preserved along with at least one visitation, if not for the exact period under study but for one not much later in time. Furthermore it was accepted that the taxation lists would be ordered in relation to settlements and districts, with inspections enumerating villages within parish divisions.

All of these conditions were for the entirety of the Polish lands generally fulfilled, but with every step closer to the end of the series one found oneself not only getting closer to territorial peripheries but equally to methodological boundaries as well. The scale of exceptions grew so markedly that it clearly showed the limited application of the model hitherto adopted. In the Greater Poland volume (*Wielkopolska*) it was not possible to maintain the principles for the reconstruction of parish districts; on its northern boundaries this was excluded by the combination of subsequent colonisation, a strong Reformation movement as well as the specifics resulting from the poor condition of the source base preserved.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of Podlasie the difficulties turned out to be even greater and to various degrees concerned not merely a small part but touched on the voivodeship as a whole. The greatest undertaking and here in keeping with the first of the fundamental premises behind the series inception – for a relatively clear difference to be determined between a settlement and its absence. Here extremely often the form was that of a gentry holding, that is the grouping of small hamlets dispersed across the environs of the main settlement. The spatial boundaries between them from time to time do not allow for an unequivocal differentiation of a village, while their onomastics were extremely variable. On this was imposed the specifics of ownership and the registration of payments. In Podlasie noted are not so much payments for a village as for a given owner, while the estates and properties were often divided and localised in various settlements. The very same village could have been mentioned more than just once, while others completely forgotten. Besides the inclusion of the voivodeship within the Crown in 1569 meant

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<sup>3</sup> B. Szady, *Church administration borders. B. Dioceses of Poznań and Wrocław*, [in:] AHP Greater Poland, in this edition III.2.2b.4.

that on those territories in general arable land taxation (*lanowy*) was not raised in the 1560s and the records from this decade that are the ones in other volumes of AHP that have turned out especially valuable. In the case of canonical visitations the incomplete nature of the source base is even more striking. There dominated over significant swathes of land an Orthodox populace with Catholic parish structures only covering a small part of the inhabitants, while in some villages there simply were no Catholics. The visitation protocols drawn up were only compiled later; these did not cover all settlements, while their state of preservation is far from satisfying. During work on this volume it was for a long time unclear where it would be possible to reconstruct the parish districts. Finally they are but the result to a large degree has the virtue of hypothesis than certain factual findings.

The difficulties here presented do not exhaust the specifics of Podlasie rather they constitute merely a good illustration. To present this voivodeship in accordance with the principles of the series required the harmonious fusion of two areas of competency. On the one hand this was a knowledge of those very regulations, in other words the many years of practice of working within an atlas team; while on the other hand being rooted in regional historiography. In part this could be obtained through the careful selection to those who had compiled the previous volumes of historians specialising in the history of Podlasie, and connected first and foremost with the University of Białystok. However, essential was also the presence of people, who combined to a degree at least both abilities.

The team of authors for the present volume fulfilled these requirements. Headed by Bogumił Szady, knowing well the specifics of the eastern marches of the Crown in the modern era, a co-author of the Greater Poland volume, as researcher into Catholic Church structures as well as being an expert on the ontology of settlement and territorial units. Michał Gochna, the volume's joint editor, also worked on the Greater Poland volume, while continuing at the same time his research into his home town, Węgrów in Podlasie. Jarosław Suproniuk in coming from Białystok and being still connected with this area of the world has been a member of the Historical Atlas Department for over twenty years. Tomasz Panecki, a historian, geographer and cartographer in one, has experience not only of atlas work but has also been one of the main players in the project The ontological bases in the construction of historical systems of geographic information, headed by Bogumił Szady, knows Russian and Russian cartography well. However it was also necessary to invite individuals to cooperate on the undertaking who were outside of the hitherto existing team: Krzysztof Boroda, Piotr Guzowski and Marzena Liedke of the University in Białystok, Michał Sierba of the Belarusian Historical Association as well as Andrzej Buczyło and Tomasz Jaszczół of the Historical-Geographic Dictionary Unit for Medieval Mazovia and Podlasie at the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of History. Without their erudition and understanding of Podlasie history this volume quite simply would not have come about. What these meant however, was the co-authorship of individuals who had not the experience of the atlas works into other Crown lands. Hence their expertise concerned but a single and completely exceptional voivodeship. Consequently the chapters written by them were naturally significantly different from the analogical texts that have appeared in previous volumes. One should not, however, perceive this as a weakness in the volume. Podlasie was different than the rest of the Crown, and therein it follows to write about it somewhat differently. The fundamental principles deciding on the series' cohesion and identity have been preserved.

This has been guaranteed by the acute eye of the series editor – Henryk Rutkowski. He carefully read each and every text and made many comments. There is no one who knows the AHP better. He commenced his work in the unit in 1953, becoming in 1977 its deputy head, while in 1992 the head of the unit itself. Four years later he retired though remained active, editing the Cracow volume published in 2008, and acting as the co-editor of the series in each of the subsequent volumes. His constant presence from beginning to end of this multi-generational project, the final baton to be passed to us, has been invaluable. We have introduced new notions and solutions, while thanks to him we have not severed our roots. He has ensured us access to the achievements and technical skills of our predecessors. We have become acquainted with some of them. For example, Anna Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, who was part of the atlas unit operating within the Warsaw Academic Society before it was transferred to the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of History, and who helped us with work on the Greater Poland volume. Any attempt at enumerating all would for sure end with someone's services and contribution being overlooked, while they are all listed in the introduction to every volume. However, besides these concrete works is something more important and general which defies words, while at the same time

appears all so obvious. In the name of the whole team finishing the series I place here in the hands of Henryk Rutkowski a display of thanks to all those who preceded us.

The completion of the final volume in the series is an event worthy of emphasis. It has come about chiefly through the realisation of a cartographic reconstruction of the Polish Crown in the sixteenth century that was presented by Stanisław Smolka at the 1<sup>st</sup> Conference of Polish Historians in Cracow in 1880. A work has been brought to fruition that has stretched across a period of 140 years. Work was started when Poland as a state did not even exist, it continued when the Polish lands were crossed by two World Wars, it continued under the conditions of Soviet domination and a lack of sovereignty, it survived the whirl that was the transformations of post 1989, and was to find its crowning in a free Poland. Work on maps of the sixteenth-century Crown Polish lands was started in 1948, the atlas unit functioned at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences from its inception in 1953. While the principles for series composition of the detailed sixteenth-century maps were established in 1964 and have been consistently adhered to right up to the final volume. For over a half a century a research unit employed on a full-time basis has been functioning. Within the context of world historiography there have been few undertakings that have been realised with such consistency and aplomb over such a long and at the same time difficult period.

In 2012 atlas work obtained financing from the National Program for the Development of Humanities (NPRH). The first project allowed for the Greater Poland volume to be completed, the development of the digital techniques essential for series realisation and a supplementation of the source edition programme. The second, commenced in 2015 saw a doubling in personnel + to 12 people, and was to result in a marked acceleration of activity. By 2020 four volumes were to have been published: Greater Poland, Cuyavia, Podlasie and Prussia. Simultaneously envisaged for the said project was a supplementation of the source base for the whole series (digital editions of the tax registers), its integration with the published volumes of *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu* (*A Historical-Geographical Atlas of the Polish Lands in the Middle Ages*), and the accompanying monograph, including several PhD works. A part of these intentions have been moved as a result of, among other things, the effects of the pandemic, to a year later. The NPRH project is entitled *Atlas historyczny Polski XVI wieku* (*A Historical Atlas of Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century*) – constituting the completion and enrichment of the series. Although the said ‘completion has yet to be realised, the present state of developments gives no worries to it not being finished. After 140 years Stanisław Smolka’s dream has been fulfilled.

Work on the individual maps of the Crown Polish lands in the second half of the sixteenth-century is coming to its end, but not that of the historical atlas. Equally the cartographic reconstruction for this epoch and these territories and terrains has been developed in such a way that it can be included with the state infrastructure of spatial data and consequently effectively propagated amongst all users, not simply professional historians. At the same time the expansion of the atlas so as to take in subsequent epochs and other parts of the former Commonwealth is already afoot, while the plans – in the form of projects awaiting financing and the formal concrete realisation of hitherto notions – are very broad indeed.

(2021)

*Translated by Guy Russell Torr*

## LIST OF SETTLEMENTS

This list shows the settlement network of the lands of the Kingdom of Poland (the ‘Crown’ territory) in the second half of the sixteenth century. It differs from the cartographic form in that the location data it gives are less precise whereas unlocalised settlements are included along with varieties of sixteenth-century names, their present-day forms and, in some special cases, additional information.

In contrast to the practice present in certain volumes in the series, this list only encompasses the items featured on the main map in the Crown lands as well as inn settlements shown on the map of roads. Hence, there are no settlements from outside the Crown or the Ruthenian lands annexed in 1569. There are no names listed in the commentary and in the cartographical material other than of the scale 1:250,000, save for the map of roads. The pages on which the settlements appear in the text are not specified. There are no references to the varieties of sixteenth-century names. All these tools that facilitate the search for entries in a printed book are of limited usefulness in a digital edition.

Some of the elements constituting the entries in the list appear in every entry, others only in some of the entries. The order of these elements goes as follows:

1. **name from the second half of the sixteenth century**, i.e. the form shown on the map;
2. **important variants** of that name in the period concerned (in parentheses);
3. **present-day name**, *in italics* – if different from the sixteenth-century name;
4. **voivodeship affiliation** in the second half of the sixteenth century – abbreviated name of the voivodeship;
5. **district affiliation** in the second half of the sixteenth century – abbreviated name of the district;
6. **parochial affiliation** at that time – sixteenth-century name of the parish centre;
7. **type of settlement** that was not a village or a hamlet in the second half of the sixteenth century (e.g. town/city, mill settlement, demesne-farm settlement, suburb);
8. **ownership affiliation** in the second half of the sixteenth century – abbreviated name of category (noble ownership is not marked);
9. **geographic coordinates** of the settlement featured on the map (latitude (N) and longitude (E), both accurate to one decimal place).

Also, when the main entry is related to a group of settlements on the map, the names of particular hamlets belonging to this group are given in the second place, after the equation mark: (=). The ownership and character of the ‘related’ settlement, if different from the main entry, are also specified.

The names of lost settlements, i.e. non-existent but with precisely known location, are marked with a cross: (+). Approximate locations have one asterisk (\*), unlocalised settlements have two asterisks (\*\*) attached.

The variants of the main entry, whose relation with a given name is uncertain, and those which appear in the sources in a form that raises doubts (as it is probably incorrect), are marked with a quotation mark: (?).

If no contemporary name of a settlement appears in the list, this means that:

- if there is no cross or asterisk – the name of the settlement was identical in the sixteenth century with its present-day name; or,
- if there is a cross against the main entry – the settlement is lost; or,
- when the main entry is marked with an asterisk – the settlement was probably lost but we have managed to localise it in approximation.

A main entry marked with an asterisk and a contemporary name related to it signify uncertain localisation.

The alternative of district or parochial affiliation is marked with the conjunction ‘or’; for uncertain affiliation the question mark following the name of parish is used.

The list extends to names of noble environs in Podlasie Voivodeship. Such entries are composed of:

- the name of the environ in the second half of the sixteenth century, as specified on the map, which is the first (shared) segment of the name (e.g., Falki, Jabłoń, Łapy, Tybory);
- district affiliation in the second half of the sixteenth century (abbreviated name of district).

A list of all the noble environs and their constituent hamlets is contained in the Annex ‘Noble environs in Podlasie as confirmed by sources 1550–1600.’ (Chap. III.2.1.8).

The entries are automatically arranged in alphabetic order. For identical sixteenth-century names, the sequence is decided primarily based on special marks attached to them, the algorithmic order being space, bracket, equation mark, hyphen (-), comma, and asterisk; then follow the letters of alphabet.

More elaborate discussion of the issues reflected in the list is presented in the commentary, in particular Part III.3 (Settlement), esp. Chapter III.3.1 (Location of settlements) and Part III.4 (Geographic nomenclature).

**ABBREVIATIONS:**

In **point 4:** voivodeships (*województwa*):

ABBREVIATION	POLISH NAME	ENGLISH NAME
bkj	brzeskie kujawskie	Brześć Voivodeship
chl	chełmińskie	Chełmno Voivodeship
dbr	ziemia dobrzyńska	Dobrzyń land
inw	inowrocławskie	Inowrocław Voivodeship
klk	kaliskie	Kalisz Voivodeship
krk	krakowskie	Cracow Voivodeship
lcz	łęczyckie	Łęczycza Voivodeship
lub	lubelskie	Lublin Voivodeship
maz	mazowieckie	Mazovian Voivodeship
mlb	malborskie	Malbork Voivodeship
pdl	podlaskie	Podlasie Voivodeship
plc	płockie	Płock Voivodeship
pmr	pomorskie	Pomeranian Voivodeship
raw	rawskie	Rawa Voivodeship
snd	sandomierskie	Sandomierz Voivodeship
srd	sieradzkie	Sieradz Voivodeship
swr	księstwo siewierskie	Duchy of Siewierz

In **point 5:** districts (*powiaty*)

ABBREVIATION	POLISH NAME	ENGLISH NAME
bek	biecki	Biecz district
bdg	bydgoski	Bydgoszcz district
bkj	brzeski kujawski	Brześć district
bla	białski	Biała district
blk	bielski	Bielsk district (Podlasie Voivodeship)
bln	błoniński	Błonie district
bls	bielski	Bielsk district (Płock Voivodeship)
brz	brzeziński	Brzeziny district
cch	ciechanowski	Ciechanów district
chc	chęciński	Chęciny district
chl	chełmiński	Chełmno district
czl	człuchowski	Człuchów district
czr	czerski	Czersk district
dbr	dobrzyński	Dobrzyń district
drh	drohicki	Drohiczyn district
gar	garwoliński	Garwolin district
gbn	gąbiński	Gąbin district
gdn	gdański	Gdańsk district
gos	gostyniński	Gostynin district
grc	grójecki	Grójec district
gzn	gnieźnieński	Gniezno district
inw	inowrocławski	Inowrocław district
kam	kamieniecki	Kamieniec district
kcn	keyński	Keynia district

kl	kaliski	Kalisz district
knn	koniński	Konin district
kol	kolneński	Kolno district
ksc	kościński	Kościan district
kss	ksiąski	Książ district
ksw	kruszwicki	Kruszwica district
kwl	kowalski	Kowal district
lc	łęczycki	Łęczycza district
liw	liwski	Liw district
llw	lelowski	Lelów district
lom	łomżyński	Łomża district
lpn	lipnowski	Lipno district
lub	lubelski	Lublin district
luk	łukowski	Łuków district
mak	makowski	Maków district
mch	michałowski	Michałowice district
mł	mławski	Mława district
mlb	malborski	Malbork district
mln	mielnicki	Mielnik district
mrw	mirachowski	Mirachowo district
msz	mszczonowski	Mszczonów district
ndz	niedzborski	Niedzbórz district
nkl	nakielski	Nakło district
nmo	nowomiejski	Nowe Miasto district
now	nowski	Nowe district
nur	nurski	Nur district
opc	opoczyński	Opoczno district
orl	orłowski	Orłów district
osl	ostrołęcki	Ostrołęka district
ost	ostrzeszowski	Ostrzeszów district
osw	ostrowski	Ostrów district
pck	pucki	Puck district
plc	płocki	Płock district
pln	płoński	Płońsk district
plz	pilzneński	Pilzno district
prd	przedeczki	Przedecz district
prs	proszowski	Proszowice district
prz	przasnyski	Przasnysz district
ptr	piotrkowski	Piotrków district
pzd	pyzdrowski	Pyzdry district
pzn	poznański	Poznań district
rac	raciański	Raciszewo district
raw	rawski	Rawa district
rdj	radziejowski	Radziejów district
rdm	radomski	Radom district
rds	radomszczański	Radomsko district
rdz	radziłowski	Radziłów district
roz	rożański	Różan district
rpn	rypiński	Rypin district

sch	sochaczewski	Sochaczew district
scn	sąchocki	Sochocin district
szcz	szczyrzycki	Szczyrzyc district
sdc	sądecki	Nowy Sącz district
ser	serocki	Serock district
sie	sierpecki	Sierpc district
sls	śląski	Silesian district
snd	sandomierski	Sandomierz district
srd	sieradzki	Sieradz district
stz	stężycki	Stężyca district
swc	świecki	Świecie district
szd	szadkowski	Szadek district
szr	szreński	Szreńsk district
tar	tarczyński	Tarczyn district
tch	tucholski	Tuchola district
tcz	teczewski	Tczew district
urz	urzędowski	Urzędów district
was	wąsoski	Wąsosz district
wch	wschowski	Wschowa district
wiz	wiski	Wizna district
wlc	wałeckie	Wałcz district
wln	wieluński	Wieluń district
wrk	warecki	Warka district
wrs	warszawski	Warsaw district
wsg	wyszogrodzki	Wyszogród district
wsl	wiślicki	Wiślica district
zkr	zakroczyński	Zakroczym district
zmb	zambrowski	Zambrów district

In **point 6**: ś - święty (saint), for the polish names of the patrons see the ‘Selected dictionary to the maps’

In **point 8**: c – church, cn - church and noble, cr - church and royal, ct - church and town, r – royal, rn - royal and noble, rt - royal and town, rtc - royal and town and church, t – town, tn - town and noble

Abramowice (Jabramowice), <i>Szczyrzyc</i> – part, krk, szcz, Szczyrzycka Góra, c 49.8 20.2	Adlig Neudorf+, mlb, mlb, Posilge 54.0 19.2	Altfelde (Aldenfelde, Stare Pole), <i>Stare Pole</i> , mlb, mlb, Notzendorf, r 54.1 19.2
Abramowice, lub, lub, Abramowice 51.2 22.6	Aleksandrowice (Alexandrowice), krk, prs, Morawica 50.1 19.8	Altmünsterberg (Altminsztemberk), <i>Stara Kościelnica</i> , mlb, mlb, Altmünsterberg, r 54.0 18.9
Abramów, lub, lub, Kurów 51.5 22.3	Alt Schönwalde, <i>Krasny Las</i> , mlb, mlb, [unknown], t 54.2 19.4	Alzbiecino, <i>Elźbiecin</i> , plc, sie, Biezuń 53.0 19.8
Adamczowice (Adamowice, Adamko- wice), snd, snd, Goźlice 50.7 21.5	Alt Schotland (Sztotland), <i>Stare Szkoty</i> , pmr, gdn, Gdańsk-Katarzyna, c 54.3 18.6	Amalka, pmr, mrw, Parchowo, mill 54.3 17.8
Adamowa Wola (Adama Wola, Adamo- wawola), <i>Jadamwola</i> , krk, sdc, Pode- grodzie 49.6 20.5	Altebabke, <i>Stare Babki</i> , pmr, gdn, [un- known], t 54.3 19.0	Andrianki = Andrianki (Andryjanki), Stanisławowo*, <i>Andryjanki</i> , pdl, drh, Boćki or Dziadkowicze 52.6 23.0
Adamowice (Jadamowice), krk, prs, Śreniawa 50.4 19.9	Altenau, <i>Starynia</i> , mlb, mlb, Lichnowy Wielkie, r 54.1 18.9	Androsze, <i>Felin</i> , pdl, mln, Łosice 52.2 22.8
Adamowice (Jadamowice), raw, msz, Mszczonów 51.9 20.5	Altendorf (Aldendorf), <i>Stara Wieś</i> , mlb, mlb, Kiszpork 53.9 19.3	Andryszkowice (Jędrzyszkowice), <i>An- druszkowice</i> , snd, snd, Sandomierz ś. Paweł, c 50.7 21.7
Adamowo (Jadamowo), <i>Adamów</i> , maz, wrk, Magnuszewo 51.7 21.3	Altenhof**, pmr, tcz, [unknown], demesne, c 53.9 18.7	
Adamowo (Jadamowo), maz, nmo, Nosilsko 52.7 20.7	Altenmarkt (Altmark, Stary Targ), <i>Stary Targ</i> , mlb, mlb, Altenmarkt, r 53.9 19.2	

Andrzejnik, *Jędrzejnik*, maz, gar, Mińsko 52.2 21.5  
 Andrzejowice (Jędrzejowice), *Jędrzejowice*, snd, snd, Szewna 50.9 21.3  
 Andrzejów (Jędrzejów), *Jędrzejów*, krk, kss, Andrzejów, town, c 50.6 20.3  
 Andrzejów (Jędrzejów), *Jędrzejów*, snd, snd, Szewna 50.9 21.4  
 Andrzejów, *Andrzejewo*, maz, nur, Andrzejów, town, c 52.8 22.2  
 Andrzejów, *Jędrzejów*, maz, gar, Jakubowo 52.2 21.7  
 Andrzychów (Andrychów, Andrychowice), *Andrychów*, krk, sls, Andrzychów 49.9 19.3  
 Ankemitt, *Ankamaty*, mlb, mlb, Kiszpork 53.9 19.3  
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Falknowy (Falkenau, Walichnowo, Walichnowy, Waliknowy), *Wielkie Walichnowy*, pmr, tcz, Falknowy, r 53.9 18.9

Falkowa (Falkówka), krk, bck, Bruśnik 49.7 20.9

Falkowa, *Nowy Sącz-Falkowa*, krk, sdc, Sądecz Nowy, rt 49.6 20.7

Falkwald, *Sokola Dąbrowa*, pzn, pzn, Falkwald, c 52.5 15.3

Falmierowo (Chwalimirowo, Chwalmirowo, Falimierowo, Falmirowo), kls, nkl, Gromadno 53.2 17.2

Fałkowice (Chwałkowice), krk, szc, Gdów 49.9 20.2

Fałków, snd, opc, Fałków, town 51.1 20.1

Faski-Rykanie, *Laskowiec Nowy*, maz, zmb, Zambrowo 52.9 22.3

Faszcze-Jabłoń, *Faszcze*, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 52.9 22.4

Faszcze, pdl, blk, Sokoły 53.0 22.6

Faszczyce, *Faszczyce Stare*, maz, bln, Błonie, r 52.2 20.6

Ferstnowo (Ferstinowo, Furstenowo, Furstnowo), *Gwieździn*, pmr, czl, Ferstnowo, r 53.7 17.2

Fijewo, *Brodnica* – part, chl, mch, Brodnica, t 53.3 19.4

Fijewo, chl, chl, Starogród, demesne, c 53.3 18.4

Fijewo, chl, mch, Lubawa, demesne, r 53.5 19.8

Fijewo, *Golub-Dobrzyń* – part, chl, chl, Golub, demesne, r 53.1 19.0

Fijewo, *Grudziądz* – part, chl, chl, Grudziądz, demesne, r 53.5 18.8

Filip (Kukielka), inw, inw, Podgórze, mill, r 53.0 18.5

Filipki-Łowczewo, *Filipki Wielkie*, maz, kol, Lachowo 53.5 22.0

Filipowice, krk, prs, Nowa Góra 50.1 19.6

Filipowice, krk, prs, Rachwałowice 50.2 20.6

Filipowice, krk, sdc, Czehów 49.8 20.7

Filipówka, maz, gar, Jastrzębie 51.9 21.8

Filipy-Piechacze = Filipy-Piechacze (Piechacze), Filipy\*, *Piechacze*, pdl, blk, Wyszonki Kościelne 52.8 22.6

Filochy-Milan (Filochia), *Filochy-Milen*, maz, osl, Piski 53.0 21.8

Firlejów, *Firlej*, lub, lub, Lewartów, town 51.6 22.5

Firluz (Firlus), *Firlus*, chl, chl, Lisowo, demesne, r 53.3 18.6

Fischerbabke, *Rybina*, pmr, gdn, Kobbelgrube+, t 54.3 19.1

Fiszewo (Fischau, Fiszowo), mlb, mlb, Fiszewo, r 54.1 19.2

Fiukały (Fiokały), maz, kam, Postoliska 52.5 21.5

Flokesia (Flakązi, Fla(c)kensee, Flokensis), *Jeziorna*, pzn, wlc, r 53.5 16.4

Florynka, krk, sdc, [unknown orthodox parish], c 49.6 21.0

Folgowo, chl, chl, Papowo, demesne, c 53.3 18.6

Folwark Skrzydłowski (Wysinko), *Skrzydłówek*, pmr, tcz, Wysin, mill, c 54.1 18.3

Folwark, *Annowo*, bkj, bkj, Dąbie 52.6 18.8

Folwark, *Janowo*, chl, chl, Radzyń, t 53.4 18.9

Folwark\*, maz, wsg, Daniszewo 52.6 20.2

Folwarki (Granice), *Warszawa-Żolibórz* – part, maz, wrs, Warszawa Nowa, c 52.3 21.0

Folwarki, snd, wsl, Stobnica, c 50.4 20.9

Folzank, *Folząg*, chl, chl, Gostkowo, demesne, t 53.1 18.7

Fordan, *Fordon (Bydgoszcz* – part), inw, bdg, Fordan, town, r 53.1 18.2

Franek+, srd, ptr, Drużbice, mill, c 51.5 19.4

Franki-Chrościele = Franki-Chrościele (Chrościele-Franki), Franki-Dąbrowscy\*, Wspaly\*, *Franki-Dąbrowa*, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.7

Franki-Piaski (Franki, Piaski), pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.6

Franki, okolica, pdl, blk

Franki, *Perki-Franki*, pdl, blk, Sokoły 53.0 22.7

Franszktyń, *Franksztyń*, chl, chl, Chełmanie, mill, r 53.1 18.9

Frąca (Franca, Frantza, Frącz, Frącza), pmr, now, Lalkowy 53.7 18.6

Frącki, pdl, blk, Tykocin, mill, r 53.3 22.7

Freudental+, pmr, gdn, Oliwa, mill, c 54.4 18.5

Frycowa, krk, sdc, Nawojowa 49.5 20.8  
 Frydland (Fredlandt, Fredlądek, Friedland), *Mirowslawiec*, pzn, wlc, town 53.3 16.0  
 Frydland (Freląd, Friedland), *Debrzno*, pmr, czl, Frydland, town, r 53.5 17.2  
 Frydland Lemani+, pmr, czl, Frydland, demesne, r 53.5 17.2  
 Frydlandzki Młyn+, pmr, czl, Frydland, mill, r 53.5 17.2  
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 Frysztak, snd, plz, Frysztak, town 49.8 21.6  
 Frywałd (Friwald), krk, prs, Sosnka 50.1 19.7  
 Fulbek, *Howiec*, pzn, wlc, mill 53.4 16.3  
 Fulki, *Fulki*, lcz, lcz, Kałowo 51.8 19.0  
 Funka, *Stary Młyn*, pmr, czl, Chojniczki, mill, r 53.8 17.5  
 Fürstenau (Ferstinowo, Festnowo), *Kmiecin*, mlb, mlb, Fürstenau, t 54.2 19.2  
 Fürstenwerder, *Żuławki*, mlb, mlb, Fürstenwerder, r 54.3 19.0  
 Gablino (Gablewo), *Gablin*, kls, pzd, Grodziszczko 52.3 17.3  
 Gabon (Gaban, Gabany), *Gaboń*, krk, sdc, Podegrodzie 49.5 20.6  
 Gabułów, snd, wsl, Kazimierza Mała 50.3 20.5  
 Gacki, snd, wsl, Szydłów, r 50.6 21.0  
 Gaczkowice, snd, rdm, Jarosławice Nadolne 51.4 20.9  
 Gaczkowo (Gaćkowo, Gaczki), maz, nur, Złotoria, c 52.8 22.1  
 Gaczkowo+, maz, zmb, Zambrowo 53.0 22.2  
 Gać Moskurna (Gać Moskurnia), *Moskurnia*, kls, kls, Gać Powężowa 51.8 18.4  
 Gać Powężowa (Gać Ponażona, Gać Ponczowa), *Gać Pawężowa*, kls, kls, Gać Powężowa 51.8 18.4  
 Gać Stirkowa\*\*, kls, kls, Gać Powężowa?  
 Gać Zaremba = Gać Zaremba, Gać Mała\*, *Gać Warcka*, srd, srd, Kalinowa 51.7 18.5  
 Gać-Brzozowo, *Gackie*, maz, rdz, Białaszewo 53.5 22.5  
 Gać-Sokola Łąka, maz, lom, Puchały 53.1 22.2  
 Gać, pzn, pzn, Gać 52.6 17.1  
 Gadawa, snd, wsl, Dobrowoda 50.4 20.8  
 Gadka (Gatka), srd, szd, Pabianice, c 51.7 19.4  
 Gadka, maz, gar, Kołybiel 52.0 21.5  
 Gadka, snd, rdm, Miernic, c 51.1 21.0  
 Gadki (Dobra), srd, ptr, Krzepczów 51.4 19.5  
 Gadnowo Stare (Gadnowo Stara Wieś), *Garnowo Stare*, maz, cch, Gołymino Kościelne 52.8 20.8  
 Gadnowo-Skierdy = Gadnowo Kowalewskie\*, Gadnowo-Skierdy (Wola Gadnowska?), *Garnowo*, maz, cch, Gołymino Kościelne 52.8 20.9  
 Gadomiec-Andryki = Gadomiec-Andryki (Gadomiec-Andrychy, Gadomiec-Jędrychy), Gadomiec-Falki\*, *Gadomiec-Jędryki*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Barany (Gadomiec Borowy?), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Chrzczyony (Gadomiec-Chocimy), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Jebienki = Gadomiec-Jebienki (Gadomiec-Bieńki?), Gadomiec-Wyszki\* (Gadomiec-Witki?), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Miłocięta (Gadomiec-Ninoty, Gadomiec-Minoty, Grabowo-Minoty), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Trojany = Gadomiec-Białki\*, Gadomiec-Trojany, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Wichnięta\*, *Gadomiec-Peronie*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Wyraki (Gadomiec-Weraki), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadomiec-Zawisze = Gadomiec-Przedbory\* (Gadomiec-Zagwizdy?), Gadomiec-Zawisze (Gadomiec-Bernaty?), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.8  
 Gadowo, *Gadów*, kls, knn, Dzierzbino, r 52.0 18.2  
 Gadowo, maz, zkr, Ciekosno 52.6 20.6  
 Gagowy, *Gagowy Nowe*, bkj, kwl, Lubień 52.4 19.2  
 Gaiska+, krk, szcz, Dziekanowice 49.9 20.1  
 Gaj, *Gaj Mały*, pzn, pzn, Szamotuły 52.6 16.5  
 Gaj, *Gaj Stary*, lcz, lcz, Góra 52.1 19.4  
 Gaj, *Gaj Wielki*, pzn, pzn, Ceradz Stary 52.5 16.5  
 Gaj, kls, gzn, Wójcino, c 52.5 18.1  
 Gaj, krk, szcz, Gaj 52.7 20.8  
 Gaj, maz, nmo, Klukowo 52.7 20.8  
 Gaj, *Poznań* – part, pzn, pzn, Święty Marcin, t 52.4 16.9  
 Gaj, pzn, ksc, Błociszewo 52.1 16.9  
 Gaj, pzn, ksc, Kunowo, demesne 52.0 17.0  
 Gaj\*\*, kls, kls, Dobrzec  
 Gaj+, snd, snd, Waśniów 50.9 21.2  
 Gajewo = Gajewo Górne\* (Gajewo Nagórne), Gajewo Nadolne\*, lcz, lcz, Witunia 52.1 19.2  
 Gajewo, chl, chl, Ostrowite 53.1 19.0  
 Gajewo+, plc, bls, Gozdowo 52.7 19.6  
 Gajęcice, srd, rds, Makowiska, r 51.1 19.0  
 Gajkowice, srd, ptr, Sroćkie, c 51.5 19.7  
 Gajownicy (Gajewniki), *Gajewniki*, srd, szd, Borzyszwowice 51.6 19.0  
 Galczewko, *Galczewko*, chl, chl, Golub 53.2 19.1  
 Galczewo (Golczewo), *Galczewo*, chl, chl, Golub 53.2 19.1  
 Galczyce Małe (Galice, Galice Małe, Galicyce Małe, Gałczyce Małe), *Galczyczki*, bkj, rdj, Orle 52.5 18.6  
 Galczyce Wielkie (Galczyce, Galice, Galice Wielkie, Galicyce Wielkie, Gałczyce Wielkie), *Galczyce*, bkj, rdj, Orle 52.5 18.6  
 Galemino Wielkie (Galemino Zawiszowe), *Galomin*, plc, pln, Sarbiewo 52.7 20.3  
 Galemino, *Galomin Górny*, plc, sie, Lubowidz 53.1 19.9  
 Galemino, *Galominek*, plc, pln, Sarbiewo or Baboszewo, c 52.6 20.3  
 Galewice, srd, wln, Cieszęcin 51.3 18.3  
 Galewo, *Galew*, kls, knn, Brudzew 52.1 18.5  
 Galewo, *Galew*, kls, pzd, Borzęcice 51.9 17.5  
 Galice+, lcz, orl, Bedlno 52.2 19.6  
 Galiny Małe, *Galinki*, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.6  
 Galiny Wielkie+, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.6  
 Galiszewo, bkj, ksw, Skulsko 52.5 18.4  
 Galów, snd, wsl, Szaniec 50.5 20.7  
 Gałachy, maz, zkr, Zakroczym or Pomnichowo, r 52.4 20.6  
 Gałązki Małe (Charzewko, Chorzewko, Gałązki), kls, kls, Droszewo 51.8 17.9  
 Gałązki Wielkie (Gałązki), kls, kls, Droszewo 51.8 17.9  
 Gałązki-Dłużniewo, *Galązki*, maz, lom, Szczepankowo 53.1 22.0  
 Gałązki-Milewo, *Galązki*, maz, was, Niedźwiadna 53.5 22.1  
 Gałązki, kls, pzd, Mokronos 51.8 17.3  
 Gałczyńko, *Galczynek*, kls, gzn, Rękawczyno 52.5 17.9  
 Gałczyńno, *Galczyn*, kls, gzn, Rękawczyno 52.5 17.9  
 Gałęczewo (Gałęczowo), kls, pzd, Gałęczewo, c 52.2 17.7  
 Gałęczice (Gałężice), snd, chc, Piękoszów, r 50.8 20.4  
 Gałęczowo, *Galęczewo*, kls, gzn, Lubecz, c 52.7 17.6  
 Gałęczów, lub, lub, Bychawa 51.0 22.5  
 Gałki (Andrzejów?), snd, rdm, Nieznamicrowice, cn 51.5 20.6  
 Gałki (Drugie Gałki), pdl, drh, Skrzyszewo 52.4 22.5  
 Gałki = Gałki (Chojecznno), Jata Gałęcka\* (Jatka), maz, liw, Oleksin 52.2 22.0

Gałki-Łępace (Gałki, Gałki Niższe), pdl, drh, Skrzyszewo 52.4 22.5

Gałki, maz, wsg, Bodzanowo 52.5 20.1

Gałki\*, lub, urz, Świeciechów 50.9 21.8

Gałków Mały, *Galkówek*, lecz, brz, Brzeziny, c 51.8 19.7

Gałków Wielki, *Galków Duży*, *Galków Mały*, lecz, brz, Brzeziny, c 51.7 19.7

Gałowo, pzn, pzn, Szamotoły 52.6 16.5

Gałużowice (Gałużewice, Gawłużowice), *Gawłużowice*, snd, snd, Gałużowice 50.4 21.4

Gamratka, maz, gar, Mińsko 52.2 21.5

Gana, *Gana Krótka*, srd, wln, Kowale 51.1 18.5

Ganskruż+, pmr, gdn, [unknown], inn, t 54.3 18.7

Gańczyce, *Gończyce*, snd, stz, Korytnica 51.8 21.7

Gapienin, *Gapinin*, snd, opc, Brudzewice 51.6 20.4

Garaszewo, pzn, pzn, Głuszyna, c 52.4 16.9

Garbacz, snd, snd, Manina 50.9 21.3

Garbalino, *Garbalin*, lecz, lecz, Siedlec 52.1 19.2

Garbary (Garbarze), *Kraków-Piasek* – part, krk, prs, Kraków ś. Szczepan, suburb, t 50.1 19.9

Garbatka = Garbatka, Rębiertów\*, snd, rdm, Garbatka in Oleksów parish, Rębiertów in Sieciechów parish, c 51.5 21.7

Garbatka, pzn, pzn, Rogoźno, r 52.7 16.9

Garbatki, *Garbatka*, maz, tar, Tarczyn 52.0 20.8

Garbaty Most, *Zabrodzie*, pzn, pzn, Piła, r 53.3 16.7

Garbek (Tuchów-Garbek), snd, plz, Tuchów, demesne, c 49.9 21.0

Garbowice, snd, snd, Mydłów 50.7 21.4

Garbowo Nowe (Garbowo-Nowa Wieś), *Nowe Garbowo*, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.6

Garbowo Stare (Garbowo, Garbowo-Stara Wieś), *Stare Garbowo*, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.6

Garbowo, *Garbów*, lecz, orl, Bedlno 52.2 19.6

Garbów, *Garbów Stary*, snd, snd, Góry Wysokie 50.8 21.8

Garbów, lub, lub, Garbów 51.4 22.3

Garbów, srd, srd, Kalinowa, demesne 51.7 18.5

Garby, kls, pzd, Mądre, c 52.2 17.2

Garby, pzn, pzn, Splawie 52.4 17.0

Garc (Dörfchen, Gartz), *Wielki Garc*, pmr, tcz, Garc, r 53.9 18.8

Garc Mały, *Mały Garc*, pmr, tcz, Sobkowy, demesne, c 54.0 18.8

Garcz (Garcze), pmr, mrw, Chmielno, r 54.3 18.1

Garczyn (Garczyno), pmr, tcz, Garczyn 54.0 18.2

Gardlino-Dąb, *Gardlino*, maz, zmb, Zambrowo 53.0 22.3

Gardlino-Komonino, *Garlino-Komonino*, maz, prz, Grudowsko 53.1 20.6

Gardlino-Racibory (Gardlino Średnie), *Garlino Racibory*, plc and maz, mla and prz, Grudowsko 53.1 20.6

Gardlino-Racibory, *Garlino-Racibory*, maz, prz, Grudowsko 53.1 20.6

Gardlino-Zalesie, *Garlino-Zalesie*, maz, prz, Grudowsko 53.1 20.6

Gardoty, maz, rdz, Romany 53.4 22.3

Gardzienice, lub, lub, Biskupice 51.1 22.9

Gardzinice (Gardzinki, Gardzienice), *Gardzienice Stare*, snd, rdm, Ciepiałów 51.3 21.5

Garlica Druga (Garlica, Górna Wieś), *Górna Wieś*, krk, prs, Giebułtów 50.2 19.9

Garlica Mniejsza, *Garliczka*, krk, prs, Giebułtów 50.2 19.9

Garlica, *Garlica Duchowna*, *Garlica Murowana*, krk, prs, Giebułtów, cn 50.1 19.9

Garunki (Garnek), *Garnek*, srd, rds, Kłomice 50.9 19.5

Garkowo (Garkowo), *Garkowo Stare*, plc, szr, Szreńsko 53.0 20.1

Garno, snd, rdm, Wola Kowalska, c 51.4 21.0

Garwarze, *Stary Garwarz*, plc, ndz, Głinojecko 52.8 20.3

Garwolewo, maz, wsg, Czerwieńsko, c 52.4 20.3

Garwolin, maz, gar, Garwolin, town, r 51.9 21.6

Garzyno, *Garzyn*, pzn, ksc, Świerczyna 51.9 16.7

Gaspary, *Gacpary*, raw, bla, Biała 51.7 20.5

Gaszyn (Gaszyno), srd, wln, Wieluń, cn 51.2 18.6

Gawarzec Mniejszy, *Gawarzec Górny*, maz, wsg, Czerwieńsko 52.4 20.3

Gawarzec Wielki, *Gawarzec Dolny*, maz, wsg, Czerwieńsko 52.4 20.2

Gawiny, pdl, blk, Topiczewo 52.8 22.9

Gawki, maz, lom, Lubotyń 52.9 22.0

Gawłowice, chl, chl, Radzyń, r 53.4 18.9

Gawłowice, srd, srd, Goszczonów 51.8 18.5

Gawłowo (Gawlewo), *Gawłów*, raw, gbn, Sochaczew 52.3 20.2

Gawłowo Małe, *Gawłówek*, maz, nmo, Ciekosno 52.6 20.7

Gawłowo Wielkie, *Gawłowo*, maz, nmo, Ciekosno 52.6 20.7

Gawłów, krk, szcz, Krzyżanowice 50.0 20.5

Gawłów, srd, rds, Rząsna 51.2 19.1

Gawłówek, krk, szcz, Mikłuszowice, r 50.1 20.5

Gawłówka (Wola Gawłowa), lub, lub, Rudno 51.5 22.4

Gawrony I, II = Gawrony Górne\*, Gawrony Podgajne\* (Gawrony Podgórne? Gawrony Podleśne), *Gawrony*, *Gawronki*, lecz, lecz, Topola, 52.1 19.2

Gawrony, bkj, bkj, Bądkowo, rn 52.7 18.8

Gawrony, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki, c 52.7 19.9

Gawrony, pzn, ksc, Morka 52.0 17.0

Gawrony, snd, opc, Kunice Wielkie 51.4 20.2

Gawrzałów (Gawrzyjałów), *Gorzalów*, srd, srd, Góra 51.7 18.5

Gawrzyjałowa (Gawrzyjałówka), *Dębica-Gawrzyłowa*, snd, plz, Dębica 50.0 21.4

Gazewo (Gażewo), *Garzew*, kls, kls, Złotniki Wielkie, c 51.9 18.1

Gazomia, *Stara Gazomia*, srd, ptr, Wolborz, c 51.5 19.8

Gazomka, srd, ptr, Wolborz, c 51.5 19.8

Gąba (Gęba), raw, msz, Mszczonów 51.9 20.5

Gąbin, raw, gbn, Gąbin, town, r 52.4 19.7

Gąbinek (Gąbinko), bkj, bkj, Lubanie, c 52.7 19.0

Gąbino, *Gąbin*, kls, kcn, Chomętowo, c 52.9 17.7

Gądecz, *Gącz*, kls, gzn, Gądecz 52.7 17.5

Gądecz, inw, bdg, Dobrecz 53.2 18.2

Gądk (Gątki), *Trzcinnica* – part, krk, bck, Trzcienica, demesne, r 49.7 21.4

Gądk, pzn, pzn, Tulce 52.3 17.0

Gągolino (Mikołajowice), *Gągolin Północny*, raw, gbn, Kapina, c 52.2 20.1

Gąsawa, kls, gzn, Gąsawa, town, c 52.8 17.7

Gąsawy, *Gąsawy Towarzyskie*, snd, rdm, Jastrząb, c 51.2 20.9

Gąsawy, pzn, pzn, Szamotoły, demesne 52.6 16.6

Gąsino, *Gąsin*, maz, bln, Żbików 52.2 20.8

Gąsino, *Gąsin*, srd, srd, Turek 52.0 18.6

Gąsiorowice (Gącierowice), *Gąsioriki*, pmr, now, Barłożno, r 53.8 18.6

Gąsiorowo (Gąsiorowa), *Gąsiorów*, kls, knn, Kościelec, r 52.2 18.5

Gąsiorowo (Gąsiorowo-Kutaski), maz, nur, Zuzola 52.7 22.2

Gąsiorowo = Gąsiorowo-Baski\* (Bajski, Bajski Małe), Gąsiorowo-Nosale\*(Nosale), Gąsiorowo-Kuty\*(Gąsiorowo-Kity, Gąsiorowo-Kilichy?), lecz, lecz, Słaboszewo 52.2 19.1

Gąsiorowo Małe, *Gąsiorówko*, maz, nmo, Gąsiorowo 52.7 20.9

Gąsiorowo, *Gąsiorów*, kls, pzd, Pogorzelica 52.1 17.5

Gąsiorowo, kls, pzd, Milesna Górka 52.3 17.4

- Gąsiorowo, maz, nmo, Gąsiorowo 52.7 20.9
- Gąska\*\*, bkj, bkj, Witowo, mill
- Gąski (Rutki-Gąski), plc, ndz, Ciecchanów 52.9 20.5
- Gąski, inw, inw, Parkanie 52.8 18.4
- Gąski, maz, tar, Tarczyn 52.0 20.9
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 Góra = Góra, Wola Górka (Wólka-Psary), *Góra Kalwaria*, maz, czr, Góra 52.0 21.2  
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 Góra Kościelna = Góra Kościelna, Góra Nadolna\*, *Góra*, plc, pln and bls, Góra 52.6 20.1  
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Górka, *Trzebinia-Górka*, krk, prs, Trzebinia 50.2 19.5

Górki (Goraj?), lcz, lcz, Kłodawa 52.2 18.9

Górki (Góry Małe), raw, gos, Ciechomice, c 52.5 19.7

Górki (Gurken, Gurkenhuben), mlb, mlb, Peterswald, demesne, r 53.9 19.1

Górki = Górki (Górki Chojnowo?), Górki Małe\*, maz, prz, Węgra 53.0 20.8

Górki Daronie (Górka Doranie, Górka Szalonka), *Górki Zagajne*, kls, kcn, Brzeskorzystew 52.9 17.5

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Górki Wielkie = Górki-Białki\*, Górki-Kamiry\*, Górki Wielkie, *Górki Duże*, maz, nmo or ser, Winnica 52.6 20.9

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Górki-Baczki = Górki-Baczki, Górki-Czubaki\*, Górki-Gieski\*, Górki-Lizaki\*, Górki-Zdziechy\*, *Górki-Bački*, maz, nmo or ser, Winnica 52.6 20.9

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Górki, snd, plz, Czermin 50.4 21.3

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Górna Wola (Wola Górna), *Górnowola*, snd, wsl, Ostrowce, r 50.3 20.9

Górna Wola (Wola Nagórna), snd, rdm, Jankowice 51.5 21.0

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Grabowo-Trojany = Grabowo-Trojany, Milewo-Bagienica\*, Milewo-Trojany\*, maz, cch or prz, Zielona or Krasne 52.9 20.9

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Grabowo-Zawady = Grabowo-Kleszcze\*, Grabowo-Zawady, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.7

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Grabowo, *Grabów Łęczycki* – part, lez, lez, Grabowo – town 52.1 19.0

Grabowo, *Grabów Łęczycki* – part, lez, lez, Grabowo – town, town 52.1 19.0

Grabowo, *Grabówno*, kls, nkl, Miasteczko 53.1 17.0

Grabowo, *Kcynia-Grabowo*, kls, ken, Kcynia, r 53.0 17.4

Grabowo, kls, ken, Gołańcza 53.0 17.2

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Grabowo, maz, lom, Smlodowo 53.0 22.0

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Grabowo, pdl, blk, Grabowo 53.9 22.8

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Grabowo\*\*, pdl, drh, Kuczyno

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Koszonowo (Koszanowo), *Koszanowo*, pzn, ksc, Śmigiel 52.0 16.5

Koszutowo (Kostowo), *Kosztowo*, kls, nkl, Koszutowo 53.2 17.1

Koszuty, kls, knn, Koszuty, c 52.3 17.9

Koszuty, *Kosuty*, lub, luk, Tuchowicz 51.9 22.2

Koszuty, *Koszuty*, kls, pzd, Koszuty 52.2 17.1

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Koszyce (Koszyczki), snd, snd, Wojciechowice 50.8 21.6

Koszyce Małe, snd, plz, Góra Zbylitowska 50.0 20.9

Koszyce Wielkie, snd, plz, Góra Zbylitowska 50.0 20.9

Koszycki (Koszyce), *Koszyce*, krk, prs, Koszycki, town, r 50.2 20.6

Koszyki = Koszyki x2, maz, wiz, Wizna 53.2 22.3

Koszynice (Kosynice, Koszenice), *Koszenice*, plc, sie, Goleszyno 52.8 19.8

Koszynino (Kosynino), *Kosemin*, plc, sie, Zawidz Kościelny 52.9 19.9

Kościan, pzn, ksc, Kościan, town, r 52.1 16.6

Kościanki, kls, pzd, Graboszewo 52.3 17.7

Kościanki, srd, srd, Skęcznów 51.9 18.7

Kościany, kls, kls, Staw 51.7 18.4

Kościany+, pdl, blk, Suraż 53.0 23.0

Kościejów, krk, prs, Raclawice, cn 50.3 20.3

Kościelec (Kościelec Arcybiskupi, Kościelec Łyczynski), kls, kls, Kościelec, cn 51.9 18.2

Kościelec (Kościeleczyki, Warnau), *Kościeleczyki*, mlb, mlb, Kościelec, r 54.1 19.0

Kościelec (Kościół), *Chrzanów-Kościelec*, krk, prs, Kościelec 50.1 19.4

Kościelec, inw, inw, Kościelec 52.8 18.2

Kościelec, kls, knn, Kościelec, r 52.2 18.5

Kościelec, krk, prs, Kościelec 50.2 20.4

Kościelec, srd, wln, Borowno 50.9 19.2

Kościelna Wieś, *Krobia* – part, pzn, ksc, Krobia, c 51.8 16.9

Kościelnica (Kościelna Wieś), srd, szd, Uniejów, c 52.0 18.8

Kościelniki, *Kraków-Kościelniki*, krk, prs, Wrzodowa Góra 50.1 20.2

Kościenkowo\*\*, kls, kcn, Chomętowo, demesne

Kościerski Młyn+, pmr, tcz, Kościerzyno, mill, r 54.1 18.0

Kościerzyna Mała (Kościerzyna, Kościerzyno), *Kościerzyn Wielki*, kls, nkl, Glisno 53.2 17.2

Kościerzyna Wielka (Kościerzyna, Kościerzyno), *Kościerzyn Mały*, kls, nkl, Luchowo 53.2 17.2

Kościerzyna-Dwór, *Cegielnia*, pmr, tcz, Kościerzyno, castle, r 54.1 18.0

Kościerzyno (Bern, Kościerzyn), *Kościerzyna*, pmr, tcz, Kościerzyno, town, r 54.1 18.0

Kościerzyno (Kościerzyn), *Kościerzyn*, srd, srd, Chartłupia Mała 51.6 18.6

Kościeszce-Wyględowo, *Warszawa-Wyględów*, maz, wrs, Służewo? 52.2 21.0

Kościeszki, bkj, ksw, Kościeszki 52.6 18.3

Kościeszki, kls, knn, Siedlimowo 52.5 18.2

Kościół (Tum), *Tum Poduchowny*, lcz, lcz, Kościół, c 52.1 19.2

Kościół, *Kościelna Wieś*, bkj, bkj, Kościół 52.7 18.7

Kościół, *Kościelna Wieś*, kls, kls, Kościół, c 51.8 18.0

Koślinka (Koślinki, Koźlinka), pmr, tch, Tuchola, r 53.6 17.9

Kośmin, *Kośminy*, maz, gar, Kołybiel 52.1 21.6

Kośmino, *Kośmin*, maz, grc, Worowo 51.9 20.9

Kośna, *Dasze*, pdl, blk, Kleszczele, suburb, t 52.5 23.2

Kośna, pdl, blk, Kleszczele 52.6 23.3

Kośnino (Mijakowo-Kośnino), *Kosino*, plc, plc, Świeciniec 52.6 19.9

Kot (Kut), *Otloczyn* – part, inw, inw, Słońsko, mill, c 52.9 18.7

Kotan, *Kotań*, krk, bck, Miscowa (orthodox), r 49.5 21.5

Kotarbice, *Kotarwice*, snd, rdm, Stary Radom 51.3 21.1

Kotarby = Kotarby, Kotarby Małe\*, *Bógwidze-Kotarby*, kls, kls, Sowina Kościelna 51.8 17.7

Kotarszyn (Kotarczyn, Kotarzyn ), snd, snd, Waśniów, c 50.9 21.2

Kotarszyno Wielkie, *Kotarczyn* – part, plc, sie, Mochowo 52.7 19.6

Kotarszyno-Zdziebłko, *Kotarczyn* – part, plc, sie, Mochowo 52.7 19.5

Koterman (Kotormany), maz, cch, Ciechanów 52.9 20.7

Kotki, snd, wsl, Janina 50.5 20.8

Kotkowo, *Kotków*, lcz, lcz, Sobótka 52.2 19.0

Kotków, srd, ptr, Gorzkowice 51.2 19.6

Kotlewo Małe, *Kotlewo*, plc, rac, Gralowo 52.7 20.1

Kotlice, snd, wsl, Gnojno 50.6 20.8

Kotlina, *Kotliny*, lcz, brz, Czarnocin?, c 51.6 19.7

Kotlinki Małe, *Kotlinki*, srd, szd, Szadek 51.7 18.9

Kotlinki Wielkie, *Kotliny*, srd, szd, Szadek 51.7 18.9

Kotlino, *Kotlin*, kls, kls, Kotlino 51.9 17.6

Kotliny, lub, lub, Baranów 51.5 22.2

Kotliska Małe, lcz, lcz, Łąkoszyn 52.2 19.4

Kotliska Wielkie (Kotliska), lcz, lcz, Łąkoszyn 52.2 19.4

Kotło, pmr, tcz, Gniew, r 53.9 18.9

Kotłów, srd, ost, Kotłów, r 51.6 18.0

Kotły, pdl, blk, Bielsk, r 52.8 23.2

Kotnowo, chl, chl, Płużnica, r 53.3 18.8

Kotomierza (Kotomierz, Kotomirza), *Kotomierz*, inw, bdg, Dobrcz 53.3 18.1

Kotorydz, maz, tar, Tarczyn, c 52.0 20.9

Kotowice (Katowice?), lcz, lcz, Goraj 52.1 19.0

Kotowice (Kotowice, Kotowiczki), lcz, lcz, Gieczno 52.0 19.4

Kotowice, krk, llw, Włodowice 50.6 19.5

Kotowice, maz, bln, Rokitno ś. Wojciech or Żukowo 52.2 20.7

Kotowiecko (Kotojecko, Kotoniecko), kls, kls, Droszewo 51.8 17.9

Kotowo Małe, *Kotówek*, maz, wiz, Jedwabne 53.2 22.3

Kotowo Wielkie, *Kotowo Stare*, maz, wiz, Jedwabne 53.2 22.3

Kotowo, *Grodzewo-Kotowo*, kls, pzd, Niezamyśl 52.1 17.1

Kotowo, pzn, ksc, Drożyn 52.2 16.4

Kotowy, dbr, rpn, Sadłowo 53.1 19.6

Kotulin, raw, raw, Kołacin Mały 51.9 19.9

Kotuń (Kotonie-Chojeczno, Kotyń), maz, liw, Niwiska or Wodynie 52.2 22.1

Kotusz, pzn, ksc, Wilkowo Polskie 52.1 16.4

Kotuszów, snd, opc, Dąbrowa 51.3 20.0

Kotuszów, snd, wsl, Kotuszów 50.6 21.1

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Kotwin, *Kotfin*, srd, rds, Gidle 51.0 19.6

Koty = Koty, Rybno, *Koty-Rybno* – part, maz, was, Grajewo 53.6 22.5

Koty-Lutostań, maz, zmb, Puchały 53.1 22.3

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Kowala Duszocina (Kowala Mała), snd, rdm, Wola Kowalska 51.4 21.0

Kowala Stępcocina, snd, rdm, Kowala Stępcocina 51.3 21.1

Kowala, snd, chc, Brzeziny, c 50.8 20.6

Kowala, snd, rdm, Jaroszyn 51.4 21.9

Kowale (Kowala), *Kowala*, snd, wsl, Pińczów, c 50.5 20.6

Kowale = Kowale, Piączyński Młyn (Piączyzna, Piączyński Młyn) *Kowal* – part?, mill, *Kowal-Stare Miasto*, bkj, kwł, Kowale, town, r 52.5 19.2

Kowale Arcybiskupie (Kowale Księżę), *Kowale Księżę*, srd, srd, Turek, c 52.0 18.5

Kowale, *Kowala*, lub, lub, Wąwolnica 51.2 22.1

Kowale, *Kowale Pańskie*, srd, srd, Kowale 51.9 18.5

Kowale, pdl, blk, Turośna, suburb, t 53.0 23.0

Kowale, plc, pln, Baboszewo 52.7 20.2

Kowale, srd, srd, Chartłupia Mała 51.7 18.7

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Kowalewek (Kowalewo), kls, knn, Sławsko Wielkie 52.2 18.1

Kowalewice, maz, nmo, Winnica 52.7 20.8

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Kowalewo (Kowalewko, Kowalowo), *Kowalewko*, pzn, pzn, Objezierze 52.6 16.7

Kowalewo (Kowalewko), *Kowalew*, kls, kls, Biskupice Szalone, demesne 51.7 17.9

Kowalewo (Schönsee), *Kowalewo Pomorskie*, chl, chl, Kowalewo, town, r 53.1 18.9

Kowalewo Bogusławskie, *Kowalewo-Boguszyce*, plc, bls, Gozdowo 52.7 19.7

Kowalewo Małe (Kowalewko), *Kowalewko*, plc, szr, Dąbrowa 53.0 20.3

Kowalewo Podborne (Kowalewo-Oszczepie, Kowalewo Podgórne), *Kowalewo Podborne* – part, plc, bls, Gozdowo 52.7 19.7

Kowalewo Wielkie, *Kowalewo*, plc, szr, Dąbrowa 53.0 20.3

Kowalewo-Skorupki, plc, bls, Gozdowo 52.7 19.7

Kowalewo-Sule, *Kowalewo-Podborne* – part, plc, bls, Gozdowo 52.7 19.7

Kowalewo-Zamek, *Kowalewo Pomorskie* – part, chl, chl, Kowalewo, castle, r 53.2 18.9

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Kowalewo, kls, kcn, Margonin 53.0 17.1

Kowalewo, kls, kcn, Słupy 53.0 17.7

Kowalewo, *Kowalew*, kls, kls, Kowalewo 51.9 17.7

Kowalewo, *Kowalewko*, kls, kcn, Kcynia 53.1 17.4

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Kowalewo, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 19.9

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Kowalewo, pzn, wch, Kowalewo 51.7 16.3

Kowalewszczyzna (Kowalowszczyzna), pdl, blk, Waniewo 53.1 22.8

Kowaliki (Kowalkau), chl, mch, Mroczeno, c 53.3 19.7

Kowalików, *Kowalków*, snd, rdm, Odałów, c 51.2 21.4

Kowalkowa+ (Kowalowe), pmr, tcz, Pogutkowy, c 54.0 18.3

Kowalkowice (Kowalikowice), snd, snd, Waśniów 50.9 21.2

Kowalkowy (Kowalikowy), *Kowalki*, dbr, rpn, Rypin 53.0 19.4

Kowalowa (Kowalowe, Kowalowy), *Kowalowy*, snd, plz, Jasło 49.8 21.5

Kowalowice (Kowalewice), *Kowalewice*, lcz, lcz, Chociszewo, r 51.9 19.3

Kowalowy = Kowalowy, Gilowa (Gielowa)\*, (Kowalowa, Kowalów), *Kowalowa*, krk, bck, Ryglice Niższe 49.9 21.2

Kowalów (Kowale), *Kowalów Dolny*, krk, kss, Mironice 50.5 20.1

Kowalów, *Kowalew*, srd, szd, Buczek 51.5 19.1

Kowalskie, kls, gzn, Wronczyno 52.5 17.1

Kowary, krk, prs, Proszkowice 50.2 20.3

Kowiesy (Kowieszę), pdl, drh, Rozbity Kamień 52.3 22.2

Kowiesz = Kowiesz-Bieliny\*, Kowiesz Małe\* (Kowiesz-Wędrogów), Kowiesz Wielkie\*, *Kowiesy*, raw, msz, Chojnata Mniska 51.9 20.4

Kownacica (Kowacie), snd, stz, Korytnica 51.8 21.7

Kownacino Obryckie, *Kownacinek*, maz, was, Niedźwiadna 53.5 22.2

Kownacino, *Kownacin*, maz, was, Niedźwiadna 53.5 22.2

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Kownata Szczucka\*, maz, was, Wąsosz 53.6 22.3

Kownatka, *Kornatka*, pmr, now, Jania Kościelna, mill 53.8 18.6

Kownatki (Komnatki), lub, luk, Łuków, r 51.9 22.5

Kownaty (Grodzanowo), maz, wiz, Dobrzajalowo 53.2 22.2

Kownaty (Kownatki), kls, pzd, Ostrów, c 52.3 17.8

Kownaty Borowe, plc, ndz, Ciechanów 52.8 20.5

Kownaty Wierzch Nagórczyno = Dosie\*, Kaliskowo\*, Kownaty Wierzch Nagórczyno (Kownacino), *Kownatki*, maz, rdz, Wąsosz 53.5 22.4

Kownaty Wojnowe, plc, ndz, Ciechanów 52.8 20.6

Kownaty Żędowe, plc, ndz, Ciechanów 52.8 20.6

Kownaty-Chelchy, *Kownaty*, maz, mak, Szwelice 52.8 21.1

Kownaty-Maciejewice = Kownaty-Maciejewice (Kownaty-Maciejewice), Kownaty-Pawłowice\*, Kownaty-Pęczki\*, Kownaty-Rzepki Wielkie\*, *Kownaty-Maciejewięta*, maz, prz, Czerznice 53.0 20.7

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Kownaty, *Kownatki-Falęcino*, plc, mla, Grzebsk 53.2 20.6

Kownaty, maz, scn, Płońsko 52.6 20.4

Kownaty\*\*, maz, kam

Kozanki (Kazanki), *Kazanki*, bkj, prd, Izbica 52.4 18.8

Kozanki, *Kozanki Podleśne*, *Kozanki Wielkie*, srd, szd, Wielenino 52.0 18.9

Kozarze, pdl, drh, Ciechanowiec 52.7 22.5

Kozarze\*\*, srd, ptr, Drużbice

Kozarzewice+ (Kozarzowice), raw, raw, Krzemienica 51.7 20.2

Kozarzewo (Zakrzewo-Kosiarzewo), maz, scn, Naruszowo 52.5 20.3

Kozarzewo Małe (Kozarzewko), *Kozarzewek*, kls, knn, Kazimierz 52.3 18.1

Kozarzewo Wielkie (Kozarzewo), *Kozarzew*, kls, knn, Kazimierz 52.3 18.1

Kozery, raw, msz, Grodzisko 52.1 20.6

Kozi Las, *Kozilas*, plc, szr, Dłotów 53.2 19.9

Kozia Góra, *Stare Miasto* – part, kls, knn, Stare Miasto 52.2 18.1

Kozia Kaleń\*, *Kozieniec*, snd, rdm, Potworów 51.5 20.7

Kozibór, *Kozibór (Mała Nieszawka* – part), inw, inw, Podgórze, r 53.0 18.5

Kozice, *Korzyce*, snd, rdm, Wysoka 51.3 20.8

Kozice, *Kozice Dolne*, lub, lub, Piasek 51.1 22.8

Kozice, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.6

Kozice, raw, gos, Gostynin, r 52.4 19.4

Kozice, snd, stz, Korytnica, r 51.7 21.8

Koziczki (Koski), *Złotowo-Koziczki*, plc, szr, Radzanów 53.0 20.1

Koziczkowo (Koziczkowa), *Kożyczkowo*, pmr, mrw, Chmielno 54.4 18.1

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Koziczyno Małe, *Koziczynek*, maz, cch, Koziczyno Małe 53.0 20.7

Kozie, *Kuzie*, snd, wsl, Bolesław, r 50.2 20.9

Koziebrody Małe, *Mała Wieś*, plc, rac, Koziebrody Wielkie 52.8 20.0

Koziebrody Wielkie, *Koziebrody*, plc, rac, Koziebrody Wielkie 52.8 20.0

Koziegłowy, *Koziegłowy*, maz, nmo or ser, Pułtowsk, c 52.7 21.1

Koziegłowy, pzn, pzn, Kicina, c 52.4 16.9

Koziegłowy, swr, Koziegłowy, town, c 50.6 19.2

Koziegłówki (Koziołówki, Stare Koziegłowy, Stare Koziegłówki), swr, Koziegłówki, c 50.6 19.2

Koziejaty, *Kozjaty*, bkj, bkj, Chalino 52.4 18.7

Koziel (Kozle), *Stary Koziel*, maz, grc, Łęczeszycze 51.8 20.8

Kozielec, pmr, now, Nowe 53.7 18.8

Kozielec, pmr, swc, Niewieścino, demesne, c 53.2 18.3

Koziełsk, plc, szr, Kuczbork 53.1 20.1

Koziełsko, kls, kcn, Koziełsko 52.8 17.4

Kozieł, *Kozle*, lcz, brz, Kozieł 51.9 19.6

Koziełki, *Koziołki*, raw, raw, Kołacin Mały 51.9 19.8

Koziełki\*, *Koziołek*, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.8

Koziełkowa Wola, *Kozłówka*, lub, lub, Kamionka 51.4 22.5

Kozienice (Kozinice), snd, rdm, Kozienice, town, r 51.6 21.5

Kozienice (Kozinice), *Stara Wieś*, snd, rdm, Kozienice – town, r 51.6 21.6

Kozieniec, chl, mch, Radoszki, mill, c 53.3 19.7

Kozierady (Kosirady), *Kosierady Wielkie*, pdl, drh, Rozbity Kamień 52.4 22.2

Kozierogi, srd, ptr, Bogdanów 51.4 19.5

Koziestany, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.0 22.4

Kozietuły = Kozietuły Małe\*, Kozietuły Wielkie\*, maz, grc, Goszczyn 51.7 20.8

Koziki-Jałbrzykówstok, *Koziki*, maz, zmb, Puchały 53.0 22.3

Koziki-Wądołowo, *Koziki*, maz, lom, Smlodowo 53.1 22.0

Koziki, *Koziki-Olszyny*, maz, kol, Poryte 53.4 22.1

Koziki, maz, osw, Ostrowia 52.8 21.8

Koziki+, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 19.9

Kozimino, *Koźmin*, kls, knn, Janiszewo 52.1 18.6

Koziminy (Kazimino), *Koziminy Stare*, maz, scn, Płońsko 52.7 20.4

Kozina, snd, wsl, Szaniec 50.5 20.8

Kozina+, maz, grc, Goszczyn, t 51.7 20.8

Koziniec (Kozieniec, Kozimice), krk, sls, Mucharz, rn 49.8 19.5

Kozinki, snd, rdm, Nowa Cerkiew 51.4 21.1

Koziny (Kozmy), *Kuźmy*, raw, raw, Dmosin 51.9 19.8

Koziny, raw, msz, Mszczonów 51.9 20.5

Koziróg Leśny, dbr, dbr, Tłuchowo 52.8 19.4

Koziróg Rzeczny, dbr, dbr, Tłuchowo 52.8 19.5

Koziróg, *Kozi Róg*, chl, mch, Szczuka 53.2 19.4

Kozirynek (Niżna Białka), *Radzyn* – part, lub, luk, Kozirynek, r 51.8 22.6

Kozłocin+, krk, kss, Jemielno 50.6 20.5

Kozłowice, *Kozłowice Stare*, raw, sch, Wiskitki Kościelne, r 52.1 20.4

Kozłowo Biskupie, *Kozłów Biskupi*, raw, sch, Kozłowo Biskupie, c 52.2 20.2

Kozłowo Szlacheckie, *Kozłów Szlachecki Stary*, raw, gbn, Kozłowo Szlacheckie 52.2 20.1

Kozłowo-Kucze\* (Kozłowo-Grabia), plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 20.0

Kozłowo-Liska\*, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 20.0

Kozłowo-Witki\*, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 20.0

Kozłowo-Żęgoty\*, *Kozłówek*, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 19.9

Kozłowo, kls, gzn, Strzyżewo, c 52.6 17.7

Kozłowo, maz, kam, Pniewo 52.6 21.3

Kozłowo, maz, nmo or ser, Przewodowo, c 52.8 21.0

Kozłowo, pdl, drh, Pobikrowy or Rudka 52.6 22.7

Kozłowo, pmr, swc, Świecie 53.4 18.4

Kozłowo, pzn, pzn, Buk 52.3 16.4

Kozłów Las (Kozłowiec), *Kozłowiec*, snd, rdm, Skrzyń Stara 51.4 20.6

Kozłów, *Kozłówek*, snd, plz, Kozłów, c 49.9 21.7

Kozłów, krk, kss, Kozłów 50.5 20.0

Kozłów, maz, gar, Parysewo 52.0 21.7

Kozłów, snd, chc, Kozłów 50.8 20.2

- Kozłów, snd, plz, Dębica 50.1 21.5  
 Kozłów, snd, rdm, Jedlna, r 51.5 21.2  
 Kozłów, snd, wsl, Gręboszów, r 50.3 20.8  
 Kozłów\* (Kozłów Cieciszowski), *Kopyty*, maz, czr, Cieciszewo 52.1 21.2  
 Kozłów\*, *Przewóz*, maz, czr, Karczewie 52.1 21.2  
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- Kretki Wielkie, *Kretki Duże*, dbr, rpn, Osiek 53.2 19.4
- Kretkowo (Krzetkowo), *Kretków*, kls, kls, Kretkowo 52.1 17.6
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- Krępa, *Krępa Dolna*, snd, snd, Mydłów 50.7 21.3
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- Krępa, *Krępsko*, pzn, pzn, Piła, r 53.3 16.7
- Krępa, lcz, brz, Inowłódz, mill, r 51.5 20.3
- Krępa, maz, czr, Sobikowo 52.0 21.1
- Krępa, maz, prz, Przasnysz 53.1 21.0
- Krępa, plc, szr, Lipowiec Kościelny 53.1 20.2
- Krępa, raw, sch, Domaniewice, c 52.0 19.8
- Krępa, snd, stz, Łysobyki 51.6 22.3
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- Krępkowo (Krąpkowo), kls, pzd, Graboszewo 52.3 17.7
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- Krężce (Krążce, Krząszcze), raw, raw, Maków, c 51.9 20.1
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- Krężelwice, lcz, lcz, Siedlec 52.1 19.2
- Krężna, srd, ptr, Milejów 51.4 19.6
- Krężnica Jaroska, *Krężnica Jara*, lub, lub, Krężnica Jaroska 51.2 22.5
- Krężnica, *Krężnica Okrągła*, lub, lub, Bełżyce 51.2 22.2
- Krężoły (Krążele), krk, kss, Mironice and Mstyczów 50.5 20.1
- Krężoły (Krężołowy), inw, bdg, Tuczno, demesne 52.9 18.1
- Krężoły, pzn, pzn, Ryczywól 52.8 16.7
- Kripkerwald+, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.3 19.1
- Krobanów (Krobanów Wielki), srd, szd, Marzenin 51.6 19.0
- Krobanówek (Krobanów Mały), srd, szd, Marzenin 51.6 19.0
- Krobia, dbr, lpn, Złotoria, r 53.0 18.8
- Krobia, pzn, ksc, Krobia, town, c 51.8 16.9
- Krobice, *Kroblice Pęchowskie*, snd, snd, Goźlice 50.7 21.5
- Krobice, *Krubice*, maz, wsg, Bolkowo 52.5 20.1
- Krobice, *Krubice*, raw, sch, Zawady 52.2 20.5
- Krobielewo, *Krobielewko*, pzn, pzn, Przetoczno 52.6 15.7
- Krobielice, snd, snd, Goźlice, c 50.7 21.5
- Krobino (Krubino), *Krubin*, maz, cch, Ciechanów 52.9 20.6
- Krobino, *Krubin*, maz, wrs, Okunino 52.4 20.8
- Krobino, *Krubin*, raw, gbn, Sanniki, r 52.3 19.8
- Krobowo, *Krobów*, maz, grc, Grodziec 51.9 20.9
- Krochów\*\* (Grochów), raw, bla, Biała Kroc (Krotecz, Krucz), *Krucz*, pzn, pzn, Lubasz 52.8 16.4
- Kroczewo (Kroszewo), plc, rac, Raciąż, c 52.8 20.1
- Kroczewo, maz, zkr, Kroczewo 52.5 20.6
- Kroczków Mniejszy, snd, rdm, Teczów 51.3 21.5
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- Kroczyzna, *Kruczyn*, pzn, ksc, Kolniczki 52.0 17.3
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- Krogulcza-Orańsko (Krogulca Orańska, Krogulca Sucha), *Krogulcza Sucha*, snd, rdm, Kowala Stępcina 51.3 21.0
- Krogule = Krogule, Wola Krogulska, maz, nmo or ser, Nosilsko 52.5 20.8
- Krok, *Pomiany* – part, srd, ost, Trzcieńca, mill 51.2 18.0
- Krokoczyce (Krokocice), srd, szd, Małyń 51.7 19.0
- Krokowo (Krakau), *Krokowa*, pmr, pck, Krokowo, demesne 54.8 18.2
- Kromiszewice (Kromiszowice), *Kromszewice*, bkj, prd, Chodecz 52.4 19.0
- Kromnowo, *Kromnów*, raw, sch, Brochowo Wielkie, c 52.4 20.3
- Kromolice, kls, pzd, Pierchno, demesne 52.3 17.1
- Kromolice, kls, pzd, Wiela 51.8 17.2
- Kromolin, *Stary Kromolin*, srd, szd, Szadek, r 51.7 18.9
- Kromołów, *Zawiercie-Kromołów*, krk, llw, Kromołów, town 50.5 19.5
- Kromża (Krommesee), *Krzemieniewo*, pmr, czl, Krzemieniewo (Kromża) 53.6 17.0
- Kronenhof, *Gdańsk* – part, pmr, gdn, Bohnsack, demesne, t 54.3 18.9
- Kropidło, krk, kss, Słabosów 50.4 20.2
- Kropiwnica-Gajki (Gajki-Kropiwnica, Kropilnica, Kropilnica-Gajki, Kro-
- piwnica), *Kropiwnica-Gajki*, pdl, blk, Kobylińskie 53.1 22.7
- Kropiwnica-Kiernoski (Kropilnica, Kropilnica-Kiernoski), *Kropiwnica-Kiernoski*, pdl, blk, Kobylińskie 53.1 22.7
- Kropiwnica-Racibory (Kropilnica-Racibory, Racibory), *Kropiwnica-Racibory*, pdl, blk, Kobylińskie 53.1 22.7
- Kropiwnica, okolica, pdl, blk
- Kropiwnica, pdl, blk, Kalinówka, r 53.4 22.9
- Kropki, *Krubki*, maz, wrs, Pustelnik 52.3 21.4
- Krosiewicz (Kroszowiec), *Kruszewiec*, snd, opc, Libiszów 51.4 20.3
- Krosiewo (Krosiowo, Krosiewka, Krosiówka, Rudnik), *Kroszewo*, pdl, blk, Bargłowo 53.7 22.8
- Krosino (Krosno), *Krusin*, chl, chl, Lisowo, r 53.3 18.6
- Krosiówka, *Kroszówka*, pdl, blk, Bargłowo, r 53.7 22.8
- Krosna (Krosnia), *Krasna*, snd, plz, Ludcza 49.8 21.9
- Krosna, *Krosno*, pzn, ksc, Mosina, r 52.2 16.8
- Krosno (Krosna), kls, kcn, Tarnowo, c 52.9 17.2
- Krosno, srd, rds, Bęczkowice 51.2 19.7
- Krosnowa Wola (Wola Krosnowska), *Wólka Krosnowska*, raw, raw, Lipce 51.9 19.9
- Krosnowa, raw, raw, Słupia 51.9 19.9
- Krostkowo (Chrostkowo), *Chrostkowo*, dbr, lpn, Krostkowo 52.9 19.3
- Krostkowo (Chrostkowo), *Chrystkowo*, pmr, swc, Gruczno 53.3 18.3
- Krostkowo, kls, nkl, Krostkowo 53.1 17.1
- Kroszynko (Kroszynko Małe, Kroszynko, Kroszynko Małe), *Kruszynek*, bkj, bkj, Kroszyno 52.6 19.0
- Kroszyno (Kroszyn, Kroszyno), *Kruszyn*, bkj, bkj, Kroszyno, r 52.6 19.0
- Kroszyno Górne (Kroszyno, Kroszyno, Kroszyno Górne), *Kruszyn*, inw, bdg, Dąbrówka 53.2 17.8
- Kroszyno Małe (Kroszynko Małe, Kroszyno Małe, Kroszynko, Kroszynko Małe), *Kruszynek*, inw, inw, Ostrowąs 52.8 18.8
- Kroszyno Małe (Kroszyno, Kroszyno) = Kroszynko, *Kruszyn Krajeński*, inw, bdg, Bydgoszcz 53.1 17.9
- Kroszyno Wielkie (Kroszynko Wielkie, Kroszyno Wielkie)\*, *Kruszynek-Kolonia*, inw, inw, Ostrowąs 52.8 18.8
- Krościenko, *Krościenko nad Dunajcem*, krk, sdc, Krościenko, town, r 49.4 20.4
- Krośnica, krk, sdc, Maniowy, r 49.5 20.3
- Krośnice (Krośnica), plc, ndz, Lekowo 53.0 20.5

Krośnie = Krośnie Małe\* (Krośnie Stare), Krośnie Wielkie\*, *Krosna*, maz, bln, Rokitno ś. Wojciech 52.2 20.7

Krośniewice, lcz, lcz, Krośniewice, town 52.3 19.2

Krośninko, *Krosinek*, pzn, pzn, Połajewo 52.8 16.6

Krośnino, *Krosin*, pzn, pzn, Połajewo 52.8 16.6

Krotoszyn (Krotosza, Krotoszyn), *Krotoszyni*, chl, mch, Szwarcenowo, demesne, r 53.5 19.4

Krotoszyn Stary (Stary Krotoszyn), *Stary Krotoszyn*, kls, pzd, Krotoszyn 51.7 17.4

Krotoszyn, kls, pzd, Krotoszyn, town 51.7 17.4

Krotoszyno, *Krotoszyn*, bkj, bkj, Kościół 52.7 18.8

Krotoszyno, *Krotoszyn*, kls, gzn, Szczepanowo 52.8 17.9

Krotoszyński\*\* (Krotoski), kls, kcn, Grylewo, mill

Krowi Lasek\*\*, pzn, ksc, Osieczna, demesne

Krowia Góra, snd, snd, Łuniów 50.6 21.5

Krowica (Krowica Mała), *Krowica Zawodnia*, kls, kls, Rajsko 51.7 18.3

Krowica Wielka (Krowica), *Krowica Pusta*, kls, kls, Rajsko 51.7 18.3

Krowiczyno Małe (Krowiczynko), *Krojczyn* – part, dbr, dbr, Zadzuszniaki 52.7 19.2

Krowiczyno Wielkie, *Krojczyn*, dbr, dbr, Zadzuszniaki 52.7 19.2

Krownice, snd, plz, Przecław 50.1 21.5

Krowodrza, *Kraków-Krowodrza*, krk, prs, Kraków ś. Szczepan, c 50.1 19.9

Króle, *Króle Duże*, maz, nur, Złotoria, c 52.8 22.1

Króle, *Lutomierzyn-Króle*, plc, pln, Drozdowo 52.7 20.2

Królewice (Królowice), *Królowice*, snd, wsl, Bejsce 50.3 20.6

Królewice, snd, snd, Sulisławice, cn 50.6 21.4

Królewka, *Królowka*, krk, szcz, Królewka, r 49.9 20.4

Królewko (Królewko Małe), *Królewko* – part, maz, scn or cch, Królewko, c 52.6 20.6

Królewo Wielkie, *Królewo* – part, maz, scn or cch, Królewko, c 52.6 20.6

Królikowo (Królików), *Królików*, kls, knn, Królikowo 52.1 18.0

Królikowo, kls, kcn, Słupy 53.0 17.6

Królowa Niwa, *Krzesk Królowa Niwa*, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.6

Królowa Wola (Królewska Wola, Wola Królowa), lcz, brz, Inowłódz, r 51.6 20.2

Królowa Wola, *Starowola*, maz, liw or kam, Jadowo, r 52.5 21.7

Królowa Wola\*\*, Radzanów, snd, rdm

Królowa Wołoska (Królowa, Wołoska Wieś Królowa), *Królowa Górna*, krk, sdc, Królowa Wołoska (orthodox), r 49.6 20.8

Królowy Las (Königswalde), *Królow Las*, pmr, tez, Królowy Las, c 53.8 18.7

Kruchowo (Kruków, Kruszowo), *Krukowo*, bkj, bkj, Choceń, demesne, r 52.5 19.0

Kruchowo, kls, gzn, Kruchowo 52.6 17.8

Kruchowski Młyn, *Kruchowo* – part, kls, gzn, Kruchowo, mill 52.6 17.8

Kruhła, *Pawlinowo*, pdl, blk, Kleszczele 52.6 23.2

Kruki-Nakły, *Kruki*, maz, osl, Ostrołęka 53.1 21.5

Krukowa Wola\*\*, snd, rdm, Radzanów

Krukowo, *Krukówko*, kls, nkl, Wyrza, demesne 53.2 17.6

Krukowo, maz, prz, Chorzele 53.3 21.1

Krukowszczyzna+ (Krukowizna, Krukowszczyzna, Krukowczyzna), pdl, blk, Jasionówka, r 53.4 23.1

Krukówka\*\* (Kruhówka), maz, kam, Niegowo or Dąbrówka Stara

Krupa (Kupa), *Krupów*, snd, rdm, Mierc, mill, c 51.2 21.1

Krupa Biel, *Krupowizna*, maz, wrs, Wiśniewo or Stanisławów, mill, r 52.3 21.7

Krupa, snd, stz, Łaskarzew, mill, c 51.8 21.5

Krupicze (Krupice), *Krupice*, pdl, drh, Drohiczyn 52.4 22.8

Krupka (Kripdka), chl, chl, Wielka Łąka, mill, r 53.1 18.8

Krupki, pdl, blk, Brańsk, mill, r 52.8 22.9

Kruplin, *Kruplin Poduchowny*, *Kruplin Radomszczański*, srd, rds, Brzeźnica, cr 51.1 19.2

Krupocino (Krupocin), *Krupocin*, pmr, swc, Siekotowo 53.5 18.2

Krupphammer+, pmr, gdn, Oliwa, mill, c 54.4 18.6

Krupy (Ostrów Mały), lub, lub, Kocko 51.6 22.3

Krusko+, maz, kol, Kolno, farm, r 53.4 21.6

Krusza Duchowna (Krusza), inw, inw, Ludzicko, c 52.7 18.2

Krusza Podlotowa (Krusza, Krusza Podlotowa), *Krusza Podlotowa*, inw, inw, Ludzicko 52.7 18.2

Krusza Ząbkowa (Krusza Zębkowa), *Krusza Zamkowa*, inw, inw, Ludzicko 52.7 18.2

Kruszczewo (Gruszewo), plc, plc, Proboszczowice, c 52.6 19.7

Kruszczyno (Gruszewo), *Gruszczyn*, maz, wrk, Mniszewo 51.8 21.3

Kruszczyno, *Gruszczyn*, pzn, pzn, Swarzędz 52.4 17.0

Krusze (Kruszewie, Kruszewo), *Krusze Stare*, maz, kam, Klembowo 52.4 21.4

Krusze-Łubnica, *Krusze-Łubnice*, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 53.0 22.3

Krusze, plc, mla, Grzebsk 53.2 20.6

Kruszenica-Sędki = Kruszenica-Sędki, Kruszenica-Śmiotanki\*, *Kruszenica-Sądki*, plc, pln, Krajkowo 52.8 20.2

Kruszenica-Włodki, plc, pln, Krajkowo 52.8 20.2

Kruszewie, *Korzybie-Kruszewie*, plc, pln, Baboszewo 52.6 20.3

Kruszewko Małe, *Kruszewek*, maz, tar, Rembierkowo 51.9 20.8

Kruszewo = Kruszewo (Kruszczewo, Łukie-Kruszewiec?), Kruszewiec-Borze\*, *Kruszew*, maz, liw, Korytnica 52.4 21.9

Kruszewo Wielkie (Kruszewie), *Kruszew*, maz, tar, Rembierkowo 51.9 20.8

Kruszewo-Brodowo (Kruszewo, Kruszewo, Kruszewo-Koziki), pdl, blk, Sokoły 53.0 22.7

Kruszewo-Głąby (Kruszewo Stare-Głąby, Pęze-Kruszewo), pdl, blk, Sokoły 53.0 22.7

Kruszewo-Mateuszowięta\*\*, pdl, blk, Sokoły

Kruszewo, *Kobylin-Kruszewo*, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.7

Kruszewo, maz, osl, Goworowo, c 52.9 21.5

Kruszewo, okolica, pdl, blk

Kruszewo, pdl, blk, Waniewo 53.1 22.8

Kruszewo, pzn, pzn, Czarnków 53.0 16.6

Kruszewski Młyn\*\*, bkj, prd, [unknown], mill

Kruszewiec (Kruszewiec), maz, gar, Glińniana 52.1 21.4

Kruszów, srd, ptr, Srocie 51.6 19.6

Kruszówka (Kruszewko), maz, gar, Miastkowo Wielkie 51.9 21.9

Kruszwica, bkj, ksw, Kruszwica, town, r 52.7 18.3

Kruszyn, *Krusin*, swr, Koziegłowy, c 50.6 19.1

Kruszyna (Wola Kruszyzna, Wola Sromocka), *Wola Kruszyńska*, srd, ptr, Łobodzice 51.4 19.3

Kruszyna, srd, rds, Wielki Młyn 51.0 19.8

Kruszyna, srd, wln, Kruszyzna 51.0 19.3

Kruszynki (Kruszyny Szlacheckie), *Kruszyny Szlacheckie*, chl, mch, Żmijewo 53.3 19.3

Kruszynki Małe (Kruszyny Duchowne), *Kruszynki*, chl, mch, Brodnica, demesne, c 53.3 19.4

Kruszyno, *Kruszyn*, pdl, blk, Tykocin 53.3 22.8

Kruszyny Wielkie (Krossin), *Kruszyny*, chl, mch, Kruszyny Wielkie, r 53.3 19.2

Kruźłowa, *Kruźłowa Niżna*, *Kruźłowa Wyzna*, krk, sdc, Kruźłowa 49.7 20.9

Krwatka (Chrwatka), *Klwatka Królewska*, snd, rdm, Stary Radom, r 51.4 21.3

Krwaty Firlejowe, *Klwaty*, snd, rdm, Wsola 51.5 21.1

Krwaty-Powała (Chrwaty-Powała), *Klwatka Szlachecka*, snd, rdm, Stary Radom 51.4 21.1

Kryg (Kryk), krk, bck, Libusza, cr 49.7 21.3

Krynica (Krzemnica), *Krynica-Zdrój*, krk, sdc, [unknown orthodox parish], c 49.4 21.0

Krynica (Sasiny-Krynica), pdl, drh, Suchożebry 52.3 22.3

Krynica, *Krynice*, pdl, blk, Dobrzyniewo, r 53.2 23.0

Krynka, lub, luk, Łuków 52.0 22.4

Krynki-Białokunki (Białokunki), pdl, drh, Pobikrowy 52.6 22.7

Krynki-Borowe (Krynki-Borowo), *Krynki Borowe*, pdl, drh, Pobikrowy 52.6 22.7

Krynki-Jarki, pdl, drh, Pobikrowy 52.6 22.7

Krynki-Pławy\*\*, pdl, drh, Pobikrowy

Krynki-Sobole (Sobole-Krynki), pdl, drh, Ostrożany 52.5 22.8

Krynki, lub, lub, Krzczonów 51.0 22.8

Krynki, okolica, pdl, drh

Krynki, pdl, drh, Paprotnia 52.3 22.5

Krypno, *Krypno Wielkie*, pdl, blk, Kny-szyn, cr 53.3 22.9

Krypski+, maz, liw, Liw Stary, mill, r 52.4 22.0

Krypy-Mścichy (Mciszki, Mścichiszki), *Krypy*, maz, liw, Czerwonka 52.3 21.9

Krypy, maz, liw, Liw Stary, r 52.4 22.0

Kryrowo (Krerowo), *Krewowo*, kls, pzd, Kryrowo, c 52.3 17.1

Krysk = Krysk Mały\*, Krysk Wielki\* (Krysko), maz, scn, Krysk 52.5 20.4

Krystfeld (Krizwelt), *Chrzastowo*, pmr, czl, Krystfeld, r 53.6 17.2

Krystfeldzki Młyn, *Chrzastówko*, pmr, czl, Krystfeld, mill, r 53.6 17.3

Krystynowo (Chrystynowo, Krystiano-wo), *Kazimierz Biskupi* – part, kls, knn, Kazimierz, town 52.3 18.1

Krzan (Chrzan, Krczan), *Chrzan*, kls, pzd, Dębno 52.1 17.5

Krzcięcin (Krzczącin), snd, rdm, Wysoka 51.3 20.9

Krzcin (Krcin), snd, snd, Pokrzywnica, c 50.6 21.6

Krzczęcice (Kręczyce, Krzczęciany), *Krzczęcice*, krk, kss, Krzczęcice 50.6 20.2

Krzczonowice (Krczonowice), snd, snd, Śmiełków 50.9 21.5

Krzczonowice (Krczonowice), snd, wsl, Koniełoty 50.5 21.1

Krzczonów (Krczonów), krk, scz, Pcín, r 49.7 19.9

Krzczonów (Krczonów), snd, opc, Drze-wica 51.4 20.4

Krzczonów (Krczonów), snd, wsl, So-kolina 50.3 20.7

Krzczonów, lub, lub, Krzczonów, r 51.0 22.7

Krzczanowo, plc, rac, Uniecko 52.9 20.1

Krzczce, pdl, blk, Goniądz, r 53.5 22.8

Krzczkowice, snd, snd, Goźlice 50.7 21.5

Krzczkowo-Bieńki, *Krzczkowo-Bieńki Stare*, maz, nur, Rosochate Kościelne 52.8 22.4

Krzczkowo-Dmochy\*, *Dmochy-Wypy-chy*, maz, nur, Czyżewo Kościelne 52.8 22.4

Krzczkowo-Gromadzyno, *Krzczko-wo-Gromadzyni*, maz, nur, Rosochate Kościelne 52.8 22.3

Krzczkowo-Mianówko (Krzczkowo-Mianowo, Krzczkowo Mianowskie), *Krzczkowo Mianowskie* – part, maz, nur, Rosochate Kościelne 52.8 22.3

Krzczkowo-Nagórki\* (Krzczkowo Nagórka, Krzczkowo Wielkie?), *Krzczkowo-Bieńki Nowe*, maz, nur, Rosochate Kościelne 52.8 22.4

Krzczkowo-Rosochate\*, *Krzczkowo Mianowskie* – part, maz, nur, Rosochate Kościelne 52.8 22.3

Krzczkowo, pdl, blk, Goniądz, c 53.4 22.9

Krzczów (Krzeszów), krk, scz, Pcín, r 49.7 19.9

Krzczów, krk, scz, Rzezawa, r 50.0 20.5

Krzczotowice, pzn, ksc, Pępowo Małe 51.7 17.1

Krzczotowo, kls, gzn, Słaboszewo 52.8 17.9

Krzczelczyce, *Skrzelczyce*, snd, chc, Lisów 50.7 20.7

Krzzelewo (Skrzelewo), *Słupno-Krzzelewo*, plc, plc, Słupno, c 52.5 19.9

Krzemienda (Krzemień), *Poręba-Krze-międa*, krk, llw, Ciężowice, ironworks 50.5 19.3

Krzemienica, raw, raw, Krzemienica 51.7 20.2

Krzemienica, snd, snd, Gałuszowice 50.4 21.4

Krzemieniewo, chl, mch, Kurzętnik, de-mesne, c 53.4 19.6

Krzemieniewo, *Krzemieniew*, lcz, lcz, Dalikowo 51.9 19.1

Krzemieniewo, pzn, ksc, Oporowo 51.9 16.8

Krzemieniowice (Krzemieniewice), *Krze-mieniewice*, srd, ptr, Gorzkowice 51.2 19.6

Krzemień, *Krzemień-Wieś*, pdl, drh, Granne 52.5 22.5

Krzemień, lub, lub, Biała 50.7 22.5

Krzepczów, srd, ptr, Krzepczów 51.5 19.5

Krzepice, krk, llw, Dzierzków 50.7 19.8

Krzepice, krk, llw, Krzepice, town, r 51.0 18.7

Krzepin, snd, chc, Bębello Mniejsze 50.8 20.0

Krzepiszyno, *Krzepiszyn*, kls, kcn, Kcy-nia, c 53.0 17.5

Krzepocino Małe (Krzepocinko), *Krze-pocinek*, lcz, lcz, Leźnica Wielka, c 52.0 19.1

Krzepocino Wielkie, *Krzepocin*, lcz, lcz, Leźnica Wielka, c 52.0 19.1

Krzesimów, lub, lub, Mełgiew 51.3 22.8

Kzresinki, *Poznań-Kzresinki*, pzn, pzn, Splawie, c 52.3 17.0

Kzresiny, *Poznań-Kzresiny*, pzn, pzn, Głuszyna 52.3 16.9

Kzresko Stare, *Kzresk Stary*, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.6

Kzresko, *Kzresk*, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.6

Kzresłów, *Kzresłów*, srd, szd, Wygielzów 51.4 19.2

Kzresławice (Chzresławice), snd, rdm, Smogorzów 51.4 20.6

Kzresławice (Kzresławica), *Kzresławi-ce* – part, krk, scz, Szczyrzycka Góra 49.8 20.2

Kzresławice, *Kraków-Kzresławice*, krk, prs, Pleszów, c 50.1 20.1

Kzrestkowice, *Kzreszkowice*, pzn, pzn, Otorowo 52.5 16.4

Kzreszewo Piskorze (Kzreszewo Podse-dkowe, Kzreszewo Porzętkowo, Kzre-szów), *Kzreszew Szlachecki*, lcz, lcz, Modlna, rn 51.9 19.3

Kzreszewo Słowikowe, *Słowik*, lcz, lcz, Modlna 51.9 19.4

Kzreszowice, krk, prs, Kzreszowice 50.1 19.6

Kzreszów, krk, sls, Kzreszów 49.8 19.5

Kzreszówka, krk, kss, Książ Mały 50.5 20.2

Kzreszówko Średnie, *Kzreszew Rzę-dowy*, lcz, lcz, Modlna, r 51.9 19.3

Kzreszyno (Kzresino, Kzreszynko), *Kzre-sin*, lcz, lcz, Nowe 52.2 19.3

Kzreślino (Kzreślin), *Kzreślin*, pdl, drh, Kzreślino 52.2 22.4

Kzretów (Kzretów), *Kzretów*, srd, rds, Wielgi Młyn 51.0 19.8

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Kzręcín (Kręcín), krk, sls, Krzęcín, c 49.9 19.7

Kzrętkowo (Kretkowo, Krzczkowo), *Kręczkowo*, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.6

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 Krzykawa, krk, prs, Sławków, c 50.3 19.4  
 Krzykawka, krk, prs, Sławków 50.3 19.4  
 Krzykosy (Krzykoszy), *Trzykosy*, snd,  
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- Kurbasino Głuchowskie+ (Korbasino), maz, tar, Worowo 51.9 20.9
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- Kurki, maz, was, Niedźwiadna 53.5 22.2
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- Kurkowo, maz, was, Romany 53.4 22.2
- Kurnacice, *Kornacice*, snd, snd, Pkanów 50.8 21.4
- Kurnatka, *Kornatka* – part, krk, scz, Dobczyce, r 49.8 20.1
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- Kurnik (Kórnik), *Kórnik*, kls, pzd, Kurnik, town 52.2 17.0
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- Kurowice, lcz, brz, Czarnocin, c 51.7 19.7
- Kurowo (Kurów), *Kurowo-Parcele*, bkj, kwl, Kłotno, c 52.5 19.3
- Kurowo (Kurów), pdl, blk, Waniewo 53.1 22.8
- Kurowo Małe, *Kurówek*, kls, knn, Grabienice 52.1 18.0
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- Kurowo, *Konin-Kurów*, kls, knn, Morzysław, t 52.2 18.2
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- Kurów, srd, szd, Wygiełzów 51.4 19.2
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- Kurzątki+ = Kurzątki-Mierki\* (Mierki-Dzierzbia), Kurzątki-Strachomiry\* (Kurzątki-Byczki), maz, kol, Romany 53.4 22.2
- Kurzelowo\*\*, inw, bdg, [unknown]
- Kurzelów, snd, chc, Kurzelów, town, c 50.9 19.9

- Kurzeszyn Mały, *Kurzeszynek*, raw, raw, Kurzeszyn, r 51.8 20.3
- Kurzeszyn, raw, raw, Kurzeszyn, c 51.8 20.3
- Kurzeszyno (Korzeszyno), *Korzeszynek*, bkj, bkj, Lubraniec, c 52.5 18.8
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- Kurzętnik-Folwark, *Kurzętnik Górny*, chl, mch, Kurzętnik, demesne, c 53.4 19.6
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- Kuzki (Kłuzki, Kuski), *Koszki*, pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.7 23.2
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- Kuźnica Brąszowska, *Kuźnica Zagrzebska*, srd, srd, Unków, ironworks, r 51.5 18.4
- Kuźnica Chybakowska (Łosiny, Osiny), *Osiny*, krk, llw, Zdrębice, ironworks, r 50.7 19.2
- Kuźnica Dzbowska, *Częstochowa-Kuźnica I* [?], krk, llw, Częstochowa, ironworks, r 50.8 19.1
- Kuźnica Klobar, *Kuźnica Błońska*, srd, srd, Unków, ironworks, r 51.5 18.4
- Kuźnica Kraszowicka (Rostoga, Kuźnica Rostoczyńska), *Kuźnica Grabowska*, srd, ost, Giżyce, ironworks, r 51.5 18.3
- Kuźnica Lubiecka, srd, ptr, Parzno, ironworks 51.4 19.2
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- Kuźnica Skakawska, srd, wln or ost, Świba, ironworks 51.3 18.1
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- Kuźnica Sulikowska, *Siewierz-Kuźnica Sulikowska*, swr, Siewierz, ironworks, c 50.5 19.3
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- Kuźnica, srd, srd, Rzestarczów 51.3 19.0
- Kuźnica, *Zawiercie-Marciszów*, krk, llw, Kromołów, ironworks 50.5 19.4
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- Kwasowiec, raw, raw, Żelazna 51.9 20.2
- Kwasów, snd, wsl, Pacanów 50.4 21.0
- Kwasuty, *Kwasuły*, kls, gzn, Kołdrąb 52.7 17.5
- Kwaszowice (Kwaśniowice), *Krzyszawice – part*, krk, scz, Szczyrzycka Góra 49.8 20.2
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- Kwaśnianka, maz, liw, Pniewnik 52.4 21.8
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- Kwiatkowie = Kwiatkowie Wielkie, Kwiatkowie Małe, srd, szd, Kwiatkowie 51.7 19.1
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- Kwiatkovo = Kwiatkovo (Kwiatków), Kwiatkovo\* (Kwiatków), village, *Kwiatków*, kls, kls, Ociąż, town 51.7 17.8
- Kwiatkovo, *Kwiatków*, kls, knn, Dobrowo 52.1 18.6
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- Kwiejce (Nowa Wieś), pzn, pzn, Wieleń 52.8 15.9
- Kwików, snd, plz, Sczurowa, c 50.1 20.7
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- Kwilino = Kwilino (Kwilno), Kwilinko, *Kwilno*, bkj, rdj, Byczyna 52.6 18.6
- Kwilino, *Kwilno*, lcz, lcz, Gieczno 52.0 19.5
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- Laczk (Laczko, Łaczyk), *Laski Waleckie*, pzn, wlc 53.4 16.2
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- Ladorudz Wielki, *Ladorudz*, lcz, lcz, Chełmo, c 52.1 18.8
- Lahme Hand, mlb, mlb, [unknown], t 54.1 19.3
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- Lamk (Nowy Młyn), pmr, tch, Leśno, mill, r 54.0 17.7
- Lamus+, *Łódź-Widzew* – part, lcz, brz, Łódzia, mill, c 51.8 19.5
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- Landau, *Łędowo*, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.3 18.7
- Landecki Młyn, *Prądy*, pmr, czl, Łędy-czek, mill, r 53.5 17.0
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- Langfeld, *Długie Pole*, pmr, gdn, Steblewo (Stüblau), t 54.2 18.9
- Langfuld, *Wielowieś*, pzn, pzn, Langfuld, c 52.4 15.3
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- Las (Lasek), *Leśniki*, maz, wrk, Konary, c 51.9 21.3
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- Lasek Całowański, *Lasek*, maz, czr, Karczewie or Radwankowo 52.1 21.4
- Laski (Laszczki), maz, osw, Czerwino 52.9 21.8
- Laski, krk, prs, Sławków, ironworks 50.3 19.5
- Laski, *Laski Dworskie*, krk, prs, Sieciechowice, demesne 50.3 19.9
- Laski, *Laski Stare*, maz, kam, Kamionolas 52.5 21.7
- Laski, *Laski Wielkie*, kls, ken, Chomiąza 52.8 17.8
- Laski, lub, lub, Parczów, r 51.6 22.9
- Laski, maz, mak, Szelków 52.8 21.2
- Laski, maz, wrk, Warka 51.8 21.1
- Laski, mlb, mlb, Nytych, demesne, r 54.1 19.0
- Laski, srd, wln, Trzcieńca 51.2 18.0
- Laski, *Święte Laski*, raw, raw, Maków, c 51.9 20.0
- Laski\*\*, raw, bla, Biała
- Laskowa Wola (Laskówka Delastowska), snd, wsl, Szczucin 50.3 21.0
- Laskowa Wola (Wolica), snd, rdm, Mniszek, c 51.4 20.9
- Laskowa, krk, kss, Piotrkowice 50.5 20.2
- Laskowa, krk, sdc, Łososina 49.8 20.5
- Laskowa, *Laskowa* – part, krk, sls, Zator, r 50.0 19.5
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- Laskowicze, *Laskowice*, pdl, drh, Knychowo 52.4 22.6
- Laskowiec (Laskowo), pdl, blk, Tykocin 53.2 22.6
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- Laskownica Mała, kls, ken, Grylewo 52.9 17.2
- Laskownica Wielga (Laskownica, Laskownica Większa), *Laskownica Wielka*, kls, ken, Łekno 52.9 17.2
- Laskowo = Laskowo-Jabłoń\* (Laskowiec-Jabłoń), Laskowo-Sierzputy\*, *Laskowiec Stary*, maz, zmb, Zambrowo 53.0 22.3
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- Laskowo-Jakuszewo (Laskowo-Jakusy), *Jakuszewo-Janowo*, maz, kam, Dąbrówka Stara 52.5 21.3
- Laskowo-Karpino, *Karpin*, maz, kam, Dąbrówka Stara 52.5 21.3
- Laskowo-Kozły (Laskowo-Chrościele?), *Kozły*, maz, kam, Dąbrówka Stara 52.4 21.4
- Laskowo-Trojany (Laskowo-Trojanowo), *Trojany*, maz, kam, Dąbrówka Stara 52.5 21.3
- Laskowo-Wszebory, *Wszebory*, maz, kam, Dąbrówka Stara 52.5 21.4
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- Laskowo, kls, gzn, Gądecz, r 52.7 17.4
- Laskowo, pzn, pzn, Rogoźno, c 52.8 16.9
- Laskowski, *Łódź-Charzew*, lcz, brz, Pabianice, mill, c 51.7 19.4
- Lasków, krk, kss, Andrzejów, c 50.7 20.3
- Laskówka (Laskowa), *Laskówka Chorzowska*, snd, plz, Oporyszów 50.1 21.0
- Laskówka (Stawkówka), *Nowe Miasto* – part, kls, pzd, Nowe Miasto 52.1 17.4
- Lasochów, snd, chc, Kozłów and Małoguszcz 50.8 20.2
- Lasocice, *Krasne-Lasocice* – part, krk, szcz, Szczyrzycka Góra 49.8 20.2
- Lasocice, pzn, wch, Leszno 51.8 16.4
- Lasocin, snd, chc, Mnin 51.0 20.1
- Lasocin, snd, snd, Dębno and then Lasocin, town 50.9 21.8
- Lasocin\*\* (Losocino), lcz, lcz, Krośnice
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- Lasotki, dbr, dbr, Rokicie 52.6 19.5
- Lastkowo (Sastkowo), *Laskowo*, kls, ken, Margonin 53.0 17.0
- Laszczki, maz, wrs, Raszyniec 52.1 20.9
- Latalice = Latalice, Bodzaporowice\* (Bodzaporcki, Bodzaporcki Wielkie, Bodzaporowice Wielkie, Zaporcki, Zaporcki Wielkie, Zaporowice, Zaporowice Wielkie), *Rybitwy* – part, kls, gzn, Węglewo 52.5 17.3
- Latchorzewo, *Latchorzew*, maz, wrs, Babice 52.2 20.9
- Latkowo (Letkowo), *Kolonia Latkowo*, bkj, rdj, Płowce 52.6 18.7
- Latonice, maz, nmo, Nowe Miasto, r 52.6 20.7
- Latoszyn, snd, plz, Dębica 50.0 21.4
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- Latowice, kls, kls, Rososzyca 51.6 17.9
- Latowicz, maz, gar, Latowicz, town, r 52.0 21.8
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- Lechnino, *Lechlin*, pzn, pzn, Lechnino 52.7 17.1
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- Leczkowy (Letzkau), *Leszkowy*, pmr, gdn, Leczkowy, t 54.2 18.9
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- Leipnersdorf, *Lipinki Szlacheckie*, pmr, tcz, Klonówka, demesne, r 53.9 18.6
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- Lekart (Likarty), *Lekarty*, chl, mch, Skarlin, r 53.5 19.5
- Lekarzewice (Lekarzowice), bkj, bkj, Kościół, r 52.6 18.8
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- Lekowiec, plc, ndz, Lekowo 52.9 20.5
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- Leksice (Lekszyce), *Lekszyce*, krk, prs, Kościelec 50.2 20.4
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Miastkowo Małe, *Miastków Stary*, maz, gar, Miastkowo Wielkie 51.9 21.8

Miastkowo Wielkie, maz, gar, Miastkowo Wielkie 51.9 21.8

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Miączyno, *Miączyn Mały*, plc, szr, Szreńsko 53.0 20.2

Miąsa Sośnia (Mięsasosnia), *Mięsosnia*, lez, orl, Waliszewo 52.0 19.6

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Miąsze, *Miąse*, maz, wrs, Kłembowo 52.4 21.4

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Michałowice, raw, bla, Michałowice 51.6 20.7

Michałowice, snd, wsl, Stradów 50.4 20.5

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Michałowo Wielkie (Michałowo Nadolne), *Michałów Dolny*, maz, wrk, Wrociszewo 51.7 21.1

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Michocino, *Muchocin*, pzn, pzn, Międzychód 52.6 15.8

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Michorzewo Suche, *Michorzewko*, pzn, ksc, Michorzewo Mokre 52.4 16.3

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Michrowo Wielkie, *Michrów*, maz, tar, Rembierkowo 51.9 20.8

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- Miechcino, *Miechcin*, pzn, ksc, Poniec 51.8 16.7
- Miechlino (Mechnino, Miechnino), *Miechlin*, kls, pzd, Śrem 52.1 17.0
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- Miechowice, *Dziewięcioły* – part, krk, prs, Nasiechowice 50.3 20.2
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- Miechów, snd, rdm, Tczów 51.3 21.5
- Miechucino (Miekucino), pmr, mrw, Chmielno, r 54.3 18.0
- Miecze, pdl, blk, Rajgród, r 53.7 22.6
- Mieczewnica, *Mieczownica*, kls, gzn, Giewartowo 52.4 17.9
- Mieczewo, kls, pzd, Mieczewo 52.2 17.0
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- Mieczki Suche, *Mieczki-Sucholaszczki*, maz, rdz, Romany 53.3 22.2
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- Miecznikowo Siwe (Miecznikowo Żywe), plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny 53.3 20.5
- Miecznikowo-Gołębie, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny 53.3 20.5
- Miecznikowo-Pierdonie\* (Cygany), *Miecznikowo-Cygany*, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny 53.3 20.5
- Miecznikowo-Sowy, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny 53.3 20.5
- Mieczyn, snd, chc, Krasocin 50.9 20.2
- Miedniewice, *Miedniewice Stare*, raw, raw, Skwierniewice, c 52.0 20.2
- Miedniewice, raw, sch, Wiskitki Kościelne 52.1 20.3
- Miednik, maz, kam, Stoczek 52.5 22.0
- Miedzechowo = Miedzechowo Małe\*, *Miedzechowo Wielkie\**, *Miedzechów*, maz, wrk, Jasieniec 51.8 21.0
- Miedzeszyn, *Warszawa-Miedzeszyn*, maz, wrs, Zyrzno, c 52.2 21.2
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- Miedzianowo = Miedzianowo, Poniatowo\* (Poniatowa), *Miedzianów*, kls, kls, Droszewo 51.7 17.9
- Miedzna, *Bydgoszcz* – part, inw, bdg, Fordan, demesne 53.2 18.1
- Miedzna, *Miedzyń* (*Bydgoszcz* – part), inw, bdg, Bydgoszcz, mill, r 53.1 17.9
- Miedzna, *Międzylesie*, pdl, drh, Międzylesie 52.5 22.0
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- Miedzne Małe (Miedzne Małe), *Miedzna Murowana*, snd, opc, Bałaczów 51.3 20.2
- Miedzne Wielkie (Miedzne Wielkie), *Miedzna Drewniana*, snd, opc, Bałaczów 51.3 20.3
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- Miedzno (Miedzwin), pmr, swc, Osie, r 53.6 18.4
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- Miedzwno (Miedzne), *Mierzno*, raw, raw, Budziszewice, r 51.7 20.0
- Miedzwno (Miedziwo, Miedzno), *Miedzno*, krk, llw, Miedzwno, r 51.0 19.0
- Miejsce, krk, sls, Spytkowice, demesne 50.0 19.5
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- Miełcin = Miełcin (Melenthin, Melentin), Chwarstnica\* (Chwarśnica), pzn, wlc 53.1 16.2
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- Mielniki, pdl, mln, Łosice 52.1 22.8
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- Mielno, kls, gzn, Pakość 52.8 18.0
- Mielżyn (Mielżyno), kls, pzd, Mielżyn, town 52.4 17.7
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- Miroszka (Miroszka), *Miroszka*, kls, gzn, Niechanowo 52.5 17.7
- Mierucino (Mirucino), *Mierucin*, kls, gzn, Parlino and Słaboszewo 52.8 17.9
- Mierucino, *Mierucin*, kls, nkl, Wąwelno 53.3 17.7
- Mierzanowice (Mirzanowice), snd, snd, Wojciechowice 50.8 21.6
- Mierzanowo (Mirzanowo), maz, prz, Łysakowo 53.0 20.6
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- Mierzączka (Wólka), *Łódź-Śródmieście* – part, lcz, brz, Łódzia, c 51.7 19.5
- Mierzączka Stara = Mierzączka Stara, Wola Mierzączka\*, *Mierzwiączka*, snd, stz, Bobrowniki 51.6 21.9
- Mierzączka, *Wieliczka* – part, krk, szcz, Wieliczka, suburb, rt 50.0 20.1
- Mierzejewo-Borowce, *Borowce*, maz, osl, Troszyno 53.0 21.7
- Mierzejewo-Bryszki+, maz, osl, Troszyno 53.0 21.7
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- Mijakowo, plc, plc, Świeciniec 52.5 19.9
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- Mikołajki, *Szubska Duży* – part, lcz, lcz, Nowe 52.2 19.2
- Mikołajkowo, *Ludwiniec*, kls, gzn, Słaboszewo 52.8 18.0
- Mikołajowice (Mikołajewice), *Mikołajewice*, srd, srd, Warta 51.7 18.6
- Mikołajowice (Mikołajewice), *Mikołajewice*, srd, szd, Mikołajowice 51.7 19.2
- Mikołajowice (Mikołajewice), snd, plz, Wojnicz 50.0 20.9
- Mikołajowice, *Mikołajewice*, krk, llw, Irzędze 50.6 19.7
- Mikołajów, snd, wsl, Kazimierza Mała 50.3 20.6
- Mikorzyce, srd, ptr, Parzno 51.4 19.3
- Mikorzyn, srd, ost, Mikorzyn 51.4 18.0
- Mikorzyno (Nikorzyn, Nikorzyno), *Mikorzyn*, kls, knn, Ślesin 52.3 18.3
- Mikoszki, pzn, ksc, Głuchowo 52.1 16.6
- Mikstat, srd, ost, Mikstat, town, r 51.5 18.0
- Mikulice, srd, srd, Turek 51.9 18.6

- Mikulin, raw, raw, Jeżów, c 51.8 20.0  
 Mikułowice (Mikołajowice), snd, snd, Wojciechowice 50.9 21.6  
 Mikułowice (Mikołowice), snd, opc, Wojcin 51.4 20.1  
 Mikułowice, snd, wsl, Szaniec 50.5 20.7  
 Mikuły, raw, raw, Lipce 51.9 19.9  
 Mikuszewo, kls, pzd, Mikuszewo 52.2 17.5  
 Mikuty, maz, rdz, Slucz 53.4 22.3  
 Milanowa Wola (Wola Milanowa), *Wólka Milanowska*, snd, snd, Słup Nowa, c 50.8 21.1  
 Milanowo-Rabsztyn (Milanowo-Raptynie), *Milanówek*, maz, bln, Żukowo 52.1 20.7  
 Milanowo, *Warszawa-Wilanów*, maz, wrs, Milanowo 52.2 21.1  
 Milanów, lub, lub, Parczów 51.7 22.9  
 Milcz, kls, kcn, Chodzież 53.0 16.8  
 Milczany, snd, snd, Sandomierz ś. Paweł, c 50.7 21.7  
 Milejki, pdl, mln, Łosice 52.1 22.8  
 Milejowice, snd, rdm, Nowa Cerkiew 51.4 21.1  
 Milejowice, snd, snd, Manina, cn 50.8 21.2  
 Milejowice, *Sosnowiec-Milowice*, swr, Czeladź, c 50.3 19.1  
 Milejów (Mielejewo, Milejów Sulimowski), srd, srd, Tokary 51.9 18.5  
 Milejów = Milejów, Przeora, srd, ptr, Milejów, c 51.3 19.7  
 Milejów, lub, lub, Łańcuchów 51.2 22.9  
 Milejówka (Milówka), *Milówka*, krk, sdc, Wojnicz 49.9 20.8  
 Mileski, *Łódź-Mileszki*, lcz, brz, Mileski 51.8 19.6  
 Milesna Górka (Mielesna Górka, Milesna Góra), *Targowa Górka* – part, kls, pzd, Milesna Górka, town 52.3 17.4  
 Mileszewy, chl, mch, Lembarg, demesne 53.3 19.2  
 Mileszewy, *Miliszewy*, dbr, lpn, Ciechocin, c 53.0 19.0  
 Mileszyn (Mieleszyn), *Mieleszyn*, srd, wln, Mileszyn, c 51.2 18.2  
 Mileszyno (Mieleszyno), *Mieleszyn*, kls, gzn, Sokolniki 52.7 17.5  
 Milewko, *Milewek*, maz, lom, Smlodowo 53.0 22.0  
 Milewo (Milewicze), *Milewo Zabielne*, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.7  
 Milewo Leśne, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.7  
 Milewo Wielkie, maz, osl, Piski 53.0 21.8  
 Milewo Wielkie, *Milewo*, plc, rac, Koziębrowy Wielkie 52.8 20.0  
 Milewo-Bolesty = Milewo-Bolesty, Milewo-Janowiec\*, *Konarzewo-Bolesty*, maz, cch, Gołymino Kościelne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Byki+ (Milewo-Stare Byki), maz, cch or prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Bylice, maz, cch or prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Dębki, maz, cch, Zielona 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Kulki = Milewo-Kulki (Milewo-Gagalki?, Milewo-Kukle?), Milewo Leśne\*, maz, cch or prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Łosie, maz, osl, Piski 53.0 21.8  
 Milewo-Malonki (Malonki-Zwierzewo), maz, cch or prz, Karniewo 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Mrzegędy = Milewo-Mrzegędy, Milewo Nadolne\*, *Milewo-Brzegędy*, maz, cch, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Płaczki+, maz, cch or prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Rączki (Milewo-Rączka), maz, cch, Zielona 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Roszczyzny = Milewo-Mrozy\* (Mrozowo-Milewo), Milewo-Roszczyzny, Milewo-Wolmiry\*, *Milewo-Ruszczyzny*, maz, cch or prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Sapaki (Milewko), *Milewko*, plc, rac, Koziębrowy Wielkie 52.8 19.9  
 Milewo-Skubiele\* (Gawar?), *Milewo-Gawary*, maz, cch or prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Sokola Łąka, *Milewo*, maz, lom, Puchały 53.1 22.2  
 Milewo-Szwejki = Milewo-Kwarty\*, Milewo-Szwejki (Milewo-Skusze), maz, cch or prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Tabuły = Milewo-Pogorzal\*, Milewo-Tabuły, maz, cch and prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo-Tosie, maz, osl, Piski 53.0 21.8  
 Milewo-Wypychy = Korytki\*, Milewo-Wypychy (Korytki-Wypychy), maz, cch or prz, Karniewo 52.9 20.9  
 Milewo, maz, scn, Wierzbowiec 52.7 20.4  
 Milewo, maz, was, Niedźwiadna 53.5 22.1  
 Milewo, maz, was, Wąsosz 53.6 22.3  
 Milewo, pdl, blk, Trzciane 53.4 22.7  
 Milęc (Mieleńc, Mieleńc, Melentz), *Miloradz*, mlb, mlb, Milęc, r 54.0 18.9  
 Milęcino, *Milęcino*, maz, bln, Żukowo 52.2 20.7  
 Milik, krk, sdc, [unknown orthodox parish], c 49.4 20.9  
 Milino, *Mylin*, pzn, pzn, Chrząpsko Wielkie 52.6 16.2  
 Milkowlas (Wielkowlas), *Mikowiec*, maz, czr, Góra 52.0 21.2  
 Milówka, krk, sls, Cięcina 49.6 19.1  
 Milustowo, *Milustowo*, pzn, pzn, Kwilcz 52.5 16.0  
 Milwino, pmr, mrw, Luzino 54.5 18.1  
 Miłaczów Górny (Miłaczewo Małe), *Milaczewek*, srd, srd, Malanów 51.9 18.4  
 Miłaczów-Staszów (Miłaczewo Wielkie), *Milaczew*, srd, srd, Malanów 51.9 18.4  
 Miłaków, snd, opc, Goworczów, cn 51.3 20.5  
 Miłaków, srd, ptr, Bogdanów 51.3 19.5  
 Miława (Mielno), kls, gzn, Kamieniec, c 52.5 17.9  
 Miławczyce, snd, wsl, Stradów 50.4 20.5  
 Miłkowa, krk, sdc, Siedlec 49.7 20.8  
 Miłkowice, srd, srd, Miłkowice 51.8 18.7  
 Miłkowicze Ruskie, *Milkowice-Mački*, pdl, drh, Drohiczyn 52.5 22.7  
 Miłkowicze-Jankowicze, *Milkowice-Jan-ki*, pdl, drh, Drohiczyn 52.5 22.6  
 Miłkowicze-Paskowicze (Miłkowicze-Paszkwicze, Paskowicze), *Milkowicze-Paszki*, pdl, drh, Drohiczyn 52.5 22.7  
 Miłkowicze-Stawki, *Milkowice-Stawki*, pdl, drh, Drohiczyn 52.5 22.6  
 Miłkowicze, okolica, pdl, drh  
 Miłków, lub, lub, Parczów, r 51.6 22.8  
 Miłków, snd, snd, Szewna 50.9 21.4  
 Miłobądz (Mielebantz), pmr, tcz, Miłobądz, c 54.1 18.7  
 Miłobędzino, *Milobędzin*, plc, sie, Sieprc 52.8 19.6  
 Miłochnewice, raw, raw, Głuchów, c 51.8 20.1  
 Miłochowo (Mielechowo, Mielochowo, Miłochów), *Milachówek*, bkj, bkj, Chalino 52.5 18.7  
 Miłocice (Miłociany, Miłoszyce), krk, prs, Niedźwiedz, r 50.2 20.0  
 Miłodroź, *Milodroź*, plc, plc, Proboszczewice 52.6 19.7  
 Miłogoszcz (Milogoszcz, Mellegasth), pzn, wlc 53.2 16.2  
 Miłonice, lcz, lcz, Miłonice 52.2 19.1  
 Miłonin (Miłoninek), *Mianinek (Miłoninek)*, snd, plz, Czermín 50.3 21.3  
 Miłosław (Miełosław), kls, pzd, Miłosław, town 52.2 17.4  
 Miłosławice, kls, gzn, Mieścisko 52.7 17.3  
 Miłoszewiec Stary\*, *Miloszewiec-Ostafieje*, maz, prz, Czernice 53.0 20.8  
 Miłoszewiec Wielki = Miłoszewiec Mały\*, Miłoszewiec Wielki\*, *Miloszewiec Kmiecy*, maz, prz, Czernice 53.0 20.8  
 Miłoszewiec-Toki (Tłoki), maz, prz, Czernice 53.0 20.8  
 Miłoszewo (Mileszewo, Miłoszów), pmr, mrw, Strzecz, r 54.4 18.0  
 Miłoszowice, snd, snd, Kiełczyna 50.7 21.3  
 Miłoszów (Mileszów, Sidzina), *Sidzina*, krk, scz, Miłoszów, r 49.6 19.7  
 Miłośna (Miłosina, Miłoszyno), *Miłosna Stara*, maz, wrs, Zyrzno or Kobylka 52.2 21.2  
 Miłotki, plc, szr, Szeńsko 53.0 20.1  
 Miłowidz (Miłowidz Królewska), *Malowidz*, maz, prz, Chorzele, r 53.2 21.0

Miłuny, *Milony*, maz, roz, Rożan 52.9 21.4

Minczewo (Minczewo-Hrumicze), pdl, drh, Drohiczyn 52.4 22.6

Mingosy (Chojeczno, Mingoszczoły), maz, liw, Oleksin 52.2 22.0

Minięta (Menethen, Meinten), mlb, mlb, Kiszpork, r 53.9 19.3

Minięta Szenweska (Niemięta, Meinten, Mienthen), *Nowe Minięta*, mlb, mlb, Nowy Targ 53.9 19.2

Miniszewo (Mieniszewo), *Miniszew*, kls, kls, Szymanowice 52.0 17.6

Minkowice, lub, lub, Mełgiew 51.2 22.8

Minkówka, maz, wrk, Jasiona 51.6 21.0

Minoga, krk, prs, Minoga 50.2 19.9

Minostowice (Ninostowice), snd, chc, Piotrkowice 50.7 20.7

Mińcze, *Mińce*, pdl, blk, Niewodnica Koryckich, r 53.1 23.0

Mińsko (Mieńsko), *Mińsk Mazowiecki* – part, maz, gar, Mińsko, town 52.2 21.6

Miodusy Koprzywne (Miodusy Pokrzywne), *Miodusy-Pokrzywne*, pdl, drh, Pierlejewo 52.5 22.6

Miodusy-Bogusławy, *Miodusy-Dworaki*, pdl, drh, Pierlejewo 52.5 22.6

Miodusy-Junochy, *Miodusy-Inochy*, pdl, drh, Pierlejewo 52.5 22.6

Miodusy-Litwa (Miodusy-Litwa-Śledziki), pdl, drh, Jabłonka 52.9 22.4

Miodusy-Michałowięta\*, *Zasmuże*, pdl, drh, Jabłonka 52.9 22.4

Miodusy-Perki (Perki-Miodusy), pdl, drh, Jabłonka 52.9 22.3

Miodusy-Stara Wieś = Miodusy-Stara Wieś, Miodusy-Piotrowięta\*, *Miodusy Wielkie*, pdl, drh, Jabłonka 52.9 22.4

Miodusy-Stasiowięta, pdl, drh, Jabłonka 52.9 22.4

Miodusy-Stok, pdl, drh, Jabłonka 52.9 22.4

Miodusy-Szczepanowięta\*\* (Szczepanowięta-Miodusy), pdl, drh, Jabłonka

Miodusy, *Miodusy* – part, plc, bls, Będziśław 52.7 19.8

Miodusy, okolica, pdl, drh

Mirachowo (Mirakowo, Mirachau, Mirchowo), pmr, mrw, Strzepcz, demesne, r 54.4 18.0

Mirakowo (Mirkau, Nirkau), chl, mch, Płowężę, demesne, c 53.4 19.3

Mirakowo, chl, chl, Kielbasin 53.2 18.7

Mirany (Meiranen, Mirain), *Mirowice*, mlb, mlb, Postelin 53.9 19.1

Mirau (Mirowo), *Mirowo Duże*, pmr, tcz, Skarszewy, r 54.1 18.5

Mirczyno (Mierzynno), *Mierzyn*, lcz, lcz, Góra 52.0 19.3

Mirkowice, snd, snd, Manina 50.9 21.3

Mirków, srd, ost, Świba or Wieruszów 51.3 18.1

Mirocice, snd, snd, Słup Nowa, c 50.9 21.0

Mirogoniewice (Mirągowice, Mirogonowice), *Mirogoniewice*, inw, inw, Płomykowo 52.9 18.3

Mirogoniowice (Mirogonowice), *Mirogonowice*, snd, snd, Waśniów 50.9 21.2

Mironice, *Mieronice*, krk, kss, Mironice 50.5 20.2

Mironice, *Mieronice*, snd, chc, Rembieszycze 50.8 20.3

Mironice\*, *Nowa Wieś*, snd, rdm, Świerze Wielkie, rn 51.6 21.5

Mirosław (Mierosław, Mierosławice, Mirosławice, Mirosławie), pzn, pzn, Ujście 53.0 16.6

Mirosław, plc, plc, Jemielnica 52.5 19.8

Mirosławice (Mierosławice), kls, gzn, Kościeszki 52.6 18.2

Mirosławice, lcz, lcz, Kazimierz, c 51.8 19.2

Mirosławice, lcz, orl, Orłów 52.2 19.5

Mirosławki (Mierosławice, Mirosławice), pzn, pzn, Tomice 52.3 16.6

Miroszewice = Miroszewice-Szatan\* (Miroszewice-Szatanek), Miroszewice-Cypry\*, lcz, lcz, Słaboszewo 52.2 19.1

Miroszów, krk, prs, Raclawice 50.4 20.3

Mirotki (Mierotki, Nierutki), pmr, now, Barłożno, r 53.8 18.6

Mirowice, *Mirowice-Kolonia*, maz, tar, Worowo 51.9 20.9

Mirowo (Mirau), mlb, mlb, Nytych, r 54.2 19.0

Mirowska Wola, *Mirowice*, maz, tar, Worowo 51.9 20.9

Mirów, *Częstochowa-Mirów*, krk, llw, Klasztor Mstowski, r 50.8 19.2

Mirów, krk, llw, Niegowa 50.6 19.5

Mirów, snd, rdm, Jastrząb, c 51.2 21.0

Mirucie, *Mierucie*, maz, was, Grajewo 53.7 22.4

Miruszyno, *Miroszyno*, pmr, pck, Strzelno, r 54.8 18.3

Mirzewo, *Mierzewo*, pzn, ksc, Poniec 51.8 16.8

Mirzowice+ (Mirzewice, Mirzonice), swr, Chroszczobród 50.4 19.3

Miscowa, *Myscowa*, krk, bck, Miscowa (orthodox) 49.5 21.6

Misiaki, *Myszaki*, srd, ptr, Bogdanów 51.4 19.4

Miski\* (Myszki), maz, rdz, Radziłowo 53.4 22.4

Misterwald+, pmr, now, Opalino 53.7 18.8

Mistrzowice (Mistrzewice), *Mistrzewice*, raw, gbn, Mistrzowice, c 52.3 20.2

Mistrzowice, *Kraków-Mistrzowice*, krk, prs, Raciborowice, c 50.1 20.0

Mistrzowice, snd, snd, Święta Trójca, c 50.9 21.8

Mistrzowice, snd, wsl, Opatowiec 50.3 20.7

Miszczewice, *Niszczewice*, inw, inw, Liszkowo, r 52.9 18.2

Miszewo Garwaskie (Miszewo Wiskie, Mniszewko), *Miszewko Garwackie*, plc, plc, Miszewo Garwaskie 52.5 20.0

Miszewo Murowane, *Miszewo Murowane* – part, plc, plc, Miszewo Murowane 52.5 19.9

Miszewo Strzałkowskie (Miszewo Śledziowe), *Miszewko Strzałkowskie*, plc, plc, Miszewo Strzałkowskie 52.5 19.9

Miszewo-Czchanowice (Miszewo-Stany, Mniszewo-Czchanowice), *Stanowo Dolne*, plc, plc, Bodzanowo 52.5 19.9

Miszewo-Czchanowice (Mniszewo-Stany, Mniszewo-Czchanowice), *Stanowo Dolne*, plc, plc, Bodzanowo 52.5 20.0

Miszewo-Stefany (Miszewko Gomułkowe), *Miszewko-Stefany*, plc, plc, Miszewo Strzałkowskie 52.5 19.8

Mitarka (Mitarza Mała), *Mytarka*, krk, bck, Żmigród 49.6 21.5

Mitarza Wielka (Mikarza Wielka, Mitarza, Mytarz), *Mytarz*, krk, bck, Żmigród 49.6 21.5

Mitęga, *Miedzichowo* – part, pzn, pzn, Trzciel, mill 52.4 16.0

Mizeria, *Mizkerka Stara*, raw, sch, Koźłowo Biskupie 52.1 20.2

Mizerna, krk, sdc, Maniowy, r 49.5 20.3

Mizery, *Mizary*, maz, gar, Stoczek, c 51.9 21.9

Mładz, maz, czr, Karczewie 52.1 21.3

Młeczewo (Letzen, Młeczowo), mlb, mlb, Kalwa 53.9 19.1

Młeczkowo, inw, inw, Chlewiska, c 52.8 18.6

Młeczków, snd, rdm, Nowa Cerkiew 51.4 21.0

Mlekitki\*\*, maz, grc, Worowo

Młewiec (Leben, Lewen, Mliwiec), chl, chl, Kielbasin, demesne, t 53.2 18.8

Mlewo (Leben, Lewen), chl, chl, Kielbasin, t 53.2 18.8

Młęcianka, *Wólka Młęcka*, maz, wrs, Wiśniewo 52.3 21.6

Młęciny, maz, wrs, Wiśniewo 52.3 21.7

Mlice-Arnoldy (Jarnuty), plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 19.9

Mlice-Grabia (Grabie), *Łęg Kasztelański*, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 19.9

Mlice-Kostyry (Mlice-Kostery), *Mlice-Kostery*, plc, bls, Łęg Wielki 52.7 19.9

Mława, plc, mla, Mława, town, r 53.1 20.4

Mławka, plc, mla, Mława, r 53.1 20.3

Młochowo, *Mlochów*, maz, tar, Tarczyn 52.0 20.8

Młochówko (Stara Wieś), *Rozalin*, maz, bln, Nadarzyn 52.0 20.8

Młociny, *Warszawa-Mlociny*, maz, wrs, Wawrzyszewo, r 52.3 20.9

Młock (Młocko), plc, ndz, Małużyno 52.8 20.5

Młodawin Kanoniczny, *Młodawin Dolny*, srd, szd, Marzenin 51.6 19.0

Młodawin-Niesmierów = Młodawin-Niesmierów, Młodawin\*, *Młodawin Górny*, srd, szd, Marzenin 51.6 19.0

Młodawsko, *Młodasko*, pzn, pzn, Bytyń 52.5 16.5

Młodnice, *Młodnice*, snd, rdm, Mniszek 51.4 20.9

Młodochowo, plc, rac, Rogotworsk, c 52.7 20.1

Młodochwów, snd, snd, Gałuszowice 50.4 21.4

Młodocin Stary (Młodocin Mniejszy), *Młodocin*, snd, rdm, Kowala Stępcocina 51.3 21.0

Młodocin Większy (Młodocin-Abramów), snd, rdm, Kowala Stępcocina 51.4 21.0

Młodocino, *Młodocin*, kls, kcn, Góra 52.9 17.8

Młodów (Młodowa, Młodzowy, Młodzów), krk, sdc, Piwniczna, r 49.5 20.7

Młodujewo (Młodojewo), *Młodujewo*, kls, pzd, Młodujewo, c 52.3 17.9

Młodynie, *Młodynie Dolne*, snd, rdm, Bukowno 51.5 20.9

Młodynino Wielkie, *Młodynin Wielki*, plc, mla, Stopsko 53.0 20.5

Młodynino-Jeże (Jeże), *Jeże*, plc, mla, Stopsko 53.0 20.5

Młodynino-Labędy (Młodymino-Labędy), *Żmijewo-Labędy*, plc, mla, Stopsko 53.0 20.5

Młodynino-Trzpioły, *Trzpioły*, plc, mla, Stopsko 53.0 20.5

Młodzawy Małe, snd, wsl, Młodzawy Małe 50.5 20.5

Młodzawy Wielkie, snd, wsl, Młodzawy Małe 50.5 20.5

Młodzianowo (Stryki), *Stryki*, pdl, blk, Bielsk, suburb, t 52.8 23.1

Młodzianowo = Młodzianowo x2, maz, mak, Węgrzynowo 52.9 21.1

Młodzianowo\*\*, maz, prz, Chorzele

Młodziejewice (Młodziejowice), kls, pzd, Graboszewo 52.3 17.7

Młodziejowice, krk, prs, Więclawice 50.2 20.0

Młodzieszyn, raw, gbn, Młodzieszyn, r 52.3 20.2

Młodzikowo, kls, pzd, Solec 52.1 17.2

Młodzowy (Młodzawy), srd, rds, Radomskie, c 51.1 19.4

Młodzyno (Młodynino, Młodzino), *Młodzyna*, plc, sie, Biezuń 53.0 19.9

Młogolice, *Cło*, snd, wsl, Kazimierza Mała 50.3 20.6

Młogosino (Młogoszyno), *Młogoszyn*, lcz, orl, Łęki 52.1 19.5

Młosoły (Dąbrowka-Musoły), *Musoły*, maz, bln, Grodzisko 52.1 20.7

Młoszowa (Młoszowice), krk, prs, Trzebinia 50.2 19.5

Młotkowice (Młodkowice), snd, opc, Lipa 51.1 20.2

Młotkowo, kls, nkl, Wysoka 53.2 17.1

Młotkowo, plc, sie, Jeżewo 52.8 19.8

Młotkówko, kls, nkl, Koszutowo 53.2 17.1

Młoty, *Adamowo Leśnictwo*, kls, nkl, Sypniewo, ironworks 53.4 17.3

Młożewo (Mnożewo), *Młożew-Wieś*, pdl, drh, Jabłonna Lacka 52.5 22.5

Młyn Górny+, pmr, mrw, Chmielno, mill 54.4 18.1

Młyn Suskowski\*\*, pdl, blk, Boćki, mill

Młyn, chl, mch, Rosenthal, demesne, c 53.6 19.8

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Niedabył Stary, *Stara Wieś*, maz, wrk, Stromiec 51.7 21.1

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Niedźwiad (Miedźwiad, Niedźwiada), *Niedźwiady*, kls, gzn, Kołdrab 52.7 17.5

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Niedźwiada = Niedźwiada, Rozniszów\*, snd, plz, Łączki, r 50.0 21.5

Niedźwiada, lub, lub, Lewartów 51.5 22.7

Niedźwiada, *Niedźwiada Duża*, lub, lub, Opole 51.2 21.9

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Niedźwiady\*\*, kls, kls

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Niedźwiedź (Miedźwiedź, Niedźwiedzie), pmr, swc, Gruczno, c 53.4 18.4

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Niedźwiedź, snd, stz, Drzągów 51.7 22.2

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Niekłań Wielki, snd, opc, Odrowąż Wielki 51.2 20.6

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Nielawice-Mrówki, *Mrówki*, maz, wiz, Wizna 53.2 22.3

Niemarzyno, *Niemarzyn*, pzn, ksc, Górka 51.6 16.9

Niemcze (Miemcze, Niemcz, Niemice), *Niemcz*, inw, bdg, Osielesko, c 53.2 18.0

Niemczewo (Miemczewo, Mięczewo), plc, rac, Drobnin 52.7 20.0

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Niemiecka Wieś, kls, kls, Iwanowice, suburb 51.7 18.3

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Niemierki (Niemirki), *Niemirki*, pdl, drh, Jabłonna Lacka 52.5 22.5

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Niemikowo (Niemiekowo, Nieniekowo), *Minikowo*, inw, bdg, Ślesino 53.2 17.7

Niemiorowice (Niemierowice), raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.5

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Niemyje-Skłody, pdl, drh, Winna Stara 52.7 22.7

Niemyje-Zębki (Zębki), *Niemyje-Zębki*, pdl, drh, Winna Stara 52.7 22.7

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Nieniały-Niewstępowo, maz, nur, Zaręby Kościelne 52.8 22.1

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- Nienawiszcz, pzn, pzn, Słomowo 52.7 16.9
- Nieniekowo (Niemiczko, Niemiczko, Nieniekowo), *Minikowo*, pmr, tch, Byśław 53.5 17.9
- Nieniewo (Niniewo), *Niniew*, kls, kls, Chodecz 52.0 17.8
- Niepart, pzn, ksc, Niepart 51.7 16.9
- Niepiekły, *Niepiekła*, maz, zkr, Kroczewo 52.5 20.5
- Niepiekły\*, pdl, drh, Skibniewo-Podawce 52.5 22.1
- Niepla, snd, plz, Warzyce and Szebnie, cn 49.8 21.6
- Niepoczołowice, pmr, mrw, Bukowina 54.4 17.9
- Niepołomice, *Niepołomice* – part, krk, szc, Niepołomice, r 50.0 20.2
- Nieponiej-Wólka, *Wólka Kobyla*, maz, liw, Niwiska 52.1 22.1
- Nieporęt, maz, wrs, Wieliszewo, r 52.4 21.0
- Nieproszewo, *Niepruszewo*, pzn, pzn, Nieproszewo 52.4 16.6
- Nieprovice, snd, wsl, Chroberz 50.4 20.6
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- Nieradowo, maz, cch, Pałuki 52.9 20.8
- Nieradowo, plc, mla, Szydłowo Kościelne 53.1 20.5
- Nieradza (in 17<sup>th</sup> c.: Nieradza Niska, Nieradza Piaski, Nieradza Wysoka), *Goluchy* – part, srd, srd, Warta 51.7 18.6
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- Niesadne (Niesadna), *Niesadna*, maz, gar, Parysewo, r 52.0 21.6
- Niesiebdy-Gorąca, *Gorąca*, maz, cch, Zielona 52.9 20.9
- Niesiebdy-Stara Wieś = Niesiebdy Stara Wieś\* (Niesiebdy-Stara Wieś, Niesiebdy Stare), Niesiebdy-Szroty\*, *Niesiebdy*, maz, cch, Zielona 52.9 20.9
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- Nieskurzów (Nieskurzów Stary), snd, snd, Baczkowice, c 50.8 21.2
- Niesłabino, *Niesłabin*, kls, pdz, Radzewo, c 52.1 17.0
- Niesłuchowo, plc, plc, Miszewo Murowane, c 52.5 20.0
- Niesłusz, *Konin-Niesłusz*, kls, knn, Morzysław 52.2 18.2
- Niesób, srd, ost, Domaborów, mill 51.3 18.1
- Niespusza, raw, gbn, Złakowo Cerkiewne, c 52.2 19.9
- Niestachów, snd, chc, Daleszyce, c 50.8 20.7
- Niestachów\*, *Poznań* – part, pzn, pzn, Święty Wojciech, mill 52.4 16.9
- Niestępowo (Nestempohl), pmr, gdn, Reinfeld 54.3 18.4
- Niestępowo, maz, ser, Koprzywnica 52.7 21.0
- Niestoimie (Niestomy, Niestoim, Niestojemie), *Niestum*, maz, cch, Ciechanów 52.9 20.6
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- Niestrowicz (Niestorowicz, Niestorowicz), pdl, blk, Brańsk, mill, r 52.7 22.9
- Niestuszewo (Nieszczewo, Nieszczewy), inw, inw, Raciąż, c 52.8 18.9
- Niesułków, lcz, brz, Niesułków, c 51.9 19.7
- Niesułowice (Nieczałowice), *Niesiałowice*, pmr, mrw, Stężyca Mała, demesne 54.2 17.9
- Niesułowice, krk, prs, Płoki 50.2 19.6
- Niesułowo, maz, prz, Siedlec 53.1 21.3
- Niesułowo, *Niesiałowo*, plc, rac, Raciąż 52.8 20.1
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- Nieszewa (Nieszewa Dalsza), *Wielka Nieszawka*, inw, inw, Podgórze, r 53.0 18.5
- Nieszewka Mała (Nieszewka), *Mała Nieszawka*, inw, inw, Podgórze, r 53.0 18.6
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- Nieszkowice Mniejsze, *Nieszkowice Małe*, krk, szc, Chełm 49.9 20.3
- Nieszkowice Większe, *Nieszkowice Wielkie*, krk, szc, Chełm 49.9 20.3
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- Nieświastowo, Niedźwiastowo (Niedźwiastowo), *Nieświastów*, kls, knn, Kazimierz 52.3 18.1
- Nieśwień = Jarosów\*, Nieśwień (Nieświnie), snd, opc, Końskie 51.2 20.5
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- Nietulisko Wielkie, snd, snd, Kunów, c 51.0 21.3
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- Niewęglisz Stara, *Niewęglisz*, lub, luk, Kozirynek 51.7 22.7
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- Niewiadów, raw, raw, Małecz 51.6 19.9
- Niewiatrowice, krk, prs, Działoszyce 50.4 20.3
- Niewierowo = Niewierowo (Niewirowo), *Tatarczyzna\**, *Niewiarowo*, pdl, blk, Trzciane 53.4 22.8
- Niewierowo-Przybki (Przybki-Niewirowo), *Niewiarowo-Przybki*, pdl, drh, Ostrożany 52.6 22.7
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- Niewierszyn, snd, opc, Dąbrowa 51.3 19.9
- Niewierz, chl, mch, Mszano, demesne 53.2 19.3
- Niewierz, pzn, pzn, Brody 52.5 16.3
- Niewiesz, srd, szd, Niewiesz 51.9 18.9
- Niewieścino (Niewieścino), *Niewieścino*, pmr, swc, Niewieścino 53.3 18.2
- Niewikl = Niewikl (Niewikle), Niewikl Mała\*, (Niewikle), *Niewikla*, maz, scn or cch, Niewikl in Płońsko parish, Niewikl Mała in Gromadzino parish 52.6 20.5
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- Niewodnica Koryckich (Niewodnica), *Niewodnica Korycka*, pdl, blk, Niewodnica Koryckich 53.1 23.1
- Niewodnica Lewicka (Niewodnica), *Lewickie*, pdl, blk, Juchnowiec-Dwór 53.0 23.1
- Niewodnica Nargilewska (Nargielowczyzna, Niewodnica-Nargielowczyzna, Niewodnica-Nargielowszczyzna, Niewodnica Nargielów), pdl, blk, Juchnowiec-Dwór 53.1 23.2
- Niewodnica Sierzytowskich (Niewodnica, Niewodnica Sierżewitowskich), *Koplany*, pdl, blk, Niewodnica Koryckich 53.1 23.1

- Niewodnica Wysockich (Niewodnica, Niewodnica-Sokół, Niewodnica-Zalesie), *Zalesiany*, pdl, blk, Niewodnica Koryckich 53.1 23.1
- Niewodnica-Bronczany (Bronczany), *Brończany*, pdl, blk, Juchnowiec-Dwór 53.0 23.1
- Niewodnica, okolica, pdl, blk
- Niewodowo = Dzierzanowo\*, Niewodowo, maz, wiz, Drozdowo 53.1 22.2
- Niewola, *Koloniec*, snd, opc, Fałków, ironworks 51.2 20.1
- Niewolno, kls, gzn, Trzemeszno, c 52.6 17.8
- Niewskurze (Nieskorze), *Nieskórz-Stara Wieś*, maz, nur, Złotonia, c 52.8 22.0
- Niezabitów, lub, lub, Wąwolnica 51.3 22.1
- Niezamyśl, *Zaniemyśl*, kls, pzd, Niezamyśl 52.2 17.1
- Niezdów, krk, szcz, Dziekanowice 49.9 20.1
- Nieznachy = Nieznachy (Piasek?, Długi Ostrów?), Wituski\*, *Kępa Antonińska*, raw, gbn, Zakrzewo, cn 52.4 20.0
- Nieznanajowa (Nieznajowa), krk, bck, Grabie (orthodox), r 49.5 21.4
- Nieznamirowice (Nieznamirowice, Znamierowice), snd, rdm, Nieznamirowice 51.5 20.6
- Nieznanice, srd, wln, Kłomice and Borowo 50.9 19.3
- Nieznanowice, krk, szcz, Niegowiec 49.9 20.3
- Nieznanowice, snd, chc, Konieczno 50.8 20.0
- Niezwójowice, krk, prs, Pelesnica 50.3 20.3
- Nieżdzino = Nieździno x3, (in 17<sup>th</sup> c. Nieździno-Ciołkowo, Nieździno Jeżowskie, Nieździno-Sędzi), *Niździno* – part, maz, wsg, Orszymowo 52.5 20.1
- Nieżdzino-Perki, maz, wsg, Orszymowo 52.5 20.1
- Nieźerawa, *Nieźurawa*, pmr, tch, Czersk 53.8 17.9
- Nieżuchowo, *Nieźychowo*, kls, nkl, Koszutowo 53.1 17.1
- Nieżuchówko, *Nieźychówko*, kls, nkl, Koszutowo 53.1 17.1
- Nieżywieć (Nieżewieć, Nieżwieć), pmr, czl, Chojnice, demesne 53.7 17.5
- Nieżywieć (Nieżwieć), chl, mch, Nieżywieć, r 53.3 19.2
- Nikanowice (Nękanowice), *Nowe Brzesko* – part, krk, prs, Brzesko Nowe, c 50.1 20.4
- Nikiel, Nykiel, bkj, rdj, Broniszewo, mill 52.4 18.4
- Ninino, pzn, pzn, Rogoźno 52.8 16.8
- Ninkowo, *Poznań-Minikowo*, pzn, pzn, Głuszyna, c 52.4 16.9
- Ninkowy (Ninkowo, Nuniekau), *Jasień*, pmr, gdn, Materna, r 54.3 18.6
- Ninków, snd, rdm, Borkowice 51.3 20.7
- Ninocino (Hinocino, Innocino, Inocino), *Janocin*, bkj, rdj, Chełmce 52.6 18.4
- Niskie Brodno, chl, mch, Brodnica, mill, r 53.3 19.4
- Niskie, maz, bln, Błonie, c 52.2 20.6
- Niskie, *Niskie Wielkie*, maz, prz, Krzyńcówłoga Wielka 53.3 20.8
- Nisko = Nisko, Zaosice\*, snd, snd, Racławice, r 50.5 22.1
- Nistowe, *Mistów*, maz, gar, Mińsko 52.2 21.6
- Niswałd (Engelswald, Nicwałd), *Nicwałd*, chl, chl, Okonin, r 53.5 18.9
- Niszczycze, plc, bls, Bielsko 52.7 19.8
- Niwa, maz, wsg, Gumino 52.6 20.3
- Niwicze, *Niemirów*, pdl, mln, Mielnik 52.3 23.2
- Niwino Stare = Niwino Stare (Niwino, Niwino-Stara Wieś), Jeszki\*, *Niwino Stare*, pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.8 23.1
- Niwino-Borowe = Niwino-Borowe (Borowe, Borowo), Niwino-Mruczki\*, Niwino-Spasy (Spasy)\*, *Niwino Borowe*, pdl, blk, Wyszki 52.8 23.0
- Niwino-Leśne (Leśne, Leśnicze), *Niwino Leśne*, pdl, blk, Wyszki 52.8 23.0
- Niwino-Popławy (Popławy), *Niwino Popławskie*, pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.8 23.1
- Niwino, okolica, pdl, blk
- Niwiska, *Niwiska Dolne, Niwiska Górne*, srd, wln, Trębaczów 51.1 19.0
- Niwiska, *Niwiski*, maz, liw, Niwiska 52.2 22.2
- Niwiska, snd, plz, Niwiska 50.2 21.6
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- Niwki (Niwka), *Sosnowiec-Niwka*, krk, prs, Mysłówce 50.2 19.2
- Niwki, lez, lez, Dzierzbice, rn 52.3 19.0
- Niwki, *Poręba-Niwki*, krk, llw, Mrzygłód 50.5 19.3
- Niwkowo, *Niwkowo*, maz, wiz, Wizna, r 53.2 22.4
- Niwna, raw, raw, Kurzeszyn 51.8 20.3
- Niziny, snd, wsl, Tuczępy 50.5 21.1
- Niziołek, *Bucharzewo* – part, pzn, pzn, Sieraków, mill 52.7 16.0
- Niżnia Łąka (Niżna Łąka), *Niżna Łąka*, krk, bck, Wietrzno, c 49.6 21.7
- Niżowa, krk, szcz, Łęczany 49.9 20.1
- Nochowo, pzn, ksc, Śrem, r 52.1 16.9
- Nockowa, snd, plz, Nockowa 50.0 21.8
- Nocpalsk Mały (Nospalsko), *Nacpolsk* – part, maz, scn, Żukowo Wielkie 52.5 20.2
- Nocpalsk Wielki, *Nacpolsk* – part, maz, scn, Żukowo Wielkie 52.5 20.3
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- Nogawczyna, *Nagawczyna*, snd, plz, Dębica 50.1 21.5
- Nogawki, maz, osl, Goworowo 52.9 21.6
- Nogawki, *Nagawki*, raw, raw, Dmosin 51.9 19.8
- Noiszewo (Nosiszewo, Nowiszewo), *Noiszew*, maz, liw, Pniewnik 52.4 21.8
- Nojewo, pzn, pzn, Zajączkowo 52.6 16.3
- Nołtowo (Onułtowo), *Poznań* – part, pzn, pzn, Święty Wojciech, c 52.5 16.9
- Nonnenhof+, pmr, gdn, Gdańsk-Katarzyna, demesne, c 54.3 18.7
- Nosaczowice (Nasaczowice, Nasocowice, Nosaczyce), *Naszacowice*, krk, sdc, Podegrodzie 49.6 20.6
- Nosalewo, pzn, pzn, Biezdrowo 52.6 16.3
- Nosalowa, *Jodłówka Tuchowska* – part, krk, bck, Rzepiennik, r 49.8 21.0
- Nosalowice (Nosalewice), *Nosalewice*, snd, chc, Przedbórz, r 51.1 19.9
- Nosarzewo I, II = Nosarzewo Małe\*, Nosarzewo Wielkie\* (Nosarzewo Stare), *Nosarzewo Borowe, Nosarzewo Polne*, plc, mla, Szydłowo Kościelne, 53.1 20.5
- Nosilsko (Nosielsk), *Nasielsk*, maz, nmo or ser, Nosilsko, town, cn 52.6 20.8
- Noski, *Noski Śnietne*, pdl, blk, Sokoły 53.0 22.7
- Noski, srd, srd, Wróblów, demesne 51.6 18.6
- Noskowo Małe (Noskowo Bliższe), *Noskowo* – part, maz, zkr, Kamienica Kościelna 52.5 20.5
- Noskowo Wielkie (Noskowo Dalsze), *Noskowo* – part, maz, zkr, Kamienica Kościelna 52.5 20.4
- Noskowo, *Kalisz-Nosków*, kls, kls, Kalisz-św. Marii, c 51.7 18.0
- Noskowo, kls, gzn, Marzenino 52.4 17.5
- Noskowo, *Nosków*, kls, pzd, Noskowo 51.9 17.3
- Nosowa Wola (Wola Nosowa), *Wola Nosowa*, snd, opc, Goworców 51.3 20.5
- Nosowo, *Nosów*, pdl, mln, Górki 52.2 23.0
- Nosów (Nossów), snd, snd, Waśniów, c 50.9 21.2
- Nosy, maz, tar, Tarczyn 52.0 20.8
- Nosy, *Nosy-Pontiatki*, maz, tar, Lutkowska 51.9 20.6
- Noteś (Noć), *Noć*, bkj, rdj, Broniszewo, town, rn 52.4 18.4
- Notzendorf (Nocendorf), *Krzyżanowo*, mlb, mlb, Notzendorf, r 54.0 19.2
- Nowa Cerkiew (Neukirch), mlb, mlb, Nowa Cerkiew, r 54.2 18.9
- Nowa Cerkiew (Neukirchen), pmr, tcz, Nowa Cerkiew, c 53.9 18.7
- Nowa Cerkiew (Nowa Cerkwia), *Cerekiew*, snd, rdm, Nowa Cerkiew 51.4 21.1
- Nowa Cerkiew, pmr, czl, Nowa Cerkiew, r 53.7 17.7
- Nowa Góra, krk, prs, Nowa Góra, town 50.2 19.6
- Nowa Nieszewa (Nieszawa, Nieszewa, Nieszowa, Nowa Nieszowa), *Nieszawa*,

- dbr, lpn, Nowa Nieszewa, town, r 52.8 18.9
- Nowa Ruda, *Ruda*, raw, raw, Skwierniewice, c 52.0 20.2
- Nowa Rybie (Nowa Wieś, Nowo Rybie, Rybie Nowa Wola), *Nowe Rybie* – part, krk, szc, Nowa Rybie 49.8 20.3
- Nowa Wieś – Pstrągowa (Nowa Wieś, Pstrągowa Nowa), *Nowa Wieś Czudecka*, snd, plz, Czudecz 49.9 21.8
- Nowa Wieś (Chelmno), raw, sch, Wiskitki Kościelne 52.1 20.3
- Nowa Wieś (Chlewiska), *Nowa Wieś Notecka*, kls, kcn, Smogulec 53.0 17.3
- Nowa Wieś (Czerniec), kls, knn, Nowa Wieś 52.3 18.0
- Nowa Wieś (Mühlwald), *Nowa Wieś Rzeczna*, pmr, tcz, Nowa Wieś, r 54.0 18.5
- Nowa Wieś (Naydork, Neudorf), pzn, pzn, Falkwald, c 52.5 15.3
- Nowa Wieś (Neudorf), *Nowawieś Chelmińska*, chl, chl, Chelmno, t 53.4 18.6
- Nowa Wieś (Nowa Wieś Kaznowska), bkj, bkj, Kroszyno 52.6 19.0
- Nowa Wieś (Nowa Wieś-Grzebskie), *Nowa Wieś Wielka*, plc, mla, Grzebsk 53.2 20.6
- Nowa Wieś (Nowe Wielgie), dbr, dbr, Wielkie 52.7 19.2
- Nowa Wieś (Parchaczyno), *Strychowo* – part, kls, gzn, Dębica Mała 52.6 17.4
- Nowa Wieś (Prosin), *Prosinko*, pzn, wlc, r 53.6 16.2
- Nowa Wieś (Segersberg, Zeigersberg), chl, chl, Grudziądz, r 53.5 18.8
- Nowa Wieś = Nowa Wieś, Płaczkowo\*, maz, roz, Nowa Wieś 53.1 21.4
- Nowa Wieś Ołdakowska, *Oldaki*, maz, osl, Rzekuń 50.7 21.4
- Nowa Wieś Szlachecka, *Nowa Wieś*, chl, mch, Płowężę 53.4 19.2
- Nowa Wieś, (Trąpczynko, Trąbczyn Mały, Trąbczynko, Trąbczyno), kls, knn, Trąpczyno 52.1 17.9
- Nowa Wieś, *Bierzmo* – part, kls, knn, Brudzew 52.1 18.5
- Nowa Wieś, bkj, kwl, Duninowo, r 52.6 19.4
- Nowa Wieś, bkj, prd, Izbica 52.4 18.8
- Nowa Wieś, bkj, prd, Przedecz, demesne, r 52.3 19.0
- Nowa Wieś, bkj, rdj, Połajewo 52.5 18.4
- Nowa Wieś, *Buka*, kls, nkl, Zakrzewo 53.5 17.3
- Nowa Wieś, chl, chl, Okonin, mill, r 53.4 18.8
- Nowa Wieś, dbr, lpn, Ciecchocin, c 53.0 19.0
- Nowa Wieś, dbr, lpn, Złotoria, r 53.0 18.7
- Nowa Wieś, dbr, rpn, Chojno 53.0 19.3
- Nowa Wieś, *Grabowa*, *Grzybowa*, krk, szc, Dziekanowice 49.9 20.1
- Nowa Wieś, *Kazmierz-Nowa Wieś*, pzn, pzn, Kazimierz 52.5 16.5
- Nowa Wieś, kls, gzn, Wójcino, c 52.5 18.1
- Nowa Wieś, kls, kls, Szymanowice 52.0 17.7
- Nowa Wieś, kls, knn, Mąkolino 52.3 18.5
- Nowa Wieś, kls, pzd, Rozdrażewo 51.8 17.5
- Nowa Wieś, *Kraków-Nowa Wieś*, krk, prs, Kraków ś. Szczepan, r 50.1 19.9
- Nowa Wieś, krk, llw, Rakoszyn 50.6 20.1
- Nowa Wieś, krk, llw, Słupia 50.6 20.0
- Nowa Wieś, krk, prs, Minoga 50.2 19.9
- Nowa Wieś, krk, sls, Kęty 49.9 19.2
- Nowa Wieś, lcz, lcz, Łąkoszyn 52.2 19.4
- Nowa Wieś, lcz, lcz, Rdułtów 52.2 19.0
- Nowa Wieś, lcz, lcz, Tur 51.9 19.0
- Nowa Wieś, maz, nmo or ser, Nosilsko, c 52.6 20.8
- Nowa Wieś, maz, osl, Rzekuń 53.1 21.7
- Nowa Wieś, maz, wrk, Boglewice 51.8 21.1
- Nowa Wieś, maz, wsg, Daniszewo 52.6 20.1
- Nowa Wieś, *Milewo-Nowa Wieś*, maz, prz or cch, Krasne 52.9 20.9
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 Ojrzanowo, inw, bdg, Łabiszyn 52.9 18.0  
 Ojrzanowo, *Ojrzanów*, lcz, brz, Małcz 51.6 20.0  
 Ojrzanowo, *Ojrzanów*, maz, tar, Żelechów 52.0 20.7  
 Ojrzenia (Musczka), *Ojrzeń*, snd, opc, Skotniki, mill 51.2 19.9

Ojrzenie = Ojrzenie-Łabędy\*, Ojrzenie-Nowa Wieś\*, Ojrzenie Wielkie-Męcikał\*, *Ojrzeń*, maz, cch, Kraszowo Kościelne 52.8 20.5

Ojrzenie-Grabowiec, *Grabowiec*, maz, cch, Kraszowo Kościelne 52.8 20.5

Ojrzenie-Lipowiec, *Lipowiec*, maz, cch, Kraszowo Kościelne 52.8 20.5

Ojrzenie-Trzpioły, *Trzpioły*, maz, cch, Kraszowo Kościelne 52.8 20.5

Ojrzenie-Wojtkowa Wieś (Ojrzenie Wojtkowie), *Wojtkowa Wieś*, maz, cch, Kraszowo Kościelne 52.8 20.5

Ojrzyszewice (Orzyszewice), *Orszewice*, lcz, lcz, Góra, c 52.1 19.3

Okalewo, dbr, rpn, Skrwino 53.1 19.6

Okalice, pmr, mrw, Łebunia, demesne 54.5 17.8

Okalina, snd, snd, Opatów, c 50.8 21.4

Okalów, *Okalew*, lub, lub, Parczów, r 51.7 22.8

Okalów, *Okalew*, srd, wln, Rudlice 51.3 18.6

Okalowice, *Okolowice*, srd, rds, Borzykowska, c 50.8 19.7

Okęcie, *Warszawa-Okęcie*, maz, wrs, Służewo 52.2 21.0

Okiersk, *Kiełpiński Most*, pmr, tch, Ciekcin, mill, r 53.6 18.0

Oklesna (Okleśnia), *Okleśna*, krk, prs, Poręba 50.0 19.5

Okniny, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.0 22.3

Okocin (Okocim, Okotnica), *Okocim*, krk, szcz, Poręba 49.9 20.6

Okoleniec (Okolenik), lcz, lcz, Bierzwienna Karczemna 52.3 18.8

Okolice (Okulice), *Okulice*, krk, szcz, Cerkiew, c 50.1 20.5

Okonin (Okunin), chl, chl, Okonin, r 53.4 18.9

Okół (Dybla-Stary Okół), maz, was, Białaszewo 53.6 22.5

Okół, snd, snd, Bałutów 51.0 21.6

Okradzionów (Okradzianów, Okradzionów), *Dąbrowa Górnicza-Okradzionów*, krk, prs, Sławków, c 50.3 19.4

Okradziszów, *Okrajszów*, srd, rds, Radomskie 51.1 19.5

Okrasino, *Okrasin*, maz, rdz, Radziłowo, r 53.4 22.5

Okrażlica, *Okrażlica*, srd, srd, Tokary 51.9 18.5

Okrażła, snd, snd, Połaniec 50.5 21.3

Okrażlica (Okrażlica), *Siekluki* – part, maz, wrk, Błotnica 51.6 21.0

Okrażłów, *Szeligi-część*, snd, snd, Pawłów 51.0 21.2

Okrażnica, snd, rdm, Janowiec 51.3 21.7

Okrzeja, snd, stz, Okrzeja, town 51.7 22.1

Okrzeszyn, maz, wrs, Powsino, r 52.1 21.1

Okstule (Okstulowskie), pdl, blk, Suraż 52.9 23.1

Oksywa (Oksywia), *Oksywie*, pmr, pck, Oksywa, c 54.5 18.6

Oksywski Młyn+, pmr, pck, Oksywa, mill, c 54.5 18.5

Oksza (Oksa), *Oksa*, up to 1554 Twoarów village, snd, chc, Konieczno, town 50.7 20.1

Okuniew (Długa Wola), maz, wrs, Okuniew, town 52.3 21.3

Okunin (Okonin), *Okonin*, snd, plz, Lubzina, c 50.0 21.6

Okunino (Okonino), *Okonin*, dbr, rpn, Ruż 53.0 19.2

Okunino, *Okunin*, maz, wrs, Okunino 52.4 20.8

Okup Mały, srd, szd, Marzenin 51.6 19.1

Okup Wielki, srd, szd, Marzenin 51.6 19.1

Okurowo-Brzozowo, *Brzozowo*, maz, kol, Lachowo 53.5 21.9

Okurowo-Młodzianowo, *Okurowo*, maz, kol, Lachowo 53.5 22.0

Olbiad (Holbiad, Oblad), *Ubiad*, krk, sdc, Wielogłowy 49.7 20.7

Olbierzowice, snd, snd, Olbierzowice 50.7 21.4

Ołbiecin, lub, urz, Dzierzkowice 50.9 22.1

Olbachcice = Bieńki-Olbachcice\*, *Olbachcice*, maz, ser or nmo, Pułtowski 52.7 21.1

Olbachcice, pzn, wch, Sidnica 51.8 16.3

Olbachcice, srd, rds, Dąbrowa 50.8 19.6

Olchawa, krk, szcz, Olchawa 49.9 20.4

Olchowa, snd, plz, Sędziszów 50.1 21.8

Olchowiec, krk, bck, [unknown orthodox parish] 49.5 21.6

Oleksanka, *Oleksianka*, maz, gar, Lato-wicz, r 52.0 21.9

Oleksice, pdl, drh, Pierlejewo 52.8 22.9

Oleksin, maz, liw, Oleksin 52.2 22.0

Oleksino, *Oleksin*, maz, gar, Kołybiel 52.1 21.5

Oleksino, *Oleksin*, pdl, blk, Brańsk, r 52.7 22.9

Oleksino, *Olekszyn*, kls, gzn, Łagiewniki 52.6 17.3

Oleksów, snd, rdm, Oleksów 51.5 21.8

Olenin (Olelin), *Olewin*, krk, prs, Przeginia 50.3 19.6

Olesno (Oleszno), snd, wsl, Olesno 50.2 20.9

Oleszno (Oleczno), chl, mch, Bobrowo 53.3 19.3

Oleszno (Olesno), dbr, dbr, Zaduszniaki 52.7 19.2

Oleszno, kls, kcn, Panigródz 53.0 17.3

Oleszno, snd, chc, Chotów 50.9 20.0

Oleśnica (Olsenica), maz, gar, Wodynie 52.1 22.0

Oleśnica, kls, kcn, Chodzież 53.0 16.8

Oleśnica, kls, knn, Zagórów, c 52.2 17.9

Oleśnica, lcz, lcz, Kałowo 51.8 19.1

Oleśnica, snd, wsl, Oleśnica, town 50.5 21.1

Oleśnicka Wola, *Wólka Oleśnicka*, snd, wsl, Oleśnica 50.4 21.1

Oleśnik, raw, bla, Błędów 51.8 20.7

Oleśniki, lub, lub, Czemierniki 51.1 23.0

Olewino (Olewin), *Olewin*, srd, wln, Ruda 51.2 18.6

Ołędrowo, *Ługi Ujskie*, pzn, pzn, Piła, r 53.1 16.7

Ołędy (Olendy), *Olendy*, spdl, drh, Rudka 52.7 22.8

Ołędy-Bończe (Olendy-Bończe), pdl, drh, Przesmyki 52.3 22.5

Ołędy-Orlicze (Olendy), *Ołędy*, pdl, drh, Paprotnia 52.3 22.5

Ołędy, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.5

Oleńdzkie (Olendy, Olendzkie, Ołędy), pdl, blk, Topiczewo 52.8 22.9

Ołganów (Łganów, Ołganów), snd, wsl, Dobrowoda, c 50.4 20.8

Oliszki, pdl, blk, Goniądz, r 53.4 22.8

Oliszki, pdl, blk, Suraż, r 53.1 23.0

Oliwa, pmr, gdn, Oliwa, klasztor, c 54.4 18.6

Olki-Kurzątki (Olki-Kurzątko), *Olki*, maz, roz, Gąsowo 53.0 21.3

Olkusz (Ilkusz), krk, prs, Olkusz, town, r 50.3 19.6

Olsza, kls, gzn, Mogilno, c 52.6 18.0

Olszak (Olszowy), bkj, bkj, *Chalino*, mill 52.5 18.7

Olszak, maz, nmo or ser, Pułtowski, mill, c 52.7 21.1

Olszamowice, snd, opc, Fałków or Cermno 51.1 20.1

Olszamowo, *Olszanowo*, plc, plc, Bodzanowo, c 52.5 20.0

Olszamy-Oprzałki, *Olszany*, maz, gre, Goszczyn 51.7 20.9

Olszamy, *Olszany* – part, maz, gre, Jasieniec 51.8 21.0

Olszan, chl, mch, Prątnica, mill, c 53.5 19.8

Olszanica-Rybałty (Olszanica, Rybałty-Olszanica), *Olszanica*, pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.9 23.1

Olszanka Mała (Olszanka), *Olszanka*, krk, sdc, Podegrodzie, c 49.6 20.5

Olszanka, maz, kam, Wyszkowo 52.6 21.4

Olszanka, pdl, mln, Hadynów, r 52.1 22.7

Olszanka\*, pdl, blk, Jasionówka, r 53.4 23.0

Olszany (Olszana), *Olszana*, krk, sdc, Podegrodzie, r 49.6 20.5

Olsze, *Olsza*, raw, raw, Jeżów 51.8 19.8

Olszenica (Oleśnica), *Kraków-Olszanica*, krk, prs, Zwierzyniec, c 50.1 19.8

Olszewiec, maz, prz, Węgra 53.0 20.8

Olszewka, kls, nkl, Nakiel, r 53.2 17.5

Olszewnica, lub, luk, Trzebieszów 51.9 22.6

Olszewnica, *Olszewnica Stara*, maz, wrs, Chotomów? 52.4 20.9

Olszewo (Olszewo Stare), pdl, blk, Topiczewo 52.8 22.9

Olszewo Chamskie, *Olszewo*, plc, szr, Chamsk 53.0 20.0

Olszewo Kuczborskie, *Olszewko*, plc, szr, Kuczbork 53.1 20.0

Olszewo Małe, maz, wiz, Dobrzyjałowo 53.3 22.2

Olszewo-Bołaki, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Borzyny, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Chlebowo = Olszewo-Chlebowo (Olszewo-Barycze, Olszewo-Bronisze, Olszewo-Wolmiry), Olszewo-Żebry\*, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Drężewo\*, *Olszewo-Borki*, maz, osł, Ostrołęka 53.1 21.5

Olszewo-Góry = Olszewo-Góry, Olszewo-Seroki\*, *Olszewo-Góra*, maz, rdz, Romany 53.3 22.3

Olszewo-Grzymki, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Korzybie, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Marcisze, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Piaski\*, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Przyborowo, maz, zmb, Rudki 53.1 22.5

Olszewo-Reszki, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Rybałty (Rybałty-Olszewo), *Olszewo*, pdl, drh, Pierlejewo 52.6 22.6

Olszewo-Stęcle+, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Tosie (Olszewo-Tosze), plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5

Olszewo-Wałachy, pdl, drh, Pierlejewo 52.6 22.7

Olszewo, maz, lom, Smlodowo 53.0 22.0

Olszewo, *Olszew*, pdl, drh, Kosowo 52.6 22.2

Olszewo, pdl, blk, Boćki 52.7 23.0

Olszowa Struga (Olszewka), *Olszewka*, maz, cch, Ciemnowko Kościelne 52.8 20.8

Olszowa, krk, sdc, Palecznica 49.8 20.8

Olszowa, lcz, brz, Ujazd 51.6 19.9

Olszowa, srd, ost, Olszowa 51.3 18.0

Olszowe Laski (Żydowa Wola), *Żydy* and *Grabina-Laskowa Wola*, snd, rdm, Bukowno 51.6 20.8

Olszowe, snd, rdm, Wyszemierzycy 51.6 20.8

Olszowice, krk, szc, Siepraw 49.9 19.9

Olszowiec (Erlenmühle), *Stanisławka*, chl, chl, Czarnowo, mill, t 53.1 18.3

Olszowiec, lub, lub, Bychawa 51.0 22.6

Olszowiec, snd, opc, Sławno 51.4 20.1

Olszowka, *Olszówka*, lcz, lcz, Unienie 52.2 18.9

Olszownica, snd, snd, Baczkowice, c 50.8 21.2

Olszowy Młyn (Olszewy Młyn), *Przypust Górny* – part, bkj, bkj, Przypust, mill 52.8 18.9

Olszówka (Olszowa), krk, szc, Mszana Niżna, r 49.6 20.0

Olszówka, pmr, tcz, Nowa Cerkiew, mill, c 53.8 18.6

Olszówka, *Stara Olszówka*, krk, kss, Mironice 50.5 20.2

Olsztyn (Olsztynek), krk, llw, Olsztyn, town, r 50.8 19.3

Olszyce, maz, gar, Wodynie 52.0 22.1

Olszyna, srd, ost, Ostrzeszów 51.4 17.9

Olszyny-Słubica = Bagno\*, Olszyny-Słubica, *Olszyny*, maz, wiz, Drozdowo 53.2 22.3

Olszyny, krk, bck, Ołpiny Wyższe 49.8 21.1

Olszyny, krk, sdc, Olszyny 49.9 20.8

Olszyny, *Olszyny Stare*, maz, zkr, Krysk, c 52.5 20.5

Olszyński (Olszyny-Żaba), *Żaby*, srd, rds, Dobryszycy, mill, r 51.2 19.4

Ołaczewo, kls, pzd, Winna Góra, c 52.2 17.4

Oldaki (Hołdaki), *Grodzick-Oldaki*, maz, nur, Andrzejów 52.9 22.3

Oldaki = Ołdaki-Królowo\*, Ołdaki Średnie\*, Ołdaki Wielkie\*, maz, nmo, Gzy 52.7 20.9

Ołdaki Magna Brok (Ołdaki a Magna Brok), maz, nur, Czyżewo Kościelne 52.8 22.3

Ołdaki-Połomia (Hołdaki-Połomia), maz, nur, Andrzejów 52.9 22.3

Ołdaki, pdl, blk, Goniądz 53.4 22.8

Ołdowiec, *Hołdowiec-część*, snd, wsl, Kazimierza Mała 50.3 20.5

Ołdrzenica\*\*, bkj, ksw, Warzymowo?, mill

Ołdrzychowo, inw, inw, Ludzicko, c 52.7 18.1

Ołobok (Holobok), kls, kls, Ołobok, c 51.6 18.0

Ołowie = Ołowie x2, (Ołowskie), *Ołowskie*, maz, nur, Nur 52.6 22.4

Ołpiny Wyższe = Ołpiny Wyższe, Ołpiny Niższe\*, *Ołpiny*, krk, bck, Ołpiny Wyższe 49.8 21.2

Ołtarze-Gulacze (Hołtarze, Ołtarzewo-Gulacze), *Ołtarze-Golacze*, maz, nur, Nur 52.7 22.3

Ołtarzewo, *Ołtarzew*, maz, bln, Żbików 52.2 20.8

Ołuca (Ołuczka), *Holudza*, snd, wsl, Chotel Czerwony 50.4 20.7

Ołudza (Chołudza), krk, llw, Irzędze, c 50.6 19.8

Omieciny, *Omięciny*, maz, zkr, Juniec 52.6 20.6

Omule (Omüla), chl, mch, Prątnica, c 53.5 19.8

Omulew, *Ostrołęki* – part, maz, osł, Ostrołęka, mill, r 53.1 21.5

Ondy-Czarnowo, *Undy-Czarnowo*, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 53.0 22.4

Opacz Mała, maz, wrs, Raszyniec 52.2 20.9

Opacz Wielka, *Warszawa-Opacz Wielka*, maz, wrs, Raszyniec 52.2 20.9

Opacz, maz, czr, Cieciszewo 52.1 21.2

Opalana (Opalona, Opolana), krk, sdc, Podegrodzie, c 49.5 20.5

Opalenica, chl, mch, Gorczenica 53.2 19.4

Opalenica, pzn, ksc, Opalenica, town 52.3 16.4

Opalino, *Opalenie*, pmr, now, Opalino 53.7 18.8

Opalino, pmr, pck, Żarnowiec 54.7 18.1

Oparówka (Oporówka), snd, plz, Kozłów, c 49.8 21.7

Opatki, *Łopatki*, lub, lub, Wąwolnica 51.3 22.1

Opatkowie (Opatkowie Wielkie), *Opatkowiec Drewniane*, krk, kss, Grudzina 50.6 20.4

Opatkowie (Opatowice), snd, rdm, Jaroszyn, c 51.4 21.9

Opatkowie (Opatowice), snd, rdm, Świerze Wielkie, r 51.6 21.5

Opatkowie Małe, *Opatkowie Cysterskie*, krk, kss, Grudzina, c 50.6 20.4

Opatkowie Naporzyńskie (Opatkowie, Opatkowie Naporzyńskie, Opatkowie Naperzyńskie), *Opatkowie Murowane*, krk, kss, Grudzina 50.6 20.4

Opatkowie, *Kraków-Opatkowie*, krk, szc, Gaj, c 50.0 19.9

Opatkowie, krk, prs, Proszowice, c 50.4 20.3

Opatkowie, krk, prs, Secygniów 51.4 21.9

Opatkowie, *Opatkowiczki*, snd, wsl, Czarnocin, c 50.3 20.5

Opatowice, bkj, rdj, Radziejów, c 52.6 18.6

Opatowiec, plc, bls, Starożreby, c 52.6 20.0

Opatowiec, snd, wsl, Opatowiec, town, c 50.2 20.7

Opatowiec, srd, wln, Opatów 51.2 18.1

Opatów (Wielki Opatów), snd, snd, Opatów, town 50.8 21.4

Opatów Las\* (Bieńkowice), *Matiaszów*, snd, snd, Niekraszów 50.5 21.4

Opatów, krk, llw, Kłobucko, r 51.0 18.8

Opatów, srd, wln, Opatów 51.2 18.1

Opatówek, kls, kls, Opatówek, town, c 51.7 18.2

Opatówko (Opatówek), kls, gzn, Opatówko, c 52.3 17.4

Opęchowo = Głodowo Nowe\*, Opęchowo, maz, osł, Kleczkowo 53.1 21.8

Opieczycze, *Biskupice* – part, kls, gzn, Dębica Mała 52.6 17.4

Opiesino, *Opiesin*, lcz, lcz, Sobótka 52.2 19.1

Opieszyno, *Września-Opieszyn*, kls, pzd, Września 52.3 17.5

Opinogóra Gołyńska, *Opinogóra Dolna*, maz, cch, Pałuki 52.9 20.7

Opinogóra Wielka (Opinogóra Wielka Królewska), *Opinogóra Górna*, maz, cch, Pałuki, r 52.9 20.7

Opipy, *Opypy*, maz, bln, Brwinowo, r 52.1 20.7

Opoczka, *Opoczka Mała*, lub, urz, Świeciechów, c 50.9 21.8

Opoczno, *Łopoczno*, lub, urz, Rybitwy 51.1 21.8

Opoczno, snd, opc, Opoczno, town, r 51.4 20.3

Opojowice, srd, wln, Wydrzyn 51.3 18.6

Opoka, lub, lub, Końska Wola 51.4 22.1

Opoka, *Opoka Duża*, lub, urz, Świeciechów 50.9 21.9

Opoki (Opoki Wielkie), bkj, bkj, Grabie, c 52.8 18.6

Opoki Małe (Opoczki, Opoczki Małe, Opoki Duchowne), *Opoczki*, inw, inw, Grabie, c 52.8 18.6

Opole, lub, lub, Opole, town 51.2 22.0

Opole, *Opole Stare*, maz, liw, Niwiska 52.2 22.2

Oporowo (Oporowo Wielkie), pzn, ksc, Oporowo 51.8 16.8

Oporowo (Oporów), inw, bdg, Łabiszyn 52.9 17.9

Oporowo, pzn, pzn, Ostroróg 52.7 16.4

Oporów = Oporów, Oporowska Wieś\*, lcz, orl, Oporów, town 52.3 19.6

Oporówko (Oporówek), *Oporówek*, inw, inw, Liskowo 52.9 18.2

Oporówko (Oporówko Małe), pzn, ksc, Oporowo 51.8 16.8

Oporówko, *Oporówek*, lcz, orl, Oporów 52.2 19.6

Oporyszów, *Odporyszów*, snd, plz, Oporyszów 50.2 20.9

Opożdzewo, *Opożdzew*, maz, wrk, Wrociszewo 51.8 21.1

Oprzężów, srd, ptr, Piotrków, c 51.4 19.6

Ora (Ohre, Uranie), *Orunia*, pmr, gdn, Święty Wojciech, t 54.3 18.6

Oraczewo (Oraczewice), *Oraczew*, lcz, lcz, Witunia 52.1 19.2

Oraczów, *Oraczew Wielki*, srd, srd, Chartupia Wielka, c 51.6 18.6

Orane (Orany, Oranne), *Oronne*, snd, stz, Maciejowice 51.7 21.6

Orańsko (Orońsko), *Orońsko*, snd, rdm, Kowala Stępcina 51.3 21.0

Orądkki (Orątki), *Orądkki* – part, lcz, lcz, Piątek 52.1 19.5

Orchowiec, *Orchówek*, kls, gzn, Orchowo 52.5 17.9

Orchowo, kls, gzn, Orchowo, town 52.5 18.0

Ordzino, *Ordzin*, kls, kls, Kuczkowo 51.8 17.8

Ordzino, *Ordzin*, pzn, pzn, Słapanowo 52.7 16.4

Orechowicze, *Orzechowicze*, pdl, blk, Bielsk, r 52.8 23.1

Orkowo, kls, pzd, Radzewo, c 52.2 17.0

Orla (Wurle), *Orle*, pzn, wlc 53.4 16.0

Orla Góra, raw, bla, Biała, c 51.8 20.5

Orla, kls, pzd, Koźmin, demesne 51.8 17.4

Orla, *Orla, Pustkowa Góra* – part, lcz, lcz, Parzynczów, r 51.9 19.3

Orla, pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.7 23.3

Orle (Orla, Worle), pmr, pck, Góra 54.6 18.2

Orle = Wola, bkj, rdj, Orle, c 52.5 18.6

Orle Małe, *Orliczko*, pzn, pzn, Psarskie 52.6 16.3

Orle Wielkie, pzn, pzn, Biezdrowo 52.6 16.3

Orle, chl, chl, Gruta 53.5 19.0

Orle, kls, nkl, Zabartowo 53.2 17.5

Orle, *Orlinki*, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.3 18.9

Orle, pmr, tcz, Garczyn, demesne 54.1 18.2

Orlec Mały, *Orzelec Mały*, snd, wsl, Bieszowa 50.4 21.1

Orlec Wielki, *Orzelec Duży*, snd, wsl, Zborówek 50.4 21.1

Orlik, pmr, tch, Leśno 54.0 17.7

Orlikowo, maz, wiz, Jedwabne 53.3 22.3

Orłowo (Orłów), inw, inw, Orłowo, r 52.8 18.3

Orłowo, chl, chl, Płużnica 53.3 18.8

Orłowo, dbr, dbr, Wielkie 52.8 19.3

Orłowo, mlb, mlb, Ładekopp, r 54.2 19.1

Orłów = Orłów, Orłowska Wieś\*, lcz, orl, Orłów, town 52.1 19.6

Orłów, krk, prs, Prędocin, c 50.3 20.0

Orły, maz, cch, Suńsk 52.8 20.7

Orły, *Orły-Cesin*, raw, sch, Sochaczew 52.3 20.3

Orły, *Ożarów-część*, maz, wrs, Babice 52.2 20.8

Orły\*\*, pdl, drh, Mąkobody

Orpikowo, bkj, rdj, Ostrów 52.6 18.4

Orpiszewko, *Orpiszewek*, kls, kls, Lutyń 51.9 17.6

Orpiszewo, *Orpiszew*, kls, kls, Jankowo 51.7 17.6

Orszulewo (Orszulewo), *Urszulewo*, dbr, rpn, Szczutowo 53.0 19.6

Orszymowo, maz, wsg, Orszymowo, r 52.5 20.2

Orynice (Orynice Wielkie), *Orenice*, lcz, orl, Oszkowiec 52.1 19.5

Orynice Małe, *Oreniczki*, lcz, orl, Oszkowiec 52.1 19.5

Orzechowiec, *Orzechówek*, srd, rds, Radomskie 51.0 19.5

Orzechowo (Orzechówko), *Bączek*, pmr, tcz, Kokoszkowy, demesne 54.0 18.5

Orzechowo, chl, chl, Orzechowo 53.2 18.8

Orzechowo, kls, pzd, Dębno 52.1 17.4

Orzechowo, maz, nmo or ser, Pomnichowo, c 52.5 20.9

Orzechowo, *Orzechów Stary*, maz, liw, Czerwonka 52.3 21.9

Orzechów, lub, urz, Pniów 50.7 21.9

Orzechów, srd, rds, Radomskie, r 51.0 19.5

Orzechówka (Orechówka), pdl, blk, Bargłowo, r 53.7 22.8

Orzechówko, chl, chl, Orzechowo, demesne 53.2 18.9

Orzek (Orzk), *Orzk*, srd, ptr, Dłotów, c 51.5 19.4

Orzeł\*, maz, nur, Złotoria, c 52.7 22.0

Orzełek (Orzeł), maz, kam, Sadowne, c 52.6 22.0

Orzełek, pmr, tch, Kamień Krajeński, c 53.6 17.5

Orzełki, *Kalinów* – part, lcz, brz, Bratoszewice 51.9 19.7

Orzeszki\*, plc, pln, Drozdowo 52.7 20.2

Orzeszkowo, kls, pzd, Giecz 52.3 17.3

Orzeszkowo, *Orzeszków*, lcz, lcz, Domaniowo 52.0 19.1

Orzeszkowo, pzn, pzn, Kwilcz 52.6 16.1

Orzeszków (Orzeszkowo), srd, szd, Uniejów, c 52.0 18.8

Orzeszówka, pdl, drh, Międzyzlesie 52.5 22.1

Orzyc, maz, mak, Szelków 52.8 21.2

Orzyszów (Orzyszewo), *Oryszew*, raw, sch, Wiskitki Kościelne 52.1 20.4

Osetno, chl, mch, Ostrowite 53.4 19.3

Oseka, maz, liw, Jadowo or Pniewnik 52.4 21.7

Osice (Wossitz), pmr, gdn, Osice, t 54.2 18.8

Osie (Osiej), pmr, swc, Osie, r 53.6 18.3

Osiecko, *Osieck*, maz, gar, Osiecko, town, r 52.0 21.4

Osiecko, pzn, pzn, Falkwald, c 52.5 15.2

Osiecz Mały, bkj, prd, Izbica 52.4 18.9

Osiecz Wielki, bkj, prd, Boniewo 52.4 18.9

Osieczka, *Osieczka Pierwsza*, kls, knn, Sławsko Wielkie 52.2 18.1

Osieczany, krk, sch, Droginia 49.8 20.0

Osieczek (Osiek Nałęczów), *Osiek nad Wisłą*, dbr, lpn, Łązino 52.9 18.8

Osieczek, maz, tar, Jeziora Mała 51.9 20.7

Osieczk (Osieczek), *Osieczek*, chl, mch, Osieczk 53.3 19.1

Osieczko (Osiecka Wieś, Osieczek, Przedmieście Osieckie), snd, snd, Osiek, r 50.5 21.4

Osieczna, pzn, ksc, Osieczna, town 51.9 16.6

Osiek (Osieczek), pzn, ksc, Dupino 51.6 17.0

Osiek = Osiek, Bukowina\* (Bukowica), (Osiek w Podgórzu), *Osiek Jasielski*, krk, bck, Osiek, town, r 49.6 21.5

Osiek = Osiek, Troska\* (Nowa Troska) demesne, *Osiek*, pzn, ksc, Gryżyna 52.0 16.7

Osiek Mały (Osiek), kls, knn, Dęby 52.3 18.6

Osiek Mały, *Osiek Dolny*, maz, nmo, Gołymino Kościelne 52.8 20.9

Osiek Piaseczny, plc, rac, Koziebrody Wielkie 52.8 19.9

Osiek Stary, *Osiek Górny*, maz, nmo, Gołymino Kościelne 52.8 20.9

Osiek Wielki (Osiek), kls, knn, Osiek Wielki, r 52.2 18.6

Osiek Wielki, plc, rac, Zawidz Kościelny 52.8 19.9

Osiek-Włostybory (Osiek-Włosciory, Osiek-Włosciory, Osiek-Szymanowięta), plc, rac, Koziebrody Wielkie 52.8 20.0

Osiek, dbr, lpn, Ligowo 52.8 19.5

Osiek, dbr, rpn, Osiek 53.2 19.4

Osiek, kls, kls, Gostyczyna 51.7 18.1

Osiek, kls, nkl, Wierzchucino, osada smolna 53.4 17.7

Osiek, kls, pzd, Mieszków 52.0 17.4

Osiek, krk, prs, Przegonia, r 50.2 19.6

Osiek, krk, sls, Osiek 50.0 19.3

Osiek, maz, bln, Błonie, r 52.2 20.6

Osiek, maz, wsg, Kobylniki 52.5 20.3

Osiek, maz, wsg, Pilchowo 52.5 20.2

Osiek, maz, zkr, Juniec 52.6 20.5

Osiek, *Osieczek*, maz, scn, Naruszowo 52.5 20.3

Osiek, *Osiek nad Notecią*, kls, nkl, Wyrzysko 53.1 17.2

Osiek, *Osiek Wielki*, inw, inw, Płomykowo, demesne, r 53.0 18.3

Osiek, pmr, now, Bzowo, r 53.6 18.7

Osiek, pmr, now, Skórcz, castle, r 53.7 18.5

Osiek, raw, gbn, Kocierzewo, c 52.2 20.0

Osiek, snd, snd, Osiek, town, r 50.5 21.4

Osiek, srd, wln, Cieszęcin, r 51.4 18.2

Osielec (Osiedlec, Oscielec), krk, scz, Maków, r 49.7 19.8

Osielsko, inw, bdg, Osielsko, c 53.2 18.1

Osiemborowo, *Osiembrów*, maz, wrk, Magnuszewo 51.8 21.3

Osierdów, lub, lub, Łęczna 51.3 22.9

Osięciny, bkj, bkj, Osięciny 52.6 18.7

Osikowy, *Osikowo (Bronisław – part)*, inw, inw, Rzodkwino, mill 52.6 18.1

Osinki, pdl, blk, Jabłonia Kościelna 53.4 22.7

Osiny (Olszyny), *Osiny Majorat*, snd, rdm, Miernic, c 51.2 21.1

Osiny Mnisze, *Osiny*, snd, rdm, Skrzyń Stara, c 51.4 20.7

Osiny Nowe (Osiny-Nowa Wieś, Osiny-Wypychy), *Osiny Dolne*, pdl, drh, Mąkobody 52.3 22.2

Osiny Nowe, *Osiny*, lub, luk, Wilczyńska 51.9 22.1

Osiny Stare (Osiny-Stara Wieś, Osiny Wielkie), *Osiny Górne*, pdl, drh, Mąkobody 52.3 22.2

Osiny, kls, knn, Trąbczyno 52.1 17.9

Osiny, lub, lub, Końska Wola 51.5 22.1

Osiny, maz, gar, Mińsko 52.2 21.6

Osiny, maz, wrk, Boglewice 51.8 21.0

Osiny, raw, gbn, Kiernoza 52.2 19.9

Osiny, raw, gos, Gostynin 52.4 19.4

Osiny, raw, raw, Dmosin 51.9 19.7

Osiny, snd, wsl, Pierzchnica, r 50.7 20.8

Osiny, srd, rds, Puszcza 51.3 19.2

Osiny, srd, szd, Grabno 51.5 19.0

Osipy (Osipy-Bryki), *Stare Osipy*, pdl, drh, Wysokie 52.9 22.5

Osiłowo (Osiłowo), *Ościłowo*, kls, knn, Ostrowąż 52.4 18.2

Osjaków, srd, wln, Osjaków, town 51.3 18.8

Oślomowice (Oślomki, Oślumki, Oślumowice), *Oślonki*, bkj, bkj, Kościół, c 52.6 18.8

Oślonino (Oślonin, Oślonina), pmr, pck, Puck, c 54.7 18.5

Oślonino, *Oślonin*, pzn, ksc, Stary Klasztor, c 52.0 16.2

Ośłowo, pmr, swc, Jeżowo 53.5 18.4

Ośłów, *Ośłowo*, pdl, mln, Mielnik, r 52.3 23.0

Osmola, pdl, drh, Dziadkowicze 52.6 23.0

Osmolice, lub, lub, Krężnica Jaroska 51.1 22.5

Osmolice, snd, stz, Żabia Wola 51.6 22.1

Osmolin, raw, gbn, Osmolin, town, r 52.3 19.8

Osmolin, *Zduńska Wola-Osmolin*, srd, szd, Borzyszwice 51.6 19.0

Osmolino, *Osmolinek*, maz, wsg, Bodzanowo, c 52.5 20.0

Osmolska Wieś, *Osmólsk*, raw, gbn, Osmolin, r 52.3 19.8

Osno Nagórne, *Ośno Górne*, bkj, prd, Lubotyń 52.4 18.6

Osno Podleśne, *Ośno Podleśne*, bkj, prd, Lubotyń 52.4 18.6

Osnowo, chl, chl, Chełmno, c 53.3 18.4

Osnówka, pdl, drh, Granne 52.5 22.5

Osowa Sień, pzn, wch, Osowa Sień 51.8 16.3

Osowa Wola, *Wola Kurozwęcka (Wola Osowa)*, snd, wsl, Kurozwęki 50.6 21.1

Osowa Wola\*\* (Osowa Wólka, Turki), maz, tar, Lutówka

Osowice, *Osowiec*, inw, bdg, Dąbrówka, demesne 53.2 17.9

Osowie, kls, knn, Dębna, r 52.3 18.7

Osowiec Mały, *Osowiec Szlachecki*, maz, prz, Przasnysz 53.1 20.9

Osowiec Wielki, *Osowiec Kmiecy*, maz, prz, Przasnysz 53.1 20.9

Osowiec, maz, was, Białaszewo 53.5 22.6

Osowiec, *Osówiec*, kls, gzn, Linowiec 52.5 18.0

Osowiec, raw, msz, Grodzisko 52.0 20.6

Osowo (Kosowo), pzn, ksc, Lubiń, c 51.9 16.9

Osowo (Osowa), pmr, tch, Wiele 53.9 17.9

Osowo, kls, pzd, Biechowo 52.3 17.5

Osowo, *Osowo Lesne*, pmr, tcz, Lubiechowo, r 53.9 18.3

Osowo\*, maz, czr, Jazgarzewo 52.0 21.1

Osów, *Osowa*, srd, wln, Cieszęcin 51.3 18.2

Osówka (Ossówka), dbr, lpn, Czernikowo 52.9 19.0

Osówka (Ossówka), dbr, lpn, Gośck 52.9 19.6

Osówka, kls, nkl, Krajenka 53.4 16.8

Osówka, *Osówka Stara*, snd, rdm, Siemno 51.1 21.6

Osówka, plc, szr, Lubowidz or Zielona 53.1 19.9

Osówko, *Osówek*, pmr, swc, Śliwice, r 53.8 18.1

Osówno Stare, maz, liw, Czerwonka 52.3 21.8

Osówno, lub, luk, Kocko 51.7 22.5

Ossa (Osie, Osse), snd, opc, Białaczów 51.3 20.2

Ossa, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.4

Ossala (Osala), snd, snd, Niekraszów 50.5 21.4

Osse (Osie, Ossie), *Ossa*, snd, opc, Brudzowice 51.5 20.5

Osse (Osie, Ossowo), *Gąsówka-Osse*, pdl, blk, Płonka Kościelna 53.0 22.8

Osse, lcz, brz, Kozieł 51.9 19.6

Ossendowice, *Ośędowice*, lcz, lcz, Słaboszewo 52.2 19.2

Ossolin, snd, snd, Goźlice 50.7 21.5

Ossowa, *Osowa*, snd, chc, Mokrsko 50.7 20.4

Ossowa+, srd, srd, Kamionacz 51.7 18.7

Ossowice, raw, bla, Cielądz 51.7 20.3

Ossownica (Osobnica), *Osobnica*, krk, bck, Ossownica, r 49.7 21.4

Ossowo (Ossowiec), *Osowiec*, maz, zmb, Zambrowo 52.9 22.3

Ossowo, bkj, bkj, Lubraniec 52.5 18.9

Ossowo, *Osowo Stare*, pzn, pzn, Szamotuły Stare 52.6 16.6

Ossowo, *Ossów*, maz, wrs, Okuniew or Kobyłka 52.3 21.2

Ossów, *Osów*, snd, rdm, Błotnica, c 51.5 21.0

Ossówka (Osówka), inw, inw, Ostrowąs, demesne 52.8 18.8

Ossówka, snd, wsl, Szydłów, r 50.6 21.0

Ostałów Mniejszych, *Ostałówek*, snd, rdm, Wysoka 51.3 20.8

- Ostałów Większy, *Ostałów*, snd, rdm, Wysoka 51.3 20.8
- Ostałówka, *Zagórze* – part, *Dąbrówka* – part, krk, sls, Mucharz 49.8 19.6
- Ostasz, *Ostrza*, pmr, czl, Preuschwald, demesne 53.5 17.0
- Ostasze-Połomia\*, *Ostaszki*, maz, liw, Pniewnik 52.4 21.8
- Ostasze, pdl, blk, Suraż 52.9 23.1
- Ostaszewo (Gross Osteschau), chl, chl, Grzywna Biskupia, t 53.1 18.6
- Ostaszewo (Ostaszowo), chl, mch, Grodziczno 53.4 19.8
- Ostaszewo Małe (Klein Osteschau, Ostaszewko), *Ostaszewo* – part, chl, chl, Grzywna Biskupia, c 53.1 18.6
- Ostaszewo Wielkie, maz, cch, Szyszki 52.8 20.8
- Ostaszewo-Czernie (Ostaszewo-Cierzenie, Ostaszewo-Czerzenie, Wola-Ostaszewo, Wola Ostaszewska), *Wola Ostaszewska*, maz, cch, Szyszki 52.8 20.8
- Ostaszewo-Panki, *Ostaszewo-Pańki*, maz, cch, Szyszki 52.7 20.8
- Ostaszewo-Włoski (Ostaszewo-Włosty, Ostasze-Włoski), *Ostaszewo-Włuski*, maz, cch, Szyszki 52.7 20.8
- Ostaszów, lub, lub, Markuszów 51.4 22.3
- Ostoja, *Emilianów*, lcz, orl, Bąkowo 52.2 19.7
- Ostoja, *Ostoje*, pzn, ksc, Skaradowo 51.6 17.1
- Ostoja\*, *Lęczycza* – part, lcz, lcz, Lęczycza 52.1 19.2
- Ostoje, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.6
- Ostra Góra, *Bilsko* – part, krk, sdc, Jakubkowice 49.8 20.7
- Ostrałęka (Ostrołęka), *Ostrałęka*, raw, raw, Głowno 52.0 19.8
- Ostrałęka, *Ostrołęka*, srd, rds, Sulimierzycze 51.2 19.1
- Ostrężna (Ostrężna, Ostrożna), *Ostrężna*, snd, opc, Sławno 51.4 20.1
- Ostre Koło, *Ostrykół*, maz, kam, Długosiodło 52.8 21.5
- Ostrobotki, *Ostrobudki*, pzn, ksc, Czeszaram 51.6 17.0
- Ostrogóra, *Osowo*, kls, nkl, Zakrzewo 53.4 17.2
- Ostrołęka (Ostra Łąka), snd, rdm, Wrzos 51.4 20.8
- Ostrołęka = Ostrołęka (Ostra Łąka), Stara Ostrołęka (Wieska Ostrołęcka, Wólka Ostrołęcka), maz, wrk, Ostrołęka 51.8 21.3
- Ostrołęka, *Ostrołęka*, maz, osl, Ostrołęka, town, r 53.1 21.6
- Ostrołęka, snd, snd, Skotniki 50.6 21.7
- Ostromęczyn (Ostromęczyno), pdl, mln, Górki 52.3 22.8
- Ostromiecz (Ostromiec), *Ostromiecko*, chl, chl, Ostromiecz 53.1 18.2
- Ostroróg, pzn, pzn, Ostroróg, town 52.6 16.4
- Ostroszce, *Ostrówce*, kls, kcn, Ostroszce, pustka parafialna 52.8 17.8
- Ostrowąs (Ostrowąsz, Ostrowąż), inw, inw, Ostrowąs, c 52.8 18.7
- Ostrowąż, kls, gzn, Ostrowąż 52.4 18.2
- Ostrowce = Ostrowce Małe (Kopciowizna, Ostrowce-Kopec), Ostrowce Wielkie, raw, gbn, Brzozów 52.3 20.0
- Ostrowce, snd, wsl, Ostrowce 50.3 20.9
- Ostrowce, *Wólka Michowska*, lub, lub, Mnichów 51.6 22.3
- Ostrowia, *Ostrów Mazowiecka*, maz, osw, Ostrowia, town, r 52.8 21.9
- Ostrowicka Karczma, *Dolne Ostrowite*, pmr, czl, Borzyszkowo, inn, r 54.0 17.4
- Ostrowiec, maz, czr, Karczewie 52.0 21.3
- Ostrowiec, pdl, drh, Skrzyszewo 52.4 22.5
- Ostrowiec, pdl, mln, Mielnik, cn 52.3 23.1
- Ostrowieczno Małe, *Ostrowieczko*, pzn, ksc, Dolsko, c 52.0 17.0
- Ostrowieczno Wielkie, *Ostrowieczno*, pzn, ksc, Dolsko 52.0 17.1
- Ostrowite (Osterwick), pmr, tch, Ostrowite, r 53.6 17.7
- Ostrowite (Osterwick), *Suchy Dąb* – part, pmr, gdn, Suchy Dąb, t 54.2 18.8
- Ostrowite (Osterwite, Ostrowity), chl, chl, Ostrowite, rn 53.1 19.0
- Ostrowite (Osterwite, Ostrowity), pmr, now, Pieniążkowo, demesne 53.7 18.7
- Ostrowite (Ostrowice), dbr, lpn, Ostrowite 52.8 19.2
- Ostrowite Arcybiskupie, *Ostrowite Prymasowskie*, kls, gzn, Ostrowite Arcybiskupie, c 52.5 17.8
- Ostrowite Kapitulne, *Ostrowite*, kls, gzn, Ostrowite Kapitulne, c 52.4 18.0
- Ostrowite Małe, *Ostrowite*, kls, gzn, Trzemeszno, c 52.5 17.8
- Ostrowite Małe, *Ostrowitko*, dbr, lpn, Ostrowite, demesne 52.8 19.1
- Ostrowite, chl, mch, Ostrowite 53.4 19.3
- Ostrowite, dbr, rpn, Trąbino 53.1 19.3
- Ostrowite, pmr, czl, Borzyszkowo 54.0 17.4
- Ostrowite, pmr, swc, Siewotowo, demesne 53.5 18.2
- Ostrownica (Ostrożnica?), snd, rdm, Wielgie 51.2 21.4
- Ostrowo, chl, chl, Płużnica 53.3 18.8
- Ostrowo, pmr, pck, Strzelno, r 54.8 18.2
- Ostrowski (Ostrowski Młyn, Ostrów), *Wiatrowiec-Ostrowo-Młyn*, kls, kcn, Łęgowo, mill, c 52.8 17.1
- Ostrowsko (Ostrowko), krk, sdc, Ostrowsko, r 49.5 20.1
- Ostrowsko = Ostrowsko, Kawieczyno\* (Kawieczynko), srd, szd, Uniejów, c 52.0 18.8
- Ostrowy (Ostrowy-Gędora, Ostrów, Płaskie), maz, kam, Wyszkowo 52.6 21.3
- Ostrowy (Ostrów), *Ostrowy nad Okszą*, krk, llw, Miedzwno, r 51.0 19.1
- Ostrowy Wielkie (Ostrowy Płockie), *Ostrowy*, lcz, lcz, Krośniewice, r 52.3 19.2
- Ostrowy-Dyle (Ostrowie), *Ostrowe Dyle*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Mała 53.1 20.8
- Ostrowy-Kokacze (Ostrowy-Kakacze), *Ostrowe Kokacze*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Mała 53.1 20.8
- Ostrowy-Kopcie (Ostrowe-Kopcie), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Mała 53.1 20.8
- Ostrowy-Przedbory, *Ostrowe Przedbory*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Mała 53.1 20.8
- Ostrowy, plc, sie, Jeżewo, c 52.8 19.9
- Ostrowy, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.7
- Ostrowy, *Żebry-Ostrowy*, maz, roz, Ostrołęka 53.1 21.4
- Ostrożany, pdl, drh, Ostrożany 52.5 22.7
- Ostrożenie (Ostrożynie), *Ostrożeń*, snd, stz, Korytnica 51.8 21.7
- Ostrożne (Ostrożna), maz, nur, Somowo, c 52.9 22.2
- Ostrożnica (Ostrężnica, Ostrzeżnica), *Ostrężnica*, krk, prs, Nowa Góra and Płoki 50.2 19.6
- Ostrów (Łęg), *Pólko*, maz, wrk, Konary, c 51.9 21.3
- Ostrów (Ostrowo), *Ostrowo (Janikowo)* – part, inw, inw, Ostrów 52.8 18.1
- Ostrów (Ostrowo), *Ostrowo Kościelne*, kls, pzd, Ostrów, c 52.3 17.8
- Ostrów (Ostrowo), *Ostrowo Szlacheckie*, kls, gzn, Marzenino 52.4 17.6
- Ostrów (Ostrowo), *Ostrowo*, bkj, ksw, Ostrów, c 52.6 18.1
- Ostrów (Ostrowo), *Ostrowo*, bkj, rdj, Ostrów 52.6 18.4
- Ostrów (Ostrowo), *Ostrowo*, inw, inw, Ostrów 52.9 18.4
- Ostrów (Ostrowo), *Ostrowo*, pzn, ksc, Kunowo, c 51.9 17.0
- Ostrów (Ostrowy), *Janiszew* – part, kls, knn, Janiszewo 52.1 18.6
- Ostrów (Ostrowy), lcz, lcz, Solca Wielka, r 52.0 19.3
- Ostrów (Ostrów Kaliski), *Ostrów Kaliski*, kls, kls, Giżyce, t 51.5 18.2
- Ostrów (Ostrówek), snd, chc, Krasocin 50.9 20.1
- Ostrów = Ostrów, Dziewiątle\*, Zawisłe\*, *Ostrówek*, snd, snd, Ostrów in Połaniec or Gołaszewice parish, Dziewiątle and Zawisłe in Gałuszowice parish 50.4 21.4
- Ostrów = Ostrów, Dziewiątle\*, Zawisłe\*, *Ostrówek*, snd, snd, Ostrów in Połaniec or Gołaszewice parish, Dziewiątle and Zawisłe in Gałuszowice parish 50.4 21.4

Ostrów Kowalowy, pdl, blk, Narew, ostrów, r 52.3 22.8

Ostrów Tumski, *Poznań-Ostrów Tumski*, pzn, pzn, Poznań-św. Mikołaja, suburb, c 52.4 16.9

Ostrów Wielki, *Ostrów*, lub, lub, Rudno 51.6 22.3

Ostrów Zbąski+, plc, szr, Zgliczyno 52.9 20.0

Ostrów, kls, knn, Kościelec, r 52.2 18.5

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- Piszczaty-Kończany, pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.6
- Piszczaty-Piotrowięta (Piszczaty-Piotrowice, Piszczaty-Piotrowicze), pdl, blk, Kobylino Poświętne 53.1 22.6
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- Plecewice, raw, sch, Brochowo Wielkie, r 52.3 20.3
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- Plewki (Wola-Plewki), maz, kam, Długosiodło, c 52.8 21.6
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Pławno, srd, rds, Gidle, town 51.0 19.5

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Płomykówko (Płomikówko, Płomykowo Małe, Płonkówko), *Płonkówko*, inw, inw, Płomykowo 52.9 18.3

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Płona Wielka, *Płonna Pańska*, plc, pln, Żochowo Kościelne 52.6 20.1

Płona\*\*, plc, szr or rac, Zgliczyno

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Płonczyno, *Płonczyn*, dbr, dbr, Mokowo 52.7 19.3

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Płoniszowice, *Płouszowice*, lub, lub, Lublin 51.3 22.4

Płonka Kościelna (Płonka, Trankówka?), pdl, blk, Płonka Kościelna 53.0 22.8

Płonka-Kozły (Koziełki, Kozły, Płonka-Koziełki), pdl, blk, Płonka Kościelna 53.0 22.8

Płonka-Matyski (Płonka-Miastkowizna), pdl, blk, Płonka Kościelna 53.0 22.8

Płonka-Strumińskie, *Płonka-Strumianki*, pdl, blk, Płonka Kościelna 53.0 22.8

Płonka, okolica, pdl, blk

Płonki, lub, lub, Kurów 51.4 22.2

Płonne Małe (Płonno Małe), *Płonko*, dbr, rpn, Płonne 53.1 19.1

Płonne, dbr, rpn, Płonne 53.1 19.2

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Płoski, *Płoski*, pdl, blk, Bielsk, r 52.9 23.2

Płoskie Stare (Stara Wieś Płoskie), *Stara Wieś*, maz, prz, Janowo 53.3 20.7

Płoskie Świąchy (Dzierżki-Świąchy, Płoskie-Dzierżki), *Świąchy Płoskie*, maz, prz, Janowo 53.3 20.7

Płoskie-Buksy, *Bugzy Płoskie*, maz, prz, Duczymino Kościelne 53.3 20.8

Płoskie-Piotrowięta (Płoskie Nowe, Płoskie-Piotrowięta, Płoskie-Serwatki?), *Opilki Polskie*, maz, prz, Janowo 53.2 20.7

Płoskie-Zajączki+, maz, prz, Duczymino Kościelne 53.3 20.8

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Płoszów, srd, rds, Radomskie 51.1 19.5

Płotowo (Płutowo), *Płutowo*, chl, chl, Kijewo Królewskie 53.3 18.4

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Płowce Małe (Blewo, Płowki), *Płowki*, bkj, rdj, Chełmce, r 52.6 18.5

Płowce, *Płowce*, kls, pzd, Środa, r 52.3 17.2

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Płowężek (Płowężę Małe), chl, mch, Płowężę 53.4 19.2

Płozy (Szyszki), *Szyszki*, lub, luk, Tuchowicz 51.9 22.1

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Pływaczewo, chl, chl, Kowalewo, r 53.2 18.9

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Pniewno, *Plewno*, pmr, swc, Przysiersk, demesne 53.4 18.3

Pniewo (Osiek-Pniewy), plc, rac, Koziebrody Wielkie 52.8 20.0

Pniewo Klimuntowe = Pniewo Klimuntowe\*, Pniewo Żakowe\* (Pniewo-Jadamkowy?, Pniewo-Biernatowy?), *Pniewko*, lcz, lcz, Krośniewice 52.3 19.1

Pniewo Wielkie, plc, ndz, Lekowo 52.9 20.5

Pniewo Wielkie, *Pniewo*, lcz, lcz, Krośniewice 52.3 19.1

Pniewo-Cierzuchy, *Pniewo-Czeruchy*, plc, ndz, Lekowo 52.9 20.5

Pniewo-Ostałowo, *Ostałów*, lcz, lcz, Krośniewice 52.3 19.1

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Pniewo, maz, nmo or ser, Nosilsko 52.6 20.8

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Pniowy, *Pniewy*, maz, tar, Jeziora 51.9 20.7

Pniów, lub, urz, Pniów 50.7 21.9

Pniwcyzce (Plucice), *Plucice*, srd, ptr, Gorzkowice 51.2 19.6

Pobełkowo, *Pobyłkowo Duże*, maz, ser, Dzierżeninno, c 52.6 21.0

Pobiedna (Pobiednia), raw, bla, Nowe Miasto 51.6 20.6

Pobiednik Mały (Pobiedniczek), krk, prs, Pobiednik Mały, c 50.1 20.2

Pobiednik Wielki, krk, prs, Pobiednik Mały, c 50.1 20.2

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Poborowice, *Dobranowice* – part, krk, prs, Poborowice 50.1 20.3

Poborz, raw, gos, Trębki 52.3 19.5

Pobórka, *Pobórka Wielka*, kls, nkl, Krostkowo 53.1 17.1

Pobręczyn, *Góra Świętego Jana* – part, krk, szc, Szczyrzycka Góra, c 49.8 20.2

Pobroszyn (Proboszyn), snd, snd, Opatów 50.8 21.5

Pobroszyn = Pobroszyn Kozicki, Pobroszyn Siciński\*, *Pogroszyn*, snd, rdm, Wysoka 51.3 20.8

Pobroszyn Siciński (Pobroszyn Kozicki), *Pogroszyn*, snd, rdm, Wysoka 51.3 20.8

Pobrzeże (Podbrzeże), *Wesolów-Podbrzeże*, krk, sdc, Melsztyn 49.9 20.8

Pobrzeże+ (Podbrzeże), krk, sdc, Olszyny and Zakliczyn 49.9 20.8

Poczałkowo (Poczółkowo, Poczulkowo), bkj, bkj, Straszewo 52.8 18.7

Poczermino (Pocierzmino, Poczrynino), *Poczernin*, maz, sen, Krysk 52.6 20.4

Poczermino (Pocierzyno), Poczeryn, bkj, bkj, Kościół 52.7 18.7

Poczermino (Poczerszyno), pmr, pck, Strzelno 54.8 18.4

Poczesna, krk, llw, Poczesna, ironworks, r 50.7 19.2

Poćwiardówka (Popiardówka), lcz, brz, Niesułeków, c 51.9 19.7

Podanino, *Podanin*, pzn, pzn, Chodzież, r 53.0 16.9

Podanino\*\*, pzn, pzn, Tulce

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Podawce (Paprotna, Paprotna-Podawce), pdl, drh, Paprotnia 52.3 22.5

Podbiele (Rożnowczyzna), pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.7 23.2

Podbiele Małe (Podbiele-Nowa Wieś, Podbiele Nowe), *Podbielko*, maz, osw, Lubotyń 52.9 22.0

Podbiele Wielkie (Podbiele Stare), *Podbiele*, maz, osw, Lubotyń 52.9 22.0

Podbiele, *Podbiel*, kls, knn, Rzgowo 52.1 17.9

Podbiele\*, lub, lub, Ostrów 51.5 22.8

Podchełmie, *Kraków-Zakamycze*, krk, prs, Zwierzyniec, demesne 50.1 19.8

Podchełmie\*, krk, sdc, Tęgoborza 49.7 20.6

Podczachy = Podczachy Wielkie\*, Podczachy Małe\*, lcz, lcz, Nowe 52.2 19.3

Podczachy Wielkie, *Podczachy*, raw, gbn, Pacyna 52.3 19.8

Podczachy-Remki = Podczachy-Remki (Podczachy-Ramki), Podczachy-Żuczki\*, *Remki*, raw, gbn, Pacyna 52.3 19.8

Poddąbice, *Poddębice*, lcz, lcz, Poddąbice, town 51.9 19.0

Poddębice (Poddąbice, Poddębice Wielkie), bkj, bkj, Kroszyno 52.6 19.0

Podedworze, *Bochnia-Podedworze*, krk, szc, Bochnia, t 50.0 20.5

Podegrodzie (Podgradzie, Podogrodzie), krk, sdc, Podegrodzie, c 49.6 20.6

Podgaj\*\*, inw, inw, Płomykowo, demesne

Podgaje, snd, wsl, Skarbmierz 50.3 20.4

Podgór (Podgóra), kls, knn, Krąpsko 52.2 18.4

Podgórze = Podgórze (Podgórz, Dybów), Podgórski, mill, *Podgórz (Toruń – part)*, inw, inw, Podgórze, town, r 53.0 18.6

Podgórze = Podgórze Małe\*, Podgórze Wielkie\*, *Podgórze-Gazdy*, maz, nur, Zuzola 52.7 22.1

Podgórze, maz, lom, Łomża, r 53.1 22.1

Podgórze, maz, wsg, Zakrzewo, c 52.4 20.0

Podgórze, *Podgórz*, lub, lub, Wilków 51.3 21.9

Podgórze, *Podole*, lub, lub, Bełżyce 51.2 22.3

Podgórze, srd, srd, Widawa 51.5 18.9

Podgórze\*\*, krk, sdc, Tęgoborza

Podgórzno (Grzeja, Wola Rudzieńska), maz, gar, Kołybiel 52.1 21.5

Podgórzycze, lcz, lcz, Góra, c 52.1 19.3

Podgórzycze, maz, wrk, Konary, c 51.9 21.2

Podgórzyno, *Podgórzyn*, kls, kcn, Góra, c 52.8 17.7

Podgradzie (Podegrodzie, Podogrodzie), *Jaroszkówka* – part, krk, szc, Niegowiec 49.9 20.3

Podgradzie, snd, plz, Dębica 50.0 21.3

Podgradzie, snd, snd, Ścimiłow 50.9 21.5

Podgradzie, snd, wsl, Szumsko 50.7 21.0

Podjazy, pmr, mrw, Parchowo 54.3 17.8

Podkana (Potkana), *Potkana*, snd, rdm, Wrzos 51.5 20.8

Podkoce, kls, kls, Skalmierzyce 51.7 18.0

Podkonice Większe, *Podkonice Duże*, raw, raw, Krzemienica 51.7 20.2

Podkrojewo Kościelne, *Wojnówka* – part, plc, szr, Podkrojewo Kościelne 53.1 20.3

Podkrojewo Wielkie, *Podkrajewo*, plc, szr, Podkrojewo Kościelne 53.1 20.3

Podkrojewo Wojnowe (Podkrojewo-Wojnowo), *Wojnówka* – part, plc, szr, Podkrojewo Kościelne 53.1 20.3

Podkrojewo-Korbaniec (Korboniec), *Korbaniec*, plc, szr, Podkrojewo Kościelne 53.1 20.3

Podkrojewo-Łazy, *Łazy*, plc, szr, Podkrojewo Kościelne 53.1 20.3

Podlecko = Podlecko x2, *Podleck*, maz, wsg, Łętowo 52.5 20.1

Podlesice (Pokrzytowiec?), krk, prs, Śreńniawa 50.4 19.9

Podlesice, krk, llw, Kroczyce, rn 50.6 19.5

Podlesie (Podlesice), krk, llw, Podlesie 50.8 19.6

Podlesie, kls, knn, Osiek Wielki, r 52.2 18.5

Podlesie, kls, pzd, Żerków 52.1 17.6

Podlesie, lub, urz, Kraśnik, t 50.9 22.2

Podlesie, *Podlesie Kościelne*, kls, gzn, Podlesie 52.7 17.2

Podlesie, pzn, pzn, Stobnica 52.7 16.6

Podlesie, raw, bla, Biała 51.9 20.5

Podlesie, snd, opc, Libiszów 51.5 20.3

Podlesie, snd, wsl, Beszowa 50.5 21.1

Podlesie\*, snd, rdm, Kowala Stępcina 51.4 21.0

Podleszany (Podlesiany), snd, plz, Książnice 50.3 21.4

Podleszany (Podlesiany), snd, snd, Słup Stara 50.8 21.1

Podleśna Wola, krk, kss, Miechów, c 50.4 20.0

Podlodów, snd, stz, Drzążgów 51.6 22.2

Podlodów+, *Obęcna-część*, snd, snd, Wsześwięte 50.9 21.4

Podlubomierz\*, krk, szc, Gruszów 49.9 20.2

Podłatki-Leśniewo, *Podłatki Wielkie*, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 53.0 22.3

Podłazie, snd, chc, Bębello Mniejsze 50.7 20.0

Podłęże (Podłęże-Szyjka?, Podłęże-Szyjce?), lcz, lcz, Leźnica Mała 52.0 19.0

Podłęże, krk, szc, Niepołomice, c 50.0 20.2

- Podłęże, *Podleż*, snd, stz, Samogoszcza 51.7 21.5
- Podłęże, snd, snd, Skotniki 50.6 21.7
- Podłęże, snd, wsl, Pińczów, c 50.6 20.6
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- Raszewo = Raszewo x2, maz, wsg, Kobylniki 52.5 20.3
- Raszewo, kls, gzn, Ostrowite Arcybiskupie, c 52.5 17.8
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- Rataje, *Poznań-Rataje*, pzn, pzn, Święty Jan, r 52.4 16.9
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- Rataje, raw, gos, Gostynin, r 52.4 19.4
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- Rawica Mała, *Rewica Królewska*, raw, raw, Budziszewice, r 51.7 19.9
- Rawica Wielka (Rawica Rogowska), *Rewica Szlachecka*, raw, raw, Jeżów 51.7 19.9
- Rawka, krk, llw, Słupia 50.6 20.0
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- Rąbież, maz, cch, Pałuki, demesne, r 51.8 19.3
- Rąbież, *Rąbierz*, maz, prz, Grudowsko 53.1 20.6
- Rąbino (Rąbin), *Rąbin (Inowrocław – part)*, inw, inw, Staromieście, t 52.8 18.2
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- Rąblów, lub, lub, Wąwolnica 51.3 22.1
- Rączka, *Przerwa*, raw, gos, Gostynin, mill, r 52.4 19.4
- Rączki, snd, chc, Policzko 51.0 19.9
- Rączno, *Ręczno*, srd, ptr, Rączno, c 51.2 19.9
- Rąkice, maz, wsg, Orszymowo 52.5 20.2
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- Rąty (Raty, Roty), pmr, tcz, Goręczyno 54.3 18.2
- Rchów, *Orchów*, srd, szd, Łasko 51.6 19.1
- Rchutowo (Rchułtowo), *Archutowo*, maz, wsg, Łętowo 52.5 20.1
- Rcylińo, *Arcelin*, plc, pln, Baboszewo 52.7 20.3
- Rdułtowo (Rdułtowo), *Rdułów*, raw, gos, Jemielińo 52.3 19.2
- Rdułtowo = Chawłozy\*, Rdułtowo, *Archułówko*, maz, wsg, Bodzanowo 52.5 20.1
- Rdułtów, *Rdułów*, lcz, lcz, Rdułtów, c 52.2 19.0
- Rdzawa (Rdzawka), *Rdzawka*, krk, scz, Rabka 49.6 20.0
- Rdzawa, krk, scz, Trzciana 49.8 20.4
- Rdzów (Rzów, Rzów), snd, rdm, Potwórów 51.5 20.7
- Reczewo (Raczewo), plc, bls, Będziszów, c 52.7 19.8
- Reczki+, pdl, drh, Mąkobody 52.3 22.2
- Reczyce (Rączyce, Retszyce), raw, sch, Domaniewice, c 52.0 19.9
- Reda (Rheda), pmr, pck, Reda, r 54.6 18.4
- Redecz Kalny (Kalny Redecz), bkj, bkj, Lubraniec 52.6 18.8
- Redecz Krowi (Krowice), *Krowice*, bkj, bkj, Lubraniec 52.6 18.8
- Redecz Krukowy (Redecz, Redecz-Krukowo, Redecz Kruków), bkj, bkj, Dąbie 52.6 18.8
- Redecz Wielki (Rycz Wielki), *Redecz Wielki-Parcele*, bkj, bkj, Lubraniec 52.5 18.8
- Redecz, *Recz*, kls, gzn, Kołdrąb 52.7 17.5
- Redłowo (Radłowo, Riedlau), pmr, gdn, Kack, r 54.5 18.5
- Redłowo Niższe (Radłowo, Riedlau), *Gdynia* – part, pmr, gdn, Oksywa, mill 54.5 18.5
- Redwany-Zaorze, *Radwany-Zaorze*, maz, lom, Somowo 52.9 22.0
- Redzyń = Redzyń x2, (Radzeń, Radzyń), *Redzeń Stary*, raw, raw, Budziszewice, r 51.7 19.9
- Regietów, krk, bck, Zdynia (orthodox) 49.5 21.2
- Regnów, raw, bla, Regnów, cr 51.7 20.4
- Regny, raw, raw, Budziszewice, r 51.7 19.9
- Regów, *Regów Stary*, snd, rdm, Regów 51.5 21.8
- Regulice, krk, prs, Regulice 50.1 19.5
- Reguły Wielkie = Reguły-Książki\*, Reguły Wielkie (Reguły Stare), *Reguły* – part, maz, wrs, Raszyniec 52.2 20.9
- Reguły-Kuchy, *Reguły* – part, maz, wrs, Raszyniec 52.2 20.9
- Reguły-Malichy, *Reguły* – part, maz, wrs, Raszyniec 52.2 20.8
- Reguły-Zalesie, *Reguły* – part, maz, wrs, Raszyniec 52.2 20.9
- Regut, maz, gar, Osiecko, r 52.0 21.4
- Rehberg, *Pagórki*, mlb, mlb, Tolkmiet 54.3 19.5
- Rehwalde, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.3 19.1
- Reichenbach, *Rychliki*, mlb, mlb, Reichenbach, ct 54.0 19.5
- Reichenberg (Rychembork, Schönau), *Bogatka*, pmr, gdn, Reichenberg, t 54.3 18.8
- Reichenfeld, *Złotowo*, mlb, mlb, Notzendorf, r 54.0 19.2
- Reichsandreas (Rechendrysz), *Andrzejewo*, mlb, mlb, Kiszpork 53.9 19.3
- Reimannsfelde, *Nadbrzeże*, mlb, mlb, [unknown], mill, t 54.3 19.4
- Reimerswalde, *Cyganek*, mlb, mlb, Tiegenhagen, r 54.2 19.1
- Reinfeld, *Przyjaźń*, pmr, gdn, Reinfeld 54.3 18.4
- Rekcin (Rekcino), pmr, gdn, Święty Wojciech, demesne 54.2 18.6
- Rekle, pdl, blk, Knyszyn, r 53.3 22.8
- Rekle, srd, rds, Rząsna 51.2 19.1
- Reklino, *Reklin*, pzn, ksc, Niałek Wielki 52.2 16.0
- Rekownica (Rakownica), pmr, tcz, Kościerzyno 54.1 18.1
- Rekowo (Rakowo), *Rakowo*, dbr, rpn, Rypin 53.1 19.3
- Rekowo (Rakowo), *Rekowo Górne*, pmr, pck, Reda, r 54.6 18.3
- Relsko Małe (Rylsko Małe), *Rylsk Mały*, raw, bla, Cielądz 51.7 20.4
- Relsko Wielkie (Rylsko Wielkie), *Rylsk Duży*, raw, bla, Biała 51.7 20.4
- Rembiechowa (Rębieszowa), snd, chc, Węgleszyn 50.7 20.2
- Rembielice, *Rębielice Szlacheckie*, srd, wln, Parzymiechy 51.0 18.9
- Rembielino Małe (Wola Rembielińska), *Rembielinek*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.9
- Rembielino Wielkie = Rembielino Wielkie (Bagienica Rembielino), Ruda\*, *Rembielin*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Wielka 53.2 20.9
- Rembierkowo, *Rembertów*, maz, tar, Rembierkowo 52.0 20.8
- Rembieszów (Rębieszów), srd, szd, Strońsko 51.5 18.9
- Rembieszycy (Rąbieszycy), snd, chc, Rembieszycy 50.8 20.3
- Rembieszewo (Rembieszewo-Chujery, Rembieszewo-Truski), *Remiszew Mały*, pdl, drh, Kożuchowo 52.4 22.3
- Rembieszewo-Chrome (Chrome), *Remiszew Duży*, pdl, drh, Sokołów 52.4 22.3
- Rembowo = Rembieszewo\* (Rembieszewko), Rembowo, *Zembrzus-Rembowo*, maz, prz, Janowo 53.3 20.6
- Rembowo-Filipy (Filipiska), *Filipy*, maz, prz, Krasne 52.9 20.9
- Rennekau (Adlig Renkau), mlb, mlb, Biesterfeld 54.0 18.8
- Repki, pdl, drh, Wyrozęby-Podawce 52.4 22.4
- Repniki, *Rzepniki*, pdl, blk, Suraz, r 53.0 23.2
- Reptowo, chl, chl, Ostromiecz 53.2 18.2
- Reszki (Krzewo, Krzewo Małe), pdl, blk, Rajgród 53.8 22.7
- Reszki-Bolesięta, *Reszki*, raw, gbn, Gąbin 52.4 19.6
- Reszki-Gorzewo, *Gorzewo*, raw, gbn, Gąbin 52.4 19.6
- Reszki-Kunki, *Kunki*, raw, gbn, Gąbin 52.4 19.7
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- Reszowo (Raszewo), *Walentynów* – part, raw, gos, Kutno 52.2 19.3
- Retel (Retil, Rytel), *Rytel*, pmr, tch, Czersk, inn, r 53.8 17.8
- Retki (Retki-Zastępna), raw, gbn, Złakowo Cerkiewne, c 52.2 19.8
- Retkinia, *Łódź-Retkinia*, lcz, brz, Pabianice, c 51.7 19.4
- Retkowo, kls, kcn, Brzeskorzystew 52.9 17.6
- Retkowo, *Retków*, maz, wrs, Stanisławów or Cygowo 52.3 21.5
- Retniewiec (Ratniewiec), *Retniowiec*, raw, raw, Lipce, c 51.9 20.0
- Retsz\*, *Tarnawa Górna* – part, krk, sls, Mucharz 49.8 19.5
- Rewa, pmr, pck, Oksywa, c 54.6 18.5
- Rębielcz (Rębieleś), pmr, tcz, Miłobądz, c 54.2 18.7

Rębielice, *Rębielice Królewskie*, krk, llw, Kłobucko, r 51.0 18.9

Rębieskie (Rembieskie), *Stare Rębieskie*, srd, szd, Korczów 51.7 18.9

Rębisze, maz, osl, Goworowo, c 52.9 21.6

Rębiszewo-Studzianki, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 53.0 22.4

Rębiszewo-Żegadły (Rębisze-Zegadły), *Rębiszewo-Zegadły*, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 53.0 22.4

Rębiszewo\*, plc, pln, Płońsko 52.6 20.3

Rębkowo = Rębkowo x2, maz, nmo or ser, Winnica 52.6 20.9

Rębkowo, *Rębków Stary*, maz, gar, Garwolin, r 51.9 21.6

Ręboszewo (Rameschau, Rębieszewo), pmr, mrw, Chmielno, c 54.3 18.1

Rębowo Wielkie (Rębowo-Jaczkki), maz, cch, Pałuki 52.9 20.8

Rębowo, maz, wsg, Rębowo, r 52.4 20.2

Rębowo, pzn, ksc, Domachowo, c 51.8 17.0

Rębowo, *Rembów Rządowy*, raw, gos, Białotarczek, c 52.4 19.3

Rębów, snd, chc, Kije 50.6 20.5

Rębówko (Rębowo Małe), maz, cch, Pałuki 52.9 20.8

Ręczaje, *Ręczaje Nowe*, maz, wrs, Cygowo 52.3 21.4

Ręczko, *Reńsko*, pzn, ksc, Wilkowo Polskie 52.1 16.4

Rędzina Wola, *Wola Czołnowska*, lub, lub, Baranów 51.5 22.2

Rędziny (Rądziny), srd, rds, Żytne 51.0 19.6

Rędziny, krk, llw, Klasztor Mstowski 50.9 19.2

Rękaciec, *Rękawiec*, raw, raw, Budziszewice 51.7 20.0

Rękawczyño Małe, *Rękawczynek*, kls, gzn, Rękawczyño 52.5 18.0

Rękawczyño, *Rękawczyn*, kls, gzn, Rękawczyño 52.5 17.9

Rękawczyño, *Rękawczyn*, plc, bls, Gozdowo 52.7 19.6

Rękawica+, maz, gar, Parysewo 52.0 21.6

Rękawki (Rękawka), raw, gbn, Troszyno 52.4 19.9

Rękojady (Rakojady), *Rakojady*, kls, gzn, Skoki 52.7 17.1

Rękoraj, srd, ptr, Sroćkie 51.5 19.7

Rększowice (Reksowice, Rzetowice, Rzetowice), krk, llw, Częstochowa, r 50.7 19.0

Rępino, *Rempin*, plc, bls, Gozdowo 52.7 19.7

Rętki Ługi, *Ługi Rętkie*, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.4

Rętwiny, dbr, rpn, Płonne 53.1 19.2

Rgielewo (Rgilewo, Rgilowo), *Rgilow*, lcz, lcz, Kłodawa 52.2 19.0

Rgielsko, kls, ken, Tarnowo, c 52.8 17.2

Ribbenhammer+, pmr, gdn, Oliwa, mill, c 54.4 18.5

Robach, *Jazowa* – part, mlb, mlb, [unknówn], inn, t 54.2 19.3

Robacznica, *Paradyż*, pmr, pck, Góra, mill, r 54.6 18.1

Robacznica\*\*, pmr, tcz, mill

Robaczyna (Robaczyno), *Robaczyn*, pzn, ksc, Śmigiel 52.0 16.5

Robakowo (Robaczkowo), pmr, pck, Luzino 54.6 18.1

Robakowo, chl, chl, Sarnowo 53.4 18.7

Robakowo, pzn, pzn, Tulce 52.3 17.0

Robakowo, *Robaków*, kls, kls, Szyszmanowice 52.0 17.7

Robczyisko (Robczyńska), pzn, ksc, Pawłowice 51.8 16.7

Robienko Małe\*\*, pzn, ksc

Robkowa, *Rąbkowa*, krk, sdc, Zbyszyce 49.7 20.7

Rochale Mniejsze, *Rochaliki*, raw, sch, Leszno 52.2 20.6

Rochale Większe, *Rochale Wielkie*, raw, sch, Leszno 52.2 20.6

Rochnia (Rocheń), plc, szr, Szreńsko 53.0 20.2

Rocławowice (Rosławowice), *Rosławowice*, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.4

Roczynny, krk, sls, Andrzychów 49.9 19.3

Rodaki (Rodaków), krk, prs, Chechło 50.4 19.5

Rodzono (Rosa), chl, mch, Sumplawo 53.5 19.7

Rogaczewo Małe, pzn, ksc, Wyskocz 52.0 16.8

Rogaczewo Wielkie, pzn, ksc, Wyskocz 52.0 16.8

Rogaczewo, pzn, ksc, Brodnica 52.1 16.8

Rogaczów, *Rogaczew*, srd, rds, Dąbrowa 50.8 19.6

Rogaczówek, srd, rds, Żytne 50.9 19.7

Rogale Małe\*, maz, kol, Romany 53.4 22.2

Rogale Ruda, *Rogale*, lub, luk, Trzebieiszów 52.0 22.5

Rogale Wielkie (Rogale-Dzierzbia), *Rogale*, maz, kol, Romany 53.4 22.2

Rogale+, maz, roz, Gąsowo 53.0 21.3

Rogalinko, *Rogalinek*, pzn, pzn, Rogalinko, c 52.2 16.9

Rogalino, *Rogalin*, bkj, rdj, Kaczewo 52.6 18.5

Rogalino, *Rogalin*, kls, nkl, Wielewicz 53.4 17.6

Rogalino, *Rogalin*, pzn, pzn, Rogalinko 52.2 16.9

Rogalów (Rozwadów), *Wólka Rozwadowska*, lub, lub, Kocko 51.6 22.4

Rogalów, lub, lub, Wąwolnica, r 51.3 22.1

Rogazyce, kls, pzd, Pogorzelica 52.1 17.6

Rogazyce, srd, ost, Rogazyce 51.4 18.0

Rogaszyno Małe, *Orądkki* – part, lcz, lcz, Piątek 52.1 19.5

Rogaszyno Wielkie, *Rogaszyn*, lcz, lcz, Piątek 52.1 19.5

Rogatkowo, *Woźniki-Kraszyn*, maz, sen, Krysk, c 52.6 20.4

Rogawka (Rochawka), pdl, drh, Siemiatyczne, r 52.4 22.8

Rogi, krk, sdc, Podegrodzie 49.6 20.5

Rogi, *Łódź-Rogi*, lcz, brz, Łódzia 51.8 19.5

Rogi, srd, rds, Chełm 51.0 19.8

Rogienice Piaseczne (Piaseczno), maz, kol, Płocko 53.3 22.1

Rogienice-Wypychy, maz, kol, Płocko 53.3 22.1

Rogienice, *Rogienice Wielkie*, maz, kol, Płocko 53.3 22.1

Roginice (Rogienice), *Rogienice*, snd, chc, Konieczno 50.8 20.0

Roginice (Roginice-Grębeckie), *Rogienice*, plc, bls, Będziszów 52.8 19.8

Roginice-Weszki, *Rogieniczki*, plc, bls, Będziszów 52.8 19.8

Roginino (Rogimino), *Regimin*, maz, cch, Lekowo, c 52.9 20.6

Rogolin, snd, rdm, Radzanów 51.6 20.9

Rogosko (Rogożek), *Rogosko*, kls, pzd, Solec, c 52.1 17.3

Rogotworsk (Rogotworsko), plc, rac, Rogotworsk, c 52.7 20.1

Rogowa (Rogowa Wola), snd, rdm, Mniszek, c 51.4 20.9

Rogowice, snd, chc, Mniów 51.0 20.6

Rogowicz, raw, raw, Kurzeszyn 51.8 20.2

Rogowo, chl, chl, Rogowo, t 53.1 18.7

Rogowo, dbr, rpn, Rogowo 53.0 19.4

Rogowo, kls, gzn, Rogowo, town 52.7 17.6

Rogowo, maz, prz, Podosie 53.0 21.0

Rogowo, maz, wsg, Żochowo Kościelne 52.6 20.1

Rogowo, pzn, ksc, Krobia 51.7 17.0

Rogowo, *Rogowo Kościelne*, maz, wsg, Łętowo, c 52.6 20.1

Rogowo, *Rogowo Stare*, maz, osw, Czerwino 52.9 21.9

Rogowo, *Rogów*, pdl, drh, Sokołów 52.4 22.3

Rogowo, *Rogówek*, pdl, blk, Tykocin, rn 53.1 22.9

Rogowo\*\*, *Inowrocław* – part, inw, inw, Staromieście, suburb, t

Rogozie\*, krk, scz, Wiśnicz Wielki 49.9 20.5

Rogozik, *Gardęga*, chl, chl, Rogoźno, demesne, r 53.5 18.9

Rogoziniec, pzn, pzn, Rogoziniec, r 52.3 15.7

Rogozino-Kalesz, *Rogozinko*, plc, plc, Jemielnica 52.6 19.8

Rogozino, plc, plc, Jemielnica, c 52.6 19.8

Rogoźnica\*\*, maz, gar, Żeliszewo

- Rogoźnicki Młyn, pmr, czl, Kielpin, mill, r 53.8 17.4
- Rogoźnik (Rogoźniki), swr, Siemunia 50.4 19.0
- Rogoźnik, krk, sdc, Dunajec or Ludzimirz, c 49.4 20.0
- Rogoźno (Rogenhause, Rogóźno), *Rogóźno*, chl, chl, Rogoźno, town, r 53.5 18.9
- Rogoźno (Rogoszno), srd, srd, Widawa 51.4 19.0
- Rogoźno-Zamek (Rogenhause, Zamek Rogoziński), *Rogóźno-Zamek*, chl, chl, Rogoźno, demesne, r 53.5 19.0
- Rogoźno, lcz, lcz, Gieczno 52.0 19.5
- Rogoźno, pzn, pzn, Rogoźno, town, r 52.8 17.0
- Rogoźno, raw, sch, Domaniewice, c 52.0 19.8
- Rogoźno, *Rogóźno*, bkj, prd, Przedecz, r 52.4 18.9
- Rogożewo, kls, pzd, Jutrosin 51.7 17.1
- Rogożowo Małe, *Rogożewek*, raw, gos, Gostynin 52.5 19.5
- Rogożowo Wielkie (Rogożewo Wielkie), *Rogożew*, raw, gos, Gostynin 52.5 19.5
- Rogów (Rogowo), srd, szd, Świeńce 52.0 19.0
- Rogów, krk, kss, Kozłów and Książ Wielki 50.5 20.1
- Rogów, lub, lub, Wilków, r 51.3 22.0
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- Rucewo Małe (Rucewko, Rucewko Małe), *Rucewko*, inw, bdg, Pęchowo 52.9 18.1
- Rucewo Wielkie (Rucewo), *Rucewo*, inw, bdg, Pęchowo 52.9 18.1
- Ruchenna, kls, knn, Osiek Wielki, r 52.2 18.6
- Ruchna, pdl, drh, Węgrów 52.4 22.1
- Ruchna, raw, raw, Głowno 52.0 19.7
- Ruchna, *Rochna*, lcz, brz, Brzeziny, mill 51.8 19.8
- Ruchocice, pzn, ksc, Ruchocice 52.2 16.3
- Ruchocino Małe (Ruchocinek), *Ruchocinek*, kls, gzn, Powidz 52.4 17.8
- Ruchocino, *Ruchocin*, kls, gzn, Powidz 52.4 17.7
- Ruchocki Młyn (Ruchocina Gać), pzn, ksc, Wolsztyn, mill, c 52.2 16.1
- Ruciany (Rusiany), pdl, drh, Rozbity Kamień 52.3 22.3
- Rückfahr+, pmr, gdn, [unknown], inn, t 54.3 18.8
- Rucko Małe (Rucko, Rudzko Małe), *Rudzka Mały*, bkj, rdj, Rzeczyca 52.5 18.5
- Rucko Wielkie (Rucko, Rudzko, Rudzko Wielkie), bkj, rdj, Rzeczyca 52.5 18.4
- Ruczewo (Rucewo, Rzucewo, Rzuczowo)\*, bkj, ksw, Polanowice 52.6 18.3
- Ruczlinów (Ruczniów, Ruczynów), *Ruczynów*, snd, wsl, Janina 50.5 20.8
- Ruda (Górzyste), plc, szr, Kuklino, mill, r 53.1 20.3
- Ruda (Hamer), *Kuźnica Drawska*, pzn, wlc, ironworks, r 53.6 16.2
- Ruda (Lubelczyk?), snd, plz, Sędziszów, ironworks, r 50.1 21.7
- Ruda (Lubielska Ruda), maz, kam, Lubiel 52.8 21.5
- Ruda (Rauden), chl, chl, Sarnowo, r 53.4 18.7
- Ruda (Ruda koło Wiszniowa), lub, luk, Zbuczyn, ironworks and mill, r 52.1 22.3
- Ruda (Ruda Plebańska), pdl, drh, Ruskowo, c 52.4 22.7
- Ruda (Ruda-Górzyste), plc, sie, Zieluń or Dłotów 53.2 19.9
- Ruda (Rudny Młyn), bkj, bkj, Włocław, mill, c 52.6 19.0
- Ruda (Rudny Młyn), pzn, pzn, Rogoźno, ironworks, r 52.8 16.9

- Ruda (Rudny), *Ruda Koźlanka*, kls, gzn, Mieścisko, mill, r 52.7 17.3
- Ruda Adam, Kaniów-Adamów, snd, chc, Tumlin, ironworks, c 51.0 20.7
- Ruda Andryszowa (Jędrzów), *Jędrów*, snd, snd, Wzdół, ironworks, c 51.0 20.8
- Ruda Babicka (Ruda Mała), *Ruda*, snd, stz, Korytnica, r 51.7 21.9
- Ruda Babin, *Ruda*, snd, rdm, Janowiec, ironworks 51.3 21.7
- Ruda Babiradek+, snd, rdm, Sucha, ironworks 51.4 21.5
- Ruda Bałutowska, *Rudka Bałutowska*, snd, rdm, Bałutów, ironworks 51.0 21.5
- Ruda Baranów, *Baranów*, snd, snd, Wzdół, ironworks, c 51.1 20.8
- Ruda Belno (Ruda Marcinko), *Belno*, snd, chc, Daleszyce, ironworks, c 50.8 20.9
- Ruda Berezów, *Berezów*, snd, snd, Wzdół, ironworks, c 51.0 20.8
- Ruda Bestwińska (Ruda), *Ruda*, kls, pzd, Baszkowo, ironworks 51.7 17.2
- Ruda Biadaszek, *Biadaszek*, snd, chc, Włoszczowa, ironworks 50.9 20.0
- Ruda Bród, *Brody Stoczki*, snd, rdm, Krzynki, ironworks, c 51.0 21.2
- Ruda Buszkowa (Ruda Buszkowska), *Ruda Wieczyńska*, kls, kls, Żegocino 52.0 17.7
- Ruda Bzin, *Bzin-część*, snd, snd, Wąchocko, ironworks, c 51.1 20.9
- Ruda Ciechoń, *Wal-Ruda*, snd, plz, Radłów, c 50.1 20.8
- Ruda Duraczowa, *Skarżysko-Kamienna*, snd, rdm, Wąchocko, ironworks 51.1 20.9
- Ruda Grodzisko, *Kuźnica Grodziska*, snd, chc, Borzykowa, ironworks, c 50.8 19.7
- Ruda Janikowska, *Ruda*, snd, rdm, Brzeźnica, ironworks, c 51.6 21.6
- Ruda Jaskowska, *Ruda Jastkowska*, snd, snd, Charzowice, ironworks, r 50.6 22.1
- Ruda Kąty, *Karolówka*, lub, lub, Goraj, ironworks 50.6 22.7
- Ruda Kochanowski, *Kochanów*, snd, rdm, Chlewiska, ironworks 51.3 20.7
- Ruda Korbutowa, *Rudka*, lub, lub, Ostrów, ironworks, r 51.5 22.9
- Ruda Kosior (Ruda Chlewicka), *Komorów*, snd, rdm, Chlewiska, ironworks 51.2 20.8
- Ruda Kowalikowska, *Ruda-Kowalików*, snd, rdm, Odachów, ironworks, c 51.3 21.4
- Ruda Krzysztoperek (Ruda Krzysztofek), *Duraczów*, snd, snd, Łągów, ironworks, c 50.8 21.1
- Ruda Kuczów (Ruda Andrzejów), *Kuczów*, snd, snd, Pawłów, ironworks, c 51.0 21.1
- Ruda Kunowska, *Rudka*, snd, snd, Kunów, ironworks, c 50.9 21.3
- Ruda Kurosz, *Wola Kuroszowa-część*, snd, rdm, Borkowice, ironworks 51.3 20.7
- Ruda Lepieńska (Ruda Lepienicka), *Kuźnia*, snd, rdm, Jastrząb, ironworks, c 51.3 21.0
- Ruda Łoska, *Ruda*, maz, wrs, Radzymino 52.5 21.2
- Ruda Majek (Ruda Majkowska), *Majków*, snd, snd, Wąchocko, ironworks, c 51.1 20.9
- Ruda Marcinkowska, *Marcinków*, snd, snd, Wąchocko, ironworks, c 51.1 21.0
- Ruda Mędrów, *Mędrów*, snd, wsl, Bardo?, ironworks, c 50.7 21.0
- Ruda Michałkowa (Ruda Aleksandra-wa?), *Michałów Mały*, snd, snd, Wąchocko, ironworks, c 51.1 21.0
- Ruda Michałowska (Ruda Samsonowska), *Samsonów*, snd, chc, Tumlin, ironworks, c 51.0 20.6
- Ruda Milcza, *Milica*, snd, rdm, Wąchocko, ironworks 51.1 20.8
- Ruda Mroskowa, *Mroczków*, snd, opc, Odrowąż Wielki, ironworks 51.1 20.7
- Ruda Mrozkowska (Ruda Mrozek), *Bzinek-część*, snd, rdm, Wąchocko?, ironworks 51.1 20.8
- Ruda Niedźwiedz, *Jonaszów-Jasiów*, snd, chc, Tumlin, ironworks, c 51.0 20.6
- Ruda Nieznach, *Czarna Belczącza-część*, snd, rdm, Jedlna, ironworks, r 51.5 21.5
- Ruda Odechowska (Ruda Tymiński), *Borów*, snd, rdm, Odachów, ironworks 51.2 21.4
- Ruda Olszowska, *Olszówka*, maz, osl, Ostrołęka, ironworks, r 53.1 21.5
- Ruda Otorowska, *Otorowo* – part, inw, bdg, Solec, ironworks, r 53.1 18.2
- Ruda Pękowiec, *Pękowiec*, snd, chc, Kurzelów, ironworks, c 50.8 19.8
- Ruda Pianowska, *Pianów*, snd, chc, Mnin, ironworks 51.0 20.2
- Ruda Pilczyca, *Ruda Pilczycka*, snd, chc, Pilczyca, ironworks 51.0 20.1
- Ruda Plazina, *Rudka*, lub, lub, Ostrów, ironworks, r 51.4 22.9
- Ruda Ryj (Ruda Smagów), *Goworek*, snd, rdm, Chlewiska, ironworks 51.3 20.8
- Ruda Seliga+, *Ruda*, snd, wsl, Szumsko, ironworks 50.7 21.0
- Ruda Siedlce, lub, luk, Siedlce, ironworks 52.2 22.3
- Ruda Siekliny (Rejowa Ruda, Szyrchlin, Żyrcin), *Rejów*, snd, snd, Wąchocko, ironworks, c 51.1 20.8
- Ruda Stara Krzynecka, *Ruda*, snd, snd, Krzynki, ironworks, c 51.0 21.2
- Ruda Starzechowska, *Starachowice-część*, snd, snd, Wąchocko, ironworks, c 51.0 21.1
- Ruda Stefan (Ruda Wzdrzuców), *Rzuców-część*, snd, rdm, Chlewiska, ironworks 51.3 20.7
- Ruda Stefanek, *Stefanów*, snd, rdm, Chlewiska, ironworks 51.3 20.7
- Ruda Stolin, *Stanisławów*, snd, rdm, Chlewiska?, ironworks 51.2 20.8
- Ruda Styczów, *Styków*, snd, snd, Pawłów, ironworks 51.0 21.1
- Ruda Suchyniowska (Suchynia), *Suchedniów*, snd, snd, Wzdół, ironworks, c 51.0 20.8
- Ruda Śmiłowska, *Orłów*, snd, rdm, Jastrząb, ironworks, c 51.2 20.9
- Ruda Tarnowska, maz, gar, Tarnowo 51.8 21.4
- Ruda Wesłowa (Wólka?), maz, roz, Ostrołęka, r 53.1 21.4
- Ruda Wielka, snd, rdm, Wierzbica 51.3 21.1
- Ruda Wierzbnik, *Starachowice-Wierzbnik*, snd, snd, Wąchocko, ironworks, c 51.0 21.1
- Ruda Włostowicka\*, lub, lub, Włostowice, ironworks 51.4 22.0
- Ruda Woli Puławskiej\*, lub, lub, Włostowice, ironworks 51.4 22.0
- Ruda Zaborowska (Ruda Królewiec), snd, chc, Radoszyce, ironworks, r 51.1 20.4
- Ruda Zdziechowice, lub, urz, Zdziechowice, ironworks 50.8 22.1
- Ruda, *Barania Ruda*, maz, gar, Żeliszewo, ironworks 52.1 21.9
- Ruda, bkj, kwl, Dobrzyń, ironworks, r 52.6 19.3
- Ruda, dbr, rpn, Górzno, ironworks, c 53.2 19.7
- Ruda, *Hamernia*, raw, msz, Mszczonów 52.0 20.5
- Ruda, *Kępka Szlachecka* – part, bkj, kwl, Grabkowo, ironworks 52.5 19.1
- Ruda, kls, knn, Grzymiszew 52.1 18.4
- Ruda, lcz, lcz, Zgierz 51.8 19.3
- Ruda, lub, lub, Końska Wola 51.5 22.1
- Ruda, lub, luk, Wojcieszków 51.8 22.2
- Ruda, *Łódź-Ruda Pabianicka*, srd, szd, Pabianice, ironworks, c 51.7 19.4
- Ruda, maz, gar, Kuflewo 52.2 21.9
- Ruda, maz, gar, Mińsko, ironworks? 52.2 21.5
- Ruda, maz, gar, Stoczek, ironworks, r 52.0 22.0
- Ruda, maz, prz, Dzierzgowo 53.1 20.6
- Ruda, maz, tar, Tarczyn, c 52.0 20.9
- Ruda, maz, was, Białaszewo, r 53.6 22.5
- Ruda, pdl, blk, Knyszyn, r 53.3 22.9
- Ruda, pdl, blk, Knyszyn, ironworks, r 53.3 22.9
- Ruda, raw, gos, Gostynin, mill, r 52.5 19.5
- Ruda, *Ruda Komorska*, kls, pzd, Pogorzelica 52.1 17.6
- Ruda, *Ruda Kościelna*, snd, snd, Ściemielów 50.9 21.5

- Ruda, *Ruda Serokomelska*, lub, luk, Kocko, r 51.7 22.4
- Ruda, *Ruda Talubska*, maz, gar, Garwolin 51.9 21.6
- Ruda, *Ruda Tanewska*, snd, snd, Bieliny, ironworks, r 50.5 22.3
- Ruda, *Ruda Żalska*, dbr, rpn, Żałe 53.0 19.3
- Ruda, *Ruda-Papiernia*, snd, opc, Dąbrowa 51.3 20.0
- Ruda, *Rudzisko*, srd, srd, Rzestarczów 51.4 19.0
- Ruda, *Rudzki Młyn*, pmr, tch, Tuchola, mill, r 53.6 17.9
- Ruda, *Rutka*, pdl, blk, Kleszczce, r 52.7 23.4
- Ruda, *Sierakowo* – part, maz, prz, Przasnysz, demesne, r 53.0 20.9
- Ruda, snd, plz, Przeclaw 50.2 21.4
- Ruda, snd, snd or wsl, Połaniec 50.5 21.2
- Ruda, snd, snd, Charzowice, ironworks, r 50.5 22.0
- Ruda, snd, snd, Zbylutka, ironworks, c 50.7 21.1
- Ruda, snd, wsl, Kargów, r 50.5 20.9
- Ruda, srd, rds, Dobryzyce, mill, r 51.2 19.5
- Ruda, srd, rds, Gidle 51.0 19.4
- Ruda, srd, srd, Męka, r 51.6 18.8
- Ruda, srd, wln, Ruda, rn 51.2 18.6
- Ruda, *Stara Ruda*, bkj, rdj, Broniszewo?, mill 52.4 18.4
- Ruda, *Starowola* – part, maz, liw or kam, Jadowo, ironworks, r 52.5 21.7
- Ruda, *Żyrardów* – part, raw, sch, Wiskitki Kościelne, r 52.0 20.4
- Ruda\*\*, bkj, bkj, [unknown], mill
- Ruda\*\*, kls, knn, Dobrowo
- Ruda+, bkj, rdj, Broniszewo, mill 52.4 18.4
- Rudak = Rudak (Rodak), Kosorzyno, *Rudak (Toruń* – part), inw, inw, Podgórze, r 53.0 18.6
- Rudaw (Rudawa), dbr, lpn, Nowogród, c 53.0 19.0
- Rudawa, krk, prs, Rudawa, c 50.1 19.7
- Rudawa, snd, wsl, Chroberz 50.4 20.6
- Rudawa\*\*, dbr, lpn, Bobrowniki, mill
- Rudawica, maz, wrk, Wrociszewo 51.7 21.0
- Rude Wielkie = Rude Wielkie, Rude Małe\*, *Ruda-Kolonia*, pdl, drh, Kożuchowo 52.3 22.3
- Rudka (Ruda), *Ruda Kameralna*, krk, sdc, Czchów, c 49.8 20.7
- Rudka (Rutka), pdl, mln, Górki, r 52.2 22.9
- Rudka (Rutki), snd, plz, Wierzchosławice and Radłów, cn 50.0 20.9
- Rudka, krk, sdc, Wojnicz 49.9 20.8
- Rudka, pdl, drh, Rudka 52.7 22.7
- Rudka, *Ruda Maciejowska*, lub, lub, Chodel 51.1 22.1
- Rudka, *Rudka Kozłowska*, lub, lub, Dys 51.4 22.6
- Rudka, srd, rds, Chełm 51.0 19.8
- Rudki (Rudki Danowskich), *Rutki Stare*, pdl, blk, Augustów, r 53.9 22.8
- Rudki (Rutki, Rutkowo, Rutki-Kurowstok), *Rutki*, maz, zmb, Rudki 53.1 22.4
- Rudki (Rutki), pmr, swc, Topolno, c 53.3 18.3
- Rudki-Nory, *Rutkowskie*, maz, wiz, Burzyno 53.3 22.5
- Rudki-Zaborowo, *Rutki*, maz, wiz, Wizna 53.2 22.3
- Rudki, *Nakło nad Notecią-Rudki*, kls, nkl, Nakiel, mill, r 53.1 17.6
- Rudki, pzn, pzn, Ostroróg 52.6 16.4
- Rudki, pzn, wlc 53.4 16.3
- Rudki, raw, bla, Żdżar 51.7 20.4
- Rudki, *Ruda*, kls, nkl, Glisno, mill 53.2 17.3
- Rudki, *Rudy*, lub, lub, Końska Wola 51.4 22.0
- Rudki, snd, rdm, Janowiec 51.3 21.8
- Rudki, snd, wsl, Potok, r 50.7 20.9
- Rudki\*\*, maz, liw, Czerwonka
- Rudkowo (Rudkowskie, Rudków), *Rutkowskie Duże*, pdl, blk, Goniądz 53.5 22.9
- Rudlice, srd, wln, Rudlice 51.3 18.6
- Rudna (Rudno), kls, nkl, Skicz 53.3 17.2
- Rudna (Rudno), kls, nkl, Wysoka 53.2 17.0
- Rudna\*\*, pzn, wlc [nieznana]
- Rudne, *Rypin* – part, dbr, rpn, Rypin, mill, r 53.1 19.4
- Rudnice, kls, kcn, Rogoźno 52.8 17.1
- Rudniczek, *Rudnik*, lub, urz, Zakrzówek 51.0 22.4
- Rudniczysko, srd, ost, Mikorzyn 51.4 18.1
- Rudnik Mały, *Rudnik Szlachecki*, lub, lub, Wilkołaz 51.0 22.3
- Rudnik Młyn, *Ruda-Młyn*, chl, mch, Rumian, mill, c 53.4 20.0
- Rudnik, krk, scz, Sulikowice, r 49.9 19.8
- Rudnik, lcz, brz, Będków 51.6 19.8
- Rudnik, lub, lub, Lublin 51.3 22.6
- Rudnik, maz, gar, Cegłowo, c 52.2 21.8
- Rudnik, maz, gar, Miastkowo Wielkie 51.9 21.8
- Rudnik, maz, gar, Osiecko, r 52.0 21.5
- Rudnik, *Rudniczek*, raw, raw, Dmosin 52.0 19.8
- Rudnik, *Rudnik Duży*, maz, gar, Seroczyno, r 52.0 21.9
- Rudnik, snd, snd, Kopki and then Rudnik, town 50.4 22.2
- Rudniki (Ruda Zajączkowska), *Wesola-Ruda*, snd, chc, Małogoszcz, demesne, r 50.9 20.3
- Rudniki (Rudnik), *Rudnik*, krk, scz, Dziekanowice, r 49.9 20.1
- Rudniki, krk, llw, Klasztor Mstowski, r 50.9 19.3
- Rudniki, krk, llw, Włodowice 50.5 19.4
- Rudniki, pdl, drh, Skrzyszewo, c 52.4 22.5
- Rudniki, pzn, pzn, Michorzewo Mokre 52.4 16.3
- Rudniki, snd, chc, Kurzelów, c 50.8 19.8
- Rudniki, snd, snd, Modlibożyce 50.8 21.3
- Rudniki, snd, snd, Połaniec 52.0 21.5
- Rudniki, srd, szd, Pięcnów 51.8 18.8
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- Rudno (Rauden), pmr, tcz, Garc, r 53.9 18.8
- Rudno (Rudno Mińskie), maz, gar, Kobybiel 52.1 21.5
- Rudno (Ruszkowice Średnie), snd, rdm, Borkowice 51.3 20.6
- Rudno = Rudno Bystre\* (Rudno Boro-we?), Rudno-Czachy Stare\* (Rudno Jeziorne?), Rudno-Janowięta\*, *Rudno Jeziorowe*, maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Mała 53.1 20.7
- Rudno Górne (Rudno, Rudno Wyższe), krk, prs, Poborowice 50.1 20.3
- Rudno Kmiece = Malinowo Łazowe\*, Malinowo-Skrody\*, Rudno Kmiece (Rudno Adamowe, Rudno Jadamowe, Rudno-Kmiecie), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Mała 53.1 20.7
- Rudno Małe, *Rudzienko*, lub, lub, Mniichów 51.5 22.3
- Rudno Niższe (Rudno Niżne), *Rudno Dolne*, krk, prs, Brzesko Nowe and Poborowice, r 50.1 20.3
- Rudno Stare (Rudno Wielkie), *Rudno*, maz, liw, Wiśniewo or Dobre Stare 52.3 21.7
- Rudno-Kosiły (Rudno-Koszyki), maz, prz, Krzynowłoga Mała 53.1 20.7
- Rudno, krk, prs, Tęczynek 50.1 19.6
- Rudno, lub, lub, Rudno 51.5 22.4
- Rudno, *Rudzianek*, pmr, swc, Serocko, mill, r 53.4 18.1
- Rudno, snd, plz, Jurków 50.1 20.9
- Rudny Młyn, *Rudki*, kls, gzn, Trzemeszno?, mill, c 52.6 17.8
- Rudny, lcz, lcz, Gieczno, mill 52.0 19.4
- Rudny, *Rudy (Wypaleniska* – part), inw, bdg, Solec, mill, r 53.1 18.2
- Rudny+, dbr, lpn, Skąpe, mill 52.9 19.4
- Rudołtowo, *Łubin Rudołty*, pdl, blk, Łubino 52.8 23.0
- Rudołty, *Reduty*, pdl, blk, Kleszczce 52.7 23.4
- Rudowo-Brody = Rudowo-Brody, Rudowo Czatanowe\* (Rudowo-Cztany), plc, bls, Bielsko 52.7 19.8
- Rudowo-Prusy, *Rudówko*, plc, bls, Bielsko 52.7 19.8
- Rudołtowice (Rudołtowice), *Rdułtowice-Góry*, srd, ptr, Gorzkowice 51.2 19.6
- Rudy (Ruda), kls, pzd, Brudzewo 52.4 17.8

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Rudzki Młyn, *Kuźnia*, kls, kls, Brudzewo Wielki, mill 51.9 17.9  
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Rumino (Romino), *Rumin*, kls, knn, Stare Miasto, r 52.2 18.1  
Rumnowo, *Runowo*, kls, kcn, Rogoźno 52.8 17.0  
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Rusienice (Ruszenice), *Ruszenice*, snd, opc, Skorkowice 51.2 20.1  
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Rzeszów, *Rzeszówek*, snd, chc, Konieczno 50.7 20.1

Rzeszynko (Rzeszynek, Rzeszynko Małe, Rzeszyno Małe, Rzyszynko), *Rzeszynek*, bkj, ksw, Kościeszki 52.6 18.3

Rzeszyno (Rzeszewo, Rzeszyn, Rzeszyno Wielkie, Rzyszyno, Rzyżyno), bkj, ksw, Kościeszki 52.5 18.3

Rzetnia, srd, ost, Parznowo 51.4 17.9

Rzewnino (Rzewnin), *Rzewin*, plc, pln, Baboszewo 52.7 20.3

Rzewuski-Starawieś = Rzewuski-Starawieś, Rzewuski-Żale (Rzewuski-Poćcie)\*, *Stare Rzewuski*, pdl, drh, Przesmyki 52.3 22.6

Rzewuski-Suchodół (Rzewuski, Suchodół-Rzewuski, Suchodół), *Suchodół Wielki*, pdl, drh, Przesmyki 52.2 22.6

Rzewuski-Zawady = Rzewuski-Zawady, Rzewuski-Śmieszki\*, *Zawady*, pdl, drh, Przesmyki 52.2 22.6

Rzewuski, okolica, pdl, drh

Rzewuski, *Rzewuski*, pdl, mln, Sarnaki 52.3 22.8

Rzewuszyce (Rzerzuszyce, Rzewszyce), snd, chc, Januszowice 50.9 20.0

Rzezawa (Rzęzawy, Rzyzawa), krk, scz, Rzezawa, r 50.0 20.5

Rzeżachowa (Rzewachowa, Rzeżachowa Rzezuchowa), *Rzęchowa*, snd, plz, Szczurowa, c 50.1 20.6

Rzezino, *Rydzyño*, plc, plc, Jemielnica, c 52.5 19.8

Rzeżewo (Rzeszewo, Rzeszowo, Rzyżewo), *Rzeżewo Małe*, bkj, kwł, Kłobnia Mała 52.4 19.1

Rzeżęcino (Resten, Rzeszocino), *Rzeżęcino*, pmr, tcz, Nowa Cerkiew, c 53.8 18.7

Rzeżuśnia, krk, kss, Gołcza 50.3 20.0

Rzębiczyki, *Rzębiki*, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 53.0 22.4

Rzęczkowo, chl, chl, Łążyn 53.1 18.4

Rzędków, *Rzędków Stary* – part, raw, raw, Żelazna 51.9 20.2

Rzędowice (Żędowice), krk, prs, Koniusza 50.2 20.2

Rzęgnowo, maz, prz, Pawłowo 53.1 20.7

Rzęskowo, *Rzęskowo*, kls, nkl, Krostkowo 53.1 17.2

Rzętkowo, *Rzędków*, lcz, lcz, Słaboszewo 52.2 19.1

Rzężawy (Żyrawy), srd, srd, Goszczonów, c 51.8 18.5

Rzężawy = Guzy\*, Rzężawy, plc, sie, Lubowidz 53.1 19.8

Rzgowo = Rzgowo, Poderzgowie\*, *Rzgow Pierwszy*, kls, knn, Rzgowo 52.2 18.0

Rzgów, srd, ptr, Rzgów, town, c 51.7 19.5

Rzodkwin (Rzotkwin), *Rzadkwin*, inw, inw, Rzodkwin, c 52.7 18.1

Rzotkwica (Rzotkwice), *Psary* – part, srd, srd, Psary Korytkowskie 52.0 18.6

Rzuchowa, snd, plz, Pleśna 50.0 20.9

Rzuchowice, *Żuchowice*, srd, ptr, Gorzkowice 51.2 19.6

Rzuchowo, *Rzuchów*, lcz, lcz, Chełmo, c 52.1 18.7

Rzuchowo, *Żuchowo*, dbr, lpn, Wierzbick 52.8 19.3

Rzuchów (Rżuchów), *Rdzuchów*, snd, rdm, Klwów 51.5 20.7

Rzuchów, snd, snd, Wszeźwie 50.9 21.4

Rzujewice (Rzujowice), *Rzejowice*, srd, rds, Rzujewice, c 51.1 19.7

Rzuski, *Ruski*, lcz, orl, Bedno 52.2 19.5

Rzwiń (Rzewno), *Rzewnie*, maz, roz, Rożan 52.8 21.3

Rzy, maz, cch or scn, Sączocin, r 52.7 20.6

Rzymiec, raw, bla, Biała 51.7 20.5

Rzymsko, srd, srd, Miłkowice 51.9 18.6

Rzytowo, *Żytowo*, plc, sie, Jeżewo 52.8 19.8

Rzyżyno (Rzeżyno), *Ryżyn*, pzn, pzn, Chrzypsko Wielkie 52.6 16.1

Rżaniec (Rżany-Kąt, Rżaniec-Wola), maz, roz, Nowa Wieś, r 53.1 21.3

Rżąka (Rząka, Rząska), *Kraków-Rząka*, krk, scz, Biechanów or Kazimierz ś. Jakub, c 50.0 20.0

Rżyska (Rzyska), snd, plz, Żochów, t 50.2 21.5

Rżyska (Rżyska Dybowski), maz, wrs, Radzymino 52.4 21.2

Sabaszczewo (Sobaszczewo), kls, pzd, Murzynowo Kościelne, r 52.2 17.4

Sablonowo, chl, chl, Orzechowo 53.2 18.9

Sablóg Mały, *Sadlówek*, bkj, bkj, Witowo 52.6 18.7

Sablóg Wielki (Sablóg), *Sadlóg*, bkj, bkj, Witowo 52.6 18.7

Sabnie, pdl, drh, Zembrowo 52.5 22.3

Sacin, raw, bla, Nowe Miasto 51.7 20.6

Saczyno, *Saczyn*, kls, kls, Chełmce, t 51.7 18.1

Sadek (Szadek), *Sadek* – part, krk, scz, Szczyrzycka Góra 49.8 20.3

Sadek (Szadek), snd, rdm, Jastrząb 51.2 20.9

Sadek (Szadek), snd, wsl, Góry 50.4 20.4

Sadki (Sadków), krk, bck, Żmigród 49.6 21.6

Sadkowa (Sadków, Szadkowa), krk, bck, Tarnowiec 49.7 21.6

Sadkowa Góra, snd, snd, Borowa 50.4 21.3

Sadkowice (Szadkowice), snd, rdm, Solec and Piotrawin and then Pawłowice, r 51.1 21.7

Sadkowice, raw, bla, Sadkowice 51.7 20.5

Sadkowo Maior, *Sadkowo-Majory*, plc, pln, Skołatowo 52.6 20.2

Sadkowo-Chrzypty, plc, pln, Skołatowo 52.6 20.2

Sadkowo-Żury, plc, pln, Skołatowo 52.6 20.2

Sadków (Szadków), snd, rdm, Stary Radom, c 51.4 21.2

Sadków (Szadków), snd, snd, Zbylutka, c 50.7 21.1

Sadlno (Salno), *Salno*, inw, bdg, Byszewo, c 53.3 17.9

Sadlno, bkj, rdj, Sadlno 52.4 18.5

Sadlno, *Jablonowo Pomorskie* – part, chl, mch, Jablonowo 53.4 19.2

Sadlno, *Salno*, chl, chl, Gruta 53.5 18.9

Sadłogoszcz, kls, gzn, Pakość 52.9 18.0

Sadłowo (Sadłowo Wola), plc, szr, Chamsk 53.0 19.9

Sadłowo, dbr, rpn, Sadłowo 53.1 19.5

Sadłuki (Sadlauken, Sadluken), mlb, mlb, Postelin 53.9 19.1

Sadokrzyce I, *Sadokrzyce*, srd, srd, Wróblów 51.6 18.5

Sadokrzyce II, *Podgorzuchy*, srd, srd, Wróblów 51.6 18.6

Sadowa, *Łososina Dolna* – part, krk, sdc, Jakubkowice 49.8 20.6

Sadowie (Szadowie), kls, kls, Wysocko Wielkie 51.6 17.8

Sadowie, krk, llw, Irzędze 50.6 19.6

Sadowie, krk, prs, Goszcza, c 50.2 20.1

Sadowie, lub, urz, Wrzawy 50.7 21.9

Sadowie, snd, snd, Ruszków 50.9 21.4

Sadowie, swr, Targoszyce 50.4 19.1

Sadowne (Sadowno), maz, kam, Sadowne, c 52.6 21.8

Sadowo (Czadów, Zadou, Zadow), pzn, wlc 53.3 16.0

Sadowo, chl, chl, Okonin, c 53.5 18.8

Sadowo, plc, szr, Zielona 53.1 20.0

Sadowo, raw, gbn, Brzozów 52.3 20.0

Sadowo\*\*, pdl, drh, Kuczyno

Sadówka (Szadówka), lcz, brz, Kozieł 52.0 19.6

Sadrówka (Wola Żar, Żołdówka?), *Żdżary*, snd, plz, Witkowice, r 50.1 21.6

Sadurki, lub, lub, Bochotnica 51.3 22.3

Sady (Szady), snd, rdm, Klwów 51.5 20.7

Sady, pdl, drh, Drohiczyn 52.4 22.7

Sady, pzn, pzn, Lusowo 52.4 16.7

Sadykierz (Kierz), lcz, brz, Rzeczyca, r 51.6 20.3

Sadykierz (Sadykierz-Perose), *Sadykierz Szlachecki*, maz, roz, Sielun 53.0 21.4

Sadykierz, maz, kam, Obyrte, c 52.7 21.3

Safiejewo (Safiejowo, Safiejówka), *Zofiówka*, pdl, blk, Knyszyn or Dobryniewo, r 53.3 23.0

Safranki, *Szafranki*, pdl, blk, Tykocin 53.2 22.6

Saki (Sakowice), pdl, blk, Bielsk, rn 52.8 23.3

Sakowice (Żakowice), *Saków*, srd, szd, Świeńce 52.0 19.0

Sakowo (Saki), *Saki*, pdl, blk, Kleszczel 52.6 23.3

Sałki, raw, gos, Solec 52.4 19.4

Sałkowo (Sałkowo-Wesel), plc, rac, Gralowo 52.8 20.1

Samborek (Sambork, Zaborek), *Skawina-Samborek*, krk, scz, Skawina, c 50.0 19.8

Sambory (Senbory, Bukowiec), maz, wiz, Wizna 53.2 22.4

Samborze (Sąborza), *Sanborz*, raw, bla, Żdżar 51.7 20.4

Samborzec, snd, snd, Samborzec, r 50.6 21.6

Samice, raw, raw, Skwierniewice, c 52.0 20.2

Samin, chl, mch, Radoszki, c 53.3 19.6

Samniszewo (Jamniszewo), *Staniszewo*, kls, pzd, Kryrowo, c 52.3 17.2

Samocice, snd, wsl, Bolesław, r 50.3 20.9

Samogoszcza (Samogoszcz), snd, stz, Samogoszcza 51.8 21.5

Samokłęski (Samokłęski Wielgie), *Samokłęski Duże*, kls, kcn, Samokłęski 53.1 17.6

Samokłęski Małe, kls, kcn, Samokłęski 53.1 17.7

Samoląsz, *Samoleż*, pzn, pzn, Wronki 52.7 16.4

Samosyce (Siamoszyce, Szamosyce), *Siamoszyce*, krk, llw, Kromolów 50.5 19.6

Samostrzałów, snd, wsl, Kije, c 50.6 20.6

Samostrzele, *Samostrzel*, kls, nkl, Satki 53.1 17.4

Samsony (Jablonia-Samsony), *Jablonia-Samsony*, pdl, blk, Jablonia Kościelna 52.9 22.6

Samszyce Małe (Semszyce Małe), *Samszyce*, bkj, rdj, Witowo 52.6 18.7

Samszyce Wielkie (Samszyce, Semszyce, Semszyce Wielkie), *Kolonia Samszyce*, bkj, rdj, Witowo 52.6 18.7

Samułki, pdl, blk, Bielsk, c 52.9 23.0

Samwodzia (Sąbodzie), *Samwodzie*, snd, stz, Wargocin 51.6 21.6

Sandkrug+, pmr, gdn, [unknown], inn, c 54.4 18.8

Sandomierz (Sendomierz, Sędomierz, Sędomierz), snd, snd, Sandomierz ś. Piotr and ś. Paweł, town, r 50.7 21.7

Sangrozd (Sangroc, Sangrod), *Sangródz*, lcz, brz, Małcz 51.6 19.9

Sanie-Dąb, maz, zmb, Kołaki Stare 53.0 22.4

Sanki, maz, grc, Przybyszewo 51.7 20.8

Sanna, *Zaklików*, lub, urz, Zdziechowice 50.8 22.1

Sanniki (Sannickie), *Saniki*, pdl, blk, Tykocin, rn 53.2 22.8

Sanniki, kls, gzn, Pobiedziska 52.4 17.3

Sanniki, raw, gbn, Sanniki, r 52.3 19.9

Sanogoszca (Samogoszca), *Sanogoszcz*, raw, raw, Krzemienica, c 51.7 20.3

Sany (Szany), *Sanie*, lcz, lcz, Bełdowo 51.8 19.2

Sapa+, raw, gos, Radziwie, mill, c 52.5 19.6

Sapała, pmr, pck, Żarnowiec, mill, c 54.7 18.2

Sapoty (Sapot, Sopoty), chl, chl, Mokre 53.5 18.9

Sapowice, pzn, pzn, Słupia 52.3 16.6

Sarb, *Sarbia*, pzn, pzn, Ceradz Stary 52.4 16.4

Sarb, *Sarbia*, pzn, pzn, Czarnków 52.9 16.6

Sarbice, snd, chc, Mnin, r 51.0 20.3

Sarbice, srd, szd, Wielanów 52.0 18.7

Sarbicko, kls, knn, Tuliszków 52.1 18.2

Sarbie (Sarbia), *Szarbia*, krk, prs, Igołomia 50.1 20.3

Sarbie, *Szarbia Zwierzyniecka*, krk, prs, Skarbimierz, c 50.3 20.4

Sarbiewo (Sarblewo), maz, scn, Sarbiewo 52.7 20.4

Sarbinowo (Sarbinowo), pzn, pzn, Urzazowo, c 52.4 17.1

Sarbinowo (Skarbinowo), kls, kcn, Żnin, c 52.9 17.6

Sarbinowo = Sarbinowo, Sarbinowo Małe\*, *Sarbinowo Drugie*, kls, gzn, Koldrąb 52.7 17.5

Sarbinowo, pzn, ksc, Poniec 51.7 16.8

Sarbka (Sarb, Sarba), *Sarbia*, kls, gzn, Podlesie, Popowo 52.7 17.2

Sarbków, *Szarbków*, snd, wsl, Kije, c 50.5 20.6

Sarbska (Szarbska), *Szarbsko*, snd, opc, Skorkowice 51.3 19.9

Sarbsko, *Szapsk*, plc, rac, Gralewo 52.7 20.1

Sarcz (Sardecz, Sardecz, Szarcz), *Szarcz*, pzn, pzn, Pczew, c 52.5 15.7

Sarnaki, pdl, mln, Sarnaki 52.3 22.9

Sarnowa Góra, maz, cch, Suńsk, r 52.8 20.6

Sarnowo (Sarnkowo), bkj, prd, Izbica, r 52.5 18.8

Sarnowo (Sarnówko), dbr, rpn, Rogowo 52.9 19.4

Sarnowo = Sarnowo x5, *Sarnowo* – part, maz, wsg, Skołatowo 52.6 20.2

Sarnowo Małe, *Sarnówek*, lcz, lcz, Bełdowo 51.9 19.2

Sarnowo Wielkie, *Sarnów*, lcz, lcz, Dałikowo 51.8 19.1

Sarnowo-Nowa Wieś (Nowa Wieś), *Nowa Wieś*, plc, szr, Sarnowo 53.1 20.1

Sarnowo, chl, chl, Sarnowo 53.4 18.7

Sarnowo, plc, szr, Sarnowo 53.1 20.1

Sarnowo, *Sarnowa*, kls, gzn, Ślesin 52.4 18.2

Sarnowo, *Sarnowa*, pzn, ksc, Sarnowo, town 51.6 16.9

Sarnowo+, pdl, drh, Knychowo 52.3 22.6

Sarnowy (Sarnowo, Sarnau), pmr, tcz, Kościerzyno 54.1 18.0

Sarnów (Siarna), snd, rdm, Oleksów 51.5 21.8

Sarnów, lub, luk, Tuchowicz 51.9 22.3

Sarnów, srd, srd, Rzestarczów 51.4 19.0

Sarnów, swr, Będzin 50.4 19.2

Sarnówka, pzn, ksc, Sarnowo, suburb 51.6 16.9

Sarnówko, *Kłódka* – part, chl, chl, Grudziądz 53.5 18.9

Sarny (Siarny), snd, stz, Żabia Wola, r 51.6 22.0

Sarny, srd, srd, Gruszczycze 51.6 18.5

Sarpka, (Sarbka), *Sarbka*, kls, kcn, Żuń, c 52.9 17.0

Sartowice Dolne (Sartawice Dolne), pmr, swc, Święte Wielkie 53.4 18.6

Sartowice Górne (Sartawice), *Sartowice*, pmr, swc, Święte Wielkie 53.4 18.6

Sasinowa Wola, *Wola Czaryska*, krk, llw, Dzierzków 50.7 19.9

Sasiny Stare = Sasiny Stare (Sasiny, Sasiny Borowe, Sasiny-Stara Wieś), Sasiny-Wity (Witki-Sasiny)\*, *Sasiny*, pdl, blk, Wyszki 52.8 23.0

Sasiny-Dąbki-Skupie = Sasiny-Dąbki-Skupie\*, Sasiny-Krolkowa\*, *Dąbki-Lętownica*, maz, zmb, Zambrowo 52.9 22.2

Sasiny-Kalinówka (Kalinówka, Kalinówka-Sasiny, Witki-Kalinówka), *Kalinówka*, pdl, blk, Wyszki 52.8 23.0

Sasiny-Lętownica, *Sasiny*, maz, zmb, Zambrowo 52.9 22.2

Sasiny-Tworki\*, pdl, blk, Wyszki 52.8 23.0

Sasiny, okolica, pdl, blk

Satarpy (Sarapaty, Satarpa), *Szatarpy*, pmr, tcz, Wyszyno, c 54.1 18.3

Satki (Szadki), *Sadki*, kls, nkl, Satki, r 53.2 17.4

Satkowski, *Sadkowski Młyn*, kls, nkl, Satki, mill, r 53.2 17.4

Sauden (Sawden, Zawda), *Zawda*, chl, chl, Szywna 53.6 19.2

Sawa (Saba), krk, scz, Gruszów 49.8 20.2

Sawicze Ruskie (Sawice Ruskie), *Sawice-Wieś*, pdl, drh, Wyrozęby-Podawce 52.3 22.5

Sawicze-Bronisze (Bronisze-Sawicze), *Sawice-Bronisze*, pdl, drh, Paprotnia 52.3 22.5

Sawino, pdl, blk, Tykocin, r 53.2 22.9

Sąhocin, *Sochocin*, maz, scn, Sąhocin, town, r 52.7 20.5

Sąhocino-Czyżewo, *Sochocino-Czyżewo*, maz, wsg, Blichowo 52.6 20.0

Sąhocino-Niemierzyce\*, *Jasień*, maz, wsg, Blichowo 52.6 20.0

Sąhocino-Praga, *Sochocino-Praga*, maz, wsg, Blichowo 52.6 20.0

Sąhocino-Suchardy (Sąhocino-Miko-szewice), *Sochocino-Suchardy*, maz, wsg, Blichowo 52.6 20.0

Sączkowo, pzn, ksc, Przemęt 52.0 16.3

Sączów, swr, Sączów 50.4 19.0

Sądecz Nowy (Nowy Sądecz), *Nowy Sącz*, krk, sdc, Sądecz Nowy, town, r 49.6 20.7

Sądecz Stary (Stary Sądecz), *Stary Sącz*, krk, sdc, Sądecz Stary, town, c 49.6 20.6

Sądkowo, *Sadków Szlachecki*, maz, gre, Worowo 51.9 20.8

Sągole, pdl, drh, Skibniewo-Podawce 52.5 22.2

Sapolinko (Sapolno, Sapolinko Małe, Sompolinko), *Sompolinek*, bkj, rdj, Sapolno, cn 52.4 18.5

Sapolno (Sapolino), pmr, czl, Sapolno 53.8 17.3

Sapolno, *Sompolno*, bkj, rdj, Sapolno, town, c 52.4 18.5

Sąpolny Młyn+, pzn, pzn, Lwówek, mill 52.4 16.0

Sąsieczenko (Samsieczenko), *Samsieczynek*, kls, nkl, Sąsieczeno 53.2 17.6

Sąsieczeno (Samsieczeno), *Samsieczeno*, kls, nkl, Sąsieczeno 53.2 17.7

Sąspów, krk, prs, Sąspów 50.2 19.8

Sątop, *Sątopy*, pzn, pzn, Wytomyśl 52.3 16.2

Sątrząska (Sumtraszka), maz, prz, Przasnysz 53.0 21.0

Sbakow\*\* (Sbakowo), kls, pzd, Ostrów?

Schadwald (Sadwald, Szadwald), *Szawald*, mlb, mlb, Schadwald, r 54.1 19.1

Scharfenberg, *Bystra*, pmr, gdn, Wocław, t 54.3 18.8

Scharfenort, *Gdańsk* – part, pmr, gdn, Święty Wojciech, t 54.3 18.6

Scharffenberg, *Ostrogóra*, mlb, mlb, Tokemmit 54.3 19.5

Schellmühle, *Młyniska*, pmr, gdn, [unknown], mill, c 54.4 18.6

Scheute\*\*, pmr, gdn, t

Schievenhorst (Schiewenhorst), *Świbno*, pmr, gdn, Bohnsack, t 54.3 18.9

Schilkendorf (Zielkowo), *Zielkowo*, chl, mch, Kazanice, c 53.6 19.7

Schiltberg (Sylbark, Szylbark), *Kamień*, pmr, czl, Strieczona 53.6 17.2

Schirschau (Szerzawa), *Szerzawa*, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.3 18.9

Schlaglau (Slagelau, Szlagłowo), *Szlagłowo*, mlb, mlb, Fiszewo, r 54.1 19.2

- Schloss Herrn Grebin, *Grabiny-Zameczek*, pmr, gdn, Suchydwąg, demesne, t 54.2 18.7
- Schmerblock, *Blotnik*, pmr, gdn, Kiezmarm, t 54.3 18.9
- Schmergrube, pmr, gdn, Prybbernow, t 54.4 19.5
- Schönau (Szonowo), *Kraśniewo*, mlb, mlb, Schönau, r 54.0 19.0
- Schönau (Szonówko), *Drzonowo*, pmr, czł, Drzonowo 53.8 16.8
- Schönau, *Stanisławowo*, pmr, gdn, Woław, t 54.3 18.8
- Schönbaum, *Drewnica*, pmr, gdn, Schönbaum, t 54.3 19.0
- Schönefeld (Szynfelt), *Lostowice*, pmr, gdn, Święty Wojciech 54.3 18.6
- Schönenberg, *Kaliska*, pmr, czł, Białobork, r 53.9 16.8
- Schönewiese (Krasna Łąka, Szonweza), *Krasnołęka*, mlb, mlb, Königsdorf, r 54.0 19.2
- Schönewiese (Krasna Łąka, Szonwezy, Szynweza), *Krasna Łąka*, mlb, mlb, Schönewiese 53.9 19.2
- Schönfeld, *Niezychowice*, pmr, czł, Niezychowice (Jaruczewo) 53.7 17.5
- Schönhöltzig, *Nowa Wieś*, pzn, wlc 53.5 16.3
- Schönhorst (Szonorst), *Gniazdowo*, mlb, mlb, Nowa Cerkiew, r 54.2 18.9
- Schönmoor, *Zalesie*, mlb, mlb, [unknown], t 54.1 19.6
- Schönrohr, *Trzciniśko*, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.3 18.9
- Schönsee, *Jeziernik*, mlb, mlb, Schönsee (Jeziernik), r 54.2 19.0
- Schröderkämpe+, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.3 19.1
- Schüddelkau, *Szadółki*, pmr, gdn, Gdańsk-Katarzyna, t 54.3 18.6
- Schulzendorf (Schulendorf, Sultendorp, Sultendorpia), *Jeziorki*, pzn, wlc 53.2 16.1
- Schusterkrug+, pmr, gdn, [unknown], inn, t 54.3 18.9
- Schwabental+, pmr, gdn, Oliwa, mill, c 54.4 18.5
- Schwentenkämpe+, pmr, gdn, [unknown], t 54.2 19.1
- Szczerbino (Szczerbiny)\*\*\*, dbr, lpn, Bobrowniki
- Secemin (Secemino), *Sucumin*, pmr, tcz, Pinczyno 53.9 18.4
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- Sieraków (Siraków), *Sieraków* – part, krk, scz, Dziekanowice 49.9 20.1
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- Siercza (Siersza), *Siercza* – part, krk, scz, Wieliczka 50.0 20.0
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- Sierniki (Serniki, Sierzniki, Syrniki), *Sierzniki*, raw, gbn, Łowicz N. Maria Panna, c 52.2 20.0
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- Sieromino I, II = Sieromino-Bernarda\* (Siromino, Ziromino, Ziromino-Niemierza), *Sieromino-Dzierżysława\** (Sieromino-Dzierżek), *Sieromino-Garbacz\**, *Szeromin*, *Szerominek*, plc, pln, Płońsko, 52.6 20.3
- Sierosław (Sierosłowo, Sirosław), pmr, swc, Drzycim, r 53.5 18.3
- Sierosław, pzn, pzn, Lusowo 52.4 16.6
- Sierosław, srd, ptr, Srocie 51.5 19.6
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- Skarszyno, *Skarszyn*, maz, wsg, Żukowo Wielkie 52.5 20.2
- Skarydźów (Skaradzów), *Skarydzew*, srd, ost, Wyszaków 51.4 18.2
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- Skarzyno = Skarzyno-Cibory\* (Skarzyno-Stybory), Skarzyno-Parkosze\*, Skarzyno-Przeczek\*, *Skarzyn*, maz, scn, Radzimino Wielkie 52.6 20.3
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- Skęcznów = Skęcznów, Skęcznówek\*, *Skęczniew*, srd, srd, Skęcznów 51.9 18.7
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Szarów, *Szarów Pański*, srd, szd, Uniejów 52.0 18.9

Szarpenort, (Sarphenortt, Somphenord), *Ostroróg*, pzn, wlc, r 53.6 16.3

Szaruty, pdl, drh, Węgrów, c 52.3 22.1

Szaryska Wola, *Mordarka-Szarysz*, krk, sdc, Ilmanowa 49.7 20.5

Szarzyno, *Sarzyn*, maz, wsg, Góra Kościelna 52.6 20.1

Szawłowie (Sawłowice), *Sadłowice*, snd, snd, Malice, c 50.8 21.6

Szawłowice (Sawłowicze), *Sadłowice*, inw, inw, Szawłowice, c 52.8 18.3

Szawłowice, *Sadłowice*, snd, rdm, Jaroszyn, c 51.4 21.9

Szawłowicze, *Szadkowice*, kls, knn, Turtek 52.0 18.4

Szawłowo, maz, wsg, Daniszewo 52.6 20.1

Szawły (Sawły), pdl, mln, Hadynów 52.2 22.7

Szczaki, maz, tar, Tarczyn 52.0 20.9

Szczakowa, *Jaworzno-Szczakowa*, krk, prs, Jaworzno, r 50.2 19.3

Szczałba, *Szczałb*, snd, stz, Wojcieszków 51.8 22.2

Szczawin = Szczawin (Szczawino), Szeligi\*, lcz, brz, Szczawin, r 51.9 19.5

Szczawinek (Prawda), *Studzieniec*, raw, msz, Mszczonów, demesne, r 52.0 20.4

Szczawinko, *Welnica* – part, kls, gzn, Gniezno-św. Michała, c 52.6 17.6

Szczawino Borowe = Szczawino Borowe, Szczawino Wielkie, *Szczawin Borowy*, raw, gos, Suserz 52.4 19.7

Szczawino Stare, *Szczawin Stary*, raw, gos, Suserz 52.4 19.6

Szczawino, *Szczawin*, maz, nmo, Nowe Miasto 52.7 20.7

Szczawnica Niżna, *Szczawnica* – part, krk, sdc, Szczawnica Wyżna, r 49.4 20.5

Szczawnica Wyżna, *Szczawnica* – part, krk, sdc, Szczawnica Wyżna, r 49.4 20.5

Szczawnik (Szczawnica), krk, sdc, [unknown orthodox parish], c 49.4 20.9

Szczawno, srd, srd, Burzenin 51.4 18.8

Szczaworzysz, *Szczaworyż*, snd, wsl, Szczaworzysz 50.5 20.8

Szczebietowo (Szczebiotowo, Szczebiotkowo), *Szczeblotowo*, bkj, rdj, Byczyna 52.7 18.6

Szczebrzusz (Szczebruch), snd, wsl, Zborówek 50.4 21.2

Szczechowo, dbr, rpn, Szczutowo 52.9 19.6

Szczecin, *Szczecyn*, lub, urz, Gościeradów 50.8 22.0

Szczecino, *Szczecin*, bkj, prd, Chodecz 52.4 19.0

Szczeczo (Szczecno), *Szczecno*, snd, wsl, Pierzchnica 50.7 20.8

Szczedrzejewo (Szczydrzejewa), *Szczydrzejewo*, kls, pzd, Czeszewo 52.1 17.5

Szczydrzykowo (Szczydrzyków, Szczydrzykowo), *Szczydrzykowo*, pzn, pzn, Pierzchno 52.3 17.1

Szczęgiel (Szczygiel), *Szczęgło*, snd, snd, Manina, cn 50.8 21.3

Szczęglacin, pdl, drh, Knychowo 52.4 22.6

Szczęgllice (Szczygllice, Szczyglice), *Szczyglice*, krk, prs, Morawica 50.1 19.8

Szczęgllice, snd, snd, Szczygllice 50.7 21.3

Szczęglin, snd, wsl, Pacanów, cn 50.4 21.0

Szczęglino, *Szczyglin Poduchowny*, maz, roz, Gąsowo, c 53.0 21.2

Szczygłów (Szczygłów, Szczygłów), *Szczygłów*, krk, szcz, Biskupice 50.0 20.1

Szczeka, snd, snd, Połaniec 50.5 21.3

Szczekarków, lub, lub, Lewartów 51.5 22.6

Szczekarków, lub, lub, Wilków 51.2 21.9

Szczekarzowice (Szczykarzewice), *Czykarzewice*, snd, snd, Pawłowice 51.0 21.7

Szczekarzów, krk, prs, Skarbimierz 50.3 20.4

Szczekociny (Szczykociny), krk, llw, Szczekociny, town 50.6 19.8

Szczekocińskie Przedmieście (Przedmieście Szczekocińskie, Przedmieście Szczekocińskie), *Szczekociny* – part, krk, llw, Szczekociny 50.6 19.8

Szczepanek, maz, wrs, Klembowo 52.4 21.4

Szczepanki (Dietrichsdorf), chl, chl, Szczepanki, r 53.5 19.0

Szczepanki-Nowiny+, maz, cch, Koziaczyno Małe 53.0 20.7

Szczepanki-Pieski, *Szczepanki-Piechy*, maz, cch, Koziaczyno Małe 53.0 20.8

Szczepanki-Stara Wieś, maz, cch, Koziaczyno Małe 53.0 20.7

Szczepanki, chl, mch, Jabłonowo 53.4 19.1

Szczepanki, dbr, lpn, Ostrowite and Wierzbick 52.8 19.2

Szczepanki, lub, luk, Trzebieszów 52.0 22.6

Szczepankowo (Stephansdorf, Stiependorf, Tschiependorf), chl, mch, Prątnica, c 53.5 19.9

Szczepankowo (Szczypanowo Mniejsze), kls, kcn, Szczypanowo, c 52.8 17.9

Szczepankowo, maz, lom, Szczypanowo, c 53.1 22.0

Szczepankowo, *Poznań-Szczypanowo*, pzn, pzn, Sławie 52.4 17.0

Szczepankowo, pzn, pzn, Szamotuły 52.6 16.5

Szczypankowo, *Stare Szczypankowo*, pzn, ksc, Charbielino 52.0 16.4

Szczypanowice, krk, kss, Miechów, c 50.3 20.1

Szczypanowice, krk, prs, Niedźwiedź 50.2 20.1

Szczypanowice, snd, plz, Jodłówka 49.9 20.9

Szczypanowice, srd, ptr, Mierzyn 51.2 19.6

Szczypanowo, kls, kcn, Szczypanowo, c 52.8 17.9

Szczypanów (Szczypanowice), krk, szcz, Szczypanów 50.0 20.7

Szczypanów\*, lub, urz, Świeciechów, c 51.0 21.8

Szczypanowice, kls, kcn, Kcynia 53.0 17.5

Szczypanidło, kls, knn, Morzysław 52.2 18.3

Szczypaniec, *Szczypaniec*, snd, wsl, Pińczów 50.5 20.6

Szczypankowo Borowe (Szczypankowo Borowice), plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny or Grzebsk 53.3 20.6

Szczypankowo-Drozdzy\* (Pawelki?), *Szczypankowo-Pawelki*, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny or Grzebsk 53.3 20.6

Szczypankowo-Iwan (Iwany), *Szczypankowo-Iwany*, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny or Grzebsk 53.3 20.6

Szczypankowo-Krajewo = Kawieczyno, Szczypankowo-Krajewo, *Krajewo-Kawieczyno*, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny or Grzebsk 53.3 20.6

Szczypankowo-Skrody = Szczypankowo-Skrody, Zakon\*, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny or Grzebsk 53.3 20.6

Szczypankowo-Soldany = Soldany\*, Szczypankowo-Soldany, plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny or Grzebsk 53.3 20.6

Szczypankowo-Zalesie (Szczypankowo Wielkie?), plc, mla, Janowiec Kościelny or Grzebsk 53.3 20.6

Szczypanowo, plc, rac, Uniecko 52.8 20.2

Szczypanowice, *Szczypanowice Prywatne*, *Szczypanowice Rządowe*, srd, rds, Radomskie, cn 51.0 19.4

Szczypanowice, pzn, ksc, Konojad 52.2 16.5

Szczypanowice, *Szczypanowice*, pmr, tcz, Godziszewo 54.1 18.6

Szczypanowice, *Szczypanowice*, kls, nkl, Luchowo 53.2 17.2

Szczypanowice (Szczypanowice), srd, srd, Szczypanowice, town, r 51.3 19.1

Szczypanowice (Szczypanowice), krk, sdc, Łącko and Podegrodzie, c 49.6 20.5

Szczypanowice Małe, *Szczypanowice*, bkj, prd, Izbica 52.4 18.8

Szczypanowice Wielkie (Szczypanowice), *Szczypanowice*, bkj, prd, Izbica 52.4 18.8

Szczypanowice (Szczypanowice), *Szczypanowice*, snd, wsl, Strożyńska, c 50.3 20.7

Szczodrkowice, krk, prs, Smarzewice 50.2 19.9

Szczodrkowice, *Szczotkowice*, krk, prs, Działoszyce 50.4 20.3

Szczodrochowo, pzn, ksc, Kunowo, c 51.9 16.9

Szczodrowo (Czodrowa), pmr, tez, Szczodrowo, r 54.1 18.4

Szczodrowo, pzn, ksc, Kościan 52.1 16.6

Szczodrowski Młyn, pmr, tez, Szczodrowo, mill, r 54.1 18.3

Szczucice, snd, snd, Wsześwięte 50.9 21.4

Szczucin (Szczuczyn), snd, wsl, Szczucin 50.3 21.1

Szczucińska Wola, *Wola Szczucińska*, snd, wsl, Szczucin 50.3 21.1

Szczuczki, lub, lub, Wojciechów 51.2 22.2

Szczuczyno, *Szczuczyn*, pzn, pzn, Szamotyły 52.6 16.5

Szczudłów (Ostrówek-Szczudłów), lcz, orl, Łowicz Święty Duch, c 52.1 19.9

Szczudrkowo (Szczodrkowo, Szczudkowo, Szczutkowo, Szczutrkowo), *Szczutkowo*, bkj, kwl, Grabkowo 52.5 19.1

Szczuka, chl, mch, Szczuka, r 53.2 19.4

Szczuki Małe = Szczuki Małe, Szczuki-Opipy (Szczuki Średnie?), raw, bla, Biała 51.7 20.6

Szczuki Wielgie, *Szczuki Duże*, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.6

Szczuki-Falislawy, *Barany*, maz, was, Wąsosz 53.6 22.3

Szczuki-Litwa (Księża Wieś), *Szczuczyn* – part, maz, was, Wąsosz, r 53.6 22.3

Szczuki-Marciny, *Skaje*, maz, was, Wąsosz 53.6 22.3

Szczuki-Piotry (Szczuki-Pawelki), *Szczuczyn* – part, maz, was, Wąsosz 53.6 22.3

Szczuki, maz, prz, Krasne 52.9 21.0

Szczuki\*, *Wółka*, maz, was, Wąsosz 53.6 22.3

Szczukocice (Szczukocice), srd, ptr, Gorzkowice 51.2 19.6

Szczukowice, snd, chc, Piękoszów 50.9 20.5

Szczukowskie Góry, *Szczukowskie Górki*, snd, chc, Kielce, mine, c 50.9 20.5

Szczukwin, srd, ptr, Stary Tuszyn, c 51.6 19.5

Szczuplin\*\*, pmr, tez

Szczuplinki (Szczyplinki), chl, chl, Radzyń 53.4 19.0

Szczurowa, snd, plz, Szczurowa, c 50.1 20.6

Szczurowo, maz, liw, Pniewnik 52.4 21.8

Szczurowo\*\*, *Szczurzyno*, maz, liw, Kałuszyno

Szczurowo+, maz, zkr, Grodziec 52.4 20.4

Szczurów, *Grabie* – part, krk, szc, Grabie 50.0 20.1

Szczury, kls, kls, Szczury 51.7 17.8

Szczurzyno, *Szczurzyn*, maz, cch, Ciechanów 52.9 20.6

Szczutowo, dbr, rpn, Górzno, c 53.2 19.6

Szczutowo, dbr, rpn, Płonne 53.1 19.2

Szczutowo, dbr, rpn, Szczutowo 52.9 19.6

Szczutrkowy (Szczotrkowy), *Szczutki*, inw, bdg, Wtelno, c 53.2 17.9

Szczygielkowa Wola (Wola Dębieńska), *Wola Szczygielkowa*, snd, snd, Dębno, c 50.9 21.0

Szczygły Dębniaki\*, lub, luk, Łuków 51.9 22.3

Szczygły Pasternaki, *Szczygły Górne*, lub, luk, Łuków 51.9 22.3

Szczygły Stara Wieś, *Szczygły Dolne*, lub, luk, Łuków 51.9 22.3

Szczypierno (Szczypiorno), *Kalisz-Szczypiorno*, kls, kls, Skalmierzyce 51.7 18.0

Szczypierno, *Szczypiorno*, maz, zkr, Pomnichowo 52.5 20.7

Szczyrkowo (Szczerkowo), *Szczerków*, kls, pzd, Baszkowo 51.7 17.3

Szczyrzyc, krk, szc, Szczyrzycka Góra, monastery, c 49.8 20.2

Szczyrzycka Góra (Góra św. Jana), *Góra św. Jana*, krk, szc, Szczyrzycka Góra, c 49.8 20.2

Szczytnik, maz, gar, Jakubowo 52.2 21.7

Szczytniki = Nieciecza\*, Szczytniki, snd, snd, Sandomierz ś. Piotr or Góry Wysockie, cn 50.7 21.8

Szczytniki, kls, kls, Iwanowice 51.7 18.3

Szczytniki, krk, prs, Proszowice 50.2 20.3

Szczytniki, krk, szc, Brzezie, cn 50.0 20.2

Szczytniki, pzn, pzn, Głuszyna 52.3 17.0

Szczytniki, snd, wsl, Janina 50.5 20.9

Szczytniki, snd, wsl, Strożyska 50.3 20.7

Szczytniki, *Szczytniki Czerniejewskie*, kls, gzn, Marzenino 52.4 17.5

Szczytniki, *Szczytniki Duchowne*, kls, gzn, Kędzierzno, c 52.5 17.6

Szczytno (Czitno, Ziethen), pmr, czl, Szczytno 53.8 17.2

Szczytno, bkj, bkj, Choceń 52.5 19.0

Szczytno, maz, scn, Krysk 52.6 20.5

Szczytno, plc, plc, Miszewo Strzałkowskie 52.6 19.9

Szczytno, pzn, pzn, Słomowo 52.7 16.9

Szczytno, raw, sch, Sochaczew 52.2 20.4

Szczytów, *Szczyty*, lcz, lcz, Kałowo 51.9 19.0

Szczyty, maz, wrk, Jasiona 51.6 21.0

Szczyty, srd, wln, Szczyty 51.1 18.8

Szebnie (Szebień, Siebienie, Szebnia), snd, plz, Szebnie 49.8 21.6

Szelągi (Łopienie), *Łopienie-Szelągi*, pdl, blk, Domanowo 52.9 22.7

Szelejewo, kls, gzn, Gąsawa, c 52.7 17.7

Szeliewo (Szelejewo), *Szelejewo*, pzn, ksc, Strzelce Wielkie 51.9 17.1

Szeligi (Seligi), *Seligi*, lcz, orl, Bielawy 52.1 19.6

Szeligi Małe, plc, plc, Słupno 52.5 19.9

Szeligi Wielkie, plc, plc, Słupno 52.5 19.9

Szeligi-Stpice, *Gumowo-Dobki* – part, maz, nur, Czyżewo Kościelne 52.8 22.3

Szeligi, raw, msz, Mszczonów 52.0 20.5

Szeligi, *Szeligi* – part, snd, snd, Waśniów 50.9 21.2

Szeligów, *Seligów*, raw, sch, Pczonów, c 52.0 20.0

Szelistowo\* (Sielistowo), pdl, blk, Rajgród 53.8 22.8

Szelistówka (Sielistówka, Sielistówka, Szelistowo, Żelistówka), *Solistówka*, pdl, blk, Bargłowo 53.8 22.8

Szelków (Szalkowo), maz, mak, Szelków, c 52.8 21.2

Szembory-Andrzejewięta (Sembory-Jędrzejewięta, Senbory-Andrzejewięta), *Szymbory-Andrzejewięta*, pdl, blk, Jabłonia Kościelna 52.9 22.6

Szembory-Jakubowięta (Sembory-Jakubowięta, Szenbory-Jakubowięta), *Szymbory-Jakubowięta*, pdl, blk, Jabłonia Kościelna 52.9 22.6

Szembory-Włodki (Szenbory-Włodki), *Szymbory-Włodki*, pdl, blk, Jabłonia Kościelna 52.9 22.6

Szembory, okolica, pdl, blk

Szepietowo Podleśne (Szepietowo Podleśne), pdl, blk, Długa Dąbrowa 52.8 22.5

Szepietowo-Janówka (Szepietowo-Janówka), pdl, blk, Długa Dąbrowa 52.9 22.5

Szepietowo-Wawrzyńce (Szepietowo Wawrzyńcowięta, Szepietowo-Wawrzyńce), pdl, blk, Długa Dąbrowa 52.8 22.5

Szepietowo-Żaki (Szepietow-Żaki), pdl, blk, Długa Dąbrowa 52.9 22.5

Szepietowo, okolica, pdl, blk

Szernie (Sarnie), pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.7 23.3

Szerokopas, chl, chl, Dźwierzno, demesne, r 53.2 18.7

Szeronosy (Seronosy), *Szerenosy*, pdl, blk, Turośna 53.0 23.1

Szerzyny (Serzyny), krk, bck, Szerzyny 49.8 21.2

Szeszyły (Szeszuły), pdl, blk, Boćki 52.6 23.2

Szetlewo Małe, *Szetlewek*, kls, knn, Rzgowo 52.1 17.9

Szetlewo Wielkie = Szetlewo Wielkie, *Drżągzi\** (demesne), *Szetlew*, kls, knn, Rzgowo 52.1 17.9

Szewa, chl, chl, Chełmanie 53.1 18.9

Szewce Nadolne, lcz, orl, Bedlno 52.2 19.5

Szewce Nagórne, lcz, orl, Bedno 52.2 19.5

Szewce Owsiane, lcz, orl, Bedno 52.2 19.5

Szewce, bkj, rdj, Piotrkowo 52.5 18.5

Szewce, plc, bls, Bielsko, c 52.7 19.9

Szewce, pzn, pzn, Buk 52.3 16.5

Szewce, pzn, pzn, Tulce, c 52.4 17.0

Szewce, snd, chc, Chęciny, r 50.8 20.5

Szewce, snd, snd, Skotniki, c 50.6 21.6

Szewkowo, *Górki-Szewkowo*, maz, wiz, Dobrzyjałowo 53.3 22.2

Szewna, snd, snd, Szewna, c 50.9 21.4

Szewnica (Siewnica), maz, kam, Jadwo 52.5 21.6

Szewno (Siewno), pmr, swc, Siekotowo, demesne 53.4 18.2

Szewo (Szewo Wielkie), bkj, kwl, Kłobia Mała 52.5 19.2

Szewo Małe, *Szewskie Budy*, bkj, kwl, Kłobia Mała 52.4 19.2

Szklanów (Sklanów, Śklanów), snd, wsl, Stobnica, r 50.4 20.9

Szklary, krk, prs, Raclawice, r 50.2 19.7

Szkodna (Szkoda), *Olszyny* – part, krk, sdc, Olszyny 49.9 20.8

Szkółki, kls, gzn, Rogowo 52.7 17.6

Szkudła, kls, kls, Kucharki Rycerskie 51.8 17.9

Szkwia, maz, osl, Ostrołęka, farm, r 53.2 21.7

Szła (Śła), maz, prz, Przasnysz, r 53.1 21.0

Szlachcino, *Szlachcin*, kls, pzd, Nietrzanowo 52.2 17.3

Szlachecki, lcz, brz, Szczawin, m 53.1 21.0

Szlachtowa, *Szczawnica-Szlachtowa*, krk, sdc, Szlachtowa (orthodox) 49.4 20.5

Szlembark (Szlimbark), krk, sdc, Hartłowa 49.5 20.2

Szlemsdorf (Slempstrow), *Szmezdrowo*, pzn, ksc, Gołaszyno 51.7 16.6

Szłapy (Górne Szłapy?), lcz, lcz, Słaboszewo 52.1 19.1

Szłop, *Człopki*, srd, srd, Boleszczyno, mill, c 52.0 18.7

Szmelta\*\*, pmr, pck, ironworks, r

Szmurły (Smurły), pdl, drh, Rudka 52.7 22.8

Szołajdy Dębownicowe, *Szołajdy*, lcz, lcz, Krośniewice 52.2 19.1

Szołajdy Kujawkowe+ (Szołajdy), lcz, lcz, Chodowo Większe 52.3 19.0

Szoldry, pzn, ksc, Brodnica 52.1 16.8

Szonberg (Schöneberg, Sonberk, Synbark), *Ostaszewo*, mlb, mlb, Szonberg, r 54.2 19.0

Szonborno (Szomborno), *Szymborno*, chl, chl, Kijewo Królewskie 53.3 18.4

Szonowo (Sonowo), chl, chl, Łasin, r 53.5 19.1

Szonowo, *Dzwonowo*, pzn, pzn, Człopa 53.1 16.0

Szonwarcki Młyn+, pmr, czl, Henrichswald, mill 53.6 17.1

Szonwart (Schönewarnke, Schönwerder), *Skowarnki*, pmr, czl, Henrichswald 53.6 17.1

Szopy, *Warszawa-Szopy Polskie*, maz, wrs, Służewo 52.2 21.0

Szorce (Sorce, Szorce-Cibarzewo), pdl, blk, Trzciane 53.3 22.7

Szostaki, maz, wiz, Burzyno 53.3 22.5

Szostakowo (Szostaków), pdl, blk, Narew, r 52.8 23.5

Szpaki (Spaki), *Stare Szpaki, Nowe Szpaki*, pdl, mln, Górki, r 52.2 22.9

Szpaki, maz, prz, Dzierzgowo 53.1 20.6

Szpakowe Łęki (Łąki Wielkie), *Łęki Szlacheckie*, srd, ptr, Rączno 51.2 19.8

Szpakowo, pdl, blk, Goniądz, demesne, r 53.4 22.9

Szpakowo, pdl, blk, Kalinówka, r 53.4 22.9

Szpegawsko (Spangau, Spęgawsk, Spęgawsko, Szpegawski), *Szpegawsk*, pmr, tcz, Szpegawsk 54.0 18.6

Szpital Górny (Spital Górny, Spital Wielki, Szpital Wielki), *Szpetal Górny*, dbr, dbr, Szpital Nadolny 52.7 19.1

Szpital Nadolny = Szpital Nadolny (Spital, Szpital), *Zazdrość*, mill, n, *Szpetal Dolny*, dbr, dbr, Szpital Nadolny, cn 52.7 19.1

Szpital, inw, inw, Parkanie, c 52.8 18.4

Szpitary, krk, prs, Brzesko Nowe, c 50.1 20.4

Szramowo (Schramendorf), chl, mch, Pokrzydowo 53.3 19.5

Szrapki, (Szrabki), *Szarpki*, kls, pzd, Giecx 52.3 17.3

Szreniawa, pzn, ksc, Stary Klasztor, c 51.9 16.0

Szreńsko = Słoszewy\*, Szreńsko (Srzeńsko, Sreńsko), *Szreńsk*, plc, szr, Szreńsko, town 53.0 20.1

Szronka (Sronka, Śzronka), plc, szr, Sarnowo 53.2 20.1

Szropy (Schrope, Sropy), mlb, mlb, Szropy, r 54.0 19.2

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- Troszyno, *Troszyn*, maz, osl, Troszyno 53.0 21.7
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- Truskolas-Stara Wieś (Truskolas Stary, Truskolasy, Truskoleńskie), *Stare Truskolasy*, pdl, blk, Sokoły 53.0 22.7
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- Truszki = Truszki, Truszki-Cibory\*, maz, cch, Ciecchanów 52.9 20.7
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- Wola Brzeska (Stara Wola), *Brzuskowola*, maz, gar, Jastrząbie 51.9 21.8
- Wola Brzeska, *Brzeska Wola*, maz, wrk, Stromiec 51.6 21.0
- Wola Brzeska\*, snd, rdm, Klwów 51.5 20.6
- Wola Brzeźnicka (Brzeźnicka Wola), snd, plz, Brzeźnica 50.1 21.5
- Wola Brzoska, *Wółka Brzóska*, snd, rdm, Brzoza, r 51.6 21.3
- Wola Brzostowska = Wola Brzostowska (Wola Brzostkowska, Brzostkowa Wola), *Wolica\**, *Wola Brzostecka*, snd, plz, Brzostek, c 49.9 21.4
- Wola Brzozowska (Zalesie), *Zalesie*, raw, gbn, Brzozów 52.3 20.0
- Wola Buczkowska, srd, szd, Buczek 51.5 19.1
- Wola Bukowa (Bukowska Wola), *Bukówka Stara*, maz, tar, Skuły 52.0 20.7
- Wola Bystramowska (Starzyńska Wola, Wola Bystraniowska, Wola Bystrzanowska), *Wółka Starzyńska*, krk, llw, Nakło 50.7 19.8
- Wola Bystrzycka, lub, luk, Wojcieszków 51.8 22.3
- Wola Chodkowska (Wola Kotkowska), snd, rdm, Ryczywół, r 51.7 21.4
- Wola Chojnacka = Wola Chojnacka, Wola Koprzywieńska (Wola Pokrzywieńska), *Wola Chojnata*, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.5
- Wola Chojnacka, *Turowa Wola*, raw, bla, Chojnata 51.9 20.5
- Wola Chomejowa, lub, luk, Ulan 51.8 22.5
- Wola Chrapanowska (Wolica), *Wółka Chrapanowska*, snd, snd, Czyżów 50.8 21.7
- Wola Chrobberska, snd, wsl, Chroberz 50.4 20.5
- Wola Chróścińska (Wola Chróścińska), *Wola Chruścińska*, lcz, lcz, Grochowo 52.3 19.3
- Wola Chrząchowska, *Pulki*, lub, lub, Końska Wola 51.4 22.1
- Wola Chynowska (Chynowo), maz, czr, Chynowo 51.9 21.1
- Wola Cisa (Cisa Wola, Wolica Cisa), *Cisia Wola*, krk, kss, Książ Wielki 50.4 20.1
- Wola Cisowska\* (Wola Szydłowska), *Żychlin*, srd, ptr, Piotrków 51.5 19.6
- Wola Cychrowa (Wola Pawłowska), *Cukrówka*, snd, rdm, Chlewiska 51.3 20.8
- Wola Cychrowska, *Cychrowska Wola*, maz, wrk, Warka 51.7 21.3
- Wola Czarnyska, srd, szd, Kwiatkowice 51.7 19.1
- Wola Czepowa (Wola Czopowa, Wola Ozepowa, Wola Ozepiowa), *Wółka Czepowa*, lcz, lcz, Kłodawa 52.2 18.9
- Wola Czerniaków, lub, lub, Krasienin 51.4 22.4
- Wola Czerniowska, *Nowawola*, lub, lub, Bystrzyca 51.4 22.7

- Wola Czerwieńska (Wola Górna), *Wola*, maz, scn, Czerwieńsko, c 52.4 20.3
- Wola Czewujewska (Wola), *Wola*, kls, ken, Izdeбно 52.8 17.6
- Wola Daleszowska, *Wielka Wola*, snd, opc, Wojcin 51.3 20.1
- Wola Daniszowska\*, *Długowola*, snd, rdm, Krępa 51.1 21.6
- Wola Dańkowska, *Wólka Dańkowska*, raw, bla, Błędów 51.7 20.7
- Wola Dąbrowska (Nieczajna), *Nieczajna*, snd, plz, Dąbrowa Wielka 50.2 21.1
- Wola Debrska (Dębska Wola), *Dębska Wola*, snd, chc, Brzeziny 50.7 20.6
- Wola Dęba, *Dęba*, lub, lub, Końska Wola 51.4 22.2
- Wola Dębna, *Dębnowola*, maz, grc, Przybyszewo, c 51.7 20.8
- Wola Dębica, *Dębnica Stara*, snd, rdm, Kazanów 51.3 21.5
- Wola Dębowiecka (Wola Dębowa, Wola Markuska), krk, bck, Załęże, r 49.7 21.5
- Wola Dębska (Budziska Wola), *Budziska*, maz, gar, Latowicz 52.0 21.8
- Wola Długa, *Długowola*, snd, stz, Wargocin 51.6 21.7
- Wola Dłuska (Wola Długa), *Dłuska Wola*, snd, rdm, Potworów 51.5 20.8
- Wola Dłużewska, *Wólka Dłużewska*, maz, gar, Sienica 52.0 21.6
- Wola Dobranowska (Wola, Wola Dąbrowska), *Dobranowice* – part, krk, szcz, Biskupice, c 49.9 20.1
- Wola Domaszowska, *Wólka Dornaszewska*, lub, luk, Łuków 51.8 22.4
- Wola Drogońska\*, *Korytów* – part, raw, msz, Mszczonów 52.0 20.5
- Wola Drwieńska (Wola, Wola Drzwieńska, Wola Królewska), krk, szcz, Mikuszowice, r 50.1 20.5
- Wola Dryzdek\*\*, lcz, orl, Oporów
- Wola Drzazgowa, *Drzazgowa Wola*, lcz, brz, Będków 51.6 19.8
- Wola Drzewicka, *Wolica*, lub, lub, Opole 51.2 22.0
- Wola Drzewiecka, raw, raw, Lipce, c 51.9 20.0
- Wola Ducka Długa, *Wola Ducka*, maz, czr, Karczewie or Glinianka 52.1 21.4
- Wola Ducka, *Ducka Wola*, maz, wrk, Stromiec 51.7 21.1
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- Wola Dziekiowa (Wola Dziachciowa, Wola), *Wola Marzeńska*, srd, szd, Marzenin 51.6 19.0
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- Wola Flaszczyna (Wola Zadzimska), srd, szd, Zadzim 51.8 18.9
- Wola Gabońska (Wola, Wola Gabańska), *Gaboń* – part, krk, sdc, Podegrodzie 49.5 20.6
- Wola Gałęcka, snd, rdm, Nieznamierowice 51.5 20.6
- Wola Gawartowa, *Gawartowa Wola*, raw, sch, Zawady 52.2 20.5
- Wola Gąsiecza, *Gąska*, lub, luk, Tuchowicz 51.8 22.2
- Wola Giełczewska, *Sobieska Wola*, lub, lub, Krzczonów 51.0 22.8
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- Wola Głazowa\*\*, srd, ptr, Krzepczów
- Wola Głoskowska+, maz, czr, Jazgarzewo 52.0 21.0
- Wola Głupia (Głupica), *Głupianka*, maz, gar, Kołybiel 52.1 21.6
- Wola Godzisz (Godzisz, Godziszew), *Godzisz*, snd, stz, Maciejowice 51.7 21.7
- Wola Goławińska (Wola Miączyńska), *Wólka Przybojewska*, maz, zkr, Miączyno Małe 52.4 20.5
- Wola Goławska (Wola Goławińska, Wola Podgórze), *Góra-Wólka*, maz, nmo or ser, Pomnichowo, c 52.5 20.7
- Wola Gołębiowska, *Wola Gołębiowska Stara*, snd, rdm, Radom, t 51.4 21.2
- Wola Gołębska (Gołabska Wólka), *Wólka Gołębska* – part, snd, stz, Gołęb, r 51.5 21.9
- Wola Gołkowska, maz, tar, Jazgarzewo 52.0 20.9
- Wola Gołuchowska (Wólka Gołuchowska), *Wólka*, snd, wsl, Kije 50.6 20.6
- Wola Gołyńska (Wola Gołyminska, Wólka Gołyńska), *Wola Gołyminska*, maz, cch, Gołymino Kościelne 52.8 20.9
- Wola Goryńska = Łukawka\* (in 17<sup>th</sup> c. Wólka Łukawska), Wola Goryńska, snd, rdm, Goryń 51.5 21.2
- Wola Gosławska (Gosławska Wola), lcz, orl, Waliszewo 52.1 19.6
- Wola Gostomska (Wola Nowa), *Wólka Gostomska*, raw, bla, Nowe Miasto 51.7 20.6
- Wola Góra Wesola, *Wola Przybysławska*, lub, lub, Garbów, r 51.4 22.3
- Wola Górska (Górska Wola), *Wola Wielka*, snd, plz, Straszęcín 50.1 21.3
- Wola Grabowska, *Grabowska Wola*, maz, wrk, Grabowo 51.7 21.3
- Wola Grabska, maz, grc, Jeziora Małe, c 51.9 20.8
- Wola Grębiecka, *Wola Grąbiecka*, plc, sie, Jeżewo 52.8 19.8
- Wola Gręboszowska, snd, wsl, Gręboszów, r 50.3 20.8
- Wola Grodzka (Wola Grodziecka), *Wola Grójecka*, snd, snd, Ścimieliów 50.9 21.5
- Wola Grodzka, *Grudzkowowola*, maz, grc, Grodziec, r 51.8 20.9
- Wola Grotowa\* (Grodkowa Wola), *Grotki*, snd, rdm, Bukowno 51.5 20.8
- Wola Gruszczyńska (Wola Gaszczyńska?), *Wólka Gruszczyńska*, maz, wrk, Mniszewo or Konary 51.8 21.4
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- Wola Grzymalina (Wola Czyżowska), srd, rds, Kamieńsko 51.2 19.3
- Wola Gulińska\*, *Kozia Wola*, snd, rdm, Zakrzów 51.5 21.0
- Wola Gułowska, snd, stz, Jadamów 51.7 22.2
- Wola Gumowska (Wola Zakroczymska, Wólka), *Wólka Smoszevska*, maz, zkr, Zakroczym 52.4 20.6
- Wola Gutowska, snd, rdm, Jankowice or Jedlińsk 51.5 21.1
- Wola Guzowska, snd, rdm, Kowala Stępcocina 51.3 20.9
- Wola Helszczyna, *Prażki*, lcz, brz, Łaznowo 51.6 19.7
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- Wola I, II = Kobyła Wola\* (Wola-Ge-deit), Wola-Gęsia\* (Wólka), *Wola Wysocka*, *Wola Niska*, raw, gbn, Jamno, 52.4 19.9
- Wola Howska = Wola Howska (Wola Żegocka), *Żegocin\**, *Przemysłów*, raw, gbn, Hów 52.4 20.0
- Wola Iwowa, *Kozia Wola*, snd, opc, Końskie 51.2 20.5
- Wola Jachowa, snd, chc, Daleszyce, c 50.8 20.9
- Wola Jagielczyna, *Wólka Lipska*, raw, raw, Krzemienica 51.7 20.2
- Wola Jajkowa (Jajkowska Wola), *Wola Jankowska*, srd, rds, Pajęczno 51.1 19.1
- Wola Jałochy, *Łosia Wólka*, maz, wrs, Łomny Wielkie 52.4 20.7
- Wola Jankowska (Mała Wola, Żabia Wola), *Żabia Wola*, snd, rdm, Jankowice 51.5 21.0
- Wola Jaskowska (Jaskowa Wola, Wola Jaskzowska), *Wólka Wojnowska*, snd, snd, Ścimieliów 50.9 21.6
- Wola Jastrzębska (Wola Skolankowa), *Jastrzębska Wola*, snd, snd, Ujazdów 50.7 21.2
- Wola Jaszczurowa, *Jaszczurowa*, snd, plz, Brzeziny 49.9 21.6
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- Wola Jękowa, *Wolskie*, maz, bln, Żbików 52.2 20.7
- Wola Kadłubska, snd, rdm, Błotnica 51.5 20.9
- Wola Kalska, *Kalska Wola*, srd, ptr, Czarnocin 51.6 19.7
- Wola Kałowska (Wola Kałkowska, Wolica?), *Wólka*, lcz, lcz, Kałowo, c 51.9 19.0

- Wola Kamboraska\*\*, maz, prz  
Wola Kamień, *Kamień*, snd, snd, Górna, r 50.3 22.1
- Wola Kamińska (Wola Kamień), *Kamienna Wola*, snd, opc, Odrzywół 51.5 20.5
- Wola Kamiona, *Wólka Kamienna*, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.5
- Wola Kamocka, srd, ptr, Sroćkie 51.5 19.6
- Wola Kanigowska, plc, ndz, Unierzyż Kościelny 52.9 20.4
- Wola Karczewska, maz, czr, Karczewie or Glinianka 52.1 21.4
- Wola Kaszowska, *Kaszewska Wola*, snd, rdm, Kaszów 51.5 20.9
- Wola Kawęczyn (Kawęczyńska Wola, Kawęczyn Wólka), *Wola Kawęcka*, snd, chc, Mokrsko 50.7 20.4
- Wola Kielczowa, *Kielczówka*, srd, ptr, Wolborz 51.5 19.7
- Wola Kielczyńska, snd, snd, Kielczyna 50.7 21.2
- Wola Kiepińska, maz, ser, Zgierz 52.5 21.0
- Wola Kikolska, *Wólka* – part, maz, nmo or ser, Pomnichowo 52.5 20.8
- Wola Kisielska, maz, gar, Stoczek, c 51.9 22.0
- Wola Kleszczowa (Kleszczówka), *Kleszczówka*, snd, stz, Bobrowniki 51.6 21.9
- Wola Klwowska, *Klwowska Wola*, snd, rdm, Klwów 51.5 20.6
- Wola Knyszyńska (Knyszyńska Wola), krk, kss, Wola Knyszyńska 50.4 20.3
- Wola Kobyla, *Kobyla Wola*, snd, stz, Górzno Wyższe 51.8 21.7
- Wola Kodrębska, *Wola Malowana*, srd, rds, Kodrąb 51.1 19.6
- Wola Kolechowska, lub, lub, Ostrów, r 51.5 22.8
- Wola Kołybielska (Stara Kołybiel, Wola Kolibielska), *Stara Wieś*, maz, gar, Kołybiel 52.1 21.5
- Wola Konarska (Konarska Wola), snd, snd, Olbierzowice 50.7 21.4
- Wola Konopczyna (Wola Dzierzława, Wola Piorowa), *Wola Zaleska*, srd, szd, Zadzim 51.8 18.9
- Wola Konopczyna, *Wólka Konopna*, lub, luk, Trzebieszów 52.0 22.5
- Wola Konopińska\* (Wola Konopińska), *Zagórze*, raw, raw, Kurzeszyn 51.8 20.3
- Wola Kopcowa (Jaroniowa Wola, Wola Kopciowa, Wola Jaroszowa, Wola Augustynowa, Siedlecka Wola?), snd, chc, Kielce, c 50.9 20.7
- Wola Korycka, snd, stz, Korytnica 51.7 21.8
- Wola Korycka, *Wola Korytnicka*, maz, liw, Korytnica, r 52.4 21.8
- Wola Kosnowa (Kosnowa, Kosnowa Wola, Wola Kusznowa), *Wola Kosnowska*, krk, sdc, Łącko, c 49.6 20.4
- Wola Kościelna (Wola Przedmiejska), *Wola Przedmiejska*, srd, szd, Uniejów, c 52.0 18.8
- Wola Kotkowska (Kotkowska Wola), srd, ptr, Gorzkowice 51.2 19.6
- Wola Kotowa, *Kotowa Wola*, snd, snd, Zaleszany 50.6 21.9
- Wola Kowalska (Wola św. Doroty), *Wolanów*, snd, rdm, Wola Kowalska 51.4 21.0
- Wola Kowalska, lub, lub, Wąwolnica 51.2 22.0
- Wola Kowalska, srd, srd, Turek 51.9 18.6
- Wola Kozerska (Wola Krośnicza), *Krośnicza Wola*, raw, msz, Grodzisko 52.1 20.6
- Wola Kozicka (Wola Wilkowa), *Wilcza Wola*, snd, rdm, Wysoka 51.3 20.8
- Wola Koziełkowa, *Kozłowiec*, snd, opc, Brudzowice 51.5 20.3
- Wola Kozubowa, *Wola Kazubowa*, srd, ptr, Stary Tuszyn 51.6 19.5
- Wola Koźniowska (Koźniowska Wola), *Wola Kuźniewska*, srd, rds, Niedośpiecin 51.0 19.7
- Wola Kożuchowska (Wólka Kożuchowska), maz, wrk, Wyszemierzyce 51.6 20.8
- Wola Kożuszkowska (Wola Kożuszkowa), *Wola Kożuszkowa*, kls, gzn, Siedlimowo 52.5 18.2
- Wola Krakowieńska, *Wola Krakowiańska*, maz, tar, Tarczyn 52.0 20.8
- Wola Krasieńska+, maz, prz, Krasne 52.9 21.0
- Wola Krcikowska, *Wólka Malcza*, lcz, brz, Chorzęcin 51.6 19.9
- Wola Krczonowska (Wola Damujowska, Wola Dąbrowska), *Wólka Karwicka*, snd, opc, Drzewica 51.4 20.4
- Wola Krobowska, *Krobowska Wola*, maz, gre, Grodziec 51.9 20.9
- Wola Krokocka, srd, szd, Małyń 51.7 19.0
- Wola Królowa Polska (Królowa, Wola Królowa), *Królowa Polska*, krk, sdc, Mystków, r 49.6 20.8
- Wola Kruków, *Kruków*, snd, snd, Janików 50.9 21.7
- Wola Krystoporska (Wola Chrystoporska, Wola Flakowa?), *Wola Krzysztoporska*, srd, ptr, Bogdanów 51.3 19.6
- Wola Książęca (Wola), kls, kls, Twardowo 52.0 17.6
- Wola Księża, *Księżowola*, maz, tar, Rembiertowo 51.9 20.8
- Wola Kuczkowska, krk, llw, Kuczków 50.7 19.8
- Wola Kuleszowa (Wola Życieńska), *Wola Życieńska*, srd, rds, Maluszyn 51.0 19.8
- Wola Kuligowa, *Wólka Kuligowska*, snd, opc, Brudzowice, r 51.6 20.4
- Wola Kunińska, *Wólka Kunińska*, maz, osw, Goworowo 52.8 21.5
- Wola Kurdwanowska, *Wólka Kurdybanowska*, raw, bla, Błędów 51.8 20.7
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- Wola Latańska (Latalice, Latańska Wola, Wola), *Mogilno*, srd, szd, Łasko, c 51.6 19.3
- Wola Lepieńska (Lepienia Wola, Niegosław?), *Wola Lipienicka Duża*, snd, rdm, Jastrząb, c 51.3 21.0
- Wola Lesiewska (Wola Lisiewska), *Wólka Lesiewska* – part, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.4
- Wola Lesiowska, *Wólka Lesiowska*, snd, rdm, Wsola 51.5 21.2
- Wola Leśnicka, *Liśnik Mały*, lub, urz, Gościeradów 50.9 22.1
- Wola Lewicka, *Wola Lewiczyńska*, maz, gre, Lewiczyn 51.8 20.9
- Wola Ligezów (Wólka), *Wólka Dulecka*, snd, plz, Radomyśl 50.2 21.3
- Wola Linowska, *Linów* – part, snd, snd, Święta Trójca 50.9 21.8
- Wola Lipieńska (Kozia Wola, Wola Lipińska), *Kozia Wola*, snd, plz, Pilzno 50.0 21.3
- Wola Lipieńska\*\* (Wola Lipińska), raw, bla, Mogilnica
- Wola Lipnica (Lipnica, Lipnica Wola), *Lipnica*, snd, snd, Dzikowiec, r 50.3 21.9
- Wola Liskowska (Wola), *Wola Liszkowska (Liszkowo* – part), inw, inw, Liszkowo 52.9 18.2
- Wola Lubańska (Wola Sucha), *Sucho-wola*, snd, wsl, Chmielnik 50.6 20.7
- Wola Lubecka (Lubecka Wola, Wolicca-Lubcza), snd, plz, Lubcza Górna 49.9 21.2
- Wola Lubecka, krk, kss, Lubcza 50.5 20.3
- Wola Lubiankowska (Wola Lubienkowska), raw, sch, Domaniewice, c 52.0 19.8
- Wola Lubomirska (Wola Lubomierska, Wola Podłęzany), *Łazany* – część, krk, scz, Łęzany 49.9 20.2
- Wola Łabęcka, *Łabędziów*, snd, chc, Lisów, c 50.8 20.6
- Wola Łagowska (Pawłowa Wola, Wola Pawłowska), snd, snd, Łągów, c 50.8 21.1
- Wola Łańcuchowska, *Wólka Łańcuchowska*, lub, lub, Łańcuchów 51.3 22.9
- Wola Łasicka (Wola Łasiecka), *Wólka Łasiecka*, raw, sch, Nieborów 52.1 20.2
- Wola Łaska (Łaska Wola), srd, szd, Łasko 51.6 19.2
- Wola Łaskarzowska, *Wola Łaskarzewska*, snd, stz, Łaskarzew, c 51.8 21.6
- Wola Łaszczowa (Wola Łaszczewa), kls, knn, Gosławice 52.3 18.2
- Wola Łaziska, *Łaziska*, raw, gbn, Jamno 52.4 19.9

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- Wola Szydłowiecka (Szydłowiecka Wieś), raw, sch, Bolemów, r 52.1 20.2
- Wola Szydłowska (Wola Mierzanowska), plc, mla, Wyszyny 53.0 20.4
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- Wola Świeciechowska, *Świeciechów* – part, lub, urz, Świeciechów 50.9 21.8
- Wola Świenicka (Wola Świeniecka), *Wola Świenicka*, srd, szd, Świeńce 52.0 19.0
- Wola Taczowska (Taczowska Wolica), *Taczowska Wolica*, snd, rdm, Nowa Cerkiew 51.5 21.0
- Wola Tarnowska = Targowisko\*, Wola Tarnowska (Łąg, Tarnowisko? Wola w Łęgu), *Łąg Tarnowski*, snd, plz, Jurków 50.1 20.9
- Wola Tarnowska, *Wólka-Tarnowska*, maz, gar, Tarnowo 51.8 21.4
- Wola Tchórzewska, *Tchórzewek*, lub, luk, Kocko 51.7 22.5
- Wola Tenczyńska\*\*, lub, lub, Końska Wola
- Wola Tesarowa (Wola Tesarzowa), *Wola Tesarowa*, snd, chc, Rembieszyce 50.8 20.3
- Wola Tłumokowa (Wola Tłomakowa, Wola Tłomokowa, Wola Tłumokowo), *Wola Tłomakowa*, kls, kls, Chlewo 51.8 18.4
- Wola Trębska (Wola Trąbska), raw, gos, Trębki 52.3 19.5
- Wola Turkowa\* (Wólka Turkowa), *Jaroszkowa Wola*, maz, grc, Prażmowo 52.0 21.0
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- Wola Wahanowska (Wola), *Wólka Wygonowska*, pdl, blk, Kleszczole 52.6 23.2
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- Wola Warszzycka (Wola Bolkowska, Wola Warczycka), *Wola Branicka*, lcz, lcz, Gieczno and Modlna 51.9 19.5
- Wola Wądrozka, maz, grc, Prażmowo 51.9 21.0
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- Wola Wielka (Wola Prosprowa), *Wola Owsiana, Wola Prosperowa*, lcz, orl, Oporów 52.2 19.5
- Wola Wielka Czerniewska, *Wielka Wola*, raw, raw, Czerniewice 51.6 20.2
- Wola Wieruska, *Wola Wieruszycza*, krk, szc, Łapanów 49.9 20.3
- Wola Wierzbowska, maz, cch, Koziczyno Małe 53.0 20.7
- Wola Wiewiecka, srd, rds, Wiewiec 51.1 19.3
- Wola Więcierzowa, snd, rdm, Skrzyń Stara 51.4 20.7
- Wola Więclawska, krk, prs, Więclawice and Goszcza 50.2 20.0
- Wola Wilkołaska, lub, lub, Wilkołaz 51.0 22.3
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- Wola Wiszniowska, lub, luk, Zbuczyn, r 52.1 22.3
- Wola Wiśniowa (Nieznanowska Wola), snd, chc, Włoszczowa 50.8 20.0
- Wola Wiśniowska (Wiśniowa Wola, Wola Wiszniowska), snd, snd, Kielczyna or Wiązownica 50.6 21.3
- Wola Witowska, *Stara Wieś*, lub, lub, Końska Wola 51.4 22.1
- Wola Wkrzeńska (Wola Wskrzeńska), *Wólka Garwarska*, plc, ndz, Glinojekko 52.8 20.3
- Wola Wodyńska, maz, gar, Wodynie 52.0 22.0
- Wola Wodyńska, *Wola Wodzyńska*, maz, cch or scn, Sączocin 52.7 20.5
- Wola Wojska, *Wojska*, raw, raw, Kurzeszyn and Wysokienice 51.8 20.2
- Wola Wojsławska (Rzyć), *Wólka Wojsławska*, srd, szd, Korczów 51.6 18.9
- Wola Worowska, *Worowska Wola*, maz, grc, Worowo 51.9 20.9
- Wola Wośnicka\* (Wola Woszczyńska, Wola Pawłowa), *Radom-Jezowa Wola*, snd, rdm, Nowa Cerkiew 51.4 21.1
- Wola Wręcka (Wólka Wręcka), *Wólka Wręcka*, raw, msz, Mszczonów 52.0 20.4
- Wola Wronowska\* (Wola Łoś), *Wólka Łukowska*, maz, cch or prz, Karniewo 52.9 20.9
- Wola Wypnicha (Wola Nowa), *Wola Burzecka*, snd, stz, Wojcieszków 51.8 22.3
- Wola Wysoka, raw, raw, Żelazna 51.9 20.1
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- Wola Zabierzowska, krk, prs, Wawrzyńcycze, c 50.1 20.3
- Wola Zaborowska (Wola Kamienna), *Kamienna Wola*, snd, chc, Radoszyce, r 51.1 20.5
- Wola Zaborowska, *Wólka*, maz, bln, Zaborowo Wielkie 52.3 20.7
- Wola Zadąbrowska (Wola Biskupska, Wola Lipicka), srd, srd, Jeziersko 51.8 18.6
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- Wola Zagajkowa (Wólka), *Olszak* – part, bkj, bkj, Chalino, demesne 52.5 18.7
- Wola Zagoscka (Wola Zagojska), *Wola Zagojska*, snd, wsl, Zagość, r 50.4 20.6
- Wola Zagrodna, snd, rdm, Chlewiska 51.2 20.7
- Wola Zakrzowska (Wola Zakrzewska), *Zakrzewska Wola*, snd, rdm, Zakrzów 51.5 21.0
- Wola Zaleska (Wólka Zaleska), *Wólka Zaleska*, maz, ser, Serociec 52.6 21.0
- Wola Załęska (Wólka Załęska), *Wólka Dworska*, maz, czr, Góra 52.0 21.2
- Wola Załęże\*, *Łęg*, snd, rdm, Kazanów 51.3 21.4
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- Wola Ząbkowa (Wola Ząbkowska), *Ząbki*, maz, wrs, Kamion, r 52.3 21.1
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- Wola Żelechowska, snd, stz, Żelechów 51.8 21.9
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 Żmijewo I = Żmijewo-Jurki\*, Żmijewo-Strzeżogi (Żmijewo-Srzerzogi), Żmijewo-Włosty\* (Żmijewo-Włoski), Żmijewo-Zalesie\*, Żmijewo-Gaje, maz, cch, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo II = Żmijewo-Jurki\*, Żmijewo-Strzeżogi (Żmijewo-Srzerzogi), Żmijewo-Włosty\* (Żmijewo-Włoski), Żmijewo-Zalesie\*, Żmijewo-Gaje, maz, cch, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo Kościelne = Żmijewo Bielskie\*, Żmijewo Kościelne, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo Wielkie, *Żmijewo-Zagroby*, maz, osl, Piski 53.0 21.8  
 Żmijewo-Bagienki (Żmijewo-Bagienice), maz, cch or prz, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo-Kucze, *Żmijewo-Kuce*, maz, cch or prz, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo-Mancz = Szkarłupy-Mancz\*, Żmijewo-Mancz (Żmijewo Stare), *Żmijewek*, maz, osl, Piski 53.0 21.8  
 Żmijewo-Mikły, *Żmijewo-Nikły*, maz, cch or prz, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo-Pąki (Żmijewo-Pianki), plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo-Szawły (Żmijewo-Ławki), plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo-Trojany, plc, mla, Żmijewo Kościelne 53.0 20.5  
 Żmijewo, chl, mch, Żmijewo, r 53.3 19.4  
 Żnin, kls, kcn, Żnin, town, c 52.8 17.7  
 Żochowo (Żochy), maz, osw, Somowo or Ostrowia 52.9 22.0  
 Żochowo Kościelne, *Żochowo*, plc, pln, Żochowo Kościelne 52.6 20.1  
 Żochów, *Rzochów*, snd, plz, Żochów, town 50.2 21.5  
 Żochówko (Żochówko Małe, Żochówko Rusiny), plc, pln, Żochowo Kościelne 52.6 20.1  
 Żochy (Żochy-Stara Wieś, Żochy Stare), *Stare Żochy*, pdl, blk, Domanowo 52.8 22.7  
 Żochy (Żochy-Zadębie), pdl, drh, Kosowo 52.6 22.1  
 Żochy Wielkie, *Żochy* – part, maz, cch, Kraszowo Kościelne 52.8 20.6  
 Żochy-Milan, maz, osl, Piski 53.0 21.8  
 Żochy-Nowa Wieś (Żochy Nowe), *Nowe Żochy*, pdl, blk, Domanowo 52.8 22.7  
 Żochy-Szostaki = Żochy-Szostaki, *Żochy Średnie\**, *Żochy* – part, maz, cch, Kraszowo Kościelne 52.8 20.6  
 Żodyń, pzn, ksc, Siedlec, c 52.1 15.9

Żodzie, pdl, blk, Goniądz, suburb, t 53.4 22.7  
 Żołędnica, pzn, ksc, Łaszczyno 51.7 16.8  
 Żołędowo (Żołądowo, Żołędów), inw, bdg, Żołędowo 53.2 18.1  
 Żołędowo, maz, nmo, Ciekysno 52.6 20.6  
 Żołędzino, *Żołędzin*, pzn, pzn, Rogoźno, c 52.7 16.9  
 Żółkwy, *Żółkwy*, pdl, drh, Skrzyszewo 52.4 22.4  
 Żoźna, *Żoźno*, pmr, tcz, Lipusz, inn, r 54.2 17.8  
 Żoźoćki, pdl, drh, Dziadkowiec 52.6 22.9  
 Żorawice (Żórawice), bkj, prd, Chodecz 52.4 18.9  
 Żorawice, *Żurawica*, snd, snd, Łuniów 50.6 21.5  
 Żółcze Stare = Żółcze Stare, Żółcze Małe\* (Żółcze Młode), *Żółcz*, kls, gzn, Jarząbkowo 52.4 17.6  
 Żółczyce (Żołcice), snd, snd, Malice 50.8 21.5  
 Żółkowo, *Żerków-Żółków*, kls, pzd, Żerków 52.1 17.5  
 Żółtki-Malinowo (Malinowo, Malinowo-Żółtki), *Malinowo*, pdl, blk, Bielsk 52.8 23.1  
 Żółtowo-Gardziny\*, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.6  
 Żółtowo-Myszewo, *Myszewo*, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.6  
 Żółtowo-Myszki (Myszewo-Myszki, Myszewo-Prasniki), *Myszki*, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.6  
 Żółtowo-Żabiki = Sulikowo-Żabiki\*, Żółtowo-Żabiki (Żabiki Małe), *Żabiki*, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.6  
 Żółtowo-Żuki = Pępowo\*, Zafosty\*, Żółtowo-Żegadły, Żółtowo-Żuki, *Żuki*, plc, sie, Kurowo 52.8 19.6  
 Żółwin, pzn, pzn, Międzyrzecz, r 52.5 15.6  
 Żółwina, *Żółwin* (Bydgoszcz – part), inw, bdg, Solec, demesne 53.1 18.1  
 Żółwinie (Żółwino, Wola Żółwińska), *Żółwin*, maz, bln, Brwinowo 52.1 20.7  
 Żórawia, *Żurawia*, kls, kcn, Kcynia 53.0 17.4  
 Żórawice, *Żurawica*, snd, snd, Obrazów 50.7 21.7  
 Żórawice, *Żurawka*, snd, snd, Szewna 50.9 21.3  
 Żórawie (Żurawie, Żóraw), *Żuraw*, krk, llw, Żórawie 50.8 19.4  
 Żórawiniec, lub, luk, Zbuczyn 52.1 22.6  
 Żórawino = Żórawino, Żurawino-Smazały\* (Żurawino-Śmiotanki), *Żurawin Wielki*, plc, sie, Mochowo 52.8 19.5  
 Żórawino-Dziwki (Żórawino-Dzietki), *Żurawinek*, plc, sie, Mochowo 52.8 19.5  
 Żórawniki, snd, wsl, Jurków 50.4 20.6  
 Żórawniki, *Żurawniki*, snd, snd, Malice 50.7 21.5  
 Żórbki, pdl, blk, Bargłowo, rn 53.8 22.7  
 Żuki\*\*, plc, szr, Dłotów  
 Żuklin (Żuchlin), *Żukczyn*, pmr, gdn, Kłodawa, demesne, c 54.2 18.6  
 Żukowice, snd, wsl, Korczyn Stary, cn 50.3 20.7  
 Żukowice, *Żukowice Stare*, snd, plz, Łysagóra 50.1 21.1  
 Żukowo = Żukowo Konarskie\*, Żukowo Małe\*, plc, plc, Czachcino 52.6 19.8  
 Żukowo Małe (Żukowo Szlacheckie), *Żukówek*, maz, wsg, Żukowo Wielkie 52.5 20.3  
 Żukowo Wielkie, *Żukowo*, maz, wsg, Żukowo Wielkie, c 52.5 20.3  
 Żukowo-Strus (Żukowo Dalsze?, Żukowo Wielkie), *Żukowo-Strusie*, plc, rac, Raciąż 52.8 20.0  
 Żukowo-Wawrzętki = Żukowo-Wawrzętki (Żukowo Małe), Żukowo Zalesne\* (Żukowo Podleśne), *Żukowo-Wawrzonki*, plc, rac, Raciąż 52.8 20.1  
 Żukowo-Ziemaki, *Ziomaki*, maz, liw, Niwiska 52.2 22.1  
 Żukowo, pmr, czl, Nowa Cerkiew 53.7 17.8  
 Żukowo, pzn, pzn, Objezierze, c 52.6 16.7  
 Żukowo, *Żuków*, maz, bln, Żukowo, r 52.2 20.6  
 Żukowo, *Żuków*, maz, liw, Niwiska 52.2 22.1  
 Żukowo, *Żukówka*, raw, gbn, Sochaczew 52.3 20.3  
 Żuków, lub, lub, Krzczonów, r 51.0 22.8  
 Żuków, raw, msz, Mszczonów, r 52.0 20.4  
 Żuków, snd, rdm, Skrzyń 51.3 20.7  
 Żuków, snd, snd, Goźlice 50.7 21.5  
 Żuków, snd, snd, Samborzec, r 50.6 21.6  
 Żuków, snd, wsl, Solec 50.4 20.9  
 Żuków, *Żukowo*, pmr, gdn, Żuków, klasztor, c 54.3 18.4  
 Żukówka (Mikołajówka, Wola Żukowka), maz, kam, Dobre Stare, r 52.4 21.7  
 Żukówka (Żukowski Młynek), *Bylina*, pmr, mrw, Parchowo, mill 54.2 17.6  
 Żukówko, pmr, mrw, Parchowo 54.2 17.6  
 Żuławka, *Żuława*, pmr, gdn, Żuławka 54.2 18.5  
 Żuń, *Żoń*, kls, kcn, Żuń 52.9 17.1  
 Żupawa, snd, snd, Wielawieś or Grębów, ironworks 50.6 21.8  
 Żur, pmr, swc, Osie, mill, r 53.6 18.4  
 Żurawia Mała (Żurawie Małe), *Żurawka*, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.4  
 Żurawia Wielga (Żurawie Wielgie), *Żurawia*, raw, bla, Biała 51.8 20.4  
 Żurawia, *Żurawka*, maz, wrs, Długa Kościelna, c 52.2 21.3  
 Żurawie Błoto (Błoto Żurawie, Wolica), *Wólka*, krk, kss, Jemielno 50.6 20.4  
 Żurawieniec, maz, grc, Promna 51.7 21.0  
 Żurawłówka (Żurawlewko), pdl, mln, Łosice 52.1 22.8  
 Żurczyno (Żarczyno), *Żurczyn*, inw, bdg, Samokłęski, demesne 53.1 17.8  
 Żurobice (Żurobice), *Żurobice*, pdl, mln, Dziadkowiec, r 52.5 22.9  
 Żuromin (Żeromino), *Żuromino*, pmr, mrw, Stężyca Mała, demesne 54.2 18.0  
 Żurowa, krk, bck, Ołpiny Wyższe, r 49.8 21.2  
 Żurowo (Parlino, Żurów), *Pod Gruczno*, pmr, swc, Gruczno, mill, r 53.4 18.3  
 Żychce, pmr, czl, Konarzyno Wielkie 53.8 17.4  
 Żychcice, *Będzin* – part, swr, Kamień 50.4 19.0  
 Żychcka Karczma\*\*, pmr, czl, inn, r  
 Żychlewo, pzn, ksc, Krobia, c 51.8 16.9  
 Żychlin = Żychlin, Żychelska Wieś\*, lez, orl, Żychlin, town 52.2 19.6  
 Żychlin, kls, knn, Stare Miasto 52.2 18.2  
 Żychowo, plc, rac, Raciąż, c 52.8 20.2  
 Żychowo, *Żychów*, kls, kls, Liskowo, c 51.8 18.3  
 Życiny, snd, wsl, Szydłów, r 50.6 21.0  
 Życko, *Życk Polski*, raw, gbn, Życko 52.4 19.9  
 Życzyn, snd, stz, Korytnica, r 51.7 21.7  
 Żyć, *Polanów*, snd, snd, Samborzec, cr 50.7 21.7  
 Żydomice, raw, raw, Rawa 51.8 20.3  
 Żydowo Małe (Żydówko), *Żydówek*, bkj, bkj, Zgłowiątko 52.5 18.8  
 Żydowo Wielkie (Żydowo), *Żydowo*, bkj, bkj, Zgłowiątko 52.5 18.8  
 Żydowo, kls, gzn, Żydowo 52.5 17.5  
 Żydowo, pzn, ksc, Woniesiecz 52.0 16.6  
 Żydowo, pzn, pzn, Żydowo 52.5 16.7  
 Żydowo, *Żydów*, kls, kls, Gostyczyna, c 51.7 18.1  
 Żydowskie, *Hajdów*, lub, lub, Lublin 51.3 22.6  
 Żydowsko, *Żydowskie*, krk, bck, [unknown orthodox parish] 49.5 21.5  
 Żydów, krk, prs, Wawrzyńcyce, c 50.1 20.3  
 Żydów, snd, wsl, Kije 50.6 20.6  
 Żydówek, snd, wsl, Kije, c 50.6 20.6  
 Żydówka, *Starożreby Nowe*, plc, bls, Zagroba 52.6 20.0  
 Żydówko, kls, gzn, Dziekanowice, Łubowo, c 52.5 17.4  
 Żygowice, pmr, tcz, Godziszewo, demesne 54.0 18.6  
 Żylino (Żelino), *Żylin*, raw, sch, Kozłowo Biskupie 52.2 20.2  
 Żyłowo (Smiłowo, Zniłowo-Żmiłowo), maz, osw, Lubotyń 52.9 21.9  
 Żyraków (Siraków), snd, plz, Straszęcin 50.1 21.4  
 Żyranowie\*\*, pdl, blk, Tykocin

Żyrowo Małe ( <i>Żerowa Mała</i> ), <i>Żyrówek</i> , maz, grc, Prażmowo 51.9 21.0	Żytniów ( <i>Żytniowo</i> ), srd, wln, Żytniów, cn 51.0 18.6	Żyznowo, maz, lom, Kleczkowo 53.1 21.9
Żyrowo Wielkie, maz, grc, Prażmowo 51.9 21.0	Żytowice, srd, szd, Mikołajowice, c 51.7 19.2	Żyznów Niższy, <i>Żyznów</i> – part, snd, plz, Strzeżów 49.8 21.8
Żyrzyn, lub, lub, Gołąb 51.5 22.1	Żytowiecko, pzn, ksc, Żytowiecko 51.8 16.9	Żyznów Wyższy, <i>Żyznów</i> – part, snd, plz, Ludeza 49.8 21.8
Żytne Małe ( <i>Żytno Małe</i> ), <i>Mała Wieś</i> , srd, rds, Żytne 50.9 19.6	Żywiec, krk, sls, Żywiec, town 49.7 19.2	Żyznówka, <i>Trzciana</i> – part, krk, szcz, Trzciana, c 49.8 20.3
Żytne, <i>Żytno</i> , srd, rds, Żytne, town 50.9 19.6	Żywkowo, pdl, blk, Narew 53.0 23.4	
Żytunia, lub, luk, Siedlce, ironworks and mill 52.2 22.2	Żywocin, lcz, brz, Wolborz, c 51.6 19.9	
	Żyznowa Wola, <i>Wola Żyzna</i> , snd, wsl, Szydłów, r 50.6 21.0	

## LIST OF ELEMENTS OF NATURAL LANDSCAPE

Names of elements of natural landscape presented on the map (rivers, ponds, hills, mountain ranges, and forests) were given in the historical form of the way they sounded, in modern spelling. Mostly these are names confirmed for the sixteenth century, a small number of names is confirmed for the fifteenth and the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, which was considered valid for the period presented on our map. In cases the earlier name could not be found, the nineteenth century name was given, and marked with a **symbol** ^. Other names of elements of the natural landscape are given **in parentheses** as variants of main entries. If a historical version of a given name differs from the modern one, the latter was written *in Italics*. Objects with unknown present names are described as: [no name] and objects not existing anymore are marked with a symbol +. **Geographical coordinates** indicate the location of an object on the map: latitude (N) first followed by longitude (E), both accurate to one decimal place.

### ABBREVIATIONS ON THE LIST:

l.s. – lower stream  
m.s. – middle stream

u.s. – upper stream  
rv. – river

l.t. – left tributary  
r.t. – right tributary

Amts See <sup>^</sup> , lake 53.7 17.3	Balewka <sup>^</sup> , rv., l.t. of lake Drużno, 54.0 19.4	Biała (Biała Panieńska <sup>^</sup> , Młynik <sup>^</sup> ), <i>Czarna Struga</i> , rv., l.t. of Warta (today r.t. of Bawół) 52.0 18.1
Baalauer See <sup>^</sup> , lake 53.9 19.2	Banie (Ban, Dolskie), <i>Dolskie Wielkie</i> , lake 51.9 17.0	Biała (Białka), <i>Białka</i> , rv., l.t. of Pilcza 50.7 19.7
Baba, lake 53.4 17.0	Barlewitzer See <sup>^</sup> , lake 53.9 19.1	Biała (Bielanka <sup>^</sup> ), rv., l.t. of Orlanka 52.7 23.2
Baba, rv., r.t. of Polis 50.3 19.5	Barlino (Barlin), <i>Barlińskie</i> , lake 52.7 15.9	Biała, <i>Białka Tatrzańska</i> , rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.4 20.1
Babi Potok, [no name], rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.5 20.5	Barłożna (Wiążbina), rv., l.t. of Dojca 52.1 16.1	Biała, <i>Białka</i> , rv., l.t. of Łososina 49.8 20.6
Babia Góra, mountain, 1725 m AMSL 49.6 19.5	Bartlewskie <sup>^</sup> , lake 53.3 18.6	Biała, <i>Białka</i> , rv., r.t. of Rawa 51.8 20.4
Babica (Babicza), rv., r.t. of Raba 49.9 20.4	Bartogoszcz, rv., l.t. of Świder 52.0 21.5	Biała, <i>Groniówka</i> , rv., l.t. of Skawica 49.7 19.7
Babica <sup>^</sup> , rv., r.t. of Elbląg 54.2 19.4	Barycz (Baryca, Barcz <sup>^</sup> ), rv., r.t. of Odra 51.6 17.9–51.7 16.3	Biała, <i>Miała</i> , rv., l.t. of Noteś 52.8 16.2
Babiczka, <i>Babiczanka</i> , rv., r.t. of Klecza 49.9 19.5	Barycz (Żeniska, Barycz Strzyżewska <sup>^</sup> , Strzyżewka), rv., l.t. of Gniła Barycz 51.6 17.9	Biała, rv., r.t. of Branew 50.6 22.3
Bacha <sup>^</sup> , rv., r.t. of Wisła, 53.0 18.7	Barycza (Samica <sup>^</sup> , Baryczka <sup>^</sup> ), <i>Gniła Barycz</i> , rv., u.s. of Barycz or r.t. of Ołobok 51.6 18.0	Biała, rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.4 21.1–50.0 20.9
Bachorz (Bachorze <sup>^</sup> ), swamp 52.7 18.4	Bauda <sup>^</sup> , rv., tributary of Zalew Wiślany 54.2 19.7	Biała, rv., r.t. of Wisła 49.9 19.0
Bachorze <sup>^</sup> (Wielki Kanał Bachorski), <i>Kanał Bachorze</i> , rv., l.t. of Zgłowiączka 52.7 18.8	Będgoszcz (Bądgoszcz, Zabartowo), <i>Będgoskie</i> , lake 53.3 17.5	Biała <sup>^</sup> , rv., l.t. of Przemsza (Biała) 50.3 19.5
Bachotek <sup>^</sup> , lake 53.3 19.5	Będkówka, rv., l.t. of Rudawa 50.1 19.7	Białcz Wielki, lake 52.6 16.2
Bąckie <sup>^</sup> , lake 54.4 18.0	Będlewskie, <i>Dymaczewskie</i> , lake 52.2 16.8	Białcz, <i>Białcz</i> , lake 52.6 15.9
Bąd (Benth), lake 52.8 16.2	Bełczyna, mountain 51.4 17.9	Białe Błoto, swamp 52.9 19.9
Bądlino (Badlin, Badlino, Bomblin See), <i>Bądlino</i> , lake 53.1 16.5	Belnianka (Prądnik), rv., l.t. of Czarna Nida 50.8 20.9	Białe Błoto, swamp 53.0 16.2
Bagienny <sup>+</sup> , pond 50.0 19.5	Biała (Biała Gać), <i>Błakówka</i> , rv., r.t. of Czarna Woda 52.4 16.0	Białe, <i>Białskie</i> , lake 51.5 23.0
Bagienny, <i>Bagiennik</i> , pond 50.0 19.1		Białe, lake 51.5 23.0
Bagno Kutaskie <sup>+</sup> , swamp 52.7 22.1		Białe, lake 52.5 19.5
Bagno Rytelskie <sup>+</sup> , swamp 52.7 22.1		Białe, lake 52.5 15.7
Bagno See <sup>^</sup> , lake 53.5 19.5		Białe, lake 53.3 18.0
Bagno Wolskie <sup>+</sup> , swamp 52.7 22.1		Białe <sup>^</sup> , lake 53.3 18.0
Baldyn (Baldow, Baldin), swamp 52.6 16.6		

- Białe<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.2  
 Białe<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 18.0  
 Białe<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.1  
 Białe<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 17.9  
 Białe<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 18.2  
 Białka (Klikawka<sup>^</sup>), *Klukówka*, rv., l.t. of Krzna 52.2 23.0  
 Białka, rv., l.t. of Tyśmienica 51.7 22.6  
 Białogórska Struga<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Piaśnica, 54.8 18.0  
 Biały Potok, [no name], rv., r.t. of Krośnica 49.4 20.4  
 Biały Potok, *Bielanka*, rv., l.t. of Raba 49.5 19.9  
 Biały Stok (Biała<sup>^</sup>), *Biała*, rv., l.t. of Supraśl 53.1 23.2  
 Bibiczka, *Babiczka*, *Bibiczanka*, rv., l.t. of Prądnik 50.1 19.9  
 Biebrza (Biebra, Bobra, Bóbr<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Narew 53.4 22.5  
 Bielawy<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.8  
 Biele Augustowskie+, swamp 53.8 22.9  
 Bielica, *Wierzbica*, rv., l.t. of Skrwa (r.t. of Wisła) 52.6 19.7  
 Bielina (Belina), rv., l.t. of Warta 52.6 15.9  
 Bielina<sup>^</sup>, *Czarna*, m.s., *Bielina*, u.s. *Pankówka*, rv., r.t. of Czarna (today of Piasecznica) 51.6 19.9  
 Bieliny, swamp 52.3 20.5  
 Biełkowa, rv., r.t. of Kurówka 51.3 22.1  
 Bielska Struga<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Brda, 53.7 18.0  
 Bielskie Błoto<sup>^</sup>, swamp 52.7 19.8  
 Bielskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 18.5  
 Bieśnica (Bieśnik), *Korzkieвка*, rv., l.t. of Prądnik 50.2 19.9  
 Bieszczą, *Biszczą*, rv., r.t. of Listwarta 50.9 18.7  
 Bieszczę, *Bikeze*, lake 51.5 23.0  
 Bieżyn, lake 51.9 16.9  
 Bileken (Binken, Blesen See), lake 53.2 16.2  
 Bistrzki (Bystrzyk), *Graniczny Kanał*, rv., l.t. of Warta 52.1 17.1  
 Błędno (Blandno), *Zbąszyńskie*, lake 52.2 15.9  
 Blewie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.8  
 Blizinki<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.1  
 Błocko+ (Błoczko), [no name], lake 52.3 16.5  
 Błonna, *Dopływ spod Szczytnik*, rv., l.t. of Szreniawa 50.2 20.3  
 Błota Łęczyckie, swamp 52.1 19.2  
 Błotnica, *Krasna*, rv., l.t. of Czarna 51.1 20.5  
 Błoto Babie, *Błota*, swamp 52.5 19.2  
 Błożejewskie (Bnin), *Bnińskie*, lake 52.2 17.1  
 Bobrka, *Bóbrka*, rv., l.t. of Jasiel 49.6 21.7  
 Bobrowa, *Bobrówka*, rv., r.t. of Bzura 52.0 19.9  
 Bobrowa, *Bobrownica*, rv., r.t. of Skrwa 52.7 19.4  
 Bobrowa, *Trzeciak*, rv., r.t. of Oleśnica 51.5 18.5  
 Bobrowo<sup>^</sup> (Arendt See), lake 53.1 16.9  
 Bobrza, rv., r.t. of Czarna Nida 50.9 20.5  
 Bocheńce (Bochenice, Bochence), *Bochenek*, lake 52.3 16.7  
 Bodzęciana, *Psarka*, rv., r.t. of Świślina 50.9 20.9  
 Bogdaniec, *Bagno Bogdaniec*, swamp 53.3 21.1  
 Bogoria<sup>^</sup>, *Pogoria*, *Bogoria*, rv., l.t. of Przemsza (Czarna) 50.3 19.2  
 Bolęcina<sup>^</sup>, *Bolęcinianka*, rv., l.t. of Wieprzówka 49.8 19.4  
 Bolemka (Bolancze, Boliemka), rv., l.t. of Noteś 53.0 16.9  
 Bolszewka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Reda 54.6 18.2  
 Boner+, pond 50.0 19.5  
 Bór Dąbski, *Dąb Borowy*, forest 52.6 19.4  
 Bór Dobarz+, forest 53.4 22.6  
 Bór Dobiegniewski, [no name], forest 52.6 19.3  
 Bór Lubański, [no name], forest 52.7 18.9  
 Bór Rudzki+, forest 52.7 22.8  
 Borek (Borowy Potok), *Dopływ spod góry Mogiła*, rv., l.t. of Paleśnica 49.8 20.8  
 Borowa<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wda 54.2 17.8  
 Borowe<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.2 17.8  
 Borownica, rv., l.t. of Orla 51.6 17.3  
 Borówno, lake 53.2 18.1  
 Borowo (Borowna, Kujan), *Borówno*, lake 53.4 17.2  
 Borowy Staw, *Borowczyk*, pond 50.0 19.2  
 Borowy, *Bukowieckie*, staw 52.4 15.6  
 Borucza, rv., l.t. of Cienka 52.4 21.6  
 Boruszyńska Struga<sup>^</sup>, *Kanał Boruszyński*, rv., r.t. of Młyńska 52.8 16.6  
 Bory Bobrownickie, [no name], forest 52.8 19.0  
 Bory Dybowskie, [no name], forest 53.0 18.4  
 Borzym, *Młyńskie*, lake 52.6 16.0  
 Borzymino<sup>^</sup> (Zajeziorki<sup>^</sup>), *Czarownica (Borzymińskie)*, lake 53.1 19.3  
 Borzymiskie<sup>^</sup>, *Borzymowskie*, lake 52.5 19.0  
 Borzyszkowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.4  
 Bożenica, rv., l.t. of Łomżyca 53.2 22.0  
 Branew, *Bukowa*, rv., r.t. of San 50.6 22.2  
 Branica, rv., r.t. of Bobrowa 52.0 19.9  
 Branickie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 18.2  
 Branwica, rv., r.t. of Branew 50.6 22.5  
 Brda (Bra, Niebrda, Brahe), rv., l.t. of Wisła 53.4 17.9  
 Brdowskie (Brdowo), lake 52.4 18.7  
 Breń, rv., r.t. of Wisła or l.t. of Wisłoka 50.2 21.3 50.4 21.4  
 Brenica (Branica, Brennica), *Brynica*, rv., r.t. of Drwęca 53.3 19.6  
 Breńsko (Breńsk, Brańskie<sup>^</sup>), *Bryńskie Południowe*, *Bryńskie Północne*, lake 53.2 19.7  
 Brniewa (Samica, Ziemin), *Samica*, rv., l.t. of Obra (Obrzański Kanał Południowy) 51.8 16.4–52.1 16.3  
 Brocz (Broce, Bruce, Brocze), *Broczyno Wielkie*, lake 53.5 16.3  
 Brodek (Stoła<sup>^</sup>), *Sztolnia Ponikowska*, rv., l.t. of Biała 50.3 19.5  
 Brodek, *dopływ z Lake Prusieckiego*, rv., l.t. of Welma 52.7 17.1  
 Brodek<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Moskawa 52.2 17.2  
 Brodnia<sup>^</sup>, *Pichna*, *Brodnia*, rv., r.t. of Warta 51.7 18.9  
 Brodnica, *Wierciczka*, rv., r.t. of Warta 50.9 19.5  
 Brody (Brodę), lake 53.6 16.4  
 Brok (Brok Wielki), rv., r.t. of Bug 52.8 22.2  
 Brok Mały, rv., r.t. of Brok 52.9 22.3  
 Brok, rv., r.t. of Bug 52.8 22.0  
 Bronisław, lake 52.6 18.1  
 Bronka, rv., r.t. of Nurzec 52.8 22.9  
 Brusznia Góra, *Męcińska Góra*, mountain, 693 m AMSL 49.6 21.3  
 Bryłski Potok, [no name], rv., l.t. of Wisłoka 49.8 21.4  
 Brynica, *Bród*, rv., l.t. of Oksza 50.9 18.9  
 Brynica, rv., r.t. of Przemsza (Czarna) 50.6 19.2–50.3 19.1  
 Bryniczka (Bystrzyca), *Brynica*, rv., r.t. of Nida 50.7 20.2  
 Brzednie (Brzedno), lake 51.9 17.0  
 Brzezanka, *Brzeźna*, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.6 20.6  
 Brzeżanek<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Święta Struga 53.7 18.3  
 Brzeżiczne, lake 51.3 23.0  
 Brzeżinek<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.2  
 Brzeżino<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 18.3  
 Brzezińskie<sup>^</sup>, *Brzeźno*, lake 52.8 19.0  
 Brzeźnica (Brzeznica, Zamberster Fliess), *Samborza*, rv., r.t. of Plitnica 53.4 16.7  
 Brzeźnica (Grobka, Wrzępia, Jeziera), *Gróbka*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 49.9 20.4–50.1 20.6  
 Brzeźnica, rv., l.t. of Wisła 50.5 21.5  
 Brzeźnica, rv., r.t. of Nida 50.6 20.4  
 Brzeźnica, rv., r.t. of Wisła 52.6 19.7  
 Brzeźnica, *Wieleń*, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.9 20.8  
 Brzeźnica, *Wielopólka*, rv., r.t. of Wisłoka 50.1 21.6  
 Brzeźno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.8  
 Brzoza, rv., l.t. of Bzura 51.8 19.4  
 Brzozowa (Bierezowa, Wielka Struga, Berezówka<sup>^</sup>), *Brzozówka*, rv., l.t. of Biebrza 53.6 23.1  
 Brzozowe Bagno (Bzuczina, Berkenbrugege), swamp 53.5 16.2  
 Brzozówka (Bargłówka<sup>^</sup>) *Bargłówka*, rv., r.t. of Węgrówka 53.8 22.8

Brzuchowo, lake 53.5 17.5  
 Budzki Staw+, pond 49.9 19.2  
 Budzyńskie^, lake 53.5 18.2  
 Bug (Buh), rv., l.t. of Narew 52.3 23.1 52.4 22.6  
 Bujakówka^, rv., r.t. Przesieki 52.4 22.8  
 Bukowie, *Bukowieckie*, lake 52.9 17.2  
 Bukowina^, rv., r.t. of Łupawa 54.4 17.8  
 Bukówka (Miskowa), rv., r.t. of Noteś 53.1 16.3–52.9 16.1  
 Bukownica, rv., u.s. of Bukówka 53.1 16.4  
 Bukowo Wielkie, *Bukowo*, lake 53.1 16.3  
 Bukrzyno^, lake 54.3 18.0  
 Burgale^, lake 53.7 19.3  
 Bursztynica^, rv., r.t. of Szumionka 53.5 17.9  
 Burzanka^, rv., r.t. of lake Elbląg 54.1 19.5  
 Bużecka^ (Sarna^, Sarnaki^), *Sarenka*, rv., l.t. of Bug 52.4 22.9  
 Bychowska Struga^, rv., l.t. of Piaśnica, 54.8 18.0  
 Bylskie (Bielskie), *Bielskie*, lake 52.6 15.9  
 Bysinka, rv., l.t. of Raba 49.8 19.9  
 Bysławskie^, lake 53.5 18.0  
 Bystra, *Bystrzanka*, u.s. of *Potok Sidzinka*, rv., l.t. of Skawa 49.6 19.7  
 Bystra, rv., l.t. of Juszczyńska 49.6 19.2  
 Bystra, rv., l.t. of Koszarawa 49.6 19.4  
 Bystra, rv., r.t. of Wisła 51.2 22.1  
 Bystry, rv., r.t. of Rogoźnik 49.4 19.9  
 Bystrzec, [no name], rv., r.t. of Skawa 49.9 19.5  
 Bystrzec, *Bystrz*, rv., l.t. of Skawa 49.8 19.5  
 Bystrzec, rv., l.t. of Przosna 51.6 18.1  
 Bystrzyca (Bystrzec, Ulejnicza^), *Ciemna*, rv., l.t. of Ołobok 51.7 17.9  
 Bystrzyca (Piszczyk, Rzeczysko^), *Sadowicka Struga*, rv., r.t. of Welma 52.6 17.7  
 Bystrzyca, rv., l.t. of Wieprz 51.2 22.6  
 Bystrzyca, rv., r.t. of Brzeźnica 50.1 21.7  
 Bystrzyca, rv., r.t. of Tyśmienica 51.8 22.4  
 Bysze (Byze), *Busino*, lake 53.5 16.4  
 Bytońskie^, lake 52.5 18.6  
 Bytyn (Bythin, Bytyńskie), *Wielki Bytyń*, lake 53.3 16.3  
 Bytynek, *Bytyniec*, lake 53.3 16.3  
 Bzdura (Mierczna^), *Beldówka*, rv., r.t. of Nyr 51.8 19.0  
 Bzura Południowa, [no name], rv., l.t. of Wisła 52.6 19.5  
 Bzura, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.8 19.5–52.4 20.2  
 Cechyńskie Mł.^, lake 54.2 17.5  
 Cechyńskie Wielkie^, lake 54.2 17.5  
 Cedron^, rv., r.t. of Reda 54.6 18.3  
 Cedzyna (Cydzyna, Mąchocka), *Lubrzanka*, rv., r.t. of Czarna Nida 50.9 20.7  
 Cekcyńskie Wlk.^, lake 53.6 18.0  
 Cendrówka^, *Cedron*, rv., l.t. of Skawinka 49.9 19.7  
 Cetynia (Cetęń^, Cietynia^, Hudynia^), rv., l.t. of Bug 52.5 22.3  
 Charbiołka (Charbiolka), *Świątnica*, rv., r.t. of Kopla (today r.t. of Michałówka) 52.3 16.9  
 Charzykowskie^, lake 53.8 17.5  
 Cheb^, lake 54.0 17.8  
 Chechel, *Chechło*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 50.1 19.4  
 Chechel, *Raclawka*, rv., l.t. of Rudawa 50.2 19.7  
 Chechło^, rv., r.t. of Czernica 53.9 16.9  
 Chełm, *Chelmo*, mountain 51.1 19.7  
 Chełm^, mountain, 779 m AMSL 49.6 21.0  
 Chełmca^, *Chelmickie*, lake 52.7 19.1  
 Chełmnica (Chełmca^), *Chelmiczka*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 52.7 19.1  
 Chełmżyńskie^, lake 53.2 18.6  
 Chlebczanka, rv., l.t. of Sarenka 52.3 22.9  
 Chłodna (Chłodna Samica, Samica Bliższa), [no name], rv., r.t. of Obrą 51.9 17.1  
 Chłop, lake 52.4 15.8  
 Chmielnica, *Smolnica*, rv., r.t. of Stołunia 53.5 17.2  
 Chmielnica^, rv., r.t. of Stołunia 53.5 17.2  
 Chobienickie^, lake 52.1 15.9  
 Chochlino (Kochlin See), *Wielkie Kochlino*, lake 53.1 16.1  
 Chocina^, rv., l.t. of Brda 53.9 17.4  
 Choczewskie^, lake 54.7 17.9  
 Chodcza (Chotcza), *Ilzanka*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.3 21.5  
 Chodeckie^, lake 52.4 19.0  
 Chodeczka (Kłobia, Kłobica), rv., r.t. of Zgłowiączka 52.5 19.0  
 Chodel, *Chodelka*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 51.1 22.1  
 Chodlik, rv., l.t. of Chodel 51.1 22.9  
 Chodupia, *Chodupka*, rv., r.t. of Przyłepnica 53.0 20.0  
 Chojenko^ (Chojnowskie^, Księżę^), *Oborskie*, lake 53.0 19.2  
 Chojno^, lake 53.3 19.3  
 Chomiąskie^, lake 52.6 17.8  
 Chorzelowskie Stawy+, pond 50.3 21.5  
 Chotle (Chotel), *Komorowskie (Chotelskie)*, lake 52.4 18.8  
 Chotucza (Hołucz, Chołucz), [no name], rv., r.t. of Pośrednik 51.6 18.3  
 Chrapka (Chropla), lake 52.6 19.3  
 Chrzęścina, *dopyw spod Czerlejna*, rv., l.t. of Moskawa 52.3 17.2  
 Chrzęst, [no name], rv., r.t. of Zielona 53.0 18.5  
 Chrzęstawa^, rv., r.t. of Szczyra 53.6 17.1  
 Chrzęstawka^, rv., r.t. of Widawka 51.4 19.1  
 Chrzypsko, *Chrzypskie*, lake 52.6 16.2  
 Cicha (Czicha, Kupka), *Kubek*, lake 52.7 16.1  
 Cicha, rv., l.t. of Szreniawa 50.4 20.0  
 Cicha, rv., l.t. of Woda Ujsolska 49.4 19.2  
 Ciche^, lake 53.4 19.4  
 Cichy, rv., u.s. of Rogoźnik (r.t. of Dunajec Czarny) 49.4 19.9  
 Cicień, mountain, 835 m AMSL 49.8 20.1  
 Ciemięga (Wiślanówka^, l.s. of Dębniak^, u.s. of Klótnia^), *Rakutówka*, rv., r.t. of Lubchora 52.5 19.3  
 Ciemięga, rv., l.t. of Bystrzyca 51.3 22.5  
 Ciemna (Ciemna Rzeka, Plewiska Struga, Wirenka), *Wirynka*, rv., l.t. of Warta 52.3 16.8  
 Ciencisko^, lake 52.6 18.1  
 Cienia (Tena, Pokrzywnica, Koprzywnica, Stawka^), *Trojanówka*, rv., r.t. of Przosna 51.7 18.3  
 Cienia^, rv., r.t. of Pokrzywnica (tributary of Przosna) 51.6 18.5–51.7 18.2  
 Cienka (Jasienica), rv., r.t. of Rządza 52.4 21.5  
 Ciśmionka, *Gliniany Potok*, rv., l.t. of Szczawa 49.6 21.5  
 Ciszówka, [no name], rv., l.t. of Warta 50.5 19.3  
 Ciżówka, rv., r.t. of Strzygowa 51.5 17.9  
 Cybina (Czybyna), rv., r.t. of Warta 52.4 17.1  
 Cyranowskie Stawy, pond 50.3 21.5  
 Czadowo Wielkie (Grothen Cadow), *Szczygłe*, lake 53.3 16.1  
 Czapelka, rv., l.t. of Myśla 52.4 22.4  
 Czaple (Małe Żnińskie, Mniejsze), *Żnińskie Małe*, lake 52.8 17.7  
 Czaplinskie (Czaplin), *Czaplino*, lake 53.6 16.3  
 Czarka, rv., l.t. of Warta 50.7 19.2  
 Czarna (Glinka, Zarne), rv., r.t. of Gwda 53.5 16.8  
 Czarna (Kilizda^), *Wodząca*, rv., r.t. of Dżibicza 50.6 19.9  
 Czarna Krośnica, rv., l.t. of Krośnica 49.5 20.4  
 Czarna Łacha^, rv., l.t. of Motława 54.3 18.7  
 Czarna Nida, rv., l.t. of Nida 50.8 20.7  
 Czarna Struga, *Kosówka*, rv., l.t. of Bug 52.6 22.2  
 Czarna Struga, rv., r.t. of Warta 50.6 19.4  
 Czarna Woda (Wda)^, rv., tributary of Baltic Sea 54.8 18.2  
 Czarna Woda^, rv., r.t. of Bukowina 54.4 17.9  
 Czarna, *Chotowski Potok*, rv., l.t. of Wisłoka 50.0 21.3  
 Czarna, *Czarna Struga*, rv., r.t. of Długa 52.3 21.3  
 Czarna, *Czarna Woda*, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.6 20.4

Czarna, *Czarny Potok*, rv., l.t. of Jasieł 49.7 21.6  
 Czarna, *Krzywski Potok*, *Czarna*, rv., r.t. of Brzeźnica 50.1 21.7  
 Czarna, *Piasecznica*, u.s., *Czarna*, rv., l.t. of Pilcza (today l.t. of Wolbórka) 51.6 19.9  
 Czarna, rv., tributary of Sławskie lake 51.9 16.1  
 Czarna, rv., l.t. of Kocielna 51.4 21.4  
 Czarna, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.4 21.2  
 Czarna, rv., l.t. of Pilcza 51.6 19.9  
 Czarna, rv., l.t. of Wisła 50.7 20.8–50.4 21.3  
 Czarna, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.9 21.1  
 Czarna, rv., l.t. of Wisłoka 50.1 21.3  
 Czarna, rv., r.t. of Pilcza 51.1 20.6–51.3 19.9  
 Czarna, rv., r.t. of Tyśmienica 51.6 22.3  
 Czarna, rv., r.t. of Wieprz 51.7 22.3  
 Czarna<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Gwda 53.5 16.8  
 Czarnca, *Czarczówka*, rv., r.t. of Skawa 49.9 19.5  
 Czarne (Czasło), *Czarne*, lake 52.5 19.3  
 Czarne Dąbówno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.6  
 Czarne Górne<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 19.0  
 Czarne Sosnowickie, lake 51.5 23.0  
 Czarne, [no name], lake 53.5 16.3  
 Czarne, *Czarne Uścimowskie*, lake 51.5 22.9  
 Czarne, swamp 53.5 16.3  
 Czarne<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 18.7  
 Czarne<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 18.5  
 Czarne<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 18.2  
 Czarni (Czarna, Czarna Struga), *Bawół*, rv., r.t. of Przosna (today u.s. of Bawół) 51.9 18.1  
 Czarnka (Czarna), *Czarka*, rv., r.t. of Warta 50.6 19.3  
 Czarnoleskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 18.5  
 Długie, lake 54.0 17.3  
 Czarnówka (Czarnawka), *Czerniawka*, rv., l.t. of Moszczenica (tributary of Bzura) 51.9 19.5  
 Czarny Potok, [no name], rv., l.t. of Stradomia 49.8 20.2  
 Czarny, *Czarna Rzeka*, rv., l.t. of Słopicza 49.7 20.3  
 Czartoria (Centory<sup>^</sup>), *Centuria*, rv., r.t. of Przemsza (Biała) 50.4 19.5  
 Czartoria, [no name], rv., l.t. of Dębiesznica 50.4 19.6  
 Czarzyzna, rv., l.t. of Wisła 50.4 21.2  
 Czchówka, [no name], rv., u.s. of Kaśni-anka 49.8 20.9  
 Czekawa (Graboszewka, Struga), *Bawół*, rv., r.t. of Powidznica 52.3 17.8  
 Czepe (Cepe), *Szepc*, lake 53.5 16.4  
 Czermienicza (Lubianka), *Ruda*, rv., r.t. of Gwda 53.2 16.7  
 Czermnia, *Pachniączka*, rv., r.t. of Kłopotnica 49.6 21.4  
 Czerna, rv., l.t. of Słanica 49.5 19.0  
 Czerniawa, [no name], rv., r.t. of Żrenica 52.4 17.4  
 Czernica, rv., l.t. of Skrwa 52.8 19.5  
 Czernica<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Gwda 53.7 16.9  
 Czerniechowo (Czerniechowa), *Rów Młyński*, rv., r.t. of Obra (today Obrzański Kanał Północny) 52.1 16.3  
 Czerniew, *Nida*, rv., l.t. of Przysowa 52.3 19.9  
 Czernik, rv., r.t. of Osownica 52.4 21.6  
 Czerna Struga<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Brda 53.7 17.9  
 Czerwona Struga<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Brda 53.8 17.4  
 Czerwona<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Kłodawa 54.2 18.5  
 Czerwonka (Grochowski Strumień<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Liwiec 52.4 22.0  
 Czerwony Bór, hills 53.0 22.1  
 Czerwony Potok, *Dopływ spod Granic*, rv., r.t. of Rzepiennik 49.8 21.1  
 Czetna (Cetna), rv., r.t. of Narew 53.3 22.0  
 Czochrin (Zacharin), *Czochryńskie*, lake 53.5 16.5  
 Czymna (Czerna), *Rów spod Mirowa*, rv., r.t. of Rudno 50.0 19.6  
 Czymna, *Czerna*, rv., l.t. of Skawa 49.8 19.5  
 Czymnica, *Czyrniec*, *Syhlec*, mountain, 1318 m AMSL 49.6 19.6  
 Czysta Woda<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Borowa 54.2 17.9  
 Czysta, *Młynkowska*, rv., l.t. of Drzewica 51.2 20.5  
 Czyste<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 18.5  
 Czyste<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 18.0  
 Dąb, rv., r.t. of Jabłoń 53.0 22.3  
 Dąbrówka, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.8 21.5  
 Dąbrówka, rv., l.t. of Skawa 49.9 19.5  
 Dąbrówka<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.0  
 Dąbrówka<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 19.1  
 Dąbrówka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Breń 50.2 21.3  
 Dąbrowno (Dąbrówno, Dambrowno), *Jarosławskie*, lake 52.1 17.1  
 Dąbrowny Staw<sup>+</sup>, pond 50.0 19.5  
 Dąbrowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54,2 18,0  
 Dalna Góra, mountain, 605 m AMSL 49.7 20.2  
 Damaszk<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.2 18.0  
 Damecz (Domecz, Damen), *Dębno*, lake 53.7 16.3  
 Damica (Damice, Damnic), *Dębica*, rv., l.t. of Parsęta 53.7 16.3  
 Damsdorfer See<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.5  
 Danielka, rv., l.t. of Woda Ujsolska 49.5 19.1  
 Dębiec (Młewiec), rv., l.t. of Moskawa 52.4 17.1  
 Dębiesznicza (Dubeśnica<sup>^</sup>), *Ryczówka*, *Dębiesznicza*, rv., r.t. of Przemsza (Biała) 50.4 19.6  
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Ilawka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Drwęca 53.5 19.7

Ilawskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 19.6

Ilmanowska Rzeka, *Sowlina*, rv., r.t. of Łososina 49.7 20.4

Ilonka<sup>^</sup> (Giling, Bełcząca), *Jelonka*, rv., l.t. of Juchacz 53.4 17.4

Iłza (Izłza), u.s. *Iłzanka*, rv., l.t. of Chodcza 51.2 21.3

Iłzecka (Iłza), *Miałka*, rv., l.t. of Chodcza 51.3 21.4

- Iwkowa, *Bela*, rv., u.s. of Biała (l.t. of Łososina) 49.8 20.6
- Iwła, *Iwelka*, u.s. *Iwiłka*, rv., r.t. of Wiślówka 49.6 21.6
- Izbowa Łacha<sup>^</sup>, rv., tributary of Zalew Wiślany 54.2 19.2
- Jabłoń (Jabłona), *Jablonka*, rv., l.t. of Narew 53.0 22.2
- Jabłona (Jabłonia, Jabłoń, Jablonka<sup>^</sup>), *Jablonka*, rv., r.t. of Gać, 53.0 22.3
- Jablonica, (l.s. Branica), rv., l.t. of Korzeniówka 51.3 20.8
- Jabłoniec, [no name], rv., r.t. of Ilmanowska Rzeka 49.7 20.4
- Jąderka, *Dziewicze*, lake 53.2 16.2
- Jagielny Potok, [no name], rv., r.t. of Wolnica 49.9 20.0
- Jagodnica, mountain, 416 m AMSL 49.9 19.6
- Jakubkowo<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 19.7
- Jameczne (Iameczne), [no name], lake today does not exist 51.9 16.7
- Jamnica, *Jamniczka*, *Jamniczanka*, rv., r.t. of Kamionka 49.6 20.8
- Jamnica, rv., r.t. of Trzeźna 50.4 21.6
- Jamnica<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Breń 50.2 21.2
- Jamno (Gamel-See), *Gomolno*, lake 53.1 16.0
- Janka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wierzyca 53.9 18.7
- Janówko<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 19.6
- Jarząbek (Jarzembek), [no name], rv., r.t. of Łomnica 53.1 16.4
- Jarzecznicza (Jarzenica), *Dopływ spod Niepilnej*, rv., l.t. of Łętwin 50.8 19.1
- Jasiel (Jasiołka, Jasiel), *Jasiołka*, rv., r.t. of Wiślówka 49.4 21.8–49.8 21.5
- Jasiień, rv., r.t. of Nyr 51.7 19.4
- Jasienica, *Jasieniczanka*, rv., r.t. of Gościbia 49.8 19.8
- Jasiennica (Ubiedrza), rv., r.t. of Wisła 52.5 19.8
- Jasiona, *Siedliczanka*, rv., l.t. of Biała 49.9 20.9
- Jasionka (Jassionka), [no name], rv., today tributary of Kanał Dźwiński 52.1 15.9
- Jasiorówka, rv., l.t. of Bug 52.6 21.7
- Jaskrzanka (Jaskra, Jaskranka<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Narew 53.3 22.9
- Jastrowie Małe, lake 53.4 16.9
- Jastrowie, *Jastrowie Wielkie*, lake 53.4 16.9
- Jawornik, rv., r.t. of Nidzica 50.2 20.6
- Jaworznik (Jaworzniczka<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Kozi Bród 50.2 19.4
- Jedlanka, rv., r.t. of Tyśmienica 51.5 22.8
- Jedlino, *Ściegienne*, lake 51.5 22.9
- Jedlna, *Chojniczanka*, rv., l.t. of Biała 49.9 20.9
- Jedlna, *Jelnia*, rv., l.t. of San 50.5 22.1
- Jedlnica (Jedlniczka), *Huta*, *Hutka*, rv., l.t. of Nida 50.8 20.4
- Jegrznia (Jegrzna, Jezgrzna), rv., l.t. of Łek 53.7 22.7
- Jeleń (Jelen, Gelen, Jelonek), *Jelonek*, lake 52.5 17.6
- Jeleń<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 19.8
- Jeleń<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 17.6
- Jeleń<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.2 17.5
- Jelenczewo (Cichowo, Czychowo, Wielkie), *Cichowo*, lake 52.0 16.9
- Jeleni Bród, rv., l.t. of Oleśnica 51.5 18.3
- Jelenie Duże<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 17.7
- Jelenie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 18.8
- Jelonek<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 18.4
- Jerzmanowski Potok, *Szklarka*, rv., l.t. of Rudawa 50.2 19.7
- Jeziernik, *Kamionna*, mountain, 805 m AMSL 49.8 20.4
- Jeziernik, *Pasierbiecki Potok*, rv., l.t. of Łososina 49.8 20.4
- Jezieryce<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 19.6
- Jezióra, *Jeziorna*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.9 20.6–52.2 21.1
- Jeziorko (Jeziorki<sup>^</sup>), *Jezierskie*, lake 53.9 22.8
- Jeziorna<sup>^</sup>, [no name], rv., r.t. of Przosna 51.5 18.3
- Jeżowiec (*Jeżewiec*), lake 52.9 19.1
- Jezuicka Struga*, rv., r.t. of Zielona 52.9 18.3
- Jezuickie (Jeziuit See), *Jezuickie Małe*, lake 53.1 17.9
- Jezuickie (Jeziuit See), lake 53.0 18.1
- Jodłówka, rv., l.t. of Wiślówka 49.9 21.3
- Jordan, rv., r.t. of Drwęca 53.0 18.8
- Juchacz, *Jelonka*, rv., l.t. of Łobżonka or u.s. of Łobżonka 53.4 17.3
- Juchacz<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 17.4
- Junakowo (Iunowo), *Janukowo*, lake 52.6 15.9
- Junno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 17.9
- Jura (u.s. Jurzec), *Łojewek*, rv., r.t. of Narew 53.2 22.3
- Kacza<sup>^</sup>, rv., tributary of Baltic Sea 54.5 18.4
- Kaczynka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wierzyca 54.1 18.1
- Kadeczka, *Kadecki Potok*, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.5 20.5
- Kakaj<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 19.4
- Kalawy, [no name], rv., r.t. of Rzepnik 49.9 19.8
- Kałodunek Duży<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 19.7
- Kałodunówka, *dopływ z Klodzina*, rv., l.t. of Welma 52.7 17.3
- Kałębie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 18.5
- Kalinka, rv., r.t. of Nidzica 50.4 20.2
- Kalinówka, rv., l.t. of Narew 53.1 22.3
- Kaliszany<sup>^</sup>, *Kaliszańskie*, lake 52.9 17.1
- Kalna (Kalina<sup>^</sup>, Lipowa<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Kalonka 49.7 19.1
- Kalonka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Żylica 49.7 19.1
- Kałuża, rv., r.t. of Toczna 52.2 22.8
- Kameżnica, *Bystra*, *Kamesznica*, rv., l.t. of Soła 49.6 19.1
- Kamianka (Kamionka<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Bug 52.4 22.9
- Kamianka (Kosówka, Koszewka, Kramkowska), *Kosodka*, rv., l.t. of Biebrza 53.4 22.6
- Kamianka, *Kołodziejka*, rv., l.t. of Bug 52.4 22.6
- Kamień (Kamyen, Camin), *Kamienne*, lake 53.1 16.1
- Kamień<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.0
- Kamień<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.5 18.3
- Kamienica (Kamieniczka<sup>^</sup>), *Struga Kamienicka*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 52.7 19.4
- Kamienica (Kamieniczka<sup>^</sup>, Lipnik), *Zimna Woda*, u.s. of *Kamieniczka*, rv., l.t. of Warta 50.7 19.1
- Kamienica, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.6 20.3
- Kamienica, rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.4 20.9–49.6 20.7
- Kamienica<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Wiślówka 49.9 21.4
- Kamienickie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 17.9
- Kamieniczno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.4
- Kamienieckie (Kamieniec)*, lake 52.5 18.7
- Kamienna, *Kamienny*, rv., l.t. of Glinna 49.6 19.3
- Kamiona (Kamionka, Kamionna, Kamienna), *Kamienna*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.2 20.7–51.1 21.8
- Kamionka (Kamienicza, Kamona), rv., r.t. of Brda 53.5 17.7
- Kamionka (Kamonka), rv., l.t. of Warta 52.6 15.9
- Kamionka, rv., r.t. of Biebrza 53.2 22.4
- Kamionka, rv., r.t. of Kamienica 49.6 20.8
- Kamionkowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.1 18.8
- Kanał Elbląski<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of lake Drużno, 54.0 19.6
- Kanał Górny<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Wisła 53.1 18.3
- Kanał Juranda<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Nogat 53.9 19.1
- Kanał Palemona<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Liw 53.7 18.9
- Kanał Reda<sup>^</sup>, rv., tributary of Baltic Sea 54.6 18.2
- Kanał Śledziowy<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wisła 54.2 18.9
- Kania<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Pilica 54.2 17.9
- Kanten See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 19.7
- Kantorówka, rv., l.t. of Szreniawa 50.2 20.4
- Kapalica (Czachurski Potok), *Kanał Czachurski*, rv., r.t. of Cybina 52.5 17.3
- Kąpiel (Kompel), *Bierzwienna Długa*, rv., r.t. of Rgilewka 52.3 18.8
- Karaś<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 19.5
- Karasiówka, rv., r.t. of Sanna 50.8 22.0
- Karaska, swamp 53.3 21.3
- Karaśne, lake 51.4 23.0
- Karaśnia*, lake 52.4 18.9
- Karbania, *Szczanica*, rv., r.t. of Osiecznica 52.6 16.3
- Karczemne<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.2

- Kargów, rv., l.t. of Mierzawa 50.6 20.2  
 Karkoszka, [no name], rv., l.t. of Gąsawa 52.8 17.7  
 Karlikowo<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.3  
 Karpicko (Wolsztyn), *Wolsztyńskie*, lake 52.1 16.1  
 Karpno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.8  
 Karsin (Carsin, Karzin Bach), *Karsina*, rv., l.t. of Damica 53.7 16.3  
 Karsino, *Krynckiego*, lake 53.7 16.3  
 Karsińskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 17.5  
 Karwica (Karwyczflis, Barwiczflis, Zgniła Struga), rv., l.t. of Korytnica 53.3 16.1  
 Karwusińskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 18.5  
 Karwycz, Wielki (Gross Kabitz, Gross Kaatz See), *Wielkie Kacze*, lake 53.4 16.2  
 Kasina, *Kasinianka*, *Kasinka*, rv., r.t. of Raba 49.7 20.1  
 Kaśnińska (Kaśna), *Jastrzębianka*, *Kaśnińska*, rv., l.t. of Biała 49.8 20.9  
 Katlewska<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Wła 53.4 19.8  
 Kazon (Kazanie), *Kazanie*, lake 52.5 17.3  
 Kcynka (Kcyninka, Smogulecznyca, Smogulecka Struga), rv., l.t. of Noteś 53.0 17.4  
 Kepernick (Młyńska Struga<sup>^</sup>), *Kłębowianka*, rv., r.t. of Dobrzyca 53.3 16.4  
 Kicz<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Brda 53.6 17.8  
 Kiedrowickie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.5  
 Kielbaska (Czapelna<sup>^</sup>), rv., l.t. of Warta 52.1 18.6  
 Kielbaśna, *Dąbrówka Polska*, rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.6 20.7  
 Kielbsza, *Wilenica*, rv., l.t. of Ruziec 53.0 19.2  
 Kielcznica, rv., r.t. of Pilcza 51.6 20.5  
 Kielmichowiec, *Żarnówka*, rv., l.t. of Soła 49.7 19.2  
 Kiełpińskie<sup>^</sup> (*Kiełpiny*), lake 53.2 19.3  
 Kiełpińskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.8  
 Kielskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.6  
 Kielsnica, *Kielsnica*, rv., r.t. of Obra 51.9 16.9  
 Kiemrowo (Kemerer See), *Komorze*, lake 53.6 16.3  
 Kiko<sup>^</sup>, *Kikolskie*, lake 52.9 19.1  
 Kiłpińskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.3  
 Kirch See<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 16.9  
 Kl. Papenzin See<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 16.9  
 Kl. Ziethener See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 17.2  
 Kłaczno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.6  
 Klasztorne<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.2  
 Klecza, *Kleczówka*, *Kleczanka*, rv., r.t. of Skawa 49.9 19.6  
 Kleszczów, lake 51.5 22.8  
 Kleszczyń<sup>^</sup>, *Kleszczyńskie*, lake 53.1 19.3  
 Klewianka, *Boberka*, rv., l.t. of Biebrza 53.5 22.8  
 Klimaszewnica, rv., r.t. of Biebrza 53.5 22.5  
 Klocza, [no name], rv., r.t. of Warta 52.7 16.1  
 Kłodawa<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Motława 54.2 18.5  
 Kłodno (Kloddensee), lake 52.9 16.1  
 Kłodno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.1  
 Kłonicznica, *Szczereżanka*, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.5 20.5  
 Kłonicznica<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Zbrzyca, 54.0 17.5  
 Klonówka, *Kurp*, rv., l.t. of Oleśnica 51.3 18.4  
 Kłopotnica, rv., l.t. of Wisłoka 49.6 21.4  
 Kniejówka, rv., r.t. of Ścieklec 50.2 20.2  
 Kobiela, rv., l.t. of Pilcza 50.9 19.7  
 Kobyła Góra, mountain 51.4 17.9  
 Kobylanka, rv., l.t. of Chodcza 51.3 21.9  
 Kobylanka, rv., l.t. of Rudawa 50.1 19.8  
 Kobylecz (Rogowskie<sup>^</sup>, Rogowo<sup>^</sup>), *Rogowskie*, lake 52.7 17.6  
 Kobyli Dół (Kobyliłdol, Piekło), [no name], rv., l.t. of Brniew 51.9 16.5  
 Kochanka<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 18.4  
 Kociana (Koczana), rv., m.s. Osiecznica 52.6 16.3  
 Kocięca<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Kocieniec 52.5 18.9  
 Kocielna (Czarna, Kocielnica, Kocielniczka, u.s. Mironica), *Zagożdżonka*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.5 21.5  
*Kocieniec*, rv., r.t. of Zgłowiączka 52.5 18.8  
 Kocunia (Cozum Flies, Kocuń, u.s. of Skitnica), rv., l.t. of Głomia 53.3 17.2  
 Koczyna (Kocinka), *Kotynica*, rv., r.t. of Kostrzyzna 50.8 18.9  
 Kolano, rv., r.t. of Wisła 52.8 19.0  
 Koleńskie, lake 52.6 15.9  
 Kolnica (Kolnicza), [no name], rv., l.t. of Warta 52.1 17.4  
 Kolnica, rv., l.t. of Sona 52.8 20.8  
 Kompiel, *Kapiel*, rv., r.t. of Rgilówka 52.3 18.8  
 Koniotopia, *Potok Kaszowski*, rv., r.t. of Sanka 50.0 19.7  
 Konotop (Konotopie<sup>^</sup>), *Konotopskie*, lake 52.9 19.1  
 Konotopa, *Sumin*, lake 52.5 19.5  
 Końska, rv., l.t. of Grabia 51.5 19.1  
 Konzug See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 17.3  
 Kopaniec (Kopamyecz, Kopaniecz), *Koponica*, rv., l.t. of Obra (today r.t. of Obrzański Kanał Południowy) 52.0 16.2  
 Kopcianka<sup>^</sup>, *Sosna*, rv., r.t. of Liwiec 52.3 22.2  
 Kopia, *Różanka*, rv., r.t. of Świder 51.9 22.0  
 Kopiec<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.0 19.3  
 Koplą (Kopył), *Kopel*, rv., r.t. of Warta 52.3 17.0  
 Koprzywianka (Koprzywnica), *Pokrzywianka*, rv., r.t. of Świślina 50.9 21.1  
 Koprzywnica (Koprzywnica, Pokrzywianka), *Centara*, rv., u.s. of Przemsza (Biała) 50.4 19.7  
 Koprzywnica (Wierzejka, u.s. of Skawa, Rakówka), l.s. of *Strawa*, rv., l.t. of Lucięża 51.4 19.7  
 Koprzywnica, *Kisielina*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 50.1 20.8  
 Koprzywnica, *Pokrzywnica*, rv., r.t. of Narew 52.6 20.9  
 Kopytkówka<sup>^</sup> (Kopytówka<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Biebrza 53.6 22.9  
 Kopytowa, *Chlebiana*, rv., l.t. of Jasiołka 49.7 21.6  
 Korabka (Godzianówka, Makówka), *Zielkówka*, rv., r.t. of Płyćwia 52.0 20.0  
 Korabka (Korabiewka), *Korabiewka*, rv., r.t. of Rawa 52.0 20.3  
 Kornatowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 18.7  
 Korycianka+, rv., l.t. of Liwiec 52.4 21.9  
 Korytka, rv., r.t. of Okrzeja 51.7 21.8  
 Korytnica (Kortnica, u.s. of Hammer-Fliess), rv., l.t. of Drawa 53.4 16.1–53.1 15.9  
 Korytnica, *Korytnickie*, lake 53.3 16.1  
 Korzecznik<sup>^</sup>, *Korzeckie*, lake 52.3 18.8  
 Korzeń, rv., r.t. of Trzeźniówka 50.4 21.6  
 Korzeniówka (l.s. Gawłówka), rv., r.t. of Radomierza 51.4 20.9  
 Kosarzewka, rv., r.t. of Bystrzyca 51.0 22.6  
 Kościelecki Staw+, pond 50.0 19.2  
 Kosieniec, *Narutówka*, rv., r.t. of Leniwa 51.5 21.4  
 Kostrzecka Góra, *Kostrza*, mountain, 730 m AMSL 49.8 20.3  
 Kostrzyń, rv., l.t. of Liwiec 52.0 22.2–52.3 22.0  
 Kostrzyzna (Kostrzyń, Kostrzowska Woda<sup>^</sup>), *Pankówka*, *Kostrzewska Woda*, rv., r.t. of Listwarta 50.9 18.7  
 Kostrzynia (Mościenica<sup>^</sup>), [no name], rv., r.t. of Moszczenica 51.9 19.5  
 Koszarawa (Kozaraba<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Soła 49.7 19.5–49.7 19.2  
 Koszewnica, *Czerwonka*, rv., l.t. of Liwiec 52.3 21.9  
 Kotel<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 18.0  
 Kotlinka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Lutynia 51.9 17.6  
 Kotomierznica (Struga<sup>^</sup>), *Kotomierzycza* (*Kotomierzanka*), rv., l.t. of Brda 53.3 18.1  
 Kowalewka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of lake Elbląg 54.2 19.6  
 Kozie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 17.6  
 Kozłówka (Brzymot<sup>^</sup>), *Czarnołęśna Struga*, rv., r.t. of Kamienica 50.7 19.1  
 Krąg<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 18.1  
 Kramsker See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 17.2  
 Krąpa (Krempa, Krępnica<sup>^</sup>, Krępska Struga<sup>^</sup>), *Rurzyca*, rv., r.t. of Gwda 53.3 16.7  
 Krąpsk, *Krąpsko Długie*, lake 53.4 16.6  
 Krąpsko Łęgawy, *Krąpsko Górne*, lake 53.3 16.6  
 Krąpsko Podnie, *Dąb*, lake 53.3 16.7  
 Krąpsko Radlino, *Krąpsko Średnie*, lake 53.3 16.7  
 Krąpsko Wyższe, *Krąpsko Małe*, lake 53.4 16.6

Kraska<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Jeziora 51.8 20.9  
 Krasne, lake 51.4 22.9  
 Krasne<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 17.9  
 Krasne<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.3  
 Krępa (Krępianka), *Krępianka*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.2 21.6  
 Krępa (Niecheica, Trzebiczna), rv., l.t. of Warta 51.1 18.8  
 Krępa, rv., r.t. of Pileza 51.5 20.3  
 Krewcz (Krewiec, Krebs-See), *Rakowiec*, lake 53.1 16.1  
 Królówka, rv., r.t. of Kamionka 49.6 20.8  
 Kromszewskie<sup>^</sup>, *Kromszewskie (Kromszewickie)*, lake 52.4 19.0  
 Krosiewo (Krosiowo Wielkie, Kroszewo), *Kroszewo*, lake 53.7 22.8  
 Krosino (Kroszino), lake 53.6 16.1  
 Krośnica, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.4 20.4  
 Krowie Błoto (Pąchowska Struga<sup>^</sup>), *Pąchowska Struga*, rv., r.t. of Obra 52.4 15.9  
 Krukowskie<sup>^</sup> (Siewierskie<sup>^</sup>), lake 52.5 19.0  
 Krusko, *Serafin*, lake 53.4 21.6  
 Kruszyńskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.6  
 Krygowski Potok, *Dophyw spod Kryga*, rv., l.t. of Libusza 49.7 21.3  
 Krzceń, lake 51.4 22.9.B  
 Krzemień (Krzymień), *Krzymień*, lake 52.7 16.2  
 Krzemienica, *Krzemionka*, rv., r.t. of Rawa 51.6 20.2  
 Krzewęta (Długie, Krzewęt, Krzewętka), *Krzewent*, lake 52.5 19.3  
 Krzyna Północna, rv., l.t. of Krzyna 51.9 22.4  
 Krzyna Południowa, rv., r.t. of Krzyna 51.9 22.6  
 Krztynia (Krtynia, Pradła<sup>^</sup>), rv., l.t. of Pileza 50.6 19.7  
 Krzynowłoga, *Świniarka, Ulatówka*, rv., r.t. of Orzyc 53.2 20.9  
 Krzywaszówka, brak nazwy, rv., l.t. of Nurczyk 52.5 23.1  
 Krzywe (Cromzey, Grosse Krummer See), lake 53.0 16.1  
 Krzywula<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Krzyna 52.1 22.9  
 Krzyżówka (Krzyżowa<sup>^</sup>), rv., l.t. of Koszarawa 49.6 19.3  
 Księża (Ksienita), *Księżówka*, u.s. *Brodniczka*, rv., r.t. of Pisa (Pisiak) 53.2 19.6  
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 Kucelinka, rv., r.t. of Warta 50.8 19.2  
 Kuchnia<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 19.0  
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 Kukłówka (Kamionka, Petrykoska, Tuczną), *Tuczna*, rv., l.t. of Gągolina 52.1 20.5  
 Kukowo, lake 53.8 22.7  
 Kułakoszczyzna, forest 53.5 22.9  
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 Kulikówka, rv., r.t. of Narew 53.3 22.9  
 Kunów, lake 51.5 22.5  
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 Kurowska Struga (Luboracz, Samica, Lecyzyno), *Kanał Grabarski*, rv., r.t. of Obra (today Kanał Północny) 52.2 16.5  
 Kurzymy<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.4  
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 Kuźnia<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Brda 53.9 17.1  
 Kwieciszówka (Rozanna, Kwieciszewica, Mała Noteć<sup>^</sup>), *Mała Noteć*, rv., l.t. of Noteś 52.6 18.0  
 Kwiejce, *Piast*, lake 52.8 15.9  
 Kwilanka, *Kwilinianka, Filanka*, rv., r.t. of Nida 50.7 20.0  
 Kwileckie Jezioro (Qvileczkie, Wielkie), *Kwileckie*, lake 52.5 16.1  
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 Łabna, rv., r.t. of Skroda 53.4 21.9  
 Łacha Wiślana<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Czarna 51.6 21.6  
 Łacha, [no name], rv., l.t. of Witonía 52.6 19.4  
 Łachówka, rv., r.t. of Stryszawa 49.7 19.5  
 Łąckie Małe, lake 52.5 19.6  
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 Łąckie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.6  
 Łąckie<sup>^</sup>, *Łąkie*, lake 52.9 19.4  
 Łącko (Łączno), *Mielno*, lake 52.8 18.1  
 Łączeń (Łęczyn, Ostrów, u.s. of Ścieklina, Ciekłina), *Bobrowiec*, rv., l.t. of Czarna 51.1 20.2  
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 Łąkie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.6  
 Łąkie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 18.1  
 Łąkie<sup>^</sup>, *Łąki*, lake 52.6 19.1  
 Łąkorz<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.4  
 Łąkosz<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 18.6  
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 Łankie (Drawskie Łąkie, Łanken), *Łęka*, lake 53.5 16.2  
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 Łasica<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Bzura 52.3 20.4  
 Łasińskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 19.1  
 Łaski (Latzke), *Rybie*, lake 53.3 16.3  
 Łaskowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 18.4  
 Łaszka<sup>^</sup>, rv., tributary of Zalew Wiślany 54.3 19.2  
 Łaszówka (Łaszowski Potok, Luborza), *Małoszówka*, rv., r.t. of Nidzica 50.3 20.4  
 Ławeczny Potok (Potok), *Potok Ożarowski*, rv., l.t. of Brynica 50.5 19.0  
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 Łeba<sup>^</sup>, rv., tributary of Baltic Sea 54.5 17.6  
 Łebsko<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.7 17.4  
 Łęczycza, [no name], rv., l.t. of Żrenica 52.4 17.4  
 Lednicza (Lednica, Lednogórskie), *Lednica*, lake 52.5 17.4  
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 Łek (Łę, Łyk, Lyck), *Elk*, rv., r.t. of Biebrza 53.6 22.5  
 Lekarty<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 19.5  
 Łękawiec, *Mysłachówka*, rv., r.t. of Chechel 50.1 19.5  
 Łękawka (Łękawica), rv., r.t. of Soła 49.7 19.3  
 Łeknińskie (Łekno), *Łeknińskie*, lake 52.8 17.3  
 Lenczruher<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 19.0  
 Leniwa, rv., r.t. of Radomierza 51.5 21.3  
 Lepietnica, rv., l.t. of Dunajec Czarny 49.5 20.0  
 Leśna (Leszna), *Leśnianka*, rv., l.t. of Soła 49.7 19.1  
 Leśna Woda, *Leśniówka*, rv., l.t. of Soła 49.9 19.2  
 Leśne<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 17.6  
 Leśnica, rv., l.t. of Pileza 51.6 20.3  
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 Leśnik, *Mordarka*, rv., r.t. of Ilmanowska Rzeka 49.7 20.4  
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 Lesznic<sup>^</sup>, *Czerwonka*, rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.4 20.1  
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 Łętownica<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Brok Mały 52.9 22.2  
 Łętwin, *Konopka*, rv., r.t. of Żarnowa 50.7 19.1  
 Lewoszyzna (Lubosina), *Lubosina*, lake 52.5 16.2  
 Leżaj+, pond 49.9 19.2  
 Libusza, *Libuszanka*, rv., r.t. of Ropa 49.7 21.3  
 Lichwino (Lichwin), *Lichwińskie*, lake 52.7 16.1  
 Liciąza, *Dophyw spod Podlesia*, rv., l.t. of Szwedka 49.9 21.2

Licieszewy<sup>^</sup> (Liciszewo<sup>^</sup>), *Liciszewskie*, lake 53.0 19.1

Lidzbarskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 19.8

Lidzianka<sup>^</sup> (Lidianka), *Linda*, rv., r.t. of Bzura 51.9 19.3

Likcięż (Czeszewo, Czeszewskie<sup>^</sup>), *Czeszewskie*, lake 52.9 17.4

Likiec<sup>^</sup> (Likieckie<sup>^</sup>), *Likieckie*, lake 52.9 19.4

Linawa<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Szkarpa, 54.2 19.0

Linie (Perschken-See), *Perskie*, lake 52.8 16.0

Liniewskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 18.2

Lino See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 17.3

Linowo (Linow See), *Linowisko*, lake 53.0 16.1

Lipczynka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Brda 53.8 17.3

Lipczyno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.3

Lipiny (Lippinken-See), *Lipinki*, lake 53.0 16.3

Lipkusz<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 18.0

Lipnica, *Dopływ spod Lipnicy*, rv., l.t. of Wisłoka 49.8 21.4

Lipnica, *Lipniczanka*, rv., l.t. of Jasienianka 49.7 20.9

Lipnica, rv., l.t. of Nida 50.8 20.2

Lipnica, rv., l.t. of Raba 49.9 20.2

Lipnik, rv., l.t. of Smarkawa 49.8 20.1

Lipno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.8

Lipówka, *Szkuclniak*, rv., r.t. of Cybina 52.4 17.3

Lipowy Potok, *Dopływ spod Krasna*, rv., l.t. of Łososina 49.8 20.5

Liska<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Janka 53.8 18.5

Lissa<sup>^</sup>, *Oczka*, rv., r.t. of Toczna 52.3 22.8

Listwarta (Liswarta, Liczwarta), *Liswarta*, rv., l.t. of Warta 50.6 18.9–51.0 19.0

Litaczów, *Litacz*, mountain, 652.0 m AMSL 49.7 20.6

Liwa<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Nogat 53.7 18.9

Liwiec (Liw), rv., l.t. of Bug 52.0 22.6–52.6 21.6

Liwiec Mały, *Stara Rzeka*, rv., r.t. of Liwicz 52.3 22.3

Liwocz, *Dopływ spod góry Liwocza*, rv., l.t. of Wisłoka 49.8 21.4

Liza, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.9 22.9

Łobżonka (Łobsonka, Kaszubka<sup>^</sup>, Nieca<sup>^</sup>), *Łobżonka*, rv., r.t. of Noteś 53.2 17.3

Łódzia (Łódka), *Łódka*, rv., r.t. of Nyr 51.7 19.4

Łoknica, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.8 23.5

Łomnica (Lomnicza, Lemnitzer, Kapper Fliess), rv., r.t. of Noteś 53.1 16.6

Łomnica, *Lomniczański Potok*, rv., r.t. of Poprad 49.5 20.8

Łomżyca, *Łomżyczka*, rv., l.t. of Narew 53.2 22.0

Lonken See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 19.6

Łopaty, mountain, 305 m AMSL 50.3 20.3

Łopienica, *Sufraganiec*, rv., l.t. of Bobrza 50.9 20.6

Łosia Biel (Łosiabiel), swamp 53.5 22.7

Łososina, rv., l.t. of Dunajec 49.6 20.2–49.8 20.7

Łososina, rv., l.t. of Nida 50.8 20.3

Łostówka, rv., r.t. of Mszanka 49.7 20.1

Łowickie Jezioro, *Łabica*, lake 53.3 16.0

Luba (Lubchora, Diabelek<sup>^</sup>, Lubianka<sup>^</sup>, Przedpolna<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Zgłowiączka 52.5 19.0

Lubań, mountain, 1211 m AMSL 49.5 20.3

Lubanie, *Luboń Wielki*, mountain, 1022 m AMSL 49.7 19.9

Lubański Potok, *Lubański*, rv., r.t. of Ochotnica 49.5 20.3

Lubański, *Potok Luboński*, rv., l.t. of Raba 49.6 19.9

Lubcza (Lubza, Lubsia<sup>^</sup>), rv., l.t. of Łobżonka 53.3 17.3

Lubcza, *Lubecki Potok, Wolanka*, rv., l.t. of Wisłoka 49.9 21.3

Lubczyna, rv., r.t. of Nyr 51.8 19.3

Luben (Trzemeszeńskie<sup>^</sup>, Popielewskie<sup>^</sup>), *Popielewskie*, lake 52.6 17.9

Lubianka (Koterba<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Lutynia 52.0 17.7

Lubianka, rv., l.t. Kamiona 51.0 21.2

Łubianka, rv., l.t. of Cendrówka 49.9 19.7

Lubiatowo (Lubbetow, Liptowo), lake 53.2 16.2

Lubiechowo, *Lubiechowskie*, lake 52.5 19.2

Lubiecz (Lupcze, Lubieckie<sup>^</sup>), *Lubieckie*, lake 52.7 17.7

Lubieczeń (Pomianka), *Pomianka*, rv., l.t. of Przosna 51.2 18.1

Lubiekowo, *Lubikowskie*, lake 52.5 15.7

Lubienieckie<sup>^</sup>, lake 52.4 19.0

Lubieńskie<sup>^</sup> (Lubień<sup>^</sup>), *Lubieńskie*, lake 52.4 19.2

Lubieszczka (Samica, Lubieska, Lubieszka), *Lubieszka*, rv., l.t. of Lutynia 51.9 17.4

Lubinka, rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.9 20.9

Lubinkowskie<sup>^</sup>, *Lubińskie (Lubinek)*, lake 53.0 19.1

Lubiszewskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.7

Lubiwiec (Lubiewiec), lake 52.6 15.9

Lubka (Lubcza<sup>^</sup>), rv., l.t. of Biała 52.8 23.2

Łubnica, *Złotka*, rv., l.t. of Jamnica 50.4 21.6

Lubodziesz (Lvbodesch, Lobodziesz, Lob-See, Logo\_See), *Długie*, lake 53.1 16.4

Lubodzież<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 18.2

Lubogoszcz, mountain, 967 m AMSL 49.7 20.1

Luborzyczka, *Baranówka*, rv., l.t. of Dłubnia 50.1 20.1

Lubosina (Luboszka, Lubośnia), *Kanał Gniński*, rv., r.t. of Obra (today Obrzański Kanał Północny) 52.2 16.9

Lubotyń, lake 52.4 18.6

Lubowidzkie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.6 17.9

Lubowisko<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.2 18.0

Lubowo, *Lubicko Wielkie*, lake 53.6 16.4

Lubstowo (Lubstowskie, Lubstów), *Lubstowskie*, lake 52.3 18.5

Luchowo, *Wielkie*, lake 51.9 16.3

Luciążna, rv., l.t. of Pilcza 51.6 20.2

Lucieńskie, lake 52.5 19.5

Lucięża (Luciesza, Łęg), *Lucięża*, rv., l.t. of Pilcza 51.1 19.6–51.4 19.9

Lucimia, *Zwoleńka, Lucimia*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 51.3 21.7

Lucimskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 17.9

Łukawa, *Opatówka*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 50.8 21.3–50.8 21.8

Łukawica, rv., r.t. of San 50.6 22.1

Łukawka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Czarna 50.7 20.9

Łukcze, lake 51.4 22.9

Łukie, lake 51.4 23.0

Łupia, *Skierniewka*, rv., r.t. of Bzura 51.9 20.1

Lutobrok, *Prut*, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.6 21.2

Lutolek (Lutolskie), *Lutol*, lake 52.3 15.9

Lutomia<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Bzura 52.2 20.1

Lutomnia (Luthomnie, Lutomna), rv., r.t. of Welma 52.8 17.5

Lutomskie, lake 52.6 16.1

Lutowo (Luttau), *Lutowskie*, lake 53.5 17.4

Lutryna<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Osa 53.4 19.1

Lutynia (Lutyna, Lutynka in u.s.), rv., l.t. of Warta 51.8 17.7–52.1 17.5

Łuża, *Kaczka, Żarnówka*, rv., r.t. of Kamiona 51.1 20.8

Łuże+, lake 50.3 21.6

Łyczanka, *Spólnik*, rv., r.t. of Jasienianka 49.7 20.8

Łydynia<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wkra 52.9 20.6

Łysa Góra (Łysiec), mountain 50.9 21.0

Łysica, mountain 50.9 20.9

Łyska, mountain, 640 m AMSL 49.7 19.3

Łysogóry, mountain range 50.9 20.8

Machliny, lake 53.5 16.4

Machomet (Machamet<sup>^</sup>, Mochamet<sup>^</sup>), *Mahomet*, rv., r.t. of Kamanka 52.5 22.9

Maciczna<sup>^</sup>, *Urszulewka*, rv., l.t. of Skrwa 53.0 19.6

Macocho, rv., r.t. of Soła 49.9 19.3

Mała Bacha<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Duża Bacha 53.3 19.1

Mała Bystrzyca, rv., r.t. of Bystrzyca 51.8 22.3

Mała Święta<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Święta 54.1 18.9

Małachowa (Małochówka, Michałówka, Usiąca), *dopływ spod Gzikowa*, rv., r.t. of Pokrzywnica 51.6 18.3

Małapanew, *Mała Panew*, rv., r.t. of Odra 50.6 19.1

Małe (Małe Skepskie), lake 52.9 19.4

Małe Brodno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.1

- Małe Piaseczno (Piaseczenko Małe, Klein Petznick-See), *Piaseczno Małe*, lake 53.0 16.0
- Małe<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.5
- Malge, *Stęszewskie i Kolatkowskie*, lake 52.5 17.2
- Malina, rv., r.t. of Moszczenica (tributary of Bzura) 52.0 19.6
- Maliniec, *Brodal*, rv., r.t. of Lutynia 52.0 17.6
- Maliszewo, lake 53.2 22.5
- Malnica, *Molnica*, rv., l.t. of Kraska 51.9 20.9
- Małynka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Narew, 53.0 23.4
- Małyszyna (Maliszyn, Malaszyn), *Dopływ z Koszut*, rv., r.t. of Głuszynka 52.3 17.1
- Mankauer See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 17.4
- Margonin (Margonin See), *Margonińskie*, lake 52.9 17.1
- Margonin (Margoninka), *Margoninka*, rv., l.t. of Noteś 52.9 17.1
- Markówka<sup>^</sup> (Markowa<sup>^</sup>), rv., l.t. of Miennia 52.8 22.8
- Marl See<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.1
- Martwia Stara (Stara Marthwya), *Marta*, lake 53.2 16.1
- Marusza<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Wisła 53.4 18.9
- Marwicka Młynówka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of lake Drużno, 54.0 19.6
- Mątaszek<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 18.5
- Mątawa<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wisła 53.5 18.6
- Mazowskie<sup>^</sup> (Kijaszkowo<sup>^</sup>, Kijaszkowski<sup>^</sup>, Mazowsze<sup>^</sup>), *Kijaszzkowskie*, lake 53.0 19.0
- Męcina, *Męcianka*, rv., r.t. of Sękowa 49.6 21.2
- Męcina, rv., l.t. of Moskawa 52.3 17.2
- Medromanie (Las Tupadlski), forest 52.7 19.3
- Mędromierz<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 17.8
- Mehno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19
- Melum (Grefingsberge), *Grabowa Góra*, mountain 53.6 16.1
- Mętna (Mięta), rv., r.t. of Bug 52.4 23.1
- Mezowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.3
- Miazga, rv., l.t. of Wolborza 51.7 19.7
- Michocin (Winnogórskie<sup>^</sup>), *Muchocińskie*, lake 52.5 15.8
- Midzieżka (Miedzierz), *Czarna Taraska*, rv., l.t. of Czarna 51.1 20.4
- Miedziany, [no name], rv., l.t. of Raba 49.6 20.0
- Miedzna (Miedzanka, Miedzianka<sup>^</sup>), *Miedzanka*, rv., r.t. of Liwiec 52.5 22.1
- Miedzno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 18.4
- Miedźwiada (Niedźwiada), *Niedźwiada*, rv., l.t. of Ołobok 51.7 17.9
- Miejskie (Pczew), *Kochle*, lake 52.5 15.8
- Mieliwo<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.3
- Mielno (Brzezińskie<sup>^</sup>), *Brzeźno*, lake 52.6 17.1
- Mielno<sup>^</sup>, lake 52.4 18.4
- Mielno<sup>^</sup>, lake 52.9 19.4
- Mień (Lipiennica<sup>^</sup>, Lipinka<sup>^</sup>, u.s. Struga Bartnicka), *Mień*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 52.8 19.2
- Mień (Mianka<sup>^</sup>, Mieńka<sup>^</sup>), *Mianka*, rv., r.t. of Nurzec 52.8 22.7
- Mień Lewy, rv., r.t. of Mień 52.8 19.3
- Mienia Mała, *Srebrna*, rv., r.t. of Mień 52.2 21.6
- Mienia, rv., r.t. of Świder 52.2 21.5
- Mieńka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Narew, 53.0 23.2
- Mierzawa (Mirzawa), *Sędziszówka, Mierzawa*, rv., r.t. of Nida 50.5 20.1–50.5 20.5
- Mierzyn (Mirin), *Mierzyńskie*, lake 52.6 15.9
- Mierzyn<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 19.3
- Mikicina, rv., l.t. of Brzozowa, 53.5 23.0
- Mikorowo<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 17.6
- Miła<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of lake Drużno 54.1 19.6
- Milachowo<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.5
- Milcza, *Milica*, rv., l.t. of Kamiona 51.1 20.8
- Milicki Potok<sup>^</sup>, *Milic*, rv., r.t. of Poprad 49.4 20.9
- Miłogoszcz (Gross Mehlgast-See), *Wielkie Miłogoskie Jezioro*, lake 53.2 16.2
- Miłogoszcz (Schmalter Mehlgast-See), *Miłogoskie Jezioro*, lake 53.2 16.1
- Miłoszewskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 18.1
- Milówka, *Salamonka*, rv., r.t. of Soła 49.5 19.1
- Minikowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.5 17.9
- Minina, rv., l.t. of Wieprz 51.4 22.4
- Minoga, *Minóżka*, rv., r.t. of Dłubnia 50.2 19.9
- Mitręga, rv., l.t. of Przemsza (Czarna) 50.4 19.3
- Mł. Leźno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 19.7
- Mł. Partęczyny<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.4
- Mł. Suskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 18.0
- Mławka (Mława), rv., l.t. of Wkra 53.1 20.2
- Mleczna, rv., r.t. of Radomierza 51.4 21.1
- Mlewieckie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.2 18.8
- Młosienica<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Zbrzyca, 54.0 17.7
- Młosino<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.8
- Młynarka*, rv., l.t. of Mień 52.9 19.2
- Młynówka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Osa 53.5 19.3
- Młyńska (Ruda<sup>^</sup>), *Kończak*, rv., r.t. of Warta 52.8 16.7
- Młyńska, *Struga*, rv., r.t. of Kanał Połajewski 52.8 16.7
- Mniszek, forest 52.3 18.9
- Mniszek, lake 52.6 15.7
- Mochel, lake 53.5 17.5
- Mochel<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 17.6
- Mochy (Mochi, Moskie), *Mochyńskie*, lake 52.0 16.2
- Modła<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.6 16.8
- Modra<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Brda 53.9 17.2
- Modzerowskie, lake 52.4 18.8
- Mogielnica, *Mogielanka*, rv., l.t. of Pilcza 51.8 20.7
- Mogilna<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Dzierzbia 53.3 22.1
- Mogilnica (Mogilniczka, Prut), *Mogilnica Zachodnia*, rv., r.t. of Obra (today Obrzański Kanał Północny) 52.5 16.3–52.1 16.5
- Mogilnica, rv., r.t. of Wieprz 51.2 22.9
- Mokownica (Makowica<sup>^</sup>, Makownica<sup>^</sup>), *Świnka*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 52.7 19.3
- Mokowo (Chalino<sup>^</sup>), *Chalińskie*, lake 52.7 19.4
- Mokrzec (Ostrowiec), rv., r.t. of Obra 52.1 16.4
- Morawka (Morawica), rv., l.t. of Czarna Nida 50.7 20.7
- Morze Bałtyckie 54.4 18.8
- Mościeszycze (Mościeskie), *Zbęchy*, lake 52.0 16.9
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- Mosińskie, *Budzyńskie*, lake 52.2 16.8
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- Moszczanka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Ropa 49.7 21.1
- Moszczenica (Moszczanka), rv., r.t. of Wieprz 51.6 21.9
- Moszczenica (Moszczeń), *dopływ spod Przyborowa*, rv., r.t. of Września 52.5 17.5
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- Moszczenica<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.6 20.6
- Moszczona, rv., r.t. of Bug 52.4 23.0
- Moszczonne<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.0 19.1
- Moszne, lake 51.4 23.1
- Motława<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Martwa Wisła 54.3 18.7
- Mozgawa (Wodzisławer<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Mierzawa 50.5 20.2
- Mroga, rv., r.t. of Bzura 51.8 19.7–52.1 19.7
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- Mrowa (Nrowa, Rnowa), *Utrata*, rv., r.t. of Bzura 52.0 20.7–52.2 20.2
- Mrowieniec (Mrowińcza), [no name], rv., r.t. of Żrenica (today: Moskawa) 52.3 17.3
- Mrowla (Mrowa), rv., l.t. of Wisłok 50.1 21.9
- Mrożyca, rv., l.t. of Mroga 51.9 19.7
- Mrzino (Warrasch-See), *Warasz*, lake 52.8 16.0
- Mścichówka (Czarnówka<sup>^</sup>), *Mieścichówka*, rv., r.t. of Nurzec 52.6 22.5
- Mszanka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Ropa 49.6 20.1
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- Muksz<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Ryszka 53.5 18.2

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 Myja^ (Mesznik^), rv., l.t. of Warta 51.6 18.6  
 Myśla^, rv., l.t. of Bug 52.4 22.4  
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 Niedźwiedzie^, lake 53.8 17.6  
 Niegłba (Wielba Nielba), *Nielba*, rv., r.t. of Welma 52.8 17.3  
 Niegutka, [no name], rv., l.t. of Warta 52.1 17.2  
 Niekursko (Silnica^, Niekurska Struga^, Trzcianka), *Trzcianka*, rv., r.t. of Noteś 53.1 16.5  
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 Niesobia, *Niesób, Samica*, rv., l.t. of Przosna 51.2 18.0  
 Nieszawa^ (Zabroda, Białężyński Potok), *Kanal Kąty*, rv., r.t. of Goślina 52.6 17.0  
 Niewodnica, *Niewodnica*, l.s. *Czaplinianka*, rv., r.t. of Narew, 53.1 23.0  
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 Ojrzemia (Ojrzemia, Ożrzana), rv., r.t. of Pilcza 51.1 19.9  
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 Okręt, pond 52.0 19.8  
 Okrzeja, *Okrzejka*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 51.8 22.1–51.7 21.5  
 Okrzejka^, rv., tributary of Zalew Wiślany 54.2 19.6  
 Okrzesza, rv., l.t. of Radziejówka 52.0 20.5  
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 Oleśnica, *Łużyca*, rv., r.t. of Przosna 51.5 18.2  
 Oleśnica, rv., l.t. of Kamiona 51.1 20.9  
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 Olszyna (Zdanka^), *Kręcica*, rv., l.t. of Widawka 51.1 19.4  
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 Oranka, *Oronka*, rv., r.t. of Śmiłowska 51.3 21.0  
 Orchowo (Rudnickie^), *Rudzienko*, lake 52.0 15.9  
 Orkusch See^, lake 53.8 19.2  
 Orla (Orlanka), *Orlanka*, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.8 23.3  
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 Orle Wielkie, *Wielkie Orzelskie Jezioro*, lake 53.3 16.0  
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Orszulewskie<sup>^</sup> (Orszulewo<sup>^</sup>, Urszulewo<sup>^</sup>, Urszulewskie<sup>^</sup>, Słupie<sup>^</sup>), *Urszulewskie*, lake 53.0 19.6  
 Orz, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.9 22.0–52.8 21.5  
 Orzechowiec, *Orzechówek*, lake 51.5 22.9  
 Orzechówka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Jasień 51.0 19.5  
 Orzełek, *Orzolek*, lake 52.8 16.1  
 Orzyc, rv., r.t. of Narew 53.1 20.5–52.8 21.2  
 Osa<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Wisła 53.5 19.2  
 Osecina, rv., l.t. of Samica 52.0 16.6  
 Osetnica, rv., r.t. of Skrwa 52.4 19.6  
 Osetno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.3  
 Osieczka, *Osieczanka*, rv., r.t. of Macocha 49.9 19.3  
 Osiecznica (Oszczynica, Osieczna, Samycza, u.s. of Kociana), rv., l.t. of Warta 52.6 16.2  
 Osielec Mały, *Wronków*, rv., r.t. of Skawa 49.7 19.8  
 Osielec Wielki, *Osieleczyk*, rv., r.t. of Skawa 49.7 19.8  
 Osina<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Mrowla 50.1 21.9  
 Oska (Wutzke Fliess), rv., r.t. of Ptuszy 53.4 16.8  
 Osłobok (Ostroblók, Golnicza, Główna), *Flinta*, rv., r.t. of Welma 52.8 16.8  
 Osoka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Gwda 53.7 16.8  
 Osowa Góra, mountain (hill) 52.5 16.2  
 Osówka<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Osa 53.6 19.4  
 Osownica (Osobnica), *Bednarka*, rv., r.t. of Ropa 49.7 21.4  
 Osownica, rv., l.t. of Liwiec 52.4 21.7  
 Osowskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 18.4  
 Ostra Góra, mountain, 51.4 17.9  
 Ostra<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Wisłoka 50.0 21.4  
 Ostronko<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 17.7  
 Ostroroskie (Wielkie), *Wielkie*, lake 52.6 16.5  
 Ostroszanka (Grabówka, Ostroroga, Ostrorożka), *Ostroroga*, rv., l.t. of Warta 52.6 16.4  
 Ostrowickie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.2 17.8  
 Ostrowieczno, lake 51.9 17.1  
 Ostrowite (Ostrowickie, Prymasowskie, Kościelne), lake 52.5 17.9  
 Ostrowite (Wusterwitz, Ostrobythe), lake 53.1 15.9  
 Ostrowite<sup>^</sup> (Ostrowickie<sup>^</sup>), *Ostrowickie*, lake 53.1 19.3  
 Ostrowite<sup>^</sup>, lake 52.8 19.1  
 Ostrowite<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.2  
 Ostrowite<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 18.0  
 Ostrowite<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 18.3  
 Ostrowska<sup>^</sup>, *Węgłewska Struga*, rv., r.t. of Przosna 51.4 18.3  
 Ostrowskie (Ostrower See), *Ostrowskie*, lake 52.5 18.1  
 Ostrusza, *Ostruszanka*, rv., r.t. of Biała 49.8 21.0  
 Ostwisz, *Uściwierz*, lake 51.5 23.0  
 Ostwizek, *Uściwierzek*, lake 51.3 23.0  
 Osuch, rv., l.t. of Noteś 52.9 16.6  
 Osusznicza<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Chocina 53.9 17.4  
 Osuszno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.1 18.0  
 Osuszyno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 18.0  
 Otalżyno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.4 18.2  
 Otomińskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.3 18.5  
 Owińska Struga (Struga Owyńska), *Owińska Struga*, rv., r.t. of Warta 52.5 17.0  
 Pąchy (Pachy, Punkener See), *Pąchowskie*, lake 52.4 15.9  
 Pacyna (Mokrzowa), *Pacynka*, rv., r.t. of Mleczna 51.4 21.3  
 Paklica (Paklycza, Jordan<sup>^</sup>), rv., l.t. of Obra 52.4 15.6  
 Paklica, *Paklicko Małe*, lake 52.4 15.4  
 Paleśnica (Paleśnianka), *Paleśnianka*, rv., r.t. of Dunajec 49.8 20.8  
 Pandorka, *Stara Warta*, starorzecze, right arm of Warta 52.1 17.4  
 Panewka (Koldrąbskie), *Koldrąbskie*, lake 52.8 17.6  
 Pankawenica (Pankowenica, Pankawa, Pękawnica), *Pękawnica*, rv., l.t. of Gwda 53.3 16.8  
 Parleten See<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 19  
 Parszczenica<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.5  
 Partęczyny Wielkie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 19.4  
 Parysówka, rv., r.t. of Minina 51.4 22.5  
 Parzenica<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Niechwaszcz 53.9 17.8  
 Parzyn<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.7  
 Pątnowskie<sup>^</sup> (Łężyńskie<sup>^</sup>), lake 52.3 18.3  
 Patoka (Potoka<sup>^</sup>, Dobrzyca), rv., l.t. of Lutynia 51.8 17.6  
 Patulskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.2 18.1  
 Pech (Smoła<sup>^</sup>), *Dopyw z Kamienia*, rv., l.t. of Gwda 53.4 16.9  
 Pełch (Starowsianka, Pełchówka<sup>^</sup>), *Pełchówka*, rv., r.t. of Nurzec 52.6 22.5  
 Pelpińskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 18.8  
 Pełtew (Połtew), *Pelta*, rv., r.t. of Narew 52.8 21.0  
 Pełtew Mała, *Przewodówka*, rv., r.t. of Pełtew 52.7 21.0  
 Penza, rv., r.t. of Narew 53.3 22.1  
 Pestrachowo (Piestrachowo, Biezdrucho), *Biezdrucho*, lake 52.5 17.3  
 Pewel, *Pewel Wielka*, rv., r.t. of Koszarawa 49.7 19.4  
 Pewlica, rv., r.t. of Koszarawa 49.7 19.3  
 Piaseczna, [no name], rv., l.t. of Krowie Błoto 52.4 15.9  
 Piaseczna, rv., l.t. of Narew 52.8 21.6  
 Piaseczne<sup>^</sup> (Orłowo<sup>^</sup>), *Orłowskie*, lake 52.8 19.3  
 Piasecznica (Lubochenka), rv., l.t. of Czarna (today of Piasecznica) 51.6 20.1  
 Piasecznica, *Piaseczna*, rv., r.t. of Świder 52.0 21.7  
 Piasecznica, rv., l.t. of Omulew 53.2 21.5  
 Piaseczno (Gross Petznick-See), lake 53.0 16.1  
 Piaseczno (Petznick See), *Piecnickie Jezioro*, lake 53.3 16.3  
 Piaseczno Małe (Małe Pyasieczno, Piaseczenko, Klein Petznick See), lake 53.1 16.0  
 Piaseczno Wielkie (Piaseczno Wyelkie, Gross Petznick See), *Piasecznik Wielki*, lake 53.1 16.0  
 Piaseczno, lake 51.5 23.0  
 Piaseczno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.4 18.1  
 Piaseczno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 18.3  
 Piaseczno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.2  
 Piaśnica<sup>^</sup>, rv., tributary of Baltic Sea 54.7 18.2  
 Piastoszyn<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 17.7  
 Piaszno<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.4  
 Pieczewnica (Strużnica<sup>^</sup>), *Strużnica*, rv., l.t. of Głomia 53.2 16.9  
 Pieczniewo (Gartringer See), *Piecniewo*, lake 52.5 15.7  
 Piecznik, *Zadybska*, rv., r.t. of Okrzeja 51.7 21.9  
 Piekelnik<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Dunajec Czarny 49.5 19.9  
 Pieniążkowo<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 18.8  
 Pierzanowska Rzeka<sup>^</sup>, *Serafa*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 50.0 20.1  
 Pierzchnia, *Pierzchnianka*, rv., r.t. of Pilcza 51.6 20.9  
 Pierzchniczka, *Pierzchnianka*, rv., l.t. of Belnianka 50.8 20.7  
 Piesienica<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wierzyca, 54.0 18.4  
 Pieski<sup>^</sup> (Glistna<sup>^</sup>), *Jeziorna*, rv., l.t. of Obra 52.5 15.5  
 Piła (Pila), *Pilawka*, rv., r.t. of Dobrzyca, 53.3 16.0–53.3 16.5  
 Pilawa (Pyla, Piła), *Pilawa*, rv., r.t. of Gwda 53.6 16.5–53.2 16.8  
 Pilcza (Pilca, Pilica), *Pilica*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 50.5 19.6–51.8 21.3  
 Pilczyca, *Czarna*, rv., r.t. of Pilcza 50.9 20.0  
 Pilica<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Wda 54.1 17.9  
 Pilsko, mountain, 1557 m AMSL 49.5 19.3  
 Pipionko<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.2 17.6  
 Pisa (Bachorka, Pissa), *Pisia*, u.s. *Pisiak*, rv., l.t. of Brynica 53.2 19.5  
 Pisa (Pissa), *Pisa*, rv., r.t. of Rypienica 53.2 19.4  
 Pisa (Pisz, Pisia), rv., r.t. of Narew 53.4 21.8  
 Pisarzówka<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Soła 49.8 19.1  
 Pisia I, *Pisia*, rv., l.t. of Nyr 51.7 19.1  
 Pisia, *Pichna*, rv., r.t. of Noteś 52.4 18.4  
 Pisia<sup>^</sup> II, *Pisia*, rv., l.t. of Nyr 51.8 18.9  
 Pisia<sup>^</sup>, rv., r.t. of Widawka 51.4 19.2  
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*Kocinka*, rv., r.t. of Listwarta 50.9 19.1  
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 Kopanica Dziecżyńska 51.7 16.7  
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Trześnia (u.s. Świelub, m.s. Rokicina), *Trześniówka*, rv., r.t. of Wisła 50.5 21.7

Trześnia, rv., l.t. of Czarna 51.1 20.1

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Tuchołka<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.6 17.8

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Tuczyn, rv., r.t. of Sanna 50.8 22.0

Tuga<sup>^</sup>, rv., l.t. of Szkarpa 54.2 19.1

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Tuszynek<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.7 18.5

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Tymiana (Tyma<sup>^</sup>, Międzychódka<sup>^</sup>, Mischoda<sup>^</sup>), *Tymienica*, rv., l.t. of Obra 52.5 15.4

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Walkówka<sup>^</sup>, *Welcza, Welczówka*, rv., l.t. of Skawica 49.7 19.5

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Węgra, *Węgierka*, rv., r.t. of Orzyc 53.0 20.9

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Więcborskie, lake 53.3 17.5

Wiechciówka (Wiechtówka), *Gorzyczanka, Samborka*, rv., l.t. of Wisła 50.6 21.6

Wiechszul<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 18.0

Więciórka, rv., l.t. of Łętownia 49.7 19.9

Wieckie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 18.1

Wieczno<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.3 18.8

Wiejskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 54.0 17.3

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Wielenia (Wieleń), *Wielonka*, rv., l.t. of Brynica 50.4 19.1

Wielewskie<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.9 17.9

Wielgie<sup>^</sup>, *Wielgie (Wielickie)*, lake 53.0 19.1

Wielim<sup>^</sup>, lake 53.8 16.7

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Wielkie (Rakutowskie<sup>^</sup>), *Rakutowskie*, lake 52.5 19.2

Wielkie (Sławianowskie, Sławianówko), *Sławianowskie*, lake 53.2 17.1

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Wieprzówka (Wieprzanka), rv., l.t. of Skawa 49.9 19.4

Wiercica (Potok Wiercica<sup>^</sup>), rv., r.t. of Warta 50.8 19.5

Wiercica (Warcica, Wierczicza), *Wiercica*, rv., r.t. of Warta 52.2 18.5

Wierszwia (Wierzcheń, Wierzchań<sup>^</sup>), *Wierzchoń (Jazy)*, lake 52.6 19.4

Wierzba (Wierzby), rv., r.t. of Gostyńska 51.9 17.0

Wierzbak (Rudnik), rv., l.t. of Warta 52.4 16.9

Wierzbicańskie<sup>^</sup> (Wierzbiczany), lake 52.5 17.7

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Wierzchomla, *Wierzchomlanka*, rv., r.t. of Poprad 49.4 20.8

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Więtsza Dolina (Grothedolgen, Gross Dolgen See), *Dolgie Wielkie*, lake 53.6 16.5

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*Wudzyńskie*, lake 53.3 18.1  
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